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"So ill looked a place, among all the whore houses:" Mapping Moral and Physical
Cleanliness in London from the mid-Sixteenth to the mid-Seventeenth Century

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Laura Louise Trauth

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"So ill looked a place, among all the whore houses:" Mapping Moral and Physical Cleanliness in London from the mid-Sixteenth to the mid-Seventeenth Century

Laura Louise Trauth, Ph.D.

Lawrence R. Poos, Ph.D.

For much of the modern era, a Malthusian attitude toward the poor was commonplace England and elsewhere. The poor brought poverty and suffering on themselves through laziness, lust, and gluttony. If they became sick, it was because they had no sense of decency and chose to live in drunken squalor. This study examines early manifestations of such attitudes in sixteenth and seventeenth-century London. Sin, sickness, and crime were clearly associated popular contemporary print works. Writing is not the same as policy, however. Did contemporaries *act* on these mental associations? An analysis of the spatial distributions of popular literary criminal accounts, Bridewell Hospital records, and parish burial registers reveals that by the mid-seventeenth century, perceptions of crime and disease formed a topography which identified both the dank, impoverished back-alleys and prominent London landmarks as sites of moral and physical sickness. Sites of finance and modern commercial exchange, which challenged traditional values, were perceived as particularly risky. Qualitative analysis of contemporary text demonstrates that the authors of rogue pamphlets and other cheap print "discovered" these locations, enabling their readers minimize the risks of city living with some success. Two

issues remained, however. First, the crimes described in the pamphlets were actually imitated by some Bridewell defendants. Second, lurking beneath this predictable topography was the role of the household in perpetuating the risks of both crime and sickness. Servants were susceptible to both endemic and epidemic disease as well as the enticements of playhouses, whorehouses, and gambling dens. Neither their health nor their behavior could be ensured with absolute certainty. Unlike the terrain of publically discussed risks, therefore, the risks brought into the household by servants ultimately could not be avoided or controlled. The household always threatened, by its very makeup, to be ungovernable. The need to address household disorder and sickness led to the publication of many advice manuals and were reflected in contemporary diaries. The stresses of the permeable household also seem likely to have contributed to the development of a modern sense of self, defined more by one's own actions and less by those of family, servants, and neighbors.

This dissertation by Laura Louise Trauth fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in History approved by Lawrence R. Poos, Ph.D., as Director, and by Daniel R. Gibbons, Ph.D., and Caroline R. Sherman, Ph.D. as Readers.

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Lawrence R. Poos, Ph.D., Director

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Daniel R. Gibbons, Ph.D, Reader

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Caroline R. Sherman, Ph.D., Reader

To all the people, both two- and four-footed, who lent me comfort and support throughout the years of study, research, and writing.

Yet God hath beene kind to us who amongst the many othere favours, hath hard the grones and sighs of his peole for the poore citie of London where so many thousands hath beene swept away as the Dongue of the streetes.

~ Nehemiah Wallington

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Methods

[Y]ee that in these dolefull daies of plague and pestilence… neglect all publike fasting preaching and praying which now if every should be cried up and practiced And instead thereof give yourselves over to dancing feasting playing Sabbath breaking to draw downe more wrath and plagues upon us…
~Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington

A Malthusian attitude toward the poor was commonplace by eighteenth and nineteenth century London. The poor brought poverty and suffering on themselves through laziness, lust, and gluttony. If they became sick, it was because they had no sense of cleanliness and chose to live in squalor, for example.[1] Sin and bad behavior caused the working poor to be unable to live in better neighborhoods or to avoid illness. But when did such attitudes begin and, more importantly, when were they incorporated into people's daily lives and actions? In her detailed study of seventeenth and eighteenth century filth, noise, and stench, Emily Cockayne notes many references to the association of the poor with crowding, filth, and ill health. None is earlier than 1713.[2] Sin and ill health, however, as Nehemiah Wallington's journals reveal, were associated by the early sixteenth century. Such a correlation in people's writings is not the same as public policy, however. The question remains whether or not people actually *acted* on these mental associations.

In the chapters that follow, I examine the connections between moral and physical sickness in London from the 1580s through the 1660s, in both literature and legal records

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[1] Steven Johnson, *The Ghost Map* (New York: Riverhead, 2006), 21.
[2] Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise, and Stench in England, 1660-1770* (Princeton, NJ Yale University Press, 2007), 231-233.

(theory and action). This time period experienced several periods of increased disease load and economic hard times. It is also characterized by the evolving Protestant reformations in England and the new mindsets they brought about.[3]

I have analyzed the associations between moral and physical sickness by looking at the prosecution within society of morally suspect petty criminals: prostitutes, gamblers, conmen, and disobedient servants. Who was prosecuted? Where were crimes committed? And how does the geography of these crimes compare with that of epidemic disease? In chapters that follow, I analyze and map those crimes for the city of London and compare their distribution and effects to those of plague, smallpox and other feared diseases. Before proceeding to the study itself, however, a discussion of its setting, late Tudor and early Stuart London, is in order. This introduction to London follows below along with an introduction to the methods and sources used to complete the study.

Early Modern London

Swiss traveler and author Thomas Platter writes of London that "it is so superior to other English towns that London is not said to be in England, but rather England to be in London."[4] This is an exaggeration of course. Travel guides of England regularly list other towns and cities of England such as Oxford, York, Bristol, and Norwich. It is not by accident, however, that these guides list the other towns by their relation to London.[5] As

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[3] Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 286.
[4] Lena Cowen Orlin, "Introduction," in *Material London, C. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1.
[5] Ibid.

England's largest city, its capital and center of government, a hub of trade and

manufacturing, center of publishing, London occupied the imaginations of early modern

Englishman as much as it does today's researcher.[6] The population of the city and its

nearest suburbs has been estimated at over 200,000 by 1600 and over 375,000 by 1650.[7] At

this time, it had caught up in size to Paris, the largest city on Continental Europe.[8] Norwich,

the "leading provincial city" of England, had only reached a population of 20,000 by the mid

seventeenth century.[9]

    The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw tremendous changes in London and its

environs. As noted above, London grew tremendously during this period. By 1650, it

incorporated seven percent of the total population of England.[10] Most of the population

increase came from immigration, both from the English countryside and abroad. Young

people lacking status and the freedom of the city came to London from the counties to look

for work. They traveled from all over England; the average distance of an apprentice's

journey was 115 miles.[11] Apprentices alone, excluding domestic servants, made up around

ten percent of the population of London.[12] While most servants and apprentices were in

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[6] Westminster, the center of the Court and Parliament, lay just to the west of London. While outside the city's legal jurisdiction, it very much shared a social milieu with its larger sister and was an easy carriage ride away.
[7] Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner, "Introduction," in *Londinopolis*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 3.
[8] Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 15.
[9] Alan Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns 1400-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). 48.
[10] Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London, 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 63.
[11] Ilana Krausman Ben Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Yale University Press, 1994), 95.
[12] Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 216.

their late teens, some were as young as ten years old.[13] While servanthood was generally

associated with youth, some men and women remained in their marginal role as servants into

their 30s and 40s.[14] English men and women seeking service were not the only new arrivals;

Protestants from the Lowlands and French Huguenots came too, both to escape continental

religious conflict and for work.[15]

　　The eastern parish of St. Botolph's without Aldgate, a focus of this study, is a prime

example of this. Parish records are full of names like Van der Becka, Van den Howell, de

Plancke, Caillet, and de Villiers. Dutch residents of the parish dominated the thread-twisting

profession and captained many of the ships that landed at the parish wharves. Ships came in

from the continent and from the new world and parish residents told stories of neighbors

who had sailed with Sir Francis Drake and other notables.[16]

　　On the national and international stage, the world experienced by early modern

Londoners changed dramatically too. These centuries saw the birth of the English

Reformations, both populist and royal, enthusiastic and unwilling. As Christopher Haigh

argues, three separate legislative as well as a "grassroots" evangelical protestant reformations

combined to make up what we call "the" reformation.[17] Henry VIII's break with the

Catholic Church exacerbated tensions between England and the continental powers which,

along with economic tensions, led to war with Spain by the late sixteenth century. The

citizens of London also witnessed many transitions of power, royal scandals, executions, and

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[13] Ben Amos, *Adolescence*, 131.
[14] P69/BOT2/A/019/MS09234
[15] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 132.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors,* 2-3.

questions of inheritance. Tensions grew in the seventeenth century between early Stuart monarchs, who leaned towards religious centralization and political absolutism, and Low Church Protestants in the House of Commons like John Hampden and John Pym. War with the Scots forced Charles I to call Parliament in 1640, heightening tensions and leading to the English Civil War and Interregnum.[18] Throughout all these upheavals, English men and women had to cope with plague, sweating sickness, famine, and periods of severe inflation.

London was more than simply a microcosm of English life, a difference of scale. By the late sixteenth century, London was more than ten times the size of Norwich or Bristol; it was urban, commodified, and anonymous to an extent not seen anywhere else in the country.[19] Two-thirds or more of London tradesmen were literate, and they had access to larger numbers of books and pamphlets than petty chapmen could carry out to a country village.[20] Households moved and shifted in size, and families experienced high mortality among both their children and their servants. Both the Common Council of London and the courtiers of Westminster recorded that they were afraid London "is at last too big for the kingdom."[21] The built environment certainly reflected this growth. Homes within the walls and in poorer neighborhoods were increasingly subdivided, and, particularly in the East End,

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[18] Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge Classics, 2002), 14, 109.

[19] Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 406.

[20] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 6-7. Watt notes that, compared to the continent, there were large amounts of cheap print available in the English countryside. However, London, the source of much print material, would still be the greatest source of such goods. Moreover as Watt notes, literacy rates were higher in London than in the countryside Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). 299-301. Rappaport gives specific estimates as to the number of literate livery company apprentices, assistants, and householders.

[21] Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 66.

multiple families shared living spaces. The homes were often poorly constructed as well,

despite regulations to the contrary.[22]

The natural environment was stressed by growth, given the limited technology of the

times. John Evelyn complains that London "was so fill'd with the fuliginous steam of the

sea-coale, that hardly could one see crosse the streetes, and this filled the lungs with its

grosse particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breath."[23] John

Stowe notes that several of the ditches of London were, like the Fleet

> by means of continuall incrochments vpon the banks getting ouer the water,
> and casting of soylage into the streame, is now worse cloyed and choken than
> euer it was before.[24]

Still, he also describes a city that, while compact, contained many "large, fayre and

beautiful buildings" albeit causing a shortage of trees and gardens.[25]

While London presents to the researcher a vast number of legal records, plays,

diaries, parish registers, livery company books and more, this corpus is both daunting in its

vastness and frustrating in its incompleteness. Even to contemporaries, London was a

confusing patchwork of streets and alleys, conflicting jurisdictions, noise and crowds that

grew tremendously during the time period. To return to our Swiss traveler, Platter notes that

not only were two or three plays running daily during his visit, but that

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[22]Vanessa Harding, "The Changing Shape of Seventeenth-Century London," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perception and Portrayals of the City from Stowe to Strype 1598-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 128.

[23] William Bray, Esq. , ed. *Memoirs Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq.* (New York: Putnam and Sons,1870). John Evelyn, *Fumifugium* (The Rota, University of Exeter, 1661, reprinted 1976), 455.

[24] John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Elibron Classics, 1908, reprinted 2005), 13.

[25] Ibid., 211.

> There are a great many inns, taverns, and beer-gardens scattered about the city, where much amusement may be had with eating, drinking, fiddling, and the rest… This city of London is not only brimful of curiosities but so populous also that one simply cannot walk along the streets for the crowd. Especially every quarter when the law courts sit in London and they throng from all parts of England for the terms to litigate in numerous matters which have occurred in the interim.[26]

Adding to the confusion and chaos was the status of London's suburbs. On the north side of the Thames, the City of London proper was ringed with suburbs which had sprung up just outside the gates.[27] These neighborhoods, outside the city walls but within demarcating bars, were considered part of the City for administrative purposes.[28] The exceptions to the norms of government within these boundaries were the liberties, semi-independent administrative units that were most often former ecclesiastical holdings. The Inns of Court and Chancery were also liberties. All the liberties gained their privileges directly from the crown, but over time, the magistrates of London had gained some powers of law enforcement within them. For example, from the late sixteenth century, the Lord Mayor's right to regulate economic activity in the liberties was confirmed, and in 1608 City officials gained the right to serve as Justices of the Peace in six of the liberties.[29]

Despite this and despite the cooperation of the liberties' governors with the liberties, they were known throughout the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as hotbeds of lawlessness and lewd behavior. As the Bridewell records examined in subsequent chapters

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[26] Eileen Connell and et al., "Island Nations—Forging and Contesting Identities in the British Isles: Texts and Contexts (Excerpts from Thomas Platter)," W. W. Norton, http://wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/16century/topic_4/tplatter.htm.

[27] According to current practice in historical research, when the term "the City" is used as a synonym for London, the word City is capitalized.

[28] Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 9.

[29] Ibid., 10.

will show, larger organizations of bawds and their prostitutes often maintained houses in

several of London's liberties and suburbs to better avoid the authorities.

Southwark on the southern side of the Thames was managed very differently than

London proper. Like many smaller towns, it was originally governed by a manorial

structure. In 1557, the City purchased two of these manors, Great Liberty Manor and King's

Manor, from the crown and created a new ward from them, Bridge Ward Without.[30] This

new ward was a part of the City administration, but much of Southwark still consisted of

liberties controlled by the county of Surrey. Moreover, during the seventeenth century, the

City of London seems to have left more and more of the administration of all the

components of Southwark to Surrey.[31]

London within the bars was a city that had a royal charter that allowed it to govern

itself and, from the time of Henry I, provided extensive privileges to which the provincial

towns would aspire.[32] Of course the charter likewise obliged those governors to keep the

king's peace. Thus while the City was subject to royal edicts, it was governed internally by

the City elites. The main governing bodies included the Common Council, City aldermen,

and the Lord Mayor. The Common Council consisted of the City's wealthy elites, elected

from each ward. Ian Archer notes that according to subsidy records, eighty percent of the

councilors were assessed at £50 or more, placing them in the top 4.8 percent of

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[30] The wards being the secular subdivisions of the city from which Aldermen were elected.

[31] Jeremy Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 12.

[32] William Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Consitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874), 107.

householders. [33] While all free men of the wards could vote for councilors, they were generally nominated by the local alderman.

The Common Council was significant in that it approved taxes and local legislation. The Council, however, was subordinate to the City Aldermen. Each ward of the City, of which there were twenty-six, was represented by an alderman, chosen from among the membership of the twelve great livery companies. The aldermen, serving for life, conducted much of the City's day-to-day business and presided over the local courts, including the Court of Orphans, Sheriff's Court, Court of Conscience, Gaol Delivery, and the Quarter Sessions. They also controlled the agenda of the Common Council and had veto power within that institution as well as influencing election of its members.[34]

The most powerful man in London was the Lord Mayor. He was chosen by the liverymen of the city companies. Among the mayor's considerable powers was the right to set prices in the City. The mayor could also intervene in disputes between citizens and to aid the poor and needy. However, he did not do this indiscriminately but rather in such way as to reinforce social norms. Widows and orphans were frequent beneficiaries of the mayor's public intervention.[35]

The administration of these institutions changed during the later fifteenth century. Mayors could no longer serve a second one-year term without the passing of seven years after their first. Members of the livery companies were allowed to attend elections of the

[33] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 18.
[34] Ibid., 18.
[35] Ibid., 55.

mayor and the sheriffs. Elections of other magistrates also showed a balance of constituencies. For example, two of London's members of parliament were chosen by the City Aldermen. The other two were chosen by the liverymen from a pool of 12 approved by the aldermen. These changes broadened participation to the extent that political cliques and factions became difficult to maintain.[36]

The Aldermen and Common Council also ensured that royal orders, from Edward III's writ of 1338 for the defense of the City against the French to numerous Tudor plague orders, were implemented.[37] In the late sixteenth century, the office of Provost Marshals was added to this central core of magistrates in an attempt to maintain order in what was perceived as an increasingly large and lawless city.[38]

London also maintained, of course, systems for catching and punishing those who violated the laws. The courts were numerous and often shared jurisdictions. Moreover, they seem to have been resorted to more frequently than in rural communities. Robert Shoemaker contends that this was not only because of the greater concentration of people and opportunities for crime, but also because the courts were physically close and personal ties to local gentry less significant in the urban milieu.[39]

Serious crimes such as significant theft or murder were handled by the Justices of the Assizes (or gaol delivery), the royal courts of King's Bench and Star Chamber and

[36] Ibid., 28-29.
[37] Frank Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*, ed. Chris Wickham, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 44-45.
[38] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 223.
[39] Robert B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, C. 1660-1725*, ed. Anthony Fletcher, John Guy, and John Morrill, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 10.

occasionally the Quarter Sessions.[40] Many of the Quarter Session records have been lost to

the ages. Those which do remain are vast, and are by and large beyond the scope of this

study.

Petty crimes such as minor theft, prostitution, nightwalking, adultery, drunkenness,

or swearing could be handled by a number of different courts.[41] The Quarter Sessions,

Bridewell, the Mayor's court and the various Courts of Assistants of the Livery Companies

(for matters involving members and apprentices), and ecclesiastical courts were all venues

for resolving misdemeanors. Moreover, not all cases were resolved formally. Mediation was

a frequently used alternative for misdemeanors. When a plaintiff reported a crime to a

justice of the peace, said justice could recommend informal resolution. This solution might

be a simple apology or the payment of compensation. Some cases were also resolved

privately between the parties before any hearing was reached.[42]

Petty crimes like these were not just conflicts between individuals, however. They

were also seen as a potential threat to the common peace. The Quarter Sessions typically

dealt with offenders by fining them, holding them in prison until a subsequent session, or

binding them by recognizance to attend the following session. This latter option allowed

time for informal resolution to occur, as the defendant would be under pressure by his or

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[40] Bellamy notes that after 1590, there was an attempt to limit the trial of felonies in the Quarter sessions and direct them to the Justices of Gaol Delivery/Assizes. John G. Bellamy, *The Criminal Trial in Later Medieval England* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 12.

[41] Adultery was designated a felony after 1650. J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (Harlow, Essex and New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 8.

[42] Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, C. 1660-1725*, 81-82.

her sureties to resolve the matter.[43] When crimes were more serious or the defendant was

too poor or too new in town to obtain sureties, sending the defendant to Bridewell was

frequently used as an alternative. These cases show up in Bridewell records but are generally

lacking in detail. The clerk will note only that the prisoner has been sent from the Sessions

for punishment or to be put to work.[44]

Bridewell was established in 1547, in the eponymous building which had previously

been a royal residence. Its purview was not only the punishment of such crimes as vagrancy,

prostitution, gambling, and insubordinate behavior, but also the correction of those so

convicted. Its court was convened by the governors of the institution, who also managed its

day-to-day finances and officers. In addition to accepting defendants from the Quarter

sessions, a review of the Bridewell Governors' court proceedings also reveals defendants

sent in by ward and parish officers, the Mayor's Court, masters of apprentices, and the

governors themselves. The latter often issued warrants for witnesses or other people of

interest in ongoing cases. Initially alone among the institutions of the English legal system,

Bridewell kept many offenders for days or weeks, putting them to work weaving or working

hemp, in an attempt to reform their behavior. A few unfortunate individuals, like Richard

Bowyer, presented in November of 1633, were sent from Star Chamber to be held for the

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[43] Ibid., 123-125.
[44] B.C.B. 3-8.

remainder of their lives.[45] Throughout the seventeenth century, bridewells sprung up in

other cities as well, despite the fact that the successes of the original were questionable.[46]

The court of the Governors of London's Bridewell kept detailed records of some of

the cases they heard, and these account for many of the records that will be discussed in the

following chapters. However, we also know that not every case destined for Bridewell was

recorded or even dealt with at a full session. Cases sent from the sessions were not always

noted, for example, as they did not need to be questioned before the governors.[47]

In addition to these formal governing structures, the City livery companies had

tremendous influence, particularly the twelve great companies. These great companies

included the grocers, drapers, merchant tailors, ironmongers, vintners, and others.[48] The

primary purpose of the companies was to regulate trade within the City. Membership

granted the "freedom" to work within the City, in any trade, regardless of company.[49]

However, the companies were also very politically active and powerful. Some of the most

powerful men of the City were masters in these companies. They were the order of men

from whom aldermen, marshals, and mayors were chosen.

[45] B.C.B. 7 fo. 351.

[46] The frequency of repeat offenders throughout the records attests to their inability to deal definitively with petty criminals. And, while Kinney notes that the penalty for a third misdemeanor under vagrancy laws was to be death, by the appearances of offenders in the Bridewell records, this was seldom achieved either. Arthur F. Kinney, "Introduction," in *Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars: A New Gallery of Tudor and Early Stuart Rogue Literature* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990).

[47] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 208.

[48] The distinction between the major and minor companies was arbitrary and based on tradition. Many of the new, minor companies actually had significant economic value. William Carew Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of the City of London: The Origin, Character, Development, and Social and Political Importance* (New York: Noble Offset Printers, 1892, reprinted 1969), 12.

[49] Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, 4.

Company concerns such as the presence of unregulated craftsmen outside the bars and an influx of foreign artisans thus became concerns of the City government at large. Likewise, as political entities, the Companies were concerned with the behavior of their members. The Courts of Assistants of the companies regularly dealt with cases of errant apprentices and lax masters. Company records will not be a significant component of the analyses that follow but are worth remembering as an alternative to Bridewell or the Sessions where the latter records are lacking in information.

The livery companies provided a parallel legal system that regulated the thousands of apprentices and their masters throughout the City. While apprentices often appear in Bridewell, they are also often presented to their company's Court of Assistants for such 'misdemeanors.' Moreover, a member of the company who abetted his apprentices or simply proved unable to govern them could be punished as well, and company records frequently cited such things as "severall masters slowness" in discipline as a cause for the bad behavior of apprentices.[50]

As noted above, the wards were the main secular geographic divisions of the City. There were 26 wards, excluding the liberties of the City but including Bridge Ward Without. Since the fourteenth century, the wards were under the authority of the Mayor.[51] Each ward was required to hold wardmotes up to four times a year and report to the Aldermen any sources of "nusans and dissese" such as blocked streets, dilapidated houses, vagrants,

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[50] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 232.
[51] Rexroth, *Deviance*, 45.

quarrelers, and whores.[52] It was at wardmotes that the beadles were appointed. Initially

responsible for the physical cleanliness of the ward, the beadles and their assistants, the

constables, were responsible for its moral cleanliness as well. As Rexroth notes, "it became

part of their official duties to track down people engaged in extramarital sexual contacts,

which took place under cover of night, not just in public spaces but also in the private

quarters of the participants."[53] By the late sixteenth century, the watch for each ward

regularly searched suspect homes and many of the presentments before the Bridewell

governors came from the constables or beadles of the wards. Unfortunately, few wardmote

records survive.

One of the major foci in this study is Portsoken Ward. Portsoken was a large ward

on the eastern edge of the city just outside the walls. In the mid-sixteenth century,

Portsoken was still largely undeveloped. Stow reminisces on the gardens and farms there

where he "fetched many a halfe pennie worth of Milke" in his youth.[54] Maps from this time,

such as the Agas map, show few house-lined roads interspersed with many open fields.[55]

However, by the early seventeenth century, the area was built up. The 1638 Settlement of

Tithes records the total number of houses and tenements in St. Botolph as 1979, and Roger

Finlay has calculated that this resulted in a density of 51.3 houses per acre.[56] According to

Finlay's calculations, this was the most densely populated of the outer parishes for which he

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[52] Ibid., 197, passim.
[53] Ibid., 64.
[54] Stow, *Survey Vol. 1.*, 126.
[55] Peter Whitfiled, *London: A Life in Maps* (London: The British Library, 2006), 38-39. The Agas map produced in the late sixteenth century and attributed (probably falsely) to printer Ralph Agas.
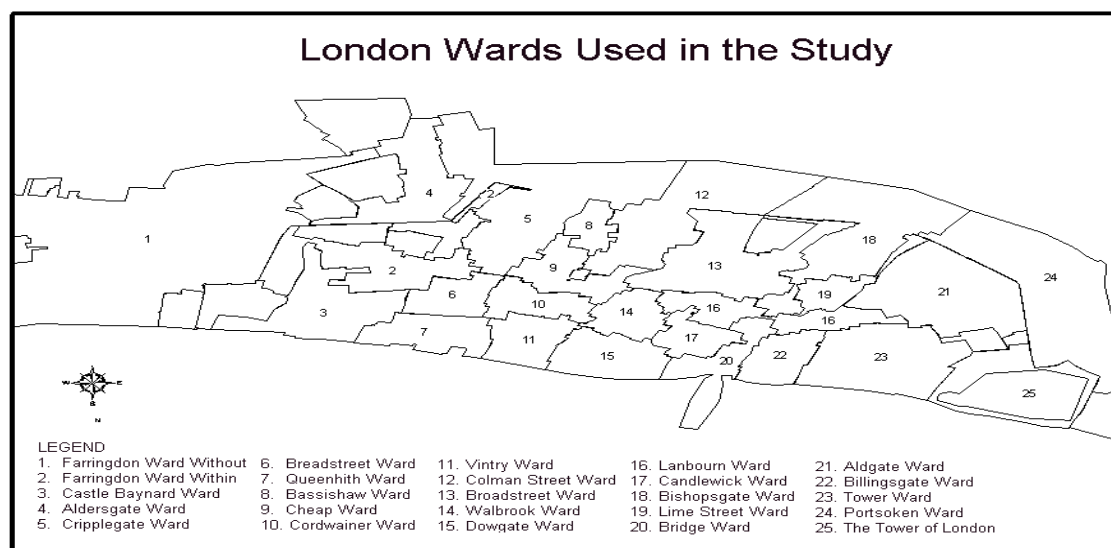[56] Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London, 1580-1650*, 171.

Figure1.1: London Wards

has data, and more densely populated than three quarters of the small inner-city parishes as

well.[57]

This ward of the city and its parishes were poorer than average as revealed by the

Hearth Tax of 1666.[58] The average number of hearths per home in St. Botolph is shown in

Table 1.1.[59] The average hearths per home in a small inner city ward such as St. Vedast (at

4.42) or Allhallows Honey Lane (at 5.69) was significantly higher. The hearth tax shows that

within the ward, areas such as Hog Lane, a secondary east-west thoroughfare, and the alleys

and yards of East Smithfield were even poorer than the rest.

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[57] Ibid.

[58] The Hearth Tax was a tax based on the number of hearths per household. It is an assumption that the more hearths, the more family members and the larger the household. When homes were subdivided to make tenements for poorer residents, each household within the building was considered on its own –that is the taxes are by *household*, not physical house. This means of estimating wealth is imperfect, but one of the few we have for this time period. And it was an assumption made by contemporary magistrates. Basing taxes on hearths was, for them, a progressive form of taxation.

[59] Center for Hearth Tax Research, "A.H.R.C. London Hearth Tax Project," (London: University of Roehampton, 2007-2011).

Table 1.l: Average Hearths per House in the Precincts of St. Botolph Wihout Aldgate from the 1666 Hearth Tax					
High Street	The Bars	Houn dsditch	The Little Minories	Tow er Hill	East Smithfield
3.00	2.34	2.78	3.34	2.50	2.06

As the poverty indicated by the Hearth Taxes suggests, the growth experienced by London's east end in the late sixteenth century and seventeenth centuries was not positive. The increase in population led to the creation of many cramped tenements and narrow alleys and an excess of waste and disease. John Strype said of Hog Lane, that not only was it poor, "[it] was so foul and deep in the Winter time, that no Man could pass by the same. And in Summer time Men would not pass thereby for fear of Infection, by means of the Filthiness that lay there."[60] The area was not completely destitute, however. Hearth tax data shows that High Street and the Minories had an average of three or more hearths per house. Nor did these areas suffer from the same level of infilling as East Smithfield. The Minories are described by Stow as "quite filled up, and built with tolerable good Houses, and makes a fair and airy Street, only somewhat annoyed by Dunghills, and little Out Houses and Yards over against them."[61]

Equally important in understanding London's geography are the parishes. There were 97 parishes inside the City walls and forty-two more outside that were considered part of the metropolis. Obviously the parishes were centers of religious observance, but they are

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[60] John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed J. F. Meritt. (Sheffield: hriOnline, 1720, reprinted 2007), http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/strype/, 14.
[61] Ibid., 16.

also a main source of records about the populace. Parish clerks, generally chosen from

among the churchwardens, recorded christenings, burials, weddings, churchings and banns

of the parishioners. They collected the poor rate and announced royal orders. They

catechized the young and preached to all. The parish records of St. Botolph without Aldgate

are typical in the *type* of content preserved, but extraordinary in the level of detail the parish

officers included. For example, although the initial injunction that led to the creation of

registers required only the dates and participants' names be recorded for the above events,

the clerks of St. Botolph included these details but often included profession, age, and place

of residence as well.

The parishes were more variable than the wards. Some were tiny, consisting only of

a few households. They might record two or three baptisms in a busy month, and not many

more burials. St. Magnus the Martyr, for example, averaged just over two baptisms per

month from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.[62] The extramural parishes,

however, were on the whole much larger. By comparison, St. Botolph's typically records

around 15 baptisms per month at the beginning of the seventeenth century and 42 per

month by its end.[63] St. Giles Cripplegate, St. Botolph Aldersgate, and some of the

Southwark parishes were of the same order of magnitude.[64]

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[62] P69/MAG/A/01/MS11361
[63] Early seventeenth century date calculated from the St Botolph without Aldgate Parish Registers,
P69/BOT2/A/003/MS09223. End of Century data calculated from John Landers, *Death and the Metropolis:
Studies in the Demographic History of London, 1670-1830* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press,
1993), 358.
[64] Landers, *Death and the Metropolis*, 358.

Within the parish, the "cockpit of local government" was the vestry or main executive body of the parish.[65] Many vestries in London were select vestries, meaning they limited membership to parish men who had previously served in other offices, such as constable. By the early seventeenth century, 54 percent of London's parishes had select vestries, including all of the large extramural parishes.[66] Vestrymen nominated residents for constables and scavengers, who were then subsequently voted on at the ward motes, thus effectively limiting the pool of candidates

The parish was of course not just a feature of London. Parish life shaped the experiences and perceptions of people living throughout England. As noted above, the structure and duties of London's wards changed during the late medieval and early modern periods. The same is certainly true of the parishes. Gary Gibbs has examined. churchwardens' records for evidence of the parish's changing priorities. Church maintenance expenditures decreased with the change to a less ceremonial form of worship during the Reformation. No longer were liturgical candles, ivy, banners, and

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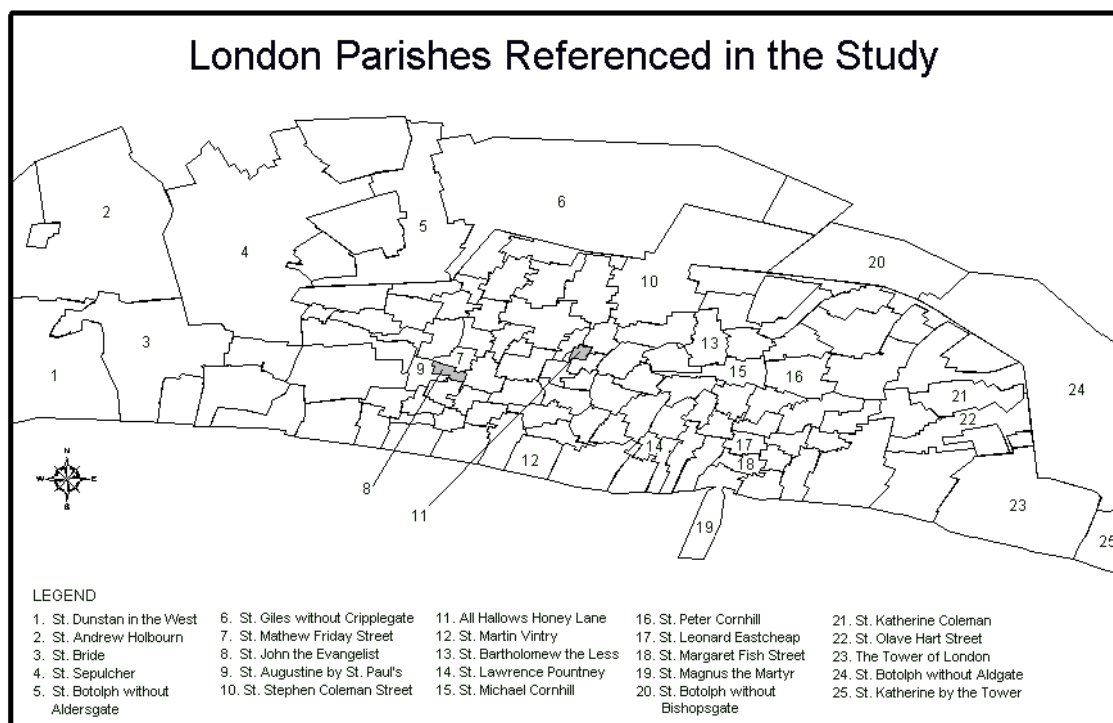[65] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 69.
[66] Ibid.

Figure 1.2: Select London Parishes

garlands typical parish expenses.[67] Churchwardens regularly mention sermons given by staff

members, however, as well as regular catechism of parish children.[68] The parish's role in

enforcing the will of the crown and caring for the poor increased as well. Royal orders were

read aloud to parishioners, and royal inspectors were paid for their time inspecting the

church and its lands.[69]

The greatest change in parish priorities was in the treatment of the poor. Poor relief,

as noted by Ole Peter Grell, "has to be seen within the context of the ideology of the

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[67] Gary Gibbs, "New Duties for the Parish Community in Tudor London," in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, ed. Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kumin (1997: Manchester University Press, 1997), 165. Liturgical candles here mean candles specifically used in the ritual of the liturgy as opposed to those for general lighting.

[68] The clerks' memoranda books (P69/BOT2/A/019/MS09234) of St. Botolph's without Aldgate being very detailed, show these occurrences to be a regular part of parish life.

[69] Gibbs, "New Duties," 172.

Reformation."[70] While medieval poor relief had focused more on public begging and individual donations by the wealthy, reformers began to criticize this begging because of the mendicant Catholic orders with which it was associated. Rather, the worthy poor were to receive funds directly from the parish, which would collect the money in a systematic way from its wealthier inhabitants. In exchange, they had to open their homes to inspection by parish officials so those officials might "impose social discipline and prevent abuse."[71] Christopher Hill and other scholars have noted that this trend could be traced in part to the writings of Puritan divines.[72] However, Natalie Zemon Davis notes that similar trends towards formalizing poor relief and discouraging individual begging occurred in Catholic countries as well.[73] In her study of Lyon, she attributes changes to the structure of poor relief both to Humanist philosophy and to the practical need to deal with economic distress such as famine.[74]

Regardless of the underlying ideology, social relief in London's parishes rose from less than two percent of their budgets in the fifteenth century to nearly twenty percent by the beginning of the seventeenth.[75] In the years leading up to the Elizabethan poor laws of 1598 and 1601, late sixteenth-century parish elites became responsible for collecting money for the poor and storing it in the parish poor chest. The parish was also responsible for the care

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[70] Ole Peter Grell, "The Reformation and Changes in Welfare Provision in Early Modern Northern Europe," in *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe, 1500-1700*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, *Studies in the Social History of Medicine* (London: Routledge, 1997), 2.
[71] Ibid., 29.
[72] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 18.
[73] Ibid., 19.
[74] Ibid., 61.
[75] Gibbs, "New Duties," 164.

of orphans and foundlings, the administration of bequests, and the care of the quarantined during epidemics.[76]

As might be expected, the added responsibility of caring for the poor and vagrant inclined parishes, particularly the more prosperous ones, to remove them as soon as possible. Strangers were blocked from entry into the parish by the watch or simply by vigilant residents. Pregnant women looking for a wealthy parish in which to have their children were of particular concern.[77] Residents had to conform to social norms in order to receive relief. Their behavior was scrutinized and they were forbidden to harbor strangers.[78] The participation of the poor in parish rituals declined from the mid-sixteenth century as well, due both to enforcement of social norms and increasing use of "select vestries" which excluded them from parish governance.[79]

Yet it is overly simple to assume parishes rejected all outsiders or viewed their poor only as a burden. Those with lawful trades, even if aliens from the continent, were well integrated into parish life through the middle of the sixteenth century.[80] St Botolph without Aldgate, with its wharfs and shipyards, was likewise a center of foreign residence. While they

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[76] Ibid. 174. For plague relief, see Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1985), 258-259.

[77] Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 10.

[78] Gibbs, 176.

[79] Claire S. Schen, "Women and the London Parishes, 1500-1620," in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600v* ed. Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kumin (1997: Manchester University Press, 1997), 257.

[80] Judy Ann Ford, "Marginality and the Assimiliation of Foreigner in the Lay Parish Community: The Case of Sandwich," in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600* ed. Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kumin (1997: Manchester University Press, 1997). Ford also notes that by the late sixteenth century, foreign residents were increasingly forced to assimilate, leaving the French or Dutch church for the Anglican community among other things.

seldom held high parish offices, the French, German, and Walloon residents of the parish were otherwise treated in the same manner as the English residents in vestry accounts.[81]

Because of their role in social control, parish records also reveal expectations and limitations of women's lives as well as the treatment of the poor. Men's and women's bequests during the late middle ages reveal similar interests and levels of participation. Both were members of parish gilds, left donations for maintenance of the church and ringing of bells, and left aid for the poor.[82] In the wake of the Reformation, however, the "domestication of religion meant that women influenced reform and parish matters from within the household."[83] Women's bequests increasingly show a focus on the good upbringing of their surviving children as well as a desire to support public religion through endowing sermons. Men's bequests, on the other hand, remain more in the public sphere with less of an emphasis on family.[84] But while women participated in some aspects of parish life, they were limited in occupation by the laws against taking in strangers to board, and formed the majority of vagrants, nightwalkers, and people of "light" reputation brought into Bridewell.[85] Further, the increase in poverty and social control at the end of the sixteenth century extensively impacted women's economic options and participation in their parishes.

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[81] P69/BOT2/A/019/MS09234, P69/BOT2/002/MS09221, P69/BOT2/003/MS09223, and P69/BOT2/004/MS09224

[82] Schen, 254, passim.

[83] Ibid., 259.

[84] Ibid., 260.

[85] Ibid., 262. Whether women actually committed more crimes isn't evident from the records. We can only see the crimes that were prosecuted, and authorities prosecuted women more often than men for these types of petty crimes, as we will see below.

While wards and parishes were the main administrative divisions of the City, other aspects of human geography were visible to London residents as well. First, the standard of living was not consistent across the City. Not only was there variation from parish to parish, ward to ward, there was also a predictable topography of poverty within each of these divisions. Within London and its suburbs, residents could either reside on a main street or behind one, in crowded courts and alleys.

These divisions have been discussed in detail for Southwark and some parishes north of the Thames by Jeremy Boulton. Boulton uses sacramental token books to show that the alleys and yards off the main streets experienced an infilling of residences within five to ten years after the original building date.[86] In Southwark, the main streets were dominated by rate payers while the closes and alleys were generally populated with poorer residents, but this was not exclusive. Moreover, even had it been, the rich and poor would still have lived only steps apart. Within the alleys and yards off wealthy High Street, Boulton notes that levels of poverty ranged from 12.5 to 62.5 percent, suggesting to him "fine gradations in back street housing" and "social intermingling" throughout a given neighborhood.[87] Boulton's study of the west end of London comes to similar conclusions. Despite the west end being wealthier than many of the rest of London's suburbs, there were poor households throughout the western parishes. Moreover, the "exclusive streets or squares were often close to scenes of desperate poverty in back streets and alleys."[88] Thus in any neighborhood,

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[86] Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society*, 173.

[87] Ibid., 179

[88] Jeremy Boulton, "The Poor among the Rich: Paupers and the Parish in the West End, 1600-1724," in *Londinopolis*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 216.

even the wealthier west end, it seems likely that there would have been a range of residents from wealthy merchant-tailors to unskilled laborers and the destitute elderly and sick.

While no parish was free of poverty, the intramural parishes, limited as they were by their neighbors and the City walls, could not expand. Infilling was therefore limited and, as London's population increased these parishes could only absorb a small number of the newcomers. They were less characterized by 'pestered alleys' and more by the 'fine homes' of the better sort. Not only is this reflected in the observations of men like John Stow, it is also visible in the lists of rate-payers for the poor rates collected by the parishes and, as noted above, by the hearth tax.[89]

External parishes both expanded and filled inwards over time. The homes of the wealthy were interspersed with crowded tenements and, when the wealthy moved away from this new squalor, their homes were often subdivided to hold as many new residents as possible. This was in spite of a raft of regulations by both the Crown and the Aldermen forbidding the building of shoddy tenements or subdivision of existing homes.[90] The need for housing was simply too great given that London grew from 40,000 residents in the mid-sixteenth century to 200,000 at the end of the century.

Furthermore, not all the external parishes were viewed in the same light. Those parishes on the western end of the City, closer to Westminster and convenient to the Inns of

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[89] Public collections for the poor developed during the later sixteenth century and culminated with the Poor Law of 1601. This law made mandatory a "poor rate" collected from parish property owners throughout England and Wales (although Londoners had been subject to taxes collected for the poor since the middle of the century). Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1531-1782*, New Studies in Economic and Social History (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11.

[90] Ian Munroe, *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 15.

Court, continued to keep a larger percentage of ratepayers, those wealthy enough to pay the poor rate.[91] The homes in those parishes were typically larger and rented at higher rates.[92] Those in the east, which was much more industrial in character, were notably poorer. St. Botolph without Aldgate, characterized by gun foundries, tenter fields, docks, and warehouses, had fewer wealthy residents.[93] A look in the clerks' memoranda books for those who served in local offices shows most dwelt on High Street or the other main roads throughout the parish.[94] The small alleys behind them were dominated by the working poor. This general division is also illustrated in Boulton's study of Southwark.[95]

Even here, however, there was a patchwork. Apothecaries and schoolmasters shared cramped dwellings with blacksmiths, carters, and brewer's servants. When illness struck these alleys, it did not distinguish between the skilled and unskilled workers who lived there.[96] And back alleys were mere yards from the most prestigious addresses in London. Parishes were tight patchwork of rich and poor.[97] While such distinctions are noted by modern researchers, contemporary writers such as Stow looked more at the external signs of poverty. They noted the close-built 'pestered' housing, clogged ditches, and narrow passages

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[91] Slack, *Poor Law*, 15-19. The rate was money collected from the substantial householders in the parish to care for the destitute.

[92] M. J. Power, "East and West in Early Modern London," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S. T. Bindoff*, ed. E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht, and J. J. Scarisbrick (London: University of London Athlone Press, 1978). 170.

[93] Tim Hitchcock, Sharon Howard, and Robert Shoemaker, "St. Botolph Aldgate," *London Lives, 1690-1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis*(2010), http://www.londonlives.org/static/Project.jsp. Only 11 percent of the homes surveyed in 1666 had five or more hearths while 33 percent had only two and 27 percent only one.

[94] P69/BOT2/A/019/MS09234

[95] Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society*, 192, passim.

[96] P69/BOT2/002/MS09221, P69/BOT2/003/MS09223, P69/BOT2/004/MS09224

[97] Boulton, "Poor among the Rich," 213-219.

without looking at the character of the residents.[98] This material and external approach to determining wealth and worthiness is not dissimilar to that found in collection of hearth taxes.

One of the fundamental questions of this project is, quite simply, how did Londoner's perceive this patchwork of a city? Maps and perspective views were created of London from the mid-sixteenth century onward. Much of the mapping activity can be traced to Henry VIII's appropriation of religious houses and their lands within the City.[99] This vast transfer of lands required new owners to survey and map the grounds. Views of the City also began to appear in the backgrounds of religious paintings.[100] Everything from coronation processions to the growing popularity of atlases published on the Continent continued to spur the creation of London maps throughout the seventeenth century and beyond. Specific maps, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter two, included the mid-sixteenth century Copperplate map, which has been lost, the 1572 Braun and Hogenberg map based on the Copperplate, the Agas Map (figure 1.1), also based on the Copperplate, and panoramic views such as Visscher's (figure 1.2).[101]

Today, we think of maps as schematic representations of streets and buildings presented, essentially, in a graphical, symbolic fashion from above. The streets form a network, the addresses of specific buildings, nodes on that network. However, in the

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[98] See Stow throughout.
[99] Peter Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps* (London: The British Library, 2006), 25. This publication of the British Library covers the evolution of London maps from the earliest published maps of the sixteenth century to today.
[100] Ibid., 29.
[101] Whitfiled, *London: A Life in Maps*, 36-37.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, maps often overlapped with panoramic views. Some

perspectives showed labeled streets and many maps showed the buildings in perspective

even though the streets themselves are represented more abstractly. Buildings may be

shown from above or as if they viewer could see the façade. Even if most buildings are

shown as flat polygons, major landmarks such as St. Paul's are still often shown in

perspective. Despite these differences between early modern and modern maps, it is clear

that early modern Londoners perceived their city as a unique geographical entity spatially as

well as legally, and maps such as the ones illustrated below were quite popular.[102]
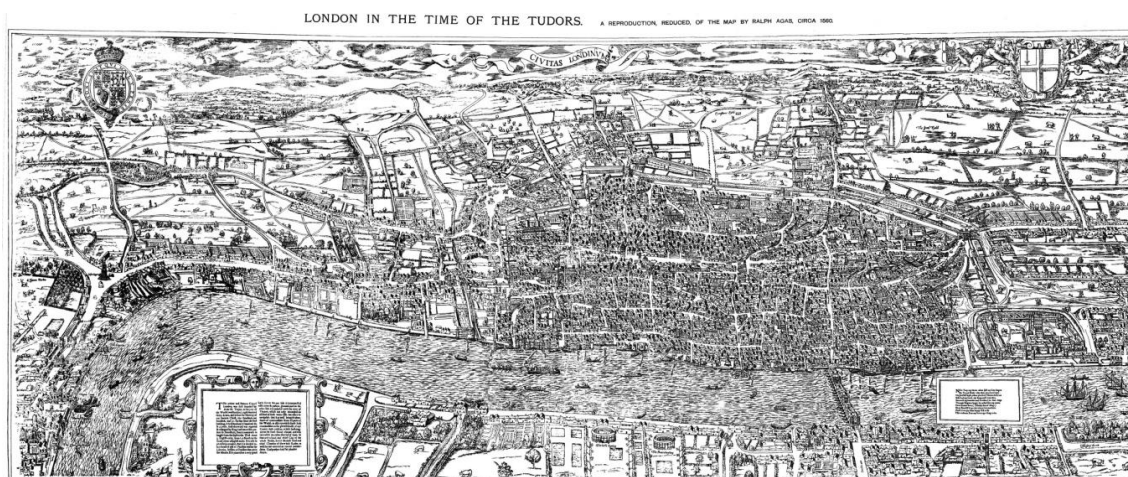
Figure 1.3: Agas Map of London, surveyed 1570-1605

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[102] Nor was this solely and English phenomenon. Arthur Wheelock of the National Gallery of Art notes that the Dutch also became very enamored of maps and cityscapes in the early seventeenth century, attributing this trend to growing nationalism and pride in their economic achievements. See The National Gallery of Art, "Pride of Place, Part 1: The Cityscape," ed. Arthur Wheelock (The National Gallery of Art, 2009).

Figure 1.4: Visscher's view of London from Southwark, 1616

The Problem at Hand

What these maps fail to show, however, are the *symbolic meanings* associated with regions of the City, not to mention the accuracy of that assigned symbolism. Certainly, contemporary views of St. Botolph without Aldgate show the tenter yards, the warehouses, and the gun yards. But nowhere do they indicate levels of crime, disease, or poverty— neither those based on quantitative evidence nor those formed from the residents' varied perceptions. Maps are essentially an outsider's view of the city. Visible, physical details are shown but not the underlying social structures.

As noted above, narrative surveys of the city such as Stow's (later reissued by Munday and Strype) also fail to look in detail at the character of the contemporary residents. Rather, they rely on external characteristics and popular stereotypes. Residents of the city's alms houses, for example, were always the worthy poor, "poor bedrid people… unable but to pray only."[103] Other writings on London, such as John Graunt's *Observations on the Bills of Mortality*, go beyond the stereotypes to analyze available data on mortality or poverty, but do so without any geographical emphasis. Graunt's numerical analysis of the annual reports of parish deaths in London was a new approach, and not yet linked formally to the built

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[103] Strype, *Survey of London and Westminster*, 128.

environment. Tom Koch argues that Graunt used a 1658 map of London, the Faithorne and Newcourt map, the first print map of London drawn to scale, to calculate areas of the city. [104] If he did, he nonetheless did not produce any visual representations of his data in map form.

This is not to say that people did not have mental maps containing such information. Dobson clearly shows that residents of southeastern England were well aware that low, marshy areas were unhealthy.[105] Samuel Pepys knew that certain areas of London were the haunts of whores and bauds. So did shopkeepers, like those of St. Leonard's Foster Lane. Knowing that high death reports would keep customers away, in 1630 they petitioned to have the plague deaths in their neighborhood published separately from those in the neighboring, heavily stricken parish.[106] And Nehemiah Wallington reported on plague burning its way through the back alleys of neighboring parishes.[107] But the task of visually portraying and spatially analyzing this data falls to the modern researcher.

Further, no rigorous attempt was made by contemporaries to distinguish between objective and subjective data. Graunt, and the makers of the Bills of Mortality on which he relied, counted casualties. However, neighbors like Wallington simply recorded them as acts of God, mentioned for their spiritual, not statistical significance. Even when quantitative records were collected they were not collected by *professionals*. Indeed, the medical profession

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[104] Tom Koch, *Disease Maps: Epidemics on the Ground* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
[105] Dobson, 14-15.
[106] Erin Sullivan, "Physical and Spiritual Illness: Narrative Appropriations of the Bills of Mortality," in *Representing Plague in Early Modern England*, ed. Rebecca Totaro and Ernest Gilman (New York: Routledge, 2011), 81.
[107] Nehemiah Wallington, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection*, ed. David Booy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 58.

as we think of it today was in its infancy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The

College of Physicians of London, founded in 1518, was still trying to define who should

even be considered a medical professional, and "unprofessional" lay people were heavily

involved with medicine at all levels.[108] Most men (and women), regardless of social standing,

wore numerous hats and were expected to fulfill many roles during their lives, one of which

was family physician. So determining the distinction between the perceived environment

and the objective one using contemporary medical records is a significant, albeit critical

challenge. These issues will be dealt with in detail in subsequent chapters as specific sources

and their flaws are discussed.

Within the limitations of the sources, the aim of this project is to map both the

perceptions and realities of London as they concern petty crime and disease. These two

aspects of urban life, which even today are often associated, were linked even more firmly in

the minds of contemporaries. Nehemiah Wallington made note in his journal of the "sharpe

arrows which the Lord shooteth out against us for our sinnes."[109] Stubbs rails that "deuills

themselues neuer sinned so horribly, nor erred so grossely, as these (not Christians but

dogges) do, that make whoredom a virtue."[110] Sermons exhorted that "the issue of plagues is

sin… and the cause of sin are plays: therefore the cause of plagues are plays."[111] Even

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[108] Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 30-32.

[109] Wallington, *Notebooks*, 52.

[110] Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses Contayning a Discouerie, or Briefe Summarie of Such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as Now Raigne in Many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: But (Especiallie) in a Verie Famous Ilande Called Ailgna*, STC / 357:05 ed. (London: John Kingston for Richard Iones, 1583), 28-29.

[111] Ernest B. Gilman, *Plague Writing in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 136.

Samuel Pepys turned to prayer in times of epidemic sickness.[112] Sin, sickness, and God's vengeance were all part of the same explanatory milieu.

Methodology

Modern researchers have, of course, created many maps of historical London. Whether it is Archer's *Pursuit of Stability*, Landers' *Death and the Metropolis*, or Boulton's *Neighborhood and Society*, a map of the City's wards and parishes is *de rigueur* in modern demography. However, for the most part, these maps have been purely descriptive, not analytical. In order to map *and spatially analyze* conditions in London, I have employed a powerful mapping software suite, ArcGIS 9.3, created by ESRI Inc. This program allows the creation of detailed, dynamic scalable maps that manage and translate data for spatial analysis. Essentially, ArcGIS provides a map linked with a location-specific database that can be assessed using the program's powerful statistical toolbox. The database may be subjected to any standard statistical analysis, such as the finding of a mean value, but with a spatial component.

Without the power of such modern programs, attempts at geographic analysis of London conditions carried out by previous researchers have been static, two dimensional, and labor intensive. ArcGIS allows the creation and comparison of multiple map layers, each containing data on a different aspect of crime and disease, and allows them to be analyzed as they change over time. A detailed discussion of the methods used to create and analyze the maps used in this study is presented in Appendix A.

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[112] Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 86.

Sources

In an attempt to look at both contemporary views of the city and current ones, I

utilize both emic and etic sources that encompass literary and legal traditions. These terms,

originating in linguistics, have been used by cultural anthropologists to delineate internal and

external views of a society and its institutions, respectively. Marvin Harris defined the terms

in his seminal essay on Cultural Materialism. The emic consists of those things "validated by

the community of participants" and the etic those things validated by the "community of

observers."[113]

In this study, I use *emic* to refer to sources constructed by individuals within society

as a coherent work, usually for at least some degree of public consumption. These are

sources which tell a story about the culture that the culture intended to be told, even if on a

limited basis. The *emic* sources I use in this study include poems, prose pamphlets, and other

"small books," especially rogue pamphlets. I also examine sermons and health treatises such

as Boghurst's *Loimographia: An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665* or

Thomas Phaer's *Boke of Chyldren* as well.

Literary Sources and Methods

There were many forms of inexpensive popular literature available to literate

Londoners with a few pennies to spend. Ballads on diverse topics were sold, usually for a

penny or less.[114] Sung to traditional tunes, their themes ran from romance to epitaph to

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[113] Marvin Harris, "Cultural Materialism," in *Waymarks: The Notre Dame Inaugural Lectures in Anthropology*, ed. Kenneth Moore (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), 108.
[114] Watt, *Cheap Print*, 12.

hymns and social critiques such as "A Proper new balade expressying the fames, concerning a warning to al London dames."[115] Little is known about readers of these ballads, but Tessa Watt notes that they were sold in both the city and countryside, sung orally and frequently mentioned in "plays, diaries, and polemical tracts."[116] Margaret Spufford also believes ballads were widely available, noting that their heyday in the latter half of the sixteenth century coincides with an upsurge in the spending power of country-dwellers and the resultant increase in the affordability of schooling.[117]

In addition to ballads, "penny books" or "small books," were also widely available. Watt divides these into almanacs, pamphlets, and chapbooks, so called because they were often sold by country chapmen. While, as Watt notes, any book sold by a chapman could be considered a "chapbook," the moniker is more commonly limited to those books which are "timeless" in their subject matter.[118] Arthurian romances and popular comedic stories were common, as were godly subjects. An abbreviated version of the *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* went through seventeen editions in only three years.[119] Chapbooks generally sold for two or three pence. Likewise, pamphlets were short, generally unbound "small books," but unlike chapbooks, they dealt with contemporary events including monstrous births, popish plots, confessions of the condemned, and of course expositions of the criminal underworld. Godly small books were also available and included sermons and advice literature.[120]

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[115] Ibid., 59.
[116] Ibid., 12, passim.
[117] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1981), 9.
[118] Watt, *Cheap Print*, 268.
[119] Ibid., 272.
[120] Ibid., 303.

Of these works, the most relevant to the current study are the pamphlets with their

ephemeral discussions of crime in and around London. As noted above, pamphlets were

"small books" that generally dealt with timely contemporary events and concerns. Their

heyday was during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[121] There were political

pamphlets and those that discussed religious controversies as well as the social satires and

crime pamphlets that are the focus here. Crime pamphlets discussed the deeds of a

particular criminal and were often formatted as his (or her) last confession. Others, while

they claimed to "discouer" crime within the city drew more on generic categories of criminal

such as the card sharp and the con artist.

These latter, the rogue or cony-catching pamphlets, derive from pre-reformation

literature such as lists of fools.[122] In specific, most trace their origins in continental writings

about fools, rogues, and criminals, such as *Liber Vagatorum,* reworked for an English

audience.[123] They differed from those predecessors, however, in the degree of realism for

which the authors strove. Rather than abstract lists of the causes of social disorder (beggars,

adulterers, gluttons), the sixteenth-century pamphlets increasingly began to attribute specific

histories, names and locations to their "revelations." The authors claim to have talked to the

criminals themselves and occasionally to record the criminals' own words. However, unlike

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[121] Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets, 1580-1640* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1983), 17.

[122] The most famous of these catalogs of unchristian and antisocial behaviors is *Das Narranschyff* or *The Ship of Fools*, a German work published in 1494. *The Ship of Fools* became a "best seller" across Europe and was translated into Latin, Dutch, English, French and other vernacular languages. By making fun of people across the social spectrum, the book appealed to those across said spectrum. The scholar could enjoy portrayals of the poor while the working man could appreciate the satire of his betters, through the book's woodcuts if nothing else. See David E. Wellbery, Judith Ryan, and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *A New History of German Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 200.

[123] Paola Pugliatti, *Beggary and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 133-135.

the "true crime" pamphlets, they cannot generally be supported with data from

contemporary criminal courts. This suggests that most of the names given to the various

perpetrators are fictional.

So despite the surface factuality of these pamphlets, we must acknowledge that they

are not *completely* original. How is the researcher to take them then? Can they be said to

reflect the concerns of contemporary Londoners? One thing we can say is that the

pamphlets sold well and went through many editions. Many were popular enough at the

turn of the century that themes, specific tales, and even authors were frequently borrowed,

reissued, and plagiarized.[124] So it is reasonable to assume that their readership found

something relevant within their pages.

But who was that readership? Was it limited to a particular social order? David

Cressy concludes that "[c]ontemporary opinion, book production, book ownership, and the

history of education all point to an increasingly literate population in the late sixteenth and

early seventeenth centuries."[125] Sandra Clark notes the authors themselves addressed their

works to everyone from "young gentlemen" to "Lawyers, Merchants, Citizens, Farmers, and

Masters of all households."[126] However, she also notes that Green's cony-catching

pamphlets generally sold for three pence, while a longer work like Dekker's *Lanthorne and

Candle-light* went for sixpence.[127] One would not have to be a wealthy lawyer or merchant to

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[124] Clark, *Elizabethan Pamphleteers*. Works which claimed to be written by Robert Green, for example, continued to appear long after his death.
[125] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 53.
[126] Clark, *Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, 20.
[127] Ibid., 25.

afford the occasional work at this price. Moreover, we know that literacy was relatively quite

high in London. Apprentices were theoretically expected to be literate when they began

their term of service and many did in fact seem to be so.[128] Steve Rappaport used livery

company and records to estimate literacy among male Londoners to be between two-thirds

and three quarters, a number he notes is similar to Cressy's.[129] Nehemiah Wallington,

Puritan turner, was certainly not a wealthy man and yet estimated that he had read over 200

books in addition to the Bible.[130] It was certainly feasible for the poorer craftsmen and

apprentices to have both purchased and read pamphlets.

So where does this line of reasoning leave us? We may not know how far down the

social scale pamphlet readership went, but we can conservatively assume that the pamphlets

reflect *some* of the concerns of *some* portion of London's literate residents. These works were

not created in a vacuum. They were written by authors who intended to profit, financially

and through fame, and printed in collaboration with printers who had the same goal.[131]

Moreover, this goal was met—many pamphlets went through several editions and had their

material reused under different titles. But popular is, of course, not the same as truthful. It

is reasonable to conclude that they provide a popular image of the city that reflect a portion

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[128] Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, 299.

[129] Ibid., 301.

[130] Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 5.

[131] Stacy Lynn Erickson, "Collaboration in the Marketplace: Writers, Publishers, and Printers in Early Modern London" (University of Iowa, 2007), 12.

of the cultural interest; at the very least, "the tastes of the time rather than the time itself," but how grounded in reality were those popular tastes?[132]

In other words, regardless of how popular the pamphlets were, we are still left with the question of how much of what they "discouered" actually went on. This is an issue that many scholars have tackled. A. L. Beier takes a conservative the view that, while not completely factual, rogue pamphlets "crystallized and reflected the discourses of official and learned opinion" for their readership.[133] Vagrants and rogues were certainly present in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, but did they speak cant, disguise themselves as madmen, or carry out elaborate stings on the populace? Researchers in the early twentieth century such as A. V. Judges tended to take the tales for granted. In his introduction, Judges says that he will not give the reader much detail about the Elizabethan underworld because the "elaborate classifications presented by Dekker and other writers… give a far more vivid picture of the life of the City's shady characters."[134] A. L. Beier, writing in the mid 1980s still claims that, while exaggerated, the pamphlets were based on real events.[135] Later researchers view the works with a more skeptical eye. In his preface to *Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars*, Arthur Kinney notes that when he first edited the collection in 1973, he struggled with how to interpret the pamphlets. He saw them as the beginnings of the modern novel but nonetheless comments that "much they tell us… is true

[132] Morroe Berger, *Real and Imagined Worlds: The Novel and Social Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 196.
[133] A. L. Beier, "New Historicism, Historical Context, and the Literature of Roguery," in *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture*, ed. Craig Dionne and Stephen Mentz (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 9.
[134] A. V. Judges, "Introduction," in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. , 1930), xxxvi.
[135] Arthur F. Kinney, "Preface," in *Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars: A New Gallery of Tudor and Early Stuart Rogue Literature* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), 3.

for they are verified by proclamations, statutes, and the public drama."[136] However, in the

preface to the 1990 edition, he is no longer certain the factual authenticity of the texts is

even a relevant question. Cultural authenticity, the relationship between the work and "the

cultural movement that created it," has eclipsed his concern with whether actual historical

vagrants were the inspiration behind some of the tales.[137] Likewise, when Beier returned to

the topic in a recent work, he concluded that literary readings of the pamphlets and new

historicism in particular are of value; literary critics stepped in where historians feared to

tread, connecting the rogue literature to the larger world of early modern English texts and

bringing with them novel theoretical perspectives.[138]

   Thus the most recent the focus of research has been to examine how aspects of

culture are reflected and revealed in interactions between the texts, their authors, and their

presumed readers. To researchers taking this approach, the rogue of the pamphlets was not

transplanted straight from Newgate; rather he reflected the concerns of "the better sort" of

Londoner. He was "born out of [the] complicated relationship between new middle-class

readers and the economic and legal modes of social exchange that shaped their tentative

position…"[139] The status of the London merchants and craftsmen were changing. Trade

was becoming more international, luxury goods more prevalent, and profit more acceptable.

Yet traditional values that condemned usury and the "hard sell" were still widespread. As

Laura Stevenson notes, there was not yet any language to describe their commercial heroism.

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[136] Kinney, *Rogues*, 54.
[137] Ibid., 2.
[138] Beier, "New Historicism," 112.
[139] Craig Dionne and Stephen Mentz, "Introduction," in *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture*, ed. Craig Dionne and Stephen Mentz (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 8.

The deeds of the literary merchant hero were instead "glorified in the language of the gentry."[140] The tensions between the old and new social spheres created the rogue of the pamphlets.

We will in fact see, in the analysis below, that the rogue pamphlets over-represent crime in the commercial areas of London relative to the Bridewell court records. The social and economic changes London underwent during this period certainly caused anxiety to many of the residents and may have spurred their interest in a supposed "underworld" of crime. However, they also had ample real-world cases of cony-catching and prostitution on which to base these literary creations. I began my research with the assumption that crime pamphlets did not necessarily reflect more than an interesting fictional milieu for early modern Londoners. However, my research indicates that they were more factual than that. I will demonstrate that follow that many of the crime types described in the pamphlets are accurately reflected the legal records as well and may have even provided materials for criminals to mimic.

Legal and Ecclesiastical Sources and Methods

I also examine several sets of London parish registers and the Bridewell records. These legal records, unlike the pamphlet literature, are usually quite terse. One single record – one death of plague, one whipping of a vagrant, has little meaning. However, hundreds of records can be collated and mined for qualitative, external perspectives on London and its dangers. This is the *etic* in the study. The death of a bastard child in St. Botoph without

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[140] Laura Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature*, ed. T. H. Aston, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 91.

Aldgate, the whipping of an Irish vagrant – these sorts of sources were not intended for

public consumption, nor were they intended to be compiled for modern statistical analysis.

When looked at in large numbers, they reveal patterns which were inaccessible (and

therefore not intentionally influenced by) their creators.

Some sources are obviously problematic. They can fall into one category or another

depending on how they are interpreted. Natalie Zemon Davis demonstrated that legal

records could be viewed as constructed narratives reflecting social norms and "stories."[141]

Thus the some of the more detailed Bridewell court records and parish registers can also be

used emically, as narrative constructions of the author's world.[142] The individual deaths from

the parish registers were compiled in the Bills of Mortality, and John Graunt made some

basic attempts to analyze patterns in those bills. Nehemiah Wallington's diary is a narrative

of God's providence, but did he ever intend it to be read? Thus ultimately, for an analysis to

be *etic,* it has to use the sources in a way that contemporaries could not.

To analyze the occurrences of petty crime throughout London and its suburbs, I

have applied cluster sampling to the records from the Bridewell Court of Governors by

examining four two-year intervals of the cases from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

centuries. Each two-year cluster consisted of several hundred manuscript pages and from

nearly 1400 to over 2600 records. Each cluster was not itself sampled, but completely

enumerated.[143] Parish registers were examined for the same period for St. Magnus the

Martyr, St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Dunstan's in the West, and especially St. Botolph

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[142] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 111.

[143] For the validity of this method, see J. Chapman McGrew and Charles B. Monroe, *An Introduction to Statistical Problem Solving in Geography*, 2nd ed. (Long Grove, Il: Waveland Press, Inc., 2000), 91.

without Aldgate. St. Botolph is the most substantial of these parish records, being by far the most detailed, particularly during the late sixteenth century. All of the detailed records from St. Botolph, from 1583 to 1600, were used in the study in their entirety. Most of the other parishes do not note causes of death and often do not note place of residence either. They were used, therefore, primarily for comparison with St. Botolph (and comparable years were chosen for this purpose). For St. Botolph, the spatial progressions of contagious epidemic disease such as smallpox and plague are considered along with environmental diseases such as flux (dysentery).

In chapter four, I discuss how both emic narratives and etic spatial analysis reveal the sources and locations of crime in London. In chapter five I will do the same for disease, and in chapter six, I will consider what the complete picture reveals. From these analyses, I will demonstrate that Londoners had a clear if exaggerated awareness of those areas of their city which were more dangerous to one's spiritual and physical health and well being. However, in chapter six I will also demonstrate that, to some extent, these mental maps were ineffectual. The greatest danger which the early modern Londoner faced was not from the public sphere but from within. Dangers from suspect neighborhoods could be identified and, to some extent, dealt with. But the dangers arising from a population of epidemiologically naïve servants inclined to mischief could not. As I will demonstrate, the true stressors for the early modern Londoner were often within his own household.

Chapter 2

Views of London: A Survey of the Current Research

The world is complex, dynamic, multidimensional; the paper is static, flat. How are we to
represent the rich visual world of experience and measurement on mere flatland?
~ Edward R. Tufte

Current approaches to the study of Early Modern London

Recent debate among demographers and social historians on the nature of early

modern London has focused on questions of stability. Was London functional? Did the

city magistrates and infrastructure meet the needs of the residents? Or was the city in a state

of chaos, overwhelmed by poverty, vagrancy, vice and disease? This debate has its origins in

the vast number of contemporary sources that portray London in spectacularly divergent

ways.[1] Evidence can be found in plays, pamphlets, diaries, and judicial records to support

either view. Perhaps this palimpsest of views is inevitable when studying an era during

which so much changed, an era when the modern world was born. Revealing the "truth"

behind the sources is, however, a dilemma with which modern researchers still struggle.

The nature of London and its environs was discussed in the previous chapter. There

is little surprise that in writing about such a diverse and dynamic environment, modern

researchers have come to completely different conclusions about its stability and

functionality. The stability debate has been central to most social, economic, and

demographic histories of London written over the past three decades and still unresolved to

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[1] See chapter three below for a discussion of the contemporary sources.

date. To what extent could the institutions of London handle the changes they faced? On

the instability side of the argument are A. L. Beier, Peter Clark and Paul Slack, William

Hoskins, Charles Phythian-Adams, and most recently, Paul Griffiths. Key among those

arguing for the stability of Tudor-Stuart cities are Valerie Pearl, Steve Rappaport, Ian Archer,

F. F. Foster, S. Brigden, and Joseph Ward.

Those arguing for the instability of society note the price revolution, poor laws,

political instability, and disease. Beier notes, for example, that

> the most striking feature of society's structure on the eve of the Reformation
> was the great mass of the poor and vulnerable. This meant that when things
> got worse, as they certainly did from 1500 to 1650, there were multitudes
> who had little to fall back on; who possessed, in one writer's words, 'no
> property at all beyond the clothes they stood up in, the tools of their trade,
> and a few sticks of furniture.'[2]

Further, Clark and Slack state that, "whenever the [City magistrates] did have an opportunity

to assert their authority, they failed, conspicuously, to seize it."[3] The reason lay in the

paralysis of the livery companies and weakness of the governing structures themselves. They

also call London the "graveyard of pauper England" and note that the destitute "drifted in a

third world of crime and disease."[4] Beier compares London to the modern developing

world, associating living conditions there with those in modern Calcutta, and the patriarch of

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[2]A. L. Beier, *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, Lancaster Pamphlets (London and New York: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1983), 4

[3]Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 37

[4] Ibid., 35-38.

the group, W. G. Hoskins, believed that the only escape the poor had from the misery of

their lives was in the availability of "cheap drink."[5]

Patricia Fumerton confirms Beier, Slack and Clark's views of a fundamentally

disordered society as well. She then argues that not only accused vagrants and servants but

also much of the lower ranks of society were frequently mobile and lacked close ties to

neighbors of families. Even

> the wage laborer and journeyman joined huge numbers of other itinerant and
> variously employed workers, including servants, painters, soldiers, purveyors
> of medicine, entertainers, tinkers, masons, carpenters, carriers, hawkers and
> chapmen that formed the shifting 'ground' of an increasingly unsettled
> economy[6]

In surveying the themes of research over the past decades, Paul Griffiths summarizes

the "anti-stability" position when he says "the very idea of a stable city is a paradox."[7] The

way Rappaport and others are able to call London stable is by selectively defining instability

to include only the most grievous crises. Griffiths instead looks at the mindsets of the city

governors as they went about their daily tasks. He notes that the language used by city

leaders in describing their problems reflects their view that the city was out of control. It

was afflicted with 'swarms' of soldiers and vagrants. Vast multitudes of the poor flooded the

streets, libelous pamphlets streamed through the city, and beggars railed and roared at the

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[5]Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 3-4.

[6] Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 31.

[7]Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City 1550-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 29.

citizens.[8] The hyperbole and language of natural disaster conveys to Griffiths the sense of

helplessness the Aldermen, Common Council, and Bridewell governors must have felt in the

face of the 'panic milieu' they experienced.

On the side of functionality and stability, however, are the arguments of Archer and

the others noted above. These researchers have looked at social mobility, rags-to-riches

stories, adaptive governing institutions, absolute numbers of riots and crimes, the role of

religion, mitigation of harsh circumstances through poor relief, and cooperation between the

city and the suburbs to paint a picture of London as fundamentally stable, even during times

of want and duress such as the 1590s.

Steve Rappaport for example, focuses primarily on livery company records in *Worlds*

within Worlds. He uses these records to determine that, while initial placement as an

apprentice and a man's success in reaching the upper levels of gild leadership were shaped by

patronship and family social standing, a man's chance of becoming a householder and citizen

of London, rich or poor, was determined primarily by his abilities.[9] Rappaport also notes the

popularity of stories such as that of Dick Whittington, who came to London with nothing

but his cat and, through his obedience to his master, gained great wealth and served as

mayor of London for three terms. Through this and other popular stories, the apprentices

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[8] Ibid., 50, passim.
[9] Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 364-66.

of London were encouraged, "though born of low degree, [to] See by God's Providence, What you in time may be."[10]

To sum up Rappaport's view, he notes that, while London did experience serious stresses during the sixteenth century, it "did not experience the enormous increase in social problems or chronic instability which many historians believe were inevitable consequences of rising prices, demographic growth, and inequality."[11] Why? Because the livery companies created the possibility of social advancement. While not every apprentice would become a citizen and liveryman, the possibility that it *could* happen to any one of them made the risk of rebellion unpalatable (and Rapport himself estimates that 75percent of adult males in London had the freedom of the city).[12] Or, as Rappaport notes, half a measure is better than none.[13]

Joseph Ward's arguments are very similar to Rappaport's. He too looks at London's livery companies and their members. However, not only does he consider the options of apprentices and role of members in stabilizing the community, he looks at the relations between guild members and their supposed 'rivals' in the suburbs discussed above in chapter one. Ward concludes that the social and regulatory networks of the livery companies often extended well into the suburbs. His evidence comes from the records of the companies themselves. He notes, for example, that the Grocers had a significant presence in the suburbs, up to ten percent of them lived outside the walls, and that some were as far away as

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[10] Ibid., 368.
[11] Ibid., 377.
[12] Ibid., 49-53.
[13] Ibid., 386.

Westminster or farther. Moreover, the Grocers regularly paid for someone (with the

Common Council's backing) to inspect all shops in the city, the suburbs, and the liberties.[14]

Wax Chandler and Vintner records reveal even higher percentages of members dwelling in

the liberties or outside the walls as do those of the Blacksmiths and Weavers. A majority of

the Feltmakers lived in the suburbs.

Nor were decisions to relocate due to pressure from the city authorities to remove

distasteful or dirty occupations.[15] The inexpensive housing and access to road and river

travel simply made the suburbs a more functional location for many of the trades.[16] Ward

concludes that, contrary to earlier studies by George Unwin, livery companies could create a

sense of community among all their members, urban and suburban.

Ian Archer makes similar arguments using a wider selection of records. Because he

uses parish, ward, and hospital records in addition to livery company records, Archer's

conclusions are more nuanced. While he does come down on the stability side of the

argument, he notes, for example, that,

> Rappaport is perhaps to ready to assume that they [the integrative functions
> of the company] were equally successfully fulfilled at all levels of the
> company and he is inclined to neglect the selectivity which characterized the
> governors' response to the grievances of the artisans.[17]

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[14] Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 31.

[15] And some trades were definitely considered dirty, generating frequent complaints from their neighbors over rotting flesh, stale urine, and blood. Tanners, tallow chandlers, butchers and others contributed significantly to pollution in the city. For a detailed discussion, see Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise, and Stench in England, 1660-1770* (Princeton, NJ Yale University Press, 2007).

[16] Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, 34, passim.

[17] Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 103.

Nonetheless, Archer concludes that the companies were still important to the stability of the City. They did this by offering opportunities for arbitration, benefits other than economic opportunity and status (such as poor relief), the ability of members to appeal to the Common Council or Aldermen, and the power to manipulate the Company assistants and wardens using their own rhetoric of the common good.[18] Moreover, Archer emphasizes that the conflicts within the company were political and centered on abuse of authority rather than the individual member's capacity to set up shop and practice his trade. Moreover, conflicts between companies and company pride prevented fissures between the artisans and governors of the companies from becoming multi-company, city-wide problems.[19]

Archer also approaches the problem from very different angles, not limiting his analysis to the livery companies but also examining the structure of London government and the institutions and communities of the wards and parishes as well. His conclusion throughout is that, while London experienced stresses, the communities to which they belonged and the commonwealth rhetoric that they preached, both enabled the elites to "mobilize resources for common goals [and] involve the development of obligations and expectations," which allowed the poorer residents to appeal for redress of their problems.[20] For example, he notes that most Aldermen had achieved their status by following the *cursus honorum* of the City, first serving as constables or churchwardens and thus remaining

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[18] Ibid., 140-145.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 59.

sensitive to the needs of the residents.[21] He also observes that the parish was a major, if not

completely unified, component of community and identity in sixteenth-century London.

The vestries of most parishes were not controlled by a tiny minority of the population, but

they were limited to the wealthiest 50 percent of the residents within the walls and wealthiest

25 percent in the suburbs. Moreover, socialization across classes decreased as the century

proceeded. But client-patron relationships between the wealthy and the poor still created

bonds of unity and allowed for the resolution of problems, and even during the crisis years

of the 1590s, poor relief and the "action taken by the aldermen to keep the markets supplied,

whatever its shortcomings, was just sufficient to retain the confidence of the poor."[22]

Even when it comes to crime, Archer's view of the city emphasizes its functionality.

He comments that, in the face of increasing vagrancy and misdemeanor crime, the

"authorities did not collapse impotently before the challenges. Rather they responded to

them with initiatives like the closer regulation of second-hand dealers in the 1590s to tackle

the problem of receiving."[23] He feels that they had substantial knowledge about the

"contours of the underworld" and had an increasing number of institutional options for

dealing with it such as the Bridewell beadles and city Marshalls.[24]

Jeremy Boulton, discussing the following century, likewise takes the approach that

London was fundamentally stable. He notes that Valerie Pearl demonstrated the high ratios

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[21] Ibid., 51.

[22] Ibid., 70, passim, 203.

[23] Ibid., 236.

[24] Ibid., 223. It is interesting to note that while most researchers credit little reality to the literary descriptions of organized criminal underworlds, Archer supports the image presented by the literature at least to the extent of loose associations of professional pick pockets, prostitutes, and bawds.

of wardmote and vestry office holders to residents in London's intramural parishes in the

early seventeenth century as a key element of their stability. He then goes on to ask whether

this applies to the larger southern and eastern extramural parishes as well, or if Clark and

Slack's characterization of their institutions as impotent and disintegrating is more accurate.[25]

Boulton's answer is that, like the officials of London within the Walls, the officers of the

parishes and manors south of the river had many means to regulate their residents going all

the way down to the constables on the street.[26]

Boulton goes further to analyze the participation of the residents in a unified

religious culture in the parish. For this, he looks at evidence of women's churching. Almost

all women participated in the ritual and the timing of their churching also suggests that they

maintained the ritual seclusion preceding it.[27] For Boulton, this is evidence that the parish

church and its mores effectively shaped parish life. Even taverns and inns played a

significant role in the governance of Southwark's manors as their establishments were often

used for both formal and informal meetings and networking. The administrators of the

manors did not operate behind locked doors.[28]

Boulton further notes the degree of neighborhood cohesiveness in Southwark. He

finds a high degree of mobility among the poorer residents. Fifty-two percent of

parishioners paying poor rates were still resident in the same house after six years, while only

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[25] Jeremy Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 263.

[26] Ibid., 265.

[27] Ibid., 276-78.

[28] Ibid., 270. Their proprietors were also universally presented for violations of Brewing and other statutes however.

31percent of non-rate payers were present.[29] Moreover, sub-letting of residences was

frequent, and Southwark, like a modern city, lacked neighborhoods of tradesmen sharing a

craft that might have created a sense of community. However, Boulton also remarks that

when residents moved, they often simply moved from one alley to another or one lane to

another. Even men who left the parish were still sometimes accounted members of the

community.[30]

In works not specifically dealing with London, we can see the stability/instability

dichotomy as well, particularly in works focusing on crises like the plague. Here, Paul Slack

again takes up the banner of crisis and instability. He notes that plague

> [S]topped work and destroyed wealth. The sickness or death of a quarter or
> third of a town's labour force impoverished the whole community… even
> the finances of the state could suffer... But the effects were worst at the level
> of the household… savings were used up, household goods pawned, and the
> family forced on charity… Social ties of every kind were ruptured by the
> plague.[31]

Moreover, "the crises brought by plague did not permit responses which increased social

solidarity; they forcefully encouraged those who undermined it."[32]

So why did the towns of England not collapse? Some essentially did — most notably

Exeter and Salisbury. Most towns did not experience extreme disorder, however, not even

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[29] Ibid., 213.

[30] Ibid., 218-219. This data is very similar to what my study has shown for St. Botolph Aldgate. Residents often have kin within the parish and when they do move, it is often within the parish to a neighborhood of similar nature.

[31] Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1985), 17-18.

[32] Ibid., 309-310.

those worst affected such as London and Norwich.[33] Slack's analysis suggests to him that

the reason is the desire to retain power. Puritan enthusiasm can explain some men's

willingness to stay and govern. However, more determinative was knowing that 'new men'

could rise up through the ranks to take positions of power. The Magistrates of cities such as

London thus stayed and continued to enforce plague regulations vigorously.[34] Because the

magistrates remained, funeral processions were repressed, quarantines were enforced, and

the disorderly or vagrant apprehended, but not always to the benefit of social cohesion.

Margaret Healy agrees with many of Slack's interpretations. Looking at plague

literature of the seventeenth century, she notes that the naturalist interpretation of the

disease as one caused by contagion rather than sin justified policies that were extremely

detrimental to London's poor. [35] If disease is only caused by sin, then the godly have nothing

to fear from the sick. But if it is also caused by contagion, then it benefits the healthy to

quarantine the sick, increasing the concentration of illness in the populous alleys.

Quarantines also created fear and increased the social divide, not only between rich and

poor, but also between city and suburb.

Slack and Healy's viewpoint is balanced by writers such as Vanessa Harding, who

looks at St. Bride's parish and how its vestry coped with the plague of 1665-66. Her

evidence shows "the parish as an administrative unit and as a community struggling under

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[33] Ibid., 258-259.
[34] Ibid., 264.
[35] Margaret Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London," in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. J. A. I. Champion (Center for Metropolitan History, 1993), 34.

the pressure of events but not overwhelmed."[36] She considers that the records of the parish are orderly and nearly continuous despite the deaths of the two senior churchwardens. Coping mechanisms such as the digging of mass graves were undertaken at the initiative of the parish, not the city government or Privy Council. While Harding's focus is the practical details of managing graveyards, she nonetheless shows that the parish was still meeting the needs of its residents.[37]

Dorothy and Lloyd Moote also note that the coping mechanisms of the city government were sufficient to supply its residents with the material resources they needed to survive. They construct narratives from the records of the Court of Aldermen that show a high level of sacrifice from the Mayor and remaining Aldermen. Parish records likewise show the lengths to which churchwardens went in order to bring funds to the parish and keep streets clear and refuse-burning fires lit. These fires, which cost London householders eighteen to twenty pence apiece in addition to the poor rates they already paid, were evidence of the communal efforts to hold the city together, and "[t]he people who ordered the fires, lit them, kept them going, and eventually paid for them were demonstrating the same will to survive that they had shown for four long months."[38] The City's wealthy helped in other ways as well. Parishioners loaned the city up to one hundred pounds without

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[36]Vanessa Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London," in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. J. A. I Champion (London: Center for Metropolitan History, 1993), 57.
[37]Ibid., 58.
[38] Dorothy C. Moote and A. Lloyd Moote, *The Great Plague: The Story of London's Most Deadly Year* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 220.

guarantees, and Sir Thomas Player, chamberlain of the Guildhall, tapped not only his official resources but his own funds to keep the city running.[39]

The Mootes' research also suggests that communities of dissenters as well as individuals who defied the Plague Orders were important in maintaining the city's spiritual health. Resistance was as important as government in maintaining the city. The Friends, for example, frequently broke quarantine to enter infected homes and tend the sick: "[t]heir severest critics acknowledged them to be among the bravest souls of the visitation."[40] Baptists and other dissenting communities did likewise. Non-dissenters broke regulations to attend funerals, a fact that Slack and others note but consider a negative. And Samuel Pepys noted in his diary that in the suburbs, Plague Orders were often unenforceable, and people frequently came and went from their homes and alleys, carrying on their lives as best they could.[41]

As might be expected, authors dealing with other diseases tend to less polarization. Coping strategies could be more easily developed for endemic diseases such as syphilis, typhus, and malaria.[42] Kevin Siena, for example, notes that syphilis in seventeenth and eighteenth century London created a dynamic medical market aimed at curing the disease without the obvious side effects of mercury salivation. It also produced new regulations and new hospitals such as the Lock hospital. While it isolated and stigmatized the poor, it merely

[39] Ibid., 230.
[40] Ibid., 237.
[41] Ibid., 223.
[42] Syphilis is a sexually transmitted disease relatively new to Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Typhus (gaol fever) and malaria are both known today to be vector borne diseases. At the time, however, they were thought to be caused by miasma, or bad air. For an introduction to our modern understanding of these diseases, see Kenneth J. Ryan and C. George Ray, *Sherris Medical Microbiology: An Introduction to Infectious Disease*, 4th ed. (New York and Chicago: McGraw-Hill, 2004).

added to stigmas such as unwed pregnancies that already existed.[43]   Likewise, Mary Dobson

presents a complex view of endemic and epidemic diseases in southeast England. She notes

the overwhelming complexity of diagnosis and control—interactions between the

environment, human behavior, disease interaction, and random events are still a challenge

for modern medical researchers to untangle. While the men and women of the times

"recognized features of the early modern landscape and those who had the means, the will,

or the motivation and endeavoured to seek out the healthiest places," the physical

boundaries between sick and healthy, wealthy and destitute were always narrow.[44] Moreover,

even skilled observers like Thomas Sydenham were forced to admit that they made little

progress in explaining infectious disease.[45]

Dobson also discusses the vast range of strategies for coping with disease, however.

From aid to the poor to numerous cures both complex and simple, to prayer and

engineering projects such as widening the streets or draining marshlands, neither individuals

nor institutions were completely helpless in the face of disease. Doctors treated parish poor,

friends and neighbors nursed the sick, and pest houses and hospitals were created to isolate

and treat sufferers as well. People had many coping mechanisms at their disposal. Yet, in

the end, Dobson is also forced to admit that during the 'black' era of the seventeenth and

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[43]Kevin Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor: London's "Foul Wards," 1600-1800* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 40, passim. Notably, however, Sienna discusses the masses of the sick which made changes to the institutional structure necessary. This may be true for the eighteenth century, but in the seventeenth, there were very low numbers of pox deaths reported in the Bills of Mortality. While the desire to conceal the disease doubtless caused those numbers to be an underestimation, a doubling or trebling of them still produces few deaths compared to ague, consumption, and the other major endemic killers. The causes for the institutional changes cannot, therefore, be attributed to simple numbers. More probable causes will be discussed below in chapter five.
[44] Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern Enland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 24.
[45] Ibid., 38.

early eighteenth centuries, England experienced a tremendous surge in disease mortality that officials and institutions were ultimately unable to stop. For,

> whatever the intentions of policy makers and practitioners, medical treatments and environmental reforms… were far from sufficient to cope with the inroads of smallpox epidemics, the bouts of fever, the diseases of 'bad airs, waters and filth,' the infiltration of 'new' infections, the transmissions of epidemics along the routes of migration and the host of debilitating, disabling and disfiguring afflictions of the early modern world.[46]

The Discursive View

Debating stability is not the only means to studying early modern London. In fields and approaches that are less quantitative, a different perspective has evolved. For researchers analyzing London through new historicism, seeking a single answer about London's functionality is an overly simplified approach and the relevant question to explore is that of the interaction of writer, text, material context, and audience. New historicism pulls "historical considerations to the center stage of literary analysis" and, following in the footsteps of anthropologists, like Victor Turner, read events "in such a way as to reveal through analysis of tiny particulars the behavioral codes, logics, and motive forces controlling a whole society."[47] New historicists envision the sources, their creators and their audience enmeshed in an ongoing discourse of meaning where "every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices," and no text is capable of revealing an

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[46] Ibid., 517.
[47] Harold Aram Veeser, "Introduction," in *The New Historicism*, ed. Harold Aram Veeser (London: Routledge, 1989), xi.

objective, immovable truth.[48] All views, whether of a chaotic London in dire straits or a

functional city adapting to change, are valid if their context is understood and conversely,

their context *must* be considered for scholarly interpretations to be valid. Defining

something like the rogue pamphlets as absolutely true or untrue is overly simplistic. Rather

the texts should be read as artifacts created in a specific historical culture, which created an

ongoing discussion about society between the authors, readers, and subjects of those

works.[49]

Studying the texts of the past not only includes the study of literature itself (plays,

pamphlets and poems), but also the study of legal and economic records *as* literature.

Natalie Zemon Davis' approach to fiction in the archives is an example of the latter. Even

dry legal documents can be imbued with elements of cultural narratives.[50] Many studies of

crime, social interaction, and family structure fall into these categories. Both share the

understanding that early modern Londoners layered a palimpsest of meanings on both their

writings and their built environment. As the discourse shifted, so did the symbolism and

thus the sources portrayed a different reality. Texts were often reused and repurposed. For

example, Stow's sentimental vision of London was, as will be discussed in more detail in

subsequent chapters, very different from Strype's optimistic, expansive edition of 1720, even

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[48] Ibid., xi.

[49] This study does not extensively use the approaches of new historicism, however in some respects they do overlap with Cultural Materialism, also a methodology with its roots in anthropology. Specifically, Veeser's criteria (note 47 above) that texts are a product of and embedded in material practices and that all texts, both literary and non-literary, are cultural artifacts which inform and inform about society are important in the following chapters. Marvin Harris would not disagree with the use of a broad range of sources. Cultural materialism adds the important distinction between the emic (internal) and etic (eternal) relevance of such texts.

[50] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 3-4.

though the later used the former's work at the core of his edition.[51] Thus texts such as

Stow's *Survey* should be seen as dynamic, changing reflections of the culture that created,

recreated, and engaged with them.

Mark Jenner exemplifies this approach in a study of John Evelyn's *Fumifugium*.

Evelyn, a contemporary of Samuel Pepys, wrote the pamphlet, a study of how to resolve

London's pollution problems, in 1661. In it, he recommended a remedy; that gardens be

built around the capital and planted with, "such Shrubs as yield the most fragrant and

odiferous Flowers."[52] Jenner notes that Evelyn's pamphlet has too often been considered a

seminal and whiggish voice of nascent environmentalism. This, however, is overly

simplistic. Yes, London had problems with smoke and other forms of pollution. But "it

would be extraordinary if a text published in 1661 and dedicated to Charles II had been

entirely devoid of political significance." [53] Rather, says Jenner, "the smoke can be seen as a

metaphor of the political disorder of the Interregnum and the proposals both as a means of

preventing their recurrence and a panegyric to the new regime."[54] Evelyn's work is also part

of London's scientific culture. In an era when Boyle's experiments were all the rage within

the Royal Society (and the belief in disease-causing miasma common throughout society),

works emphasizing the importance of the air to the environment were very popular.[55]

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[51] J. F. Merritt, "Introduction: Perceptions and Portrayals of London, 1598-1720," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perception and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1, passim

[52] John Evelyn, *Fumifugium* (The Rota, University of Exeter, 1661, reprinted 1976).

[53] Mark Jenner, "The Politics of London Air: John Evelyn's Fumifugium and the Restoration," *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 3 (1995): 540.

[54] Ibid., 540.

[55] Ibid., 545-546.

Jenner's approach in this article is useful for trying to take a contemporary text out of a modern post-industrial framework and connecting it to the specific social and material world in which the author lived. Modern historians have too frequently been limited in their approach to the text because they've seen it as a "precocious" predecessor to Britain's 1956 Clean Air Act and similar ecological concerns of the industrial west.[56] They have neglected the political metaphors that would have been undeniable in the context of the Restoration. The assumption that our modern mindset and social concerns are reflected, at least in part, in the past cultures we study is always concern in historical research. New historicism reminds us that the text is a complex product of its times and cannot be read without an awareness of those times. Jenner's article is not a substitute for quantitative study, of course. Works like Jenner's attempt to tease out the many emic meanings of a text while quantitative analysis of the contemporary medical or legal data provides a counterpoint.

As noted above, it is not just literary texts that can be analyzed for cultural meaning. Sources as diverse as popular pamphlets, sermons, legal depositions, and pornography likewise reflect the mentalitès of the times and places in which they circulated and were read and discussed. Lynn Hunt notes, for example, that "[f]rom the days of Aretino in the sixteenth century, pornography was closely linked with political and religious subversion."[57] Just as a restored, clean city could be read as a metaphor for a restored monarchy, political subversion could masquerade within the social subversion of sexually taboo practices. Pornography was also entwined with the materialist worldview of the Scientific Revolution

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[56] Ibid., 540.
[57] Lynn Hunt, "Introduction," in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1996), 35.

and Enlightenment.[58] It anatomizes the body culturally as Vesalius anatomized it physically.

To Hunt, the meanings given to pornography are thus varied depending on its context.

Private pleasure, libertine counter culture, proto-feminism, or the voice of a revolution—all

are potential, layered symbolisms. For example, the pornographic poem, *The Choice of*

Valentines, blurs the political and sexual. The poet reports that he sought his "valentine" in

her home only to discover that "Good Iustice Dudgein-haft, and crab-tree face/With bills

and staues had scared her from the place," forcing her, or so we read, into a life of

prostitution where she sells her love for silver.[59] In the brothel she is a commercial

commodity, compared with a fine meal of quail.[60] While the author claims to love his

Frances, when describing her anatomy, he depersonalizes her features. Her "wombe" shines

"bright as anie siluer streame," and her "lofty buttock barred with azure veine's" rises before

the poet as if had a life of its own.[61] Here pornography reflects the conflicts between

London's Puritan magistrates and her less spiritual playwrights, craftsmen and apprentices.

We also see the effects of the growing venue of luxury consumption and the new scientific,

impersonal view of the body. Analysis of this poem without consideration of the political

and economic context in which it was written limits our understanding of the text.

Plague writing, a very different type of publication, likewise reflects more than just a

simple assessment of an epidemic. Plague pamphlets convey the triumph of the writer who,

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[58] Ibid., 43.

[59] Anonymous, *The Choice of Valentines or the Merie Ballad of Nash, His Dildo*, ed. John S. Farmer (London: Privately Printed for Subscribers Only, 1593 (reprinted 1899)).

[60] Ibid. Perhaps not coincidentally, the Bridewell records frequently note a common capon being part of the price for sleeping with a prostitute at one of London's back-alley brothels.

[61] Ibid.

simply by writing "tacitly offers… evidence that one has not fallen victim to it."[62] Through

such authors as Donne, Jonson, and Pepys, the plague becomes a monument to personal

suffering, an inquiry into the state of human nature, a herald of regime change, or even a

critique of the scientific community.[63] George Tomson's dissection of a plague victim is also

a platform for the author to critique the "inferiour Galenist" physicians whose medicines

were more harmful than the diseases the purported to cure.[64] As with the other sources

discussed above, new historicism reminds us not to over simplify or neglect the interplay of

literary and non-literary texts with their readers and the historical environment.

While this study relies on plague pamphlets and similar popular literature, it also

extensively uses legal narratives. Quantitative studies of legal texts in researching early

modern London were discussed above. However, the more qualitative 'fiction in the

archives' approach has been applied to them as well. The scholar whose work addresses this

the most is Laura Gowing. Gowing looks in particular at Consistory court records and the

stories that can be reconstructed from the depositions therein. In *Domestic Dangers*, she

examines numerous aspects of family and neighborhood life from courtship to separation to

slanders and public image. Gowing analyzes at the language of insult in the courts, noting

that slander cases, when the language used was sexual, were always focused on women's

sexuality. When a man was insulted with sexual language, it was to be called a cuckold or a

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[62] Ernest B. Gilman, *Plague Writing in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 51.

[63] Ibid. Gilman looks at these authors as well as Defoe for the numerous ways plague writings could be read. He also suggests they have a valid reading in today's AIDS stricken world.

[64] George Tomson, *Loimotomia, or the Pest Anatomized in These Following Particulars*, Early History of Medicine, Health and Disease (Early English Books Online, 1666, reprinted 2011), 4.

bawd.[65] Likewise, when husbands and wives separated, the legal narratives were derived

from husbands' allegations of their wives' infidelity. Women used this argument only if their

husbands had committed bigamy, otherwise their strategy was to complain that their

husbands had been excessively cruel.[66] Not only do these cases reveal that status for women

was an issue of sexuality, but also that the situations women found themselves in left them

vulnerable to accusations of misconduct even if they were innocent. The narrative spaces

allotted to each gender differed greatly. One of Gowing's most illustrative stories is that of

Elizabeth Barwicke, innkeeper and sailor's wife in Wapping. She was accused of an

illegitimate pregnancy (common in Wapping where many husbands were away at sea) after

her father had presented a neighbor woman on the same charge. Neither women's child was

necessarily illegitimate, but without their husbands present, they were subject to more

scrutiny.[67] Gowing's use of the legal records relies on quantitative statistics as well, but only

to reinforce her interpretation of the narrative structures in the records.

Certainly, contemporaries would have seen the narrative structure in Gowing's

records too, for similar stories appeared in popular literature. In Dekker's *Lanthorn and

Candlelight* the Devil's beadle witnesses:

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[65] Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 63.

[66] Ibid., 183-184.

[67] Ibid., 134.

in blind lands or in by-gardens: / which houses had rooms
builded for the purpose, where young Maides, being big with
child by unlawful Fathers, or young wives (in their husbands
absence at sea, or in the warre) having wrestled with
batchilers or married men, til they caught falls, lay safely til
they were delivered of them.[68]

As in Gowing's records, the landscape of Dekker's verse is one of cuckolded husbands

whose unfaithful wives hide their illegitimate pregnancies from the authorities. Bridewell

records tell similar tales of infidelity, illegitimacy, and even abortions provided by bawds and

their doctors.

Dekker and his contemporaries have also been the subject of much study, both on

literary merits and as historical sources which reflect issues of concern to contemporary

audiences. It is the latter which is of interested to us here. Much of this body of modern

research, to no surprise, deals with London's theaters. However, the pamphlets and

broadsheets more central to this project have all been extensively examined as well.[69] The

themes explored in the study of literature-as-historical-source are broad. Jean Howard, for

example, looks at comedies such as *Northward Ho* and *The Honest Whore* to demonstrate how

both prostitutes and their clients are presented as foreigners (or catering to foreigners). She

compares the settings, language and characters in the plays to descriptions in Dekker's works

as well as royal proclamations about the play houses and prostitution to show how they were

often portrayed in a cosmopolitan light—the sins of the city became sources of amusement

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[68] Thomas Dekker, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, Temple Classics (Temple Classics, 1608, reprinted 1904), 271.
[69] Key authors include Margaret Spufford, Tessa Watt, Lena Cowen Orlin, Paola Pugliatti, Rebecca Totaro, Ernest Gilman, Jean Howard, and Jonathan Gil Harris. The literature is too extensive to be examined in detail here, but relevant researchers are introduced below. Short works such as cony-catching and plague pamphlets are of particular interest to this study and will be discussed in their own rights in chapters three and four following this introduction to their use in modern research.

rather than strident moral condemnations. For example, she analyzes attempts by the authorities to shut down a brothel called *Holland's Leaguer* south of the Thames. Despite support from the neighborhood, the brothel was eventually closed, but its madam, Elizabeth Holland, escaped without a trace and later became a larger-than-life heroine of both plays and pamphlets.[70] Douglas Bruster's work presents a similar dichotomy. Both the characters and their cant described in many popular cony-catching pamphlets were borrowed by playwrights to construct the settings of their plays, and yet at the same time, the theater was not simply a source of liminal pleasure. It was a market that "regularized and normalized carnival" and was "part of a complex of centralizing institutions," not outside of it.[71] Neither of these authors turns to the gritty day-to-day legal records to support the pictures they paint of the City. However, there are certainly parallels. The whores of London are often described theatrically, with their "brave" costume and flirtatious talk recorded in detail by the Bridewell clerks. Bawds and prostitutes who provided services to the foreigners at the "steel yard" frequently show up in the sixteenth-century records.[72] One such was Joan Clement, who "procured White's wife and brought her to many stilliard men to have the use of her body."[73]

Paola Pugliatti, on the other hand, focuses more on the players than the plays or playhouses. In doing so, she emphasizes more of the marginality of the theaters. She

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[70] Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 158.

[71] Douglas Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 10.

[72] The Steel Yard was the neighborhood where Hanseatic and Flemish merchants had dwelt and done business since the thirteenth century. They lost their monopoly and their prominence by the end of the sixteenth century. Walter Thornbury and Edward Walford, *Old and New London: A Narrative of Its History, Its People, and Its Places* (London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter Galpin and Co. , 1881), 32.

[73] B.C.B. 3 fo. 4ᵛ.

demonstrates how players were linked with vagrants because of their mobility, the diseases associated with the theaters, and the costumes with which they changed roles. Discussing costumes, Pugliatti references sumptuary laws: "the necessary repressing avoiding and expelling of the inordinate excesse dailye more and more used," homilies: "who can paynte her face and curle her heere, and change it into an vnnaturall colour, but therein doth worke reprofe to her maker," as well as the plays: "God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another."[74] Pugliatti does not delve into the legal records, but if she had, she would have found further equivalents in the indictments of men like William Gronyard and his wife who "are arrant bawds and got very brave."[75] While sermons against excesses of apparel and makeup were not unique to this time and are grounded in Biblical proscriptions, London's magistrates clearly associate them with the theaters and with the underclass of servants and prostitutes believed to frequent them.

In recent years, this more discursive approach has continued to spread to non-literary social history. J. F. Merritt notes, for example, that London was "like a complex web of interwoven communities, where, over a lifetime, individuals might vary their involvement" and yet where the streets still "provided the forum for the free-floating, depersonalized existence which is sometimes taken to typify city life."[76] Yet the overwhelming trend has still been to cite statistics, graph quantitative proof, and resist a more qualitative approach. Among the demographers, economists, and other very quantitative historians, few scholars make note of a more literary or anthropological

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[74] Paola Pugliatti, *Beggary and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 70, 72, and 85.
[75] B.C.B. 3 fo. 22ᵛ.
[76] Merritt, "Perception," 13.

approach. Griffiths notes, in *Lost Londons*, that there was "[n]ot one London, but around 200,000 Londons by 1600, all making it certain that the city could never be fixed in a single place or mind."[77] However, in the chapter that follows this statement, he proceeds to lay out precise ideas that 'Londoners' had about the suburbs, the liberties, and the population. Ian Archer cautiously approaches the discursive viewpoint when he notes that conceptions of a criminal counter-culture in London were "another symptom of those mental frameworks inclined to think in terms of binary polarities that historians of ideas see as characteristic of the age."[78] More typical of studies such as Archer's are tables of criminal prosecutions, analyses of tax records, and discussions of the sizes of homes and duration of rents in London's varied neighborhoods. Both approaches, the qualitative and quantitative, the emic and the etic, have value to the modern researcher.

Pitfalls

First and foremost, historical research is limited by the nature of the sources. Historical records are preserved in part by chance. The historian is trying to assemble a jigsaw puzzle with no guiding picture and an unknown number of missing pieces. Moreover, the surviving sources are themselves problematic. Arguably, the more apparently 'objective' the record, the less personal detail is inserted in it, and the less of a story it tells about the past. Seasonal fluctuations in mortality may be easily graphed, but the historian must read between the lines to intuit the psychological and social effects of the deaths. Literature, on the other hand, may provide a wealth of details about contemporary society, but just as the

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[77] Griffiths, *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City 1550-1660*, 67.
[78] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 205.

National Inquirer or *Jersey Shore* present skewed reflections of twenty-first century society, so *The Wonderful Year* or *The Roaring Girl* distort the image of early modern society. To do history is to interpret the sources and to interpret is to be fallible.

One conceit that traps the student of legal and institutional history and demography is that his sources are "factual." These are the royal proclamations, criminal prosecutions, coroner's jury reports, death records, and so on. It is seductive to believe that these sources, if not the analyses, are completely objective.[79] If this were true then, as Griffiths suggests, the issue would be with the choices and interpretations of the researcher, a known issue, not with the sources themselves. The question is not whether the sources present the research with objective truth, but whether they present the problem or the solution. Do the thousands of prosecutions of vagrants in the Bridewell records reflect the overwhelming number of new comers to the city, or the success of the authorities in prosecuting those who came with no legitimate purpose? We often ask this about modern records – if reports of rape go up on a college campus, was it because there were more attacks or because efforts to convince the victims to step forward and tell the authorities were successful? The records may provide no indisputable answers, but the best methodology for uncovering it is to look at a variety of sources, from the narrative to the numerical, and examine the parallels and fractures between the emic and etic perspectives they reveal. The previous discussion has noted that even the most "objective" legal sources are layered in meaning. Even the London Bills of Mortality, lists of the dead published weekly and annually in the city, have been

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[79] Every source, of course, was written for a reason. Parish registers of burials, for example, purport to be simple lists of the dead. However, searchers could be bribed not to report shameful or devastating diseases and all the records reflect the writers' assumptions about social status, profession, individual behavior and more. We can only hypothesize the ways in which these cultural constructs affected the final products.

explored for narrative readings.[80] So while the Bridewell and parish records used in this

study will be examined quantitatively, they will also be read for cultural narrative where

appropriate.

Another issue that limits the study of early modern London is that of periodicity.

Historians of all flavors are inclined to abide by the artificial boundaries of their period.

Researchers studying Tudor-Stuart London are, for the most part, unwilling to tread in the

murky academic waters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A. L. Beier does briefly

mention medieval precedents in *Problem of the Poor*, however. He summarizes the harsh

nature of medieval life and the growth of hospitals and poor laws in a scant page and a half

before moving on.[81] However, for the most part, events occurring before 1485 remain well

beyond the pale.[82]

This trend of refusing to reach back into medieval sources is limiting because most

of the concerns of London's elites developed in the century after the first arrival of the

plague in the mid-fourteenth century. Fortunately, a seminal book on the origins of

London's social policy has recently been published. Frank Rexroth's meticulously

researched *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London* explores the fourteenth and fifteenth

century antecedents to the problems that plagued the Tudor/Stuart city.

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[80] Erin Sullivan, "Physical and Spiritual Illness: Narrative Appropriations of the Bills of Mortality," in *Representing Plague in Early Modern England*, ed. Rebecca Totaro and Ernest Gilman (New York: Routledge, 2011), 84, passim. Sullivan's attempt is not terribly successful. She is forced to turn to letters, sermons and petitions that mention the Bills to create her narrative.
[81] Beier, *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2-3.
[82] It should be noted, however, that the Glorious Revolution does not form such a mental barrier. Numerous studies are framed from 1500-1700 or 1550-1750.

Rexroth traces the development of policies dealing with vagrants and the poor in the

city to three events: the Hundred Years War and the potential threat of invasion it brought,

the Black Death and accompanying labor shortage, and the campaign of mayor John of

Northampton. Where the war is concerned, Rexroth points out that Londoners felt the city

of Southampton had fallen to the French through deceit. Therefore, in addition to

stockpiling arms, they felt they must be unified, cooperative, and alert to defend against a

similar threat.[83] The plague argument is the most familiar: laws regulating wages and prices

had to be enforced by the city magistrates, often against the will of the crafts gilds. Despite

the complexity of London's commercial web, failing to enforce the laws risked royal wrath.[84]

And during the tenure of John of Northampton, Londoners had to cope with the crisis of

leadership that occurred in the monarchy in the late fourteenth century. Their solution to all

of these crises was an evolving program of consensus-building and scape-goating.[85] The

city's wards were made responsible for reporting people of ill fame. Sturdy beggars were

associated with filth and disobedience, and beadles given the task of restraining them as well

as cleaning the streets.[86] Rituals of public humiliation became a part of daily life as pillories

and cages were built, and sexual deviance was punished, since "from the perspectives of the

Aldermen, sexual promiscuity held the underworld together, its agents must be visibly

connected on the pillory and their relationship rendered transparent."[87] It is this continued

desire to reveal and make transparent the sins of the city which Rexroth sees as the seed for

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[83] Frank Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*, ed. Chris Wickham, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 32.
[84] Ibid., 87-88.
[85] Ibid., 131
[86] Ibid., 62.
[87] Ibid., 178-79.

early modern campaigns against the poor. If it is important to look at the sources with an awareness of the "otherness" of the culture which produced them, it is equally critical to remember that the institutions of that culture evolved over time and in response to knowable stimuli.

The literary approach to history is not without its pitfalls either, of course. For example, Anthony Musson eloquently enumerates some of the issues with a more hermeneutical approach to rape cases. He is concerned that many researchers investigating rape at the end of the middle ages are not concerned enough with the details, not just of the law but its context and application. Rape cases illustrate this clearly. While the law of the land stated that "sexual assaults on all women (with the exception of prostitutes) should be penalized with the same severity," Musson notes that this did not happen; courts were generally unwilling to impose a death sentence for what was considered property damage.[88] The letter of the law cannot be assumed to reflect practice and the discourse around the meaning of the law may be obscure and embedded in the structure of the contemporary institutions.

The advantage of a more literary approach, however, is the built-in assumption that no one, not historical actors, their readers, nor the modern researcher, exists in a vacuum. They all factor into a complex process attributing meaning and relevance to the sources.

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[88] Anthony Musson, "Crossing Boundaries: Attitudes to Rape in Late Medieval England," in *Boundaries of the Law: Geography, Gender and Jurisdiction in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Musson (Bodmin, Cornwall: Ashgate Publshing, Ltd, 2005), 86. Musson's argument is not unfounded. A search of the Old Bailey criminal records into the early nineteenth century show a pattern where the only rapes prosecuted were those against pre-pubescent girls. Men who assaulted adult women are absent from the records. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 19 June 2011), Search: all offences where the offence category is sexual assault → rape, between 1674 and 1800.

This may tempt the researcher to discount the stated 'objective' context of the records as Musson notes above, but the "obvious" reading is not necessarily incorrect. It is simply one of many.

Arguably, therefore, the solution is a balance of both perspectives. The methodology I will pursue in subsequent chapters will attempt to seek out such a balance by appropriating a key aspect of Cultural Materialism. While Cultural Materialism also includes a concern with bio-psychological givens in human nature, the idea that cultures maximize the cost/benefit ratios of behaviors and other components of Marxist history, the component that will be utilized in this study is simply the distinction between the emic and an etic perspective. As noted in the previous chapter, the emic perspective is what the researcher believes his subjects perceive and believe. The etic is the functionalist analysis of the roles, stated or unstated, that this belief might play in the subject's society.[89] Neither perspective is complete. But by consciously separating what we believe about the study culture from what we believe our subjects believed, we can minimize our assumptions about the past. Moreover, differences between the contours of the emic and the etic can reveal fault lines in the culture studied and reasons behind inconsistencies between the two hypothesized.

Historians often bring with them modern assumptions about the crimes studied. Was rape 500 years ago even the same crime as it is today? Does the occurrence of the word

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[89] Marvin Harris, "Cultural Materialism," in *Waymarks: The Notre Dame Inaugural Lectures in Anthropology*, ed. Kenneth Moore (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), 108. CM also proposes a rather Marxist view of society where the demands of the mode of production shape at least some apparently non-material practices. I am not applying that aspect of the methodology in this study however.

rapuit in the records mean sexual assault?[90] As Musson notes, "[b]uoyant with enthusiasm, rarely do they [researchers] adopt a more cautious approach to the material, as if they were entering a minefield.[91] Musson concludes that, while the field of legal history has "benefitted from the new perspectives afforded through the adoption of literary and feminist approaches to the subject," it also suffers from a warped perspective and that literary critique without context is clearly unsatisfactory. [92]

An example of over-reaching analysis is Karen Bix's discussion of vagrant portrayals as qualified affirmations of nascent capitalism. Bix notices numerous similarities between language used to describe rogues in seventeenth-century pamphlets and the virtues of the market. She writes of Robert Green describing "cony-catchers who scope Westminster for gulls, 'work like bees,' likening them as well to 'provident husbandmen.'"[93] However, she never establishes any cause and effect between the references to profitable labor in each sphere, nor documents the opinions of the legitimate brokers and merchants to their underworld 'shadows.' Here is the misuse of the method that Musson fears. How did legitimate brokers conduct their business? What were the laws concerning usury and other questionable business practices? How did livery companies regulate their members? Bix's discussion would benefit from a consideration of a variety of sources, including the objective registers of such companies.

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[90] Musson, "Crossing Boundaries," 92. In fact, it was not. Rapuit could refer to the abduction of a ward, clandestine marriage against the will of the parents, or forced sexual intercourse.
[91] Ibid., 85.
[92] Ibid., 84.
[93] Karen Bix, "'Masters of Their Occupation:' Labor and Fellowship in the Cony-Catching Pamphlets," in *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture*, ed. Craig Dionne and Stephen Mentz (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 175.

Modernity

Once we acknowledge that both an emic and an etic view of the past exist, then we can begin to ask where, and most importantly, *why* the picture painted by modern reconstruction of objective data differs from that constructed by contemporaries. I will argue in the chapters which follow that the idea of modernity is a critical part of the "why."

The idea of the modern, the question of when exactly the medieval, the traditional, the pre-modern, become "modern" in some sense is a debate generally located, for England, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries. This debate has focused on determining characteristics that define society in the nineteenth century and tracing their development back to various historical origins. Those characteristics are, of course, not cast in stone themselves, and Miles Ogborn summarizes the many definitions of modernity in his introduction to *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780*. While the majority of his monograph focuses on the eighteenth century, his methodology is useful for looking at "the modern" in earlier periods as well.

In discussing "modernity," Ogborn notes that it is a fluid concept, defined by researchers in a number of ways. It is newness and emancipation in contrast with tradition and establishment. It is scientific rationality, consumption, commodification, and capitalism. It is anonymity and the triumph of weak social ties over strong. It is the transformation of the inner world of the self.[94] Essentially it is a lens or a paradigm for dissecting the world before a supposed "Great Divide" between the past and the present. But like any tool,

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[94] Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780* (Guilford Press: New York and London, 1998), 10, passim.

concepts of modernity can be misused. Ogborn takes to task those who would simplify the process of historical change to seek for single illuminating moment. He also advocates for methods that study place and *mentalité* as shaped "in specific ways by particular intersections of people, processes, and practices"[95] rather than as universals disconnected from specifics.

Capitalism, modernity, and the evolution of the modern self are ideas that have been located in many different historical periods by many different historians, all looking to stake their claims to the paradigm shift. As noted above, where scholars of England are concerned, much of the change, the Great Divide, has been located in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century – the period which Obgorn himself studies.

However, paradigm shifts do not occur without context. Thomas Kuhn noted that a community must first experience a problem or crisis that cannot be resolved through the dominant worldview. In solving it, new perspectives are created: "[w]hen a new candidate for paradigm is first proposed, it has seldom solved more than a few of the problems that confront it, and most of those solutions are still far from perfect."[96] Members of the community must then be won over and, even once the paradigm is accepted, it may be years before "apparently decisive arguments… are developed."[97] If modernity and modern individualism have their birth in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, then surely the predecessors, the as-yet unaccepted paradigms of thought must exist earlier. In chapter six, I will explore how the language of the new scientific culture of the early sixteenth

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[95] Ibid., 22.
[96] Thomas S. Kuhn, *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd, enlarged ed. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 156.
[97] Ibid., 156.

century regularly permeates discussion of crime and disease. Everything from the body of the prostitute to the plague itself is subject to "anatomization."

To Conclude

The very range of current interpretations of the state of London (and city life in general) would suggest that Merritt is correct. There was no one "truth" of early modern London – there were millions. Moreover, the mobile population, expanding commerce, and stresses of governance would suggest that London had begun to witness the beginnings of modernity. However, only further analysis of a range of primary sources can reveal something of how early modern Londoners themselves saw the paradoxes of their city. The contemporary sources documenting aspects of crime and disease will be summarized in the following chapter. Chapter four will then discuss the shifting contours of crime in detail, while chapter five further examines borders between health and disease. I will return to the larger discussion of how shifting spaces of modernity, science and the self affected these boundaries and the "risk terrains" experienced by early modern Londoners in chapter six.

Chapter 3

Views of London: A Survey of Contemporary Sources

> This city of London is not only brimful of curiosities but so populous also
> that one simply cannot walk along the streets for the crowd.
>
> ~Thomas Platter

Contemporary Perceptions of London

One of the main questions at issue in this project is the degree to which the (emic) mental maps of Londoners in the seventeenth century corresponded with the risk terrains of the city constructed using (etic) demographic data. Were the areas feared for their crime or unhealthiness really the unhealthy and crime-ridden parishes and wards? This issue will be discussed in detail in the chapters that follow.

Before exploring this question, however, a more fundamental issue must be considered—what were the mental maps of early modern Londoners like at all? To what degree did Londoners have coherent mental maps of their surroundings? How did they visualize those surroundings? Did the city become too large to conceptualize as a whole? How did the conceptions of the elites, servants, criminals, and visitors differ? And, of course, what sources can the modern research use to begin to tease out these perceptions? The discussion below will survey the contemporary sources that offer the best opportunity to see London as early modern Londoners saw it.

It is, of course, always difficult to perceive the interior lives of historical actors. Moreover, we should not expect a single emic perspective from the diverse population of London. As discussed above, the pre-modern city can, with care, be profitably viewed a discursive space, with multiple narratives characterized by the differing perspectives and needs of the residents. However, by exploring contemporary sources, it is still possible to assemble basic demographic facts into a framework that gives the historian insight into the built environment that formed the basis for that range of perceptions. Further, a look at contemporary writings will serve to demonstrate the range of meanings assigned to that built environment.

The multiplicity of ways in which Londoners perceived the city is exacerbated by the nature of London during this time. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were times of tremendous and mainly unregulated (despite the best efforts of the city government) growth.[1] London, a compact medieval city of 40,000 in the mid-sixteenth century, grew four fold over the next century.[2] Vanessa Harding believes that the increasingly dense texture of the city created a situation where "no seventeenth-century Londoner could know the whole metropolis, and the worlds of city, east end, and west end were diverging in character and culture. Stow's *Survey* was written (in 1598) at about the last date that it was possible to do so comprehensively."[3] Later editions of his work were much

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[1] Ian Munroe, *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 15-16.

[2] Vanessa Harding, "The Changing Shape of Seventeenth-Century London," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perception and Portrayals of the City from Stowe to Strype 1598-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124.

[3] Ibid., 140.

less concise, with editors like Munday and Strype adding reams of new text about the ever-growing city.

London changed dramatically, even before the great fire of 1666. The space became more built up and the population density increased. London's eastern and western suburbs diverged in character during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Jeremy Boulton notes that the western suburbs contained many large residential palaces, piazzas, and parks in the sixteenth century. However, "[i]n the 1650s most of it consisted of three or four-storey houses, usually with shops."[4] As the region's character changed and London's population rose, the poor increasingly came to live among the wealthy in these parishes. Poor relief did not increase apace, however.[5] Boulton disagrees with other scholars that these changes brought high levels of tension to the suburbs but does conclude social relations were more complex there due to the interaction of different social orders and sources of poor relief.[6] The movement of London's goldsmiths out to the western suburbs and the attempts of both the Court of Aldermen and the Crown to force their return also shows that the heart of the city was becoming more crowded, more expensive, and more populated by both 'aliens' and 'strangers.'[7]

Many of the strangers were young. They came from Middlesex and beyond to find employment in the city. Paul Griffiths notes that, due to their youth, they were of great

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[4] Jeremy Boulton, "The Poor among the Rich: Paupers and the Parish in the West End, 1600-1724," in *Londinopolis*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 197.

[5] Ibid., 211.

[6] Ibid., 218. R. B. Shoemaker stands out as a researcher who proposes a more conflict-oriented view.

[7] Paul Griffiths, "Politics Made Visible: Order, Residence and Uniformity in Cheapside, 1600-45," in *Londinopolis*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 187.

concern to the city authorities. They wore their clothes loose and untied and their hair long and spent too much time socializing with their friends in taverns.[8] Young males accounted for nearly 40 percent of prostitutes' business as well.[9] While these new arrivals had the promise of becoming proper members of society, they were also potential rogues in the disguise of earnest apprentices and could not be trusted.

Putting together the pieces

The degree to which London's residents were capable of perceiving their city is still an issue of debate. Memory was a more important tool in the early modern world than it is in twenty-first century life, and there is evidence that residents who needed to be out and about for their jobs were familiar with large portions of the city. Laura Gowing notes that Joane Granger, a fruit seller, was confronted by a fellow seller for hawking her wares outside of her own parish. She also observes that serving girl Mary Denton, when questioned about a theft, gave a detailed list of the daily rounds that took her from Blackfriar's into the heart of the city.[10] Certainly the prostitutes and their bawds in the Bridewell records were familiar with city and travelled frequently between the Inns of Court, the Exchange and the various liberties.[11] Only with the very young do we see fears of being lost in the city. Nehemiah Wallington's young daughter Sarah went out to play with a friend but, wandering away from

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[8]———, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 225-28.
[9] Ibid., 219.
[10] Laura Gowing, "'The Freedom of the Streets:' Women and Social Space, 1560-1640," in *Londinopolis*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 138-139.
[11] See chapter four below.

her, ended up near the Tower.[12] She was returned home only because a neighborhood

woman found her and was told by a porter that "shee dwelt in escheape."[13] A functional

knowledge of London's basic geography was clearly within the ability of adult residents.

Moreover, the available maps may have been used to create an ordered

representation of the natural world which "could be manipulated like the equally

domesticated architectural spaces of the trained memory."[14] Maps of the city and of districts

within the city became increasingly common through the seventeenth century. Paul Slack

has suggested that these maps were used to "ensure that people's 'mental maps'" preserved a

broader sense of the metropolis" as it grew.[15]

But while remembering basic details about the growing city is not likely to have been

the issue then—meaningfully experiencing it was. The question becomes not where a given

neighborhood was, but what is it was like. Was it safe? Did it have much crime? Was one

at risk of meeting con men there? Was it experiencing plague? If, as London grew many

times over, personal immediate experience could not supply all the necessary information to

negotiate daily life, perhaps popular culture, written or oral, could fill in the gaps. A key

question, assuming that Londoners did—through a combination of personal experience and

popular representation—have mental maps of their city, is what was the nature of these maps

and do they present, to any degree, a coherent picture? Harding suggests that "[a]n infinite

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[12] Nehemiah Wallington, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection*, ed. David Booy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 70.

[13] Ibid., 71.

[14] D. K. Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: Re-Writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh, and Marvell* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 115.

[15] J. F. Merritt, "Introduction: Perceptions and Portrayals of London, 1598-1720," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perception and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 7.

number of imagined cities must have existed."[16] While tending toward hyperbole, this view

none-the-less lends weight to the idea that contradictory views of London above reflected

contrary contemporary *realities* rather than biases in the modern researcher's choice of

sources as Griffiths and others have contended.[17]

While we have relatively few sources of personal experience such as diaries, the

sources broadly termed "popular" are many and varied.[18] Crime ballads, guides to the

criminal underworld, plays, and other "small books" paint colorful portraits of seventeenth-

century London. Copperplate and later wood-cut maps of London were published from the

1550s, and Stow's detailed *Survey* was published at the end of that century.[19] The wide

popularity of such sources as street ballads and plays reflect the popularity of inexpensive

print works and performances and the period from the early sixteenth to the mid-

seventeenth century has been shown to be a time of significantly increasing literacy.[20] More

scholarly, less sensational published works were available to the literate as well such as

analyses of trade and discussions of the city's diseases. While it would be hazardous to

assume either the sensationalist or the technical works reflect an unbiased reality, we can

assume that they reflect at least a believable fiction or caricature of the city that was

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[16] Harding, "Changing Shape," 140.

[17] See chapter two above.

[18] In referring to "popular" culture, I use Bob Scribner's definition as discussed in Tessa Watt's *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* where popular culture is a "'total, unified culture': a system of shared values, and the performances or artefacts in which they are embodied." Participants, therefore, include a broad spectrum of the poor husbandman, middling artisan, wealthy merchant adventurer, or gentry. Tessa Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 2.

[19] Harding, "Changing Shape," 118.

[20] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1981). Spufford spends much of her first two chapters discussing the growth in literacy and evidence that popular literature was widely published and available. She also provides an excellent summation of the research of David Cressy and others interested in literacy in early modern England.

show no foreshortening, thus giving the viewer an omnipotent viewpoint as if directly over

London. The streets and fields are shown and clearly labeled, something none of the earlier

panoramic images included.[23] However, while streets are drawn as if the viewer is directly

overhead, the façades of houses are still shown as well, giving the viewer the odd sense that

they have been squashed flat to show their details.

Subsequent maps such as the Norden map (1593), the Braun and Hogenberg map

(1598) and the Agas map or Civitatas Londinium (1633) clearly show the influence of the

Copperplate map.[24] All show houses in perspective and streets in plan or ground view. The

Braun and Hogenberg map shows two gentlemen and two ladies walking in the fields at the

foreground of the map.[25] The Norden map (figure 3.1) adds a listing of major streets and is

decorated with the coats of arms of the twelve major livery companies.[26] Norden's market is

revealed in the relatively great detail given to the mansions along the Thames. Their owners

were the men he solicited for funds to publish the map.[27]

However, the one thing all these images lack are images of the people of London *in*

their city. The Copperplate and Agas maps show activities in the periphery of the city. In

the fields to the north, men practice archery and fence. Clothes are dried, and couples stroll

down the roads. Merchant ships travel the Thames, and boatmen row their customers

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[23] Peter Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps* (London: The British Library, 2006), 33.

[24] Ibid., 35, 38.

[25] Foxell, *Mapping London*, 21-22.

[26] Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps*, 42-43.

[27] Foxell, *Mapping London*, 24.

Figure 1.1 The Norden map

between the river's banks. But within the city itself, the tightly packed houses and roads

make illustrating city life itself impossible. The churches stand out by their spires, but no

parishioners are visible. No servants run their errands; no constables arrest the rogues and

bawds. The Exchange is still and silent. Already, it would seem, London life was too large

to portray in a single image. Moreover, while the main streets are labeled and clear, the small

courts and alleys are not. The visitor hoping to use one of these (large and unwieldy) maps

to find Dagger Alley or Swan Yard was out of luck. Fortunately for the traveler, by the later

sixteenth century, a variety of trade and street directories and parish-level maps were

available.[28] While those guides are beyond the scope of this study, they do show that

London had grown to the point that a single large map of the city had become limited in its

usefulness.

The earliest modern, plan-view map we have of London comes, perhaps not

surprisingly, out of one of its greatest catastrophes. That is the map constructed by

Wenceslas Hollar in the wake of the Great Fire (figure 3.2). Showing a plan view or

"groundplot" map of the ravaged areas, Hollar's map was targeted towards merchants and

householders hoping to rebuild, not to the grandees living on the waterside. This map was

not ornamental; it was "ruthlessly functional and intended to facilitate the rapid rebuilding of

the city."[29] It was also a product of changing times. The London of the Fire was also the

London of Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke, surveyor Jonas Moore and others.

Rationalism and precision in endeavors such as mapping were increasingly popular in

educated circles. Increasingly after Hollar, maps of London were plan views, showing little if

any details of specific buildings. What human activity was portrayed in the maps previously

now disappears.

Of all the various portraits of London, visual or otherwise, John Stow's *A Survey of London* is

the most detailed description of the city in the Elizabethan period. Published in 1598, it is a

walking tour of the city's wards and parishes from east to west. Stow describes streets and

homes, churches and yards. His account is sentimental and backwards-looking, listing

historical worthies of each parish church and lamenting the loss of tree-lined avenues and

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[28] Harding, "Changing Shape," 140.

[29] Foxell, *Mapping London*, 28.

open spaces. It is, of all the textual descriptions of London, the most purely geographic as well. Armed with a contemporary map, the modern reader can, with some effort, trace Stow's route through the city from landmark to landmark.

Figure 1.2: Hollar's Map of London after the Great Fire

While Stow's work is sentimental, it nonetheless provides a good starting image of the city. However, it cannot be regarded as unproblematic. Published at the end of the sixteenth century, Stow's Survey was a portrait of a city already gone. He was, as Patrick Collinson notes, an old man "who lived in the past, no enthusiasm for the present, and no

words for the future."[30] Stow had been under suspicion of recusancy in the 1560s and

owned over thirty books on Counter-Reformation Catholicism.[31] His survey reflects this

perspective in its emphasis on history, city ritual, and lost monuments.

Moreover, Stow, like other biographers of London, followed classical and medieval

motifs in shaping his *Survey*.[32] These descriptions were to begin with the name of the city

and a brief summary of its founding, the local geography (rivers, terrain), buildings of note,

and descriptions of the government, schools and vulgar customs.[33] As Chaucer transcended

the bounds of fabliaux, however, so Stow transcended this simple format. He takes his

reader on an intimate tour of every ward, every church, the flourishing markets, the main

boulevards, both as they were at the end of the sixteenth century and as he remembered

them from his childhood.

Despite these flaws, the *Survey* conveys some basic aspects of London's late

sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century character. The suburbs are places of change, and

not all of it good. The heart of the city, while suffering some decay of religious monuments,

is still a place controlled by the "better sort." For example, looking at the eastern suburbs,

Stow describes the growing ward of Portsoken as a place that

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[30] Patrick Collinson, "John Stow and Nostalgic Antiquarianism," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perception and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*. 34.
[31] Ibid. 43.
[32] Lawrence Manley, *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology* (London and Sidney: Croom Helm, 1986), 23-25.
[33] Ibid., 26.

within these fourtie yeares had on both sides fayre hedgerowes of Elme trees
with Bridges and easie stiles to pass ouer into pleasant fields very
commodious for citizens therein to walke, shoote and otherwise to recreate
and refresh their dulled spirites in the sweete and wholesome ayre.[34]

Stow then also notes that these open areas "be turned into garden plottes, teynter yardes, Bowling Allyes and such like" and that the highway there was now "pestered with diuerse Allyes."[35]

The *Survey* also points out the differentiation between the east and west suburbs of the city, present even in the late sixteenth century. Portsoken ward in the east end, in addition to its bowling alleys and cloth manufacturing businesses, is described as having "diuerse, faire and large storehouses, for armour, and habiliments of warre, with diuerse workehouses serving to the same purpose," as well as many "small cottages…. for poore bedred people."[36] While Stow notes a few areas of "fayre houses" in the eastern suburbs, they are few in number and one can already see in his description the beginnings a London perceived to be full of "brothel haunters, sap suckers and soakers, some filthy as swine… the unnatural children, ungrateful friends, and unfaithful servants."[37]

Moving to the West end, Stow notes that Breadstreet ward contains "the most beautiful frame of fayre houses and shoppes, that bee within the Walles of London, or elsewhere in England" while the eponymous street of the ward "is now wholy inhabited by

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[34] John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Elibron Classics, 1908, reprinted 2005), 127.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid., 128.
[37] "Son of God's Entertainment," a 1605 sermon by Richard Jefferay, quoted in Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (Princeton, NJ: Yale University Press, 2002), 349.

rich Marchaunts, and diuerse faire Innes bee there, for good receipt of Carriers and other trauellers to the city".[38] Also in this western ward was "the most beautiful frame of fayre houses and shoppes, that bee within the Walles of London, or elsewhere in England, commonly called Goldsmithes Rowe."[39]

The wards in the center of the city likewise contain "many faire Tenements diuerse fayre Innes, large for receipt of trauellers, and some houses for men of worship…"[40] While Stow is at times critical of the wealthy citizens "that more regarded their owne priuate gaine, then the common good of the Cittie," [41] references to the poor in the city's center are generally limited to "certaine proper almes houses" built by the Livery Companies to maintain their elderly members.[42]

Crossing over the wall into Farringdon Without, Stow still notes many "faire builded houses" but as with the eastern suburbs, comments that Smithfield has been enclosed "whereby remaineth but a small portion for the old vses, to wit, for markets of horses and cattle, neither for Military exercises as Iustings, Turnings, and great triumphes" and that Gold lane is "sometime a filthy passage into the fields, now both sides builded with small tenements." [43] The greater number of "faire" houses in the West end reflects later parliamentary surveys that value the property there more highly than in the East.

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[38] Stow, *Survey Vol. 1*, 346.
[39] Ibid., 345.
[40] Ibid., 174.
[41] Ibid., 164.
[42] Ibid., 177.
[43] John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Elibron Classics, 1908, reprinted 2005), 21, 29.

Throughout the period, the West end was characterized by large and wealthy homes interspersed with less substantial homes and residents.[44]

Stow's *Survey* remained popular throughout the seventeenth-century. It was edited and reissued in 1618 and 1633 by Anthony Munday and substantially reworked in 1720 by Strype. Munday's work is more forward-looking and optimistic than Stow's. He celebrates the Protestant nature of the capital and its godly citizens, even in the 1618 edition.[45] By the time of the second edition, Munday was running into trouble. Inclusion of all the new Protestant monuments in the city as well as following its growth out to the outer suburbs caused Munday's work to be unwieldy and to seem amateurish next to Stow's original. He seems to have begun to reorganize the work thematically rather than geographically, but for one reason or another, does so only in one or two places.[46] No other author would tackle the entirety of Stow's work until the eighteenth century, although two other survey authors, James Howell and Thomas De Laune, both published works that incorporate pieces of it. Howell's *Londonopolis* (1657) is, in reality, a condensed version of Stow's work made portable and practical. De Laune's *The Present State of London* (1681) actually cuts out the parts of Stow which are critical of London's Protestantism or sentimental for its Catholic past and adds more text on such creations as John Foxe's monument.[47] De Laune's survey also includes

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[44] M. J. Power, "East and West in Early Modern London," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S. T. Bindoff*, ed. E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht, and J. J. Scarisbrick (London: University of London Athlone Press, 1978), 170-172.

[45] J. F. Merritt, "Reshaping of Stow's "Survey:" Munday, Strype, and the Protestant City," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perception and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 59, passim.

[46] Ibid., 65-66.

[47] Ibid., 97-69.

quantitative statistics about the city such as the population shown in the *Bills of Mortality*, the amounts of excise collected, postal rates, and more.[48]

Strype's work is dramatically different from the earlier editions. By the time his revision is published in 1720, London is larger yet. Strype's edition includes Stow's *Survey*, but also Munday's edits and much new material Strype himself adds, including maps and a more detailed history of the city. This edition filled two volumes, was priced beyond what the common traveler would wish to spend, and was definitely not designed as a pocket guide. Because of its length, detail, and the number of authors, Strype's *Survey* presents a much less coherent and compact picture of the city. As Merritt notes, "[i]nstead of a perambulation where Stow takes the reader by the hand through the streets, it is now a huge boisterous party—Munday… Strype, and others all coming along interrupting each other..."[49] The editorial uniformity of the work is gone, just as London's old medieval boundaries founder in the middle of the growing eighteenth-century city.

Other Portraits of the City

A 'survey' of London of a different sort is John Graunt's *Observations on the Bills of Mortality*. Graunt was a draper of London and an officer of the Draper's Company, granted the Freedom by patrimony at age 21. Often referred to as Captain Graunt, he was in the Trained Band (the London citizen militia) for many years.[50] However, demography is

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., 87.

[50] Ed Stephan, "A Life of John Graunt," In *John Graunt Home Page*. (Neonatology on the Web, 1996), www.neonatology.org/pdf/graunt.pdf, 1.

Graunt's claim to fame. The *Observations* are generally considered to be the first modern demographic study.

Graunt begins his work with a discussion of the *Bills of Mortality*—how they are collected and what data is collected. He then looks at what they tell the reader about London—its growth as a city, health, and sickness within the city, and consequences thereof. The numerical analysis is straight forward, albeit at times based on false premises. Graunt assumes, for example, that adulterous women are barren.[51] Where Graunt reveals his conceptions of the city is in his conclusions and speculations on the reasons for his results.

Graunt, along with many others, clearly saw that the city was growing and that the suburbs were outpacing the parishes within the walls:

> yet the sixteen [extramural] Parishes have increased faster then the ninety seven [within the walls]. For, in the year 1620, there died within the walls 2726, and in 1660 there died but 3098 (both years being clear of the Plague) so as in this fourty years the said ninety seven Parishes have increased but from nine to ten." [52]

The facts are objective. But Graunt continues to note that what growth there has been in the city center has been detrimental, for 'the cramming up of the voyd spaces, and gardens within the Walls, with houses, to the prejudice of Light, and Air, have made men Build new ones, where they less fear those inconveniences." [53]

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[51] A woman "admitting Men as Whores (that is more then one) which commonly procreates no more then if none at all had been used." John Graunt, "Observations on the Bills of Mortality," In *John Graunt Home Page*, ed Ed Stephan. (Neonatology on the Web, 1996), www.neonatology.org/pdf/graunt.pdf, 51.
[52] Ibid., 53.
[53] Ibid., 56.

In commenting on the growth of the Suburbs, Graunt is also negative. Despite

beginning his assessment that very few in London die of starvation, he notes that because of

their size, "in the greater out-Parishes many of the poorer Parishioners through neglect do

perish…."[54] Moreover, he suggests that the larger parishes cannot serve the moral or

spiritual needs of their parishioners.

Not only do "many vicious persons get liberty to live as they please, for want of

some heedfull Eye to overlook them" in the parishes, but there are not enough pastors

employed in suitably small churches for the parishioners to hear their sermons.[55] Unlike

Stow's sentimental praise that St Paul's was "so wonderful for length and breadth," Graunt

comments practically that use of such large Churches, as Paul's, "is now wholly lost, we

having no need of saying perhaps fifty Masses all at one time…."[56] Moreover, it is not just

Paul's becoming an "Amphi-Theatre with Galleries, gradually over-looking each other; for

unto this Condition the Parish-Churches of London are driving apace, as appears by the

many Galleries every day built in them." [57] Smaller parishes in the suburbs would solve this

problem as well as that of the unsupervised poor and vagrant.

Graunt also contemplates the health of the city entire. Where Stow notes that

certain ditches and alleys have become filthy and pestilent, Graunt considers why, overall,

deaths are high in London. He concludes, "that London now is more unhealthfull, then

heretofore, partly for that it is more populous, but chiefly, because I have heard, that 60

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[54] Ibid., 59.
[55] Ibid., 59.
[56] Stow, *Survey Vol. 2*, 121. Also see Graunt, "Observations on the Bills of Mortality," 58.
[57] Graunt, "Observations on the Bills of Mortality," 58.

years ago few Sea-Coals were burnt in London, which now are universally used.[58]" True to John Evelyn and other proponents of the popular miasma theory, it is the quality of London's air that most affects the city.

While Graunt's work was secular and seldom gives any sense of prophesy or meaning to the events discussed, he does declare in his conclusions that the purpose of the work was moral and the ends good governance.[59] How can one govern, he asked, without understanding the state of the governed; particularly those who do not contribute adequately to the realm. Should not a ruler wish to know "how small a part of the People work upon necessary Labours, and Callings, viz. how many Women, and Children do just nothing, onely learning to spend what others get? how many are meer Voluptuaries, and as it were meer Gamesters by Trade?"[60] When it came to dicing, as well as to the infilling and breaking up of large buildings, Graunt and Stow shared the same concerns about the city.

Both of these works are also far less extreme in outlook than the sensationalist writings of Harman, Greene, Dekker, and other popular pamphleteers discussed below. Just as modern news sources tailor their stories to attract readers, so did the pamphlet writers. As Lawrence Manley notes, the broadsides, chapbooks, and other inexpensive print material flourished at "a boundary between print and oral culture [and] were perhaps more democratic than other literary forms; they were meant to have wide, popular appeal.[61]"

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[58] Ibid., 70.

[59] With the exception of noting that there was no plague upon the occasion of the Restoration as there was in 1603 and 1625, therefore the Royal family is proven to be innocent of all of which they were accused. *Epistle Dedicatory*, 2.

[60] Graunt, "Observations on the Bills of Mortality," 74.

[61] Manley, *London*, 136.

Interestingly, as the pamphlet writers focus on the more extreme and gruesome London happenings, Graunt notes that the authorities do what they can to downplay those things the people fear most. The dread French pox is a clear example for him. Upon inquiring, he discovered that

> those who died of it out of the Hospitals (especially that of King's-Land, and the Lock in Southwark) were returned of Ulcers, and Sores. And in brief I found, that all mentioned to die of the French-Pox were returned by the Clerks of Saint Giles's, and Saint Martin's in the Fields onely; in which place I understood that most of the vilest, and most miserable houses of uncleanness were: from whence I concluded, that onely hated persons, and such, whose very Noses were eaten of, were reported by the Searchers to have died of this too frequent Maladie.[62]

Only those who were believed to be vile and hated were labeled with this dread disease.

This is not to say that Graunt confirms none of what the pamphleteers emphasized and city leaders minimized. He notes, that while he finds the parish Searchers generally accurate in their assessments, they are poor can be bribed not to report shameful diseases, which may therefore be more prevalent than the *Bills* suggest.[63] He also admits that the "vast numbers of Beggars, swarming up and down this City, do all live, and seem to be most of them healthy and strong" rather than deserving of alms. However, he notes at the same time that murders and madness are, to the best of his knowledge, few and far between in all the City's parishes.[64]

London in Popular Print

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[62] Graunt, "Observations on the Bills of Mortality," 24.
[63] Ibid., 23.
[64] Ibid.

When it comes to the cheap print available in London, we confront a vast array of genres from street songs and ballads to "true crime" writing, satires, encomia, city guides, epigrams, sermons, and more. Some are positive, others scathingly negative, but most are unequivocal in the caricatures they sketch of the city. London is either the "Ancient city, the vast world in epitome/Favoured of the lands, pleasance beloved of heaven[65]" or "the map of vanities/The mart of fools, the magazine of gulls…. As rich in apes/As Afric Tabraca.[66]" Ben Jonson's satirical poem, "On the Famous Voyage," is one of the most scathing. This poem tells of the grand adventure two men have in travelling up London's Fleet ditch. At the beginning of their journey, the adventurers encounter

> …that ugly monster
> Yclepèd Mud, which when their oars did once stir,
> Belched forth an air as hot as at the muster
> Of all your night tubs, when the carts do cluster[67]

The bold adventurers continue their journey through "stench, diseases and old filth, their mother, [w]ith famine wants and sorrows many a dozen"[68] as well as rotting food, water contaminated with pewter and dead animals, and ghosts "of farts but late departed."[69]

Even caricatures reveal some truths about the original subject matter. And both encomia and satire can agree on a few things. London is growing, for one. John Speed, who

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[65] Wenceslaus Clemens, "Trinobantiados Augustae Sive Londini Libri Vi," in *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology* (London and Sidney: 1986), 69.

[66] Everard Guilpin, "Satire V," in *London in the Age of Shakespeare*, 165-166.

[67] Ben Jonson, "On the Famous Voyage," in *Ben Jonson: A Selection of His Finest Poems*, ed. Ian Donaldson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), ln 61-64.

[68] Ibid., ln 70-71.

[69] Ibid., ln 125.

believes the city to "show as the cedars among other trees," notes that London "as it were,

distaining bondage, hath set herself, on each side, far without the walls, and left her west gate

in the midst."[70] Thomas Freeman, from a different perspective, notes the same:

> Why how now Babel, whither wilt thou build?—
> The old Holbourn, Charing Cross, the Strand,
> Are going to St. Giles' in the Fields
> Saint Catherine she take Wapping by the Hand
> And Hogsdon will to Highgate ere't be long[71]

Then as well, Crown notes "the City of London… and the suburbs and confines thereof, to

increase daily by access of people to inhabit in the same in such ample sort as thereby many

inconveniences are seen…."[72]

Another genre of interest here is that of cony-catching and rogue pamphlets

exemplified by the work of Thomas Harman, Robert Greene, and Thomas Dekker. These

pamphlets can be compared to the etic view of crime in the city derived from mapped

Bridewell statistics. The rogues of the pamphlets populated the mercantile heart of London

with cunning cardsharps, quick-fingered pickpockets, and ruthless whores.[73] While their

natural homes are said to be in the liberties and suburbs of London, as we will see below,

they were said to hunt for "conies" in the city's wealthy and prestigious neighborhoods as

well.

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[70] John Speed, "The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain," in *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology*, ed. Lawrence Manley (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986). In Manley, *London*, 42-43.

[71] Thomas Freeman, "London's Progress," in Manley, *London*, 250.

[72] Elizabeth I, *By the Queene. The Queenes Maiestie, Perceiuing the State of the Citie of London, (Being Aunciently Termed Her Chambre) and the Suburbes and Confines Thereof ... Proclamations. 1580-07-07* (London: Christopher Barker, 1583), 1.

[73] Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets, 1580-1640* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1983), 40.

Private Reflections on the City

While records of the personal experiences of early modern Londoners are less prolific than those that reflect public portrayal, there are some private sources that meet the needs of this study, namely diaries and letters. The most well known of these diaries is, of course, that of Samuel Pepys. There are other diaries and letter collections as well. These include the letters and diary of Pepys' friend, the writer John Evelyn, the correspondence of the Lime street naturalists (a group of amateur London scientists and collectors), and others. Pepys's diary is the most relevant to this study, as he writes about life on the London streets. Pepys wrote in shorthand and tells us he mentioned the diary to only two other individuals.[74] As it was not intended for public consumption, we can reasonably assume he was not writing to advance his career or otherwise advance an agenda, but to record his perceptions of his life as he saw it.

Pepys, the son of a tailor and a washerwoman, was born in London in 1632, the fifth of eleven children.[75] These humble origins would seem to have circumscribed his position. The Pepys family had several 'cousins' with connections, however – most notably, Sir Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich.[76] These connections allowed Pepys to escape his father's world. He attended Cambridge, served in Montague's household, acquired a position on the Navy Board and a £350 salary, and eventually served in Parliament. London is the center of all these activities as well as the setting of his diaries.

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[74] Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 80.
[75] Ibid., 4-6.
[76] Ibid., 9.

Pepys did not spend time in the more suspect parishes and wards of London, at least not for pleasure. Most of his diary entries focused on the fashionable center of town and the Western suburbs leading out towards Westminster. When he traveled to London's east end, it is always for business. In one instance, after dinner on May 27th, 1664, Pepys was "to the office again, and thence with Mr. Wayth to St. Catherine's to see some variety of canvas's, which indeed was worth my seeing."[77] None of the many taverns that Samuel Pepys frequented was in the eastern suburbs. The streets and taverns he favored were within the walls and in the western suburbs out towards Westminster; the theaters he attended were all in the City's west end.[78] Clearly Pepys saw the East end as an industrial area, just as Stow did.

Much of his diary was concerned with plays, parties, taverns, and his frequent mistresses, but these are usually described in minimal detail. The reader will not know what the tavern or ordinary (eating house) looked like, but they may learn what Pepys ate, and they will certainly know if upon his departure, he was tempted "out of an itch to look upon the sluts there, against which when I saw them my stomach turned."[79]

The diary shows us a vibrant London core, but one where prostitutes and rogues could intrude. Pepys noted that the wife of one of his patrons, Lady Anne Robinson, has been beguiled by a young boy playing an abandoned country boy and yet in reality "an arch rogue, and bred in this towne."[80] Prostitutes flooded Fleet Alley, beggars swarmed before

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[77] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed Phil Gyford. http://www.pepysdiary.com.
[78] Pepys lived in Axe Yard in Westminster until 1660.
[79] Pepys, *Diary*, 7 Sept. 1663.
[80] Ibid., 28 February 1663/64 Lady Anne was the wife of Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower.

the Vicount Brounckner's home, and a "a woful rude rabble" ruined a prize fight he attended.[81] While not designed to be a geographical reference, Pepys nonetheless reveals some of London's human ecology through such references.

Pepys painted the physical hazards of living in London as well as its pleasures and social milieu. He noted such things as storms, disease, fires, and collapsed buildings:

> [T]he other night, in Holborne, about midnight, being at cards, a link-boy come by and run into the house, and told the people the house was a-falling. Upon this the whole family was frighted, concluding that the boy had said that the house was a-fire: so they deft their cards above, and one would have got out of the balcone, but it was not open; the other went up to fetch down his children, that were in bed; so all got clear out of the house. And no sooner so, but the house fell down indeed, from top to bottom.[82]

However, unlike the Puritan Nehemiah Wallington discussed below, Pepys did not attribute such misfortune to God's omnipotence. In the case of the collapsed house, he practically notes that, "[i]t seems my Lord Southampton's canaille did come too near their foundation, and so weakened the house, and down it came."[83] Pepys' London was one of commerce and reason. While not a member of the Republic of Letters, the broad community of Renaissance and Enlightenment scholars, Pepys for the most part shared their focus on the secular world. Even when the threat affected him directly, Pepys comments in his diary focus on the material. Where a fierce storm was concerned, he noted the hazards:

> It was dangerous to walk the streets, the bricks and tiles falling from the houses that the whole streets were covered with them; and whole chimneys,

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[81] Ibid. 1 June 1663.
[82] Ibid. 14 March 1663/64.
[83] Ibid.

nay, whole houses in two or three places, blowed down. But, above all, the
pales on London-bridge on both sides were blown away, so that we were fain
to stoop very low for fear of blowing off of the bridge.[84]

Typically, it was only disease (and his personal failings) which caused him to appeal to the

divine: "Thanks be to God, the plague is, as I hear, encreased but two this week."[85] As John

Kelman noted nearly a century ago,

He was a man wholly governed by self-interest and the verdict of society, and
his religion was simply the celestial version of these motives. He has
conscience enough to restrain him from damaging excesses, and to keep him
within the limits of the petty vices and paying virtues of a comfortable man.[86]

A different perspective on London's human ecology can be gained from the

ruminations of a local artisan as well. Seven books of the voluminous writings of Puritan

turner, Nehemiah Wallington, are still extant.[87] Wallington was born the tenth of twelve

children of Elizabeth and John Wallington in 1598, in a condition not terribly different from

that of Samuel Pepys. Unlike the former, he lacked the family connections to rise in society

and apprenticed to his father, following him into his trade. His mother died young, of

something resembling consumption. He was raised in the godly life and spent much of his

young adult life battling suicidal depression because of his self-perceived unworthiness.[88] He

survived this crisis in his life and married Grace Rampainge, who bore him five children, all

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[84] Ibid. 24 January 1665/66.
[85] Ibid. 14 July 1666.
[86] John Kelman, "Among Famous Books," *Project Guttenberg*(1912),
http://www.gutenberg.org/files/18104/18104-h/18104-h.htm#LECTURE_VI, 197.
[87] David Booy, "Introduction," in *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 1.
[88] Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 16.

but one of whom died before adulthood. He was also admitted to the Company of Turners on paternity, opened his own shop and began taking apprentices, rather sooner than the Company rules allowed.[89] Over the course of his life, he wrote 50 volumes of introspection on his life and the workings of God in the world he perceived.

Clearly, Wallington's perspective was dramatically different from that of Pepys or Stow. All the events that Wallington witnessed in and around London were, in his eyes, laden with divine significance. He perceived London as a hazardous maze of sin, survivable only by the Grace of God. When speaking about the plague epidemic of 1625, Wallington observed that, "goe we into the suburbs and what doe we heare but lamentable voices and cryings of the visited poore"[90] and commented that in Whitechappel in particular, "children died out of those tenements this sickness time: and not one left."[91] While Wallington believed that the disease "infecteth Houses, clothes[,] Breath, and Aire," none of these is the source of the infection. Rather, as with all illness, the plague "is an argument of an angry God, who will not be pacified with the light skirmish of Fevers, Aches Gouts and the like but will have blood and that in abundance, and strems answerable to our sins that are gone before."[92]

Fires, too were a sign of God's just wrath, and Wallington recorded them in great detail. He spoke of a 1655 fire in Bermond street as follows:

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[89] Ibid., 68.
[90] Wallington, *Notebooks*, 53.
[91] Ibid., 60.
[92] Ibid., 54.

being Saturday 3 a clock in the morning in the hither end of Bermond Street
at Crosskey Alley as some say by drying of malt the man being drunke and
asleep Master Bredner a Brewer his House caught on fier… it is reported
there was a quarter of mault come into his house a weeke before and it is all
burned and spoiled[.] There was 3 score paire of Flaxen and very fine Hollen
sheets and XVI of dieapewr and damaske Napkins: and <besids> very find
childbed linen which cost fifty pound…[93]

All of this wealth as well as up to threescore houses were destroyed because "[t]he Lord of

late beene pleading with this citie by fire and rebuking of it with flames of fire."[94]

And fire of course was not the only hazard of weather, nor was London God's only

target. When lightning struck the parish church of Withcombe (Devonshire) during service,

Wallington described the event in great detail and notes that the minister's wife was struck

and had her ruff burned off. Other women sitting near her had their clothes, signs of course

of human vanity, burned away.[95] The bowling alley near the churchyard was also destroyed

as was a tavern, and the church's tower was thrown down. Events such as these were clearly

also the work of an angry God.

Even when the city was not the target of God's wrath, it was still dangerous by its

very size. Wallington writes at length of the time his daughter Sarah became lost while

wandering. She "went herself as farr as the fuder tower hil and as shee was goeing into

estsmithfeld shee fell down and hite herself a sore bloe."[96] It was only because a passing

woman, through God's mercy, discovered her origins and carried her home that she was not

lost to her parents. Likewise, numerous household and street-side accidents that the

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[93] Ibid., 113.
[94] Ibid., 114.
[95] Ibid., 118.
[96] Ibid., 70.

Wallingtons escaped were typical of life lived in London and its many dangers. From runaway carts to falling chimneys, Wallington believed his continued survival could be attributed only to God's grace.

Not surprisingly, Wallington's experiences and perspective are similar to those of the many Puritan divines issuing forth sermons from their pulpits. Sermons paint a London where residents know "only how to deck the selues, setting their affection altogether on worldelye brauerie, abusing Gods goodness" and where the sinful are struck down with "the french pocks, with other diuers disease of whoredome."[97] It is a London replete with "houses built like palaces: Tabernacles, that in the Masters thought, equall to the Mansion of heauen."[98] Clearly these are not Stows' fayre houses but signs of misspent wealth and pride in a city where "the wicked… haue no care of the poore."[99]

The Lost Voices of London

What about the perceptions of the destitute, the vagrant, the servants, and conmen of London? Viewing their mental maps is difficult and requires the use of sources not intended by their authors to reveal broad swaths of social history. These "objective" sources are the flip side to the emic sources discussed above— records given an etic or external meaning by the modern researcher.[100] Using court records such as the Bridewell court of

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[97] Thomas Adams, "The Rich Man," in *In God's Name: Examples of Preaching in England, 1534-1662*, ed. John Chandos (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1612, reprinted 1971), 160.
[98] ———, "The White Devil," in *In God's Name: Examples of Preaching in England, 1534-1662*, ed. John Chandos (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1612, reprinted 1971), 166.
[99] Ibid., 167.
[100] "Objective" of course is misleading. While the sources were not collected for the purpose of creating a contemporary view of London in the sense of Stowe's survey or Pepys' diary, they were still collected by people embedded in the *mentalitè* of the times. They took certain assumptions for granted, such as the inherent linkage

Governors and the Consistory court, Hearth taxes, the lay subsidies, and surveys we have

recourse to some of the actions and perceptions of the poor and transitory.

Here of course, we risk constructing a clearly biased perspective. We see these

people mainly when they are in trouble with the authorities or in the throes of crisis. The

Bridewell records are the most vocal of these bureaucratic sources. But are the men and

women brought into Bridewell typical of the servants, craftsmen, and laborers of London?

Are the places they frequent and the uses they make of them typical as well? While the

biased nature of the sample cannot be ignored, we will see in the chapters below that men

and women of all social classes appear before the Governors and the places from which they

are brought include both the impoverished alleys and the major commercial districts.

Moreover, many of the behaviors for which they were deemed criminals were acceptable

when committed by someone of a different social class. A washerwoman walking the streets

at night would be brought into Bridewell. Samuel Pepys would not.

Most of the Bridewell records are brief. The most common type of case heard is

that of vagrancy, and often all that is preserved in the records is a list of names and an

indication of whether the individuals were punished before being released or not. These

records would certainly seem, at least on the surface, to give us an impression of what the

governors and aldermen were most concerned with. However, we cannot assume that the

term 'vagrant' meant to them what it means to us. Patricia Fumerton has done considerable

research on how this term was used in early modern London. She shows that 'vagrant' was

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between sin, filth and poverty. However, short of the invention of the time machine, court and parish records
are the closest the historian can come to factual, descriptive statistics of the capitol.

applied broadly to anyone who did not fit into the ideal structure of city life. This could include servants out without permission as well as those who had lost their position. The category also included those who sold goods without a license and the unemployed poor as well as wanderers with 'no fixed address.'[101] Some 'vagrants' had in fact been London residents for many years before being brought to the attention of the courts.[102] So all we can glean from most of the brief vagrancy cases is that the person accused did, in some way, fail to meet the expectations of the city elites. Often only their name is given. Their counties and parishes of origin were recorded only intermittently, with the instructions that the vagrant in question be returned there "per passe."[103]

Some Bridewell records are more detailed. One Alice Williams was presented in January of 1623 by Constable Daves of Billingsgate North for "bringing women into the parishes who are delivered of children in the streets & maketh a common course thereof."[104] Not only does this illustrate that the governors were concerned with the influx of unauthorized residents into the city, but it shows us that the locals perceived the influx and felt they could profit from it in some way. The moral corruption believed to be brought by vagrants is clearly illustrated in the case of Katherine Stevens who, in February of 1597, was said to, "in the time of divine service she espying a neckinger lying in a shoppe which then was open intended to have taken the same."[105] Not only was she an unemployed vagrant,

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[101] Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 14, passim.
[102] Ibid., 55.
[103] I.e. with a written pass from the London authorities dictating where the vagrant was to go.
[104] B.C.B. 6 fo. 355ᵛ.
[105] B.C.B, 4 fo. 4. A neckinger is a scarf or neckerchief. *Oxford English Dictionary.* Third edition, September 2003; online version June 2011. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/125674>; accessed 18 August 2011.

she failed to attend divine service and instead spent the time "scoping out" the

neighborhood shops. The Bridewell records tell similar tales of London's wayward servants,

prostitutes, and cozening tradesmen. These records will form the core of much of the

analysis that follows.

Economic Documents

Taxes and surveys carried out by both local and national governments (such as the

lay subsidies, poor rate, hearth tax, and Parliamentary survey in wake of the Civil War),

attempt to record factual information about all the residents (or residences) falling under the

criteria of the tax or survey. However, they also generally lack the voices of the residents.

Those voices must be interpolated from the descriptions of the built environment, rents, and

tax assessments. While not extensively used in this study, they have informed much of the

research that has gone before it and deserve to be mentioned.

One particularly useful set of records for the historian are the surveys of lands

confiscated by Parliament in the 1640s and 50s. These surveys described the properties in

detail so that their value could be assessed.[106] Hearth tax records too, are useful. Records

survive from many London parishes of these taxes collected from residents based on the

number of hearths in the dwelling they occupied.[107] M. J. Power uses surveys to demonstrate

that housing east of the Tower Liberty rented at lower rates than comparable housing in the

western suburbs. By looking at the Hearth taxes as well, he also determines that the eastern

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[106] Power, "East and West," 168.
[107] Center for Hearth Tax Research, "A.H.R.C. London Hearth Tax Project," (London: University of Roehampton, 2007-2011). Each hearth was assessed at 2 shillings.

suburbs had higher percentages of non-chargeable residents, small "shed" homes, and vacant housing. The western suburbs, on the other hand, were characterized by larger households (higher numbers of hearths per building) and higher percentages of titled residents. Plague deaths were also higher (as a percentage of total deaths) in the East end than the West, despite these empty properties and smaller households.[108]

Another legal source that reveals the changing nature of the city is the letters and proclamations arising over the move of most of London's goldsmiths to the Western suburbs of the city. These moves caused a great deal of consternation, and both the city and the crown wished the goldsmiths to return to their traditional location, Goldsmiths Row in Cheapside.[109] The Repertory of the Court of Aldermen provides the main records of the attempts, both of the Aldermen and the crown, to force the goldsmiths to return despite high rents, limited shop fronts, and an influx of 'mean' traders and foreigners.[110] Clearly, it was not just the suburbs which the city authorities were concerned for, a point that will become more evident in the following chapters.

Conclusions

What can we conclude from this wealth of sources? In chapter two, I discussed the claim made by some researchers that the works of their colleagues presented a very different view of London because their authors' had chosen a very limited set of sources to examine—that alternate view of London's stability or instability were based on modern

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[108] Power, "East and West." 178, passim.
[109] Griffiths, "Politics," 176.
[110] Ibid., 187.

researcher's choice to study only the worst crimes, or only "functions like social mobility or office holding" that "lead like clockwork to the position that things ticked over smoothly."[111] A look at the spectrum of sources expressing contemporary ideas of the city confirms that the paradoxical views of early modern London were shared by contemporaries. We can see that there were in fact many different Londons made manifest in the emic perceptions of the residents. The choice of sources simply determines which of these very real Londons the researcher is more likely to perceive, but does not negate alternative views. In some times and in some places, the city truly could be the "New Troy" that its ruling classes sought. It was also riddled with poverty, disease, and desperation.

If we then conclude that the dichotomies of early modern London exist in a wide array of contemporary sources and cannot be attributed to a focus solely on institutional structures or on crimes, the question remains: was the dichotomy reflected in the built environment and physical geography of London, or was it a purely a common cultural construction of the men and women who lived at the time? Were the dichotomies between sick and healthy, criminal and lawful present only in literary sources? Were those literary sources no more accurate a representation of the city than *Jersey Shore* is of twenty-first-century America? I.e., to what extent do the etic sources reflect the same contours of crime and disease as the emic ones? By comparing and mapping the geographies of popular, narrative culture with statistical and spatial analyses of archival sources, we can reveal how well the former reflected the latter.

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[111] Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City 1550-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 31.

In the following chapters, I will explore in more detail many of the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century sources I have briefly surveyed here. We will see that often the varied symbolic meanings the residents of London gave to the built environment did in fact overlap considerably with more objective measures of crime and sickness such as the Parish registers and Bills of Mortality. The "cultural soundbox" formed by the contemporary sources often reflect the same fears, desires, and possibilities that the archival sources do. However, enforcement of desired outcomes such as peaceful households and healthy streets was more ephemeral. This analysis will demonstrate that while Londoners had a generally accurate map of the risks of their city, they were unable to segregate or wall off problems that were closest to home, particularly the roles of their servants in creating chaos and disorder.

Chapter 4

Mapping Crime in Early Modern London

You will never find a more wretched hive of scum and villainy. We must be cautious.

~Obi Wan Kenobi

In the previous chapter, I discussed the split view of early modern London that was revealed in both literary and legal sources. London was a wealthy, glorious New Troy but at the same time was infested with vice and corruption. It was a center of trade and wealth, yet Bridewell dealt with a seemingly endless stream of vagrants and petty criminals. Popular pamphlets of the times presented the residents with stories of an elaborate criminal underworld that mimicked the orderly structure of society. The petty criminals picked pockets while the wealthy usurer, "feeding upon forfeits and penalties as the ravens do upon carrion," brought wealthy gentlemen to their knees.[1]

Moreover, rogue pamphlets, sermons, and the penny godlies all suggest that even the cautious man was in danger. No one was what he or she seemed. A tailor could make any man "brave" and lewd women exchange,

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[1] Robert Greene, The Defence of Cony-Catching or the Confutation of Those Two Injurious Pamphlets Published by R.G. Agains the Practitioners of Many Nimble-Witted and Mystical Sciences, STC (2nd ed.) / 5656 ed. (London: A. Ieffes for Thomas Gubbins, 1592).

the modest attire of the comely Hood, Cowl Coif, handsome Dress or Kerchief, to the cloudy Ruffianly broad-brimmed Hat and wanton Feather, the modest upper parts of a concealing straight gown, to the loose, lascivious civil embracement of a [man's] French doublet being all unbuttoned to entice…[2]

Cheaters "[s]trowel up and down the country in the habites of Servingmen" searching the markets in and around London for gullible craftsmen.[3] Mistress Minx, the merchant's wife, eats cherries only when they sell for twenty shillings per pound. Her voice is "like a fained treble" and she travels only by coach.[4] The devil himself walks the streets so well disguised that the "watchmen, poor night-crows, followed, and thought they had the constable by the hand, when they had the devil by the gown-sleeve."[5]

But not all of London was portrayed as equally hazardous to one's purse or one's soul. The pamphleteers painted a picture of London where the greatest hazards lay at the theaters and markets—areas of town believed to shelter various types of criminal. Of course, that begs the question, how accurate was the literary map of London's crimes? How well do the literary perils of popular "small books" and pamphlets match up with the crimes actually prosecuted by the Governors of Bridewell? I will demonstrate below that, while the pamphlet crimes mirror those of the Bridewell courts in nature and location, they over-

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[2] ———, *Hic Mulier; or, the Man-Woman: Being a Medicine to Cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers in the Masculine-Feminines of Our Times, Expressed in a Brief Declamation: Non Omnes Possumus Omnes.* (Santa Barbara: UCSB, 1620).

[3] Thomas Dekker, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, Temple Classics (Temple Classics, 1608, reprinted 1904), 124.

[4] Thomas Nash, *Pierce Penilesse, His Supplication to the Deuill: Describing the Ouer-Spreading of Vice, and the Suppression of Vertue Pleasantly Interlac'd with Variable Delights and Pathetically Intermixt with Conceipted Reproofes*, ed. J. Payne Esq. F. S. A. Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1592; reprint, 1842), 21

[5] Thomas Middleton, *The Black Book*, ed. Andrew Rev. Dyce, 5 vols., vol. 5, The Works of Thomas Middleton (London: Edward Lumley, 1604), 513.

represent crime in public, commercial spaces and under-represent one of the most intimate and pervasive sources of crime and disorder in the City—household servants.

Godly Literature

While less mappable due to a lack of specific locations, both the published sermons and advice literature from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries provide an important "check" against the pamphlet literature as do longer, more expensive works such as William Gouge's *Domestical Duties*. We indeed find many of the same motifs in both. The vanity of "brave" clothing, the evils of prostitution, the consequences of gambling and playhouses and the crimes of usurious brokers form dominant currents throughout. Likewise, maintaining discipline and respecting authority are repeated themes.

Prostitution provides a clear example. Hugh Latimer rails against prostitution in "A Cure for Violence and Corruption," saying "O Lord, what whordom is vsed nowe a dayes. As I here by the relacion of honeste men… with heuy hertes how God is dishonored by whoredome in thys cytie or London."[6] Decades later, William Proctor echoes his fears, saying, "how then are brazen-fac'd strumpets suffered most impudently and vnnaturally, to intice men as they passe in the open streets and in the sight of the Sunne?"[7]

Likewise, intentional deceit and the concealing of one's proper place in the social hierarchy are common concerns in sermons, which frequently rail against inappropriate dress. The homily *Of Excess Apparel* chides the listener to "behold and consider his owne

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[6] Hugh Latimer, "A Cure for Violence and Corruption," in *In God's Name: Examples of Preaching in England, 1534-1662*, ed. John Chandos (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1549, reprinted 1971), 17-18.
[7] William Proctor, "London's Iniquity," in *In God's Name: Examples of Preaching in England, 1534-1662*, ed. John Chandos (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1624, reprinted 1971), 251.

vocation, in as much as God hath appoynted every man his degree and office, within the limittes where of it behoueth him to keep him selfe."[8] Thomas Grantham complains that "many a man may think he hath a saint when he hath a Devill, a faire woman, when she is a painted plaistered faced Iesabel… beautiful without but loathsome within."[9] And the anonymous sermonizing pamphlet *Hic Mulier* warns of a city, "where every window stands open like the Subura, and every window a Courtesan with an instrument, like so many Sirens, to enchant the weak passenger to shipwreck and destruction."[10] Philip Stubbes' *Anatomy of the Abuses* tells the tale of a beautiful young merchant's daughter whose vanity and pride lead her to wish the devil would take her when her ruffs were not properly set. Needless to say the devil obliges, appearing in disguise as "a young man, as braue and proper as she in every poincte in outward appearaunce," setting her ruffs, and then wringing her neck.[11]

Gambling too is generally condemned. Thomas Lodge felt that dicing and similar expensive pastimes "undermined the moral and financial standing… of the landed class."[12] He lamented that many young gentlemen mortgage themselves to usurers to pay for their gaming and whores and, despite inheriting "good portio[n]s by their parents, & faire landes by their auncestors, are desolate now, not hauing friends to reléeue them, or money to affray

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[8] Anon., "Certain Homilies," in *In God's Name: Examples of Preaching in England, 1534-1662*, ed. John Chandos (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, c. 1559, reprinted 1971), 62.

[9] Thomas Grantham, "A Wife Mistaken, or a Wife and No Wife," in *In God's Name: Examples of Preaching in England, 1534-1662*, ed. John Chandos (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1641, reprinted 1971), 378

[10] Anonymous, *Hic Mulier*.

[11] Philip Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespere's Youth*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (The New Shakespere Society, 1583, reprinted 1877), 72.

[12] J. F. Merritt, "From Troynouvant to Heliogabulus's Rome and Back " in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perception and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 241.

their charges."[13] George Whetstone believed the evils of society to be exacerbated by

"Tauerns, Dicing places, and brothell houses."[14]

Some forms of gambling, such as cards and bowling, might be considered

gentlemanly under the right circumstances, but even those were certainly not thought proper

behavior for all. In the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* put forth by the London Synod of

1603, ministers are advised to avoid "spending their time idly by day or by night, playing at

dice, cards or tables, or any other unlawful games."[15] Nor are they appropriate for servants

or children for these activities are "the very bane of youth: and draw them to spend in riot

such allowance as their parents allow them."[16]

Themes of avoiding improper behavior antithetical to the social hierarchy also

appear throughout Gouge's *Domestical Duties*. Gouge begins his work by clearly stating that

hierarchy:

> God hath so disposed every one's several place, as there is not any one, but
> in some respect is under another. The wife, though a mother of children, is
> under her husband. The husband, though head of a family, is under public
> Magistrates. Public Magistrates are under another, and all under the King.
> The King himself under God…[17]

[13] Thomas Lodge, *An Alarum against Vsurers Containing Tryed Experiences against Worldly Abuses* (London: T. Este for Sampson Clarke, 1584), 16.
[14] George Whetstone, *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties Representing the Ordinaunces, Policies, and Diligence, of the Noble Emperour, Alexander (Surnamed) Seuerus, to Suppresse and Chastise the Notorious Vices Noorished in Rome, by the Superfluous Number of Dicing-Houses, Tauarns, and Common Stewes* (London: Richarde Iones, 1584), 15.
[15] Protestant Episcopal Church, *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to Be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, 3rd American ed. (Philadelphia: George and Wayne, 1844), 562.
[16] William Gouge, *Domestical Duties, the First Treatise: An Exposition of That Part of Scripture out of Which Domestical Duties Are Raised*, ed. Greg Fox (Lulu On-Demand Publishing, 1622, reprinted 2006), 458.
[17] Ibid., 3.

He then shows how it can be destroyed. Children are brought to disorder by bad

servants. Servants allow children to stray, teach them to swear and blaspheme, or

lead them to playhouses and dice houses.[18] Women will dress in costly gowns and

beaver hats.[19] Sometimes, rather than correcting such behavior, husbands, out of

pride, actually "[p]ut themselves, wives and children, into brave apparel, are frolic

and riotous: what is like to be the end of such?"[20] Adultery for Gouge, writing as he

does about marriage and the family, is completely unacceptable. The adulterous

husband in Rowland's *Crew of Kind Gossips* who "knows the Pandars that can fit his

turne,/And Bawds that helpe good fellowes to the burne" dishonors himself and his

wife.[21]

The commonality of these themes in the sermon and advice literature discussed

above as well as in the popular pamphlets confirms the prevalence of such concerns

throughout at least parts of London society. The pamphleteers described below are part of a

larger cultural discussion of what behavior was appropriate among the residents of London

and England as a whole.

Rogue Literature

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[18] Ibid., 458.

[19] Ibid., 198

[20] Ibid., 73.

[21] Samuel Rowlands, "A Whole Crew of Kind Gossips, All Met to Be Merry," in *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, 1598-1628*, ed. Edmund and Hervon Gosse, Sidney John (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1609, reprinted 1880), 18.

Rogue literature has its origins in pre-Reformation writings, often continental, such as lists of fools.[22] It differs from those predecessors, however, in the degree of realism the authors strove for. The sixteenth-century pamphlets attributed specific histories, names and locations to the events which they "discouered." The authors claim to have talked to the criminals themselves and occasionally to record the criminals' own words. Thus Samuel Rowlands details the history of a gang of criminals and the Upright men who led them while Robert Green places the "company house" of Nips in Ned Lawrence Pickering's home on Kent Street.[23] Green even claims to have been "beleaguered… about the head in St. John's Head within Ludgate, being at supper" when fourteen or fifteen rogues "thought to have made that the fatal night of my overthrow, but that the courteous citizens and apprentices took my part."[24] Even Copeland's *Hye Way to the Spyttel House* (1535), an early example, had begun to include specific places in and around London. His beggars congregate near St. Bartholomew's and St. Paul's, in Houndsditch and along streets such as the Barbican. These details clearly differentiate the *Hye Way* from Barclay's English version of the *Shyp of Folys* which refers only to London in general, "from London Rockes almyghty god vs saue, for if

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[22] The most famous of these catalogs of unchristian and antisocial behaviors is *Das Narranschyff* or *The Ship of Fools*, a German work published in 1494. *The Ship of Fools* became a "best seller" across Europe and was translated into Latin, Dutch, English, French and other vernacular languages. By making fun of people across the social spectrum, the book appealed to those across said spectrum. The scholar could enjoy portrayals of the poor while the working man could appreciate the satire of his betters, through the book's woodcuts if nothing else. See David E. Wellbery, Judith Ryan, and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *A New History of German Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 200.

[23] Samuel Rowlands, "Martin Mark-All, Beadle of Bridewell," in *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, 1598-1628*, ed. Edmund and Hervon Gosse, Sidney John (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1610, reprinted 1880). 44. Robert Greene, "A Notable Discouery of Coosnage," in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, ed. Alexander Grossart, Rev. (The Huth Library of Elizabethan-Jacobean Antique or Very Rare Books in Verse and Prose, 1591, reprinted 1881), 109.

[24] Robert Greene, "A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-Catcher and a Shee Conny-Catcher," in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, ed. Alexander Grossart, Rev. (The Huth Library of Elizabethan-Jacobean Antique or Very Rare Books in Verse and Prose, 1592, reprinted 1881), 236.

we there anker, outhor bote or barge/ There will be so many that they vs wyll overcharge."[25] It is of course specific locations and events which allow the descriptions to be mapped and compared to the crimes actually prosecuted by such institutions as the Bridewell Court of Governors.

After Copeland's poem of the *Spyttel Hous*, there was a period where no (known) pamphlets were published. Then in the middle of the sixteenth century, three prose pamphlets appear: Gilbert Walkers's *Manifest detection of the most vyle and detestable use of Diceplay*, John Awdeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, and Thomas Harman's *A Caueat or Warening, for Common Cursetors vulgarly called Vagabones*. No longer is the medium poetry, which suggests to Clark that the purpose of the works is now to inform as much as to entertain.[26] All are presented as factual accounts. Walker's *Manifest Detection* is presented as a dialog between a young gentleman new to the city and the experienced "M" who offers to make him "understand some parts of the sleights and falsehoods that are commonly practiced at dice and cards."[27] Awdeley's *Fraternity* is something of an exception among the mid-century pamphlets. It simply lists the types of vagabonds and their common iconography with only a brief poem from "the printer to the reader" attributing the knowledge to a vagabond at the Quarter Sessions revealed the secrets in exchange for

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[25] Alexander Barclay, *The Shyp of Fools*, ed. T. H. Jamieson (London: Henry Southeran & Co. , 1509, reprinted 1874), 13.

[26] Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets, 1580-1640* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1983). 41.

[27]Gilbert Walker, "A Manifest Detection of the Most Vile and Detestable Use of Dice-Play, and Other Practice Like the Same: A Mirror Very Necessary for All Young Gentlemen and Others Suddenly Enabled by Worldly Abundance to Look In," in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (New York: Octagon Books, 1552, reprinted 1930), 33.

mercy.[28] Harman, however, claims to have gathered his warning tales from the men he

encountered in his apparent role as Justice of the Peace and tax collector in Kent. Some 20

of the 300 rogues Harman lists among his subjects have actually been found by name in

court records of the time.[29] More so than any of the other authors discussed, Harman also

gives details of how he encountered each of the "snitches" from whom he collected his

facts.

The three mid-century pamphlets discussed above form much of the grist reworked

by later, more famous pamphleteers such as Robert Greene, Thomas Nash, and Thomas

Dekker. However, with the exception of Greene, who did seem to have known "the lives

and habits of London's petty criminals more intimately than any of the many other

pamphleteers," none of the later works have the immediate realism of Harman.[30] Moreover,

little new material was added by writers after Greene, who instead reworked and plagiarized

previous publications. Such reworked pamphlets include *Greenes Newes both from Heauen and

Hell*, *Greenes Funeralls*, *Greene in Conceipt*, and *Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie-Catchers*. For Clark,

even Dekker's works are "redolent of both Greene and Harman."[31]

The lack of dramatically new works has been attributed to the success of the

Elizabethan vagrancy statutes of the 1570s in cutting back on crime.[32] This is debatable. As

my examination of the Bridewell records below will show, certainly there was increased

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[28] John Awdeley, "The Fraternity of Vagabonds as Well of Ruffling Vagabonds as of Beggarly, of Women as of Men, of Girls as of Boys.," in *Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. , 1561, reprinted 1972), 52.

[29] Clark, *Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, 45.

[30] Ibid., 48.

[31] Ibid., 58.

[32] Ibid., 46.

prosecution of vagrants after the 1570s, but whether being whipped and discharged "per passe" with instructions to leave the city of London was an effective preventative is questionable. Moreover, crimes using the tricks described in the cony-catching pamphlets clearly continued into the 1630s and even increased as a percentage of the total cases during that time. It seems more likely that the market is to blame. If re-workings of existing books sold well, which they did, then there was no reason to deviate from the proven formula.[33]

City and Country Rogues

Only some rogues are relevant here, however. The pamphlet literature discusses two types of criminals: those who haunted the hedgerows of the countryside and those who roamed the taverns and playhouses of the cities. It is the latter with which this study is primarily concerned. Country vagabonds differed from the city criminal in several ways besides simply their location. At times they supposedly gathered in large groups "in barns or back-houses," where they sleep in the straw and are "still lousy, and shall never be without vermin."[34] They follow the lead of Upright Men, who demand sexual services of the women in the group. These female rogues, morts and doxies, act as intermediaries between the roguish and civilized life. They bring the men food when they are hiding in the woods from the law, for example.[35] They beg at the houses of the rich and, as Bawdy Baskets, sell pins and lace out of their baskets.

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[33] Ibid., 56. Sometimes the authors did not even put their own names on the recycled material. Robert Greene was amazingly prolific in the years after his death, if one is to believe the bylines.

[34] Thomas Harman, "A Caveat for Common Cursitors, Vulgarly Called Vagabonds," in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. , 1566, reprinted 1930), 108.

[35] Ibid., 71.

Like their urban counterparts, country rogues use trickery to survive. Walking Morts, who are single women unattached to an Upright Man or other ranking rogue, often pretend to have lost their husbands. Fraters have forged licences to beg while Abraham men pretend to be mad. A Demander for Glimmer claims that her house and goods were lost to fire, while a Dummerer claims nothing at all but pretends to be mute.[36] By and large, however, the trickery of a country rogue is simpler than that supposedly practiced by urban criminals. Harman gives an example of two young rogues who convince an innkeeper's wife in Kent that the local parson is an uncle they have not seen in many years. She, "thinking them honest men without deceit, because they so far enquired of their kinsman… showed them cheerfully that he was an honest man and well beloved in the parish, and of good wealth."[37]

Country rogues in the pamphlets also seem to rely more upon violence than do their urban counterparts. Harman tells of an ostler trying to retrieve a whistle from a mort who is set upon by her upright man. The rogue beats his staff from his hands, then the mort "flings a great stone at him, and struck him on the head that down he falls, with the blood about his ears."[38] Not only does the ostler fail to retrieve the whistle, he loses his purse as well. Harman also notes that vagabonds practice highway robbery and opportunistically steal clothes and other goods left out in the open.

City rogues will also do the latter, of course. Hookers (or Curbers) "with a curb, as they term it, or a hook, doth pull out of a window any loose linen cloth, apparel, or else any

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[36] See both Awdeley and Harmen throughout for the definitions of various rogues.
[37] Harman, "Caveat for Common Cursitors," 75.
[38] Ibid., 96.

other household stuff whatsoever, which stolen parcels they in their art call snappings."[39]

Nips cut the bottom out of a purse, while foists will take the entire thing. A whole system of

cheating called Vincent's Law is attributed by Greene to the sharps haunting bowling alleys.

As with cardsharps, these Vincents rely on having a third person who plays the part of a

naïve country man to be victimized. The cony-catcher or Vincent thus convinces the cony

to help him take advantage of the innocent, thus making him believe he is complicit in the

crime when in fact, he's the true mark and the naïve countryman is more skilled at the game

than he. Ring-fallers, on the other hand, require props as well as the trust of their victims.

They take cheap copper rings that have been painted to resemble solid gold and subtly drop

them in the street where their mark is standing. When the innocent bystander finds and

claims the ring, the Ring-faller will simultaneously reach for it and claim half of its worth.

However, the Ring-faller will then generously allow the cony to buy out his half of the

"gold" ring for a mere forty shillings.[40]

Some stings described in the pamphlets were designed to take place quickly, while

others were long-term ways to access a man's pockets. Walker's *Manifest Detection of Dice Play*

illustrates the hazards of false friends. Here the target is a young gentleman, recently come

to London to attend a great patron at court or pursue a suit at law. The cony-catcher here

will befriend him and offer him food and lodging. An apparently honest householder with a

large house, "table… fair spread with diaper cloths; the cupboard garnished with much

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[39] Robert Greene, "The Second Part of Cony-Catching," in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. , 1591, reprinted 1930), 172.
[40] Awdeley, "Fraternity of Vagabonds," 59.

goodly plate" and a finely dressed wife, he lures the mark in.[41] The young man is offered

food, lodging, and gentle company. The only cost for this is that he is asked to play at cards

or dice with the "gentleman's" friends. Of course, he always loses, sometimes "forty pounds

within this sennight."[42] Once the mark is brought low, the cony-catcher may then even

make him an accomplice, offering to teach him the trade and earn back his wealth by

cozening others.[43]

The cozener's entire demeanor is a deception, whether he is from the city or the

country. He may dress in rags for pity or appear to be a gentleman. Harman describes

Nicholas Jennings, an upright man in both roles:

> These two pictures lively set out
> One body and soul. God send him more grace!
> This monstrous dissembler, a crank all about,
> Uncomely coveting, of each to embrace
> Money or wares, as he made his race;
> And sometime a mariner, and a serving man,
> Or else and artificer, and he would feign then.
> Such shifts he used, being well tried,
> Abandoning labour, till he was espied.
> Condign punishment for his dissimulation
> He surely received, with much exclamation.[44]

Women were not excluded from the urban arts of cony-catching any more than from

the activities of country rogues. As Nan, the she cony-catcher, points out in her disputation

with Lawrence, women are more easily trusted than men. Where a man will be wary of

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[41] Walker, "Manifest Detection," 30.
[42] Ibid., 33.
[43] The term "cozen" means to cheat or defraud another. Its first usage in English seems to be in Awdeley's *Fraternity of Vagabonds* and it may be related to the word cousin in the sense that someone who feigns a false kinship with you is deceiving you. *Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edition, 1989; online version September 2011. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/43571>; accessed 03 November 2011.
[44] Harman, "Caveat for Common Cursitors." 97.

other men in the market place, all a woman requires is "fayre wordes, sweete kisses, fained

sighes."[45] A man who wants more than just a smile or a kiss is at even more risk. Bawds,

like the cony-catchers above, bring johns into their houses and make them feel welcome.

They are wined and dined, paying "for a pipping Pye that cost in the market four pence, at

one of the Trugging houses xviii pence."[46] Once a man has moved on to the main event, he

may find that the evening holds little pleasure. Cross-biting was the art of blackmailing a

man over his dalliances. Once he and the whore or "custom," had withdrawn, he might find

the door thrown open and an angry "husband" (or brother) claiming the john was raping his

wife (or sister).[47] Of course, he would be allowed an opportunity to make amends with the

contents of his purse and avoid the constable. But even if he avoided being cross-bitten, the

john was still ultimately the victim, for whores spread pox and ruined reputations. As Nan

exclaims in the Disputation,

> [T]here is none so great inconuenience in the Common wealth, as growes
> from whores, first for the corrupting of youth, infecting of age, for breeding
> of brawles, whereof ensues murther, in so much that the ruin of many men
> comes from vs and the fall of many youthes of good hope, if they were not
> seduced by vs, doo proclaim at Tyborne, that wee be the meanes of their
> misery: you men theeues touch the bodie and the wealth, but we ruin the
> soule...[48]

Henry Goodcole's *Heavens Speedie Hue and cry Sent after Lust and Murder* also describes the

consequences of cross-biting, this time based on a series of documented crimes committed

in the City. Two young cross-biters, Tom Sherwood and Bess Evans, lured "Gentlemen of

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[45] Greene, "Disputation," 210.
[46] Ibid., 211.
[47] ———, "Notable Discouery." 41.
[48] ———, "Disputation," 235.

great Note, and good quality, Eminent in place and substance" to hidden places around London with the promise of sex.[49] Instead, the men were murdered for their money. Fewer than twenty men claim to have been cross-bitten in the Bridewell records I have examined. Hundreds are accused of fornication, however, and those with money will usually buy themselves out of public punishment with a "donation to the poor of the house." These men sometimes do in fact find themselves diseased as a result of their indiscretions.

Mapping the Pamphlet Crimes

Having discussed the nature of the pamphlet crimes, I will now look at their spatial dimension. In mapping locations from the Cony Catching pamphlets, I chose to use all of Mapping the events described in the pamphlets listed in table 4.1 presents us with the distribution of events seen in figure 4.2. Points on the map represent from one to 15 mentions of the location in the pamphlets, both in borrowings and in new crimes attributed to the location. Clearly, the western and northern suburbs of the city are frequently mentioned, as are the business and financial districts. Figure 4.3 uses color to show the early and mid-century works including Copeland's *Hye Way*. The outright plagiarism of authors after Greene creates a challenge. Should works that are, to a large extent, mere copies of earlier publications be included? They will clearly add duplicate "events" to the map. I have chosen to include some of them for one reason; they were still selling books. Later authors made choices about what earlier materials to include in their works because these materials were popular and would sell. They chose to pass over some things which we would think

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[49] Henry Goodcole, *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry Sent after Lust and Murder Manifested Upon the Suddaine Apprehending of Thomas Shearwood, and Elizabeth Evans, Whose Manner of Lives, Death, and Free Confessions, Are Heere Expressed* (London: N. & I. Okes, 1615), 14.

relevant to late sixteenth-century readers, such as a list of types of bad servants from

Awdeley. Therefore the duplications in event and location represent at least what the writers

thought were still in demand when they "borrowed" the earlier materials and should be

included in the literary topography of London at that time. The later works mapped and

discussed below include several of Greene's works: *A Notable Discovery of Cozenage*, the *Second*

and *Third Parts of Cony-catching*, the *Disputation* and the *Black Book's Messenger*.   Also included

are Thomas Middleton's *Testament of Laurence Lucifer*, Rowlands *Martin Markall* and *Gossips at*

a Vinter's Hall, and Dekker's *Seven Deadly Sins*, the *Bellman of London*, *Raven's Almanack*, and

Lanthorn and Candelight. temporal distribution of the events from map 4.2, based on the dates

of the published pamphlets. Locations in the both western and northern suburbs as well as

Table 4.1: Rogue and Crime Pamphlets Mapped in this Study
- John Awdeley, *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*   - Robert Copeland, *Hye Way to the Spyttel House*   - Thomas Dekker, *The Bellman of London*   - Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorn and Candelight*   - Thomas Dekker, *Raven's Almanack*   - Thomas Dekker, *Seven Deadly Sins*   - Henry Goodcole, *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry*   - Robert Greene, *Black Book's Messenger.*   - Robert Greene, *Disputation* Between A He and She Conny Catcher   - Robert Greene, *The Second Part of Cony-catching*   - Robert Greene *A Notable Discovery of Cozenage*,   - Robert Greene, *The Third and Last Part of Cony-catching*   - Thomas Harman, *A Caueat for Common Cursetors*   - Thomas Nash, *Pierce Penilesse, His Supplication to the Deuill*   - Thomas Middleton, *Testament of Laurence Lucifer*,   - Samuel Rowlands, *Martin Markall*   - Samuel Rowlands, *Gossips at a Vinter's Hall*   - Gilbert Walker, *Manifest detection of Diceplay*

in the heart of the city are mentioned in both early and later pamphlets. So while specific locations vary somewhat over time, no broad swath of the city except for the more industrial east end is excluded from the any time period. The locations where the greatest number of pamphlet crimes take place, in all time periods, are in the wealthy western suburbs outside the wall. There are significant locations within the walls as well—often markets and other public spaces

Looking at the locations in more detail, let us consider first the heart of London. Looking in more depth at the locations indicated in figure 4.2, we see that the large circles in the center of the City represent the Royal Exchange (which opened in1570) and Birchin
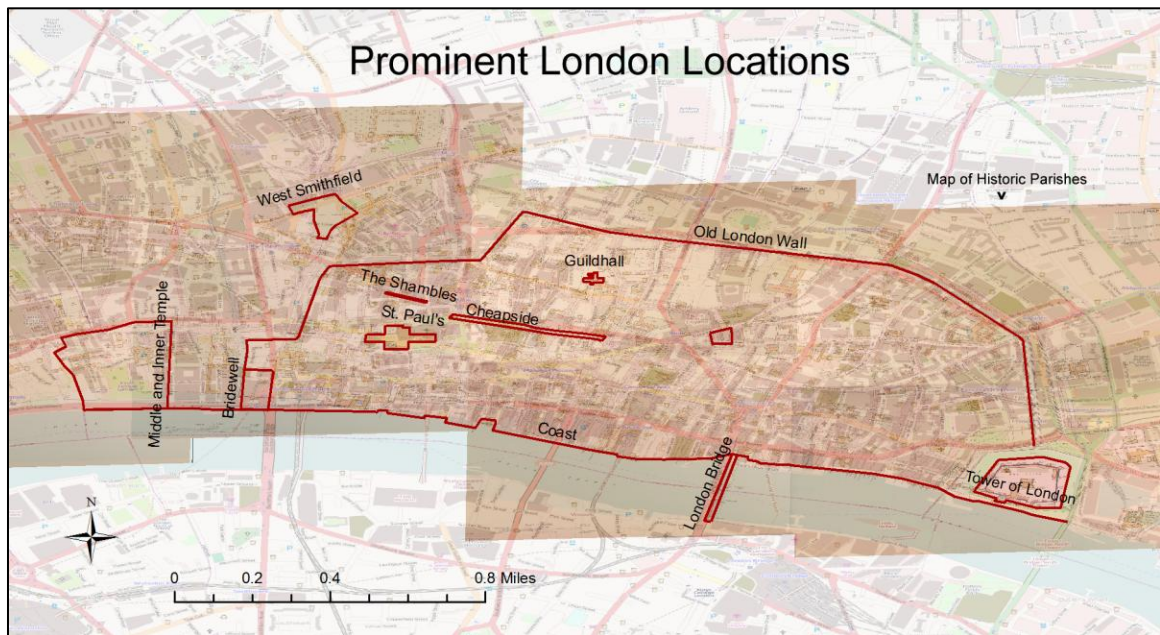
Figure 4.1: London Landmarks

Lane, a center of the tailor's trade (compare to figure 4.1). The smaller dots, extending south and west from the Exchange, cover Old and New Fish Street, Newgate Market, and St.

Paul's Cathedral. Along the river, taverns in Vintry Ward and the Meal Market near

Queenhith are also mentioned frequently. The New Exchange, which opened in 1609, is

just off the map in the western suburbs. All these locations are central to London's

economy and the new social hierarchies it engendered.

Far from being simply a house of worship, St. Paul's Cathedral was a meeting place

for both Londoners and visitors to the city. Outdoor sermons were held at Paul's cross. Its

yard held a burgeoning market for cheap print and diverse other goods; a prisoner in

Bridewell noted that when her mistress was imprisoned for running a bawdy house, she
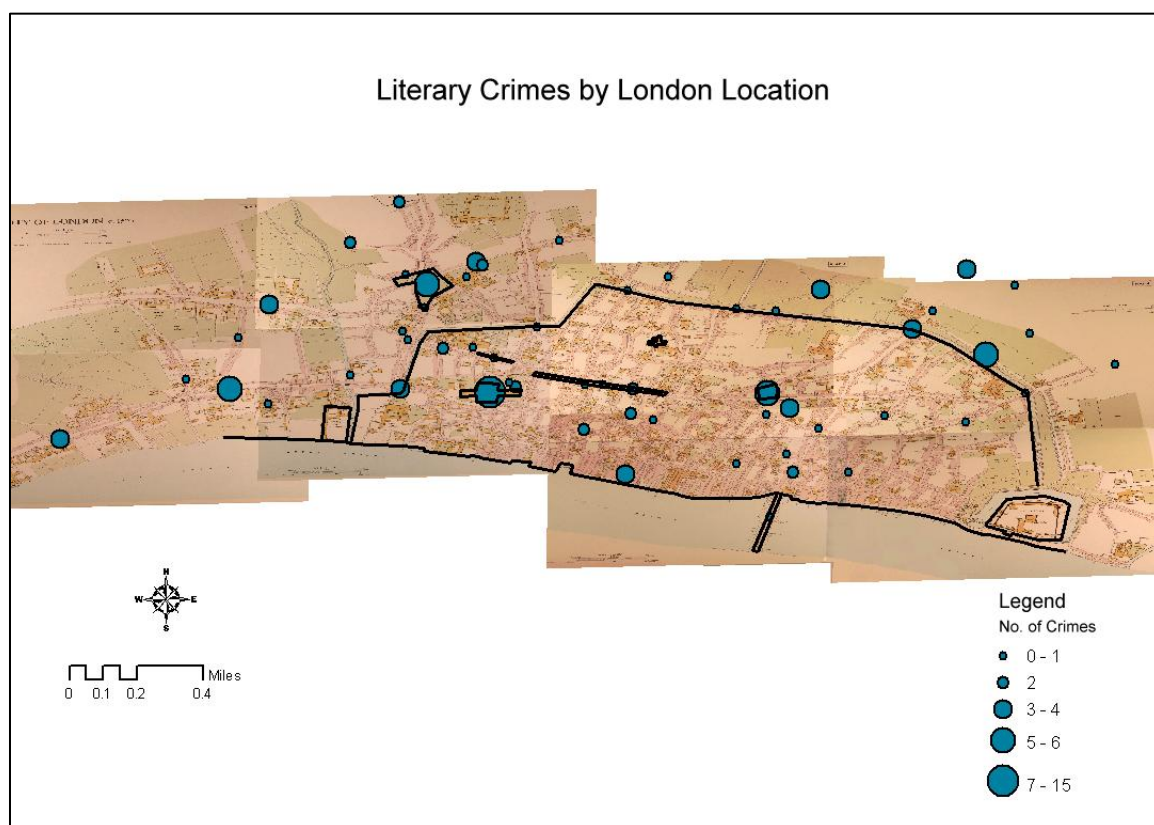
Figure 4.2: Locations of Pamphlet Crimes

returned to her father, a trunk-maker in Paul's churchyard.[50] With all these diverse activities

being carried out, it is little wonder it could have been a haven for pickpockets and cozeners.

Certainly in the eyes of the pamphlet writers it is. Paul's is where "R" meets the man who

brings about his financial ruin in *Manifest Detection.* The rogue was "fair dressed in silks, gold,

and jewels, with three or four servants in gay liveries, all 'broidered with sundry colours,

attending upon him."[51] Greene tells his reader that cony-catchers meet in Paul's "as that is

the vsuall place of their assembly, both to determine on their driftes, and also to speede of
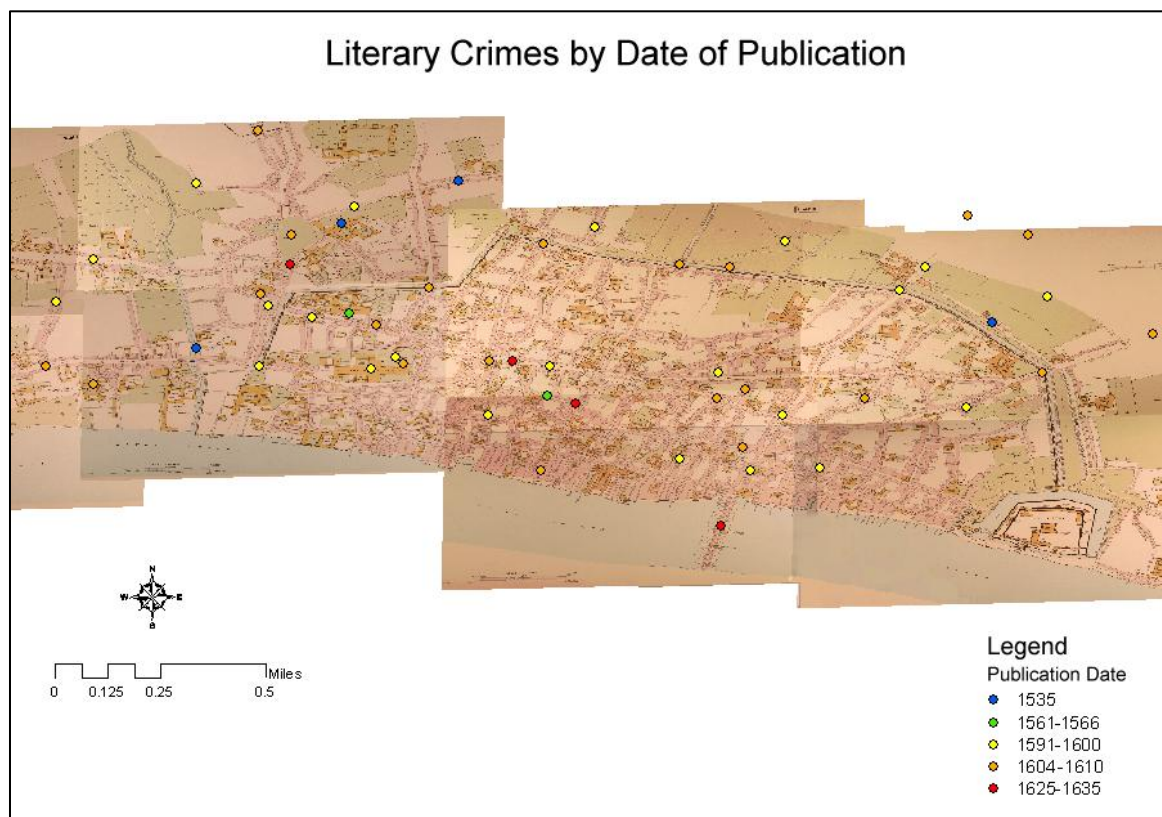
Figure 4.3: Literary Crimes by Date of Publication

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[50] B.C.B. 4 fo. 388ᵛ.
[51] Walker, "Manifest Detection." 28.

manie a bootie."[52] There, using a harlot as a distraction, a fool-taker plays a game of "who-

am-I" with his mark and picks his pocket while he's distracted. Dekker too warns that

"Foistes, Mips, and Cony catchers, that sit at Duke Humfreys owne table (a monument in

Paul's), and turne your comodities into mony vpon the Exchange."[53] Even the Devil's agent

walks in Paul's, "a neat pedanticall fellow in the forme of a citizen."[54] Despite its visibility as

a city landmark, however, Paul's does not play as large a role in the pamphlet literature as

more purely mercantile locations.

Middleton tells us that, passing through Birchin lane, the Devil "took excellent

occasion to slip into a captain's suit, a valiant buff doublet, stuffed with points like a leg of

mutton…"[55] But Parmersiell, the Devil's footman, fares less well upon entering the lane

where

> he was most terribly and sharpely set upon: every prentice boy had a pull at
> him: he feared that all had bin Sarjeants, because they all had him by the
> back: never was poore devil so tormented in hell, as he was amongst them…
> no strength could shake them off but that they must shewe him some suites
> of apparel…[56]

Valiant beggars, cony catchers, nips and foists were said to roam all the crowded

venues of the city. Fairs, plays, flesh, fish and meal markets all created ideal places to find a

victim. Beggars

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[52] Robert Greene, "The Third and Last Part of Cony-Catching," in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. , 1592, reprinted 1930), 187.
[53] Thomas Dekker, "The Raven's Almanacke," in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker in Five Volumes*, ed. Alexander Grossart, Rev. (London: The Huth Library, 1609, reprinted 1885), 192.
[54] Nash, *Pierce Pennilesse*, 12.
[55] Middleton, *The Black Book*, 531.
[56] Dekker, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, 200-201.

> …walk to eche market, and fayre
> And to all places where folke to repayr
> By day on styltes, or stoupyng on crowches
> And so dyssymule as fals lewtryng flowches
> With bloody clowtes all about their legge
> And playsters on theyr skin, whan they go beg[57]

Nips and foists, meanwhile, can be found everywhere. They haunt theaters, markets, churches, and the highways.

These urban market places were supposedly safe, public places where transactions happened openly. Not only did the purchase of daily staple goods take place in these spaces, large amounts of money could be spent on rare treasures and exotic imports as well.[58] Trust was an essential part of the market and thus easily abused, at least by fictional criminals. Thus Rowlands tells of a serving boy, who was cheated simply by being polite. He offers a cozening customer food the man did not initially ask for. The cheater replies only "do and thou woot," and considers the meal the boy brings *gratis* because of his cunning phrasing.[59] Greene writes of a maidservant, out with her master and mistress, who is met in the street by a con man who addresses her as "cousin." He claims to bring gifts of cheese and bacon from her aunt and uncle, thus winning over the whole family. When he brings the gifts, he uses the opportunity to abscond with "all the plate bound vp together in his cloke [and]

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[57] Robert Copland, "The Hye Way to the Spytell Hous," in *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry* (London: Longman, Hurste, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1535, reprinted 1817), 16.

[58] For a detailed discussion of the growing culture of luxury consumption in seventeenth-century England, see Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[59] Samuel Rowlands, "The Knaue of Clubs," in *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, 1598-1628*, ed. Edmund and Hervon Gosse, Sidney John (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 16xx, reprinted 1880), 13.

some twenty pounds-worth of goods more."[60] Moreover, Dekker reveals that a "lifter"

dressed up "as if he were a Country Gentleman of 550 a yeare" will come into a goldsmith's

shop with a partner or "marker" and distract the shop owner while the marker departs with

some of the man's wares beneath his cloak.[61] Is this portrayal of crime in the shopping

districts purely a manifestation of the pamphlets? Evidence suggests not. We will see

Bridewell criminals below apprehended for thefts from shops. Additionally, the shops in the

New Exchange which commanded the highest rents were the interior spaces on the upper

floors, not the shops with street entrances.[62] Shops with street entrances were more

accessible to consumers, so we would expect them to command higher rents. But if they

were more accessible to criminals as well, they might not have been able to command the

prices an interior shop would.

The peaceful parks and fields so admired by John Evelyn were not safe either,

however. The more rural areas to the west of the city were known as prime spots for

prostitutes to meet customers. Perhaps the most telling account of these spaces is

Goodcole's *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry.* A news pamphlet rather than a cony-catching

pamphlet *per se*, Goodcole goes beyond simply detailing the sins of the criminals; he reveals

the complicit nature of London's landscape.[63] He warns gentlemen to beware and "if a

Woman come unto you alone, with inticing faire promises of Curtezan courtesies, to meete

you in the Feilds, or some other private remote places, remember the case of Mr.*Claxton*, and

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[60] Greene, "The Third Part of Cony-Catching," 154.
[61] Dekker, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, 138.
[62] Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 51.
[63] Randall Martin, "Taking a Walk on the Wild Side: Henry Goodcole's Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry Sent after Lust and Murther (1635) and London Criminal Chorography," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 14, no. 3 (2009).

Mr. *Holt"* and then proceeds to list a number of locations on London's periphery as places

of danger: the Pond at Smithfield, Gray's Inn fields, the sheep pens, or the "back side" of

Clerkenwell.[64] Rogue pamphlet authors also identify these fields as places for lewd liaisons.

Greene notes that on "summer euenings and in the winter nights, these trafickes, these

common truls, I meane, walke abroad either in the fields or streets."[65] Selling nags as good

horseflesh is the order of the day at the track at Smithfield, and small garden houses on the

fringes of the city become the deathbeds of plague-ridden servants.[66]

Few crime locations are found in the more industrial eastern suburbs. The exception

is Houndsditch, which was known for its brokers and pawn shops.[67] Brokers were known to

fence goods, so such shops would have been known as locations of criminal activity to the

reader. However, the eastern parishes as a whole were net receivers of poor relief.[68] The

western parishes did experience substantial in-filling by the poor but also continued to draw

the wealthy through their convenience to Westminster and the Inns of Court. This was not

the case in the East End. Portsoken and Whitechapel were not wealthy areas, and they were

not attractive to the "better sort" seeking to live closer to political and commercial centers.[69]

Fewer buildings in the East were used as shops and more were used for industry.[70] Those

shopkeepers listed in the parish records of St. Botolph without Aldgate either produce staple

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Greene, "Notable Discouery," 40.

[66] Dekker, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, 212, 284.

[67] See Dekker's "Rod for Runaways" and Rowlands' "Martin Mark-all" for mentions throughout of brokers.

[68] Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 150-151.

[69] M. J. Power, "East and West in Early Modern London," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S. T. Bindoff*, ed. E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht, and J. J. Scarisbrick (London: University of London Athlone Press, 1978), 173-175.

[70] Ibid., 175.

goods like clothing, bread, and knives or are engaged in heavy manufacturing of items like ships, ships guns, and hemp ropes.[71] Only a handful of the thousands of parishioners mentioned are goldsmiths or other wealthy artisans and, as Power notes, only one tenth of a percent of the population was titled.[72] There were fewer luxuries here to steal and, more importantly, fewer wealthy gulls to rob. So it would seem, at least from the pamphlet writers' perspectives, the crimes that occurred there were peripheral and uninteresting.[73]

The Criminal as Outsider

One last but significant point to be made about the rogue literature is this: overall, the criminals are outsiders, a view new to the early modern. Previously, criminals were seen as members of the community whose behavior was unacceptable rather than members of a criminal "anti-society."[74] They may pretend to be members of the community on which they prey, but they are not. Members of the community may be fools, but they are not fool-takers. In the penny godlies, the foibles of the community may be laid bare, but not generally among the rogue pamphlets. There are occasional exceptions, of course. John Awdeley's *Fraternity of Vagabonds* describes the types of bad servants a man may retain (a list not continued in later rogue publications). Samuel Rowland also notes servants as potential sources of crime. Dekker's *Raven's Almanack* which, as the faux-almanac it is, covers a broader range of evils than a pure rogue pamphlet lists the sins of the wealthy. There are

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[71] P69/BOT2/A/019/MS09234
[72] Power, "East and West," 181. The percentage of titled residents in the West End was 3.9.
[73] It is also worth noting that the area did not seem to be the dangerous slum it would become by the late nineteenth century. Despite recording the deaths of a large number of parishioners, only six men and one woman died from intentional violence in the last two decades of the sixteenth century Various, "St Botolph without Aldgate Parish Registers," in *St Botolph without Aldgate Parish Registers* (London: London Metropolitan Archives, 1571-1593).
[74] Jonathan Haynes, "Representing the Underworld: 'The Alchemist'," *Studies in Philology* 86, no. 1 (1989): 19.

man is olde in yeares, yet a childe in discretion: when his wife is a drunkard, and his

daughter a Wanton, and his Seruant a Pilferer."[79] In Lanthorn and Candle-light, the Devil's

agent "spyed servant purloining fadels of their maisters goods, and delivering them to the

hands of common strumpets."[80] Awdeley's list of Knaves in the Fraternity also contains

servants. "Troll with" dresses too well and "goes cheek by cheek with [his master] in the

street," while "Simon soon agon" hides from his master when there's work to be done and

"Numquam" takes hours to perform short errands.[81] "Dying thrifts" go further and will

"sell their Master's meat to their own profit."[82]

As noted above, pamphlets which are broader in scope than just a compilation of

rogues, particularly the plague pamphlets, go farther in exposing the flaws of the community.

In *The Dead Terme*, Dekker places apparent good citizens in with the Rogues.

> For at one time in one and the same ranke, yea, foote by foote, and elbow by
> elbow, shall you see walking, the Knight, the Gull, the Gallant, the vpstart,
> the Gentleman, the Clowne, the Captaine, the Appel-squire, the lawyer, the
> Vserer, the Citizen, the Bankerout, the Scholler, the Begger, the Doctor, the
> Ideot, the Ruffian, the Cheater, the Puritan, the Cutthroat… [in St. Paul's] [83]

Here Paul's is shown commodified and common. The citizens and rogues who walk there

cross boundaries between the ordered and the disordered, the legitimate city and the

underworld. All are vulnerable to corruption, not just the apparent rogues.

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[79] Dekker, "The Raven's Almanacke," 189.
[80] ———, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, 271-72.
[81] Awdeley, "Fraternity of Vagabonds," 98.
[82] Ibid., 100.
[83] Thomas Dekker, "The Dead Terme," in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker in Five Volumes*, ed.
Alexander Grossart, Rev. (London: The Huth Library, 1608, reprinted 1885), 51.

Sometimes the sins of the mighty are only implied. A common counter-argument of cony-catchers throughout the pamphlets is that the authors, in illuminating them, "entrappe onely the smallest flies, [and] suffer the great ones to flie through."[84] Brokers, lawyers, and other features of the mercantile city are even greater threats than we are, the rogues argue. Thomas Lodge recounts a tale of a judge who receives forty angels from a usurer to defend him against a gentleman and a farmer whom he cheated. He further offers "any time you want a hundredth pound or two, tis readie at your command."[85] And In *A Dialogue Against the Feuer Pestilence*, William Bullein reminds the reader that in a time of crisis, even the most trusted man, the physician, will turn against his patient to make a profit. Or as he has the Doctor Tocrub tell us, "He loued me as I loued him, He me for healthe, and I hym for money… therefore I haue taken my leaue, I warrante you, Crispine, I will return to hym no more."[86]

Contours of Crime

If we return to figures 4.2 and 4.3 above, we see that neither of these images conveys a clear sense of the *contours* of literary crime. Only isolated locations are revealed. Using surface interpolation techniques, a surface representing the literary crimes can be created. Surface interpolation takes each point in turn and estimates the values surrounding it according to the values of the adjacent points, with closer neighbors having a greater

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[84] Rowlands, "Martin Mark-All, Beadle of Bridewell," 14.
[85] Tomas Lodge, "A Looking Glasse for London and Englande," in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge Now First Collected* (Glasgow and London: The Huntarian Club, 1598, reprinted 1883), 21.
[86] William Bullein, *Dialog against the Feuer Pestilence*, ed. Mark W. Bullen (London: Early English Text Society, 1578, reprinted 1888), 55-56.

weight.[87] The interpolated surface of literary crimes reveals that the "danger zones" for encountering the crimes of the pamphlets were in the west end of the city, both within and without the walls, with additional peaks of crimes near the Royal Exchange and London Bridge (figure 4.4). This interpolation represents the density of pamphlet crimes mapped in the point maps above. The lightest areas for crime are those neighborhoods around the Guildhall and the Tower. The continuous surface revealed through this technique will form the basis by which literary crime locations can be compared to Bridewell court cases below.

The London of the Bridewell Governors

The records of the Bridewell Court of Governors are vast. While they have been digitized, unlike the later Old Bailey records, they exist only in manuscript format. Eleven minute books totaling over 7700 pages cover the Court's proceedings from the mid-sixteenth century to the Great Fire. Despite the daunting quantity of material, scholars have profitably worked with the records, particularly with the earlier, more detailed cases. Ian Archer and Paul Griffiths, both discussed in previous chapters, stand out for their analyses of the cases.

Because of the great number of available records, I have only looked at samples for this project. Two-year cluster samples containing over 6500 cases were examined for four different periods. Each two-year cluster consisted of several hundred manuscript pages and from nearly 1400 to over 2600 records. The clusters were not themselves sampled, but

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[87] See Appendix A for more detail on the mapping techniques used in the study.
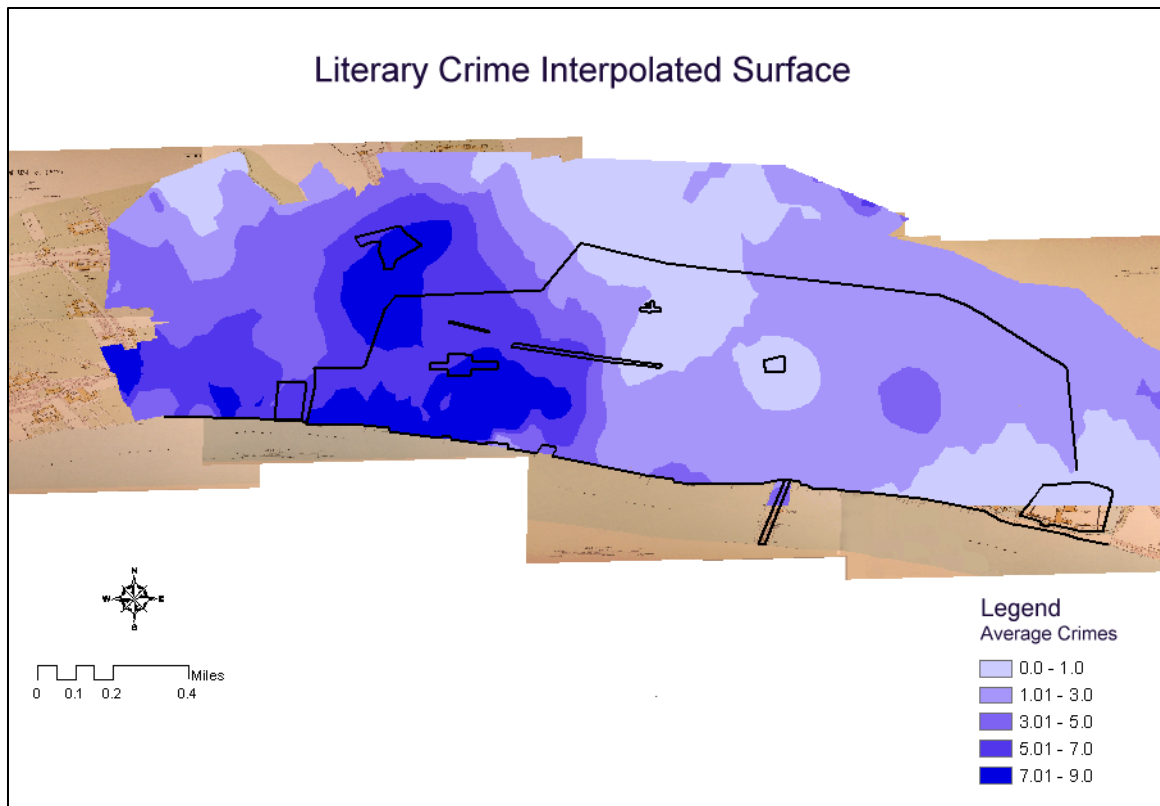
Figure 4.4: Interpolated Surface of Literary Crimes

rather completely enumerated.[88] The first cluster consists of the cases from 1576-77, the

second from 1597-99, the third from 1602-04, and the last from 1632-34.

There are several reasons why these particular years were selected. The first of these

was to consider the effects of market prices. The first and third samples come from years

where market prices were fairly low while the second and fourth are from times of inflation

and high prices. The 1590s in particular are often considered a time of economic crisis for

England. Disease also played a role. There were no major epidemics during either of the

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[88]For the validity of this method, see J. Chapman McGrew and Charles B. Monroe, *An Introduction to Statistical Problem Solving in Geography*, 2nd ed. (Long Grove, Il: Waveland Press, Inc., 2000), 91. Sampling within each cluster would have made it impossible to track specific court cases or get a sense of the daily activities of the courts.

first two samples. Plague raged in 1603, and smallpox struck the city in 1634. Cultural

events also played a role in selecting the sample years. The first sample occurs after the mid-

century rogue pamphlets but before the genre was re-popularized by Greene. The middle

two periods come from the height of the cony-catching pamphlets, and the last is after that

peak.

Table 4.2. Summary of Bridewell Case Samples							
Sample Years	Servant Cases	Vagrancy Cases	Prostitution Cases	Deception Cases	Theft Cases	Total Cases	Conditions
1576-77	269 (19.5%)	18 (1.3%)	226 (16.3%)	69 (5.0%)	51 (3.7%)	1383	Moderate Prices, No Epidemics
1597-99	177 (9.7%)	802 (43.9%)	44 (2.4%)	45 (2.5%)	53 (2.9%)	1827	High Prices, No Epidemics
1602-04	224 (8.4%)	1482 (55.6%)	64 (6.4)[89]	58 (2.4%)	68 (2.6%)	2664	Low Prices, Plague
1633-35	188 (12.2%)	556 (36.2%)	56 (3.6%)	275 (17.9%)	260 (16.9%)	1538	High Prices, Smallpox

However, the records chosen also attempt to *avoid* times of intense political or

institutional change. The first sample is well after the very beginnings of Bridewell as an

institution when patterns of prosecution were just being established. The St. Bartholomew's

Day Massacre in France, and the defeat of the Armada are also avoided, as is the Civil War.

The death of a monarch was unavoidable. 1603 and 1625 are the most significant plague

years before 1665, and a monarch died during each of these years as well. Thus the samples

reflect a variety of circumstances that might have affected the prosecution of crime within

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[89] During the plague months of 1603, prostitution cases double to 12.3 percent.

the city. Certainly the potential for a great deal of further investigation into other years remains.

Bridewell was a reformatory, the first of its kind, intended to reform the morally suspect as well as punish them. The institution dealt with many types of cases which came to the officers from different sources. Organized prostitution, casual sex, vagrancy, runaway servants, drunkenness, oath swearing, dicing, petty theft, fencing goods, and in general any sort of "evil" or "wicked" life could result in prosecution before the Bridewell Governors.[90] Cases came on warrants from the Lord Mayor or the various Governors themselves. Some were brought by ward constables, others by parish churchwardens. Others were instigated by family members. For most of them guilt meant punishment, and punishment meant whipping as well as possibly being set to work in the house. The wealthy could buy their way out of punishment by offering a "donation to the poor of the house" ranging from 40 shillings to 40 pounds sterling, in cash or useful goods. Both those convicted and those just suspected of disorderly behavior were also required to put in sureties to ensure their good behavior as well as to accept any financial consequences of their actions (such as the care of a bastard child).

Today we can etically compile and numerically analyze the Bridewell records in ways the Governors never considered. Below I consider the number, locations, and spatial statistics of crimes committed by servants as well as crimes involving "cony catching" and

[90] I have defined prostitution as cases of repeat fornication with multiple men, paid or unpaid, or cases where the woman was clearly involved with a bawdy house. Instances of fornication with a single partner are not, however, considered prostitution, as there is no way of distinguishing those which might have been from completely noncommercial sex. Money alone cannot be used as the indicator as records do not always indicate a monetary payment.

prostitution. As with most legal records, the dry facts of each case lend themselves to such tabulations. Such statistics are valuable to this study but the narratives provide valuable insight as well. Hidden in among the many terse statements of "po and dd per pass" are detailed, colorful narratives of the lives of the defendants.[91] Prostitutes describe their fancy clothing and repeat the "pillow talk" they share with their customers. Servants justify their vagrancy with complaints of abuse by their masters and describe the evenings they spend dicing in local taverns. Defendants plot against the Governors and the Hospital staff. Detailed narratives such as these reveal the cultural world of the residents of the City and the impact of literary motifs upon them at least as much as the statistics do. Bridewell case descriptions do grow shorter over time and as the caseload increases. Few details are recorded by the second half of the seventeenth century. However, the chosen sample years, even those from the 1630s, all have frequent narrative details that I will draw on qualitatively in construction of London's cultural topography.

Social Order and Disorder

To understand the effects of crime on the population of London, we must first look at how things were believed to function in the ideal. The Bridewell governors, along with other citizens and members of the city livery companies, had clear ideas of how the world was "supposed" to work. As the magistrates of the city, their role was to assist the monarch to "discusse all controuersies, refourme all transgressions, and exploite al consultations,

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[91] "po and dd per passe" is the standard formulation indicating a vagrant individual was punished (whipped) and discharged with a pass that was intended to enable them to travel from constable to constable back to the parish of their birth, wherever that might be.

concluded as well for outwarde, as inwarde affaires."[92] The citizens they governed were to

"[g]ive to eyery man therefore his dutye: Tribute to who tribute belongeth: Custom to

whom custom is due, feare to who feare belongeth: honour to whom honour pertayneth."[93]

Seldom, however, did that perfectly ordered world present itself to the Governors in

the Bridewell courts or even in the running of the hospital itself. Instead, they faced a city

that seemed to them flush with hordes of vagrants, lewd and disorderly drunks, runaway

servants, wives who secretly prostituted themselves, and children who beat their parents.

Even in the hospital itself, they faced the threats of angry inmates and strident complaints

from officers who felt their positions were being shorted or their funds misappropriated.

Several categories of these crimes of disorder will be considered in detail below after a quick

look at the overall trends in the records.

The Defendants and their Crimes

The Bridewell governors prosecuted defendants for two general types of behavior:

that which was considered criminal situational or specific to the case and that which was

considered crimimal in all circumstances. In the first category fall offences such as begging,

nightwalking, and vagrancy. The actions that led to prosecution in such cases were not

always crimes. A country man who came to London with an offer of employment or to

pursue a lawsuit was not committing a crime. One who came to London without such

things could find himself prosecuted for vagrancy, however. A midwife with a legitimate

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[92] Thomas Elyot, "The Boke Named the Governor." (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1531, electronic edition 1994.), http://www.luminarium.org/renascence-editions/gov/gov1.htm.
[93] William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christen Man, and How Christen Rulers Ought to Gouerne* (Antwerp and London: Early English Books Online, 1535), 9.

reason to be out at night was not considered a nightwalker, even though she might be passing through the same streets as a woman who was. Likewise, begging was acceptable—but only if you had a license. On the other hand, a man who mistakenly thought his first wife was dead and thus remarried was committing bigamy as completely as one who knew he had a living wife. And a boy who stole food to survive was just as guilty of theft as one who did it to profit from the goods. Both were prosecuted, but in the case of the situational crimes, the circumstances of the defendant were as significant to the case as the actual actions.

Of these "pre-crimes," vagrancy is the most problematic to define. Begging and nightwalking can be given simple definitions. Someone asking for money or food is a beggar. A man or woman (the vast majority were the latter) walking the streets at night with no legitimate reason to be there was nightwalking. But how did the governors define vagrancy? We might believe that they meant people with no fixed address, no master or mistress, or who were strangers to London with no job awaiting them. They meant all of these things. But as Patricia Fumerton notes, "housed" servants made up a large proportion of those charged with vagrancy. Female workers were often charged as well.[94] Any sort of liminal position in society where social ties were weak or non-traditional was a space that created vagrancy. Defendants in these cases therefore found it difficult to prove their innocence; the lack of social ties necessary to prove one was of good character itself indicated "vagrancy."

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[94] Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 12-16. By "housed" servants she means servants who are currently employed. They are housed by their employers, but are still considered vagrant by the Court unless they can prove they were on legitimate business.

Robert Wilcocks, for example, was an apparent vagrant who proved not to be. Because "he hath a place of abode and doth labor for his living and lives in god sorte," he was discharged without any punishment or need for sureties.[95] Implicit in his release is the role of his neighbors. Someone had to convey to the Bridewell governors that Wilcocks not only had a proper living but also a proper life. Any vagrant could be a thief, any nightwalker a prostitute, any beggar a con artist. Robert Wikcocks not only had a place of residence but a profession (sawyer) that he actively practiced, and he lived in an exemplary way. These factors outweighed any potential he might have had to commit crimes. George Combe was not so lucky. A "vagrant fellowe and supposed to be a pigge stealer," he is punished by the court.[96] He is only *supposed* to be a pig stealer. There was no definitive evidence. But the apparent lack of any witnesses or information to the contrary was enough to see Combe to the pillory.

Mapping Situational Crimes

In addition to being crimes only if committed by the right type of person, they are difficult to depict spatially. Vagrancy, begging, and nightwalking have been examined by previous researchers who have noted that few of the vagrancy cases are given specific locations and there are few documented nightwalking and begging cases overall. However, these situational crimes are still worth mapping, despite the challenges. The Bridewell governors felt that such men and women could easily become criminals, and if they were correct, a map of such situational crimes should predict the areas of London where we will

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[95] B.C.B. 4 fo. 565.
[96] B.C.B. 4 fo. 441ᵛ.

find those who committed non-situational offences such as theft, assault, prostitution, or adultery. In order to map these situational crimes, they have to be compiled across a broad span of time. I have used data from the 1570s to the 1630s below to map the "potential" criminals and look at where they were most prevalent in London.

In figure 4.5 below, the data have been mapped and then transformed over several steps. First, raw data does not take into account the variability of London's parishes. The extra-mural parishes were very large, some with several thousand residents. Many of the intra-mural parishes were tiny. They might have only twenty households and see only one or two crimes a year. When compiling many years of prosecutions, these one or two crimes could easily become overwhelmed by the hundreds which took place in large, extramural parishes. This made direct comparison of large and small parishes difficult. So for the discussions below, I have converted raw numbers of vagrants, beggars, and nightwalkers to numbers per household using Roger Finley's data on households per parish in *Population and Metropolis*.[97] The data were then transformed as described in detail in Appendix A and the risk terrain produced.[98]

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[97] Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London, 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 168-172. Finlay primarily uses the 1638 *Settlement of Tithes* to determine numbers of houses, tenements, and households within each parish as well as the percentage of substantial households. He obtained the acreage of each parish from Royal Ordnance surveys and determines households per acre as well. I took data for crime from each parish and divided it by the number of households. Thus, a parish with 50 households that experienced 100 thefts would have two thefts per household. Numbers were generally less than one. One theft for every four households would be a rate of 0.25 thefts/household. This adjusted data was then used for the analyses below rather than the raw data collected directly from the Bridewell records. I did analyze raw data as a preliminary step as well. This initial analysis showed that same trends were generally visible in both the raw and adjusted data, but with more variation in the raw because it did not distinguish between very large or small parishes.

[98] A risk terrain is a surface, similar to the interpolated surface in figure 4.4, but which specifically standardizes elements from several map layers to the same scale in order to create a composite surface. The technique was developed at Rutgers University and is described in: Leslie Kennedy, Joel Caplan, and Joel Miller, "Case Study:
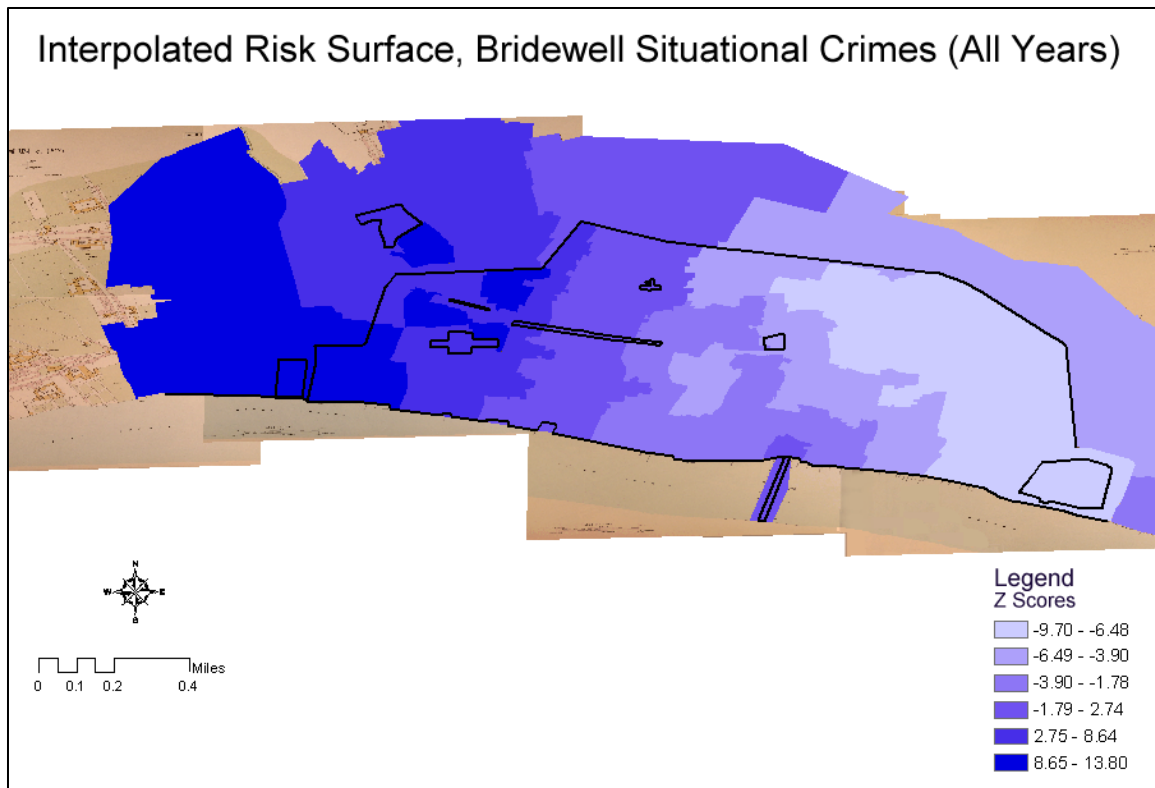
Figure 4.5 Risk Terrain of Situational Crimes 1576-1632.

This map shows that the risk of situational crime was greatest in London's west end, with the least risk occurring within the walls on the east end (and slightly higher risks outside the eastern walls). How does this compare to the risk terrain for pamphlet crimes shown in figure 4.4? Clearly, the west end outside the walls is shown to be a center of petty crime in both. However, in the Bridewell records, crime does not extend as far within the walls in London's western wards, and there is no peak at the Royal Exchange. The eastern suburbs, while still locations of lower crime, show more activity than the pamphlet risk terrain indicates.

Applying Risk Terrain Modeling to Shootings in Irvington, Nj,"(2009), http://www.rutgerscps.org/publications/Risk_Terrain_Case.Study_Brief.pdf.

The pamphlets thus appear to over-represent crimes in commercial locations. If anything, we would expect the city officials to focus on enforcing crimes in these mercantile, public areas. And yet, they make up proportionally fewer crimes in the Bridewell records than in the pamphlets. This can perhaps be attributed to the fact that pamphlets were marketed to those with at least a little money to spend on books. As Dekker says to his audience in the *Guls Hornbook*, "[y]our hands are ever open, your purses never shut… Schollars, therefore, are as much beholden to you, as Vintners, Players, and Punks are…."[99] And gulls, gallants, law students, and servants of the wealthy frequent the center of the city and its western suburbs.

The pamphlet readership therefore explains why the eastern suburbs show more crime in the Bridewell records than in the literature. Crimes in these areas were not absent from the pamphlets because the area was crime-free. Visitors of all sorts entered the city through the eastern gates. Household servants from the east side of the City lost their positions just as servants elsewhere did. This tells us vagrancy must have been present. Tax records show us that there were poor and indigent people in the eastern suburbs, so we know there must have been begging. And men and women would have had the same needs to travel the streets at night, whether illegitimately going to a tavern or legitimately fetching a midwife, so nightwalking also occurred. In addition to seeing these men and women in Bridewell, we also occasionally find them in the parish records. William Lainkesheer a sixteen-year old boy who died in February of 1586/7, was called a rogue and the clerk noted that "he went a gooding." Eighteen-year-old William Cooper also "went a gooding" and

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[99] Thomas Dekker, "The Guls Hornbooke," in *The Guls Hornbooke and the Belman of London in Two Parts* (London: Temple Classics, 1609, reprinted 1904), 16.

was noted to be a vagrant who used a false name. Both young men died "unhoused" in the streets.[100] In 1594, a young woman who was not a parishioner was found dead in a hayloft. She too was assumed to be a beggar and vagrant and likely found her way into the hayloft at night when her presence would have gone unnoticed.[101] All the institutional evidence indicates that situational crimes were common in eastern London, they were simply not interesting to the pamphlet writers or, perhaps more importantly, their readers.

As noted above, detailed analysis hits fundamental limits when it comes to situational crimes such as vagrancy and begging. Vagrancy cases have the disadvantage of little documentation. Locations are sparse and generally can only be derived from the occasional identification of the constable or churchwardens who brought the defendant in. In the samples used in this study, arrests for both begging and nightwalking cases occurred very rarely in all except the latest sample years (see table 4.3).

Table 4.3. Minor Situational Cases in the Bridewell Records				
Sample Years	1576-78	1597-99	1602-4	1633-35
Nightwalking (total/percent)	18 cases/1.3%	6 cases/0.3%	32 cases/1.2%	92 cases/6.0%
Begging (total/percent)	22 cases/1.6%	3 cases/0.15%	9 cases/0.3%	54 cases/3.5%

Even in the 1630s, when London had been growing rapidly for several decades, nightwalking made up just six percent of the cases and begging comprised just three and a half percent.

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[100] Various, "St. Botolph Reigsters, 1571-1593." To go a gooding was to go begging. Oxford English Dictionary Second edition, 1989; online version June 2011. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/79949>; accessed 20 August 2011.

[101] ———, "St Botolph without Aldgate Parish Registers," in *St Botolph without Aldgate Parish Registers* (London: London Metropolitan Archives, 1593-1607).

Moreover, many nightwalkers in the 1630s are noted to have been caught with members of the opposite sex, suggesting that some of these cases were fornication or prostitution cases where the couple simply was not caught in the act. Paul Griffiths also notes that, while both men and women were brought in as nightwalkers in the late sixteenth century, the term is applied more to women in the seventeenth, thus increasing its connections to prostitution.[102]

In the earlier records, these cases would not have been called nightwalking but rather fornication, having the "use and carnal knowledge" of another, or being "naughe." For example, on the first of August, 1604, Elizabeth Downes was "taken in Long Alleye." Downes was punished and kept until she could provide sureties because she eventually confessed to allowing one John Williams to have the carnal use of her body.[103] She is not called a nightwalker despite being taken out in an alley (no house or tavern is given) at night by the watch. Yet on 17 April of 1633, John Gipkin and Margaret Gay are sent in for nightwalking, not "carnal knowledge" despite being taken together in the night. In 1604, they would have been charged, like Downes, with fornication instead. This terminology change suggests that the number of actual "nightwalkers"— i.e. people out on the streets at night with no legitimate reason but not having committed any *other* crimes —was actually lower than six percent. Vagrancy does not have the issue of being rare (in fact, it is the single most common offence), but it does have the disadvantage of seldom being associated with a location. Most vagrants are simply listed by name in the records with no attendant

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[102] Paul Griffiths, "Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England," *The Seventeenth Century* 13, no. 2 (1998): 213, passim.
[103] B.C.B. 7 fo. 325.

detail. They are recorded in large groups of twenty or more, placed as a single case in the

court book. There is no indication where they were picked up, not even the name of the

constable who brought them in. Only their names are given and they are grouped by the

punishment they received: punished and discharged, punished and discharged per pass, or

discharged per pass without punishment.

Moreover, vagrancy, begging, and nightwalking are not the typical crimes discussed

in the popular literature. The vagrants and vagabonds in the rogue pamphlets did not just

lack strong ties to their communities; they had progressed on to crimes which harmed them.

So for more detailed analysis, I have analyzed and mapped crimes involving prostitution and

intentional deception (cozening), and those committed by servants below (maps begin with

figure 4.7). Vagrancy has been noted in table 4.2 for comparison, but could not be mapped

based due to the lack of location in most cases.

Vagrants

As noted above, with the "crisis of the 1590s," the Bridewell Governors found themselves

spending much of their time prosecuting vagrants. Long lists of twenty or thirty vagrants

will appear in the records. Only their names and punishments are listed. There are no

details given about where they are from or why they came to London (see figure 4.6). The

prosecution of vagrants remained a major focus of the court even as the economic situation

eases in the early seventeenth century, and one trend in particular is worth noting: namely,

vagrants in the early seventeenth century are sometimes given shoes or shirts or a few

pennies to see them on their way. Nine vagrants are given shoes in the first two months of

the 1603 records alone: "Jane Morton a poore childe delivered without ponnishmente a smock and a pr of shooes geven her" on March 3rd, 1602/3. On the 19th of the Month, "Rob[er]t Key, a vagr[an]t, po[nished], by cause of his sicknes geven him a p[ai]r of shoos" and on January 21st of 1603/4, "Tho[mas] Goodcheape vagr[ant] ex[amined] d[elivere]d a paire of shoes to him geven."[104] Those given clothing or shoes are typically the poor, the lame, or recently discharged soldiers such as John Simons given sixpence in June of 1603. At no time during the 1597/99 records are vagrants given such benefits. The records give no explanations for the change. Perhaps the improved economic or situation led to increased donations to the hospital which they used to aid the most destitute. Perhaps there was a shift in the philosophies of those particular boards of Governors regarding who was worthy of aid. Future research on additional samples may reveal more details about this intriguing policy.

Servants and Whores

The cases of prostitution in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries focused on networks of brothels and bawds throughout London. As noted above, prosecution of prostitutes was highest in the 1570s samples, but achieved a second high during the summer and fall of 1603. During these plague months, prostitution cases nearly doubled from an overall 6.4 percent to 12.3 percent of the total cases prosecuted. While more sample data is needed to draw a definitive conclusion, this certainly suggests that

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[104] B.C.B. 4 fos. 359, 364 and 422.
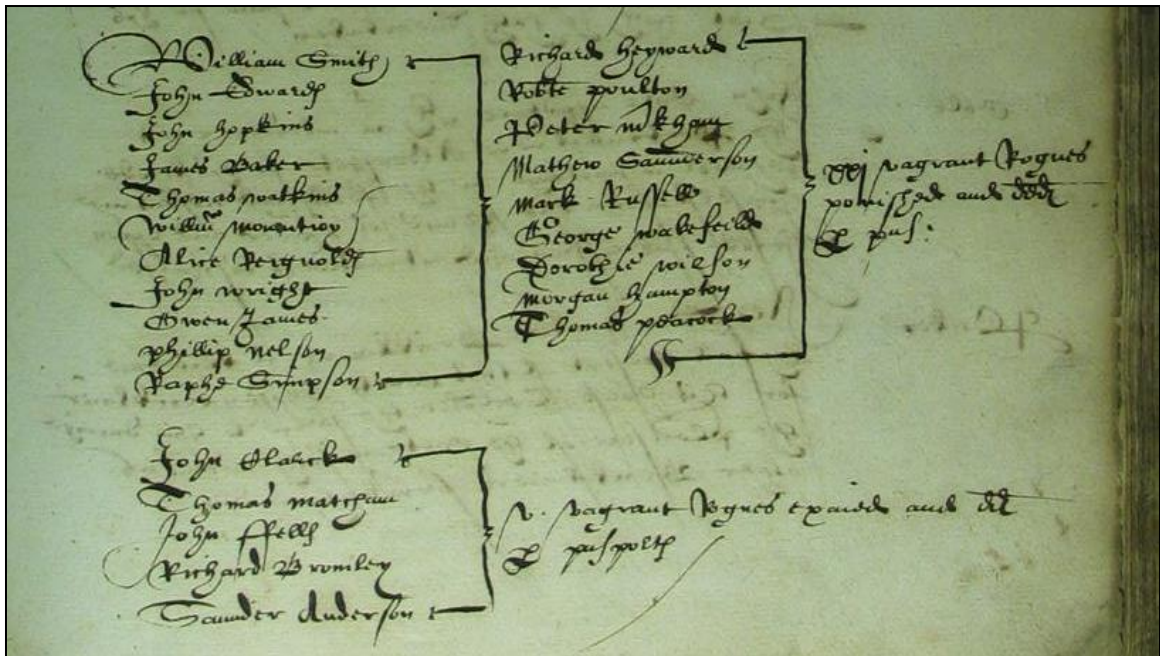
Figure 4.6: B.C.B. 4 fo. 702. Image shows a typical list of vagrants. Image reproduced by kind permission of the Belthem Art and History Collections Trust.

the connection between prostitution and disease were clear to the magistrates of London. They seem to have agreed with Robert Greene's Nan a Traffique that whores work "both for the gallowes and the diuel, I and for the Surgian too."[105]

Prostitution cases fell in the seventeenth century. The Bridewell Governors moved their attention instead to the increasing number of vagrants to be found in London. Occasional prostitution cases were still presented, and they do give the sense that organized brothels remained in the city and its suburbs. For example, Raph Wright was presented for absenting himself from his master's service. Instead he "haunted bawdy houses and other ill places." One house was that kept by Dorothy Leaver. In the sixteenth century records,

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[105] Greene, "Disputation," 235.

Dorothy would have been presented as well, but here only Wright concerns the

Governors.[106] One Mary Crew escapes punishment precisely because she is a prostitute.

> And she at a Court holden here the 13th of January 1631, being here a
> prisoner, confessed that one Johnson had the use of her body in a Taverne
> but she was not punished for that face wherefore for that she hath confessed
> her selfe to be a whore…[107]

 Prostitution had not disappeared, therefore, nor had organized brothels been replaced by

more casual "street corner" commercial sex. The Bridewell Governors were no longer

focused on their regulation, however. It may be that the sheer size of London and its

population, of which prostitutes were only one aspect, have become the major perceived

threat to order. While theaters and other gathering places do draw "gentlemen and whores,

/Porters and serving-men together" the vagrant crowds of London with their "pilferie,

periurie, forgerie, or any rogorie, the very scum, rascality, and baggage of the people, theeues,

cut-purses, shifters, cousoners… an vncleane generation and spaune of vipers" that make up

the prostitute's customers have eclipsed the prostitutes themselves.[108]

When prostitution was prosecuted in the sixteenth century, the specific details of the

case were of great concern to the governors. They questioned the bawds, their prostitutes,

and household servants about different locations of bawdy houses and the movements of

the prostitutes between them.[109] The whores were encouraged to describe the different

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[106] B.C.B 7 fo. 323.

[107] B.C.B. 7 fo. 333.

[108] John Davies and Henry Cross, respectively, quoted in Munroe, *The Figure of the Crowd*, 42-43.

[109] And beyond them. Some cases note that prostitutes made housecalls, coming to their clients at such locations as the Inns of Court. At other times, groups of prostitutes and one or more of their bawds would travel with their customers outside of London entirely. These trips minimized the chances that the john would be identified and enabled the men and women to pose as married couples.

houses in which they worked, the money and gifts they received, whether their bawd was paid as well, and the interactions between different bawds. The governors were also concerned, with the clothes the prostitutes wore and how they portrayed themselves. "Brave" apparel was not simply a sign of pride as noted above, it too was deceitful. The prostitute in a gentlewoman's dress was a syphilitic wolf in sheep's clothing. More will be said on this below.

Turning to servant crimes, we see that like prostitution crimes, they were highest in the 1570s as well. In part, this is due to those prostitution cases. The sample bears out what Paul Griffiths notes, that a large percentage of prostitution cases involved servants or apprentices. However, not all servants were presented for patronizing bawdy houses. Some ran away from their masters. Others stole from them. Some actually beat their masters and otherwise refuse to be ruled. Servant crimes remain close to ten percent of the cases at the turn of the century and rise to 12.2 percent of the total in the 1633-35 sample. This is despite the fact that Bridewell was not hearing as many types of servant cases. By the 1630s, the records note that the Governors have begun to refer some cases involving apprentices to the Chamberlain's court at Guildhall rather than hearing the said cases themselves.[110] So even as prosecution of organized prostitution falls, prosecution of servants and apprentices remains a consistent aspect of the court business.

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[110] B.C.B. 7 and 8.

Prostitution and the Gentlewoman Whore

The rooting out of bawdy houses plays a major role in the records during the 1570s. Ian Archer says that it was then that the "Bridewell authorities embarked on a determined crack-down on commercial sex in the capitol."[111] However, nearly as many "bawds" and "whores" appear before the governors in 1603. While the overall numbers for the 1602-04 sample put prostitution cases at 6.4 percent, the cases during the plague make up 12.1 percent of the cases, only about 4 percent less than at the peak of the governors' efforts to reign in the brothels. When examining cases of prostitution, the governors are concerned with several things. They want to understand how the different bawds and bawdy houses interact. They are concerned with how whores are brought into the business and how they are portrayed to their customers. And they are concerned with who those customers are.

We can see the first concern in the many questions over where whores were brought from and to. They were generally escorted to the bawdy houses, as sometimes were the johns. In just the summer and fall of 1576, there are many examples. Thomas Wise of White Friars fetched Meg Goldsmyth from Black Luce's house in Clerkenwell to the Goderich's brothel. Goderich himself carried a wench with him to Grave's End fair "and there kept her and lay wth her."[112] John Beke brought Johan Downe, a married woman from Somerset, with him to London and used her as his harlot. Richard Watwood carried whores to Ratcliff and other locations, all "to be occupied for a whore" or to "play the

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[111] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 211.
[112] B.C.B. 3 fo. 22.

whore."[113] Melcher Pelse, a broker-come-bawd, "carye[s]… very many [clients] to whores."[114] Bawds repeatedly used the same men to manage their harlots and houses for them, like one Skevington, "a gent[leman]e kee[p]th the said Wises house And wises wife… And beteth all other out of the house that he liketh not."[115]

The whores themselves tell tales of how they were introduced to the business. In early 1577, Jane Smith stands before the Governors:

> And being demanded by whose means or procurement she came to this lewdness of life, she says that she was procured and enticed thereunto first by one Ward's wife, a widow dwelling in St. John's street whom as she says is commonly known or reputed to be a Common Bawd.[116]

Fraunces Farebarne "did dwell with [Anne Ellis] w[hi]ch is nowe gone from her and is gret with childe in whoredome gotten... and spoiled by the said Ellis wiffes means."[117] Margaret Jones "saw a Litell girle called Margert Swinerton" and brought her to a bawd, Mrs. Fullerton. Mrs. Fullerton "did at that tyme conclude wth the said girle to come home to [Jones' household]… where her master did come and lye upon their bed and iested with the said Swinerton." Later the two of them lay together alone in the garret.[118] Servant Anne Ward was lured into the business by Anne Cleere, a friend of her mistress, who "hath often enticed [her] go to gentlemen where they might gett somewhat to help herself and look what

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[113] B.C.B. 3 fos. 22, 39ᵛ. and 102.
[114] B.C.B. 3 fo. 102.
[115] B.C.B. 4 fo. 22.
[116] B.C.B. 3 fo. 189ᵛ.
[117] B.C.B. 3 fo. 214.
[118] B.C.B. 4 fo. 22.

money she yarned she would keepe."[119] And Mary Crewe tells that one Mr. Tines "had her meadenhead in a house in Goulding lane whether she was brought by one Grace South… at which time she cried out when he first began to deale with her but he stoppt her mouth with his fingers."[120]

These clients run the gamut from servant boys to gentlemen. Griffiths notes that the majority of the clients come from four categories: servants and apprentices (39.3 percent), craftsmen (12.3 percent), the retinues of foreign ambassadors (7.8 percent), and servants of the upper ranks of society (5 percent).[121] He also suggests, as does Archer, that the Bridewell records contain "much more evidence on the upper reaches of the market."[122] This is certainly true, but the frequency by which nightwalkers are also called harlots or "queanes" in the seventeenth century records suggests that they were at least suspected of being at the low end of the hierarchy of prostitutes.[123] Single liaisons seem simply to be seldom caught by the watch or the constables.

The enticement of servants was certainly a concern. The records are peppered with such terminology. In February of 1576/77, Elizabeth Wilson was accused of bringing "a verye younge man into the Beare in Wood Streate… and inticed him to have the use of her bodye and she called for freshe salmon and other thinges." When she discovered that

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[119] B.C.B. 4 fo. 84.

[120] B.C.B. 7 fo. 333. Rape is a difficult subject to research for this time period. The prostitutes who claimed they were forced receive no leniency from the Bridewell Governors and are often dismissed as liars. For that matter, an examination of rape cases from the Old Bailey records reveals that, all the way through the eighteenth century, rapes are only prosecuted if the victim was prepubescent.

[121] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 219.

[122] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 213.

[123] Women from the "higher end" of the spectrum are also called queans and harlots, but they are associated with known brothels and networks of bawds.

"younge man had no money in his purse she would have had them take off his gowne for the reconning."[124] In the summer of 1604, Ellenor Deathe wife of Jo[h]n Death who had been at sea for a year was examined and kept at work "for that she is suspected to live incont. w[i]th div[er]se apprentices."[125] William Stafford was also brought in for incontinence, committed with one Dorothy Holt in a house near the Old Exchange. There, he "confesses the same with sorrowe, sayinge he was enticed thereunto by her." Holt was known to be a "lewed woma[n] and a com[m]on enticer of men to lewedness in that kinde."[126] Elizabeth Clifton was presented "for that she was taken with a fellowe in an ale house and would have bene nought with him... shee is one that walketh in Pawles to entice men to lewdness.[127] And Luce Foster was brought before the Governors "for an old lewd woman and one [t]hat liveth out of service and has enticed one M[aste]r Rogers his sonn being but 16 yeare old to have carnal knowledge of her bodie and allso hath enticed him to filch goods from his friends to bringe and cary to her.[128] Here not only does the harlot lead the young man into incontinency, she also encourages him to steal. As Greene warned, we see that when the whore seduces a man, "shee flatters him, shee inueagles him, shee bewitcheth him, that he spareth neither goods nor landes to content her."[129]

The participation of men of good standing in prostitution was a concern as well. There are fewer such cases, but some are investigated in great detail. The concern here was not just that these men spent their time and money on prostitutes but the possible extreme

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124 B.C.B. 3 fo. 176.
125 B.C.B. 4 fo. 453.
126 B.C.B. 7 fo. 322ᵛ.
127 B.C.B. 7 fo. 331ᵛ.
128 B.C.B. 7 fo. 353.
129 Robert Greene, "Disputation," 231.

consequences of such associations. While murders were not prosecuted in Bridewell, it was

three "Gentlemen of great Note, and good quality, Eminent in place and substance" who

were the victims of Canberry Bess and Country Tom, after all.[130] The men were concerned

about their reputations as well. One Mr. Watkins, a cutler in Fleet Street, had the resources

to pay Mary Hynd three pounds so she would not declare him the father of her child.[131]

More often these men wait to see if they are connected with a harlot and, if presented, will

make a "donation to the poor of the house" at court in order to avoid a public and

humiliating punishment. Amounts from 40 shillings to 40 pounds were common

"donations." Some johns took greater pains to avoid punishment, however. And one

Richard Rolles "at his coming to the Sessyons house bade [Alice Predam a bawd's servant]

go twyce to know how he sped w[i]th the masters of Bridewell, for if he did think that he

shoulde go to the Pillorye, he woulde rather be hanged. And he would confess somewhat to

be hanged rather than he would come to the Pillorye."[132]

Anthony Bate was perhaps the most extreme case of a man of good status evading

justice. Bate was a goldsmith who frequented several London brothels throughout 1576-77.

When brought before the justices he denied all his liaisons and declined to make the usual

donation to the poor of the house. Thus the investigation into his activities continued.

Soon reports came in that had him colluding with bawds like the Wises to give false

testimony. On the 8th of February 1576/77, bawd William Mekyn testifies that one of his

customers, Jasper Wrey, a draper, told him in Paul's church that Anthony Bate would "bear

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[130] Martin, "Taking a Walk on the Wild Side," 12-13.
[131] B.C.B. 4 fo. 109.
[132] B.C.B. 3 fo. 189ᵛ.

out Thomas Wise in [a] matter" that had caused Wise to be sent to the High Commission on Ecclesiastical affairs."[133] By April, the schemes had progressed and one Giles Canon appeared and confessed that

> John Preston of St. Jones Strete was earnestly in hand with him to geve him notes of such thinges as weare in the booke of Bridewell and might helpe Anthony Bate agaynste the Governors of Bridewell, and he should not lack any money at his hand for his pains.[134]

Bate wished to know who has testified against him at the court and what evidence the Governors have concerning him. Giles declined to help him so Bates looked for other options. Rolles soon ended up in the Sessions and, at his arraignment there, was to give testimony to "clere Anthony Bate and accuse Mr. Winch [one of the governors]. And indeed so Rowles did." We never hear any more about his testimony, but apparently it was not sufficient. Bate began to send both bawds and harlots out of town to avoid testimony in Bridewell. Eventually, Bate sued one of the Governors, Mr. Winch, in Star Chamber. The outcome of the case is not reported in the Bridewell records but Bate eventually admits his guilt in 1581.[135] But his sojourn through the activities of the courts dominated tens of pages of testimony and makes it clear that the consequences for "lewd life" could be damaging.

Motives for participation in prostitution were varied. The motive behind the women's actions was generally material support. Margaret Gray reported that Katherine Roberts

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[133] B.C.B. 3 fo. 172.
[134] B.C.B. 3 fo. 207^v.
[135] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 233.

enticed [her] there then to play the whore with a gent[leman] many times and one time about 2 months past she would have had her to have done into a chamber there to a gent[leman] to be naughty with him and said she should have a ryoll for her labor an should be maintained finely like a woman but she would not consent to her.[136]

The clients, on the other hand, had different needs. Some, as we will see below, wanted more than just sex. They wanted a certain sort of imagined relationship with a gentlewoman or a long-term lover. Even where there is no evidence men wanted more than casual sex, we know they were aware of the dangers of disease. Richard Cowell, for example, warned his friend George Starkey not to have intercourse with the local whores for "hee thought if hee should have the use of either of them, he might happ to catch some disease."[137]

Many bawds, therefore, took pains to portray their harlots as if they were gentlewomen, or at least clean young maidens. The Governors heard in May of 1576 that "iij lordes" rejected bawd Mrs. Norris' initial offering of girls so "there was brought thither three fyne gentlewomen for them, whereof one of them is called Dorothy Maske."[138] Dorothy appeared several times in the records and there is no evidence she was anything other than a common prostitute, yet clearly she was marketed as more. Harlot and saddler's wife Elizabeth Reignold's testimony illustrates how the whore became a gentlewoman. Elizabeth's bawd, one Mistress Miller,

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[136] B.C.B. 3 fo. 149ᵛ.
[137] B.C.B. 5 fo. 21.
[138] B.C.B. 3 fo. 7ᵛ.

caused [her] to putt on a crimson damask petticote of white and redd & a
great farthingale covered over w[i]th yellow cotton & a wrought velvet
gowne w[i]th a payre of satten sleeves… and Arabuta imbroidery w[i]th white
flowers of needlework w[i]th a border of gold buttons.[139]

Moreover,

M[istr]ess Miller would usually after any gent[leman] had th'use of [her] body
or of her own body or any of her maydes bodyes, to squirt with wine & other
waters w[hi]ch she had of a surgeon into their bodyes thereby to cleanse their
bodyes for fear to be w[i]th child or other diseases.[140]

A Mistress Wilkinson also knew that Elizabeth could play the gentlewoman, and "did usually

send for [her] to her house when any gentleman or cittyzens did come to her house."

Wilkinson would lead her up to a chamber where a gentleman would be waiting saying. "I

have brought you a gentlewoman that wanteth occupying for that she has to her an old man

for a husband."[141]

Prostitutes often saw the same men repeatedly. In accepting gifts such as petticoats

and slippers from these men in addition to money, they created the sense that they are more

than whores. They not only played the gentlewoman, they played the loving mistress.

Corset maker Sampson Vernam, for example, had carnal relations with one Mrs. White on

repeated occasions, "first at Creke's house, second and third at a house over against the

Bench in Southwark, the sign of the Sarsons hed. And he gave her a gowne cloth of turkey

color, v[s] in money a pare of gloves, a pare of shoes & xii[d] more."[142] He gave her gifts as well

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[139] B.C.B. 4 fo. 100[v].
[140] Ibid.
[141] B.C.B. 4 fo. 101.
[142] B.C.B. 3, fo. 7[v].

as money, maintaining the fiction of an affective relationship. If commercial acts could be portrayed as enduring love relationships, then the prostitute disguised as a lady was doubly dangerous.

Later researchers have noticed prostitutes and their johns using this strategy as well. In her study of the murder of nineteenth-century American prostitute Helen Jewett, Patricia Cline Cohen notes that Jewett and her clients' "choosing to live together however temporarily, affirmed that the relationship had an emotional dimension, that it consisted of something more than sex for pay."[143] Also in nineteenth-century New York, the owner of a cigar store gave his daughter to the keeper of a "boardinghouse" so that she might take a lover and live off his money.[144]

A similar attitude towards the keeping of professional mistresses was clearly present in early modern London. Our corset maker was far from rare in his frequent visits to the same prostitute. Some men such as master cook of the Inner Temple, Ambrose Jaspers, went to great lengths to keep regular lovers. Jaspers attempted to smuggle his lover in to his rooms and was later charged again for her pregnancy.[145] One work of contemporary literature makes this particularly clear as well: *The Choice of Valentines*. In this pornographic poem sometimes attributed to Thomas Nashe, the author, "a poore pilgrime, to my ladies shrine," finds his "valentine" at a whore house. There the bawd tells him, "as you desire, so shall you swiue with hir, But think, your purse-strings shall abye-it deare." When he finally

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[143] Patricia Cline Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 104.
[144] Timothy Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex: 1790-1920* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Co., 1992), 290.
[145] B.C.B. 4, fo. 56ᵛ.

meets his lover, she tells him she resides in the whore house "or shelter onelie, sweete

heart… And to auoide the troblous stormie weather."[146]

This motif is present in literature as well. The narrator in the pornographic poem,

Choice of Valentines, shows his partner as more than just a source of sex. He goes to the

house of "his lady" on St. Valentine's day, only to discover that the poor girl had to "flye

unto a house of venerie" after a Justice of the Peace frightened her out of her own home.[147]

He pays ten "gobs" of gold or silver to sleep with his lover when he finds her, thus clearly

indicating it is a commercial relationship, regardless of the fact that she tells him,

> For shelter onelie, sweete heart, came I hither,
> And to auoide the troblous stormie weather;
> But now the coaste is cleare, we will be gonne,
> Since, but thy self, true louer I haue none."[148]

Cozeners and Cony-catchers

Crimes of deception are those that best "fit" the crimes discussed in the rogue

pamphlets. In separating out these cases, I have include those which specifically use

language like "cozening" as well as those thefts which are also discussed in the pamphlets:

hooking, nipping, lifting, cross-biting, and the "black art" of lock picking. They along with

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[146] *The Choice of Valentines or the Merie Ballad of Nash, His Dildo*, ed. John S. Farmer, 1593 ed. (London: Privately Printed for Subscribers Only, 1899), 8-9.

[147] Anonymous, *The Choice of Valentines or the Merie Ballad of Nash, His Dildo*, ed. John S. Farmer (London: Privately Printed for Subscribers Only, 1593, reprinted 1899), 5. Despite the title, there is no hard proof that Thomas Nashe was responsible for the work.

[148] Ibid., 9.

other "non-deceptive" theft generally form a small percentage of the cases.[149] However, the Governors are always careful to note whether deception was used in a crime. The defendant was usually just noted to have cozened the victim, but as we will see below, sometimes the details were given and are as elaborate as any published tale of deception. It is interesting to note that these crimes increase to nearly eighteen percent in the 1630s. Of these 275 cases seventy (4.6 percent of the total Bridewell cases for the year) specifically use terms such as "cozening." The tricks used are more often described in detail and often sound exactly like tales from the rogue pamphlets. In August of 1634, for example, Cutbard Taylor was taken having "burlime" on a stick in a Goldsmith's shop.[150]

While we saw above that prostitution involved disguise and deception, it was not only the prostitute dressed in fine silks who misrepresented herself. The Bridewell records are full of deceptive defendants. Harlot Jane Trosse was taken not in a lady's gown, but rather the opposite. She was accused of wearing "unseemly app[ar]ell, more manlike than woman like" in a tavern.[151] Likewise, Katherine Cuffe the lover of Ambrose Jasper, above-mentioned cook at the Inner Temple, "willed her to come in boyes apparel for that he would not have her come in her own apparel least that she should be espied."[152] John Devoraxe was one of many men caught begging with a false license, but some beggars went further in

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[149] For my purposes, non-deceptive crimes are those which are not a focus of the pamphlet literature: causally picking up a valuable left unguarded, pilfering of trinkets left around a house by one's master, and crimes that have no detail but are merely described as theft, pilfering, or purloining.
[150] B.C.B. 8 fo. 7. The OED defines burlime or birdlime as "a glutinous substance spread upon twigs, by which birds may be caught and held fast." In other words, Taylor was "hooking." Oxford English Dictonary. Second edition, 1989; online version March 2011. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.ccbcmd.edu/Entry/19343>; accessed 5 April 2011
[151] B.C.B. 3 fo. 279ᵛ.
[152] B.C.B. 4 fo. 61.

their deception.[153] Elizabeth Green was brought in for enticing "a litell child of the age of

five yeares, and would have begged w[i]th it and did strippe it of clothes."[154] Servants were

deceptive as well. Robert Saker, apprentice to a widow, stole her goods and used the money

to make himself "brave apparel… that is to saye A hose & dublett laid out w[i]th Satten a

payre of jersey stockings a payre of Spanish leather shoos a payre of silke stockings & change

of clokes & other apparel.[155]

Many defendants were brought in for having false passports or false dice or false

licences to beg. Many are listed in the records as "cozening vagrants" or "idle cozeners,"

with, as noted above, little detail included. But other records reveal more about London's

underworld. As noted above, Cutbard Tailor, an old customer, was taken at a goldsmith's

with a stick tipped with burlime. **Richard Carie and John Pierce, two vagrant boys, were also**

brought in on suspicion of stealing "money and ringes from goldsmithes stalles with lymed

sticks."[156] Diana Mathews was brought in for "cheating a country wench of her gowne."[157]

Sometimes we have a little more. One Goderich, a bawd mentioned above, "useth to deceve

many and cossen them at play."[158] Did he practice Vincent's law or catch conies at dice?

The records do not say. Almost as mysterious are the schemes of Robert Walker, jake-

maker. He was sent in by the Mayor's office for

> cozening of divers men in coming to their houses and telling their servants
> that their M[aste]rs sent him to take down their Jackes and to mend them by

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[153] B.C.B. 7 fo. 373.
[154] B.C.B. 4 fo. 15ᵛ
[155] B.C.B. 4 fo. 53ᵛ.
[156] B.C.B. 7 fo. 357
[157] B.C.B. 7 fo. 25ᵛ.
[158] B.C.B. 3 fo. 22.

w[hi]ch he gott many Jackes and carryed them home to his house and never brought them agayne but layd them to pawne.[159]

While strange to the modern sensibility, apparently outhouses were of value to pawnbrokers.

On occasion a full-blown complex scheme emerges from the records in great detail. Such is the case of William Kelley. Kelley was a smith and a paying tenant within Bridewell itself. He was approached by a saddler named Milles and two other men and asked if he would like to drink a pot of ale with them. He accepted and they lured him into their plan. Going to a tavern in Blackfriars, they first "devised to sitt in a p[ar]lor alone wher they might burne a fagot."[160] Milles then proposed that Kelley "shoulde be bonde in recognizance by the name of John Cockes, skinner dwelling in Goldinge lane."[161] In exchange for pretending to be Cockes, Kelley was to be paid 40 shillings. When Kelley objected that he "had not the apparell to be like such a man," they promised him a short gown and a cassock of worsted. To further woo him over, they told him that the man whom he will be deceiving "was a gret userer and toke gret extorcion for the money and therefore it were not gret hurte to deceve him."[162] Kelley pretended to acquiesce, but reported the con to the Governors. This scheme could have come right from one of Greene's tales of a userer cozened, but its detail and complexity is greater than that of the the typical Bridewell record.

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[159] B.C.B. 4 fo. 49[v].
[160] B.C.B. 4 fo. 259.
[161] Ibid.
[162] B.C.B. 3 fo. 289.

Crime and the Household

The household, like society at large, was supposed to be a model of harmony and hierarchy:

> a little commonwealth… by the good government whereof, God's glory may be aduanced... and all that live in that family may receive much comfort and commodity… if Maisters then or parents doo not gouerne, but let seruants and children do as they list, they do not onley disobey God, and disaduantage themselves, but also hurt those whom they should rule.[163]

An ordered family was a key component to social order as a whole.[164] Yet London households were permeable and imperfect and as subject to disorder as the city in which they resided. Even in households that avoided Bridewell, not all is completely peaceful. Samuel Pepys learns "what a rogue my boy is, and strange things he has been found guilty of, not fit to name."[165] Nehemiah Wallington is distressed when his new apprentice, John, wishes to leave his service and says that "his Master was a strict Master, then he should have some just excuse to his Mother of his coming away" even though Wallington felt that he "did give no just cause" for John to leave.[166] Wallington is lucky that his servant chose to leave lawfully rather than simply disappearing as so many of the young men in the Bridewell records did.

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[163] Robert Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Householde Government for the Ordering of Priuate Families, According to the Direction of Gods Word*, STC (2nd ed.) / 5387.5 ed. (London Thomas Creede, 1603), 1-15.
[164] Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York and Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1988), 39.
[165] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed Phil Gyford. http://www.pepysdiary.com, 28 September 1662.
[166] Nehemiah Wallington, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection*, ed. David Booy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 316.

Among those who did not avoid the court, disorder was far more evident. The least

that masters had to deal with were their servants running away. Many took household goods

with them when they left. Margaret Bowyer was accused of leaving service without

permission and taking with her "an apron a Cutwork Coyfe and a paire of gloves." Frauncis

Turnor ran away with "A brasse pot A Cloke a Paire of stockings A Candlesticke a napkin

and a sallat dish," all of which he fenced at a victualling house in Fleetstreet. Hugh

Woodcock, a salter, reported that his two of his servants "went awaye from hym oute of his

house in the nyghte and toke div[er]s goodes from hym & lefte the dores open."[167] John

Saunders, not content simply to leave the doors open, "being an animal confesseth that he

did lette into his said M[aste]rs house one Marye Martin A vagrant woman at xj of the clocke

at night to the end he might have to do with her as she had promised unto him."[168] Edward

Wood, in a lengthy confession, described how he would often times sneak out of the house

at night, "goinge oute at his shop wyndowe leaving the same unmadefast… to the Bell in

Distaffe Lane were was co[mm]enly a noyse of musycons & dawnsinge all the nyght &

som[e] at dyce."[169]

Sometimes the masters might have wished their servants would simply leave. John

Oldham, a locksmith's apprentice, was "ponished for beating of his Mr and for many other

abuses towarde him." Edward Merrick, when "his master offering to geve him Correcion

for his misdemeanor, he not onely refused the said Correcion but beate his said M[aste]r and

yf help had not com had surely mischeved him and Bartholomew Johnson did beat and abuse his M[aste]r.[170]

Ironically, by the 1630s, the greatest single location of disobedient servants noted in the records is Bridewell itself. Fourteen cases of misbehaving servants come from within the hospital.[171] The location with the next greatest number, eight, was the entirety of St. Sepulcher's parish. The poor young men taken in by the house's artsmasters run away and steal from both their masters and other hospital officers. Their masters too are chided—for not sending them to church services or seeing that they receive catechism.

Servants were not always the only members of the household at fault. Apprentice John Jarvis entered the cellar of his master's neighbor three times and "there hath drawen two Bottells of Rennishe wyne… and that his M[ist]r[es]s and a Journeyman in the same house have sometimes drank thereof and knew where they had it."[172] John Mathews, a leather seller, "often frequents the companie of James Rowes, app[re]ntice to of Mr. Robertes and did eate and drinke with him" several times.[173] A handful of masters in each sample were accused by their female servants of fathering their bastard children—seven in the first sample, four in the second, and six in the third. Maids were not always willing participants. Andrew Knight came to his maid Margaret and "threwe her on the grounde & strived w[i]th her and there he had the carenall use of her body. And then begot her w[i]th childe. And when he had done he said to her that he had a maid before that wold not stryve

[170] B.C.B. 4 fos. 43 and 456, B.C.B. 7 fo. 345ᵛ.
[171] B.C.B. 7 and 8.
[172] B.C.B. 4 fo. 32ᵛ.
[173] B.C.B. 4 fo. 441ᵛ.

w[i]th him."[174] When Anne Redwood's mistress was away, her master "came to her bedd to her at that tyme & stopped her mouth with A napkin and had twice th'use of her body." Later in Maribone park "in the wood he stripped [her] naked & whipped her."[175]

Parents could even behave so badly their children testified against them, as in the case of Thomas Franck. He was sent by his father to Bridewell for being a lewd boy but would not speak of the matter for three weeks. When finally convinced to tell the tale, he explained that his father traveled to Brainford, supposedly to see a house there but took with him one Mrs. Smyth, wife of an attorney in Guildhall, with whom he shared a chamber. Thomas, who accompanied them on this trip there stole from Mrs. Smyth "her gloves her garters and handkercher" as evidence of the affair.[176]

These cases are extreme. More typical were disobedient servants who refused to "be ruled" by their masters. The masters are seldom accused of rape or lewd behavior. In fact, they often plead for their servants' release from the hospital, though whether out of kindness or a desire to deal with them in the household we cannot know. But regardless of whether they were fond of their servants or were willing, as Pepys was with his boy, "to whip him till I was not able to stir" because the lad drank some whey without permission, servants were a necessary part of the household. [177] Masters needed them at home rather than penned up in Bridewell where they did not help the household, but were kept at the masters' expense. Moreover, a master's good name depended on his standing in his livery company and those

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[174] B.C.B. 3 fo. 164ᵛ.
[175] B.C.B. 4 fo. 77ᵛ.
[176] B.C.B. 3 fo. 43ᵛ.
[177] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 21 June 1662.

companies were not hesitant to blame the bad behavior of servants on their "masters'

slowness."[178]

The necessary presence of servants opened the household to the crimes they are

accused of committing but also to the general dangers of the public sphere. Servants

regularly moved in and out of the house, across the boundaries between London's legitimate

and subversive spaces. We have already seen examples above of servants who went out

leaving the house unlocked. But even if no strangers entered through the windows and

doors they left open, they could easily bring danger back to the home with them when they

returned. In 1605 lodger Robert Cowell and grocer's servant George Starkey go out to a

tavern to drink. Seeing some women of light reputation, George suggests "having to do"

with them, but Robert warns, "if hee should have the use of either of them, he might happ

to catch some disease."[179] And in May of 1599, Ursley Wiudleman claimed one Mrs. Pateson

of being "full of the pockes & that she would fill all [her mistress'] children if she did not

turn the sayd Pateson out of her house."[180] The previous year, Margery Arnold accused her

master of trying to have sex with her, and the master says rather that

> she did use to carrye his Children into the streete to playe and there would
> leave them alone An howre together and go at her pleasure, whereupon he
> beate her for the same, by reason whereof she made this evill report to
> discrace her Master.[181]

[178] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, 232.
[179] B.C.B. 5 fo. 21.
[180] B.C.B. 5 fo. 86.
[181] B.C.B. 4 fo. 36.

These strangers are part of the household. A household needed them, yet the master and mistress could not assure their good behavior. These were young men and women that the householder did not raise, and they were trusted with the children that he did. Some clearly took advantage of their masters. Thomas Wilson came to his master Mr. Howland with 40 shillings he "received by Action in the Counter" and used this money to set up a loan business out of his master's house. In between making loans Wilson teased his master's children, kissed and flirted with the maids, slept with light women, and "meddled with" his Master's children. Yet the family rehired him for an additional three years following his first two years of service.[182] Was Wilson so useful that the family put up with his antics? The record does not say, but clearly he had substantial freedom within the household.

Mapping Non-Situational Crimes

So what can we learn from the locations of these crimes? We have already seen that the interpolated surface indicating the locations of literary crimes in London (figure 4.3) places the "hot spots" documented in the pamphlets in the west end of the city, both within and without the walls. The risk terrain created from situational crimes (begging, nightwalking, and vagrancy) places the hot spots of these supposedly predictive crimes in the west end of the city as well. Qualitatively, this indicates that incidences of vagrancy, begging, and nightwalking do correlate with the locations of crime in the pamphlets. Using ArcGIS's spatial statistics tools, the quantitative degree of correlation between these two raster images can be determined. The band correlation tool examines the values of each cell of each of

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[182] B.C.B. 4 fos. 20, 20ᵛ.

two raster layers and measures the overall similarity of the layers.[183] In the chart below, the

results are indicated. The score of 1.0 or 100 percent for each layer with itself simply

indicates each is a perfect match for itself.[184] The other values indicate the similarity *between*

layers. Mathematically, the two layers are 60.3 percent similar. This indicates correlation

only, not causation. However, it does tell us that the spaces of London in which the

pamphleteers placed their crimes are moderately associated with those areas in which

"situational" crimes were prosecuted.

Table 4.4. Band Correlation between Interpolated Literary Crime and Situational Crime Locations		
Layer	Literary Crime Locations	Situation Crime Locations
Literary Crime Locations	1.00000	0.60253
Situational Crime Locations	0.60253	1.00000

Visual examination of the directional distributions of the two data sets reveals a

similar relationship to that described above. Here, however, we are comparing crimes that

are more serious, such as prostitution and deceit, with the rogue pamphlets. The Directional

Distribution tool in ArcGIS fits an ellipse around a data set that is distributed around its

center point. The ellipse represents a contour of enclosing points one standard deviation

from the mean central location. In other words, approximately 68 percent of the locations

are covered within each ellipse. In figure 4.7 we can see that, as discussed above, both the

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[183] See the appendix for more information about vector and raster images in ArcGIS.
[184] This is similar to standard tests of correlation where a score of zero indicates no correlation at all between the two features, and a score of 1.0 indicates perfect correlation. See chapter 13 of McGrew and Monroe, *An Introduction to Statistical Problem Solving in Geography*.
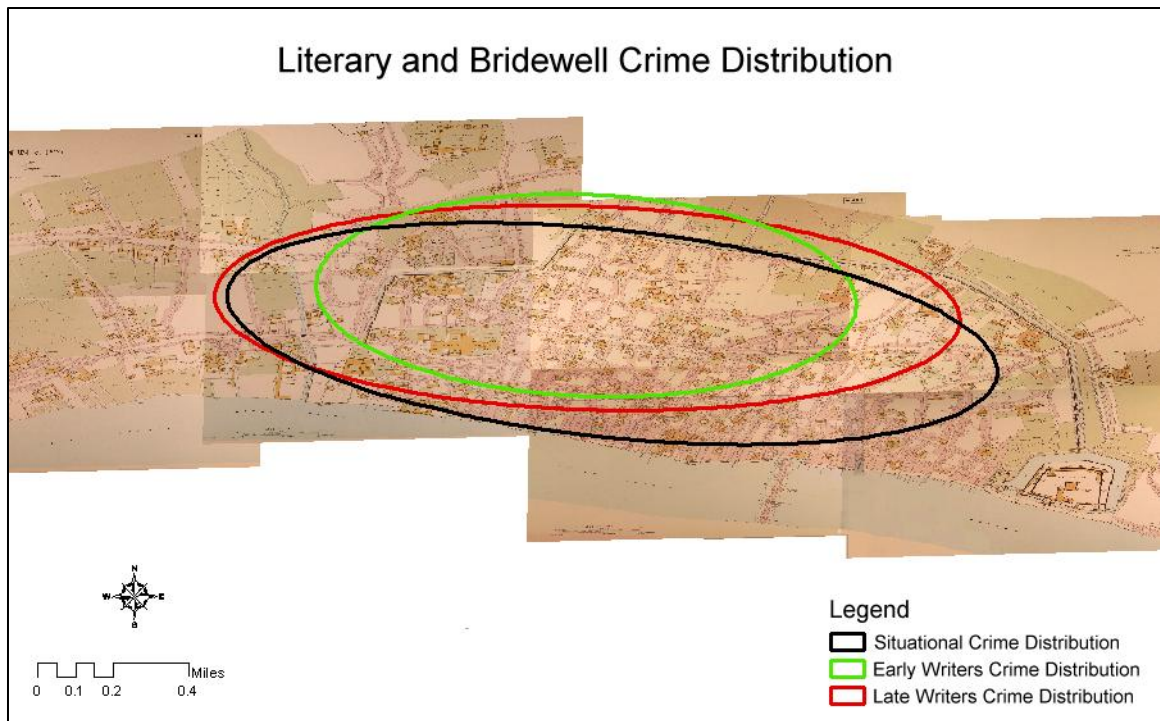
Figure 4.7 Directional Distributions for Literary and Bridewell crimes

mid-century and earlier pamphlets and later (Greene and post-Greene) pamphlets under-represent the area covered by the Bridewell crimes. The early pamphlets do this more than the later ones.

From this map, we can determine that the locations described in rogue pamphlets do overlap significantly with both the situational crimes and more definitive prostitution, servant, and deceit crimes prosecuted in Bridewell. Both sets of literary crimes are shifted somewhat to the north of the Bridewell crimes, however. Again, this is because the pamphlets over-represent the crimes committed in such location as St. Paul's cathedral, the Royal Exchange, and Fleet Street (major areas of social and retail exchange) and under-represent those which occurred near the docks and along Thames street.
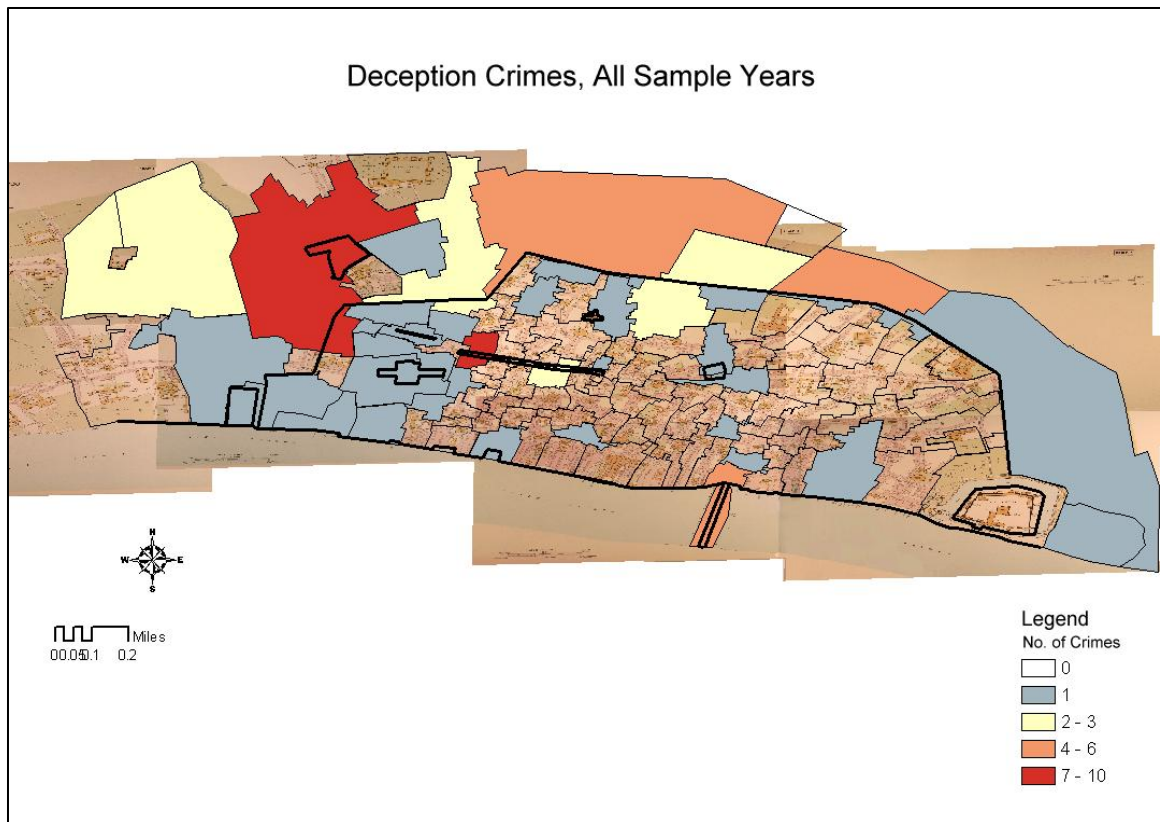
Figure 4.8: Deception Crimes per Household (all sample years).

When we map crimes of prostitution and deception as well as crimes committed by servants parish-by-parish, a similar pattern emerges. We see in figure 4.8 that deception crimes per household are thinly scattered across the city, but that higher levels occur in the western suburbs, just within the western walls, on London Bridge, near the Royal Exchange and around Paul's (see figure 4.1 for reference landmarks).

Prostitution and servant crimes, however, have hot spots within the city walls in the wealthier parishes. Crime is still present outside the walls, but at lower levels despite the large populations that lived there. Thinking about the populations living in the wealthier parishes, this makes a great deal of sense. These households had larger numbers of servants
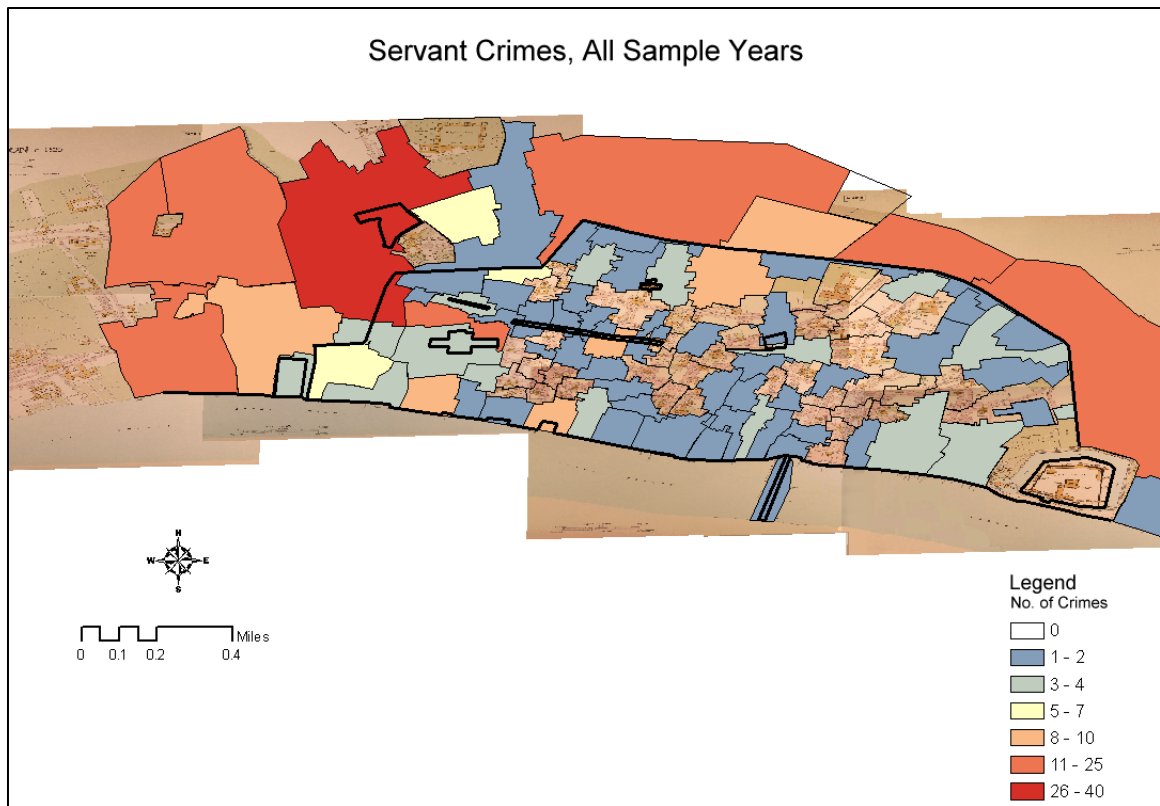
Figure 4.9: Servant Crimes per Household (all sample years).

than smaller, poorer households. Servants may well have had more access to money (either

through legitimate pay or theft). Servants often ran errands for their masters and attended

sermons at places like St. Paul's.

Brothels, while located primarily around the city center, were also found in its

business districts as well. The locations of late sixteenth century brothels gathered from the

Bridewell records by Ian Archer illustrate this (figure 4.11). Figure 4.11 shows raw numbers

of brothels, however. One or two bawdy houses in a small parish are more significant than

four in a parish with twenty times the population. It also does not consider crimes of
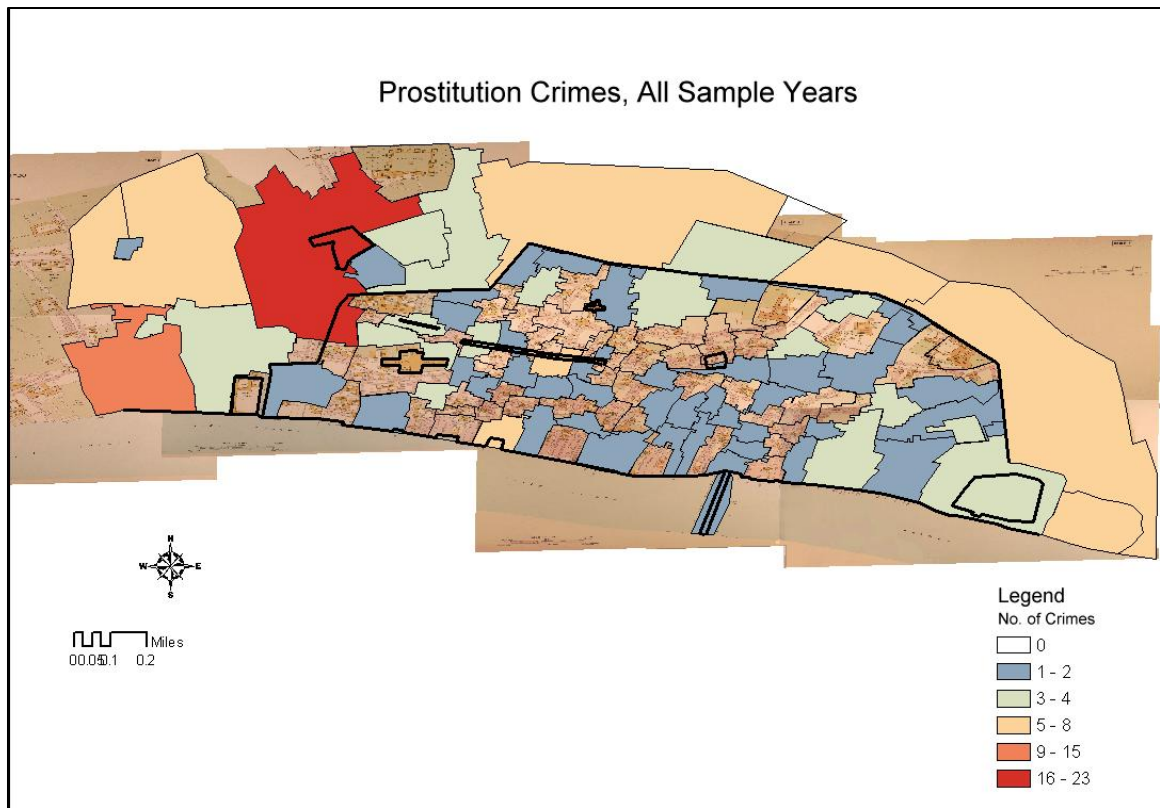
Figure 4.10: Prostitution Crimes per Household (all sample years).

prostitution that take place outside specific bawdy houses. Figure 4.10 shows prostitution

cases, both those involving brothels and those which did not, per household. It is thus

adjusted for population and reveals individual events of prostitution as well as the bawdy

houses. The difference is even more clearly shown by a hot spot analysis of brothel

locations in figure 4.12.[185] In this method, raw numbers of brothels are converted to Z

scores (standard deviations above or below the mean number of brothels). This figure

shows that, if only raw numbers of known brothels are considered, the wealthiest parishes of

London look to be "cool" locations with few prostitution crimes. The reality, however, is

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[185] See Appendix A for a discussion of the methods behind this analysis.
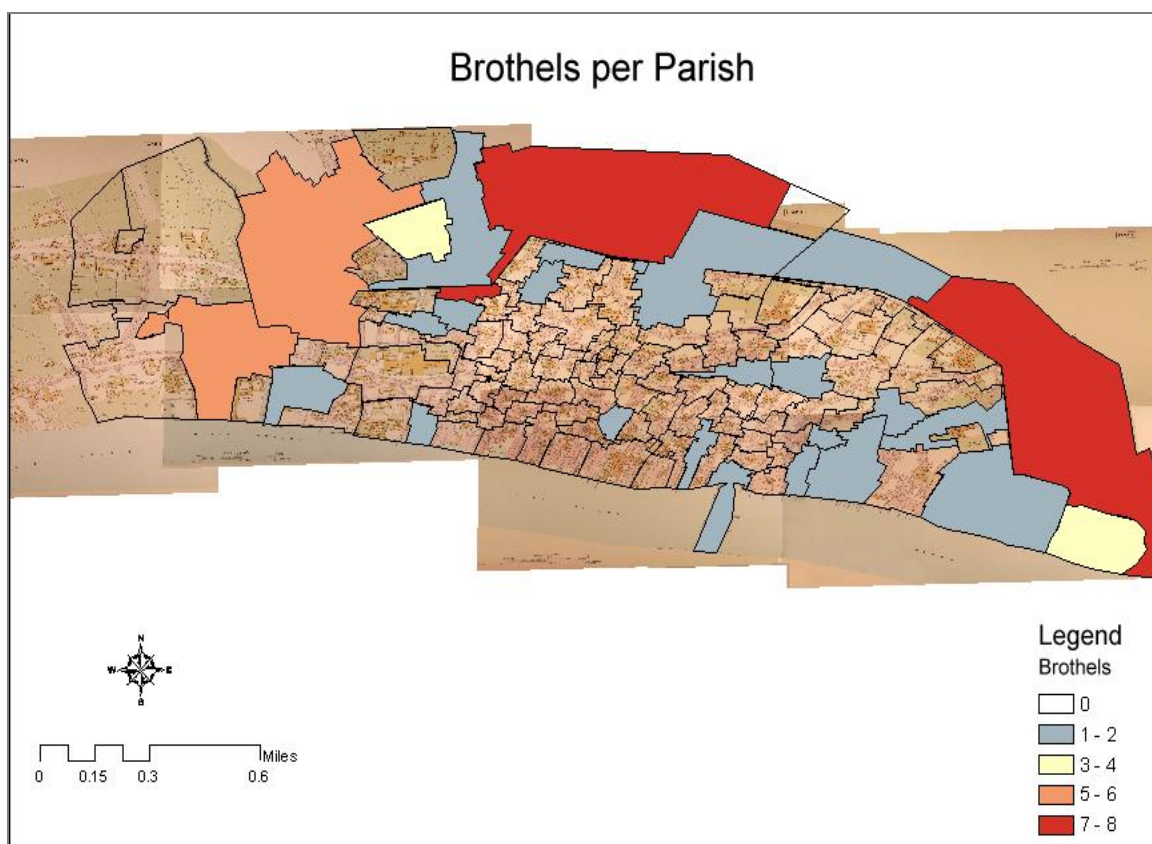
Figure 4.11: Brothels per parish from Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*.

that prostitution affected these parishes as well. Even a few individual crimes in the

neighborhood could create hot spots of prostitution in these wealthy areas.

Both servant crimes and crimes involving prostitution penetrate far into the city's

heart. Prostitution crimes are shifted slightly to the east relative to servant crimes. There are

more cases around the Bridge and Eastcheap. Crimes committed by servants have peaks

near St. Paul's Cathedral and Cheapside. In both cases, but particularly with servant crimes,

the offences are occurring in and around the wealthiest parishes in the city. As noted above,

the poor have fewer servants and less for them to steal. Likewise, they have less wealth to
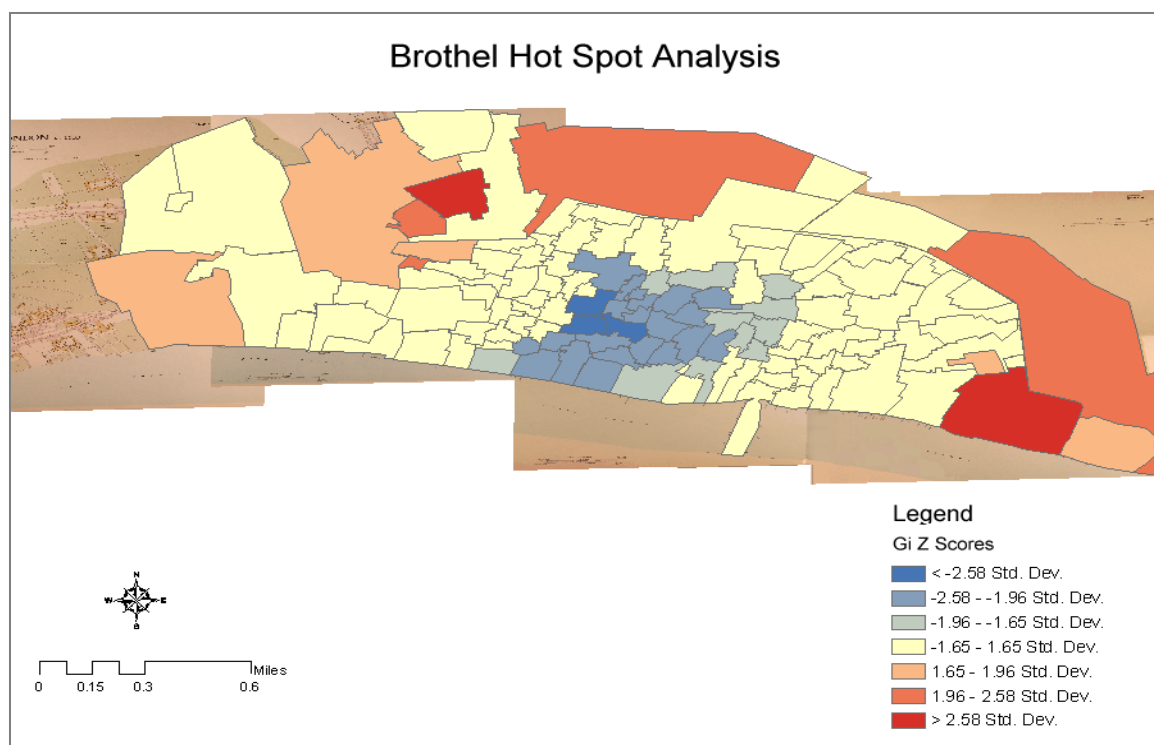
Figure 4.12: Hot Spot Analysis of Brothel Locations (from Archer).

spend on dicing, cards, and harlots. It should not surprise us that there is less servant crime

and less prostitution in the poorer areas farther from London's west end. These maps

correlate well with the risk terrain of situational crimes. There is little risk of being accosted

by beggars or vagrants in the east side of London as well. As a predictive tool, the risk

terrain accurately identifies the wealthier intra-mural parishes and diverse extra-mural

parishes of the west end as the main source of petty crime in early modern London.

Crime and Wealth

So far, I have talked about wealth in London and referred to hearth tax records and

other studies of the wealthy within London. We can map wealth as well, however, in order

to visualize its distribution in the city. Using Roger Finlay's data for substantial households

which he drew from the 1638 *Settlement of Tithes*, the relative wealth of most of London's

parishes can be mapped.[186] In figure 4.13, St. Andrew Holborn in the far northwest falls in

the range of 11-20 percent substantial houses. Darker blue indicates below 11 percent of

substantial houses, while the dark red parishes in the city center contain from 46-81 percent

substantial houses. While data is missing for many of the western parishes, Power's study of

hearth taxes would suggest that percentages of substantial houses fall in a range similar to or

slightly higher that of St. Andrew Holborn.[187] Figure 4.13 shows that the wealthiest parishes

lay in the center of the walled city. Areas of mixed wealth and poverty, shown as light blue,

form a loose ring around those wealthy parishes and also characterize the west end. The

riverside and the east end are poorer, with lower percentages of substantial households.

When this map is compared with distributions of prostitution, servant and deception

crimes already discussed, it clearly shows what the data have already suggested: the wealthy

parishes in the center of the city may have been insulated from some of the crime of the

west end, but they were clearly affected by servant crimes and by prostitution.

A similar map can be obtained by looking at the Hearth Taxes. The 1666 Hearth

Taxes indicate both the two shilling per hearth tax paid by residents but also the gender of

the head of household. Female headed households correlate negatively with wealth. The

higher the average hearth taxes paid within a parish, the fewer female-headed households

there were. A comparison of the map of female headed households (figure 4.15),

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[186] Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*, 70, 168-170.
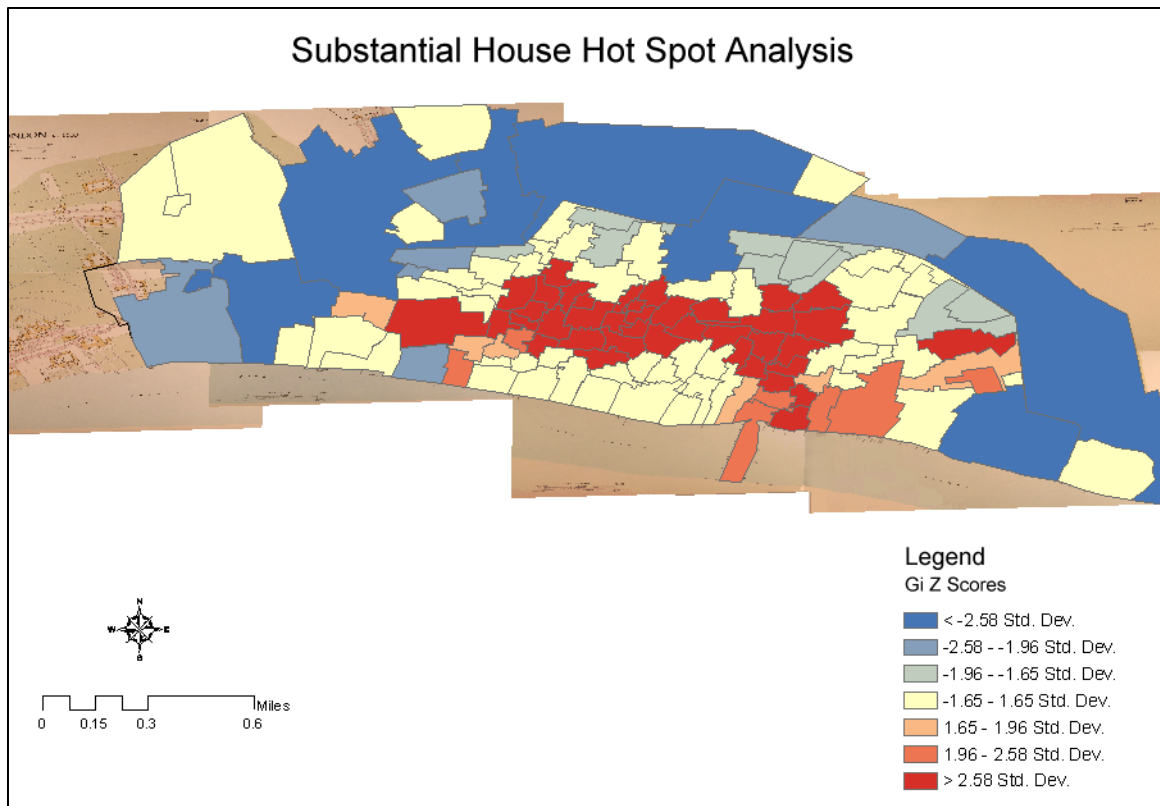[187] Power, "East and West," 170.

Figure 4.13: Substantial Houses by Parish, 1638

shows that the proportion of these households is postitively associated with incidences of

prostitution and brothels illustrated above. We will see in the following chapter that poverty

as revealed by the percentage of female-headed households also strongly correlates with

death rates during plague epidemics.

Crime over Time

One question that has minimally considered by the scholarly community is shifts in

crime over the decades considered in this study. By choosing a range of sample years, we
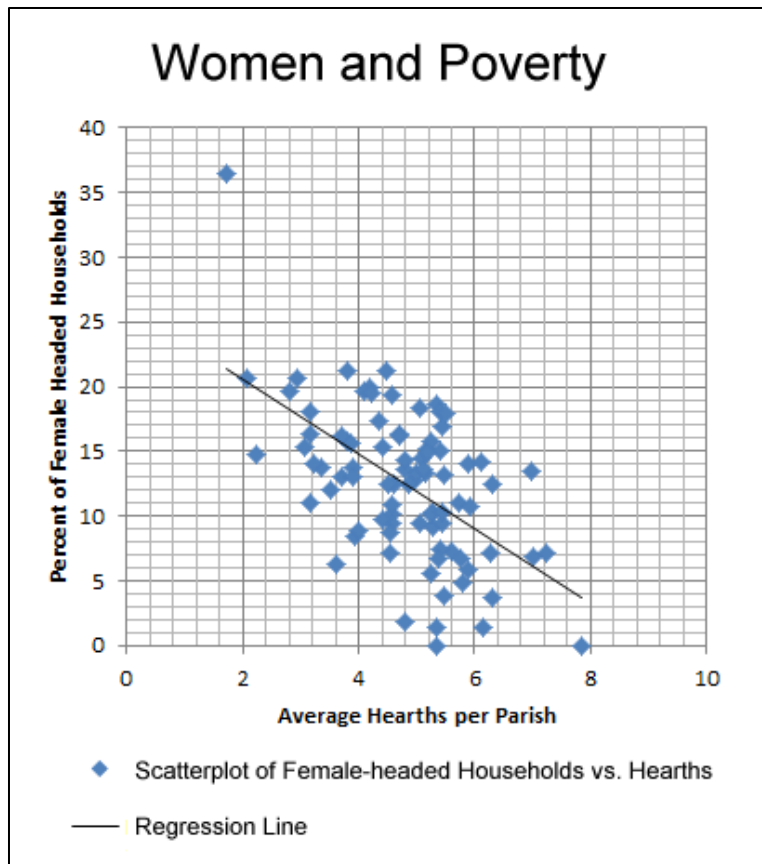
Figure 4.14: Correlation of Women and Poverty

can look for changes over time. Some trends are obvious simply from looking at the basic

descriptive data for each sample. The sample from 1576-77 occurs at the beginning of the

great burst in migration to London.[188] The first of Elizabeth's proclamations against

unauthorized building in London was issued in 1580.[189] As 1570s migration had not reached

the levels that it would in the seventeenth century, it is not surprising that these records

focus less on vagrants and more on domestic offences, specifically organized prostitution

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[188] Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*, 51, passim. Finlay puts the population of London and its liberties at 70,000 in 1550, 107-125,000 in 1580, 200,000 by 1600, and 400,000 by 1650.
[189] Munroe, *The Figure of the Crowd*. 15.
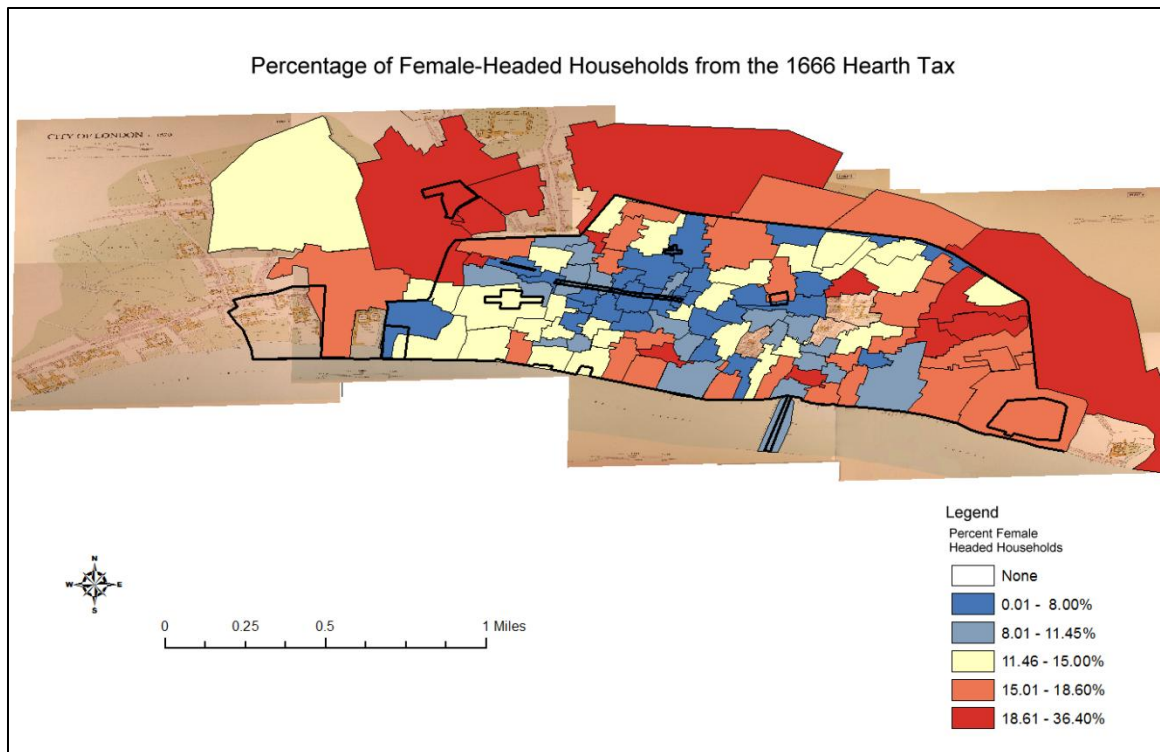
Figure 4.15: Percent Female Heads of Household

and servant crimes.[190] The cases from the 1590s, on the other hand, reflect the hard

economic times of that decade.[191] Prices were high at this time, and vagrants came to

London in search of jobs or simply food. The records show that vagrancy was the

overwhelming concern of the governors during these years.

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[190] The lines between casual fornication and prostitution cases can be blurred in the records. When the defendant is a bawd or one of the prostitutes who worked for them, those facts are emphasized by the Governors and the case can be clearly identified. However, many of the one-time sexual encounters prosecuted through the records may have been business transactions as well. Derogatory sexual terms such as "whore" are used even when the couple claims to have been clandestinely married, so the word itself cannot be used as an indicator of the commercial nature of the transaction. Therefore, if there was no exchange of money or indication that the woman made a living through her sexual services, the record was not included among "prostitution crimes."

[191] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 12. Archer is of the opinion that the crisis (economic and agricultural) of the 1590s was not as severe as some historians have painted it to be but still acknowledges that it was a difficult decade for England and London.

While food prices had dropped by the early seventeenth century, London's rate of growth had not, and vagrancy remained the central concern of the Governors in 1602-1604. Prosecution of prostitutes was lower overall during these sample years. However, during the summer and fall months when plague raged through the city, prosecution of prostitutes doubled from around six to over twelve percent. The numbers reveal that the broad cultural link between sin and sickness was, in fact, being enforced legally. Vagrancy was also a major concern in the 1630s, but by this decade, the governors were also becoming more concerned with theft, gambling, dicing, and crimes of deception.[192]

Also, for crimes of deception, the absolute number of cases is very low. These crimes are a relatively small percentage of the overall crimes to begin with, and only some cases give locations. However, we can see that the locations where cony-catchers and hookers practiced their arts shift considerably from sample to sample, even when the samples are only a few years apart. This would suggest that crimes of deception are fluid. Criminals move throughout the city and its suburbs looking for targets and perhaps abandoning areas where policing was increased. Further research will be necessary to substantiate this claim, but it is not without parallels in modern society. Con artists in nineteenth-century America benefitted from increasing mobility and anonymity within society.[193]

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[192] I have defined crimes of deception as those crimes where the defendant intentionally misrepresented him- or herself through the use of a false name or costume, where they used techniques specifically described in cony catching pamphlets, or where they are described as "cozeners."

[193] Michael Benson and Francis Cullen, *Combating Corporate Crime: Local Prosecutors at Work*, The Northeastern Series on White Collar and Organizational Crime (Athens, GA: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 142.

Another interesting point of note in figure 4.16 is the spike in deception crimes in the 1630s. While no parish experienced more than two crimes in a two-year period in any of the other sample years, Cheapside, the commercial district just to the north and east of St. Paul's, experienced eight cases in 1632-34. As noted above, it is during these years that the majority of the cases which precisely mimic the cony-catching techniques of the pamphlets are found. In the 1630s, criminals put adhesive bird lime on sticks to lift goods and undertake complex cons involving many people using false names and disguises. The Bridewell governors themselves faced considerable deception on the part of their employees during these sample years as well. This raises the question—were the criminals learning from the pamphlets? Were they educating the wrong readers? Further research is necessary to draw firm conclusions, but the data analyzed to date is suggestive

Prostitution cases are not as thinly spread as deception cases when examined sample-by-sample, although the numbers of cases with known locations are still fewer than ten per parish. The cases here also reveal more consistant patterns. In all sample years, there is prostitution activity in the eastern suburbs and in all sample years except 1596-1599, there is activity in the wealthy, commercial inner-city parishes as well. It should be remembered that the 1590s were a time of economic hardship in the city. These results suggest that perhaps such hardship affected either the sex trade or prosecution of those crimes. Table 4.1 confirms that prostitutes were not being brought in substantial numbers during these years. Nor were they pursued heavily in 1603-1605, except during the epidemic of plague. Yet, overall, cases continue to be brought in at a steady rate. What was really going on? Was
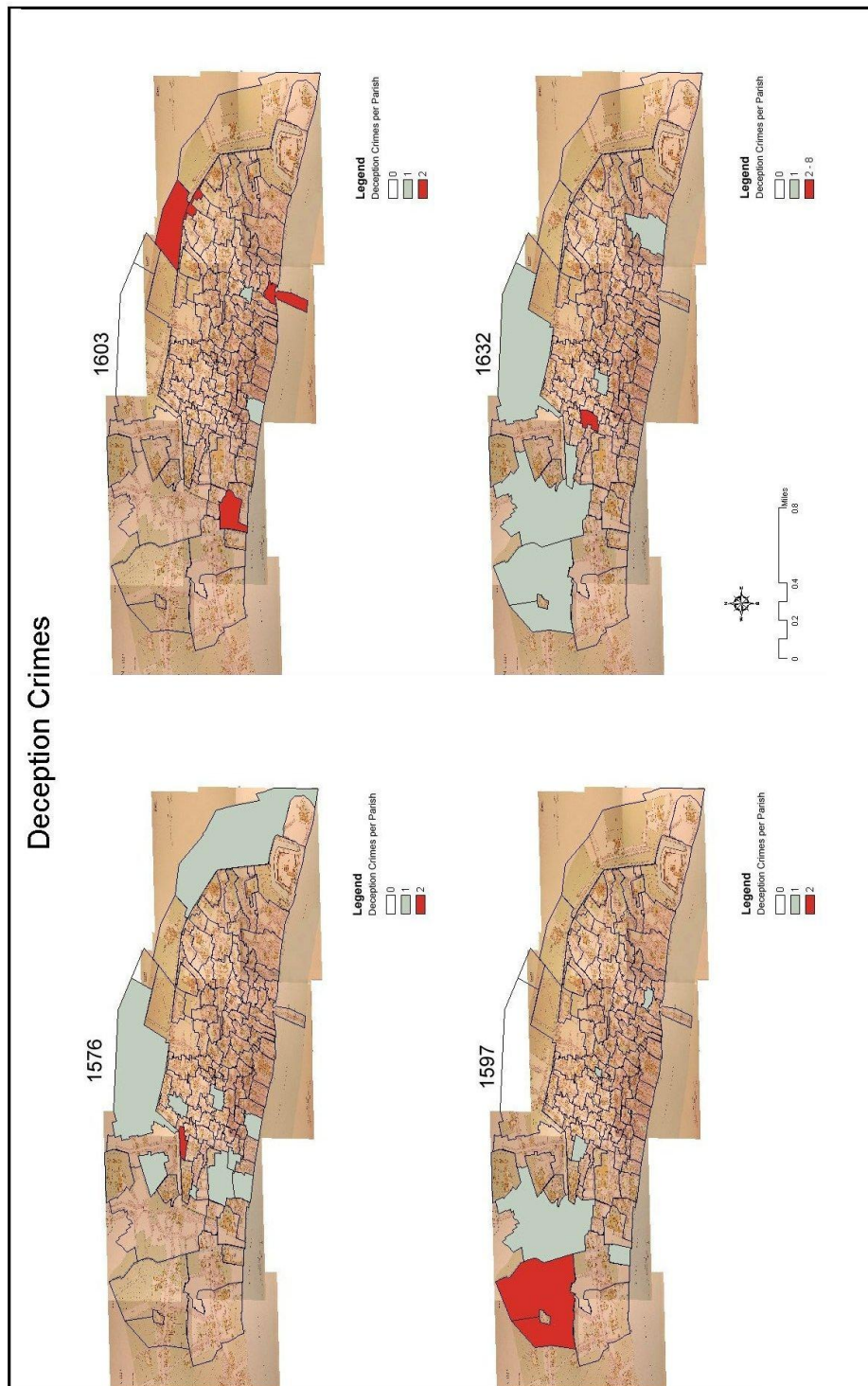
189

Figure 4.16: Deception Crimes by Sample Years.

there less prostitution, or less prosecution? This period of low prosecution follows the intense (if innefective) policing efforts of the 1570s and 80s. Ian Archer attributes the shift in prosecution away from the brothels and towards crimes such as vagrancy to the failure of the governors to "reel in" big fish such as Anthony Bate.[194] They may just have well failed in their attempts to deal with increasing vagrancy at the bottom of the social hierarchy however. The increase in vagrants coming to London in search of work doubtless taxed the city officials and may have caused resources to be redirected. Further data collection from the intervening years might shed light on the different causes for the apparent decline in protitution.

When we turn to crimes committed by household servants and apprentices, the maps show that while crimes per parish are still low, more parishes experience servant crime than either deception or prostitution crimes. Crimes are scattered throughout the small inner city parishes and but are found in the extramural parishes as well, particularly those in the west. We also appear to see a pattern opposite that of prostitution; in the 1597-1599 sample, servant crime increases. This may be attributable to the economic stresses on household and society. If so, a closer look at what crimes these servants are committing may be revealing.

Unlike the other crimes mapped in this section, servant crimes are categorized by who is committing them rather than what the crime was. If we look in more detail at the crimes servants were committing, some trends emerge. The two most common offences in all sample years were running away and fornication, usually with other servants. Fornication

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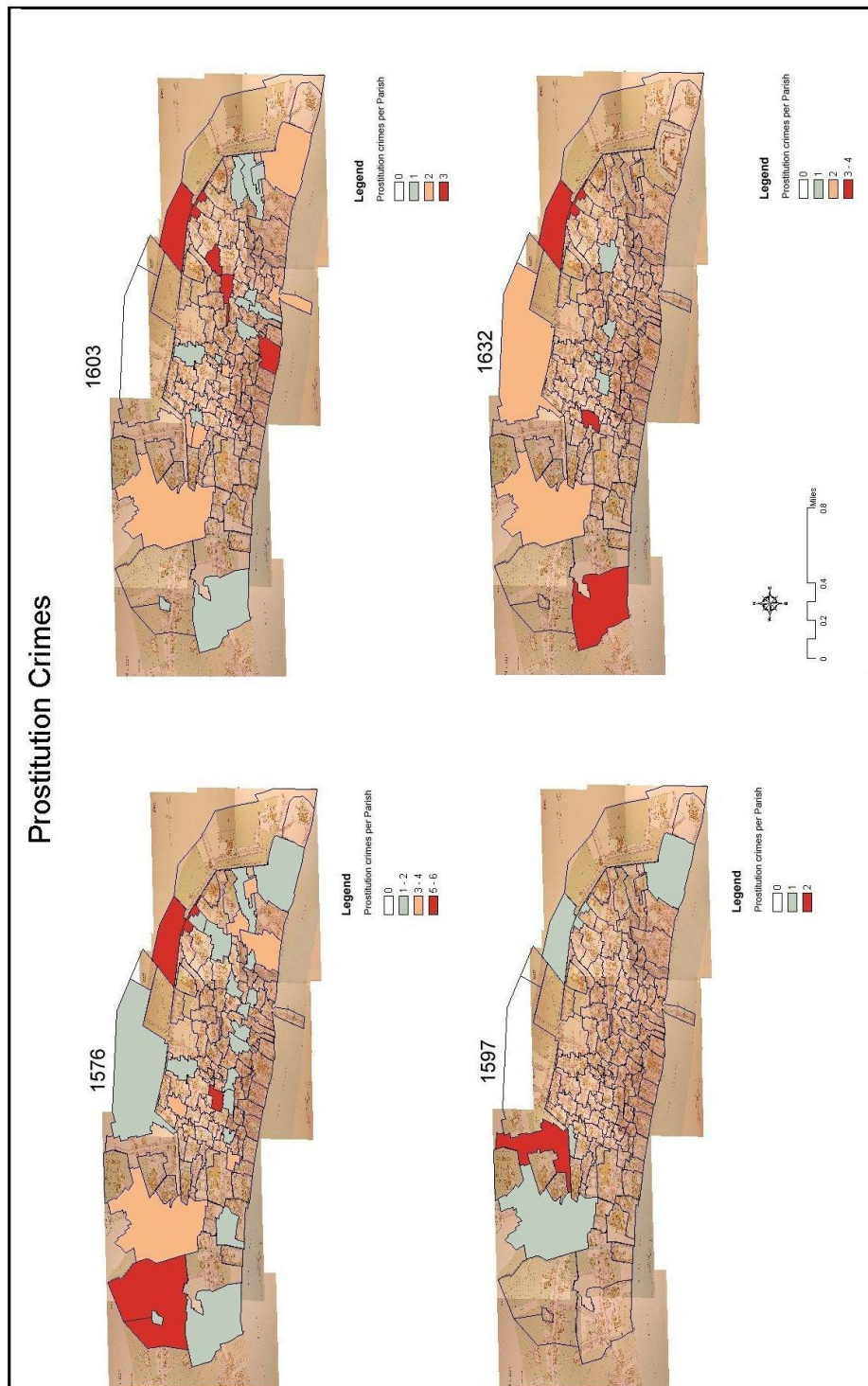[194] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*. 255.

191

Figure 4.17 Prostitution Crimes by Sample

in this case is taken to mean casual sexual relations with no sign of payment or interaction

with a bawd or bawdy house. Other crimes broken out in the table below include theft

(both from the household and outside) and acts of violence, both committed and threatened,

against members of the household.

Table 4.3: Breakdown of Servant Crimes from the Bridewell Court of Governors				
Sample Years:	1576-1578	1597-1599	1603-1605	1632-1634
Total Cases:	269	177	224	188
Running Away:	29 cases 10.8%	31 cases 17.5%	24 cases 10.7%	45 cases 23.9%
Fornication:	50 cases 18.6%	73 cases 41.2%	51 cases 22.8%	6 cases 3.2%
Theft:	19 cases 7.1%	24 cases 13.6%	7 cases 3.1%	46 cases 24.5%
Acts of Violence	1 case 0.3%	6 cases 3.4%	2 cases 0.9%	17 cases 9.0%

During the economic downturn of the 1590s and also during the 1632-1634 sample

(also a time of high prices, albeit not as severe), we see thefts by servants rise. So do the

incidences of runaways. Runaways are often also accused of taking their goods with them,

and those so accused are listed in both categories. Most surprising, however, is the rise in

violent acts during times of stress. Several servants are accused of beating or striking their

masters in the 1590s sample, but it is in 1632-1634 that the numbers increase dramatically.

This should not surprise us. Garthine Walker notes that land owners often took their

tenants to the criminal courts over financial matters and that "[w]hen household resources
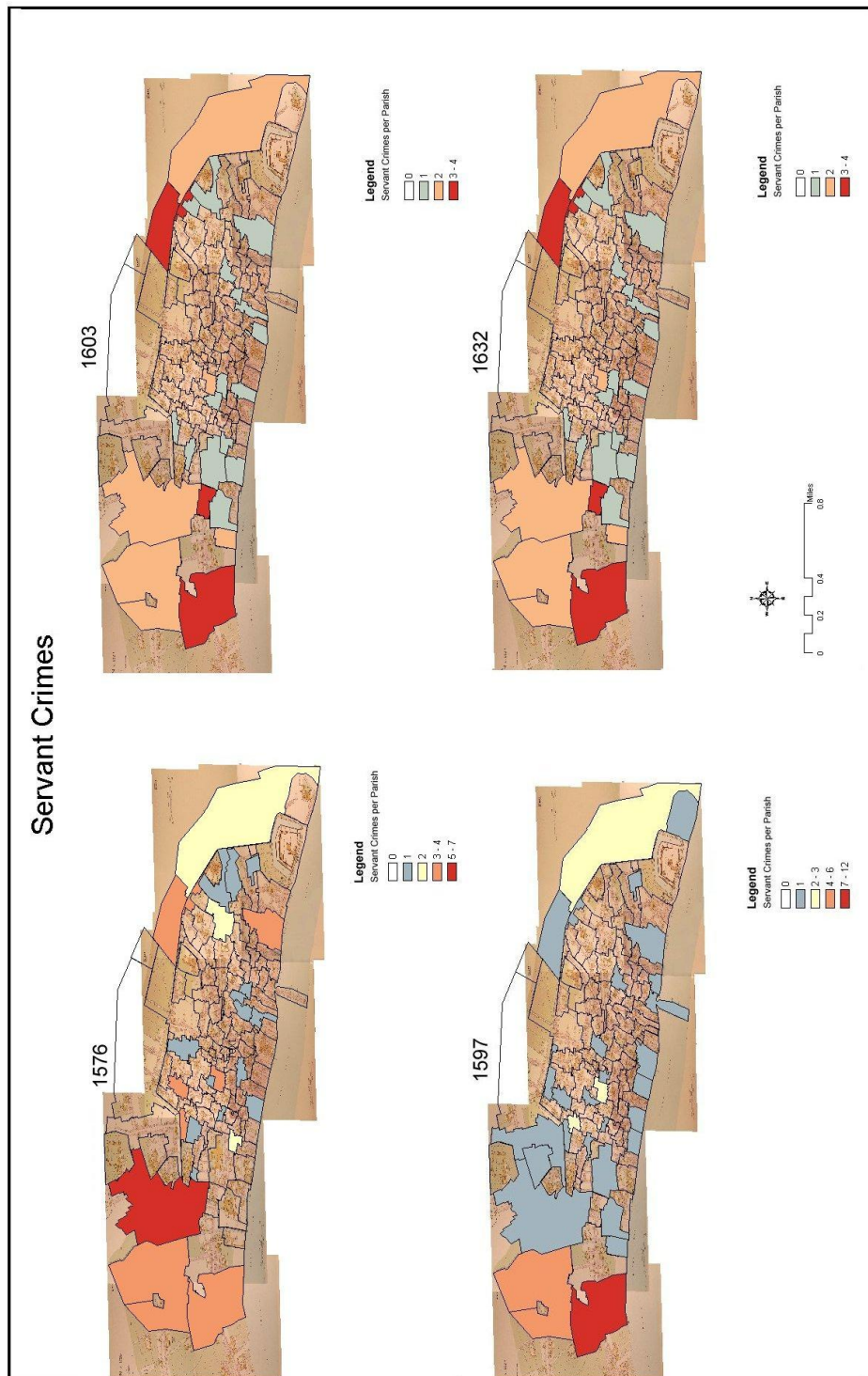
193

Figure 4.18: Servant Crimes by Sample

were at risk, complex and lengthy rivalries could be played out between various members of the families concerned."[195] Further, while men had some rights to enact violence upon their wives, when the wives appealed for protection they used the household economy in their defense. These women portrayed their husbands as spendthrifts who "drank away household means [and] "embezzled" their wives personal goods."[196] Then as now, financial distress provoked physical and emotional distress within the family and community. Why should servants have been immune?

Conclusions

What conclusions can we draw from this examination of literary and actual crime in London? First, it is clear that, while they may not be "true crime" reports of the city's rogues, the pamphlets, our emic view of society, do predict the geographic areas in which crimes such as cony catching and prostitution occurred. The pamphlets do over estimate the crimes that occurred in public spaces such at the Royal Exchange and St. Paul's cathedral. Actual crimes were committed in those spaces, but not to the degree which the pamphlets portray them.

Anxiety and Public Spaces

These public spaces were likely the haunts of the pamphlet readership. Anyone selling wares, buying groceries, or contracting for services would be familiar with Paul's and

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[195] Garthine Walker, "Keeping It in the Family: Crime and the Early Modern Household," in *The Family in Early Modern England*, ed. Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 83, 78.

[196] ———, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 65.

Cheapside, the Exchange, and Smithfield. However, these were also spaces that engendered

a changing social order. As William Dynes notes, in the first half of the seventeenth century,

the English merchant fleet grew from 100,000 to 2,000,000 tons.[197] In addition, more than

fifty percent of London's from the same period were "new money."[198] While usury

continued to be considered sinful, after 1571 it was legal to charge up to 10 percent

interest.[199] The figure of the greedy usurious merchant or broker was still literary stock and

trade, but alternative portrayals evolved as well. By the seventeenth century, the literary

usurer had become just another social climber wishing to gain land and status.[200] By the

seventeenth century, the literary usurer had become just another social climber wishing to

gain land and status.[201] And if the merchant had become tolerable, the craftsman could

actually be a hero. However, the language did not yet exist to describe their heroism in

internally consistent terms. Instead, they were paradoxically described using knightly

praise—the "gentle craftsman and lordly clothier."[202] In other words, the economy and

attendant social order was changing dramatically and the people one was likely to meet in

Paul's or the Exchange did not fit the old hierarchy even when they were not criminals. By

definition then, these public, commercial spaces were uncertain and unpredictable.

Researchers have previously seen the manifestation of stresses caused by these

changes in the Crown's repeated attempts to regulate the charging of interest as well as in the

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[197] William R. Dynes, "The Trickster-Figure in Jacobean City Comedy," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33, no. 2 (1993): 369.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Laura Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature*, ed. T. H. Aston, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 94.

[200] Ibid., 105.

[201] Ibid., 105.

[202] Ibid., 7.

196

appearance of a multitude of deportment handbooks designed to teach proper behavior in a world where one's social position at birth might no longer be fixed.[203] Now it becomes evident that they are also reflected in the over-representation of commercial spaces in rogue literature as well. Nor are the pamphlets the only popular representations of the dangers of London's commercial spaces. The many city comedies performed at London's commercial playhouses, themselves a feature of this new economy, also portray sites such as the Royal Exchange as sources anxiety and danger.[204]

Another key element of the pamphlet tales is that they emphasize "outsider" stereotypes: cunning vagrants, fallen women, and ignorant country youths. These men and women are "the other"—strangers to London and outsiders not a part of its hierarchy. But, in fact, the Bridewell judges spill the most ink when wealthy men of some standing in the community, like Anthony Bate, darken their threshold. This is not to say the stereotypes do not exist in the court records as well. James Sharp's contention that "the literary image of the Elizabethan vagrant evaporates as soon as court records are examined" is untenable, at least for the city of London.[205] Boys "hook" with birdlime. Men are caught with false dice, false cards, and false passports. Prostitutes dress like ladies to seduce their johns. This is the world of the urban rogue pamphlets. In fact, the increasing numbers of cony-catching crimes in the 1630s would seem to suggest that criminals may have actually imitated the stories.

[203] Dynes, "The Trickster-Figure." 317.
[204] Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 23.
[205] A. L. Beier, "New Historicism, Historical Context, and the Literature of Roguery," in *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture*, ed. Craig Dionne and Stephen Mentz (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 99.

Anxiety and Private Spaces

Where the pamphlets most seriously under-estimate crime is in the private

sphere—the bedchambers and cellars and workshops of London's citizens. Not only were

there a higher proportion of "bad servants" in the Bridewell records than in the pamphlets,

their cases were recorded with great detail—especially when violence was involved. Francis

Bothe was sent in for "beating of his M[aste]r & M[ist]ris and breaking his M[ist]ris head."[206]

Margaret Awsten attempted to poison her mistress by putting "a penny worthe of quick

silver" in her milk.[207] "William Hall was presented for beating his master, mistress, and a

constable and was "further acused to say to his M[aste]r a pox on the bible…"[208] Joseph

Bayly was presented because gave he his master "a kick with the foote in the belly wereby his

M[aster] is dangerously ill." [209] Servants like Joseph were sent to the Sessions to be examined

there, but those who did not commit life-threatening assaults were whipped and usually

returned to their masters. The earlier samples contain no assaults described with this level of

details and very few assaults at all.

The time and detail taken to record the specific details of these cases reveal that they

were more significant to the court than the tens of vagrants who passed through their doors.

Order was, of course, important throughout Tudor/Stuart society, and the family was a

critical aspect of that order. As Thomas Floyd noted, a man who could not govern his own

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[206] B.C.B. 4 fo. 52ᵛ.
[207] B.C.B. 4 fo. 74ᵛ.
[208] B.C.B. 7 fo. 367ᵛ.
[209] B.C.B. 8 fo. 5.

household was not seen fit to govern anything else.[210] The numbers of servants presented in Bridewell were a tiny percentage of those who lived in London, but clearly that matters got so far out of control were of great concern to the court.

These spaces are represented in small books, but not the rogue pamphlets. Disruptions of household order show up instead in murder pamphlets—tales of infanticide, adultery, and spousal murder. Was the railing of a disobedient servant too uninteresting to sell, or were disruptions of household order so damnable that they could only be painted in broad, felonious strokes? The latter is more likely. The household, which was supposed to be a man's castle, was in fact "too open, penetrable by and hospitable to any number of disorderly and masterless men."[211] Moreover, as we will see in the following chapter, servant crimes were not the only concern of the householder. Both spiritual illness of sin and physical illnesses such as plague and smallpox were an unavoidable threat within the home.

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[210] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 71.
[211] Ibid., 8.

Chapter 5

Mapping Disease in Early Modern London

> So there is no long sickness but is worse than death, for death is but a blow
> and away, whereas sickness is like a Chancery suit, which hangs two or three
> year ere it can come to a judgment.
>
> Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night*

In the previous chapter, I discussed the contours of crime in early modern London.

Now we must turn our attention to disease. Like crime, disease was often, if not always,

seen to be rooted in sinful behavior. Unlike crime, it would have affected every member of

early modern society in some way. Contagious disease was a terrible burden for the men and

women of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially those who lived in cities. With

no antibiotics, no germ theory, no refrigeration, and no modern waste disposal, serious

illness was an unavoidable part of life—and death. Children lost their parents. At least a

third of apprentices had lost their fathers by the time of their indenture.[1] Parents lost their

children at even higher rates. A mother who saw half her children reach adulthood could

count herself lucky. Only one of Nehemiah Wallington's five children, Sarah, reached

adulthood.[2] Nor was death the only fear. As Thomas Nashe noted in *The Terrors of the Night*,

the months or years of suffering from sickness were also a terrible burden. John Donne

pondered whether health was even possible: "And can three bee worse sickenesse than to

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[1] Ilana Krausman Ben Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Yale University Press, 1994), 48.

[2] Nehemiah Wallington, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection*, ed. David Booy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 3.

know/ That we are never well, nor can be so?"[3] Sickness, whether it was seen as divine punishment or humoral imbalance, was an undeniable force in society.

In this chapter, I will look at the boundaries of health and sickness in early modern London. What spaces were considered unsafe? What steps did people take to keep their homes and families healthy? I first discuss the sources for and issues with diagnosis of disease in early modern London. Then I will analyze the spread of several significant diseases, including flux, French Pox, smallpox, and plague, through London as a whole and St. Botolph without Aldgate in particular. We will see that, while the "better sort" of Londoners were moderately successful in quarantining diseases within the cramped back alleys, they once again had a fifth column within their ranks—their own servants. These young men and women were, like the children of their masters, an immunologically naïve population susceptible to plague, smallpox, and other lethal microbial threats to the household.

Issues of Diagnosis

A study of disease in early modern London must perforce take into account both what contemporaries thought of their ailments and what, if anything, the modern scholar can learn from contemporary discussions of them. At first glance, having lists of casualties in the weekly Bills of Mortality (discussed in more detail below) and the records of some parishes would seem to make the problem a simple one. However, early modern people did not understand disease as we do today. Their perspective for the construction of illness was

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[3] Ernest B. Gilman, *Plague Writing in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 29.

for the most part based on a classical worldview that was just beginning to be challenged and the modern distinction between a disease and its symptoms did not yet exist.[4]

This classical worldview underlying most learned medical thought of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the Greco-Roman system of the four humors espoused by Galen and others. In this understanding, the well-being of the body was dependant on a balance of yellow bile, black bile, blood, and phlegm. Disturbances to these humors could originate from either inside or outside the body and would cause illness. Under ideal circumstances, health could be maintained through regulation of the six nonnaturals: air, food and drink, exercise, elimination, emotions, and sleep.[5] However, when health failed and disease struck, treatment often required bleeding or purging to expunge tainted humors and right the body's balance.[6] Only remnants of this mindset still remain in modern language—to catch cold, for example, referring to an excess of the colder humors.

Included in this Galenic view was the concept of "miasma," an invisible cloud of stench and corruption that might be caused by a conjunction of planets or by reeking unburied corpses, stagnant water or rotting food.[7] The "stinking lanes" of the poor as well as smelly professions such as starch or leather making could also create miasma and contagion.[8]

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[4] Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern Enland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 240.

[5] Chester R. Burns, "The Nonnaturals: A Paradox in the Western Concept of Health," *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy* 1, no. 3 (1976): 203.

[6] Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860*, 2nd ed., New Studies in Economic and Social History (Cambridge and New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1993), 7.

[7] Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1985), 26.

[8] Ibid., 26.

While still dominant among trained medical practitioners, the classical view of the body was being challenged by alternate approaches. New theories such as those put forth by Paracelsus put more emphasis on external factors of health and the use of chemicals as cures. Paracelsus believed that man, as part of creation, needed to unite with the rest of creation to be well. He had an astral self, which allowed him sympathetic communion with the stars, plants and chemicals of creation.[9] These external forces had hidden virtues which could restore health. Thus fresh air should be let into the sick room, mercury applied to the syphilitic, and herbal decoctions used to calm bodily distress. Paracelsans also believed there were evil forces in the environment such as invisible demons. The presence of such evil forces, which could penetrate the body as easily as could beneficial cures, made the body seem vulnerable. The skin was a porous and insufficient barrier to disease.[10] Clearly, there is nothing here that denies the effectiveness of bleeding and purging or the humors in general, but Paracelsan theory gave the physician (or merchant housewife) more tools with which to combat illness.[11]

Hieronymus Fracastor of Verona's ideas of contagion were also integrated into the humoral view of health. In his work *Sympathy and Antipathy*, published in 1546, Fracastor proposes that invisibly small particles (semina) of contagion spread disease and corruption from one person to another. These particles were not seen as animate—that would have to

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[9] Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel, Switzerland: S. Karger, 1982), 52.

[10] Margaret Healy, "Anxious and Fatal Contacts: Taming the Contagious Touch," in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey (2003), 24.

[11] Paracelsan practitioners were also called Helmontian doctors, after Jan Baptist van Helmont, a follower of Paracelsus who elaborated on many of his theories. Amanda Barrow, *The Oxford Companion to the Body* (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), 388.

wait until van Leuwenhoek's microscope of the 1670s became well known. Rather, they were influenced by humidity. High humidity allowed them to become sticky and infectious.[12] These "semina" could be passed through the air from the infected person or transitted via fomites—bedding, clothing, and so on.[13] Their touch was invisible and unknowable, which contributed to fears that the body was vulnerable to attack from many sources.[14]

Plague could bring to a head the conflicts between the old and new schools of medicine with their greater emphasis on purely physical, external causality. George Tomson's *Loimotomia* is a prime example. Tompson, a chemical or Paracelsan physician, used his published dissection of a plague victim to lambast his Galenic colleagues and the worth of their cures:

> Away then with the seculent and dirty Medicaments of the *Galenists,* which I can demonstrate to their faces, if they dare to stand a Tryal, are not fitting to be received into such a Noble part for the Cure of any deep rooted Disease whatsoever.[15]

The Galenist physicians in London, in return, accused him of causing the deaths of several prominent physicians with whom he associated after the dissection. The accusation occurred because Tomson, fearing he had become infected with the plague during the dissection, consulted his London colleagues.[16] While he proved not to be seriously ill,

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[12] Pagel, *Paracelsus*, 188.

[13] Fomites are any non-food items such as utensils, clothing, bedding, and so on which can transmit infective organisms.

[14] Healy, "Contagious Touch," 6.

[15] George Tomson, *Loimotomia, or the Pest Anatomized in These Following Particulars*, Early History of Medicine, Health and Disease (Early English Books Online, 1666, reprinted 2011), 49.

[16] Ibid., 78, passim.

several of them died shortly thereafter. The final seventeen pages of his account is an "Apology against the Calumnies of the Galenists" in which Tomson refutes their accusations, describes the legitimacy of his credentials, and wishes that "their Cut-throat Bleeding in the Smallpox, and other Malignant Feavers, to the Losse of the Life of some Heroes, might be made apparent."[17]

The final complementary theory to the humoral view was theological or spiritual. Margaret Healy argues that theological arguments grew in popularity in the sixteenth century because of the increase in Paracelsan and Fracastorian theory. If contagion could "touch" the body through invisible particles and if some of those particles carried characteristics of goodness or evil, then why could sin not be transmitted just as was bodily corruption?[18] Paul Slack, on the other hand, attributes the religious approach to disease to numerous causes. These included the general rise of Puritan sympathies and the appearance of "new" diseases, especially Sweating Sickness, which signified it was the age of man's decline.[19] Regardless of the reason, the theological view of disease was informed by the writers' observations. Authors of tracts on spiritual health could simply look at London and see that the poorer parishes, also believed to be home to many vagrants, whores, and thieves, were hit the hardest in most epidemics of plague.[20]

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[17] Ibid. 187-188.

[18] Healy, "Contagious Touch," 7

[19] Slack, *Impact of Plague*, 22, passim.

[20] For a description of the ways different epidemics affected London, see below in this chapter and also Graham Twigg, "Plague in London: Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Mortality," in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. J. A. I Champion, *Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1993). For details on the spatial distribution of crime, see chapter 4 above.

The theological or moral view, less common in continental writings and lengthy Latin tracts, was reflected in popular pamphlets such as William Bullein's *Dialog Against the Feuer Pestilence.* The characters that Bullein causes to succumb to the illness are those like Civis, who flees the city, or Antonius, a wealthy usurious merchant.[21] Prayers to be read during plague time were also common.[22]

Does this indicate that the theological view was the "popular" view? Or was the London artisan familiar with Galenic and Paracelsan theory? While an understanding of what typical Londoners believed would be extremely useful in assessing the actions they took to prevent disease, the lack of written records makes it hard to know exactly what they thought. Paul Slack seems to believe that they thought relatively little. He argues that the less educated of London did not have recourse to books of plague cures and other medical works, even those which were purportedly for the poor. Slack's primary evidence is the relatively small numbers of editions that these books went through.[23] However, as will be considered below in the discussion of parish registers, Slack does not note the other forms in which an uneducated parishioner might have had to gain access to such works such as oral transmission of knowledge. He comments that there were many avenues for men and women to receive care "from the educated practitioners to the more numerous 'cunning'

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[21] William Bullein, *Dialog against the Feuer Pestilence*, ed. Mark W. Bullen (London: Early English Text Society, 1578, reprinted 1888).

[22] Rebecca Totaro, *The Plague in Print: Essential Elizabethan Sources, 1558-1603* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2010), 17.

[23] Paul Slack, "Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Uses of Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England," in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 239-240.

men and women," but does not present avenues for obtaining a cure and those for obtaining information as connected.[24]

Not all cures were published as books or pamphlets. For example, royal plague orders generally also contained "advice set down upon her Majesty's express commandment by the best learned in Physic within this realm, containing sundry good rules and easy medicines without charge to the meaner sort of people."[25] This document would have been widely available, and those who could not read may well have had it read to them. The St. Botolph without Aldgate vestry minutes regularly note the reading of royal orders at church services.[26] So while we cannot know exactly what the "typical" view of disease was amongst the artisans and shop keepers of London, we should recognize that they almost certainly had access to the various schools of thought and would have been capable of following the advice that the learned offered.

Problems with Interpretation of Early Modern Disease Records

Not until the nineteenth century with the publications of Pasteur and Robert Koch would doctors and scientists begin to think of disease in terms of germ theory, as we do today. At this time, diseases began to be seen as discrete collections of replicable symptoms, each caused by a single microscopic organism. Koch's postulates of 1877 formally state

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[24] Ibid., 237.
[25] Elizabeth I, "Orders Thought Meet by Her Majesty and Her Privy Council" in *The Plague in Print: Essential Elizabethan Sources, 1558-1603*, ed. Rebecca Totaro (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1578, modern printing 2010), 187.
[26] P69/BOT2/A/019/MS09234

what is required to identify and classify a disease.[27] This was all still an unknown process to early modern people. They did not consistently distinguish between signs, symptoms, and disease itself and had no knowledge of bacteria or viruses.[28] While some diseases (plague, French pox, or measles) were recognized as diseases in the modern sense (a collection of symptoms with an underlying cause), most often fever or sweating or "griping in the gut" were considered diseases in and of themselves.[29] While we today might say, "he died of a high fever caused by bacterial meningitis," an early modern doctor would just say "he died of fever." This presents the modern researcher with a challenge. What really happened when we see someone died of "fever?" What disease process may have been the cause of this fever? When a disease is described as a "speckled disease," which of the many causes of rashes and sores might have been the cause? How can we derive the underlying cause if it was not recognized by contemporaries? Sometimes descriptions of symptoms are detailed enough to allow the researcher to hypothesize about the nature of their cause, but there must always be a level of uncertainty. In this study, the most problematic causes of death such as "fever" have not been considered for this very reason.

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[27] Gerard Tortora, Berdell Funke, and Christine Case, *Microbiology: An Introduction*, 6th ed. (Menlo Park, California: Benjamin/Cummings Publishing Company, 1998), 398. Koch's postulates state that the organism must be isolated from a sick patient or animal, grown in pure form on culture medium, and then given to another test animal and produce identical symptoms.

[28] The two are not identical. Modern medicine considers signs to be the external indicators of illness—those things such as fev"r which can be objectively measured. Symptoms, on the other hand, refer to experienced but un-measurable qualities of the disease process experienced by the patient, such as pain or malaise. See U.S. National Library of Medicine, "Medline Plus Medical Dictionary," National Institutes of Health, http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/mplusdictionary.html.

[29] Dobson, *Contours of Death*, 240.

Pitfalls of the Parish Registers

Likewise, the categories of victim listed in the parish registers may be problematic and difficult to interpret. For example, young children born alive who died within a month of birth were theoretically called "chrisoms." However, in practice this applied to children as old as a year. The average age of chrisoms listed in St. Botolph's register in the late sixteenth century (of the 10 percent for whom an age is given) is seventy-three days.[30]

The term "servant" is also problematic. Ben Amos and Griffiths have generally assumed servants to be in their late teens or early 20's. Ben Amos notes that the average age of Londoners when they were apprenticed was 17.7 years.[31] While the mean age of servants from the St. Botolph without Aldgate burial records is 22.04 years, the distribution of ages at death clearly shows that, in poorer parishes like St. Botolph, servitude could begin by age ten and sometimes lasted well into adulthood. As we will see, children and teens died at higher rates than adults. This would suggest that older servants are probably under-represented in the burial records and may have been a larger proportion of the servant population. For some service was clearly not a temporary stage of life.

The concern with the nature of household servants is as relevant here as in the previous chapter. As we will see below, parish data clearly show they were among the most vulnerable to disease. While household sizes were larger in the wealthier areas of town, families in poorer parishes like those in St. Botolph without Aldgate still had servants. So

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[30] P69/BOT2/A/002/MS09221
[31] Ben Amos, *Adolescence*, 226.

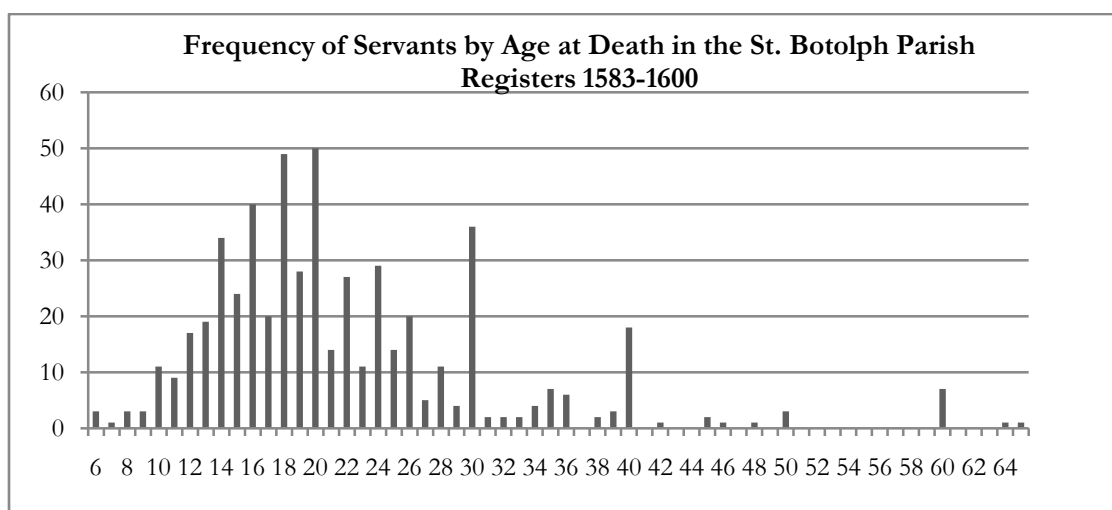**Frequency of Servants by Age at Death in the St. Botolph Parish Registers 1583-1600**

Figure 5.1: Age of Servants at Death, St. Botolph without Aldgate[32]

how did they think of these men and women who entered their household? The impersonal parish records leave us little way to determine the exact nature of the relationships, but the Bridewell records discussed above in chapter four suggest that master-servant relations could be antagonistic. Would illness add to an already potentially stressful relationship?

The evidence suggests so. Contemporary diarist Ralph Josselin thanks to God for preserving him from the "poysonous infections from servants."[33] Masters did in fact put out their sick servants at times, as with Richard, the servant of Miles Wilsson of St. Katherine's parish, who died of a wasting disease in a garden house near the town ditch. The commonplace of "servants whose brest albeit the arrows of the plague stuck halfe way, yet by cruell maisters were they driven out of dores at mid-night and convaid to Garden-

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[32] P69/BOT2/A/002/MS09221 and P69/BOT2/A/003/MS09223

[33] Ralph Josselin, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* , ed. Alan Macfarlane. (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1976), 2.

houses" even made its way into plague pamphlets of the day.[34] Sick servants were to be feared, and William Gouge's admonition that masters "are for their servants' good, as well as servants' for theirs" was clearly a source of stress during times of sickness.[35]

Sometimes, however, Londoners took in relatives as servants; Nehemiah Wallington in St. Leonard Eastcheap took in his wife's nephew Charles.[36] Was the bond between servant and master was different if the servant was a poor cousin or unmarried sister? While we cannot say for certain, it is compelling that, when servants in St. Botolph were put out of the household because they were ill, none of them shared a last name with their master.[37]

The Searchers

Another concern in using the parish registers is the process of observation. Who diagnosed the sick and dying? Doctors were book-educated but had nothing like modern medical residency to prepare them for diagnosis. For most Londoners, the preparedness of members of the College of Physicians would have been irrelevant in any case, as they would have had no access to such an individual. They might consult an apothecary or barber-surgeon, the less exalted members of the medical professions, or they might simply diagnose and treat the sufferer within the neighborhood or family. When deaths were recorded in the

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[34] Thomas Dekker, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, Temple Classics (Temple Classics, 1608, reprinted 1904), 284.

[35] William Gouge, *Domestical Duties, the First Treatise: An Exposition of That Part of Scripture out of Which Domestical Duties Are Raised*, ed. Greg Fox (Lulu On-Demand Publishing, 1622, reprinted 2006), 169.

[36] M. J. Power, "East and West in Early Modern London," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S. T. Bindoff*, ed. E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht, and J. J. Scarisbrick (London: University of London Athlone Press, 1978). See also, Wallington, *Notebooks*.

[37] P69/BOT2/A/002/MS09221. Nine servants whose deaths were listed from January of 1582/3 through 1600 shared their master's last name. The masters appear overwhelmingly to have been poor, having professions such as carman or sailor and living in the small alleys of the parish.

parish records, they were labeled according to the verdict of the parish searchers, usually

elderly women (pensioners) who were paid a penny or two to inspect the body and speak

with the family.[38]

So how reliable were the diagnoses of alternate practitioners, family members,

neighborhood midwives, and searchers? As noted above, modern perspectives on this are

varied. Some scholars would not attribute much worth to any of these contemporary lay

diagnoses. Paul Slack comments that, even for a disease with very distinctive symptoms

such as plague, "cases of septicaemic plague which did not produce these symptoms must

often have been missed; and other spotted diseases, such as typhus, might easily be confused

with the plague."[39] F. P. Wilson notes that the searchers were often accused of misconduct

and that "the obsolete phraseology of the searchers was still bringing the bills into disrepute

when the office was abolished by the registration act of 1836."[40] Contemporary writers were

even harsher. John Graunt accuses "Old-women *Searchers* after the mist of a Cup of *Ale*, and

the bribe of a two-groat fee, instead of one, given them," of being willing to modify their

diagnosis to suit the family.[41] Sir William Petty calls into question the "ignorant and careless

Searchers Reports" in his edition of Graunt's *Observations* that, in his mind, underestimate

reports of plague as well as diseases that cannot be diagnosed through common sense.[42]

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[38] Slack, *Impact of Plague*, 274.

[39] Ibid., 275.

[40] F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 196.

[41] John Graunt, "Observations on the Bills of Mortality," In *John Graunt Home Page*, ed Ed Stephan. (Neonatology on the Web, 1996), www.neonatology.org/pdf/graunt.pdf, 24.

[42] Sir William Petty, *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, Together with the Observations Upon Bills of Mortality, More Probably by Captain John Graunt*, ed. Charles Henry Hull, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, reprinted by the Online Library of Liberty, 1899), 22.

This view of searchers discounts the factors of community and popular medical culture, however. There is considerable evidence that lay men and women were full participants in the medical culture of the times. Many books were published to guide ordinary men and women in diagnosing and treating illnesses. Thomas Phayre's *Book of Children* is one of these. Phayre's self-stated purpose is to

> do them good who have the moost need, that is to say children, and to shewe the remedyes that God hath created for the use of man to distribute in Englysse to them that are unlerned part of the treasure that is on other languages, to provoke them that are of better lernyng to utter theyr knowlege in such lyke attemptes, finallye to declare that to the use of many which ought not to be secrete for lucre of a fewe…[43]

Likewise, Thomas Moulton describes his *Glasse of Helthe* as "a great treasure for pore men" and useful "to surgyons but also to phesycyons and Barbours, and to all that use to gyue medycynes."[44] In these works, diseases were listed according to their standard medical descriptions. Humoral associations are included, but alternative recipes for the poor who could not afford saffron, cinnamon, sandalwood, myrrh, or other expensive ingredients were included.

Paul Slack considers the degree to which this can be taken at face value.[45] He argues that the illiterate poor certainly did not purchase such books and that, based on the numbers published, there could not have been a large number of literate artisans and yeomen: "Only

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[43] Thomas Phaer, *The Boke of Chyldren*, trans. Rick Bowers, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1544), A2

[44] Thomas Moulton, *The Glasse of Helthe a Great Treasure for Pore Men, Necessary and Nedefull for Euery Person to Loke in, That Wyll Kepe Theyr Body Fro[M] Syckenesses [and] Disseases*, From STC 18222 ed., Early English Books Online Editions: Early History of Medicine, Health, and Disease (Early English Books Online, 1545), 2.

[45] Slack, "Mirrors of Health," 237.

almanacs were available in large enough quantities to reach the lowest ranks of the literate."[46]

Slack does choose, however, to exclude works that are essentially copies of a previous work.

He also ends his study in 1603, while acknowledging that the printing of medical books

increased dramatically by the mid seventeenth-century.[47]

What about the poor searcher women? Would they have had any knowledge of

medical manuals? Women were, in the household, the caretakers. They were the keepers of

the healing 'receipts' and nurses of the sick. In St. Botolph without Aldgate burials, 15

percent of the households that nursed children were headed by widows.[48] Where nursing

households were headed by a husband, the wives of the householders are still sometimes

mentioned in the records.[49] Elizabeth Harisson, who died in May of 1589, was nursed by

Peter Rockette's wife in Garden Alley neare Sparrow's corner.[50] These widows and wives are

the women from whom parish searchers were recruited. By taking in nurse children and

ministering to their own families over the years, they had substantial practical experience in

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[46] Ibid., 258.

[47] Ibid., 239.

[48] The St. Botolph's registers are very detailed from 1583-1600. Children who were being nursed are referred to as "nurse children" in the records, and the households and householders caring for them are noted in detail. For example, Mawdelen Wilborn who died a chrisom and was buried on the 4th of May, 1584, was nursed by Agnes Robinson, a widow living in Three Kings Alley. Several years later Widow Robinson was still nursing children. Judith Millard who died of "consumption" and was buried on 6 June 1587 was also out of her household.

[49] 1583-1600

[50] P69/BOT2/A/002/MS09221.This contrasts with the death records of parishioners who were not nurse children, where only the male head of household is mentioned. The record for soldier Nicholas Maze who died in June of the same year is typical. Maze died in the house of Anthony Smith, tippler and shear-grinder; Smith's wife is not mentioned in the record.

the practice of the day. As Keith Thomas notes, "[e]very housewife had her repertoire of private remedies."[51]

While these women may not have been literate, we cannot underestimate the permeability between written and oral culture. Books were read aloud and cures and descriptions of disease were performed on the stage.[52] Robert Darnton has demonstrated that written folk tales from nineteenth-century France contain many motifs that originated in oral culture far earlier.[53] Pregnancy and childbirth, often fraught with medical peril, were the province of all a neighborhood's married women.[54] Thomas Hobbes stated that he would rather be treated by an ancient housewife than a physician, and religious dissenter Lodowick Muddleton believed doctors were the "greatest cheats."[55] Several contemporary physicians including Thomas Sydenham agreed with them.[56] Moreover, in popular complaints about lay practitioners, it is most often the intentionally deceptive professional fraud or cunning man who is singled out, not the village midwife.[57]

Even authors such as Slack who believe tradesmen and artisans would not have had access to medical manuals agree that the upper classes would have.[58] These men and women could certainly have shared their knowledge as medical practitioners with the less fortunate.

[51] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 12

[52] Kelly J. Stage, "Plague Space and Played Space in Urban Drama: 1604," in *Representing Plague in Early Modern England*, ed. Rebecca Totaro and Ernest Gilman (New York: Routledge, 2011). 61.

[53] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 17.

[54] Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 154.

[55] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 14.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 12, passim.

[58] Slack, "Mirrors of Health," 259-60.

As Roy Porter notes, the "gentry and clergy prided themselves upon their knowledge of physic, and treated their servants, households and parishioners as a matter of piety."[59] In a society where oral traditions were as important as print, and neighborhoods constituted important social structures, knowledge would have had many ways to "trickle down" to the illiterate. Mary Fissell goes further and disagrees with Slack's view. She notes that used almanacs containing medical information were likely to be available at the equivalent of a half-day's wages for a laborer. These almanacs also stayed in print through many editions.[60] Once purchased, works such as medical almanacs would have been read aloud and thus made accessible to those who were not themselves literate.[61]

Therefore, while we cannot attribute to searchers knowledge of abstract theory studied at the universities, they would certainly have been aware of the popular milieu of illness and cures that permeated their society through long experience and oral culture. Popular and elite medical ideas were a continuum, not separate and discrete entities. We can attribute to searchers the same observational and diagnostic skills that the neighborhood midwife or wise woman would have had, as they played such roles during their lives. While their diagnoses are not the equivalent of a modern doctor's, there is no reason they could not have accurately noted the symptoms of the deceased in the same way any contemporary doctor or surgeon would have.

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[59] Porter, *Disease*, 14.
[60] Mary E. Fissell, "Readers, Texts, and Contexts: Vernacular Medical Works in Early Modern England," in *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 75.
[61] Ibid., 77.

Where searchers' reputations for being bribable are concerned, these tendencies can be anticipated and considered in sample bias. The underestimation of plague reports was suspected as early as Graunt's *Observations,* and the records of St. Botolph's clearly show cases that may well have been plague. For example, in mid-October of 1593, John Mason's death was classified as a "burning fever"—a term found very rarely in the parish's records outside of plague epidemics.[62] His daughter died nearly a month before from the plague, and his household would have been approaching the end of its quarantine at the time of John's death.[63] No doubt they were suffering financially from both quarantine and the illness of the head of household. Illnesses like John's can be considered probable plague cases.

Graunt also concludes that, bribable or not, ignorant or not, "[i]n many of these Cases the *Searchers* are able to report the Opinion of the *Physician*, who was with the Patient, as they receive the same from the Friends of the Defunct: and in very many Cases… their own senses are sufficient."[64] And while Slack is concerned that the women were forced to commit details to memory until they could reach someone with the skill to write them down, most people in early modern England spent time memorizing scripture and prayers. It seems likely that their memories would have been up to the task.[65]

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[62] P69/BOT2/A/002/MS09221

[63] Slack, *Impact of Plague*, 277. Slack comments that while quarantine periods varied, in London during the 1592-3 epidemic, they were four weeks. Slack also notes on the pages following that these quarantines were very difficult on enclosed families.

[64] Petty, *Graunt's Observations*, 23.

[65] Paula McQuade, *Catechisms Written for Mothers, Schoolmistresses, and Children, 1575-1750*, ed. Betty Travitsky and Anne Prescott, vol. 2, The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facimile Library of Essential Works, Series Iii: Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), xi.

Containing Disease

Given the multiple explanations for ill health and its prevention discussed above, how then would the residents of London have conceptualized sickness and defended themselves from its spread? If we assume that medical manuals were written to be read by a lay audience, and their ideas had at least some penetration down to the laboring classes, then these manuals along with plague proclamations and other public documents ought to give us an idea of how defenses against illness might be constructed.

First, measures were taken to minimize contagion during plague epidemics at the national and city-wide level. The first nation-wide plague orders were issued by Elizabeth in 1578, and they continued to be re-issued over the next 80 years. These orders were instructions to local magistrates listing steps to be taken to control the spread of the epidemics.[66] In the countryside, the Orders instructed Justices of the Peace to meet and devise plans for their enforcement.[67] In London, the Mayor and the Aldermen tackled enforcement as well, and in turn, the parish vestry-men were also recruited to help. Samuel Pepys was requested to attend a vestry meeting

> …in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing; but Lord! to consider the madness of the people of the town, who will (because they are forbid) come in crowds along with the dead corps to see them buried; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof.[68]

These "Orders Thought Meet" required localities struck by the plague to raise a general tax

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[66] Elizabeth I, "Orders Thought Meet," 171.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed Phil Gyford. http://www.pepysdiary.com, 3 September 1665.

to relieve the stricken, appoint searchers to view the bodies of the dead, and quarantine infected households for six weeks.[69] Other parishioners were to be appointed to bring necessities to the shut-in, collect and bury the bodies, and enforce quarantines.[70]

The "Orders" also included a number of remedies and preventatives to be followed in mitigating plague. Numerous decoctions and cordials typical of those found in contemporary medical tracts were suggested for the maintenance of health. In addition, residents were encouraged to frequently clean and "perfume" their clothes with the smoke of juniper or red sanders (sandalwood). They were likewise advised to keep sweet-smelling items such as rosewood near their faces and in their homes. The Orders also suggested frequent cleaning of fabrics, for

> contagion, suspected to remain in clothes, either woolen or linen, cannot well
> be avoided by better means than by fire and water, by often washing and
> airing, the same in frosts and sunshine, with good discretion, and burning the
> clothes of small value.[71]

While official orders only concerned the pestilence, numerous general health or health-related books were published in the sixteenth century alone. Slack estimates the number at 153 works, excluding books that were essentially identical to previous works. Many of these went through multiple editions.[72]

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[69] Elizabeth I, "Orders Thought Meet," 183. The Corporation of London negotiated the six weeks down to four within the city and allowed for one householder to be licensed to leave to purchase provisions. Londoners also relied on charitable contributions rather than plague rates. See also Slack, *Impact of Plague.*, 214.
[70] Elizabeth I, "Orders Thought Meet," 185-7.
[71] Ibid., 196.
[72] Slack, "Mirrors of Health," 239.

While most of these works mentioned plague, they were general guides to health and disease as well. These works all have a certain amount in common. They discuss the Galenic and sometimes Paracelsan views on the origins of disease and suggest a "dyet" to prevent or cure them.[73] In addition to complex herbal remedies designed to balance the humors, environmental cures and preventatives were also often recommended—suggestions that changed little through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[74] These books were usually organized according to the six non-naturals discussed above.

Andrew Boorde's works are typical of this genre. He advocates for fresh air. The sweeping of houses, he proclaims, putrifies the air with dust and should not be done while any "honest man is with the precynct of the house."[75] One should also not work on misty days or allow common "pyssyng place[s]" near the home. The home should be surrounded by gardens, and a man "must dwell at elbowe-rome, hauying water and woode anexed to his place or howse," which should be no closer than a half mile to "dirty" activities such as dyer's workshops and butcheries.[76] Cleansing fires should be lit within the bedchambers and windows closed at night. One should also avoid "olde chambres which be not occupied [or] which be depryued clene from the sonne and open ayre."[77]

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[73] Diet here means more than it does today. The OED defines diet as it was used in the early modern period as a "course of life: way of living or thinking" as well as a "customary course of living as to food." Second edition, 1989; online version June 2011. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.ccbcmd.edu/view/Entry/52421>; accessed 24 July 2011.

[74] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2000), 155.

[75] Andrew Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Extra Series (Early English Text Society, 1870), 236.

[76] Ibid., 233.

[77] Ibid., 250.

Behavior and mood were important as well. Food and drink, sleep and exercise should all be taken in moderation. Merriment was believed to forestall illness. Boorde advises "be mery, the whiche myrthe and reioysyng doth lengthen a mans lyfe, and doth expel syckenes."[78] Numerous plague pamphlets agree, presenting "merry" tales to lighten the hearts of the readers. Sin was, of course, also to be avoided. And householders should not tolerate idleness from anyone within the house. Servants should be made to honor holy days and refrain from "vyce and synne."[79]

Health manuals also suggested changing the way the healthy reader interacted with others. Avoiding the sick was wise, for while miasma could spread the disease, "the venymous ayre it selfe, is not halfe so vehement to enfect, as is the conuersacion or breathe of them that are enfected already."[80] They should also take care not to let their tempers be ruled by fear. Humor and pleasant diversion was thought to be good for the health, as "the Muse, Mirth, Graces and perfect health have ever an affinity each with either.[81] Boghurst would have concurred, noting where plague was concerned that those with "merry dispositions had the least of the disease."[82]

Thus the early modern Londoner could avoid disease by living in peace and moderation and enjoying clean fresh air, if he could get it, but also by avoiding miasma, distancing himself from those already sick, and obtaining clean fresh air when possible. He

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[78] Ibid., 244.
[79] Ibid., 243.
[80] Thomas Phaer, *The Regiment of Life, Whereunto Is Added a Treatise of the Pestilence*, trans. Thomas Phaer, STC (2nd ed.) / 11970 ed. (London: Early English Books Online 1550), 195.
[81] Henry Peacham, *The Complete Gentleman: The Truth of Our Times, and the Art of Living in London*, ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1622, reprinted 1962), 92.
[82] William Boghurst, *Loimographia: An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665*, ed. Joseph Frank Payne, MD, 1665 ed. (London: Shaw and Sons, 1894), 24.

could also turn to God and his prayers to shelter him and avoid those whose grievous sins led them to diseases such as syphilis. How much this was possible in a London that suffered from "Clowdes of Smoake and Sulphur, so full of stink and darknesse" as well as all the sinful crimes discussed in chapter four, is debatable.[83]

The Diseases of the Bills of Mortality

The Bills of Mortality, extant from the 1630's onward in their annual form, are the most consistent place to find listings of the causes of death in the early modern period. These inexpensive publications were compiled weekly by the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks, and then summed up in annual reports as well. By and large, the weekly bills do not survive. They were cheaply printed, available for an annual subscription of four shillings, and not preserved by their purchasers.[84] The annual bills, which do survive, list plague deaths by parish and all other causes of death for the city and its suburbs as a whole.[85] Occasionally the parish clerks responsible for reporting these causes of death also noted them in parish registries as well. The clerks of St. Botolph without Aldgate were consistent in listing cause of death from 1583 to 1600, when the records cease to be as detailed. Diseases found in these Bills of Mortality and parish registers as well as diaries and medical manuals vary from place to place and across time. Atrophy, carbuncle, mortification, St. Vitus' dance, and rachit among others are found throughout the records of rural southeast England, but not in the London bills, while Headmoldshot (probably hydrocephaly) and

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[83] John Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, 1661 ed. (The Rota, University of Exeter, 1976), 9.
[84] Petty, *Graunt's Observations*, lxxxiii, passim.
[85] Ibid., xc, passim.

pyning (wasting) are common in the London records, but not in those of the rural

southeast.[86]

While changes in the contemporary listing of diseases may reflect differences in the

actual illnesses, they may also be due to changes in the fashion of disease identification.

John Graunt analyzes the appearance of 'new' diseases in the *Observations*, concluding among

other things that "stopping of the stomach" is likely to be what was previously called "rising

of the lights" ("lights" referring to lungs) or "the Mother."[87] One point should be noted,

however. Shifts in the names given to certain sets of symptoms that are consistent

throughout the bills reinforce the notion that medical culture had a popular and widespread

presence among family members, searchers, and parish clerks.

We do not need to consider all forms of illness to have a sense of the general

conceptions of disease. While the early modern idea of contagion was not the same as

modern germ theory, it did allow for belief in both infection from direct contact with a sick

or sinful person and from contact with fomites, either within the household or the larger

environment of the city. Therefore, when we wish to discover the cultural "line in the sand"

drawn between the healthy and the sick, we can focus on diseases known or believed to be

contagious.

So what contagious diseases are common and recognizable in the London registers

and specifically in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate in the late sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries? Plague is clearly a major killer, as is smallpox. There are many

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[86] Dobson, *Contours of Death*, 238-239.
[87] Petty, *Graunt's Observations*, 31.

conditions of childhood and infancy—pyning, jawfallen, teeth, wormes and bleach are the most common. Some of these terms seem to equate to known modern conditions—worms referred to parasites. Others, like jawfallen, are less identifiable. The common herd diseases that have afflicted mankind since the first cities are referred to, sometimes by the names we still give them and sometimes not: purples, measles and smallpox, consumption, and flux [dysentery]. Common in London and throughout southern England below 200 ft. above sea level was malaria (often called ague).[88] Many other fevers afflicted early modern Londoners as well.[89] In addition, while not often seen in the burial records or the Bills of Mortality, syphilis is found in St. Botolph (as well as the Bridewell Court records) and considerable ink was spilt on its presence by moralists of the time.

Even given the vagaries of disease naming and contemporary medical knowledge, there are some sets of symptoms about which we can feel fairly confident. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the subset of these diseases that were both contagious and significant to contemporary Londoners. In particular, flux, syphilis, smallpox, measles, and plague will be examined for the ways people sought to develop both personal and institutional *cordons sanitaire* against them. Conditions which describe a symptom rather than a constellation of predictive symptoms such as ague (fever) or consumption (wasting) will not be considered in depth for the sheer difficulty of knowing what condition(s) they might have referred to and whether they were perceived as contagious or not.

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[88] Dobson, *Contours of Death*, 494, passim.
[89] Ibid., 475.

Flux

Of the diseases above, flux or bloody flux is the most difficult to narrow down. Flux
is commonly taken to refer to dysentery, or severe diarrhea, often bloody or containing
mucous, as well as cramping, nausea, vomiting, and malabsorption of nutrients.[90] Dysentery
can have many causes, only some of which are contagious. It can be caused by bacteria such
as *Shigella* (shigellosis) or *Salmonella* (salmonellosis) or viruses such as rotavirus. Such
illnesses are highly contagious. In all these cases, infection occurs by the fecal-oral route, the
victim having either come into direct contact with contaminated feces or with food or water
so contaminated.[91] While therefore not directly passed from person to person in a
household, it can be transmitted by fomites or contaminated food within the home. Because
of its association with poor sanitation, dysentery is often considered a "disease of poverty"
today. Flux is the one disease of our group that was not necessarily considered contagious at
the time, and fewer precautions were taken against it.

The Great Pox

Syphilis or the *Morbus Gallicus*, the French disease, was known for its unpleasant
symptoms and its sexual transmission. It was one of the diseases which early modern people
recognized as a disease in the modern sense of a set of linked symptoms. The disease is
caused by a spirochete, *Treponema pallidum*. Debate still continues today whether this disease
was brought back from the new world or evolved from an old world treponema such as that

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[90] Tortora, Funke, and Case, *Microbiology*, 662.
[91] Ibid., 658.

which causes yaws.[92] Regardless, the disease appeared in Europe in the late fifteenth

century. Unlike the modern form of the disease, which can take many years or decades to

progress to the tertiary stage, syphilis in the early modern period acted much more swiftly. A

casebook for the Lock Hospital, an eighteenth century London hospital for the disease,

shows patients entered on average only twenty-six weeks after their first symptoms. At this

stage, they were already suffering from bone pain and skin eruptions.[93] And this was in the

eighteenth century after the disease had begun to accommodate itself to its hosts. In the late

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, enough people reached the stage of the disease where their

skin began to rot and their faces were severely disfigured that descriptions of the disease

were "over-represented" in plays of the time.[94]

Unlike the other diseases discussed here, the French pox was never a major killer. St

Botoph's without Aldgate lists only fifteen cases between 1585 and 1600. The annual Bills

of Mortality for the entire city show an average of 55 deaths per year from the disease during

the 1660s, and the rate never exceeds 86 in any given year. Knowing that this disease was

shameful and searchers could be bribed, we might suppose this to be an under estimation

but even doubling or tripling the cases still presents us with a low death rate from the

disease. Moreover, a look at the Bridewell Court records shows no more than thirteen cases

of prisoners with the "pockes" in any given sample. The average number of prisoners sick

with syphilis is five per year.

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[92] Tortora, Funke, and Case, *Microbiology*, 702.
[93] Kevin Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor: London's "Foul Wards," 1600-1800* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 18.
[94] Louis F. Qualtiere and William W. E. Slights, "Contagion and Blame in Early Modern England: The Case of the French Pox," *Literature and Medicine* 22, no. 1 (2003): 13.

However, the "foul disease" attracted far more attention than its death toll alone would warrant due to its horrible symptoms and mode of transmission. William Clowes, author of a 1585 tract on the disease, begins by telling his readers that the sins causing *Morbus Gallicus* "increaseth yet daily, spreading itself throughout all Englande, and ouerfloweth (as I thinke) the whole world..."[95] Early modern people were very aware the disease was contracted through contact with the sexually loose, and it quickly became associated with sin and prostitution.[96] As Qualtiere and Slights demonstrate, a person did not even have to be infected to be believed contagious. They point to a popular contemporary exemplar, that of a virgin who has intercourse with seven healthy men and infects them all. It is the unclean and sinful mingling of their seed in her womb that allows the pox to generate spontaneously. Thus contact with someone behaving in such a way as to be vulnerable to the disease is enough to become contaminated.[97]

Men and women of all classes went to great lengths to conceal the presence of both the disease and the disfiguring mercury treatments thought to cure it.[98] When John Byon and his afflicted wife sought lodging from one Magdalen Jones in 1734, Byon told Jones his sick wife was merely drunk for fear her syphilis would be discovered. When the wife grew

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[95]William Clowes, *A Briefe and Necessarie Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called Morbus Gallicus or Lues Venerea, by Vnctions and Ohter Approoued Waies of Curing Nevvlie Corrected and Augmented by William Clowes of London, Maister in Chirurgerie*, Scanned facimile, Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University ed. (Thomas Cadman of Paul's Churchyard, 1585), 1.

[96] Qualtiere and Slights, "Contagion."11.

[97] Ibid. See also Johannes Fabricius, *Syphilis in Shakespeare's England* (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1994). Fabricius discusses the relation in chapters 5 and 6 of his monograph.

[98] While these attempts at concealment might be seen as evidence the disease was more lethal than the Bills of Mortality might indicate, we must also remember that the later stages of the disease caused widespread and disfiguring skin and cartilage destruction. It would have been very difficult to conceal at that stage.
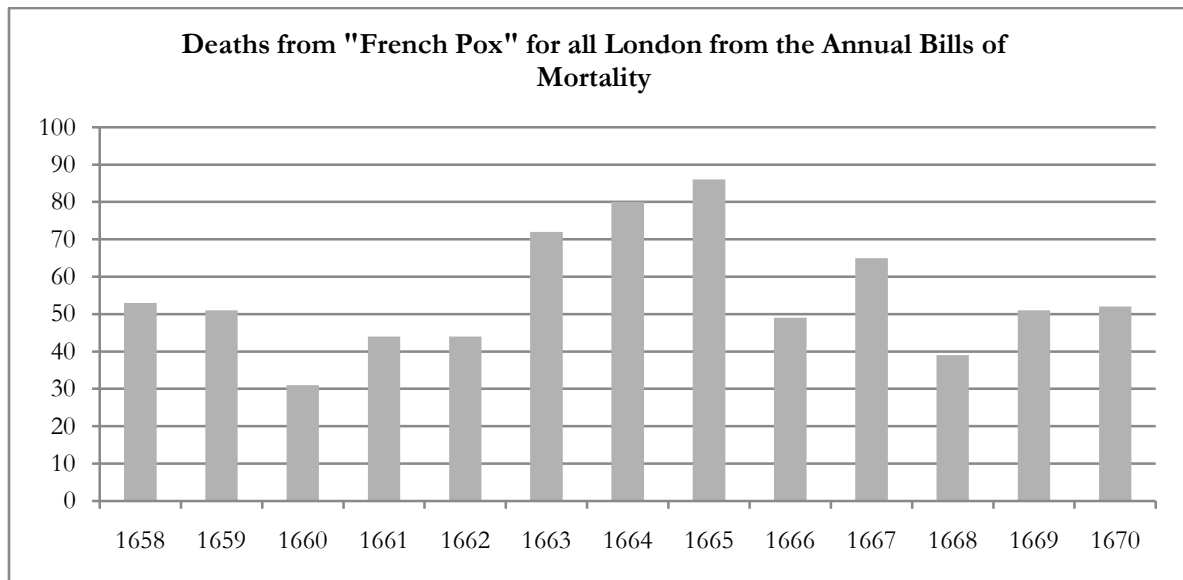
Deaths from "French Pox" for all London from the Annual Bills of Mortality

Figure 5.2: Syphilis deaths from the *Bills of Mortality*.[99]

sicker and her illness could no longer be concealed, Jones and her husband expelled the

couple in the night without even allowing them to get dressed.[100] And on the opposite end

of the social spectrum, Samuel Pepys records his great concern when his brother apparently

came down with the disease, even searching his brother's genitals for evidence.[101] Margaret

Healy notes that it was syphilis, along with plague, that led to the greatest attempts to

increase social distance between the healthy and the sick and to objectify the disease in the

sick person, making them "the other."[102] Qualtiere and Slights hypothesize that this was due

not only to the horrific symptoms and venereal spread but also the fact that the disease was

believed, more than any other, to be intentionally hidden and therefore spread.[103] Hiding

[99] Petty, *Graunt's Observations*.
[100] Siena, *Venereal Disease*, 252.
[101] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 15 March, 1663/64.
[102] Healy, "Contagious Touch," 37.
[103] Qualtiere and Slights, "Contagion," 12.

tertiary syphilis was not feasible but merkins or pubic wigs were used to intentionally conceal the illness in its early stage.[104]

Speckled Diseases

Several diseases have been grouped together under this category because of their common symptoms (and thus the difficulties in differentiating them). Measles and smallpox have been easily confused throughout the past. The Christian west only began to distinguish them in the seventeenth century, and misdiagnoses were common well into the eighteenth.[105] Both diseases are viral and cause skin rashes along with other complications such as blindness. Measles or rubeola is an extremely contagious viral infection that spreads via respiratory secretions.[106] Smallpox, caused by strains of the variola virus, is also transmitted via respiration and has similar symptoms. The rash is usually more raised and the lesions are referred to as "shot" lesions because they feel like shot pellets or BBs which have been embedded below the skin.[107] Smallpox is one of only two diseases today that have been completely eliminated from the natural environment.[108]

In part the confusion between the two may have to do with the changing virulence of the two diseases. While today among the unvaccinated in developed countries, measles only has a mortality rate of around 0.3 percent, in Islamic writings of the early middle ages, it

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[104] Barrow, *The Oxford Companion to the Body*, 569.

[105] Donald Hopkins, *The Greatest Killer: Smallpox in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 33, passim.

[106] Kenneth J. Ryan and C. George Ray, *Sherris Medical Microbiology: An Introduction to Infectious Disease*, 4th ed. (New York and Chicago: McGraw-Hill, 2004), 516.

[107] Gareth Williams, *Angel of Death: The Story of Smallpox* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 21.

[108] The other is Rinderpest, a cattle disease. Ian Sample, "Scientists Eradicate Deadly Rinderpest Virus," *The Guardian*, Thursday 14 October 2010.

is often described as the more fearsome of the two diseases, causing at least as much

mortality as its infamous colleague, smallpox.[109] Modern research has shown that the

virulence of measles is highly dependent on the nutritional status of the victim. Vitamin A,

in particular, minimizes measles mortality. Conversely, a deficiency of Vitamin A causes

measles cases to be more severe in both morbidity and mortality, with a greater chance of

severe pneumonia and diarrhea.[110] Emphasis on proper nutrition of infants and children

explains why we generally regard measles today as a "harmless" childhood disease. In the

past, however, measles was more severe and even occurred in a hemorrhagic form as fatal as

smallpox due in part to Vitamin A deficiency.[111] Vitamin A deficiency was probably very

common in early modern England.[112]

Smallpox, on the other hand, appeared to contemporaries to have become more

virulent in early modern England. Medieval medical texts referring to the "speckled

monster" do not attribute high mortality to its presence. However, smallpox apparently

begins to take a heavier toll in late sixteenth century England and by the early eighteenth

century has replaced plague in the nightmares of parents.[113] In the ordinary form, *Variola*

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[109] For current mortality, see Tortora, Funke, and Case, *Microbiology*, 571. Mortality rates in developing countries are still as high as 25 percent according to Ryan and Ray, *Medical Microbiology*, 516.
[110] Alfred Sommer and Jr. West, Keith P., *Vitamin a Deficiency: Health, Survival, and Vision* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 72.
[111] David M. Morens, "Measles," in *Encyclopedia of Pestilence, Pandemics and Plagues: A-M*, ed. Joseph Patrick Byrne (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), 407.
[112] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 6.
[113] Raymond Anselment, "Smallpox in Seventeenth Century English Literature: Reality and the Metamorphosis of Wit," *Medical History* 33(1989): 74.

major, smallpox mortality can reach 30 percent. *Variola minor*, a mild version, has mortality under one percent.[114]

Little known to many historians (and physicians) due to the elimination of the disease, however, are two other vastly more lethal forms of the illness. The first of these is the so-called "flat pox"; the second is fulminating or "sledgehammer" smallpox which is hemorrhagic.[115] Both are generally fatal.[116] In studies of epidemics in India in the twentieth century, "flat pox" accounted for 5-10 percent of cases. In this form of the disease, fever is very high, and the rash remains flat rather than raised and full of fluid. Respiratory complications are common.[117] Hemorrhagic or black pox is considered very rare, but this varies with the epidemic. This form made up only two percent of the cases studied in India, but almost ten percent of a 1946 outbreak in Seattle, Washington.[118] In this form of the disease, the fever is moderate but accompanied by back and neck aches. A flat red rash appears, and darkens to purple as the patient begins to bleed into their skin. As with other hemorrhagic viruses, the victims also experience bleeding from mucus membranes, the gastro-intestinal tract, and the genito-urinary tract.[119]

Where the literature is concerned, we do not see smallpox being strongly associated with sin or poverty as we do of syphilis, and even plague. This is despite the fact that

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[114] Tortora, Funke, and Case, *Microbiology*, 567. See also The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, *Epidemiology and Prevention of Vaccine-Preventable Diseases*, 11th ed. (Atlanta: The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009), 283.

[115] Ryan and Ray, *Medical Microbiology*, 527.

[116] Prevention, *Epidemiology*, 283.

[117] Ibid., 285

[118] Ibid., See also James W Haviland, "Purpura Variolosa: Its Manifestations in Skin and Blood," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 24, no. 6 (1952): 518.

[119] Haviland, "Purpura Variolosa: Its Manifestations in Skin and Blood," 519.

smallpox was associated with plague in medical texts. William Boghurst notes that one of the signs of a coming pestilence is "[t]he Smallpox or spotted Feaver growing very rife."[120] Where literature is concerned, as smallpox increasingly affects the wealthy, a genre of laudatory poems grows up to commemorate young people who die from the disease.[121] When the sixth Earl of Huntindon's son was killed by the disease, Andrew Marvell commemorated his passing in poetry: "Like Rose-buds, stuck i' th' Lily-skin about./Each little Pimple had a Tear in it,/To wail the fault its rising did commit…." This hardly portrays a disease of the "pestered alleys" of London.

Smallpox was also not a disease for which many remedies were devised. In *The Boke of Chyldren*, Thomas Phaer tells his readers that "the best and most sure helpe in this case is not to meddle with any kynde of medicines but to let nature woorke her operation."[122] Even Thomas Sydenham, who discusses the disease in detail, recommends mainly small beer or a simple mixture of milk and water to be given to the patient.[123] This is a far cry from the hundreds of elaborate "cures" published for the plague.

Plague

Plague is the most infamous epidemic disease of this period, and until only a few years ago, historians took for granted that its causative agent was the gram-negative bacteria, *Yersina pestis*. For many years, this assumption rested primarily on descriptions of buboes in the sick. However, recent DNA evidence has been discovered that shows *Y. pestis* was

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[120] William Boghurst, *Loimographia: An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665*, ed. Joseph Frank Payne, MD (London: Shaw and Sons, 1665, reprinted 1894), 20.

[121] See below. The reason for the shift in victims to the children of the wealthy is not known.

[122] Phaer, *The Boke of Chyldren*, 70

[123] Thomas Sydenham, *The Works of Thomas Sydenham*, trans. MD Latham, R. G., 2 vols. (Sydenham Society, 1669), 190, passim.

present in a range of medieval and early modern plague burials.[124] Nonetheless, I have

included it immediately following the discussion of "Speckled diseases" because at times it

was confused with those diseases, particularly the quite variable smallpox. Moreover, there

is growing scientific consensus that *Y. pestis* alone cannot explain the second pandemic and

that the *some* cases of "plague" may attributable to a hemorrhagic virus like smallpox instead.

The case against *Yersinia pestis* as the sole etiologic agent for the plague has been

made on several fronts including the transmission rate of the disease (R_0), its infective

period, seasonality, geographic spread, mortality rates, effects of the "anti-plague" CCR5-

Δ32 mutation, and contemporary descriptions of the symptoms.[125] Welford and Bossak

have compiled dates of death for nine eruptions of the disease from the Second Pandemic

(1347-1720) and compared these to the seasonality of three outbreaks from the Third

Pandemic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. Their results clearly show that

outbreaks of the Third Pandemic peaked in the late winter and early spring, not the peak of

summer as is the case with the Second Pandemic. *Yersinia pestis* is known to prefer cooler

temperatures.[126] While intriguing, this is in fact one of the weaker arguments. The Second

Pandemic is believed to have occurred during a cooler period of Earth's history, and the

summer temperatures of Moscow and London and Marseilles are hardly comparable with

those of Bombay.

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[124] Stephanie Haensch, Raffaella Bianucci, and et.al., "Distinct Clones of Yersinia Pestis Caused the Black Death," *PLoS Pathogens* 6, no. 10 (2010), http://www.plosone.org.

[125] Mark R Welford and Brian H. Bossak, "Validation of Inverse Seasonal Peak Mortality in Medieval Plagues, Including the Black Death, in Comparison to Modern *Yersinia Pestis*-Variant Diseases," *PLoS ONE* 4, no. 12 (2009): 1, http://www.plosone.org.

[126] Ibid., 3.

Other arguments against *Y. pestis* as the sole agent are harder to refute. Susan Scott and Duncan Christopher look at the beginning of the 1597 outbreak in Penrith, examining the arrival of an infectious visitor and tracking the spread of the disease using both wills and parish registers. The pattern they reveal clearly shows a disease that spreads from person to person both within and between households. The initial victims are children and teens. The disease was infectious for up to twenty-two days before symptoms developed.[127] For *Yersinia pestis* to be directly transmissible between individuals, it must be the pneumonic form of the disease. Yet this form progresses quickly from infection to death.[128] Moreover, plague in the Third Pandemic spread at a rate of 8-12 miles a year, while during the second, the sickness spread up to a hundred miles over a few days or weeks.[129]

Examining the local spread of plague also reveals incongruities. Graham Twigg has discovered three separate epidemic patterns present in London during the major plague outbreaks. He terms these "plague," "extended," and "enteric" patterns. Enteric patterns show a sudden start as many people simultaneously access a contaminated well or food source. This pattern is typical of diseases such as cholera or typhoid. The plague pattern, on the other hand, begins more gradually and graphs to a more typical bell curve. Each victim infects some number of additional victims and the rate of infection increases dramatically over a month or two. This pattern is typical of Third Pandemic outbreaks as well as many viral and bacterial diseases with person-to-person transmission. The extended pattern is

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[127] Susan Scott and Christopher Duncan, *Return of the Black Death: The Worlds Greatest Serial Killer* (New York: Wiley, 2004), 160-161.
[128] Ryan and Ray, *Medical Microbiology*, 487.
[129] Scott and Duncan, *Return of the Black Death*, 176-177.

characterized by many small peaks in mortality over a period of months.[130]   Neither the

enteric nor the extended pattern is characteristic of *Y. pestis*.

Mortality rates also do not match well. Bubonic plague during the Third Pandemic

never caused mortality of over 3 percent, even in a crowded urban area such as Bombay.

Pneumonic plague has seldom even reached outbreak status in the modern world. It burns

itself out, killing less than .03 percent of a given population.[131] But perhaps the most

compelling argument coming out of modern research is the role of the CCR5-Δ32 mutation.

This mutation has been shown to be high among descendents of survivors of the Second

Pandemic, such as the residents of the village of Eyam. It also conveys protection from the

AIDS virus. It functions by eliminating an entrance into immune system cells used by such

viruses. *Yersinia pestis*, however, does not make use of that means to enter cells and therefore

is not affected by the mutation.[132]

Looking at the weight of the evidence, we are compelled then to consider that the

form of *Y. pestis* present in the second pandemic must either have been radically different in

etiology than the modern strains or must have had accomplices. It may seem hard to

rationalize multiple diseases appearing in London at once, but not if we consider that there

were underlying environmental conditions that allowed for their spread. We know that there

were many situations in the pre-industrial world that could prove a breeding ground for

multiple illnesses. The high density of men and poor hygiene of the battlefield was the

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[130] Twigg, "Plague in London," 8.

[131] S. K. Jr. Cohn and L. T. Weaver, "The Black Death and Aids: Ccr5-Δ32 in Genetics and History," *QJM: An International Journal of Medicine* 99, no. 8 (2006): 499.

[132] Ibid.

perfect breeding ground for dysentery and typhus while famine and poverty suppressed the immune systems of the starving, creating more openings for disease. London certainly had its share of poverty, poor sanitation and overcrowding along with a continual influx of the immunologically naïve. Future research may well reveal the specific triggers that led to high levels of mortality in epidemic years.

The case against *Y. pestis* has been summarized here because, while the biology of the plague is not the main focus of this work, the causative organism behind the disease is key to understanding its effects on communities. The disease was most definitely *believed* by contemporaries to pass via contagion. Tomson commented that "[f]or any one to assert that the Pest is not Contagious or Catching, argues either Sottish, Stupid Ignorance, or a perverse obstinate contradiction of Truth, out of peevishness, and singularity of Opinion."[133] Doctors advised turning away from the sick to avoid their breath, and plague orders required long quarantines of houses experiencing infection. This is quite unlike contemporary understandings of Justinian's plague. Procopius tells us: "neither physicians nor other persons were found to contract this malady through contact with the sick or with the dead."[134] We must consider both how the disease was viewed and how it actually operated to understand how boundaries were constructed against it. Were doctors and magistrates simply desperate for solutions or had they accurately perceived the nature of the disease? As will be discussed below, the spread of the disease within London's parishes does not reflect

[133] Tomson, *Loimotomia*, 136.
[134] Procopius, *History of the Wars, Books I and Ii*, trans. H. B. Dewing (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1914), 107.

that of a solely or even primarily insect-vectored disease. Rather, the pattern of infection

seen in the parish registers reveals a disease that spread primarily through direct contagion.

The contemporary literature about the plague includes medical manuals and official

plague orders and well as edifying and even humorous stories of its spread. Even a quick

survey of such literature reveals that this disease and its devastating outbreaks evoked more

fear and concern than any of the other illnesses discussed so far. Ernest Gilman asserts that

we should "consider all literary texts written during plague times as plague texts," as they

reflect the extreme social environment in which the authors lived.[135] This is debatable.

Gilman likes to compare the age of plague to our modern world, plagued with AIDS.

However, he does not argue that every literary text of the late 20th century is an AIDS text.

But even considering only those works that directly reference plague, the body of stories,

guides, medical manuals, plays, and sermons mentioning plague is vast and diverse.

With the exception of Jonson's *The Alchemist*, plays seldom physically present plague

as a presence on stage.[136] However, they frequently contain plague metaphors. In *Richard II*,

Shakespeare has John of Gaunt describe England as a fortress against infection, and in his

Love's Labor's Lost, love is described as a plague.[137] *Coriolanus* is also permeated with plague

references. Coriolanus wishes to rid Rome of a metaphorical plague of sedition and riot by

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[135] Gilman, *Plague Writing*, 48.
[136] Ian Munroe, *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 194.
[137] Gilman, *Plague Writing*, 44, 53.

sending away "infected" citizens to repopulate the town of Velitres, which had suffered from

an actual biological epidemic.[138]

More relevant to this study, pamphlets and other small books frequently discuss

plague. Among these, as mentioned above, numerous medical pamphlets purporting to

offer instruction on how to "keep, govern, and preserve thyself from the malice of the

Pestilence" were published from the mid-sixteenth century on.[139] Cures offered were

generally broken into groups based on cost. In Moulton's remedies, cures for the wealthy

were listed first, followed by those for the poor. The rich were advised to perfume

themselves and their rooms with frankincense, roses, and "perial rial." The poor were

simply advised to drink vinegar.[140] Vinegar also played a prominent role in the cures

included in Elizabeth's plague orders. People were advised both to drink it and to steam

rooms with it by throwing heated stones in an open bowl of the acid.[141] Merchants dipped

coins were vinegar to cleanse them as well.[142] More expensive cures were included in this

text as well, such as a spice mixture of cloves, myrrh, cinnamon, mace, and aloe that was to

be added to wine and drunk.[143]

Non-medical works made their way through the popular presses as well. William

Bullein's *Dialog Against the Feuer Pestilence* is one. Not one dialog but several, it tells the story

of Civis, a London citizen who, after first choosing to stay in town during the epidemic, is

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[138] Munroe, *The Figure of the Crowd*, 194.

[139] Thomas Moulton, "Plague Remedy," in *The Plague in Print: Essential Elizabethan Sources, 1558-1603*, ed. Rebecca Totaro (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1531, reprinted 2010), 9.

[140] Ibid. 12-13.

[141] Elizabeth I, "Orders Thought Meet,"187-88.

[142] Gilman, *Plague Writing*, 138.

[143] Elizabeth I, "Orders Thought Meet," 189.

eventually convinced to flee. He cannot flee fast enough to avoid death, however, and in the

end his only "cure" is to yield to God. His passing is proclaimed by the minister Theologus

who declares,

> Now do flesh and blood forsake him and all his worldly strength faileth him.
> Now is the Organs yielding up the heavenly sound. His soul cometh now
> unto thee.[144]

In his telling of Civis's final journey, Bullein digresses into other dialogs on medicine, civic

duty, poverty, material wealth, usury, and more. Short edifying tales are included in the

stories the characters tell each other and the descriptions of allegorical paintings and

sculptures they encounter. For example, Civis's manservant Roger tells of a man who lent

money at interest and called the sum his "cow." His servant, when deprived of a share of

the cow's "milk" (i.e. the interest) steals the money when his master is away.[145]

Thomas Dekker is the most prolific of the plague writers. Plague pamphlets

attributed to him include *The Wonderfull Yeare, Newes From Graves-end, The Meeting of Gallants at*

an Ordinary (with Thomas Middleton)*, A Rod for Run-awayes, London Looke Backe,* and *The*

Blacke Rod and the White Rod. In addition, his *Raven's Almanak* refers to many metaphorical

"plagues" that can be expected to strike London, such as St. Paul's plague, which causes an

empty purse and lack of credit, and Saint Benet's plague, which leads to "colde-cheare, hot

words, and a Scoulding wife."[146] Like rogue pamphlets, Dekker's plague pamphlets purport

to contain current factual news of the epidemic. Unlike the rogue pamphlets, however, few

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[144] Bullein, *Dialog against the Feuer Pestilence*, 194

[145] Ibid., 122.

[146] Thomas Dekker, "The Raven's Almanacke," in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker in Five Volumes*, ed. Alexander Grossart, Rev. (London: The Huth Library, 1609, reprinted 1885), 189.

specific locations in London are mentioned. It may begin in the sinful suburbs which are "pitifully pared off, by litle and litle." Once the enemy, Death, has captured them, he turns to the city itself and "marcht euen thorow Cheapside, and the capitall streets of Troynouant."[147] Once the city falls, location is irrelevant. Death is universal.

The placeless tales that fill the plague pamphlets range from the humorous to the tragic. They take place on the roadside, in un-named taverns, and pestilent alleys. Some confirm common stereotypes that the sinful die and the virtuous live; others turn those preconceptions on their heads. Masters scheme to hide the bodies of their servants, maidens die virginal on their wedding days, and drunks, "new cast from the shore of an alehouse… brains sore beaten with the cruel tempests of ale," wander safely through the carnage protected by their inebriation.[148] As Rene Girard notes, plague not only destroys the social order, it inverts it. "The Plague will turn the honest man into a thief, the virtuous man into a lecher, the prostitute into a saint."[149]

As noted above in chapter four, most crime pamphlets avoid criticizing wealthy citizens and their families. The occasional usurer is cony-caught and a few rogues protest that next to corrupt judges and merchants they are but small fry, but the bulk of the stories are written as exposés protecting the citizen from the criminal underworld. Not so plague pamphlets, however. These authors do not hesitate to criticize the citizens who fail in their

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[147] ———, "The Wonderfull Yeare," in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Alexander Grossart, Rev. (The Huth Library of Elizabethan-Jacobean Antique or Very Rare Books in Verse and Prose, 1603, reprinted 1885), 110-111.
[148] Thomas Middleton, "The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinary; or, the Walks in Paul's," in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 193.
[149] René Girard, "The Plague in Literature and Myth," in *To Double Business Bound: Essays on Literature, Mimesis and Anthropology* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 136.

duties towards the city. Boghurst notes that the "great Doctors and such as undertake to write about the disease are the first that run away from it."[150] Dekker laments that "many Physicians of our souls flie the Citie."[151] Merchants and magistrates flee too, leaving the poor at the mercy of famine as well as plague: "How shall the lame, and blinde, and half starued be fed? They had wont to come to your Gates."[152] He also wonders, "[in] London, When Citizens (being chosen to be Aldermen) will not hold, they pay Fines; why are they not fined now, when such numbers will not hold, but giue them the slip euery day?"[153] Bullein notes that, if "citeze[ns] should departe when as the Plague doe come, then there should not onely be no plague in the citee, but also the citee should be voide and emptie."[154]

While the number of plague writings certainly indicates the Pestilence was the most feared disease of the times, in other respects they may less accurately reflect the effects of the disease on the population. As I will discuss in the following pages, legal records show that magistrates in fact did not typically flee their cities. Pepys' diary showed concern with the plague, but he writes of every-day business during the epidemic as well. Likewise, Nehemiah Wallington notes the depredations of the disease as he does for fires and other disasters, but it does not dominate his journals. Wealthy men certainly did flee the city, however, and masters did indeed try to conceal sick servants. These and other effects of the disease will be considered below.

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[150] Boghurst, *Loimographia: An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665*, 9.
[151] Thomas Dekker, "A Rod for Run-Awayes," in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker in Five Volumes*, ed. Rev. Alexander Grossart (London: The Huth Library, 1885), 282.
[152] Ibid., 287.
[153] Ibid., 288.
[154] Bullein, *Dialog against the Feuer Pestilence*, 3-4.

Mapping Plague in the City and its Suburbs

Because of the great concern with the epidemics, plague is also the disease for which

we have the most epidemiological and mortality data. While most parish registers

throughout England do not list other causes of death (St Botolph without Aldgate in the late

sixteenth century being an exception), most do list plague deaths. The presence of official

Plague orders along with these parish registers allows a glimpse of the plague's effects on

society as well.[155]

It is clear that the Aldermen and Mayor of London, as well as the leaders of

Norwich, Bristol, and the smaller towns, were aware of and concerned with the spread of

disease. The Crown also had a strong interest in minimizing the consequences of the plague.

Paul Slack discusses various approaches to the maintenance of order and government in

detail. At the initial stages of the epidemics, the tendency of town magistrates was to

"pretend that they did not exist."[156] Plague within a town or city would be viewed as a

limited outbreak until its spread could no longer be denied. Slack believes this was in part to

prevent panic but also because the very mention of plague would cause harm to the

community's economy and should be avoided if possible.

Once denial became impossible, town magistrates employed a number of strategies

to control the situation. To prevent epidemics, port towns quarantined incoming ships.

Watches were also placed at town gates to ensure merchants coming overland were kept out

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[155]The classic work on this topic is of course, Paul Slack, *Impact of Plague*.
[156] Ibid., 256.

for twenty days or more.[157] Royal plague orders issued during the epidemics of the later

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries required the houses of the infected to be quarantined,

watchmen to be set to enforce quarantines, and charitable donations collected for those so

enclosed. They required searchers to be appointed and set various measures to discourage

large funerals.[158]

Whether measures to control the plague and maintain public order were successful

or not is another issue. Slack specifically mentions that in the towns of Exeter and Salisbury

they were not. In these towns there was an exodus of town magistrates. The plague rates

went unpaid and those councilors who remained feared public riots and arson.[159] In most

other towns and cities in England, however, the town magistrates stayed to run things and

major riots were avoided. In London the Court of Aldermen met sixteen times during the

epidemic of 1665.[160]

Bridewell continued to operate in London as well. While the number of governors

present decreased and courts were held only three or four times a month, vagrants and the

incontinent were still rounded up and punished. Moreover, during the 1603 epidemic, the

Bridewell governors gave bonuses of 20 shillings to the house beadles "for theire better relief

in this Contageous time" and later gifts of beef to the porter, steward, and matron—gifts that

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[157] Ibid., 257.
[158] Ibid., 208.
[159] Ibid., 258. Plague rates were the funds collected from wealthy parishioners to sustain those who were quarantined and unable to work.
[160] Ibid., 259.

were not noted in previous years.[161] Clearly, the officials of the house stayed in London and at their posts.

Just because the officers remained on duty does not mean they were unaffected by the crisis, however. Twice during the epidemic the Bridewell governors noted complaints about "officers of thise house… abusing themselves with drink, blaspheaming the name of God and such like vices odious before God and man."[162] Such general criticisms of the officers of the house by the Governors are extremely rare elsewhere in the Bridewell records examined for this study before the 1630s.

There is evidence that the citizens of London did not always obey the plague orders. As mentioned above, it was a common belief, supported by some evidence from the parish registers, that the searchers could be bribed not to report plague in a household. Moreover, Samuel Pepys notes seeing "two or three burials upon the Bankeside, one at the very heels of another: doubtless all of the plague; and yet at least forty or fifty people going along with every one of them" in clear violation of plague ordinances, which limited attendance to six.[163]

Not everywhere in London was affected equally by plague epidemics. It was widely believed that the poor were affected most severely and that plague swept through the "pestered" and cramped houses in which they lived. To determine the severity of epidemic, historians and demographers calculate Crisis Mortality Ratios or CMRs for the region studied. CMRs are the ratio of deaths during an epidemic year to the average annual deaths

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[161] B.C.B. 04 fos. 403ᵛ and 423.
[162] B.C.B. 04 fo. 421ᵛ.
[163] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 6 September 1665.

in the previous ten non-epidemic years. A CMR of 4.0 would mean that the parish experienced four times the normal death rate.[164] Studies to date of plague CMRs have shown higher mortality among the poor to have often been the case in early modern London, at least from the end of the sixteenth century. Slack, for example, notes that after 1563, plague mortality was always higher outside the walls than within and that "there were more deaths in Stepney and Whitechapel in 1665 than in the whole of the city within the walls."[165] Before 1563, the city center actually suffered crisis mortality as high as that of the suburbs, presumably because the suburbs were as yet quite rural and undeveloped.[166]
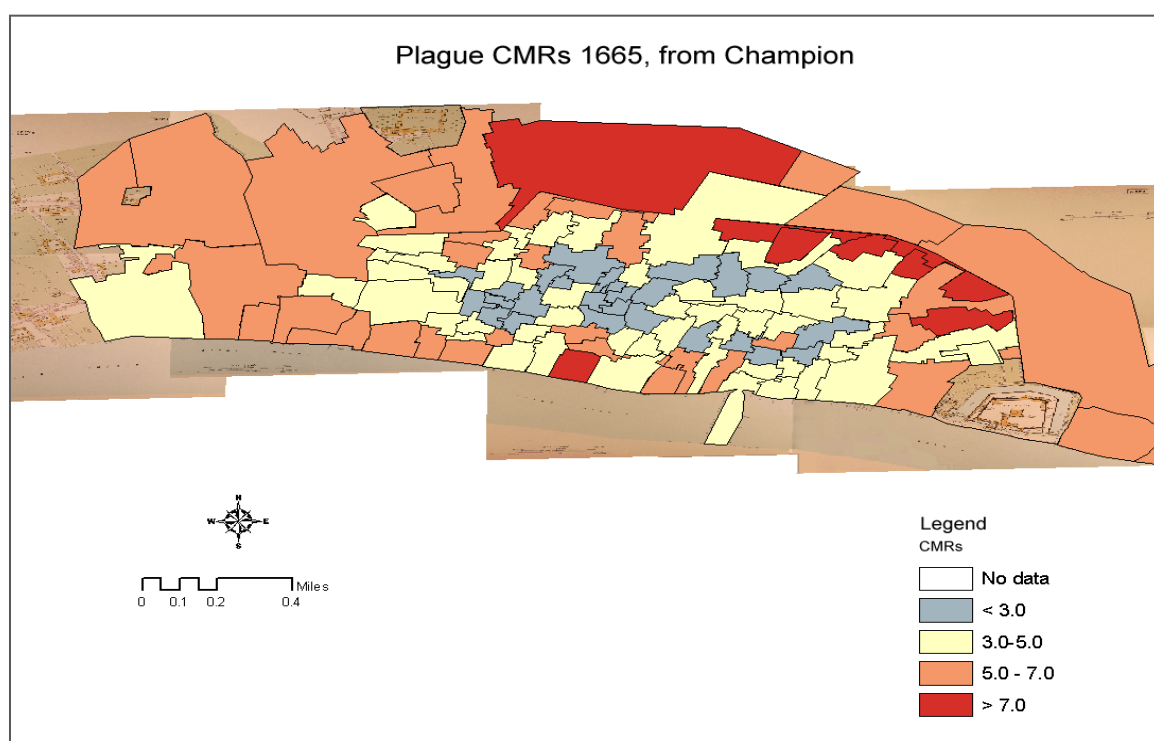
Figure 5.3 Plague Crisis Mortality Rates in London in 1665

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[164] CMRs are simple ratios. Therefore, short outbreaks with high mortality for a month or two will not raise the annual death rate significantly. Equally problematic, small parishes can show peaks in mortality due to deaths from a single incident like a fire or shipwreck. For a discussion of the technique, see Slack, *Impact of Plague*, 81-82.

[165] Ibid., 163.

[166] Ibid., 153.

Wealthier intramural parishes did not escape the disease completely, however. The small parishes in the heart of London were affected severely in sixteenth-century plagues and were only (comparatively) spared compared to their extramural neighbors by the later visitations. In 1665, while CMRs in the north and northeast were 6.3 and 6.6 respectively, the city center saw a CMR of 4.1. In 1665, with CMRs of 7.3 and 7.0 in the north and northwest, the city center experienced mortality three times higher than normal.

Many of these cases occurred in the crowded alleys and courts of the wealthier parishes. Justin Champion finds this to be true in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West. While the concentrations of the poor were lower there, poverty was still present. Behind the main streets with their large houses and prosperous businesses lay narrow cramped lanes like Cock and Key Alley or Three Legg Alley. The people living here were characterized as being lawless and lewd.[167] In all of London's parishes, there were small, single-hearth households belonging to the poor, and these consistently showed higher death rates from plague of 1665.[168] We will see below whether earlier epidemics affected St. Dunstan in the same way.

Wealthy households along the main streets also experienced plague deaths, however. Champion looked at plague deaths in the context of the 1662-1666 Hearth Tax. His data for several parishes both within and without the walls shows that approximately 24 percent of plague deaths occurred in poor one- and two-hearth households. Large, wealthy, five- to

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[167] J. A. I Champion, "Epidemics and the Built Environment in 1665," in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. J. A. I Champion, *Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1993), 44. What Champion does not emphasize is that the nature of these back alleys, at least in London's east end, were mixed. St. Botolph's records show that, in addition to unskilled laborers, sailors, widows, and the like, they also were home to school masters, smiths, and apothecaries.
[168]Ibid.

seven-hearth households, by comparison, accounted for approximately four percent of deaths—a number in proportion with the prevalence of such households. As we will see below, the evidence suggests that this is due to the larger number of servants in wealthy households. There is, however, an increase in plague deaths in very large households with eight or more hearths, which account for eight percent of the deaths despite the households being a small minority of those in the parish. Graham Twigg also has shown that the wealthy parishes of London's inner city were foci for inter-epidemic plague cases [see map 5.2 below].[169]

Twigg notes the number of years between major epidemics in which parishes recorded plague deaths. Looking at a map of these cases, we can see that they occur in the wealthier inner-city parishes as well as those along the docks (see figure 5.4). I have further examined the parish registers for two of Twigg's parishes that most reliably list plague deaths, St. Olave Hart Street and St. Michael Cornhill. The parish registers show that it is often the young, particularly servants, who are the victims in these scattered cases between major epidemics. Foreign visitors or "strangers" are also frequent victims.

St Olave Hart Street recorded eleven plague deaths in the fall of 1569 and the following spring, the parish saw eleven more plague deaths. Of these, four were strangers, including one "Russia boye," four were the children of parishioners, and one was a maid servant. A couple of years later, in the fall of 1572, there was a small outbreak that was limited to the Petter family. Four members of this family of "strangers" fell victim to the

[169] Twigg, Graham, "Plague in London: Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Mortality." J.A.I. Champion, ed. *Epidemic Disease in London.* London: Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers Series, No1, 1993, 1-17.
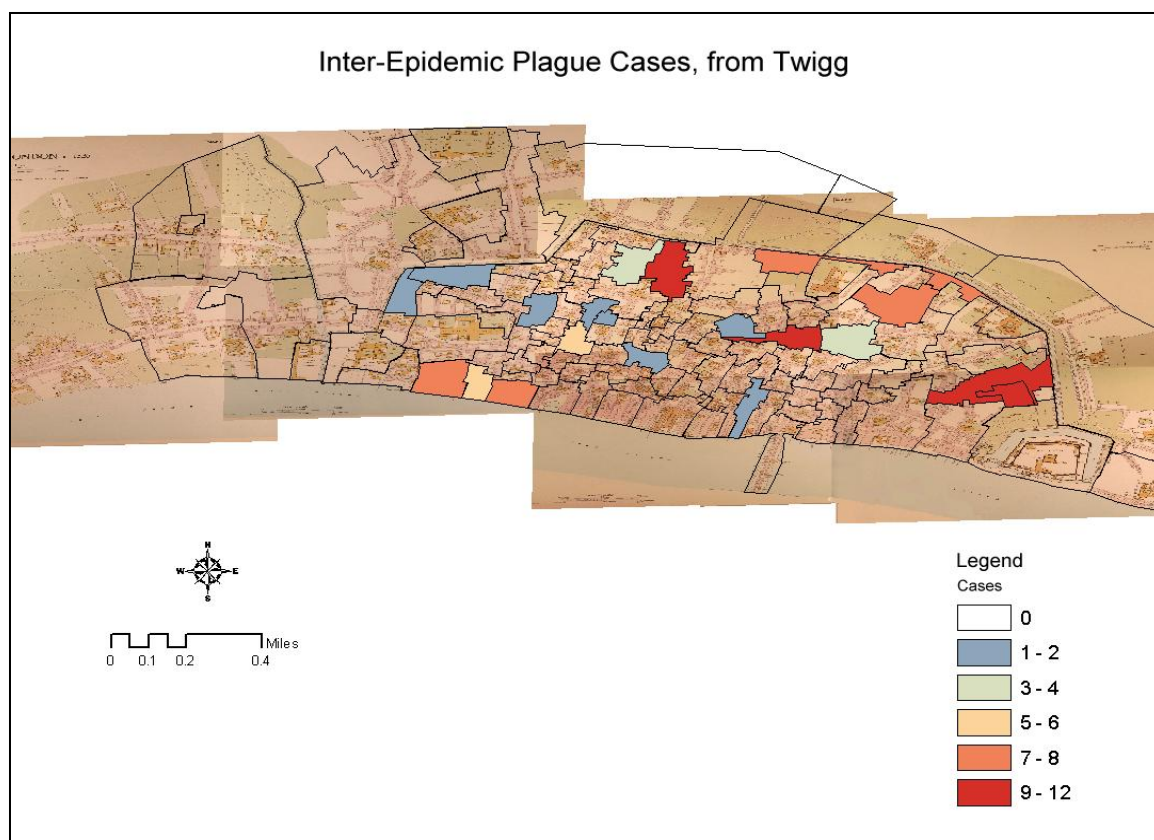
Figure 5.4: Inter-Epidemic Plague Cases from Twigg, 1993.

plague. There were no other deaths. In August of 1577, there were two more plague

fatalities in St. Olave's. One victim was a serving girl, the other a child, the daughter of John

de Moate.[170]

In St. Michael Cornhill a similar pattern is revealed. The parish saw nine plague

fatalities throughout the spring and summer of 1569/70. Of these nine, four were servants,

one a Frenchman, and two the children of parishioners. Eleven fatalities during the summer

of 1606 included the deaths of four servants, a lodger, and three children. Then in the

following fall, 1607, two more residents died: another lodger and "John Wethrick, servant

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[170] P69/OLA1/A/001/MS28867.

out of William Elsworth's house."[171] Notably, as will be shown below, many periods of

increased mortality within London's parishes, whether due to plague or another disease,

begin with the deaths of servants and children before spreading to the population at large.

This ongoing presence of plague in the wealthier central parishes of London indeed

confirms that the "connection between environment and mortality was more complex than

the immediate picture suggests."[172] Can we simply assume that the poor were more severely

affected because their housing was more cramped? Should we conclude that malnutrition

accounted for their increased mortality? Slack notes that the increasing mortality in the

suburbs is likely because they were being increasingly built up by the early seventeenth

century and were therefore the larger and denser disease pools.[173] Believing plague to be

solely *Yersinia pestis*, Slack says that it was "closely associated with bad housing and poor

hygiene."[174] Champion warns, however, against assuming that it was the physical housing

that caused increased vulnerability. His study of St. Dunstan in the West has shown

variation that cannot be attributed solely to the housing. Mortality increases among women

during epidemics, which suggests that their roles as care-takers increased their vulnerability.

And his examination of the parish's vestry records show that parish officials were more

concerned with quarantining poor neighborhoods than wealthy ones. Social behaviors may

well have played as significant a role in the spread of the plague as the built environment.

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[171]P69/MIC2/A/001/MS04061.
[172] Champion, "Built Environment," 42.
[173]Slack, *Impact of Plague*, 159.
[174] Paul Slack, "Mortality Crises and Epidemic Disease in England," in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 48.

Champion's study also suggests limits to only looking at the disease across the city as a whole. Important local variations in its spread are lost this way. To look more closely at the full impact of plague and other illnesses, we need to examine how they spread from household to household within a specific parish and the ways parish officials and residents responded. What families were affected during an epidemic and when? Clearly if the plague or another infectious disease could be limited to the homes of a few strangers or to the suburbs, it posed less of a threat to the City as a whole. Quarantines and other measures were intended to ensure this, but with the ongoing vulnerability of servants and children living in the city, they could only have been sporadically effective.

For Twigg, the variance in epidemic patterns is strong evidence that more than one disease was spreading during outbreaks called "plague." Certainly, as noted above, the spread of multiple diseases at once is a possibility that must be considered. Slack also suggests that some sixteenth-century epidemics may have had mixed causes and been characterized by both illnesses affected by famine and those which are not.[175] Dobson's data, too, shows that unhealthy years were frequently reveal the spread of more than one condition, such as the typhus, plague, and dysentery which, along with famine, struck southeast England in 1624.[176] Evidence from St. Botolph without Aldgate shows a continual background level of disease, mostly "agues" or fevers, perhaps malaria, and wasting diseases, consumption and pyning (an unknown wasting illness or failure to thrive, primarily affecting infants). In the weeks before the plague epidemic of 1592/3, however, cases of smallpox, purples, and burning fevers also increase. These may be misdiagnosed early cases of plague,

[175] Ibid., 27.
[176] Dobson, *Contours of Death*, 389.

but they could equally reveal conditions conducive to the spread of more than one contagious disease. The presence of multiple diseases would also reduce the effectiveness of quarantines and other health measures.

Spread of Plague and Other Diseases in the Parish

The parish, as noted in the first chapter, was the focus of much of local life in early modern London. It was the focus of religious education, poor relief, and much of the maintenance of civil order in the neighborhoods it served.[177] Disease dramatically affected daily life of parish residents, and the parish registers are the best surviving records of these effects in London.

The records available to the researcher are frustratingly incomplete. While the Bills of Mortality were regularly published beginning in the early seventeenth century, they only list plague deaths and baptisms by parish; the data for all other causes of death are aggregated for the whole city. As noted above, parish registers typically only list the name of the deceased, the head of household (where the deceased is a child, wife, or servant), and sometimes that head of household's profession. Some list even less. St. Botolph without Aldgate, however, has remarkably complete records for the last fifteen years of the sixteenth century. Many of the parish register entries include the age of the deceased, cause of death, and location. In combination with the vestry minutes, which list both baptisms and burials in order to tally the associated costs, these details can be compiled for a majority of parish

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[177] Katherine French, Gary Gibbs, and Beat Kumin, "Introduction," in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, ed. Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kumin (1997: Manchester University Press, 1997), 3.

burials in an unbroken run between 1585 and 1600. This makes St. Botolph without Aldgate the ideal parish for mapping the spread of disease from household to household in London.

The question must of course also be considered—how typical is St. Botolph without Aldgate of London? It is one of the large, extramural parishes and sat just outside the eastern walls of the city. It saw frequent ship traffic, and many of its residents were sailors or foreigners, a group we have already seen were vulnerable to London's disease pool. Still others were involved in making cannon for the ships or providing bread and other provisions for the crews and interacting with them on a daily basis. Thus we might expect the parish to experience more disease than a smaller, more insular parish from the city center. As a comparison, therefore, this study will also look at some data from St. Dunstan in the West, a small intramural parish. While not as detailed, St. Dunstan is useful as a comparison with St. Botolph. Only plague is listed as a cause of death in this register; however the clerks did list locations, which allow the mapping of plague mortality. Maps of the earliest epidemic for which there is reliable location information in St. Dunstan, the 1625 epidemic, will be compared to those in St. Botolph at the end of the sixteenth century.

Two other intramural parishes, St. Michael Cornhill and St. Magnus the Martyr, will be examined as well. For most other parishes, neither cause of death nor location is given, so we can only consider CMRs to the more detailed St. Botolph's data. In other words, where there is an outbreak of flux or smallpox, I have examined these other parishes for increases in base mortality. Thus we can determine whether they suffered from the same outbreaks or not and, for St. Dunstan, map some of those potential outbreaks. As we will.
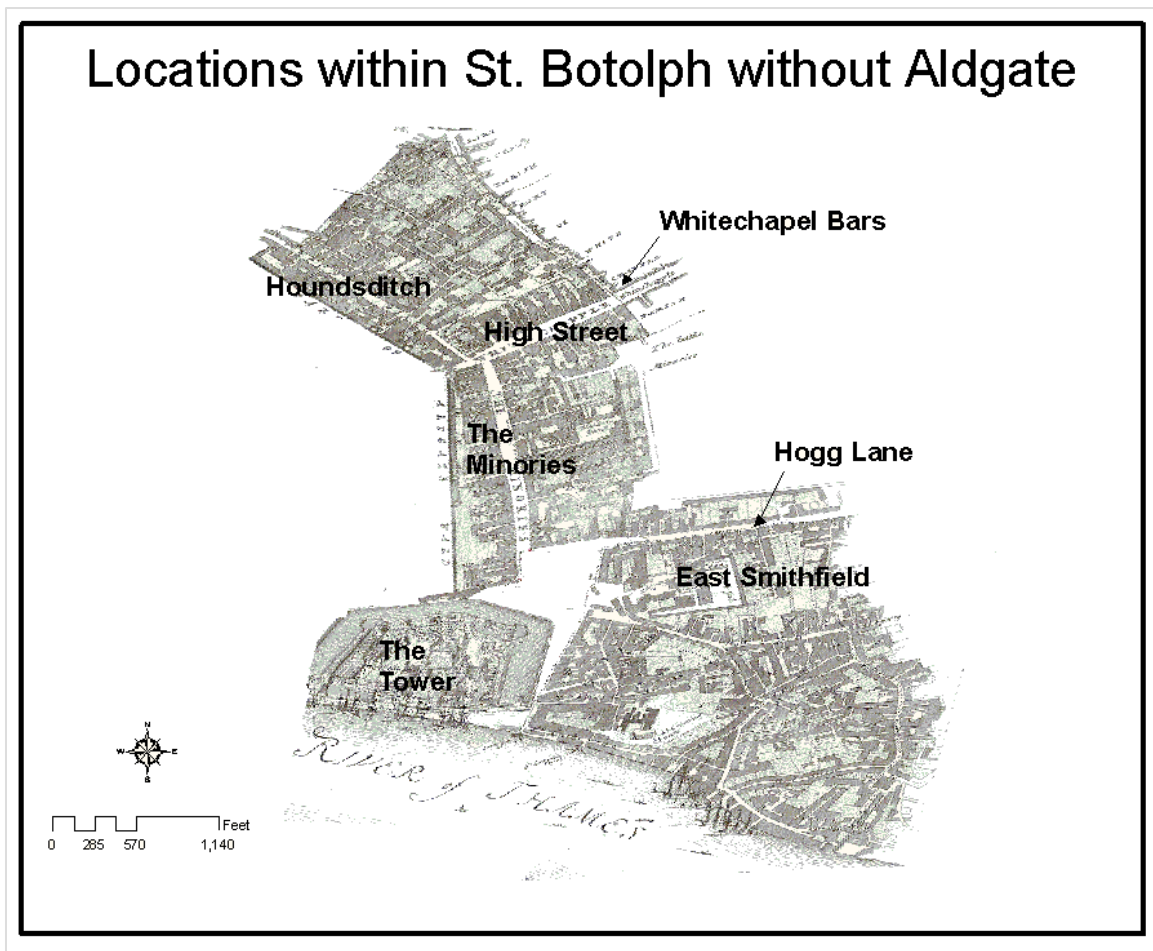
Figure 5.5: Main Locations in St. Botolph without Aldgate and surrounding areas

see, the large poor parish of St Botolph suffered from local epidemics of flux and smallpox

often *not* reflected in the wealthier London parishes

In other respects, St. Botolph without Aldgate was very typical. Like all London

parishes, both intra- and extra-mural, it consisted of main streets fronted by larger houses

occupied by the wealthier residents. Behind and between these lay the 'pestered' courts and

alleys so complained of by Stow. Residents of these alleyways were poorer and less stable

than their main street neighbors. Many were sailors, carters, watermen, pavers, brewer's
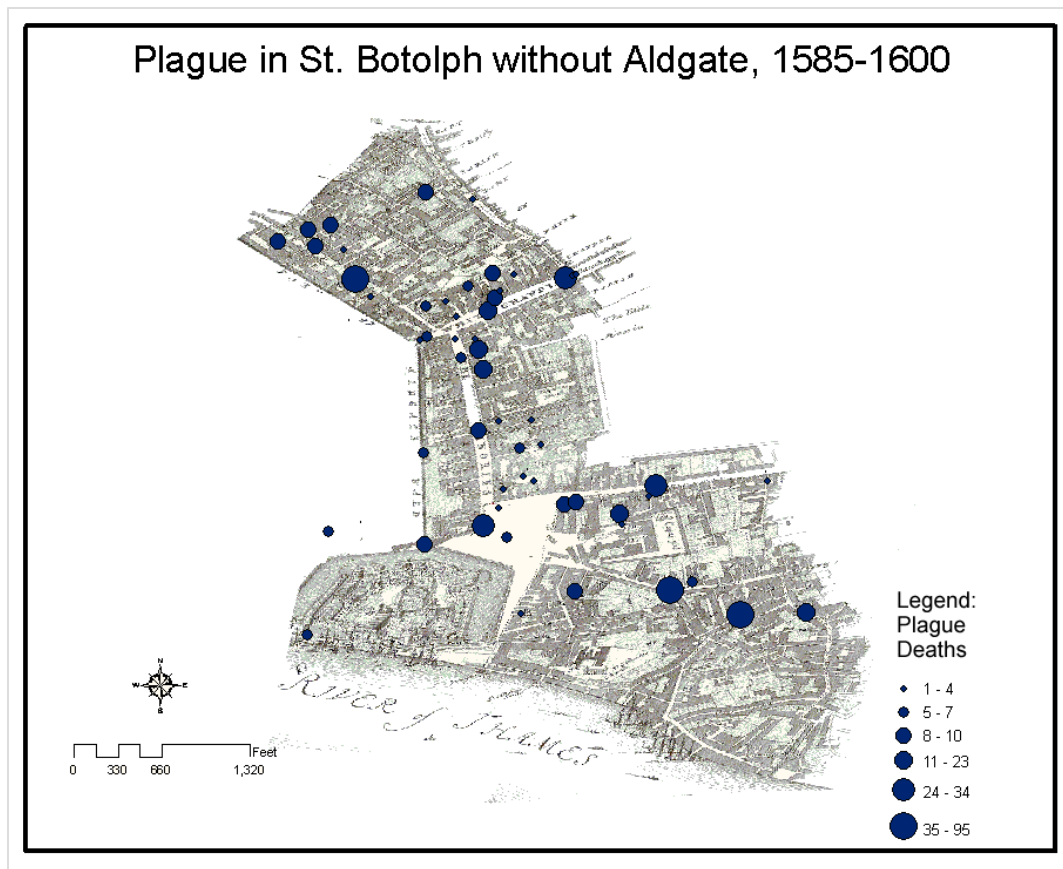
Figure 5.6: Plague in St. Botolph

servants, widows, and others at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Skilled tradesmen

such as gunsmiths, cutlers, tailors, and weavers lived in the alleys as well, however. So did

the occasional school master or apothecary. Despite the presence of skilled artisans and

professionals, these alleys, true to the fears of the city government, did encourage the spread

of disease.

An examination of point maps for the three diseases shows significant numbers of

deaths along main streets in East Smithfield and Houndsditch as well as in "pestered" back

alleys such as Swan Alley. There are differences between the disease distributions as well,

however. Plague was clearly more widely spread, despite quarantine efforts. Plague cases

appeared in the Minories, near Little Tower Hill and even in High Street, the prestigious

main road through the parish. There were also many cases in East Smithfield and other

poor neighborhoods and alleys off the main streets. Moreover, there were few locations

with fewer than five plague deaths. Unlike the inter-epidemic cases discussed above, where

plague in epidemic form, it is widespread throughout each neighborhood, generally claiming

ten or more victims. Because of the severity of the 1592-93 epidemic, plague victims also

died in higher absolute numbers than victims of smallpox and flux, even though the map

covers only two years and while the endemic diseases are shown over fifteen years.

With smallpox and flux, there were fewer main-street cases in the late sixteenth

century. Smallpox, the disease known for striking down the sons and daughters of the

wealthy in the mid-seventeenth century, still found the majority of its victims in the back

alleys. Houndsditch saw thirteen deaths in this span and High Street only seven. During

those same years, smallpox claimed forty victims in East Smithfield. Single deaths were

scattered throughout the parish. Flux was even more concentrated in the back alleys.

Fourteen individuals died of dysentery in Houndsditch and four in High Street during the

last fifteen years of the century. Sixty-one died of flux in East Smithfield during the same

time. Flux also strikes near the Tower. As the disease is water-borne, it seems likely that the

Tower's proximity to the Thames would make it more vulnerable to such infections.
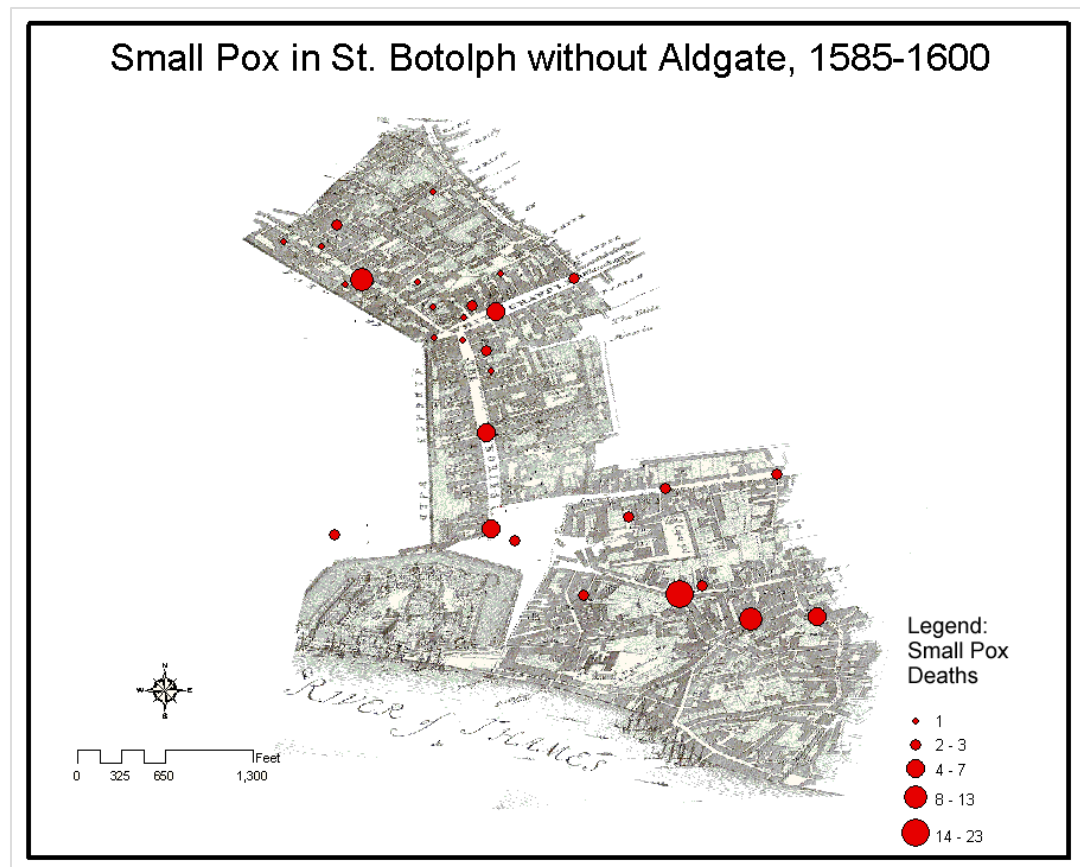
Figure 5.7: Smallpox in St. Botolph

Of course, the parish registers list only the deceased, not the sick. Plague was significantly more lethal than the other two conditions, so the parish registers consequently listed more of the total cases than for the other diseases. Smallpox generally kills 30 percent of its victims. Depending on the cause of dysentery (with *Shigella sp.* being the most lethal), death rates today in developing countries range from less than 11.4 percent for non-bloody dysentery in Northern India to 30.4 percent in an outbreak of bloody dysentery from
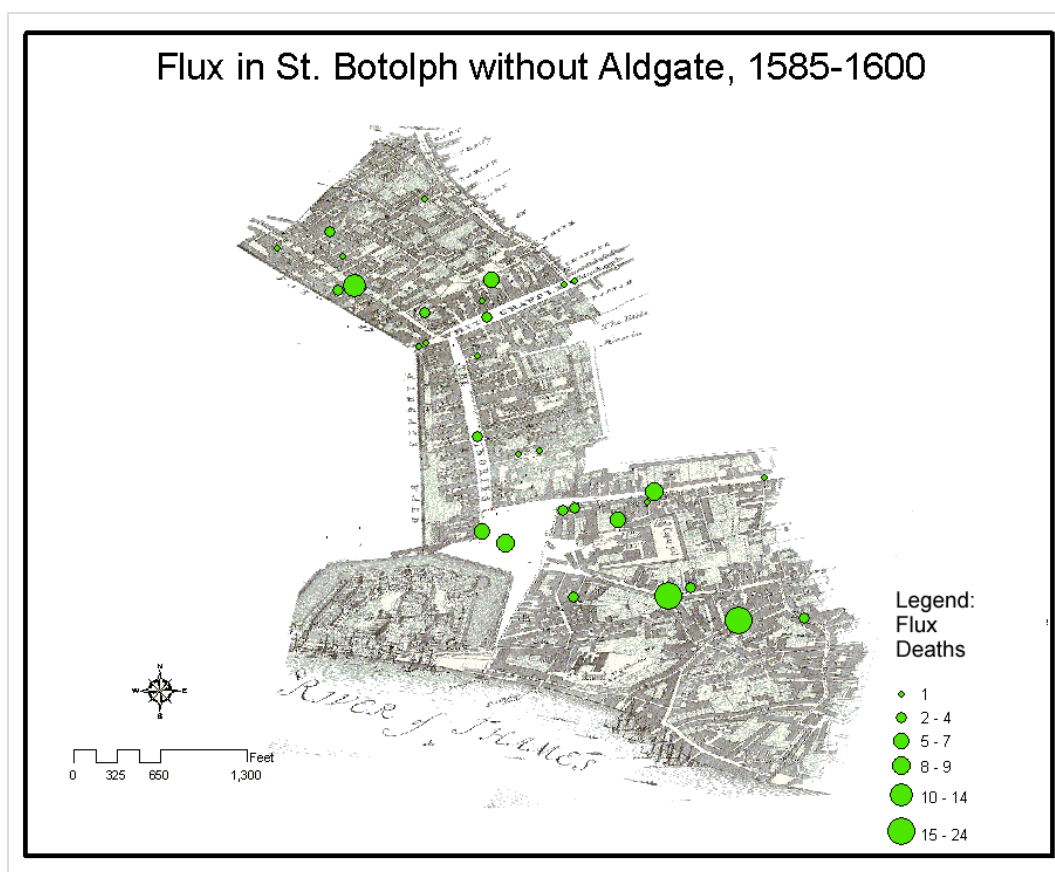
Figure 5.8: Flux in St. Botolph

Zimbabwe in the 1990s.[178] *Yersinia pestis***, on the other hand, has a mortality rate of at least 60 percent and records from second pandemic suggest an even higher death rate.**

The maps above must therefore significantly under represent the true levels of

illness. Because only locations with deaths are recorded, we can never know if there were

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[178] See N Bhandari, M. , K. Bhan, and S. Sazawal, "Mortality Associated with Acute Watery Diarrhea, Dysentery and Persistent Diarrhea in Rural North India," *Acta Paediatrica* 381, no. September (1992) and K. J. Nathoo et al., "Predictors of Mortality in Children Hospitalized with Dysentery in Harare, Zimbabwe," *Central African Journal of Medicine* 44, no. 11 (1998).

other places where people caught these diseases but no one died. However, we can adjust

the maps proportionally to show all probable cases in our existing locations. I adjusted the

numbers by calculating the total sick based on known mortality. So for smallpox, recorded

deaths were multiplied by 3.33 to determine the total cases. For every 30 victims, 70 more

individuals were presumed to be non-lethally infected.[179]

When we adjust the maps to show probable deaths, maps for different diseases

become comparable and activity in the back alleys becomes more visible. The one or two

deaths indicated in the records are revealed to be three or four probable cases. Plague, the

most lethal of the diseases, shows the fewest increases in cases. The back-alley activity

becomes very obvious, however, when looking at smallpox and flux. Cases in East

Smithfield in the southern part of the parish visibly dominate the maps and we see that there

would have been a significant endemic disease presence throughout the parish in the alleys

and courts away from the main roads.

Flux is different in one significant difference way that is not visible in this map: the

victims were generally older. The mean age of those who died from flux was 28, rather than

the 17 years for plague and 8 for smallpox. Many of the deceased were in their 40s through

60s. This is also atypical for modern cases. Modern cases of dysentery typically strike

children at the age of weaning, from 12 to 23 months of age.[180] With the cases from St.

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[179] Likewise, for dysentery the number of deaths was multiplied by 8.7 and for plague, by 1.7. This assumes a mortality rate of 60% for plague, which is the minimum the second pandemic seemed to cause.
[180] Ibid.
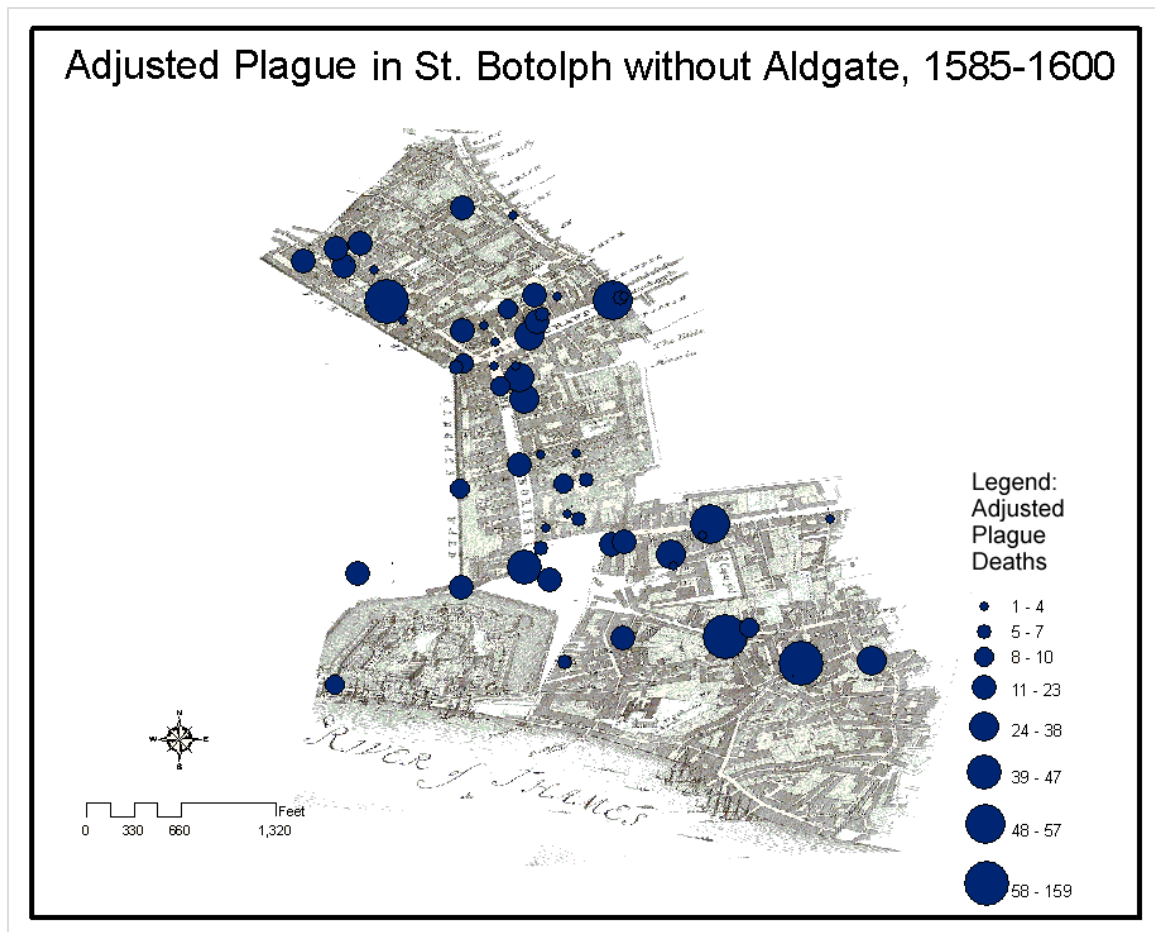
Figure 5.9: Adjusted Plague in St. Botolph

Botolph there is a spike in early childhood, but cases peak at around age forty. This may

reflect the generally poor quality of available food and water in the City at that time. One

characteristic of modern cases is that breast milk seems to protect against death in the

young. Another factor in the age difference could simply be that dysentery was the only

disease of those analyzed here that the victim could catch repeatedly through life. An older

resident would have likely had smallpox and may have caught and survived plague as well.

Agues (diseases causing fever) and consumption, which in some cases may have been
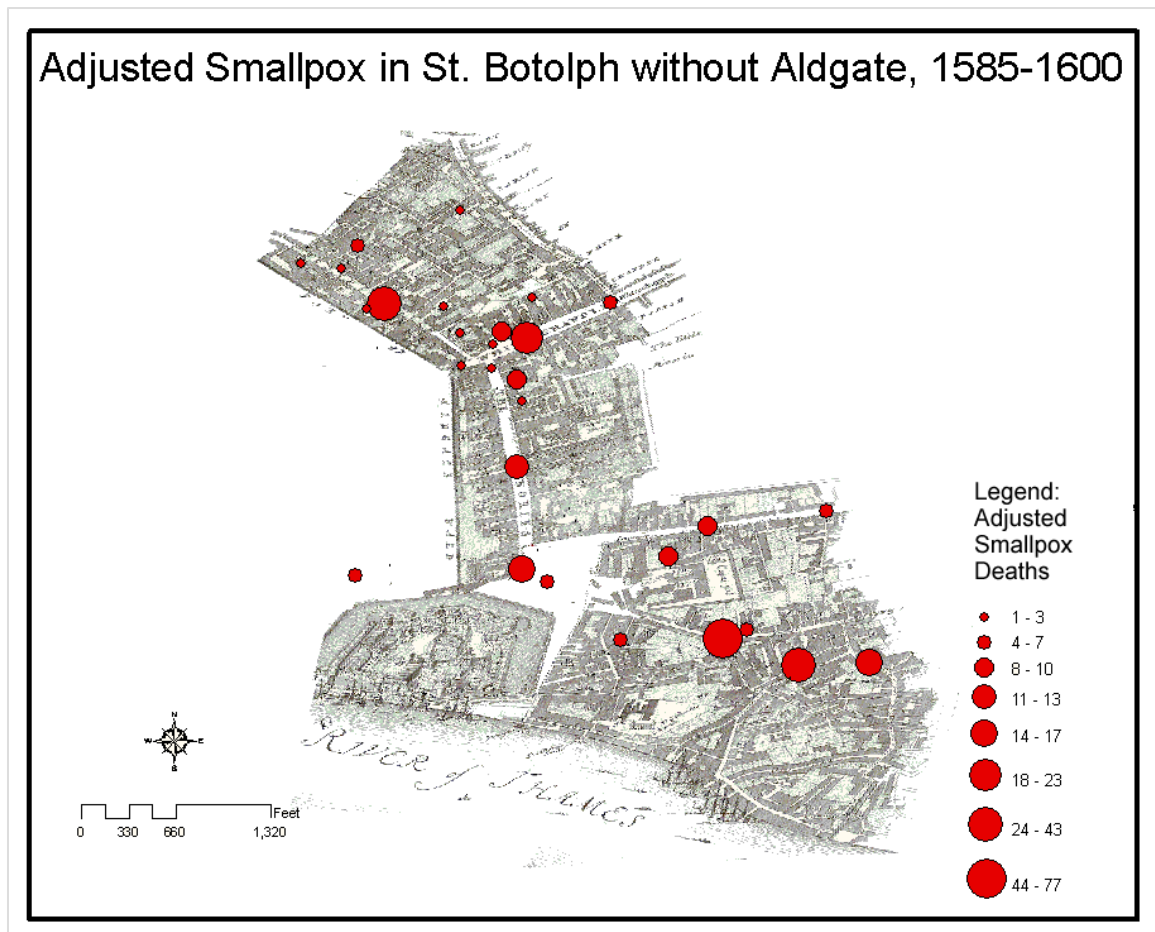
Figure 5.10: Adjusted Smallpox in St. Botolph

tuberculosis, may also show a similar pattern. They were not analyzed here, however,

because of the difficulty in associating them with a single modern disease.

Different segments of the population were vulnerable to death at different rates.

Infants, children, and servants, as noted previously, were typically more susceptible to

disease than the resident adult population. The data fits a model already applied to London

after the late seventeenth century by John Landers, namely the high potential model (HPM)

of urban mortality. This model was initially proposed by William H. McNeill in his work,
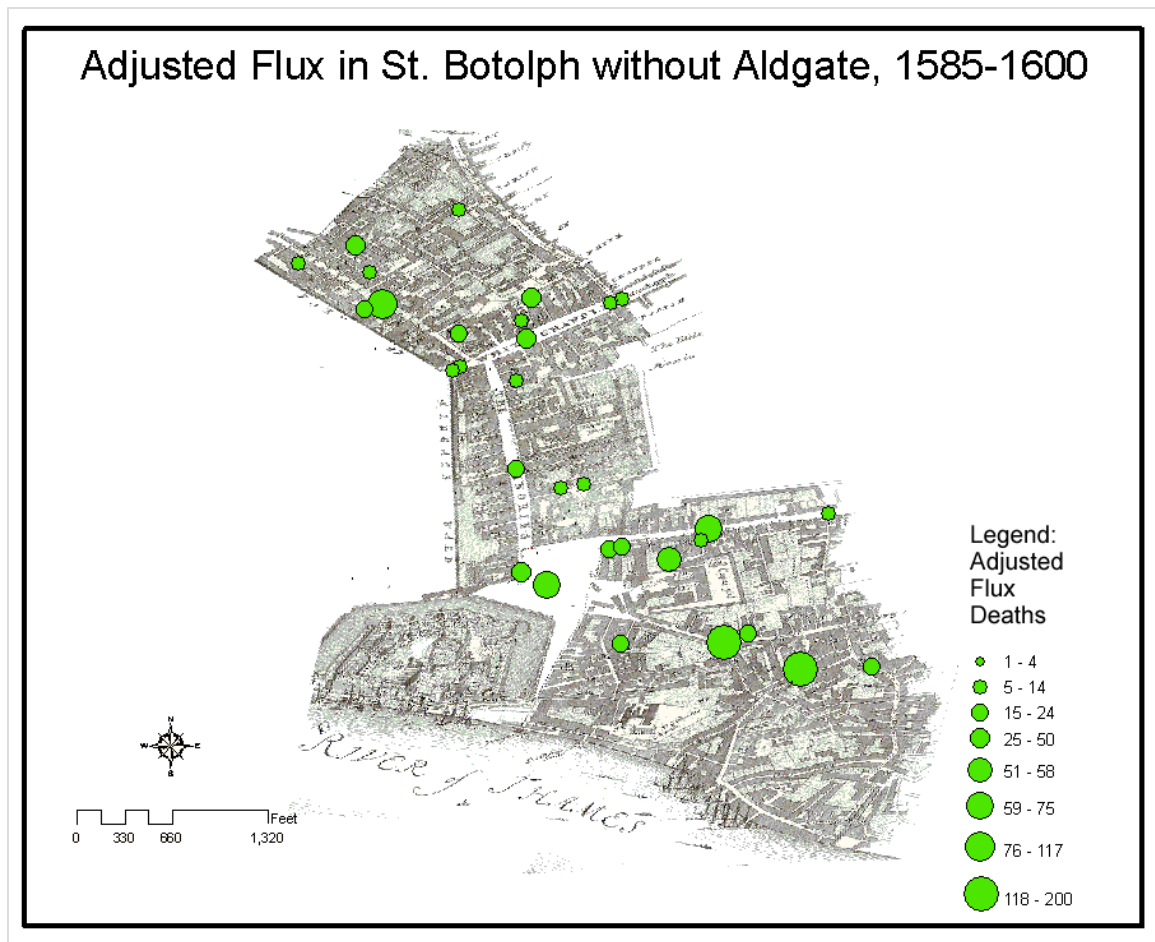
Figure 5.3: Adjusted Flux in St. Botolph

Plagues and Peoples. HPM proposes that urban centers have both the high naïve populations and the poor sanitation necessary to sustain crowd diseases over time.[181] The naïve portion of the population consists of newcomers and children who have not yet become resistant to those diseases. Children fit this criteria because they have had little time to gain immunity through surviving illness. So do servants, most of whom came from outside of London.

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[181] John Landers, *Death and the Metropolis: Studies in the Demographic History of London, 1670-1830* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 29.

Frequency of Flux Deaths by Age, St Botolph
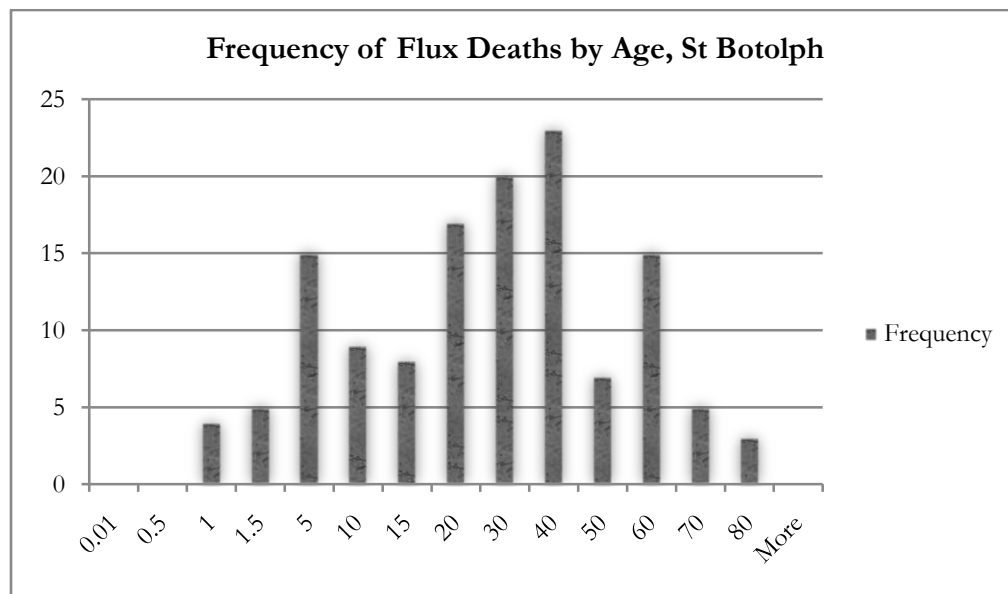
Figure 5.12 Flux Deaths by Age in St. Botolph without Aldgate, 1585-1600.

Foreigners, who were at times blamed by for harboring plague in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, were a naïve population for many diseases as well.[182]

Landers' results show that for the eighteenth century, children younger than ten do in

fact suffer from disproportionately high mortality.[183] For plague deaths in the sixteenth and

early seventeenth centuries, Slack confirms that "[t]he age group from five to nineteen seems

to have been everywhere the one which contributed far more than its normal share to

mortality during epidemics of plague."[184] Little has been done with the deaths of the young

from other causes during this time. There is also a need for more research into the ways in

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[182] Slack, *Impact of Plague*, 231. Most of the disease discussed here hit cities far harder than rural areas. London was one of the largest cities in Europe. So foreigners, unless they came from another large city like Paris, would have been exposed to fewer diseases during their lives. For a general discussion of the lower disease burden in many rural towns, see Dobson, *Contours of Death*.
[183] Landers, *Death and the Metropolis*, 101.
[184] Slack, *Impact of Plague*, 181.

which poverty caused deaths among the young as studies to date have generally been limited to looking just at infant (chrisom) mortality rates.

Data from the London parish registers can be used in several ways to examine this truism, however. First, crisis mortality ratios can be calculated for different groups. As noted above, the registers are not always consistent in how these groups are categorized. While stillborn deaths are relatively unproblematic, the term chrisom can be used for children significantly older than one month. More importantly, ages of children are seldom given. However, there are occasions where a parish clerk noted the ages of children within the parish. The clerk of St. Leonard Eastcheap lists ages of children at burial for a few months. The average age of children listed is 8.84 years old. For St. Botolph, the average age of victims listed as "son of" or "daughter of" while not being noted as a stillborn or chrisom is just over four years old. The oldest are 14 years old. It seems reasonable, therefore, to regard individuals labeled as "son of" or "daughter of" as minors. Servant ages have been discussed above.

As we will see in detail below, when CMRs are calculated for these groups, the results clearly show servants had consistently higher mortality from epidemic diseases than adults or newborns. Children's CMRs were often higher as well.

The failure of chrisoms and stillborns to react significantly to epidemic disease should be no surprise. While mothers might miscarry or give birth to a stillborn because of illness, this is seldom indicated in the records. We would expect miscarriages due to plague

Frequency of Age at Death for "Children" in St Botolph
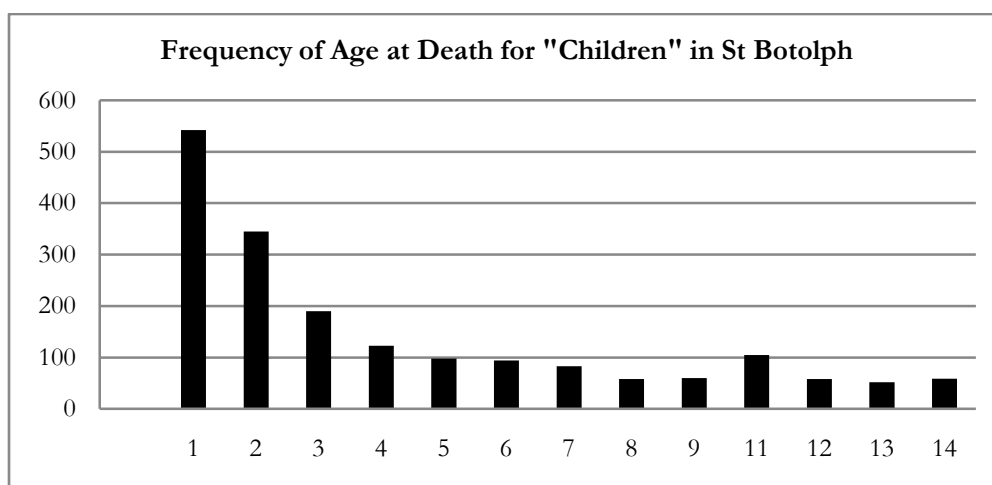
Figure 5.13: Frequency of Age at Death for "Children" in St. Botolph without Aldgate.

to be noted if, however, as even parish clerks who did not normally record cause of death always did so if it were attributable to plague. Regardless, there are few such records for any parish. Newborns and their mothers were kept in isolation for 40 or more days of the child's life, until the mother was churched.[185] Even after this, infants were less mobile than toddlers and older children and thus would have had less contact with others. In St. Botolph where the cause of death is indicated for almost all parishioners, deaths shortly after birth continue to be attributed to "pyning." From the name of the illness (pining), I assume that this something similar to the range of conditions that today are called "failure to thrive."[186]

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[185] Churching in Protestant England was less a ritual of purification than of thanksgiving for the mother's survival. Jacqueline Eales, *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700*, Introductions to History (London: UCL Press, 1998), 68.

[186] The OED defines the term only as "Wasting away through disease or hunger." Third edition, June 2006; online version March 2011. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.ccbcmd.edu/Entry/144179>; accessed 12 April 2011.

Both servants and non-infant children, however, do show high CMRs. Moreover, the wealth or poverty of the parish may mitigate overall mortality, but children and servant mortality is generally higher than the overall death rate. It is worth noting that, while the ratios of deaths in healthy years to deaths in epidemic years are comparable across different parishes, the base rate of deaths is not. The absolute number of servants who died is dependent on the number of servants present in the parish who could have died. The same is true with children. I calculated my CMRs using the ten years before each epidemic for the baseline and the deaths during the entire epidemic year as the crisis mortality.

The numbers below have been calculated for St. Botolph and also for two smaller intramural parishes: St Magnus the Martyr, a riverside parish, and St. Michael Cornhill, a parish in the center of London. In the graphs below, the non-crisis mortality, the mean deaths per year, is shown in blue for St. Michael Cornhill (and in subsequent charts). The higher rates of crisis mortality are shown in red. In the epidemic of 1603, the total crisis mortality of the parish was 7.6 times normal and that of adults, including foreigners, was 7.3 times normal. Child mortality was just below this at 6.9 times the deaths from non-epidemic years but servant crisis mortality was nearly thirteen times normal. There was no significant increase in chrisoms and stillbirths due to the epidemic. Again, this is to be expected as very young infants were more isolated from the effects of an epidemic.

Results are different in St. Michael Cornhill for the 1665 epidemic. The overall CMR here is 6.2 times higher than the non-epidemic death rate and the adult death rate is 10.1 times normal. Child and servant death rates, while more than four times the normal rate, are
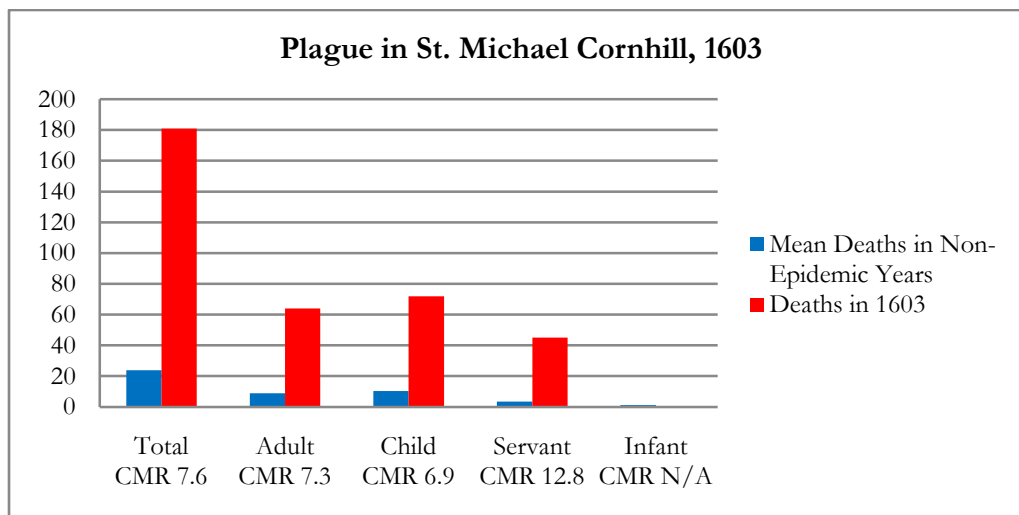
Figure 5.14: Plague Crisis Mortality in St. Michael Cornhill, 1603

both still significantly below those of adults in the parish. This would suggest that

techniques of quarantining of the disease have become more effective by this last epidemic,

and reflects the lower inner city CMRs calculated by Twigg for this epidemic. Infant

(stillborn and chrisom) deaths are still relatively low.

When we look at the data from St. Magnus the Martyr, a pattern similar to that of St.

Michael Cornhill in 1603 appears. Total CMRs in both epidemics are 4.6 and 2.8 times the

normal death rate respectively. CMRs for adults during the two epidemics are comparable to

the overall increase in mortality. Those for children are around three times higher than the

background mortality, comparable to or slightly lower than the increase in adult deaths.

CMRs for servants, however, are higher than those for children. Servants die at a

rate from nine to twenty-two times higher than their non-crisis mortality. The 1603 data

also shows an unusual spike in infant mortality not seen elsewhere. This result cannot be
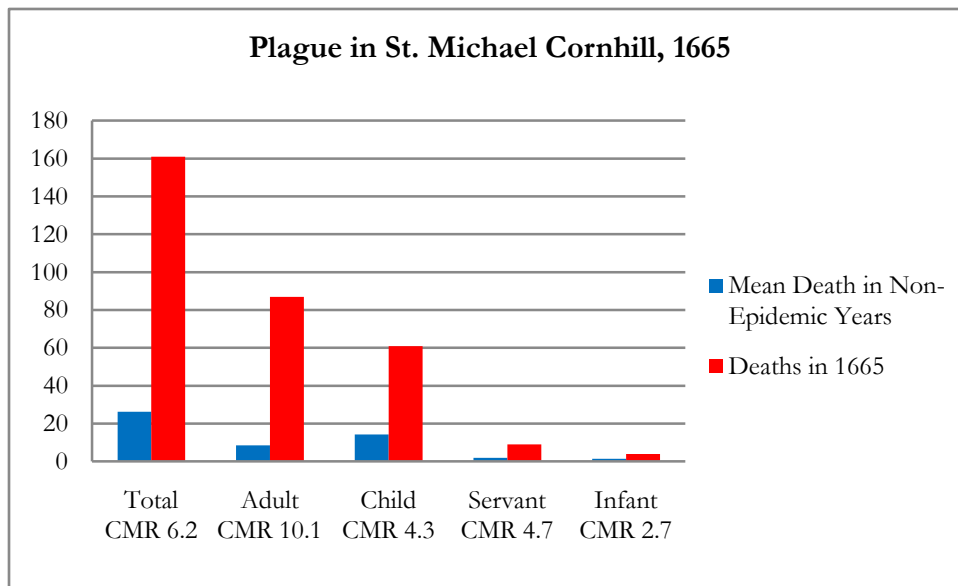
Figure 5.15: Plague Deaths in St. Michael Cornhill, 1665

explained given the data in the records. Perhaps more infected mothers gave birth to stillborn children, but the records do not note the deaths as such.

A different pattern of mortality emerges when we turn to St. Botolph without Aldgate. Total CMRs are 7.8 and 6.8 times higher than the normal death rate, respectively. Adult CMRs are comparable to or slightly lower than those total death rates being 5.2 and 6.6 times the normal rate, respectively. Child mortality is significantly higher, relative to adult mortality, than in the inner-city parishes. Child CMRs are 7.3 in the 1603 epidemic and 10.1 in the 1665 epidemic. As in the smaller parishes above, servant mortality is again higher than either at 10.7 and 17.5 times non-epidemic mortality, respectively. Infant mortality is, as expected, not subject to a surge due to the epidemic.

Plague Deaths in St. Magnus the Martyr, 1603
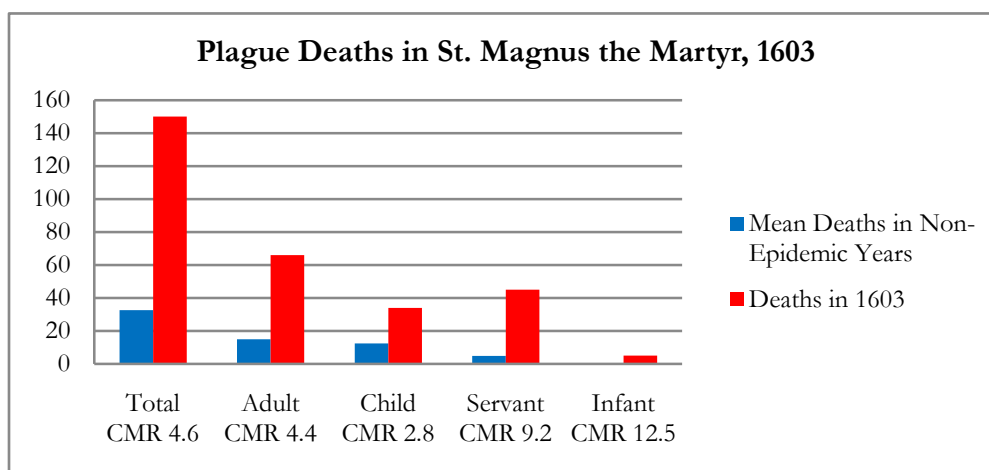
Figure 5.4: Plague deaths in St. Magnus the Martyr, 1603

Why are the deaths of children higher relative to adult mortality in St. Botolph without Aldgate? The parish was poor; Ian Archer notes it as a recipient of poor relief.[187] At the end of the seventeenth century, St. Botolph experienced nearly 60 percent infant mortality.[188] Wealthy inner city parishes, on the other hand, experienced mortality levels of around 40 percent.[189] This suggests that general ill health and malnutrition due to poverty may have played a role in the survival of the parish's children in non-epidemic times. Plague, however, is not noted for being particularly more lethal to the malnourished, nor is smallpox, one of the other main "speckled diseases" with which it could be confused. Measles, as noted above, is significantly more lethal to those who lack proper nutrition. Boghurst and other medical professionals noted that plague brought with it other diseases as

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[187] Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 151.
[188] Landers, *Death and the Metropolis*, 358.
[189] Ibid. London, rich or poor, had much higher death rates overall than the countryside.
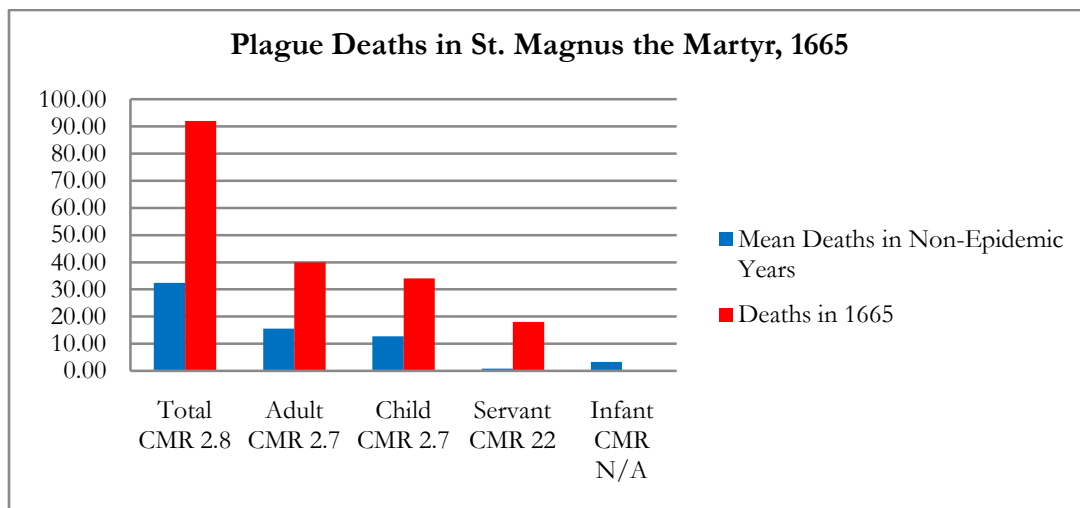
Figure 5.17: Plague in St. Magnus the Martyr, 1665

well. If one of these co-epidemic illnesses was measles, we would expect higher death rates among the poor. As Champion has suggested, social conditions might have played a significant role as well. More tightly packed housing would make it harder to isolate children from the community.

Children also began working as servants at a younger age in St. Botolph, as noted in figure 5.1 above. These children, by virtue of their employment, would not have been isolated from the disease and could have introduced it to the juvenile population at large. Further research into the parish records, which is beyond the scope of this study, is needed to proceed beyond simple speculation, however.

Throughout the records, while servant deaths as absolute numbers are lower than child deaths, CMRs for servant deaths are higher overall than child deaths. We do not know the absolute numbers of servants present in London or in the parishes studied. However,
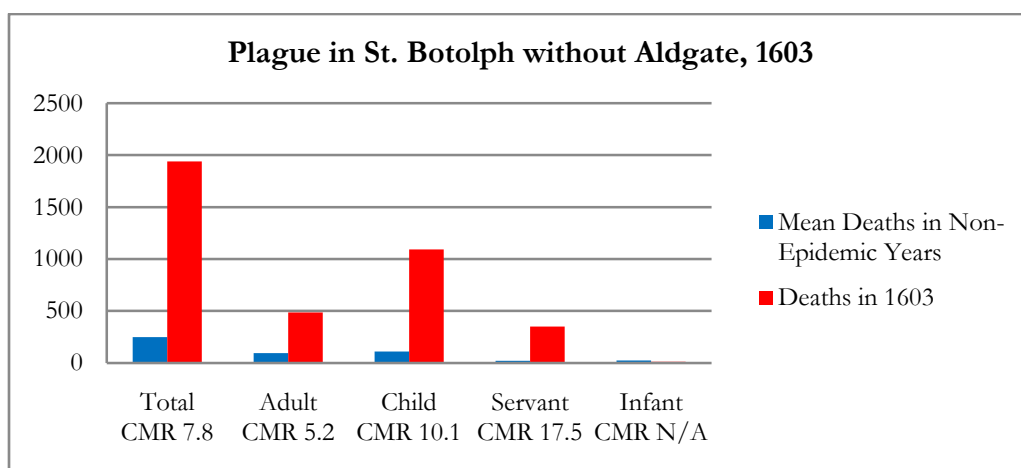
Figure 5.18: Plague in St. Botolph without Aldgate, 1603

they were a significant portion of the population. Rappaport calculates that the number of

apprentices in London amounted to ten percent of the population, and this does not take

into account domestic servants.[190] During non-crisis years, servant deaths in the parishes

studied average 15.4 percent. If we assume that they accounted for between ten and 20

percent of the population, then the data suggests that they did not die at higher rates than

the normal population in non-epidemic years. The data is of course preliminary and more

research is needed to draw firmer conclusions. However, the non-crisis rates of death

suggest that servants, despite being from the countryside, had already encountered enough

of the more common diseases of childhood to be prepared to survive in London during

normal conditions. The fact that they were dying at much higher rates than children during

the plague indicated that they were certainly a naïve population where the pestilence was

concerned.

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[190] Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 232-233.
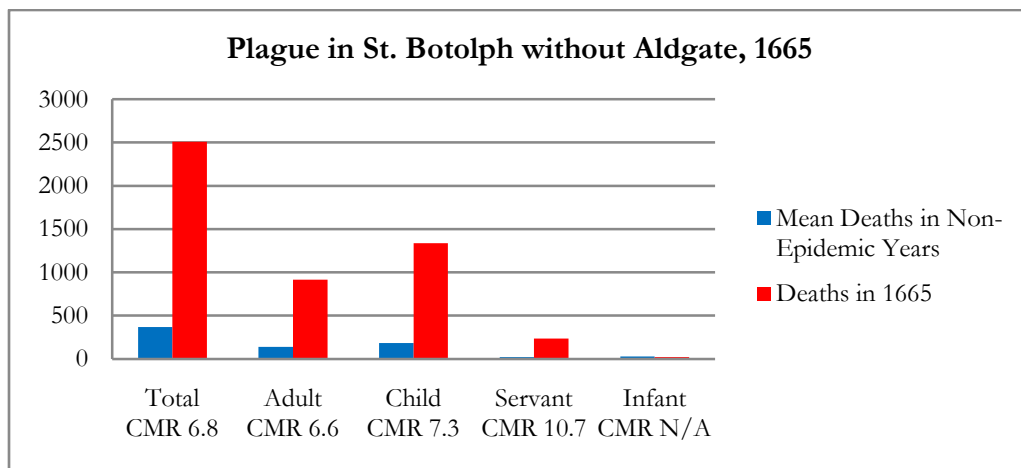
Figure 5.19: Plague in St. Botolph without Aldgate, 1665

Smallpox was another urban disease to which servants were probably not extensively exposed during their rural childhoods. The 1635 epidemic that struck the London suburbs is generally supposed to have been smallpox.[191] The graph below shows that again, servants in St. Botolph experienced higher mortality than either children or the population at large. It is also interesting to note that this outbreak is *not* evident in data from either St. Magnus the Martyr or St. Michael Cornhill. Numbers for those parishes are not elevated enough to show crisis mortality ratios, and, where modest increases *do* occur, such as in St. Magnus late the following summer (monthly deaths of six, nine and six, respectively during August, September, and October), they do not affect the naïve population. Of those 21 deaths, only three were of children and none involved servants.

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[191] Andrew Appleby, "Nutrition and Disease: The Case of London, 1550-1750," in *Health and Disease in Human History: A Journal of Interdisciplinary History Reader*, ed. Robert I Rotberg (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2000), 42. Also see Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2 vols., vol. II (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1894), 436.
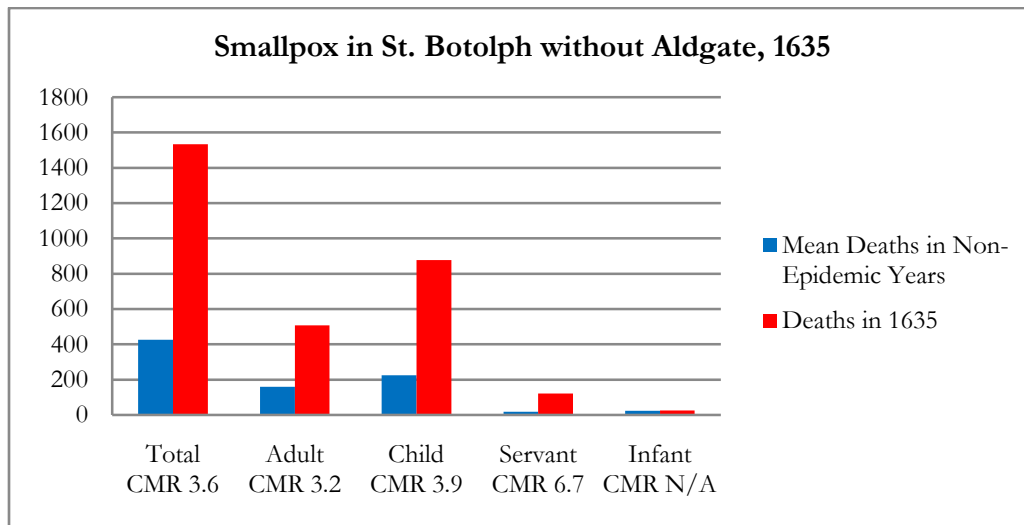
Figure 5.20: Smallpox in St. Botolph without Aldgate, 1635

Turning to the spatial elements of mortality in St. Botolph, we see that the places where the young die are not inconsistent with deaths at large but do show higher numbers along the main streets as well as in the back alleys. Spatial statistics calculated from the distribution of deaths show that only the southern part of the parish in East Smithfield had a higher than expected number of deaths. Figure 5.24 illustrates the results of a Hot Spot analysis of the deaths of servants and children (the naïve population). The tool calculated the Gettis-Ord Gi* statistic for the data, producing Z scores as discussed in chapter four. The dark blue locations in the south-east portion of the parish (East Smithfield) represent numbers more than 2.56 Standard Deviations above the mean for deaths. The green locations everywhere else are 1.65-1.96 Standard Deviations below the mean for such deaths. The locations that represent high deaths include such narrow lanes as Swan Alley. These alleys were places similar to Cock and Key Alley in St. Dunstan in the West, which likewise
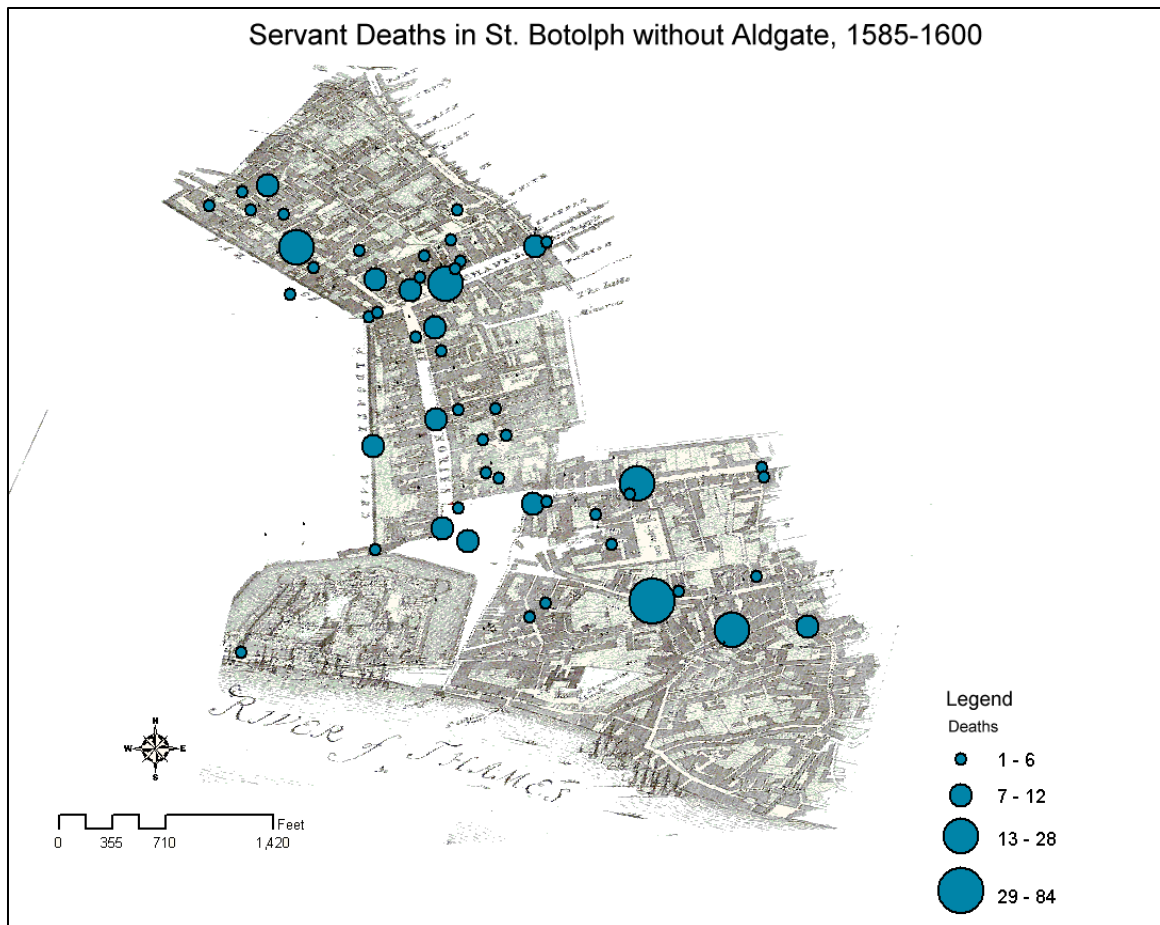
Figure 5.21: Deaths of Servants, St. Botolph

shows high mortality.[192]

　　Analysis shows that the distribution of disease is not random. The cluster analysis

also carried out below is essentially a chi-square test looking at the difference between the

observed and expected mean distances between locations. The results below indicate a

strong and non-random clustering of disease locations. A pattern such as this is

characteristic of diseases that spread through neighborhoods either due to shared

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[192] Champion, "Built Environment," 46.

Children's Deaths in St. Botolph without Aldgate, 1585-1600

Legend
Deaths
● 1 - 13
● 14 - 24
● 25 - 54
● 55 - 198
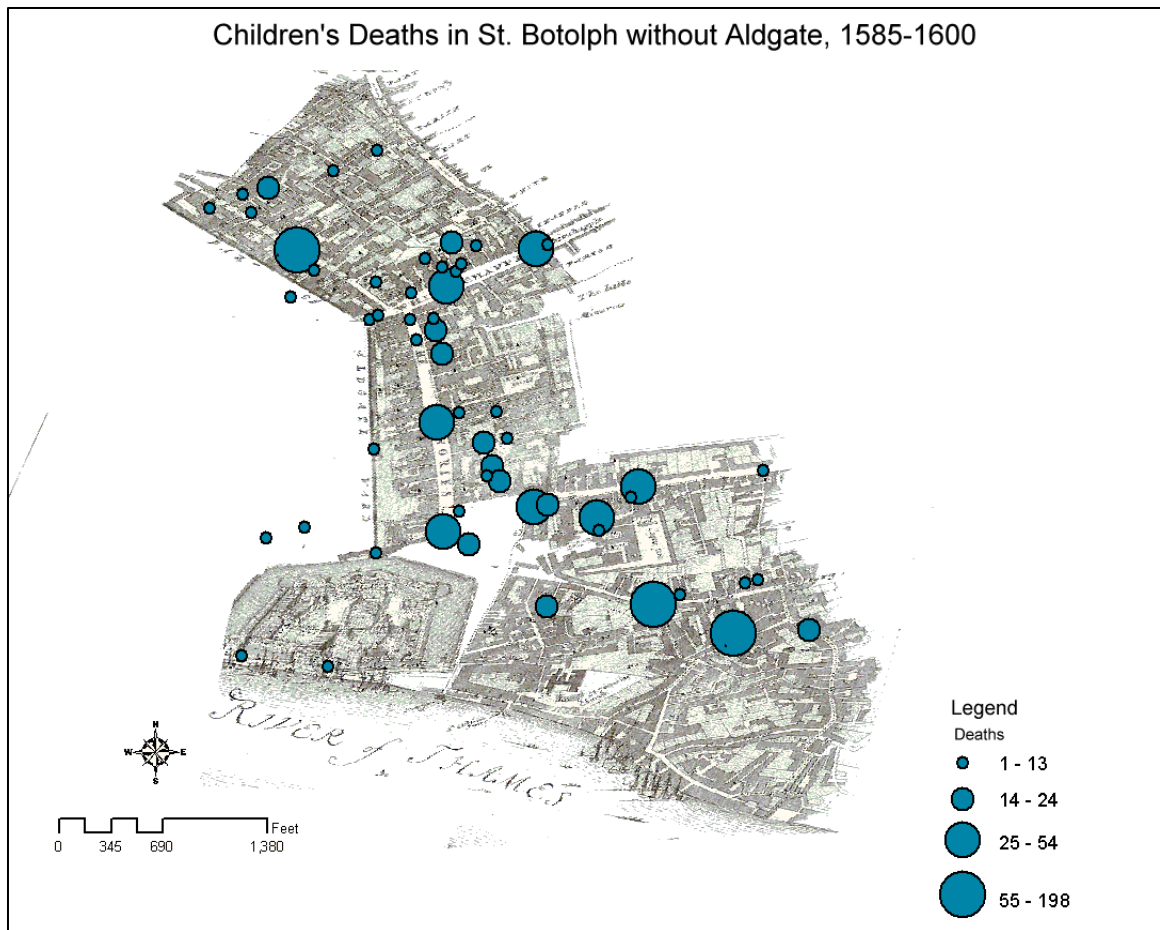
Figure 5.22: Deaths of Children, St Botolph

contaminated resources (such as dysentery, which can also spread person-to-person) or

direct contagion (all the diseases considered except syphilis). The back allies of East

Smithfield would have been likely locations for either type of spread.

Where the French Pox or syphilis is present in St. Botolph without Aldgate, it is

almost entirely confined to areas of poverty. Unlike the other diseases considered, casual

contact cannot cause infection. Also unlike for the other diseases considered, there are no

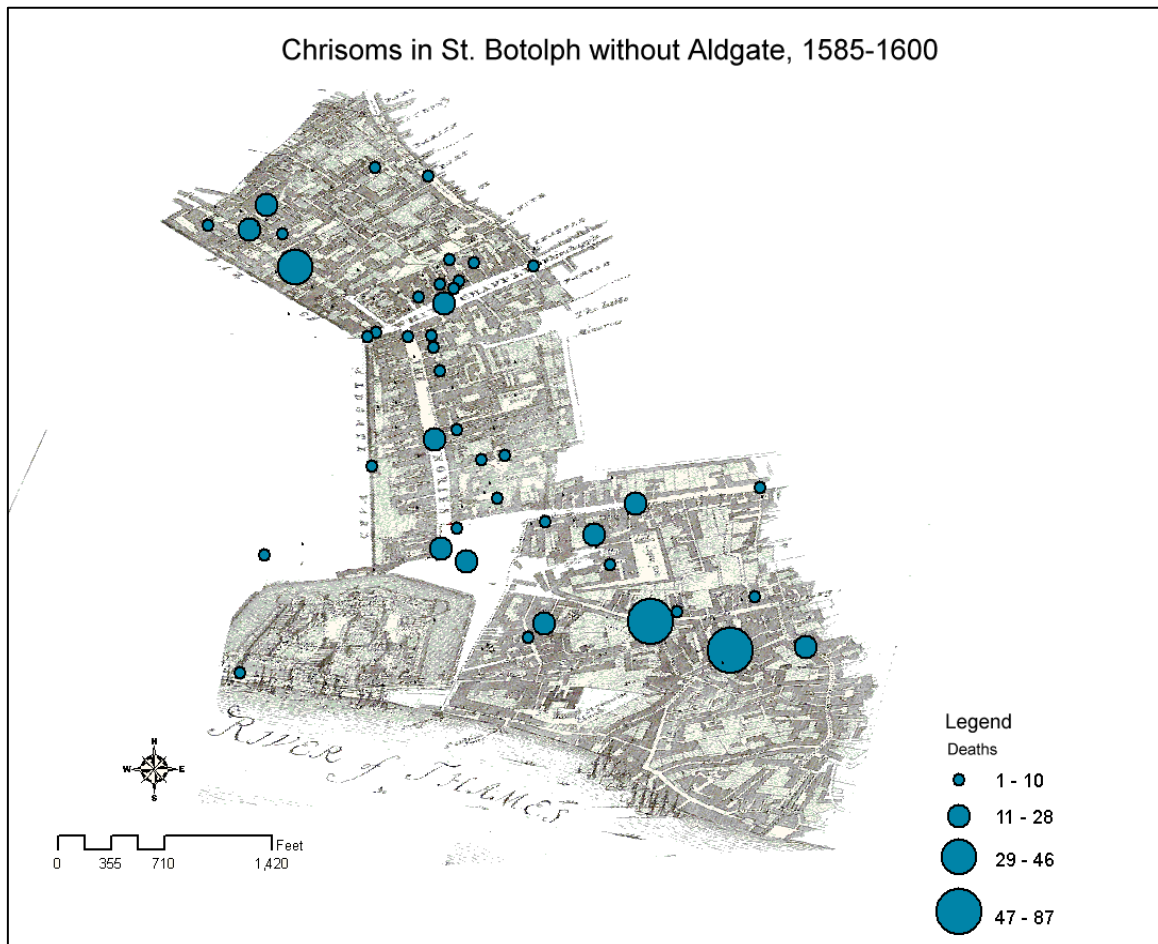cases in High Street, Houndsditch, or the Minories. For the eleven cases listed in the

Figure 5.23 Chrisom deaths, St. Botolph

registers from 1585 to 1600, we have locations for all but one, a nameless Walloon. All the

other victims except for an "old maide" dwelling with Widow Davis in Hogg Lane lived in

alleys. All but three died nameless. Their professions included a feltmaker, a porter, a sailor,

a tapster, and two servants. The tapster, also nameless, had been sent from his master's

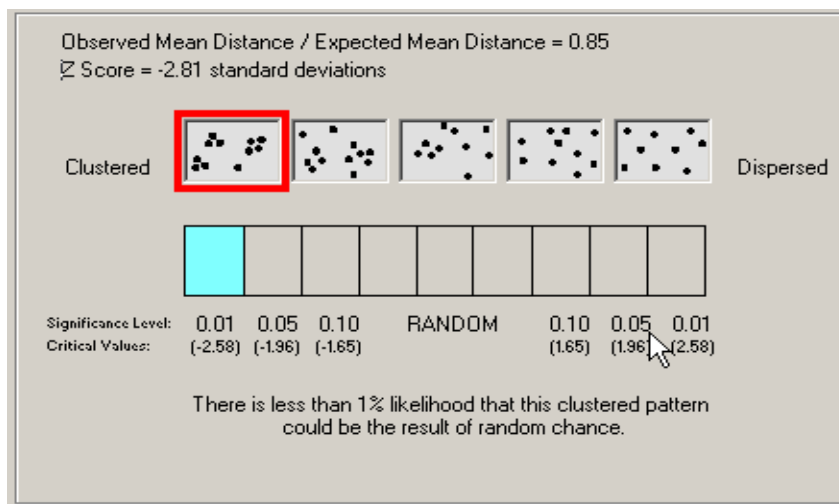tavern, the Sign of the Greyhound in Southwark, to be cured by one Mr. Foster, surgeon, at

Figure 5.24: Clustering of Naïve death locations

the house of Ellen Wryght, widow.[193] Clearly syphilis, even though it ran a much faster and

more lethal course in the sixteenth century and, despite the concern of medical writers, was

not a major killer in this parish or in London as a whole.

While the inner-city parishes examined in comparison to St. Botolph are of limited

utility due to the nature of their records, there is another parish for which mappable

epidemic locations can be determined. This is St. Dunstan in the West, a parish likewise

located outside of the city walls, but in the wealthier west end. What can we learn from an

examination of this parish's records? Champion has concluded that, by 1665, most of the

plague deaths are found in the back alleys and courts. While many of the deaths in 1625 are

as well, we should be careful in defining "most." Figure 5.28 shows large concentrations of
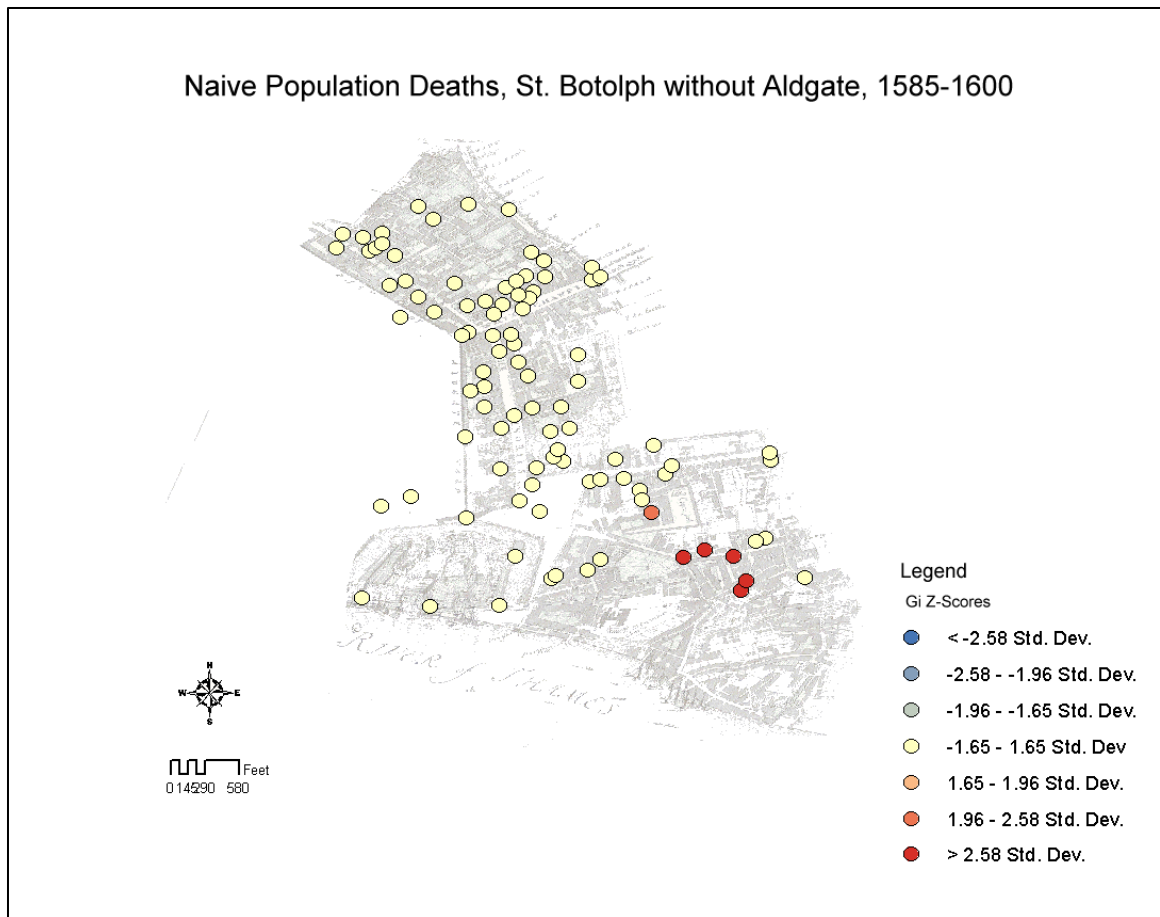
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[193] P69/BOT2/A/002/MS09221.

Figure 5.25: Hot Spot Analysis of Naive Deaths, St. Botolph

plague deaths in the White Friars, a former monastic holding and city liberty known by this

time to house "the meaner sort." A few other tenements and alleys likewise show large

concentrations. But many deaths are found along main streets such as Fleet Street and

Fetter Lane as well. It should be mentioned that we cannot claim this is a division between

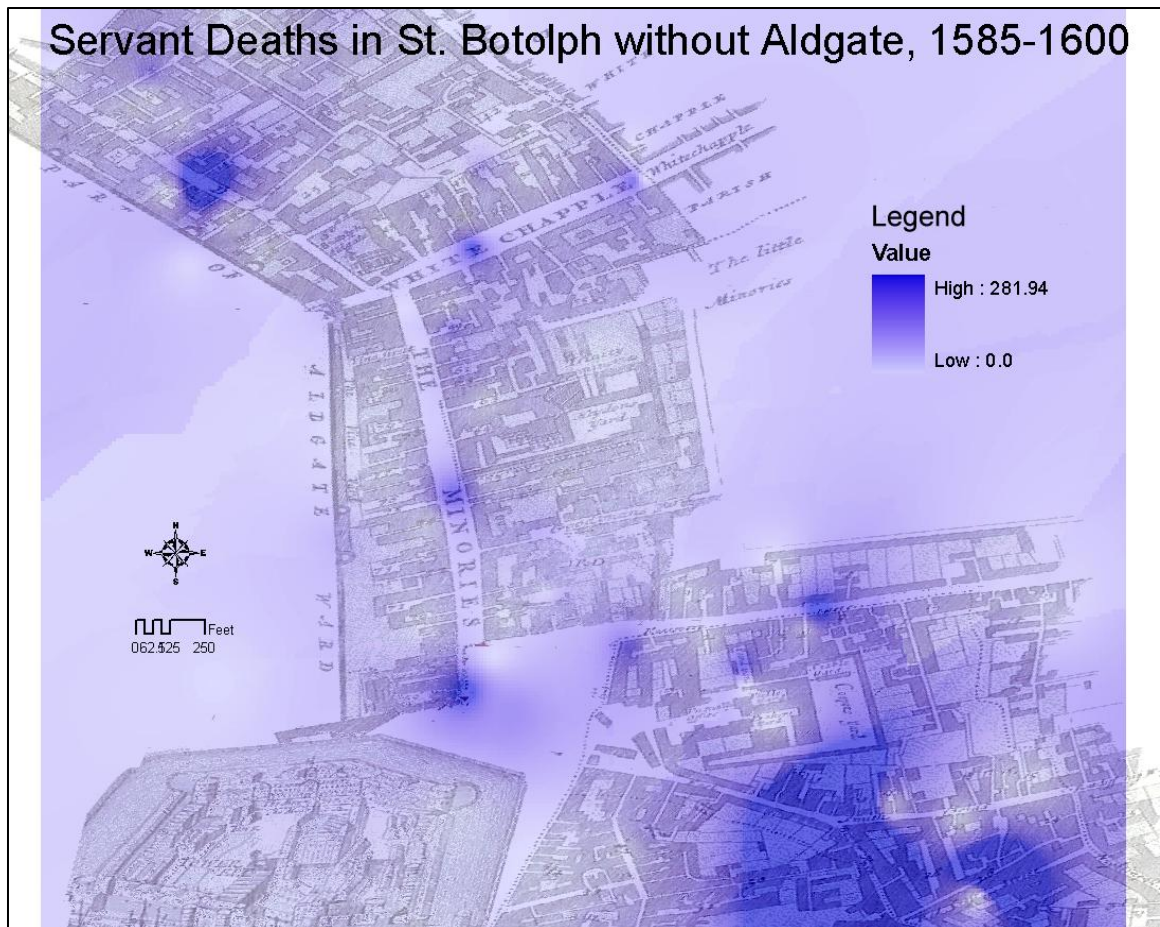the rich and the poor. As was noted for St. Botolph, skilled tradesmen lived in the alleys as

Figure 5.5: Calculated Surface for Naive Deaths, St. Botolph

well as on the main streets. The reverse is true as well, as Boulton notes. The

concentrations of wealth and poverty were uneven and the rich might live steps away from

the poor.[194]

Examining the numbers behind the map images is profitable as well. Counting the

total numbers of map-locatable deaths from plague during the 1625 epidemic reveals 749

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[194] Jeremy Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 179.
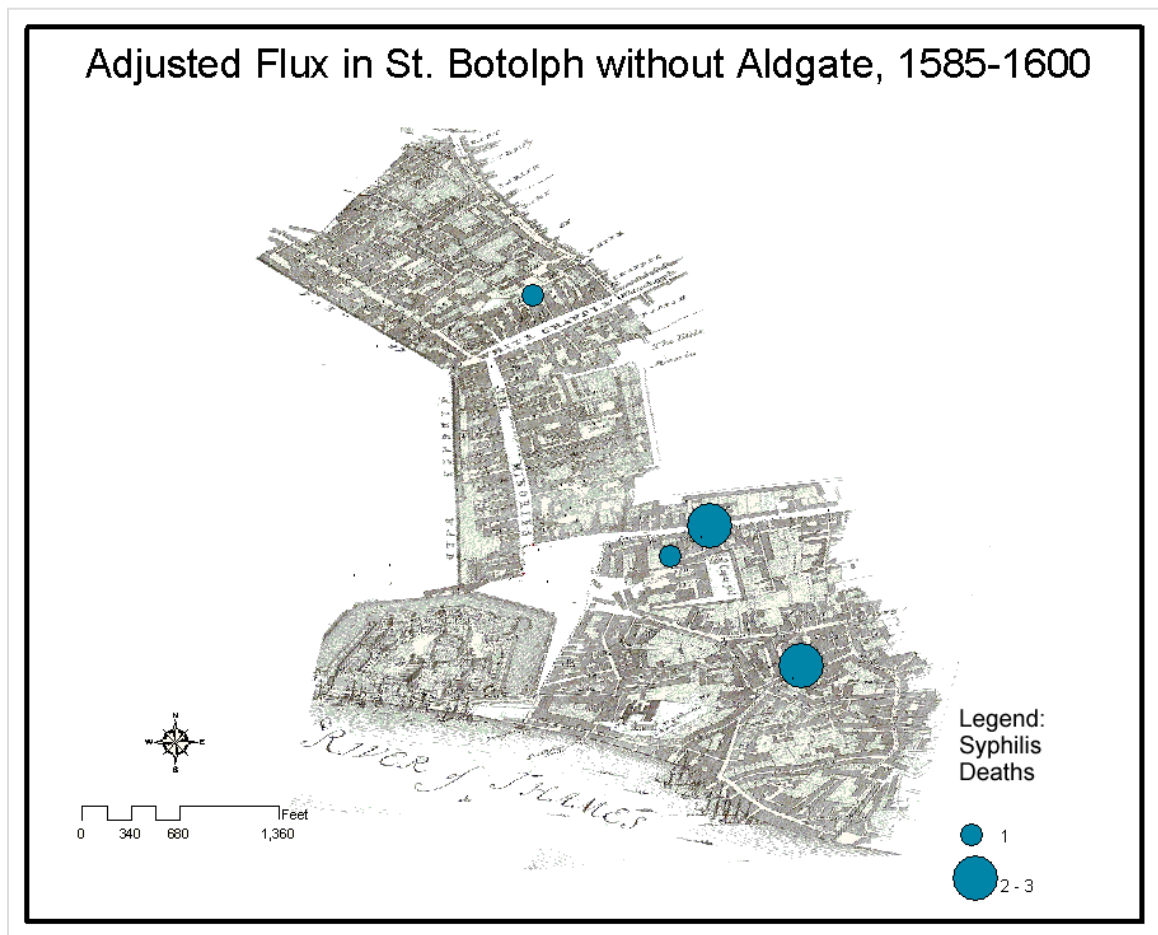
Figure 5.27 Syphilis cases in St. Botolph

total deaths, of which 489 occurred in back-alley locations and 260 occurred on main

thoroughfares. Thus 34.7 percent of the plague deaths occurred in homes, tenements, and

shops along the main streets while 65.3 percent occurred in the "pestered alleys." It should

be noted that it is difficult to estimate the relative population density of the main streets and

back alleys. We know from the hearth taxes discussed previously that the average resident of
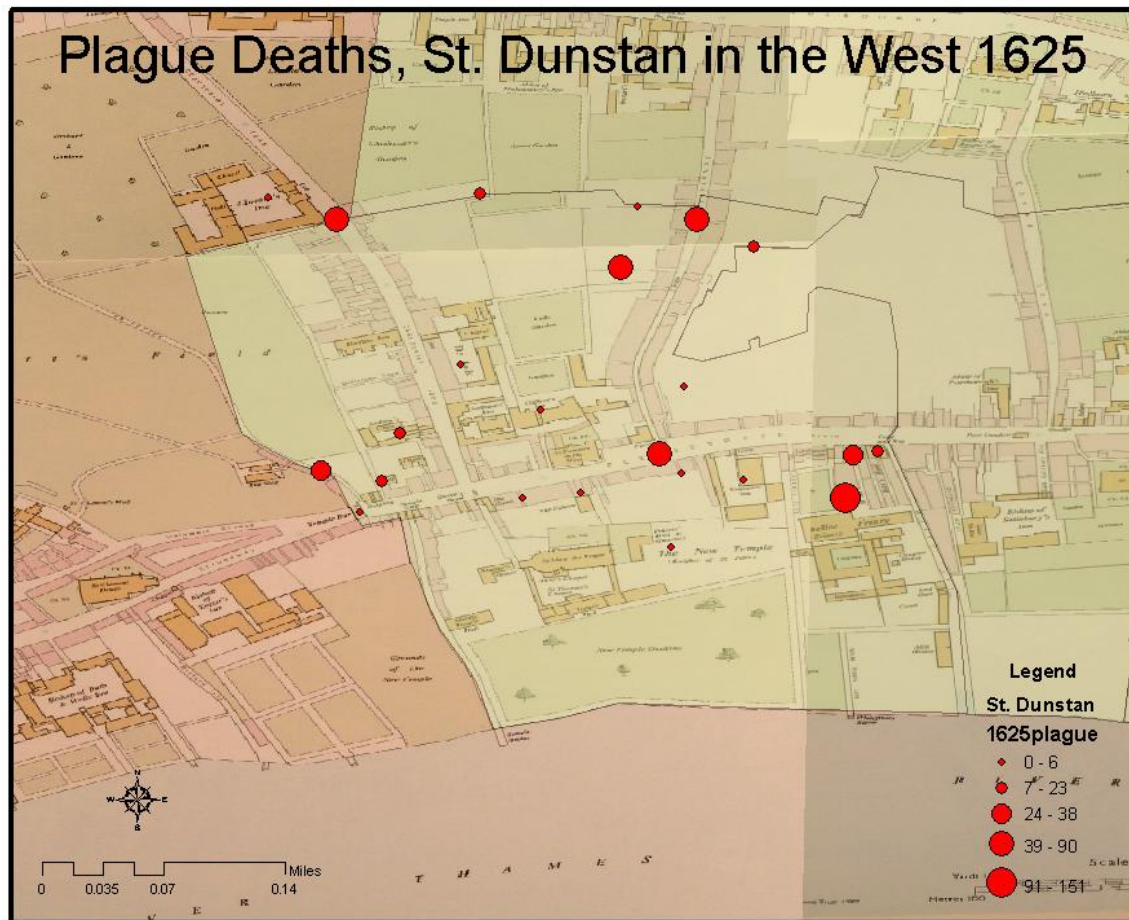
Figure 5.28: Plague Deaths in St. Dunstan in the West, 1625

the alleys lived in a smaller dwelling than his wealthy neighbor. However, the wealthy

householder in his five or six hearth home would have more servants and apprentices.

Stow,Wallington, and other contemporary writers refer to these alleys as crowded, but

without more research into Parliamentary land surveys and other sources beyond the scope

of this project, we cannot know how *much* more crowded. While we know the poor lived in

houses with only two or three hearths, rather than their wealthier neighbors whose homes

had six or seven, we also know wealthier families typically had more servants and more

surviving children. The presence of *multiple* families with multiple occupations who travelled
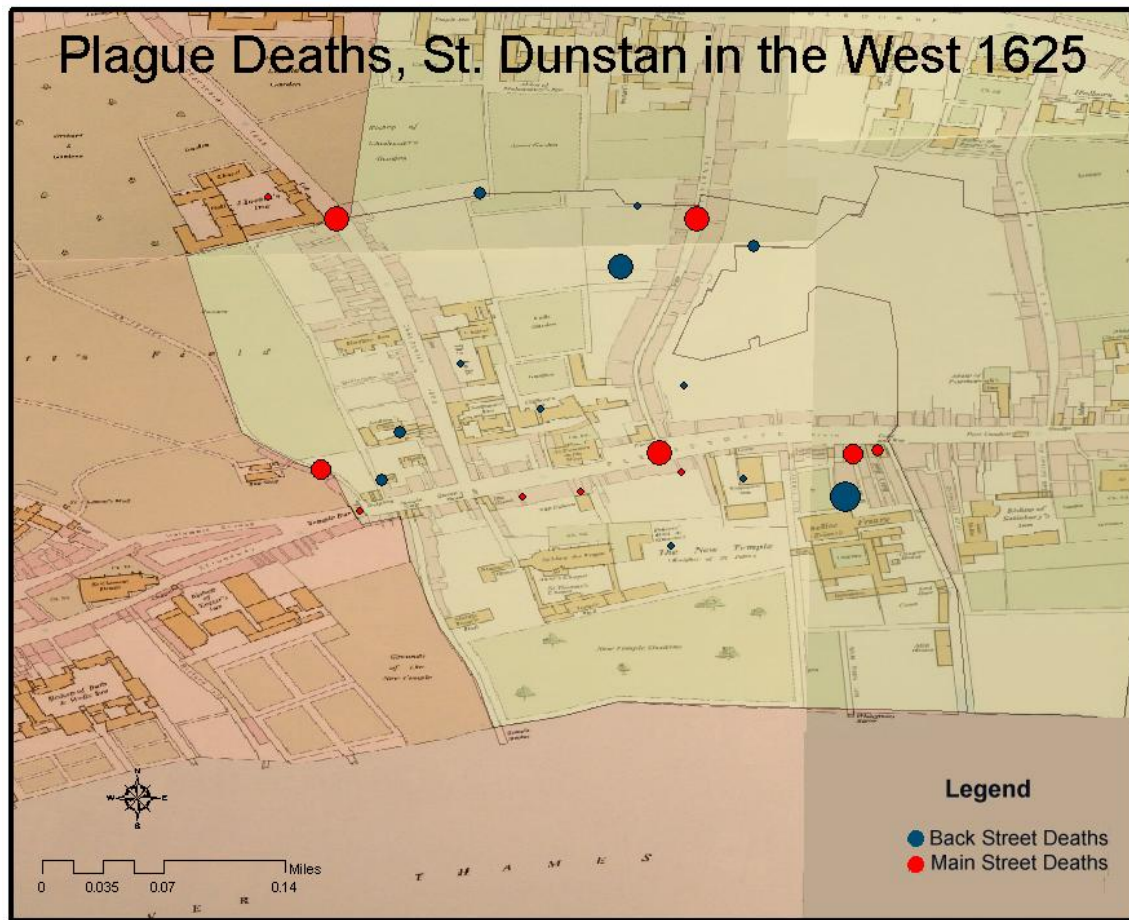
Figure 5.29: Back Alley v. Main Street Plague Deaths in St. Dunstan in the West, 1625.

 to many diverse areas of the city every day may be more significant than physical crowding.

These percentages are very similar to what we will see for all diseases a quarter century

earlier in St. Botolph without Aldgate. Both the wealthier west end parish and the poorer

east end parish suffer from similar distributions of mortality.

St. Dunstan also provides us with an excellent opportunity to examine the spread of

disease within families. It is smaller than St. Botolph and experienced about two-thirds the

number of plague deaths in 1625 that St. Botolph did in 1693. This makes it feasible to track

the deaths within families. The parish registers contain 646 records of plague deaths for which the victim is named. From this list, we can derive 390 individual family names. For this analysis, I considered people who shared a last name to be members of the same family only if they *also* lived in the same location. Minor changes in spelling (Roberts v. Robarts) were not considered significant. Of those 390 families, 103 had more than one death. In those families with more than one death, the average number of deaths was 2.41 deaths per family, generally all children. While not absolutely conclusive, the fact that over 25 percent of families who had deaths from plague had *multiple* deaths suggests that the disease was transmitted within the household and not acquired each time from an external location.

The St. Dunstan registers indicate if a victim was a servant but do not consistently list the individual's master. When the master's name is given, we can identify the household to which the servant belonged. Twelve servants who died of plague can be so identified as members of the 103 families above. Considering their deaths within the families raises the average deaths per household to 2.51. I performed a matched pairs t-test to determine if the difference between these two means is statistically significant.[195] The null hypothesis states that the means deaths per family from the 103 households included in the sample is not significantly different. The resulting p-value of 0.0003538 indicated that the null hypothesis can be rejected with an extremely low probability of error. In other words, we can the null hypothesis and conclude that the two means are significantly different with only a .03

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[195] The dataset has a non-Gaussian (non-normal) distribution. However, Motulsky states that for large sample sets with greater than 24 data points in each group, parametric tests are robust enough to compensate for a non-normal distribution. Harvey Motulsky, *Intuitive Biostatistics*, First ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 297.

percent chance of error.[196] Servant deaths did significantly increase the deaths per family of
plague.

Creating Boundaries of Health and Disease

From the above discussion, it should become evident that if vice was difficult to
segregate within the city, it was even more difficult to segregate the sick from the well. Some
attempts seem to have been successful. The limiting of plague in St. Olave's Hart street to
one family of foreigners is a clear example of successful quarantine. Smallpox, which
coursed through St. Botolph in 1635, did not reach the inner city. Cases of syphilis, which
spread through sexual contact, were limited to the alleys and courts. But in many cases,
quarantine failed and disease spread through the parishes and city at large.

When disease did break out of the "pestered alleys," we have seen that its initial
victims were often servants and children. Quarantines did not end at the edges of the alleys
and yards of London's parishes. Servants and even the family's children were expelled from
their households when they became ill. Dekker's moving description of the servant half-
dead from the arrows of pestilence has been mentioned above, but we do not need to rely
solely on literary sources to reveal the fate of these quarantined household members. The
St. Botolph registers are full of those who died isolated in garden houses.[197]

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[196] The test was performed using R version 2.13.0.

[197] A garden house can be any small dwelling situated in a yard or garden. Fancier ones were used as summer retreats for the well-to-do, but they could be small and ramshackle as well.
Oxford English Dictionary, Second edition, 1989; online version March 2011. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.ccbcmd.edu/Entry/76735>; accessed 28 April 2011.

Of the more than 400 servants in the late sixteenth-century registers for whom locations of death are given, 42 or over ten percent had been sent away from their masters' homes. In some cases, the master apparently took concern to lodge them with a physician. Mr. Rawlins sent 14-year-old Michael George to "lye at fizike" at the house of Widow hill, a broker in Houndsditch.[198] Tailor Richard Bucklie sent his servants, 21-year-old Richard Emerson and 14-year-old Rowland, to the house of Peter Chamberlin, a surgeon near Hogg Lane. Most masters simply lodged their servants in a garden house with no mention of medical care. And in some cases, servants were simply expelled from the household. Philip Navin, aged 16, was "suffered to go abroad in the street and being near his end was charitablie taken into the howse or shop of Danyell Baldgay, parishioner dwelling in the precinct as we go towards Tower Hill."

We can see the spread of plague beyond the alleys numerically as well as visually. In all the cases the ratio is approximately two to one. Two people die in the back alleys for each one who died on a main thoroughfare.

Table 5.1: Deaths in St. Botolph without Aldgate, late 16th century				
Disease	Main Streets	Back Streets	Total Deaths	Ratio Main/Back
Plague	260	489	749	34.7% / 65.3%
Smallpox	35	69	104	33.6% / 66.4%
Flux	42	88	130	32.3% / 67.7%
Total	337	646	983	34.3% / 65.7%

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[198] P69/BOT2/A/002/MS09221. Emerson died 1 December 1593 of plague. Rowland (no last name noted) died of plague 5 December 1593. George died on 20 April 1596 of consumption. Navin died of unknown causes on 22 February 1596/7.

The numbers change, however, when only servants are examined. Of 406 servant deaths that could be located on the map, 166 occurred on main street locations while 240 occurred in the back alleys. In other words, 40.9 percent of servant deaths occurred in those main street homes and businesses where the "better sort" were more likely to live. Only 59.1 percent occurred in the back alleys and cramped tenements. A simple chi-squared test can be done to compare the expected numbers of deaths based on the overall ratio of diseases shown in Table 5.1. We would expect 34.3 percent of the 406 servants (or 140) to have died at main-street locations. The chi-squared test, for which the formula is $\chi^2 = \frac{(0-E)^2}{E}$ where O is the observed value and E is the expected value, yields a χ^2 value of 7.816. This value is statistically significant at a probability level of 0.01. In other words, we have less than a one percent chance of being incorrect if we reject the null hypothesis that the two distributions of deaths are the same. Servants died at an increased rate from main street locations. This is not unexpected since larger numbers of servants and apprentices working for wealthy households. However, it confirms that the fears of such householders were well founded. They were well aware that the servants who formed a significant portion of their household were vulnerable and could introduce disease into the home.[199]

Narrative sources reveal some of the same concerns. Nehemiah Wallington's journals give us a glimpse into the fear the masters of these servants must have felt. When his servant Marie drops his son Samuel, Wallington record that he "fell into a very strong

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[199] The Chi Squared test can also be done using the observed and expected numbers of servant deaths from the back alleys. Using these numbers produces an even lower χ^2 value of 2.73.

feete [fit] of the convoltion which put us into greate feare."[200] He is likewise apprehensive

when his maid Ruth "feels a pricking in her necke, which words put us all in feare..."[201]

Shortly thereafter, his daughter fell sick and died. Samuel Pepys expresses similar fears. On

13 September 1666, he visits one of his lovers, Mrs. Bagwell, but "was not a little fearfull of

what she told me but now, which is, that her servant was dead of the plague."[202] She had re-

whitened the walls of the house as a precaution. The previous August during the height of

the epidemic he records that a "mayde servant of Mr. John Wright's… falling sick of the

plague, she was removed to an out-house, and a nurse appointed to look to her; who, being

once absent, the mayde got out of the house at the window, and run away."[203] The girl was

eventually corralled and sent to one of London's few pest houses. In the Bridewell records,

one Ursley Wildman was charged by one Mrs. Pateson for reporting that Pateson was "full

of the poctes [pox] and that she would fill all of [her master's] children if she did not toce

[toss] the said Pateson out of her house."[204] Rumors of sickness were enough to cause a

servant or lodger to be expelled.

Children too were occasionally sent out of the house. Excluding nursed infants from

other parishes and vagrant children, just over one percent of deceased children between the

ages of one and 16 in the parish were cared for outside of the home during their final illness.

Unlike the servants, these children are often noted to have been "long sick" before their

deaths. Presumably then, fear of infection was second in the parent's mind to their ability to

[200] Wallington, *Notebooks*, 69.
[201] Ibid., 59.
[202] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 13 June 1666.
[203] Ibid., 3 August, 1665.
[204] B.C.B. 4 fo. 86.

care for the child. Where plague was concerned, parents seem to have been more likely to send healthy children away to the country to avoid infection. The character of Civis in Bullein's *Dialog* notes that he has sent his children away.[205] Samuel Pepys also tells the tale of a saddler who, having lost all but one child to the plague, endeavored to save the last by having it "received stark-naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it (having put it into new fresh clothes) to Greenwich."[206]

The question remains as to why disease spread through the alleys as it did. To what extent was the path of plague or smallpox or measles limited by social behavior, by the need for the poor to take in boarders, or the enforcement of quarantines by the "better sort?" When Slack and Champion asked this question about the plague, their ability to answer it was limited by what we know of the disease. Research discussed above supports the idea that outbreaks of "plague" were not due (or not due solely) to *Yersinia pestis*, or htat if *Y. pestis* was the primary agent, it was a form (pneumonic or septicemic) that spread directly person-to-person. Thus the arguments that rats more frequently inhabited the homes of the poor or that the poor bathed less often and therefore had more fleas are potentially irrelevant and only add to the confusion.

One possible answer to this question may be found instead in the behavior of smallpox. As noted above, smallpox spread through St. Botolph in a manner similar to that of plague. Like plague, it spread person-to-person. Like plague, in the sixteenth century the evidence above suggests it struck the poor more than the wealthy. However, its modus

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[205] Bullein, *Dialog against the Feuer Pestilence*, 2.
[206] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 3 September 1665.

operandi apparently changed significantly in the mid- to late sixteenth century. Then it escaped the alleys and became a disease of the rich, killing and disfiguring their sons and daughters.

The word apparently is the key here. There is no objective evidence from records of the disease itself that later outbreaks became "more malignant than any that have reigned in my remembrance."[207] An account of the disease by the Persian physician Razes (850-925) is remarkably similar to that of seventeenth-century physician Thomas Sydenham.[208] Both describe the raised rash, fever, back pain, and "thickened saliva."[209] The disease was just as lethal in centuries past as well. Based on the writings of Galen and later physicians, the Antonine Plague is believed to have been smallpox.[210] This outbreak, in the second century A.D., was severe enough to cause difficulties in meeting the military requirements of the Roman Empire.[211] In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours also wrote about the disease and its characteristic "white, hard and unyielding" vesicles.[212] Nor did the lethality of *Variola major* (the standard form) among unvaccinated populations change significantly during modern times, although the percentage of cases classified as flat or black pox have varied as noted above. While some diseases weaken, the durable nature of the pox virus means it does not need to depend on the walking sick to spread itself from victim to victim.[213]

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[207] The unknown author of *The Charitable Pestmaster*, quoted in Anselment, "Smallpox," 4.

[208] Hopkins, *The Greatest Killer*, 167. For Sydenham, see Sydenham, *The Works of Thomas Sydenham*.

[209] Hopkins, *The Greatest Killer*, 167.

[210] R. J Littman and M. L. Littman, "Galen and the Antonine Plague," *American Journal of Philology* 94, no. 3 (1973): 244, passim.

[211211] J. F. Gilliam, "The Plague under Marcus Aurelius," *American Journal of Philology* 83, no. 3 (1961): 249.

[212] Hopkins, *The Greatest Killer*. 24.

[213] Alan Zellicoff and Michael Bellomo, *Microbe: Are We Ready for the Next Plague?* (New York: Amacom, 2005), 117.

Some authors have speculated that a more severe form of the disease simply did not reach England until the mid-sixteenth century. However, this too is unlikely. There are two English manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries that include prayers against smallpox.[214] Moreover, the English had regular contact with the continent, and the incubation period of 12-14 was days sufficient to allow an infected individual to travel across the channel.[215] In addition, the virus itself is large, stable, and capable of surviving in fomites for days, weeks, or even years.[216]

This leaves social changes in the way smallpox was treated as the reason for its apparent intensifying. The timing of the rise of smallpox with the decline of the plague is too close to be coincidental. We know it was possible to confuse the various "speckled diseases" and also that the plague was the subject of intense quarantine efforts. It is also possible that at least some cases of "plague" were in fact hemorrhagic pox. It seems likely that once plague epidemics vanished and smallpox was no longer in danger of being confused with the other pestilence, intense quarantines of "speckled diseases" declined and the pox had greater access to residents of wealthier neighborhoods.

If true, this lends credence to Champion's suggestion that social measures were behind the general poverty of plague victims. If "plague" was indeed at least partially caused by a viral disease, considerations of the rat population and hygiene of homes becomes less significant. However, quarantining poorer neighborhoods and expelling sick servants, while

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[214] Hopkins, *The Greatest Killer*, 101.
[215] Ryan and Ray, *Medical Microbiology*, 527.
[216] Zellicoff and Bellomo, *Microbe*, 117.

not completely constraining either the plague or smallpox, did seem to limit their effects on the "better sort."

Conclusions

Clearly, people feared disease. This fear is evident in both emic and etic sources. Some towns experienced riots when the plague broke out. Sermons praying for relief were read at parish churches throughout England. Families fled the city when they had warning of pestilence on the rise and quarantined those who became infected. Literature is full of stories and sermons designed to keep the morale of Londoners up during epidemics. Readers of medical manuals were urged to "govern thee well and wisely" as the household manuals would likewise encourage them to govern their homes.[217]

We have seen, however, that good governance of the household would not guarantee that it was spared. Plague, smallpox, and flux all struck wealthy and poor homes alike. While more cases were reported from the back alleys, this may in part have been due to their higher populations. Certainly, even if the poor were more vulnerable, the "better sort" were not immune. Even if we were to assume that the poor died in higher proportions, their residences were close enough to the main-street dwellings of the wealthy that some exposure was inevitable.

Good governance of the *self* would have to serve during times of epidemic, for the health of the home was exactly what could *not* be governed. The expulsion of servants and comments about servants infecting children show they were aware that the young and

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[217] Moulton, "Plague Remedy," 9.

immunologically naïve were the most vulnerable. An understanding of germ theory is not

necessary to observe that servants and children are the most frequent victims of disease.

Sinful behavior was also feared to bring disease, and the consequences of this will be

discussed in the following chapter.

Nothing, not prayers, fires, quarantines, expensive herbal decoctions, nor the

expulsion of sick servants lowered death rates among children. They remained high

throughout the period regardless of the remedies. Today we have the advantage of knowing

that most illnesses are contagious before severe symptoms set in—an evolutionary necessity

for the organism that causes the illness. A sick person does not travel far and can be

recognized as sick and avoided. So, unless the organism itself has another means of

transmission available to it (fomites, vectors), it must be capable of jumping hosts during the

incubation period, while the patient appears healthy.[218] However, in the late sixteenth and

early seventeenth centuries, the both the causes and etiology of disease were unknown. All a

householder could do was to grieve over the inevitable losses.[219]

Servants were necessary to the early modern household. Servants were often

immunologically naïve and vulnerable to disease. Yet just quarantining or expelling sick

servants did not prevent one's own children from becoming ill. And the deaths of servants

have been shown to be statistically significant to the death rates experienced by Londoners.

This was a fundamental source of stress to the household as evidenced by the comments of

men such as Wallington or Pepys. The boundaries could not be made impermeable.

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[218] Scott and Duncan, *Return of the Black Death*, 141.

[219] Wallington, *Notebooks*, 59.

Chances of illness could be lowered but not eliminated. The household, which was

supposed to be a man's "castle and fortress, as well for defense against injury and violence,

as for his repose," remained vulnerable.[220] How early modern Londoners may have coped

with these stressors will be considered in the following chapter.

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[220] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 2.

Chapter 6

Intersections of Crime and Disease

> It [the wearing of men's clothing] is an infection that emulates the plague and throws itself amongst women of all degrees, all deserts, and all ages; from the Capitol to the Cottage are some spots or swellings of this disease.
> ~ Anon., *Hic Mulier*

The Discussion So Far

The previous chapters have demonstrated that Londoners feared both vice and disease within their city, their parishes and their households. Emic and etic views of crime were further apart than those for disease, with emic views over-emphasizing crime in public commercial spaces and underemphasizing it within the home. Cony-catching pamphlets emphasized the nature of the petty criminal as "the other" rather than a member of the household and community, while plague pamphlets, on the other hand, freely acknowledged the fear of sick servants in London households. Far from being two separate things, however, sin and sickness were viewed in theory as being intimately connected. Sin might not have been seen as the only cause of disease, but it was certainly one of them. Further, it was the metaphor through which the spread of disorder and corruption of all forms could be understood. The question then becomes, to what degree do the mental maps of Londoners manifest this theory in practice?

A quick look at the pamphlet literature makes the cultural relationship between crime, sin, and sickness clear. In the *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, Dekker warns the city that "[s]icknes was set to breathe her vnholsome ayres into thy nosthrils, so that thou, that wert

before the only Gallant and Minion of the world, hadst in a short time more diseases (then a common Harlot hath) hanging upon thee."[1] In *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, he tells us that when a whore's "villanies (like a mote about a castle) are rancke, thicke, and muddy, which standing long together, then (to purge herself) is she dreined out of the Suburbes" and into the city itself.[2] The language used here is very similar to that used to describe the draining of a bubo, where "you may apply a vesicatory just underneath [it], that soe the pernicious Ichorous matter may have vent."[3]

Nor is Dekker alone in such language. Dekker's colleague and co-author, Thomas Middleton comments in *A Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinary* that "a harlot's tongue is worse than a plague-sore."[4] Robert Green calls cross-biting (the blackmailing of johns who seek sex with a prostitute) "most pestilent."[5] And Samuel Rowlands, beyond telling the reader of "Taffity Queanes, and fine light silken Whores/That haue the gift of pox in their own pores,"[6] has a grasping gossip speak,

[1] Thomas Dekker, "The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London: Drawen in Seuen Seuerall Coaches, through the Seuen Seueral Gates of the Citie Bringing the Plague with Them.," in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Alexander Grossart, Rev. (The Huth Library of Elizabethan-Jacobean Antique or Very Rare Books in Verse and Prose, 1606, reprinted 1885), 12.

[2] ———, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, Temple Classics (Temple Classics, 1608, reprinted 1904), 243.

[3] William Boghurst, ed. *Loimographia: An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665* (London: Shaw and Sons,1665, reprinted 1894), 87.

[4] Thomas Middleton, "The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinary; or, the Walks in Paul's," in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 191.

[5] Robert Greene, "A Notable Discouery of Coosnage," in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, ed. Alexander Grossart, Rev. (The Huth Library of Elizabethan-Jacobean Antique or Very Rare Books in Verse and Prose, 1591, reprinted 1881), 44.

[6] Samuel Rowlands, "A Whole Crew of Kind Gossips, All Met to Be Merry," in *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, 1598-1628*, ed. Edmund and Hervon Gosse, Sidney John (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1609, reprinted 1880), 18.

> Then laying open to him hir disease,
> She told him that her onely griefe of mind
> Proceeded from hard vsage she did find:
> For other women (to her extreame care)
> Were full of Money, when her purse was bare.[7]

Moreover, it is not just prostitution that is associated with disease, although, thanks to the arrival of syphilis, it is perhaps the most obvious connection. In the *Seuen Deadly Sinnes*, Dekker discusses lying, saying that,

> Thou doost lye with sundrie others, and committest strange whoredomes, which by vse and boldnesse growe so common, that they seeme to be no whoredomes at all, Yet thine owne abhominations would not appeare so vilely, but that thou makest thy buildings a Brothelry to others… So that now shee is full of diseases.[8]

Dishonest speech is the equivalent of dishonestly lying with whores, who paint their faces and dress as if they were wholesome virgins.

Dekker's association of lying with whoredom brings forth another key part of the pattern. One of the significant destructive elements of both crime and sickness was deceit. Not only did cony-catchers disguise themselves as good citizens, good citizens, wives and servants participated in crime. The stricken hid their symptoms and disposed of sick servants in the middle of the night, and as evidenced by Donne's poem, people pondered whether health itself existed at all or was illusory.

Another form of deception, women wearing men's clothing, is "an infection that emulates the plague and throws itself amongst women of all degrees, all deserts, and all ages;

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[7] Ibid., 6.

[8] Dekker, "The Seuen Deadly Sinnes," 37.

from the Capitol to the Cottage"[9] Robert Green further exclaims that "these Conny-catchers, these vultures, these fatall Harpies… putrifie with their infections the flourishing estate of England" and notes that picking pockets and cutting purses are "scuruie trades."[10] Crimes, especially those of deceit, are intimately linked with sickness.

Of course, we must wonder the extent to which the use of disease as a metaphor for other sources of chaos and disorder is meaningful. Disease was an ever-present part of life in the early modern world. However, Michele Foucault notes that for thinkers of the early seventeenth century, the goal of scholarship was to record the signs visible in specimens and texts that reflected underlying universal order.[11] All things in the universe are connected. How is man to know the ways in which they are connected? As Foucault notes, we

> might make our way through all this marvelous teeming abundance of resemblances without even suspecting that it has long been prepared by the order of the world, for our greater benefit. In order that we may know that aconite will cure our eye disease, or that ground walnut mixed with spirits of wine will ease a headache, there must of course be some mark that will make us aware of these things: otherwise, the secret would remain indefinitely dormant.[12]

Further, Healy notes, scholars like Thomas Newton hypothesized *literal* transmission routes between the soul and the body:

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[9] Anonymous, *Hic Mulier; or, the Man-Woman: Being a Medicine to Cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers in the Masculine-Feminines of Our Times, Expressed in a Brief Declamation: Non Omnes Possumus Omnes.* (1620).
[10] Robert Greene, "The Second Part of Cony-Catching," in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. , 1591, reprinted 1930), 85, 118.
[11] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Kindle Edition ed. (London: Routledge Classics, 1970), 130.
[12] Ibid., 25.

> for so much as Spirits be without bodies, they slyly and secretly glyde into the
> body of man, even much like as fulsome stench, or as a noysome and ill ayre,
> is inwardly drawen into the body…[13]

Popular plague pamphlets and sermons also make clear that sin and vice were literal causes of disease. Perhaps the most famous of these statements occurs in "T. W." (probably Thomas White)'s 1577 sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross which warns that "a disease is but a sinne, if you looke to it well: and the cause of sinne are playes: therefore the cause of plagues are plays."[14]

Playhouses, as discussed in chapter four, were seen as locations of vice and thievery that corrupted the young. They can also be the agents of God's punishment through the spread of disease. Vicar Henoch Clapham proclaims in 1603 that "[f]amine, sword and pestilence, are a trinitie of punishments prepared of the Lord, for consuming a people that have sinned against him."[15] And William Bullein's *Dialogue on the Feuer Pestilence* is a dissection not only of the physical disease but of the moral disease that accompanies it in the form of greedy magistrates, fleeing merchants, and dishonest doctors.[16]

Medical pamphlets too make clear the literal association between vice and disease. Syphilis is a "testimonye of the iust wrath of God agaynst that filthy sinne, which at this day not onley infecteth Naples, and Fraunce… but increasing yet daylye, spreadeth itselfe

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[13] Margaret Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London," in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. J. A. I. Champion (Center for Metropolitan History, 1993), 25.

[14] Quoted from Paola Pugliatti, *Beggary and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 114.

[15] Healy, "Discourses," 20.

[16] Ibid., 25.

throughout all England."[17] Thomas Lodge defines contagion as "an euil qualitie in a body…

which Almightie God as the rodde of his rigor and iustice, and for the amendment of our

sinnes sendeth downe vppon vs."[18] Further, "the Plague is a manifest signe of the wrath of

God conceiued against vs."[19] Even William Boghurst, whose Loimographia focuses

primarily on observable, physical causes for the plague, advises the reader to

> lett these punishments come when they will though they all waies come
> sooner than they are welcome to us, yett to bee sure wee shall bee ready to
> make way for them by our sinnes and deserts, soe that as from God they are
> always most just.[20]

Even the language of the Bridewell records reveals the connection. Inmates being

transferred from Newgate to Bridewell are often "burnt in the hand" (i.e. branded) to signify

a previous conviction. But both whores and their johns who contact disease through

prostitution are also described as "burnt." In the 1570's, bawd Thomas Wise brought

Elizabeth Cowper to "Senio.r Deprosp[er] and then she burned him."[21] Decades later, in the

1630's, Sara Stacie testifies that one Edward Stiles "had ravished and burnt Mary Crew."[22]

Could "burned" be used in this situation simply to describe the physical effects of

the disease in the sufferer, much as some fevers are called "burning fevers?" This is not

likely. First, other authors have noted the use of the terminology. Jonathan Gil Harris

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[17] William Clowes, *A Briefe and Necessarie Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called Morbus Callicus or Lues Venerea, by Vnctions and Ohter Approoued Waies of Curing Nevvlie Corrected and Augmented by William Clowes of London, Maister in Chiurgerie*, Scanned facimile, Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University ed. (Thomas Cadman of Paul's Churchyard, 1585), 8.

[18] Tomas Lodge, "A Treatise of the Plague," in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge Now First Collected* (Glasgow and London: The Huntarian Club, 1603, reprinted 1883), 13.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Boghurst, ed. *Loimographia: An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665*, 18.

[21] B.C.B. 3 fo. 28.

[22] B.C.B. 7 fo. 333.

suggests that it represents the fiery nature of desire and appetite for sex.[23] Moreover,

medical professionals such as physician William Clowes do not use any words implying

burning in descriptions of the disease's symptoms. Clowes rather describes the disease as

causing

> paines or aches, ulcers, nodes, and foule scabbes, with coruption of the
> bones; the signes and accidents thereof are these, for the most part
> venemous pustles, scabbes upon the fore-head, browes, face and beard, and
> in other partes of the bodie, as about the secret partes … soreness in the
> throate and mouth, & paines in the head, ache in the ioyntes, and about the
> shoulder-blades, hippes, thighes and knees, these paynes afflicting most in
> the night & ceasing in the daye…[24]

Nor does he describe the visible symptoms as burn-like. The sores can be raised and

red if blood is the patient's dominant humor. Otherwise they are "blewe and wan,

with grose matter" or "white, brode and softe."[25] Minister Lancelot Andrews on the

other hand, clearly associates the French Pox with burning as a punishment, in this

case burning to death,

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[23] Jonathan Gil Harris, "'Some Love That Drew Him Oft from Home': Syphilis and International Commerce in *the Comedy of Errors*," in *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, ed. Stephanie Moss and Kaara Peterson, *Literary and Scientific Cultures of Early Modernity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 82.
[24] Clowes, *A Briefe and Necessarie Treatise*, 18.
[25] Ibid.

> For the punishment of it; by the light of Nature it was punisht with Death, the offenders were to be burnt... And because the civil laws of men inflict small punishment for this sin, therefore God himself will punish it, Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge: yea, God will judge it both in the world to come, for the whoremongers are among those that shall have their portion in the fiery Lake; and also in this life, with strange and extraordinary judgements, as Lue Gallica, with the French Pox, an abominable and filthy disease, not heard of in former Ages.[26]

Bringing together the Maps of Crime and Disease

So if "a disease is but a sinne," do the maps of "sick" London match up with those of "sinful" London? Did contemporary Londoners perceive the same locations as sources of both dangers? I will first summarize the evidence presented previously and then examine the correlations between the maps of disease and those of petty crime.

Locations of Disease

With the "morbus gallicus" it is hard to show a connection between locations of reported deaths and locations of reported crimes. There were, as noted in chapter five, few deaths from this disease in London in any given year. Moreover, many were misreported. John Graunt tells us that

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[26] Lancelot Andrews, *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine at Large, or, a Learned and Pious Exposition of the Ten Commandments with an Introduction, Containing the Use and Benefit of Catechizing, the Generall Grounds of Religion, and the Truth of Christian Religion in Particular, Proved against Atheists, Pagans, Jews, and Turks* (London: Early English Books Online, 1650; reprint, Electronic scan of the copy at the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery), 449.

all mentioned to die of the French Pox were returned by the Clerks of St. Giles's and Saint Martin's in the Fields onely, and most miserable houses of uncleanness were: from whence I concluded, that only hated persons and such, whose very Noises were eaten of, were reported by the Searchers to have died of this too frequent Maladie.[27]

Even those who died in hospitals like St. Thomas's were returned as having died from "Ulcers and Sores."[28]

This concern with being diagnosed with the disease is shown in Pepys' diary as well. When Samuel's brother Tom is deathly sick with an unknown illness, Pepys takes care to disprove any thought that it might be syphilis: "…the Doctor and I having… by ourselves searched my brother again at his privities, where he was as clear as ever he was born, and in the Doctor's opinion had been ever so…"[29] Incongruously, while he doesn't mind searching his dying brother's "privities," Pepys leaves later that night so as not to have to watch him in his final hours.

The parish registers of St. Botolph's without Aldgate do not provide much more detail. The registers show only eleven deaths from French pox over fifteen years from 1585-1600 (figure 6.1). What these few records do reveal is not inconsistent with Graunt's assessment, however. With the exception of an abandoned infant who doubtless caught the disease from her mother, the victims are all adults between the ages of twenty and sixty. Three of these are strangers, two vagrants from elsewhere in England and a Walloon. The others include a porter, a feltmaker, a sailor, a tapster, two servants and a midwife who was

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[27] John Graunt, "Observations on the Bills of Mortality," In *John Graunt Home Page*, ed Ed Stephan. (Neonatology on the Web, 1996), www.neonatology.org/pdf/graunt.pdf, 24.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed Phil Gyford. http://www.pepysdiary.com, 15 March 1663/4.
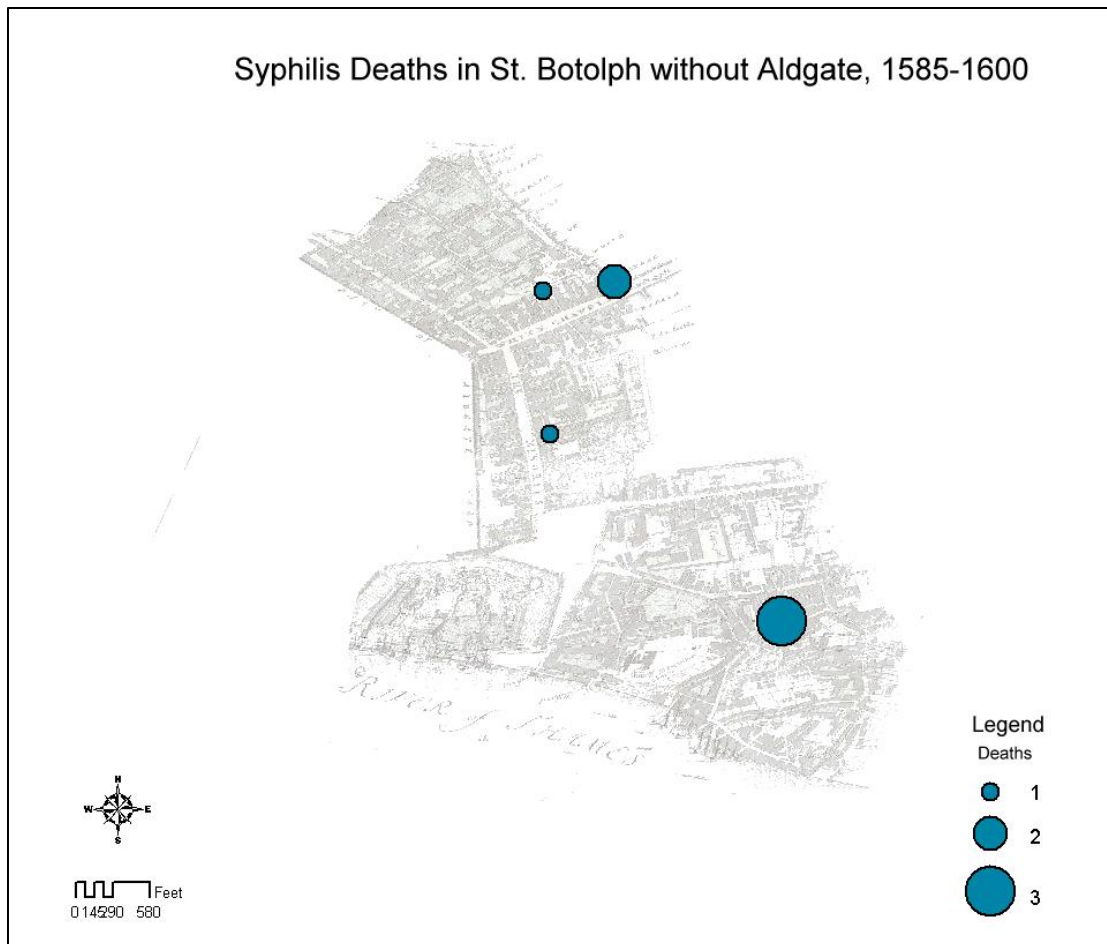
Figure 6.1: Syphilis in St. Botolph's

the wife of a laborer. One of the servants worked for a clothmaker, the other a gunsmith.

None of these people was particularly near the top (or even the middle) of the social

hierarchy. As shown in chapter five, the locations where these deaths occurred are all in the

back alleys and yards of the parish, namely Hogg lane (East Smithfield), Swan alley, Black

Bull alley, and Pond alley.

While it might at first seem notable that none of the St. Botolph's cases is referred to

as "whores" or "bawds" or "lewd," that language is not found elsewhere in the St. Botolph's

records either. People with no set place in the parish hierarchy will be noted as vagrants or as "no parishioner." Baseborn children are noted as such. The most condemning statement given about the decedents is that they "went a gooding [gadding]" in the streets. So it is not surprising that none of the victims of syphilis was referred to as a "whore," but given that several of them were servants or "vagrant," they may well have participated in London's economy of prostitution.

The Bridewell records have their share of diseased "foul" defendants, of course. There are a handful of foul, "pockey" or burned prostitutes and johns in each sample. The greatest number, twelve, are found in the 1597 sample. Plotting all the locations where diseased prostitutes or their clients lived or met for "business" on the map of London reveals that the majority of the cases for which we have locations are found in the suburbs. Of the six cases within the city proper, however, three occur in areas of relative prosperity. These are also, of course, areas with markets and businesses, namely Cheapside and the area around St. Paul's Cathedral (figure 6.2). The places where cases of syphilis are "discouered" in the city are those same markets and public spaces which the rogue pamphlet writers vociferously complain about. Only two people were brought in from poorer, more industrial St. Botoloph without Aldgate, even though parish records tell us that five residents actually died of the disease in the last few years of the sixteenth century.

Syphilis is also considered evidence of criminal activity by the Bridewell Governors. While syphilitics were not punished more harshly than the healthy, the governors note their condition in deciding guilt to begin with. Much like a woman who claimed to be a virgin but

was found "light," a defendant who claimed to be healthy but was proven "foul" was

presumed guilty. In November of 1576, John Duggen was sent to Bridewell to be punished

because he had "the Great Disease."[30] Decades later in 1634/35, Katherine Chappell was

punished "for a lewd woman inticing servants and app[re]ntices to com[m]it filthiness and

for infecting Richard Crowch servant to Mr Foster… with the fowle disease."[31] Moreover,

the language of the records shows that disease itself is directly connected to its source.

Thomas Cole, who was presented and punished for fornication, was "deceased *with harlots* by

his evil life."[32] Jane Trosse was "diseased of her bodye *w[i]th lewde lyfe*."[33]

When disease did strike in the wealthy inner city parishes, at first blush it seems less

of a threat to the wealthy. Syphilis was believed to be a disease associated with sexual

promiscuity. The chaste and godly, in theory, had no need to fear it. We have seen that the

same is true for *reported* cases of syphilis as well, although there was clearly motivation for the

"better sort" to conceal the illness.

A more thorough comparison can be made with plague. It was believed at the time to affect

the crowded back allies most severely. As Boghurst described, the plague struck down

"those living as many familyes in a house; living in cellars; [in] want of… good fires, good

dyett, washing, want of good conveyances of filth; standing and stinking waters…"[34]

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[30] B.C.B. 3 fo. 84. Emphasis mine.
[31] B.C.B. 8 fo. 23. Emphasis mine.
[32] B.C.B. 3 fo. 191.
[33] B.C.B. 3 fo. 204.
[34] Boghurst, ed. *Loimographia: An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665*, 17.
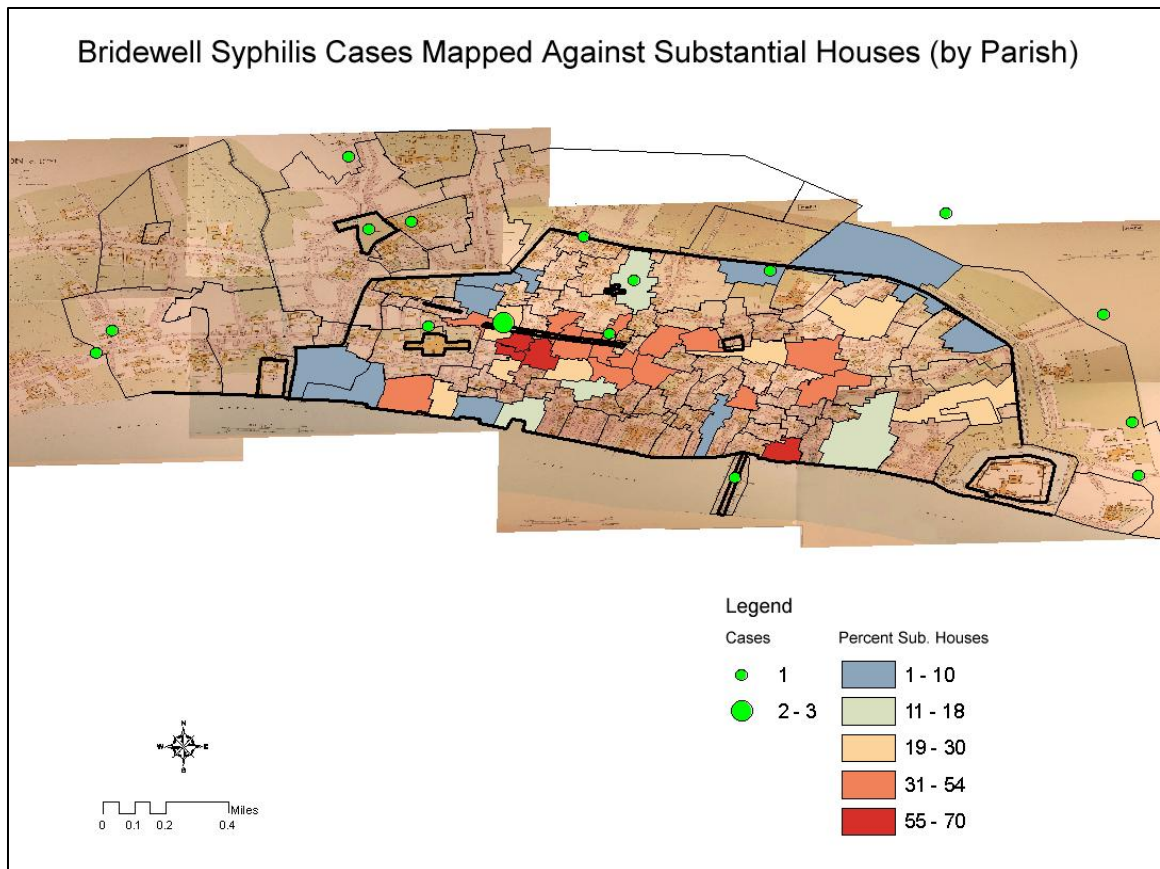
Figure 6.2: Bridewell Syphilis Cases mapped over plot of Substantial Houses

Reported deaths support contemporary published preconceptions. Nehemiah Wallington takes pain to note that during an epidemic, "three score children died out of one alley and thirty out of another alley."[35]

These observations too have been confirmed by modern researchers as well. Justin Champion notes that in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, an "imbalanced distribution of death hit the poorer areas of Whitefriars and The Rolls much harder than the more affluent St. Dunstan" and "smaller and poorer properties like Whites Alley, Fetter Lane, and

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[35] Nehemiah Wallington, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection*, ed. David Booy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 58.

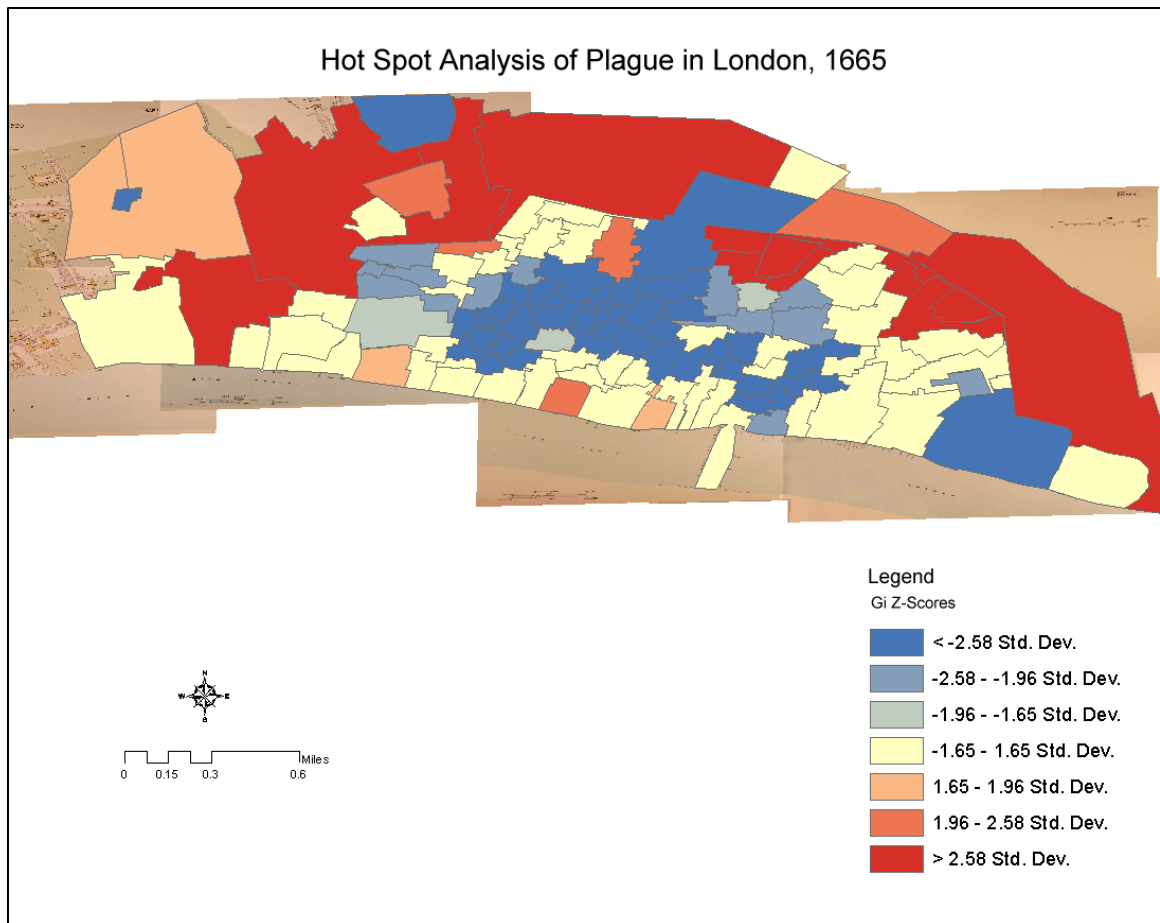**Figure 6.3: Plague Hot spots of 1665, CMRs, from Champion**

Cock and Key Alley all exhibit a high proportion of plague mortality."[36] As noted in chapter

five, data from St. Botolph without Aldgate also shows that diseases typically start in the

back alleys of Houndsditch and cramped tenements of East Smithfield. The largest number

of deaths remains concentrated there as the epidemic expands.

The most well documented epidemic to strike London was that of 1665. The Bills

of Mortality exist for this outbreak and have been used by historians to paint a citywide

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[36] J. A. I Champion, "Epidemics and the Built Environment in 1665," in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. J. A. I Champion, *Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1993), 47.

picture of the deaths. This distribution was illustrated previously in figure 5.3. The

distribution can be made even more visually clear by calculating the hot spots for plague in

London (figure 6.3). Hot spot analysis converts the data to standard deviations above or

below the mean, based on the prevalence of the studied event in that locale.[37] This plague

map shows mortality in standard deviations above and below the mean for the 1665

epidemic. On the surface, what Londoners believed to be true about the disease is reflected

in modern analysis. It struck the suburbs (both east and west) more severely than the city

center. Riverside parishes with their trade and markets also suffer, but there is no hot spot

of plague near St. Paul's, the Shambles, or any of the other markets within the western city

walls. Thus, we see a correlation of plague with poverty, but not with public, mercantile

spaces as we saw with crime in chapter four.

A comparison to the city's most prosperous parishes reveals the same pattern. In

6.4, the data for percentage of substantial houses (wealth) and crisis mortality ratio have been

subjected to a hot spot analysis. The substantial house maps show wealth in standard

deviations above the mean. While these maps 6.3 and 6.4 are not precise inverses, a

correlation is visually obvious. Again, the correlation is with poverty and the suburbs in

general, but not with any specific public areas. An Ordinary Least Squares Regression run

on the data likewise suggests that parish wealth negatively corresponds to the presence of

plague.[38]

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[37] See the Appendix for more information on mapping techniques.

[38] A regression looks at the causes of variability in a series of observations, such as plague deaths. The R^2 value indicates the percentage of variation explained by the independent variable (wealth in this case). Not all preconditions for the analysis, such as consistent residual values, could be verified. The p-value, or probability
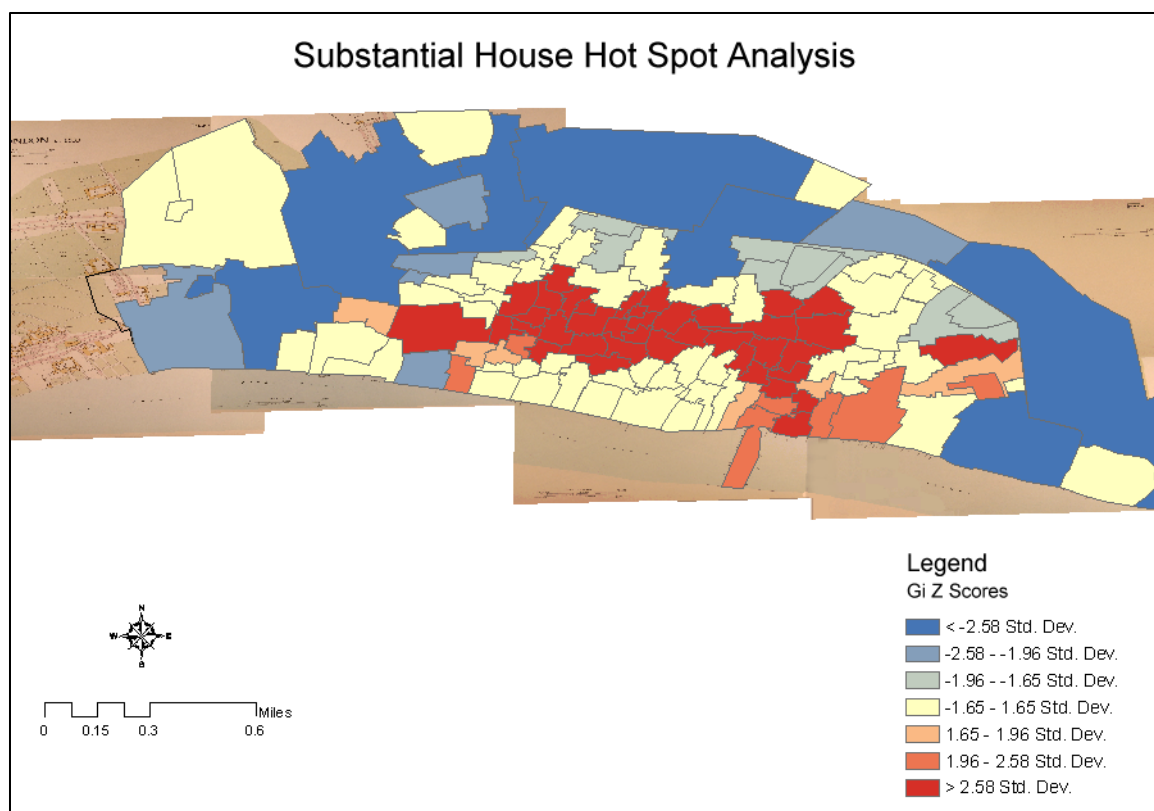
Figure 6.4: Substantial House Hot Spot Map, from Finlay

Clearly wealthier areas of the city were less subject to (though not immune from) the

plague during epidemics. Cases occurring *between* major epidemics do not follow this pattern,

however. As seen in chapter four, inter-epidemic cases of plague often occur in wealthy

parishes in the heart of the city, near markets and docks. These areas are also characterized

both by a larger immigrant population and by a higher proportion of large households with

many servants. As noted in chapter five, where victims have been specifically identified, they

tend to be recent immigrants to the City or the young.

of committing an error by rejecting the null hypothesis that wealth has no effect on plague deaths is extremely small (p=3.41374091362E$^{-23)}$. Auto-correlated data increases the similarities between samples, but the extremely small p-value suggests that the outcome is significant and that further tests are warranted. The model nonetheless explains only 21.9% [Adjusted R^2 = 0.21924757] of the variation in the spread of plague. This is not surprising as we have noted wealthy households were still affected by this contagious disease. They could not completely isolate themselves from its effects.

Overall, then, the victims and locations of literary disease and those for institutional records of mortality do not differ widely. Unlike with crime, the roles of servants were commonly acknowledged. Only syphilis is reported as a disease limited to the poor and sinful, a disease to be concealed. Syphilis, of course, was known to be sexually transmitted. Moreover, illicit sex outside of the institution of marriage was thought to be more responsible than sex within marriage. For other diseases, sin *could* be a cause, but was not the only potential cause. God may send plague to London to punish the citizens in general for their sins, but other reasons could be found if it struck your house in particular. Fresh air, proper diet, the stench of rotting bodies or food in the streets, and contagion were all alternative causes. Therefore, illness within the household did not automatically mean that the patient had caused the disease through un-Christian behavior, and the disease did not necessarily have to be a stigma.

Locations of Crime

Our hotspot map for crime, however, looks very different. Here we see the pattern discussed in chapter four: concentrations of crime in the economically mixed suburbs to the west of the city and the mercantile areas with the walls. There are elevated levels of crime in the western suburbs and St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate (a busy gate into the city). While there is some penetration of crime into the city center, by and large the wealthy seem to be protecting their parishes from prostitution, cony catching, theft and other petty crimes. However, the eastern suburbs, which show cases on both the maps of plague and syphilis,

are not hot spots for crime. Instead, the emphasis is on the more mercantile and mixed-wealth western areas of the city.

The pamphlet literature leads us to similar conclusions about the wealthy, non-commercial parishes. Detection and prosecution of crime in the rogue pamphlets is focused on the public areas of inner-city parishes and near-by poor liberties like Whitefriars. It is the markets and public houses that are most unsafe, not the nearby homes of the wealthy. Cony-catchers in the pamphlets are outsiders only disguised as good citizens. The vast majority of Bridewell defendants are not legal residents of the city either. They are vagrants about whom little is known. Strangers to London, they were punished and delivered "per pass" to return home into "the country." Yet the Bridewell court books also record consistently significant levels of servant crime. The published view is clear: when crime does strike a wealthy parish, it most often comes from without, not within.

What about the eastern parishes? If there was a connection between crime and disease in the eastern suburbs, it is not revealed by either the maps or the manuscript sources. Only Houndsditch, a parish in the north east, just outside the city walls and a reputed location of many pawnshops and brokers shows up in the hot-spot map. The remainder of the region was typical of London as a whole in the number of crimes prosecuted—quite unlike the way the region would be portrayed in the nineteenth century.
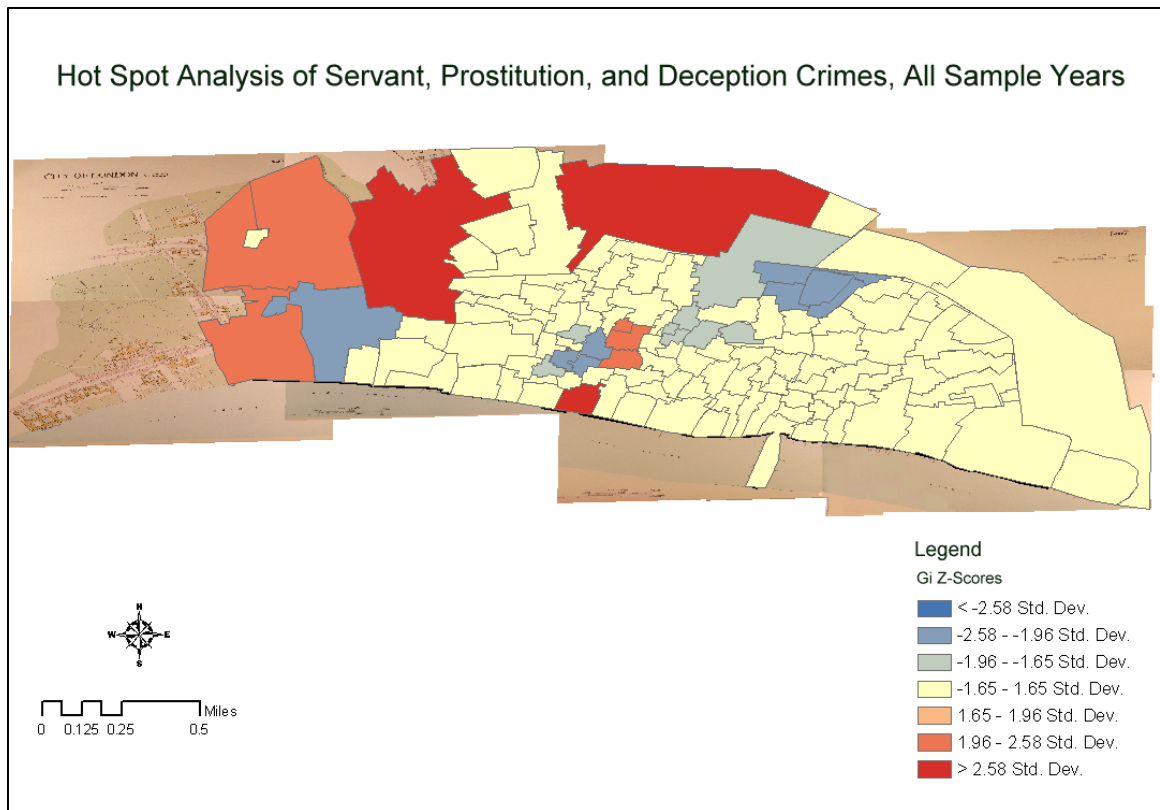
Figure 6.5: Hot Spot map for Servant, Prostitution, and Deceit crimes

The question arises, of course, whether there is less crime reported in the eastern

suburbs because less crime occurred or because there was less policing and interest by the

city magistrates. Could it have been an undetected hot spot? An absolute answer is

unknowable. Crimes came into Bridewell from a number of sources. The Mayor's office

could present defendants; a witness's testimony was also cause for a warrant. Constables in

the wards brought offenders in, and so did the Governors and the City Aldermen.

Occasional cases show up as being referred from royal courts such as King's Bench, Star

Chamber, or the Greencloth. The cases where London locations are given, however, are

generally those which arise from witness testimony or those where the offender was

presented by a constable. Consistently over time, few constables from the eastern wards present cases.

Were the constables in St. Giles without Cripplegate or St. Botolph without Aldgate less interested in prosecution? Were they more overworked? In the late sixteenth century, the ward of Portsoken, which encompassed St. Botolph, elected two constables for each of four precincts within the ward. In the sixteenth century, much of the ward was undeveloped, but it was still large.[39] Certainly, those men had more to do policing the nearly forty acres of the ward than their equivalents in the inner city.[40] By the 1630's, when nearly 2000 houses populated the ward, they would have had far more to watch over than a constable from a small ward with only one or two hundred households. However, the number of defendants from the eastern end of the city is consistently low in all samples. Low numbers per household could be indicative of overworked constables, but not numbers which are consistently low overall, regardless of the parish population. Moreover, the increasing population of the suburb does not lead to any change in the general number of presentations in the 1632-34 Bridewell sample.

Perhaps there was simply a higher degree of anonymity in this "blue collar" neighborhood with its relatively high percentage of travelers and foreigners. If information about what parishioners were doing was hard to come by, presentments would logically be lower. This cannot be ruled out, but Parish records do suggest that that, despite the parish

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[39] Stow's survey notes tenter fields and other open areas, as do the sixteenth-century maps of the area. See chapters one and three above.

[40] Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London, 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 171.

size, there was communication between the St. Botolph's officials and the residents. The parish clerk in the late sixteenth century several times notes the death of ten of his godchildren in the records. These children run the gamut from the child of a "temporall counsellor" to a porter's son, a shoemaker's son, a sailor's son and even a child born in the parish cage.[41] Very few people who die in the parish are unknown to the clerks. And even vagrants and rogues who "went a gooding" were buried in the churchyard next to their neighbors, so we can eliminate the possibility that unknown victims were disposed of elsewhere. In fact, when a neighboring parish refused a burial, the corpse often found its final resting place at St. Botolph.[42]

It is a tempting thought, perhaps, to envision some resistance to (or at least ignoring of) the Bridewell Governors by the poorer wards and parishes of east London. Certainly, the Bridewell employees themselves occasionally chafed against the rule of the Governors. However, there is no evidence of any dissatisfaction on the part of the constables in St. Botolph. Most importantly, the low levels of presentment persist across all four Bridewell samples covering a span of nearly sixty years. Many different men would have served as constables through these years and assuming a common outlook towards their jobs over this span of time is not realistic or supportable. This leads us back to the more likely conclusion that there was simply less crime in areas that lacked wealthy marks.

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[41] P69/BOT2/A/019/MS09234. The cage was a small temporary prison for used for the detention of offenders within the parish. See Michael Berlin, "Reordering Rituals: Ceremony and the Parish, 1520-1640," in *Londinopolis*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 60.

[42] P69/BOT2/A/019/MS09234.

Our results here are clearly different from those for crime. We can clearly see that the world of literary does not reflect that of institutional crime as accurately as the disease map is reflected. Servant crime and crime committed by professionals (craftsmen and merchants) is under represented while crime by outsiders in the City's commercial centers is over represented. Why is criminal behavior among legitimate members of community under represented illness among the same body is not? Clearly, sin is more directly associated with fornication, gambling, drinking, and cony-catching. The only environmental cause may be the "incitement" of a prostitute. However, even here, poor choices must be made by the man who is so seduced. Citizens of London will pay upwards of 40 shillings to avoid public punishment and they often choose to discipline their servants themselves. Failure to ensure good behavior within the household is in itself a failing. The literary imagining of crime therefore focuses instead on the criminal as a stranger to the community, and external danger.

Beyond Surface Patterns of Crime and Disease in London

We can now summarize the apparent distribution of petty crime and disease across London as reflected in both the contemporary discourse and modern quantitative analysis. Emic and etic perceptions of crime as represented by both crime pamphlet and actual prosecutions for petty crime differ more from each other than do emic and etic cases of plague, the most terrifying (and best documented) contagious disease of the age, fit roughly the same patterns. However, both also share key similarities.

First, the commercial districts within the walls report high levels of both crime and disease. This is particularly true of the large (and growing ever larger) parishes outside the walls towards Westminster. Holborn , St. Bride's and similar parishes not only experienced high levels of both crime and disease in etic analysis, they were also *perceived* as sources of both crime and disease by contemporary writers. Likewise, Cheapside, St. Paul's, the Exchange, and parishes such as Queenhith with its meal market experienced, and were experienced as, areas of high crime and disease.

Not all areas of London are represented as sources of crime and disease, however. Small wealthy parishes such as St. Bennet Sherehog, St. Mary Mounthaw, or St. Nicholas Acon did not appear on the surface to suffer from either high levels of disease or crime—they make few if any appearances in the literature as sources of crime, few cony-catchers and vagrants are rounded up from their streets, and they show lower levels of crisis mortality during epidemics.[43] These results suggest that the "better sort" were capable, on the surface at least, of protecting their homes and neighborhoods from the worst of London's problems.

This surface picture painted by both the contemporary mental maps of London residents and modern compilations of contemporary data would seem to support a fairly optimistic view of London's stability – at least from the perspective of the "better sort." Yes, there are threats from all sorts of sin and corruption, but they are restricted in scope.

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[43] The exception that proves the rule here is that plague pamphlets such as Dekker's *Rod for Runaways* and Bullein's *Dialogue* routinely criticize the rich for fleeing the city. While specific locations for these wealthy men are not given in the way crime locations are, the residents of small parishes with 40-80 percent substantial households would certainly fit the bill.

The wealthy merchant tailor and his family should have little to fear. Trade could flourish; city governance proceeded apace. The "functional" views of London espoused by Archer and Rappaport (see chapter three above) would seem to be tentatively confirmed. However, as we have seen, the etic data reveals that, beneath the surface, the servants of the prosperous, legitimate residents were a source of both crime and disease from within. London as a whole may have achieved a state of dynamic equilibrium that avoided major social disorder but individual households and neighborhoods was different issues entirely.

The Permeable Neighborhood

Cracks might appear in London's surface stability for several reasons, not least of which is that those alleys and pubs and markets were still physically close together and equally close to the homes of the wealthy. In the 1570s, for example, a brothel operated by bawd John Shaw was near enough to the Lord Mayor's house that he heard the noise of their activity.[44] Even more shockingly, solicitation went on under the Mayor's very nose. In May of 1576, a prostitute testifies at Bridewell that

> about Christmas last there was a maske at my lord mayors. And there Mr Burde [a prominent bawd] came to the said Whites wyffe [an equally prominent prostitute] and followed her and would have had her to a tavern and gave her xviij d.[45]

Disease also expands into the neighborhoods of the well-to-do of course. William Clowes who, in 1585, in his *Brief and Necessary Treatise* on syphilis, rants about the spread of

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[44] Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 211.
[45] B.C.B. 3 fo. 7.

this horrible disease in England, just three years later publishes a surgeon's manual which advises that, in addition to sexual contact, the disease can be caught through "corruption of the aire, from whence we must charitably thinke, that it infected those which were religious."[46] If you have a wealthy, godly patient, you must seek out other reasons for their infection. We have seen the concern Samuel Pepys had over his brother's illness. His diary is rife with fear of plague as well. His list of the sick include the maidservant and wife of his friend vintner Dan Rawlinson, his physician, Dr. Burnett, the servant of one of his lovers, Mrs. Bagwell, Tom Cheffin, the king's closet-keeper, the wife of Alderman Bence, and many others. Fearing that "there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the plague upon them," Pepys simply does his best to avoid all conversations.[47]

Disguised Dangers

As noted above, key to understanding people's concern is the concept of disguise. Neither crimes nor disease are easily recognizable and people willfully conceal the obvious signs and signifiers of their actions and conditions. Therefore social stressors could not always be easily identified. The threat of an undetected crime or disease was ever present.

The contemporary concern with disguise is perhaps most evident with crime, as chapter four makes clear through analysis of both pamphlets and Bridewell cases. The upright man Nicholas Jennings was a "monstrous dissembler, a crank all about… sometime

[46] William Clowes, *A Prooued Practise for All Young Chirurgians, Concerning Burnings with Gunpowder, and Woundes Made with Gunshot, Sword, Halbard, Pyke, Launce, or Such Other Wherein, Is Deliuered with All Faithfulnesse, Not Onely the True Receipts of Such Medicines as Shall Make Them Bolde but Also Sundry Familiar Examples, Such, as May Leade Them as It Were by the Hand, to the Doyng of the Lyke*, STC (2nd ed.) / 5444 ed. (London: Thomas Orwyn, 1588).
[47] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 12 September 1665.

a mariner, and a serving-man/ Or else an artificer, as he would feign them."[48] Anyone could

fall victim to such a man. Householders could be deceived. So could city officials. John

Steel was set to work in the Hospital for claiming that his house had burnt down and

collecting "in se[ver]al p[ar]ishes the benevolence and charitie of diverse well disposed

people."[49] In the pamphlets, Steel would have fallen into the category of "Demanders for

Glimmer."[50] Even innocent holiday fun could be a pretense for crime, as in the case of

Margaret Noxen, who was "comminge to one Francis Garrett's house a goldsmithe in

Fleetestreete under colloure of wassellinge, stole from theme a Bible and solde it to a Broker

for iij^s. iiij^d.[51]

Diseases could be disguised as well. Sometimes this was unintentional. As both

Boghurst and his contemporary George Thomson note, plague was very hard to distinguish

from smallpox or burning fevers. Plague times are, in fact, precisely those times "when

malignant Diseases, as Small Pox, Spotted Feavers, Scurvy, or the like, are frequent among

us."[52] Other times, the deception was intentional. Masters smuggled out sick and dying

servants in the middle of the night. They shipped them to garden houses in suburbs like St.

Botolph where their illness would not bring a risk of quarantine to the house. Merkins

(pubic wigs) were used by prostitutes and others to disguise syphilis by covering up the

"filthy running sores."[53] Even those who were not prostitutes knew they would be

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[48] Thomas Harman, "A Caveat for Common Cursitors, Vulgarly Called Vagabonds," in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. , 1566, reprinted 1930), 97.
[49] B.C.B. 4 fo. 355.
[50] Harman, "Caveat for Common Cursitors," 94.
[51] B.C.B. 4 fo. 343^v.
[52] George Tomson, *Loimotomia, or the Pest Anatomized in These Following Particulars*, Early History of Medicine, Health and Disease (Early English Books Online, 1666, reprinted 2011), 56.
[53] Amanda Barrow, *The Oxford Companion to the Body* (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), 569.

unwelcome if it were discovered they were syphilitic. Thus, John Byon tells the woman they are lodging with that his wife Elizabeth is simply drunk when in fact she is dying of "the pox."[54]

Moreover, sometimes people who really *are* what they seem still play the rogue when they can. We saw the example of goldsmith Anthony Bate in chapter four, who went so far as to have his collaborators attempt to steal Bridewell records. Many other legitimate professions are present in the Bridewell rolls as well. While the occasional minstrel or player of interludes pops up, the majority are from more accepted professions. The single most commonly arrested profession (aside from servants) is the makers of clothing, the tailors and haberdashers.[55] Clothiers may have been suspect in that their wares enabled the "inferiour sorte" to dress in the "ruffling in Silks, Ueluets, Satens, Damasks, Taffeties, Gold Siluer… with their swoords, daggers, and rapiers guilte, and reguilte, burnished, and costly ingrauen… that any noble or worshifull Man doth, or may weare."[56] Dekker recounts a common tale that held even the devil's footman was no match for the clothiers' apprentices where "never was poore devil so tormented in hell, as he was amongst them… there was such balling in his eares: and no strength could shake them off, but that they must shewe him some suites of apparell."[57] Members of the trades that provide food and drink are also common. Cooks, bakers, and butchers are frequent "customers" of the hospital. Again, their professions are s

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[54] Kevin Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor: London's "Foul Wards," 1600-1800* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 215.

[55] Vagrants are the most common category of defendant of course, but vagrancy is a lack of profession.

[56] Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses Contayning a Discouerie, or Briefe Summarie of Such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as Now Raigne in Many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: But (Especiallie) in a Verie Famous Ilande Called Ailgna*, STC / 357:05 ed. (London: John Kingston for Richard Iones, 1583), 15.

[57] Thomas Dekker, "Lanthorne and Candle-Light," in *The Guls Hornbooke and the Belman of London in Two Parts* (London: Temple Classics, 1904), 201.
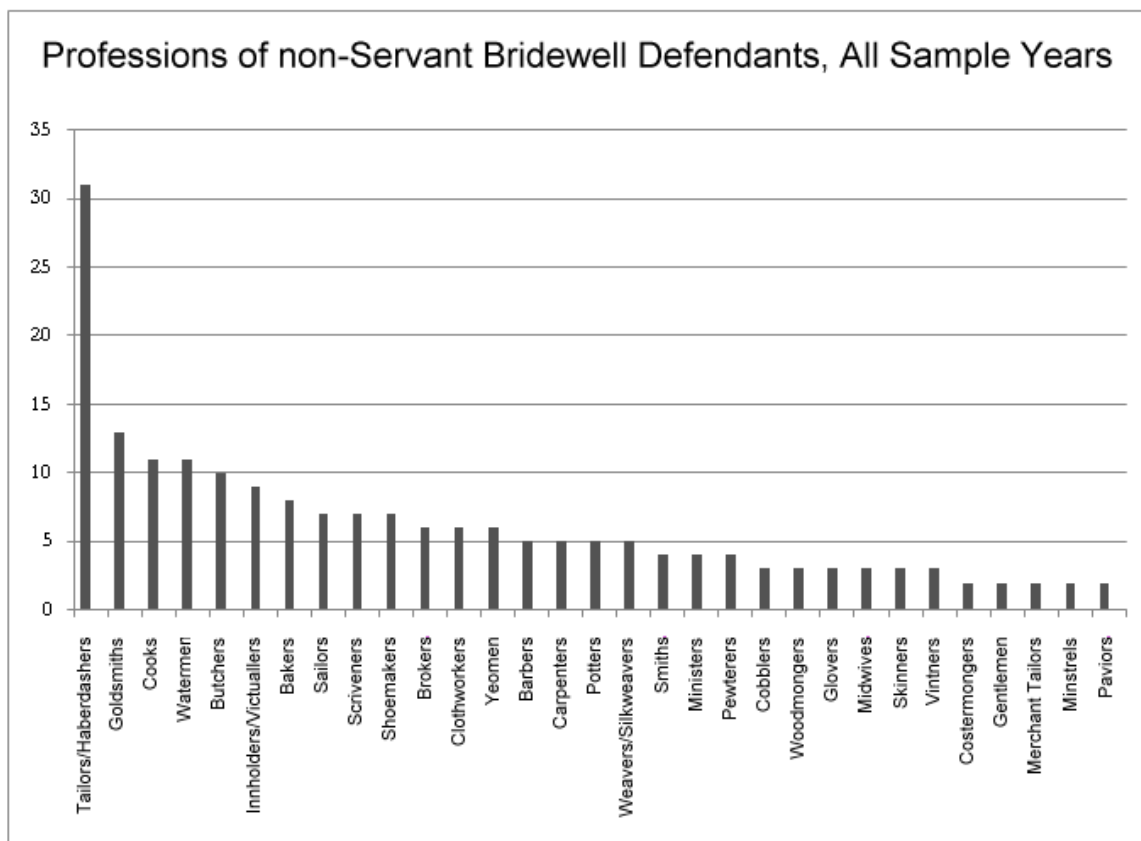
Figure 6.6: Professions of Non-Servant Bridewell Defendants, All Sample Years.

uspect. They may be the masters of "a fayre Inne for receipte of trauellers" or "a pitiful

alehouse, where we had a dirty slut or two come up that were whores."[58] So are scriveners,

often accused of falsifying documents. Even ministers are occasionally accused of

wrongdoing. The most common accusation against all of these professions is

overwhelmingly fornication (or adultery) and the fathering of bastard children.

Clearly, it was not just young, impetuous servants who fell prey to London's more

questionable diversions. Other sources paint a similar picture of the range of people

involved in gambling, prostitution, and other activities. As discussed in chapter four, the

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[58]John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Elibron Classics, 2005), 22. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 31 August 1661.

pamphleteers spilled considerable ink on how young men come to court for the first time should avoid being taken as "conies." Samuel Pepys' diary also reveals the wide array of participants in London's entertainments and temptations. He describes the audience at a new cock-fighting pit saying,

> …to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament-man (by name Wildes, that was Deputy Governor of the Tower when Robinson was Lord Mayor) to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen, and what not; and all these fellows one with another in swearing, cursing, and betting. I soon had enough of it.[59]

He also complains of his own uncle, Thomas, whom he calls "a knave, at least a man that values not what he swears to" for bringing him a forged contract written by a scrivener at Bedlam.[60]

When we map the locations of crimes involving defendants with stated professions, we find they are somewhat more peripheral than servant-related crimes. There are low levels of such crimes throughout the city and in much of the east end, with the exception of the area around the Tower and the fish markets. Many of the western suburbs also show low levels of crime, but the parishes near the northern gates into the city show high levels of crime. The differences here are that the peaks of "professional" crime are in the north in St. Giles without Cripplegate and St. Andrew Holborne in the north-west, but not in the other western extra-mural parishes. There are also moderately high areas of professional crime in St. Mary le Bowe and St. Steven Coleman Street. The map of servant crime (figure 6.8)

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[59] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 21 December 1663.

[60] Ibid. 23 October 1663. Thomas Pepys was possibly a mercer, but was certainly poor by the end of his life and thus willing to use forged documents to obtain money from family members. See Robert Latham and William Matthews, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Companion*, X vols., vol. X (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 323.

shows that both St. Mary le Bowe and St. Steven Coleman Street had elevated levels of crime as well. Both are commercial areas, so this is not a surprise.

However the levels of servant crime are also high in St. Botolph without Aldersgate, St. Sepulcher, St. Bride's, and many other areas on London's periphery where non-Servant crime is lower than average. The Bridewell records reveal the reason. Many of London's inns, taverns, and playhouses were located in or near the suburbs. Professionals are prosecuted for illicit sex and occasional dishonest mercantile behavior; servants are prosecuted for play-going, dicing, and tavern-haunting in addition to illicit sex and cheating their masters' customers. Thus we see them being brought in more frequently from those locations. Of course, this does not mean goldsmiths tailors, carpenters, and cobblers did not spend time in taverns, but they could more legitimately do so than the apprentices whose time belonged to their masters, not themselves. Edward Wood's testimony is good evidence for the variety of people who frequented taverns. He was brought into Bridewell for repeatedly sneaking out of his master's house at night through a window and going to a tavern, where he says those who

> used com[m]o[n]ly to daw[n]se was Mr Patricke's man, John Dowgill, Will[ia]m Skellham, a hab[er]dassher of Fysshe Streate Hill, the goodman and wyfe of the howse, one mystres West and her syster, the one a Drap[er]'s wyfe in Watlinge Streate and the other a hosyer's wyfe in Bowe Lane.[61]

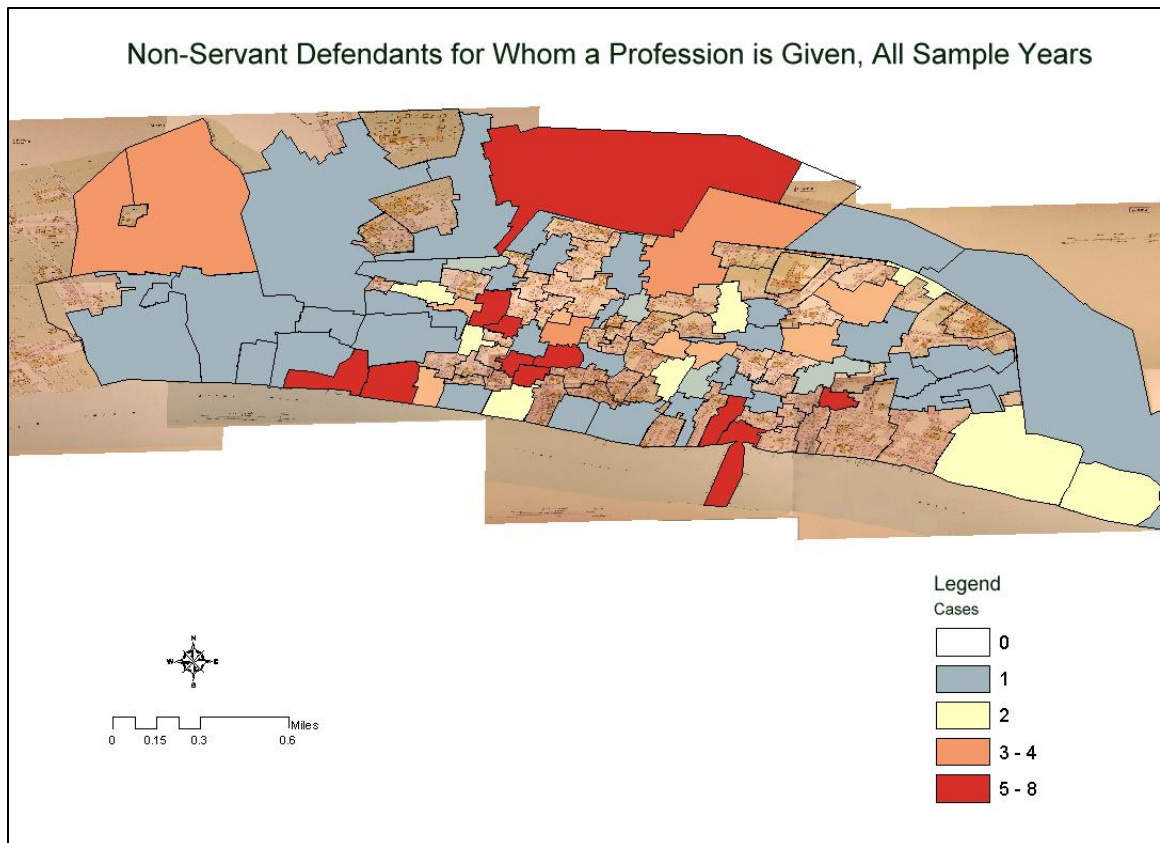---

[61] B.C.B. 3 fo. 138^v.

Figure 6.7: Locations of defendants with stated non-servant professions

The Permeable Household

If the neighborhood could be penetrated by bad behavior and sickness, should the

household not at least provide some relief? The household in early modern England was

supposed to be a refuge. Household manuals made clear that the household was to be a

man's "castle inexpugnable."[62] Householders themselves clearly attempted to delineate the

boundaries of the household from that of the surrounding neighborhood. Godly broadsides

and moral ballads would be tacked up on the walls of homes to draw a boundary between

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[62] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 4.
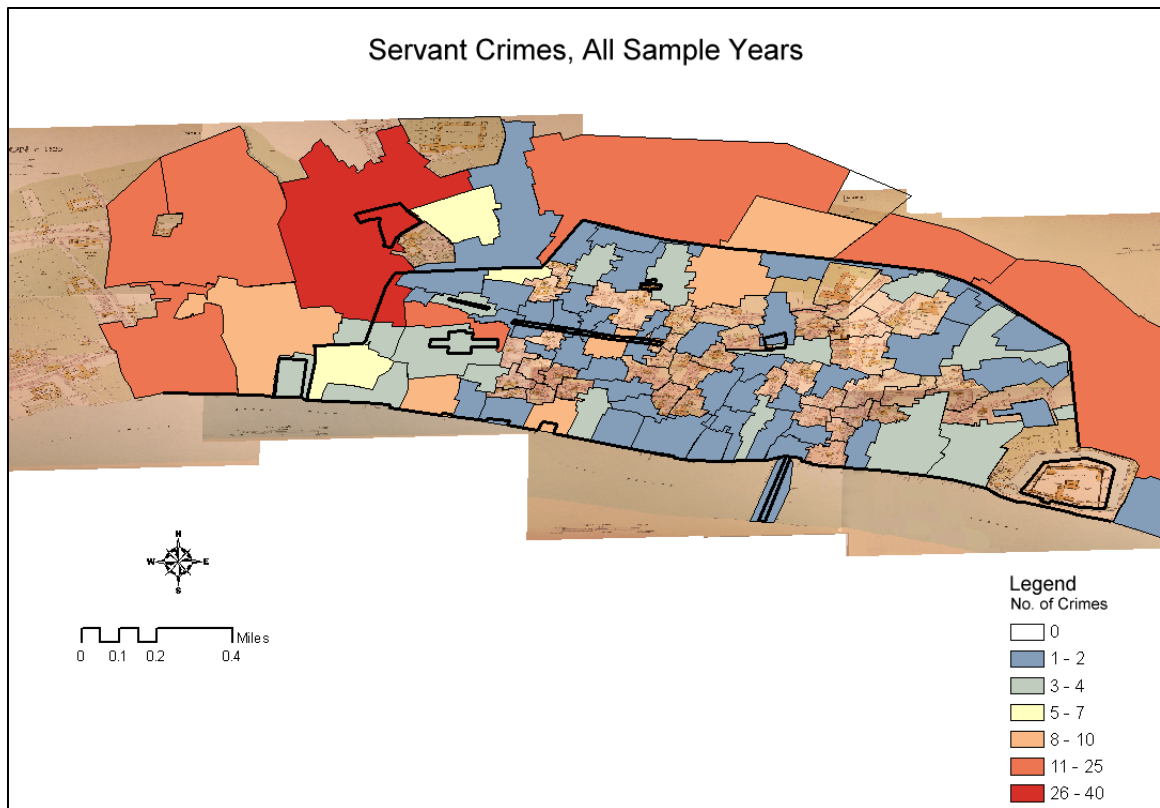
Figure 6.8: Servant Crimes All Sample Years

the sanctity of the household and the profane world outside.[63] The private chamber at the

inn in Bullein's *Dialog*, decorated to appear like a household room, "verie netlie and trimlie

apparelled, London like… with many wise saiynges painted vpon theim," served as a

rhetorical device. However, it also must have seemed quite reasonable to a reader who

decorated his own chamber similarly if he could.[64]

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[63] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 192, passim.
[64] William Bullein, *Dialog against the Feuer Pestilence*, ed. Mark W. Bullen (London: Early English Text Society, 1578, reprinted 1888), 58.

The pamphlet literature reflects this concern with permeability. Cony-catching pamphlets concentrate most on the outsider. But when pamphlets do mention servants, they hold up naïve country girls and shop boys as targets for cozening. They also draw attention to enticed "servants purloining fardels of their maisters goods, and delivering them to the corrupting hands of common strumpets."[65] Clearly despite the attempts to make the household an ideal refuge and set boundaries to delineate it from the public sphere, it remained permeable to external dangers.

The servant as an element of both crime and disease within the household has been rather neglected by social historians. Yet servants were ubiquitous. All but the most destitute households in London would have had servants. Nehemiah Wallington's household did. Despite his poverty, Wallington had a maidservant and usually an apprentice or two as well. They were necessary if a "source of endless worry and anxiety" for the turner.[66] Servants were an inescapable part of life. Rappaport has calculated that apprentices alone made up just over ten percent of the city's population by the mid-sixteenth century.[67] The number was great enough that journeymen felt them to be a threat to their employment, and most of the livery companies limited the number of apprentices a man could take by the 1560s.[68] If we very conservatively assume only half as many domestic servants as apprentices, then the servant class as a whole makes up greater than fifteen percent of the population, even before London begins to grow dramatically. While both Rappaport and

[65] Dekker, *The Gul's Hornbook and the Belman of London in Two Parts*, 272.
[66] Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 139.
[67] Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 232.
[68] Ibid., 109.

Archer have downplayed the political threat contemporaries felt that rioting apprentices could pose, we cannot disregard them as threats to stability in other ways.[69]

For one, we have seen in chapter five above that servants were a naïve population, very vulnerable to the diseases of the big city. They succumbed at high rates to plague and smallpox as well as endemic "agues." Contemporaries knew this to be true. Their fear of the sicknesses their servants brought into the house is revealed in Wallington's comments about his maid's illness, Pepys' regular notations recording the deaths of friends' servants and Ralph Josselin's thanks to God for preserving him from the "poysonous infections" of the family servants.[70] It is reflected, too, in the number of young people, mentioned above in chapter five, who were removed from their households to garden houses in the suburbs where they often died. Bridewell cases where "pox" is thrown about as an insult and those with the foul disease are considered threats to the healthy also reflect this concern, as do Dekker's plague pamphlets. And contemporaries were right to be afraid. The effectiveness of an Ordinary Least Squares regression to explain the distribution of plague in 1665 increases from explaining just over 20 percent (see above) to 45 percent when the distribution of servants found in Bridewell is included as an explanatory factor.[71] And as noted in chapter five, the inter-epidemic cases of plague in the Bills of Mortality tend to be found in wealthier inner-city parishes, those places with larger populations of vulnerable servants who did not experience the previous epidemic.

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[69] See for example, Rappaport, 294, passim and Archer, 1, passim and 217.

[70] Ralph Josselin, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683*, ed. Alan Macfarlane (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1976), 2.

[71] $R^2=0.449$ P$= 6.28290343585*E-27$. See Appendix A for more information on ArcGIS spatial statistics and their calculation.

Table 6.1 Percentage of defendants with a profession described as servants or "late servants"[72]			
1576-78	1597-99	1602-04	1632-43
52%	94%	40%	12.4%

When it comes to petty crime, servants are also not negligible. They are not the single largest category of defendant in the records—that would be vagrants, i.e. people with no masters and no profession. However, of those defendants for whom some legitimate profession is listed, they are overwhelmingly the largest single profession across all four Bridewell samples. Where five or six tailors might be brought before the judges in a two-year period, the number of servants was never less than 150 over the same time. The number is particularly high during the economic crisis of the late sixteenth century. The percentage drops dramatically in the early 1630s, but as mentioned above, cases involving apprentices were no longer consistently being handled by Bridewell at this time.

However, very few servants brought in to Bridewell appeared to be repeat offenders. I determined identifiable repeat offenders to be those individuals with the same first and last name serving the same individual if named (or within the same profession if not), who appeared in the records more than 4-5 weeks apart.[73] This method of determination may have underestimated repeat offenders, as it did not consider individuals who may have changed employers, but there was no feasible way to track such individuals. Only around 1.5 percent of offenders appear two or more times in the records for different offences.

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[72] Servants could lose their positions through illicit pregnancy or enduring disobedience. These men and women are noted in the records as "late servant of…" or "sometime servant."

[73] If an individual appeared twice within a month or so, it was always a continuation of the same case. Therefore, these individuals were not included.

Table 6.2 Repeat offenders				
Sample Year	1576-78	1597-99	1602-04	1632-43
Total Servant Cases	125	196	224	191
Repeat offenders	2 (1.6%)	2 (1.0%)	4 (1.6%)	4 (1.8%)

Where female household servants are concerned, the reason why is probably quite simple. Theft, pregnancy, and other forms of disobedience were grounds for dismissal. Female servants who are repeat offenders are often servants of known or suspected bawds and appear both as witnesses and defendants. When a male servant is a repeat offender, they are typically apprentices who repeatedly resisted their place in the household, as with John Smith who "often ran away and would not be ruled."[74] Neither punishment at home or in the public arena of Bridewell was enough to force all servants into obedience, but for most, the experience seemed to be sufficient to either bring them in line or cause their dismissal.

Nor was this a problem limited to the lower classes. While the masters of most of the servants who show up as defendants in Bridewell are either unlisted or simple craftsmen, the servants (and children) of the powerful do make appearances as well. Twenty-three-year-old Richard Rolles, sometime servant and associate of goldsmith Anthony Bates, was listed as a yeoman in the records.[75] We know his master was wealthy and connected enough to take the Bridewell governors to court. Richard Clearke, servant to Lady Russell, was sent in

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[74] B.C.B. 04 fo. 437ᵛ.
[75] B.C.B. 03 fo. 132.

for theft.[76] Richard Edwards, servant to Lady Wallsingham, was accused of fornication, as

was Nicholas Scot, servant to Lady Mordante, who brought one Dorothie Godfrey to his

chamber in his mistress' house.[77]

In literature too, as we have seen, servants are sources of trouble. Among the rogue

pamphleteers, only Awdeley and Rowland emphasize the difficulties servants cause their

masters. But beyond the realm of pamphlets, we see other examples. The tricky or

subversive servant was a common stereotype in contemporary drama.[78] The tradition of the

tricky servant in drama extends back centuries to the *dolosus servus* of Roman New Comedy

but in Renaissance drama, "their actions have social ramifications that their forebears rarely

demonstrated."[79] Even Jack of Newbury, the merchant-hero of Thomas Delony's popular

"rags-to-riches" literature, had a troublesome maidservant.[80] In Delony's tale, Jack is hosting

a dinner for several knights at his house when one, Sir George Rigley, seduces his maid

Joane with promises of marriage. When she reveals to him that she's with child, he exclaims,

"you leud paltry thing…. Commest thou to father thy bastard upon me? Away ye dunghill

carrion…"[81] Jack, the upright member of society, is forced to rely on rogue's tricks and

disguise his maid as a Lady; to "cover a foule fault with a faire garment" so that she might

trick Sir George into marrying her.[82] If the only solution to disorderly servants is to have

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[76] B.C.B. 04 fo. 4.
[77] B.C.B. 04 fo. 446ᵛ and B.C.B. 03 fo. 62.
[78] R. C. Richardson, "Making Room for Servants," *Literature & History* 16, no. 1 (2007): 99.
[79] William R. Dynes, "The Trickster-Figure in Jacobean City Comedy," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33, no. 2 (1993): 366.
[80] Delony's tales, much like the stories of Dick Whittington and his cat, exemplify success through hard work in a trade. Jack of Newbury was just a young apprentice who became a prosperous and wealthy clothier.
[81] Thomas Delony, *The History of John Winchcomb Usually Called Jack of Newbury, Famous Clothier*, ed. James O. Esq. Halliwell (London: Thomas Richards, 1597, reprinted 1859), 119.
[82] Ibid., 125.

them repeatedly punished or to rely on the very tricks you fear from them to solve their problems, it is hard to see how they could *not* be a source of stress.

The Permeable Self

Crime, sin, and disease within the household would have had a different impact on the householder in early modern England from what it might today. This is because the householder had a different sense of *self* in the sixteenth century from what he would today. The pre-modern self is generally acknowledged to have had "a limited territory of autonomy and [been] enmeshed in a communality." Early modern people thought of themselves "not as autonomous individuals but part of an interdependent whole."[83] Their "selves" were porous. This is a very different perception of self from what we have today. What we take for granted, an autonomous sense of ourselves as "bounded, unique… a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment and action" was not the norm in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[84]

The effects of the "we-self" are clearly visible in contemporary legal records. It is frequently neighbors who report the misbehavior of Bridewell defendants. Usually the court records just note that some unruly or lewd defendant was brought in by the complaint of the neighbors, but some records provide excruciating detail of what happened. For instance, one John Bankes gets in trouble because, so he says, he fears what the neighbors might assume. He tells the court that on May 11, 1576, he was in the house of one Agnes Broke to

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[83] Mechal Sobel, "The Revolution in Selves: Black and White Inner Aliens," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredricka Teute (Chapel Hill, NC and London: University of North Carolina, 1997), 166.

[84] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), xi.

buy a pair of gloves. However, "being in the chamber wher she lay a bed" he found he had

a headache, and innocently lay down.

> And thear he heringe a noyse of neighbors about the dore for feare he
> should be arrested went from thense into another chamber thereby and wold
> have crept under a bed to hide him & put of his breches because they were
> so gret he could not get under the bed...[85]

Margaret and Henry Browne do not have to make any assumptions. On Saturday May 20th,

1598, they testify to watching their neighbor's wife through a hole in the wall between their

houses. Through this hole, they saw one bailiff, Floyd, enter the house when only the

neighbor's wife was home. There he "laid her… on the bed and there tourned up her

clothes, he putting downe his hose, thereupon laye upon her and used her."[86] Perhaps the

most obvious instance of the we-self in the governor's records is the way one Mrs. Halloway

tried to circumvent it. A witness, William Turnor, tells the governors that on the 28th of

September, 1598,

> he did see a gentleman go into the house of M[ist]res[s] Halloway in
> Chauncery Lane at Nine of the clocke at night… and he further saith that he
> did watche until Twelve of the Clock at night and so until six in the
> Morning to see if he would come forth of her house and he came forth about
> Sixe of the clock in the morning and further saith that he did see the said
> M[ist]res[s] Hallowaye hanging clothes before her window A little before the
> gentleman went into her house.[87]

Mrs. Halloway's very attempts to obtain privacy become suspicious to her zealous and

observant neighbor under the circumstances. Even minor infractions against peace, order,

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[85] B.C.B. 3 fo. 2[v].
[86] B.C.B. 4 fo. 21.
[87] B.C.B. 4 fo. 40[v].

and cleanliness in the neighborhood could result in trouble. Alderman Hollidaye had Hester

Binde presented because of a dispute about soil (perhaps night soil) on the parish streets.

Hester testified that

> M[aste]r Doves man did laye divers soyle oueragainst her Mistris dore and
> she saith that she laid the same agayne at the dore of the said M[aste]r Dove
> and theruppon… M[aste]r Dove's man laid the same soyle agayne somewhat
> neare her M[ist[ris dore. [88]

After several more iterations of soil-movement, Hester "saieth that she tooke up the soyle in

her hands and clapped the same upon the dore of the said M[aste]r Dove all over his

Wickett."[89] This petty dispute over where waste soil was to be disposed of shows that very

little that went on within a neighborhood was in any way private.

Bridewell governors show an emphasis on social networks as well. Defendants who

promise the Governors that they will behave themsevels in the future are required to have

"friends" give surety. In the case of millner William Roberts, the "sute of his friends"

secured his release unpunished.[90] Friends here does not mean mere casual acquaintances'

but rather extended family, well-wishers, patrons, and other members of the defendant's

network of close associates.[91] These friends not only provided sureties but found defendants

employment and lodging and at times worked to prevent them from reaching Bridewell at

all. When Thomas Ruddock was accused of stealing silver cups, "rather then his friendes

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[88] B.C.B 4 fo. 34ᵛ.
[89] Ibid.
[90] B.C.B. 4 fo. 367ᵛ.
[91] *The Oxford English Dictionary* Second edition, 1989; online version September 2011.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/74646>; accessed 12 October 2011.

the modern age," Descartes's formulation was one of the most important and influential."[96]

For political scientist Michael Gillespie, the origins lie even earlier. The first stirrings of a

new world view can be traced to nominalist philosophiers in the middle ages, and it is

Petrarch who, in the fourteenth century, is the turning point. Petrarch's attempts to "elevate

[his] mind toward higher objects" and achieve self fulfillment through entirely internal

activities is the keystone without which there would be "no humanists or academics, no great

books… no modern world as we have come to understand it."[97]

Nor is it only continental writings that have been used as evidence for the the

development of the modern self. New historicist Stephen Greenblatt looks to the sixteenth-

century England for signs of "self-fashioning." Greenblatt approaches the past through

intellectual, not social history. He chooses to look at the works of six great sixteenth-century

writers because

> …we cannot rest content with statistical tables, nor are we patient
> enough to tell over a thousand stories, each with its slight variants… after a
> thousand, there would be a thousand more, then another, and it is not at all
> clear that we would be closer to the understanding we seek.[98]

By looking at six outstanding literary talents (More, Tyndale, Wyatt, Spenser,

Marlowe and Shakespeare), Greenblatt sees a conscious shaping of the self much earlier than

the eighteenth century. This is precisely because he is looking at exceptional "datapoints"

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[96] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 143.
[97] Michael Allen Gillespie, *The Theological Origins of Modernity* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 62,69.
[98] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 6.

rather than seeking the broad "cultural soundbox" Wahrman tries to identify. None the less, the presence of certain aspects of the modern self throughout the sixteenth century is significant. And Greenblatt notes that his six authors all embody certain key elements of their societies. None of them inherited a title; they can essentially be considered "middle class." All of them, he says, with the exception of Christopher Marlowe, had to submit to a source of authority located outside the self: "God, a sacred book, an institution such as church, court, colonial or military administration" and all also confronted a hostile "other."[99]

The theme of confrontation with the other has been supported by other historians as well. Mechal Sobel sees "[n]arration of "self," seeing oneself as part of a dramatic story" as a critical part of the modern self and one that expanded greatly in late eighteenth century America.[100] For Sobel, as with Greenblatt, the self is defined in opposition to an "other" or "anti-Me," defined in her argument by race. Blacks defined themselves in relation to whites, and vice versa. Race is important to Dror Wahrman too, but so are changing conceptions of gender. Wahrman sees a hardening of gender roles in the last two decades of the eighteenth century as an important part of self-definition. Women became tender mothers, men abandoned the tearful doctrine of "sensibility" for "manly fortitude" and, critically, these gender roles were seen as naturalized rather than social.[101]

The century before this hardening of roles (the long eighteenth) is the period Wahrman calls the "ancien régime" of the self – a time of fluidity and change in social roles. Women who chose not to marry or who wore clothes with a masculine flair were, for

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[99] Ibid. 9.
[100] Sobel, "The Revolution in Selves," 172-173.
[101] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 7-44.

example, tolerated in the earlier eighteenth century. While this period of fluidity in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Wahrman notes, may seem "uncannily close" to our own, it is not a direct antecedent.[102] The hardening of gender and racial roles was necessary, because they were part of the same shift which comes to see "rights" and selfhood as natural as well.[103] Wahrman sees the catalyst for much of the shift to the modern self in the American Revolution. For the British, this was a civil war, and shifting concepts of Americans as aggrieved brethren or traitorous enemies, the "irreconcilable tensions between assertions of sameness and difference," formed "the other" that led to their own restructuring of self.[104]

But many of the characteristics of Wahrman's paradigm change begin before the long eighteenth century. They are present in the early seventeenth century as well. Jean Howard notes the City comedies performed during this time created a cultural space for the exploration of gender roles. Portraits of strong-willed whores titillate as well as admonish the reader. Women have control over their own "commodity" once they become prostitutes; they are "out o'th' freedom while [still] a maid."[105]

Intriguingly, confrontation with the "other" and shifts in social roles are elements present in many of the "thousand stories" in the Bridewell court books and parish registers. Many of the historical actors there were "middle class," to the extent that a modern term such as "class" can in fact apply. They were socially mobile, part of a system that supported

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[102] Ibid. xvii.
[103] Ibid. 308.
[104] Ibid. 225, passim.
[105] Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 117, 131.

the orderly rise in status from apprentice to journeyman to master. Even serving maids could hope to attract the attention of one of their master's associates as Jack of Newbury's maid does. Yet to succeed, they had to submit. And to succeed, they had to confront the "other" – the roguish vagrant, plaguey servant, the pockey whore, or even their own inner demons.

I do not intend to assert a new sole locus for the modern self here, nor to imply that the problem of servants in the household was the sole cause of the shift to the modern self. However, the evidence certainly suggests the situation in early modern London played into a changing "cultural soundbox" as Wehrman would say. The characteristics that the authors discussed here attribute to the birth of the modern individual—the presence of an "other," commercialization and social mobility, and sources of authority against which a new model of the self can be constructed—all existed in London at this time and have been discussed above.

The Language of Science and Commerce

Moreover, we can clearly see the language of those larger social and changes reflected in sermons, the rogue pamphlets, and, to some extent, the Bridewell cases. For example, writers of both crime pamphlets and godly works frequently say that their goal is not just the "discouery" of crime, but the *anatomizing* of it. To speak of anatomizing is to use the language of science, the language of a new, logical world with physical laws that apply to all regardless of social status and tradition. Philip Stubbes promises to dissect numerous sins in the very title of *Anatomy of Abuses*. Whoredom, face painting, extravagant dress, May

games, drunkenness, plays, dancing, cock fighting, and playing football on the Sabbath are

just a few of the abuses Stubbes details. True to the promise of the title, the *Anatomy*

describes each of these vices in great detail, laying out all the ways in which men and women

succumb to vice. Stubbes also uses the concept of "science" to condemn wanton behavior.

Dancing is

> an introduction[n] to whordom, a preparatiue to wantonnes, a prouocatiue to
> vncleanes, & an introite to al kind of lewdenes… Yea thei are not ashamed
> to erect scholes of dau[n]cing, thinking it an ornament to their children[n], *to
> be expert in this noble science of heathen diuelrie…*[106]

Crime pamphlets employ some of the same language. Samuel Rowlands has

the rogues of England criticize the Belman of London saying, "And herein you haue

done the part of a good subiect, thus to Anatomize and picture out such kinde of

people as you terme base, that liue by the sweat of other mens browes (as you say).[107]

And Dekker promises his reader to anatomize the political bankrupt in the Seven

Deadly Sinnes of London, saying he will "give you his length by the Scale and

Anatomize his body from head to foote."[108]

The pamphleteers also speak of prostitution and cony catching in *commercial* terms.

In Walker's *Manifest Detection of Dice Play*, the cony catcher takes his mark for every penny he

is worth. Having reduced him to ruin, he then makes him his apprentice, teaching him the

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[106] Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 195. Emphasis mine.
[107] Samuel Rowlands, "Martin Mark-All, Beadle of Bridewell," in *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, 1598-1628*, ed. Edmund and Hervon Gosse, Sidney John (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1610, reprinted 1880), 13.
[108] Dekker, "The Seuen Deadly Sinnes," 24.

craft so that he may in turn cozen his countrymen, "such as be rich and full of money."[109] The mark justifies such behavior by noting that merchants lie about their goods and sell them "by a crooked light"—the cony catcher is no different. Greene, in writing about prostitution, notes that the whore is called "the commodity" or "the traffique," and in Middlton's *The Black Book*, the devil leaves to the "archpander" Prigbeard, as if they were possessions, all the young girls in London as long as he assaults her virtue by the age of twelve, "for one acre of such wenches will bring in more at year's end than a hundred acres of the best harrowed land between Deptford and Dover."[110]

These trends are present in drama as well. Here too the roles drawn for prostitutes often painted them as strong willed women in control of the "commodity" of their own bodies and, as bawds, the girls in their service. The Exchange was also a frequent setting for London city comedies. Here the old economy of local purchases and known buyers mingles with the new world of anonymous transactions and joint stock companies. Comedies reveal both the attraction of the new and concern with the anonymity of the city.[111]

The commercialization of crime is a concern in the Bridewell records as well. The governors consistently ask about the pay the girls received, the form in which they received it, and the cut taken by their bawds. Christyan Browne received ten shillings white money from a "gentleman of the Innes of corte" one time, and another time five shillings from one

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[109] Gilbert Walker, "A Manifest Detection of the Most Vile and Detestable Use of Dice-Play, and Other Practice Like the Same: A Mirror Very Necessary for All Young Gentlemen and Others Suddenly Enabled by Worldly Abundance to Look In," in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (New York: Octagon Books, Inc. , 1552, reprinted 1930), 38.

[110] Thomas Middleton, *The Black Book*, ed. Andrew Rev. Dyce, 5 vols., vol. 5, The Works of Thomas Middleton (London: Edward Lumley, 1604), 536.

[111] Howard, *Theater of a City*, 23.

of the "dudes of the courte."[112] Not all pay was in coin. White's wife once received "a

gowne cloth of turky color, v ^{s} in money, a pare of gloves, a pare of showes, & 12 ^{d} more"

for her services.[113] Throughout the records, bawds typically receive half of the specie their

girls bring in.

Fluid gender roles manifest themselves in the Bridewell records as well. While the

extreme and condemning language of *Hic Mulier* is absent, women who wear men's clothing

are always noted as such. There are only a small handful of such women. Katherine Cuffe,

Ambrose Jasper's lover discussed in chapter four, was one. So was Margaret Porter. In

December of 1633 she is presented for incontinency and that "she often went abroad in

mans app[ar]ell."[114] While there are very few data points, these women do not appear to be

more harshly punished than other fornicators or nightwalkers. Their disorderly dress is

clearly noted, however.

The Defiant Other

Attempts to disassociate one's permeable "we-self" with the undesirable elements of

the household, as we have seen, were often unsuccessful. A woman might hang up clothes

in front of her window to hide an affair, but the very act of doing so attracted attention.

Servants might be shipped off to the suburbs to die of plague or give birth to a bastard, but

they did not escape the notice of either parish clerks or Bridewell governors (nor, for that

matter, the pamphlet writers). Another solution had to be found. If the line between "us"

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[112] B.C.B. 3 fos. 94, 94^v.
[113] B.C.B. 3 fo. 7^v.
[114] B.C.B. 7 fo. 353.

and "them" cannot be drawn at the boundaries of the neighborhood or even the family, then perhaps it can be drawn around the self.

It is clear that the I-self exists in our records. It simply has not achieved the level of "cultural soundbox." Greenblatt and Gillespie point that out in their studies of the exceptional writers of the times. It is the resonance of the I-self within society that is still problematic in the early seventeenth-century. So where, outside of the writings of Petrarch or More or Shakespeare, is this autonomous self to be found? It lives in the "other," in the world of the vagrant and the rogue. Patricia Fumerton has noted that the vagrant was, by necessity, less attached to a larger social whole. One of the defining characteristics of the vagrant is that he is unable to give account of his life to the authorities. Such an account "could only belong to the respectably settled" men and women who lived as part of the community.[115]

Fumerton further concludes that vagrants, more than settled men and women, experienced "a new kind of subjectivity… that speaks more to a modern notion of singularity and disconnection—a detached "I."[116] She notes the case of mariner Edward Barlow who seldom chose to visit his family even when he was able to do so and avoided friendships with his fellow seamen as well. But while Fumerton believes Barlow chose to live a disconnected life, she presents this state as necessity for the majority of her study population and a consequence of living "outside the traditional labor force."[117] No doubt

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[115] Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 48.
[116] Ibid. 49.
[117] Ibid. 26.

for most it was. But both rogue literature and the Bridewell records reveal an intentional

rebellious individuality among some Londoners as well. It was, however, an individuality

that was not well accepted from those at middling social levels and below. The "better sort"

could be afforded a level of eccentricity. London's workmen and apprentices were not.

The rogue pamphlets are full of intentional rebellion and inversion of the proper

social order. Rogues, for example, have their own social hierarchy. According to Harman,

the ruffler is "first in degree of this odious order."[118] Once a serving man or soldier, the

ruffle chooses to leave the legitimate social hierarchy for a better place in the shadow

hierarchy. "[W]eary of well-doing, shaking off all pain, [he] doth choose him this idle life."[119]

The upright-man, also high in the rogue hierarchy, was also a soldier or serving man or

artisan in his previous life. They now beg for money or steal for a living where before they

lived through honest labor.[120] The shadow society has its own rules and customs and even

shadow language. For Harman's rogues, who become stock characters in much of the rogue

literature, speak a secret cant. Modern scholars have found no evidence that such a cant was

actually spoken by rogues, and hypothesize that it served firmly to define the rogue as

"other." Like the "wilde" Irishman, his language is incomprehensible. Yet unlike the

Irishman, he is an "internal barbarian" who may appear indistinguishable from the legitimate

laborer or serving man.[121]

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[118] Harman, "Caveat for Common Cursitors," 67.
[119] Ibid., 67.
[120] Ibid., 69.
[121] Brooke Stafford, "Englishing the Rogue, 'Translating' The Irish: Fantasies of Incorporation and Early Modern English National Identity," in *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture*, ed. Craig Dionne and Stephen Mentz (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 314.

When we turn to the Bridewell records, we see a similar intentional thwarting of hierarchy and order. Servants and other members of the household were disciplined, and yet failed to conform. Servants in Bridewell are, first and foremost, disobedient. They say things to their masters that are intentionally provocative. James Fowler was brought in "for abusing his M[aste]r and calling him a dog… and his M[istr]is a whore and threatening to kill her… hath been twice before the Lord Maio[r] for the like and yet p[er]sisteth."[122] And William Hall is brought in "for an idle drunken and disorderly p[er]son & for beating his M[aste]r and M[istr]is and striking [t]he Const[able]." He was further accused "to say to his M[aste]r a poxe on [t]he bible."[123] What William Hunt said could have cost his mistress her reputation. On 15 October, 1603, he claimed that they had had sexual relations and that she offered to make him "Master of all she had after the decease of her husband, who was aged and could not live long," if he would remain her lover. When brought back in the following month, he retracted his accusation and admitted to having done his mistress wrong.[124] We have seen previously that at times, disrespectful words turned in to actual attacks upon the master and mistress of the house.

Authors of sermons and household manuals as well were concerned about the need to enforce obedience and conformity among rebellious youth. Love locks, or long hair in young men, was considered disreputable and prosecuted as late as 1655.[125] William Prynne laments the young men who are so "vaine and idle, that they hold a counsel about euery

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[122] B.C.B. 8 fo. 14[v].
[123] B.C.B. 7 fo. 367[v].
[124] B.C.B. 4 fo.s 410,412[v].
[125] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 232.

Haire" who would "rather have the Common-wealth disturbed th[a]n their Haire disordered."[126] Apprentices were frequently presented in Bridewell for dicing their time away in taverns. Stubbes notes that youth are "apt and prone to all kind of naughtynesse" by nature.[127] Like wild horses, they will run to their dooms if given too much liberty. William Gouge further points out that it is the duty of masters to teach their servants and their children to fear God, not just for the well-being of their souls but also because, "such inferiours which are taught to fear God, will do better service to their superiours."[128]

Householders and men of good status could be defiant as well. We have seen above the case of goldsmith Anthony Bate who, when presented in Bridewell for fornication, sent prostitutes into hiding in the country, sued the Bridewell treasurer and attempted to steal court records. Ambrose Jasper, the cook from the Inner Temple who arranged for Katherine Cuffe to come to his rooms in men's clothing, takes a similar albeit somewhat less provocative route. He makes suit at Common Pleas against one of the officers for false imprisonment.[129] And when Marten Corbett is sent in for being a "harbore^r of lewde & suspicious persons" he confesses he gave shelter to an unmarried pregnant woman and "hath done the like before and will doo yt agayne and says the lawe will allowe him so to doo."[130] While some of these men are punished, others like Jasper seem to escape in part or all together. The Bridewell records are full of prosperous merchants and craftsmen who give

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[126] William Prynne, *The Vnlouelinesse, of Loue-Lockes. Or, a Summarie Discourse, Proouing: The Wearing, and Nourishing of a Locke, or Loue-Locke, to Be Altogether Vnseemely and Vnlawfull Vnto Christians* (London: Anon., 1628), 4.
[127] Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 99.
[128] William Gouge, *Domestical Duties, the First Treatise: An Exposition of That Part of Scripture out of Which Domestical Duties Are Raised*, ed. Greg Fox, 1622 ed. (Lulu On-Demand Publishing, 2006), 8.
[129] B.C.B. 4 fo. 119.
[130] B.C.B. 3 fo. 78^v.

a donation "towards the poor of the house" in order to avoid the consequences of their socially "disorderly" acts. Robert Craneford, gentleman, is a typical example. After admitting that "he hath had often the use of the bodie of Johan Mande, the wife of Anthony Mande, lynnen drap[er] in Shewe lane," he offers to "geve of his benevolence to the poore of the house" a substantial donation of cloth.[131] He is subsequently discharged with no punishment. Status and wealth enable men like Craneford a freer spectrum of action.

Nor is outright disobedience reserved for men alone, although women are not generally able to avoid punishment. We have already seen the example of Mrs. Halloway's intentional disguise of her affair. Emile Knighton "did imbesell some p[ar]te of her husbandes goodes and bestowed them upon one Henry Rosse," her lover.[132] Elizabeth Reignolde is likewise unruly towards her husband, a saddler. The situation begins shortly after she has been released from Bridewell the previous time. She is sitting at the door of her house with her husband and sees her bawd's man loitering in the street. Knowing he wishes to speak with her, she "asked leave of her husband at that tyme" to see how a sick neighbor woman fared,

> for that by that means she might know the mans' arrant wheruppon her husband gave her leave & [she] saith that so soone as she dep[ar]ted from her husband, [the bawd's] man came & mett her & desired [her] to follow him.[133]

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[131] B.C.B. 3 fo 40ᵛ.
[132] B.C.B. 4 fo. 39ᵛ.
[133] B.C.B. 4 fo. 100ᵛ.

She does so and meets a "gentleman" who pays her five shillings for sex. Like the husband

of the murderous Margaret Fernseed, Mr. Reignolde apparently has little knowledge of her

errant pastime.[134] Not just deceptive but unruly, Christian Woodall was taken in Fleetstreet,

> for that she with another woman in the evening were taken attempting to
> picke a gent[leman's] pocket who was in drinke in the streete and being
> app[re]hended by Mr. Bestney offered to stab him with a knife and stroke
> diverse p[er]sons.[135]

Diana Matthews was even more unruly, for when she was

> taken in Smithfield Cheating a Country wench of her gowne, she having
> gotten her Apron, she was unruly in soe much that she was brought downe
> in a Cart and did very much abuse the officeres that brought her downe by
> beating [and] throwing dirt at them.[136]

Unfortunately, Matthews eventually ends up being set to work in the hospital for an

unspecified length of time. So while she, much like the urban legend "Long Meg," she "did

set upon the Watch, and behaved herself very resolutely," the incidence does not end with all

involved heading "to the Tavern, [concluding] the Fray in a Cup of Wine."[137]

The Bridewell governors regularly heard threats and curses from defendants of all

sorts and at times, even from the staff of Bridewell itself. By the early 1630s governing the

hospital was particularly difficult for the governors. The house apprentices were often

unruly. They ran away. They fought in the chapel. And on May Day of 1634, they "with a

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[134] Anonymous, *The Araignement and Burning of Margaret Ferne-Seede for the Murther of Her Late Husband Anthony Ferne-Seede, Found Deade in Peckham Field Neere Lambeth*, STC/ 724:11 ed. (London: E. Allde for Henry Gosson, 1608), 8, passim.
[135] B.C.B. 8 fo. 15.
[136] B.C.B. 8 fo. 9ᵛ.
[137] Roger Thompson, ed. *Samuel Pepys' Penny Merriments Being a Collection of Chapbooks, Full of Histories, Jests, Magic, Amoroius Tales of Courtship, Marriage and Infidelity, Accounts of Rogues and Fools Together with Comments on the Times* (New York: Columbia University Press,1977), 52.

drum went abroad and came disorderly with bowes on their necks into the citty and house with the drum striking before them."[138] Bridewell officers too were unruly. The House matrons at various times were accused of offences. These ran the gamut from allowing female inmates to have male visitors to keeping money due the governors to starving a prisoner because the "diet which was given him was very meane which is feared was a great cause that he parished."[139] John Jeweller, Hospital steward in the early 1630s, fought extensively with the house porter, clerk and treasurer. He thought so poorly of the Hospital governance that he claimed "the curse of God is over this house."[140] In May of 1633, Jeweller was reprimanded for having "misdemeanded himselfe [to the governors] in ill language and other p[re]eptorie Carriage and behaviour."[141] The steward promised to amend his ways, but the following February saw him accusing the Hospital Treasurer of keeping two or three hundred pounds a year of hospital money for himself.[142] Eventually Jeweller had to be removed from his post. If one of the main disciplinary institutions in the city could not keep discipline within its walls, we must imagine individual householders frequently had similar problems, whether or not they reached a level that had to be dealt with publically.

Do these acts of rebellion constitute evidence of an i-self? The evidence is not yet conclusive. However, when they are repeat and intentional and when they are taken in the larger context of social change in early modern London, they suggest that perceived changes

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[138] B.C.B. 7 fo. 377ᵛ.
[139] B.C.B. 7 fo. 363ᵛ.
[140] B.C.B. 8 fo. 16.
[141] B.C.B. 7 fo. 322.
[142] B.C.B. 8 fo. 23.

in social roles are beginning to permeate different ranks of City society. Further research into a broader sampling of sources across the period is warranted. While my research here is still preliminary, it suggests that, as London grew and faced epidemiological, economic, and political change, incidences of social rebellion through petty crime and illicit entertainment grew as well.

Conclusions

My study has made advances in several areas of our understanding of early modern London, the first of those being the value of GIS to historical study. We have seen that techniques of modern GIS can allow us to construct a dynamic model of a long-vanished city. We can trace the flow of an epidemic through a parish or compare fictional and factual locations of crime throughout the city. We can study the distribution of wealth and construct complex risk terrains that assess several categories of crime or disease at once. This study only reveals the tip of the iceberg of the potential of GIS as a method for mapping the cultural contours of long-vanished historical spaces.

In chapter four, I illustrated that "emic" or internal sources intentionally created as a reflection (or supposed reflection) of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century society, namely sermons, rogue pamphlets, and plague pamphlets, construct a model of London that reflected legal prosecutions in many ways. Both emic and etic sources show us that the worst of the sin and vice lay in the commercial areas of the city, especially the western suburbs. Where it penetrated within the city walls, the taint, as portrayed in the pamphlets, was still largely limited to the "public sphere" of the markets, taverns, playhouses, and

churches. Where this literature warns the reader about threats within the household, the main threat was that servants might be seduced into foolish actions by outsiders like prostitutes and con men.

We have also seen that our "etic" sources reveal a distribution of crime that differed in two key areas. First, in actual prosecutions, the public commercial spaces were not swarming with criminals to the extent that the pamphlets would indicate. This is not to say that no Bridewell defendants came from St. Paul's or the Exchange. The etic sources concur with the assessment of high levels of crime in the western suburbs of London and the public spaces within the walls, but from the perspective of the Bridewell Governors, those commercial spaces were only one of many concerns. Crime in the pestered back alleys of the city was also of concern, as was that occurring within households across the city.   The areas of commerce which the pamphlets emphasize as sources of danger were viewed in conflicting ways by London residents. While their wealth and the glittering commodities they sold reflected London's glory, they also upset traditional social hierarchies and enabled the newly wealthy to gain power in the City. This fluidity created what Jean-Christophe Agnew calls a "crisis of representation," where individual identity is fluid and dependant on circumstance rather than divine order.[143] In response, early modern writers tried to limit this fluidity by creating an anti-order, an entire hierarchy of criminality which is clearly laid out in the pamphlets.[144]

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[143] Dynes, "The Trickster-Figure," 366.
[144] Jonathan Haynes, "Representing the Underworld: 'The Alchemist'," *Studies in Philology* 86, no. 1 (1989): 19.

Secondly, Bridewell and the world of the pamphlets differed in the degree of emphasis on household crime and servants. "Servant" was the single most frequent profession of Bridewell defendants, and they perpetrated many crimes, even violent ones, within their masters' homes. Yet they have a minimal presence in crime pamphlets. That servants were not as great a part of the pamphlet discourse as their impact on household and neighborhood might suggest should come as no surprise - the servant was an inevitable and, when well behaved, invisible part of society. Unlike the successful merchant or master craftsman, the servant only became visible when he was causing a problem. The assumption in much of the literature discussed in previous chapters was that the master of the household would be successful in regulating those young men and women who live under his roof. Servants, however, were not merely victims of crime; they were perpetrators and sometimes-unrepentant ones at that. The etic sources clearly show that the majority of petty crimes committed by those with a profession listed were committed by servants. The map of servant crimes more closely corresponds to areas of wealth within London than does any other category.

Why then did the tricky or subversive servant play a greater role in drama? Drama is beyond the scope of this study, however it is worth speculating what further research might reveal. London's playhouses and plays that evolved there were liminal, dislocated "from the strict confines of the existing social order and taking up on the margins of society."[145] As such, this form of storytelling may have provided a safer environment for exploring the

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[145] Stephen Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 8.

failure of the householder to control his servants than did the supposedly "true crime" pamphlets.

Where sickness is concerned, the parish registers, and Bridewell records, compiled and revealed in ways only John Graunt had begun to contemplate at the time, reveal the spread of both endemic and epidemic disease through the parishes of London. Servants play a role here as well. They were the largest naïve population vulnerable to contagious disease, and they often spread that disease within a household. The very thought of a sick servant with "a pricking in her necke" could "put us all in feare."[146] Here pamphlet literature diverges less from the etic sources. Both show a fear of servants as bringers of disease.

The consequences of a servant opening the household to reputation-ruining criminal behavior or deadly disease were real and serious. The presence of this necessary "fifth column" within the household was a source of social and personal stress. So, of course, were the related factors of London's commercial growth and the anonymity afforded by its sheer size. As sources of stress, I propose that household and neighborhood permeability to change and disorder, was a catalyst in the birth of the modern; they played a role in the social and psychological changes many historians locate in the seventeenth century—the birth of a new regime of self-hood.

Such a cosmic conclusion can only be tentative at this point. However, the role of the servant in the permeable household and the permeable self should be a topic of continued research. Further study might expand to utilize consistory court records,

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[146] Wallington, *Notebooks*, 59.

additional diaries, commonplace books and other sources beyond the scope of this study. But even this preliminary work shows that the some degree of stress on the household was undeniable. Lena Cowen Orlin notes the contemporary fear of the household being "too open, penetrable by, and hospitable to any number of disorderly and masterless men"[147] and this was no abstract fear. Even the most godly and orderly household had to fear plague, if not crime. In fact, far from being a man's "castle and fortress, as well for defense against injury and violence, as for his repose," the household itself and its staff were undeniable sources of stress, potential violence, disorder, and disease. [148] It was by changing his conception of self that the early modern householder could have drawn a boundary between himself and those ubiquitous stressors.

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[147] Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England*, 8.
[148] Ibid. 2.

Appendix: Quantitative Methods

Map Creation and Sources

The GIS program used for this project was primarily ArcGIS 9.3.1. ArcGIS 10 was used in the later stages. ArcGIS is a powerful geospatial information program created by ESRI Inc. GIS or Geospatial Information Systems software such as ArcGIS allows the user to visualize spatial data stored in a relational database and perform complex spatial analyses on such data.

Several steps were required to create a historically and geographically accurate map of a city which no longer exists in its previous form. First, I created a base image working from Mary Lobel's map of London in 1520 as published in *The City of London, from Prehistoric Times to c.1520*. Lobel, who has also worked on some of the Victoria Histories of the Counties of England constructed her map using textual references such as Stow's Survey, contemporary maps, and the Royal Ordnance survey datum of 1870.[1]

The largest scale map available for early modern London in her atlas was printed at a 1:2500 scale across several pages. In order to create a single map from these separate images, I first photographed the images using a fixed camera stand and digital camera. This process created eight separate bit map images approximately 2300 by 1700 pixels in size.

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[1] M. D. Lobel et al., "The City of London, from Prehistoric Times to C.1520," in *The British Atlas of Historic Towns v. 3* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press in conjunction with Historic Towns Trust, 1989). A datum (plural datums) is the physical representation of the earth used in mapping. There have been many datums over time as our ability to measure features on the earth has improved. The datum behind the projected maps in the project is the WGS84 datum.

The eight separate maps were then stitched together using Autostitch 2.2. Autostitch was created at the University of British Columbia by Mathew Brown and David Rowe.

The resulting stitched image was then loaded into ArcGIS. This image, however, was not spatially projected. The earth's surface is (roughly) a sphere. To work with data from this sphere in ArcGIS, it must be projected on to a flat map surface like an orange peel being flattened on a plate. There are many ways to do this. One simply needs to imagine all the different ways an orange could be peeled and the peel flattened out. All projections create distortions – a spherical surface can't be flattened out and retain all of its original characteristics without distortion. Thus different projections can result in different data. My solution was to georeference the digitized maps to a projected basemap. My basemap of modern London was projected using the World Geodetic System 1984 (WGS84) datum. Because of its accuracy and functionality, WGS84 is used world-wide by government, military and civilian geographers alike.

Spatial Adjustment

In order for my shapefiles and digitized map of sixteenth century London to be tied to the real world and thus geographically accurate, they had to be georeferenced to the modern, projected raster map of London (IMAGINE Image, GCS_WGS_1984, Datum D_WGS-198). Georeferencing or Spatial Adjustment of vector data is done using ArcGIS Spatial Adjustment tools designed for that purpose. Links are created between known, recognizable points on the unprojected layer and the equivalent points on the projected
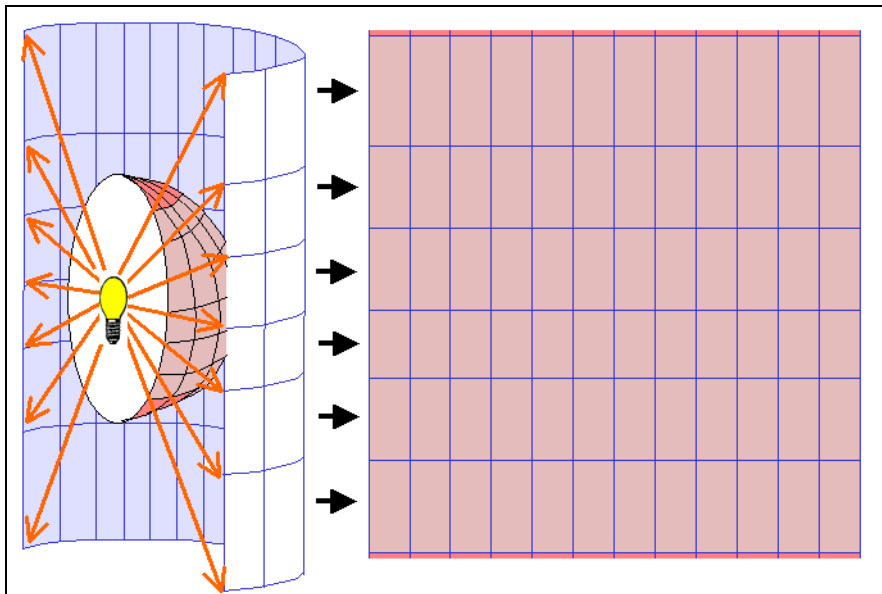
Figure A.1: Illustration of the principle of map projection (Wikimedia Commons)

layer. In the case of London, landmarks such as the Tower of London and St. Paul's cathedral served as these locations. The unprojected map is then transformed to overlay the projected layer.

All map layers were georeferenced to the projected base map, beginning with the map created from Lobel's atlas. Lobel's map served as the intermediary between the modern map and the created shapefiles for all regions of London except the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate within the ward of Portsoken. This parish was relatively undeveloped in 1520 and Lobel's map therefore did not provide details of the courts and alleys which had grown up in the area by the end of the sixteenth century. For this parish, I used maps of Portsoken from John Strype's 1720 edition of Stow's survey of London. The map was

electronically published and annotated by MOTCO in 2008.[2] The maps of London's east

end were likewise stitched together into a single image containing the parishes within

Portsoken, imported into ArcGIS, adjusted and transformed.

Creating Map Layers and Adding Observations

The map layers discussed so far have all been raster layers. Raster layers consist of

grids of cells, each containing information relevant to the map location represented by the

grid. A road on a raster map might appear to be a single line, but in reality it is simply a row

of cells that all happen to share a common designation of "road" or "asphalt." The cells

aren't connected to one another, and the "road" could not be manipulated as a whole. To

create shapefiles containing manipulatable data, I had to manually create vector images

overlaying the raster layers. Vector layers consist of lines, points, or polygons which are

mathematically modeled and then created graphically. Vector graphics are therefore

dynamic, not static. They can be manipulated once drawn and are scalable without a loss of

resolution.

I manually created vector layers for London's wards and parishes. These vector

layers consisted of polygons representing all of the wards and parishes. I created a database

for these layers and entered aggregate ward-based data (such as many of the Bridewell

records) and parish-based data such as burials recorded in the parish registers into each,

respectively. Polygon data in this study are generally shown as chloropleth maps—maps that

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[2] John Strype, "John Stow's Survey of London," in *Find Your Way around Early Georgian London*, ed. Ralph Hyde (MOTCO, 1720, reprinted 2008).

display different data values for each polygon in a range of colors. I also created point-based vector maps to hold data that represented individual events – an individual death or arrest, for example. ArcGIS tools allow for the spatial joining of layers, so that for analysis purposes these individual events could be associated with the parishes or wards in which they occurred.

Not all locations were simple to map. Lobel's atlas contained ward and parish boundaries which were used in the creation of the ward and parish vector polygon layers. However, not all individual streets, courts, taverns and landmarks were labeled on either Lobel's or Strype's maps. To locate otherwise unlabeled points, I utilized another MOTCO publication, Harben's Dictionary of London. MOTCO along with British History Online (a website maintained by the University of London and History of Parliament Trust) both provide the work online. The Dictionary of London was written by Henry Harben at the beginning of the 20th century and published in 1918, eight years after his death. It contains textual descriptions of over 6000 places in London which Harben located by using the Agas map, Stow, Strype, and a variety of contemporary legal records including the Anales Monastici, Charters in the Harleian collection of the British Museum, hundred rolls, and the records of London institutions such as the Inner Temple.[3] By triangulating with locations listed on the base maps noted above, locations not on the maps could be approximated in a reproducible and consistent manner.

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[3] Henry Harbin, F. S. A., "A Dictionary of London Being Notes Topographical and Historical Relating to the Streets and Principal Buildings in the City of London." (MOTCO, 1918), motco.com/harben.

Map Analysis Tools

The data used in this study were, as noted above, not uniformly associated with precise locations. Some events, both crimes and deaths from disease, were recorded from specific alleys, yards, or tenements. However, some data was associated only with a ward or parish. Additionally, the bulk of data was initially in manuscript form. After transcribing the records into Microsoft Excel, I used the ArcGIS temporary Join tool to attach the Excel file to the relevant shapefile. That file could then be saved as a new shapefile, permanently appending the Excel data to the ma layer. Spatial Join and Union tools were used to combine point event data with parish- and ward-based data. At that point, tools designed for analyzing each type of data, polygon or point, could be applied.

Measures of Point Dispersion and Distribution

ArcGIS provides several tools for assessing the distribution of point data. In this study, I calculated Weighted Mean Centers and Standard Deviational Ellipses for the relevant point data. Mean center is calculated by determining the mean values for the x-coordinate and y-coordinate of each point in the data set, weighted by the field you are studying. The formulae for determining mean center are $\bar{X}_w = \frac{\sum_i (w_i X_i)}{\sum_i w_i}$ and $\bar{Y}_w = \frac{\sum_i (w_i Y_i)}{\sum_i w_i}$.[4] The results are displayed as a new point shapefile with a single point indicating the mean center of the data in question. Standard Deviational Ellipses are calculated by determining the standard distance of both the x-and y-coordinates for the data. Standard distance is the

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[4] Andy Mitchell, *The Esri Guide to Gis Analysis: Spatial Measurements and Statistics*, vol. 2 (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2009), 31.

average distance between each point and the mean center. In the case of the Standard

Deviational Ellipse, the GIS measures the standard deviation of the features from the mean

center. The formulae the GIS uses to determine this are $SD_X = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma_i(X_i-\bar{X})^2}{n}}$ and $SD_Y =$

$\sqrt{\frac{\Sigma_i(Y_i-\bar{Y})^2}{n}}$. The result is shown as a new shapefile with the ellipse (if just one standard

deviation is calculated) or ellipses displayed around the mean center.[5]

Hot Spot Analysis

The hot spot analysis tool in ArcGIS is a way of analyzing the degree of clustering of

both point and polygon data. I used this method primarily with polygon data. This tool

generates a Z-score or Standard score for each point and then categorizes them by frequency

of occurrence. The Z-score or Standard score is calculated with the equation: $Z_i = (X_i -$

$\bar{X}) / s$ Where X_i observation I, $\bar{X}$ is the mean of the data, and s is the standard deviation for

the data. The Z-score is thus the measure of the number of standard deviations an

observation lies above or below the mean for the data.[6] To put it another way, the Z-scores

of the clustered data indicate the probability (on the Normal curve) of the cluster having

occurred by chance. The Z-score is a unit-less number. This is a convenient way to convert

a number of different variables to comparable scales as well as to analyze the spatial

distribution of the data.

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[5] Ibid., 49.
[6] J. Chapman McGrew and Charles B. Monroe, *An Introduction to Statistical Problem Solving in Geography*, 2nd ed. (Long Grove, Il: Waveland Press, Inc., 2000), 77.

The hot spot tool groups the Z-scores into frequency categories for the data according to the number of standard deviations they are above or below the mean and maps them. The range for hot spot maps is generally -3 to +3, i.e. the lower limit would be values that are three standard deviations below the mean, the upper limit values that are three standard deviations above the mean. Three standard deviations generally include more than 99.7 percent of the possible range of data.[7] The default colors are reds for points that fall into positive categories (positive standard deviations) and blues for points that fall into negative categories (negative standard deviations). Default colors are used for the maps in this project.

The break-points of these frequency categories can be changed by the user to better reveal patterns in the data. I did not extensively alter them. However, where multiple hot spot analysis were being used together, as in the creation of maps via map algebra, category break points were, if necessary, all changed to the same values for the different hot spot maps. The mean values for the maps in the set were used as the new break points. Category break points are indicated in the legend of each map.

Map Algebra

Map algebra was used to create risk terrains in this study. Map algebra is a tool which adds the data contained in cells of a raster image in a GIS software suite. For map algebra to be used, all the data has to be in the same scale. For the risk terrains in this study, the ArcGIS hot-spot tool was used to convert data to that common scale (see above).

---

[7]Ibid., 76.

Before proceeding, these hot spot maps had to be converted from vector to raster data. This was accomplished using the ArcGIS Vector to Raster conversion tool. Map Algebra could then be used to "sum up" the crime totals for each cell on the raster map. The lightest areas of the resulting maps represent regions of negative nine standard deviations from the cumulative mean and the darkest, positive nine standard deviations. Risk terrains such as these have been shown by the Rutgers Center on Public Safety to be of use in predicting other events.[8]
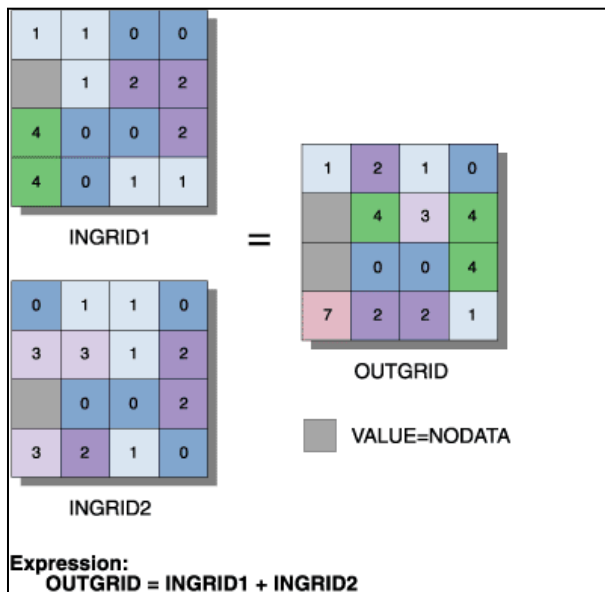

Figure A.2 Illustration of Map Algebra (esri.com)

[8] Leslie Kennedy, Joel Caplan, and Joel Miller, "Case Study: Applying Risk Terrain Modeling to Shootings in Irvington, Nj," (2009), http://www.rutgerscps.org/publications/Risk_Terrain_Case.Study_Brief.pdf.

Comparing Similarity of Layers

Statistically comparing the similarity of different layers is challenging for several reasons. First, while there are numerous statistical tests for correlation and regression, most geographical data violates key assumptions of those tests that the data are normally distributed and represent a random sample. Because the data in this study are complex and clustered, only correlation, not regression, was attempted. The specific tool I used was the ArcGIS Band Correlation tool. This tool measures the similarity between raster layers, cell-by-cell. The formula which ArcGIS employs is:

$$Cov_{ij} = \frac{\sum_{k=1}^{N}(Z_{ik} - \mu_i)(Z_{jk} - \mu_j)}{N - 1}$$

Here k represents a particular cell, N is the number of cells, i and j represent the two layers being compared, Z is the value of the cell and μ is the mean value of cells in the layer.[9] The amount by which a cell varies from the layer mean is calculated for each cell of each layer. This formula analyzes the sum of the products of the differences for the two layers divided by the degrees of freedom to determine the degree to which the two layers correlate. This approach does not assess causality, only correlation. Even this approach, which does not attempt to assess cause and effect, is problematic. The test assumes normally distributed data, which mine are not. I performed it in this case only to obtain a rough estimate of correlation and do not claim that the test would stand up to statistical rigor. However, the results are intriguing enough to suggest that in my future research, analysis with approaches

[9] Environmental Systems Research Institute, "Arcgis 9.3 Desktop Help." (Redlands, CA2009), http://webhelp.esri.com/arcgiSDEsktop/9.3/.

designed to deal with the difficulties of geographic data, such as Luc Anselin's econometric spatial autoregression, could be profitable and should be pursued.[10]

Other Quantitative Methods

In addition to the spatial analyses discussed above, some data was analyzed using conventional statistics. Students t tests and Chi-Squared tests were conducted on the data. These tests were performed both in Excel and in the open-source statistical package, R (version 2.13.0). R consoles (records the program generates of all steps taken in a test) follow.

The Chi Squared test is a non-parametric test that evaluates whether the observed distribution of values is significantly different than the expected distribution. The formula is $\chi^2 = \frac{(0-E)^2}{E}$ where O is the observed value and E is the expected value. The greater the differences between observed and expected, the greater the value of χ^2 will be. If done manually, the χ^2 value and degrees of freedom are then looked up on a standard table to determine p.[11]

The t-test and Wilcoxon matched pairs test are two-sample difference tests for dependent samples. A dependent sample is one where the pairs are matched. It might be used to measure snowfall in the same set of locations in two different years, or the S.A.T scores of a group of students before and after taking a preparation course. The formula for the t statistic is $t_{(mp)} = \frac{\bar{d}}{\sigma_d}$, where $\bar{d}$ is the mean of matched pairs differences and σ_d is the

---

[10] Mitchell, *Guide to Gis Analysis*, 218.
[11] McGrew and Monroe, *An Introduction to Statistical Problem Solving in Geography*, 155.

standard error of the mean (the standard deviation of the matched pairs differences divided

by the square root of n, the number of pairs).[12]

The Wilcoxon matched pairs test is a similar test for non-parametric data. The

formula for this test is: $Z_w = \dfrac{T - \frac{n(n+1)}{4}}{\sqrt{\frac{n(n+1)(2n+1)}{24}}}$ where T is the rank sum and n is the number of

matched pairs (n>10),

R Consoles

R Console for the Chi Squared Test:

```
R version 2.13.0 (2011-04-13)
Copyright (C) 2011 The R Foundation for Statistical Computing
ISBN 3-900051-07-0
Platform: i386-pc-mingw32/i386 (32-bit)

> # Chi-squared test is performed.
> # c(166, 240) indicates observed deaths.
> # p=c(34.3/100,65.7/100) indicates expected ratio.

> chisq.test(c(166,240),p=c(34.3/100,65.7/100))

        Chi-squared test for given probabilities

data:  c(166, 240)
X-squared = 7.8163, df = 1, p-value = 0.005178

> # The p-value is very small.  We can reject the null hypothesis.
```

---

[12] Ibid., 141-142.

R console for the Matched pairs t-test and Wilcoxon Ranked Pairs test:

```
R version 2.13.0 (2011-04-13)
Copyright (C) 2011 The R Foundation for Statistical Computing
ISBN 3-900051-07-0
Platform: i386-pc-mingw32/i386 (32-bit)

> # R is instructed to read the data
> deaths=read.table(file="rdata.txt",head=T)
> # Values from the columns in the table are assigned in R.
> noserv = deaths$noserv
> serv = deaths$serv
>
> # the t test is performed
> t.test(deaths$serv,deaths$noserv,paired=T,alternative="greater")
        Paired t-test

data:  deaths$serv and deaths$noserv
t = 3.4941, df = 101, p-value = 0.0003538
alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is greater than 0
95 percent confidence interval:
 0.05660594         Inf
sample estimates:
mean of the differences
              0.1078431
>
> # p < .05, so the null hypothesis can be rejected.
> # A Wilcoxon Ranked Pairs test is also performed as a non-parametric
indication of statistical difference
> wilcox.test(deaths$serv,deaths$noserv,paired=T,alternative="greater")
      Wilcoxon signed rank test with continuity correction
data:  deaths$serv and deaths$noserv
V = 66, p-value = 0.0005447
alternative hypothesis: true location shift is greater than 0
      Warning messages:
1: In wilcox.test.default(deaths$serv, deaths$noserv, paired = T,
alternative = "greater"):
    cannot compute exact p-value with ties
2: In wilcox.test.default(deaths$serv, deaths$noserv, paired = T,
alternative = "greater"):
    cannot compute exact p-value with zeroes
> # R warns us that there may be problems with this test due to zero-
scores and ties in the data.
```

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