

**Balancing the urban stomach:
public health, food selling and
consumption in London,
c. 1558-1640**

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Contents

Contents	ii
Abstract	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Introduction	1
Introducing the thesis: an outline.....	4
Public health and the periodisation of Western history	5
Situating public health histories.....	7
Public health and primary sources	14
Public health and interdisciplinary historiography	22
Public health, the city, and food history.....	25
Introducing my thesis: themes and chapters	27
Chapter One	32
Organic political analogy in Tudor and Stuart England.....	35
Medical thinking in early modern England.....	39
Public health directions in early modern London	42
Public health and London’s political infrastructure	46
The wardmote register and its use in public health history.....	54
London’s early modern wardmote inquest registers and their public health value...	58
Public health, food and the London Fines Book	67
Public health and market regulation in early modern London	71
Public health and consumption in early modern London.....	74
Public health and food vendors in early modern London	84
Chapter One conclusion.....	92
Chapter Two	94
Elizabethan fasting reforms	99
Elizabethan management of plague	103
Public health and the Elizabethan Bills of Mortality	104
The Elizabethan College of Physicians and public health	109

Challenges to public order and public health in the 1590s City	112
Public order and public health in London's later Tudor theatres.....	116
Plague and dearth in 1590s London.....	120
Managing grain supplies in the later Tudor City	122
The regulation of the Bakers and the assize of bread, 1592-1600	126
Market regulations in the later 1590s.....	129
Chapter Two conclusion	132
Chapter Three	135
James VI and I: medical and public health perspectives.....	138
Understandings of health and the body politic in James VI and I's writings.....	140
Public health and urban foodways in Jacobean London	146
Public health and plague in Jacobean London	148
Medical literacy and medical cultures in Jacobean London	152
The College of Physicians: anatomy and academic medical printing.....	156
The College and medical status	159
The College, the Grocers and the apothecaries.....	160
The <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> of London (1618)	165
From City to ward: medicinal selling on the streets	166
Chapter Three conclusion	172
Chapter Four	174
Charles I, the body politic, and absolutist ideas.....	177
Caroline narratives of improvement in London.....	181
Plague and public health strategies in 1625	183
Plague and urban foodways in 1625	186
Deputising the Caroline gentry	191
Mapping stability: the Caroline Books of Order (1630-1) and College public health recommendations (1630-31)	193
Meat consumption, fasting, and public health in early modern London.....	202
The reputation of the London butcher.....	208
Regulating the London butcher: advice and punishments	212

Punishing erring butchers in the early modern City.....	213
The regulation of meat-selling and fasting practice, 1630-1.....	217
Urban resistance to Crown policies in the later 1630s.....	221
Chapter Four conclusion.....	222
Conclusion	224
Appendices.....	236
Item 1: Comparison of presentment categories in the Cornhill and Farringdon Without wardmote inquest registers, 1590-1600	237
Item 2: Transcription of animal, food and general health-related fines in the London Fines Book, c. 1589-1600.....	238
Item 3: Transcription of fines in the London Fines Book, c. 1623-1628.....	253
Bibliography	259
Primary Works.....	260
Unpublished primary sources.....	260
Published primary sources	261
Secondary Works.....	277
Published secondary sources.....	277
Unpublished secondary sources.....	296

Abstract

Until recently, public health histories have been predominantly shaped by medical and scientific perspectives, to the neglect of their wider social, economic and political contexts. These medically-minded studies have tended to present broad, sweeping narratives of health policy's explicit successes or failures, often focusing on extraordinary periods of epidemic disease viewed from a national context. This approach is problematic, particularly in studies of public health practice prior to 1800. Before the rise of modern scientific medicine, public health policies were more often influenced by shared social, cultural, economic and religious values which favoured maintaining hierarchy, stability and concern for 'the common good'. These values have frequently been overlooked by modern researchers. This has yielded pessimistic assessments of contemporary sanitation, implying that local authorities did not care about or prioritise the health of populations. Overly medicalised perspectives have further restricted historians' investigation and use of source material, their interpretation of multifaceted and sometimes contested cultural practices such as fasting, and their examination of habitual – and not just extraordinary – health actions. These perspectives have encouraged a focus on reactive – rather than preventative – measures.

This thesis contributes to a growing body of research that expands our restrictive understandings of pre-modern public health. It focuses on how public health practices were regulated, monitored and expanded in later Tudor and early Stuart London, with a particular focus on consumption and food-selling. Acknowledging the fundamental public health value of maintaining urban foodways, it investigates how contemporaries sought to manage consumption, food production waste, and vending practices in the early modern City's wards and parishes. It delineates the practical and political distinctions between food and medicine, broadly investigates the activities, reputations of and correlations between London's guild and itinerant food vendors and licensed and irregular medical practitioners, traces the directions in which different kinds of public health policy filtered up or down, and explores how policies were enacted at a national and local level. Finally, it compares and contrasts habitual and extraordinary public health regulations, with a particular focus on how perceptions of and actual food shortages, paired with the omnipresent threat of disease, impacted broader aspects of civic life.

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*For Grandad Noel Copley,
who regretted not taking 'honours' maths in secondary school, but now
encourages me past my own doubts*

Introduction

On 6 June 2020, in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, Guy Geltner and Janna Coomans of the University of Amsterdam were interviewed remotely by Merle Eisenberg (University of Maryland) and Lee Mordechaion (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) for their *Infectious Historians* podcast. All four podcast participants are medieval historians of disease and the environment, with the two interviewees, Geltner and Coomans, additionally engaged as investigators on the European Research Council-funded Premodern Healthscaping project (2017-2022). In the course of the interview, Geltner and Coomans were invited to discuss their research and discuss why, particularly against the context of Covid-19, “studying medieval urban public health can change how we think about modern public health around the globe today”.² Geltner’s and Coomans’ responses cut to the core of what public health is and was, and how misunderstandings of the concept and its synergetic influence on politics, the environment, and the public sphere persist from the earliest social histories right up to the present day. They pointed out that, far from being driven by medicine, public health measures are – and always have been – for the most part driven by politics: the changeable, circumstantial power dynamics now shaped by competing global, national, and local perspectives.

Public health, Coomans argued, is “more than medicine...it has to do with policing how we daily share... space with other people.”³ As Geltner continued, local, contemporary cultures, environments and politics all influence public health frameworks and enactments, informing not just “people’s responsibility to themselves [and] to their neighbours”, but their interactions with “government or centralised surveillance mechanisms.”⁴ Relating this to a modern context, on the urging of Eisenberg and Mordechai, Geltner reaffirms the continued importance of local and national environments and contexts, adding that with the Covid-19 pandemic “we really see...even in Europe, which is open borders and all that – that [public health] solutions...were given at the nation-state level, right at the moment when...the World Health Organisation and the Gates Foundation are trying to do things globally.”⁵ The introduction of ‘local lockdowns’ in England, predominantly managed by local authorities from 18 July 2020 (almost four months after a national lockdown was first

² Merle Eisenberg and Lee Mordechai with Guy Geltner and Janna Coomans, ‘Medieval Public Health with Guy Geltner and Janna Coomans, Episode 13’, *Infectious Historians* (6 June 2020) <<https://infectioushistorians.com/2020/06/06/medieval-public-health/>> [accessed 4 August 2020].

³ Coomans, ‘Medieval Public Health’, 1:01:13.

⁴ Geltner, ‘Medieval Public Health’, 1:02:06.

⁵ Geltner, ‘Medieval Public Health’, 1:03:06.

imposed in the United Kingdom) further illustrates the practicality and importance of local actions on long-term public health threats.⁶ World or state organisations can try to fight pandemics on a global or national scale, but ultimately, the success of public health initiatives depend on local agendas, resources and capabilities.⁷

“Politics is ubiquitous in public health, as befits a value-driven field engaged in the use of public power for the betterment of the human lot,” writes the political scientist Scott L. Greer: understanding how and why these values were formed and employed at certain times and in certain places throughout history is the social historian’s primary responsibility.⁸ In spite of this duty, those who write public health histories – and particularly pre-modern public health histories – have not always understood or adhered to these foundational tenets. This has had a profound effect not just on our understanding of how diverse people and places handled habitual and extraordinary public health threats in the past, but how current and future public health threats should be approached in the increasingly globalised modern world. As the historian Sally Sheard and others have discovered, public health historians and modern policy-makers often share synergetic interests and expertise. In her time as a researcher of public health history in Liverpool, Sheard was asked to engage extensively in public engagements relating to health, which were “intended to be used as leverage with national policymakers on the negative impact of cutting [local] benefits and health services”.⁹ She

used the history of local health and healthcare to develop an exhibition with the Museum of Liverpool Life and a programme of ‘celebratory events’, including artistic commissions and activities with local schools. The evaluation at the end of 1997 demonstrated that local awareness of the relative role of health

⁶ This legislation granted “local authorities new powers to respond to a serious and imminent threat to public health and to prevent COVID-19 (“coronavirus”) transmission in a local authority’s area where this is necessary and proportionate”. Department of Health and Social Care, ‘Local authority powers to impose restrictions: Health Protection (Coronavirus, Restrictions) (England) (No.3) Regulations 2020’, *gov.uk* (17 July 2020), <<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/local-authority-powers-to-impose-restrictions-under-coronavirus-regulations/local-authority-powers-to-impose-restrictions-health-protection-coronavirus-restrictions-england-no3-regulations-2020>> [accessed 30 July 2020].

⁷ As Coomans’ and Geltner’s colleague Taylor Zaneri puts it, now we understand that in the past, as in the present, “such programmes shaped and in turn were shaped...by a range of administrators, by cities’ physical, social, political and biological environments and by contemporary interpretations of risk and health by diverse residents”. See Taylor Zaneri and Guy Geltner, ‘The dynamics of healthscaping: mapping communal hygiene in Bologna, 1287–1383’, *Urban History* (2020), p. 2.

⁸ Scott L. Greer et al, ‘Policy, politics and public health’, *European Journal of Public Health*, 27, supplement 4 (2017), p. 40.

⁹ Sally Sheard. ‘History Matters: The Critical Contribution of Historical Analysis to Contemporary Health Policy and Health Care’, *Health Care Analysis* 26 (2018), p. 149.

determinants had improved. The city council and local NHS authorities were stimulated by understanding how major policy developments had been achieved by three pioneers in 1847, despite a lack of local funding, staffing or national support. They were encouraged to draw contemporary comparisons and to think more broadly and creatively about solutions to Liverpool's chronic poor health.¹⁰

Sheard's experience shows that the methodologies and perspectives undertaken by public health historians have significant value beyond the world of academic research: they can be harnessed as real-world solutions to ongoing problems.

This introduction will aim to fulfil three broad objectives. Firstly, it will introduce, define and situate my thesis' approach in the context of existing historical research and historiographical trends. Secondly, it will explore some of the most common reasons that public health histories, in particular, continue to be skewed by their authors' active or inadvertent misunderstandings and/or assumptions. Thirdly, it will outline how this thesis will avoid making similar mistakes, justifying its methodologies, timeline, and selection of and approach to primary sources.

Introducing the thesis: an outline

My thesis is a social history: one that principally contributes to public health history, the history of the body, and food history. Combining the existing methodologies of these three sub-disciplines, it attempts to show how the outlooks, negotiations and actions of successive civic governments, institutions and communities helped shape public health policy and practice in pre-Civil War London (c. 1558-1640), offering new perspectives on the history of early modern London and its public health. Though I classify it as an 'early modern' project, I also refer to the 'pre-modern period' – particularly in my discussions of medical theory and the extent of civic sanitation. In history, the 'pre-modern' period is broadly defined as that which preceded the 'modern' period – usually pre-1750, and encompassing the 'classical', 'medieval' and 'early modern' periods.¹¹ This periodisation of history originated in the later eighteenth century, according to Jack Goldstone: a time from which the intelligentsia of Europe used the word 'modern' to emphasise the superiority of contemporary and upcoming ages over those which

¹⁰ Sheard. 'History Matters', p. 149.

¹¹ See, for example, Harold Cook, 'Good Advice and Little Medicine: The Professional Authority of Early Modern English Physicians', *Journal of British Studies*, 33:1 (1994), pp 2-3.

preceded them.¹² I have chosen intermittently to refer to the pre-modern (in addition to the early modern) period largely in recognition of the fact that the dominant medical theory which informed the day-to-day assumptions of most early modern people remained broadly the same as it had during the classical and medieval periods.¹³ This recognition does not assume, however, that medical knowledge and practices remained static throughout the pre-modern period: they most emphatically did not. Much as in the present time, tensions between medical theory and public health practice – evidenced, for example, by public health policies’ vulnerability to circumstantial political or economic wrangling – were ongoing. As Andrew Wear has commented,

Just like other aspects of pre-modern material and cognitive culture, the culture of medicine had long roots in time and changed slowly, but for individuals it was part of the lived present, the world of events.¹⁴

One of the greatest problems I have found reflected in much existing public health historiography has been historians’ failure to adequately differentiate between “the culture of medicine” and “the lived present” highlighted by Wear. Medical culture does not exist in a vacuum: it is shaped by – and in turn shapes – all manner of current events. A tendency to overlook this core truth in history has, to a significant extent, resulted from some modern scholars’ problematic attitudes to periodisation and often unthinking adherence to outdated historiographical approaches. Both of these issues present particular problems in the study of health and medicine.

Public health and the periodisation of Western history

For those unfamiliar with twentieth-century periodisation of Western history, distinguishing between the medieval, early modern, and modern periods can be fraught with confusion.¹⁵ The historian Laura Sangha has commented that her students more often than not begin their undergraduate studies with a simplistic attitude to Western

¹² Jack A. Goldstone, ‘The Problem of the “Early Modern” World’, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 41:3 (1998), pp 249-250.

¹³ Prior to the widespread acceptance of Louis Pasteur’s germ theory in the twentieth century, Western medicine was influenced largely by Hippocrates’ and Galen’s humoral theory. While the early modern period is notable for a number of significant challenges to the medical orthodoxy, none succeeded in displacing humourism entirely. These challenges will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

¹⁴ Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 3.

¹⁵ Laura Sangha, ‘On periodisation: an introduction’ in *the many-headed monster* (19 April 2016) <<https://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/2016/04/19/on-periodisation-an-introduction/>> [accessed 21 August 2019].

periodisation – more specifically, the impulse to view history as either ‘medieval’ or ‘modern’.¹⁶ The impulse of Sangha’s students is somewhat understandable, considering that recognition of the early modern period is a relatively new trend in Western historiography. Before the mid-twentieth century, it was common for historians to divide history into two major timeframes: the pre-modern and modern periods, which were aligned on opposite ends of the chronological spectrum. Though the term ‘early modern’ was first printed in 1941, it did not become well-established in the field until the 1970s.¹⁷ The exact year ranges which comprise the early modern period are also controversial, being frequently debated among academics (they can range anywhere between 1400-1815).¹⁸ These problems have contributed to the early modern period’s continued comparison – or even relegation – to the medieval period in popular culture, with the result that the two periods are often grouped together. This tendency has had particularly profound consequences for how the history of public health – as well as the history of medicine more broadly – has been approached and conceived by the general public, as well as past and contemporary historians.

Histories of pre-modern sanitation in the West have long been stunted and complicated by a lingering “medieval-modern dichotomy” which, the public health historian Dolly Jorgensen has argued, serves to designate “medieval as dirty and modernity as clean”.¹⁹ This simplistic divide is not merely restricted to issues of hygiene, but implicit ideas of civility, since dirt – whether it be on the body or in the environment – is equated with cultural disorder.²⁰ “The word ‘medieval’”, Carole Rawcliffe and Claire Weeda argue, has long been “a synonym for ignorance, superstition, and an indifference to squalor”; a stereotype that propagated the view that, as Mark Jenner asserts, “simpler societies” simply did not mind stench.²¹ Relatively recent

¹⁶ Sangha, ‘On periodisation’.

¹⁷ Randolph Starn, ‘Review article: the early modern muddle’, *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 6:3 (2002), p. 298. The term was first used in a book title – G. N. Clark’s *Early Modern Europe from about 1450 to about 1720* – in 1957. Ibid.

¹⁸ Starn, ‘the early modern muddle’, p. 302. Happily, in the context of this study, I can confidently refer to the period from 1590-1640 as the early modern period!

¹⁹ Dolly Jorgensen, ‘Modernity and Medieval Muck’, *Nature and Culture* 9:3 (2014), p. 226; Carole Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), p. 19.

²⁰ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo* (London and New York: Routledge, 1984), p. 2.

²¹ Carole Rawcliffe and Claire Weeda, *Policing the Urban Environment in Premodern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), p. 12; Mark Jenner, Mark Jenner, ‘Follow Your Nose? Smell, Smelling, and Their Histories’, *American History Review*, 116:2 (2011), p. 340.

representations of the medieval-modern binary have included popular histories such as BBC2's 2011 television programme *Filthy Cities*, presented by Dan Snow; olfactory exhibitions in museums and scratch-and-smell books (both of which have traditionally employed foul odours to represent the medieval and early modern periods); and even modern scholarship such as Emily Cockayne's *Hubbub* (2007), criticised by Rawcliffe for espousing a particularly outdated, limiting view of pre-eighteenth century urban sanitation.²² In his review of eighteenth-century practice, James Riley also contributed to condescending perspectives of seventeenth-century sanitation for, as he writes, it is no wonder that "images of refuse and waste strewn here and there" spring from Samuel Pepys' diary, given that few cities and towns "possessed or used the most elementary techniques for disposing of the waste of man and nature".²³ Snow's, Cockayne's and Riley's assessments are stark, unforgiving, and significantly not a minority conclusion: they concede that even "the most elementary techniques" of public health were not understood, cared for or observed until the modern period.

Situating public health histories

In line with these perspectives, writers of public health histories have traditionally rooted the beginnings of English public health in the nineteenth century or, at the very earliest, the mid-eighteenth century. Christopher Hamlin dates the origins of public health c. 1780-1840, while others have attributed its development to the profound social and environmental effects of the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution.²⁴ Riley, for example, wrote that the Enlightenment (from c. 1740) prompted the medical profession to undergo a conceptual shift from "thought to action" and from "reflection about the problems of man to action to redress those problems".²⁵ The Industrial Revolution, meanwhile, contributed to increased urbanisation and industrialisation in Britain's cities, emphasising already unhygienic conditions and heightening the need for prompt collective action.²⁶ This is why, Riley suggests, licensed medical practitioners only

²² Jorgensen, 'Modernity and Modern Muck', p. 226; Jenner, 'Follow Your Nose?', p. 338.

²³ James Riley, *The Eighteenth Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (Basingstoke & London: Macmillan, 1987), p. xi.

²⁴ Christopher Hamlin, 'Predisposing Causes and Public Health in Early Nineteenth-Century Medical Thought', *The Society for the Social History of Medicine* (1992), p. 45. See also Alain Corbin's *The Foul and the Fragrant* (1989), which links civic authorities' increased efforts to regulate environmental sources of foul odour after the Enlightenment to Western societies' lower olfactory tolerance.

²⁵ Riley, *The Eighteenth Century Campaign*, p. 9.

²⁶ Riley, *Eighteenth Century Campaign*, p. 153.

really became actively involved in the public health cause after the mid-eighteenth century.²⁷ Geltner describes this conclusion as a “narrative of painful progress”: one which “continues to frame modern public health as a positive counterpart to the Industrial Revolution’s social and environmental harms”.²⁸

Insidious bias towards the habitual state of sanitation in the pre-modern period emerges even in the writings of those renowned for expanding our understandings of public health and medical history. The great George Rosen, whose seminal work *A History of Public Health* (1958) first helped encourage historians to take a broader approach to the subject, acknowledged that “in the history of public health, the Renaissance is significant” – but he appended a considerable proviso to this observation. The early modern period, Rosen implied, was important because it was “the dawn of a new period of history, the modern period, within which public health as we know it developed”, and the ignorant shackles of “medieval civilization” were loosened.²⁹ The rightfully-lauded Roy Porter, who emphasised the need for broader, more insightful studies of the history of medicine in his introduction to *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind* (1997), was yet similarly prone to lapsing into dismissive, Whiggish judgement in other works.³⁰ The pre-modern chapters of his *Disease, Medicine and Society in England* (1995) effectively gloss over the relative health achievements of the pre-modern period as a whole (this is amplified by the fact that the book begins from 1550 onwards), while excessively praising those of the modern period.³¹ In spite of their deserved fame within the respective disciplines of public health and medical histories, it is clear that Rosen and Porter, like many before and after them, espoused (at least, in some of their books)

²⁷ Indeed, Riley’s assertion will be challenged in this project’s examination of the role of the College of Physicians in the City of London, in Chapters 2, 3 & 4.

²⁸ Guy Geltner, ‘The Path to Pistoia: Urban Hygiene Before The Black Death’, *Past and Present*, 246 (2020), p. 29.

²⁹ George Rosen, *A History of Public Health* (New York: MD Publications Inc., 1958), p. 82.

³⁰ In his foreword, Porter memorably urged his readers to remember that our knowledge of past events will always be incomplete: all historians can do is acknowledge this perennial deficit, strive for relative personal objectivity, and attempt to work conscientiously with the full range of sources available to them. See Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: The Folio Society, 2016), p. 12.

³¹ In this book, Porter writes among other things that “English medicine had little reason to be proud...[it] plainly had no answers to the fatal diseases that time and time again proved such scourges.” Indeed, “against such diseases, the healer’s art proved a broken reed.” He adds, condescendingly, “It was basic research (in biology, chemistry, bacteriology and immunology) that would eventually enable late-nineteenth and twentieth century medicine to combat micro-organisms and sepsis”. Roy Porter, *Disease, medicine and society in England, 1550-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp 6-7; *Ibid.*, pp 8-9.

not just a binary view of historical chronology, but an overtly negative approach to the issue of pre-modern health.

As previous paragraphs have argued, in spite of the rise of much academic work to the contrary – including that of Jorgensen, Rawcliffe, Weeda, Jenner, Guy Geltner, and Peregrine Horden – there remains a pervading assumption among some historians and the general public alike that prior to the eighteenth-century, public sanitation was non-existent or deplorably insufficient, and that maintaining the health of communities was simply not a priority for local or national authorities.³² Why does this perspective so doggedly persist?

One aspect that is insufficiently explored by many students of public health is the legacy of Victorian historiography. The discipline of history was first professionalised in the nineteenth century, not long after European intellectuals first identified themselves as ‘moderns’.³³ Tasked with the responsibility of writing national histories at a time when the nation-state was growing, and keen to establish the boundaries of their profession, Victorian historians overwhelmingly reinforced chronological distance between what they considered the ‘barbarous’ past and ‘civilised’ present. They avoided discussing the too-recent past altogether, deeming it too provisional, impermanent and liminal to fit into the binary categories that they had established.³⁴ Conveyed through the lens of contemporary value-systems, history was presented as a story of unlimited advancement and progression: a historiographical

³² See, for example, Geltner, ‘Healthscaping a medieval city’ (2013); idem, ‘Public Health and the Pre-Modern City: a Research Agenda’ (2012); Jenner, ‘Follow your Nose’; Horden, ‘Ritual and public health in the early medieval city’ (2000). This point was also exemplified for me when I attended the Urban History Group’s ‘Unhealthy Cities?’ public health conference in Keele, where participants were asked to submit papers post-dating 1600. The final programme contained two papers stemming from 1600, one from 1700, eighteen from 1800, and a further eighteen from 1900. Papers dating from before 1800 thus composed a measly 8% of the conference’s total papers. ‘Urban History Conference 2018 Programme’, *University of Leicester: Centre for Urban History* <<https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/urbanhistory/resources/urban-history-conference-2018-programme/view>> [accessed 2 September 2019].

³³ Jorgensen and Rawcliffe have, among other scholars, both posited that this civilising separation originated from this timeframe. Jorgensen, ‘Modernity and Medieval Muck’, p. 226; Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies*, p. 19.

³⁴ Helen Kingstone, ‘Victorian historiography and the recent past: Harriet Martineau, J.R. Green, and Spencer Walpole’, *Clio* 43:3, pp 5-6; J.W. Burrow, *Victorian history and the English past* (1983), pp 14-15.

approach since referred to as the “Whig narrative of national progress”.³⁵ Reluctant to engage with disparate, ‘messy’ history (linked with amateur antiquarian pursuits, and epitomised by fragmented archival material), Victorian historians overwhelmingly eschewed it in favour of detached grand narratives (considered worthy of professional history and derived from highly selective historical writings).³⁶ This meant, as Jorgensen has pointed out, that Victorian historiography – the earliest professional historiography that modern historians have to draw upon – was simply too blinkered by “modern ideas of civility and scientific progress” to examine pre-modern history on its own terms.³⁷ This is particularly true of the history of medicine – the story of a discipline swiftly transformed some time around the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from “the oldest art” to the “youngest science”.³⁸

Three other aspects have also contributed to assumptions made about pre-modern sanitation and medicine. Firstly, it has been overwhelmingly supposed that English public health protocols depended, as they do in the modern period, on the active participation of licensed medical practitioners.³⁹ Secondly, public health historians have often – based on this assumption – restricted the kind of sources they have traditionally looked over in their studies of public health to those which largely reflect medical theories, understandings and practices. This tendency has sometimes caused them to overlook other sources of interest – most particularly those which contend with the oldest, most habitual, and overtly localised aspects of public health, including the maintenance and management of urban food supplies and the disposal of trade waste. These sources are rarely presented or categorised as ‘public health’ sources – perhaps because, at least in an English context, the term did not appear until 1617, when the travel writer Fynes Moryson famously translated it from Italian in his *Itinerary* of his

³⁵ Classic ‘Whig’ histories include T.B. Macaulay’s *The History of England* (1913-15) and G.M. Trevelyan’s *English Social History* (1942). See Kingstone, ‘Victorian Historiography’, pp 3-4.

³⁶ Kingstone, ‘Victorian Historiography’, pp 3-4.

³⁷ Dolly Jorgensen, ‘Modernity and Medieval Muck’, *Nature and Culture* 9:3 (2014), p. 226.

³⁸ Lewis Thomas, quoted in William Rosen, *Miracle Cure: The Creation of Antibiotics and the Birth of Modern Medicine* (New York: Viking, 2017), p. 3.

³⁹ Riley, *Eighteenth Century Campaigns*, p. 9; Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 1.

travels in Europe, and was overtly used by contemporaries.⁴⁰ Finally, there is a prevailing tendency to integrate medical and public health history too broadly into general social history, or even present it as a *longue durée* history, in which the medieval and early modern periods are for the most part skimmed over in large, chronological blocks of hundreds of years or more.⁴¹ It is assumed that since medical *theory* did not much change, neither did approaches to medicine or enactments of public health at a local level.⁴² This assumption downplays the shifting influences of local and national politics and strategies, the pressures of population growth, the ebb and flow of medical and commercial marketplaces, and the very localised aspects of different public health protocols.⁴³ Together, all three of these aspects facilitate and accentuate one another, highlighting how one casual assumption can lead to endless others.

One of the greatest disparities still found in English public health history is the surviving notion that pre-modern public health depended primarily on the interactions of central government, university-educated physicians, and occasionally licensed surgeons and apothecaries. By default, the contributions of informal or itinerant medical practitioners – many of them female – domestic medicine, and local governments were considered negligible.⁴⁴ As Margaret Pelling wrote in 1998, “The existence of local forms of control of medical activity (including civic control) has hardly been admitted

⁴⁰ See ‘public health, n.’, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://www.oed.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/view/Entry/239546?redirectedFrom=public+health#eid>> [accessed 27 July 2017]. Other sources – such as the early modern European health passes recently studied by Alexandra Bamji – have traditionally been considered too liminal, too “ephemeral”, and too piecemeal for close analysis on their own terms. See Alexandra Bamji, ‘Health Passes, Print and Public Health in Early Modern Europe’, *Social History of Medicine*, 32:3 (2019), p. 442-3.

⁴¹ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 3; See, for example, Rosen’s *Public Health* (1958) and Porter’s *Health, Civilisation and the State* (1998).

⁴² Margaret Pelling, in particular, has long drawn attention to the prevailing tendency of historians to focus on theory rather than practice in her writings, most recently in ‘Managing Uncertainty and Privatising Apprenticeship: Status and Relationships in English Medicine, 1500–1900’, *Social History of Medicine*, 31:1 (2019), p. 36.

⁴³ Medical marketplace, in this context, refers to the “diverse, plural and commercial pre-professional system of health care” in which unlicensed medical vendors acting independently of the professional three-tier system of physicians, apothecaries and surgeons were also valued and attended by pre-modern people. See Mark Jenner and Patrick Harris, ‘The Medical Marketplace’ in *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c.1450-c.1850*, ed. by Mark Jenner and Patrick Wallace (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp 1-2.

⁴⁴ This has only recently been redressed by a number of significant studies, including Pelling’s *Medical Conflicts* (2003), Harkness, ‘A View from the Streets’ (2008), Laroche, *Medical Authority* (2009) and Strocchia, *Forgotten Healers* (2019), all of which attempt, from different angles, to reconstitute the story of marginal (often female) practitioners that composed the majority of London’s medical marketplace.

by recent writers: only pretensions at the national level, such as those of the College of Physicians, are seen as significant, however unsuccessful.”⁴⁵ This is another approach that recognisably stems from the nineteenth century, a period from which physicians began to occupy an unprecedentedly high social status and influence that, contemporaries assumed, their early modern predecessors must also have enjoyed.⁴⁶ It did not help the course of public health historiography that nineteenth and early-twentieth century histories of medicine were also overwhelmingly written by medical men, who retained a sympathy for and anachronistic focus on the formal medical professions of the pre-modern period.⁴⁷ In 1967, the then-foremost historian of public health and physician George Rosen called for the redress of this discrepancy in a speech given before the American Association for the History of Medicine.⁴⁸ Though he admittedly skimmed over the medieval and early modern periods in his own writings, Rosen’s efforts did pave the way for a more insightful and inclusive approach to medical and public health histories, emphasising the role of historical players beyond the ranks of the medical profession and encouraging the greater integration of social and medical histories.⁴⁹ Though concerns such as Pelling’s have not entirely been abated, in more recent years attention has increasingly been paid to domestic, charitable and itinerant medicine, though significant gaps – such as, for example, the interplay between public health and food vending, one of the foci of this thesis – remain.⁵⁰

The scope of public health historiography – particularly that of the pre-modern period – has thus been chiefly minimised by medical historians’ frequently narrow conception of what ‘public health’ is. Many have assumed a standpoint that is overly

⁴⁵ Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), p. 232.

⁴⁶ In fact, relatively few physicians of the early modern period were gentlemen as their Victorian descendants were – though it was a status they certainly strived for within the restricted ranks of the College of Physicians. See Harold John Cook, ‘The Regulation of Medical Practice in London Under the Stuarts, 1607-1704’ (Doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1981), p. 18.

⁴⁷ Cook, ‘The Regulation of Medical Practice’, p. 6.

⁴⁸ Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 2.

⁴⁹ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Sharon Strocchia’s recent *Forgotten Healers* (2019), which examines Italian women’s contributions to early modern public health, notes little change in historians’ tendency to focus on “official titles and occupational identities”; informal, local, or less linear healthcare provision continues to be “undercount[ed] and undervalue[d]” in studies of many pre-modern European healthcare economies. See Sharon T. Strocchia, *Forgotten Healers: Women and the Pursuit of Health in Late Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2019), p. 2.

medicalised and focused on the actions of the medical professions (particularly by the standards of the pre-modern period) which has undermined public health's broader political and social aspects.⁵¹ As Geltner has written, many identifiable problems in public health historiography have stemmed from methodologies which approach pre-modern health from the perspective of "modern epidemiology".⁵² This has meant that many studies of pre-modern public health have relied largely on national frameworks and medical theories and treatises, while administrative and local politics have often been overlooked. This is a blinkered approach, given that right up to and including the present, public healthcare in England has been more often administered by civic authorities, parishes and inhabitants on a local basis, albeit with reports and references to important national policies directed to and by central government.⁵³ Overlooking this important aspect has led successive generations of historians to seek (and fail to find) evidence of concrete public health operations in national and theory-based medical documents, all the while underappreciating the scope of legal and administrative documents, which can – tantalisingly – provide more of the evidence they are actually seeking.⁵⁴ This tendency has even prompted those with more sympathetic leanings towards pre-modern public health history to ignore aspects of habitual public health history in favour of dramatic, extraordinary developments which appeared, ostensibly unchallenged, in response to sudden or extreme threats to communal health.⁵⁵ In July 2020, the historian Gianna Pomata, speaking to the writer Lawrence Wright for a *New Yorker* article, was quoted as saying that "what happens after the Black Death, it's like a wind—fresh air coming in, the fresh air of common sense" – leading Wright to conclude that "doctors [then] set aside the classical texts and gradually turned to

⁵¹ As Pelling noted, "there is persistent overstating of the connections between medicine and other economic and social activity, except as medicine's failure to establish its professional credentials" – particularly in the pre-modern period. Pelling, *The Common Lot*, p. 234.

⁵² Guy Geltner, 'Public Health and the Pre-Modern City: a Research Agenda', *History Compass*, 10:3 (2012), p. 232.

⁵³ Indeed, conflicts between local governments wishing to protect their autonomy, and central government keen to impose their will, have and always will characterise the implementation of public health strategies from the 'top down'. This innate conflict will be illustrated from the perspective of early modern London throughout this thesis. See Sally Sheard and Helen Power, 'Body and City: medical and urban histories of public health' in *Body and City: histories of urban public health*, ed. by Sally Sheard and Helen Power (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 6.

⁵⁴ Guy Geltner, 'Healthscaping a medieval city: Lucca's *Curia viarum* and the future of public health history', *Urban Studies*, 40:3 (2013), pp 397-398. There are unusually strong examples of public health policies represented in Ernest Sabine's early articles 'Butchering in Medieval London' (1933), 'Latrines and Cesspools of Mediaeval London' (1934) and 'City Cleaning in Mediaeval London' (1937), though at no point does Sabine characterise them as such.

⁵⁵ Geltner, 'The Path to Pistoia', p. 4.

empirical evidence.”⁵⁶ This, as this thesis will show in upcoming chapters, is a completely incorrect, outdated, and grossly simplistic conclusion for any modern historian to make.

The lingering modern assumption that public health protocols cannot be enforced independently of physicians or central government – and therefore couldn’t really have existed prior to the late eighteenth century – became a hotly contested subject among public health historians from about the mid-twentieth century onwards. The physician and historian George Rosen, who wrote from the 1930s to the 1970s, is generally credited with painstakingly carving the methodological backbone of modern public health history by linking public health and medicine with broader social and cultural history. Eulogising him in an edited collection released two years after his death in 1977, the historian Charles Rosenberg attributed Rosen’s substantial historical contributions to one steadfast and singular creed: “all medicine was social medicine to him”.⁵⁷ Unlike many scholars in his discipline before the 1950s – many of whom were not historians but, like him, trained physicians – Rosen did not endeavour to separate medicine from its social, economic, and demographic contexts.⁵⁸ Where his predecessors tended to prioritise the representation of medical and scientific breakthroughs (often representing this history in a linear, progressive way), Rosen took a broader view, considering instead how such knowledge interacted with contemporary societies.⁵⁹ This entailed shaking off a view of medicine existing in isolation, separate from culture. Rosen was joined in this challenge by contemporary scholars from a range of backgrounds, including the American Richard Shryock and Germans Henry Sigerist, Owsei Temkin, Erwin Ackernecht and Walter Pagel.⁶⁰ All helped establish the new social perspective of medicine espoused by this study and others like it.

Public health and primary sources

Though Rosen did not take a particularly sympathetic view of the pre-modern period, his methodology nevertheless drew the attention of dedicated medieval and early modern

⁵⁶ Lawrence Wright, ‘How Pandemics Wreak Havoc—and Open Minds’, *New Yorker* (13 July 2020) <<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/07/20/how-pandemics-wreak-havoc-and-open-minds>> [accessed 21 July 2020].

⁵⁷ Charles Rosenberg, ‘George Rosen and the Social History of Medicine’ in *Healing and History: Essays for George Rosen*, ed. by Charles E. Rosenberg (Dawson: Science History Publications, 1979), p. 1.

⁵⁸ Rosenberg, ‘George Rosen’, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Rosenberg, ‘George Rosen’, pp 2-3.

⁶⁰ Rosenberg, ‘George Rosen’, pp 3-4.

historians, including Charles Webster, Margaret Pelling, Carlo Cipolla, Paul Slack, Harold Cook, and Mark Jenner. All contributed to efforts to emphasise the shifting influences of local and national politics, environment and culture upon understandings and practices of pre-Industrial Revolution medicine, presenting public health as a concept that relates not just to the management of disease within populations, but broader, sometimes implicit schemes to lower mortality, improve quality of life, and safeguard social stability.⁶¹ Modern successors to this approach include Geltner, Coomans and others of the Premodern Healthscaping project (2017-2022) team at the University of Amsterdam, which hopes to expand on and add to existing research challenging “the identification of public health as a uniquely modern phenomenon”.⁶² In their edited volume, *Policing the Urban Environment in Premodern Europe* (2019), Rawcliffe and Weeda have moved in a similar direction, collating how urban European public health protocols operated before the advent of modern medicine and the nation-state.⁶³ Their book highlights new approaches not only to existing public health historiography, but to primary sources – both those traditionally associated with public health and (even more excitingly) those that are not.⁶⁴

Rawcliffe’s and Weeda’s book encourages public health historians to read established sources ‘against the grain’, and search creatively for those which have traditionally been overlooked. The latter may include English leet records, Italian viarii (road officials’) records, Netherlandish trade and craft guild statutes, leprosy examination certificates, and Latin and vernacular urban panegyrics.⁶⁵ They may also

⁶¹ The work of public health historians such as Christopher Hamlin and John Pickstone, grounded though they are in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, also emphasise these factors.

⁶² *Premodern Healthscaping* website <<https://premodernhealthscaping.hcommons.org>> [accessed 10 August 2020]. Geltner defines ‘healthscaping’ as the “physical, social, legal, administrative and political process of providing...[urban] environments with the means to safeguard and improve residents’ wellbeing”. Indeed, he argues, “successfully managing...diverse, crowded, and turbulent urban population[s]” was “perhaps the greatest unsung achievement yet” of pre-modern cities. Geltner, ‘Healthscaping’, p. 396; Geltner, ‘Public Health and the Pre-Modern City’, p. 231.

⁶³ Rawcliffe and Weeda, *Policing the Urban Environment*, p. 11.

⁶⁴ Cipolla, in particular, was an early champion of diverse local public health sources (which he examined with notable reference to the specific context of their generation). See, for example, Cipolla, *Miasmas and disease* (1992), which analyses early seventeenth century Tuscan correspondence and reports from the Florentine Office of Health, 1608-1627.

⁶⁵ Sarah Lennard Brown, ‘*Policing the Urban Environment in Premodern Europe*, ed. by Carole Rawcliffe, Claire Weeda’, *INHH: International Network for the History of Hospitals* (21 March 2019) <<https://inhh.org/2019/03/21/policing-the-urban-environment-in-premodern-europe-edited-by-carole-rawcliffe-claire-weeda/>> [accessed 21 July 2019].

include Alexandra Bamji's public health passes or Hannes Kleineke's common law records – to name but two recently highlighted sources – or even those employed by this thesis, which include (but are not limited to): national proclamations, London wardmote registers, copies of letters circulated between civic and national authorities, a civic fine book, journals of Common Council, City letter books, books of contemporary proverbs, royal prose, lay and learned medical tracts, market regulations, and more.⁶⁶

In an attempt to both read 'against the grain' and identify often-overlooked primary sources in London history, I sought out, contextualised, reviewed, transcribed and analysed samples from a wide array of contemporary text-types, many of which have been little or never used to write public health histories. My primary sources ranged from digitised printed materials easily accessible – and sometimes readily transcribed and word-searchable – on online databases such as *Early English Books Online*, to microfilm and physical manuscripts available to view only in the controlled environs of London Metropolitan Archives' reading room or – as in the particular case of London's notably under-used Fines Book (1517-1628) – a separate, supervised appointment room. Between these extremes of accessibility lay other foundational resources such as edited, printed books (including Tilley's *dictionary of the proverbs in England*, Natalie Mears et al's *National Prayers*, James F. Larkin's and Paul L. Hughes' *Stuart Royal Proclamations* and Larkin's and Hughes' *Tudor Royal Proclamations*) and document series indexes (largely the Overalls' printed *Analytical Index to The Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia*, though I was also indubitably guided by a series of eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century manuscript indexes also available to view

⁶⁶ Bamji, 'Health Passes'; Hannes Kleineke, 'The Records of the Common Law as a source for the Medieval Medical History of England', *Social History of Medicine*, 30:3 (2017), pp. 483-499.

at London Metropolitan Archives).⁶⁷ These two resource-types not only provided me with initial indications of the kinds of documents available to me for the purpose of this project – their contents, date ranges, and subject matters, among other things – but thereafter consistently guided my navigations through London Metropolitan Archives (LMA). My discovery of vast swathes of handwritten corporate indexes in LMA proved particularly foundational, since relatively few printed, edited indexes of a similar scope exist for early modern London: Reginald Sharpe, author of the *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London* series, covers only the period 1275-1509; H.T. Riley's *Memorials of London and London Life* stretch only to the fifteenth-century; A.H. Thomas' published *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London* stops at 1482. The majority of Sharpe's, Riley's, and Thomas' canonical (and largely medieval) indexes may be available to search freely on the database *British History Online*, but for the most part the scholar of early modern London must still take his- or herself directly to LMA in order to find their later equivalents. There, my document choices were broadly dictated by a combination of secondary source footnotes, index suggestions,

⁶⁷ Morris Palmer Tilley (ed.), *A dictionary of the proverbs in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: a collection of the proverbs found in English literature and the dictionaries of the period*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950); Natalie Mears et al (ed.), *National Prayers: Special Worship since the Reformation: Volume 1: Special Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings in the British Isles, 1533-1688*, (Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2013); Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. II: The Later Tudors (1553-1587)* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1969); Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. III: The Later Tudors (1588-1603)*, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1969); James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (eds), *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. I: Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973); *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. II: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I, 1625-1646*, ed. by James F. Larkin (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1983); W.H. Overall and H. C. Overall (eds), *Analytical Index to The Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia: preserved among the archives of the City of London, A.D. 1579-1664* (London: E.J. Francis & Co., 1878). Indexes from City of London, London Metropolitan Archives included COL/CA/01/02/004 [Repertories, subject index (1626-1649)]; COL/CA/01/02/002 [Repertories: subject index (1552-1599)]; COL/CA/01/02/003 [Repertories: subject index (1599-1625)]; COL/AD/01/062 (c. 1700s) [Index to Repertories, Journals and Letter Books (1595-1640)]; COL/AD/01/054 (c. 1861) [Index to Letter Books AA-ZZ (1595-1688)]; COL/AD/01/059 (c. 1800s) [Index to Repertories, Journals and Letter Books (1416-1750), Vol. 1: Aldermen to Common Council]; COL/AD/01/060 [(c. 1800s) [Index to Repertories, Journals and Letter Books (1416-1750) [Volume 2: Deeds to Newcastle]; COL/AD/01/061 (c. 1800s) [Index to Repertories, Journals and Letter Books (1416-1750). Volume 3: Oaths to Young Men].

online catalogue perusals, and recommendations from knowledgeable and helpful colleagues.⁶⁸

London has long been praised for its archives, described by Valerie Pearl as “the finest archives of any great city in the world, certainly the largest in the world”: deciphering it all, she judged, would require not just decades of focused work, but unparalleled “skills of interpretation”.⁶⁹ Now divided largely between the London Metropolitan Archives in Clerkenwell and the Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section in the City of London, some of London’s earliest corporate records have been subject to damage and loss at various points in the City’s history, including during the Great Fire of 1666 and the Blitz (1940-1). In spite of these challenges, however, vast series of records stemming from the medieval period survive in great numbers in both manuscript and microfilm form, offering researchers unparalleled access to the social and political worlds of the pre-modern City.

I drew the vast majority of my London archival sources from the London Metropolitan Archives, where most of the City’s corporate records are now kept (the smaller Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section predominantly houses historical documents kept by and relating to the City’s oldest trade guilds – many of which also became livery companies). I began by familiarising myself with the City’s long-established and exhaustive administrative records, three document series in which, according to Caroline Barron, all the City’s “executive decisions” were recorded from 1500: the Repertories (proceedings of the Court of Aldermen; on microfilm), Letter Books (a mixture of proceedings from the Court of Common Council and the Court of Aldermen; some microfilm, some manuscripts), and journals of the Court of Common Council (on microfilm). These records are extensive and largely uninterrupted: between c. 1590-1640 there are thirty extant Repertories (1592-1640), fifteen Letter Books (1595-

⁶⁸ I am particularly indebted to Margaret Pelling for her early suggestion to investigate the city’s wardmotes, to Danielle van den Heuvel, Mark Jenner and Charlie Taverner for their introduction to and broader insights into the City’s holdings in the London Metropolitan Archives, and to Neil Johnson and Benjamin Trowbridge at the National Archives for their early direction on national sources.

⁶⁹ Valerie Pearl, ‘Change and stability in seventeenth century London (1979)’ in *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688*, ed. by Jonathan Barry (London: Longman, 1990), p. 140.

1640) and fourteen journals of the Court of Common Council (1591-1641).⁷⁰ In spite of their considerable urban importance, none of the early modern volumes have been formally transcribed, edited, or calendared: available largely on microfilm confined to LMA, I found my ability to engage with them further hampered by geography, time constraints, Covid-19 lockdowns and – at least initially – nascent palaeographical skills. LMA’s collection of handwritten indexes remains the only effective key that scholars can use to identify and isolate thematic patterns.⁷¹ The three series’ encyclopaedic scope does, however, render them perfect for use as reference documents: that is how I decided to use them in my thesis.

Other corporate documents proved much easier to study in greater detail. *Remembrancia* (copies of letters sent between the Lord Mayor and Privy Council, kept from the Elizabethan period onwards in seven volumes from 1593-1640), the London Fines Book (a single volume kept by the Office of the Chamberlain from 1517-1628) and the City’s surviving later Tudor/early Stuart wardmote inquest registers (four manuscripts which fully or partially record aspects of local law and order in four of the City’s ‘wards’) all lent themselves particularly well to closer analysis.⁷² *Remembrancia*, for example, features similar levels of detail to the Repertories, Letter Books and journals, albeit in the form of direct exchanges between Crown and Corporation; unlike

⁷⁰ Caroline Barron, ‘The sources for medieval urban history’ in *Understanding medieval primary sources: using historical sources to discover medieval Europe*, ed. by Joel Rosenthal (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 167; ‘Sources: Corporation of London’, in *A Survey of Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London before the Great Fire*, ed. by Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding (London, 1985), pp 1-11. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol22/pp1-11>> [accessed 1 September 2020]. See also the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives manuscript ranges COL/CA/01/01/025-58 [Repertories (1592-1640)]; COL/AD/01/025-39 [Letter Books AA-00 (1595-1640)]; COL/CC/01/01/024-40 [Journals (1591-1641)].

⁷¹ That is, of course, aside from references contained in the research of other scholars, which I also took note of in the course of my PhD. I found Margaret Dorey’s intimidatingly comprehensive thesis a particularly wonderful source of archival guidance and inspiration. Margaret Dorey, ‘Unwholesome for Man’s Body?: concerns about food quality and regulation in London, c1600-c1740’ (Doctoral thesis: University of Western Australia, 2011).

⁷² These include the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives manuscripts COL/RMD/PA/01/002-8 [*Remembrancia* Vols. II-VII (1593-1637)]; COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1517-1628) [London Fines Book (1517-1628)]; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 [Cornhill Ward: Wardmote Inquest Minute and Account Book (1571-1651)]; CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 [Farringdon Without Ward: St Dunstan In The West Precinct: Register of Presentments of The Wardmote Inquest (1558-1823)]; CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001 [Aldersgate Ward: Wardmote Minute Book (1467-1950)]; CLC/W/GE/001/MS03461/001 [Bridge Within Ward: Minute Book of Ward Inquest (1627-1662)].

them, it has been formally indexed in a freely accessible and word-searchable book on *British History Online* and *The Internet Archive* (a public-access library containing digitised materials).⁷³ This made it easier to cross-reference specific themes, allowing for a more cohesive analysis of the primary document and its content as a whole. *Remembrancia*'s accessibility was further helped by the fact that its seven volumes were all available to view in LMA as original manuscripts, rather than microfilms: this allowed me not just to note codicological aspects of each manuscript, but photograph multiple pages and multiple volumes (with the archive's permission) for further in-depth examination and transcription outside the archive. *Remembrancia*, the London Fines Book, and four wardmote inquest registers were similarly accessible, allowing me continue closely engaging with and cross-referencing manuscripts central to my thesis even when London Metropolitan Archives was closed due to three national Covid-19 lockdowns (from March to September 2020, November to December 2020 and December 2020 to May 2021, respectively, though subject to severe restrictions and delays after this date).⁷⁴ The Fines Book has never before been used to research public health history, and neither have some aspects of the wardmote inquests, rendering each an untapped and innovative resource to focus on and use in a study such as this. Finally, I reviewed and included segments of a number of miscellaneous documents discovered through the LMA catalogue, among them a warrant.⁷⁵ I have used each of these source-types in different ways throughout the thesis: further discussions of their contents and particular usefulness as public health primary sources appear in my main chapters.

Primary sources outside the archive and the realm of civic administration also proved useful to my research, since it is only by broadening sources to include documents relating to broader popular, national and civic culture that public health historians can begin to piece together the wider social and political contexts that informed what health policies were pursued, which were not, and how and why these were specifically justified and/or implemented. Online historical databases such as *Early English Books Online* and *British History Online* provided a rich profusion of proclamations, statutes, and ordinances from the Corporation of London and the Crown;

⁷³ See the Overalls (eds), *Analytical Index to the Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia*, (1878).

⁷⁴ It did, however, mean that I was unable to focus on some pre-1590 urban primary material when the scope of the thesis expanded to include pre-1590 developments in Elizabeth's reign.

⁷⁵ City of London, London Metropolitan Archives, CLA/017/LC/05/001 [Warrants Against Hawkers of Meat (1630)].

contemporary, vernacular literature by the likes of Thomas Dekker; medical treatises by practitioners such as Thomas Moffet, Thomas Cogan and John Woodall; John Graunt's pioneering demographic study; travel texts including Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*; John Stow's *Survey of London*, and all manner of sources appropriate to the diverse themes identified as relevant to the specific chapter arguments and overall contexts of this thesis.⁷⁶ *British History Online* also provided me with access to Margaret Pelling's and Frances White's *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640* database (used in this thesis to identify specific examples of food sellers prosecuted for selling medicine/medical services), while the University of Toronto's *Mayor and Sheriffs of London* database provided contextual and biographical information relating to London's lord mayors and other law-enforcers (used largely to contextualise and attribute specific actions, including public health policies, to particular members of the Corporation).⁷⁷ The *Oxford English Dictionary* online and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* provided similar contextualising services. *The Internet Archive* provided access to many uncopyrighted edited books relating to English and London history, including parish records, a book of proverbs, a customal, a contemporary local

⁷⁶ See, for example, Thomas Dekker, *A Rod for Run-aways* [...] (London 1625), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99840991> [accessed 2 April 2019]; Thomas Moffet, *Healths improvement: or, Rules comprizing and discovering the nature, method, and manner of preparing all sorts of food used in this nation* [...] ed. by Christopher Bennet (London, 1655), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99863026> [accessed 5 September 2019]; Thomas Cogan, *The haven of health* [...] (London: 1636) <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99844108> [accessed 22 April 2020]; John Woodall, *The surgions mate* [...] (London, 1617), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99855423> [Accessed 7 November 2018]; John Graunt, *Natural and political observations... upon the bills of mortality...* (London, 1662), *EEBO* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:image:49651:2> [accessed 31 October 2018]; Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent* [...] (London, 1617), *Early English Books Online*, <<https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/EEBO/docview/2240857244/99850468/F0821CB61C4342E9PQ/2?accountid=7408>> [accessed 23 July 2017]; John Stow, *A Survey of London. Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603>> [accessed 13 February 2022].

⁷⁷ Margaret Pelling and Frances White, *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640 Database* (2004) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640>>; University of Toronto: Mayors and Sheriffs of London (MASL) <<https://masl.library.utoronto.ca/dates.html>>.

history book, and a book of maps.⁷⁸ Finally, modern edited books contributed their discoveries to this thesis – examples include Ian Archer’s, Caroline Barron’s and Vanessa Harding’s indispensable *Hugh Alley’s Caveat*; Natalie Mears et al’s *National Prayers*; and Neil Rhodes’, Jennifer Richards’ and Joseph Marshall’s *King James VI and I: selected writings*.⁷⁹ I used all of the diverse sources named in this paragraph in various ways to expand the political, social, and cultural context of each identified public health trend in my four main chapters.

Public health and interdisciplinary historiography

My approach to primary sources is reflective of a wider trend in modern public health historiography. In recent years, public health historians have increasingly focused on a broader and more diverse array of sources – whether this means reading ‘against the grain’ of established public health sources, or seeking out previously untapped primary resources – prompting many to additionally engage with diverse methodologies within or outside the historical profession. Recent public health histories have benefited from history’s ‘interdisciplinary turn’ in the 1970s, which brought a range of perspectives and methods originating in literary theory, anthropology, psychology, sociology and other disciplines to bear on diverse aspects of social and cultural history in particular. A rapidly growing interest in the ‘history of the body’ (as opposed to that of the mind – the ‘history of ideas’) from the 1990s, led by scholars such as Roy Porter, has been of particular relevance to the historiography of public health.⁸⁰ It is a broad specialism with relevance to every possible period of history, for as the literary theorist Michael Schoenfeldt succinctly summarises:

⁷⁸ Tilley (ed.), *A dictionary of the proverbs*; John Carpenter and Richard Whittington, *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London, 1419*, ed. and transl. by H. T. Riley (London: Richard Griffin and Company, 1861); W. H. Overall (ed.), *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St Michael, Cornhill, in the City of London, from 1456 to 1608* (London: Parish of St Michael Cornhill, 1871), *The Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/accountsofchurch00lond>> [accessed 15 July 2018]; William Somner, *The antiquities of Canterbury: in two parts. The first part* (1640), ed. by Nicholas Battely (London, 1703), *The Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/antiquitiesofcan00somn>> [accessed 3 July 2019].

⁷⁹ Ian Archer, Caroline Barron and Vanessa Harding (eds), *Hugh Alley’s Caveat: The Markets of London in 1598* (London: London Topographical Society 1988); Mears et al (eds), *National Prayers*; Neil Rhodes, Jennifer Richards and Joseph Marshall (eds), *King James VI and I: selected writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

⁸⁰ Roy Porter, ‘History of the Body Reconsidered’ in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), p. 233; *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Bodies have changed little through history, even though the theories of their operations vary enormously across time and culture. We all are born, we eat, we defecate, we desire, we die.⁸¹

In an early chapter on the subject, Porter divided the history of the body into a series of potential approaches, including – but not limited to – the body’s visual form and use as social metaphor; anatomy and physiology; the boundaries between body, mind, and soul; the human condition; and the sexualised and gendered body.⁸² Growing interest in the body as a social and cultural unit coincided with substantial developments in modern society such as the AIDS epidemic, second- and third-wave feminism, the sexual revolution, growing consumerism, and new trends in body embellishment, all of which helped highlight the body’s intense vulnerability, suggestibility, and interiority.⁸³ Since the topical appeal of the body is not one limited to historians, there has been a profusion of rapidly-evolving perspectives and methodologies for interested scholars to draw from, ranging from the humanities to the medical sciences. Susie Orbach, psychotherapist and author of *Fat is a Feminist Issue* (1978) and *Bodies* (2009), broadens Schoenfeldt’s perspective when she writes that

Bodies are and always have been shaped according to the cultural moment. There has never been a “natural” body: a time when bodies were untainted by cultural practices...bodies belong to a specific time and place. We are judged physically and our social and economic position has depended on how our bodies are seen and where we are then placed socially and economically.⁸⁴

The body plays an important practical and symbolic role in the practice of public health – whatever the timeframe. It is the smallest foundational unit of control in the social body, and as such, its control is integral to the wider success of public health strategies. During the early modern period, the body could be symbolically viewed in the noblest of terms – as a vehicle of the immortal soul, as a finely tuned, hierarchical structure reflecting that of society and the universe at large – but also, depending on circumstances, the crudest. The release of the great anatomist Andreas Vesalius’ *De humani corpori fabrica* (1543) hastened what has since been referred to as the

⁸¹ Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and selves in early modern England: physiology and inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 6.

⁸² Porter uses such headings to guide his commentary throughout his chapter. Porter, ‘History of the Body Reconsidered’.

⁸³ Porter, ‘History of the Body Reconsidered’, p. 236.

⁸⁴ Susie Orbach, ‘Will this be the last generation to have bodies that are familiar to us?’ (23 August 2019) in *The Guardian* <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/aug/23/susie-orbach-that-will-bodies-be-like-in-the-future>> [accessed 23 August 2019].

‘anatomical Renaissance’: a movement characterised by the widespread collection and dissemination of anatomical knowledge on the Continent and – eventually – in England.⁸⁵ Yet as this “culture of dissection” bloomed, so the sanctity of the human body was arguably diminished: its mystery replaced by a renewed desire for its mastery by the medical and political professions alike. In England, this anatomical movement was accentuated by the religious, political and cultural consequences of the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations of the mid-sixteenth century, as English Protestants and Catholics alike were forced to identify and clarify differences and similarities in their approach to institutional and individual bodies.⁸⁶ As the chapters to follow will illustrate, this process was – by its nature – highly conflicted and often contested.

Dissection, according to Jonathon Sawday, may well be characterised as “the delicate separation of constituent structures”, but it can also be considered “a brutal dismemberment of people, things, or ideas”: a reducing of things to more-easily decipherable and controlled fragments of their former selves.⁸⁷ The growing popularity of anatomical dissections and the shifting religious and political ideas of English medical practitioners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries heralded a growing body of medical knowledge, but both occurred at the cost of the individual body “in order that the integrity and health of other bodies can be preserved”.⁸⁸ As this thesis will show, this perspective was one that soon permeated national – and subsequently local – government, influencing political approaches to many aspects of contemporary public health provision from the sixteenth century onwards. History of the body methodologies influenced my work because, by endeavouring to prevent and manage disease, public health strategies ultimately contribute to existing political and religious efforts to control bodies and the spaces they occupy. Approaching my thesis from this perspective also helped me identify and visualise some of the bodies involved in this wide-ranging endeavour – from assessing the physical and moral stereotypes of different occupations with an early modern eye, to understanding the material consequences on vastly different civic bodies of conflating public order and health strategies.

⁸⁵ Charles H. Parker, ‘Diseased Bodies, Defiled Souls: Corporality and Religious Difference in the Reformation’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 67:4 (2014), p. 1267.

⁸⁶ Parker, ‘Diseased Bodies, Defiled Souls’, p. 1267.

⁸⁷ Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 1.

⁸⁸ “The anatomist, then,” Sawday writes, “is the person who has reduced one body in order to understand its morphology, and thus to preserve morphology at a later date, in other bodies, elsewhere”. Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, p. 2.

Public health, the city, and food history

As my Introduction has so far indicated, histories of public health have traditionally suffered from scholars' tendency to place particular emphasis on extraordinary health measures (i.e. those undertaken during or in response to intense or imminent public health threats), to the detriment of ordinary measures. Among these 'habitual' (and thus downplayed) public health measures is the political control of food production, distribution and consumption: activities that remain essential to the basic maintenance of individual bodies and the social bodies they compose. Issues of consumption and food-selling have always comprised an integral aspect of urban health regulation. Cities, Gergely Baics writes, are essentially "population concentrations based predominantly on nonagricultural [sic] economic activities": they depend not just on agricultural capacities and infrastructures outside their boundaries, but fair and efficient food distribution systems within it.⁸⁹ In recent decades, pre-industrial food history has become an area of particular innovation within the discipline. The issue of early modern food supply and diet – often combined with demographic growth and the threat of dearth/famine – has long been examined by political and economic historians such as F.G. Fisher, R.B. Outhwaite, Christopher Dyer and – more recently – John Bohstedt and E. A. Wrigley.⁹⁰ Scholars such as Andrew Appleby have expanded these perspectives by introducing other pre-modern concerns, such as the patterns of the spread of epidemic disease, to their overall assessment; others, such as Vanessa Harding, have considered the significance of pre-industrial food markets as part of broader regulatory and urban histories.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Gergely Baics, 'Is Access to Food a Public Good? Meat provisioning in Early New York City, 1790-1820', *Journal of Urban History*, 39:4 (2012), p. 644.

⁹⁰ See F.G. Fisher, 'The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640', *The Economic History Review*, 5.2 (1935), pp. 46-64; R. B. Outhwaite, 'Dearth and Government Intervention in English Grain Markets, 1590-1700,' *Economic History Review*, 34 (1981), pp. 389–406; Christopher Dyer, 'Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of Harvest Workers', *The Agricultural History Review*, 36:1 (1988), pp 21-37; John Bohstedt, *The Politics of Provisions: food riots, moral economy, and market transition in England, c. 1550-1850* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010); E. A. Wrigley, 'Urban Growth in Early Modern England: Food, Fuel and Transport, *Past & Present*, 225 (2014), pp 79-112.

⁹¹ See Andrew B. Appleby, 'Nutrition and Disease: The Case of London, 1550-1750' in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6:1 (1975), pp. 1-22; Vanessa Harding, 'The London Food Markets' in *Hugh Alley's Caveat: The Markets of London in 1598*, ed. by Ian Archer, Caroline Barron, and Vanessa Harding (London: London Topographical Society 1988), pp. 1-15; Vanessa Harding, 'Shops, markets and retailers in London's Cheapside, c. 1500-1700' in *Retail Circuits and Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Bruno Blondé et al (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp 155-170; Vanessa Harding, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71:1 (2008), pp 77-96.

Over the past two decades, however, increasing numbers of social and cultural historians have rapidly expanded the remit of food history to include studies of material culture, place and space, the body, social deviance, occupational reputation, and gender. The works of scholars such as Ken Albala, David Gentilcore, Paul S. Lloyd, Sara Pennell, Christopher Kissane and Eleanor Barnett have emphasised the material, religious and cultural significances of food and drink in the pre-modern period, demonstrating how consumable goods helped shape, reflect and uphold social and religious identities.⁹² Harding, Martha Carlin, Beat Kümin, Calaresu and Pennell have all expounded on the significances of the spaces in which the selling, preparation and consumption of food and drink occurred, while others – including Margaret Dorey, Danielle van den Heuvel, Charlie Taverner and Valentina Costantini – have focused on the contrasting and competing day-to-day experiences of guild members and itinerant vendors tasked with the responsibility of supplying sustenance to urban bodies.⁹³ Collectively, these and other scholars have used food history as a prism through which to study the broader social hierarchies, cultural associations and material practices that constrained or facilitated the consumption habits of the urban body politic. In doing so, they have shed light on the lives of numerous individuals and social groups in a myriad

⁹² See Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); David Gentilcore, *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe: Diet, Medicine and Society, 1450-1800* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); Paul S. Lloyd, *Food and Identity in England, 1540-1640: Eating to Impress* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); Sara Pennell, "'Great quantities of gooseberry pye and baked clod of beef': victualling and eating out in early modern London' in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp 228-249; Christopher Kissane, *Food, Religion and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018); Eleanor Barnett, 'Reforming Food and Eating in Protestant England, c. 1560-1640', *The Historical Journal* (2019), pp 1-21.

⁹³ See Martha Carlin, "'What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?': The Evolution of Public Dining in Medieval and Tudor London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71:1 (2008); Melissa Calaresu, 'Thomas Jones' Neopolitan Kitchen: The Material Cultures of Food on the Grand Tour', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 24 (2020), pp 84-102; Sara Pennell, *The birth of the English kitchen, 1600-1850* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016); Margaret Dorey, 'Controlling corruption: regulating meat consumption as a preventative to plague in seventeenth-century London', *Urban History*, 36:1 (2009), pp 24-41; Dorey, 'Unwholesome for Man's Body?'; Melissa Calaresu and Danielle van den Heuvel (eds), *Food Hawkers: Selling in the Streets from Antiquity to the Present* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), Danielle van den Heuvel, 'The multiple identities of early modern Dutch fishwives', *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 37:3 (2012), pp. 587-594; Charlie Taverner, 'Consider the Oyster Seller: Street Hawkers and Gendered Stereotypes in Early Modern London', *History Workshop Journal*, 88 (2019), pp 1-24; Valentina Costantini, 'On a red line across Europe: butchers and rebellions in fourteenth-century Siena', *Social History*, 41:1 (2016), pp 72-92. See also Ernest L. Sabine, 'Butchering in Medieval London', *Speculum*, 8:3 (1933), pp 335-353, whose research on food company activities long pre-dates recent interest.

of settings – from the private and public rituals and processes of selecting, preparing, and consuming food and drink, to the guild members, market regulators, tavern owners, and food hawkers negotiating public space on a daily basis.

By combining the methodologies of revised public health histories with those of the history of the body and food history, this thesis offers new perspectives on communal health in pre-Fire London, focusing on how the outlooks, negotiations and actions of successive civic governments, institutions and communities shaped early modern London's public health policy and practice from c. 1558-1640. Its chapters' food foci have been further influenced by the tenets of a sub-discipline of anthropology known as 'gastropolitics', a term first introduced in the 1980s and defined as a "conflict" in which "food is the medium, and sometimes the message".⁹⁴ In a more recent book on the subject, Michaela deSoucey describes gastropolitics as

conflicts over food that are located at the intersection of social movements, cultural markets, and state regulations...Gastropolitics permeates the spaces, rhetorics, trends, and social institutions that anchor episodes of contestation over food objects and culinary practices. Such episodes are situated in time and space, which can lead to very different outcomes in different social contexts.⁹⁵

Using specific examples of food conflicts as a prism, I will broadly seek to explore the politics of national and local public health in early modern London – ranging from extraordinary periods of so-called 'crisis' (e.g. urban dearth in the 1590s; plague in 1603 and 1625) to more habitual urban conflicts between institutions, traders, and communities.

Introducing my thesis: themes and chapters

In this thesis, I will explore three distinct periods of London history governed by three very different monarchs. Unusually for an English public health history, I will briefly reflect on both the personalities and priorities of Queen Elizabeth I, King James VI and I and King Charles I, investigating how these factors influenced public and private attitudes and approaches to national and urban public health over the period c. 1558-1640. I determined the boundaries of my timeline with several factors in mind. First, I resolved to begin my research in the sixteenth century, as it was during this period that

⁹⁴ Arjun Appadurai, 'Gastro politics in Hindu South Asia', *American Ethnologist*, 8:3 (1981), p. 494 (abstract).

⁹⁵ Michaela deSoucey, *Contested Tastes: Foie Gras and the Politics of Food* (Princeton and Woodstock, Princeton University Press, 2016), pp xii-xiii.

national and London governments began to collaborate in a meaningful way, enabling English innovations in health to emanate both from the top down and the ground up.⁹⁶ With the importance of state and civic collaboration in mind, I gravitated towards the latter half of the sixteenth century because it presented me with a long period of cohesive national governance under one monarch, Elizabeth I, and her long-term advisors, including William Cecil (later Lord Burghley). Elizabeth famously oversaw considerable administrative and political innovations in England, including the cohesive, national codification of the Poor Laws and diverse new bureaucratic, regulatory and documentary frameworks. Many of these innovations were established to prevent or temper the spates of social and political unrest that accompanied a fluctuating economy and rapidly rising population, better enabling governing bodies – such as the Corporation of London – to reflect on and dissect existing communal infrastructures and better maintain law, order, and health. During the particularly turbulent 1590s, this included reviewing stretched market and food provision systems, most notably the storage and distribution frameworks of the most fundamental urban foodstuff of all: grain. Thanks to the existence of numerous, well-maintained documentary and literary manuscripts and printed materials for this period – some of which are listed in my primary source discussion earlier on in this introduction – it was possible to track later sixteenth-century anxieties and innovations in a range of national and local primary sources and map patterns of change relevant to public health at national and local levels.

I chose to progress from the later Tudor period to the reigns of James VI and I and Charles I because the first half of the seventeenth century has long been described by scholars as a period of particularly acute public health anxiety, with two major epidemics occurring in London in 1603 and 1625 and fears of further food shortages carrying forward (though never really materialising) from the later sixteenth century.⁹⁷ I was additionally fascinated by the reputations of both kings: first, James VI and I as a foreigner and academic, studiously attuned to medical innovations and famously – vehemently – anti-tobacco; second, Charles I as an authoritarian monarch, doomed to overstep his royal prerogative by continually pushing to extend it. The early Stuarts have

⁹⁶ Ian Archer, *The pursuit of stability: social relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 32; Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1985), pp 199-200.

⁹⁷ Charles Webster, 'William Harvey and the Crisis of Medicine' in *William Harvey and his Age: The Professional and Social Context of the Discovery of the Circulation*, ed. by Jerome J. Bylebyl (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), p. 2.

long been identified as proponents of greater national input in early modern public health policies. Between them, Harold Cook has argued, they significantly strengthened associations between “government policy and medical police”, increasingly using England’s only medical institution – the College of Physicians, established by Elizabeth I’s father, Henry VIII, in 1518 – as an intermediary between Crown and City.⁹⁸ For this reason, I incorporated the contemporary activities of the College and an investigation of its most influential members into my research, making it a project which predominantly discusses the interactions of three contemporary Cs – Crown, Corporation, and College – in three distinct timeframes – the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I – with particular reference to three themes – public health, food-selling, and consumption.⁹⁹

Diverging from this trend of ‘threes’ are my four chapters, which together aim to highlight elements of change and continuity in public health, food-selling and consumption from c. 1558-1640, rejecting Whiggish narratives of ‘improvement’ in favour of more nuanced discussions of specific individuals, institutions, and contexts. Chapter One establishes contextual foundations for the arguments of Chapters Two, Three and Four by investigating how different conceptual, legislative and material infrastructures influenced the establishment and direction of English urban health practice. From a conceptual standpoint, it discusses contemporary understandings of medicine, urban order, and the common good, showing ways in which each of these orthodoxies were increasingly challenged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From a material perspective, it explains how the principal urban infrastructures that dictated public health in the City of London were envisioned, enacted and – significantly – recorded. Finally, it indicates why civic authorities closely monitored food-selling activities and consumption habits, and why these activities and the individuals who partook in them were considered risks to public health.

From Chapter Two onwards, the thesis undertakes a chronological assessment of the public health approaches of three defined reigns – Elizabeth’s (1558-1603); James’ (1603-1625) and Charles’ (1625-c. 1640) – weaving examples of gastropolitical conflicts specific to London into its investigations. Chapter Two focuses on public health in the Elizabethan City, with a particular emphasis on foodways during the dearth years

⁹⁸ Harold Cook, ‘Policing the health of London: the College of Physicians and the early Stuart monarchy’, *Social History of Medicine*, 2 (1989), p. 1.

⁹⁹ This also, interestingly enough, mirrors the tripartite hierarchy of licensed medical practitioners referred to by public health and medical historians, and represented by the City’s physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries.

of the 1590s. It outlines how widespread administrative changes undertaken by the Elizabethan regime in the 1560s and 1570s helped underwrite and influence contemporary public health strategies, drawing particular attention to how, in the wake of the English Reformation, regulatory tools such as the Poor Laws and fasting proclamations were employed in increasingly innovative ways to promote and uphold existing economic and public health practice. The chapter then focuses on the economic and social turbulence of the 1590s, discussing the City's use of the rhetoric of public health, steps taken to safeguard subsistence-level public health in the form of grain controls, and the practical and symbolic management of grain, bread and other food vendors.

Chapter Three reflects on public health in James I's capital, showing how from the Elizabethan period to the Jacobean period, authorities' focus gradually shifted from reforming subsistence measures to maintaining them and overseeing the active growth of a robust medical culture in the City. This was assisted by James' personal interest in and patronage of elite medicine – which strengthened the College's political authority in the City – as well as his decisiveness in implementing and improving certain public health infrastructures. The renewal of England's close ties to Europe and proliferation of print during the period expanded the scope of elite and popular medicine, creating a culture in which subjects were encouraged, directly and indirectly, to assume greater personal responsibility for their health and the health of their communities. As the roles of London's professional medical practitioners – the tripartite of physician, surgeon, and apothecary – became increasingly fluid and contested (predicating particular tensions between College, City, and the Company of Grocers), lay medicine flourished, finding local expression in the sale of medical remedies and ingredients evidenced at ward level.

Finally, Chapter Four reflects on elements of public health continuity and change in Caroline London, demonstrating how – particularly under Charles I's Personal Rule (from 1629) – different aspects of London's public health were absorbed into wider attempts to improve the City and make it a capital worthy of the greatness to which Charles aspired. Renewed Crown efforts to stem plague outbreaks helped feed the rising fortunes of London's College of Physicians, allowing the College to take a more authoritative role in urban life, even when the financial and political conditions of the 1630s stymied the successful execution of many such innovations. During his reign, the king released more fasting proclamations than any of the other monarchs studied in this thesis, with the Crown and City taking a particularly hard line on the regulation of meat-

selling and pollution during the plague and dearth crises of 1630-1 – a development that, I argue, was inspired as much by butchers’ long-held associations with disobedience, disorder, and pollution as it was by contemporary urgency to stabilise food prices.

To conclude, the thesis will explore early modern London’s public health through the prism of three distinct reigns and food “contestations” that, though disparately tracked in a myriad of previous studies, have yet to be cohesively situated – in the gastropolitical scientist deSoucey’s words - “in time and space”.¹⁰⁰ As this Introduction has shown, public health histories of the pre-modern period have too often been viewed over vast, undifferentiated timeframes, applying condescending assumptions of homogeny to much of the period as a whole. This has prompted many scholars to focus on narrow, prescriptive methodologies and source use, prioritising extraordinary public health events over habitual health practices. This thesis will join the ranks of a host of modern challenges to this prevailing narrative. By narrowing its focus to three specific English regimes, it will pick out and contextualise the salient aspects of each one, seek to review existing sources ‘against the grain’, and isolate new sources, timeframes and foci worthy of in-depth consideration in future studies of London’s public health history. Its chief achievement will be in reviewing old historiographical ground with fresh eyes: unravelling and weaving together numerous and diverse perspectives and findings from a wide range of historical sub-disciplines, including public health history, food history, the history of the body, and London history.

¹⁰⁰ deSoucey, *Contested Tastes*, pp xii-xiii.

Chapter One

**“The belly carries the legs and not the legs the belly”¹⁰¹:
embodying and nourishing health in early modern
London**

¹⁰¹ John Minsheu (1599) et al, ‘The BELLY carries the legs and not the legs the belly’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, ed. by Tilley, p. 43.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, social order was most often envisioned, structured and maintained through the use of ‘organic political analogy’ – a metaphor stemming from the medieval period that conflated the different members and operations of the individual body to those of the collective ‘body politic’. Organic political analogy was, according to David George Hale, a “vehicle for the expression of religious and political ideas of the deepest significance”: an exercise in which the functions of the human body were used to rationalise more complicated social orders and needs.¹⁰² It was a living metaphor largely used to emphasise the existence of a divinely-appointed hierarchy – described by the historian E. M. W. Tillyard as a “chain of being...upwards towards God” – in which every person – or ‘member’ – had a pre-determined and highly specific social role to play.¹⁰³ The philosopher John of Salisbury (c. 1110s–1180), one of its earliest known proponents, wrote admiringly in Book V of his *Policraticus* (1159) of Plutarch’s perception of “the republic as a body”, in which

the position of the head...is occupied...by a prince subject only to God...inasmuch as in the human body, the head is stimulated and ruled by the soul...The place of the heart is occupied by the senate, from which proceeds the beginning of good and bad works. The duties of the ears, eyes and mouth are claimed by the judges and governors of provinces. The hands coincide with officials and soldiers. Those who always assist the prince are comparable to the flanks...Treasurers and record keepers...resemble the shape of the stomach and intestines...the feet coincide with peasants perpetually bound to the soil...¹⁰⁴

Within his instructive description of a typical political body, however, John of Salisbury incorporates two warnings, each intended to counter a particularly serious threat to the health of the body politic. First, he appeals to members to persistently observe and seek to regulate the naturally greedy ‘stomach’ which, if it “accumulate with great avidity and tenaciously preserve [its] accumulation”, facilitates “innumerable and incurable diseases so that...infection threatens to ruin the whole body”.¹⁰⁵ Secondly, he cautions against the easy despotism of the ‘head’, for “remove from the fittest body the aid of the feet...[and] it does not proceed under its own power, but either crawls shamefully, usefully and offensively on its hands or else is moved with the assistance of brute

¹⁰² David George Hale, *The body politic: a political metaphor in Renaissance English literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), p. 14.

¹⁰³ E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), pp 102-103.

¹⁰⁴ John of Salisbury, ‘Book V’ in *Policraticus: or the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. and transl. by Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ John of Salisbury, ‘Book V’, p. 67.

animals”.¹⁰⁶ In these cautions, John of Salisbury makes several important points. First, certain roles necessary to the maintenance of the body politic – however crucial – are naturally more prone to corruption than others. Second, all members – however lowly – should monitor and expect the redress of abuses along the hierarchy, regardless of who performs them. Should they be failed, and the rot of corruption spread, the whole body politic will suffer. Erring members, however powerful, must not expect free reign to do as they choose. Perhaps most significantly of all, he argues strongly against allowing infectious, “innumerable and incurable diseases” to take root in any part of the political body in the first place, advocating, in the language of medicine, a preference for the prevention – rather than the cure – of England’s social, religious, and political ills.

In recent years, scholars have questioned the extent to which contemporary understandings about the body, health, and medicine were incorporated into politics and even, as Rawcliffe, Weeda and others argue, consciously “applied...as a disciplinary and organisational tool”.¹⁰⁷ In this chapter, a number of known theoretical and material associations between health and politics in sixteenth century London will be outlined, establishing a robust baseline for the arguments and foci of the chronological Chapters Two, Three and Four. The first section of this chapter will evaluate the body politic metaphor: a political commonplace which I argue presents public health historians with a striking way of bridging the gap between early modern medical culture and its political and lived present. It will begin by identifying the metaphor’s early ‘macroscopic’ comparisons between the members of the (social and biological) body and their respective functions, demonstrating how this enduring approach reflected the core tenets of traditional Galenic medicine. It will then progress to later ‘microscopic’ uses of organic analogy, showing how this evolution of perspective mirrored a series of challenges to early modern England’s medical orthodoxy. Collectively, these discussions will establish a medical and political context for paragraphs and chapters to come, demonstrating the extent to which – in the words of the literary theorist Julian Yates – “terms and terminology matter” in scholarly explorations of public health.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ John of Salisbury, ‘Book V’, p. 67.

¹⁰⁷ Rawcliffe and Weeda, ‘Introduction’, *Policing the Urban Environment*, p. 15. See also Cook, “Policing the Health” (1986); Geltner, ‘Healthscaping a Medieval City’ (2013).

¹⁰⁸ “Environmental or ecological metaphors,” Yates has written, “are themselves rhetorical transports allied to material practices...they establish [the] routes which persons, things and ideas take”. Julian Yates, ‘Humanist Habitats; Or, “Eating Well” with Thomas Moore’s Utopia’ in *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. by Garrett A. Sullivan and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 189.

The second section of this chapter will discuss some of the material practices such rhetoric reflected and influenced in the City of London, focusing particularly on urban disease-management, consumption and food-selling practices. It will outline how early comparisons of a diverse urban society to a single, unified body shaped how ruling infrastructures were formed and urban space was divided and regulated, how consumption, market and trading regulations were justified, and – finally – how the behaviours and practices of certain urban traders were assessed and policed.

Organic political analogy in Tudor and Stuart England

This section begins with a broad discussion of a common political commonplace: organic political analogy, also known as the metaphor of the body politic. While organic political analogy is well-studied and acknowledged as culturally influential within literary, political and historical research, public health and medical historians have seldom engaged with it to associate it with public health developments and track changes in its vocabulary or usage.¹⁰⁹ This is surprising, considering how closely living metaphors draw upon politics, culture, and medicine – the three factors that most influence public health attitudes and approaches in any period of history. It is even more unexpected given that uses of organic political analogy are known to have multiplied and diversified in increasingly creative ways from about the mid-sixteenth century onwards. The literary theorist Jonathon Gil Harris has observed that during the later Tudor and early Stuart periods, the metaphor – once a vague, universal concept used to justify and reinforce hierarchy – transformed to a differentiated “local organism, distinct from and increasingly defined in opposition to other national body politics”.¹¹⁰ It mirrored the dynamism not just of contemporary politics, but evolving attitudes in religion and in medicine – from royal chaplain Thomas Starkey’s earliest

¹⁰⁹ For examples of literary theorists, see Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Margaret Healy, ‘Medicine, Metaphor, and “Crisis” in the Early Modern Social Body’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 46:1 (2016), pp 117-139; Andre-Constantin Sălăvăstru, ‘The body politic and “political medicine” in the Jacobean period: Edward Forset’s *A Comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique*’, *Intellectual History Review*, 29:2 (2019), pp 219-242. For examples of historians, see Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550–1640* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); James Davis, *Medieval Market Morality: Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp. Chapter 4.

¹¹⁰ Indeed, Gil Harris notes that in Starkey’s *Dialogue*, the English body politic is overtly compared to those of the French, Flemish and Germans. Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic*, p. 33.

recommendations for the reform of the fracturing English body politic during the Henrician Reformation in his *Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset* (c. 1533–1536) to the political writer Edward Forset's *comparatiue discourse of the bodies natural and politiqe* (1606) and the prolific pamphleteer and playwright Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (1606-7) in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot against King James.¹¹¹ By the close of the seventeenth century, organic political analogy was still in active use for political purposes as, for example, in the physician-turned-political-scientist Sir William Petty's *Essays in Political Arithmetick and Political Survey or Anatomy of Ireland* (1672), which presented learned interpretations of the body politic metaphor to encourage the English government to stage a radical social intervention in Ireland, forcibly excising all traces of social contagion.¹¹²

I have identified two broad reasons why pre-modern uses of organic political analogy are particularly useful to public health historians. First, the manner of their usage is dictated by changing political contexts, just as public health measures are – they are interpreted and represented according to contemporary needs. As upcoming chapters will demonstrate, Elizabeth depended on the sanctity of existing ideas of the body politic to reinforce and justify her regime's strong paternalistic drive, while James VI of Scotland and I of England utilised organic metaphors to reassure anxious courtiers and Parliament that he would be “the head wherein that Great Body [of two kingdoms] is united”, inspiring confidence in his leadership.¹¹³ Contemporary politics influenced not just how living metaphors were utilised and understood – allowing governments to couch their approaches to key problems in reassuringly familiar terms – but how

¹¹¹ Andre-Constantin Sălăvăstru, ‘The body politic and “political medicine” in the Jacobean period: Edward Forset's *A Comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique*’, *Intellectual History Review*, 29:2 (2019), p. 20; Kathleen M. Burton, ‘Introduction’ in Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue Between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, ed. by Kathleen M. Burton (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948), p. 1; Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 64. See also *Les Commentaries, ou Reports de Edmund Plowden* (1588), in which the lawyer Edmund Plowden defends Mary, Queen of Scots’ (and ultimately her descendants’) claim to the English throne; William Averell's *A meruailous combat of contrarieties* [...] (1588); William Camden, *Remaines of a Greater Worke Concerning Britaine* (1605).

¹¹² He was opposed in this view by other political arithmeticians such as Charles Davenant, who refuted Petty's political views using his own keenly developed anatomical knowledge. Akos Sivado, ‘Resurrecting the Body Politic – Physiology's Influence on Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetick’, *Early Science and Medicine*, 22 (2017), pp 159-160.

¹¹³ James VI and I, ‘A Speech...1603 [...]’ in *The Political Works of James I*, ed. and intro. by Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 271. “I hope,” James added somewhat pointedly, that “therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to thinke that I as a Christian King under the Gospel...should have a divided and monstrous Body...” See James VI and I, ‘A Speech...1603 [...]’, p. 272.

overarching attitudes and approaches to public health issues were reinforced or developed. Second, organic political analogies illustrate how intuitively or increasingly understood certain tenets of medical thinking were, since in order to be effective, such analogies must be broadly relatable. In John of Salisbury's discussion of the stomach at the beginning of this chapter, for example, it is clear that he expects his readers (and perhaps their listeners) to intuitively understand the destructive effects of a heaving belly: he does not waste words explaining why a retentive stomach troubles the body as a whole. Understanding and investigating different applications of organic political analogy by ruling groups matters, then, because each use can highlight implicit or educated understandings of the contemporary body, regardless of whether that body was considered individual or collective, organic or political, healthy or ailing.

In his book *The body politic* (1971), Hale identifies two perspectives of organic political analogy that were regularly used during, and prior to, the early modern period. Perspective one directly associated political bodies with biological bodies, equating the physiological workings of the natural body's 'members' to the social functions of occupational groups within urban hierarchies.¹¹⁴ In early modern society, the body politic metaphor was much more than just a rhetorical device, being, as Jonathon Gil Harris later notes, "imbued with a cosmic significance, participating within a system of correspondences within the body of man, or microcosm, and the larger body of the universe, or macrocosm".¹¹⁵ In *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943), one of the earliest historical studies of the body politic, Tillyard describes contemporaries' correspondence between the individual and state body as "a persistent political commonplace" that favoured the maintenance of rigid hierarchies and ruling structures.¹¹⁶ The analogy depended on immense social and occupational diversity, for it is – as Tillyard expounds – "as absurd to level social distinctions as to build a body of a number of the same limbs".¹¹⁷ The body politic metaphor also promoted the idea that while body members have different functions and recognised importance, all exist in ultimate subjugation to the head, which sets the rules by which other members must live. As John of Salisbury wrote,

an injury to the head...is brought home to all the members...a wound unjustly inflicted on any member tends to the injury of the head...whatsoever is

¹¹⁴ Hale, *The body politic*, p. 15.

¹¹⁵ Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic*, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Tillyard, *Elizabethan World Picture*, pp 102-103.

¹¹⁷ Tillyard, *Elizabethan World Picture*, p. 103.

attempted foully and with malice against the head, or corporate community, of the members, is a crime of the greatest gravity and nearest to sacrilege; for as the latter is an attempt against God, so the former is an attack upon the prince, who is admitted to be as it were the likeness of deity upon earth.¹¹⁸

The relationship between the body politic's head and its members was perceived as mutually beneficial – a precise political balance that, if assiduously maintained, maximised social harmony. As the flurry of legal proceedings and political debates that accompanied and followed Charles I's rule and the onset of the Civil War would prove, however, this equilibrium depended not just on the acquiescence of the general populace, but the attitudes and actions of the monarch – the de facto head of the body politic – whose personal priorities often dictated or reflected those of his or her Privy Councillors and other representatives.¹¹⁹ Monarchs' interpretation of the body politic became particularly relevant at the time of the first English Reformation (from 1534), as it was from this date that the Crown gained increased legal and governmental powers.¹²⁰ This change would become particularly evident during the long reign of Elizabeth I (see Chapter Two) but has not – to date – been acknowledged as significant by historians of pre-modern public health.

Perspective two takes an overly medical approach: it emphasises individuals' and societies' sacred duty to maintain the day-to-day health of individual bodies, created by God to mirror the composition of the universe.¹²¹ Pre-modern understandings of health in the West were largely founded on medical principles espoused by the Roman physician Galen (129 AD – c. 210 AD), so this approach to organic political analogy traditionally reflected and incorporated Galenic ideas. According to Galen, the body consisted of four humours – black and yellow bile, blood, and phlegm – each of which

¹¹⁸ John of Salisbury, 'Policraticus: book VI, chapter 24' (c. 1159) in *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, transl. by Jon Dickinson (New York: Alfred K. Knopf, 1927), pp 258-263, *Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/salisbury-poli6-24.html> (accessed 17 February 2017).

¹¹⁹ See Parliament's notorious *The Petition of Right* (1628), introduced by the parliamentary member and barrister Sir Edward Coke, which accused the king of abusing his headship "against the Laws and Free Customs of this Realm" and allowing his subjects in "sundry other Ways [to be] molested and disquieted". Kew, The National Archives, HLRO HL/PO/PU/1/1627/3C1n2 [*The Petition of Right* (1628)] <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/rise_parliament/docs/petition_rights.htm> [accessed 6 October 2020].

¹²⁰ G. R. Elton, *The Parliament of England 1559-1581* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 18.

¹²¹ Hale, *The body politic*, p. 15.

was matched by one of the four cosmic elements – earth, water, fire, and air.¹²² These fundamental similarities, reinforced by contemporary medicine, anchored human bodies to the divine order of the universe and, on a smaller scale, to the divinely-ordained societies and institutions of which they were members. Physical health was preserved if bodily humours were carefully balanced through acts of ingestion, excretion and egestion (often accompanied by the medical interventions of purging and blood-letting, if necessary); political and environmental health was similarly safeguarded by laws intended to promote social stability, cohesion, and hierarchical order.

Medical thinking in early modern England

From the early sixteenth century, the written works of Galen enjoyed a scholarly resurgence, being increasingly translated and widely circulated among European physicians. In the wake of the ‘anatomical Renaissance’, Galenic methods also attracted renewed critical attention.¹²³ Increased interest in and critique of aspects of the Galenic canon from the sixteenth century in Europe has been linked to a number of factors, including growing literacy rates; a culture of reform prompted by humanistic thought, the Protestant Reformations, and the Catholic Counter-Reformations; and increased emphasis on and scope for scholarship on the Continent. These medical debates often found their way into print, increasingly descending from high academic registers written in Latin and intended for budding or practising physicians, to more accessible forms of print written in the vernacular. As subsequent chapters will discuss in further detail, from the later Elizabethan period in particular medical literacy in England expanded rapidly, owing to increasing general literacy rates – particularly in London – and a growing availability of printed medical books in the vernacular. Despite increasing scrutiny, however, Galenic interpretations of humoral medicine and the body politic in England remained relatively unchallenged until the onset of the seventeenth century, when the new king James VI and I’s personal interest in medicine made it increasingly fashionable for English politicians, philosophers and literary writers to radically reconsider and publicly debate the diverse causes of disease within the body politic.

¹²² Hale, *The body politic*, p. 15.

¹²³ This birthed new perspectives on – and numerous corrections to – the conservative Galenic canon. Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 166; Sachiko Kusakawa, ‘The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century: Vesalius, medical humanism and bloodletting’ in *The Healing Arts: health, disease and society in Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Peter Elmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 68; *Ibid*, p. 77.

Changing uses of the body politic metaphor mirrored a building series of challenges to conservative Galenic thought, for although it remained the dominant force in Western medicine up to the nineteenth century, by the final decades of Elizabeth's reign its foundational tenets were being placed under increased strain by contemporaries' growing interest in aspects of revolutionary medical philosophies including Paracelsianism (and – later in the seventeenth century – Helmontianism).

Paracelsianism was a medical movement named after Paracelsus, a Swiss medical reformer who, from the 1520s, sought to challenge the burgeoning authority of professional medical practitioners (the traditional and tripartite hierarchy of physician, surgeon and apothecary), and encourage a more intuitive, spiritual approach to healing.¹²⁴ Paracelsianism's challenge to Galenic medicine was comparable to Protestant rebuttals of Catholic orthodoxy in the early sixteenth century, for both movements – medical and religious – challenged established thought, gradually shifting not just how society considered the body, but how these bodies conceived of society as a whole.¹²⁵ The influence of Paracelsianism thus extended far beyond professional and lay medicine, stretching into national and local politics and culture and fundamentally impacting attitudes to and practices of public health. Paracelsian medical ideas were fundamentally different from those espoused by followers of Galen. Most notably for this study, Paracelsus and his followers rejected the Galenic vision of the ailing body as something that could be cured through the reinstatement of corporal balance. They theorised that the body was *part* of the chemical composition of the universe, not a mere reflection of it in miniature.¹²⁶ Paracelsians replaced the four universal elements (earth, air, water and fire) of Aristotelian natural philosophy with three primary chemical substances – salt, sulphur, and mercury – subsequently declaring the body's corresponding four humours obsolete.¹²⁷ Health depended not on maintaining internal balance, Paracelsus declared, but on avoiding external contaminants to the body's natural *archei*, the “alchemical

¹²⁴ Ole Peter Grell, 'Medicine and Religion in Sixteenth Century Europe' in *The Healing Arts: health, disease and society in Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Peter Elmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp 94-95.

¹²⁵ Grell, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 94.

¹²⁶ Grell, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 94.

¹²⁷ Grell, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 94.

principles that controlled internal processes such as digestion”.¹²⁸ External contaminants risked poisoning the body with malevolent essences or spirits, causing specific *archei* to malfunction and the body to develop diseases specific to the nature of the contagion.¹²⁹ As the seventeenth century wore on and increasing numbers of English physicians began to accept the premise that contagion could be an “infiltrating organism”, so a new medical culture took root: amalgamating with that which already existed and gradually and significantly influencing other spheres of society – namely, contemporary politics and government.¹³⁰

As previous paragraphs have demonstrated, Galenic medical theory supported the idea that an internal imbalance within one or more of the humours compromised the natural functioning of the body’s members and resulted in poor health.¹³¹ This medical approach influenced political approaches, drawing governors’ attention to localised issues of hierarchy and the maintenance of an existing social balance. Yet as Paracelsian ideas of the invading, microscopic contaminant gradually penetrated medical and political thought in the seventeenth century, they highlighted a second potential source of social discordance: the poisoning foreign body. This concept is known as ‘social pathology’: a “form of deviance theory...which drew upon the organic metaphor to suggest that parts of societies, like bodies, could suffer breakdown and disease”.¹³² It is a concept used more often in social science disciplines of anthropology and sociology, though recently adopted by literary theorists and historians to explain historical approaches to the ever-present binaries of social order and disorder. Gil Harris has

¹²⁸ Grell, ‘Medicine and Religion’, p. 94. Mary Lindemann’s definition of the *archeus* is at odds with Grell’s, since she defines the *archeus* as the external contaminant, rather than the function it disturbs. Further readings of sources which reflect on the *archeus*, such as Gil Harris’ *Foreign Bodies*, support Grell’s definition over Lindemann’s. Gil Harris uses Paracelsus’ own vocabulary to term the external contaminant a “seed” or “homunculus”, deeming the *archeus* to be the body’s “inner schedule”. See Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, p. 75; Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 24.

¹²⁹ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, p. 75.

¹³⁰ Peter Elmer, ‘Chemical Medicine and the Challenge to Galenism: the legacy of Paracelsus, 1560-1700’ in *The Healing Arts: health, disease and society in Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Peter Elmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 121; Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 24.

¹³¹ Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 72.

¹³² ‘social pathology’ in *A Dictionary of Sociology*, ed. by John Scott and Gordon Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), <<http://www.oxfordreference.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199533008.001.0001/acref-9780199533008-e-2155>> [accessed 17 February 2017]. As a concept it has been received attention from a wide number of scholars, including the anthropologist A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and the sociologist Emile Durkheim.

described early modern social pathology as a dominant discourse “of social infection, containment, and cure” that equated the corruption of the individual body to that of the broader social body.¹³³ This coalesced with growing contemporary emphasis on the health of the body politic at large (rather than the health of the individual), a product of sixteenth-century European and English Reformations.¹³⁴ In practice, it changed how contemporaries approached and represented the issue of social stability from the late Tudor to the early Stuart periods, drawing them away from ‘macroscopic’ ideals of balance to ‘microscopic’ fears of infiltration (variously defined as poisons, venoms, and infections).¹³⁵ As this thesis progresses through its chronological Chapters Two, Three, and Four, it is important to be aware of these conceptual shifts in political and medical thinking: they underscore many subsequent changes and additions to existing public health regulations and infrastructures in the City of London.

Having acknowledged and outlined the broader cultural shifts occurring in early modern England, we now approach the specific conceptual, legislative and material aspects of contemporary London’s public health, starting with the most studied type: measures issued by central government and intended to stem downwards to local government. As my Introduction has indicated, it is only relatively recently that the value of local and informal measures have been reasserted and highlighted; centralised, professional, and often overtly medical measures remain better represented and studied in historical research. This second section will start with a review of those which most impacted the direction of public health in the later Tudor City.

Public health directions in early modern London

Longue durée histories of London’s public health have conventionally been divided into two broad categories, pre-1666 and post-1666. This differentiation is in recognition of the fact that following the Great Fire of London (1666), Crown and civic authorities aspired to rebuild large sections of the City using contemporary urban planning models that – among other things – sought to improve public health by widening streets,

¹³³ Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 4.

¹³⁴ Ole Peter Grell, ‘Plague and the Obligations of Early Modern Physicians Towards Patients and Commonwealth in England and The Netherlands’ in *Doctors and Ethics: the historical setting of professional ethics* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), p. 136.

¹³⁵ Alain Clément, ‘The Influence of Medicine on Political Economy in the Seventeenth Century’, *History of Economics Review*, 38:1(2003), p. 2.

increasing the incidences of paving, better regulating building materials and works, and reconfiguring the layouts of important markets.¹³⁶ For the pre-1666 period, England's earliest concessions to centralised health measures are usually tracked to 1518, when London's College of Physicians was formed and England's first plague controls were introduced (in London and in Oxford).¹³⁷ Both developments have traditionally been considered components of a broader humanistic and political crusade by Henry VIII's influential advisors, Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, who sought to boost England's public health and welfare policies in line with those of the Continent.¹³⁸ A more recent study has, however, also speculated the extent of the monarch's personal investment in these measures, with Euan Rogers, a medieval and Tudor records specialist from The National Archives, attributing them at least partly to Henry's profound personal fear of plague (a disease increasingly believed to have killed his grandmother, Elizabeth Woodville).¹³⁹ While Henry's personal input in these measures is debateable, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that a number of his royal successors – namely, the Stuart kings James I and Charles I – took a far more hands-on approach to public health innovations in the century or so which followed.¹⁴⁰

The first of the 1518 measures – the establishment of the College of Physicians – was undertaken by the royal physician and humanist Thomas Linacre and other medical colleagues with the avowed support of More and Wolsey. The College was intended primarily as a regulatory institution tasked to monitor the activities of licensed

¹³⁶ These developments, though important, are fairly described by the Corporation as “evolutionary” rather than “revolutionary”, since localised public health measures had – as argued by Rawcliffe et al – effectively existed in English towns and cities since the medieval period. Post-Fire developments included the Court of Common Council's appointment of the Commissioners of Sewers, which was not dissolved until 1897. Corporation of London, *The Corporation of London: its origin, constitution powers and duties* (London, New York & Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp 124-126 and p. 149; Colin Smith, ‘The wholesale and retail markets of London, 1660-1840’, *Economic History Review*, 1 (2002), p. 38.

¹³⁷ George Clark, *A History of the Royal Physicians of London, Vol. 1*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964) p. 1; Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 201. The College of Physicians, now known as the Royal College of Physicians, would not gain the ‘Royal’ part of its name until the 1660s under the auspices of Charles II. See Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 304.

¹³⁸ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, pp 200-201.

¹³⁹ Euan Roger, ‘“To Be Shut Up”: New Evidence for the Development of Quarantine Regulations in Early-Tudor England’ in *Social History of Medicine* (2019), p. 4; p. 9. It has also been suggested that, as a Renaissance king, Henry took a personal interest in medicine more broadly; he was known to have devised several pharmaceutical prescriptions. Penelope Hunting, *A History of the Society of Apothecaries* (London: The Society of Apothecaries, 1998), p. 19.

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, Cook's ‘The Regulation of Medical Practice in London Under the Stuarts, 1607-1704’ (1981) and ‘Policing the health of London: the College of Physicians and the early Stuart monarchy’ (1989). This topic is discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

and irregular physicians within seven miles of the capital's square mile (the City of London).¹⁴¹ It was the first (and only) institution in early modern England that regulated medical practice: its location a testament to the strategic importance of London as a growing economic and demographic hub.¹⁴² The College's duties included prosecuting 'irregular' or unlicensed sellers of medical services and remedies and supervising the other two licensed medical groups in the City (the Company of Barber-Surgeons and the apothecaries who, until James' reign, belonged to the Grocers' Company). Both supervised groups belonged to London's network of politically-powerful craft and trade guilds, whose existence and civic prestige considerably predated that of the College.¹⁴³ Conflicts between these established urban practitioners and the elite, extra-municipal College newly appointed to oversee them were, as this thesis will show, exceedingly common, prompting the emergence of a number of hotly contested medical and public-health issues between Crown, College and City over the later Tudor and early Stuart periods.

The second of the 1518 measures was the introduction – for the first time – of centrally-driven plague controls, established by the Privy Council as a means of managing recurrent plague outbreaks on par with the existing strategies of continental Europe.¹⁴⁴ Plague initiatives stemmed from a broader culture of humanistic welfare reform (which also contributed to the emergence of centralised Poor Laws from the 1530s): they were products of the Henrician regime's urge not just to systematically strengthen and better order the body politic from within, but project an enhanced impression of its strength and vitality to European onlookers.¹⁴⁵ These synchronistic internal and external factors would continue to influence the adoption and enactment of centralised public health measures throughout the early modern period. Though plague controls were issued on a national scale, it was the City's ruling authorities who were called upon to enforce them at a local level, with London's civic officials working

¹⁴¹ Margaret Pelling, *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners, 1550-1640* with Frances White (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), p. 1.

¹⁴² Henry VIII's statutes emphasised that only the most learned physicians should operate in London, on account of its importance to the kingdom at large. This was why the majority of the College's remit was to find and prosecute charlatans, quacks and doctors of dubious repute operating within the City and its suburbs. Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 185.

¹⁴³ Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Silvia De Renzi, 'Policies of Health: Diseases, poverty, and hospitals' in *The Healing Arts: Health, disease and society in Europe*, ed. by Peter Elmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 141; Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 201.

¹⁴⁵ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, pp 199-200.

closely with their localities' religious and administrative counterparts to identify, record and segregate the suspected and confirmed sick, issue financial relief, and hire local workers to identify the ailing, clean the streets, dig graves and offer other practical public health services and supports during epidemics.¹⁴⁶

In addition to the creation of these overt public health gestures, Henry's reign was also the first time during which ideas for national poor laws were couched and – if only in a very limited sense – introduced. These are generally acknowledged to have been prompted by economic problems including harvest dearth, price inflation, quickening demographic growth, and growing vagrancy: all problems that would persist, on-and-off, for the sixteenth century as a whole.¹⁴⁷ From about the 1530s, the threat presented to the body politic by 'able-bodied' vagrants – immoral individuals who, perceived as shying away from the honest work expected of them, threatened to unbalance and destabilise the entire social organism – was increasingly emphasised by Crown authorities.¹⁴⁸ A Crown statute issued in 1531 commanded Justices of the Peace to differentiate between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' beggars in their respective localities, issuing corporal punishment to the former and licenses to beg to the latter, so that they might be more easily differentiated and identified.¹⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that under the 1531 governmental statute, even the recognisably needy were not to be offered easy succour, but instead enabled – 'licensed' – to work at begging. This demonstrates the contemporary strength of conservative Galenic perspectives of the body politic, and the accompanying political premise that every member of society should have a defined and exercisable role within the social hierarchy, however humble. The dispersal of formal welfare or charity thus remained a matter for local, religious and private authorities.

Tudor England's existing systems of religious provision were rocked by the effects of the Henrician Reformation (from c. 1534). Given that the religious had traditionally played a significant role in financially and practically managing informal, decentralised systems of public welfare in England, removing these vestiges of Catholicism demonstrably impeded the care afforded to the poor and sick. Sites of charitable or medical respite such as English convents and monasteries were dissolved in 1536 and 1539, with chantries terminated in 1545 and 1547 and religious fraternities

¹⁴⁶ De Renzi, 'Policies of Health', pp 141-142.

¹⁴⁷ Neil L. Kunze, 'The Origins of Modern Social Legislation: The Henrician Poor Law of 1536', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 3:1 (1971), p. 10.

¹⁴⁸ G. R. Elton, 'An Early Tudor Poor Law', *The Economic History Review*, 6:1 (1953), p. 55.

¹⁴⁹ Williams, *The Early Tudors*, p. 222.

disbanded in 1548.¹⁵⁰ From 1536, the Crown undertook to reassign legal responsibility for the welfare of the poor away from the poverty-stricken individual, passing it instead to the parish – the unit of local government where “the private and the familial blended into the wider public world”.¹⁵¹ Upon Henry’s death, this welfare issue was taken up by his son, Edward VI, whose administration took increasingly decisive steps to mitigate the gaps in moral provision predicated by the effects of the English Reformations. These included the introduction of Poor Laws in 1547 and 1552, which collectively solidified parish officials’ legal obligations to directly assist the local poor and needy – rather than merely offering licenses to beg for alms, as in the Henrician model.¹⁵² In London, the Edwardian Poor Laws resulted in the imposition of kingdom’s first compulsory poor rate, an innovation partly used to fund the care of residents in the City’s newly established or re-established hospitals.¹⁵³ These were the five Royal Hospitals of St Thomas’ and St Bartholemew’s (for the sick and the elderly poor), Christ’s (for orphan or poor children), Bedlam (for the mentally ill) and Bridewell (for the punishment of petty criminals), all overseen by civic officials and benefactors and linked by a renewed desire to better co-ordinate and centralise acts of charity: “to administer solace to prisoners, shelter to the poor, visitation to the sick, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, and burial to the dead”.¹⁵⁴ Though not hospitals in the modern sense of the word – early modern hospitals functioned partly as poorhouses, and partly as treatment centres for the poor sick – their male and female workers (paid for by collections made at parish level and centralised through the hospitals) nevertheless provided significant and structured medical care to the poor and sick.¹⁵⁵

Public health and London’s political infrastructure

The newly centralised public health policies of national government, outlined briefly in earlier paragraphs, augmented those already established and historically overseen by the

¹⁵⁰ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England, 1350-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 115.

¹⁵¹ Kunze, ‘The Origins of Modern Social Legislation’, p. 11; Michael Berlin, ‘Reordering rituals: ceremony and the parish, 1520-1640’ in *Londinopolis: Essays in the cultural and social history of early modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 50.

¹⁵² McIntosh, *Poor Relief*, p. 102

¹⁵³ McIntosh, *Poor Relief*, p. 117.

¹⁵⁴ McIntosh, *Poor Relief*, p. 126.

¹⁵⁵ Deborah Harkness, ‘A View from the Streets: Women and Medical Work in Elizabethan London’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82: 1 (2008), p. 73.

City's ruling body. This section will discuss the political infrastructure and nature of these rather more implicit public health regulations (which included the City's habitual management of the urban environment and monitoring of food-selling and consumption practices), starting with an overview of the structure and responsibilities of London's civic government. The Corporation of London was a government composed entirely of the City's citizens: individuals who had attained the freedom of the City by completing a lengthy apprenticeship and joining one of its sixty craft and trade guilds.¹⁵⁶ These freemen elected representatives to three offices – that of Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs – and two major branches of civic government, headed by London's Lord Mayor: the Court of Common Council (which oversaw civic legislation) and the Court of Aldermen (which tended to civic administration and was composed, from 1550, of the city's twenty-six aldermen).¹⁵⁷ Only members of the twelve highest ranked livery companies (those guilds who had been granted, by consensus of civic authorities, permission to wear a special garments as a reflection of their company's status) could be elected to two of the roles – Lord Mayor and alderman – and one of the major branches of government, the Court of Aldermen; only members of these and other livery companies could be elected to the position of serjeant or of the Common Council.¹⁵⁸ Thus, while the Corporation was composed of all freemen, only a select few wielded visible, overarching political power.

Many of the customs which underwrote London's governmental values, responsibilities, and electoral and ruling processes – all of which informed its public health policies – were famously preserved in *Liber Albus* (1419), the 'White Book' of the City. This was a text compiled by mayor Richard Whittington and Common Clerk John Carpenter which combined and polished fragments of oral traditions and older manuscript sources in an effort to preserve Londoners'

accurate knowledge of everything that deserves remembrance...seeing too that when, as not unfrequently happens, all the aged, most experienced, and most discreet rulers of the royal City of London have been carried off at the same instant, as it were, by pestilence, younger persons who have succeeded the in

¹⁵⁶ Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan communities: trade guilds, identity, and change in early modern London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ Ward, *Metropolitan communities*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁸ Michael C. Burrage and David Corry, 'At Sixes and Sevens: Occupational Status in the City of London from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century', *American Sociological Review*, 46:4 (1981), pp 378-379.

the government of the City, have on various occasions been often at a loss from the very want of written information.¹⁵⁹

Liber Albus was thus a product of contemporaries' recognition of the political instability caused by recurrent and overt public health crises: it – and the tried-and-tested systems of 'good rule' it represented – existed as a regimental buffer to such threats. As a civic record, it was highly valued up to and including the Elizabethan period, with the blackened and tattered original being copied, updated and retired for safekeeping under the direction of the City's Comptroller of the Chamber, Robert Smith, in 1582.¹⁶⁰ The well-thumbed original book was given the name *Liber Niger* (by which it is still referred to in the modern Guildhall Library), while the name *Liber Albus* was transferred to the fresh new copy.¹⁶¹ While it has since been convincingly argued that the book provides "an outstanding example of 'spin-doctoring' in the civic archives", it yet remains a valuable academic reference point for the laws and customs of the City up to the Tudor and early Stuart periods, and a supremely useful guide to mapping the responsibilities, duties and hierarchies of London's civic authorities.¹⁶² It was through the political infrastructures described in the text that the mechanisms of day-to-day public health practice were understood and enacted.

Liber Albus describes how ambitious freemen could occupy three principal political offices within the City of London: those of the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and the sheriffs.¹⁶³ From 1550 onwards, the Lord Mayor – chief magistrate of the Corporation of London and head of this civic hierarchy – was chosen from among the ranks of the twenty-six actively serving aldermen, usually on a yearly basis in late October.¹⁶⁴ To reflect the democratic nature of London citizenship, the common people

¹⁵⁹ John Carpenter, *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London (1419)*, ed. and transl. by Henry Thomas Riley (London: Richard Griffin and Company, 1861), p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ Henry Thomas Riley, 'Introduction' in John Carpenter and Richard Whittington, *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London, 1419*, ed. and transl. by Henry Thomas Riley (London: Richard Griffin and Company, 1861), p. viii.

¹⁶¹ Riley, 'Introduction', p. viii.

¹⁶² Helen Carrel, 'Food, drink and public order in the London *Liber Albus*', *Urban History*, 33:2 (2006), p. 176.

¹⁶³ *Liber Albus*, p. 11.

¹⁶⁴ Alfred P. Beaven, 'Introduction to the second volume', in *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III - 1912* (London, 1908), pp xi-lx. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-aldermen/hen3-1912/xi-lx>> [accessed 30 August 2018]; unknown, 'Dates/Terms of Office', University of Toronto: *Mayors and Sheriffs of London (MASL)* <<https://masl.library.utoronto.ca/dates.html>> [accessed 30 August 2018]. There were 25 aldermen between 1393/4 and 1550, with one of them – the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate, ex-officio alderman of Portsoken ward – ineligible to serve as mayor. My thanks to Prof. Vanessa Harding for her clarifications on this.

were encouraged to choose two aldermen as candidates for the role, with the winning candidate being chosen by the current Lord Mayor and the liverymen (the higher-ranking members of the trade guilds) of the City.¹⁶⁵ After the choice had been made, Carpenter notes, in customarily organic terms, that

the Common Clerk taking note by scrutiny, under supervision of the Recorder...made known to the people of the Guildhall, by the mouth of their Recorder, which of the two had been elected Mayor for the ensuing year.¹⁶⁶

The Lord Mayor was assisted in his duties throughout the year by the other twenty-five aldermen and two sheriffs.¹⁶⁷ Sheriffs were required not only to act as the “eyes of the Mayor”, but remain as subservient to him as “the limbs are...to the head”: a reminder of the role’s practical as well as symbolic importance.¹⁶⁸ The mayor was invited to choose the first of his sheriffs from the ranks of the City’s liverymen, with or without the advice of his aldermen, while the Common Council, acting on behalf of the commonality, chose the second sheriff.¹⁶⁹ This symbolic procedure was supposed to represent the mayor’s joint allegiance to monarch and to commons – indeed, to national and to civic government. Together, the sheriffs were entrusted with overseeing city-wide law and order, and to this end they named and commanded a vast network of officers, including sergeants, sergeants’ valets, clerks, bailiffs, and the gaoler of Newgate prison.¹⁷⁰

The sheriffs’ work was complemented by that of the aldermen, who collectively dealt with petty grievances and issues at their own local levels. The alderman’s primary duty was to act as a Justice of the Peace, alongside his aldermanic colleagues and the Mayor; to oversee the area of civic administration – known as a ‘ward’ – from which (and to which) he had been elected; and to gather and report any local issues of interest upwards to the Court of the Aldermen and Court of Common Council.¹⁷¹ The alderman was also responsible for overseeing the administration of plague controls and the Poor Laws (in conjunction with the area of religious administration known as the parish) in

¹⁶⁵ The common people, here, are defined as the ordinary members of guilds (i.e. citizens) who did not already occupy a political office in the City. Carpenter and Whittington, *Liber Albus*, pp 18-19; Ward, *Metropolitan communities*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁶ Carpenter and Whittington, *Liber Albus*, pp 18-19.

¹⁶⁷ The ward of Bridge Without (established in the newly purchased Southwark from 1550) was unusual in that its inhabitants did not elect their own alderman, but had one selected on their behalf by the Common Council. This was because the Bridge Without alderman’s role did not come with ward duties. See Corporation of London, *The Corporation*, p. 27.

¹⁶⁸ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, pp 37-38.

¹⁶⁹ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, p. 39.

¹⁷⁰ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, pp 39-40.

¹⁷¹ Corporation of London, *The Corporation*, p. 57.

his locality. John Carpenter's description of the sheriff described him as the "eyes of the Mayor", but aldermen were also recommended for their watchfulness: in his *Caveat* (1598), "the professional Westminster informer" and would-be market reformer Hugh Alley described them and their deputies as "appointed governours and carefull lookers thereunto".¹⁷² In both the city's own records and those of its admirers, organic political analogy contributed to contemporaries' understanding and representation of an otherwise complicated civic hierarchy, simplifying and emphasising the vital functions of Mayor, sheriffs, and members of the Courts of Common Council and Aldermen as well as the varied local authorities that composed the City of London and its growing suburbs.

London's civic administration at local level was formally maintained by two complementary and geographically-overlapping local authorities: that of the parish, and that of the ward.¹⁷³ These ruling units were differentiated by their history, their size, the source of their authority, and their primary responsibilities. London's parishes were ecclesiastical units subsequently co-opted to serve some civic ends, while its wards had been integral to the government of the City from its earliest beginnings, predating even the mayoralty and several civic courts. Parish authorities maintained and oversaw their communities' religious cultures, rituals and infrastructures, administered welfare, and recorded births, marriages, and death, while ward officials were charged with monitoring and enforcing market, housing and trade laws (which included the monitoring of street and trade pollution), keeping public order, and collecting taxes and fines.¹⁷⁴ Given their traditionally wide administrative reach, parishes covered a far smaller geographical area than did wards, so there were far more of them in the City of

¹⁷² Ian Archer, 'Hugh Alley, Law Enforcement, and Market Regulation in the Later Sixteenth Century' in *Hugh Alley's Caveat: The Markets of London in 1598*, ed. by Ian Archer, Caroline Barron, Vanessa Harding (London: London Topographical Society, 1988), p. 15; Hugh Alley, 'A Caveatt for the City of London' in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, p. 42 (fol. 2^v); Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, pp 37-38. This emphasis on the visual senses is one that will appear again in Chapter 4's discussion of King Charles I, and his identification of his royal responsibilities to the body politic.

¹⁷³ The livery companies, of course, also had a significant role to play, given that it was from their ranks that London's freemen came to populate ward and often parish authorities (and vice versa).

¹⁷⁴ Pearl, 'Change and stability', p. 153.

London: the later Tudor city boasted some 111 parishes, but only twenty-six wards. The latter were sometimes further divided into up to 242 tiny precincts.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Pearl, 'Change and stability', p. 153; W.G. Bell, 'Wardmote Inquest Registers of St Dunstan's-in-the-West' in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Vol. III, Part I*, ed. by Arthur Bonner (London: Bishopgate's Institute, 1914), p. 60. Prior to 1550, there were only twenty-four wards in London, but after this year the number rose to twenty-six. Farringdon ward was split into Farringdon Within/Farringdon Without, while Bridge Without ward was formed to incorporate the borough of Southwark – located south of the river and, up to this point, outside civic jurisdiction – into the city. In 1598, the antiquarian John Stow recorded the cost to the city of acquiring Southwark as "the summe of 647. pound two shillings and one penny, payd into his Court of Augmentations, and reuenewes of his Crowne, [whereupon Edward VI] graunted to the Mayor and Comminalty, all his lands and tenements in Southwarke" as well as all responsibility for governance and good order. Paris Garden and Clink Liberties, Surrey, were not included in this sale; they remained liberties in which urban authority was persistently evaded up to the nineteenth century. Stow, *A Survey of London*, p. 68; H.E. Malden, 'The borough of Southwark: Introduction', in *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 4*, ed. H. E. Malden (London, 1912), pp 125-135. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol4/pp125-135>> [accessed 12 August 2021].



THE WARDS c. 1520 Including Extra-parochial Areas.
The boundaries are indicative for the period.

Images 1 & 2: The east and west wards of London, c. 1520.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ M.D. Lobel (ed.) 'The Wards c. 1520 Including Extra-Parochial Areas' in *The British Atlas of Historic Towns, vol. 3, The city of London from prehistoric times to c. 1520*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), *British Historic Towns Atlas* <http://www.historictownsatlas.org.uk/sites/historictownsatlas/files/atlas/town/maps/wards_1520_east_half.pdf> & <http://www.historictownsatlas.org.uk/sites/historictownsatlas/files/atlas/town/maps/wards_1520_west_half.pdf> [accessed 27 January 2022].

London's parish and ward records provide historians with useful but differing information on local politics and public health practice in the early modern city. To date, however, historians of public health have tended to prioritise and emphasise the use of parish records, not least because – particularly after the Henrician period – the parish played a key role in translating Poor Laws and centralised plague controls to local politics and environments.¹⁷⁷ The ward, by contrast, oversaw older, habitual and more implicit civic health practices, which often revolved around environmental pollution and selling regulations that have not, until recently, received comparable levels of scholarly attention (see Introduction).¹⁷⁸ Parish records are more numerous and often more detailed than ward records; they tend to survive in greater numbers.¹⁷⁹ Many parish records were transcribed, edited and printed by antiquarians in the nineteenth century, often rendering them more accessible than London's surviving ward records, which remain predominantly in the archives.¹⁸⁰ Finally, while historians such as Valerie Pearl have described the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as periods in which annual meetings of the ward's authorities and citizens fulfilled a particularly acute community role, the institution thereafter went into rapid decline, diminishing its contemporary influence in the eyes of modern historians.¹⁸¹ These issues, combined with historians' tendency to prioritise overt, centralised public health policies over habitual, local ones, has meant that London's ward records have been underutilised as a source-type by public health historians.

¹⁷⁷ See, for example, Richelle Munkhoff, 'Poor women and parish public health in sixteenth-century London', *Renaissance Studies*, 28:4 (2014), pp. 579-596; Charles M. Evans and Angela E. Evans, 'Plague – a disease of children and servants? A study of the parish records of St Peter upon Cornhill, London from 1580 to 1605', *Continuity and Change* (2019), 34:2, pp 183-208.

¹⁷⁸ I am grateful to Dr Margaret Pelling and Dr Mark Jenner for directing me towards extant wardmote and precinct inquest registers.

¹⁷⁹ The wardmote register of Cornhill, one of those investigated in this thesis, only narrowly escaped the Great Fire of 1666, which burned down the church of St Michael Cornhill in which it was kept: this fate may well have met many of its counterparts elsewhere in central London. W. H. Overall, 'Preface' in *Accounts of the Churchwardens*, ed. by Overall, pp xxiv-xxv.

¹⁸⁰ See, for example, printed parish records such as Overall (ed.), *Accounts of the Churchwardens*; Granville Leveson Gower (ed.), *A register of all the christnings, buriales & weddinges within the parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill [...]* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1877), *The Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/registerofallchr01stpe/page/n15/mode/2up>> [accessed on 21 July 2018], Joseph Lemuel Chester (ed.), *The Parish Registers of St Michael Cornhill [...]* (London: The Harleian Society, 1882), *The Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/parishregisterso07stmi/page/n5/mode/2up>> [accessed on 21 July 2018].

¹⁸¹ Pearl, 'Change and stability', p. 154.

The wardmote register and its use in public health history

The wardmote inquest register was one of the most significant documents kept by the officials of each of London's twenty-six wards.¹⁸² Returns survive from the early-fifteenth century, with descriptions of the wardmote's articles of inquest appearing in *Liber Albus* (1419) as well as in later customs books such as the London merchant Richard Arnold's *Chronicle* (1503).¹⁸³ Wardmote inquest registers were variously used to record the names of existing and newly elected ward officials and, in some cases, the expenses incurred, fines imposed, behaviours expected and offence presentments levied at the annual meeting of the ward (the 'wardmote'), which all householders were obliged to attend.¹⁸⁴ In its capacity as an open gathering for householders of the ward, the wardmote offered an opportunity for the alderman, his deputy (or deputies, in some cases) and members of the wardmote inquest to gather and articulate popular attitudes and opinions conveyed by representatives of the locality. Important information gleaned at the wardmote could then be conveyed upwards to the Court of the Lord Mayor and Alderman, as well as the Common Council (just as, of course, each wardmote's central premises and reports each year could be heavily influenced by orders issued downwards; this will be shown in chapters to come).¹⁸⁵

For much of their existence, wardmote inquest registers were stored in special chests in their ward's central parish church, which also served as the location of meetings held every year on 21 December (St Thomas' Day).¹⁸⁶ The location of these meetings

¹⁸² In larger wards, a wardmote inquest register appears to have been kept by several different precincts (sometimes referred to as parishes); this was the case in Farringdon Without, of which Stow reports different wardmotes were kept by the parishes of St Selpuchre, St Bridget's, and St Andrew's. The surviving register from this ward, used in this thesis, is attributed to St Dunstan's in the West precinct, which goes unmentioned by Stow. See Stow, *Survey of London*, pp 51-52.

¹⁸³ See, for example, A. H. Thomas, *Calendar of plea and memoranda rolls preserved among the archives of the corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, A.D. 1413-1437* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1943); Carpenter, *Liber Albus*; Richard Arnold, *The Customs of London, otherwise called Arnold's Chronicle [...]*, ed. by Francis Douce (London: 1811), *The Internet Archive* < <https://archive.org/details/customsoflondono00arno> > [accessed 14 February 2022]; Peter C. Herman, 'Arnold, Richard (d. c. 1521)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2< <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-681?rkey=r2VRye&result=1> > [accessed 14 February 2022].

¹⁸⁴ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, p. 33. Householders were defined as freemen who had attained the role of 'master' in their respective companies. Pearl, 'Change and stability', p. 152.

¹⁸⁵ Pearl, 'Change and stability', pp 154-5.

¹⁸⁶ Bell, 'Wardmote Inquest Registers of St Dunstan's-in-the-West', p. 58. In Cornhill, a new wooden chest was bought to house the surviving wardmote inquest register in from 1571. See Overall, 'Preface' in *Accounts of the Churchwardens*, ed. by Overall, pp xxiv-xxv.

and the manner of these registers' storage was intended to symbolise ward and parish authorities' interdependent relationship throughout the early modern period, but often obfuscated the differences between the two. Contemporary references in one of the surviving sixteenth-century registers – that of Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct, a smaller unit of civic jurisdiction than the ward as a whole – state that its records cover the “p[ar]ishe”, not the precinct (a conflation also made by Stow, with reference to other precincts, in his *Survey*)¹⁸⁷ This confusion is sometimes communicated in modern studies, with one of the earliest case studies of a London wardmote inquest register – undertaken by W. G. Bell in 1914 – also praising the document's “parochial” outlook.¹⁸⁸ This inclination to conflate precinct and parish has since been being replicated by some modern historians, though modern cataloguing at London Metropolitan Archives has striven to reinforce the jurisdictional differences between the two.¹⁸⁹ Reinforcing these differences is important because the wardmote offered ward and precinct inhabitants further opportunity for local office-holding (albeit among men only) than did the parish, making it an arguably more inclusive opportunity to exert political power at a local level.¹⁹⁰

The wardmote inquest register's primary concern was the acknowledgement and curtailing of civic abuses, primarily those which had occurred (or reoccurred) within the previous year. These could be summed up as offence ‘presentements’, though Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct register of 1590 simply listed

¹⁸⁷ See, for example, CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1590), fol. 54^r and CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1628), fol. 114^v, which notes the wardmote inquest “for the saide parish”. Stow, *Survey of London*, pp 51-42.

¹⁸⁸ In addition to St Dunstan-in-the-West, Farringdon Without contained five additional parishes: St Bartholomew the Great, St Bartholomew the Less, St Selpuchre, St Andrew Holborn and St Bride. Glancing through the document, it is clear that the wardmote meeting was also held from time-to-time in other of the ward's parish churches, such as St Sepulchre, and often presents offences which occurred in other precincts, such as ‘St Bridgett’ (i.e. St Bride). See CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1600), fol. 68^r.; CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1599), fol. 66^v.; John Noorthouck, ‘Farringdon Ward Without’, in *A New History of London Including Westminster and Southwark* (London, 1773), pp 639-656.

¹⁸⁹ See, for example, Justin Champion, ‘Epidemics and the Built Environment in 1665’ in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. by J.A.I. Champion (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1993), pp 35-52, which – in the style of Bell – alludes to the wardmote as if it is a St Dunstan's in the West parish record. CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 is archived with the Farringdon Without ward records and clearly marked as a ‘precinct’ record on the London Metropolitan Archives, though it retains its original name.

¹⁹⁰ Charlotte Berry, “‘To Avoide All Envy, Malys, Grudge and Displeasure’: Sociability and Social Networking at the London Wardmote Inquest, c. 1470-1540”, *The London Journal*, 42:3 (2017), p. 203.

them under the heading of ‘John Wright, comon bedell’, the official to whom the task of reading out the presentments fell.¹⁹¹ The wardmote was a formal event with prescribed hierarchies, behaviours, and orders of business, a combination of which are recorded across London’s surviving wardmote inquest registers. One explicitly notes orders and behaviours to be observed by all those attending the wardmote, year on year, with details of fines to be collected should anyone break them.¹⁹² Others record details such as the names of elected ward officials present at the inquest, “treasurer’s chardges” (money paid to the ward by fined individuals, such as absent officials), “treasurer’s discharges” (money paid out by the ward on behalf of the inquest, for example, to the Steward for purchasing “fleshe, fish, and other viands” for feeding those present), amounts collected and distributed to the poor of different parishes and institutions (such as nearby hospitals and prisons), and the names of those whose “coppies” of the freedom of the City – used to attest their right to trade – had that year been checked and verified by ward officials.¹⁹³

Though urban incorporations were granted special powers to search and discipline their own members as they operated within different wards, complaints relating to company members within their geographical jurisdiction could also appear in wardmote records.¹⁹⁴ *Liber Albus*, for example, notes that it was common practice for medieval bakers to record impressions of their unique baker’s stamp (used to distinguish which baker had baked what) before the alderman at the wardmote, so as to make it easier for local regulators to identify and investigate the producers of sub-par bread. Food traders’ weights and measures were also checked periodically against the ward’s principal scales, and it was in the markets of particularly central wards that orders were customarily given for faulty weights and measures to be publicly burnt.¹⁹⁵ Surviving registers, examined in the course of this thesis, indicate that freemen were not often individually presented for breaches of their trades in this forum (being more likely to

¹⁹¹ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1590), fol. 54^r.

¹⁹² CLC/W/GE/001/MS03461/001 (1627), fols. 3^r-3^v.

¹⁹³ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1590), fols. 50^v-52^r.

¹⁹⁴ Sylvia Thrupp, *A short history of the Worshipful Company of Bakers of London* (Croyden: Galleon Press, 1933), p. 42.

¹⁹⁵ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, p. 34. See, for example, a command made by the Corporation in 1610 for all “false measures as were taken in the last searche by vertue of precepte made by my Lord Maior to the Alder[m]en of the seuerall wardes within this City” to be “burnt on Wensday next in the markt time the one halfe in Cheapside and the other halfe in Cornhill.” City of London, London Metropolitan Archives, COL/AD/01/029 [Letter Book DD (1609-1611)] (1610), fol. 188^v.

appear in the City Chamberlain's Fines Book and, indeed, in their own guild records).¹⁹⁶ In the wardmote inquest registers, foreign traders, illegal victuallers and vintners, and street sellers (male and female) were far more likely to be held to account for breaking market ordinances or otherwise threatening public health and/or the public peace.¹⁹⁷ In the wardmote register of Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct, the names of predominantly cooked food and alcoholic drink vendors – victuallers, cooks, vintners, tiplers, and brewers – and proprietors of places where drink and/or food could be sold and enjoyed on the premises – inns, cellars, taverns, 'ordinaries' and 'tabling houses' – residing in the ward were routinely listed year-on-year, indicating that their numbers and identities were of particular interest to local authorities.¹⁹⁸

While a number of wardmote register case studies exist, only one – Bell's study of 1914 – appraises the records from a broader public health perspective (though Bell himself never uses the term).¹⁹⁹ His article vacillates between his enthusiasm for the wardmote register's ability to "tell...of the little things that happened" and touch with "remarkable intimacy and freshness upon the daily life of London citizens" and his profoundly negative public health assessment of the state of Farringdon Without's St

¹⁹⁶ Examples do surface from time to time, however – particularly in times of intense social stress such as in the year 1595, during which time the brown bakers were presented in Cornhill. See CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1595), fol. 65^v.

¹⁹⁷ The medieval definition of the term 'victualler' ('vitailler') refers rather simply to a general "trader in foodstuffs". In the early modern documents consulted for this thesis, however, it is more often used to specifically refer to "a purveyor of victuals or provisions; *spec.* one who makes a business of providing food and drink for payment; a keeper of an eating-house, inn, or tavern; a licensed victualler". For consistency's sake, I have stuck to its more common early modern usage and used it only to refer to those who sold cooked food and drink to be consumed on a licensed (or unlicensed, as the case may be) premises. See 'vitailler', *Middle English Compendium* <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED51306>> (accessed 20 August 2021); victualler, n., *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2021) <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/223245?redirectedFrom=victualler#eid>> [accessed 20 August 2021].

¹⁹⁸ See, for example, the range of vendors and premises listed across CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1590), fol. 54^v; *Ibid.* (1595), fol. 61^v; *Ibid.* (1626), fol. 111^v. Ordinary houses – or ordinaries – were a sixteenth-century innovation, so-named after their primary offering: a fixed-price, affordable meal known as an 'ordinary'. Tabling-houses were gaming-houses in which food may also have been sold. See Carlin, "What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?", pp 214-216 (footnote 75).

¹⁹⁹ See, for example, Pearl, 'Change and stability' pp 153-165; Berry, "To Avoide All Envy, Malys, Grudge and Displeasure"; Bell, 'Wardmote Inquest Registers of St Dunstan's in the West'. Laura Gowing also leans on ward records to discuss the movements of female food sellers. Where men might have striven towards the freedom of the city, her article title indicates, so women fought for the freedom of the streets. See Laura Gowing, "The freedom of the streets": women and social space, 1560-1640' in *Londonopolis: essays in the cultural and social history of early modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp 130-151.

Dunstan-in-the-West precinct.²⁰⁰ In a manner typical of early twentieth century approaches to pre-modern health, Bell notes offence presentments for filthy streets, houses, and tenements but glosses over ward officials' attempts to redress the day-to-day problems of urban pollution by naming, summoning and fining offenders, concluding – far more simply – that it evidences the conditions in which “London citizens of other days were content to live”.²⁰¹ As my Introduction showed, Bell's ‘Whiggish’ condescension and failure to place the records in their broader health context – entirely in keeping with the early historiographical tradition in which he wrote – is emblematic of traditional and often continuing approaches to pre-modern public health. His is a perspective I hope to rebut in the course of this thesis.

London's early modern wardmote inquest registers and their public health value

Only three surviving wardmote inquest registers (held in the London Metropolitan Archives under the reference stem CLA/W) cover the full timeframe of this thesis – those of Cornhill ward, Aldersgate ward, and Farringdon Without ward's St Dunstan in the West precinct (which records the jurisdiction of just one precinct within the larger ward).²⁰² An additional register, Bridge Within ward, covers the period from 1627.²⁰³ Bell speculates that many such registers were lost in the Great Fire of 1666, while others were simply left to moulder; their historical value and local scope overlooked and undervalued.²⁰⁴ Those which remain, however, present precious insight into some of the problems of life in the capital, and the identities, consciousnesses and priorities of those who ruled it and lived in it at a local level. Focusing particularly on the first three registers, I sought to investigate, compare and contrast them, looking particularly for

²⁰⁰ Bell, ‘Wardmote Inquest Registers’, p. 56.

²⁰¹ Bell, ‘Wardmote Inquest Registers’, p. 57. Indeed, a cursory review of the Elizabethan Laws of the Market – first issued in 1562 to reiterate most, if not all, of the contemporary concerns of the wardmote from ‘The Laws of the Market’ to ‘The Statutes of the Streetes...against Noysances’ and ‘Old Lawes and Customes of this Cittie’ – soon disproves this view. See, for example, Corporation of London, *The lavves of the market* (London, 1595), *Early English Books Online*, <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:image:8151> [accessed 5 December 2016].

²⁰² These registers are classmarked under CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (Farringdon Without's St Dunstan in the West precinct), CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (Cornhill), and CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001 (Aldersgate) respectively in the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA).

²⁰³ CLC/W/GE/001/MS03461/001 (Bridge Within). I also examined fragments of other ward documents from the timeframe c. 1558-1640, including CLC/W/PA/010/MS00455 (Walbrook ward), but found the information they contained did not advance the direction of this thesis.

²⁰⁴ Bell, ‘Wardmote Inquest Registers’, p. 56.

evidence of local regulation of public health, food selling and consumption practices. Though these four provide only a small sample of what once represented the twenty-six wards of Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline London, each register nevertheless presents a distinct local perspective on some or all of these themes.

London's surviving later sixteenth and early-seventeenth century wardmote inquest registers are four large, heavy books held together by modern binding, available to consult in the reading rooms of the London Metropolitan Archives. I began my investigation by comparing and contrasting the layouts and contents of each book, quickly establishing that these differed significantly from register to register and – within some registers – from year to year. For example, in 1628 – a sample year covered by each of the four registers – folios allocated to that year's wardmote proceedings ranged from one – (Aldersgate) to three (Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct), four (Bridge Within) and five (Cornhill) folios.²⁰⁵ The only feature that all have in common is their recording of those elected that year to officiate over wardmote and ward/ward precinct proceedings. Aldersgate's 1628 register names Mr William Acton as alderman and William Tulley and Thomas Hutchinson as his intra- and extra-mural deputies, with an additional fourteen men of differing roles and responsibilities (seven from each side of the gate which gave the ward its name) forming the wardmote inquest. There were also four constables, four scavengers, and seven Common Councilmen divided along similar lines.²⁰⁶ The size of the wardmote inquest varied from ward to ward precinct, with between seven (Farringdon Without's Dunstan-in-the-West precinct) and sixteen (Cornhill and Bridge Within) men listed for each.²⁰⁷

In Aldersgate, these names form the entirety of the wardmote inquest register's report from 1590-1640, rendered from 1590-1593 across a half-folio and, from 1594, a single folio.²⁰⁸ Farringdon Without, Bridge Within, and Cornhill each offer considerably more information for the historian to peruse, with all listing the names of that year's

²⁰⁵ CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001 (1628), fol. 35^v; CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1628), fols 114^v- 115^v; CLC/W/GE/001/MS03461/001 (1628), fols 7^r- 10^r; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1628), fols 187^r-189^v.

²⁰⁶ CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001 (1628), fol. 35^v. The number of those elected to the Common Council each year tended to fluctuate between six and eight in Aldersgate ward.

²⁰⁷ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1628), fol. 114^v; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1628), fol. 187^r; CLC/W/GE/001/MS03461/001 (1628), fol. 7^r. There were fourteen men on Aldersgate's wardmote inquest. Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct was assigned fewer representatives by virtue of its smaller jurisdiction. See CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001 (1628), fol. 35^v.

²⁰⁸ CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001 (1592/3), fol. 17^r; *Ibid.* (1594), fol. 17^v.

grand and petty juries and some listing offence presentments (Cornhill and Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct), treasurer's charges and discharges (Cornhill), the names of those who showed their copies of the freedom of the City to the wardmote inquest (Cornhill), lists of tiplers (Cornhill), Vintners, innholders, brewers, licensed and unlicensed victuallers, cooks, and ordinary keepers (Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct) and behaviours to be observed by members of the wardmote inquest at its sitting (Bridge Within), some of which carry fixed fines to be given to the ward or the poor of the ward.²⁰⁹

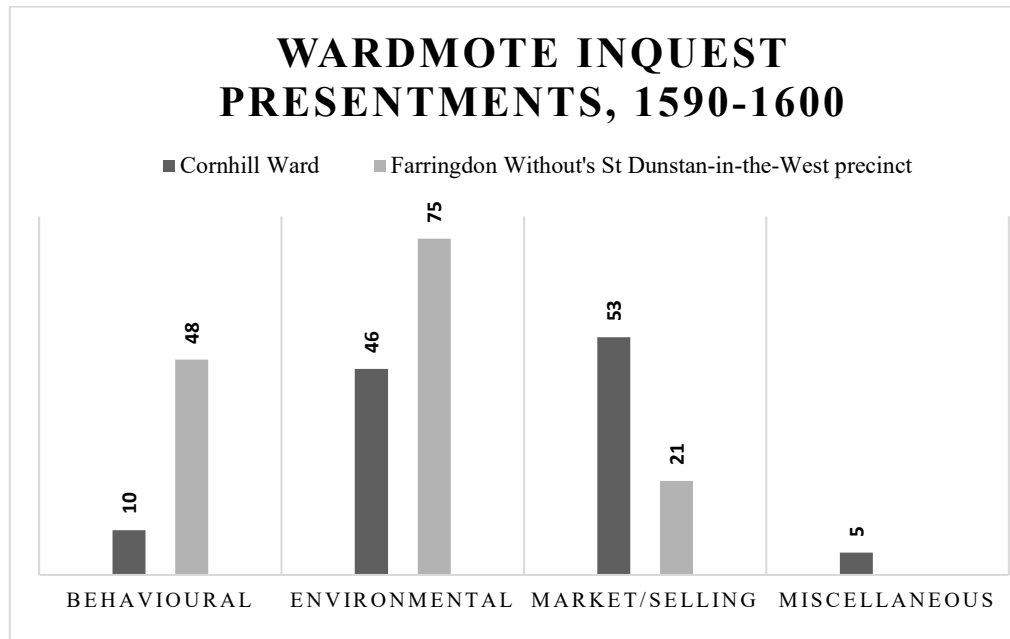
Of the three wardmote inquest registers spanning the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline periods – and one, Bridge Within, which begins two years into Charles' reign) – the registers of Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct and Cornhill' ward present the most scope for public health research. This is because both documents contain offence presentments: sections in which individuals were publicly presented, upbraided and fined for a range of offences. These sections are particularly valuable for public health research because they highlight, on an annual basis, the particular regulatory challenges habitually identified by ward authorities on a local level. The presentments cover a wide remit of frowned-upon moral and civic behaviours, including inhabitants “keeping...evill rule” or “comytting adultrey”, being “a common barritor” (a quarrelsome person), keeping a “privatt Alley” appended to a dwelling house in which “rogues & badd people in the nighte tyme doe hide themselves in...& doe breake ou[t] into the neighbours grounds & soe harne them”, and “not coming unto us [the wardmote inquest] having bene often tymes warned”.²¹⁰ Reports of trading offences specific to each ward also appear year on year, from complaints against vendors abusing lawful selling practices and causing public disorder by “swearinge [at local authorities] to the great Anoyance...of the Inhabitanes and the Passers by”, to the presentment of market officials reluctant to take a firm stance against offending vendors (or, in one case, too firm a stance).²¹¹ Environmental problems, attributed and charged to private or public individuals (or simply noted as requiring further investigation by ward authorities) also appear frequently in both registers. These include reports of current or potential issues

²⁰⁹ CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001 (1628), fol. 35^v; CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1628), fols 114^v- 115^v; CLC/W/GE/001/MS03461/001 (1628), fols 7^r- 10^r; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1628), fols 187^r-189^v.

²¹⁰ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1590), fol. 54^v; Ibid (1592), fol. 57^r; Ibid (1593), fol. 58^r; Ibid (1613), fol. 91^v; Ibid (1612), fol. 90^r; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1592), fol. 56^r.

²¹¹ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1590), fol. 51^v; Ibid (1591), fol. 54^r.

caused by overflowing privies, stalls, overhangs and display racks overextending into the street, conduits and pumps lacking water, misfiring chimneys, defective pavements, penthouses and cellar doors, overcrowded tenements, and narrow alleys, all of which were variously cited in the registers as instances of or risks for nuisance, annoyance, injury, infection, and fire.²¹²



Graph 1: A comparison of offence presentments, broken down by category, from the wardmote inquest register of Cornhill ward and Farringdon Without's Dunstan-in-the-West precinct, 1590-1600.²¹³

While both registers contain examples of each type of offence, they notably diverge in how often each category is represented and to what extent certain offence-types dominate each category, highlighting the civic position and primary concerns of each unique locality (see **Graph 1**). Taking the decade from 1590-1600 as a comparative example, over this period there were some 112 presentments recorded in Cornhill (an average of about 10 of per year) and 140 presentments (an average of about 13 per year)

²¹² CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1592), fol. 56^v; Ibid (1591), fol. 55^r; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1591), fol. 54^r; Ibid (1592), fol. 56^r; Ibid (1599), fol. 84^r.

²¹³ Drawn from CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1590-1600), fol. 54^r – 69^v and CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1590-1600), fol. 51^v – 87^v; see Appendices: Items 1, 2, and 3 for transcriptions and categorisation.

recorded in Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct.²¹⁴ These were broadly classed into three main categories – Behavioural, Environmental, and Market/Selling (an additional category, Miscellaneous, covers five petitions to help the poor recorded in Cornhill's presentments from 1595-1598).

The principal foci of Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct presentments well reflect the ward's high population density, large geographical area, and location outside the walls at the westerly edge of the City (in close proximity to London's sprawling, rapidly developing suburbs).²¹⁵ In 1595 it was identified as a ward in which poverty was particularly concentrated, while a 1631 population survey by John Graunt found it to be the most densely inhabited of all London's wards, with some 20,846 people living there (Bridge Without, the next populous ward by a significant margin, had inhabitants amounting to 18,660).²¹⁶ Farringdon Without's position as a 'gateway ward' contributed to local authorities' concerns, for the City grew (between 1550 and 1600, its population almost doubled) so too did its suburbs and liberties. Since civic jurisdiction did not extend to these, they were considered by many contemporaries to be black spots of pollution, criminality and poverty: places from which unscrupulous individuals could easily enter London and just as rapidly retreat, evading the City's regulations and authorities.²¹⁷ These challenges go some way towards explaining why no overarching wardmote inquest register survives for the ward of Farringdon Without, and why its governance appears – instead – to have been funnelled down to the level of its precincts. Though the presentments recorded in the surviving St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct wardmote register represent only a fraction of those registered by the ward as a whole – we know from Stow that other wardmote sessions were routinely held by the parishes (as he calls them) of St Selpuchre, St Bridget's, and St Andrew's – they yet

²¹⁴ As several presentments straddled two categories rather than just one – see, for example, “William Grimbold p[re]sented for keping typlinge in the uault under the Exchange” (Market/Selling) and “for broylinge of herringes spratts bacon and other things in the same uault noysome to the m[er]chants and others resorting to the Exchange” (Environmental) – there are slightly more presentments represented on the graph than were actually recorded over the course of the decade. See Appendices: Items 2 and 3.

²¹⁵ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 20.

²¹⁶ M.J. Power, ‘London and the control of the ‘crisis’ of the 1590s’, *History*, 70:230 (1985), p. 375; John Graunt, quoted in Vanessa Harding, ‘The population of early modern London : a review of the published evidence’, *London Journal*, 15 (1990), p. 124.

²¹⁷ Jeremy Boulton, ‘London 1540-1700’ in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 316; Roger Finlay, *Population and the Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 6.

provide welcome insights into the kind of concerns held by civic authorities within the ward at the time.²¹⁸

The majority of offences presented in Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct register over this sample period relate – as Bell's article suggests – to environmental issues, particularly the ongoing problem of mismanaged dunghills and privies stemming from the existence of a large number of over-occupied, cramped tenements in the ward. The problems of poverty suffuse the precinct's presentments; residents were routinely chided for failing to dispose of human waste in a hygienic way, even as ward officials acknowledged that many had “no privies in their howses”, tenements or places of habitation. Landlords such as Richard Tothill were almost annually invoked at the wardmote, but to little avail.²¹⁹ Over this period, the inhabitants of St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct were also presented for keeping noisy or smelly animals such as pigs and dogs and risking fire by dressing “flackes” and burning “pesses of leather”; these specific concerns went hand-in-hand with more general reminders to adequately maintain pavements, penthouses, alleys and public lighting in the form of lanterns.²²⁰

The second most common category of presentment in Farringdon Without's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct related to private individuals' and/or groups' moral behaviours, with offences ranging from scolding, brawling, and skipping the wardmote inquest to living lewdly, committing adultery and facilitating (or being suspected to facilitate) prostitution and other “incontences of lyfe”.²²¹ These complaints appear almost five times more often in Farringdon Without ward's St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct than they do in Cornhill ward for the same period. The precinct's particular emphasis on curbing private individuals' immoral behaviour is further revealed when the presentments which compose the third category – market and selling practice – are scrutinised more closely: they focus largely on attempts to regulate victualling houses and taverns, with some fifteen of the twenty-one offences presented under this category relating directly to victualling and tipping (as opposed to wholesale market and street selling). Such houses were associated not just with drunkenness and its attendant

²¹⁸ See Stow, *Survey of London*, pp 51-52. A wardmote register for St Sepulchre parish (i.e. Smithfield precinct), dated later than this thesis considers, also survives. See London: London Metropolitan Archives, LC/W/JB/049/MS03180/001 [St Sepulchre Holborn Precincts: Minute Book of Meetings of the Inhabitants of Smithfield Precinct (1646-1724)].

²¹⁹ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1592), fol. 56^v.

²²⁰ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1591), fol. 55^v; Ibid. (1594), fol. 59^r.

²²¹ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1594), fol. 59^v.

immoralities – particularly in the increasingly tense 1590s – but also with the harbouring of criminals, rogues, and other individuals of ill-repute.²²² Monitoring such places’ proprietors and ensuring their adherence to trading laws was just one way in which local authorities, through the wardmote inquest, could seek to protect and maintain the wider body politic. This was particularly urgent for those wards on London’s expanding periphery, as the ward of Farringdon Without was; this goes some way towards explaining why Farringdon Without’s St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct has the only wardmote inquest register in which updated lists of alcoholic drink and cooked food producers appear year after year.²²³

Farringdon Without’s St Dunstan-in-the-West precinct’s principal foci contrast with those of Cornhill ward, an unusually small, central and wealthy ward which enjoyed a particularly privileged position among the other twenty-five contemporary wards. In 1631, its population was just 1,439 – roughly 14.5% of Farringdon Without’s in the same year.²²⁴ Included in its jurisdiction was the Royal Exchange, newly opened by the queen in 1570, and “richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the Citie”, as well as Cornhill market and some of the street markets of Gracechurch Street.²²⁵ Such was the ward’s civic importance and economic clout that its namesake market was identified as a suitably symbolic location in which the City could publicly burn defective weights and measures.²²⁶ Cornhill’s strategic position partly accounts for differences between its environmental presentments and those of Farringdon Without, explaining why so many of them are more often concerned with repairing public features such as the “great

²²² Power, “‘crisis’ of the 1590s”, p. 378. The period 1550-1700 – “the long seventeenth century” – was one in which drinking and drunkenness became a particularly acute moral issue in England. See Mark Hailwood, “‘It puts good reason into brains’: popular understandings of the effects of alcohol in seventeenth-century England”, *Brewery History*, 150 (2013), p. 39.

²²³ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1598), fol. 64^v.

²²⁴ Graunt, quoted by Harding, ‘The Population of London’, p. 124.

²²⁵ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 193. On the upper decks of this grand, columned building – built to resemble Antwerp’s Bourse, the world’s first stock exchange – apothecaries’ shops filled with chemicals, herbs, and medicinal foods sat alongside those of milliners, glassmakers, goldsmiths, and other such resorts of the elite. Mark Heumann, ‘Royal Exchange (1566)’ in *Historical Dictionary of Tudor England, 1485-1603*, ed. by Ronald H. Fritze, Sir Geoffrey Elton, Walter Sutton (London: Greenwood Press, 1991), p. 434. See also H.A. Harben, *A dictionary of London, being notes topographical and historical relating to the streets and principal buildings in the city of London* (London: H. Jenkins, 1918), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/dictionary-of-london/lawrence-pountney-college-ledenpentitz>> [accessed 26 February 2022].

²²⁶ “This day it is ordered that all such...false measures as were taken in the last searche by vertue of precepte made by my Lord Maior to the Alder[m]en of the seuerall wardes within this City shalbe burnt on Wensday next in the markt time the one halfe in Cheapside and the other halfe in Cornhill.” See COL/AD/01/029 (1610), fol. 188^v.

spowte” at Leadenhall and “dyall & clock of the exchange” (rather than seeing to the “common p[ri]vie w[hi]ch is stopped up”, or even the “filthy potts and bowles” of private individuals, as was frequently the priority in Farringdon Without).²²⁷ It was a ward in which fewer people lived but in which a wider variety of trades proliferated – many of them food-related.²²⁸ Stow notes that by 1598, Cornhill was a thriving ward in which one could buy “all sorts of victuals”.²²⁹ This is why the majority of its wardmote presentments fall into the Market/Selling category.

²²⁷ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1590), fol. 51^v; Ibid, (1596), fol. 67^r; CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1593), fol. 58^r.

²²⁸ Beier, ‘Social Problems in Elizabethan London’, p. 129. Records are also extant for both its parishes: St Michael Cornhill (the parish and church in which the wardmote register was stored for much of its existence) and St Peter Cornhill. Many of the original documents kept for these parishes are held in the London Metropolitan Archives, but are also more easily accessible in the form of three edited antiquarian books dating from 1871, 1877, and 1882 respectively. See, for example, vestry minute books, including P69/MIC2/B/001/MS04072/001/001 (1563-1647) and churchwardens’ accounts, including P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/001 (1455-1608) and P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/002 (1608-1702).

²²⁹ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 187.



Image 3: Section of Faithorne & Newcourt's map (1658) depicting part of Cornhill, Grace Street, and Leadenhall.²³⁰

²³⁰ William Faithorne and Richard Newcourt, 'An Exact Delineation of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Suburbs Thereof, Together w[i]th ye Burrough of Southwark [...]' (London, 1658), *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1881-0611-254-1-6> [accessed 21 December 2021]. The map's full title and other information pertaining to it can be found in Louis Fagan, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Engraved Works of William Faithorne* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1888), esp. pp 87-89.

Of Cornhill's fifty-two presentments relating to markets and selling practices recorded from 1590-1600, thirty-two relate directly to street selling offences, ten relate to the use of defective or incorrect weights and measures, and just six relate to illegal tipplers or tipping houses.²³¹ Thus, where Farringdon Without's register offers particularly acute insight into a number of environmental public health concerns, Cornhill's focuses predominantly on local authorities' involvement in regulating markets and – in particular – informal street-selling, emphasising both the strategic and practical importance of urban market systems and infrastructures in early modern cities such as London. Erring food sellers – often informal purveyors of beer, fish, fruit, poultry, and oats, among other things – appear with particular frequency in Cornhill's register.²³² By reporting “those selling oranges and other things at the exchange gate” and nameless “Huxters...pr[es]ented for forstallinge of victualles before it comes to the gate” alongside other indicators of environmental and behavioural disorder – ranging from spouts presented “for want of water” and “the great recourse of Boyes to the Exchange and their disorder ther” – Cornhill's later Elizabethan wardmote inquest register emphasises how the regulation of buying and selling contributed to wider urban governance, social and political stability, and health.²³³

Public health, food and the London Fines Book

Protecting citizens' access to affordable, good quality food was a fundamental public health responsibility of pre-modern governments. Aside from the biological threat that poor quality or absent food posed to individual bodies, corrupt market practices threatened the functioning of the larger body politic by depriving the civic economy of food and drink taxes, breeding social and political dissatisfaction, and deepening distrust in the fundamental powers of the authorities.²³⁴ In short, it challenged the ‘moral economy’: the concept, first espoused by E.P. Thompson, that key pre-modern resources were regulated not on the basis of individual self-interest, but traditional, agreed-upon

²³¹ The remaining four presentments refer to car men loitering around the markets and Royal Exchange in wait of customers, “pestringe the high streete of Cornehill” and displaying “rashnes & negligence in drivinge of their carte often tymes to the perrell of the lyves of men women & children”. CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1599), fol. 84^r.

²³² CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1590-1595), fols. 51^v.-65^r.

²³³ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1592), fol. 56^r.; Ibid. (1590), fol. 52^r.

²³⁴ Uncontested swindling, Wilson writes, is “a sign of anarchy. A society in which swindling is rife is one in which fundamental trust between citizens has broken down” and civic unrest festers. Bee Wilson, *Swindled: the dark history of food fraud, from poisoned candy to counterfeit coffee* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. xiii.

moral principles broadly supported by those who ruled and were ruled.²³⁵ Within this system, vendors and politicians alike (which, in guild-ruled London, could well be one and the same) were expected by their actions to serve the common good; personal greed was discouraged, and excessive profit was to be appropriately and charitably channelled for maximum communal benefit.²³⁶ Ensuring fair access to good quality food played a paramount role in maintaining London's moral economy: *Liber Albus* shows that every incoming Lord Mayor was explicitly required to promise he would ensure "the regulation of victuals as in all other things" to safeguard the commonweal.²³⁷ This testament was also evidenced in overarching civic documents such as the London Fines Book (1517-1628), maintained by the office of the Chamberlain of London.²³⁸

Unlike the more localised wardmote inquest registers, the London Fines Book stretches city-wide, collating larger numbers of fines collected from a wide variety of offenders. The profiles of offenders presented in the Book are not so different from those habitually reprimanded by the wardmote: those presented included formal and informal traders of food, livestock and other goods, foreigners working illegally, and nightmen, carters and private inhabitants fined for soiling or obscuring the streets. The Book offers particularly valuable coverage of sellers of street goods, with a particular focus on those caught selling in bulk (smaller scale vendors remained, it seems, the responsibility of the wardmote): individuals whose activities fell outside the remit of Company responsibility, and so were policed largely by the Corporation. Yet unlike in the wardmote inquest registers – which frequently pinpointed the physical sites of wrongdoing in order to guide local authorities' redress of reported issues – the Fines Book seldom discloses such information, often noting only that offences were conducted "within the liberties of this City".²³⁹ This indicates that the book was used for reporting rather than regulatory purposes, a conclusion reinforced by the fact that its authors tended to group fines thematically rather than chronologically. A sample transcription of the years 1623 to 1628 shows that the dates on which fines were collected frequently

²³⁵ E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 50 (1971), pp 78-79.

²³⁶ Davis, *Medieval Market Morality*, p. 415.

²³⁷ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, pp 265-6. Emphasis added.

²³⁸ The Chamberlain was an elected official responsible for the management of the Corporation's financial accounts – the recipient of all rents and revenues due to the City. See Philip E Jones and Raymond Smith, *A Guide to the Records at the Guildhall London* (London: English Universities Press Ltd., 1951), p. 70. This thesis focuses on Fines Book entries from 1590-1628 (COL/CHD/CM/10/001, fols. 214v-269v.).

²³⁹ COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1622), fol. 263^r.

jump back and forth between folios and official reporting years (which extended from the feast day of St Michael the Archangel, 29 September, to the same time the following year).²⁴⁰ Taken alongside the document's unusually pristine and well-preserved condition, this approach offers some insight into the process by which these fines were reviewed and recorded. I have concluded that, in all likelihood, the contents of the Book were carefully copied over from a range of other sources – most likely accounts submitted intermittently by collectors including Company wardens/ward officials/other regulatory authorities – and thematically grouped by the keeper of the Book each Michaelmas.²⁴¹ The original accounts from which the contents of the Book stemmed – which may also have been copied into Company records, where appropriate – may well have been discarded or, if kept, burnt in the Great Fire of 1666 or by a later conflagration in the Chamber in February 1786.²⁴²

Gaps in documentation for the later Tudor and early Stuart City Chamberlain's office means the Fines Book occupies an important but ambiguous place in what remains of early modern London's administrative framework. Mark Benbow has found few links between fines ordered by the Court of Aldermen (and recorded in the City repertories) and those which ended up being recorded in the Book; he proposes the existence of a wider culture of imposing but later forgiving fines, as was done for bakers breaking the assize of bread in 1572.²⁴³ The dating of the Book intensifies its mystery: it came into existence one year before the establishment of the College of Physicians (1518), at a time when Crown and City were reviewing civic administration and health, but there is no indication given of why it draws to a close in 1628, the year before King Charles I's Personal Rule began. No comparable book exists for the period before or after it.²⁴⁴ Its precise provenance is unknown. This may partly account for why, like the wardmote registers, the Fines Book remains an under-utilised source for the study of London's wider public health history, in spite of its contributions in distilling down the ethical and

²⁴⁰ As this study takes a chronological comparative approach, all transcriptions copied from the Book (and found in the Index) have been tabulated in date-order, with educated guesses made for dates copied in without a specific year. See Appendix: Item 2.

²⁴¹ M. C. Wren has argued that this was the approach used to produce the 1633 'Accompt of the Chamber of London'; it is not inconceivable that it was also used to order and condense fines in the Fines Book. See M.C. Wren, 'The Chamber of London in 1633', *The Economic History Review* 1:1 (1948), p. 46.

²⁴² Jones and Smith, *A Guide to the Records*, p. 70.

²⁴³ Mark Benbow, 'The court of the aldermen and the assizes: the policy of price control in Elizabethan London', *Guildhall Studies*, 4:3 (1980), p. 110.

²⁴⁴ Jones and Smith, *A Guide to the Records*, p. 71.

public health expectations which ruled how food was produced, sold, and consumed in the early modern City.²⁴⁵ It will be predominantly used in this thesis to investigate, expand and reinforce the food foci of different chapters.

Two core principles underwrite food-selling regulations throughout the ages: “Thou shalt not cheat and Thou shalt not poison”.²⁴⁶ The wardmote inquest registers and Fines Book ably illustrate diverse examples of both, from accusing vendors of engaging in frowned-upon practices such as forestalling, engrossing, and regrating (all of which had the result of artificially raising the prices consumers paid for their goods) to selling underweight, mismeasured, tampered with, or poor quality goods.²⁴⁷ “Thou shalt not poison” could also be interpreted from a social perspective, given contemporary suspicions about the contagious immorality of certain ambulant sellers (as, for example, female oyster sellers who lingered by tippling houses in pursuit of trade), as well as an environmental one (as, for example, Cornhill ward’s repeated attempts to prevent sellers “pestering”, obscuring and stinking up sites dominated by illegal or casual trade by challenging them or attempting to move them to some other “lyk place”).²⁴⁸ Cornhill’s particular focus on street-selling offences is no accident, for location played a significant role in ensuring selling principles were adhered to; urban marketplaces were, according to Andy Wood, where these intersecting ideas of “authority, commonality and economics collided most publicly and routinely”.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ It has, however, been used to discuss other aspects of London’s social, political and food history; see, for example, Charlie Taverner, ‘Moral marketplaces: regulating the food markets of late Elizabethan and early Stuart London’, *Urban History* (2020), pp 1-17; Archer, ‘Hugh Alley, Law Enforcement, and Market Regulation’.

²⁴⁶ Wilson, *Swindled*, p. xii.

²⁴⁷ Forestalling was defined as either intercepting goods before they came to market, with a view to making a profit, or obscuring a way or passage; engrossing involved buying up commodities in bulk (usually for the purpose of regrating); regrating was buying commodities for reselling at a profit in the same or adjoining market. See ‘forestall, v.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (1897)

<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/73195?rskey=B7bwug&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>> [accessed 9 April 2020]; ‘engross, v.3’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2020)

<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/62325?redirectedFrom=engross#eid>> [accessed 9 April 2020]; ‘regrate, v. 1’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2009)

<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/161360?rskey=pUqawD&result=4&isAdvanced=false#eid>> [accessed 9 April 2020].

²⁴⁸ Taverner, ‘Consider the Oyster Seller’, p. 6; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1594) 62^v.

²⁴⁹ Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 119.

Public health and market regulation in early modern London

London's markets were not alone fixed sites, but – as Vanessa Harding has written – “occasions clearly defined in time and space”: public places in which goods were displayed openly at set times, sold at fair and competitive rates, and subjected to official and public scrutiny.²⁵⁰ They were usually conducted in large, open sites with a profusion of stalls or small shops.²⁵¹ Clocks were usually situated in prominent trading locations, with responsibility for their maintenance often falling to ward officials.²⁵² Bells were also used to emphasise temporal regulations, most prominently in Smithfield, quoted on numerous occasions in the Fines Book for illegal sales before and after the bell had been rung to mark the beginning of sanctioned trade.²⁵³ That this was keenly observed as a marker of appropriate market practice is clear: in 1629, in response to a petition from the officers and inhabitants of Bridge Within ward, the Corporation ordered the appointment of a man to ring the Gracechurch market bell at 1pm (the cessation of trading) on market days, “whereby notice is to bee taken...to breake upp and the people and marktfolkes to avoyde and departe out of the said markt, aboute other their affaires”. For this, the bell-ringer was to be paid eight shillings per annum by the Chamberlain of London.²⁵⁴ In addition to forbidding after-hours trading, perceived attempts to obscure goods – such as, for example, by dimming lighting in shops or conducting illicit markets in taverns or other locations – were ill-tolerated by civic authorities.²⁵⁵ Visibility and hierarchy were key to the success of the market: only citizens were permitted to open permanent shops, and non-citizens (known as ‘foreigners’) were restricted in their trading allowances.²⁵⁶ Ambulant traders were restricted further still: though legally permitted to sell certain goods, this was often on

²⁵⁰ Harding, ‘Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration’, p. 78.

²⁵¹ Corporation of London, *The Corporation*, p. 135.

²⁵² See, for example, orders to repair the clock and dial in the Royal Exchange in Cornhill's wardmote inquest register. CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1596), fol. 67r.

²⁵³ See, for example, COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1597), fol. 229^v.

²⁵⁴ London: London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CA/01/01/048/01 [Repertory (1629-1630)], fols. 52^r-53^r. Unfortunately, we cannot track the evidence of this payment as the Fines Book concludes abruptly and inexplicably in 1628, just ahead of a period of harvest dearth and plague c. 1629-31.

²⁵⁵ See, for example, Nicholas Hughes, who paid two shillings to the City for “dymminishing of his light in his shopp by hanging up a penthouse cloth”, in addition to an unnamed forestaller who paid two shillings sixpence for “certayne Butter forren bought and solde in an Inne...w[i]thin the cytie”. COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1593), fol. 223^r; *Ibid.* (1594), fol. 225^r

²⁵⁶ Harding, ‘The London Food Markets’, p. 2.

the proviso that they remained in motion on the streets and did not enter the heavily regulated and clearly demarcated market environment.²⁵⁷

Markets were generally dominated by specific trades in specific areas, and the City was home to fish, flesh, grain and meal, general (which could include poultry, eggs, live pigs, butter, cheese, herbs, fruit and vegetables), and live animal markets, all well represented by contemporary sources.²⁵⁸ John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598) provides a useful overview of names, ward locations, and selling functions, while Hugh Alley's *Caveat* (1598) includes depictions of market squares and architecture alongside drawings of traders, aldermen, and customers.²⁵⁹ Both documents were published or compiled in 1598, a period in which, as Chapter Two will show, London's foodways were under particular review.

²⁵⁷ Harding, 'The London Food Markets', p. 6.

²⁵⁸ Harding, 'The London Food Markets', pp 7-11.

²⁵⁹ See Alley, 'A Caveatt', pp 51-81 (fol. 8^r- fol. 23^r).

Food Type	Examples of items sold	Markets	Wards
Fish	fresh water fish, shellfish (oysters, whelks, mussels), salt and dried fish ('stockfish')	Bridge/New Fish Street The Stocks Old Fish Street Cheapside	Bridge Within Walbrook Castle Baynard Cheap/Cordwainer
Flesh	Beef, mutton, veal, pork; sometimes poultry, rabbits, bacon, lamb (more often general markets)	The Stocks East Cheap St Nicholas/Newgate Shambles Leadenhall	Walbrook Candlewick Street Farringdon Within Lime Street/Cornhill
Grain & Meal	Corn, oats, wheat flour, etc.	Leadenhall Newgate Market Bishopsgate (from 1600) Queenhithe Billingsgate	Lime Street/Cornhill Castle Barnard/Farringdon Within Bishopsgate Queenhithe Billingsgate
General	Poultry (chickens, coneys, rabbits, game, waterfowl, many of which were sold live), live pigs, some meat (bacon, brawn), eggs, cheese, butter, herbs, roots, fruit, etc.	Leadenhall Cornhill Cheapside Southwark Queenhithe Billingsgate Gracechurch Grass Church Newgate Market	Lime Street/Cornhill Cornhill Cheap/Cordwainer Bridge Without Queenhithe Billingsgate Bishopsgate Bridge Within Castle Barnard/Farringdon Within
Salt		Queenhithe Billingsgate	Queenhithe Billingsgate
Live Animals	Chickens, sheep, cows, etc.	Smithfield	Farringdon Without

Figure 1: Categories, examples and locations of the food markets of London, 1598.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ Table data derived from: Harding, 'The London Food Markets', pp 7-11; Caroline Barron, 'Commentary' in in *Hugh Alley's Caveat: The Markets of London in 1598*, intro. and ed. by Ian Archer, Caroline Barron, Vanessa Harding (London: London Topographical Society, 1988), pp 82-99; Alley, 'A Caveat for the City of London', pp 51-81 (fol. 8^r- fol. 23^r); Stow, *A Survey of London* (see respective ward chapters for market discussions). A map of markets (c. 1598) can be consulted in Harding, 'The London Food Markets', pp 2-3. For a comprehensive list of formal markets from 1660, see Colin Smith, 'Smith, Colin, 'The Market Place and the Market's Place in London, c. 1660 -1840' (Doctoral thesis: University of London, 1999), p. 20.

In theory, later Tudor and early Stuart food markets were monitored by a profusion of specialist civic officials from the Mayor's household, including the clerk of the market, the sergeant and yeoman of the channel, the foreign taker, the meal weighers, the measurers of corn, salt, and fruit, garblers (men hired to sift through newly imported spices, searching for impurities) drawn from the Grocers' Company, the mayor himself (who often appeared in times of particular tension, when it boded well for him to be visibly seen taking action), members of the mayor's household, market overseers, and ward authorities led by – and including – the alderman of the ward.²⁶¹ Market enforcement, however, could be sketchy; it was often highly dependent on the actions of private informers. These informers, rewarded with a significant proportion of goods forfeited or fines extracted, helped City authorities uphold civic regulation in the absence of a formal policing force.²⁶² Several appear in the London Fines Book, which helpfully differentiates between 'moieties' (portions of fines) due to both the City and its hired informers.²⁶³ Hugh Alley, author of *A Caveatt for the City of London* (1598), is a particularly high-profile example of one such informer, thought to have reported more than one hundred offences in the City of London to its Corporation from 1592-1598.²⁶⁴

Public health and consumption in early modern London

Ensuring "the regulation of victuals as in other things" may have been a primary responsibility of civic government, but it was far from an easy task. In addition to imposing a duty to regulate the activities of food vendors and market practices, and monitor food quality and quantity standards, it also entailed influencing the consumption patterns of London's inhabitants. This could be for economic or political reasons, to stabilise the City's supply of high-demand foods such as meat and prevent panic-buying. It could also be for health, religious or social reasons, to reduce the spread of disease, curb immoral behaviour, and allow the capital to set an example in the "maner of

²⁶¹ Archer, 'Hugh Alley, Law Enforcement, and Market Regulation', p. 22.

²⁶² Archer, 'Hugh Alley, Law Enforcement, and Market Regulation', p. 18.

²⁶³ See, for example, William Whitewell, rewarded for his part in reporting erring bakers, to whom was given twelve shillings of the thirty-two shillings raised in fines. COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1592), fol. 223^r.

²⁶⁴ Archer, 'Hugh Alley, Law Enforcement, and Market Regulation', p. 18.

the execution hereof...to the rest of the Realme.”²⁶⁵ Unfortunately, civic governments’ attempts to control consumption was often complicated by what John Coveney terms “food pleasure”, which consistently “undermine[s] a rational and reasoned approach to eating”.²⁶⁶ From time immemorial, food has been consumed not just on the basis of availability, affordability and satiety, but personal and collective tastes and appetites.²⁶⁷ In a proclamation of 1560, Elizabeth I highlights the particular urgency of regulating those whose primary concern is the “satisfaction of deuelyshe and carnall appetite”: allowing unbridled greed to go unchallenged, she suggests, seeds further contempt for the greater good, promoting a culture of individualism above that of the body politic.²⁶⁸

Excessive appetite has been interpreted as a problematic, immoral and ultimately selfish human urge throughout history. Where hunger is recognised as a physiological drive, appetite is a psychological one: the former an unavoidable biological fact, the latter a base desire highly susceptible to social factors.²⁶⁹ Early Christians interpreted food as a gift from God: one that was neither limitless nor guaranteed, and so was to be consumed in moderation and approached with gratitude and piety.²⁷⁰ Food in excess was considered dangerous, since the sensory pleasure it imparted distracted the soul from godly contemplation of the divine, earthing it to the material world.²⁷¹ Since food is essential, and cannot be entirely avoided, early modern governments instead promoted temperance, urging contemporaries to heed their brains instead of their misleading stomachs. A “belly full of gluttony will never study willingly”, one contemporary proverb supplied; so “allow thy belly what thou shouldst, not what thou mayest”, another suggested.²⁷² Other early modern health proverbs included “Feed by measure and defy the physician” (1562), “All immoderations are

²⁶⁵ Elizabeth I, *By the Quene. The Quenes Maiestie consydering the euyll disposition of sundrye her subiectes, to obserue the auncient orders for abstynence from eatyng of fleshe, aswell in the tyme of Lent* (London, 1560), *Early English Books Online* <<https://search-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/EEBO/docview/2240929212/99847349/BAE3D7B396D4F11PQ/2?accountid=7408>> [accessed 8 September 2020], p. 17.

²⁶⁶ John Coveney, *Food, Morals and Meaning: the pleasure and anxiety of eating* (Routledge: London and New York, 2000), p. xii.

²⁶⁷ Bee Wilson writes at length about this subject – and indeed, the formation of taste and appetite from childhood – in her excellent book, *First Bite: how we learn to eat* (2016).

²⁶⁸ Elizabeth I, *By the Quene [...]* (1560), p. 17.

²⁶⁹ Stephen Mennell, ‘On the Civilizing of Appetite’ in *Theory, Culture and Society*, 4 (1987), pp 374-5.

²⁷⁰ Coveney, *Food, Morals and Meaning*, p. 48.

²⁷¹ Coveney, *Food, Morals and Meaning*, p. 48.

²⁷² John Withals (1586) et al, ‘B285: A BELLY full of gluttony will never study willingly’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, p. 43.

enemies to health” (1615), “Many dishes many diseases” (1630).²⁷³ Temperance not only aided Christian piety – for greed, gluttony and lust compose three of the seven deadly sins – but medically safeguarded the body.²⁷⁴

From a Galenic health perspective, overindulgence could cause digestive problems or worse, since the stomach was the original site into which food was received, stored, and dispersed throughout the body.²⁷⁵ Problems that originated in the stomach were understood to sometimes manifest themselves in other members, for as the statistician John Graunt reported in the later seventeenth century, one who “died of the *Head-Ack*, who was sorely tormented with it...the Physicians were of the Opinion, that the Disease was in the *Stomach*.”²⁷⁶ Elizabethan writer and parish clerk William Averell’s edifying *A Mervailous Combat of Contrarieties* (1588), a parable in which a series of dialogues take place between restless members of the body (a thinly veiled comment on the state of the body politic during the Elizabethan Armada crisis), also attests to this belief. In one dialogue, the Back holds the “gluttony, and untemperancie” of the Belly responsible for the present frenzy of other body parts since “your disorder in feeding, hath made the members breake, and my garments bare”.²⁷⁷ The digestive system and the stomach were held in particularly high regard by Paracelsian and Helmontian medical thought, the latter of which began to pervade Paracelsian circles towards the mid-seventeenth century. Both medical philosophies insisted that the stomach and spleen – and not the heart, as in Galenic medicine – was where the individual’s “living spirit” resided; as Margaret Healy has pointed out, while disease was certainly viewed by the Paracelsians as an external entity – a poison, an invading body – it attacked the body by settling in the stomach and working from the interior outwards.²⁷⁸ This shift in medical reasoning further emphasised the already-significant role of consumption and the stomach in early modern understandings of health.

²⁷³ Thomas Heywood (1562), ‘Feed by MEASURE (sparingly) and defy the physician’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, p. 452; Thomas Adams (1615), ‘All IMMODERATIONS are enemies to health’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, p. 339; Thomas Adams (1630), ‘Many DISHES many diseases’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, p. 159.

²⁷⁴ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 180.

²⁷⁵ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 160.

²⁷⁶ Graunt, *observations* (1662), p. 13.

²⁷⁷ William Averell, *A meruailous combat of contrarieties* [...] (London, 1588), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99840206> [5 September 2019], p. 15.

²⁷⁸ Healy, ‘Medicine, Metaphor and Crisis’, pp 332-333.

Though moderate consumption has long been linked to long-term health, religion has more often been used to encourage and justify caution in eating. For thousands of years, fasting – a deliberate restriction of consumption – was ceremonially used to demonstrate humility, vulnerability, and willingness to endure scarcity before the divine: an act that, it was hoped, prompted the divine to reward sacrifice with plenty.²⁷⁹ Up to and for some time after the English Reformations, English religious leaders were empowered to set and order national fast days: days on which no meat could be killed, sold, or eaten by order of the monarch or parliament. These days were also known as fish-days, by reason of the fact that fish was offered as a pious alternative to flesh. Abstinence from meat, eggs, dairy and other foods was particularly promoted during the season of Lent. Fasting practice became a subject of contention in the years leading up to the Henrician Reformation, as early evangelicals – publicly railing against Catholicism – pointedly and repeatedly broke national fasting orders.²⁸⁰ Though this particular agitation had cooled somewhat by the time of Edward’s reign (aided by gestures such as the king’s exclusion of dairy and eggs from customary fasting rules), radical religious groups soon co-opted fasting as a means of uniting and rallying their followers, maintaining these practices into the seventeenth century.²⁸¹

In the fractured and frequently heated religious disputes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, traditional religious fasting became an increasingly problematic undertaking, potentially creating more problems than it resolved for the social body as a whole. As a result, from Elizabeth’s reign onwards the English state began to supplement national fasting’s overwhelmingly religious connotations with more secular economic and public health considerations. This conceptual shift, discussed in more detail in Chapter Two, was significant because it indicated public health’s growing value as a unifying social force and tool of social control during a timeframe in which such ordering was held in particularly high regard. In theory, at least, it was a cause everybody could support.

²⁷⁹ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 31; p. 33.

²⁸⁰ Natalie Mears, ‘The Culture of Fasting in Early Stuart Parliaments’, *Parliamentary History*, 39:3 (2020), p. 426.

²⁸¹ Mears, ‘The Culture of Fasting’, p. 426; Christopher Durston, ‘“For the Better Humiliation of the People”: Public Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving during the English Revolution’, *Seventeenth Century*, 7:2 (1992), p. 129; Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food: New Expanded Edition*, transl. by Anthea Bell (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), p. 92.

To many contemporaries, then, fasting was no abstract obligation, but a practice directly conducive to their moral and physical health and that of those around them. Inhabitants' observation of fasting laws was deemed particularly important in growing cities such as London, since trade butchery was largely an urban phenomenon and meat was always in high demand.²⁸² Fasting has even been studied as a contemporary preventative to plague, for the practice was commonly believed to lower the risk of unwholesome meat settling and putrefying in the stomach, releasing noxious fumes which escalated the onset of plague symptoms elsewhere in the body.²⁸³ Should the urban body choose to fast during outbreaks, then it could help cleanse the environment, too, for lowered demand for meat meant fewer butchers slaughtering animals and polluting the City's air with vapours from stinking dung, rotting offal and spilled blood.²⁸⁴ This belief was fuelled by contemporary understandings of 'miasma': the idea that infection was spread by fumes emanating from polluted items rather than passed from person-to-person ('contagionism'); until about the mid-sixteenth century onwards, removing sources of miasma was the main focus of civic responses to outbreaks of disease, despite growing Crown certainty that stemming person-to-person transmission would be considerably more effective.²⁸⁵ Reduced slaughter also affected the functioning of malodourous, riverside tanneries (used to produce leather goods), lowering the often-disturbing noise pollution caused by animals sent for slaughter.

Attempts to suppress urban appetites and influence urban tastes faced a variety of challenges, for food is not just a basic need, but "a cultural and economic complex, structured around and structuring other aspects of individual and collective existence".²⁸⁶ Recently, scholars of food have begun to consider diet and taste not merely as aesthetic or cultural considerations, but political and economic ones.²⁸⁷ Taste has been defined as a "group mentality" influenced by individuals' cultural, political and economic environments.²⁸⁸ Taste influences one's diet, turning consumption into "a social signal"

²⁸² Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, p. 100.

²⁸³ Dorey, 'Controlling corruption', p. 35; Gentilcore, *Food and Health*, p. 104.

²⁸⁴ Dorey, 'Controlling corruption', p. 34.

²⁸⁵ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, pp 202-203.

²⁸⁶ Sara Pennell, "'Great quantities of gooseberry pye and baked clod of beef': victualling and eating out in early modern London' in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 228.

²⁸⁷ Christy Spackmann and Jacob Lahne, 'Sensory labor: considering the work of taste in the food system' in *Food, Culture & Society*, 22:2 (2019), p. 142.

²⁸⁸ Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, p. 3.

which imbues and reinforces different foods with different social values.²⁸⁹ Through their diet, consumers transfer these values to themselves – to their social benefit or detriment. A carefully chosen diet and display of preferred tastes thus, as Michael Schoenfeldt writes, allowed those who could afford to to self-fashion “in the most literal sense”.²⁹⁰ As a result, during the early modern period consumption acted as a means by which consumers could bolster their perceived civility and socially distinguish or assimilate themselves.²⁹¹ The sixteenth-century physician Levinus Leminus classed diet alongside clothing and behaviour as markers of status when he declared that

we see the common sorte and multitude, in behaiour and maners grosse and vnnurtured whereas the Nobles and Gentlemen (altering theyr order & diet, and digressing from the common fashion of their pezantly countrey men), frame themselues & theirs, to a verye commendable order, and ciuill behavior.²⁹²

In his *Itinerary* (1617), the travel writer Fynes Moryson also associates diet with clothing and behaviour as a social marker of assimilation or difference. He urges fellow travellers to pay special attention to cultural nuances, for “If hee shall apply himselfe to their manners, tongue, apparrell and diet with whom he liues, hee shall catch their loues as it were with a fish-hooke”.²⁹³ Diet was thus intrinsically associated with social and cultural status, and performative consumption was routinely used to unite communities and reinforce hierarchy. It was particularly important to London’s craft and merchant guilds,

²⁸⁹ Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, p. 3

²⁹⁰ Michael Schoenfeldt, ‘Fables of the Belly in Early Modern England’ in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 251.

²⁹¹ Jan Purnis, ‘The Stomach and Early Modern Emotion’ in *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 79:2 (2010), p. 807; *Ibid.* pp 814-815. See, for example, Melissa Calaresu’s work on Thomas Jones (1742-1803), a Welsh painter who kept detailed account books of his food purchases and consumption while living with his family in Naples. Jones appears to have commonly visited food markets; more than a hundred years previously, Fynes Moryson had written that in Italy “it is the fashion... that onely men, and the Masters of the family, goe into the market and buy victuals, for seruants are neuer sent to that purpose, much lesse weomen”. Jones not only adhered to this fashion, but wrote his itemised food lists in Italian and consumed Italianate produce and recipes. All of this, Calaresu adds, gives the impression that Jones was broadly and publicly acclimatised to Italian culture. Moryson, *An itinerary*, p. 70 (Part I, Book 1, Ch. 5); Calaresu, ‘Thomas Jones’ Neopolitan Kitchen’.

²⁹² Levinus Leminus, *The touchstone of complexions* [...] (London, 1576), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:20101519> [accessed 29 October 2017], p. 17.

²⁹³ Moryson, in *An itinerary*, p. 23 (Part III, Book 1, Ch. 2).’

for whom civic pageantry and feasting was an important part of political participation.²⁹⁴ In such a setting, the consumption of specific foods served as “a litmus test of prosperity”, while the act of eating and drinking together reinforced the unification of the wider corporate body as a whole.²⁹⁵

Food was also important on an individual health basis, as a structural means of balancing the Galenic humours considered to rule the bodily functions. For those who could afford to be guided in their food choices, influence abounded in the growing availability of printed medical regimens from the sixteenth century onwards.²⁹⁶ These texts, which encouraged prevention rather than cure of disease, collectively and comprehensively argued that a number of factors should be considered when one’s diet, including whether a person resided in country or city; spent their days labouring or idle; were male or female, young or old, sick or well; and were more prone to an imbalance of moist, dry, hot or cold humours.²⁹⁷ Diet may have been lauded as “the leader to perfit [sic] health”, but one size did not fit all: the conscientious individual of economic means – sometimes with help from his or her physician – was required to tailor their approach.²⁹⁸ Though there exists a profusion of surviving medical regimen texts discussing all things flesh, fish, grain and vegetable, for the purpose of this point, it will suffice to concentrate on one particularly divisive category for comparison: flesh.²⁹⁹

Meat was a broad-ranging and high-demand food that encompassed many different types and cuts thought, on a case-by-case basis, to benefit many different kinds of people.³⁰⁰ Thomas Moffet, royal physician and highly respected Elizabethan fellow of the College of Physicians, devotes a large section of his eminently readable *Health's Improvement* (compiled around 1595) to the question of choosing meat. In it, he explains to the layman and -woman that while some meats “are of thin and light substance,

²⁹⁴ Burrage and Corry, ‘At Sixes and Sevens’, p. 379. Ongoing research by historians such as Tracey Hill and Sarah Milne on the practices of London’s Worshipful Companies further serve to extend our understanding of the performative aspects of consumption; see, for example, Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show 1585–1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 138, and Sarah Milne, *The Dinner Book of the London Drapers' Company, 1564-1602* (Woodbridge: London Record Society, 2019).

²⁹⁵ Milne, *The Dinner Book of the London Drapers' Company*, p. ix.

²⁹⁶ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 61.

²⁹⁷ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, pp 159-160.

²⁹⁸ Moffet, *Healths improvement*, p. 7.

²⁹⁹ A comprehensive overview of English dietaries for the period c. 1600-1740 can be found in Margaret Dorey’s excellent thesis, ‘Unwholesome for Man’s Body?’ from p. 28.

³⁰⁰ Costantini, ‘On a red line across Europe’, p. 75; Purnis, ‘The Stomach’, p. 807.

engendring pure thin and fine blood, fit for fine complexions, idle citizens, tender persons, and such as are upon recovery out of some great sickness”, others “are more gross, tough, and hard, agreeing chiefly to country persons and hard labourers: but secondarily to all that be strong of nature, given by trade or use to much exercise, and accustomed to feed upon them”.³⁰¹ Recommended for the first category are small, young birds such as pheasants and partridge, small fish, and fresh eggs; the second category comprises “poudred” beef, bacon, salt fish, swan, and hard cheese.³⁰² Should readers express confusion, Moffet helpfully provides a broad third category for “agreeing in a manner with all ages, times, and complexions...neither strengthening nor weakning the stomack” which includes young beef, mutton, veal, kid, lamb, pork, hen, turkey, and capons.³⁰³ His reputation was so eminent and his advice considered so practical that the book was revisited and first formally published for a wider audience in 1655 by a censor of the College, the physician Christopher Bennett, forty-one years after Moffet’s death; a further reprint under its original title was made in 1746.³⁰⁴

Even more detail is offered on specific types of meat in the Anglican cleric Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), in which pork alone is described as “most nutritiue in his own nature, but altogether vnfit for such as liue at ease, or are any wayes vnsound of body or mind: Too moist, full of humors...naught for queasie stomacks”.³⁰⁵ Burton’s associations between body and mind were common for the time, for gluttony contributed to moral as well as physical disintegration. As a result, in both Moffet’s and Burton’s texts, moderation is urged; to overindulge in the same foods is to embody their essence. In his satirical *Nashes Lenten Stuffe* (1599), Thomas Nashe tells the cautionary tale of four men fed the same meat for a year by an experimental king,

³⁰¹ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 160; Moffet, *Healths improvement*, pp 31-32.

³⁰² Moffet, *Healths improvement*, pp 31-32. Powdered – or barrelled – beef was beef that had been salted for preservation purposes. See Anon, *A booke of cookerie, otherwise called the good huswiues handmaid* (London, 1597), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99856564> [accessed 6 September 2019], p. 11.

³⁰³ Moffet, *Healths improvement*, p. 32.

³⁰⁴ See ‘Health’s Improvement’, *English Short Title Catalogue* <<http://estc.bl.uk>> [accessed 14 November 2020].

³⁰⁵ Robert Burton, *The anatomy of melancholy [...]* (Oxford, 1621), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240893301/99857427/CD3568DB16BA4235PQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 17 February 2017], p. 87.

who wished to establish “what kinde of flesh-meat was most nutritiue prosperous with a mans body”.³⁰⁶ At the end of the experiment:

Therewith outstept the stallfed foreman that had bin at host with the fat oxe, and was growne as fat as an oxe with tiring on the surloynes, and baft in his face Biefe, Biefe, Biefe. Next the Norfolke hog or the swine-wurrier, who had got him a sagging paire of cheeks like a sows paps that giues suck, with the plentyfull mast set before him, came lazily wadling in, and puft out Porke, Porke, Porke. Then the sly sheepe-biter issued into the midst, and summer setted & fliptflapt it twenty times aboue ground as light as a feather and cride mitton, mitton, mitton, last the Essex calfe or lagman, who had lost the calues of his legs with gnawing on the horslegs, shudring and quaking limpte after, with a visage as pale as a peece of white leather, and a staffe in his hande and a kirchiefe on his head, and very lamentably vociferated veale, veale, veale.³⁰⁷

In his telling of this story, Nashe attests to the monstrous results of a grotesquely imbalanced diet and uncontrolled appetite: as the modern aphorism tells us, ‘you are what you eat’.

Early modern London was not alone home to problematic appetites, but often considered an overwhelming example of one.³⁰⁸ By the 1630s, the clergyman Donald Lupton had good reason to write that London had “grown so great, I am almost afraid to meddle with her...she seems to be a glutton”.³⁰⁹ In his comment, Lupton refers particularly to the city’s voracious hunger for the limited resources of the countryside – be it food, materials, immigrant labour, or the investment of the wealthy – which consequently starved smaller cities, towns and villages of economic prosperity. Lupton’s use of the word “glutton” carries moral connotations, suggesting that the City’s failure to curb its excesses and streamline its market structures is, above all, an ethical issue of national proportions. For as his fellow clergyman Peter Heylyn later emphasised, in a distinctly Paracelsian overtone, “great towns in the body of a state are like the spleen or melt in the body natural, the monstrous growth of which impoverish all the rest of the members by drawing unto it all the animal and vital spirits that should give nourishment

³⁰⁶ Thomas Nashe, *Nashes Lenten stufte [...]* (London, 1599), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99848338> [accessed 22 April 2020], p. 37.

³⁰⁷ Nashe, *Nashes Lenten stufte*, p. 37.

³⁰⁸ Comparing cities to bodies (or body parts) was a well-established tradition in the west; for more on this see Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994).

³⁰⁹ Donald Lupton, *London and the countrey carbonadoed and quartred into seuerall characters* (London: 1632), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99844598> [accessed 11 March 2020], pp 1-2.

unto them”.³¹⁰ This particular point was recognised not just by avowedly moral clergymen such as Lupton and Heylyn, but more detached, analytical statisticians, too. References to the city’s growth frequently appear in John Graunt’s *Natural and political observations* (1662), London’s first statistical demographical treatise compiled using data collected from 1603 onwards. In its first epistle dedicatory (to Lord John Roberts), Graunt concludes that the capital is every bit as insatiable a consumer as earlier contemporaries had warned, for it

grows three times as fast as the Body unto which it belongs, that is, It doubles its People in a third part of the time...our Parishes are now grown madly disproportionable...our Temples are not suitable to our Religion...Trade, and very City of London removes Westward...the walled City is but a one fifth of the whole Pyle...³¹¹

As Graunt’s comment indicates, London’s voracious appetite and gargantuan urban spread makes it a “disproportionable”, unbalanced and grotesque place: trade facilities and markets (“Temples...to our Religion...Trade”) are deemed wholly inadequate for the bloated city’s needs.³¹² In addition to all this, by the later seventeenth century the civic environment seems only to be growing ever more disordered and chaotic: by Graunt’s estimate, some four-fifths of the urban landscape land belonged not to the orderly walled City, but the “sinfully polluted” and sparsely-regulated suburbs.³¹³

Contemporaries’ moral concerns about London’s suburbs had begun to build as the City burst through its medieval boundaries in the sixteenth century. From the early sixteenth century, the population of England had begun to rise.³¹⁴ It would continue to do so throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, declining only from c. 1640 to c. 1710 (after which time growth resumed).³¹⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century, more than one tenth of the population of England resided in London.³¹⁶ The

³¹⁰ Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in four bookes [...]* (London, 1652), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:12138883> [accessed 11 March 2020], p. 270.

³¹¹ Graunt, *observations*, epistle dedicatory to Sir John Roberts (unnumbered).

³¹² Graunt, *observations*, epistle dedicatory to Sir John Roberts (unnumbered).

³¹³ Graunt, *observations*, epistle dedicatory to Sir John Roberts (unnumbered); Ward, *Metropolitan communities*, p. 12.

³¹⁴ Paul Slack argues that this occurred from the 1520s (and perhaps even as early as the 1470s); E.A. Wrigley and Roger Schofield began their population studies from c. 1540. Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law 1531-1782* (Basingstoke and London, Macmillan Education Ltd, 1990), p. 11; E. A. Wrigley and Roger Schofield, *The population history of England, 1541-1871: a reconstruction* (London: Arnold, 1981), p. 162.

³¹⁵ Wrigley and Schofield, *The population history of England*, p. 162.

³¹⁶ Wrigley and Schofield, *The population history of England*, p. 472.

dramatic expansion of the number of people dwelling in the capital has often been used to partly account for why the importance of public health was increasingly emphasised in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³¹⁷ Less has been written, however, about the earlier effects of sixteenth century population pressures on communal health in the capital, and the practical (and sometimes urgent) adjustments it prompted in the relationships between the civic and national government, the medical professions, and food companies as they struggled – on one hand – to maintain urban stability and cohesion and – on the other hand – to protect and promote their own interests and status. This is an oversight I will strive to redress throughout this thesis.

The early modern City, derided as a gluttonous, overflowing receptacle for those streaming in from the countryside or abroad, largely depended on food vendors for its survival. If the urban body may be considered in terms of organic political analogy, then the City's food vendors may be considered its centralising 'Belly' in more ways than may be instantly apparent. Their primary role was to accumulate and distribute appropriate foodstuffs, nourishing the other members of the civic body. Food traders and victuallers could operate in both wholesale and retail markets, as peripatetic hawkers, members of controlled guilds, and everything in-between. Collectively, they determined what saleable produce – and under which terms – was practically available to the masses. Within the gaping, gluttonous City, early modern food vendors were the urban body's "great feeder[s] of parts".³¹⁸

Public health and food vendors in early modern London

As providers of food and enablers of consumption, food sellers were crucial to maintaining public health in the premodern City. Firstly, they underwrote the economic

³¹⁷ Interestingly, many of the same social factors that had initially guided the development and redrafting of the Tudor Poor Laws (and, hence, plague controls and quarantine) motivated Edwin Chadwick to push for the introduction of the 1848 Public Health Act. Chadwick deemed public health an integral tool of poor relief, pursuing the Act primarily to mitigate the cost of relief schemes on the public purse. In his previous role as enforcer of the 1834 poor laws, Chadwick had attempted to save public money by making the process of claiming relief so degrading that no person would attempt to; he hit upon the idea of the Public Health Act when he realised prevention was much cheaper than cure. Like the Poor Laws before it, the Public Health Act was designed to be primarily implemented by local governments reporting to – and acting on the recommendations of – central government: special units were established in central and local governments to effectively ensure efficient communication between the two. Christopher Hamlin and Sally Sheard, 'Revolutions in public health: 1848, and 1998?', *BMJ* 137:7158 (1998), p. 587.

³¹⁸ Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and selves*, p. 28.

survival of the city by maintaining food distribution pathways, ensuring the continued operation of both biological and political bodies. Some of them – particularly members of the City’s Companies of Grocers, Fishmongers, and Vintners, which composed three of the twelve Great Livery Companies of London – approached this duty from an overtly political as well as economic perspective, given they were among the City’s most influential civic politicians. Secondly, they maintained public confidence in the local and national authorities by adhering to selling regulations and providing wares that were of suitable quality and quantity. Thirdly – and through both their wares and trade activities – they maintained the health of civic bodies by influencing four of the six ‘non-naturals’ of Galenic medicine: environment, diet, bodily repletion and evacuation, and the passions.³¹⁹ The careful management of the six non-naturals was considered key to balancing the humours and regulating internal health.³²⁰ Food sellers’ indispensability in urban life meant that they, like the wares they sold, occupied a central place within the corporeal hierarchy. Yet the customarily high ethical expectations Londoners attached to food, in line with the concept of the ‘moral economy’, meant that it, alongside its producers and vendors, were subjected to longer-held and often more concentrated scrutiny than were those of any other resource.³²¹ This was particularly true of food-types considered “necessary staples” rather than “luxury extras”, as was the case with grain, beer, bread and – increasingly in the metropolis – meat.³²²

The economic and political roles of most licensed food vendors were established and monitored by the trade guilds to which they belonged. The process of joining a guild was long and arduous, involving years of apprenticeship training which, when completed, conferred considerable civic status. From the fourteenth century onwards, London’s livery companies were composed of specialist craftsmen and tradesmen, who joined together to establish and regulate trade and good standards, to the benefit of themselves and the general public. As earlier paragraphs have emphasised, membership of a guild not only offered freedom to trade in the City of London, but conferred citizenship – the opportunity to vote for and even participate in local government.³²³ Each company strongly emphasised the godliness and practical importance of their

³¹⁹The remaining two non-naturals, sleep and exercise, were also indirectly dependent on food sellers’ activities. Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 103.

³²⁰ Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp 103-104

³²¹ Davis, *Medieval Moral Economies*, p. 417.

³²² Dorey, ‘Unwholesome for Man’s Body?’, p. 161.

³²³ Ward, *Metropolitan communities*, p. 9.

members' roles, for food-production and -selling in a city such as London was not merely an occupation, but a civic and public health duty.³²⁴ By the early Stuart period, livery companies who contributed to the City's supply of victuals included – but were not limited to – the Companies of Grocers, Fishmongers, Vintners, Brewers, Bakers, Butchers, Poulterers, Cooks (which included pie-bakers and pastelers), Fruiterers, and Gardeners.³²⁵

Though all the food trades were subject to monitoring, the earliest and most minutely regulated of all was the bakers' trade, on whom pre-industrial urban bodies depended for access to their staple food.³²⁶ Wilson has written that in the pre-modern and even modern (roughly post-1800) period, while foodstuffs such as meat, “butter [...] cheese and wine might mean pleasure, bread meant life. Every ounce mattered”.³²⁷ Indeed, bread's importance in the medieval and early modern periods was such that baking was considered not merely a trade, but a public service – one intimately related to subsistence-level public health.³²⁸ From as early as the thirteenth century, an agreement between London's government and its collective bakers' trade (which was not formally incorporated into a guild, the Worshipful Company of Bakers, until the early sixteenth century) dictated nineteen articles that all London bakers must obey.³²⁹ This included observing the assize of bread (from 1266), a law dictated and directed “by four discreet men chosen thereunto” by the Corporation of London, who met every year after the feast of St Michael (29 September) to determine the weight of bread to be sold

³²⁴ Wilson, *Swindled*, p. 88.

³²⁵ For more on the Cooks and the inclusion of pie-bakers and pastelers within the guild, see Frank Taverner Phillips, *A Second History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks* (London: Worshipful Company of Cooks, 1966), esp. Ch. 1-2, pp 1-14. Though cheesemongers were also active in London, and sometimes petitioned City and Crown as a collective – see, for example, a 1595 petition in *Remembrancia* passed on by the Lord Mayor to the Privy Council, in which they are referred to as ‘the Company that trades for butter & chese’ – they never formally established their own livery company. Many belonged to other livery companies, though no one company appears at any point to have absorbed the majority of the City's cheesemongers. See City of London, London Metropolitan Archives, COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1595), fol. 59^r; Walter M. Stern, ‘Where, oh where, are the Cheesemongers of London?’, *London Journal*, 5:2 (1979), pp 229-230.

³²⁶ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, p. 12. Prior to the introduction and widespread adoption of the potato in the eighteenth century, bread was a staple foodstuff depended upon to provide up to 80% of a household's calories. Bread was considered so integral to the pre-industrial diet that for hundreds of years, its cost was used to measure standards of living. See Brecht Dewilde and Johan Poukens, ‘Bread provisioning and retail dynamics in the southern Low Countries: the bakers of Leuven, 1600–1800’, *Continuity and Change*, 26:3 (2011), p. 405.

³²⁷ Wilson, *Swindled*, p. 73.

³²⁸ Wilson, *Swindled*, p. 67.

³²⁹ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, p. 5. See

for a fixed price in any given year. One article dictated that all bread be marked with the baker's customised seal; another, that white bread and brown bread bakers bake only the type they were licensed to.³³⁰ Bakers' adherence to the articles was monitored by local authorities as well as at a formal meeting of the bakers' own 'halimote' four times a year, at which baking-related offenses were reported, investigated, and punished by trade members themselves.³³¹ These disputes generally centred on bakers' inadvertent or malicious distribution of underweight or poor quality loaves, which threatened the day-to-day nutrition of individual bodies, violating urban governments' ancient covenant to ensure provisions for the public good and potentially threatening the political stability of the urban body in the process.

Other food guilds played a more overtly medical role in maintaining market regulations and public health. The Grocers' Company was London's highest-ranking food guild, from which – up to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign – an estimated sixty-five Lord Mayors had been chosen to lead the Corporation of London.³³² It was the guild to which the majority of the sixteenth-century City's apothecaries – purveyors of drugs, distillations, and medical compounds (among other things) described by the historian Penelope Hunting as “the physician's cook, the community's general practitioner, and the local pharmacist” – belonged.³³³ The Grocers' substantial political influence stemmed from the historical wealth of their guild, acquired from the importation and sale of exotic spices, botanicals, dried fruits and drugs used for accentuating or preserving food and making medicines, distillations, and confectionery. The Company's civic privileges included an early monopoly on 'garbling': sifting through and verifying that all such specialist goods imported into London met high quality standards to sustain

³³⁰ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, pp 41-42; John Carpenter, *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London* (1419), transl. by Henry Thomas Riley (London: Richard Griffin and Company, 1861), p. 302; Wilson, *Swindled*, p. 67.

³³¹ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, pp 40-42.

³³² A further six were elevated to that office from 1559-1603. By comparison, there were just forty-one Fishmongers/Stockfishmongers appointed Lord Mayor in the same timeframe, only one of whom was appointed during Elizabeth's reign. See unknown, 'Dates/Terms of Office', *MASL*; Unknown, 'MASL: Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1559--1642: Working List, Stage Three (Final)', *University of Toronto: MASL* (23 March 2017), <https://masl.library.utoronto.ca/MASLworkinglist1559--1642_March2017.pdf> [accessed 14 May 2018].

³³³ Hunting's description is one which well highlights the contemporary status and versatility of the profession. See Penelope Hunting, 'The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London', *Postgraduate Medical Journal*, 80:939 (2004), p. 41.

“the health of the people of this realme”.³³⁴ Though the Grocers were increasingly challenged on their possession of this privilege from the late sixteenth century onwards (the East India Company’s repeated – but not upheld – dispute against the practice in the early seventeenth century being one prominent example), their monopoly was nevertheless maintained by proclamations issued by Elizabeth in 1598 and James in 1603 and 1622.³³⁵ In spite of these reaffirmations, however, other aspects of the Company’s public health duties – specifically the manner in which the apothecaries’ trade was regulated and its medicaments passed on to the general public – were increasingly challenged by the latter half of the sixteenth century. These challenges came to a particular head during the reign of James I, discussed in Chapter Three.

Some food vendors played a considerable role contributing to and maintaining the health of Londoners in a manner that went beyond the steady manufacture and distribution of their wares. The adequate disposal of trade waste, for example, was a key concern and early responsibility of civic governments, given that pollution not only threatened health, but posed a nuisance to inhabitants and imbued the senses with perceptions of latent disorder. As early as 1419, *Liber Albus* indicated that of all the food trades, the butchers were most often blamed for endangering public health by inefficiently disposing of commercial offal and offcuts – leaving pieces of rotting entrails and caked blood on the streets and in the Thames – as well as attracting vermin such as flies, rats, cats, and stray dogs.³³⁶ During plague epidemics, when public health concerns peaked, these vermin had to be swept in huge numbers from the streets at considerable cost and effort by catchers appointed by the Corporation.³³⁷ The identification of butchers as the prime polluters of the City continued into the seventeenth century, being

³³⁴ Wilson, *Swindled*, p. 91; Anon, *A profitable and necessarie discourse, for the meeting with the bad garbellling of spices [...]* (London, 1592), *Early English Books Online* <https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2264197434/99844448_9261/1C5DBBBF009342C3PQ/1?accountid=7408> [accessed 1 July 2020], p. 3.

³³⁵ Wilson, *Swindled*, p. 92; Dorey, ‘Unwholesome for Man’s Body?’ p. 63.

³³⁶ *Liber Albus*, ‘Articles of the Wardmote’, p. 287; p. 291; p. 620.

³³⁷ Ward officials also appear to have been habitually called upon at local level to deal with issues relating to environmental pollution and/or to vermin. In Farringdon Without in 1622, these themes collided in an interesting way when two men, James Walmesley and William Sumner, were reported by their neighbours to the wardmote for attracting, keeping and killing stray dogs in and about their residences in order to feed their hawks. Local residents complained to ward authorities that the men not only caused nuisance by “keepinge [the dogs] longe alyve, howlinge and cryinge”, but inadequately disposed of their bodies, allowing the “blood and fylth [to] groweth soe noysome...it wilbe very dangerous for infection yf yt be suffred”. See CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001, fol. 106^r (1622).

explicitly reiterated in the Corporation's frequently republished *Laws of the Market* from 1562.³³⁸ Though butchering had long been associated with high levels of environmental pollution, as a practice it grew particularly concerning and increasingly ill-tolerated as the capital expanded, resulting in spates of over-zealous monitoring such as that discussed in Chapter Four.³³⁹ It is worth noting that the same was not true of other, ostensibly equally polluting trades such as the Fishmongers', whose members' sale of equally corruptible fresh fish was mitigated by the fact that the guild enjoyed a higher political standing in the City, sold wares with more positive religious and health connotations, and helped defend the body politic not just through their influential role in urban government, but through their practical contribution to the realm's defensive pool of mariners and ships.

Urban concerns were not alone restricted to licensed food trades, but unlicensed and informal (often itinerant) vendors of the sort found in the wardmote inquest registers and London Fines Book. These peripatetic vendors, most often referred to as hawkers or hucksters (unless they were specifically identified as regraters or forestallers) tended to sporadically evoke greater levels of civic anxiety and monitoring than their formal counterparts by virtue of the fact that they occupied a liminal, 'masterless' position, going about their business with minimal oversight or hierarchy.³⁴⁰ This made them, in

³³⁸See, for example, Corporation of London, *The lavves of the market* (London, 1595), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:image:8151> [accessed 5 December 2016], pp 12-14.

³³⁹ Sabine, 'Butchering in Medieval London', p. 335; Jones, *Butchers of London*, p. 84.

³⁴⁰ While the terms 'hawker' and 'huckster' were both associated with itinerant trading, the *Oxford English Dictionary* differentiates between the two by defining hawkers as those who 'cried' their wares in the street; hucksters, by contrast, were ostensibly so named for haggling and bargaining with their customers. The two terms were often used interchangeably in contemporary sources, though 'huckster' – the less often used of the two in both the wardmote registers and Fines Book – was generally more loaded as a term of reproach. See 'hawker, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2019) <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/84772?rskey=Lf98OH&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>> [accessed 1 July 2021]; 'huckster, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2021) <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/89101>> [accessed 1 July 2021]; 'huckster, v.', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2019) <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/89102>> [accessed 1 July 2021].

the eyes of the authorities, particularly prone to deceitful and immoral behaviour.³⁴¹ In sharp contrast to licensed trades, which were male-dominated (though some freemen's widows, wives, and daughters were sometimes permitted to participate in controlled conditions), itinerant selling also attracted higher proportions of female sellers, whose commercial presence in a patriarchal public sphere was hotly contested.³⁴² At particular moments during the later Tudor and early Stuart period, concerns about male and female ambulant sellers' effects on both the individual and body politic became ever more pointed, as they were increasingly conflated with other disorderly, peripatetic people under the Elizabethan vagrancy acts of 1572 and 1592.³⁴³ Yet as the sixteenth and seventeenth century City expanded, the services of agile, mobile food sellers became increasingly important to rich and poor alike. For those sharing overcrowded tenements with limited access to cooking facilities, access to victualling houses and street food was a necessity; for those on the middling- to elite-social scale, itinerant sellers increasingly offered a growing profusion of speciality foodstuffs which ranged from oranges and lemons to damsons and 'maydes' (a type of fish).³⁴⁴ Sean Shesgreen, analysing the evolution of London's famous *Cries* (artistic depictions of itinerant sellers that stretch from crude broadsheets in the sixteenth century to fine art in the nineteenth), argues that, all in all, this period marks a time in which hawkers came to be held in reasonably high repute, though this could (as in the 1570s and 1590s, periods of particular social instability) rapidly shift, depending on contemporary circumstances.³⁴⁵

Considering the centrality of their role in urban society, it is not surprising that food sellers as a whole could often be regarded with suspicion by ruling members of the body politic. Throughout the medieval and early modern periods, there existed a range of ways in which food and drink vendors were widely suspected to abuse their important

³⁴¹ See, for example, the unflattering early modern artistic depictions of Dutch female sellers studied by Danielle van den Heuvel, as well as drawings of London's itinerant sellers in successive *Cries of London* series, analysed by Sean Shesgreen. Danielle van den Heuvel, 'Depictions and perceptions of Street Vending in the Northern Netherlands, 1600-1800' in *Nigro, Giampiero, ed. Il commercio al minuto. Domanda E offerta tra economia formale ed economia informale. Secc. XIII-XVIII* (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2015), pp 433-444; Sean Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: the urban poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

³⁴² Female sellers were variously associated with sexual, economic and civic disorder, often stemming from paternalistic anxieties over their lack of male supervision; see Gowing, "The freedom of the streets", p. 131; p. 138.

³⁴³ Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast*, p. 7.

³⁴⁴ Pennell, "Great quantities of gooseberry pie and baked clod of beef", p. 230; Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast*, p. 22.

³⁴⁵ Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast*, p. 8.

urban role and, in doing so, threaten “corruption [to] the bodily health of the purchasers” and to the stability of the body politic as a whole.³⁴⁶ The most immediately obvious of these was through the sale of unwholesome or adulterated food – particularly by hawkers, whose wares by definition lacked the systematic institutional monitoring of guild members. In addition to selling contaminated or short-weighted food, traders in London were also sometimes accused of providing “the sites and means of excess and sin”, as well as contributing to street pollution and obstruction.³⁴⁷ Female hawkers, in particular, were associated with sexual deviancy; Charlie Taverner has shown how, from the early seventeenth century, the figure of the young, female oyster seller was frequently sexualised in contemporary print and image, blurring the lines between “provisioner and prostitute” in a manner that did not apply to older, often married, fishwives.³⁴⁸ Vendors were thus considered not only potential biological contaminants, but moral ones, for through their actions and availability other members of the urban body could be led astray.³⁴⁹

Some food vendors also possessed the material means or social influence to pose a considerable threat to the stability of urban societies. Just as the stomach was held responsible for prompting the hungry body to action, so those who sold food were also thought to possess a “quicke sense, that perceiving the want and emptiness of meate” could act to “stir up” other members of the urban body.³⁵⁰ This fear was not without foundation, for as Valentina Costantini notes in her study of medieval Italian butchers, tools of the trade such as knives and cleavers gave some traders an undoubtedly destructive edge in the case of a riot or rebellion. Shortages of important foodstuffs could also be engineered by unscrupulous vendors to drive up prices and cause anger, hunger and agitation to urban inhabitants.³⁵¹ The poor were considered particularly vulnerable to the greed and ploys of food traders. Prolonged physical hunger, recognised as one of the most primal of instincts, was held to lift their “lowly” stomachs”, provoking them to challenge existing social structures.³⁵² Conversely, refusing to limit supply of certain foodstuffs when one was commanded to could also cause problems, as fasting legislation

³⁴⁶ Anon, ‘Roll A1b (8 November 1327)’ in *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls [...], a.d. 1323-1364*, ed. by A. H. Thomas, M.A. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), p. 45.

³⁴⁷ Dorey, ‘Controlling corruption’, p. 29.

³⁴⁸ Taverner, ‘Consider the Oyster Seller’, p. 1; p. 16.

³⁴⁹ Dorey, ‘Controlling corruption’, p. 29.

³⁵⁰ Ambrose Paré, barber-surgeon, quoted in Purnis, ‘The Stomach’, p. 804.

³⁵¹ Costantini, ‘On a red line across Europe’, p. 75.

³⁵² Purnis, ‘The Stomach’, p. 814.

repeatedly indicates: one example, issued in 1616, holds disobedient butchers directly responsible for the “libertie taken by all sorts of people” consuming their wares, blaming them directly for the subsequent “great disorder” and licentiousness in the City.³⁵³

Chapter One conclusion

Through its investigation of organic political analogy, contemporary medicine, and the wider regulatory and material frameworks of health, consumption and selling practice in early modern London, this thematic chapter established important conceptual and contextual foundations for the thesis as a whole. First, it investigated sixteenth-century shifts in religious and medical understandings in England, highlighting how these influenced new understandings of the human body and organic political analogy. It argued that historians of pre-modern public health should consider contemporary uses of metaphors such as that of the body politic more widely in their research, since evolving attitudes to both organic and political bodies influenced contemporary approaches to public health in a given place and time. Second, the chapter discussed the material infrastructures of early modern public health, focusing on those of national and subsequently London authorities. It established that London was ruled on a local level by the overlapping authorities of religious parishes and civic wards, each of which had multiple roles to play in implementing and managing public health concerns. Among these duties was the habitual regulation of local food distributors, vendors, and buyers, and the environmental monitoring of streets and sites of trade (most notably markets). Yet while parish records have often been used to furnish studies of pre-modern public health, London’s wardmote records have more often been overlooked. I found that wardmote inquest registers provide particular insight into the issues local authorities managed and attempted to mitigate, while the City’s overarching Fines Book (1517-1628) offers further detail on similar offences prosecuted by the broader Corporation. Both sources have been underused by historians of public health in London.

The third and final section of Chapter One broadly explored contemporary links between public health and public order, reviewing the cultural, political and social implications of food consumption, production and distribution activities. It argued that food was a contested, moderated, and widely debated economic resource in the early modern city that became ever more important in the rapidly growing capital of the 1500s

³⁵³ ‘Proclamation for restraint of killing and eating of Flesh this next Lent [...] (1619)’ in *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. I*, p. 414.

and 1600s. Those who produced and sold it were the centralising “belly” of the body politic – those members with the power to both “carry the legs” and allow “the bones to be at rest”.³⁵⁴ Bakers were traditionally relied upon to produce the daily bread on which many urban-dwellers depended for survival, at a strictly prescribed weight and price; should they fail in this civic responsibility, urban stability and public health could be fundamentally undermined. Grocers were charged with guaranteeing the cleanliness of rare, specialist and expensive imports such as spices, dried fruits and drugs into the City, as well as overseeing apothecaries’ practices – garnering an early reputation as sentinels of London’s public health. Butchers were required to morally facilitate citizens’ tastes for meat at permitted days and times, curbing and managing the significant environmental pollution that accompanied the trade. Ambulant traders, hawking their wares for rich and for poor, were essential members of London’s foodways, but their lack of institutional monitoring and ambiguous positioning within the City’s market and gender hierarchies often made them the target of corporate scrutiny. Though the activities of London’s food vendors were, as a whole, crucial to balancing the urban stomach, they also risked disturbing and corrupting it from the inside out, fundamentally disordering the urban body as a whole. By identifying and flagging these and other risks and assumptions, Chapter One creates a broader cultural and historical context for the particular gastro-political conflicts of chapters to come. It sets the scene for the Elizabethan public health developments of Chapter Two and, in particular, the food anxieties predicated by worsening inflation, social turbulence, and extraordinary spates of harvest dearth and disease in the London of the 1590s.

³⁵⁴ Minsheu (1599) et al, ‘The BELLY carries the legs and not the legs the belly’, p. 43; Henry Medwall (c. 1485-1500) et al, ‘When the Belly is full, the bones would be at rest’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs* ed. by Tilley, p. 44.

Chapter Two

“Dearths foreseen come not”³⁵⁵:

**Elizabethan appetites for preventative action and
the foodways crisis of the 1590s**

³⁵⁵ George Herbert (1640), ‘Dearths foreseen come not’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, ed. by Tilley, p. 145.

On 20 November 1558, three days after the death of her half-sister, Mary, the new Queen of England issued her first speech to the two Houses of Parliament from Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Having first appointed her trusted administrator, William Cecil (Lord Burghley from 1571), to the position of principal secretary of the realm, Queen Elizabeth I turned her attention to the waiting Lords and Commons. In a speech laced with organic political analogy, she formally accepted her divine inheritance, reasonably suggesting that as she was but “Gods creature, ordeyned to obey his appoyntment”, and

one bodye naturallye considered though by his permission a bodye politique to governe, so I shall desyre yow all my Lordes (cheiflye yow of the nobility every one in his degree and power) to bee assistant to me; that I with my rulinge and yow with your service may make a good accoumpt to Almighty God...³⁵⁶

To a modern eye, the segment of Elizabeth’s speech represented above may seem unremarkable: a routine usage of a political commonplace that, as Chapter One has shown, had been employed in England in various guises for hundreds of years prior to the queen’s ascension. Viewed in the wider context of sixteenth-century politics, however, the expectations conveyed by the new queen’s speech were far from routine. They were the result of a series of relatively recent challenges and changes to the symbolic and practical structure of English national governance following the Henrician Reformation of the early sixteenth century. These were changes that would serve not just to reconfigure successive rulers’ conception of the national body politic, but that of the individual, biological body – the intersecting targets of public health campaigns and practices throughout history.

The key sentence in Elizabeth’s speech is that in which the new queen charges Parliament to be “assistant to me” so “that I with my rulinge and yow with your service may make a good accoumpt to Almighty God”.³⁵⁷ This sentiment was an innovative one, since prior to the 1530s, the Crown had traditionally stood outside the broader parliamentary processes dictated by the Houses of Lords and Commons. While the sovereign remained, indisputably, the head of the social and political body politic, Parliament – the state’s highest legislative body – yet retained a degree of separation from the Crown that enabled it to operate quasi-independently.³⁵⁸ During the Henrician

³⁵⁶ Kew, The National Archives (TNA), SP12/1 (Elizabeth’s first speech, Hatfield, 20 November 1558), fol. 12 <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/elizabeth-monarchy/elizabeths-first-speech/>> [accessed 16 September 2020].

³⁵⁷ Kew, TNA, SP12/1, fol. 12.

³⁵⁸ Elton, *The Parliament of England*, p. 18.

Reformation, however, this governing structure came under growing pressure as the reforming Crown took an increasing interest and involvement in the business of national governance, a process which gradually narrowed – and, by Elizabeth’s accension, largely eschewed – the traditional separation between Crown, Lords and Commons. By 1558, a precedent had been set for English monarchs and their councillors to assume a more involved role in parliamentary politics and governance, as indicated by Elizabeth’s firm “I with my rulinge and yow with your service”.³⁵⁹ This precedent enabled the Crown not just to monitor and approve parliamentary processes as the symbolic head of the body politic, but, as an institutional head, increasingly dominate them. It meant that from the outset of her unusually long reign, Elizabeth and her advisors were legislatively empowered to take a more active role in national governance and respond directly and centrally to a wide range of existing and emerging social, political and economic problems.³⁶⁰

The early Elizabethan political landscape was a complicated one. The new queen inherited a kingdom still reeling from the multi-faceted effects of the Henrician (from 1534) and Edwardian (from 1547) Reformations, as well as the more recent implications of the Marian regime (1553-1558). During Mary’s five-year reign, the reinstatement and reform of English Catholicism – a cause heavily supported by her husband, Philip II of Spain – had taken precedence above much else, with the result that Elizabeth, her Privy Council and her parliament inherited a number of complex religious, economic and

³⁵⁹ This view was certainly espoused by the influential Cecil, Queen Elizabeth’s senior advisor, who personally attended and reported back on more parliamentary proceedings than any man up to the eighteenth century. Kew, TNA, SP12/1, fol. 12; Elton, *Parliament of England*, p. 17; *Ibid.* p. 20.

³⁶⁰ Elizabeth was notably shrewd in her appointment of trusted and highly experienced professional administrators and advisors to her Privy Council, including William Cecil and Francis Bacon, both of whom had served under Edward VI. To promote cohesion, she limited numbers, appointing just nineteen councillors at the beginning of her reign and allowing it to fall to eleven by 1600. While the queen valued her advisors and discouraged factional alliances, she was also unapologetically paternalistic, making it clear that she alone would make final decisions on matters of state importance. The Elizabethan Crown’s ability to proceed on these terms was assisted by the fact that influenza had already carried off many of those likely to have challenged it; this helped the regime seize authority and implement innovation with both hands. See Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1983), p. 133; Diarmaid Mac Culloch, *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided, 1490-1700* (Allen Lane, London: 2003), p. 286; Wallace T. MacCaffrey, ‘Cecil, William, first Baron Burghley (1520/1-1598)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004) <<https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/4983>> [accessed 6 November 2019]; Mac Culloch, *Reformation*, p. 286.

political issues.³⁶¹ Most notably from a public health perspective, these included increasing food prices caused by harvest dearth from 1555-1557, a sharp rise in morbidity and mortality caused by a devastating influenza epidemic from 1557-1558, and continued economic and political disruption caused by an ongoing war with France and Scotland (which entailed the loss and occupation of England's overseas territory, Calais, in 1558).³⁶² In addition to these national concerns, London – the commercial heart of the kingdom – was expanding dramatically in both geographical area and population, with immigration into the city set to reach its peak in the late 1560s and 1570s.³⁶³ Though London's evolution was in many ways a positive development – not least for the kingdom's commercial capabilities and political reputation – it also brought many problems, since such rapid expansion placed sustained pressure on existing political, economic and social urban infrastructures. This threatened the City's existing traditions, governance and resources, prompting distrust of and violence against 'strangers', producing growing numbers of beggars and vagrants, and exacerbating other forms of social unrest. This was significant on a national scale because by the mid-sixteenth century, London's health had become firmly entangled with that of the developing English state: as the grasping stomach of the national organism, the city's maintenance and reform was a matter of broad importance.³⁶⁴ As a result, the Elizabethan regime's wider efforts to reinforce and extend "the infrastructural reach" of the early modern English state invariably filtered down from national to local level, with queen and Privy Council becoming particularly well-acquainted with the nature of the problems facing London and its inhabitants as the sixteenth century progressed.³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), p. 236.

³⁶² Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 236; Williams, *The Later Tudors*, p. 243. This flu pandemic, Otto R. Eichel has written (not long after another flu pandemic, the so-called 'Spanish Flu', ravaged the world), persisted in recurrent cycles up to as late as 1580 in the British Isles, likely exerting an as-yet understudied influence on early Elizabethan public health policy. Such a subject is worthy of intensive investigation in its own right: it has not been studied in depth here. See Otto R. Eichel, 'The Long-Time Cycles of Pandemic Influenza', *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 18:140 (1922), p. 451.

³⁶³ Archer, *The pursuit of stability*, p. 4.

³⁶⁴ Griffiths, Landers, Pelling and Tyson, 'Population and disease, estrangement and belonging 1540-1700', p. 195.

³⁶⁵ Keith Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England' in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (New York: Macmillan Education, 1996), pp 26-27; Ian Archer, 'The Government of London, 1500-1650', *The London Journal*, 26:1 (2001), p. 19.

Paul Slack argued in his influential *Impact of Plague* that Elizabethan centralisation constituted “social engineering”, defined as “the use of centralised planning in an attempt to manage social change and regulate the future development and behaviour of a society”.³⁶⁶ Slack’s argument suggests that Crown reforms were not structured solely to implement social change from the top-down, but to inculcate a collective appetite for social improvement – and provide a robust legislative framework – by which social change could also be pursued and administered from the bottom-up. Significantly for this thesis, strengthening the public’s motivation to act for the ‘common good’ is also a shared component of both the moral economy and successful public health practice. This chapter will investigate if and how Elizabethan policies of centralisation provided the conceptual, legislative and material building blocks needed to evolve public health practices in later sixteenth century London (and even, as later chapters will reflect, in early seventeenth century London). It is divided into two thematic sections: first, a discussion of wide-ranging, top-down public health reform undertaken by the Elizabethan Crown from 1558; second, a review of bottom-up public health reform undertaken by the Corporation of London and some of its local authorities in the 1590s, with reference to the Corporation’s engagement with Crown authority. As the City’s social disorder and strained foodways were a particular focus of reforming energies in the 1590s, I decided to focus predominantly on these themes in the second half of the chapter. This means that while broader discussions of Elizabethan fasting and disease-related public health dominate the first half of the chapter, the second half focuses on how, towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign, authorities’ need to address the interdependencies between public order and public health and the public health implications of food distribution and production had become particularly acute. This need prompted London’s governors and inhabitants to lean heavily on existing public health frameworks and, in some cases, propose ideas for their immediate or future improvement.

The first half of this chapter will begin by reviewing the Elizabethan Crown’s particular approach to selected aspects of early modern public health that reoccur throughout this thesis, including its management of consumption through fasting laws, its development of a framework and blueprint by which it could guide and monitor local

³⁶⁶ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 200; ‘social engineering’, *Oxford Dictionary of English*, ed. by Angus Stevenson (Oxford University Press, 2015) <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0788050> (accessed 15 February 2021).

authorities during periods of epidemic disease, and the rather limited role played in all this by the Elizabethan College of Physicians: an institution established to regulate medical practice and support public health in London.

Elizabethan fasting reforms

It is a testament to the often-tacit nature of Elizabethan public health that one of the regime's earliest and potentially contentious reforms – of collective fasting, a multi-dimensional practice in which individuals and communities abstain from or moderate their consumption of specific, often luxury food-stuffs (primarily meat) – is so rarely associated with health in historiography. Yet although it had been predominantly linked to religious worship up and including to the Elizabethan period, communal fasting was also a supremely useful pre-modern economic and public health practice. Particularly in the context of the early modern London's rapid expansion, it could help authorities balance supply and demand in urban foodways and mitigate victualling price rises. In addition, it helped maintain the overall health of the collective by allegedly improving the digestive and mental processes of the individual, allowing them to more ably fulfil their social responsibilities.³⁶⁷ These benefits, however, remained largely unspoken for much of the sixteenth century: official reasoning for fasts remained predominantly religious, even after the English Reformations.

The Catholic religion had placed particular emphasis on communal fast-days, called and supervised by ecclesiastical leaders for expressly religious purposes.³⁶⁸ Following the Henrician Reformation, routine fast-days (such as those observed over Lent) were maintained by the Church of England, with extraordinary fast-days continuing to be commanded on a national scale to accompany other public, religious or celebratory rituals. An edited compilation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious practice in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales shows that during the reigns of Henry, Edward and Mary, extraordinary fast-days were called in association with a wide range of communal worship activities, including “thanksgiving services”, “processions”, “dirges”, “prayers and processions”, “prayers”, “Te Deums”, “Te Deums and procession”, and unspecified “services”.³⁶⁹ The purpose of these days of abstinence or moderation, then, remained religious right up to Elizabeth's reign – albeit espoused

³⁶⁷ Gentilcore, *Food and Health*, p. 103.

³⁶⁸ Durston, “For the Better Humiliation of the People”, p. 129.

³⁶⁹ *National Prayers*, ed. by Mears et al, pp xv-xvi. The first independent fast-day called by Elizabeth was for the redress of poor weather conditions in 1560.

by English Protestant authorities in some years, and by English Catholic authorities the rest. As the sixteenth century progressed, however, it is clear that fasting's economic benefits were, at the same time as London itself, growing ever more important. This occurred around the same time as its religious connotations were becoming increasingly contentious.

Enforced communal fasting had become a controversial subject by the time of Elizabeth's succession. Given its centrality within both Judaism and Catholicism, the practice drew inevitable scrutiny from Anglican Protestants. They complained that communal fasting at routine times demeaned the innate spirituality of the act, arguing that it should be undertaken as a personal choice rather enforced as an authoritarian assault on personal liberty.³⁷⁰ In any case, the Protestant concept of *sola fide* (justification by faith alone) dictated that one's eternal fate was predetermined, and could not be changed by fasting, making charitable donations, or participating in any other directly transactional act.³⁷¹ Most Protestants approached fasting as an individual act of thanksgiving and humility, arguing that it made more spiritual sense to routinely observe moderate, godly consumption patterns rather than speckle their practice with spates of severe restriction, as Catholics were perceived to do.³⁷² Without some level of collective enforcement, however, Elizabethan officials recognised that fasting's economic and public health benefits would be lost, contributing to rising prices and social unrest in the already stretched capital. For this reason, the Crown was determined to maintain communal fast-days in spite of growing religious opposition.

Following Elizabeth's Acts of Uniformity (1558) and Supremacy (1559), the authority to directly command fast-days passed from religious leaders directly to the sovereign (now Supreme Governor of the Church of England) and her council.³⁷³ This significant change meant that both ecclesiastical and secular authorities in England could now order call fast-days, a decision that differentiated the post-Reformation English Crown from the other Protestant nations of Europe.³⁷⁴ To help mitigate fasting's more

³⁷⁰ Durston, "For the Better Humiliation of the People", p. 129.

³⁷¹ Barnett, 'Reforming Food and Eating', pp 7-8.

³⁷² Durston, "For the Better Humiliation of the People", p. 129. Within Calvinist communities, fasting remained community-based; public fasts continued to be called during public health crises, largely to assuage the wrath of God and induce him to end the war, famine or epidemic that was causing the crisis. See Gentilcore, *Food and Health*, p. 101.

³⁷³ *National Prayers*, ed. by Mears et al, pp xv-xvi.

³⁷⁴ Durston, "For the Better Humiliation of the People", p. 129; Barnett, 'Reforming Food and Eating', p. 9.

contentious aspects, Crown and parliament began to identify and refer to communal fasting's other properties, distancing the practice from its predominantly religious (and thus much debated) origins.³⁷⁵ The conceptual tools by which this contemporary problem could be resolved were already in popular circulation, thanks to the period's burgeoning print culture. From the mid-sixteenth century in particular, the food-related guidance of a profusion of religious texts (such as published sermons and domestic piety handbooks) in England began to significantly overlap with the recommendations of secular health texts (such as regimens and dietaries) intended for lay-people, the latter of which grew increasingly popular – and saw their publication boom – from the mid-sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries.³⁷⁶ They included texts such as Thomas Moulton's early *Myrour or Glasse of Helth* (c. 1531), Thomas Elyot's *Castel of Health* (1534), Philip Moore's *Hope of Health* (1564), and Thomas Cogan's *Haven of Health* (1584).³⁷⁷ Though this text-type would become particularly influential in Jacobean England (see Chapter Three), its ascent began in earnest in Elizabethan England, inspiring, supporting and reinforcing the hybrid approach to fasting subsequently adopted by the Elizabethan Crown.³⁷⁸

Elizabeth's first proclamation against the breaking of traditional Lenten fast-days clearly signalled her government's new perspective: subjects were now exhorted, for the benefit of the "commonweal", to "avoid excess and evil example" to spare the physical and social body from the ill-effects of non-compliance.³⁷⁹ A second Lenten proclamation, issued a year later in 1560, allows religion some influence, but places equal bearing on the practice's benefits to health and society: non-adherents were commanded to subdue their contempt for both God and man, while the citizens of London and Westminster were charged to "give good example to the rest of the

³⁷⁵ Barnett, 'Reforming Food and Eating', p. 4.

³⁷⁶ Barnett, 'Reforming Food and Eating', p. 5.

³⁷⁷ Jennifer Richards, 'Useful Books: reading vernacular regimens in sixteenth-century England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 73:2 (2012), p. 251.

³⁷⁸ It is notable that the one of the earliest English iterations of this type of medical regimen, Thomas Elyot's *Castel of Health* (1534), was intended for the Henrician government minister, Sir Thomas Cromwell, and others like him "troubled by the burdens of state" and depended upon by the rest of the body politic. As a key member, the maintenance of his health was central to the stability of the body politic. Richards, 'Useful Books', p. 251. This was a concept also applied to physicians who fled the City during plague.

³⁷⁹ Elizabeth I, 'Enforcing Abstinence from Meat' (1559), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. II*, pp 108-109.

realm”.³⁸⁰ Pronounced secular purposes were publicly assigned to routine fast-days for the first time in 1563, when William Cecil introduced communal Wednesday fasts for the express purpose of safeguarding the navy, supporting and encouraging fishermen, and protecting the economic and political health of the kingdom at large.³⁸¹ While this reinterpretation of the practice was not readily accepted by all contemporaries – indeed, some in the House of Commons still accused Cecil’s bill of possessing popish undertones – it passed successfully through Commons on 11 March 1563, and Lords shortly afterwards.³⁸²

The regime continued to extoll the varied secular benefits of fasting over the years to come, though it is clear that in spite of its efforts, popular reluctance persisted. In 1590, some thirty years after Cecil’s initial overtures, the writer Edward Jeninges remained convinced that the papist undertones of fasting continued to influence non-compliance, particularly in the capital: as fewer Londoners succumbed to the “superstitious abuse” of Catholicism, fewer felt a moral need to fast.³⁸³ Jeninges hurried to convince contemporaries of the government’s assertion that communal fasting would restore England’s economic and defensive strength of “times past”, when there was

a strong nauie of shippes maintained chiefly by fishing, wherewith the Prince and countrie were compassed for their defence, as with a forcible wall, the repaire whereof was very well supplied by the certaine vtterance and expence of such fishe as was taken and prouided which grewe by the obseruation of suche daies as was appointed for the abstinence from fleshe and eating of fish, and thus was this wall or nauie kept in a sufficient repaire as a redye defence for the Prince, and this Realme agaynst all forraine assaultes, whensoever or howsoever the same shoulde happen...³⁸⁴

Still, in spite of some scepticism, national fasting practice under Elizabeth did become a “political Lent”: an activity which promised clear political, economic and social benefits

³⁸⁰ Elizabeth I, ‘Enforcing Abstinence from Meat’ (1560) in *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. II*, pp 139-140.

³⁸¹ MacCaffrey, ‘Cecil, William’.

³⁸² Elton, *Parliament of England*, p. 260.

³⁸³ Edward Jeninges, *A briefe discouery of the damages that happen to this realme by disordered and vnlawfull diet [...]* (London, 1590), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99844787> [accessed 28 November 2019], p. 10.

³⁸⁴ Jeninges, *A brief discouery*, p. 10. Jeninges’ exhortation, coming in the years following the near-invasion of the Spanish Armada (1588), must have seemed especially profound to his readers; his approach incorporated government propaganda with an issue that particularly resonated with the English body politic.

quite separate from its more contentious religious connotations.³⁸⁵ While this shift has been noted in previous studies, it has seldom been associated with broader shifts in public health practice, a theme to which – as Chapter Four will show – it would be increasingly bound by the early decades of the seventeenth century.³⁸⁶

Elizabethan management of plague

The Elizabethan Crown's negotiation and restructuring of the social, political and religious functions of fasting also permeated its approaches to other issues associated with public health. Like fasting regulations, orders to manage epidemic disease invoked a range of multifaceted perspectives and perceived solutions. Unlike fasting regulations, religious responses to plague were not contentious during the Elizabethan period. Even following the release of London's first Henrician plague orders (1518), epidemics continued to be primarily attributed to the disfavour of God, with processions, fasting, and special prayers all offered up as religious solutions to what was considered a predominantly religious problem. During the Elizabethan period, national government maintained and embellished this approach by using the growing ubiquity of print to centralise and organise religious disease controls, a tactic they also applied to proclamations and dearth orders in order to ensure uniformity of approach by country-wide officials.³⁸⁷ Such measures included the plague-time compilation of new Forms of Prayer: printed pamphlets commissioned by central government and distributed to religious leaders and parish authorities which aimed to narrow parishioners' collective prayers to issues of national and civic importance and, in doing so, hasten divine clemency.³⁸⁸

It is of note that not all religious responses continued to be encouraged, however: in orders issued by the Crown from the 1560s, William Cecil placed renewed emphasis on the dangers of person-to-person transmission presented by processions and religious

³⁸⁵ Barnett, 'Reforming Food and Eating', p. 10.

³⁸⁶ See, for example, the early modern proverbs collected by Tilley, which also increasingly link fasting and moderation with improved physical health after the mid-sixteenth century: John Haywood (1562), "Feed by measure and defy the physician", p. 452.; John Bodenham (1597), "Much meat much malady", p. 454; David Fergusson (1598), "Eat measurable and defye the medicineris", p. 452; David Fergusson (1598), "light supper long lyf gait airy up and dyne", p. 643; Thomas Draxe (1616), "Vse reason, or moderation, and defie the Physitian", p. 425; George Herbert (1640), "By suppers more have been killed than Galen (Avicen) ever cured", p. 643, all in Tilley (ed.), *A dictionary of the proverbs*.

³⁸⁷ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 208.

³⁸⁸ Natalie Mears, 'Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England', *Journal of British Studies*, 51:1 (2012), pp 9-10.

gatherings, encouraging local authorities to broadly separate the sick from the healthy through quarantine.³⁸⁹ By the 1570s, Cecil was so convinced of quarantine's efficacy that he formally mandated its use in England's first national plague *Orders* (1578). The public health innovation represented by the *Orders* was two-fold: first, they provided a solid administrative and legislative blueprint for local authorities battling to suppress the disease; second, they codified a clear monitoring system to improve Crown oversight of localised health concerns.³⁹⁰ In terms of their content, the *Orders* were significant in two main ways: they not only established a practical framework for the collection and distribution of emergency taxation, but formalised and advocated tougher measures against quarantine-breakers, whose ability to infect those around them was explicitly outlined.³⁹¹ For the first time, parishes across the kingdom were instructed that, should evidence of unauthorised movement come to light, there should

be appointed two or three watchmen by turnes, which shalbe sworne to attend and watch the house, and to apprehend any person that shall come out of the house contrary to order, and the same persons by order of the Iustices, shal be a competent time imprisoned in ye stocks in the highway next to the house infected.³⁹²

1578 thus marked the beginnings of a more comprehensive stance against plague and the codification of contagionist responses in England, a development which demanded both closer public health engagement and increased personal responsibility. In line with this, it also marked the systematic utilisation of a series of plague-related visual clues intended to guide individuals' personal navigation of epidemics, such as the marking of infected houses, clothing, and carrying of white rods by those forced to leave a house visited by contagion for vital food or medicine.³⁹³

Public health and the Elizabethan Bills of Mortality

One aspect of the *Orders* which would not have been new to the government of London was its emphasis on the widespread monitoring of the disease's victims and trajectory;

³⁸⁹ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, pp 207-9. I use 'broadly', since quarantine was predominantly enforced in private houses, meaning few distinctions were made between healthy and sick members of a family.

³⁹⁰ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 209.

³⁹¹ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 210.

³⁹² Elizabeth I, *Orders thought meete* [...] (London, 1578), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2248549858/D59F4BBD4264D83PQ/3?accountid=7408>> [accessed 11 June 2020], p. 5.

³⁹³ Elizabeth I, *Orders* (1578), pp 5-6.

specifically, the instruction that parish officials should explicitly appoint individuals to search for and record plague victim numbers, then

in writing certifie weekly [to aldermen/Justices of the Peace]...the number of such persons as are infected and doe not die, and also of all such as shall die within their Parishes, and their diseases probable wherof they dyed...³⁹⁴

From the early sixteenth century, a number of central parishes in the City had been routinely instructed to keep accurate records of plague deaths in their localities for the consideration of Crown and Corporation. These parish Bills of Mortality, as they came to be known, were the responsibility of members of the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks in London. The Company of Parish Clerks was not a livery company in the same sense as many of the City's commercial guilds – it is not included in the City's precedence rankings, and does not elect or contribute Mayors or Sheriffs to the government of the City.³⁹⁵ Still, it played a considerable role in London community life through the religious, administrative, and growing public health responsibilities of its members. The Company was composed entirely of a fellowship of unregulated parish clerks – normally lay-men of modest background – who oversaw the collection and maintenance of christening and burial records in their parish.³⁹⁶ Sometime between 1519-1528, these parish clerks were additionally commanded by King Henry VIII and his advisor Cardinal Wolsey to specifically record plague cases in their parishes, assisted – from at least 1568/9 – by local 'searchers' employed by the City but managed by the parish: usually "ancient women of good standing", described by the Corporation in 1630 as "both honest and skilful".³⁹⁷ As the seventeenth-century statistician John Graunt would later reflect, these elderly women's primary duty was to "repair to the place,

³⁹⁴ Justices of the Peace, in turn, were then instructed to meet every three weeks days to discuss parish communications and administration, passing these reports on to the Privy Council. Elizabeth I, *Orders* (1578), p. 7.

³⁹⁵ Oswald Clark, 'The Ancient Office of Parish Clerk and the Parish Clerks Company of London', *Ecclesiastical law journal: the journal of the Ecclesiastical Law Society*, 8:38 (2005), pp 314- 315.

³⁹⁶ Clark, 'Parish Clerk', p. 314.

³⁹⁷ James Christie, *Some Account of the Parish Clerks, more especially of the Ancient Fraternity (Bretherne and Sisterne) of St Nicholas, now known as The Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks* (London: 1893), pp 128-129; Harkness, 'A View from the Streets', p. 67; COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 69. Slack has argued that they were collected as early as 1519, but this assertion is contradicted by Christie's older work and by the later writing of Greenberg, both of whom assert 1528 to be a more accurate date. See Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 148; Christie, *Some Account of the Parish Clerks*, p. 132; Stephen Greenberg, 'Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67:4 (2004), p. 513.

where the dead Corps lies, and by view of the same, and by other enquiries...examine by what Disease or Casualty the Corps died.”³⁹⁸ Their findings were then returned to the clerks, who collated the figures and dispatched them to the monarch, Lord Mayor, and their respective advisors for review and analysis. These were the first recorded instances of epidemiological distribution to be carried out in localised areas of London. Though primitive and exceedingly limited in scope, the Bills were a huge conceptual step forward in the evolution of London’s public health.

Under Elizabeth, several important changes were implemented to this already innovative public health activity. First, the Crown increased the numbers of London parishes reported upon by the Clerk to over 100 by the 1580s; Cecil (now Lord Burghley) was noted to have taken a particular interest in them for monitoring and tracking plague in the City.³⁹⁹ Second, the bills were, for the first time, printed for public consumption – albeit, it would appear, without the express permission of Crown or Corporation. The first surviving printed Bill of Mortality dates from the plague outbreak of 1581-2, when an anonymous London stationer appears to have first recognised the extent of public interest in – and commercial value of – this information to those within and without the City.⁴⁰⁰ They justified their actions in the preface to the printed bill, reasoning that they were helping to quell public panic and reassuring those who believed “that there hath dyed such an infinite number here in London, as thousandes in a weeke” and that “euery Parish had not given a iust certificat of those that died of the plague”.⁴⁰¹ Though this publication was not officially endorsed by monarch or City, neither does its author appear to have been traced or punished. Indeed, during the next major outbreak of 1592-1594, Parish Clerks were expressly instructed by the Lord Mayor – on the encouragement of the Privy Council – to follow this anonymous stationer’s example and print the bills in broadsheet form on a weekly basis. These copies were thus designed to

³⁹⁸ Graunt, *observations*, p. 11.

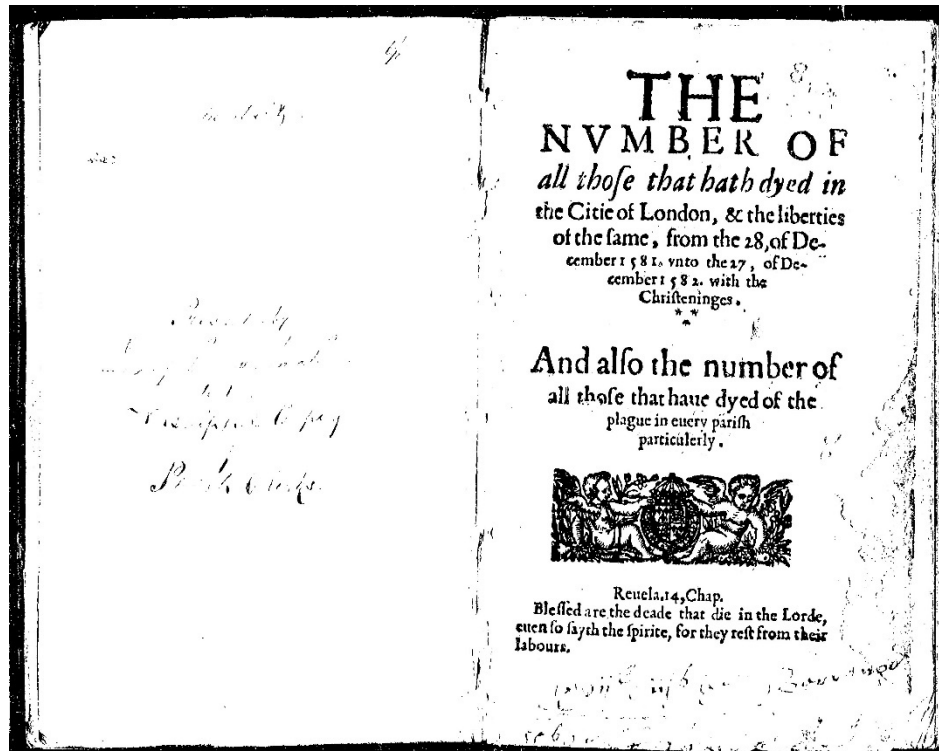
³⁹⁹ Christie, *Some Account of the Parish Clerks*, p. 135.

⁴⁰⁰ J. C. Robertson, ‘Reckoning with London: interpreting the "Bills of Mortality" before John Graunt’, *Urban History*, 23:3 (1996), p. 330; Greenberg, ‘Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health’, p. 516.

⁴⁰¹ Anon, *The number of all those that hath dyed in the Citie of London & the liberties of the same, from the 28, of December 1581. vnto the 27, of December 1582 [...]* (London, 1582), *Early English Books Online* < <https://search-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/EEBO/docview/2240858702/1B95804D29FD47EBPQ/1?accountid=7408&imgSeq=6> > [accessed 8 July 2020], pp 10-11.

be set in public places to be read aloud and more easily communicated from person to person.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² Peter Murray Jones, 'Medical literacies and medical culture in early modern England' in *Medical Writing in Early Modern English*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 33.



Mary somerset.	xxvi	Mildred in the poultrie,	vi.
Mary wolchurch.	ii.		
Mary wolnorth,	iiii.		
Magnis,	xv.	N	
Magdaline in milkestreete.	ii.	Nicholas acon,	xi.
Magdaline in olde fishstreete,	xxvii.	Nicholas golden abby,	xiiii.
M. r. ineludgate,	l.	Nicholas willowes,	iii.
M. r. cine organe,	vi.		
Martine outwitch,	xvii.	O	
Martine ventre,	xiii.	Oliffe in hart street,	xxiii.
Martine in Iremonger lane,	ii.	Oliffe in the Iury,	viii.
Margaret in lothbury,	iiii.	Oliffe in siluer street,	xvi.
Margaret new fishstreete,	xii.	Oliffe in southwarke,	CCCxxxiii.
Margaret pattins,	xii.		
Margaret mores in friday street. clere,	clere.	P	
Marthe in friday street,	clere.	Panctas,	vi.
Michael in bassings hall,	xvii.	Peeter in Cheape,	iiii.
Michael in cornehill,	xv.	Peeter in Cornehill,	xx.
Michael in crooked lane,	iii.	Peeter Pauls wharfe,	iii.
Michael in the querne,	vii.	Peeter the Poore,	iii.
Michael queene Hiue,	xxv.		§
Michael in the Royall,	xii.		
Michael in wood streete,	vi.		
Mildred in bread street.	vi.		
Mildread			

Image 4: Pages 1 and 7-8 of London's earliest surviving printed Bill of Mortality (1582).⁴⁰³

⁴⁰³ Anon, *The number of all those that hath dyed in the Citie of London* (1582).

Sadly, no copies survive from the 1592 outbreak, suggesting that the Bills' print-run was limited, but there is evidence to suggest that their findings were circulated widely. A scrap of paper documenting figures from September 1592 was discovered by builders renovating an old farmhouse in Somerset in 1992, while surviving European merchants' commercial correspondence has been shown to have frequently recorded and debated the accuracy of London's plague statistics – including those produced in 1592.⁴⁰⁴ All this indicates that by the later sixteenth century, the dissemination of localised public health statistics and information was increasingly recognised not just as a practice conducive to the common good, but as a matter of political, economic and social importance in London.

So far, this chapter has focused on some of the more striking Crown-mandated public health developments of the later sixteenth century, delineating how the Elizabethan regime skilfully reappropriated a religious practice into a secular one (fasting) and reinforced, developed and in some cases centralised existing health practices (the introduction of Forms of Prayer, the Orders of 1578, and the expansion of the London Bills of Mortality). Yet one of the more striking developments of the Henrician Crown's early public health frameworks had been the establishment of the London College of Physicians (est. 1518), which monitored medical practice in and seven miles beyond the City. What, if anything, did the College contribute to Elizabethan public health and/or its frameworks?

The Elizabethan College of Physicians and public health

Since its establishment under Henry VIII, the College had more or less maintained the same priority: affirming and consolidating its unique institutional position in the City and wider kingdom. This did not much change over the course of the Elizabethan period. By the time of Elizabeth's ascension, the president of the College was Dr John Caius, an imposing figure who held the position from 1555 to 1564 (and would return to resume it for a single term in 1571).⁴⁰⁵ Caius, royal physician to Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth herself, has long been considered a determined and rather paternalistic figure by historians: a character that mirrored the queen's.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Herbert Berry, 'A London Plague Bill for 1592, Crich, and Goodwyffe Hurde', *English Literary Renaissance* (1995), 25:1, p. 3. See, for example, merchants' discussions of plague in the *The Fugger newsletter. Second series. Being a further selection from the Fugger papers specially referring to Queen Elizabeth and matters relating to England during the years 1568-1605, here published for the first time*, ed. by V. von Klarwill and transl. by L. S. R. Byrne (London: John Lane, 1926), esp. p. 28, p. 243 and pp 248-52.

⁴⁰⁵ Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 106.

⁴⁰⁶ Indeed, in his extensive history of the College, Clark titles his chapter referring to 1555 to 1572 as "Dr. Caius and Resolute Action", highlighting the paternalistic change of pace that the royal physician brought to the College. Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 106.

In his respected study of the history of the College of Physicians, George Clark awards him personal credit for establishing the College as an independent entity in London just prior to and during Elizabeth's early reign.⁴⁰⁷ He has less to say, however, about the relationship between College and City, other than that it was fractious. In 1553, Caius – with full support of the Marian Crown – had secured the College's right to independently monitor and regulate the distribution of potentially harmful drugs by London's apothecaries (the majority of whom were members of the prestigious Grocers' Company, the highest ranking and richest food Company in London).⁴⁰⁸ This development significantly influenced relations between College and City over the Elizabethan period, giving rise to a series of institutional and corporate disputes in which the Corporation robustly defended the rights of its highest-ranking food guild. The Elizabethan Crown involved itself as little as possible in these disputes: although pharmacy was undoubtedly a skill of growing importance in contemporary medicine and public health (see Chapter Three), with public texts such as the governmental *Orders* (1578) reaffirming apothecaries' role as go-to medical practitioners during epidemics, the Queen and her advisors were wary of fuelling further urban conflict.⁴⁰⁹ When called to arbitrate between the College and Company, or even between grocers and apothecaries, it favoured stagnation over evolution. When in 1562/3 the College again attempted to expand its formal authority over London's apothecaries by way of a parliamentary bill, their request was permitted to lapse; the same fate awaited the apothecaries when, in 1588, they filed a petition requesting a monopoly over their trade.⁴¹⁰

Caution pervaded the Crown's relations with the College for the duration of the later sixteenth century. Though Burghley approached the College for remedies to append to the end of his plague *Orders* (1578), the Elizabethan Crown otherwise implemented public health changes without its input.⁴¹¹ While not quite stifling its ambitions, neither did the Crown seek to support or advance them. The College thus contributed more to English medicine than it did public health during the mid-to-late sixteenth century, a process which yet established a number of indirect frameworks for later public health developments. Caius' personal projects, most of which

⁴⁰⁷ Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 123. Caius was particularly dedicated to defending and expanding the College of Physicians' unique remit, forcefully shooting down suggestions in 1556 that the university of Oxford be granted license to regulate Oxford in much the same way as the College policed London. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴⁰⁸ Hunting, *Society of Apothecaries*, p. 25.

⁴⁰⁹ The *Orders* also make reference to the surgeons, to whom the task of checking over healing (as opposed to active) plague sores fell. *Orders* (1578), p. 14.

⁴¹⁰ Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 120; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: the various life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 211.

⁴¹¹ Cook, 'Good Advice and Little Medicine', p. 6.

tellingly began in Edward's or Mary's reigns but carried on into Elizabeth's, established the basis of a number of these. They included his early efforts to significantly develop English medical education by personally financing the expansion and transformation of Cambridge University's Gonville Hall into Gonville and Caius College, a specialist medical college.⁴¹² Having studied abroad himself, Caius wanted to raise English medical education to a standard akin to that offered on the continent, linking to this project another, related one: the establishment of a good working relationship between the College and the City's Company of Barber Surgeons. As mentioned in the Introduction, by this time the 'anatomical Renaissance', predicated by Vesalius' *De humani corpori fabrica* (1543), had revolutionised medical education in Europe, and Caius – who had personally attended dissections at the Barber Surgeons' Hall for more than twenty years from the mid-1540s – was keen to introduce these methods into an English medical context. He has thus been credited with establishing a firm basis for the College's Lumleian anatomical lectures (from 1582), which significantly grew in both public popularity and public health significance in the early seventeenth century.⁴¹³ From 1615, these lectures were famously presided over by William Harvey, an early beneficiary of Gonville and Caius College.⁴¹⁴

The final significant contribution of the later sixteenth century College to English medicine was its gradual admittance and tolerance of proponents of chemical (Paracelsian) medicine, most notably Thomas Moffet and Henry Atkins (the latter of whom would later occupy a particularly prominent position within the College as its three-time president during James' reign).⁴¹⁵ In the 1580s and 1590s, these physicians began to openly experiment with chemical and herbal compounds and remedies – even attempting (though failing) to establish a College-funded herb garden under the auspices of the renowned English surgeon and herbalist, John Gerrard.⁴¹⁶ Their experiments fostered ambitions of a College-written pharmacopeia (a book of directions for medical compounds) whose production would have boosted the College's authority in pharmacy: a distinct area of medicine already overseen by the Grocers' Company apothecaries. These efforts towards pharmaceutical

⁴¹² Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 107.

⁴¹³ Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 123.

⁴¹⁴ French, *William Harvey's Natural Philosophy*, p. 58.

⁴¹⁵ William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London; compiled from annals of the College and from other authentic sources, Vol. 1. 1518 to 1700* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1878), p. 86.

⁴¹⁶ Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, p. 210; David Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Phisick: the London Apothecaries, 1540-1617* (London: The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, 1992), Ch. 3, p. 2.

innovation, however, were ultimately doomed to stagnate. The pharmacopeia would have been effective only if accompanied with a royal proclamation or Act of Parliament commanding the apothecaries not to diverge from its directions (and thereby limiting the free trade of a highly influential Company); in the vigilant and overtly cautious environment of the 1590s, in which the need for a united and powerful urban government reigned supreme, it did not garner the support of an increasingly conservative Crown.⁴¹⁷

Challenges to public order and public health in the 1590s City

Historians have long identified the 1590s as a time of particular social, political and economic pressure in England and its capital.⁴¹⁸ This was principally caused by the City's fast-growing population, which had grown from an estimated 75,000 people in 1550 to some 200,000 people by 1600.⁴¹⁹ To accommodate this demographic growth, London's built-up area expanded rapidly into the suburbs, but this expansion was not matched by the extension of the City's jurisdictional boundaries. This meant that just as the Elizabethan state was becoming increasingly centralised, civic government was experiencing the opposite.⁴²⁰ The nature of London's traditional, hierarchical government – essentially upheld by multiple branches of local government reporting to the Corporation – had always sought to ensure the political participation of its ordinary citizens.⁴²¹ As the City expanded, however, decentralisation made the enactment and co-ordination of broader laws, ordinances and social schemes – such as overarching market regulations and poor relief – increasingly difficult.⁴²² The 1590s proved particularly challenging because a number of extraordinary factors placed further strain on already struggling political infrastructures: plague arrived in London from 1592-3, followed by food shortages and rising prices caused by harvest dearth from 1594 to 1597.⁴²³

⁴¹⁷ Jacques, *Essential to the Practick of Phisick*, Ch. 3, p. 3. This theme will be revisited in Chapter Three.

⁴¹⁸ See, for example, Archer, *The pursuit of stability*; Pearl, 'Change and stability'; Power, 'crisis of the 1590s'; Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: structures of life in sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁴¹⁹ In all of Europe, London's population was surpassed only by that of Paris, whose numbers it exceeded in 1700. See Jeremy Boulton, 'London 1540-1700' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 316.

⁴²⁰ Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner, 'Introduction' in *Londonopolis: essays in the cultural and social history of early modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 2; Archer, 'The Government of London', p. 20.

⁴²¹ Archer, 'The Government of London', p. 19.

⁴²² Archer, 'The Government of London', p. 20.

⁴²³ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 73; *Ibid.*, p. 151.

The year 1595 brought particular challenges to London's social stability, as the City scrambled to respond to food riots (the first in seventy years, by Ian Archer's reckoning), general riots, and overt threats to the safety of its notoriously churlish Lord Mayor, Sir John Spencer.⁴²⁴ Though discontented soldiers were also involved in some social tumults, unruly apprentices were singled out as prime offenders in a proclamation issued that year, marking the apprentice's ascent into what Walter Besant has termed "the height of his power and importance, chiefly as a disturber of the peace".⁴²⁵ From 1598, apprentice-led violence began to escalate during the capital's annual Shrovetide festivities – the period before Lent traditionally associated with gluttony, carnality, and ritual misrule.⁴²⁶ By James I's reign, Shrovetide brought spectacular displays of riotous behaviour to the capital, as brothels and playhouses were attacked, and women suspected of bawdy behaviour were openly assaulted in broad daylight.⁴²⁷

Accompanying and intensifying this variety of tumults were long-standing economic grievances: largely, the sudden and rapid acceleration of inflation during the sixteenth century, coupled with a rising population, considerable increase in poverty and begging activities, and continued intolerance of urban vagrancy, stemming from the earlier decades of the sixteenth century.⁴²⁸ Of these, inflation proved the most reliably disruptive to everyday urban life: the year 1597 heralded what M. J. Power referred to as "the lowest rate of real wages in English history", and between 1593 and 1597, the cost of flour almost doubled.⁴²⁹ These economic conditions, accenting and coalescing with other threats to public order, emphasised to Crown and City the vital importance of maintaining and defending subsistence-level public health in the 1590s: specifically, safeguarding and easing access to grain and ensuring the continued supply of fixed-price goods such as bread.

⁴²⁴ Spencer had served Archer, *The pursuit of stability*, pp 1-2; *Ibid.*, p. 6. Ian Archer, 'Spencer, Sir John (d. 1610), merchant and lord mayor of London', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (3 January 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26130>> [accessed 2 August 2018].

⁴²⁵ Walter Besant, *London in the Time of the Tudors* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1904), p. 326. Apprentices were also linked with vagrancy and crime; those who left their masters prematurely were liable to become the "masterless men" feared by many a national proclamation. See Archer, *The pursuit of stability*, p. 207.

⁴²⁶ Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 188.

⁴²⁷ Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England*, p. 188; Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics*, p. 119.

⁴²⁸ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, p. 6; McIntosh, *Poor Relief*, pp 142-143.

⁴²⁹ Power, "'crisis' of the 1590s", p. 371.

Many of the extended debates between national and civic authorities during the turbulent 1590s are preserved in a series of contemporary documents known collectively as *Remembrancia*: a material testament to the strength of Crown engagement with the Corporation of London in the later-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. *Remembrancia* was, in itself, an administrative invention of the Elizabethan period. In 1570, the City had appointed its first Remembrancer, Thomas Norton, ostensibly to reduce city records into easily accessible tables, indexes, and calendars (leaving the extended copying of such records to the office of the Town Clerk).⁴³⁰ Norton's remit rapidly expanded over the next decade to include the replication and co-ordination of letters between the Privy Council and Mayor of London.⁴³¹ This indicates two important things: one, that the Crown was taking an ever-increasing interest in matters pertaining to its expanding capital, and two, that the City was quickly learning to mediate and manage this interest, effectively utilising this clerical resource to communicate and record ideas for reform.

In his role as a record-keeper employed by the Corporation, Norton was tasked not just with recording important urban issues and the actions taken to resolve them, but implicitly identifying and advancing the interests of the City – both roles passed to his successors.⁴³² This means that *Remembrancia*, rather like *Liber Albus* (see Chapter One), recorded issues considered particularly concerning or important by the mayor and aldermen: issues most likely to be referred back to or followed up on by contemporary or subsequent civic officials.⁴³³ By the 1590s, *Remembrancia* contained transcripts of a significant number of letters sent between the Office of the Lord Mayor and the Queen's Privy Council, making it a superbly illustrative (though admittedly selective) source for those interested in probing the continuous acts of political negotiation essential to London's management. Surviving in a fine collection of heavy, leather-bound volumes at the London Metropolitan Archives, *Remembrancia* was indexed from 1579-1664 by the Overall cousins during the later

⁴³⁰ W.H. Overall and H.C. Overall, 'Preface' in *Analytical Index to The Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia: preserved among the archives of the City of London, A.D. 1579-1664*, ed. by W.H. Overall and H.C. Overall (London: E.J. Francis & Co., 1878), pp v-vi.

⁴³¹ Overalls, 'Preface' in *Index to Remembrancia*, pp v-vi.

⁴³² Marie Axton, 'Norton, Thomas (1530x32-1584)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (3 January 2008) <<https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/20359>> [accessed 24 September 2019].

⁴³³ *Liber Albus*, Helen Carrel has asserted, is not a "purely prosaic and unimaginative text", as civic records are sometimes seen to be – neither, I have concluded, is *Remembrancia*. See Carrel, 'Food, drink and public order', p. 194.

nineteenth century, making it a valuable and accessible source for investigations into the priorities of early modern London's national and civic governors.⁴³⁴

Remembrancia clearly documents how, by the 1590s, existing economic anxieties and anti-stranger sentiments in the city had been driven to potentially destructive levels, fuelled particularly by London's immigration explosion, which increased existing competition for employment, accommodation, and material resources such as food and drink. As demand for day-to-day essentials rose, so did average prices, urban poverty levels and begging and vagrancy rates. As early as 1591, the Privy Council began to doubt the City's ability to adequately control its increasingly decentralised and burgeoning intra- and extra- mural populations. In June 1591, the council drafted a proclamation prohibiting public gatherings and advocating the introduction of martial law, but on the reassurances of the City released only general statutes relating to vagrancy: a growing problem in later Tudor London.⁴³⁵ The arrival of plague from 1592 to 1593 and dearth from 1594 to 1597 severely exacerbated existing issues of social disorder. In 1594, a long list of reasons and redresses for vagrancy (differentiating between "our own" and "forrein[ers]", and those deserving and undeserving) were copied into *Remembrancia*.⁴³⁶ The City was clearly keen to demonstrate that it was mulling the problem over. On 4 July 1595, finally deeming the City's efforts inadequate, the Privy Council intervened to place the entire city under martial law.⁴³⁷ This was an embarrassment for Lord Mayor Spencer and his aldermen – a public declaration that their own responses were wanting.⁴³⁸ From about 1595 onwards, civic authorities began to respond to demonstrations of discontent with increasing severity, actively searching for the sources of social turbulence and appealing to the Crown for permission to enact stricter punitive measures against those seen to challenge the health of the body politic.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁴ W. H. Overall was the librarian of the Corporation Library from 1865. He compiled the index with his cousin H. C. Overall in 1878. Charles Welch and Bernard Nurse, 'Overall, William Henry (1829-1888)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004) < <https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/20965> > [accessed 24 September 2019].

⁴³⁵ See Elizabeth I, 'Prohibiting Unlawful Assembly under Martial Law [draft]' (June 1591), p. 82; 'Enforcing Statutes against Vagabonds and Rogues' (August 1591), p. 83; 'Placing Vagrants under Martial Law' (November 1591), p. 96, all in *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. III*.

⁴³⁶ See COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1594): for reasons, see fol. 41^v-42^v; for redresses, see fol. 43^r-45^v.

⁴³⁷ Elizabeth I, 'Prohibiting Unlawful Assembly under Martial Law' (1595) in *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. III*, p. 143.

⁴³⁸ Archer, 'Spencer, Sir John'.

⁴³⁹ Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 2.

The foci of the 1590s Corporation can be divided into two broad areas: first, overt public order issues (including the management of contentious sites such as crowded tenements and theatres, and the monitoring of growing numbers of vagrants) and second, more overt public health issues (including the suppression of plague and the avoidance of dearth-related food shortages and social unrest). Both areas will be discussed, in this order, for the remainder of the chapter. Though public order and public health have a lot in common, it does not necessary follow that a thesis focused on public health should also discuss more overt public order issues. But as the sections to come will show, this thesis' discussion of these aspects of public order in the 1590s is important because during this decade there was a notable rhetorical shift in the City's communications with the Crown. *Remembrancia* shows that, faced with a multitude of political and economic pressures, civic officials increasingly utilised organic political analogy to unify, report and seek redress for these problems. They applied this approach to well-established issues (such as overcrowded housing and vagrancy) as well as relatively new ones (such as stage performances). The paragraphs to follow will use the example of how the Corporation approached theatres to show how this was done.

Public order and public health in London's later Tudor theatres

From the 1570s, urban theatres – cultural sites still “negotiating the terms of [their] allowance and authority” – were increasingly identified as social contaminants by the Corporation of London.⁴⁴⁰ Though historians have argued about the extent of popular, local and guild support for London's early theatres (with the Queen herself remaining a steadfast supporter, contributing to the sites' moral ambiguity), early interactions between the Corporation of London and the Privy Council – captured in *Remembrancia* – repeatedly illustrate civic officials' recurrent anxieties about these sites and the sorts of people who performed in, visited, and mixed in them.⁴⁴¹ Many of these anxieties were amplified by the fact that the theatres were largely suburban, and thus beyond the Corporation's legislative reach; curbs issued in the City had little effect on them.⁴⁴² This meant that throughout the Elizabethan period, letters from successive Lord Mayors to the Privy Council were sent to highlight a range of perceived moral and physical threats posed to unsuspecting citizens by “unchaste”,

⁴⁴⁰ Paster Kern, *Body Embarrassed*, p. 20; Ian Archer, ‘The City of London and the Theatre’, *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 397.

⁴⁴¹ Archer, ‘The City of London and the Theatre’, p. 397.

⁴⁴² ‘1. 538’ (1583), *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 337.

“corrupt and prophane” performances.⁴⁴³ Letters in the opposite direction, meanwhile, were just as likely to sympathise with the players over the Corporation: one, issued in November 1581, commanded the City to reopen theatres after a period of infection in order to allow “poor” players to be “in readiness with convenient matters for Her Highness’s solace this next Christmas”; another, issued the next year, again prompted the reopening of the theatres, such that players be permitted to “attain more dexterity and perfection in that profession, the better to content Her Majesty”.⁴⁴⁴ Lord Mayor Thomas Blanke’s rapid response to the 1582 letter shows that he was less than impressed with this request, citing religious, health and even climatic reasons as to why he thought it prudent for theatres to remain closed.⁴⁴⁵ Somewhat ominously, the Council’s response was not recorded in *Remembrancia*.

The Council’s tolerance did not soothe the Corporation, which continued to fret about the influence of theatres on public order in the run-up to the 1590s. By 1592, its letters had become particularly emphatic, progressing from general organic phrases to more sophisticated “social pathology”: a discourse “of social infection, containment, and cure” that equates the corruption of the individual body to that of the broader social body.⁴⁴⁶ This shift is particularly evident in letters sent 1592-5: one sent by the despairing Corporation to Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift in 1592, and two others sent to the Privy Council in 1594 and 1595 respectively. In the first letter, Lord Mayor William Webbe despaired of the plays’ corruption of younger Londoners, who, “infected with so many evils and ungodly qualities”, were harming the urban body’s long-term commercial prospects and good order through their indolence and immorality.⁴⁴⁷ In the second, Lord Mayor John Spencer argued that theatres were “the ordinary places of meeting for all vaygrant persons & maisterles man that hang about the Citie, theeves, horsestealers, whoremoongers, coozeners, connycatching persones practizeners of treason” who by their presence allowed “such young gentlemen as haue small regards of...conscience [to] drawe the

⁴⁴³ ‘I. 40’ (1580), *Index to Remembrancia*; p. 331; ‘1. 538’ (1583), *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 337; COL/RMD/PA/01/002, fol. 33^r (1594).

⁴⁴⁴ ‘1. 295’ (1581), *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 350; ‘1. 317’ (1582), *Index to Remembrancia*, pp 350-1.

⁴⁴⁵ The plays caused absence from church services, plague “had increased”, and the season was “hot and perilous”. 1. 319’ (1582), *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 351.

⁴⁴⁶ Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 19; p. 3. In strictly civic terms, this entailed tracing the origins and/or exacerbating factors of London’s social diseases to specific sites or groups of people.

⁴⁴⁷ ‘1. 635’ (1592), *Index to Remembrancia*, pp 352-3. Disappointingly, I mislaid my image of this original folio in *Remembrancia* and was unable to view it by visiting it in person in London Metropolitan Archives due to Covid-19 lockdown. Happily, *Index to Remembrancia* offered a comprehensive summary of its contents, though I would have preferred to view the exact wording for myself.

same into example of imitation & not of avoyding the sayed lewd offences".⁴⁴⁸ This kind of activity, he added, presented a direct threat to "the good policie of a Christian Com[m]on Wealth", sullyng the well-ordered body politic.⁴⁴⁹ In the third letter, issued after the imposition of martial law in September 1595, Spencer once more situated the smouldering contagion of social unrest to plays and their audiences, this time arguing that the playhouses accommodated

nothing but profane fables, lascivious mutters...& other unseemly & friuvilous behaviours, w[hi]ch...we verely think to be the cheef cause as well of many other disorders &... demeaners w[hi]ch appeer of late in young people of all degrees... who wee doubt not drierw their infection from these & like places.⁴⁵⁰

Spencer's assertion was not entirely unfounded, for as the Shrovetide riots which began in this decade intensified in the 1610s, theatres were increasingly attended and targeted by unruly apprentices; in spite of his vehement wording, on this occasion (as in many others) the theatres remained open.⁴⁵¹

As these and other examples show, by the 1590s the City's communications with the Crown increasingly and purposefully blurred the rhetorical lines between physical, political and moral health.⁴⁵² This was a clever political move likely undertaken by the Corporation to appeal to an increasingly public-health focused Crown. Given the Queen's personal fondness for plays, her Privy Council often turned a blind eye to the City's complaints about theatres' more contentious aspects. Yet by reinforcing their threats to public order in the language of public health, the Corporation hoped not just to lower the threshold for theatres' closure (usually only when the transmission of epidemic disease posed a strong and demonstrable threat to London's public health), but broadly emphasise the pathology of infectious behaviour and actions in a language they already knew would attract Crown attention. Though this discursive shift has long been observed by historians of London, it has rarely been discussed by public health historians or linked to broader

⁴⁴⁸ COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1594), fols 33^r & 33^v.

⁴⁴⁹ COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1595), fol. 33^r.

⁴⁵⁰ 'II: 103' in *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 354; COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1595), fol. 52^v.

⁴⁵¹ Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics*, p. 119.

⁴⁵² Another of the City's routine annoyances was the building of illegal tenements which, like theatres, often sprung up beyond legislative reach in the suburbs (those in the city's wards were addressed by the wardmote inquest, as Farringdon Without's and Cornhill's demonstrate). These were accused of encouraging the presence of the beggars, who "having no trade nor honest endeavour to mainteyne them selves nor to pay their rente (which must usually be don at the weeke end) make it their comon & daylie occupacion to wander abroad & to beg", as well as "very danngerous for infection". Unlike theatres, however, these tenements held little moral ambiguity, being accepted as an unfortunate effect of urban overcrowding. COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1595), fol. 52^r;
CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1596), fol. 67^r.

developments in English public health.⁴⁵³ This is a significant oversight, given the broader public health implications of evolving uses of organic political analogy outlined in Chapter One: put simply, living metaphors reflect and influence material practice. That the City's appeals continued to fall on deaf ears does not matter. What matters is that civic officials had, towards the end of the sixteenth century, demonstrably embraced public health as an effective rhetorical tool. This signalled that the concept had well and truly gained political momentum towards the end of Elizabeth's rule.

The use of social pathology discourse by the Corporation of London appears to have been as much a political shift as a cognitive one. By approaching public order from the perspective of public health – explicitly tracing the origins and/or exacerbating factors of London's social diseases to specific sites or groups of people – the Corporation hoped to emphasise and seek assistance for urban problems in a manner more likely to be taken seriously by the Crown. As Chapter One showed (and this chapter earlier reiterated), throughout the sixteenth century and well into the Elizabethan period the English Crown had urged London authorities to actively redress the dangers presented by contagion (which blamed recurrent infection on person-to-person transmission). In his *Orders* (1578), Lord Burghley had strongly reiterated a contagionist perspective, commanding more rigorous isolation for the sick and stricter systems by which to keep them separated from the healthy. Public health concerns about miasma (which held that sickness grew and spread from polluted sites), were, the Council judged, well-enough managed by older environmental health precepts; the real issue facing contemporary London was one of better ordering its increasing numbers of inhabitants, such that infected “persons may not wel be conuersant with them which are not infected”.⁴⁵⁴ Given the Crown's historic emphasis on contagion, I argue that it is therefore plausible that the later sixteenth-century Corporation's increasingly sophisticated references to it in a political context demonstrate at least two things. First, they indicate the Corporation's growing understanding of, acceptance of and willingness to apply contagionist ideas. Second, they evidence a relatively new and growing political tendency to cloak social issues in the rhetoric of contagion, the better to attract the attention and resources of an increasingly health-orientated Crown.

⁴⁵³ See, for example, Archer, ‘The City of London and the Theatre’, p. 404.

⁴⁵⁴ Elizabeth I, *Orders* (1578), p. 24

Plague and dearth in 1590s London

Maintaining public health ranked highly in both the Crown's and Corporation's priorities during the fitful 1590s. This was in part a consequence of long-term political, economic and social anxiety, and in part a response to several protracted, inter-connected public health crises that presented during the decade. Plague increased in the suburbs from 1592, gradually creeping its way into the City's more central parishes, and between 1592-3 the earlier Elizabethan plague *Orders* (1578) were reissued with no amendment to the body of the text, though with an increased emphasis on the contributions of the College of Physicians in the title page (...*Also, an advise set downe vpon her Maiesties expresse commaundement, by the best learned in physicke within this realme, containing sundry good rules and easie medicines, without charge to the meaner sort of people, aswell for the preservation of her good subiectes from the plague before infection, as for the curing and ordering of them after they shall be infected*).⁴⁵⁵ The first of six proclamations regarding plague management appeared in September 1592, while in October 1592 and June 1593, proclamations were issued to restrict access to court.⁴⁵⁶ In 1594, the City's first dedicated pesthouse was established outside the walls in the parish of St Giles Cripplegate, providing the city with somewhere – however small – to confine and attend to poor persons afflicted by plague, who were otherwise unable to quarantine in their own homes.⁴⁵⁷ One of the more notable public health developments of this outbreak was the authorised printing of the London Bills of Mortality in broadsheet form; these Bills continued to be produced by the City's Company of Parish Clerks for public consumption between 1593 and 1595, as the disease ran its course.⁴⁵⁸

Yet in spite of the recurrent dangers presented by plague, the City's strained foodways – which were in urgent need of stabilisation and reform – presented London with its most significant public health challenge over the final decade of the sixteenth century. This was not a new or unexpected problem: London's population had more than doubled in the decades since Elizabeth's accession, yet the City had continued to lean on an outdated food supply model which predominantly depended on the produce of its adjoining home counties – especially Kent, which in the later

⁴⁵⁵ Elizabeth I, *Orders* (1578); Elizabeth I, Elizabeth I, *Orders, thought meete* [...] (London, 1593), *Early English Books Online* <<http://library.kent.ac.uk.chain.kent.ac.uk/cgi-bin/resources.cgi?url=https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/books/orders-thought-meete-her-maiestie-priuie-counsell/docview/2240933975/se-2?accountid=7408>> [accessed 11 June 2020].

⁴⁵⁶ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, 'Contents' in *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, p. vii.

⁴⁵⁷ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 214.

⁴⁵⁸ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 145.

sixteenth century supplied some three-quarters of the City's grain.⁴⁵⁹ Foreign imports of dairy, meat, fruit and vegetables were rare or non-existent, and only in times of significant scarcity did the City hastily swell its existing food stocks with continental grain brought in by way of the river Thames (as was also the case with English-grown grain).⁴⁶⁰ As demand increased but traditional supply chains remained slow to change, private middlemen increasingly stepped into the fray to bridge the gap between producers and (where necessary) vendors.⁴⁶¹ This was a source of considerable concern, particularly when it came to subsistence food such as grain: malpractice in this arena threatened to obscure what Harding has termed the "truth, transparency and legibility" customarily expected of market trading.⁴⁶² As urban dynamics of supply and demand grew more complex, the City's assessment, reinforcement, and defence of its traditional market precepts – the basis of the moral economy and backbone of the body politic – grew increasingly urgent.

It was during the Elizabethan period that the Corporation began to increasingly use print as a means of explicitly outlining, emphasising and reiterating the importance of good market and consumption practices, often in direct response to the spectre of dearth. When harvests failed and shortages came to the City, the Corporation published its first *lawes of the markette* (1562), a compendium of traditional laws relating to civic market and street management that was subsequently reissued in 1595, 1620, 1653, 1662, 1668, and 1677.⁴⁶³ This publication focused largely on the environmental and behavioural issues inherent to market and selling practices, reiterating customary precepts for the organisation, management and cleanliness of markets and streets and regulating the activities of those permitted to sell in them. It neatly intertwined traditional assumptions of the moral economy with equally traditional public health principles, beseeching Londoners to respect the common good by refraining not just from "deceiveingly occupy[ing] the market" and selling "unwholesome or stale victual", but publicly "casting out any "noysome thing contagious of ayre".⁴⁶⁴ By the time of England's next major harvest failure (1586-7), which occurred in the midst of England's war

⁴⁵⁹ It was only by the time of the early Stuarts that supplies began to trickle in more regularly from Essex, Sussex, and Norfolk. Fisher, 'London Food Market', p. 50.

⁴⁶⁰ Fisher, 'London Food Market', pp 51-2.

⁴⁶¹ Tradespeople such as bakers were, of course, both producer and vendor. Fisher, 'London Food Market', p. 58.

⁴⁶² Harding, 'Cheapside', p. 78.

⁴⁶³ Corporation of London, *The lawes of the markette* (1562), *Early English Books Online* <<https://search-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/EEBO/docview/2248560001/ADADB966FDF24E82PQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 15 July 2017].

⁴⁶⁴ *Lawes of the market* (1595), pp 3-4.

with Spain (and just before the doomed invasion attempt of the Spanish Armada), the Crown was quick to follow the city's example in an attempt to divert national concern. The first national dearth *Orders* were published in 1587 (being republished in 1594, 1595, and 1600) and distributed to Justices of the Peace.⁴⁶⁵ They were soon accompanied by fasting orders intended to encourage the Queen's subjects to distribute uneaten food (or funds intended for food) as alms to the poor. This manipulation of fasting orders was an additional innovation to those described earlier in the chapter; a combination of "the spiritual antidote of repentance with the secular medicine of frugality", as Steve Hindle puts it, or – as I would argue – another push in the direction of broader public health accountability.⁴⁶⁶

Managing grain supplies in the later Tudor City

From Henry VIII's time, state authorities had also begun to pay increasing attention to London's grain supplies, but they tended to focus the bulk of their concerns on the strategic circumstances and means of its export (rather than import), a subject which remained highly politicised in the 1580s and 1590s.⁴⁶⁷ The practical challenges of managing growing urban demand largely fell to London's authorities, placing increased pressure on them during times of shortage to adequately provide for their citizens and maintain the 'common good' stressed in the City's earliest market precepts. These concerns soon manifested themselves in the Corporation-led establishment of urban storage facilities for grain, which in times of dearth allowed the City to combat high grain market prices by underselling private vendors.⁴⁶⁸ In 1559, the City's first public granary, the Bridgehouse (1514), was given over entirely to municipal supplies, while in 1577 a new market house for grain was built in Southwark, newly acquired by the City in 1550.⁴⁶⁹ In 1598, John Stow noted that

⁴⁶⁵ McIntosh, *Poor Relief*, p. 237.

⁴⁶⁶ Steve Hindle, 'Dearth, Fasting and Alms: The Campaign for General Hospitality in Late Elizabethan England', *Past & Present*, 172 (2001), p. 44.

⁴⁶⁷ Outhwaite, 'Dearth and Government Intervention', p. 389. See, for example, a 1588 proclamation issued in the wake of the Spanish Armada, which forbade the sale of English corn abroad (unless it be to "subjects in garrison") since such sales supplied and profited the enemies of the Crown, risking "the safety and well doing of the whole state". Grain was similarly depicted as subsistence for the subversive and a potent weapon of disorder when, in 1595, the Lord Mayor wrote to the Lord High Admiral to advise him of the potential risk posed by fourteen ships rumoured to be setting sail from Hamburg, loaded with "corn powder great brasen ordynance & cabell roape whearof...it is intended to furnish so great & capitall an enemy to her Maie[j]stie". See Elizabeth I, 'Prohibiting Grain Export' (November 1588), in *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. III*, pp 28-31; COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1595), fol. 60^r.

⁴⁶⁸ N. S. B Gras, *The evolution of the English corn market from the twelfth century to the eighteenth century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), p. 91.

⁴⁶⁹ Gras, *English corn market*, p. 76; Harding, 'The London Food Markets', p. 11.

ten ovens had also been built there, allowing bread to be baked from City flour “for relief of poor citizens, when need should require”; *Remembrancia* shows that these were installed and in active use by 1594.⁴⁷⁰ From 1578, responsibilities for the purchase and storage of civic grain were predominantly allocated to the twelve highest-ranking and prosperous Companies of London, with the same companies being exhorted to send their members to patrol the meal markets in 1580.⁴⁷¹ That London’s most politically powerful guilds’ would be expected to contribute to and protect urban grain is indicative of its value as a commodity: grain was a staple, reasonably non-perishable food which drew at least half the average English person’s food and drink expenditure at this time.⁴⁷² In London, as elsewhere, it was the foodstuff of subsistence – a significance which grew as the City expanded. By the time dearth returned to the City in the 1590s, the storage and distribution of grain had become civic duties of particular importance to London’s public health, with London’s authorities being increasingly obliged to draw on the preventative measures set down in the 1570s and 1580s.

The domestic management of grain, formerly a predominantly civic matter, particularly exploded in the national interest during the 1590s. This was prompted by long-term inflation which worsened during the decade: Benbow estimates that between 1558-1563 (the first five years of Elizabeth’s reign), the average wheaten penny loaf weighed approximately 36.3 ounces; this had fallen to just 15 ounces by the period 1598-1602.⁴⁷³ When a sustained period of dearth struck from 1594-7, the price of flour increased almost threefold over those three years alone.⁴⁷⁴ From 1592 to 1601, clerk of the market John Powel’s *assise of bread newly corrected and enlarged*, a document “seene allowed, and commanunded to bee kept” by the Privy Council, was introduced and republished no less than six times in London by the City’s official printer, John Windet.⁴⁷⁵ Its early and frequent publication indicates its

⁴⁷⁰ Stow, *A Survey of London*, p. 65; Gras, *English corn market*, p. 91; COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1594), fols. 36^v-37^v.

⁴⁷¹ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, p. 80.

⁴⁷² Randall Nielsen, ‘Storage and English Government Intervention in Early Modern Grain Markets’, *The Journal of Economic History*, 57:1 (1997), pp 1-2.

⁴⁷³ Benbow, ‘The court of the aldermen’, p. 100.

⁴⁷⁴ Archer, ‘Hugh Alley’, p. 24.

⁴⁷⁵ John Powel, *The assise of bread newly corrected and enlarged* [...] (London, 1592), *Early English Books Online*

<<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/EEBO2/A22294.0001.001/1:5?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>> [accessed 15 July 2021]; “John Powel”, *English Short Title Catalogue* <estc.bl.uk> [accessed 15 July 2021]; Frieda J. Nicholas, ‘The Assize of Bread in London during the sixteenth century’, *Economic History*, 2:7 (1932), p. 331. Windet was also entrusted with printing the City’s Bills of Mortality, discussed further in Chapter Three. Greenberg, ‘Plague, Printing and Public Health’, p. 518

particular contemporary relevance: aimed at local governments, it offered a pointed reminder of “sundrie...good ordinances” aimed not just at bakers and brewers, but “inholders, uintners, butchers, and victualers”, emphasising the rules, regulations and reasoning behind how grain and other stocks should be best utilised.⁴⁷⁶ It was accompanied by the republication of the national dearth *Orders* (1594 and 1595) and the City’s own laws of the market (1595), all of which sought to publicly reiterate the baseline market and supply principles established earlier in Elizabeth’s reign.⁴⁷⁷

When it became clear in August 1594 that harvests had failed and the City could face shortages, the Twelve Great Companies were immediately commanded by Lord Mayor Sir Richard Martin to contribute to civic grain stores in the Bridgehouse, with whatever space was available in warehouses in Leadenhall, Bridewell and Christchurch being filled over coming months and years.⁴⁷⁸ Foreign imports of grain were increased and defended from from 1596-7, and early on, civic stocks were zealously guarded with a view to preventing further spates of shortage.⁴⁷⁹ When Sir Francis Drake requested use of the Bridgehouse’s granary and ovens in December 1594 for the provision of the English fleet, well ahead of the worst dearth years of 1596-7, Lord Mayor Spencer wrote furiously to the Privy Council to oppose it. He protested that should this action be permitted, the city would “bee greatly distressed w[i]thin short time” and the poor “should bee utterly disappointed”; he requested that Drake instead be directed to Crown stores in Tower Bridge, Westminster, or Winchester.⁴⁸⁰ Given this concern does not appear again in *Remembrancia*, the matter appears to have been resolved to the Mayor’s satisfaction.

In addition to building up grain stores and defending communal ovens, attempts were also made to conserve limited stocks for strategic consumption. If grain was in short supply, contemporary reasoning went, much better that it was directed to the City’s bakers, for it was they who provided ‘the daily bread’ that sustained the lives of so many citizens. In 1595, the Mayor wrote to the Privy Council, requesting their support in limiting the amount of grain that urban brewers of sweet and strong beer could receive for their trade. The grain, he suggested, would be of more immediate social value if it could be used for bread by the Bakers’ Company; this use could also help stem immoral pursuits, since strong beer caused “dronkennes idlen[e]ss mispending of fund & such other vices...in the poorer

⁴⁷⁶ Powel, *the assize of bread*, pp 1-2.

⁴⁷⁷ Paul, ‘Books of orders: the making of English social policy, 1577–1631’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30 (1980), p. 3.

⁴⁷⁸ Power, ‘crisis of the 1590s’, p. 374.

⁴⁷⁹ Power, ‘crisis of the 1590s’, p. 374.

⁴⁸⁰ COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1594), fols. 36v -37v.

sort”.⁴⁸¹ In 1596, the Queen issued a proclamation condemning those who raised corn prices as dearth continued; she also targeted unlicensed makers of starch, who, like the brewers, used edible grain in the course of their trade.⁴⁸² In 1598, the feeding of dogs with grain fit for human consumption was additionally condemned, with all such waste continuing to be primarily described as “uncharitable and unchristian”.⁴⁸³

Wardmote presentments from the timeframe show that clamp-downs on sellers dealing in grain or grain products – which included vendors of beer, ale, and bread – were taken seriously by local authorities. During the 1590s, Farringdon Without ward presented no fewer than 15 examples of foreigners engaging in illegal victualling or tipling, while Cornhill’s records show a gradual rise in market offence presentments from the late 1580s, with a particular emphasis on grain-selling misdemeanours in the 1590s that did not present to the same degree in the decades to follow.⁴⁸⁴ The first of these appear in the ward’s presentments of 1594, accusing the clerk of the market of “suffringe divers p[er]sons w[hi]ch sell oetmeale and other graine in the saide warde [to] stande out of order & to use unlawfull measures to the annoyance and deceavinge of the [h]onenss ma[jes]ties subiects”.⁴⁸⁵ According to Powel’s *assize* (1592), the punishment for grain sellers who sold musty, corrupt or falsely-weighted grain, thereby causing the “hurte or infection of mans body”, were for a first offence to be “greeuously punnished”, for a second, lose their wares, for a third, “suffer the iudgement of the Pillowrie”, and for a fourth “foresweare the Towne wherin he dwelleth”.⁴⁸⁶ Anxieties about the deceptive capabilities of ambulant grain sellers were particularly high throughout the City, for the following year (1595), the Corporation attempted to move them under cover of Leadenhall market and nearer the office of the meal weigher. Unable to broker an agreement with existing sellers, the City fell back once more to dependence on local regulators.⁴⁸⁷

In Cornhill, ward authorities played their part to stem disorder at a local level, which included not just monitoring marketing practices, but underwriting charitable endeavours. In its presentments of 1595, the brown bakers – provisioners

⁴⁸¹ COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1595), fol. 59^v.

⁴⁸² Elizabeth I, ‘Enforcing Orders for Marketing Grain; Prohibiting Unlicensed Manufacture or Sale of Starch’ (July 1596) in *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. III*, pp 165-6. Two other proclamations – enforcing orders against dearth and encouraging hospitality, and enforcing orders against forestalling grain – were released in 1596 and 1598 respectively. See *Tudor Stuart Proclamations, Vol. III*, pp 169-172; *Ibid.*, pp 193-195.

⁴⁸³ Elizabeth I, ‘Enforcing former statutes, proclamations, and orders against forestalling grain’ (1598) in *Tudor Stuart Proclamations, Vol. III*, p. 194.

⁴⁸⁴ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1590-1599), fol. 54^v. - 67^r; Archer, ‘Hugh Alley’, p. 24.

⁴⁸⁵ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1594), fol. 62^v.

⁴⁸⁶ Powel, *The assize of bread*, p. 14.

⁴⁸⁷ Barron, ‘Commentary’, p. 88.

of the cheapest sort of bread – were identified as needing particular ward surveillance, while in 1596 a petition was sent from the alderman and his deputies to the mayor to request that he erect more mills, so that the poor of the ward might grind what corn they had.⁴⁸⁸ In 1597, the inquest again reported the presentation of “otemele & corne sellers” for unspecified offences, while in a separate entry that same year, the clerk of the market was reprimanded for “suffering the otemele wives to stand late in the m[ar]ket”.⁴⁸⁹ Significantly, bread and grain sellers are not mentioned again in the Cornhill wardmote register for the remainder of the Elizabethan period, though actions taken against ale and beer sellers remained consistent.⁴⁹⁰ The timing of ward officials’ concerns about the supply and distribution of edible grain neatly reflected those of their city at large, clearly marking out the dearth years from 1594-7 and indicating particular concern and co-ordination in how the supply and distribution of subsistence foodstuffs were monitored and safeguarded at a local, civic and national level.

The regulation of the Bakers and the assize of bread, 1592-1600

It seems reasonable to assume that the Worshipful Company of Bakers would find themselves under particular pressure from the Corporation during the dearth years. Traditionally, they had been a closely-monitored company, and one of the few which were still routinely subject to stringent price and weight regulations.⁴⁹¹ This was because bread remained a valuable everyday good: no other foodstuff was nearly so well-regulated.⁴⁹² In Cornhill’s wardmote inquest register, the names of ward bakers were routinely listed from 1590-1602 alongside those of the ward’s public officers – constables, scavengers, the beadle, and the raker – and its brewers and tiplers, directly emphasising the trade’s public responsibilities and requirement for closer monitoring.⁴⁹³ From 1602, only tiplers are noted, suggesting a swing in local focus away from matters of subsistence to that of social order and behaviours. Reviewing

⁴⁸⁸ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1595), fol. 65^r; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1596), f. 67^r.

⁴⁸⁹ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001, fol. 71^v (1597).

⁴⁹⁰ Sellers of wheat meal appear again in 1604 and 1605, but thereafter the control of ale and beer seems of more interest to ward authorities, since bakers and oatmeal sellers are not presented again until 1614, for “standing all day neere the foure spowts contrary to the custome & raying more soile”. See CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1604), fol. 99^r; *Ibid.* (1605), fol. 101^v; *Ibid.* (1614), fol. 137^v.

⁴⁹¹ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, p. 12.

⁴⁹² Andrew B. Appleby, ‘Nutrition and Disease: The Case of London, 1550-1750’ in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6:1 (1975), p. 4 (footnote 8).

⁴⁹³ See, for example, CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1592), fol. 57^r. From 1602, the ward stopped listing bakers’ names, but continued listing tiplers’ (licensed and unlicensed) right up to the end of Charles’ reign.

the evolution of London bakers' punishments over time, it is clear that as the City rapidly expanded from the sixteenth century, so did bakers' social and economic importance.

The first example, presented by *Liber Albus* (1419), suggested that for a first offence, the offending baker should be carried on a hurdle from the Guildhall to his own house, bearing his defective loaf about his neck; for his second, he should be brought from the Guildhall to the pillory at Cheapside, and left there for an hour. Should he be unlucky (or careless) enough to offend a third time, he would be banned from trading in the City of London.⁴⁹⁴ The second example, offered in an anonymous discussion of food vendors' duties and punishments from the 1530s, indicates that with incorporation (1509) had come penal reformation: the Henrician baker could expect only to be "amerced for the fyrst, the seconde, & thyrde tyme [he errs]...the fourthe tyme, the baker shall haue the iudgement of the pyllorye".⁴⁹⁵ With a few minor exceptions, this largely appears to have been maintained up to and including Elizabeth's reign, with the addition that offenders in the Bakers' Company could also be imprisoned for up to forty days for multiple offences or for refusing to pay what they owed.⁴⁹⁶ The loaves of a four-time offender were to be marked with an 'o', signalling to buyers that closer scrutiny was needed: this, Thomas Dekker asserts in *Owles almanacke* (1618), was supposed to represent "a Goose eye, the momento of the pillory".⁴⁹⁷

The refinement of punishments for bakers over time indicates the evolving extent of their social responsibility: far from undertaking to ban or banish bakers, the City adapted to focus their displeasure on the Company's collective purse, enabling those punished to otherwise continue providing the City with their essential wares.

⁴⁹⁴ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, p. 232; COL/AD/01/059, fol. 40^v. (1452-3). The index indicates that from this point, bakers were more likely to be fined and/or incarcerated for offences. See *Ibid.*, fol. 41^r. (1559-60).

⁴⁹⁵ Anon, *The Assise of bread and ale, and dyuers other thynges as appereth on the other syde of the leafe* (London: 1532), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:21533508> [accessed 28 April 2020]. In 1560 the Court of Common Council changed the punishment for a second offence to a public procession in which offenders were paraded from the Guildhall to the offender's house, flanked by two beadles and carrying the offending foodstuff on poles; a third offence was punishable by the parading of a mock pillory in front of the baker; the fourth sent him to the pillory for two hours. These were, however, very rarely enacted; the Henrician law remained closer to the reality of most later Tudor London bakers' punishments. Benbow, 'The court of the aldermen', pp 109-110.

⁴⁹⁶ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, p. 40.

⁴⁹⁷ Thomas Dekker, *The Owles almanacke* [...] (London, 1618), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:22866072> [accessed 11 August 2017], p. 31.

This conclusion is backed by review of the London Fines Book, which shows bakers' fines in abundance over the years 1590-1592; on 7 April 1590 alone, there are four group fines issued to forty-six bakers (one of whom was female) and two fines issued to individual bakers, all for that "theire bread lacked waight".⁴⁹⁸ Most of the fines are for the same amount per person (two shillings and nine pence), though six repeat offenders paid five shillings and one unlucky baker, Lawrence Billington, was forced to pay six shillings and eight pence.⁴⁹⁹ Further fines follow in October of the same year, naming twenty-nine more bakers (including a widow); the total received by the City on this occasion came to fifty-five shillings and six pence. The following year brought the City the princely sum of four pounds, eleven shillings and six pence, all at the bakers' expense for breaking the assize, while 1592 yielded a further nineteen shillings and six pence from the Company's purse.⁵⁰⁰

Though pressure on bakers to uphold the shrinking assize could be expected throughout the dearth of the 1590s, oddly, fines levied disappear in the Fines Book from 1593-1594. A letter from Lord Mayor Martin to the Privy Council in August 1594 notes that at this time, several Bakers had been subjected to "exemplarie punishment", but it is doubtful this was so widespread as to displace fines completely; in any case, in his letter Martin moved swiftly on to the broader issue of grain supply, implying that – though important – the assize was less of a priority.⁵⁰¹ Fines reappear only in 1595, at which time the only baker noted has been fined twenty shillings, a huge jump on previous years' amounts.⁵⁰² In 1597, a similar fate befell a baker for that his "bread lacked of a assisse", while another escaped the same year with a fine of just five shillings for "that his bread lacked one ounces and half of waight".⁵⁰³ The following year, the wardens of the Brown Bakers presented just twenty-two pence from one of their own for "making his horsebread of ill past".⁵⁰⁴

Though the majority of those presented during the worst dearth years of 1596-1597 paid above average fines, it is interesting that there were indisputably fewer of them than in previous years, and that no fines were levied on bakers at all

⁴⁹⁸ Some bakers' names were repeated within the same offence, owing to scribal error; these have not been counted. COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1590), fol. 216^v.

⁴⁹⁹ COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1590), fol. 216^v.

⁵⁰⁰ COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1591), fol. 220^v; Ibid (1592), fol. 223^r.

⁵⁰¹ COL/RMD/PA/01/002 1594), fol. 31^v.

⁵⁰² COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1595), fol. 226^v. This year also records "three busshells of wheate meale beinge mustye and corrupte", for which a twenty pence fine was paid. COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1595), fol. 226^r.

⁵⁰³ 1597 also records two separate fines for foreign-bought hops – one five pounds, one twenty shillings. COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1597), fol. 228^v; Ibid. (1598), fol. 229^v.

⁵⁰⁴ COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1598), fol. 231^v.

in 1599 or 1600.⁵⁰⁵ Benbow, who found similar patterns in the records of the Bakers' Company, suggests that the drop in assize-related fines over these years is indicative of more attention being paid to the broader issue of grain supply; M. J. Power, that the court of aldermen enforced the assize only when it seemed manageable to do so – that is, before and after the crisis.⁵⁰⁶ Taking fines evidence into account alongside the notable and gradual diminishment of bakers' punishments over the course of the sixteenth century, I argue that when it came to their handling of the City's bakers, the Corporation deserves more credit for their public health pragmatism. Aside from identifying and focusing on the issue which posed the greatest threat to the subsistence of the City – grain, which was used for more than just the baking of bread – civic officials likely recognised that widescale punishing and potentially dissuading skilled bakers from their craft – at a time when their trade was most needed, practically as well as symbolically – risked greater harm to the body politic as a whole than a lesser-quality loaves of bread would. This did not mark the beginnings of the assize of bread's political diminishment, but rather an evidence-based decision made – during a period of particular strain – on what course of action best served the needs of the urban body. The provision of communal grain stores and ovens, supervised closely by civic officials, may also have supported this decision, given they ensured those poorest and least capable of supplementing their bread with other food sources were well-served. As Cornhill's register showed, ward authorities continued to attend to abuses where they could, placing particular emphasis on the protection of the local poor. Whatever the reason for the City's diminished enforcement, by the latter half of 1597 a rapid increase in the amounts of grain being imported into the City, its successful storage and stricter regulation had yielded concrete results: rather than drawing more unto itself, the metropolis could now afford to release it elsewhere in the kingdom and redeploy its focus to other urban issues.⁵⁰⁷

Market regulations in the later 1590s

Though urban attentions were predominantly drawn to problems of subsistence from the early to mid-1590s, from the mid to late-1590s it became clearer that the City's strained market infrastructures as a whole posed a threat to the broader wellbeing of the urban body politic. Londoners were growing increasingly frustrated at the opportunism and “wicked and unsatiable greediness of sundry bad-disposed

⁵⁰⁵ COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1599-1600), fols. 232^v- 234^v.

⁵⁰⁶ Benbow, 'The court of aldermen', p. 112; Power, '“crisis” of the 1590s', p. 375.

⁵⁰⁷ Power, '“crisis” of the 1590s', p. 373.

persons” who continued unabated to “forestall, regrate and engross” throughout the kingdom and the City, raising food prices for all.⁵⁰⁸ Acts of Common Council were passed against forestalling and regrating food in 1594 and 1595, but seem to have little mitigated underlying tensions.⁵⁰⁹ London’s first recorded food riots in decades took place in June 1595, sparked by rising prices, contemporary hostilities towards profiteering middlemen and -women, and a heightened sense that market precepts were not being so robustly enforced as they had been in earlier in Elizabeth’s reign.⁵¹⁰ This sense is evident in Cornhill’s wardmote register, in which the clerk of the market is presented no fewer than ten times to the wardmote inquest for neglect of his duties from 1590-1594.⁵¹¹

Food riots, occurring in the context of a moral economy and “political culture of reciprocity”, have been described by historians as opportunities in which rioters could highlight and seek redresses for their frustrations.⁵¹² At Billingsgate and Southwark, angry apprentices led the charge, forcibly seizing possession of fish and butter from ambulant sellers they accused of forestalling (buying and reselling at a higher price than was legally permitted).⁵¹³ In a letter to the Lord Treasurer recorded in *Remembrancia*, Mayor Spencer describes the situation in Billingsgate as having developed

about fower of the clok in the afternone [when] certein prentics and other servants being sent to Billingsgate by their masters to buy mackerells and fynding nune there weure enformed that divers fishwives of the said Borough a littell before had gone about the fisherboats and having bought up the whol stoare contrary to order carried it with them into the Borough of Southwark whereupon the said prentices...pursued after without any weapon only with basketts under the armes, and comying to the fishwives

⁵⁰⁸ Elizabeth I, ‘Enforcing former statutes, proclamations and orders against forestalling grain’ (1598), *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. III*, pp 194.

⁵⁰⁹ Archer, ‘Hugh Alley’, p. 27.

⁵¹⁰ This sense has been corroborated in a manuscript by Mark Benbow now held by the London Metropolitan Archives. He found that while some 217 market-related offences were reported in the Fines Book from 1559-63, just 37 were reported in 1594-1598, demonstrating a rapid fall in enforcement activity. Archer, ‘Hugh Alley’, p. 23.

⁵¹¹ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1590-4), fols. 51^v – 62^v. In 1595 and 1596, the wardmote petitioned the Corporation directly for assistance in “suppressinge hawkers regrato[rs] & forestallers as by o[u]r Inden[tur]e at large appereth”; the following year, the clerk was once again being presented for neglect of duties. Ibid (1595-7), fols. 65^v- 71^v.

⁵¹² See, for example, Bohstedt, *Politics of Provisions*, p. 63.

⁵¹³ Archer, ‘Hugh Alley’, p. 25. Ironically, fish was one of two foodstuffs which did not significantly rise in price (the other being ale). Power, ‘“crisis” of the 1590s’, p. 371.

took there mackerells from som of them giving them reddy monye for the same... acco[r]ding to a former price sett by my self.⁵¹⁴

Spencer frames the situation as one of appropriate disorder between legitimate male buyers and illegitimate female forestallers, initiated by fishwives acting “contrary to order” rather than the indignant and – he stresses – unarmed buyers who pursued them, willing to give “reddy monye” at a fair price, as prescribed market moralities dictated.⁵¹⁵

Though apprentices were often referred to as unruly in national and urban precepts of the time, in this situation the Billingsgate rioters were depicted as defenders of traditional civic values against unscrupulous middle(wo)men, highlighting their growing frustration at the rising prices threatening to destabilise the Corporation’s most central, abiding promise to its citizens. The identification of ambulant sellers as the cause of social disorder was not a new one: fishwives had long been identified as a particular threat to good market practice, having been placed under a licensing system run by the governors of Bridewell prison and hospital from 1584 and targeted by the City, alongside other itinerant sellers, in a short-lived 1589 campaign.⁵¹⁶ Following the riot, the mayor ordered ward officials through the Court of Aldermen to locate and identify fishwives and fruit-sellers operating in their localities, determining their ages and married status; only the widows and wives of freemen over thirty years of age were to be legally permitted to continue in their activities.⁵¹⁷ This focus on controlling itinerant sellers, widely assumed to have less political and social commitment to the wellbeing of the City than did its guild members, was intended to stir “up the mindes of some kinde of people to carrie better consciences, and not to Rack and Sacke all unto their owne greedie, couetous purses and paunches to the enrichinge of themselues, and impouerishinge of their poore Neighbours”.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁴ COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1595), fol. 50^r. Apprentices seem to have been particularly riotous in Southwark, for it was also one of the few places where Shrovetide festivities tended to escalate from the mid-1590s. The Lord Mayor became so worried about the borough that he doubled the watch from mid-late June 1595 and commanded apprentices to stay indoors on Sundays and on holidays during this time. See Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 9; *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵¹⁵ COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1595), fol. 50^r.

⁵¹⁶ Archer, ‘Hugh Alley’, pp 24-25.

⁵¹⁷ These names appear in the repertories; although Cornhill’s wardmote inquest register reports the presence of orange and lemon sellers from 1596-1598, it notes only that these were “weomen and maydens”. Gowing, ‘The freedom of the streets’, p. 142; CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1595), fol. 67^v.

⁵¹⁸ Alley, ‘A Caveatt’, p. 47 (fol. 5).

The conflation of more prosperous middlemen – most often invoked in relation to grain anxieties – with the ordinary hucksters who customarily roamed the City crying their wares indicates a much broader sense of contemporary market disillusionment: a feeling accentuated by contemporary anxieties that London, as it grew, was losing all sense of its oldest responsibilities to its inhabitants, and with it its identity and customs. This sense was more broadly conveyed at the end of the decade by the publication of John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598; the first comprehensive study of London and its liberties) and the Corporation's receipt of Hugh Alley's *Caveat* (1598; in which the major markets of the City, their typical vendors, and those grandly liveried officials charged to oversee them at ward level are so painstakingly illustrated). In both, the City is perambulated and reviewed, as a place recognisably in need of contemporary surveying, mapping, and reinforcing if public order and public health are both to be maintained (earlier Crown and City publications, including plague and dearth Orders, Bills of Mortality, and Laws of the Market operate in much the same way). Though vigorous action was taken towards the end of the sixteenth century to tackle market offences (including the appointment of additional market overseers – which included Alley – from 1599-1602), its timing seems more indicative of civic efforts to publicly reassure Londoners that, after the tumults of the decade, City government's values remained consistent and well-ordered.⁵¹⁹

Chapter Two conclusion

This chapter argued that the overarching administrative reforms famously undertaken by a paternalistic Elizabethan Crown significantly built on existing public health mores and practices in later Tudor London. As a political concept, paternalism is deeply rooted in contemporary anxieties: its proponents justify its more controlling, centralising aspects by seeking to establish a cohesive system by which to foresee and suppress contemporary problems for the sake of the common good.⁵²⁰ The Crown used the impetus of Elizabeth's early reign and comparatively calm political conditions of the 1560s and 1570s to introduce and focus on a number

⁵¹⁹ Caroline Barron, 'The Value of Hugh Alley's Caveat' in *Hugh Alley's Caveat: The Markets of London in 1598*, ed. by Ian Archer, Caroline Barron, and Vanessa Harding (London: London Topographical Society 1988), pp 31-32; Archer, 'Hugh Alley', p. 16. London's Fines Book shows that Alley swiftly benefitted from this system; it records that on 19 June 1600, the City's Chamberlain received ten shillings by order of the Court of Common Council from "Thomas Atkyns ffyshmonger for a fyne upon him sessed for that he forestalled CC [200] of codd fish before they came to markt at BillingGate xxs whereof delyvered to Hugh Alley for himself and the three other ouerseers of the marketts for their paynes therein taken". COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1600), fol. 233^r.

⁵²⁰ Hindle, *The State and Social Change*, p. 148.

of overt public health reforms, many of which were clarified and released in print. These included the firm introduction of contagionist perspectives of disease to existing miasmatic interpretations, clearly outlined and distributed in England's earliest printed plague *Orders* (1578) and emphasised in London's rapidly expanding Bills of Mortality, which mapped out the incidences, locations and concentrations of plague for Crown, City, and (at least formally, from the 1590s) the general public. Fasting, a contentious religious practice but necessary economic one, became in Elizabeth's early reign an urgent and direct means by which the individual could actively contribute to the health of the commonwealth – being variously represented as a means of protecting the navy, offering godly hospitality and charity to the poor, and keeping food prices down. All emphasised the important role of magisterial enforcement and individual action in broader public health, but avoided explicitly learned medicalised perspectives in favour of framing such actions with widely-used discourses of charity and hospitality. This was characteristic of the Elizabethan Crown's cautious approach to the medical establishment and, in particular, the ambitions of the College of Physicians, whose own expanding paternalistic mission was identified as an unnecessary harbinger of conflict to the urban body politic during the escalating tensions of the 1580s and 1590s.

The second section of the chapter focused on the 1590s, a period in which the rapid intensification of a number of long-term social and economic grievances forced Crown and City to predict, respond to, and mitigate a series of blows to the health of the London body politic. Though Privy Council and Corporation frequently disagreed over what precise factors constituted major threats to London's public health in the 1590s – demonstrated, for example, by the council's dismissal of regular invectives against theatres, which the City increasingly couched in the language of contagionism – they yet came to agree on others, among them the significant threat posed by widening discrepancies in London's food storage and distribution systems. The impressive, varied frameworks by which the Corporation ensured the continued supply of grain, regulation of prices, and provision of staple foods for the poor effectively mitigated threats to social cohesion and public health in the mid to late 1590s. Reduced enforcement pressures on the City's bakers, at a time when one would expect these pressures to heighten, evidences broader civic pragmatism and understandings that – in the midst of a subsistence crisis – harsher punishments taken against those skilled few providing staple foods would not necessarily equate to fuller bellies. That the severity of prescribed punishments against bakers had notably diminished from the early sixteenth century – the time at which Slack supposes the London population had begun to rapidly rise – supports this conclusion. Yet as the

riots of the 1590s show, the demonstrable regulation of the food markets continued to be prized as a practical and symbolic indication of the City's commitment to maintaining the health of the body politic. This is likely why, in the explicit market enforcement drives of the later 1590s, much of the City's attention came to focus on itinerant sellers: those perceived to be of lesser political and strategic importance status than the Companies, on whom the blame for market irregularities could be more easily laid.

Chapter Three

**“My kitchin is my Doctor...my garden, My
college”⁵²¹:**

**James VI and I and the growing medicalisation
of early Stuart London**

⁵²¹ John Day (c. 1608-16), ‘Kitchen physic is the best physic’, in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, ed. by Tilley, p. 535.

In 1603, King James VI and I succeeded to the throne of England, joining the kingdoms of Scotland and England together under his personal union. To acknowledge and honour his ascension, a speech which drew heavily on the concept of the body politic was given in the House of Commons at the opening of Parliament in 1604. In it, the recently elected Speaker of the House, Edward Phelips, declared James head of his kingdom's political corpus. The laws of the kingdom that he had inherited were compared to the soul, the moral essence believed to guide the natural body.⁵²² Phelips' speech is unusual for the level of focus it devotes to the biological body, as well as its use of the workings of contagious disease to strengthen its point.⁵²³ James' political leadership is couched and justified in distinctly medical terms,

for if Diseases were not, there needs no Medicines; nor Use of Laws, but for Restraint of Evils. The natural Head's Providence protecteth the Body from gross Diseases, and discreet Foresight preventeth After-claps of Danger; so the Wisdom, Prudence, and good Guide of the Politick Head, is the sovereign Preservative against the infectious Poison of Discord and Disorder.⁵²⁴

It is notable that although the speech refers largely to the risks of political contagion, it also takes a sophisticated view of health maintenance, judging foresight and prudence (both crucial tenets of the concept of public health) as the monarch's primary tools against decay, whether it be of the political or biological kind.

King James' own speech before the House on the same day reinforced these ideas. His dialogue, prefaced with an acknowledgement of the "devouring Angel" of plague that had lately stalked his capital, was scattered with expressions more often

⁵²² Edward Phelips, 'Mr Speaker's speech to the king (22 March 1604)' in *Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. 1. From November the 8th 1547, In the First Year of the Reign of King EDWARD the Sixth TO March the 2d 1628, In the Fourth Year of the Reign of King CHARLES the First* (London: 1802), p. 147. This is dated 1603 (old-style dating) in the physical book, but 1604 (new style dating) on the *British History Online* website <british-history.ac.uk>.

⁵²³ Neither *Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. 1* or *House of Lords and House of Commons, The Journals of All the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1682), collected by Sir Simonds D'Ewes (Shannon, Irish University Press, 1973), contain copies of equivalent opening speeches for the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I or Charles I. Speakers' speeches referring to the monarch and commonwealth can, however, be found for other dates, including 18 March 1581 in *Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. 1*, p. 137. None refer to the body politic in overtly medical terms as Phelips' does.

⁵²⁴ Phelips, 'Mr Speaker's speech to the king', p. 147.

associated with the medical profession.⁵²⁵ This becomes particularly evident when he discusses religion: the contested subject of the Hampton Court conference held in January 1604.⁵²⁶ The moralistic aspects of consumption, and its role in maintaining health, are invoked in James' speech. The Church of England is compared to a "Body purged of ill Humours", while heresies are "corruptions" which arise when those brought up in "evil education" are fed "Venom, in place of wholesome Nutriment".⁵²⁷ Speaking of his desire to guide his subjects towards the religion "of his conscience", he asks those present to help him protect and conserve "their Bodies and [their] Lives".⁵²⁸ Like Phelips, James distinguishes between his duties to care for his subjects' bodies and minds, using medical, political and religious devices to frame his interpretation and acceptance of these sovereign responsibilities. He is accountable not only for the manner in which those he rules live their lives and the choices they subsequently make, but the outward care of the organic vehicles from which these lives are to be conducted. He is, in his own words, "the proper Phisician of his Politicke-body".⁵²⁹

This chapter will argue that the rule of James VI and I oversaw a period of growing medicalisation and personal health accountability in the City of London: developments encouraged and sometimes facilitated by the monarch himself.⁵³⁰ Together with the Corporation, James and his Privy Council considerably extended the remit of health administration at local level, recommended or facilitated changes to the public health responsibilities of several of London's food companies, and oversaw the growth of an increasingly co-dependent and often fractious relationship between the City's professional physicians and corporate medical practitioners. While many of the robust conceptual, legislative and material frameworks that

⁵²⁵ James VI and I, 'King's Speech (22 March 1604)' in *Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. 1*. [...] (London, 1802), p. 142. The epidemics of 1603, referred to as "the greatest Plague-year of this age" ahead of the mortalities of 1665, killed an estimated 22.6% of the population of London. See Graunt, *observations*, p. 34; Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 151.

⁵²⁶ Kenneth Fincham, 'Hampton Court conference (act. 1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (12 April 2018) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/92779>> [accessed 11 May 2020].

⁵²⁷ James VI and I, 'King's Speech', p. 144.

⁵²⁸ James VI and I, 'King's Speech', pp 144-5.

⁵²⁹ James VI and I, *A counterblaste to tobacco* (1604), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99844751> [accessed 8 October 2018], p. 3.

⁵³⁰ Medicalisation is defined by Harold Cook as a process by which "many aspects of life came to be treated as aspects of medicine": it is "a mentalité that internalises medical ideals in order to dominate social classes and governments alike". Though I refer to the medicalisation of Jacobean society, I preface it with 'growing' to indicate a need for caution, given it was by no means wholly so. Cook, 'Policing the health', p. 3.

increasingly developed London's public health stemmed from the Elizabethan period, it was not until James' reign that certain innovations in professional medicine found the royal support and liberal environment they needed to flourish. As a result, during the early seventeenth century the traditional duties undertaken by urban physicians, apothecaries, surgeons and informal medical practitioners grew increasingly multifaceted, contested, and publicly observed.

James' reign marked a period in which the overlapping qualities of food and medicine became increasingly well-defined. Popular interest, rising literacy rates and the increasing affordability and ubiquity of print resulted in the publication and consumption of growing numbers of dietary regimens, domestic handbooks, lay herbals, and medical texts. All this meant that the lay medical interest increasingly fostered during Elizabeth's reign was, by James', increasingly evolving into lay practice: a significant shift that impacted cultures of public health in the kingdom's capital. This chapter will show that James' reign was one in which a much broader and more specialised culture of health came into being in London, reflected not only in the growing specialisation of its formal medical practitioners, but the growth of the London's 'medical marketplace' in ward and parish. I will start by arguing that this change owed much to the interests and priorities of James I as an individual: first, as an intellectual butterfly keen to encourage innovation, and second, as an assertive post-Reformation monarch and devoted Calvinist still actively negotiating the changing contexts and needs of the body politic he had inherited.

James VI and I: medical and public health perspectives

James' personal interest in diverse areas of scholarship and his tendency to listen to, debate, and support learned men saw him play a considerable role in promoting professional medicine and strengthening public health administration in early Stuart London.⁵³¹ This respect was demonstrated early on in James' reign in the form of the 1604 Hampton Court conference, a meeting of 'the learned' in which ecclesiastical grievances were debated and negotiated. In Chapter Two, I showed that while the Elizabethan Crown's sweeping administrative developments helped advance certain aspects of public health practice in later Tudor London, the queen herself did not profess a particular interest in questions of health or medicine, preferring, alongside her Privy Councillors, to focus on more broadly stabilising the

⁵³¹ This conference resulted in the creation of the authorised King James bible (1611). See Fincham, 'Hampton Court conference'; Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 197; Neil Rhodes et al, 'Introduction' in *King James VI and I: selected writings*, ed. by Neil Rhodes, Jennifer Richards and Joseph Marshall (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 1.

religious, economic, and political problems that besieged her body politic. Changes to England's disease controls were largely dictated by the administration's chief minister, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and passed with the queen's agreement. In direct contrast, England's new king took an active personal interest in both medicine and health: surrounding himself and his family with vocal, avant-garde royal physicians who appealed to (and in turn benefited from) his academic sensibilities and interest in innovation.

James I was a known scholar and an unusually prolific writer who experimented with and published many genres of writing before and after his ascent to the English throne. He is remembered largely for his considered political tracts, but was also a poet and prose writer. Early historiography tended to denounce James as a singularly foolish, extravagant and inconsiderate king, whose turbulent policies set England on the path to civil war, but revised perspectives over recent decades have helped offset this damning appraisal.⁵³² James has since been portrayed as a monarch who, though certainly prone to tactlessness, was far more skilled in politics and diplomacy than had previously been allowed.⁵³³ His surviving works portray him as a man fixated on probing and articulating his purpose as a monarch, in addition to preparing himself and his heirs for the duties this exalted position involved.⁵³⁴ In his attempts to clarify his role, James often referred to the pre-modern metaphor of the body politic, but his use of the concept went much further than that of his royal predecessors. James used organic analogy to reflect his knowledge of and interest in developments in contemporary medicine – particularly anatomy and pathology – to his elite, usually political readers and listeners; throughout his reign, he consistently used medical comparisons to emphasise and communicate particular aspects of his duties as monarch.⁵³⁵

⁵³² Smith, 'Politics in early Stuart Britain', p. 236.

⁵³³ He was, according to Pauline Croft, "the first really effective monarch that Scotland had seen in two, maybe three generations...[who] had experienced much greater degrees of turbulence with the Scottish kirk that he was ever going to experience with the English Church." These experiences had made him a particularly confident disputant in ecclesiastical issues. See Pauline Croft in 'The Story of the King James Bible: The Commission' (2011), *BBC Radio 4* <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00x3qy7>> [accessed 19 February 2021], 8:00.

⁵³⁴ 'Introduction' in *King James VI and I*, p. 15.

⁵³⁵ Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 19; 'Introduction' in *James VI and I*, p. 15. Examples also abound in numerous proclamations, including one in which he declared to be "bound (as the head of the politike body of our Realme) to follow the course which the best Phisitians use in dangerous diseases, which is, by a sharpe remedy applied to a small and infected part, to save the whole from dissolution and destruction". See James VI and I, 'A Proclamation signifying his Majesties pleasure as well for suppressing of riotous Assemblies about Inclosures, as for reformation of Depopulations' (1607) in *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, Vol. I, p. 156.

Few public health histories which cover the Jacobean period have adequately traced its innovations back to the medical ideas and political perspectives of James VI and I: the monarch who has increasingly been credited with facilitating the liberal environment in which they thrived.⁵³⁶ This is puzzling, given that James was a prolific writer and known academic, who widely published his writings for public consideration, living to see them republished many times over within his own lifetime and those of his successors.⁵³⁷ The king was also an avowed Calvinist, a religion renowned not just for its scholastic principles, but its identification of the human body as the locus of godliness.⁵³⁸ This belief formed the backbone of James' medical and public health support.

Understandings of health and the body politic in James VI and I's writings

Though James' personal interest in and understanding of health clearly comes through in a number of his published writings, speeches, and proclamations, to date scholars have analysed exceptionally few of these texts for their rich and nuanced uses of medical and living metaphors.⁵³⁹ Fewer yet have associated the concepts they contain with the material practices they influenced – which, as this chapter will show, were considerable. Chapters One and Two have already established how changing contemporary uses of organic political analogy and public health innovations went hand-in-hand in early modern England: this close association means that it makes practical sense for scholars of public health to review how policy-makers such as James understood – and therefore used – living metaphors. The methodological diversity of James' many surviving writings makes such an undertaking worthy of a doctoral thesis in and of itself, but in the absence of scholarship that addresses this topic, I have chosen, nevertheless, to broadly review

⁵³⁶ Even Wear's extensive *Knowledge and Practice*, which describes the influence of royal physicians, refers to just one quote from James himself: "Medicine...hath that vertue, that it never leaveth a man in that state wherein it findeth him: it makes a sicke man whole, but a whole man sicke". See Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 87.

⁵³⁷ To give but one example, versions of James' treatise on government, *Basilikon Doron* (1599), were republished no fewer than five times in his accession in 1603, and again in 1604, 1619, 1621, 1624, 1630, 1632, and 1682 respectively. See 'Basilikon', *The English Short Title Catalogue* <<http://estc.bl.uk/>> [accessed 25 October 2020].

⁵³⁸ This made medicine, according to Calvin, a "a good and godly art". Parker, 'Diseased Bodies, Defiled Souls', pp 1271-1272.

⁵³⁹ Jonathon Gil Harris, Margaret Healy, and Andrei-Constantin Sălăvăstru all ably discuss early modern medical analogies, but although Healy acknowledges that James VI and I "favoured" and "employed liberally" these metaphors in his own writings, she does not address this in any detail. Gil Harris and Sălăvăstru similarly do not mention James' use of medical analogies. Margaret Healy, *Fictions of Disease in Early Modern England: Bodies, Plagues and Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 174. See also Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*; Healy, 'Medicine, Metaphor, and "Crisis"'; Sălăvăstru, 'The body politic and "political medicine" in the Jacobean period'.

several of James' extant writings. I have chosen to focus on those which offer a 'flavour' of the king's political perspectives leading up and following to his inheritance of the English Crown and relate to three broad themes: royal governance, public health, and the social stability of the body politic.

James VI and I's broad interest in health is clearly attested to in several of his writings, including *Daemonologie* (1597), his investigation and denouncement of witchcraft; *The true lawe of free monarchies* (1598) and *Basilikon Doron* (1599), both treatises on government; and his tract against the evils of smoking, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604).⁵⁴⁰ Of these, *A Counterblaste* is the most overt public health text, popularly remembered for laying bare James' prescient detestation for tobacco and the public health problems it caused. Significantly, it is also a text in which the king voiced his opinion that "it is the Kings part (as the proper Phisician of his Politicke-body) to purge it of all those [social] diseases, by Medicines meete for the same: as by a certaine milde, and yet iust forme of gouernment, to maintaine the Publicke quietnesse".⁵⁴¹ Though James mentions purging – that mainstay of conservative Galenic medicine – his focus is on expelling learned negative behaviours, not individuals: throughout the texts I chose to examine, his foremost "intention...[is] to instruct, and not irritat".⁵⁴² The interlinked themes of tolerance, education and positive instruction/imitation suffuse most of James' writings, appearing alongside periodic requests to his subjects to similarly

frame all your actions according to these grounds, as may confirme you in the course of honest and obedient subjects to your King...as also, when ye shall fall in purpose with any that shall praise or excuse the by-past rebellions, that break forth either in this Countrey or in any other, ye shall herewith be armed against their Siren songs....⁵⁴³

Yet even as the king states his preference for education and instruction, in *The true lawe of free monarchies* James refers to the analogy of the body politic to show that

⁵⁴⁰ 'Introduction' in *King James VI and I*, p. 15.

⁵⁴¹ James VI and I, *A counterblaste to tobacco* (London, 1604), *Early English Books Online* < http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99844751 > [accessed 8 October 2018], p. 3. James' self-identification as physician of the realm also indirectly reinforces his role as head of the Church of England, for early Christian writings often referred to Christ as a physician, and Christianity as a religion of healing. See, for example, the work of Thomas Becon, *Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon*, ed. by F. Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844), p. 490, referenced by Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 30.

⁵⁴² James VI, *The true lawe of free monarchies: or The reciproock and mutuall dutie betwixt a free king, and his naturall subiectes* (Edinburgh, 1598), *Early English Books Online* < <http://library.kent.ac.uk.chain.kent.ac.uk/cgi-bin/resources.cgi?url=https://search-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2240945310?accountid=7408> > [accessed 16 June 2020], p. 5.

⁵⁴³ James VI, *The true lawe of free monarchies*, p. 5.

tolerance has its limitations, as “for the similitude of the head and the body, it may very well fall out that the head will be forced to gaure cut off some rotten member (as I have already said) to keep the rest of the body in integrity”.⁵⁴⁴

James’ writings consistently illustrate his belief that a monarch should set a day-to-day example to his subjects in how he himself conducted “his indifferent actions & outward behaiour”.⁵⁴⁵ In *Basilikon Doron* (1599), written to guide his sons Henry and – after the former’s death in 1612 – Charles, James divided these actions and behaviours into two categories – “things neccessarie, as food, sleeping, raiment, speaking, writing, and gesture; and in things not necessary, though conuienient and lawful, as pastimes or exercises, and vsing of companie for recreation”.⁵⁴⁶ The actions of a King presiding over his own table was the first – and arguably most important – example of necessary behaviour that James wished to discuss with his sons.⁵⁴⁷ Highlighting the importance of ritual consumption, and invoking classical examples of those who had erred in this respect, he warned his heir to eat publicly, so that he could not be accused of unsociability or gluttony; to eat simply, “vvithout composition or sauces; vvwhich are more like medicines than meat”; and to ensure that his “diet may be accommodate to your affaires, & not your affaires to your diet”.⁵⁴⁸ James believed that as head of the body politic, a ruler’s physical wellbeing and public image must both be nourished and safeguarded if he or she is to effectively minster to others. His advice explicitly highlights the importance of considered consumption, drawing attention to three particularly unsociable behaviours: gluttony, excessive care for one’s own activities at the expense of others, and the prioritisation of consumption above religious and/or moral duties. This distaste for excess implies that James was keen to maintain – at least in public – certain culturally conservative aspects of Elizabeth’s reign. Finally, the king instructed his heir on the importance of setting a good example to those around him, to avoid accusations of inconsistency which could easily spread from head to body,

⁵⁴⁴ Defending kingship, he leaves it “to the readers judgement” to determine “what state the body can be in, if the head, for any infirmity that can fall to it, be cut off”. James VI, *The true lawe of free monarchies*, p. 47.

⁵⁴⁵ James VI, *Basilikon Doron* [...] (London, 1603), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:image:5872:71> [accessed 10 October 2018], pp 104-5.

⁵⁴⁶ James VI, *Basilikon Doron*, pp 104-5.

⁵⁴⁷ The fatherly duty of a king, James emphasises in other writings, is firstly to nourish, secondly to educate, and thirdly to oversee the virtuous comportment of his subjects. *The true lawe of free monarchies*, pp 14-15.

⁵⁴⁸ James VI, *Basilikon Doron*, pp 105-108.

disordering the entire political organism in much the same way that an ill-assembled meal might unsettle the digestive faculties.

As *Basilikon Doron* suggests, James was vocal in his opposition to that which he believed corrupted the bodies of his subjects, and cautious about the extent to which new knowledge and goods should be exploited. He is known not only for his writings on the temptations of the supernatural (such as in *Daemonologie*), but the newly discovered bounties of the natural world (as in *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*). In his handling of both themes, James balances his intellectual curiosity with a desire to defend and maintain the political and natural bodies of his realm against the lure of ungodly and unregulated poisons, finding middle ground between these two positions by highlighting the role of informed choice in some of his subjects' decisions. Unlike his rather more authoritarian son Charles, James wisely recognised that there were limits as to how much the state could seek to police its citizens, as well as to how much he could overhaul existing (and conflicting) administrative systems without disturbing the entire political organism: in line with his own bookish personality, he emphasised, instead, the importance of arming individuals with the resources they needed to make reasonable and educated decisions.⁵⁴⁹ In *Daemonologie*, he writes that he wishes to arm "al them that reades the same, against these above mentioned erroures" of witchcraft, for as his character Philomathes later comments, those who succumb to the Devil "wilfully deceives them-selves, by running into him, whome God then suffers to fall in their owne snares".⁵⁵⁰

In his writings on health, James took a similar stance on personal accountability, extending responsibility for recognising and addressing issues beyond the remit of the medical and political professions. In *A Counterblaste*, he writes that "for these base sorts of corruption in Common wealthes, not onely the King, or any inferior Magistrate, but *Quilibet e populo* may serue to be a Phisician, by discovering and impugning the error, and by perswading reformation thereof".⁵⁵¹ It is clear that while James understood the supreme role he must play in assisting his subjects' efforts to maintain their health, he was also aware of the legislative

⁵⁴⁹ All this was done, of course, within reason: David Smith describes James as being possessed of a "shrewd political realism", which certainly seems to have applied to his stance on English public health. See Smith, 'Politics in early Stuart Britain', p. 236.

⁵⁵⁰ James VI, 'Daemonologie: In Forme of ane Dialogue, Divided into three Bookes (1597)' in *King James VI and I*, p. 151; p. 154.

⁵⁵¹ James VI and I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*, pp 4-5.

traditions and institutional shortcomings he had inherited as an English king.⁵⁵² This is an important point which will be returned to later in the chapter.

As “Physician of his Politicke-body”, James’ understanding of contemporary medicine was dictated by a combination of his scholarly values and Calvinist beliefs. His approach to public health, however, was facilitated by the particular political circumstances, medical trends, and social philosophies contemporary to his reign. Political scientists have long pointed out the extent to which public health actions are related to contemporary political outlooks: politics and public health are “two sides of the same coin”, since “health can only be achieved by the concerted action of many people who must work together in pursuit of a common goal”.⁵⁵³ Literary theorists and historians of the early modern period have long acknowledged a discernible shift in political perspective from the Tudor to Stuart periods.⁵⁵⁴ Gil Harris has summarised the policies which preceded James’ reign as those of “cure and containment”: a perspective which led the Elizabethan regime to take an unyielding, purgative and increasingly centralised approach to social disturbance.⁵⁵⁵ During the early seventeenth century (and particularly after the Gunpowder Plot of 1605), however, this perspective shifted, as the Jacobean regime increasingly viewed disturbers of the peace as potentially curative forces within the larger body politic. This shift in political perspective corresponded to ongoing shifts in medical thought, with which James and his Privy Council would have been intimately familiar: in the changing language of organic political analogy, it meant taking the view that certain ‘poisonous’ individuals should be strategically channelled – rather than outright purged – to improve the health of the wider social organism.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵² As, for example, Magna Carta’s (1225) fiercely defended “grant and gift of liberties from the king to the people, to be ‘held’ within his realm for ever”, which in the late 1620s would be evoked in protest against the excessive royal authority of Charles I. John Baker, *The Reinvention of Magna Carta, 1216-1616* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 6; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (Stanford: Yale University Press, 1992), pp 60-61.

⁵⁵³ As the editors of a recent piece on public health and politics commented, “Just combining the words ‘public’ and ‘health’ makes a clear statement that health can only be achieved by the concerted action of many people who must work together in pursuit of a common goal.” See ‘Public health and politics: how political science can help us move forward’, ed. by Marleen P M Bekker et al, *European Journal of Public Health*, 28, supplement 3 (2018), pp 1–2.

⁵⁵⁴ See, for example, Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*; Steve Hindle, ‘Crime and Popular Protest’ in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. by Barry Coward (Malden: Blackwell Publishers: 2003), pp 130-147; Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*.

⁵⁵⁵ Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 51.

⁵⁵⁶ This integrative approach has its roots in Paracelsian medical thought, which – as this chapter will show – gained an increasing foothold in early-seventeenth century England. Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, p. 49.

James' relatively liberal approach to politics and willingness to negotiate – in contrast to Elizabeth's relative conservatism – has been increasingly noticed by a number of religious, cultural and political historians including Kenneth Fincham, Steve Hindle, and Hugh Trevor-Roper. It was an approach as visible in the Hampton Court Conference (1604) – a gathering of learned ecclesiastical groups in front of king and Privy Council to debate various areas of English religious reform – as it was in political conflicts such as the Midlands Rising (1607), in which James also made it clear that while “violent protest would inevitably lead to punishment, peaceful complaint might lead to redress”.⁵⁵⁷ Hindle has noted that with regard to the latter, the king declared that while he will take strong action against the agitators, he also allowed for negotiation: the possibility of investigating and addressing the source of protesters' complaints in order to strengthen communities and allow for reintegration.⁵⁵⁸ It is clear that James was a monarch who not only tolerated but enjoyed debate, whether it be political or academic: he believed in the enactment of social progress through ideas, and encouraged and (arguably) equipped his subjects to be similarly engaged.⁵⁵⁹

James' academic enthusiasm extended to those he surrounded himself with: principally, his personal physicians. The arrival of John Craig (from 1603) and Theodore de Mayerne (from 1611) to join Elizabeth's former doctors proved instrumental in fielding and sustaining challenges to the relative conservatism of London's College of Physicians, and – subsequently – to better situating it to develop medical cultures and public health infrastructures in London as a whole.⁵⁶⁰ Indeed, the mere fact of their successive presences challenged College conventions, since prior to the king's intervention, neither man qualified for membership on account of his nationality (Craig was Scottish; Mayerne, French). The College revised its stipulations on James' express encouragement, firstly allowing all British (rather than just English) physicians – including Craig – to join from 1606; secondly extending membership to royal physicians of any nationality – including Mayerne –

⁵⁵⁷ See Fincham, 'Hampton Court conference (act. 1604)'; Hindle, 'Crime and Popular Protest'; Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, p. 212.

⁵⁵⁸ Hindle, 'Crime and Popular Protest', pp 130-131.

⁵⁵⁹ Indeed, James' enjoyment of academia was so great that when he visited the University of Oxford in 1605, the university – finding it did not have sufficient doctors of medicine in its current faculty to amuse the king with a theoretical debate – hastily promoted two bachelors of medicine. Frank Jr., Robert G., 'Medicine' in *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 506.

⁵⁶⁰ Frances Dawbarn, 'Patronage and power: the College of Physicians and the Jacobean court', *The British Society for the History of Science*, 31:1 (1998), p. 5.

from 1616.⁵⁶¹ In response to hesitation in Craig's case, the king pointedly evoked the body politic, stating that as the two nations of England and Scotland were now united under his body, so "no man of iudgement can accompt them two, but one", a reasoning that was accepted by the College.⁵⁶² By 1617, royal physicians were given precedence above even elected members of the College, further boosting their authority.⁵⁶³

Under the encouragement of a king whose own social policies sought to instil similar perspectives, the infiltration of Paracesian medical ideas soon challenged the College's Galenic orthodoxy. Mayerne, in particular, brought with him an unrepentant interest in iatrochemical medicine for which he had already been attacked by the Parisian Medical Faculty in the 1600s (and subsequently defended by his first royal patron, Henri IV of France).⁵⁶⁴ At the time of his appointment, he was one of the most prestigious physicians in Europe, as well as one of the best paid: he not only served the English royal family, but maintained a symbolic salary and appointment at the French court with Henri's widow, Marie de' Medici.⁵⁶⁵ He was welcomed to England with open arms by the king and his family, whose steadfast patronage silenced those who doubted or questioned his abilities.⁵⁶⁶ As this chapter and the next will show, Mayerne's installation in the College of Physicians by King James would impact the College's public health outlook, thinking, and practice in ways that would become increasingly apparent during the reigns of the early Stuarts.

Public health and urban foodways in Jacobean London

By the time of James' accession, London's rapid demographic growth and expansion into the suburbs were well-established, and neither showed signs of abating. The early seventeenth century saw the continuation of these trends: the king himself was famously known to have commented that should it continue apace, "soon, London will be all England".⁵⁶⁷ Over the course of his reign, James continued to build on the public health infrastructures laid down by his predecessor, Elizabeth, recognising

⁵⁶¹ Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 187.

⁵⁶² James VI and I (January 1606), quoted in Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 194.

⁵⁶³ Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, p. 60.

⁵⁶⁴ Allen G. Debus, *The French Paracelsians: the chemical challenge to medical and scientific tradition in early modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 58.

⁵⁶⁵ Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, p. 154.

⁵⁶⁶ Mayerne maintained the king's support even when he was accused by the then "best known doctor in England", Dr Butler, of mismanaging the treatment of James' heir, Prince Henry, who died in 1612. Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, pp 174-175.

⁵⁶⁷ A. Lloyd Moote and Dorothy Moote, *The Great Plague: The Story of London's Most Deadly Year* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), p. 26.

that with reference to the particular threat of food shortages, “speciall care [must] be taken in that behalf fitting a Citty of that greatnes”.⁵⁶⁸ During years of poor harvest such as in 1608 and 1622, City’s and Crown’s responses deviated little from those employed in the 1590s; though the Privy Council kept a watchful eye on the Corporation’s proceedings, for the most part it allowed the City its relative autonomy.⁵⁶⁹ In 1608, national government issued directions for local authorities and citizens by expanding and republishing the Elizabethan Book of Orders; it republished this in 1621, in anticipation of shortages caused by adverse weather conditions that year.⁵⁷⁰ This was the year in which the Brown Bakers of the City attained a grant of incorporation, allowing them to regulate their wares separately to that of the White Bakers until, in consequence of a decline in sales, they were forced to reunite in 1645.⁵⁷¹ At ward level, observance of grain and grain-related wares for these years remained largely steady, though greater attention than usual was paid to the weights and measures used by grain sellers in Cornhill from 1621-5, resulting in the presentments of thirteen named individuals.⁵⁷²

Continued demographic expansion maintained high demand for urban food supplies and market spaces, which in turn expanded the scale and viability of diverse victualling activities – licensed and unlicensed. This prompted several food companies to push for increased corporate powers during James’ reign, the earliest of which the king granted to the Worshipful Company of Butchers (incorporated in 1605, but only finalised in early 1607).⁵⁷³ Incorporation allowed the butchers’ trade greater legal powers to police unlicensed vendors and guard trade standards. It also facilitated the implementation of new ordinances and innovations to streamline and improve trade activities, a development which went some way towards allaying some of the urban public health concerns that had long dogged butchering practice and now, in the growing city, showed little sign of easing. These innovations included Company orders in 1607 for freeman butchers to carry their own tubs of offal to barrowhouses at the end of the working day, after which the offal was centrally disposed of by the Company’s Beadle, sent to the City’s Doghouse to feed the hunting hounds, or shipped across the Thames to maintain the royal bears in

⁵⁶⁸ COL/RMD/PA/01/002 (1608), fol. 29^r

⁵⁶⁹ Outhwaite, ‘Dearth and Government Intervention’, p. 393.

⁵⁷⁰ Outhwaite, ‘Dearth and Government Intervention’, pp 393-394. A more detailed comparison of Elizabeth’s and James’ *Orders* (1594 and 1608, respectively) is included in Chapter Four, which compares their foci to that of Charles’ *Orders* (1630-1).

⁵⁷¹ Thrupp, *Worshipful Company of Bakers*, p. 7.

⁵⁷² In my count, I included all those defined as ‘oatmeale’ sellers, as well as undefined sellers dealing in ‘pecks’ (predominantly used to measure grain, though sometimes other dry goods). CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1621-5), fols. 156^v-178^v.

⁵⁷³ Jones, *Butchers of London*, p. 34. The Brown Bakers were incorporated in 1621.

Southwark.⁵⁷⁴ Such centralising initiatives sought to emphasise butchers' civic-mindedness, attention to public health, and unity as a newly-formed corporate body. In response to growing urban demand for meat (a point which will be expounded in Chapter Four), market times were extended for sites such as Smithfield, which in 1612 was permitted to remain open on Mondays in addition to its customary Wednesdays and Fridays.⁵⁷⁵ Shortly thereafter, on the petition of the officers and residents of Farringdon Without ward, the Privy Council ordered the City to pave the market, decrying "the filthinesse and loathsomnes...the noysome lyeinge of the field as nowe it is" and deeming it "the principall cause of the decaye of the weekelie markt therewith".⁵⁷⁶

Public health and plague in Jacobean London

Though concerns about the challenges to the City's foodways remained pervasive throughout James' reign, with ambulant sellers continuing to attract particular enforcement action (see further along the chapter), the Crown and City's more immediate concern was that of plague, which struck London with particular virulence in the first year of his accession. In 1604, James appended a statute that explicitly addressed threats to public health during periods of epidemic disease to Elizabeth's updated Poor Laws of 1598 and 1601.⁵⁷⁷ James' provisions directed local authorities separate from the parish – such as mayors, magistrates, justices of the peace, and other officials – to take active, practical ownership of public health crises, levying and collecting taxes to improve local measures (largely enforced quarantine, and charitable donations of food delivered to the sick) during periods of unremitting

⁵⁷⁴ To fund this, each member was required to pay a one-time fee of twenty shillings. Freemen of other Companies were to be charged forty shillings if they wished to avail of the same service for their own offcuts, allowing the Butchers to additionally gain increased income from their ingenuity at a time when their services were needed more than ever.

Jones, *Butchers of London*, pp 84-85.

⁵⁷⁵ Jones, *Butchers of London*, pp 99-100.

⁵⁷⁶ COL/CC/01/01/030 [Journal of the Common Council, 29], fol. 298 quoted in City of London, London Metropolitan Archives COL/RMD/PA/01/016 [P.E. Jones' Transcript of *Remembrancia*, 1614-15 (1910)], p. 16a.

⁵⁷⁷ The 1598 law improved administrative processes and clarified the role of churchwardens and the parish in Poor Law proceedings, while the 1601 statute provided cohesive procedures for investigating and resolving corruption in charitable institutions. The statute of 1604 provided guidelines for the relief and ordering of poor persons infected with plague. Slack, *English Poor Laws*, pp 18-19; p. 61; Anonymous, *An act for the charitable reliefe and ordering of person infected with the plague, 1604* (London: 1630), *Early English Books Online* <<https://search-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/EEBO/docview/2248554165/33142561/54C36FD1C7324217PQ/1?acountid=7408>> [accessed 18 June 2020]. This is a reprint of James' 1604 Poor Law statute which re-emerged during the plague epidemic of 1630. This particular year will be examined in further detail in Chapter Four.

infection.⁵⁷⁸ The addition of these precepts to existing Poor Laws further codified the by-now habitual responsibilities of local authorities faced by bouts of epidemic disease.

Though London's plague infection rates were not especially high in the period following 1603-4, from 1609-1611 particular efforts appear to have been made to curtail the spread of the infection. During this period, an eighteenth-century index of the City's repertories, journals and letter books suggests that an "office of health" was established by the king three times in the City.⁵⁷⁹ In an Italian context, such offices (or 'boards') of health were commonly composed of lay people, with medical practitioners sometimes serving on an advisory capacity.⁵⁸⁰ Reference to Letter Book DD (1609-11), however, appeared to dash the possibility of this early and overt collaboration between College and City in Jacobean London. It notes the creation of such 'Comyssoners for the health' from 1609, but specifies that it was composed of civic officials: the Mayor and "a certayne selected number of the Alde[rme]n and of the said Justices [of the Peace for Surrey and Middlesex]" directly commanded by the king to

meete together to conferre for care to be taken for stay of the infec[t]ion of the plague within this cite and suburbes and in the confynes of the said countyes next adjoining yf it should please god to give a blessing unto their labors and amongst tew themselues to devise the best meanes they could for preven[t]ion thereof.⁵⁸¹

Clark's study of the College of Physicians' records, however, adds a further layer to this. He contends that a royal order was also sent to the College in February 1609, commanding at least four volunteers – of which six came forward – to advise the City and oversee the care of its inhabitants during the epidemic in return for a salary.⁵⁸² These positions, which required salaried physicians to remain within the City as others of their profession left it, were predominantly supervisory given broader reformed (and, in James' case, specifically Calvinist) thinking, which emphasised the protection of those deemed most profitable to the longer-term health of the broader Commonwealth and thus precluded the learned and elite from direct

⁵⁷⁸ Anonymous, *An act for the charitable reliefe... 1604*.

⁵⁷⁹ COL/AD/01/062 (c. 1700s) [Index to Repertories, Journals and Letter Books (1595-1640)], "Letter Book DD 299", p. 194. This archival source, an index of the repertories, journals and letter books written in the 18th century, went missing between November 2017 to August 2018. It has subsequently been withdrawn from the catalogue. My notes recorded it as a "Medium sized book, written in a reasonably modern hand with '14 Jul 1932' stamped on the inside cover."

⁵⁸⁰ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, pp 160-162.

⁵⁸¹ COL/AD/01/029 (1609), fols 298^r – 299^r.

⁵⁸² Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 191.

contact with the infected.⁵⁸³ Significantly, this evidence of overt public health collaboration between City and College from 1609-11 contradicts the findings of several prominent historians, including Harold Cook and Ole Peter Grell, who suggest that such collaboration was only encouraged and effected from the time of the 1625 epidemic.⁵⁸⁴

Perhaps the most significant step forward in the management of plague was the Jacobean Crown's reinforcement of the system by which the City's Bills of Mortality were collected and mapped out – a development which ensured central parishes and wards rapidly received the information they needed to consistently appraise and orientate the health of their own communities. James' approach to the Bills largely affected both the frequency and consistency by which they were customarily collected and compiled. From July 1603, the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks were ordered on a weekly basis to collect and compile the City's Bills of Mortality, passing the figures the City's official printer, John Windet, who printed them as broadsides for public consumption.⁵⁸⁵ In 1611, not long after he called for the establishment of a temporary board of health, James granted a charter of incorporation to the Company, streamlining this process further: it was now attendant upon the clerks to exclusively compile, print and distribute weekly and annual Bills.⁵⁸⁶ By the early years of Charles' reign, Londoners were accustomed to purchasing copies of the bills for 4s. a year (or a penny apiece) directly from their local parish clerks.⁵⁸⁷ Just as we found in the 1590s (see Chapter Two), the findings of the Bills were often quoted in letters between private citizens and exhorted from the pulpit, with popular perceptions of the state of contemporary public health – specific to commercial areas, as well as in general – increasingly influencing factors such as movement, business, and charity in and around London.⁵⁸⁸

While the collection of public health statistics in London was not particularly unusual by the standards of the time – the Venetian state, renowned throughout Europe for its organised public health system, collected mortality statistics from as early as 1504 – their early release to the general public through the medium of print

⁵⁸³Grell, 'Plague and Obligations', pp 140-142. Medical middlemen, such as plague officers, nurses, and other members of the medical hierarchy acting under the orders of physicians, were considered less of a loss to the Commonwealth.

⁵⁸⁴Cook, 'Policing the health', p. 22; Grell, 'Plague and Obligations', p. 131.

⁵⁸⁵Greenberg estimates that Windet, having two printing presses, could have produced some 5,000 to 6,000 broadside copies of the Bills over one day each week. Greenberg, 'Plague, Printing and Public Health', p. 518

⁵⁸⁶Greenberg, 'Plague, Printing and Public Health', p. 516.

⁵⁸⁷Christie, *Some Account of the Parish Clerks*, p. 139.

⁵⁸⁸Robertson, 'Reckoning with London', pp 338-340.

was highly significant.⁵⁸⁹ Though Alexandra Bamji has noted that Venice's statistics were printed and made accessible to those beyond city government by the later seventeenth century (c. 1676), she stresses that it was likely the success of London's existing system and Graunt's famous *Observations* (1662) which influenced Venetian governments' decision to follow suit.⁵⁹⁰ As late as 1788, Bamji found, the city-state's newspapers continued to feature conclusions reached by Graunt in London more than a century before, alongside contemporary representations of Venetian statistics.⁵⁹¹ Arguments such as Bamji's support the core challenge of this thesis: that is, that that early modern English public health was overwhelmingly primitive and utterly inadequate. London's public health may have fallen short of the more formalised Continental standards of the seventeenth century, but it was clearly not without its own innovations and infrastructures, however implicit these may initially seem.

Public health policies in early Stuart London differed most from their Venetian equivalents in their dependence on individual – rather than institutional – engagement and complicity. Since London so clearly lacked Venice's powerful public health framework and fearsome policing abilities, and found it increasingly difficult even to adequately monitor the City's markets, during the later Tudor and early Stuart period national and civic authorities often exerted public health authority by appealing to Londoners' sense of civic morality to protect the body (and the body politic). This built on existing concepts of the 'common good', slotting neatly into more traditional cultures of environmental and market-based public health in the City. Charlie Taverner recently contended that the upkeep of London's market regulations, for example, depended as much on internalised moralities and values as they did on physical enforcement, and that rather than interventions being "sporadic", they were, in fact, "soft-touch".⁵⁹² I would argue that this model can also be applied to the early modern Crown and City's evolving approach to public health and, in particular, the problem of preventing and managing epidemic disease. Though from the later sixteenth-century a practical administrative framework was constructed to structure and enable the enforcement of public health protocols at local level – as, for example, directed by the plague *Orders* and under the Poor Laws – in the absence of stricter medical policing, public health was equally reliant on the broader internalisation of public health awareness and accountability. This

⁵⁸⁹ Alexandra Bamji, 'Marginalia and mortality in early modern Venice', *Renaissance Studies*, 33:5 (2019), p. 808.

⁵⁹⁰ Bamji, 'Marginalia and Mortality', pp 820-821.

⁵⁹¹ Bamji, 'Marginalia and Mortality', p. 821.

⁵⁹² Taverner, 'Moral marketplaces', p. 16.

understanding is further supported and alluded to by the publication of the Bills of Mortality, which allowed Crown and London authorities to build popular awareness of changeable contemporary threats, and the release of increasingly secular fasting proclamations, which reminded citizens to take personal responsibility for their own health and that of those around them. These and other efforts depended less on formal policing and more on Londoners' growing medical literacy and awareness of broader public health principles.

Medical literacy and medical cultures in Jacobean London

As his own writings indicate, James' reign was one by which medical awareness among both practitioners and lay people had demonstrably grown. This was fuelled by three inter-related factors: rising urban literacy rates, a growing influx of medical and other texts printed in both Latin and English from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, and the relative relaxation of Jacobean England's political outlook (which allowed the influence of European politics and culture to creep in after decades of guarded containment under Elizabeth).⁵⁹³ Medical publications, which included both authoritative medical texts aimed at practitioners and medical advice books intended for a growing middling and elite lay audience, particularly proliferated in the period between 1575-1604.⁵⁹⁴ Mary Fissell has noted that of those intended explicitly for non-practitioners, regimens, remedy and recipe books proved consistently popular: two of the top three English medical texts published (and repeatedly republished) between 1550-1660 were regimens, with those dominated by medical remedies, recipes and herbal 'simples' composing five of the top ten books consistently republished over the same timeframe.⁵⁹⁵ This meant that many medical texts intended for lay people focused and elaborated on traditional Galenic medical

⁵⁹³ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, footnote 74, p. 40; Taavitsainen, Irma, et al, 'Medical texts in 1500–1700 and the corpus of Early Modern English Medical Texts' in *Medical Writing in Early Modern English*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 10.

⁵⁹⁴ Taavitsainen et al, 'Medical texts', p. 13. 'Middling', as it is used to refer to social strata, is a highly contested term in Tudor/Stuart historiography. Put simply, it refers to those whose social status falls between 'elite' and 'poor': who earned an income trading products they had produced or professional skills they had trained for. In London, this class – which expanded as the City did – broadly encompassed literate artisans, bureaucrats, merchants, lawyers, medical practitioners, clerics, and their respective households. These were the individuals who could afford to make choices and put the advice contained in such texts into practice. See Jonathon Barry, 'Introduction' in *The Middling Sorts of People: culture, society and politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. by Jonathon Barry and Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), p. 2; Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcasts*, p. 24; Gentilcore, *Food and Health*, p. 24.

⁵⁹⁵ Fissell, Mary, 'Popular medical writing' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 426. For a list of these texts, see p. 427.

principles – first, the idea that illness could be staved off or prevented by healthy and informed lifestyle choices (of which a moderate, considered diet was key) and second, that poor health could be mitigated and improved by the application and sometimes consumption of certain medicinal treatments – often based largely on widely-available herbs – many of which could be recreated in a domestic setting with the occasional input of a apothecary.⁵⁹⁶ In Elizabethan and early Stuart England, such texts were predominantly written by physicians to authoritatively guide lay people’s management of their health and that of their families, ostensibly for the greater public good but also, as historians have subsequently argued, as a means of reasserting medical authority in an increasingly crowded and diverse field.⁵⁹⁷

Before the advent of printing, traditional methods of medical knowledge exchange relied on oral or handwritten directions, often passed informally from practitioner to practitioner, practitioner to patient, and household to household. Printed texts supplemented (rather than replaced) this system of information acquisition, helping to accelerate the pace by which medical innovations and recommendations passed from learned to lay person and became a part of wider medical cultures.⁵⁹⁸ Print was an important vehicle for the dissemination of ideas relating to Paracelsian chemical medicine in England, with the translations of the London distiller John Hester in the later sixteenth century proving particularly influential in reflecting and reinforcing learned interest in chemical remedies.⁵⁹⁹ The early instructive texts of learned practitioners such as the respected surgeons John Banister, William Clowes and George Baker, printed over the period 1570-1590, further incubated interest in chemical medicine among London’s physicians,

⁵⁹⁶ See, for example, *A closet for ladies and gentlewomen* (1608), the only text of Jacobean origin included in Fissell’s list, which in addition to listing how to make confectionery of all sorts (including conserves, syrups, and cordials) lists a number of medical and cosmetic recipes, including “A Medicine for the sorenesse in the throat that commeth with the Rhume”, “A very good water for a sore mouth”, and “A Medicine that wil heale any wound or sore, and keepeth it without proud flesh or dead flesh”. See Anon, *A closet for ladies and gentlewomen [...]* (London, 1608), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2240921602/99854111/350156036346421FPQ/2?accountid=7408>> [accessed 8 June 2021], p. 86; p. 88; p. 93.

⁵⁹⁷ Charity, nationalism and a concern for the public good were all stated as motivations in examples of these English texts. Gentilcore, *Food and Health*, pp 22-23; Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey, ‘Regimens, authors and readers: Italy and England compared’ in *Conserving Health in Early Modern Culture: Bodies and environments in Italy and England*, ed. by Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 29.

⁵⁹⁸ Taavitsainen et al, ‘Medical texts’, p. 10.

⁵⁹⁹ Allen G. Debus describes Hester as one of the most “outspoken” London proponents of chemical remedies through the medium of text; others, such as the London surgeons George Baker and John Banister, were more circumspect in their support. Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne Books Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 69.

surgeons and apothecaries, which was gradually passed on to interested lay people and informal practitioners through a combination of formal and informal text and practice.⁶⁰⁰

Developments in trade, including a growth in the importation of new botanicals, chemicals and herbs from the East (from 1600) and the Americas (from 1604) aided and abetted this interest by opening the London market to a profusion of new and exciting substances.⁶⁰¹ Not all of these were welcomed or considered safe in the hands of the general public. From 1619, a series of proclamations against “meane persons” (as opposed to “orderly and good Merchant[‘s]”) domestic planting, marketing, and distribution of American tobacco, “a weede of no necessary use” that “endanger[ed] and impair[ed] the health of Our Subjects” were issued.⁶⁰² The substance appeared even earlier in Cornhill’s and Farringdon Without’s wardmote inquest registers, where it was associated with both breaches of market practice and civil disturbance – men were presented for “receaving apprentices to drinke and take tobacco both by day & by night” and keeping “Tobaccoshoppes open all night...to the great disquietness terro[r] and annoyance of that neighbo[ur]hood”.⁶⁰³ In later years, doubts about tobacco would extend to its “stinck and smell”, a complaint previously reserved for the miasmatic watercourses, dunghills, and privies so often reported at local level.⁶⁰⁴ Bridge Within’s wardmote inquest register explicitly banned its use by members of the wardmote inquest, fining those who “shall take tobacco hither in the roome where wee sitt or neere unto yt” sixpence for annoying their fellows, with an equivalent amount being charged for ‘gaming in the house’.⁶⁰⁵ Yet in spite of these misgivings, in a period renowned for contemporaries’ growing receptivity to new things – from religion, to ideas, to increasingly spiced foodstuffs, to tobacco – the possibilities of these formerly rare

⁶⁰⁰ Debus, *English Paracelsians*, p. 69.

⁶⁰¹ R. S. Roberts, ‘The Personnel and Practice of Medicine in Tudor and Stuart England: Part II. London’ in *Medical History*, 6 (1962), p. 227.

⁶⁰² James VI and I, ‘A Proclamation for restraint of the disordered trading for Tobacco’ (1620) in *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. I*, p. 381.

⁶⁰³ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1615), fol. 140^r; CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1618), fol. 99^v.

⁶⁰⁴ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1630), fol. 118^r.

⁶⁰⁵ CLC/W/GE/001/MS03461/001 (1627), fol. 3^r.

or even unknown substances greatly appealed to the public imagination, requiring ever closer monitoring by London's civic and medical authorities.⁶⁰⁶

Lay people of all social strata did not always directly engage or interest themselves with overtly medical texts; rather, they absorbed various health and medical messages through a range of other cultural means. Debates between Galenic and Paracelsian medicine, for example, soon wriggled their way into various forms of public performance and entertainment, including plays such as Christopher Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* (c. 1593-4), William Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* (c. 1598-1609), and Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), the latter of which was hugely popular during the Jacobean period, being variously performed in Oxford, James' court, and Blackfriars Theatre in London.⁶⁰⁷ Another prominent effect of James' reopening of England's borders to Europe was the growth of elite recreational travel, since referred to as the 'Jacobean Grand Tour', which exposed English visitors to the comparative customs and culture of Europe and allowed James' subjects to observe broader Continental health practices at closer range.⁶⁰⁸

During the Jacobean period, travel was increasingly seen as beneficial since – as the travel writer Robert Darlington wrote – the activity offered a “ripening in knowledge” that the visitor could subsequently take home “in service of his contrie, which of right challengeth the better part of vs”.⁶⁰⁹ Those who could not go themselves could yet benefit from its edifying effects by following authors' journeys through the medium of print. Andrew Wear has noted that in travel texts written largely to cater to growing middling and elite curiosity, differing approaches to medicine and public health were increasingly presented as topics of particular

⁶⁰⁶ Michael Best argues that this receptiveness also applied to the increasingly heavy-handed use of spices and sugar in early Stuart recipes – a response to their growing ubiquity. Spices were considered medicinal, a source of heat for cold or difficult to digest foods; by the seventeenth century, sugar was increasingly criticised by physicians mindful of its effect on teeth. See Michael Best, 'Introduction' in Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife*, ed. by Michael R. Best (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), p. xxxvii; Gentilcore, *Food and Health*, pp 18-19.

⁶⁰⁷ Stensgaard, Richard, 'All's Well That Ends Well and the Galenico-Paracelsian Controversy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 25:2 (1972), p. 173-174; Lucy Munro, 'The Alchemist: Stage History', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online* (Cambridge, 2012) <https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/stage_history_Alchemismist/2/> [accessed 1 July 2021], pp 1-2.

⁶⁰⁸ See, for example, Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I.B. Taurus & Co. Ltd, 2014).

⁶⁰⁹ Robert Darlington, *A method for traueell Shewed by taking the view of France [...]* (London, 1605), *Early English Books Online* <<http://library.kent.ac.uk.chain.kent.ac.uk/cgi-bin/resources.cgi?url=https://search-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2248524126?accountid=7408>> [accessed 24 June 2020], p. 7.

interest.⁶¹⁰ During James' reign, observations of foreign health practice were published by English writers such Thomas Coryate (*Coryats crudities*, 1607) and Fynes Moryson (*An Itinerary*, 1617), and it is Moryson who is credited with first presenting his country-men and -women with the first known English example of the concept "public health".⁶¹¹ He used it to describe Italian city-states' famously authoritative approach to preventative medicine, drawing particular attention to the extraordinary caution and precision that the Italian city-states were then famed for.⁶¹² Foreign models of public health, conveyed by his royal physicians, would prove of particular interest to James' son Charles, who succeeded his father in 1625 (and about whom more will be written in Chapter Four).

The College of Physicians: anatomy and academic medical printing

Changing political landscapes and the expansion of printing not alone boosted lay and corporate cultures of health and medicine in London, but the academic interests and practices of its College of Physicians. During James' reign, the College harnessed the attention of elite viewers (a potential customer base) by delivering annual anatomical dissections known as the Lumleian lectures which, from 1615, were delivered by William Harvey (royal physician to James I from 1618).⁶¹³ Harvey's efforts proved unprecedentedly popular, particularly among Londoners who had visited the Continent and already grown accustomed to such displays.⁶¹⁴ As a learned form of urban entertainment, anatomical lectures tended to draw a combination of senior civic officials, wealthy citizens, courtiers, and royals in addition to expected student and physician attendees, feeding growing lay interest in

⁶¹⁰ Wear notes that soon early modern "Travellers' impressions of a place visited included health as one of its defining characteristics, almost as a matter of course". Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 185.

⁶¹¹ 'public health, n.', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://www.oed.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/view/Entry/239546?redirectedFrom=public+health#eid>> [accessed 27 July 2017].

⁶¹² Moryson specified that, particularly in times of plague, the Italians were "very curious to receive strangers", directing all urban visitors to "publicke houses" where, "pleasantly seated", they must "retire, till the Providers for Health haue curiously inquired, if they come from any suspected place, or haue any infectious sicknesse". He and Coryate were particularly taken by their respective experiences in Venice, whose citizens Coryate described as "extraordinarily precise...insomuch that a man cannot be received into Venice without a bill of health, if he would give a thousand duckets". Moryson, *An itinerary*, p. 252 (Part I, Book 3, Ch. 3); Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities* [...] (London: 1607), *Early English Books Online* <<http://library.kent.ac.uk.chain.kent.ac.uk/cgi-bin/resources.cgi?url=https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/books/coryats-crudities-hastily-gobled-vp-five-moneths/docview/2240870301/se-2?accountid=7408>> [accessed 12 November 2021], p. 214.

⁶¹³ These were first established in 1582. Sawaday, *The Body Emblazoned*, p. 42.

⁶¹⁴ Sawaday, *The Body Emblazoned*, p. 42.

and understandings of the mechanisms of the body.⁶¹⁵ From the 1610s, anatomical training increasingly became a key element of medical teaching in England. When Oxford University refused until 1624 to hold public dissections, it was accused by some scholars, including the clergyman George Hakewill, of presenting continental visitors with an outdated and primitive image of English medicine.⁶¹⁶ Such objections make it clear that by the early seventeenth century, medicine was increasingly interpreted as a civilising force.

The character of domestic medical education expanded in other ways during James' reign. The growing importation of authoritative texts in Latin from the mid-sixteenth century, intended for medical practitioners (but also, increasingly, collected by the educated lay person), swelled book ownership among physicians.⁶¹⁷ This had considerable implications not just for the established profession's academic interests and practices, but for the breadth of native medical education provided by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. One important consequence of the growing ubiquity of medical print was the rapid development of both universities' medical libraries: the backbone of academic learning. In Cambridge, this started when several faculty book collectors – including regius professors of medicine John Hatcher, Henry Walker and Thomas Lorkyn – increasingly allowed their protégés to borrow and read items from their expansive private libraries.⁶¹⁸ This informal system culminated, in 1591, in Lorkyn's donation of his books to the library – given on the condition that medical students should access them freely.⁶¹⁹ His example was thereafter followed by numerous academics, physicians and patrons. Lorkyn's impressive collection amounted to some 250 titles in 272 volumes; of these, just four were published in England, with the others coming from the Continent.⁶²⁰

In Oxford, it was not until 1598 that Sir Thomas Bodley – a former Oxford academic and diplomat – took it upon himself to personally fund the refurbishment of the university library, actively acquiring wealthy patrons and donors for the new

⁶¹⁵ In later decades, the diarist and civil servant Samuel Pepys was one such spectator, attending a dissection on 27 February 1663 after which he was personally shown how kidney stones were removed (Pepys underwent this painful process in March 1658). See 'Introduction' in Robert Lantham, *The Shorter Pepys*, sel. and ed. by Robert Lantham (London: Bell and Hyman, 1985), p. xxi, and Pepys, *The Shorter Pepys*, p. 261.

⁶¹⁶ Sawday, *Body Emblazoned*, p. 42.

⁶¹⁷ Murray Jones, *Medical Literacies*, p. 37.

⁶¹⁸ Peter Murray Jones, 'Medical Libraries' in *A History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1, ed. by E. Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp 466-7.

⁶¹⁹ Murray Jones, 'Medical Libraries', p. 468

⁶²⁰ Liam Sims, 'The medical library of Thomas Lorkyn (1528-1591)', *Cambridge University Library Special Collections* (21 April 2014) <<https://specialcollections-blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?p=7599>> [accessed 18 August 2020].

Bodleian Library (1602) along the way.⁶²¹ Bodley termed this endeavour “a publique service of the State”: a phrase that well reflected the incoming king’s own understanding of the needs of the body politic.⁶²² By 1620, the Bodleian hosted some 16,000 diverse books and manuscripts and the City of Oxford was overrun by public booksellers, presenting seventeenth century physicians-in-training with what the historian Robert G. Frank Jr. describes as an ever-growing “spectrum of knowledge unobtainable solely through an apprenticeship” – or even, before this significant point in both institutions’ history, an English medical education.⁶²³ Oxford’s medical collections were further augmented by the donation of some 1,200 works to St John’s college by the eminent royal physician Sir William Paddy in 1602, who not only continued to donate books up to his death in 1634, but personally funded a librarian to oversee them.⁶²⁴

Though it may seem an unnecessary diversion from discussions of broader Jacobean public health practice, Murray Jones’ and Frank’s investigations into the evolving educational approaches of English physicians are also highly significant for this study. Customarily, the best-educated elite – those at the forefront of medical innovation – were those who had been trained abroad or at least engaged in Continental ‘peregrination’: medical travel between a range of European universities, undertaken after physicians had completed their initial training at Oxford or Cambridge. Yet cost and time constraints made this desirable component of medical expertise difficult, if not impossible, for most.⁶²⁵ Access to diverse and growing numbers of books from the early seventeenth century helped bridge this gap, opening future physicians’ minds to medical ideas beyond English universities’

⁶²¹ I.G. Philip and Paul Morgan, ‘Libraries, Books, and Printing’ in *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 660.

⁶²² Thomas Bodley, *The life of Sr Thomas Bodley, the honourable founder of the publique library in the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1647), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2240893929/99862055/BD1642C1D76B4D0DPQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 29 June 2020], p. 4.

⁶²³ It would more than double this collection over the fifty years that followed. Frank Jr., ‘Medicine’ in *The History of the University of Oxford*, pp 537-538.

⁶²⁴ Murray Jones, ‘Medical libraries’, p. 468.

⁶²⁵ Barry, ‘Educating Physicians’, p. 138.

still overwhelmingly conservative Galenic curricula.⁶²⁶ Print, then, expedited the rate at which increasingly diverse medical knowledge was transmitted between professionals and to their patients, hastening the pace at which physicians' own education and experience fed directly into lay cultures of medical interest. The knowledge offered by university libraries was thus seen – much in the vein of recreational travel – to provide a “publique service” not just to medical practitioners, but the wider body politic.⁶²⁷

The College and medical status

One of the most significant effects of the improved inter-disciplinary understanding offered by growing quantities of Continental medical texts (combined with growing popular interest in medicine and public health) was that it prompted English physicians of the period to increasingly reflect on their roles and responsibilities within the wider framework of early modern medical practice and society.⁶²⁸ This predicted certain occupational anxieties. Academic – rather than practical – learning was what had always differentiated and elevated professional physicians from the rest of the healthcare hierarchy, with preventative and reactive advice on individual patients' diet and exercise and the prescribing of medicines and remedies remaining foundational aspects of the physicians' role.⁶²⁹ As medical literacy levels, engagement and scepticism rose among London's inhabitants – and practitioners and markets for potentially lucrative medical treatments and remedies grew in response to this – so fellows of the College of Physicians, far from feeling secure about their place at the top of the medical hierarchy, felt it increasingly necessary to defend and reinforce their status.⁶³⁰ This heightened the Jacobean College's impetus to extend and exert regulatory authority over the City's other medical practitioners. Charles Webster has noted that prosecutions lodged by the College from 1601-1640 were almost double those of the period 1550-1600, with Cook pinpointing 1607 as the

⁶²⁶ This was important, because many licensed by the College came to London with medical degrees issued from or incorporated at (in the case of continental qualifications) the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford. William Munk calculated that between 1632-1688, about half of College members obtained their medical degrees from Cambridge or Oxford; others incorporated their foreign degrees in one of the two. The latter included, prior to 1632, Thomas Moffat (Cambridge), Theodore de Mayerne (Oxford) and William Harvey (Cambridge). Physicians who did not incorporate their degrees at Oxford or Cambridge were required to pay double the membership fee to join the College: another incentive for native medical education to be improved. Axtell, 'Education and Status in Stuart England: The London Physician', pp 143-144; Ibid., p. 148; Dawbarn, 'Patronage and Power', p. 10.

⁶²⁷ Frank Jr., 'Medicine' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, p. 538.

⁶²⁸ Barry, 'Educating physicians', p. 139.

⁶²⁹ Frank Jr., 'Medicine' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, p. 538; Barry, 'Educating physicians', p. 139.

⁶³⁰ Pelling, *The Common Lot*, p. 241.

year from which the College's regulatory authority over irregular practitioners grew significantly.⁶³¹ These prosecuted 'irregulars' – a multitude of individuals of varying medical skillsets and offerings, the majority of whom Pelling argues were likely literate and well-educated – can be divided into two very broad cohorts: informal practitioners considered by the College to have no legal authority to practice medicine whatsoever, and those formally licensed as barber-surgeons or apothecaries who were suspected to have overstepped their medical remit (by, for example, issuing unapproved medical advice or compiling illicit prescriptions).⁶³² The next section of this chapter focuses on particularly significant changes to the status of one of these licensed practitioners during the Jacobean period: London's apothecaries, the majority of whom then belonged to the City's prestigious Grocers' Company.⁶³³

The College, the Grocers and the apothecaries

By the early Stuart period, the Grocers' Company – the most politically influential and prosperous food company in the City – had long held an important role in the upkeep of both market regulations and public health in the City. From the 1440s, it had borne sole responsibility for ensuring that all spices and drugs entering London were unadulterated and correctly identified, mitigating the risk of deceit to non-specialist buyers and protecting the public health.⁶³⁴ Many of the Company's members were wholesalers and retailers primarily engaged in the importation and sale of such diverse items as wax, dyes, sugar, wine, spices, dried fruit and herbs, but a minority composed the City's apothecaries: specialist practitioners of pharmacy who, in addition to compounding and supplying medicines, also used their skills to produce confectionery, spiced beverages, cosmetics and perfume.⁶³⁵ Though

⁶³¹ Webster, 'William Harvey and the Crisis of Medicine', p. 5; Cook, 'The Regulation of Medical Practice' (1981), p. 10.

⁶³² Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, p. 4. Members of these two companies often encroached on physicians' privileges, as Margaret Pelling and Frances White have shown in their *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640* database. See, for example, John Parker of St Peter Cornhill, an apothecary in the Grocers' Company, who was ordered to desist practising medicine in 1599; John Always, a barber-surgeon of St Giles without Cripplegate, was flagged for illicit practice by the College in 1607. Margaret Pelling and Frances White, 'PARKER, John' in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640 Database* (London, 2004), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/parker-john>> [accessed 30 June 2020]; Pelling and White, 'ALWAY, John' in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners*.

⁶³³ A tiny minority also belonged to the Scriveners' Company, and others to no company at all; see Table 2 in Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Physick*, Ch. 1, p. 7.

⁶³⁴ Harding, *A History of the Society of Apothecaries*, p. 23.

⁶³⁵ Harding, *A History of the Society of Apothecaries*, pp 14-15; Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Physick*, Ch. 1, p. 1.

the apothecaries had always formed a distinct group within the Company of Grocers, their status as medical practitioners contained within (and thereby regulated by) a commercial guild dominated by merchants and retailers had become increasingly tenuous by the latter half of the sixteenth century.⁶³⁶ Emphatically petitioned by the College of Physicians, which from its establishment had complained of apothecaries' lack of direct medical supervision, in 1553 an Act of Parliament superseded the Grocers' regulatory privileges over its pharmaceutical members by allowing the College to conduct independent reviews of apothecaries' shops and wares on the basis of rogue practitioners' particular threat to public health.⁶³⁷ This emboldened the College to push for further policing rights over the apothecaries throughout Elizabeth's reign, an endeavour which – as indicated in Chapter Two – received few concessions from the increasingly conservative Crown.

The Elizabethan College often justified its repeated attempts to maintain greater control over the activities of London's apothecaries by implicitly referencing the City's established market precepts against fraud and poisoning, suggesting that without learned supervision (of the sort the College could provide), the apothecaries were free to flagrantly break these precepts. Drugs were expensive, specialist goods; garbling was mandated precisely because the non-specialist could not be expected to differentiate between differing purities and types, and was therefore vulnerable to manipulation by deceitful practitioners concerned more with profit than public health. The physician John Securis warned of apothecaries' profiteering, writing that in his view, they often acted "more for lucre sake and gredines of worldly goodes...then for any care that they haue, to deale truly with the poore pacientes and sely soules that be in payne".⁶³⁸ Such fears were repeated in popular sources throughout the early modern period, with Thomas Dekker's *Rod for Run-aways* (1625) damningly reporting that during plague, "None thriue but Apothecaries, Butchers, Cookes, and Coffin-makers".⁶³⁹ Even if apothecaries did not set out to deceive their customers, the College agitated that without proper prescription or supervision, potentially dangerous medicines of unknown provenance and strength

⁶³⁶ Patrick Wallis describes them primarily as 'producer-retailers', distinct from physicians and surgeons who provided a service. Patrick Wallis, 'Consumption, retailing and medicine in early-modern London', *Economic History Review*, 61:1 (2008), p. 28.

⁶³⁷ Hunting, *Society of Apothecaries*, p. 25.

⁶³⁸ John Securis, *A detection and querimonie of the daily enormities and abuses cof[m]mitted in physick [...]*, (London, 1566), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2240903004/99846361/E8443901249043A0PQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 29 June 2020], pp 53-54.

⁶³⁹ Dekker, *Rod for Run-aways*, p. 4.

were at risk of being distributed amongst the body politic.⁶⁴⁰ This was a particular concern given the rise of chemical medicine, a fashionable, lucrative but often relatively untested means of treatment considered considerably more potent (and thus more likely to poison) than traditional herbal medicine.⁶⁴¹ In *Bulleins bulwarke* (1562), the cleric-physician William Bullein advised “the ignoraunt” masses for whom his regimen was intended to avoid complex concoctions unless prescribed by a physician, writing that, “if it be possible, make your medicines your selfe, and trust not so much the Apothecaries, leas ye be deceyued”.⁶⁴²

The Elizabethan College’s anxieties about apothecaries stemmed, at least in part, from the profession’s rapid expansion over the period, which reflected and reinforced medical practitioners’ and lay people’s growing interest in and use of medicines. From 1558 to 1615, the Grocers’ Company’s (self-identified) numbers of apothecaries had grown from “not many more than a dozen” to well over a hundred.⁶⁴³ Demand for the profession’s services were further accentuated by the Elizabethan Poor Laws, which formally charged parishes to pay for and oversee the care of increasing numbers of sick poor. More often than not, parochial overseers relied not on expensive consultations with the City’s few licensed physicians, but on the more reliable and often cheaper services of apothecaries, surgeons and informal practitioners (which included men and women).⁶⁴⁴ This tendency was particularly pronounced during epidemics, periods in which elite fellows of the College often made use of their extra-municipal position to follow their wealthy patients out of the

⁶⁴⁰ Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 119.

⁶⁴¹ Wallis, ‘Consumption, retailing and medicine’, p. 42.

⁶⁴² This reflected and fed into broader contemporary debates and anxieties about the place of potentially deceitful middlemen in the growing City. William Bullein, *Bulleins bulwarke of defence [...]* (London, 1579), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2240873976/D404A406404441D2PQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 21 July 2020], p. 4; fol. 25.

⁶⁴³ Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Physick*, Ch. 2, p. 1.

⁶⁴⁴ Hunting, *Society of Apothecaries*, p. 26. In 1614, for example, there were only forty-one fellows, licentiates and candidates of the College in the whole of London. During James’ reign, numbers seemed to fluctuate between 40-50, a considerable rise on the 18 recorded in 1538, and 30 recorded in 1589. Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 190; Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, ‘Medical practitioners’ in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Charles Webster and Charles Rosenberg (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), p. 188; Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Physick*, Ch. 1, p. 10.

City.⁶⁴⁵ Barber-surgeons and apothecaries, duty-bound as citizens, politicians and members of the Corporation, were not permitted the same dereliction of public duty.⁶⁴⁶ During such public health emergencies, apothecaries worked with parishes, hospitals and individuals to provide medicaments including ingredients for the simple compounds instructed by the College in Elizabeth's oft-reprinted *Orders* (1578).⁶⁴⁷ Often, the absence of physicians forced apothecaries to assume an advisory role not usually attributed to them under the strict divisions of labour envisioned by the College, a concession which further rankled the institution. It continued to insist that even during an emergency, unlearned practitioners should refrain from using their judgement to issue advice – even while its own members “hid their Synodically heads aswell as the prowdest”.⁶⁴⁸

The growth of apothecaries' social importance and demand for their services contributed to rumbles of discontent not just from outside, but within the Grocers' Company, as apothecaries increasingly argued that their profession was becoming too specialised to be adequately garbled, regulated and monitored by ordinary grocers, ropers, spicers and pepperers.⁶⁴⁹ There was also the problem of illicit practice within the guild more broadly, since unskilled members of the Grocers were permitted to sell drugs under the terms of the Company's charter, providing non-specialists with the means to counterfeit lucrative medical treatments sold to unwitting members of the public.⁶⁵⁰ In a speech given at parliament towards the end of his reign, James himself expressed irritation at rogue grocers who, bringing “home rotten wares from the Indies, Persia and Greece...here with their mixtions make

⁶⁴⁵ Dekker also noted the flight of physicians during plague, remarking that he “cannot blame them, for their Phlebotomies, Losinges, and Electuaries, with their Diacatholicons, Diacodions, Amulets, and Antidotes, had not so much strength to hold life and soule together, as a pot of *Pinders Ale* and a Nutmeg: their drugs turned to durt, their simples were simple things: *Galen* could do no more good, than Sir Giles Goosecap”. Thomas Dekker, *1603. The vvonderfull yeare: wherein is shewed the picture of London, lying sicke of the Plague* (London, 1603), *Early English Books Online* < <https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2240914309/Sec0001/33CAA4C070084C6APQ/2?accountid=7408> > [accessed 11 June 2021], p. 29.

⁶⁴⁶ Patrick Wallis, ‘Plagues, Morality and the Place of Medicine in Early Modern England’ in *English Historical Review*, 121:490 (2006), p. 3.

⁶⁴⁷ “...the simples wherof [these recipes are]...made”, the College reassured readers, “are easily to be had in any good Apothecaries shoppe”. *Orders* (1578), p. 14.

⁶⁴⁸ Dekker, *1603. The vvonderfull yeare*, p. 29. Believing that such individualistic actions undermined the College's regulatory authority, during his presidencies of the College (1606-1608, 1616-1617 and 1624-1625) the royal physician Henry Atkins undertook to fine physicians who missed meetings held during periods of plague. Though a notable gesture, it is unlikely to have effected much change in those determined to leave. Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, p. 60; Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, p. 86. For more on the reasoning that governed flight, see Grell, ‘Plague and Obligations’.

⁶⁴⁹ Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Physick*, Ch. 4, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁰ Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Physick*, Ch. 1, pp 5-6.

waters and sell such as belong to apothecaries, and think no man must control them because they are not apothecaries”.⁶⁵¹ In 1606, the Grocers’ charter was updated to more formally distinguish the remit of its apothecaries from its other members, but shortly thereafter a number of the Grocers’ highly respected apothecaries, led (to the disgust of the Company) by the foreigner Gideon de Laune, took the opportunity of the king’s sympathy to reshape a bill first advanced in 1588 to seek their formal independence from the company.⁶⁵²

Though this initial bill was swiftly countered by the Grocers, by the 1610s, London’s apothecaries had redoubled their efforts. Their impetus was strengthened by supporters in high places: by 1610, de Laune had advanced to the position of royal apothecary, while 1611 marked the arrival of Mayerne to the position of royal physician – a role he shared with fellow Paracelsian Atkins, fresh from his presidency of the College of Physicians and keen to resume work on the pharmacopeia he had been forced to set aside in the 1590s.⁶⁵³ All had the ear of an interested and sympathetic king, at a time when civic governance seemed reasonably stable and health innovation achievable. This diminished the usual defence of the Corporation which, increasingly concerned at the apothecaries’ resolve, wrote to the Privy Council in May 1614 predicting that the division of the Grocers’ politic body would

bring the Alteration of the whole frame and politique constitution of the citties Government...for the example of anie one in this kinde will worke the dismembringe, yf not the dissolution of all the Companies of London.⁶⁵⁴

This expression of concern for urban governance and hierarchy, without which there could be no public order or safety, was countered by overt public health benefits foreseen and promoted by the king himself. In his preamble to the apothecaries’ Letters Patent (issued in May 1615), James insisted that it was only by means of their regulatory independence that the circulation of “unwholesome hurtfull deceitfull corrupt and dangerous medicines” that caused “perill and daily hazard” to the lives of his subjects could be adequately controlled, and that it was “part of his Princely office to provide and see for ye safety and publick good of our subjects by all

⁶⁵¹ James VI and I, 'His Majesty’s Speech at the rising of the Parliament, 29th May 1624', in *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*, ed. by Philip Baker (2015-18), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/may-29>> [accessed 15 June 2020], fol. 206^v.

⁶⁵² Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*, p. 165

⁶⁵³ Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Physick*, Ch. 4, pp 2-3.

⁶⁵⁴ COL/RMD/PA/01/016, p. 55.

means”.⁶⁵⁵ Between them, City and Crown argued different cases for how best to preserve London’s public health, both centred on the greatest benefits for the body politic as a whole, and ultimately a final decision was made upon the judgement of a particular monarch in a particular context. In 1617, at James’ behest, “the Master, Wardens and Society of the Art and Mystery of Apothecaries” was established as a separate profession, governed by its own rules and regulations.⁶⁵⁶

The *Pharmacopoeia* of London (1618)

The apothecaries’ successes gave fresh impetus to the College’s experiments with chemical medicine, formerly led by Moffet and Atkins and now, increasingly, pushed forward by Atkins and Mayerne.⁶⁵⁷ Just one year after the apothecaries’ establishment as an independent profession, in 1618, the College finally published its inaugural pharmacopoeia – “an authoritative or official treatise containing listings of approved drugs with their formulations, standards of purity and strength, and uses”.⁶⁵⁸ The new pharmacopoeia was the first of its kind in England, intended to standardise physicians’ prescriptions and directions to the newly-chartered apothecaries, who were now exclusively permitted to dispense (though not prescribe) both chemical and herbal medicines in the City.⁶⁵⁹ Its release was swiftly followed by a royal proclamation ordering all apothecaries “of this Realme” to follow its directions, claiming it had been produced “by our especiall Commandement” to protect “our Subjects in their lives and health” for the “publique good”.⁶⁶⁰ Ostensibly, the pharmacopoeia sought to protect public health by providing professional medical practitioners pre-approved, safe quantities and directions for their prescriptions (physicians) and compounds (apothecaries).⁶⁶¹ It also made it easier for members of the College to supervise apothecaries’ wares.⁶⁶² Implicitly, it reasserted the medical hierarchy on the heels of the apothecaries’

⁶⁵⁵ Preamble to the Letters Patent (1615), quoted in Jacques, *Essential to the Pracktick Part of Physick*, Ch. 3, p. 3; *Ibid.*, Ch. 4, p. 6.

⁶⁵⁶ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 26; Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 224.

⁶⁵⁷ Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, p. 152.

⁶⁵⁸ ‘pharmacopoeia, n.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2005) <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/142240?redirectedFrom=pharmacopoeia#eid>> [accessed 26 November 2018]; Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, p. 151; Debus, *The French Paracelsians*, p. 58.

⁶⁵⁹ Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, p. 152.

⁶⁶⁰ James VI and I, ‘A Proclamation commanding all Apothecaries of this Realme, to follow the dispensatory lately compiled by the College of Physitions of London’ in *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. I*, pp 389-391.

⁶⁶¹ Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, p. 152.

⁶⁶² Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, p. 149.

separation from the Grocers, reinforcing the growing influence of the College over the City's other increasingly well-defined and specialised medical practitioners.⁶⁶³

From City to ward: medicinal selling on the streets

Though increasingly empowered College censors anxiously monitored the selling of medical treatments by licensed or would-be apothecaries, early modern medical remedies were not necessarily complicated or specialist products, but homemade or even street-bought alcohol- or food-based mixtures incorporating a myriad of fresh and dried ingredients readily available from the average London market. In Margaret Pelling's and Frances White's database of irregular practitioners prosecuted by the College, examples abound of women caught using predominantly household ingredients to relieve their sick neighbours; Susan Fletcher, presented in 1613, was reported to have topically applied a mixture of smallage, parsley, white bread and milk to a neighbour with breast cancer, in addition to providing her with a drink of white wine, thistle, and saffron.⁶⁶⁴ Kitchen physic was encouraged by a profusion of contemporary texts, from Gervase Markham's popular *The English Huswife* (1615) – in which medical remedies are composed largely of food and herb mixtures, incurring only the occasional trip to avail of the apothecary's expertise – to the apothecary John Parkinson's *Paradisus Terrestris* (1629) – which extolled the benefits of the 'kitchen garden', from which the medical qualities of herbs could be integrated into everyday cooking.⁶⁶⁵ Thus the relationship between food and medicine remained strong, and London's medical and food professions frequently intersected. Many physicians held stakes in the drinks industry, and items such as dried fruit were stocked in apothecaries' and general grocery shops and hawked on the streets.⁶⁶⁶ This meant that the supply of medical remedies (or, indeed, ingredients intended for or used in remedies) were not always searched out by the College in

⁶⁶³ This was further demonstrated some twenty years later with the Crown's incorporation of the distillers, who sought to separate from the apothecaries in 1638 – once again, with the regulatory support of Mayerne. See Debus, *English Paracelsians*, p. 156.

⁶⁶⁴ She was also accused of inspecting patients' urine, an act associated with charlatanry, which particularly incensed the College's president Dr Moundeford. Pelling and White, 'FLETCHER, Susan' in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners* <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/fletcher-susan>> [accessed 30 June 2020].

⁶⁶⁵ Best, 'Introduction', pp xxix-xxx; John Parkinson, *Paradisi in sole paradisi terrestris. or A garden of all sorts of pleasant flowers [...]* (London, 1629), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2240885639/99850579/99DC04B60A9E4054PQ/2?accountid=7408>> [accessed 12 November 2020], p. 6.

⁶⁶⁶ Pelling, *The Common Lot*, p. 245. See also actions against street hawkers, issued by the Court of Aldermen, in which street-sellers of grocers' wares were specifically mentioned. COL/CA/01/01/030 (1605), fol. 200^v.

their quest against informal practitioners, but by the City more broadly in its bid to enforce the laws of the market.⁶⁶⁷ Reviewing the Cornhill and Farringdon wardmote registers for the years of James' reign offers the public health historian a subtle insight into the principal public health redresses sought at a local level by officials and inhabitants, including – but not limited to – evidence of informal markets for medical ingredients and/or remedies. To date, they have been little used for this purpose.

Several presentments relating to the vendors of consumeables commonly used in (or as) medical remedies appear in Cornhill's Jacobean wardmote inquest register from the period 1612-1620. The first category of these relate to herb-sellers, who appear for the first and only time in the 50-year period sampled (1590-1640). All of those reprimanded for causing annoyance by Leadenhall market's "four spowts" were female, and all appear over the period 1612-1615.⁶⁶⁸ The presentments of Cornhill's herb women followed an Act of Common Council issued in 1612, which dictated that female traders must be "the wives or widowes of free men of this Cittie or other auncient dwellers within this Cittie": this somewhat accounts for the timing of the women's inclusion in the ward records, though not entirely, given other female vendors – fruit and oat sellers, for the most part – continue to appear in the years to come.⁶⁶⁹ Curiously, no herb women appear in the Fines Book for the period 1590-1640 – likely because they dealt in smaller quantities than are usually reported in this document – making even fleeting evidence of their activities at ward level particularly valuable.⁶⁷⁰

Given Cornhill was an exceedingly central, prosperous and symbolic ward in London, the appearance of herbwomen at this time reflects a broader, more significant change. Herbs were a traditional component of Galenic medicine which were increasingly sold commercially throughout the early modern period, to be used in domestic cooking, as medicinal scents to ward off miasma, and as the base of many medical remedies.⁶⁷¹ From the sixteenth century, the science of botany

⁶⁶⁷ Some examples do emerge in the College's summons of irregular practitioners; see, for example, a "diet drinke" (used for purging) given by Rebecca Owen, the wife of a distiller, to a tailor's man in 1616 and by a Mrs Gates to Ann Stamford "on the recommendation of a shoemaker's wife" in 1619. See Pelling and White, 'OWEN, Rebecca' in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners*; Pelling and White, 'GATES, Mrs' in *Ibid*.

⁶⁶⁸ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1612), fol. 128v; *Ibid* (1614), fol. 137^r; *Ibid*. (1615), 140^r.

⁶⁶⁹ City of London, London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/01/01/029/01 [Journal of Common Council (1609-12)] (1612), fols. 300^r-302^r.

⁶⁷⁰ The Fines Book does, however, refer often to the regrating of eggs, which were often a base for consumeable or topical remedies. See, for example, COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1614), fol. 253^v & fol. 255^r; *Ibid* (1615), fol. 255^r.

⁶⁷¹ Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 185.

underwent a renaissance as medical scholars revisited and translated classical texts in search of forgotten therapies, and colonies in the Americas or Indies began to send back cuttings of newly discovered plants which required careful investigation and classification.⁶⁷² This was partly what had fuelled the College's growing interest in the interplay between herbs and pharmacy in the 1580s and 1590s; it had also contributed to the division of the Grocers' Company in 1617. On the streets of London, as well as elsewhere, the urban 'herb woman' was popularly regarded as a medical specialist in her own right: the first port of call for those seeking advice as well as wares.⁶⁷³ Rebecca Laroche has shown that it is precisely on account of this presumed authority that herb women were referred to with evident discomfort – on a level with deceitful apothecaries and all sorts of other charlatans – in a number of contemporary herbals and lay medical texts.⁶⁷⁴ Their assumed specialism presented another area in which medicine and food were intimately connected, since herbs were commonly sold by females, and most day-to-day medicine continued to be associated with the domestic sphere.⁶⁷⁵

Markham's *English Huswife* (1615), written for a domestic audience, recommends herbs for general healthful eating, as well as for a great number of moderate and severe ailments. Chief among these is plague, scourge of the City, for which he recommends women lay a herbal plaster made of "the yolke of an egge, hony, herbe of grace chopt exceeding small, and wheate flower" upon the bubonic sore.⁶⁷⁶ Markham advised female readers against visiting the market themselves, instead recommending that produce such as herbs "proceed more from the prouision of her owne yarde": markets, many contemporaries believed, were rife with impropriety, and the virtuous woman should avoid entering such a place.⁶⁷⁷ Given this was not always possible for urban-dwellers, the street-side herb woman – angled strategically, to catch customers – was well-situated for passing trade.

The herbwomen's appearance in Cornhill coincided with a second, more explicitly medicinal set of presentments: in 1614 and 1615, Zachary Whiting was

⁶⁷² Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 185.

⁶⁷³ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 48.

⁶⁷⁴ Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550-1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 20; *Ibid.*, pp 26-27.

⁶⁷⁵ Pelling, *Common Lot*, p. 245

⁶⁷⁶ Gervase Markham, *Countray contentments, or The English huswife [...]* (London, 1623), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99847308> [accessed 22 October 2018], p. 9.

⁶⁷⁷ Markham, *The English huswife*, p. 4; Keri Sandburn Behre, 'Look What Market She Hath Made': Women, Commerce and Power in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and *Bartholomew Fair*, *Early Theatre*, 21:1 (2018), p. 129.

presented for illegally selling caudles. His presentment cites his problematic social status – rather than the consumeable he was providing – as the reason he was called before the wardmote: as neither “freeman nor denizen”, he was not permitted to keep a shop.⁶⁷⁸ The timing of his appearance in the wardmote inquest book is significant. To begin with, his is the first item explicitly referring to the selling of caudle within Cornhill’s wardmote book (at least, from 1590-1640). Caudle was a thin, often alcoholic spiced or sweetened gruel traditionally given to the sick, to invalids, or labouring women and their gossips.⁶⁷⁹ In the Elizabethan *Orders* (1578) against plague, caudle was recommended as an everyday vehicle for herbs (including sorrel, borage, bugloss, and betony) and spices (such as clove, mace, nutmeg and sandalwood – “sanders”) to protect against inflection, but it does not explain what else went into the concoction.⁶⁸⁰ In his book the *Surgion’s Mate* (1617), Surgeon-General of the East India Company, John Woodall, suggested making it with oats as its base, adding “a little beere or wine, with the yolke of an egge, and a little sugar made warme” to speed up the recovery of seamen with scurvy.⁶⁸¹ The beverage likely resembled and imitated the functions of a modern-day hot toddy, with the addition of egg, oats, or other nutritional foods; its purpose was to nourish the drinker and encourage restful sleep which, in turn, aided recovery from illness.

It is notable that Whiting persisted in selling the gruel after he was initially caught and charged by ward officials. His perseverance suggests that the commodity must have well-received in Cornhill ward, since Whiting clearly believed that his fledgling business was worth repeated public admonishment and a fine. That the entrepreneurial Whiting – or indeed anybody else selling caudle – does not appear again in the register after 1615 is of little consequence; his presence alone confirms that selling ready-made, restorative remedies was not unusual, and was perhaps (given he is noted two years in a row) welcomed and purchased by locals or market-goers.⁶⁸² There was certainly a precedent for this: it was not unheard of for victuallers, for example, to sell purging ales and ague cures.⁶⁸³ Though there was no plague epidemic recorded between 1612-1615, the period in which both Whiting and the herbwomen both appear, briefly, at Cornhill, their proximity and activity may

⁶⁷⁸ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001, fol. 138^r (1614); fol. 140^r (1615).

⁶⁷⁹ caudle, n. a., *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (1989) <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/29073?rskey=0nQfVF&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>> [accessed 7 November 2018].

⁶⁸⁰ It was likely considered common knowledge. *Orders* (1578), p. 20.

⁶⁸¹ Woodall, *The surgions mate*, p. 184.

⁶⁸² There certainly seemed to be a business in this; the Physician’s records note the case of Goodye Wake, presented for selling a drink for colds, in 1634. Pelling and White, ‘WAKE, Goodye’ in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners*.

⁶⁸³ Pelling, *The Common Lot*, p. 57.

well have been linked to an indefinite outbreak of another sort – smallpox, perhaps, or even typhoid or typhus – that prompted anxious Londoners to stock up on medicinal ingredients and remedies.⁶⁸⁴

The final category of presentment found in the Jacobean wardmote registers is less explicitly medicinal, but more broadly links to the other categories in how it reinforces the City's periodic anxieties about itinerant (often female) vendors. It deals with ambulant fruit-selling: a practice increasingly common in both Cornhill and Farringdon Without wards during James' reign. Early modern medicine recognised the particular importance of citrus fruit and juices in the treatment of various diseases, with orange skins being used to produce medicinal bitters and lemon and lime juice acting as "precious medicine[s]" against scurvy in the longer-haul voyages that, by James' time, had become ubiquitous.⁶⁸⁵ In Farringdon Without, 1614 marks the first time in which Adam Harrison, a seller of undistinguished "fruit and rootes" first came to the attention of ward officials.⁶⁸⁶ Described as an "annoyance", his offences included "thrustinge out his fruite farr into the high streete there & keepinge his m[ar]kett thereuppon according to the greate annoyance of all".⁶⁸⁷ His business must have proved lucrative, for he continues to appear in the register for more than a decade: in 1618, 1619 and 1621 he even rented the use of a commercial stall and cellar from a man named John Mason.⁶⁸⁸ Demand for fruit in Farringdon Without appears to have either grown and/or become more closely monitored from the late-1610s, as unnamed fruit women (described as the wives and the maids of local men) were apprehended in 1623 and Harrison was joined in his existing activities by two men named Mr Devereux and Richard Forrest in 1624.⁶⁸⁹

Cornhill's wardmote register records similar concerns in the 1610s, having otherwise reported no fruit-vending issues over the period 1600-1610. This was likely in response to a 1607 proclamation released to restrict the selling of fruit other than oranges and lemons near the Royal Exchange, which did not dissuade ambulant

⁶⁸⁴ Prince Henry was suspected to have died of typhoid fever in 1612, while typhus was also frequent visitor to the City. The presence of ague and "other infirmities" were flagged by the Mayor of London as reason to license more Lenten butchers in early 1611. Unfortunately, the 1610s been excluded from Andrew Appleby's helpful comparative table of London Mortality (1629-1750) because until 1629 London's Bills of Mortality did not regularly show yearly total mortality. See Appleby, 'Nutrition and Disease', p. 20; COL/RMD/PA/01/003 (1611) [*Remembrancia III*, 1610-1614], p. 40.

⁶⁸⁵ Woodall, *The surgions mate*, p. 184; Laroche, *Medical Authority*, p. 188 (footnote 59).

⁶⁸⁶ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1614), fol. 94^r

⁶⁸⁷ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1618), fol. 99^v.

⁶⁸⁸ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1618), fol. 99^v; *Ibid.* (1619), fol. 101^v; *Ibid.* (1621), fol. 104^v.

⁶⁸⁹ CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1623), fol 108^r; *Ibid.* (1624), fol. 108^v.

sellers for long.⁶⁹⁰ From 1610, Cornhill's register once again depicted fruit vendors as perennial annoyances who

[obstruct the] streete...w[i]th basketts & other things that coches and carts cannot well passe & diu[er]s yong women & maid servants do live in that idle course of life & sit there at unlawfull houres in the night tyme & intice apprentices and seruants to wast their money...and are the occasion of many brawles to the disquieting of the neighbo[ur]s.⁶⁹¹

The significant difference between Farringdon Without's and Cornhill's presentments is that in the latter's fruit vendors are all female, encapsulating all three categories of presentment discussed in Chapter One – that is, market-selling, environmental and behavioural public health precepts. By disrupting the flow of traffic through the ward and its markets, failing to observe lawful selling hours, and attracting young men to congregate without moral purpose in a particularly central and symbolic urban site, the female fruit-sellers contributed not just to market-goers' frustration, but implications of disorder in the ward as a whole. These anxieties became particularly potent from the Elizabethan period, as increasing numbers of women entered the City's traditionally patriarchal market economy to meet growing consumer demand and the secondary commodities they sold – among them fruit and vegetables – grew in commercial significance.⁶⁹² At an emergency meeting of the ward dated 3 February 1612, some months ahead of that year's wardmote inquest, Cornhill's authorities declared, "w[i]th the gen[er]all consent of the Inhabitants",

that there shall not bee p[er]mitted anie woman or other p[er]sons to sitt bee or remayne before the exchange or thereabouts w[i]thin the saide warde to sell apples, oranges, fruits or such like, for they have throughlie considered of many inconveninencies thereby arrisinge.⁶⁹³

They compounded this decision by appointing a further thirty men to the ward's watch, suggesting that the women weren't entirely the basis of the problem.⁶⁹⁴ Indeed, the date suggests a certain hastiness to shore up the ward's defences ahead of Shrove Tuesday: a day in which riotous apprentices brought disorder to the City and (more usually) its suburbs. The period from 1612-17 was one in which apprentice violence particularly proliferated.⁶⁹⁵ Cornhill's particular focus on its itinerant fruit-sellers over this period, then, offers a timely reminder of the myriad of

⁶⁹⁰ 'Proclamation (11 August 1607)' in *The Royal Exchange: extracts from the records of the City of London [...], 1564-1825* (London: Arthur Taylor, 1839), p. 40.

⁶⁹¹ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1610), fol. 118^v.

⁶⁹² Sandburn Behre, 'Look What Market She Hath Made', pp 130-131.

⁶⁹³ This was dated 3 Feb. 1611 in the register, being noted after the wardmote inquest records from December 1611; I have updated the year to accurately reflect New Style dating protocols. CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1612), fol. 127^r.

⁶⁹⁴ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1612), fol. 127^r.

⁶⁹⁵ Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, p. 188.

contemporary concerns – not all of them explicitly medical – that continued to influence the intersecting components of early modern public health and order in the Jacobean City.

Chapter Three conclusion

In spite of contemporary fears of food shortages persisting throughout James' reign, the subsistence infrastructures installed and reinforced by Elizabethan and Jacobean administrations meant that dearth did not again impact the still-expanding city to the same extent as it had threatened to do in the 1590s. This advancement enabled early Stuart regimes to shift their focus to other, more explicit aspects of English public health, including improving responses to plague and inculcating greater personal health responsibility and medical literacy in all Londoners. King James himself played a significant but notably understudied role in this process, both as an academically-minded patron of the City's College of Physicians and as a keen reformer of civic health practice. The nature of this abiding interest, the chapter argued, is evidenced in James' skilful use of cutting-edge medico-political theories in his writings and speeches, the majority of which public health historians have been slow to investigate. Contextual factors also significantly contributed to innovations in early Stuart medicine and public health. A rapid increase in the availability of lay and professional medical texts also contributed to London's public health cultures: the first, by making it easier for medicine to permeate aspects of ordinary life; the second, by increasing the diversity and inter-disciplinarity of learned medical knowledge. The diminishment of Elizabethan policies of containment, which allowed England to cautiously reopen its borders to continental Europe, allowed foreign medical knowledge and practice to increasingly permeate and influence London politics and society.

The next section of Chapter Three discussed how these developments came to bear not only on professional and lay medicine in the City of London, but the activities of semi-medicinal food trades such as the powerful Worshipful Company of Grocers and peripatetic herb, root and fruit sellers. It showed how the growing medicalisation of London culture and the growing interdisciplinarity of academic medicine prompted a crisis in urban medical practitioners' professional identity that challenged traditional aspects of civic identity and administration. During the Jacobean period, two of the ways in which this manifested itself was in the apothecaries' split from the powerful Company of Grocers and the College of Physicians' renewed efforts to define, expand and protect their privileges from encroachment by other urban medical practitioners. A third, less overt expression of

London's growing medicalisation can be discerned in the Jacobean City's and College's representation of efforts to stem the unlicensed selling of certain medicinal foodstuffs and remedies at local level, an interdisciplinary, medico-gastro trade which – as London's wardmotes reflect – were often occupied by female practitioners and traders fulfilling traditionally marginal roles in male-dominated commercial spheres.

Chapter Four

**“Do not dwell in a city whose governor is a
physician”⁶⁹⁶:
public health authority and innovation under
Charles I**

⁶⁹⁶ John Ray (1678), ‘Do not dwell in a CITY whose governor is a physician’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, ed. by Tilley, p. 102.

On 27 March 1625, James I died, his second son Charles inherited a kingdom, and the City and its suburbs began to succumb once more to the deadly creep of plague.⁶⁹⁷ London's last major outbreak had occurred more than two decades previously, at the time of James' accession.⁶⁹⁸ This epidemic of 1625 would prove arguably just as calamitous as that of 1603, claiming more than 35,000 lives in the City alone and continuing to flare up, in lethal increments, throughout 1626.⁶⁹⁹ In addition to proving a devastating introduction to kingship, the threat of epidemic disease would prompt the new monarch, by then relocated to Oxford, to dissolve Parliament by 12 August after less than two months' of business. This first failed parliamentary session established a precedent for the king's subsequent succession of frustrated relationships with parliamentary, civic and other authorities, culminating in Charles' refusal to call an English parliament from 1629-1640 (a period known as his Personal Rule) and – in 1642 – the outbreak of civil war.⁷⁰⁰ While Charles' pugnacious, forceful personality and frequent disregard for civil customs and liberties would each be blamed for spectacularly destabilising the body politic, the circumstances of his first parliamentary failure draws focus to threats external to the king: namely, the continued impact of epidemics on political and social institutions alike. Aided by a flourishing popular culture of medical awareness stemming from the Jacobean period, Charles used the particular threat of epidemics to maximise and justify his public health commands and innovations, using the medium of public health to boost Crown authority.

As Chapters Two and Three have shown, in early modern England, monarchs' personalities and priorities were influential in establishing a basis for subsequent public health developments and innovations. Charles had a reputation in his own time for being head-strong and exceedingly dour: the contemporary poet

⁶⁹⁷ Ryan J. Hackenbracht, 'The Plague of 1625-26, Apocalyptic Anticipation, and Milton's Elegy III', *Studies in Philology* 108:3 (2011), p. 413.

⁶⁹⁸ This timing was considered exceedingly suspect by some contemporaries, as the later Stuart statistician John Graunt noticed and promptly rebutted: a lack of plague in "the year 1648, wherein the present *King* commenced his right to reign, as also the year 1660, wherein he commenced the exercise of the same", he wrote, "doth abundantly counterpoise the Opinion of those who think great *Plagues* come in with *Kings* reigns, because it hapned so twice, viz. *Anno* 1603, and 1625...which clears both *Monarchie*, and our present *King's Familie* from what seditious men have surmised against them." Graunt, *observations*, pp 40-41.

⁶⁹⁹ Hackenbracht, 'The Plague', p. 413. Though historians have generally conceded that 1625 was not as devastating an outbreak as 1603, Graunt was of the opinion that in 1625, searchers failed to correctly distinguish many causes of death, meaning that the impact of plague was underestimated in official Bills of Mortality statistics. He came to this conclusion by observing death rates for the two years prior to and after 1625, and comparing them to the plague/other malady ratios. Graunt, *observations*, p. 33.

⁷⁰⁰ Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603-1714* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp 89-90. He did, however, call Parliaments in Scotland and Ireland in the 1630s.

and biographer Lucy Hutchinson, a member of his court, described him as “temperate and chaste and serious”.⁷⁰¹ Famed for his love of protocol, he despised close contact with any but the highest ranks of society, instructing his subjects to maintain their distance from his royal person and evidencing an unyielding dislike of frivolity and festivity. Exceptions were made only for overtly ceremonial displays, which the king used to reinforce precedence and propriety.⁷⁰² From the outset of his succession, Charles did not promote the wide dissemination of his (approved) personal image, as Elizabeth I had famously done, preferring to formally reproduce the emblems of his office in print (his preferred medium of kingly communication).⁷⁰³ His closest associates knew him to be obsessed with order and consistency: a monarch keen to minutely regulate all things from his person to his kingdom.⁷⁰⁴ In spite of this predilection, however, Charles had little interest in arbitrating competing religious factions in the Church of England or closely monitoring and reacting to Scottish politics, as his father had – with the result that both issues presented considerable problems by the second half of his reign.⁷⁰⁵ It is reasonable to say that Charles’ desire for absolute control loomed far larger than his ability for diplomacy: he was impatient of criticism, slow to negotiate, and forceful in his commands.⁷⁰⁶ Londoners knew little of their king aside from the regimented paternalism that increasingly suffused his proclamations, orders, and instructions to the Corporation of London, which were then disseminated to the City’s wards and parishes.

Though his sombre aspect stood in contrast to his father’s love of frivolity, Charles, like James, held “men of learning and ingenuity in all arts” in high

⁷⁰¹ Lucy Hutchinson, ‘Lucy Hutchinson’s account of the court of Charles I’ in *English Historical Documents: V (B), 1603-1660*, ed. by Barry Coward and Peter Gaunt (London & New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 457. Indeed, by the age of nine Charles is held to have precociously adopted the motto “If you would conquer all things, submit yourself to reason”. Hutchinson, p. 457.

⁷⁰² Judith Richards, “His Nowe Majestie” and the English Monarchy: The Kingship of Charles I before 1640’, *Past and Present*, 113 (1986), p. 80; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 217.

⁷⁰³ Richards, “His Nowe Majestie”, p. 75. The Elizabethan regime not only disseminated flattering images, but encouraged flattering depictions of the Queen in contemporary propaganda as the saviour of English Protestantism, the true heir of her father, and the embodiment of English national identity previously suppressed by her half-Spanish, Catholic sister Mary (as illustrated, for example, in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* (1563)). Though these depictions seem initially driven by popular exaltation, by the 1580s they had been skilfully reappropriated by the regime and its supporters to temper hostilities to more controversial aspects of her rule. See Haigh, *Reign of Elizabeth I*, p. 3-5; Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603* (London, Routledge, 1994), p. 5.

⁷⁰⁴ Richards, “His Nowe Majestie”, p. 78.

⁷⁰⁵ Post-1638 for Scotland, and post-1640 for England. Coward, *The Stuart Age*, p. 130.

⁷⁰⁶ Coward, *The Stuart Age*, p. 138.

esteem.⁷⁰⁷ He declared “the Colleges and halles of both Universities” to be “publique places of good order”, formed a particularly close and enquiring friendship with one of his royal physicians, Harvey (while somewhat side-lining Harvey’s superior, Mayerne), and took an interest in better ordering London’s public health provision.⁷⁰⁸ During Charles’ reign, the symbiotic relationship between medicine and politics strengthened as the College of Physicians was increasingly utilised as an indispensable arm of Crown governance, a development no doubt reinforced by key members’ acceptance of Charles’ rigid approach to his role in the body politic. In 1628, Harvey’s celebrated *De Motu Cordis* – which unravels some of the mysteries of the circulatory system – was prefaced with firm acknowledgement of the king’s indispensability, noting that

The animal’s heart is the basis of its life, its chief member, the sun of its microcosm; on the heart all its liveliness and strength arise. Equally is the king the basis of his kingdoms, the sun of his microcosm, the heart of the state; from him all power arises and all grace stems.⁷⁰⁹

Given his political rigidity, it is notable that Charles’ reign was one in which national government released more fasting proclamations and public health regulations – and attempted to maintain a firmer public stance on their enforcement – than any other of its Tudor or Stuart predecessors. Many of these appeared during Charles’ Personal Rule, the period between 1629-1640 when parliament was dissolved and the king was empowered to govern without its diplomatic or financial input.

Charles I, the body politic, and absolutist ideas

Before I progress to a fuller discussion of public health, food-selling and consumption under Charles I, it is first necessary to explain just how profoundly the new king’s outlook and behaviours differed from those of his most recent forbears, and – most significantly – how this affected his understanding and use of the body politic metaphor (and thus approach to public health). Charles I is famously remembered for his ill-fated efforts to institute an ‘absolute’ regime in England – precipitating the outbreak of civil war, the temporary exile of the Stuart dynasty, the

⁷⁰⁷ Hutchinson, ‘Lucy Hutchinson’s account of the court of Charles I’, p. 457.

⁷⁰⁸ Charles I, *Orders appointed by His Maiestie to be straitly obserued, for the preuenting and remedying of the dearth of graine and victuall with His Maiesties proclamation, declaring his royall pleasure and further commandement therein* (London, September 1630), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99836862> [accessed 5 March 2019], p. 9; French, ‘Harvey, William’.

⁷⁰⁹ William Harvey, ‘William Harvey (1578-1657): British physician, physiologist, anatomist and embryologist’ in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter, *Oxford Dictionary of Scientific Quotations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 266-267.

king's public execution, and the period since known as 'the Interregnum', ceased in 1660 by the restoration to the throne of his son, Charles II. Though absolutism is often associated with France today, in the early seventeenth century Spain's absolute regime was more often the focus of English attention – particularly in view of the threats posed by the Armada (1588), Gunpowder Plot (1605), and ongoing war with Spain that consumed the early years of Charles I's reign.⁷¹⁰ Charles' particularly authoritative approach has even been attributed to his stay in Castile during negotiations for his (ultimately unsuccessful) betrothal to the Infanta Maria in 1623, a six-month period during which he and one of his father's favourites – George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham and later advisor to Charles I – observed the regimented court of Philip IV in Madrid.⁷¹¹ The Spanish system Prince Charles then witnessed was considerably more formal than that to which he was accustomed in the English court, and it appears to have made a big impression on a prince already known for his dourness.⁷¹² This system may well have coloured Charles' future expectations of his subjects and advisors, influencing how he sought to handle political institutions and economic and social policy in the years to come.

The Spanish court espoused a wholly different political and philosophical outlook regarding monarchy's orientation to the wider body politic. In his review of Spanish absolutism, the historian I. A. A. Thompson argues that the anonymously-written *Philopolites* (published during James I's reign) best describes the differences between the two regimes: comparing England's attitude to organic political analogy to Spain's governmental maxim "*Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*" ("that which is agreeable to the prince, hath the force of law").⁷¹³ *Philopolites* emphasised that while the English king was indeed head of the body, he remained subject to the involuntary movement of the members he ruled over. Under the Spanish system, however, the Crown could not adequately be compared to the head of a body, by reason of the fact that the king could potentially do as he pleased without much considering the consent or welfare of his subjects.⁷¹⁴ In reality, however, the Spanish king did not really exist above the ruling system, being subject to what St Thomas

⁷¹⁰ I. A. A. Thompson, 'Castile' in *Absolutism in Seventeenth Century Europe*, ed. by John Miller (Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press, 1990), p. 69.

⁷¹¹ Mark A. Kishlansky and John Morrill, 'Charles I (1600-1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (4 October 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5143>> [accessed 30 April 2019].

⁷¹² Thompson, 'Castile', p. 73.

⁷¹³ Thompson, 'Castile', p. 69; James A. Ballentine & William Anderson, *Ballentine's Law Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Rochester, N.Y.: Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company, 1969), p. 1048.

⁷¹⁴ Thompson, 'Castile', p. 69.

Aquinas had defined as the ‘directive’ force of the law (that is, the need to set a good example by abiding by them, and thereby demonstrate that he – and his laws – were just and fair).⁷¹⁵ The Spanish system, then, placed considerably more emphasis on a monarch’s innate morality than it did on broader ruling traditions, since in principle, only that which benefited the greater good of his subjects *should* be “agreeable to a prince”. That was what earned an absolute monarch the right to “the force of law”, and it was this idea that Charles repeatedly returned to when he strove to implement ideas that were opposed or questioned by parliament and the Corporation.⁷¹⁶

Absolutism, as it relates to Charles, is a tricky concept to investigate, for (at least as it applies to politics) the term is a modern one that has only ever been applied retrospectively to the king and his successors.⁷¹⁷ Charles was often accused of pursuing authoritarian or absolute powers – meaning that he sought freedom from much “external restraint or interference” – this accusation, however, lacked the systematic precision and wider-ranging connotations of what absolutism, as a concept, came to involve from the nineteenth century onwards.⁷¹⁸ Contemporaries’ use of ‘absolute’ held rather fluid connotations (a point which worked to Charles’ advantage) since writers in the early seventeenth century vacillated regularly in what they took the term to mean, and whether it was complimentary or derisive.⁷¹⁹ In Charles’ own time, ‘absolute’ was an adjective variously used to imply “pure”, “unwavering”, “perfect” or – in conjunction with a title – “unchallenged possession”.⁷²⁰ Anthony Milton has argued that during Charles’ reign, the king and his advisors actively encouraged contemporaries’ uncertainty, suppressing all discussions of the concept – particularly from 1629 (Charles’ Personal Rule) – and blocking the publication and republication even of supportive texts such as Sir Francis Kynaston’s *A True Presentation of Forepast Parliaments* (c. 1629-1630), Sir Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha* (c. 1630s), and John Cowell’s *Interpreter* (1607).⁷²¹

⁷¹⁵ Thompson, ‘Castile’, p. 72.

⁷¹⁶ Ballentine & Anderson, *Ballentine’s Law Dictionary*, p. 1048.

⁷¹⁷ The Oxford English Dictionary traces the first usage of ‘absolutism’ to 1824. See ‘absolute, adj. (and adv.)’, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/679?redirectedFrom=absolute>> [accessed 12 April 2019].

⁷¹⁸ ‘absolute’, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*; Johan Sommerville, ‘Hobbes and Absolutism’ in the *Oxford Handbook of Hobbes*, ed. by Al P. Martinich and Kinch Hoekstra (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 380. See also James Daly, ‘The Idea of Absolute Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century England’ in *The Historical Journal*, 21:2 (1978), esp. p. 248.

⁷¹⁹ Daly, ‘The Idea of Absolute Monarchy’, p. 228.

⁷²⁰ Daly, ‘The Idea of Absolute Monarchy’, pp 228-229.

⁷²¹ Anthony Milton, ‘Thomas Wentworth and political thought of the Personal Rule’, *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford 1621-1641*, ed. by J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp 134-135.

From the mid-seventeenth century and the onset of the English Civil War (1642-51), however, publications did emerge, fuelling political debates in the public sphere and evolving the term's usage. The philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who considered absolutism a necessary aspect of monarchy, argued towards the end of the English Civil War that sovereignty by its very nature had to be absolute, for without it, anarchy would prevail: his views were ultimately supported by some (such as Filmer) but fiercely disputed by others (such as John Locke).⁷²² Locke, in particular, deemed absolutism the death of English liberty: a despicable authority attractive only to would-be tyrants seeking to undermine civic freedoms and individual liberties.⁷²³ Consequently associated more with the end of the seventeenth century than the beginning of it, absolutism came to be linked to the growth of other overarching political ideas such as mercantilism (a "policy of power" which equated the welfare of the state with the welfare of a growing society) and cameralism (a later-seventeenth century German variety of mercantilism, which firstly justified and promoted the centralisation of administration and economic, political, and social policy and secondly ensured the smooth, systematic operation of administrative services and effective public officials).⁷²⁴ Aspects of both philosophies were apparent in Charles' personal approach to governance and – subsequently – the public health innovations he sought to pursue.

By the time of King James II's (Charles I's second son's) displacement in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the idea of absolute power was regularly and actively debated among English philosophers and political theorists.⁷²⁵ This, alongside later uses of the term 'absolutism' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, inevitably coloured (and continues to colour) historical debates relating to Charles I's true intentions and actions in the early to mid-seventeenth century.⁷²⁶ Whether Charles ever truly hoped – or even had the means – to establish an absolute

⁷²² Indeed, the lawyer James Whitehall went so far as to accuse Hobbes of wishing to give "the property of the People to the Prince". Sommerville, 'Hobbes and Absolutism', p. 378; *Ibid.*, p. 380.

⁷²³ John Miller, 'Introduction' in *Absolutism in Seventeenth Century Europe*, ed. by John Miller (Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press, 1990), p. 1; J.H. Burns, 'The Idea of Absolutism' in *Absolutism in Seventeenth Century Europe*, ed. by John Miller (Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press, 1990), p. 22.

⁷²⁴ Mercantilism also stipulated that growing populations were to be encouraged and well-cared for, so that they would adhere to public policies set by monarch and government. In this way, a satisfied population could promote order in the realm, which in turn strengthened the power of the state. See George Rosen, 'Cameralism and the Concept of Medical Police' in *Bull. Hist. Medicine*, 27 (1952), pp 23-24.

⁷²⁵ Burns, 'The Idea of Absolutism', p. 22.

⁷²⁶ This was a historiographical trap that the historian David Hume discovered as early as the 1750s, as he attempted to reconcile earlier and contemporary meanings of 'absolute' in his *History of England*. See Burns, 'The Idea of Absolutism', pp 22-23.

monarchy is a muddled issue, and not one that this thesis wishes to debate in detail. What it does wish to point out, however, is that historiographical debates on absolute power can be further enriched by historians' attention to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century monarchs' interest and involvement in contemporary public health practice.⁷²⁷ This very concrete example of protecting the welfare of the common wealth – or health, as it were – often subjugates personal liberty to ensure community cooperation and order. Public health measures have always entailed the restriction of various individual and institutional freedoms, particularly during extraordinary occurrences (such as epidemics or dearth): as previous chapters have shown, more forceful policies during these times were justified as necessary actions undertaken by Crown and parliament to protect the broader body politic. Further, the effectiveness of centralised public health practice depends on three central factors, all linked to absolutist practice: establishing a hierarchy of expertise to take action, clearly reinforcing this hierarchy and its procedures among different authorities and the public, and zealously communicating and enforcing policy.

Caroline narratives of improvement in London

Early on in his reign, Charles clearly adopted an authoritarian approach to rule, engaging with some of the principles of what would later be deemed 'absolutism' (though he and his government took pains to discourage contemporaries' discussions of them as such).⁷²⁸ The king and his close advisors – first Buckingham, then Archbishop Laud, in addition to the royal physicians William Harvey and Theodore de Mayerne – all took a personal interest in codifying administration and social policy, reinforcing bureaucrats' obedience to and dependence on central state powers.⁷²⁹ This would, Charles hoped, gradually result in greater administrative centralisation – the emanation of state power from a fixed political point (the monarch) which would filter downwards through a fixed social hierarchy, from national officials to local officials, capital to country, and elite to ordinary people.⁷³⁰ A belief in this idea, coupled with recurrent public health challenges throughout his reign, may well account for Charles' adoption of a dictatorial approach to crisis responses and preventative medicine, his frequent dismissal of the customary bounds

⁷²⁷ This was first indicated by Harold Cook, whose work helped inspire this chapter; see Harold John Cook, 'The Regulation of Medical Practice in London Under the Stuarts, 1607-1704' (Doctoral thesis: University of Michigan, 1981) and Cook, 'Policing the health of London'.

⁷²⁸ Milton, 'Thomas Wentworth', pp 134-135.

⁷²⁹ Miller, 'Introduction', p. 5;

⁷³⁰ Miller, 'Introduction', p. 5.

of traditional authorities (or his encouragement for others, such as the College of Physicians, to overstep them), and his oft-repeated assurance that he acted only for the public good.

Charles planned to reinforce his subjects' deference to authority not just within the medical sphere, but throughout English politics, economics and society, starting with the City of London. Viewing his reign as a continuation of James', Charles vowed to extend and better enforce his father's existing legislation, picking up where he had left off in terms of his social policy.⁷³¹ London offered fertile ground for the furthering of its king's social and political ambitions: it was deemed an appropriate place in which Charles could seek to project an ordered reflection of the enlightened and socially conscious monarch he wished to be.⁷³² In one of his earliest proclamations, he expressed a sense of ownership over the City's infrastructures, inhabitants and governments by reiterating London's position as "the King's Chamber" (a description dating back to the medieval period), further declaring it "the Seate Imperiall of this Kingdom, and renowned over all parts of the Christian world".⁷³³ Through this, Charles owed strongly a sense of ownership he, as monarch, felt over the city's infrastructures, inhabitants, and governance. Throughout his reign, this was reflected in the proactive updating and renewing of the city's architecture, which not only reflected Charles' desire to temper practical social problems (in, for example, the removal of inn backsteps, by which criminals routinely escaped justice), but his urge to apply exacting standards of classical uniformity to the city's appearance (by, for example, regulating brick size).⁷³⁴ During his Personal Rule in the 1630s, the king supported a variety of architectural projects, including the restoration of St Paul's cathedral under Archbishop Laud, the development of a piazza at Covent Garden sponsored by the Earl of Bedford, and the Corporation's provision of an anatomy theatre for the Company of Barber-Surgeons – the latter being described by the Corporation as a "necessarie and commendable...worke tending to the generall good of the whole kingdome".⁷³⁵ All of these projects were personally undertaken by Inigo Jones, the king's architect.

⁷³¹ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I'.

⁷³² Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 217.

⁷³³ Charles I, 'By the King. A Proclamation concerning Buildings, and Inmates, within the City of London, and Confines of the same' (1625) in *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. II*, p. 21. Historians believe there is ample evidence to suggest that Charles personally drafted his own proclamations; they reflect many of his primary concerns. Sharpe, *Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 413.

⁷³⁴ Sharpe, *Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 411.

⁷³⁵ Sharpe, *Personal Rule of Charles I*, pp 411-412; Corporation of London & Company of Barber-Surgeons, 'Indenture of lease, 1636' in *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, ed. by Sidney Young (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1890) p. 133.

In addition to improving the material appearance of the City, Charles also sought to use it as a conceptual testing ground for his social policies, which included public health innovations. Operating as the realm's "Vanguard (which first stands the brunt of the Fight)", London offered Charles and his ministers a symbolic – but also practical – location in which to test, structure and assert their commitment to social reform.⁷³⁶ Should Charles tame the City – the demographic and economic heart of the kingdom – to his liking, the rest of the kingdom, too, would surely follow and submit to his greater judgements.⁷³⁷ The metropolis not only offered a well-defined geographical location with its own governance and character, but an established administrative system populated with a vast body of officials. Unfortunately, the characteristics that made London an attractive place to attempt to impose increasingly restrictive social policies also rendered it a greater challenge. Forceful directives which threatened to substantially alter existing chains of administrative and political command in the City directly impinged on the customary freedoms and ancient liberties enjoyed by Londoners and their government, inevitably provoking backlash from affected institutions and authorities.⁷³⁸ This had already happened in the case of the apothecaries' split from the Grocers' during James' reign; during Charles' reign, such resistance would only be intensified by relentless Crown interference and threats in a number of spheres, particularly following the king's Personal Rule from 1629.

Plague and public health strategies in 1625

Charles I's reign began with and continued to be beset by outbreaks of plague in the City of London. Mortality rates hit 20.1% in the capital in 1625, the year of his accession, dropping just two and a half percent below those of the last severe outbreak of 1603 (22.6%).⁷³⁹ John Graunt, who had dubbed 1603 perhaps "the greatest Plague-year" of the age, also alluded to the great mortality of 1625 which he deemed "as great a Plague-year as that of 1603, and no greater".⁷⁴⁰ In spite of this

⁷³⁶ This expression was used by Dekker to refer specifically to the 1625 visitation of plague, but provides a useful contemporary means of orienting London's role within the kingdom at large, for if: "WEE are now in a set Battaile; the Field is Great Britaine, the Vanguard (which first stands the brunt of the Fight) is London: the Shires, Counties and Countries round about, are in danger to be prest, & to come vp in the Reare". Dekker, *A Rod for Run-aways* (1625), p. 6.

⁷³⁷ This turned out to be correct, as despite the centralising tendencies of the Caroline Books of Orders (1630-1), historians of the counties have found that it did succeed in bolstering local magistrates' approach to the issue of poor relief and social reform outside the City. See Slack, 'Books of Orders', p. 1.

⁷³⁸ Cook, 'Policing the health', p. 1.

⁷³⁹ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 151.

⁷⁴⁰ Graunt, *Observations*, p. 25.

ominous state of affairs, few structural innovations in health were made during the first plague crisis of Charles' reign. In 1625, the Corporation of London continued to dominate the management of its citizens' health, overseen by the new king, his advisors, and parliament. Plague had begun to creep into the city from its suburbs from about mid-March; by 25 March 1625, a pointed letter had been sent by the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, Allan Cotton of the Drapers' Company, enquiring as to what the Corporation were planning to do to limit the spread of contagion.⁷⁴¹ Their initial enquiry soon turned to admonishment, as the letter adds "wee cannot heare that any good course hath been taken" to confine the infected or burn the deceased's (low-value) belongings, "w[hi]ch prevent[i]on yf they had beene used might by the grace of god haue stayed the spreedinge of the infect[i]on".⁷⁴² *Remembrancia* does not record a response until July: in it, Cotton reassured the council – long since departed to Oxford with the new king – that the Bills of Mortality showed the infection was largely confined to the city's suburbs, "where the p[ar]ishes stretch into other counties, and where the multitude of inmates are w[i]thout measure".⁷⁴³ He emphasises the need for those who manage such places to take diligent action against the infection, pointedly adding that his "effert wilbe the more reall yf my neighboringe counties p[er]forme their p[ar]te accordinglie".⁷⁴⁴

In spite of Cotton's protestations that the City was not badly affected, by the time of his response to the council he had already ordered the issue of a civic proclamation reiterating the principles of quarantine, hasty burial, public entertainment closures and street cleansing, and formally re-establishing the crisis roles of civic officials such as aldermen, clerks, sextons, and beadles.⁷⁴⁵ Dogs were to be removed from the streets within six days of the proclamation being announced, and any found on the streets (or even causing nuisance by howling indoors) were to be promptly killed by the common huntsman, and buried at least four feet deep in the fields outside the city.⁷⁴⁶ Towards the end of this proclamation, the city's aldermen and deputies were also directed to ensure that "order be taken and treatie

⁷⁴¹ This letter was sent two days before James' death on 27 March: while it was sent in the name of the king, it was likely dictated/approved by Prince Charles. COL/RMD/PA/01/006 (1625), p. 64.

⁷⁴² COL/RMD/PA/01/006 (1625), p. 64

⁷⁴³ Cotton explained that the Privy Council's letter and "other l[ett]res were left in my house diverted to the Justices of Midd[lesex] and Surr[ey] w[hi]ch I caused alsoe to be deliu[er]ed". COL/RMD/PA/01/006 (1625), p. 67.

⁷⁴⁴ COL/RMD/PA/01/006 (1625), p. 67.

⁷⁴⁵ Corporation of London, *Orders to be vsed in the time of the infection of the plague vwithin the citie and liberties of London [...]* (London, 1625), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240925528/33143268/869657DF7164409BPQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 1 May 2019], p. 2.

⁷⁴⁶ Corporation, *Orders to be vsed*, p. 2.

had with the Colledge of Phisicians [sic]” to appoint an unspecified “couient number of Phisicians and Surgeons” to attend to the infected: these services were to be paid for personally by “persons of hability”, while the parish was to assume responsibility for the costs of the poor.⁷⁴⁷ This conceded some public authority to the Colledge, but customarily left much of the impetus for this move to local authorities.

In line with earlier Crown directives of 1609-11, the City also invited four Colledge physicians to sit on London’s temporary health committee in 1625, but it seems little in the way of cohesion was achieved by this enterprise. The Corporation was later accused by committee member and royal physician William Harvey of flagrantly ignoring his colleagues’ recommendations, who also berated the City for continuing to employ unlicensed physicians throughout the epidemic and undermining the regulatory purpose of the Colledge.⁷⁴⁸ The City may well have defended its decisions by making reference to the fact that many of the elite physicians of the Colledge had famously fled from the city during the last great (1603) epidemic, and were expected to do the same in 1625 – as well they might do, given they still identified as a private, not public office.⁷⁴⁹ This meant that they were not morally obliged to stay, but follow their elite (usually also fleeing) patients.⁷⁵⁰ The same moral reasons the licensed physicians cited for fleeing a previous outbreak could, then, be used by the City to practically justify lesser involvement and powers for the ascending Colledge: an omission which harmed the Colledge’s civic ambitions and opportunities. The Colledge was further insulted by the City’s consultation of irregular physicians during plague time, which presented a direct and very public challenge to the Colledge’s primary (regulatory) responsibilities.⁷⁵¹ Aside from these overtures to the Colledge, however, the Corporation for the most part continued to attend to its own public health needs in 1625, pursuing the faithful enactment of the orders it set out in its proclamation to the Aldermen and anxiously overseeing the metropolis’ continued supply of and access to food.

⁷⁴⁷ Corporation of London, *Orders* (1625), p. 2. Other orders issued by the Corporation in 1625 make no reference to the Colledge of Physicians at all; see, for example, Corporation of London, *Orders heertofore conceiued and agreed to bee published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the citie of London [...]* (London: 1625), which would be appended to Charles’ first Book of Orders published in March 1630.

⁷⁴⁸ Webster, ‘William Harvey’, p. 3.

⁷⁴⁹ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 140; Wallis, ‘Plague and Morality’, p. 9.

⁷⁵⁰ As Patrick Wallis has pragmatically pointed out, “For early modern states and cities, religious rituals to propitiate God and charitable or civic efforts to alleviate poverty and contain the threat of social disorder were much more significant concerns than the provision of medical assistance to the sick”. Though the City of London’s Corporation continued to oversee habitual and extraordinary public health measures, these were perceived as civic – not medical – imperatives. See Wallis, ‘Plague and Morality’, p. 2.

⁷⁵¹ Wallis, ‘Plague and Morality’, pp 12-13.

Plague and urban foodways in 1625

The London Fines Book (which ceases after 1628) shows that in 1625 and 1626, the number of fines levied by the City and recorded in the Book fell almost by half compared to the two years prior to that.⁷⁵² While forty-three fines were recorded over the years 1623 and 1624, just twenty-four fines were noted over 1625 and 1626, rising again to forty-four fines for the years 1627 and 1628. This significant dip mirrors that found in Chapter Two, which found that fines against bakers dropped during the dearth years of 1594-7. From 1625-6 (as in the 1590s), this may well have occurred because enforcement officers were deployed to different civic duties during the crisis – reducing their imposition and collection of fines. Equally, it may just as easily have occurred as a result of a conscious (though temporary) shift in civic enforcement policy. The Fines Book primarily concerned itself with urban pollution, the illegal activities of itinerant sellers, the employment of foreign (non-citizen) tradesmen, and the recording of payments to and from Company wardens.⁷⁵³ A reduction in overall and certain types of fines suggests that during the City’s plague outbreak, some activities were increasingly overlooked in the turbulence which followed. While several food-related fines were recorded up to the beginning of March 1625 (from which point we know the outbreak to have begun in earnest), including two shillings and six pence received of “M[ar]tyn Gardyner Chandler for regrating of six fflitches of bacon in Leadenhall to sell agayne contrary to the lawe”, the nine fines levied from 26 April to December 1625 notably referred only to the unhygienic spilling of “ordure” on the streets (5), the illegal burying of vaults (2) and foreigners’ work (2).⁷⁵⁴ In 1626, there were just three fines relating to food or markets, all during March: fines recorded during the hotter months of the year – when plague most often peaked – were predominantly levied, once more, on those accused of polluting civic environments and contributing to miasma.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵² COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1517-1628), fols. 263r.-269v. I determined this by transcribing entries for the years 1623-1628 in full, representing them chronologically and counting and categorising the different types of fines. See Appendix, Item 2.

⁷⁵³ See, for example, an entry made on 8 October 1624 recording the office of the Chamberlain’s receipt of four shillings from “the wardens of the ffreemasons for the Citties moyetye of the fines levied this yere upon offenders breaking the ordynances of the Company”. COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1624), fol. 265v.

⁷⁵⁴ COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1625), fol. 265v.; fol. 267r.

⁷⁵⁵ COL/CHD/CM/10/001 (1625), fol. fol. 267r.; fol. 268r.

The wardmote inquest registers extant for this period (Cornhill and Farringdon Without) present similar findings.⁷⁵⁶ Farringdon Without's food offence records for 1625-6 are predictably sparse, referring only to the by-then habitual activities of Adam Harrison, a fruiterer frequently berated for obscuring parts of Fleet Street with his produce baskets.⁷⁵⁷ Cornhill's, more unusually, contain little mention of food offences in 1625, in spite of its market-heavy location. They do, however, refer to a man and woman being presented for selling "half a peck to [sic] little" to unwary buyers – in previous years, a measurement used to refer solely to grain.⁷⁵⁸ The following year, slightly more victualling-related offences appear (as might have been expected by the end of 1626 – for the wardmote sat on 21 December, St Thomas' Day). This year, three people were charged with using inaccurate weights and measures, the keeper of the clerk of the (Royal) Exchange was admonished for negligent practice, and a fruit seller, Mistress Dowell, was reprimanded for "pestering of the streete".⁷⁵⁹ The following year an inhabitant was berated for "setting out a little frame of wood for the safeguard of his pictures whereby milkwomen haue had their pails of milk ouerthrowne and others carryinge burthens much annoyed".⁷⁶⁰ This presentment is interesting, given it evidences the ward's effort to defend ambulant food vendors' access to its markets and streets rather than – as is usually the case – admonishing them as the obscuring group. Itinerant selling, evidence from the Fines Book and wardmote inquest registers suggests, was not being so stringently regulated as one might expect based on 1590s evidence.

Letters from the Corporation to the Privy Council for this timeframe, preserved in *Remembrancia*, suggest why the City's stance on itinerant and other selling may have softened in 1625 (and, according to the Fines Book, carried on into 1626). In late summer 1625, at the height of the epidemic, Mayor Cotton wrote to the Privy Council to suggest that

⁷⁵⁶ Ward records from Aldersgate and Walbrook also survive for 1625; unfortunately, Aldersgate's wardmote register is limited to the names of officers, and Walbrook's accounts and memoranda book displays only payments, receipts, and officer signatures. Neither contain a presentments section, in which offences in Cornhill and Farringdon Without are recorded. See CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001 (Aldersgate, 1625), fol. 34^r; CLC/W/PA/010/MS00455 (Walbrook, 1625), fol. 20^r.

⁷⁵⁷ This was the same Adam Harrison who appears in Chapter Three. Harrison, variously referred to as a "fruterer" and "costardmonger", appears in Farringdon Without's wardmote register a total of ten times. See CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1614-1626), fols. 94^v-111^v. He always operated on or near Fleet Street.

⁷⁵⁸ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1625), fol. 178^v- fol. 179^r. Oats and "peck" measurements are referred to in *Ibid.* (1621-1624), fols. 156^v - 175^v.

⁷⁵⁹ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001, fol. 181^v-182^r.

⁷⁶⁰ CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1627), fol. 185^v.

howsoever the restraint of carriers and men dealing w[i]th wares may seeme reasonable, yett to forbidd the resort of higlers, and consequentlie all others that serue this towne w[i]th victualls, is a matter not unworthy yo[u]r Lo[rdshi]pps considerat[i]on, for yf this cittie shalbe by publike authority restrayned of victles, it is to be feared that it will not be in the power of me or those few magistrats that are remaininge to restraine the violence that hunger may enforce.⁷⁶¹

The majority of London's ambulant food traders routinely came from outside its wall: from the suburban parishes to as far away as the adjoining counties.⁷⁶² Though their entry into the City during plague risked both spreading and carrying the disease back to surrounding environs, Cotton was more concerned about the social upheaval that would occur should food supplies run low or become inaccessible to the poorest. Such upheaval, he feared, could not be adequately contained by those magistrates who remained (many others having already fled the contagion).⁷⁶³ Though two of the few significant London food riots of the 1590s had, in fact, been directly prompted by the practices of itinerant food-sellers (specifically, the regrating fishwives of Billingsgate and butter-sellers of Southwark), I argue that in the outbreak of 1625 the City took a demonstrably more pragmatic approach to their presence, now considering their services essential to maintaining urban foodways.⁷⁶⁴ This resulted in fewer recorded instances of fines being levied or action being taken against itinerant (or indeed other) food vendors for the period 1625-1626, suggesting a shift in their perceived social value. This makes sense, given shortages of food – a particular risk in plague time – remained a pervasive fear of magistrates, citizens and inhabitants alike.

Londoners' continued terror of deprivation continued to present as a theme in contemporary urban literature such as pamphlets, which from the later Elizabethan period were frequently used to facilitate public discussion and debate.⁷⁶⁵ Thomas

⁷⁶¹ COL/RMD/PA/01/006 (1625), p. 68.

⁷⁶² Oyster sellers (the majority of whom were female) often came to London from their homes in the suburbs, while E. J. Fisher has emphasised how "country wives" and "petty higglers" both brought in large quantities of London's eggs, dairy and poultry. Meat, meanwhile, was a national endeavour, with animals coming to the City from as far afield as Gloucester and Northampton. Taverner, 'Consider the Oyster Seller', p. 6; Fisher, 'The Development of the London Food Market', p. 51; p. 58.

⁷⁶³ That social upheaval was feared or experienced during and/or after the epidemic is made even clearer by the Cornhill wardmote register: the ward's 1626 presentments have had an unusual note signed by the alderman of the ward, Sir John Loman, appended to them. In it, Loman calls for the ward's watch to be properly reinforced, since it "hath been of late much slighted and neglected, w[hi]ch being not tymely prevented maie prove very dangerous, and hurtfull". CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001, fol. 183^r-183^v.

⁷⁶⁴ For more on this incident, see Chapter Two.

⁷⁶⁵ Anna Bayman, *Thomas Dekker and the Culture of Pamphleteering in Early Modern London* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp7-8.

Dekker's *A Rod for Run-aways* (1625) was just one of a number of texts which highlighted and debated plague-time shortages, tying the much feared decay of urban foodways to a second – exceedingly contentious – plague phenomenon: privileged Londoners' flight from the city.⁷⁶⁶ As earlier paragraphs have suggested, flight was undertaken not just by private individuals, but professional physicians and – less permissibly – public office-holders.⁷⁶⁷ Highlighting the myriad consequences of “the runaways” abandonment, Dekker describes the economic, social and political disorder that awaits their eventual return to the City. Food shortages, and the breakdown of everyday social rituals – such as those which governed food purchasing and consumption – are represented particularly bitterly, for as Dekker ominously declares

The walkes in *Pauls* are empty: the walkes in *London* too wide, (here's no lustling;) but the best is, Cheape-side is a comfortable Garden, where all Phisicke-Herbes grow. Wee wish that you (the Run-awayes) would suffer the Market-Folkes to come to vs, (or that they had hearts to come) for the Statute of fore-stalling is sued vpon you. Wee haue lost your companies, and not content with that, you robbe vs of our victuals: but when you come backe, keepe open house (to let in ayre) and set good cheere on your Tables, that we may bid you welcome.⁷⁶⁸

Significantly, in describing these activities, Dekker utilises the parlance of market regulations to accuse those who have failed to come of ‘forestalling’ – ordinarily defined as the private interception of goods before they reach open market in order to sell them at a higher price. His use of the term in this context accuses market no-shows of being automatic forestallers, for the outcome of their absence is ultimately the same: higher food prices for all in the City. Cheapside, ordinarily bustling with activity and victuals, provides nothing but “physick-herbes” – medicine, Dekker grimly implies, having become a more valued public health resource than sustenance. *A Looking-glasse for City and Countrey* (1630), published during the

⁷⁶⁶ Thomas Dekker, *A Rod for Run-aways* [...] (London 1625), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99840991> [accessed 2 April 2019].

⁷⁶⁷ This was a highly disputed moral decision, as Wear demonstrates: a negotiation between one's duty to self-preservation and one's duty to serve the common weal. Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 335. See also Grell, ‘Plague and Obligations’, which highlights the evolution of differing attitudes between Lutherans and Calvinists on this subject.

⁷⁶⁸ Dekker, *A Rod for Run-aways*, p. 5. In a similar fashion, Daniel Defoe recalls how “the great streets within the city, such as Leadenhall Street, Bishopsgate Street, Cornhill, and even the Exchange itself, had grass growing on them in several places” during the Great Plague of 1665 – the city was, he stresses, a “desolate place”, in many areas more like “a green field than a paved street” – minus the harvest. See Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722) (New York: Dover Publications, 2001), p. 76.

next significant Caroline epidemic, takes a similar approach to crisis departures from the City, bemoaning that it is

now widowed of thy chiefest Inhabitants...left disconsolate, for lacke of thy Merchants, and industricus tradesmen...mourning for [the] losse of thy sons and daughters, all the Gentry, that of late made thee their Sanctuary of safety hath now left thee.⁷⁶⁹

Like Dekker, its anonymous pamphleteer points to the practical, economic effects of epidemics on the greater body politic, such that make “London now almost a forsaken City, for her Markets are greatly decayed, and grow barren”.⁷⁷⁰ Merchants and tradesmen who flee are overtly criminalised: represented as enactors of civic disturbance, their actions are compared to the contaminated wanderings of already maligned people such as vagrants and gypsies. Along with the sickness, they have left their urban responsibilities behind.⁷⁷¹

A Looking-glasse's anonymous pamphleteer subtly hints at a second social problem that not only ordinarily contributed to London's existing demographic and economic issues, but inflamed them in times of crisis: the habitation of “thy sons and daughters, all the Gentry, that of late made thee their Sanctuary” but in crisis “of safety hath now left thee”.⁷⁷² While flight remained the preferred option during epidemics – and indeed, continued to be advocated by physicians – it yet entailed those of means (and therefore charitable responsibility) leaving neighbours to fend for themselves.⁷⁷³ It also risked spreading the sickness beyond London. Both points are among those emphasised in the above pamphlets. While the negative effects of socially unsanctioned movement had always been a focus of Tudor and Stuart monarchs, during Charles' reign, the groups under surveillance notably expanded. As Chapters Two and Three have shown, Elizabethan and Jacobean administrations largely focused their attention on the problems presented by poorer segments of the

⁷⁶⁹ Anon, *A Looking-glasse for city and countrey vwherein is to be seene many fearfull examples in the time of this grieuous visitation, with an admonition to our Londoners flying from the city, and a perswasion [to the?] country to be more pitifull to such as come for succor amongst them* (London, 1630), *Early English Books Online*

<http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:33143210> [accessed 2 May 2019].

⁷⁷⁰ Anon, *A Looking-glasse*.

⁷⁷¹ What use is it to flee, anyway, asks the *A Looking-glasse*, when “the visage of the Country is so hard” to these escapees that “the Country-man shun a Londoner as from a Bazaliske or Cockatrice”, and no community to be found anywhere? Anon, *A Looking-glasse*.

⁷⁷² Anon, *A Looking-glasse*

⁷⁷³ In their letter, the council stress that while they are forced to disperse, Cotton must “be very carefull not to abandon the gouernm[en]t of the Cittie as committed to yo[u]r chardge, and to continue and increase all the usuall means for repressinge of the contagion”. COL/RMD/PA/01/006 (1625), p. 66.

‘criminal’ peripatetic (epitomised at various points by vagrants, theatre-participants, itinerant sellers, unruly apprentices, gypsies, and prostitutes, to name a few). While Caroline administrations also monitored and berated these social strata, they gradually took a bigger-picture approach to the issue, increasingly challenging the country gentry, a class that increasingly flocked to the city in pursuit of genteel entertainment, in addition to similarly established social groups such as the Worshipful Companies of London (as will be shown further along the chapter).⁷⁷⁴

Deputising the Caroline gentry

The central objective of Caroline policy was prioritising the body politic above individuals’ comforts and liberties. This involved emphasising the inherent moral responsibilities of all subjects, much as the Jacobean regime had done in its attempts to inculcate personal health responsibility in increasingly literate Londoners. While addressing crisis flight presented clear ethical issues, attempts to restrict the mobility of the privileged in ordinary times – which had the added bonus of also restricting plague-time flight from the city – was far more achievable. Reflecting on the capital’s rapid growth and dramatically fluctuating population, Charles issued a particularly stern proclamation in 1632 publicly reprimanding members of the gentry who abandoned their estates in the country to pursue frivolities in London. They were told in no uncertain terms that

whereby their residence and abiding in the several countries where their means ariseth, they serve the king in several places [...] by their housekeeping in these parts, the realm was defended, and the meaner sort of people were guided, directed and relieved; but by their residence in the said cities [...] they have no employment, but live without doing any service to his Majesty and his people [...] [in London] the disorder there groweth so great and the delinquents become so numerous as those places are not so easily governed by their ordinary magistrates, as in former times...⁷⁷⁵

Charles’ proclamation of 1632 was not the first to raise the issue of the gentry’s inappropriate mobility. The unabated urban movement of the prosperous was a growing problem that had first been identified in the 1590s and, in later years,

⁷⁷⁴ Coward, *The Stuart Age*, p. 20; *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁷⁷⁵ Charles I, ‘Royal proclamation of 20 June 1632’ in *English Historical Documents: V*, p. 460.

stridently followed up by James I.⁷⁷⁶ Charles' proclamation is, however, particularly striking not merely because it was followed by four years of stringent enforcement, but because its tone mimics that more often used to criminalise the activities of able-bodied beggars.⁷⁷⁷ The gentry, the king implies, are fast becoming "delinquents" devoid of "employment": their very presence escalates disorder in the city, while their absence from their country residences damages local economies and forces the "meaner sort" to migrate, worsening conditions in both locations. By their actions, Charles implies, those who flock to the city without purpose serve only to encourage and reinforce a distorted body politic with a "fat Head, thin Guts, and leane Members", as the diplomat Thomas Roe would later put it.⁷⁷⁸

The release of these sorts of proclamations peaked in the 1590s, 1620s and 1630s: all periods of particular concern about urban foodways.⁷⁷⁹ They tied into the Crown's broader efforts to clarify and order the body politic, inside and outside the City, by making clear the hierarchical roles to be fulfilled by all segments of society. This was a cause about which Charles felt particularly vehemently, believing that the ineffectual nature of existing social policies owed more to the inertia of those appointed to discharge them, rather than any inherent flaws or oversights within the policies themselves. The Caroline Crown increasingly focused on shaming, prosecuting and bending the mobile upper echelons of society to its will because these were the populations that Charles wished, most of all, to settle in conservative, hierarchical positions of social and political guardianship supportive to the Crown's grand centralising plan. Crime itself, according to J. A. Sharpe, is "a constantly moving frontier of what is, and what is not, acceptable conduct in any given society."⁷⁸⁰ The criminalisation of the elite, then, marks a bigger-picture shift in governmental focus away from the "meaner sorts" predominantly targeted in earlier

⁷⁷⁶ Felicity Heal, 'The town, the gentry and London: the enforcement of proclamation, 1596-1640' in *Law and Government under the Tudors*, ed. by Claire Cross, David Loades and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 213. See, for example, an act of the Privy Council issued in 1596 requesting that the City "make diligent inquiry of suche gentlemen and others as do remayne...". *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 26, 1596-1597*, ed. John Roche Dasent (London, 1902), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol26>> [accessed 15 February 2021].

⁷⁷⁷ Heal, 'The town, the gentry and London', p. 222.

⁷⁷⁸ Roe memorably warned of this danger in a speech relating to London's trade dominance (which he argued operated to the detriment of other parts of the kingdom) in 1641. Roe was particularly concerned about the balance of trade activities in the kingdom as a whole.

Thomas Roe, *Sir Thomas Roe his speech in Parliament [...]* (London, 1641), *Early English Books Online* <

<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240861027/13133612/B7897F034C774A81PQ/3?accountid=7408>> [accessed 9 April 2020], p. 7.

⁷⁷⁹ Heal, 'The town, the gentry and London', p. 223.

⁷⁸⁰ Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, p. 5.

decades to those who, set in positions of greater relative power, were seen to abuse their offices to the detriment of the national body politic.

Mapping stability: the Caroline Books of Order (1630-1) and College public health recommendations (1630-31)

In an attempt to definitively signpost existing regulation and remedy the supposed ignorance and apathy of magistrates and justices of the peace, the king and his Privy Council released three Books of Orders in April 1630, September 1630 and January 1631. In January 1631, some 341 copies of the third Book were sent to municipal officials across the country.⁷⁸¹ These Books, issued in direct response to poor harvests, rising food prices and a succession of foot riots from 1629-30 – particularly in Essex, which had vastly increased its exports to London since the 1590s – have since been widely considered by historians as the blueprints of Charles’ social policies: keys to understanding the king’s perceptions of the national body politic and his responsibilities towards it.⁷⁸² At the beginning of the first Book, the king immediately underlines the importance of elected officials’ social responsibility by explaining why he has chosen to publish the particular laws contained within it. It is his opinion that

that Magistrate who knowes but few, and causeth those to be duely obserued, deserueth better of the Common-wealth, than he that knoweth many, and executes but few. Therefore is the Composition of this Volume, that those few Lawes, and other Ordinances being most needfull for the time, may bee easily had, soone knowne, and duely executed...⁷⁸³

Charles’ Books of Orders not only highlight the king’s aspirations for the better governance and ordering of his subjects, but the context in which he has commanded them be written: they contain “those few Lawes, and other Ordinances being most needfull for the time”.⁷⁸⁴ Their collective contents, then, tell us as much about the king’s policies as the social and political circumstances in which he applied them.

The first Book (April 1630) reminded officials of standard laws, acts and orders relating to the relief of the poor, soldiers, and mariners, as well as the appropriate management of “Rogues, Vagabonds and sturdie Beggars”. In this, it differs little from similar decrees released by Elizabeth I and James I. It also

⁷⁸¹ Coward, *The Stuart Age*, p. 150.

⁷⁸² B. Quintrell, ‘The making of Charles I’s Book of Orders’ in *English Historical Review*, 95.376 (1980), p. 553; Slack, ‘Books of orders’; Bohstedt, *Politics of Provisions*, p. 24-25.

⁷⁸³ Charles I, *Certaine Statutes especially selected and commanded by his Majestie to be carefully put in execution by all Justices* (London, April 1630), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:image:1298:4> [accessed 16 January 2018], pp 3-4.

⁷⁸⁴ Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), p. 4.

discussed plague and health orders during a period of epidemic disease in London, alongside a ‘Decree of Starre-Chamber against Inmates and new Buildings’ – a nod not just to Charles’ desire for a grand capital to rival Paris and Madrid, but the longer-term public health issues presented by the overcrowded state of London streets and tenements.⁷⁸⁵ The second Book (September 1630) copied and expanded the existing dearth orders of Charles’ royal predecessors, emphasising their relevance during a this period of harvest scarcity, high food, fuel and corn prices, and recurrent fears of shortages in London.⁷⁸⁶ A proclamation set before it also highlighted the varied importance of preventing diverse “extremities, Which otherwise the scarcitie threatened, may bring foorth”.⁷⁸⁷ The third and last Book (January 1631) reprimanded – and re-established punishments for – officials who had “growne secure in their said negligence”, assigning members of the Privy Council to a Commission with additional disciplinary powers.⁷⁸⁸ This effectively increased the Crown’s punitive powers, entrenching them in bureaucracy. It also outlined directions for the apprehension of idle persons, beggars, and highwaymen, and established steps for the care and vocational training of destitute children, that they may be found a place within the wider body politic. It is telling that much of the Books’ contents sought to mitigate the experiences and aftermaths of extreme and traumatising social events such as plague and dearth – particularly those Books published in April and September 1630 – and that, for the first time, they sought to justify and supplement the legitimacy of their message by amalgamating and channelling the ‘expert’ directions of named institutions with more usual governmental orders. This was a phenomenon made particularly obvious in the case of the health directions appended to the first Book (and attributed to the London College of Physicians, at the special request of the Privy Council).⁷⁸⁹

As the Books of Orders suggest, the nature of the College’s involvement in urban plague epidemics had changed by the time of London’s 1630 outbreak. Though plague had reached its destructive worst in 1603 and 1625, administrative responses to the disease notably peaked in 1630.⁷⁹⁰ Historians such as Margaret Dorey, Harold Cook, Paul Slack and Charles Webster have all emphasised 1630 as

⁷⁸⁵ Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), pp 5-6.

⁷⁸⁶ These fears were growing so acute that the Privy Council wrote of them rather forcefully to the Lord Mayor on 6 September 1630. See COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 49.

⁷⁸⁷ Charles I, *Orders appointed by His Maiestie* (1630), p. 3.

⁷⁸⁸ Charles I, *Orders and directions* [...] (London, 1631), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240871389/99836851/EE66CF9B2EA84854PQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 16 January 2018], p. 14.

⁷⁸⁹ See Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), p. 57 (“An aduice set downe by the Colledge of Physitians, by His Maiesties speciall Command”).

⁷⁹⁰ Dorey, ‘Controlling corruption’, p. 25.

a year in which administrative and political struggles in the arena of public health were particularly acute. A number of reasons for this have been established. First, popular memories of how “the Citty so much of her Body lost, That she appeared a Ghost” in 1625 remained very much alive in 1630.⁷⁹¹ Memories of 1625’s particularly punitive losses may have encouraged authorities to react viscerally when it returned just five years later. Second, Charles’ ruling position was far more authoritative in 1630 than it had been in 1625, since from 1629 the king had determined to rule without an English parliament and reform and revitalise government in a number of social, political, religious and diplomatic fields. Linked to this reforming drive were mounting political tensions between City and Crown, predicated by the particular forcefulness of Crown orders to the Corporation, which encouraged the City to respond with particular haste to any threats to social cohesion as and when they developed.⁷⁹² Symptomatic of this was the City’s stricter regulation from 1630-1636 of the granaries customarily maintained by the Twelve Great Companies, whose contents had – in the decades following the 1590s – been permitted to gradually decline.⁷⁹³ Third, in the years between the last outbreak, the relationship between the Caroline Crown and College had strengthened, not least because the royal physicians, Mayerne and Harvey, were both active members.⁷⁹⁴

Charles’ overt patronage of the College of Physicians was a profoundly political move, carrying clear benefits for both College and Crown. For the College, it offered increased medical authority in a City whose government had thus far limited its political manoeuvres. The College of Physicians was an extra-municipal institution, unlike the Company of Barber-Surgeons and (from 1617) Society of Apothecaries which formed the other two official parts of London’s medical triumvirate.⁷⁹⁵ This weakened the College’s civic influence and growth. For Charles, the College was a crucial tool by which he could advance a centralised, public health-orientated society, based on the learned advice and Continental approach he – much like his father – respected: a society in which, as Harold Cook put it, “many aspects

⁷⁹¹ Thomas Dekker, *London looke backe at that yeare of yeares 1625 and looke forvvard, vpon this yeare 1630* [...] (London, 1630), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240925772/24646668/C1C050592A9849C8PQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 2 April 2019], p. 3.

⁷⁹² In effect, the Privy Council wished to demonstrate its close monitoring of the capital, while the Corporation sought to prove it was managing without the king’s watchful eye, and defend itself from criticism. Dorey, ‘Controlling corruption’, p. 25.

⁷⁹³ This was in spite of similar concerns of shortages in 1621, to which responses had been considerably more lackadaisical. Gras, *The English Corn Market*, p. 86. See, for example, the Crown’s stern letter to the City in COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1631), p. 79.

⁷⁹⁴ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 217.

⁷⁹⁵ Webster, ‘William Harvey and the Crisis of Medicine’, p. 3.

of life come to be treated as aspects of medicine” and where “people...come increasingly to rely upon ‘expertise’ rather than their own judgements”.⁷⁹⁶ The first indication of the College’s changing influence in this regard was the publication of advice included “by His Maiesties speciall Command...[that] the vse whereof may be very profitable to His Maiesties Subjects” in Charles’ first Book of Orders, released in April 1630.⁷⁹⁷ In their first clearly attributed contribution to the Book, the College addressed issues such as self-imposed quarantine, the flight of urban inhabitants into the country, the adequate disposal of infected “apparell and household stuffe” and the burial of bodies.⁷⁹⁸ They also highlighted a new and growing political authority over London’s government during epidemics, commanding that henceforth

by the gouernment of the Citie, there be appointed sixe or foure Doctors at the least, who may ioyntly and seuerally apply themselues and their studies to the cure of the Infected and staying of the Infection, and these Doctors bee Stipendaries to the Citie for their liues.⁷⁹⁹

This was a clear step up from the inclusion of four to six doctors on a temporary board during the 1609 and 1625 outbreaks, entailing a long-term association between these chosen physicians and civic public health. Further to this command, the College reaffirmed their occupational status within the City by requesting that each of their appointed doctors lead a team of two apothecaries and three surgeons, whose wages were also to be drawn from City funds; together, these teams were to ensure that “the people perish not without helpe... as in *Paris, Venice, and Padua*, and many other Cities”.⁸⁰⁰ In these orders, the Continental outlook of royal physicians such as Harvey (educated in Padua) and Mayerne (formerly employed by the royal family in Paris) can be discerned: so too can College’s desire to appeal to the competitive and Continental-facing Charles and maintain their medical status quo in the City by impressing upon the apothecaries and surgeons their place in the health care hierarchy.⁸⁰¹ This particular medicalising initiative, ostensibly for the public good, supported Charles’ broader desire to centralise social policy processes and establish new lines of credible expertise, with authorities leading directly back to the Crown. Cook calls it “medical policing”: a lesser-investigated public health aspect of

⁷⁹⁶ Cook, ‘Policing the health’, p. 3.

⁷⁹⁷ Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), p. 68.

⁷⁹⁸ See Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), from p. 70.

⁷⁹⁹ Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), p. 74

⁸⁰⁰ Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), p. 74.

⁸⁰¹ Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*, p. 154; Roger French, ‘Harvey, William, (1578–1657)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12531>> [accessed 6 December 2018].

Charles' otherwise well-researched and arguable movement towards absolute monarchy.⁸⁰² Far from being in the City's thrall, as they appear in proclamations and personal documents in 1625, the College appeared in 1630 to be taking its direction and impetus directly from Crown forces, in some cases threatening or overpowering extant civic orders.

Other unusual attempts to tackle plague in 1630 came in the form of advice issued to the Corporation of London by the Privy Council regarding "an [sic] Hospital or Workhouse to be set up in London, according as what was said to be at Paris, 1630".⁸⁰³ This letter is preserved in the City's *Remembrancia*, representing – according to its nineteenth century index – the only detailed advice recorded from 1579-1664 for an additional plague hospital to be built in – or in proximity to – what has been acknowledged by scholars and contemporaries as a woefully under-served City.⁸⁰⁴ The only other significant reference to the building of an additional hospital or pest house in *Remembrancia* appears in an Elizabethan letter from the Common Council to the Mayor and Aldermen, dated 21 April 1583.⁸⁰⁵ Its comments are exceptionally vague compared to the 1630 letter: it speaks only of the Queen's surprise that the City had not yet commissioned a pesthouse, in spite of the fact that "other cities of less antiquity, fame, wealth, and reputation had".⁸⁰⁶ The 1630 hospital directives are directly attributable to the College of Physicians. A letter from the Privy Council to the Mayor and Aldermen of 18 March 1630 prepared the City to receive them, stating that

such is his Ma[jesty]s expresse com[m]and who out of his gracious and Princely care, to the ende that nothing may bee omitted, which may tend to the publique saftie; is pleased that the College of Phisions shall meete; and conferr upon some fitt course for the preventing of the Infection...⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰² Cook, 'Policing the health', p. 4.

⁸⁰³ 'VII 19' in *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 340. *Remembrancia's* content and entry page dates these measures to March 1629 (see COL/RMD/PA/01/007, p. 4; COL/RMD/PA/01/007, p. 22-24), but these conflicting dates are reflective of competing Old Style (Julian) and New Style (Gregorian) calendar dates. Though it was proposed by Pope Gregory XIII that all states move to New Style dating conventions in 1582, it was not until the eighteenth century that all Protestant states, broadly speaking, did so. See C. R. Cheney and Michael Jones, *A Handbook of Dates: for students of British history*, ed. by C. R. Cheney and rev. by Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 18.

⁸⁰⁴ Porter, *Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, pp 192-3.

⁸⁰⁵ 'I. 497' in *Index to Remembrancia*, pp 336-7.

⁸⁰⁶ 'I. 497' in *Index to Remembrancia*, pp 336-7. Clearly the City perceived no urgency in the letter: it was not until eleven years later, during the outbreak of 1594, that a pesthouse was finally established in St Giles Cripplegate.

⁸⁰⁷ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 21.

The resulting advice, preserved in *Remembrancia*, offers an exhaustive account of the Parisian plague hospitals of St Louis and St Marcel, whose duties are described as “receauing norishing keeping and dressing of all infected w[i]th the plague to auoide the great confusion and mixture usuall before in Parris, w[hi]ch bred great mortality”.⁸⁰⁸ St Louis was overseen by “the Governours of the great Hospitall of Paris; whoe haue the charge to place and establish all persons fitt; as accac[i]on shall require for the Gouvernement there of”, and ordinarily attended by a full staff of physicians, surgeons (including a Master Surgeon), clergymen (including a Guardian) nuns (including a Governess and an overseer of apothecaries’ supplies), porters and bearers (who “cary the sicke men make the rowends cleane cary water where it is necessary and buyrie the deade”) gardeners, a baker, cooks, and provosts of health (who attend the city and the university in separate teams, to carry and conduct the sick from these places to the hospital).⁸⁰⁹ This advice was followed by a thirty-eight page report submitted directly to the Privy Council in March 1631 by three of the king’s senior physicians, Mayerne, Dr Bethune, and Dr Lister, which included a grand plan for the establishment of a permanent London Chamber or Office of Health staffed by City and College representatives. Acknowledging the king’s centralising propensities, in their advice and report the College outlined hierarchical, well-defined public health roles for hospital and Office, both of which were to be funded by and thus answerable to the Privy Council.⁸¹⁰

In spite of interest and (in principle) approval from the Crown, neither hospital or Office were established. Though the epidemic’s relatively swift retreat undoubtedly played a role, historians have principally attributed this to a lack of Crown finance following parliament’s dissolution.⁸¹¹ Indeed, by 1636 (the next of London’s visitations) Mayerne – the chief driving force behind many of these public health ideas – had already retreated from the restrictive political atmosphere of Caroline London, disillusioned by its growing religious conservatism and the king’s overt distrust and discouragement of his involvement in politics, which dented his public health ambitions.⁸¹² Compared to the outbreak of 1630-1, there were few plague innovations from 1636-7: it saw only the re-release of the first of Charles’ Books of Orders, *Certaine Statutes* (April 1630), now renamed as *Certain necessary directions* (1636) and attributed not to the king – who is nevertheless credited for commanding it – but the College of Physicians, whose ‘Advice...for prevention and

⁸⁰⁸ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 22.

⁸⁰⁹ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1629/30), pp 22-24.

⁸¹⁰ Cook, ‘Policing the health’, pp 24-26; Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*, pp 307-310.

⁸¹¹ Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 256; Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*, p. 311.

⁸¹² Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*, pp 311-313.

cure of the Plague’ was re-ordered to first place in the contents list, followed by civic ‘Orders concerning health’.⁸¹³ This further demonstrated the creeping public health authority of the College. Neither hospital nor Office are again mentioned in *Remembrancia*, once again evidencing the extent to which the successful implementation of public health innovations – however encouraged and supported – rely on wider politics and contexts.

Plague was not the sole concern prompting an emphatic administrative response in the early 1630s. The disease coincided with and worsened a period of harvest dearth which – as in 1594/7 – threatened to enhance existing public health concerns in the densely-populated metropolis. In his second set of *Orders* (released September 1630), Charles focused on advising urban officials how to avoid and contain social disorder caused by dearth, enlarging the orders of his forbears “with some necessary additions”.⁸¹⁴ As might be expected from a king who prided himself on his thoroughness, Charles averaged more pages of advice and instruction in his *Orders* against dearth than did either of his forbears. There were approximately twenty-seven pages (not including an introductory proclamation of fifteen pages) in Charles’ *Orders appointed by His Maiestie* (1630), compared to twenty pages (not including two pages of articles annexed to the orders) in Elizabeth’s *The renewing of certaine orders* (1594) and twenty-six pages in James’ *Orders appointed by his Maiestie* (1608).⁸¹⁵ In many ways, these three sets of orders, each released under a different monarch, are exceedingly similar. All three focus largely on establishing systems to help officials to assess how much grain is available in a locality, and how to monitor and distribute it fairly. They reiterate purchasing and consumption laws, and ensure that there is a clear administrative process for officials to follow. Yet while James’ *Orders* stand alone as a publication, Elizabeth’s and Charles’ contain subsequent articles and a preface, helping to shed further light on each monarch’s

⁸¹³ Charles I, *Certaine statutes* (1630); College of Physicians, *Certain necessary directions* [...] (London: 1636), *Early English Books Online* < https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2264190457/23153180_9285/D0678B17A11D456EPQ/4?accountid=7408 > [accessed 15 July 2021].

⁸¹⁴ Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 2.

⁸¹⁵ See Elizabeth I, *The renewing of certaine orders deuised by the speciall commandement of the Queenes Maiestie, for the reliefe and stay of the present dearth of graine within the realme* (London, 1594) < http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99836528 > [accessed 13 December 2018]; James I, *Orders appointed by his Maiestie to be straightly obserued for the preuenting and remedying of the dearth of graine and other victuall Dated the first day of Iune 1608* (London, 1608), *Early English Books Online* < http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99856487 > [accessed 13 December 2018]; Charles I, *Orders* (1630).

objectives and chief concerns. These, alongside the minor differences that exist within the *Orders* themselves, provide insight into how attitudes to and strategies for managing and preventing dearth and its social consequences changed from 1594 to 1630. While these *Orders* have been previously examined by historians, they have been little discussed within the broader context of London's evolving public health.

A number of factors influenced changes made to the *Orders* from Elizabeth's to Charles' time. The first of these was royal awareness of unanticipated conflict that had arisen during previous periods of scarcity, which had to be addressed in successive documents. For instance, James' and Charles' *Orders* both indicate the importance of controlling the purchase of butter and cheese – a point notably absent in Elizabeth's.⁸¹⁶ This point was first added by James and his Privy Council after the London food riots of the 1590s, one of which – in Southwark – had been predicated by the soaring prices of these commodities.

Other changes can be associated with changing social outlooks and belief-systems about certain groups, and their evolving places within the broader social hierarchy. James' and Charles' *Orders* are particularly wary of millers – who “haue begunne lately a very corrupte trade to be common buyers of Corne” – and able-bodied vagrants – who Charles states “must get their living by their labour”, or else be committed “to prison without bayle of any such”.⁸¹⁷ Justices of the Peace were instructed to periodically supervise millers' work and “compell them to do their duties”, while vagrants were to be employed where possible “by good and politique means” – “in clothing Countreys”, the clothiers' trade was particularly recommended.⁸¹⁸ “Particular directions” were given to suppress any unlawful activities of those who dealt in corn, including all kinds of itinerant sellers, “Mault-makers, Brewers, Bakers, Milners and others”.⁸¹⁹

Finally, Charles' *Orders* significantly depart from those of Elizabeth and James by threatening that if “excessiue prices” should be seen to prevail in the City or elsewhere, the king would take personal action to see “that reasonable prices shall be set, both on Corne and other Victuall, to be sold for the reliefe of his Majesties poore Subiects”.⁸²⁰ This overbearing tactic was last threatened and implemented under Edward VI in 1550, but soon proved impractical: it made far more sense for monarchs to encourage and bestow civic authorities with more resources to ensure

⁸¹⁶ See James I, *Orders* (1608), p. 22 and Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 22.

⁸¹⁷ Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 17; James I, *Orders* (1608), p. 17. Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 15; Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 16.

⁸¹⁸ Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 17; Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 15.

⁸¹⁹ Charles I, *Orders* (1630), pp 2-3.

⁸²⁰ Charles I, *Orders* (1630), pp 26-27.

that that habitual market regulations were adhered to.⁸²¹ By 1630, however, it appears that the Crown was seriously considering the possibility of centrally-controlling urban food supplies, a development that was further advocated in a treatise presented to Charles in March 1631 by Mayerne.⁸²²

Charles' *Orders* were printed with a new preface: a "Proclamation for preuenting the dearth of Corne and Victuall". It is in this proclamation, rather than the *Orders* themselves, that the king really differentiates his approach to scarcity from those of his predecessors. Before he outlines this approach, Charles first coaxes his subjects' amiability by reminding them of his divinely appointed panopticism, for during his rule, the "watchfull eye of prouidence, for the publique good of his louing suiects, is alwayes kept open".⁸²³ While this may appear at first glance a reassuring phrase to hear during crisis, it is also a fairly pointed one: in it, Charles suggests to local governments that he and his Privy Council are omnipresent, monitoring and understanding all that occurs in his kingdom, and will notice and swiftly act if orders are disobeyed. Charles' eye analogy is a sophisticated one which adds credence to scholars' ideas of Charles as an early 'policing' monarch.⁸²⁴ Edging ever closer to unprecedented infringements on personal liberty, Charles justifies his approach using the language of public health. His stated goal is first and foremost to "preuent those extremities" caused by dearth by exhorting his appointed officers to properly co-ordinate and oversee the laws he has proclaimed. These individuals are clearly differentiated, categorised, and addressed in the following order, according to their perceived importance within the realm's ruling hierarchy:

...the Lord Maior, Recorder, Aldermen and Sheriffes of the Cittie of London, and all other Officers and Ministers of the sayd Citie, as also all and singular Sheriffes, Justices of Peace, and other Officers and ministers in the seuerall Counties of this Realme...⁸²⁵

⁸²¹ Slack, *Books of Orders*, p. 4.

⁸²² Slack, *Books of Orders*, p. 8.

⁸²³ Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 2.

⁸²⁴In the eighteenth century, Jeremy Bentham's panopticon would attempt to reform the behaviour of criminals by similarly threatening them with persistent watchfulness. His principle was that "power should be visible and unverifiable": individuals should always be aware of its existence, but unable to ascertain if its effects were about to be brought to bear on them. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). See also, for example, Cook, 'Policing the health' and Rosen, 'Cameratism and Medical Police'. As Rosen points out, "What national power required, as the rulers and their advisors saw it, was first of all a large population; second, that population should be provided for in a material sense; and thirdly, that it should be under the control of government so that it could be turned to whatever use public policy required". See 'Cameratism and Medical Police', p. 24.

⁸²⁵ In this list, the primacy of the City of London is once again emphasised, as its officials are first to be named. Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 3.

Next, the proclamation directs its attention to the provision of specific victuals – meat and fish – which, though not explicitly stated, appear to refer particularly to a metropolitan context: it was in this high-demand environment that meat supplies were a particular problem. This is not the first time the Book of Orders mention flesh and fish: in their directions released in April 1630, the College of Physicians also drew particular attention to the ordinary dangers presented by the sale of rotting flesh and fish and the presence of slaughter-houses in the City liberties, both of which they highlighted in a list of pervasive dangers to health.⁸²⁶ By September 1630, fasting was emphasised as a potent tool of price control: a practice which, during this time of harvest dearth, ensured “the plenty and cheapnesse of other victuals” such as flesh and fish, which “may helpe to give some ease and reliefe to the poore”.⁸²⁷ His orders being grounded by “such weighty reasons”, he proclaims their symbolic imbibement to be “good and wholesome” in “this time of generall feare”: a means by “good and politique rule” could be permitted to persevere, and disorder could be by “good measure preuented”.⁸²⁸ “The belly, after all, is what “carries the legs” not just of the individual, but of the wider body politic.⁸²⁹ With this statement, the king definitively highlighted not just the benefits of preventative practice, but the particular risks that immoderate meat consumption and the inadequate regulation of the meat trade posed to broader public health.

Meat consumption, fasting, and public health in early modern London

Meat was an intensely important urban foodstuff during the early modern period. In her study of eighteenth-century Paris, Sydney Watts has emphasised just how accustomed the eighteenth-century inhabitants of growing capitals such as London and Paris were to the ready availability of red meat such as beef and mutton, which remained – for the most part – luxury items outside the city.⁸³⁰ As early as the thirteenth century, market spaces made available for flesh- and fish-selling in London vastly outnumbered those available for any other foodstuff.⁸³¹ After the incorporation of the Company of Butchers in the early seventeenth century, the guild grew larger still, as families from all over the country increasingly sent their sons to the City to be apprenticed. The Company accepted an average of thirty new

⁸²⁶ Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), p. 86.

⁸²⁷ Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 6.

⁸²⁸ Charles I, *Orders* (1630), p. 7.

⁸²⁹ Minsheu (1599) et al, ‘The belly carries the legs and not the legs the belly’, p. 43.

⁸³⁰ Sydney Watts, *Meat Matters: Butchers, Politics, and Market Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), p. 1.

⁸³¹ Sandra Billington, ‘Butchers and Fishmongers: their historical contribution to London’s festivity’, *Folklore*, 101:1 (1990), p. 97.

apprentices each year prior to 1605, charging each a binding fee of 8d; immediately after incorporation, in spite of a steep rise in this fee to 2s 6d, these numbers doubled to sixty, peaking at 110 in 1671.⁸³² In 1607, the minimum age for a London-qualified butcher was raised to twenty-four, and apprenticeship was set at a minimum of seven years, to accommodate more apprenticeships while keeping trade standards high.⁸³³ Demand for butchery skills and for meat was thus on the ascent in seventeenth century England, and with it existing anxieties about what it meant for both public order and public health.

Meat was a contradictory foodstuff, associated on one hand with good living and social affluence and on the other with immoral behaviours such as carnality, lust and gluttony.⁸³⁴ The practice of butchery was also considered a key urban pollutant, contributing to disease-causing miasma. In the Elizabethan *Laws of the Market*, reprinted up to 1677 with little amendment, butchers are addressed no less than six times, with gong-fermors (those employed to empty the city's privies/latrines) being mentioned only twice and poulterers, huxters, brewers, budgemen, and 'hammar men' once each.⁸³⁵ All clauses relating to butchers are differentiated from other market practices under the subheading referring to annoyances, rather than that relating to market laws – even clauses concerned with the selling of unwholesome food, such as “No Butcher shall sell any olde stale victuall: that is to say, aboute the slaughter of three dayes in the Winter and two in the Sommer, under paine of x.li [£10]”.⁸³⁶ They would continue to be presented in this way in all subsequent re-issues during this project's timeframe.

The secularisation and growth of fasting proclamations from the reign of Elizabeth testify to meat's rising significance as a potent signifier of public health

⁸³² Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 15.

⁸³³ Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 16.

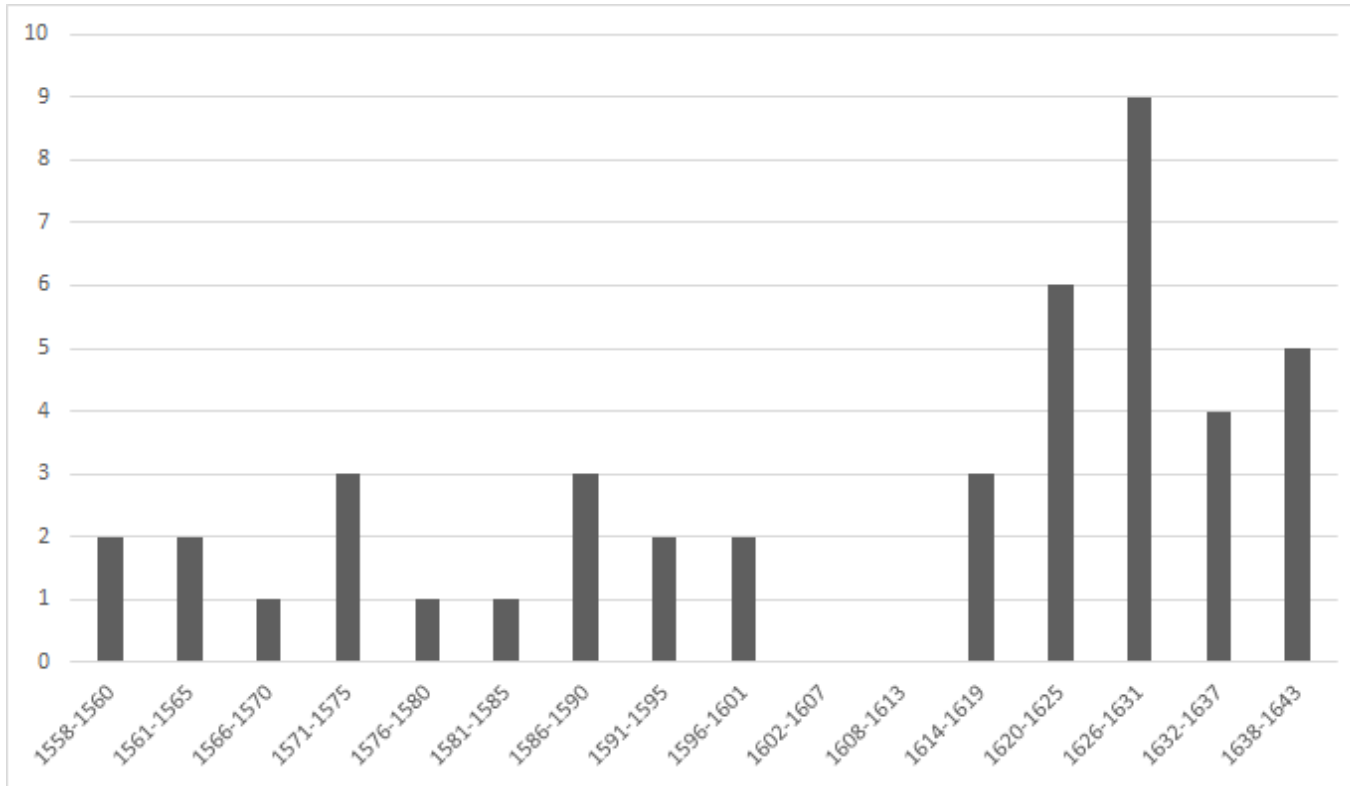
⁸³⁴ Watts, *Meat Matters*, p. 2. An apparently contradictory stance to meat, based on the precepts of humoral medicine, can be found in many published texts and manuscripts of the time. These included the surviving letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, who wrote to her beloved son Ned in February 1638 with the unusual request “if it pleas God, to remember you with some of the Bromton [the Herfordshire residence of the Harleys] dyet, against Lent. I wisch you may not eate to much fisch. I know you like it; but I thinke it is not so good for you.” Brilliana Harley, ‘Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley’ in *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley, Wife of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, Knight of the Bath [...]*, ed. by Thomas Taylor Lewis, pp (London: The Camden Society, 1854), p. 29.

⁸³⁵ ‘gong farmer, c.2 attrib.’, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/79896?rskey=xOYugf&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid2848879>> [accessed 4 September 2018]; *The lavves of the market* – see ‘butchers’, pp 12-14, clause (cl.) 35-39, 41; ‘goungfermours’, p. 7, cl. 14 & 15; ‘poulterer’, p. 3, cl. 5; ‘huxter’, p. 3, cl. 6; ‘brewer’, p. 5, cl. 3; ‘budge-man’, p. 6, cl. 7; ‘hammar men’, p. 9, cl. 25.

⁸³⁶ *The lavves of the market*, p. 13, cl. 38.

and order in the expanding city as well as the broader kingdom. The consumption of meat on fast-days had always symbolised more than an individual's taste for flesh: it equated to succumbing to instinctively self-interested, 'carnal' appetites and behaviours. This contradicted sixteenth- and seventeenth-century attempts to emphasise the importance of collective needs and the public good: to safeguard the commonwealth. It was the antithesis to Charles' absolute ambitions, in which he envisioned Crown governance over an obedient populace accustomed to putting common needs before private ones. Charles' and his Privy Council's particular interest in monitoring meat consumption and production was evidenced by the profusion of fasting proclamations released under his kingship, during which time the religious connotations of the practice also notably strengthened.⁸³⁷ From the beginning of his reign up to the onset of the First Civil War (1625-1642), Charles I released a total of eighteen fasting proclamations – an average of one a year. This was considerably more than either Elizabeth and James, who released seventeen (0.37 per annum) and six (0.26 per annum) fasting proclamations during each of their respective reigns. In addition to releasing more proclamations overall, the majority of Charles' proclamations were clustered over an eight-year period of his eighteen-year reign. From 1625-1632 – a year range which encapsulates two outbreaks of plague – a total of thirteen (and average of 1.63 per annum) proclamations relating to fasting were issued. From about 1636/7, fasting proclamations were again issued in greater numbers than average – likely in response to the epidemic of 1636. These trends are illustrated in Graph 2.

⁸³⁷ Mears, 'The Culture of Fasting', p. 425.



Graph 2: Proclamations commanding abstinence from meat, depicted in five-year intervals, 1558-1642.⁸³⁸

⁸³⁸ Figures compiled from *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. II* (1969); *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. III* (1969); *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. I* (1973); *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. II* (1983), ed. by Larkin & Hughes.

Under Charles, fasting proclamations were reissued and reiterated as “politique Lawes” crucial to the “common good”, the maintenance of mariners and the navy, the continued functioning of urban markets and foodways, and the broader public health.⁸³⁹ Refusal to fast continued to be associated with many things, not least social disobedience, higher food prices, and the freer spread of disease. The 1620s also marked a discernible shift in fasting’s religious connotations: it was, by then, more broadly integrated into Protestant practice, and religious writers advocated it as a means of uniting the Crown, parliament and body politic together in godliness, the better to alleviate or mitigate God’s judgement.⁸⁴⁰ At the beginning of his reign, Charles was increasingly (and unusually, given his predecessors were not) prompted by Parliament to remind citizens of their civic fasting duties.⁸⁴¹ Yet by the time the king suspended Parliament indefinitely in 1629, Charles had adopted fasting orders as his own tool of social ordering, with his Privy Council writing to the City repeatedly during the 1630s to order their emphatic enforcement. As London’s learned medical practitioners increasingly advised king and City on how to mitigate public health threats, the significance of medical links made between meat consumption and plague were also emphasised. In their advice to the Crown, the College consistently highlighted the importance of both food quality and quantity, underlining the links between hunger and disease and advocating the close monitoring of slaughterhouses and butcheries during epidemics.⁸⁴²

Wariness about the effects of meat consumption on health, particularly during periods of epidemic disease, had been well-established in the regimens and dietetics proliferating by 1625. Excessive consumption was known to negatively affect the body’s digestion, unbalancing the humours, releasing pestilential fumes, and placing individuals more at risk of succumbing to and passing on disease to the wider body politic.⁸⁴³ As one anonymous pamphleteer known only as “The Professor” put it bluntly in 1625, “ouerfill not your bodies with meat which is hard of digesture, for it breeds ill

⁸³⁹ Charles I, ‘A Proclamation commanding the due execution of the Lawes made against Eating and Selling of Flesh in Lent, and other times prohibited’ (1632) in *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. II*, pp 336-337.

⁸⁴⁰ Mears, ‘The Culture of Fasting’, p. 426-427.

⁸⁴¹ Mears, ‘The Culture of Fasting’, p. 424; Durston, “For the Better Humiliation of the People”, p. 130.

⁸⁴² Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*, p. 209.

⁸⁴³ Dorey, ‘Controlling corruption’, p. 35.

humours”.⁸⁴⁴ Thus, in addition to displeasing God with gluttony and carnal impulses during outbreaks, meat consumption extended the length of epidemics by creating the conditions within the body necessary for disease to flourish and be passed on to others. This effect was further amplified by the fact that flesh was considered the foodstuff most vulnerable to absorbing miasmatic plague particles, given animals bound for the slaughter were at risk of breathing in tainted air (an issue not experienced with fish). Meat could become imperceptibly infected if animals were unwittingly permitted to roam where contagion prevailed. In 1625, this concern was outlined and analysed in a pamphlet released by Stephen Bradwell, grandson of the respected Elizabethan surgeon John Banister and licentiate of the College of Physicians who – like his collegiate peers – continued to look to Continental practice for novel advice on how to manage London’s visitations.⁸⁴⁵ In his *A watch-man for the pest*, he wrote that in Spain, home of the court so admired by Charles I, it was customary to drive

a great droue of Oxen or Kine through all the streets every day; that their sweet wholesome breath may cleanse the impure Aire. It is true, that the breath of those Cattell are very sweet and wholesome: But it is to be doubted, that the impure Aire being much more in quantity then their breath, will sooner infect them, then they purifie it; which if it doe, then surely all their flesh will proue but vnwholsome meat, and may infect more bodies after they haue bene at the Butchers; then they haue purified streets while they went before the drovers. But the Spainards eat so little Beefe, as they needed the lesse to feare such poysoning.⁸⁴⁶

Bradwell’s conclusion that Spaniards eat “so little Beefe” stands at odds with Englishmen’s famous taste for it; the Manchester physician Thomas Cogan refers to it as the “flesh...most usuall among English men”.⁸⁴⁷ Bradwell thus concludes that to

⁸⁴⁴ Anon, *A Direction concerning the plague, or pestilence, for pooore and rich* (London, 1625), *Early English Books Online* < http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:33143095 > [accessed 1 May 2019].

⁸⁴⁵ Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, p. 145.

⁸⁴⁶ Stephen Bradwell, *A vwatch-man for the pest Teaching the true rules of preservation from the pestilent contagion, at this time fearefully over-flowing this famous cittie of London. Collected out of the best authors, mixed with auncient experience, and moulded into a new and most plaine method; by Steven Bradvvell of London, Physition* (London, 1625) *Early English Books Online* < http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:99850854 > [accessed 1 May 2019], p. 12. Bradwell, though a licensed physician by 1625, was prosecuted in 1585, 1591 and 1594 by the College of Physicians for illegal practice. He was accepted as a respectable licentiate of the College in 1594. See Pelling and White, ‘Bredwell, Stephen (Sen)’ in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners* < <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/bredwell-stephen-sen> > [accessed 1 May 2019].

⁸⁴⁷ Cogan, *The haven of health*, p. 129.

avoid pestilential poisoning, animals should be slaughtered away from the City during plague and citizens' intake of red meat should also be curtailed. The former was already standard practice in the City of London, owing to the widely-acknowledged polluting qualities of live animal slaughter.⁸⁴⁸

The reputation of the London butcher

Aside from the risks posed by flesh they sold and the means by which they slaughtered it, butchers had long been considered both beneficiaries and spreaders of epidemic disease.⁸⁴⁹ Their ready access to meat, viewed through the lens of humoral medicine, helped shape popular conceptions of their occupational identity, making them more liable to accusations of bawdiness (of a lewd man, it was said that “filthiness sticks to his conditions, as visibly as grease to the butchers apron”), carnality (the origin of the word for meat – *carne*) and greed than any other of the food trades.⁸⁵⁰ Cardinal Wolsey, chief advisor to Henry VIII and one of the architects of the 1518 plague orders, was frequently decried in contemporary literature as a “a butchers sonne” who possessed the requisite “readie tounge and a bolde countenance” associated with the trade.⁸⁵¹ Perceptions of butchers' inherent greed and longing for self-advancement – a trait they popularly shared with apothecaries – meant that the trade as a whole could be little trusted to uphold fish-day regulations: conventional wisdom held that the greatest enemies of pious, healthful, stabilising fasting practice were “a Dogge, a Butcher, and a Puritan”, while those who stood to benefit most from plague were “Apothecaries, Butchers, Cookes, and Coffin-makers”.⁸⁵² Butchers' associations with dogs – particularly stray ones, naturally attracted

⁸⁴⁸ During the 1665 outbreak, butchers moved their slaughterhouses out to Mile's End, carrying meat back on horseback to Whitehall and various of the City's flesh markets. Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year (1722)* (New York: Dover Publications, 2001), p. 59.

⁸⁴⁹ This is in spite of the fact that outbreaks bore considerable risk for those who served as front-facing tradesmen. The London writer Daniel Defoe, son of a butcher, retrospectively notes that during the Great Plague (1665), market butchers allowed buyers to remove their own meat directly from hooks, passing coins through vinegar to disinfect them. Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year*, p. 60.

⁸⁵⁰ John Smyth (1640), ‘as Bawdy as a BUTCHER’ in *A dictionary of the proverbs*, ed. by Tilley, p. 73.

⁸⁵¹ This rather snide description of Wolsey comes from Cresacre More, *The life and death of Sr. Thomas More, who was Lord Chancellor of England to King Henry the Eight* (1642), *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:13239386> [accessed 4 October 2017], p. 77.

⁸⁵² John Taylor, *Jack a Lent [...]* (London, 1620), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240910131/99838231/2861AD5C24334DBCPQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 10 August 2017], p. 19; Dekker, *Rod for Run-aways (1625)*, p. 4.

to fallen offcuts or discarded entrails – further accentuated their risk to public health.⁸⁵³ These animals, considered particularly troublesome vermin during the early modern period, were – like Bradwell’s driven bulls – linked with peripatetic plague-spreading.⁸⁵⁴ Charles I’s *Certaine statutes* against plague include directions to sweep all unaccompanied animals from the street; those mentioned included “Hogges, Dogges or Cattes, or tame Pigeons, or Conies”, with more valuable swine to be impounded and dogs to be killed by specially-appointed dog-killers.⁸⁵⁵

Perceptions of butchers’ uniquely brutal outlook contributed to broader social distrust and distaste. The sixteenth century Italian scholar Tommaso Garzoni went so far as to compare butchers to anatomists, for where one plundered the human body, the other dismembered the animal’s: both, he argued, betrayed a socially-sanctioned disrespect for God’s creations. Latin words associated with butchery, such as *macellum* (slaughterhouse) and *lanius* (butcher) also held sinister double-meanings, ingraining implicit suspicion of butchering activities into the language used to describe them.⁸⁵⁶ It is clear that these early implications not only survived, but continued to be influential throughout the early modern period. Evelyn describes a botched execution in 1683 which took “three butcherly strokes” to complete, while in early Stuart England, John Taylor’s

⁸⁵³ Surprisingly few studies have addressed the cultural and material consequences of contemporary associations between butchers, dogs, and plague. This is an odd omission, since the butcher and the dog were – and are – commonly associated, and both were routinely accused of promoting disorder. Among those who have overlooked the subject are Jenner and Carr, who in their respective chapter and article comment only briefly on butchers’ ownership of dogs; Costantini, who does not mention them at all; Dorey, who discusses dogs only as one of John Taylor’s enemies of Lent; and Cockayne, who focuses on their status as noisy and aggressive urban nuisances. See Mark Jenner, ‘The Great Dog Massacre’ in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. by William Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 44-61; David R. Carr, ‘Controlling the Butchers in Late Medieval English Towns’. *The Historian*, 70:3 (2008), p. 459; Costantini, ‘On a red line across Europe; Dorey, ‘Controlling corruption’, p. 30; Emily Cockayne, ‘Who Did Let the Dogs Out?: Nuisance Dogs in Late Medieval and Early Modern England’ in *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, ed. by Laura D. Gelfand (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp 41-67.

⁸⁵⁴ A number of reasons for this strong association has been suggested, including symptomatic comparisons between rabies and plague, and the fact that dogs were also known to have fallen victim to the Black Death (and were therefore considered capable of passing the disease to humans). Contemporaries do not appear to have considered rats as sources of the disease: this was a modern discovery. See Giulia Calvi, *Histories of a Plague Year: the social and the imaginary in Baroque Florence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 59; Jenner, ‘The Great Dog Massacre’, pp 50-51.

⁸⁵⁵ Charles I, *Certaine Statutes* (1630), p. 125.

⁸⁵⁶ Costantini, ‘On a red line across Europe’, p. 72; As Costantini writes, “lanii [comes] from the verb laniare, which literally means to tear to pieces”, while “*macellum* – refers to a brutal massacre that occurred in the house of the patrician Macellus in the first century AD”.

rambunctious *Jack a Lent* (1620) reinforced several bloody stereotypes of the butcher, writing that when Lent departed,

Then pell-mell Murder in a purple hue,
In reeking bloud his slaughtering pawes embrew:
The Butchers Axe (like great Alcides Bat)
Dings deadly downe, ten thousand thousand flat:
Each Butcher (by himselfe) makes Marshall Lawes,
Cuts throats, and kils, and quarters, hangs and drawes.⁸⁵⁷

This is a particularly dark segment of Taylor's otherwise playful satire, in which the "braue, bold, battring, Beefe-braining *Butchers*" finally reveal their true nature.⁸⁵⁸ Starved of expression by the abstemious policies of civilised society throughout Lent, when it passes they are finally permitted to succumb to the murderous allure of the axe in their "slaughtering pawes" and, like the wild dogs they foster, rip from bone to sinew the living flesh in their midst.⁸⁵⁹

During the early modern period, the inherent brutality of the butcher's trade was further accentuated by the requirement that butchers bait bulls before they slaughtered them: a practice that, when conducted recreationally, was considered of ill-repute. This requirement strengthened butchers' existing association with dogs, given they often bred their own vicious bull-mastiffs for this purpose.⁸⁶⁰ Bull-baiting has most often been represented in contemporary sources as a brutal blood sport, yet its use by butchers was legally required as a food safety consideration: baiting was thought to release poisons in bulls' blood, tenderising, strongly flavouring and rendering beef easier (and safer) for humans to digest. In 1349, London's Butchers disputed that baited bulls' flesh was any more wholesome than that of unbaited bulls, but their assertion yielded no long-term changes to the practice; English baiting orders were reiterated in 1582, though absent from ordinances of 1607.⁸⁶¹ Other sources well attest to the fact that the activity continued into the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries. In 1640, the Canterbury

⁸⁵⁷ Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, p. 183; Taylor, *Jack a Lent* (1620), p. 19.

⁸⁵⁸ Taylor, *Jack a Lent* (1620), p. 1.

⁸⁵⁹ Taylor, *Jack a Lent* (1620), p. 19.

⁸⁶⁰ Krish Seetah writes that the legacy of this butcher/dog partnership can be clearly seen today in the survival of a variety of breeds developed specifically for droving or protecting livestock, including "the Rottweiler (Rottweiler Metzgerhund: Rottweiler Butcher's Dog) from Germany...Cane de Brano/Cane Corso, also known as Cane di'Macellaio (Macellaio: butcher, flesher, slaughterer), and the Sicilian Vurriscu from Italy. Another branch of breed specialisation led to the creation of a variety of bulldog-type dogs throughout Europe for baiting bulls." Krish Seetah, *Humans, Animals, and the Craft of Slaughter in Archaeo-Historic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 217.

⁸⁶¹ Jones, *Butchers of London*, p. 140.

antiquarian William Somner wrote that bulls had to be baited “before their killing, not so much (if at all) for pleasure, as to make them Man’s meat, and fit to be eaten; which Bull’s Flesh, without such baiting and chafing, is not held to be.”⁸⁶² The continued ubiquity of bull-baiting activity in the capital is clearly indicated in Hugh Alley’s 1598 depiction of “Escheape [Eastcheap] Market”, which features two butchers armed with blades driving angry rams and bulls to the slaughter.⁸⁶³ A snarling dog edges into the frame from the right; he seems a working animal aligned with the butchers. Bull-baiting appears again in *Certaine statutes* against plague, where it is outright banned alongside “al Plaies....Games, Singing of Ballads, Buckler play, or such...Assemblies”.⁸⁶⁴ Given the often understated contemporary food safety aspects of the practice, it is not unreasonable to assume that the outright prohibition of bull-baiting during epidemics may have been yet another covert means of lowering red meat supplies during periods of epidemic.

Later London writings continue to associate these vicious bull-dogs with the inherent brutality of the meat trade, as well as with recreational bull- and bear-baiting, referred to with some disgust in John Evelyn’s 1670 diary as “butcherly sports”.⁸⁶⁵ In the 1720s (another period of particular anxiety related to the meat trades), the satirist Edward ‘Ned’ Ward wrote derisively of

The killing Tribe, who are the sole
Support of Hockley in the Hole,
Who at their Arses hang their Steels,
Must have their Bul-Dogs at their Heels,
Those lowring ill-look’d ugly Creatures,
That threaten Destruction in their Features,
Leering at e’ry Step they take,
With vicious Eyes and Noses black,
Expressing so much Spight and Ire,
As if the Devil had been their Sire,
And that their hold-fast moody Kind,
For Mischief only were design’d.
Therefore, we in the Brute may see

⁸⁶² Canterbury’s bull-baiting took place at the Bull-Stake located in Burgate ward, just outside Canterbury’s famous cathedral; here, a market was held twice a week (on Wednesdays and Saturdays). Somner, *The antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 79.

⁸⁶³ Alley, ‘A Caveatt for the City of London’, p. 57 (fol. 11).

⁸⁶⁴ Charles I, *Certaine statutes* (1630), pp 94-95.

⁸⁶⁵ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn, Volume II*, ed. by William Bray (London and Washington: M. Walter Dunne, 1901), *Project Gutenberg* <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/42081/42081-h/42081-h.htm>> [accessed 31 July 2021], p. 54.

His Master's Rage and Cruelty.⁸⁶⁶

Hockley-in-the-Hole was an area of Clerkenwell in central London described as “the resort of thieves, highwaymen, and bullbaiters”, where bull- and bear-baiting, cock- and dog-fighting, and numerous other “inhumane” and “tumultuous” sights were also to be seen.⁸⁶⁷ It boded badly for the butcher's occupational reputation that he be so publicly associated with such an immoral, brutal place and sports, in addition to the polluted animals that participated in them.⁸⁶⁸

Regulating the London butcher: advice and punishments

As London tastes and demand for meat grew from the fourteenth century, offering the City's butchers the opportunity to develop their wealth and urban status, so too did concerted civic attempts to repress the polluting and avaricious qualities deemed inherent to the trade.⁸⁶⁹ Jonas Adames' later Tudor *The order of keeping a court leet* (1593; reprinted 1599 and 1605) highlighted pervasive biases in how butchers were presented in comparison to their victualling peers.⁸⁷⁰ Adames' book advises legal students and those who practice law to enquire specifically about corrupt wares sold by butchers and fishmongers; they are also to

⁸⁶⁶ Edward Ward, *The Wandering Spy [...]* (London, 1723), *HaithiTrust* <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=osu.32435017646811&view=1up&seq=29&size=125>> [accessed 19 March 2018]. Dorey and Watts both refer to the 1720s as a distinctive period of anxiety relating to the meat trades; interestingly, it also happened to be the last recorded time that plague threatened to (but ultimately did not) strike London from its nearest continental neighbour, France. See Dorey, 'Controlling corruption', p. 34; Watts, *Meat Matters*, p. 64.

⁸⁶⁷ Walter Thornbury, 'Hockley-in-the-Hole', in *Old and New London: Volume 2* (London, 1878), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol2/pp306-309>> [accessed 8 April 2020], pp 306-309.

⁸⁶⁸ The ease by which early modern tradesmen could be reputationally dishonoured by association with another trade or polluted creature is ably expanded by Kathy Stuart, who presents an example of an Austrian butcher who, having accidentally killed a stray dog, was vilified by his trade companions for inadvertently undertaking the duties of a skinner. Though this is an extreme example, there is no doubt that in London, too, occupational associations and stereotypes were more influential than have often been emphasised – particularly during periods of particular social instability. Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp 7-8.

⁸⁶⁹ Jones, *Butchers of London*, p. 72.

⁸⁷⁰ A leet court was a travelling court. Adames' work heavily plagiarised the legal writer John Kitchin's *Le court leete et court baron* (1580), which until the mid-seventeenth century was printed only in French. Adames' version was intended to satisfy demand in the vernacular. See Christopher Brooks, *Communities and Courts in Britain, 1150-1900*, p. 46 (footnote).

enquire whether any Baker, Bruer, Butcher, Cooke, Tipler, &c. doe take excessiue gayne or no: also whether they conspire, couenant, promise or make any oth not to sell victuall, but at a certaine price, and present the same.⁸⁷¹

In Adames' legal book, while the wares of butchers and fishmongers were identified as equally prone to decay, only the former trade was overtly suspected – alongside bakers, brewers, cooks and tiplers – of possessing innately corruptible character traits that could lead them to socially-destructive profiteering practices. The corruptibility of meat, coalescing with the perceived corruptibility of the butcher's character, was precisely what made the butchers' trade so prone to contemporary distrust. Though not all contemporary texts encouraged so marked a suspicion on the activities of butchers – Adames' successor, Robert Powell, would add fishmongers under the same heading some forty years later – it was certainly a position taken by the Corporation in its *Laws of the Market* and, as forthcoming paragraphs will show, by the Crown in its communications with the Corporation.⁸⁷²

Punishing erring butchers in the early modern City

As Chapter Two showed, reviewing the types of contemporary punishment dispensed to erring food-sellers helps illuminate the broader value-systems attached to each trade. Butchers had long been punished more severely than other food trades. An anonymous leaflet published in in 1532 records that in early Tudor London, transgressing butchers were “greuouslye amerced (fined)” for a first offence and subjected to a humiliation punishment for their second; a third offence brought imprisonment, while a fourth solicited indefinite banishment from the City's markets – a differing process from that followed by erring brewers and bakers.⁸⁷³ Though fines imposed by the Corporation or the Company were most often the first action taken against transgressing butchers and meat hawkers – as Margaret Dorey found in the Westminster Sessions rolls, and I in the Fines Book – humiliation punishments were also used to set “an example to others

⁸⁷¹ Jonas Adames, *The order of keeping a court leete [...]* (London: 1599), *Early English Books Online* <
<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240877597/99844012/1FF21F5EBE724E8BPQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 28 April 2020], pp 16-17.

⁸⁷² Robert Powell, *A treatise of...the ancient courts of leet* (1641), im, 59.

⁸⁷³ Bakers and brewers could expect to only to be fined for first, second, and third offences; the fourth saw the baker placed in the pillory and the brewer sent to the ducking stool. Anon, *The Assise of bread and ale* (1532), pp 2-5.

offending in the like kinde” and make them “feare to com[mi]tt the like falte”.⁸⁷⁴ From the time of the Butchers’ Company’s incorporation, these seem particularly directed at non-freemen and hawkers caught selling unwholesome meat as a means of publicly highlighting and identifying those whose activities posed particular risk to the urban body. Public punishments were carefully calibrated to inflict maximum damage to a meat vendor’s reputation and social standing, taking place at specific markets (the symbolic scene of the crime) or on the city streets (to demonstrate how poor vending practices stretched beyond market stalls). One thing that all such punishments held in common was the fastening of rotten meat around the offender’s neck, signalling undisputed ownership of their offence.

⁸⁷⁴COL/CA/01/01/042 (1623-4), fol. 23^v; COL/AD/01/029 (1609), fol. 17^v; Dorey, ‘Controlling corruption’, p. 39.



Image 5: Woodcut from a contemporary ballad showing men undergoing a humiliation punishment, similar to what erring meat-sellers would have been subjected to.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷⁵ *Halfe a dozen of good Wives [...]* (London, c. 1630-1649), *English Broadside Ballad Archive* <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30096/citation>> [accessed 3 July 2020]. Stow also notes this punishment being enacted upon a “lusty chantry priest” caught with a Cornhill draper’s wife during Stow’s youth; for three consecutive market days, the priest was conveyed through the high street and the city’s markets, “rung by basons”. Stow, *A Survey of London*, p. 190.

The City's voluminous Letter Books and Repertories offer multiple accounts of humiliation punishments carried out against meat vendors during the seventeenth century, with little differentiation made between the kinds of punishments carried out in ordinary times and during periods historians now consider to have been those of particular social stress. In 1609 and 1611, Edward Cordell (a collier) and Arthur Wrighte (a country man) were both ordered to sit backwards on a horse, "soe to ryde through [Leadenhall] markett and all other [th]e Marketts w[i]thin this cittie" with the "measelled" flesh they had attempted to sell earlier hanging about their necks.⁸⁷⁶ Wrighte concluded his journey through the markets in Newgate Prison, where his rapidly degrading meat was distributed amongst poor prisoners.⁸⁷⁷ A similar fate befell extra-mural butchers John Boone and Christopher Finch (both of Tottenham) in the 1620s: Boone for "bringing into this Cittye to sell great quantities of corrupt & rotten mutton w[hi]ch upon vewe of the wardens of the Company of Butchers, and of this court seemed scarce fitt for any Christian to eate", and Finch for attempting to sell "within this Citty unwholsome beeve w[hi]ch (as the wardens of the Butchers' Company conceived) did die of the murrayne".⁸⁷⁸ Finch was ordered for his crime to

ride through the open streetes of this cittie from Newgate to Aldgate on horeseback w[i]th his face towards the horses tail and some p[ar]t of the said beeve about his necke with a writing on his head demonstrating his offence in these words (vize) for offering to saile corrupt and unwholesome beeve.⁸⁷⁹

Slightly more leniency appears to have been shown to members of the Butchers' Company, for in 1620 City butcher Edward Shelton was spared procession but commanded to stand for hours at Cheapside's pillory, with his offending "flesh about his neck and a writinge to be fixed on his head to demonstrate the same his offence" in full view of passers-by.⁸⁸⁰ His offending meat would later have been confiscated and given to poor prisoners or else burned, as Corporation records reported was done with the other spoils of ill-trading practice (including musty hops, rotten fish, and false

⁸⁷⁶ COL/AD/01/029 (1609), fol. 17^v.

⁸⁷⁷ COL/AD/01/030 (1611), fol. 88^r. This was a common practice: the rigorous quality standards applied to food purchased in the market did not apply to consumables given to the incarcerated or the already sick, given their humours were considered already unbalanced.

⁸⁷⁸ COL/CA/01/01/048/01 (1629-30), fol. 46^v; COL/CA/01/01/042 (1623-4), fol. 23^v.

⁸⁷⁹ COL/CA/01/01/048/01 (1629-30), fols 46^v-47^r.

⁸⁸⁰ City of London, London Metropolitan Archives, COL/AD/01/032 [Letter Book GG (1617-1620)] (1620), fol. 294^r.

weights and measures).⁸⁸¹ Records of meat vendors and butchers' punishments, particularly compared to those of other victualling trades, adds further credence to the idea that the meat trade was considered more socially-destructive than others and thus consistently policed more harshly than even the subsistence (baking and brewing) trades in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

The regulation of meat-selling and fasting practice, 1630-1

Concentrated spates of concern about London's meat supply and demand and the observation of fasting were not without precedent. In the lead up to the Anglo-Spanish war from 1585, for example, *Remembrancia* is full of exhortations against butchers of the "rude and uncivil kind", with numerous letters and petitions circulating between Privy Council, City, and Company of Fishmongers over the decade from 1581-1591.⁸⁸² In letters received from the Crown, the City was urged to remember the importance of fish-days not only to its government (and the strength of the Company of Fishmongers) but to the wider realm, for without increased consumption of fish the mariners' trade and navy would falter and decay.⁸⁸³ In the early 1630s, these concerns were once again concentrated, as the Crown issued fasting proclamations to counteract the arrival of dearth, plague, and rising social instability (in which broader food anxieties continued to loom large), using the broader language of political organic analogy to indirectly impress upon subjects the seriousness of fast-breaking. In a 1630 proclamation directly following his Lenten proclamation, Charles describes sea-faring merchants and mariners as the "Veines and Sinews for the wealth and strength of Our Kingdome": an interestingly timed analogy, given his royal physician William Harvey's investigations into the importance of the circulatory system in the much lauded *De Motus Cordu* (1628), released just two years' previously and dedicated to the king.⁸⁸⁴

Fasting requirements were likely heightened by concerns about meat quality and availability caused by epidemic cattle disease (known as 'murrain') in 1629, which not only contributed to beef shortages but enhanced the likelihood of poor quality meat

⁸⁸¹ COL/CA/01/01/042 (1623), fol. 23^v; COL/AD/01/060, fol. 213^v; COL/AD/01/029 (1610), fol. 188^v.

⁸⁸² 'I. 300' (1581) to 'I. 653' (1591) in *Index to Remembrancia*, pp 392-396; 'I. 580' (1587) in *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 394. This description was used by the frustrated Lord Mayor Sir George Barne (of the Haberdashers') in a 1587 letter.

⁸⁸³ 'I. 300' (1581) in *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 392.

⁸⁸⁴ Charles I, 'A Proclamation reviving and enlarging a former Proclamation made in the Reigne of King James [...]' (1630), *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. II*, p. 252.

being offered for sale.⁸⁸⁵ Such shortages, accentuated by plague-related disruptions to the supply chain and a decrease in market enforcement, incentivised unvetted meat hawkers to roam the streets, offering for sale potentially rotting or otherwise mishandled flesh. That this issue loomed large is evidenced by a warrant against hawkers of meat by the Butchers' Company, issued on 13 August 1630.⁸⁸⁶ It beseeched civic and Crown forces - "all constables and other his Ma[jes]ties officers" - to assist the Company in its seizing of all "rotten corrupt and unwholesome flesh" from the hands of hawkers, who by their activities allow

the markettes of this City [to be] neglected and decayed and such secrett sales of flesh...to encourage many ill disposed persons to some unlawfull attempts and Artes to the great deceipte and damage of His Ma[jes]tie Subiecttes.⁸⁸⁷

The release of this warrant had an overtly political – as well as regulatory – purpose. Through it, the Butchers' Company attempted to publicly align themselves with good market and public health practice, echoing Corporation's and Crown's concerns about the decay of the markets, reinforcing their occupational authority and social standing, and encouraging trust in their regulatory abilities.

In spite of the Company's best efforts, during the 1630 outbreak hawking concerns were quickly overtaken by the Crown's distrust of licensed butchers, who they accused of artificially raising their prices. In September 1630, shortly after the Butchers' Company issued their warrant, the Lords of Council wrote from Windsor to Lord Mayor Sir Robert Ducie (of the Merchant-Taylors) accusing him of not responding quickly enough to some of the problems presented by plague in the city – among them the "moderating & abating of the prizes of victual then growen dear".⁸⁸⁸ Unusually, the Council attributed this problem primarily to "the sinister practizes of butchers", but also warned that they had been "informed that the prizes of corne doe beginne to rise, harvest

⁸⁸⁵ Fast days were called in Ireland by the Crown in 1628 to allay 'War, cattle disease, fears of famine and plague', while a 'lowing disease' epidemic affected cattle in Scotland in the year 1629; this is also the same year in which Christopher Finch, butcher, was sentenced to a humiliation punishment for selling meat suspected to have come from a bull who died of murrain. I have, however, been unable to find any secondary sources which directly testify to the disease's presence in south-east England. See Mears, Raffe, Taylor, Williamson and Bates, *National Prayers*, ed. by Mears et al, p. xvi; COL/CA/01/01/048/01 (1629), fol. 46^v.

⁸⁸⁶ This document is misdated in the LMA Catalogue as '30 August 1630'; the original document reads 'Dated th. thirteenth day of August 1630'. Warrants against hawkers of meat were previously issued by the Worshipful Company of Butchers in 1621 and 1624, and continued to be released up to 1703.. Jones, *Butchers of London*, p. 136-7; CLA/017/LC/05/001 (1630).

⁸⁸⁷ CLA/017/LC/05/001 (1630).

⁸⁸⁸ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), pp 48-49.

not beeing yet don”. The Corporation, therefore, should “conceiue it to bee a greate presage of a future deart[h]s, if some bett[er] care be not taken”.⁸⁸⁹ The next month, Mayor Ducie wrote to reassure them, stating that not only had he investigated the prices of flesh and found them at “reasonable rates”, but had visited Barnet market (a livestock market more often frequented by non-freemen, owing to Smithfield’s restrictions) and been satisfied by its butchers’ exhortations that “they were free from any practices for making of victualls deare”.⁸⁹⁰

The Privy Council were not satisfied by this reassurance. In November 1630, they wrote a lengthy letter commanding that for the relief of the poor and reduction of prices, the City should urgently focus its attention on stamping out fast-breaking, assisted by the ecclesiastical courts.⁸⁹¹ They cited the dates of a number of Edward VI’s fasting laws, sarcastically noting that

it seemes verie strange both to his Ma[jes]tie and this Board, that a proclamat[i]on grounded on the manie laws and important causes, and in a time of such necessitie, should bee soe much condemned...it were in his Ma[jes]t[ie]s owne vowe, who is resolved to haue it reformed...to make...in the said Cittie; an example to other places.⁸⁹²

Ducie was to order ward officials to search out fast-breakers in local taverns and ordinaries, appoint members of the Company of Fishmongers to search the butchers and other fast-breakers, and impose immediate imprisonment – rather than fines or humiliation punishments – on those caught offending.⁸⁹³ He soon responded to confirm that he had authorised “certaine ffishmongers to search...who for their owne interest will giue us best notice” – an unexpected, but not wholly unprecedented development.⁸⁹⁴ Though the Company of Butchers had attained incorporation in 1607 and was thus empowered to manage and regulate its own trade affairs without the interference of rival

⁸⁸⁹ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), pp 48-49.

⁸⁹⁰ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 52. There had long been tensions between free and foreign butchers regarding Smithfield and Barnet markets. In 1612, freemen accused foreigners of frequenting Barnet and buying up stocks, contributing to Smithfield’s decay and rising cattle prices, which had a knock-on effect on meat prices. In 1631, the inhabitants of Chipping Barnet wrote to the Privy Council accusing freemen of monopolising grazing land within five miles of the City to raise livestock for sale in Smithfield. This, they alleged, suppressed Barnet and allowed the Company to manipulate supply and demand to inflate urban prices at will. This re-affirmed the Council’s existing suspicions, with a later investigation by the Attorney General confirming these findings. COL/AD/01/030 (1611-1614), fols. 88^r-88^v; Jones, *Butchers of London*, p. 100.

⁸⁹¹ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), pp 61-2.

⁸⁹² COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 62.

⁸⁹³ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), pp 61-2.

⁸⁹⁴ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 65.

Companies (such as the Fishmongers), it was yet not uncommon for members of the Twelve Great Companies to be commissioned to supervise certain markets during periods of particular scrutiny (as happened in the flesh, fish and meal markets in 1534, 1543 and 1580 respectively).⁸⁹⁵ Still, in the heated political conditions of the 1630s – in which fasting orders proliferated, food shortages were explicitly linked to non-compliance and London’s wider public health systems were actively debated and threatened with reform, ‘sinister’, selfish butchers came to epitomise wider threats to the unity and stability of City and realm. Regulatory actions taken against them were reflective of Charles’ broader determination to harshly punish those who refused, “with high contempt”, to “subdue [their] bodies to their soules and spirits”.⁸⁹⁶ That mitigating this threat involved pitting the interests of the godly Fishmonger against that of the greedy Butcher – the battle between carnival and Lent – merely reinforces the polarity and simplicity of Charles’ social policies.⁸⁹⁷

The Corporation, it seems, were well-aware of the potential political implications of how they handled this public health problem. In December 1630, Lord Mayor Ducie wrote again to reassure the Lords of the Privy Council that the weekly Bills of Mortality showed that “god in a mercifull man[n]or” had assuaged the infection; the “strict keeping of fast dayes” was being maintained, and food prices – ordinarily higher in winter – were even lower than in previous years in which dearth had not been an issue.⁸⁹⁸ An additional letter that month stressed the Corporation’s efficiency in its actions against plague, being followed by others in March, May and June 1631 which reiterated the rapid retreat of the disease from the City – “by the goodnes of God attended by that care w[hi]ch hath beene taken” – and the maintenance, throughout, of reasonable food prices partly achieved through the “exemplary punishment” of some butchers, among whom there was now (Ducie emphasised in May) “few delinquents”.⁸⁹⁹ By June,

⁸⁹⁵ Harding, ‘The London Food Markets’, p. 12.

⁸⁹⁶ Charles I, ‘against Eating and Selling of Flesh in Lent’ (1632), pp 336-337.

⁸⁹⁷ That the Fishmongers enjoyed this popular reputation (alongside their considerable political clout in the City) can be seen in Taylor, *Jack-a-Lent*: “To speake of the honesty of fisher-men, and the account that we ought to make of their Calling, it was the faculty of...the blessed Apostles, and by a common Rule, all fishermen must bee men singularly endued, and possesst with the vertue of patience...” (p. 17). They are also “friendly, frolicke, franke, free-hearted, famous” and “flourishing” (p. 1).

⁸⁹⁸ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 68

⁸⁹⁹ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 69; *Ibid.*, pp 72-73; *Ibid.*, p. 77.

he hastened to report, the sickness had left the City alongside the last of the fast-breaking inclinations of those so “forward to offend in that kinde”.⁹⁰⁰

Urban resistance to Crown policies in the later 1630s

Though the Company of Butchers were subjected to particular scrutiny and suspicion during Charles’ Personal Rule, they were by no means alone. Regulatory tensions between the College and City’s apothecaries also flared from 1630-1640, concluding in Crown/College committee recommendations – whose observance by the apothecaries was subsequently ordered by the Crown – that further subordinated the apothecaries to the Physicians.⁹⁰¹ These were promptly ignored by the apothecaries and immediately appealed upon the sitting of the Long Parliament (1640-1660), during which time Republican disdain for the *status quo* – and the institutions, such as the College of Physicians, who represented it – operated in the apothecaries’ favour.⁹⁰² Other corporate groups saw an opportunity for advancement within the public health frameworks heavily advocated by the Crown. These included the City’s distillers, who petitioned the king for a charter of incorporation; this was promptly granted by the Crown, who wrote to the City in August 1638 to inform them of the decision.⁹⁰³ Evidently, by this time the City had tired of the Crown’s forcefulness: it flatly refused to acknowledge not only the distillers’ charter (prompting a succession of progressively angrier letters from the Crown from December 1638 through to the following October), but obey orders for the City to incorporate and control bigger sections of the suburbs and allow their aldermen to be placed on a special commission for the peace (both intended to better oversee plague prevention measures).⁹⁰⁴ The king had, Harold Cook notes, by then “antagonized [too] many significant groups within the body politic”.⁹⁰⁵ So had the College, which

⁹⁰⁰ COL/RMD/PA/01/007 (1630), p. 77.

⁹⁰¹ Clark, *College of Physicians*, pp 267-272. These included several significant, charter-altering orders – among them, the loss of apothecaries’ right to search their members without explicit College direction and to keep medicinal compositions secret. Rather than making their own laws, with the president of the College called to Apothecaries’ Hall to supervise, they were now to report to the College to receive laws from it. Ibid, p. 272.

⁹⁰² Clark, *College of Physicians*, p. 272; Hunting, *Society of Apothecaries*, p. 50.

⁹⁰³ ‘VIII. 208’ (1638) in *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 111.

⁹⁰⁴ Cook, ‘Policing the health’, p. 27; ‘VIII. 217’ (1638) in *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 111; ‘VIII. 219’ (1639) in Ibid; ‘VIII. 224’ (1639) in Ibid. The distillers would not be enrolled as a separate corporate body until 1658. See Hunting, *Society of Apothecaries*, p. 36.

⁹⁰⁵ Cook, ‘Policing the health’, p. 27.

upon the arrival of civil war and the Interregnum lost not only its primary patron, but much of its public health impetus and authority in the City of London.⁹⁰⁶

Chapter Four conclusion

During the Caroline period, the Crown continued to take an active interest and involvement in the public health of the City of London. Guided by Charles' immutable vision of a paternalistic body politic – one in which the capital city stood as a symbolic reflection of a strong, enlightened kingdom – it advocated a more rigid approach to public health built on authority, formality, and hierarchy. Charles, like Elizabeth, took a conservative view of his duties as monarch. Unlike Elizabeth, however, he was less concerned with endearing himself to his subjects, issuing forceful proclamations and immovable commands to the City of London and preferring to dispense his will through favoured advisors such as Buckingham and Laud and authoritative channels such as the College of Physicians throughout the 1630s. Like his father James, Charles set great store in educated and Continental perspectives, leaning on understandings of kingship bolstered by his time at the Spanish court and encouraging the introduction of Continental architecture and other innovations to the City. Mayerne, supported by James in several of his public health endeavours, brought the same enthusiasm to the problems of Charles' reign, but found a drastically different political and financial landscape in which to bring his and the wider College's ideas to fruition. Proposals for reforming public health hierarchies in the City from 1630-1, though well-received by the Crown, floundered principally due to lack of finance, while those followed up on in the later 1630s – specifically, orders to further subordinate the City's apothecaries, establish the Distillers' Company, force the City to incorporate more of its suburbs and liberties and establish a better system for plague prevention – were rejected by the increasingly intransigent Corporation.

Charles' reign began with and was subsequently beset by plague, with outbreaks in 1625, 1630 and 1636 repeatedly drawing Crown attention to the issue of epidemic disease, accompanying food shortages, and the identification and reform of flaws in its prevention and mitigation. Though mortality rates were higher the year of Charles' accession, the disease's coalescence with dearth and the early years of Charles' Personal Rule in 1630 resulted in a flurry of administrative activity. This resulted in the release of the three Caroline Books of Orders (1630-1), a burst of fasting proclamations, and a

⁹⁰⁶ Hunting, *Society of Apothecaries*, p. 57.

succession of increasingly forceful commands to the City of London to monitor and stall both the progression of disease and rising food prices – the latter, upon the direct threat of unprecedented Crown control. One particularly notable way in which both objectives were to be achieved was through the strict control of the butchers' trade, an undertaking justified by both practical and symbolic reasoning. Within the context of wider Caroline paternalism and the period's emphasis on disease, butchers – perceived as the City's primary food-trade polluters and uncivil architects of fast-breaking – epitomised the selfishness and greed of individuals who, by their actions, threatened the wider integrity and health of the body politic. Others identified as such were country gentry, whose abandonment of their hierarchical posts enlarged the city but weakened the kingdom; the City's market traders and ambulant vendors, who during the epidemic of 1625 were decried in contemporary literature as 'forestallers' through their inactivity; and all those in positions of magisterial authority who failed to discharge their duties.

Conclusion

This thesis' primary objective is to contribute to an existing (and indeed, rapidly growing) body of research that expands our restrictive understandings of pre-modern public health – health before 1800.⁹⁰⁷ It focuses on late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century London, a period to which scholars have long attributed increasing Crown authority, overarching administrative changes and a growing need to oversee and promote state centralisation. These developments were predominantly influenced by a succession of challenges to social stability from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, including the lingering religious, cultural and political effects of the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations and the Marian Counter-Reformation, prolonged periods of economic and political stress, and the realities and fears of popular unrest, harvest failure and epidemic disease. From the sixteenth century onwards, the rapid expansion of the nation's capital, London, was identified as a particularly potent threat to the health of the commonwealth, prompting state and civic politics to become necessarily and increasingly intertwined. This strengthened communications between the Crown and Corporation of London, accentuating the City's significance as a demographic and commercial powerhouse and as a symbolic hub of innovation within and outside the kingdom.

While this period of English history has been well-studied by historians of London, economics, politics, religion, society, and more, public health historians have tended to avoid it. Consequently, less has been written about how the factors listed above inevitably influenced and altered broader perceptions and enactments of existing communal health practices in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century capital.⁹⁰⁸ This lack is particularly surprising, this thesis showed, given a lesser-studied but equally influential medico-cultural development coincided with each of these better-established ones: “a unique, Vesalian moment in which time-honoured notions of Galenic physiology and body-soul permeability coalesced with pioneering empirical methods in medical science”.⁹⁰⁹ From the mid-1500s, medical, political and religious groups collectively reassessed the cultural significance of the human body, attributing new

⁹⁰⁷ See, for example, the Premodern Health series of a well-established academic publishing house's call for publications up to 1800: 'Series: Premodern Health, Disease, and Disability', *Amsterdam University Press* <<https://www.aup.nl/en/series/premodern-health-disease-and-disability>> [accessed 23 November 2020].

⁹⁰⁸ I except from this the excellent works of Charles Webster, Margaret Pelling, Harold Cook, Hugh Trevor-Roper, Mark Jenner, and others who have variously striven to highlight and emphasise this considerable oversight.

⁹⁰⁹Parker, 'Diseased Bodies, Defiled Souls', p. 1270.

meanings not just to its functions and processes, but the socio-political infrastructures and practices that sustained it.⁹¹⁰ As the sixteenth century gave way to the seventeenth, these assessments increasingly crossed disciplinary and class divides, finding their way into national, corporate and popular culture through a combination of factors, including the introduction of overarching political and administrative reforms, the growth of literacy, and the increasing availability of and demand for cheaper and more accessible printed texts in urban centres such as London. Vernacular health regimens, dietaries and religious texts particularly proliferated among the middling and elite classes in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century City, with the conclusions of each frequently overlapping and subsequently spilling into the substance of civic politics.⁹¹¹ The human body, overwhelmingly equated with the social body from the early medieval period, loomed ever larger as a rhetorical device, for as the Calvinist physician Helkiah Crooke explained in *Mikrocosmographia* (1615):

If a Commonwealths man shall preferre the Art of Policy... I would haue him know; that there is nothing either in heauen or on earth, or in the administratio[n] of them both, not only on mans part, but which is more, on Gods also, that is not equalled, yea...exceeded in the frame of man.⁹¹²

The synchronicity between religion, medicine and politics affected how contemporaries interpreted public health and the cultural practices associated with it, such as consumption and food-production, distribution and selling. It also influenced how they understood and employed rhetorical commonplaces such as organic political analogy – used predominantly by political actors – and proverbs – more often employed by ordinary people.

Proverbs were of “central importance to the modes of thought and expression which epitomize[d] England”, according to the oral historian Adam Fox: verbal reminders of the core values and traditions that helped shape contemporary responses to the period’s challenges, solutions and conclusions.⁹¹³ During the fast-paced reigns of the later Tudors and Stuarts (as well as the changeable years of the Interregnum), they particularly thrived. Foreign expressions were swiftly absorbed into the English

⁹¹⁰Parker, ‘Diseased Bodies, Defiled Souls’, p. 1270.

⁹¹¹ Barnett, ‘Reforming Food and Eating’, p. 5.

⁹¹² Helkiah Crooke, ‘The First Book: the Preface’ in *Mikrokosmographia a description of the body of man* (London, 1615), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240870276/49F01460EC184A19PQ/6?accountid=7408>> [accessed 9 January 2019], pp i-ii.

⁹¹³ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 112.

vernacular, while a longing to preserve disappearing customs prompted writers such as John Heywood to collect and record them in print for the first time.⁹¹⁴ James Howell's *Lexicon tetraglotton* (1660), printed in the year of Charles II's accession, noted that proverbs

may not improperly be called the Philosophy of the Common People...the truest Reliques of old Philosophy...all Proverbs consist most commonly of Caution, and Counsell, of Directions, and Document, for the regulating of Humane life; where-in as there is much Witt, so there is oftentimes a great deal of Weight wrapp'd up in a little.⁹¹⁵

Proverbs are quietly ubiquitous throughout this thesis. In addition to being used to explore and expand long-standing cultural beliefs, they also appear in the chapter headings of Chapters One, Two, Three, and Four, anticipating the broader conclusions of each.⁹¹⁶ Accordingly, the thematic Chapter One was introduced by the popular proverb “the belly carries the legs and not the legs the belly”, a misleadingly-simple commonplace that distils complex contemporary understandings of the body, body politic, public health, public order, and food consumption and distribution into one key principle: if contemporaries did not prioritise organic and figurative stomachs' seeking, refining and distribution of nourishment, bodily members could not and would not function as God intended.⁹¹⁷ Chapter Two, the first of three chronological chapters, rooted Elizabethan interpretations of this principle with the proverb “Dearths foreseen come not”, indicating broader Tudor appetites for preventative action and foreshadowing

⁹¹⁴ John Crow, ‘Review: M. P. TILLEY, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 3:3 (1952), p. 261.

⁹¹⁵ James Howell, *Lexicon tetraglotton an English-French-Italian-Spanish dictionary [...]* (London, 1660), *Early English Books Online*

<http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:EEBO&rft_id=xri:EEBO:citation:17996522> [accessed 24 October 2017], im. 314 (unpaginated).

⁹¹⁶ Most of those represented in this thesis were collected by M. P. Tilley, a professor of English Literature based at the University of Michigan until the 1950s. Unknown, ‘Memorial: Morris Palmer Tilley’, *Faculty History Project, University of Michigan* <<http://faculty-history.dc.umich.edu/faculty/morris-palmer-tilley/memorial-0>> [accessed 18 November 2020].

⁹¹⁷ Tilley found versions of this proverb in different English texts dating from 1599, 1620, 1694 and 1732 respectively; its principal message is also echoed in earlier proverbs such as “When the belly is full, the bones would be at rest”, which was first printed c. 1486-1500 and reprinted c. 1523, c. 1530, c. 1536, c. 1546, 1553, 1591, 1598, 1611, 1616, 1659, 1669, 1670, and 1721. An army, as the modern idiom goes, “marches on its stomach”. Minsheu (1599) et al, ‘The belly carries the legs and not the legs the belly’, p. 43; Medwall et al, ‘B303: When the Belly is full, the bones would be at rest’, p. 44; Unknown, ‘an army marches on its stomach’, *Oxford Reference: The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* <<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095425331>> [accessed 24 November 2020].

the chapter's discussion of London's foodways 'crisis' of the 1590s. Chapter Three pitted the growing medicalisation of London society during the Jacobean period against the continuing value of domestic remedies and a carefully-considered diet with the somewhat defiant "My kitchin is my Doctor...my garden, My college": a commonplace that defended the value of traditional domestic medicine against that increasingly offered by elite practitioners.⁹¹⁸ Chapter Four's reflection of contemporary advice to "not dwell in a CITY whose governor is a physician" concluded the thesis, noting and analysing how, at the same time as Charles I used his Personal Rule to impose increasingly paternalistic and rigid policies, resistance to his health innovations mounted in the Caroline City. It, like the other three proverbs mentioned, helps distil and clarify the thesis's wider conclusion: that public health existed and evolved – then as now – as just one part of a dynamic framework composed of competing cultural, political, religious, medical and economic interests. Its successes and failures in a particular place and time were intimately related to the interactions of all of these interests.

Reflecting on the thesis as a whole, I have come to three broad conclusions. My first is that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London possessed a nuanced and long-established public health system which, though arguably less prescriptive and frequently more ad hoc than others – such as the centrally-enforced, physician-managed Italian models of public health commented upon by contemporaries such as Moryson – was no less significant.⁹¹⁹ It was a system rooted in national, urban, and local politics, in which public order and public health were frequently conflated and – as Chapter One showed – exemplified by organic political analogy: an evolving political commonplace that actively utilised and reflected contemporary medical understandings. Chapter One outlined how London's earliest health precepts were embedded in the Corporation's environmental and trade laws, poor provision, and market infrastructures – all of which promoted broader civic responsibility and stability. The importance of each of these precepts, it showed, was not fixed, but varied depending on locality and contemporary

⁹¹⁸ Day, 'P260: Kitchen physic is the best physic', p. 535. I note that, by referring to a kitchen and garden, the proverb is more representative of contemporary elite or middling social experience than it is of lowlier social experiences – particularly in cities such as London, where domestic workers and those in shared lodgings did not necessarily have access to facilities such as kitchen hearths or ovens. See Pennell, "Great quantities of gooseberry pye", p. 230. This is why remedies such as caudle, noted for sale in Cornhill's wardmote register, were also available for sale in the street.

⁹¹⁹ Indeed, recent studies have begun to show that even Italian health models depended to a large extent on the healthcare provision of informal, often female practitioners who operated both within and outside the domestic sphere. See Strocchia, *Hidden Healers*, p. 1.

context: where the expansive, extra-mural ward of Farringdon Without consistently concentrated on environmental and victualling offences in its wardmote presentments, intra-mural, prosperous Cornhill more often targeted market offences, reflecting its strategic and symbolic location at the heart of the City. Chapters Two to Four built on these findings, showing how in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these public health precepts were further consolidated and expanded in response to contemporary developments – largely by the post-Reformation Crown, which codified contagionist responses to disease, legally enshrined the parish’s duties to its sick inhabitants, encouraged greater medical literacy and personal health responsibility, and actively availed of and enhanced the medical authority of the City’s College of Physicians. Over this timeframe, London’s public health was particularly influenced by the combined efforts and responses of Corporation, Crown, College and inhabitants. Snapshots of the continual fluctuation of political powers held by each group were provided as the thesis moved from the efforts of the Elizabethan Corporation to plan for future spates of epidemic disease and dearth, to the gradual assumption of public health authority undertaken by the College of Physicians from the Jacobean to the Caroline period.

One of the reasons London’s public health was not especially motivated by medical practitioners and medical theory was because it did not evolve solely in response to the threat of disease: wider threats to the body politic such as rising prices, food shortages, war, and religious conflict also motivated contemporaries to build on and expand existing regulations and systems intended to safeguard social and individual bodies. Since public order and public health went hand-in-hand – “Health maketh men...happier, stronger and quieter then all maner of riches”, wrote the cleric-physician William Bullein in 1558 – it makes sense that, as public order was perceived to have come under increasing strain in the sixteenth century, a variety of precepts linked explicitly or implicitly to public health would increasingly be used to help relieve some of these pressures.⁹²⁰ Greater rhetorical linking of issues which effectively combined the two – fasting laws, urban theatres, vagrancy, and the activities of licensed and unlicensed food vendors, for example – was just one of the ways in which Crown and Corporate authorities justified a succession of social policies. Together, they actively sought to

⁹²⁰ William Bullein, *A newe booke entituled the gouvernement of healthe [...]* (London, 1558), *Early English Books Online* <<https://www-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/docview/2240886484/99845149/FA078B5981B54C10PQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 20 February 2021], p. 6.

restore and protect Londoners' resilience against further assaults posed not just by hunger and infection, but broader, more nuanced spates of social and political instability.

Successive monarchs' perceptions of their roles and responsibilities as head of the body politic greatly influenced London's public health. As the sixteenth and seventeenth century Crown took an increasingly involved role in the City's general and public health management, it reiterated its authority and justified its decisions by referring to broadly accepted organic political analogies. During Elizabeth's reign, state paternalism – motivated by a desire to preclude “present and future disorder” within the social body – resulted in the creation, codification, framing and mapping out of new administrative infrastructures at national and urban level, laying the framework for public health innovations to come.⁹²¹ During this period, these included the gradual secularisation of fasting, the increased use of the language of social pathology, and the establishment of systems and strategies by which to protect the burgeoning city from dearth and social unrest. The ebbing of subsistence public health's particular urgency in the early years of the new century, combined with the ascension of James (arguably the most medically-minded and academically curious of the three monarchs studied) and the gradual re-opening of England's borders to Europe rejuvenated the early Stuart City's medical cultures, encouraging citizens to take an increasing interest in the health of themselves and their communities. James' particular medical intent, I argue, can be seen in his writings, which indubitably reflected his approach to public health but have been understudied for this purpose. Crown interest and patronage also encouraged members of London's Companies (such as the Grocers' apothecaries) and the College of Physicians to reshape their medical, public health, and political authority, with Crown-commanded offices or committees of health forming in the City as early as 1609-11 (and not, as is often suggested, 1625). Finally, a return to overt paternalism during Charles' Personal Rule transformed public health into a particularly potent tool of innovation and improvement, prompting the ambitious and increasingly influential College to petition for a drastic overhaul of the City's public health administration. This overarching reform never materialised, being suppressed by the practical and financial implications of Charles' dissolution of parliament. Thereafter the Crown would refocus its energies on bigger picture social engineering – releasing the Books of Orders, prosecuting those who failed to fulfil their duties within the body politic – in addition to more rigorously

⁹²¹ Hindle, *The State and Social Change*, p. 148.

enforcing earlier established aspects of public health – including prosecuting obstinate butchers, fast- and quarantine-breakers.

My second conclusion is that London's public health system depended just as much on contemporaries' internalisation of public health responsibility (wrought, in most cases, by self-interest) as it did on formal enforcement – an often overlooked but nevertheless important component of collective health practice. This dependence makes sense, given broader English legislative tradition and the value attached to custom, individual liberty and ancient privileges encapsulated in customals such as *Liber Albus*. Contemporary authorities also recognised that public health enforcement was often more effective when tinged with self-interest: this was periodically reflected through Crown's, College's and City's political leveraging of the interests of opposing groups, according to different contexts' wider public health needs. When petty traders were identified as a threat to public health and order in 1590s London (an association that lingered throughout the early Stuart periods), the Elizabethan Corporation recognised that their repression would be better enacted by private informers and overseers motivated more by moieties than an enthusiasm to defend market integrity. In a similar vein, the Jacobean College utilised its influence with the Crown to reinforce James' support for the apothecaries' split from the Grocers' Company, a gesture motivated largely by its own desire to extend its regulatory reach. Finally, the Caroline Privy Council specifically commanded that the Company of Fishmongers be employed to curtail butchers' fast-breaking, correctly concluding that self-interest and the maintenance of civic status would boost searchers' impetus to safeguard the public health.

Aside from monetary and political appeals to self-interest, Londoners' public health accountability was actively encouraged, facilitated and inculcated by the early modern Crown and Corporation in a number of ways. These included representing fasting orders as practical and political laws at a time of general food anxiety: tapping into subjects' broader motivation to keep urban prices down, food supplies consistent, ill-health short-lived, and the realm well-defended by a robust mariners' trade. Personal responsibility was also encouraged by the geographical expansion of and printing of the London Bills of Mortality during the later sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries – a development more often lauded for its formal contributions to early epidemiology than for its contemporary encouragement of preventative behaviours. Yet in the context of the City's growing medicalisation, these Bills – subsidised by civic government from

1603, printed each week in their thousands and sold for a penny a-piece in St Paul's Churchyard – provided a textual map by which London's authorities, inhabitants and visitors could more easily gauge the extent of public health threats in their local areas and judge and mitigate, as free individuals, the particular risks faced by themselves, their families, and their communities.⁹²² These were accentuated by a myriad of visual prompts established by the Elizabethan plague *Orders*, which became ubiquitous shorthands for behaviour throughout London's numerous visitations.⁹²³ Dietary, prophylactic and remedial advice, issued by the College of Physicians on the orders of the Crown and as individual publications, assumed an increasingly authoritative place among the regimens and medical texts that came to guide middling and elite consumption and remedy-making during and outside of public health crises.

My third conclusion is that London's public health was more closely bound to and reflected by the regulation of its formal and informal food trades – and in more nuanced ways – than is often recognised. As traditional linchpins of social stability and – often – members of the City's politic body, the food trades not only played a key role in older, largely miasmatic iterations of public health, but in newer, contagionist iterations too. As the overlaps between food and medicine and order and health grew palpably clearer and increasingly debated in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London, the activities of corporate trades such as the Companies of Bakers, Grocers and Butchers and those of street traders such as grain vendors, herbwives and fruit-sellers continued to draw the attention of Crown, College and City. These interactions provided increased vulnerability for some, but opportunities for others. The food traders I chose to focus on collectively highlight the inherent complications between centralised enforcement and civic responsibility, the gradual entrenchment of aspects of continental medical systems, and the effects of embedded food and trading biases meeting an increasingly health-orientated society. It is notable that the principles that dictated the regulation of London's markets also applied to the sale of medicaments and remedies: both College and City expected consumeables to be wholesome, skillfully produced (where applicable) and as described, causing no harm to consumers' bodies or pockets.

London's food Companies were not passive recipients of policy, but political players in their own right: following incorporation, their members expected and were entitled to varying degrees of corporate autonomy and civic trust. For some, this trust

⁹²² Greenberg, 'Plague and the Printing Press', p. 510; *Ibid.*, p. 517.

⁹²³ Elizabeth I, *Orders* (1578), p. 4.

had always been tenuous, owing to the vital nature of the trade – it was expected, for example, that bakers and brewers be closely monitored, making the Corporation’s apparent lack of attention to enforcing the assize of bread in the mid-1590s all the more significant and, I argue, indicative of broader public health pragmatism. For others, however, the rhetoric of public health legitimised actions that directly challenged long-held privileges, disturbing what many perceived to be the natural functions of their respective corporate bodies and resulting in the severance of key members. The division of the Grocers and apothecaries on the basis of public health concerns about the safety of pharmaceutical drugs and compounds, was, in the Grocers’ own words, an action which violated “the cities government” and threatened “most of the companies of London”.⁹²⁴ It was an action eschewed by the cautious Elizabethan Crown – which broadly agreed with the principle that a united corporate body was more beneficial to the health of the body politic as a whole – yet supported by James, guided by his own assessment of his responsibilities as “proper Phisician of [the] Politicke-body”.⁹²⁵ The City’s butchers encountered similar – but again, less unexpected, given their long-held reputation for moral and environmental pollution – issues in the increasingly paternalistic context of the 1630s. At a time when the popularity and demand for the guild’s wares was rising, and the Company had been granted incorporation to manage its own affairs, I argued that familiar undertones of distrust were accentuated by Charles’ broader desire to be seen enforcing obedience among perceivably recalcitrant subjects in the early days of his Personal Rule.

Finally, where informal food traders were equated to despised middlemen in the heated 1590s, by the 1620s they were increasingly acknowledged as essential to the balancing of the urban stomach: their moral standing as a group at any given time hinging less on their individual behaviours and more on their bigger-picture indispensability to the urban body politic as a whole. This realisation, outlined in a popular pamphlet, a letter sent by the Corporation to the Crown, and a paucity of fines in the Fines Book and presentments in the wardmote inquest registers during the epidemic of 1625, was one which I argued had already been applied to the bakers’ trade during the dearth years of the 1590s. A gradual shift in approach to the issue of ambulant sellers, grounded in broader public health pragmatism, may be one reason why by the

⁹²⁴ Grocers of London, 'Petitions to the House of Lords: HL/PO/JO/10/1/21 (1621)', in *Petitions to the House of Lords, 1597-1696*, ed. Jason Peacey, *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/petitions/house-of-lords/1621>> [accessed 21 March 2021].

⁹²⁵ James VI and I, *A counterblaste to tobacco* (1604), p. 4.

1630s far fewer presentments against street sellers appear in Cornhill's wardmote inquest register than had done in decades prior to this.⁹²⁶ Behaviours conceived of and presented as particular public health threats were thus politically-motivated and -construed, as were contemporary responses to them.

In conclusion, this thesis firmly contradicts continuing popular and academic assertions that public health is more-or-less a modern concept which was predominantly static, undervalued and little-considered in pre-modern cities such as London. Contrary to these assertions, it showed that precepts intended to protect inhabitants from the miasmatic effects of polluted environments, animals and trades had long been embedded into the City's earliest regulations and customs, while another key aspect of public health – the prevention of person-to-person transmission – was officially codified into national and civic regulations in the later sixteenth century.⁹²⁷ This codification occurred not just in response to the problem of plague, but that of broad urban expansion, and its timing was highly significant. The sixteenth century was a period from which the maintenance of population-level health became increasingly topical and highly politicized. Public health became a concept increasingly used by national and local authorities to broadly unify and control otherwise fragmented religious, political and cultural factions in the early modern state and City. In England, this shift was reflected and developed by innovations in organic political analogy and changing approaches to fasting as a legal practice, as well as by increasingly focused national and civic responses to recurrent and widely varied issues of public order and disease.

Yet while the concept of public health could in principle be envisioned as a broadly unifying force – rapidly replacing or supplementing more contentious religious, political and economic perspectives – it brought a significant share of disunity. Increased centralisation and the City's growth as an economic and demographic hub of national significance pitted its traditional government against an increasingly innovative Crown, drastically renegotiating the relationship between civic and national authority and amplifying the political authority of extra-municipal institutions such as the College of Physicians. Crown support for the College, particularly in the seventeenth century,

⁹²⁶ The last presentment of a street vendor of food up to 1640 for 'pestering' the street (as opposed to being caught with defective weights and measures) occurred in 1627, when the fruit-vending wife of John Powell was presented for pestering the street. This is in stark contrast to no fewer than fifteen complaints about sellers of oats, fruit and herbs pestering or otherwise obscuring the streets during the 1610s. CLC/W/HF/001/MS04069/001 (1627), fol. 185^v; *Ibid.*, (1610-1619), fols. 118^v – 151^r.

⁹²⁷ Elizabeth I, *Orders* (1578).

allowed the institution to increasingly interfere in civic politics and governance. This was reflected in the controversial departure of the City's apothecaries from one of the Corporation's oldest, most prosperous and most politically-powerful guilds, the Company of Grocers and predicated a contentious, rather exclusionary model of how London's medical marketplace – and in particular, its irregular and regular practitioners – should be monitored and regulated. It led to the periodic scrutiny and sometime limitation of certain of the City's food trades, such as the butchers, replacing hard-won regulatory independence with often humiliating regulatory mores. Finally, it fed civic backlash against the Crown, which towards the end of Charles I's reign was widely considered to have overstepped its rightful authority – in public health, as in other aspects.

Appendices

Item 1: Comparison of presentment categories in the Cornhill and Farringdon Without wardmote inquest registers, 1590-1600

Cornhill Ward												
	1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	
Behavioural	2	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	4	10
Environmental	7	5	3	2	3	1	5	5	6	7	2	46
Market/Selling	7	7	2	5	5	5	4	6	4	3	5	53
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1			5
Total	16	12	6	7	8⁹²⁸	9	11	12	11	11	11⁹²⁹	114

Farringdon Without Ward												
	1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	
Behavioural	1	1	1	3	4	1	3	3	12	16	3	48
Environmental	9	13	4	6	17	3	6	3	6	4	4	75
Market/Selling	2	-	1	-	5	4	2	-	4	2	1	21
Total	12	14	6	9	26	8	11⁹³⁰	6	22⁹³¹	22⁹³²	8	144

⁹²⁸ One presentment was counted as both a market and environmental offence; see fol. 62v.

⁹²⁹ One presentment was counted as both a market and behavioural offence; see fol. 87r.

⁹³⁰ One presentment was counted as both a behavioural and market offence; see CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1596), fol. 62v. There were 10 presentments in total.

⁹³¹ Two presentments were counted as both behavioural and market offences; see CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1598), fols. 64v - 65v. There were 20 presentments in total.

⁹³² One presentment was counted as both a behavioural and market offence; see CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001 (1598), fol. 66v. There were 21 presentments in total.

Item 2: Transcription of animal, food and general health-related fines in the London Fines Book, c. 1589-1600.

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
1589 ⁹³³	f. 214v.	1 Oct.	9 shillings (s)	Receaved...of Roger Gamons Butcher for the citties moyetye of eight hoggs forfeited for streying about the stretes contrarye etc ix
	f. 215r.	4 Oct.	30s	Receaved...of Rob[er]te hewes fforren Butcher for the cittyes moyetye of a fyne upon him seassed for twentie sheepe forren bought and forren solde in Smythfeilde of John Needeham fforryner before the ringing of the bell xxxs
	f. 214v.	17 Nov.	4s	Receaved...of William Lathes for the Cittyes moyetie of a sanded sowe w[i]th a tuff tale forfeited as aforesaide iiij
	f. 215r.	19 Nov.	10s	Receaved...of Jack Parton for his admission into the number of ffree botchers being an Englishman borne xs
		20 Nov.	3s 4 pence (p)	Receaved...of Mathewe Richardson for the cittyes parte of a fyne upon him seassed for xxxij of sheepes pelts forren bought and forren solde within the liberties of this citty iijs iiij
			12p	And more...of Bartholmewe Yate for the citties moyete of certeine oades of spratte forfeited as aforesaide xij
	f. 214v.	5 Dec.	6s	Receaved...of Gilb[er]te Yate for the Citties moyetie of a boare and a pigg forfeited as aforeside vjs
		19 Dec.	15s	Receaved...of the foresaide William Lathes for seauen shotts and one white sowe forfeited as aforesaide xvs
	f. 216v.	23 Dec. & 30 Dec.	2s 6p	Receaved...of John Sheppard for the citties moyetye of a fyne upon him seassed for setting his iron waights in the streetes before his stall ijs vjd
			2s 8p	Receaved...of James Bowtell for his like offence [to Sheppard] iijs viij
f. 214v.	24 Dec.	4s	Re. more...of the foresaide Gilb[er]te Yate for the Citties moyetie of a black sowe forfeited as aforesaide iiij	
1590	f. 214v.	15 Jan.	12p	More...of William Selman for the citties moyetye of one greate white sowe forfeited as aforesaide xij
	f. 215v.	17 Jan.	10s	More...aswell of dyvers Brewers and others for the citties parte of ffynes upon them seassed for setting their carts in the streetes xs

⁹³³ 29 September 1590 (Michaelmas) fell during Elizabeth's 32nd year (17 November 1589-16 November 1590). Therefore, any dates after 29 September, included in the section headed 'xxxij' (the 32nd year of Elizabeth's reign), are assumed to refer to the previous year (1589). Dates have also been updated from Old-Style to New-Style conventions. Old-Style dating conventions, held in England until 1752, dictated that the new year began on 25 March, meaning that dates between 1 January and 24 March were dated a year behind what they would now be dated (under modern 'New-Style' conventions). See *The National Archive's* 'Palaeography: quick references' <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/palaeography/quick_reference.htm> [9 November 2020].

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
	f. 216r.		17p	Receued...of Gilb[er]te Yate for the cittyes moyetye of nyne dozen of threedden pynts iiijor brushes and vij pairs of snuffers forfeited for tat the same weare forfited hawked about the streetes contrary xvijd
	f. 214v.	21 Jan.	2s 6p	More...[of William Selman] for the citties parte of twoe young piggs forfeited as aforesaide ijs vjd
			3s 6p	And more of [William Selman] for the citties moyetie of iij white piggs forfeited as aforesaide iijs vjd
	f. 217v.	25 Jan.	20s	And more receued...of William Monntioye for the citties moyetie of xiiij ^{tene} (13) quarters ij (2) busshells di[] of wheate meale founde by a Jurye to be forfeited as is aforesaide xxs
	f. 214v.	27 Jan.	2s	And more of [William Selman] him for the citties p[ar]te of one black spotted sowe and seaven piggs forfeited as aforesaide ijs
			6s 8p	And more receaved of Roger Garlande for the citties moyetye of one sanded sowe iij spotted pigge and one little pigg forfeited as aforesaide vjs viiid
		30 Jan.	10s	Receued...of Roger Mitte for his admision into the number of xliiijer coblers being an Englishman borne xs
	f. 216v.	4 Feb.		Receued...of Thomas Browne plaisterer for a fyne upon him seassed for burying a Jaques in his garden to the greate annoyance of his neighbours
	f. 214v.	5 Feb.	5s 6p	Receued more...of William Selman for the citties parte of twoe pigge, one white melsh sowe and one black spotted sowe vv forfeited as aforesaide vs vjd
			3s 4p	And more receaved of Arthure Brannich for the citties moyetie of one sowe and one pigg forfeited as aforesaide iijs iiijd
		11 Feb.	2s	More...of William Selman for the citties moyetie of one white sowe and one sanded pigg forgited as aforesaid ijs
		13 Feb.	4s	More...of Gilb[er]te Yate for the citties moyetie of one white boare forfeited as aforesaide iiijs
			2s	More...of William Selman for the citties moyetie of one white sowe forfeited as aforesaid ijs
	218v.		13s 4p	And more receued the same daye of George Allison victualer [for shutting upp...shoppes and other fforeyns there] xiijs iiijd
	f. 214v.	19 Feb.	4s	More...[of William Selman] for the citties [f. 215r.] moyetie of one red sowe black spotted and one white sowe forfeited as aforesaid iiijs
	f. 215r.	7 Mar.	12p	Receued...for the citties moyetie of one sanded sowe pigge forfeited as aforesaide [of William Selman] xijd
			2s 6p	And more...of Edward Page for the citties moyetye of one white sowe clypped on the syde and forfeited as aforesaide ijs vjd
			4s 6p	And more...[of Edward Page] for the citties parte of one black spotted sowe and pigg forfeited as aforesaide iiijs vjd

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
	f. 216r.	17 Mar.	2s	Receued...of John Cooke for a fyne upon him seassed for setting his ale and beare to be drawne at a rate by John Ancock fforren tapster contrary ijs
	f. 216r.	27 Mar.	2s	Receued...of Jam[e]s Awbery and John Atkinson ffishermen for the cittyes parte of a fine upon them sessed for fissing at unlawfull tymes ijs
	f. 216v.	7 Apr.	12s 6p	Receued...of certain Bakers for fynes upon them sessed by Sir Richard Martyn knight in the time of his mayrolty (viz.) of Peter Pynder, William Bailye, Richard Baker Myles Williamson and John Barber of euery of them iis vjd for that there bread lacked waight xijs vjd
40s			More...for like fyes seassed in the tyme of Sir John Harte Lord Maior (viz.) of Vincent Goldwyer xs of William Hodgekyns Roberte Collye Godfrye Legg Pearre Jones John Gares [-] ffletcher Thomas Syffons Humfrye Huntington Elizabeth Pawson Hugh Hall John Ratcliffe Vyncent Goldwyer George Medcalff Vincent Goldwyer John Webb and John Barker of every of them ijs vjd for like offence vls	
52s 6p			More of...Carpenter... Bromlye...Dow[nes]...Wilkinson...Browne...Melton...Walker...Parsons...Wyngeafe...Collye... Collye...Sares...Robinson...Colborn...Melton...Hodge...Chickyns...Collye...Donn and...Nisome of entry of them ijs vjd for like offence lijs vjd	
6s 8p			More of Lawrence Billington for his like offence [bread lacked weight] vjs viijd	
25s			Of Richard Dow[nes] of John Claybrooke of Myles Williamson of John Browne and of...a baker in redcrostrete of every of them vs	
15s			Of [-] Robinson for dyv[r]s offenes xvs	
5s			Of William Dronote for lacking waight in his horsebreade vs	
2s 6p			More...of [-] Adams inholder for lacking iij quarters in waight of his botle of haye ijs vjd	
f. 216r.	11 Apr.	47s	Receued...of my Loird Maio[r] for the cittyes parte of such fynes as weare seassed upon dyu[rse] offenders w[hi]ch annoyed the ryuer of Thames and tooke unlawfull fish iijls	
f. 215r.	5 May	2s	Recaued...of William Selman for the cittyes moyetye of one greate sowe forfeited as aforesaide ijs	
	19 May	2s 6p	And more...[of William Selman] for the cittyes moyetye of ffower hoggs gorfited as aforesaide iis vjd	
	21 May	4p	More...of [-] ffisherman or rwgging against the tyde 4d	
f. 215r.	29 May	4s	More...[of Richard Norman] for the cittyes moyetic of a sheepe forfeited as aforesaide iiijs	
	7 June	20p	Receued...of John Topcliffe for the cittyes parte of twoe pigs forfeited as aforesaide xxd	

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description	
		29 Aug.	2s 4p	And more...of Richard Norman Butcher for the citties moiety of one other sheepe forfeited as aforesaide ijs iiijd	
			20s	And of Thomas Davye Butcher for the citties moiety of a Bullock or steare being the goods of ----- Marshall forfeited as aforesaide before the ringing of the bell in Smithfeilde xxs	
	f. 217v.	17 Oct.	3s	Receaved...of ffranncs Deacon inholder for the cities parte of a fine upon him seassed for letting forth his beare at a rate to Richard Sanford fforren tapster contrary iijs	
			2s	More...of Henry Redferne fforren tapster for taking his Ale and beare to bee drawne by him at a rate contrary ijs	
	f. 218v.		55s 6p	Receaved...of the Bakers hereafter mentioned by the handes of Edward up John for so much upon them sessed by my Lord Maior for that there white and wheton breade lacked waight viz. of vincent Goldwyer ijs vjd of Raphe Blewe ijs vjd	
	f. 219r.			Of John Barbo[r] iis vjd of Raphe Chickyns vs of Lawreance [-] Billington ijs vjd of [-] Giffens vs of [-] Robinson ijs vjd of Richa[r]d Symons vs of [-] Bromlye ijs vjd of Thomas Notting ijs vjd of Richard Downes ijs vjd of Widdowe Melton vs of W[ilia]m Hodgkyns ijs vjd of -----Lobb. Ijs vjd of Barlowe ijs vjd of [-] Colborne ijs vjd of John Carter vijs vjd of John Marshall vs of Richard Walter ijs vjd of [-] Charlett ijs vjd of George Melton ijs vjd of John Webb ijs vjd of Humfry Huntington ijs vjd vs of John Sacas ijs vjd of [-] Hayward ijs vjd of [-] Hood ijs vjd o [-]Aldaye ijs vjd of [-] Baker in Blackmanstrete vs Summa totalis iiijlb xijd vjd whereof payde back againe to him the saide Edward UpJohn by order of courte for officers paynes xxxvijs (37s) so rest to the cittye	
	f. 220r.	20 Oct.	nihill	Receaved...of John Elbancke fforyn[er] for the cytties p[ar]te of a ffyne uppon him sessed for keeping victulinge openly as a ffreeman within the liberties of the cyttie contrary etc.	
	f. 217v.	21 Oct.	2s	More...of Raph Biggs forren tapster for his like offence [letting forth beer at a rate] ijs	
			2s	More...of Rob[er]te Grey cooke for setting his beare and ale to bee drawne at a rate ijs	
	f. 218r	8 Dec.	20s	Receaved...of Derick Dershizen estraing[er] for his admission into the number of free botchers xxs	
			20s	More...of Garret Lenoton estrainger for his like admission [into the number of free butchers] xxs	
	f. 217v.	24 Dec.	5s	More receaved...of William Sleep forren butcher for the citties moyetie of three sheepe forfited as aforesaide vd	
	1591	f. 217v.	9 Jan.	10s	More...of Thomas Davyes Butcher for the citties moyetie of ffower sheepe forfited as aforesaide xs
f. 218v.		13 Jan.	12p	Receaved...of Martyn Marshall estraing[er] for the citties moyetie of a fyne upon him sessed for emptyng and buryng his pryvie behinde his howse in Bethelem xijd	
			12p	And...of Peter Alison for his like offence [for emptyng and buryng his privy] xijd	

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
	f. 220v.	17 Jan.	nihil?	Receaved...of John Tubalde barbar surgeon for the cytties p[ar]te of of a fine uppon him sessed for settinge William Lunelles fforryn [up]on worke w[i]thin the liberties of this cyttie contrary etc.
	f. 218v.	29 Jan.	10s	More...of ffrancs ffreeman and Phillip ffester nightmen for a fyne upon them sessed for annoying the stretes with ordure xs whereof paide to Thomas Samon ijs so rest declare to the cittie viijs
	f. 220v.	12 Feb.	£4 11s 6p	Receaved...of Edward UpJohn Sergeant barber for fynes taken by my Lord maior of dyvers bakers breakinge their assise in their white and wheten bread vijlb xijs vjd (£7 12s 6p) whereof delyvered him agayne for the officers ffees and paym[en]ts iijlb xijd (£3 12p) so [receiveth] iijlb xjs vjd
	f. 217v.	12 May	2s	More...of Thomas Brickwood for his like offence [letting forth beer at a rate] ijs
			2s	More...of George Allison for his like offence [letting forth beer at a rate] ijs
	f. 220v.	27 May	10s	Receaved...of William Page for his admission into the number of ffree botchers beinge an Englishman xs
		6 June	20s	Receaved...of Arnolde Garrett for his admission into the lib[er]ties of the cyttie to be one of the ffree botchers beinge an estrainger borne
	f. 219v.	11 June	3s 4p	Receaved...of Edward Bampforde Inholder for the cytties p[ar]te of a fyne uppon him sessed for settinge a fforren tapster on worke iijs iijjd
		14 June	2s	Receaved...of Richard Leo and Richard Wetts for the cytties p[ar]te of a fyne uppon them sessed for setting a fforren Botcher on worke ijs
	f. 221r.	13 Aug.	20s	Receaved...of Martyn Cornelius for his admission into the number of ffree botchers xxs
	f. 221v.	10 Oct.	5s 6p	Receaved...of Leon[ar]de Largen and William Lathes for the cytties p[ar]te of a bore and three shotts goinge astray w[it]in the citie, contrary etc 5s vjd
		13 Oct.	nihil	Receaved...of HenryWagstaffe underwaterbayliffe for the cytties p[ar]te of iijj whitinge mapes regrated in the markett the goods of Widowe Brucer and one ffrancs
		20 Oct.	20p	Receaved...of John Blyman cooke for the cities p[ar]te of a ffyne upon him seased for settinge his Ale and bere at a pryce viz the barrell of stronge Ale at ix s (9s) and the barrell of stronge beare at xs (10s) contrary etc.
		26 Nov.	40s	Receaved...for the cyties p[ar]te of a bagge of hoppes conteyninge v[oz?] weights forfeited for that the same were forren bought and fforren solde w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of the cyttie between Mychaell Williams of fflushing the seller And Peter Morgyn the stranger the buyer forfyted for that the same were not vendable accordinge to the lawes in that behalf made

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		16 Dec.		And were prayed...by John Edwards salter and Mr White grocer at xxxjs viijd the C amountinge to the some of vjli xijs iiijd whereof deducted for coste of sute xxxviijd rest iiijli xvijs ijd whereof to the pu[ter]ter lvjs ijd And so remayneth cleare to th cyttie
	f. 222r.	5 Dec.	<i>amount absent</i>	Receaued...of Thomas Havelande for the cytties p[ar]te of a ffyne uppon him seased for hanginge upp and fasteninge his painted cloth to his penthouse whereby the light that shoulde descend to his shopp for the shewe and sale of his wares therewyth dymynished to the greate hurte and damage of the Queenes maiesties subiects contrary to an Act of the Com[m]on Counsell in that case made and established
1592	f. 222r.	30 May	13s	Receaued...of the wardens of the fruterers for the cytties p[ar]te of such fynes as haue beene levyed upon dyvers offend[er]s of their company dewe for twoe yeres endinge upon St Pawles day last
	f. 222v.	20 July	2s	Receaued...of Thomas Barker forryn[er] for the cytties p[ar]te of a cowe by him bought in Smythfeilde before the Bell runge contr[ary] ijs
		26 July	10p	Receaued...of Henry wagstaffe underwaterbayliffe for the cytties moytie of certeyne forfeyed ells regrated in the markett contrary xd
	12p		Receaued...of Thomas Rosemonde shomaker for the cytties p[ar]te of a fffyne upon him seased for puttinge his Ale and bere at a pryce and kepinge a fforren tapster in his howse contrary etc. xijd	
	f. 223r.	24 Dec.	19s 6p	Receaued...of William Whitewell for ffynes of Bakers upon them seased by the order of my Lord Maior for that they lacked waight in there white and wheaten bread xxxijs vjd Whereof paide to him for officers ffees xijs so rest cleue to the Citie
1593	f. 223r.	15 Jan.	7s 6p	Receaued...by the p[rese]ntement of Henry wagstaffe yoman of the m[ar]kett for the Cities p[ar]te of one yong shott cropt eard w[i]th a lame legg, one yonge bore sanded with a cropt eare one sowe pigg or shott sanded with a blacke spott on the forflank one other under the eare and on the nere side one other yonge white sowe pigg hauing a blacke spott on the next buttocke one other blacke spott under the further eare one other blacke spott ouer the eye and a peece of his eare cutt away All w[hi]ch ware forfyted and taken upp for going astray in the streets of this Citie contrary to the Annycnt Lawes of the same and prayed at xxs (20s) whereof for there meate and charge vs (5s) the p[rese]nter vijs vjp (7s 6p) and to the citie asmuch vijs vjd
		16 Jan.	20s	Receaued...of Browne Johnson estrainger for his admission to occupye the feate of Botching w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of the Citie

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		25 Jan.	2s	Receaved...of Nichas Hughes by the p[rese]ntment of Rouland Wilkinson for the Cities p[ar]te of a ffyne upon him asessed for dymminishing of his light in his shopp by hanging up a penthouse cloth and ffastening the same by the space of twoe monethes, whereby he forfyted for ev[e]ry xiiijtene dayes xls (40s) contrary to an Act of Co[mm]on Counsell in that behalfe made ordered upon his offence confessed and p[ro]mysed to offende no more to pay iiij s to the p[rese]nter ijs and to the Citie ijs
		27 Jan.	10s	Receaved...of Rob[er]te Davys Englishman for his admission to occupy the feate of botching w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of the Citie xs
	f. 223v.	15 Apr.	20p	Receaved...of John Seybrooke (drayman to Edmund Wheeler goldsmyth and brewer) for a ffyne upon him seased for riding a trott upon his dray cart in the streete to the danger of her maiesties subiects iijs iiijd whereof to Henry Wagstaff the p[rese]nter xxd and to the citie xxd
	f. 222r.	30 May	13s	Receaved...of the wardens of the ffruterers for the cytties p[ar]te of such ffynes as haue beene levyed upon dyuers offend[er]s of their company dewe for twoe yeres ending upon St Pawles day last
	f. 222v.	20 July	2s	Receaved...of Thomas Barker fforryn[er] for the cytties p[ar]te of a cowe by him bought in Smythfeild before the bell ringe contr.
		26 July	10p	Receaved of Henry Wagstaff underwater bayliffe for the cytties moytie of certeyne forfeyed ells regrated in the markett contrary
	f. 223v.	3 Sept.	7s	Receaved...of Henry Wagstaff yoman of the Channel for the Cities p[ar]te of a great white sowe and a yonge white Sowe going a stray in the streete contrary etc vijs
	f. 224r.	18 Sept.	6s 8p	Receaved...of William Dycher by the p[re]sentment of John Seare and William Hardy for the p[ar]te of three quarters twoe busshells one half Busshell and xijlb waight of wheate meale forfyted as forren bought and solde w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of the Citie Contrary to the lawes of the same delyvered to the owner by order of the Lord Maior paying for a ffyne xiijs iiijd to the p[rese]nters vjs viij to the citie vjs viij
	f. 224v.	8 Oct.	12p	Receaved...for the cities p[ar]te of one younge sowe pigg w[i]th twoe blacke spotts on either Bottocke and twoo wattells under the chynne taken up by Henry Wagstafe yoman of the Channell goinge a straye in the streets contrarye to the Lawes and customes of the cyttye xijd

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		16 Nov.	2s 9d	Receaved...for the cytties p[ar]te of one yonngge white shote w[i]th one blacke spott in the necke And one whyte sowe w[i]th a blacke spott on the nether shoulder whole eared w[i]th a longe tayle taken up by Henrye Wagstafe yoman of the Channell goinge astraye in the cittie contrarye to the lawe ijs ixđ
		14 Nov.	2s 6p	Receaved...for the citties parte of a fyne for one white sowe hole eared taken up by Henry Wagstafe yoman of the Channell goinge astraye in the cittie ontrarye to the lawe ijs vjd
		21 Nov.	15p	Receaved...for the citties p[ar]te for one other younge shotte sanded w[i]th a red spott in the necke w[i]th dyvers other redd spotts hauinge a longe tayle taken up by Henrye Wagstaffe goinge astraye in the streets contrary to the lawe etc xvd
1594	f. 223v.	18 Feb.	2s 6p	Receaved...of henry wagstaffe yoman of the Markett for the Cities p[ar]te of one great large white sowe w[i]th a great black spott under the nereside and one other blacke spott under the eare of the same side taken upp[on] going astray in the streets contrary etc. praysed the xiiijth of the same moneth by william wythers and Edward harington butchers at viijs whereof layed out for meate iijs for the p[rese]ntement and dyscharge viiid to the p[rese]nter ijs ijp and to the Citie ijs vjd
	f. 224v.	18 Feb.	2s 4p	Receaved...for the citties p[ar]te of one whyte sowe pigg w[i]th twoe blacke spotts on the neither side of the head one other blacke spott in the necke one other black spott ouer the rompe and one other over the ryght shoulder w[i]th a shorte tayle and more for the citties p[ar]te of one younge pigg w[i]th dyvers blacke spotts whole eared and a tuff tayle take up the adoresaid Henry Wagstaffe goinge astraye in fletestreete contrary etc the charge deducted reste to the use of the cittie ijs iiijđ
		7 April	20s	Receaved...by order of Courte of John Borne of Morlarke ffysherman for a fine upon him seassed for takynge a (?) kypper sallmon in the river of Thames contrarye to the lawe xxs
	f. 225r.	17 June	2s 4p	Receaved...for the citties p[ar]te of three basketts of egges the goods of Jane Willys Thomasen Kennett and Elizabeth Williames by them forestaled and regrated pr[ese]nted by Henrye Wagstaffe yoman of the marktett contrarye to the lawe ijs iiijđ
			14p	Receaved...for the cittyes p[ar]te of certayne strawberyes forestalled in the marktett by a woman huxter and p[rese]nted by the fforrentaker xiiijđ
		20 June	20p	Receaved...of the fforrentaker for the citties p[ar]te of certayne Egges and Butter forren bought and solde in newegate marktett contrary xxđ
		16 July	2s	Receaved ...of Henrye Waggstaffe yoman of the Channell for the citties p[ar]te of certayne Cherryes payers the goods of one Widow Malmoyne by hir Regrated in the marktett contrarye to the Lawe ijs
	4p		Receaved...of the said Waggstaffe for certayne godlynges regrated in the marktett by Goodwyfe Baffes contrary etc iiijđ	

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		18 Aug.	2s 6p	Receaved...for the cytties p[ar]te of certayne Butter forren bought and solde in an Inne and solde in an Inne within w[i]thin anne Inne w[i]thin the cytie contrary ijs vjd
	f. 225v.	undated	2s 6p	Receaved...of William Wellyns pedler for hawking in the streets of this cyttie w[i]th certayne weares contrary etc. ijs vjd
		undated	18p	Receaved...of John Pape forentaker for the cyttie moyetye of certayne chese forestalled in newgate markett xviiij
		undated	6s	Receaved...of John Bacon for a fyne uppon him sessed for drawinge drynck at a certayne pryse contrary etc. vjs
		undated	7p	Receaved...of Robert Garrett tallowhandler for the cyttyes moyetye of one hundred of eggs by him forestalled in the markett contrary etc vij ^d
1595	f. 226r.	22 Jan.	20p	Receaved...for the cities moytie of three busshells of wheate meale beinge mustye and corrupte p[rese]nted by Ambrose Whyte xxd
		8 Mar.	4p	Receaved...for the cities moytye of certayn Eggs forstaled in the market contrary etc iiiij
		7 April	46s	Receaved...of William Sympson marchanttaylor and one of the Marshalls of this cite for so much by him receaved of Carmen and draymen for that they ryde on their cartes and drays w[i]thin the libertyes of this cite of euery of them ij for every tyme xlvjs
		9 April	12p	Receaved...for the cities moytie of cccc Eggs forestaled in the markett contrary etc xij
		20 July		<See 7 April>
		21 July	12p	Receaved...of ffrysell Prayser the wyf of ----- Prayser for the cyties moytie of twoe dorsseres of chirrys by hir forstaled in the m[ar]ket xij
		26 July	6p	Receaved...of Katheryn Edward wydowe for the citys moyetie of certayn black cherrys by hir forestaled in the m[ar]kett contrary etc. vjd
		31 Aug.	3s 6p	Receaved...of John Pabe fforrentaker for the citis parte of a whit bore goinge astraye in the streete contrary to the Lawe and praysed at xs So rest the charges deducted iijs vjd
	f. 226v.	15 Sept.	20s	Receaved...by order of courte of ---- Bick for a fyne uppon him sessed for that is brede lacked wayght xxs
1596	f. 227r.	4 Feb.	4p	Receaved...for the cities p[ar]te of certayne aples and puddings forestaled in the markett contrary to the lawe iiiij
		15 Feb.	2s	Receaved...of Thomas Loake Salter for the cities p[ar]te of twoe hundred of eggs by him forestalled in the markett contrarye to the lawes of this cite ijs
		18 Feb.	20p	Receaved...for so much solde for the cities moyetie of xij ^d of eggs forestaled in an Inne over and aboue abated by Mr Childe xxd

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		21 Apr.	8s	Receaved... William Whitwell underwaterbayliffe for the cities moyetye of twoe Thousand ffower hundred of smelts for that the weare shotten and not of season viijs
		27 Apr.	12p	Receaved... for the cities p[ar]te of one hundered of egges regrated in the markt by William Jagger chandler contrarye to the lawes of the citie xijd
			2s 11p	Receaved... William Neale chandler for the cities p[ar]te of C of egges and xij dysshes of butter by him forestaled in the market ijs pjd
		29 Apr.	6p	Receaved... of Thomas Lambart chandler for the cities p[ar]te of one dossen pound of butter regrated in the market contrary vjd
	f. 227v.	22 May	2s 2p	Receaved... of Georg fflynthurst chandler for the cities p[ar]te of halfe a hundered of eggs and xij pounds of butter by him regrated in the market More the same day of Henry Morgan for the cities p[ar]te of certayne butter by him also regrated in the same market contrary to the Lawes of the citie ijs ijd
		23 May	xs viiijd	Receaved... of Rob[er]te Redhead yoman of the markt for the cities p[ar]te of a fyne taken of Leonard Underhall nightman for spilling of order in the streets to the annoyance of him ma[jes]ties subiects vjs viiid And more of ffrances ffreeman nightman for the lyke offence iiijs
		25 May	3s 6p	Receaved... of Thomas Chambers carman for the cities p[ar]te of one dossen and ijlb of butter and a hundered quarterne and v ^c egges by him regrated in cheape market contr[ary] iijs vjd
		15 June	12p	Receaved... for the cities p[ar]te by the thandes of John Pabe forrentaker for certayne strawberries regrated in the markt contrary to the lawes of this citie xijd
		22 June	4s 9p	Receaved... of John Pabe forrentaker for the cities p[ar]te of ij dossen pounds and a halfe of butter the goods of Richard Draborne chandler And more the same day for the cities p[ar]te of ij dossen and one pounce of butter the goods of ffrancis Stych chandler by them regrated in the markt contrary etc. iiijs ixd
	f. 228r.	27 June	30s 4p	Receaved... by the p[rese]ntment of John Reade one of the m[ar]shalls of the citie by the hands of Mr Sheriff watts for the cities p[ar]te of three pannyers of butter and twoe hundered ffyve score and ffyve eggs accounting vjxx to the hundered the goods of Anthony Crosse forryner forfyted for the same was forestaled by one wylkynson a chandler befor the same came to the markt by a compassion betweene the made contr[ary] to the lawes of the citie The waight of the butter is twoe hundered and twoe pounds at iiijd the pounce ijli vijs iiijd and the egges at ijs vjd the hundered as the same were prayded amountyng in the whole unto ijli xiijs iiijd whereof delyvered by Mr Chamb[er]lain in mony to the use of the said Anthony Crosse by the handes of one hopkyns xls and for other charge iiijs so rest to y ^c citie xxxs iiijd

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		2 July	2s	Receaved...of Willi[ia]m Sympson marshale for the citties p[ar]te of xviiijli of butter regrated in the markt by one John Hore a chandler contrary etc ijs
	f. 228v.	25 Oct.	6s 8p	Receaved...by order of Court of John Richardson and Thomas ffesye fysherman of either of them vjs viijd for his fyne for that they toke unlawfull fry fysh and offered the same to be sold xijs iiijd whereof to Mr waterbailliffe the p[rese]nter vjs viijd and so rest to the Cittie vjs viijd
		21 Nov.	3s 4p	Receaved...of Leonard Largen for the Citties moytie of the price of a white Sowe spotted hole eared and tuff tayle going a stray in the streete conray to the lawes of the Cittie the Chargs deducted ijs iiijd
1597	f. 228v.	7 March	4s 6p	Receaved...of Robert Redhead yoman of the Channell for the Citties moytie of a bore pigg goeing astray in the streets prayesd at xs whereof allowed for Chargs xijd soe rest iijs vjd
		9 March	5s	Receaved...of Robert Redhead yoman of the Channell for the Citties moytie of xs seised upon John Bancks and ffrancis ffreeman nightman for a fyne for that they spilled ordur in the streetes vs
		16 March	5s	Receaved...of Raph ffoster Whitbaker for a fyne upon him sessed by my Lord maior for that his bread lacked one ounces and half of waight vs
		18 March	20s	Receaved...by order of Court of a Certeyne baker by thands of Mr Chamb[er]lein for a fyne upon him sessed for that his bread lacked of a assisse xxs
		27 March	8p	Receaved...of John Toplish for the Citties moitie of ijs by him paied for his bore goeing a stray in the streete Chargs deducted viijd
			2s 2p	Receaved...of Robert Redhead yoman of the Channell for the Citties moytie of one C of eggs regrated in the m[ar]kett by William Hericke a Chandler Contrary etc ijs ijd
		30 March	£5	Receaved...of Haunse Danhulst estrainger brewer for certeyne hopps found by a Jury to be fforryn bought and sold within the lib[er]ties of the Cittie contrary to the lawes thereof vli
		26 May	6s 8p	Receaved...of Richard Beale fforryn butcher for the Citties moytie of an oxe forren bought and sold w[ith]in the lib[er]ties of the Cittie vjs viijd
	27 May	6p	Receaved...of John Smyth fforrentaker for the Citties p[ar]te of certeyne Aples regrated in the m[ar]kett Contrary etc. vjd	
	f. 229v.	23 June	16p	Receaved...of Thomas Hill forreyn butcher for the Citties moytie of a fyne upon him sessed for selling three shepe in smyth field after the ringing of the m[ar]kett Bell Contrary xvjd
28 June		20s	Receaved...of Peter Westhand and Olyver Hagger for the Citties moytie of certeyne hopps forren bought and sold within the lib[er]ties of the Cittie betweene John Mead the seller and Mr Towefeild and his wife or one of them the buyer Contrary etc xxs	

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		7 July	2s	Receaved...of James Colsome butcher for the Citties p[ar]te of twoe shepe nought by him in Smythfeild before the ringing of the Bell contrary etc. ijs
		14 July	xxs	Receaved...of Buckhurst Wilkinson dutchman for his admission to occupie the feate of Botching within the lib[er]ties of the Cittie xxs
		undated	xls	Receaved by order of Court of William White and Rob[er]t Clarke of Putney of John Browne of Chiswick and of John Borne and William Stoddard of Mortlack fyshermen xls viz. of eu[er]y of them xs for a fyne upon him sessed for that they stopped [up]on sterne and scenned [th]e side whereof th[e] one half to Mr waterbayliffe by Mr Chamb[er]leyne order () the rest to the citie xls
		9 Sept.	3s 4p	Receaved...of one Wright of Richmond for the Citties moytie of a Nett taken from his house by [Christ]ofer Stubbes waterbayliff for that he fyshed upon Satterday at Night Contrary etc iijs iiijd
		13 Sept.		Receaved...of the Wardens of the Butchers by thands of Leonard Largen sergiant of the Channell for the Citties moytie of xj quarters of mutton taken from twoe seu[er]all p[er]sons hawking the same in the streete whereof vj delyvered to the owner and thother ffyve quarters sold for vjs
		19 Sept.	10s	Receaved...of Rob[er]t Toff Englishman for his admission to occupy the feat of Botching w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of the cittie xs
	f. 230r.			Receaved...by the p[rese]ntment of William Rogson and others for the Citties moytie of certeyne Trenchers malt hilts and Couers for privies forfyted for hawking the same in the streete Contrary etc
		6 Oct.	6s	Receaved...by the hands of this Accomplant for the Cities p[ar]te of a white bore taken up in the streets of this Cittie goeing a stray Contrary to the Lawes & ordinances of the same Cittie vjs
		8 Nov	3s 4p	Receaved...of Ephraim Andrew for the Citties moitie of a fine upon him sessed for casting a dead horse into the Ryver of Thames to the great anoyance thereof iijs iiijd
	f. 231r.	9 Nov.	£6	Receaved...by thands of Mr Chamb[er]lein w[hi]ch was receaved of dyvers typlers for their fynes [up]on them sessed for using and keeping victualing and tipling within the lib[er]ties of the Cittie without licence xjli
		14 Nov.	4s 8p	Receaved...of James Harman yoman of the Chamber for the Cittie moitie of xxxvjlb of Butter regrated in the m[ar]kett the chargs of the p[rese]nting and keeping of the same deducted at iiijd of the pound iijjs viijd
		5 Dec.	2s	Receaved...of Richard Higginbotham for the Citties moitie of twoe sanded little piggs goeng a stray in the streets ijs
	f. 231v.	18 Dec.	10s	Receaved...of John Mosely englishman for his admission to be a ffree botcher and to exercise the deate of Botching within the lib[er]ties of the Cittie xs

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		22 Dec.	8s	Receaved...of William Crowth for the Citties moitie of a fyne upon him sessed for using a penthouse Clothe before his shopp windowe to diminysh the light thereof iijs And more receaved the same day of William Blackway Thomas Kitchin and John Hickox for like offence vs
1598	f. 231v.	10 Jan.	22p	Receaved...of William Perry warden of the browne bakers for the Citties moitie according to their ordinances levies upon Anthony Hardy for making his horsebread of ill past the Chargs deducted xxijd
		17 Jan.	nihil	Receaved...of William Ingram and others Bchers of made wares for the Citties moitie of dyvers bad wares found in their Bch to bee unlawfull and after prayse at ix s the Chargs being deducted the rest nihil
		31 Jan.	2s	Receaved...of Goodwife Baker of Eastham for the Citties moietie of twoe ffletches of Bacon by her regrated in the markt at Leadenhall ijs
	f. 232r.	28 June	12p	Receaved...of Margaret Bradley for the Citties moietie of xij cheses by her bought in on[e] m[ar]kett and sold the same day in another markt xijd
		7 Aug.	12p	Receaved...of Margaret Bradley for xi cheeses regrated in the markt xijd
		13 Aug.	12p	Receaved of William Archpoole for regrating of a xj cheeses in the markt xijd
	f. 232v.	8 Oct.	12p	Receaved of John Smyth fforrentaker for the Citties moitie of certeyne Nutts apples and peares forstayled xijd
		14 Nov.	18p	Receaved of James Harman...for the Citties moitie of ffower cheeses and three peecs of Bacon the goods of Margaret Bradley regrated in the markt xvijjd
4 Dec.		4s 2p	Receaved...of Richard Higginbothom yoman of the Channell for the Citties moitie of a white barrowe hogg going astray in the streetes iiij s ijd	
1599	f. 232v.	26 Apr.	5s	Receaved...of a strainger for the Citties moitie of a fyne upon him sessed for hawking in the streets with wicker Basketts vs
		2 May	21p	Receaved...of John Smyth forrentaker for the Citties moitie of xv ^{lb} of Butter being foren bought and solde xxjd
		6 May	4p	Receaved...of Georg[e] ffoster underwaterbailiffe for the Citties moitie of eel-smelts forfayted for that they were taken out of season iiijjd
	f. 233r.	21 May	12p	Receaved...of Richard Higginbotham for the citties moitie of twoe dozen of sweete butter regrated in the markt xijd
		19 June	10s	Receaved...by order of Court of Thomas Atkyns ffyshmonger for a fyne upon him sessed for that he forestalled CC of codd fish before they came to markt at Billinggate xxs whereof delyvered to Hugh Alley for himself and the three other ouerseers of the marketts for their paynes therein taken xs soe rest xs
		11 July	20p	Receaved...of Edward ----- barbor surgeon for setting a fforrein Barber [up]on work xxd

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		undated	3s 6p	Receaved for the Cittie moitie of six dozen of Trenchers, twoe Basketts hilts, three covers of privies, and ffyve pegion Basketts being hawked in the Streets in Anno 1598 iijs vjd
	f. 233v.	31 Oct.	2s 6p	Receaved...of Roger Lorkley Joyner for the cittys p[ar]te of three capons and nyne chickyns regrated in the markt contrary etc ijs vjd
		3 Nov.		
		9 Dec.	£7 15s	Receaved...of Mr Rob[er]te Lee Alderman for the Cittys p[ar]te of ffyve bayes lately delyvered unto him and by a Jury founde to be foryn Bought and solde within the lib[er]ties of this Cittie vijli xvs
1600	f. 233v.	12 Jan.	3s	Receaved...of Leonard Lengen Seriant of the Channell for the Citties p[ar]te of a whit sowe pigg and a whit boore pigg taken upp goeing astraye in the Streetes of this Cittie contrary etc ijs
			2s	Receaved...of William ffletcher for the citties p[ar]te for a fyne uppon him sessed for emptyng of a pryvie [up]on the backsid of his dweling howse ijs
		19 Feb.	12p	Receaved...of James Harman for the Citties p[ar]te of certeyne eggs regrated contrary etc. xijd
		undated	6s 8p	Receaved...for the citties p[ar]te of ffyve quarters of meale forren bought and sold in the libertyes of this Cittie to betwene James Porklorke the seller and George Dolly the buyer vjs viijd
		29 Mar.	2s 6p	Receaved of Richard Higgenbotham yoman of the Channell for a fyne assessed uppon the wardens of the blacksmythes for burneng a pryvie in their garden contrary etc ijs vjd
			2s 6p	Receaved of Thomas Watte Brycklayer for a fyne uppon him assessed for making a pryvie into the towneditch neare his howse in Hounddi[t]ch ijs vjd
	f. 234r.	31 Mar.	5s	Receaved...of William Williams and John Clebrooke for a fyne upon them assessed for their privies into the Townedych between Algat & bisshopsg[ate] vs
		4 Apr.	2s 2p	Receaved...of Anthony Whyte for the Citties p[ar]te of xxiiij (24) pounds of Butter w[hi]ch was p[rese]nted the xxvij (27) day of May 1600 for that the same was regrated in y ^e market ijs ijd
		9 Apr.	2s 6p	Receaved...of Suson Wright widowe for a fyne uppon her assessed for making a pryvie into the Townedytche at her garden w[ith]out Creplegate contrary etc. ijs vjd
		17 Apr.	8p	Receaved...of Georg ffoster...for the Citties p[ar]te of Smelts regrated in the markt contrary etc viijd
		18 Apr.		
		20 Apr.	8p	Receaved...Wydowe Symon of Greenew[i]ch and John Philcox for the Citties p[ar]te of Certeyn Smelts regrated in the markt viijd

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		13 May	4p	Receaved...of Georg ffoster underwaterbayliff for the citties p[ar]te of certeyne shadds regrated in the marktett contrary etc iiijd
		14 July	3s 4p	Richard higinbotham for the Cittys p[ar]te of vij ^e cheses regrated in the marktett contrary etc iijs iiijd
	f. 234v.	10 Oct.	40s	Receaved...of Henry Blounck and Joys Vermilion estrangens of e[a]ch of them xxs for his admission into the number of free Botchers xls

Item 3: Transcription of fines in the London Fines Book, c. 1623-1628

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
1623 [27 fines]	fol. 265 ^r	27 Feb.	10s	Rec[eived] of Moizes ffludd tapster...for drawing beere at a rate
	fol. 264 ^v	26 Mar.	3s 4p	More...of William Garforth Inholder for letting his beare and aile at a rate to Henry Blundell a fforren tapster
		2 Apr.	12p	More...of Dorathye West for regrating one hundred and an half of eggs
		3 Apr.	2s	More...of the nightmen and carters of the Citty for filing of the streete with ordure
	fol. 264 ^r	9 Apr.	5s	More...of William Chamberlein for setting a fforrener on worke
	fol. 264 ^v	18 Apr.	8p	More...of Johane Scotson for hawking of starche about the streete
		10 May	5s	More...of Thomas Measie fforren sawier for working within the liberties of this Cittye
		16 June	3s 4p	Received...of C[hris]ofer Bennell hatbandmaker for hawking xvj [15] ° dozen of stayes and xiiij [9] ° bands contrary to the lawe
			12p	More...of Robert Hynd hatbandmaker for the like offence
			2s 6p	More...of George Waffe hatbandmaker for the like offence
			20p	More...of Thomas Pellam for the like offence
	fol. 264 ^r		5s	More...of Tho[mas] Pinckridge woodmonger for setting one Walter Moore a forrener on worke
	fol. 264 ^v	17 June	20p	More...of Thomas Weekes for the like offence
	fol. 264 ^r	20 June	8s 6p	More...of Thomas Powell Butcher for setting a fforryner on work
	fol. 264 ^v	21 June	2s 6p	More...of Eliz[abeth] Rowland the wife of Lewes Rowland for hawking of xlix° [49] payre of stockings great and small about the streete
	fol. 264 ^v	30 June	18p	More...of ffrancis Sant hatbandmaker for hawking of xxtie [twentie] hatbands & about the street contrary to act of com[m]on counsel
	fol. 264 ^r	10 July	20p	More...of James Newbuff forrener for drawing beere of a rate
29 July		2s 6p	More...of Walter Lee ffirkyng carrier for retayking beere upp and downe the streetes	
29 Aug.		2s	More...of John Marmys also Marmers threddier a fforryn[er] for using his trade within the lib[er]ties of the Citty being not free	

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
	fol. 264 ^v .	12 Sept.	7s	More...of the ward of [th]e ⁹³⁴ fruiterers iij [3] bushels of walnuts or thereaboute bought in gracionstreete m[ar]kett by an offender & sold p[ar]te of the same & also offered to retayle [th]e same in [th]e same m[ar]kett contrary to the lawe
	fol. 264 ^r .	19 Sept.	5s	More...of John Ashton armorer for setting a forrener on work
	fol. 265 ^r .	21 Oct.	12p	Received...of Richard Nevell upholder or three scotish cushians filled being hawked about the streetes contrary to Act of Com[m]on Counsel
		23 Oct.	9s	More...of Edward Bellinger brasell Grynder for using his trade within the liberties of this Cittye being a forren
			16p	More of Richard Reeve Inholder...for annoying the streetes with donng
		14 Nov.	£6 13s 4p	More...seavenscore and foure dozen of old woolcards for that they were forren bought and forren sold within the liberties of this Cittye contrary to the lawes of this Cittye
		13 Dec.	20p	More...of Thomas Jackson vyntyner for a fyne upon him sessed for making a pryvie at his house in Tholdbailye into the Com[m]on Sewer of this Cittye in the Sessions house yard
			12s	More...being p[rese]nted by the officer of Bishopsgate ward from the Alderman's deputye & drayman for driving his horse a Troff in dannger of passengers
1624 [16 fines]	fol. 265 ^v .	20 Jan.	18p	More...of ffrancis Martyn for setting a forren on worke
		15 Feb.	2s	More...of John ffanche Taylor a forrener for working within the liberties of this Cittye
		21 Feb.	10s	More...of John Pestell Englishman for license to him given to use the feate of Botching within [th]e Cittye
		5 Mar.	12p	More...of Leon[ar]de Vanderlyne channler fforrener for keeping open shopp within the liberties of this Cittye being not free
		23 Mar.	2s 8p	More...of Raiph hollinshead carter for spilling of ordure in Chepeside and other streetes to the annoyance of the Cittye being in the tyme of infection
			12p	More...of Rob[er]te Harris Jo[hn] Lowe and William Barnarde turners for yncumbering the streetes with their wares
			12p	More of William Atkinson fforrener for drawing beare of a rate ⁹³⁵
			36s 5p	Rec[eived] more of John Tull, Rob[er]te Allen, Michael Irons, Walter kight William Vedd, William German, Mr Brookes, Mr Edwards, Mr Startupp, John Guye Jo[hn] Bellamy John Waynewrighte Edward Temple and Mr Weekes woodmongers for fynes

⁹³⁴ Note: y^e has been substituted as '[th]e'.

⁹³⁵ Undated; date assumed to be the same as the entry directly prior.

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
	fol. 266 ^r			Upon them assessed for seaven chal(d)ron ⁹³⁶ and a halfe of seacoles seized for that their carte were unlawfull wanting of measure ⁹³⁷
			6s 6p	Received of for a fyne upon him sessed for selling of hay under the weight appoynted by act of Com[m]on Counsell ⁹³⁸
	fol. 265 ^r	27 May	£6 6s	More...of the Right Honorable Sir Martyn Lumley knight Lord Maior for fines by him sessed upon divers Bakers for breaking their assize of Bread
		16 June	£9 11s	More...of ffrancis Attelound for five peeres of lynnyn cloth for that the same was hawked about the streetes and offered to sale
		21 June	2s 6p	More...of William Astell m[er]channtaylor for setting a forrener on worke
	fol. 265 ^v	8 Oct.	4s	Receaved...of the wardens of the ffreemasons for the Citties moyetye of the fines levied this yere upon offenders breaking the ordynances of the Companye
			2s	Receaved of Robert Cooke weaver for setting Rowland Dodd fforrener on worke
	fol. 265 ^r	8 Nov.	6s	More...of George Wigg fforrayne tapster for drawing beare at a rate x? (vjs)
1625 [17 fines]	fol. 267 ^r	3 Feb.	5s	More...of John Raymond Baker for setting a forrener on worke And of George Wright forrener for working within the liberties of this Cittye contrary to act of com[m]on counsell
		6 Feb.	14p	More...of Thomas West clothworker and John Starling musition mouldmakers for setting fforreners on worke
		10 Feb.	2s 6p	More...of Samvel Hawton broderer for setting a forrener on worke
	fol. 265 ^v	11 Feb.	2s	Received...of Blanche Saveryne forrener for fforren buying and selling within the liberties of this Citty 22 coyfes
	fol. 267 ^r	13 Feb.	2s 6p	More...of William king for the like offence [as Hawton]
		17 Feb.	2s 6p	Received...of M[ar]tyn Gardyner Chandler for regrating of six fflitches of bacon in Leadenhall to sell agayne contrary to the lawe
		1 Mar.	2s	More...of Rob[er]te Woodhouse m[er]channtaylor for setting a fforrener on worke
		3 Mar.	3s 6p	More...of a chandler for using of chandlery ware and selling of beare and Aile within the liberties of this Cittye being a ffreemans daughter but married to a fo[rren]er
	fol. 265 ^v	26 Apr.	2s 2p	More...of currier the nightman and his partner for filing the streete with ordure

⁹³⁶ Chaldron: “2. A dry measure of 4 quarters or 32 bushels; in recent times only used for coals (36 bushels)”, *Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁹³⁷ Undated; date assumed to be the same as the entry directly prior.

⁹³⁸ Undated; date assumed to be the same as the entry directly prior.

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
		6 May	2s 2p	More...of hollinshead the carter for annoying the streete neere drapers hall with ordure
		13 June	9s 8p	More...of the said hollinshead the carter for spilling and annoying the streetes in hownsdiche
		15 June	20p	Received more...of Henry Wright for keeping petty ostry being no ffreeman
			2s 6p	Received more of William Porter and Richard Greene for burying of a vault w[i]thin the liberties of this Cittye ⁹³⁹
			2s	More of ffelix kingstone for causing a vault to be buried within the liberties of this Cittye ⁹⁴⁰
		30 June	20p	More...of harris the carter for the like offence [as hollinshead]
		3 Sept.	12p	More...of Edward Currier nightman for the like offence [as hollinshead & harris]
	fol. 267 ^r	15 Dec.	12p	Receaved...of Edwyn Griffin letherseller for setting a forrener on worke
1626 [7 fines]	fol. 268 ^r	14 Mar.	10s	Receaved...of Richard Wood Botcher for his admission to use the feate of botching w[ith]in the lib[er]ties of this Cittie
		19 Mar.	8s	More...of John Joh[n]son Stranger for buying two ma(u)ds of fruite foren bought and foran sold w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of this Cittie betwene the said Johnson the byer & Rob[er]te Thomas the seller
		20 Mar.	12s	More...Hawk(s)her Inholder for suffring a markt to be kept in his In
	fol. 267 ^r	10 June	12p	More...of one Godfrey for annoying the streetes with ordure
		17 June	12p	Receaved...of John Adlam for annoying the streetes with ordure
		12 July	4s	More...of Richard Lucas Henry Walker John Walker John Turnpennye and John Shicklewood for setting coaches in the streetes
			20p	More...of Edward Webster coachemaker for setting his coaches in the streete
fol. 269 ^r	23 Jan.	18p	Received...of one Copp Inholder for laing dung in the streetes	
	4 Feb.	28s	More...of one Mr Hobatham for tenn Blancketts fforren bought and fforren sould w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of this Cittie	
	5 Feb.	2s 6p	Receaved...of Ann Harrison a com[m]on huckster of eggs and butter	
		12p	R[eceive]d...of Mr Beale in Aldwichgate streete for the like offence [as Byley]	
	8 Feb.	2s	More...of Mr Edwards for soe much remayning in his hands for night worke done by Burford A Carter and by him comanded to bee detayned for filling the streets with ordure	
	29 Feb.	5s	More...of William Avery woodmonger for his sacks of seacoles wanting measure	
	11 Mar.	2s	More...of John Cuttye Richard Lonnet and Edward Darbye joyners for pestering the streetes w[i]th there wares	
		12p	More...of Richard Addams Butcher for setting a fforrener one worke	

⁹³⁹ Undated; date assumed to be the same as the entry directly prior.

⁹⁴⁰ Undated; date assumed to be the same as the entry directly prior.

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description
1627 [32 fines]		22 Mar.	6p	More...of the wife of one Johnson a Cobler for regrating of eggs
		3 Apr.	2s	More...of one Thomas Norman currier for selling of eggs in an Inne before they came to the markt
	fol. 268 ^r	4 Apr.	10s	More...of Ralph Wigthman m[er]chantaylor for setting three forreens of one worke
	fol. 269 ^r	8 Apr.	12p	More...of Paule ffletcher curryer for the like offence [as Norman]
	fol. 268 ^r	18 Apr.	11s 4p	More...of one More and Mathew Gering for bringing haye to Smithfeilds markt w[hi]ch wanted wate
	fol. 268 ^v	27 Apr.	(£)13	Received...Richard Edmonds clothier for two clothes forren bought and sold in Blackwellhall between the said Edmonds the seller and George Moulde the Byer
	fol. 268 ^r	4 May	4s 10p	Received...of the Masters and Wardens of the Company of Cordwayners for the Citties p[ar]te taken of divers offenders for very falce and faltie ware not vendable
	fol. 269 ^r	10 May	12p	More...of John Smith clothworker for setting a fforrener one worke
		11 June	12p	More...William Webb clothworker for the like offense [as Addams & Smith]
	fol. 268 ^r	6 July	4s 8p	More...of William Webster Bricklayer for taking a peece of worke uppon the Com[m]on sewer doing the same w[i]thout license
		16 July	20p	More...of W[illia]m Astell for m[er]chantaylor for setting a forrener one worke
			2s	More...of W[illia]m W[(arr)]ans Broderer for setting a forrener one worke
		18 July	2s	More...of Rob[er]te Harris fforren tailor for working w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of the Cittie
	fol. 269 ^r	21 July	12p	R[ecceiv]ed of Nathaniel Tanner harnasmaker for the like offence [as Webb, Addams, Smith]
	fol. 268 ^r	27 Aug.	6s 2p	More...of William Allen and one (Nin)chon Woodmonger for that their lacks wanted of just and lawfull measure
		1 Sept.	20p	More...of the wardens of the cordwainers taken of offenders in their search for unlawfull and faultie ware
		3 Sept.	20p	More...of W[illia]m Lord for the like offence [of W(arr)ans & Astell]
	fol. 268 ^v	6 Sept.	3s 4p	By order of Courte...of William Gunton Clothier for the Citties parte of a fine upon him sessed for [tha]t hee being a forren did by ceertaine w[ea]ll w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of this Cittie of one Thomas Taylor (onne ther) forren contrary to the custome of this Cittie
	fol. 268 ^r	8 Sept.	8s	More...of Rob[er]te Borebanck and John Borebanck for crying and hawking upp and downe streete divers cheeses to the hindrance of shoope keepers
		13 Sept.	20p	More...of Rob[er]te Jorden for the like offence [Of W(arr)ans, Astell, Lord]
14 Sept.		2s	More...of Richard Wittenhale Baker for the like offence [of W(arr)ans, Astell, Lord, Jorden].	
20 Sept.		2s	More...of Tho[mas] carter for keeping of a pettie ostreye w[i]thin the lib[er]ties of this Cittie	
26 Sept.		12p	More...of a carter & two night men for the annoying of the street w[i]th the soiling of order	

Year	Folio	Date	Fine	Description	
	fol. 269 ^r	9 Nov.	2s	Received...of Theophilus Byley drap[er] for making of a yard offe in Bowelane w[i]thout licence	
1628 [12 fines]	fol. 269 ^v	21 Apr.	13s 4p	Receued...of Thomas Reading by the hands of Rob[er]te Swaine one of the yeomen of the chamber for [th]e Citties p[ar]te of xld (40s) asseased upon the said Thomas Reading by order of Courte for xv [15] (juish) hides being red tanned lether and forfeled for [tha]t they were housed in a curriers house before they were brought to Leadenhall to bee searched and sealed	
			3s 4p	Where of allowed to the said Rob[er]te Swanie for his paines taken aboute the same...And soe Resteth to the Cittie	
	fol. 269 ^r	18 July	5 May	5s 6p	More...of Thomas Dodding Bricklayer for laing divers loads of rubbish or soyle in the streetes neere ffiletebridge and chocking the Com[m]on sewer
				12p	Rec[eived]...of one Shorwood for sweeping downe soile into the Com[m]on sewer
				3s	Rec[eived] more...of Henrey Johnson ditchman for bying of certayne tymber to make wodden heeles being fforren bought and fforren sould contrary to the custome
			9 Aug.	12p	Rec[eived] Rob[er]te Williams m[er]chantaylor for the like offence [as Tanner, Webb, Addams, Smith]
				2s	More...of Richard Grace marchantaylor for setting a fformier one werke
	fol. 269 ^v	30 Aug.		10s	Rece[ived]...of Jon[a]tin dennis Englishman for his admitance to occupie the feate of a Botcher
	fol. 269 ^r	9 Sept.	1 Sept.	12p	More...of Richard day Tunnikmaker for the like offence [as Grace]
				12p	More...of Thomas (B)autlowe Bodeymaker for [th]e like offence [as Grace, Day]
				12p	More...of one Addams M[er]chantaylor for the like offence [as Grace, Day]
			23 Sept.	12p	Rec[eived]...of one Tison A cuttler for the like offence [as Grace, Day, Addams]

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