LANDMARKS IN LONDON HISTORY

Week 2. Life and Death

Life and death in London: key questions

- How did practices of care of the sick, dying and dead change in London over the late medieval and early modern period?

- What did London do with its dead?

- What can we learn from sources like Bills of Mortality from this period?

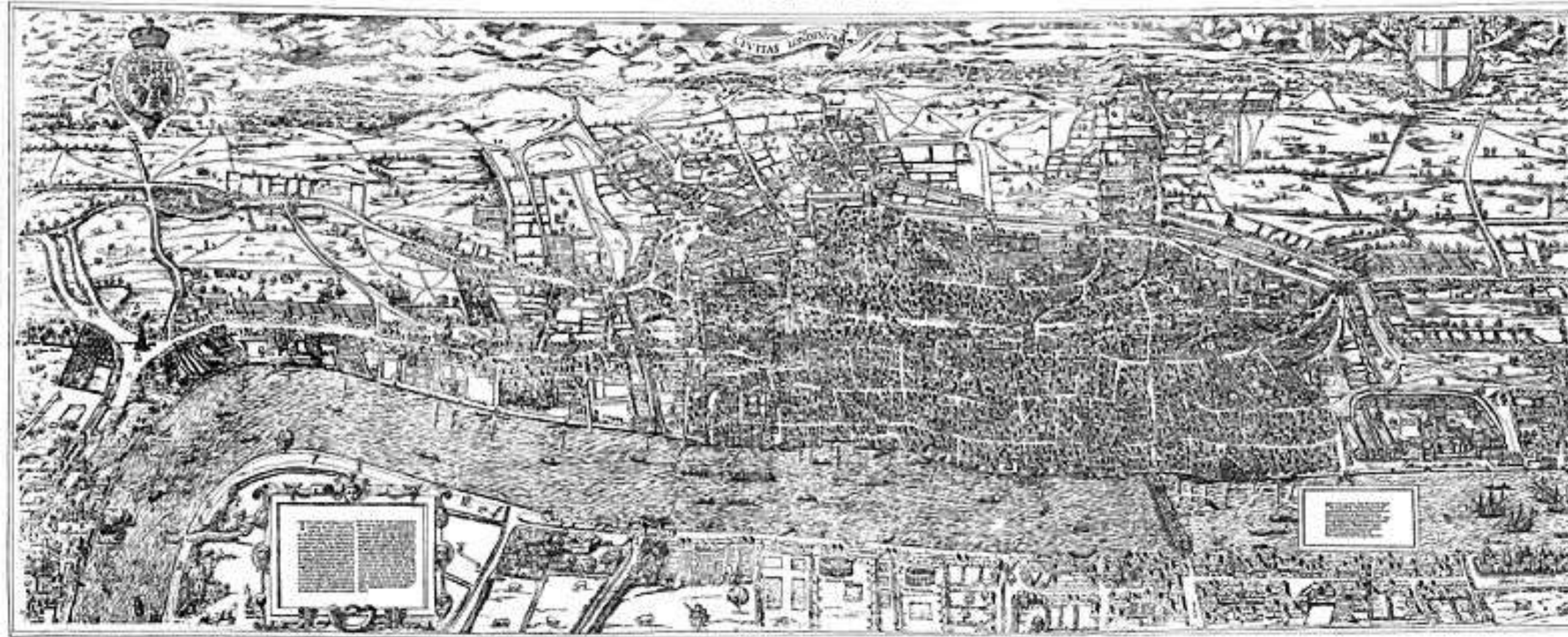- How can we historically evaluate contested sites of memory like 'Bedlam'?

Claes Van Visscher, London Bridge 1616 [detail]

Ralph Agas, *Civitas Londinium* (c.1590)

LONDON IN THE TIME OF THE TUDORS. A REPRODUCTION, REDUCED, OF THE MAP BY RALPH AGAS, CIRCA 1560.

Some important dates

- King William I grants London a charter in 1067: 'I will that you be all law worthy that you were in King Edward's day'

- London is granted independence of commune and the right to elect its own mayor in 1191 under King John. The following year its first mayor, Henry Fitz-Ailwin, is elected (between these two rulers, London's population grows from 10-15,000 to around 40,000)

- Establishment of St Mary of Bethlehem Hospital, 1291

- Black Death reaches London, 1381

- Dissolution of the Monasteries and associated hospitals, 1536-41, and emergence of secular hospitals

- The Great Plague of London, 1664-5

- Construction of a new Bethlem Hospital, 1676, Moorfields

Upon digging the foundations of the present fabric of St Paul's, he found under the graves of the latter ages, in a row below them, the Burial-places of the Saxon times – the Saxons, as it appeared, were accustomed to line their graves with chalk-stones, though some more eminent were entombed in coffins of whole stones. Below these were British graves, where were found ivory and wooden pins of a hard wood, seemingly box, in abundance, of about six inches long; it seems the bodies were only wrapped up, and pinned in wooden shrouds, which being consumed, the pins remained entire. In the same row, and deeper, were Roman urns intermixed. This was eighteen feet deep or more, and belonged to the colony, where Romans and Britons lived and died together.'
– Isabella Holmes, *The London Burial Grounds* (1898), on Wren at St Pauls

London, a 'giant grave'?

- The City of London has been mostly densely populated since at least 43 CE, though attitudes to death and burial have changed throughout

- In the Neolithic period (4000-2500 BCE), the dead were communally buried in long earthen barrows, marked by stones or cobbles, some with entrances

- Burials in a foetal position, and bones exhumed and reburied elsewhere

- Over the Bronze Age (2000-800 BCE), Iron Age (1000-1BCE) and Roman period, cremation was used, with bodies burned in pits and the cremated remains buried in urns beneath smaller burial mounds or ditches e.g. in Beowulf

- Roman law forbade burial within cities, with cemeteries established on roads out of town, reflecting beliefs about protection of (and from) spirits.

Roman burial customs

- Roman funerals could be lavish. Usually 3 days after death, the corpse was washed and anointed with oils, wrapped in a special toga, then carried from the house accompanied by a chorus of paid mourners. The heir was at the forefront, wearing a black toga, thought to confer invisibility on the bereaved from vengeful spirits, and with deliberately dishevelled hair

- Behind were servants, then musicians, torchbearers, then mimes, silent figures wearing wax masks modelled on dead members of the family. A funeral oration was given at the Forum, then after burial outside the city, there was a feast by the graveside, with libations poured to appease the departed spirit

- Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall* documents coins, lamps and vials found at Spitalfields

- Jars of food and wine, chickens (to the left), coins for Charon, boots for the walk to the Underworld, as well as necklaces, mirrors, amulets and gaming sets

- Roman cemeteries discovered on roads leading out of London, including Prescot Street, Aldgate, where over 670 burials and 134 cremations found, and thought to contain over 100,000 dead from 400 years of use. Graves often reused.
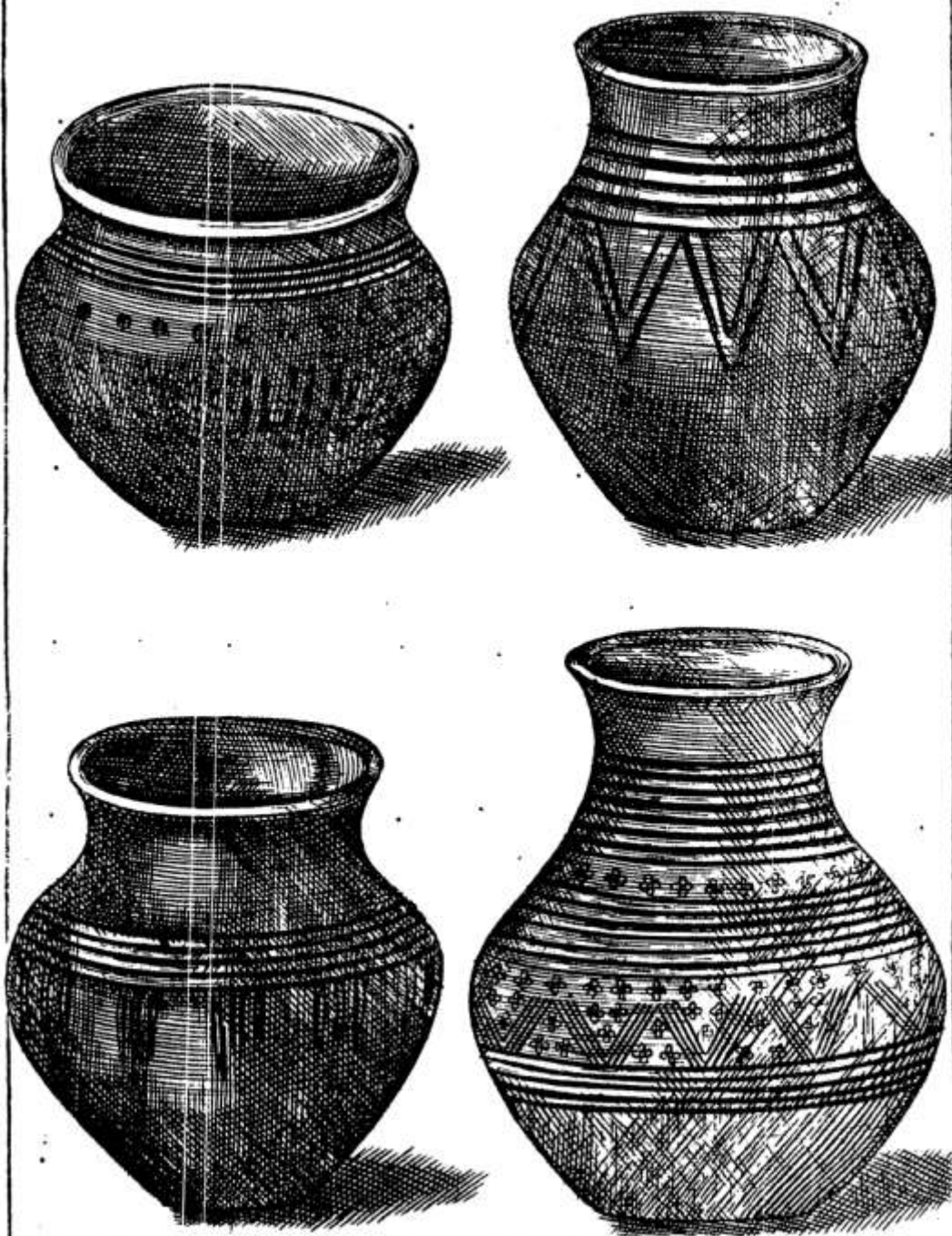
From Thomas Browne, *Urn Burial*

Amiternum relief, first century BCE, showing a Roman funeral procession

Christian burial customs

- The Christian idea of resurrection emphasised the physical return of the body, and so burials of the complete body and wooden coffins were used from 200 CE

- Excavations at Spitalfields (St Mary's Hospital Fields) in 1999 found that, under 8000 medieval burials, a Roman cemetery, on Ermine Street, with 200 burials, including elaborate sarcophagi, like that of 'Spitalfields Woman'

- Roman cemeteries thought to have been used by Anglo-Saxons, but this problem of where *and how* to bury the dead returns with the growth of London as a trading city from the 12th century

METROPOLITAN LONDON PARISHES
'Metropolitan London' as defined
by the Bills of Mortality, c. 1660

What to do with the dead?

- Life and death in medieval London most often took place within the overcrowded parishes

- The tombs of martyrs were sometimes turned into shrines, while other churches attracted visitors with their collections of holy relics

- St Paul's in this time contained a large museum of relics – the arm of St Mellitus, a crystal phial containing some of the Blessed Virgin's milk, a hand of St John the Evangelist, fragments of Thomas a Becket's skull, Jesus' knife, St Mary Magdalene's hair, the head of St Ethelbert, and a jewelled phial containing the blood of St Paul

- Christians wanted to be buried as close as possible to the martyrs, believing they had holy powers – some were believed not to ever rot, reflecting their sanctity

- The more affluent sought to be buried within the walls and vaults of the church

Memorial at St Bartholomew the Great, 1588

What to do with the dead?

- Burial was expensive, requiring a digger, priest, parish church and to a sexton to toll the bell

- Most were buried in pits, wrapped in shrouds

- When a pit was full it was covered in earth, and a previous one reopened, the bones dug up and taken to a charnel house for safe-keeping

- The dead were everywhere in London, 'neither out of sight, nor out of mind' (Vanessa Harding)

- Churchyards were not quiet, tranquil spaces, and contemporaries describe farm animals, football, drinking, fighting and dancing, as well as food and drink stalls

The 'Black Death', 1348

- While plague was 'a constant and dreaded visitor to Britain' (Holmes), the Black Death is believed to have wiped out a third to half of London's population

- Churchgrounds quickly ran out of space and new mass burial pits were dug, including at Smithfield, East Smithfield (near Tower), and 'No-Man's Land', by what is now Charterhouse Square

- Between 10-12000 buried at these new cemeteries in mass graves

- However excavations indicate they were stacked neatly, five deep, with heads at the west and feet to the east, reflecting Christian belief

- Subsequent plagues recurred, leading to famines, decline in monastic orders and religious observation, social unrest

- Reflected in the emergence of the *danse macabre* motif, a central feature of the Pardon Churchyard of Old St Paul's

di die bñe. Ad matu
Ro cunctis fide tunas.
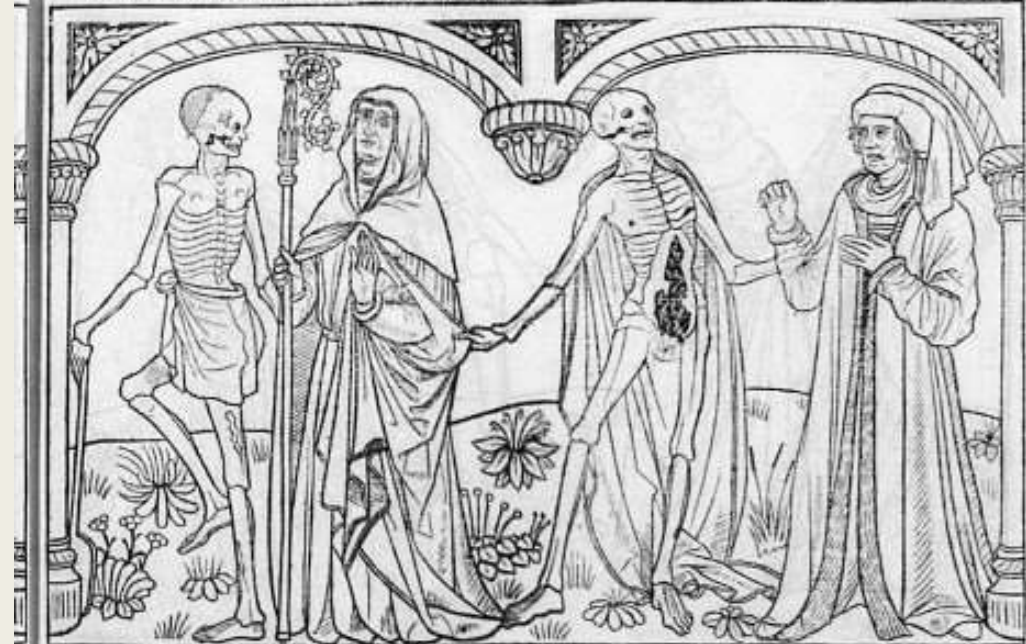lub; defunctis requi
em eterñā dona tis

- 'Those marked for death were scarce permitted to live longer than three or four days. It showed favour to no-one, except a very few of the wealthy. On the same day, twenty or forty or sixty bodies, and on many occasions many more, might be committed for burial together in the same pit. The pestilence arrived in London at about the feast of All Saints [1 November] and daily deprived many of life. It grew so powerful that between Candlemass [2 February] and Easter [12 April] more than two hundred corpses were buried every day in the new burial ground made next to Smithfield, and this was in addition to the bodies buried in other graveyards of the city.'
- Robert of Avesbury

L: The Dance of Death (1493) by Michael Wolgemut, from the Nuremberg Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel
R: La Danse macabre (Abbot and Bailiff). Paris, Guy Marchant, (1486)

'About this Cloyster was artificially and richly painted the dance of Machabray, or dance of death, commonly called the dance of Pauls' – John Stow, 1603

'But if we not only here this word Death, but also let sink into our heartes, the very fantasye and depe imaginacion thereof, we shall perceive therby that we wer never so gretly moved by the beholding of the Daunce of Death pictured in Poules, as we shal fele ourself stered and altered by the feling of that imaginacion in our hertes.' – Thomas More

The chapel was pulled down in 1549.

Growth of the monastic orders

- Crusader orders first establish permanent bases in London: St John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell (1100), the Knights Templar (1162), and the Knights Hospitaller

- In the 13th century, new monastic orders arrived. From the 1220s the Montfichet keep housed the Dominican Black Friars (arriving 1221), and later the Carmelite White Friars (1241).

- These popular preachers were granted liberty from secular jurisdiction which lasted until 1697, and their 'liberty' became a haunt of outlaws and slums.

- The Franciscan Grey Friars (1223) were based in Stinking Lane, inside Newgate, alongside butchers. Greyfriars would become the second-largest church in medieval London, and later became Christ's Hospital, which took in underprivileged children

- The Austin Friars were established from 1253. The Crutched Friars, who were a crucifix on their habit, were based from 1298 by the Tower.

Growth of the hospitals

- These different orders developed hospitals, which also functioned as travellers' hostels. They were funded by donations from aristocrats and aldermen, and did other works for the poor

- By the 15th century there were up to 30 'hospitals' in London (Slack), which become more specialised over time, including St Bartholomew for the sick, St Thomas for the 'wounded, maimed, sick and diseased' and later the elderly, Greyfriars or Christ's Hospital for orphan children, and Bridewell for 'the correction of vagabonds'

- St Bartholomew's developed after the courtier Rahere had a vision to build a church on this site

- St Mary's of Bethlehem, opened in 1247, began as a priory for the order of the Star of Bethlehem, used to collect alms for the Crusades, and later for the poor and needy

'Bedlam'

- Thomas More asked if the city itself were not a great madhouse, with all its afflicted and distracted, so that Bethlem became the epitome or little world of London.

- In 1403 the records suggest that there were nine inmates supervised by a master, a porter and his wife, as well as a number of servants.

- But numbers increased. In the *Chronicles of London*, dated 1450, William Gregory writes of 'A Church of Our Lady that is named Bedlam. And in that place be found many men that be fallen out of their wit. And full honestly they be kept in that place; and some be restored unto their wit and health again. And some be abiding therein forever, for they be fallen so much out of themselves that is incurable to man'.

- Some were allowed to leave the 'madman's pound', as it was known, in order to wander the streets as mendicants; a tin badge on the left arm signified their status, and they were variously known as 'God's minstrels' or 'anticks', shrouded in fear, superstition, pity and charity

Bedlam

- Early sixteenth-century maps show "Bedlame Gate" beside the highway of Bishopsgate – a complex with a courtyard, church and garden

- In the early 16th century, 31 were found to be crowded into a space for 24, where 'the cryings, screechings, roarings, brawlings, shaking of chains, swearings, frettings, chafings are so many, so hideous, so great; that they are more able to drive a man that hath his wits rather out of them'

- Treatments were often punitive, e.g. the whip and the chain. In an inventory are mentioned 'six chains with locks and keys belonging to them, four pairs of iron manacles, five other chains of iron, and two pairs of stocks'

- Thomas More writes in that century of a man who had "ben put uppe in bedelem, and afterward by betyinge and correccyon gathered hys remembraunce to hym," so it can be assumed that punishment or "correction" was considered efficacious.

Dissolution of monasteries

- 'Pore naked Bedlam, Tom's a-cold." "God Almighty bless thy five wits—Tom's a-cold!' (Shakespeare, *King Lear*)

- 'I sweep the madmen's rooms, and fetch straw for 'em, and buy chains to tie 'em, and rods to whip 'em. I was a mad wag myself here once, but I thank Father Anselm: he lash'd me into my right mind again. (Dekker, *The Honest Whore* Part 1)

- Preoccupation in Jacobean theatre with distinction between madness and reason

- The hospitals were mostly closed following Henry VIII's dissolution, 1536-41

- On his deathbed, he permits the City to establish or renew five institutions, including St Bartholomew, St Thomas, Bethlem Hospital, Bridewell, and Christ's Hospital

- Though enlarged in 1667 to accommodate 59, the governors decided by 1674 that 'the Hospitall House of Bethlem is very olde, weake & ruinous and to[o] small and streight for keepeing the greater numb[e]r of lunaticks therein att p[re]sent"

- A new Bethlem Hospital is built in 1676, designed by Robert Hooke, just north, Guarded by two statues, Raving and Melancholy, the new structure was tall, grand and light, just north of the City wall
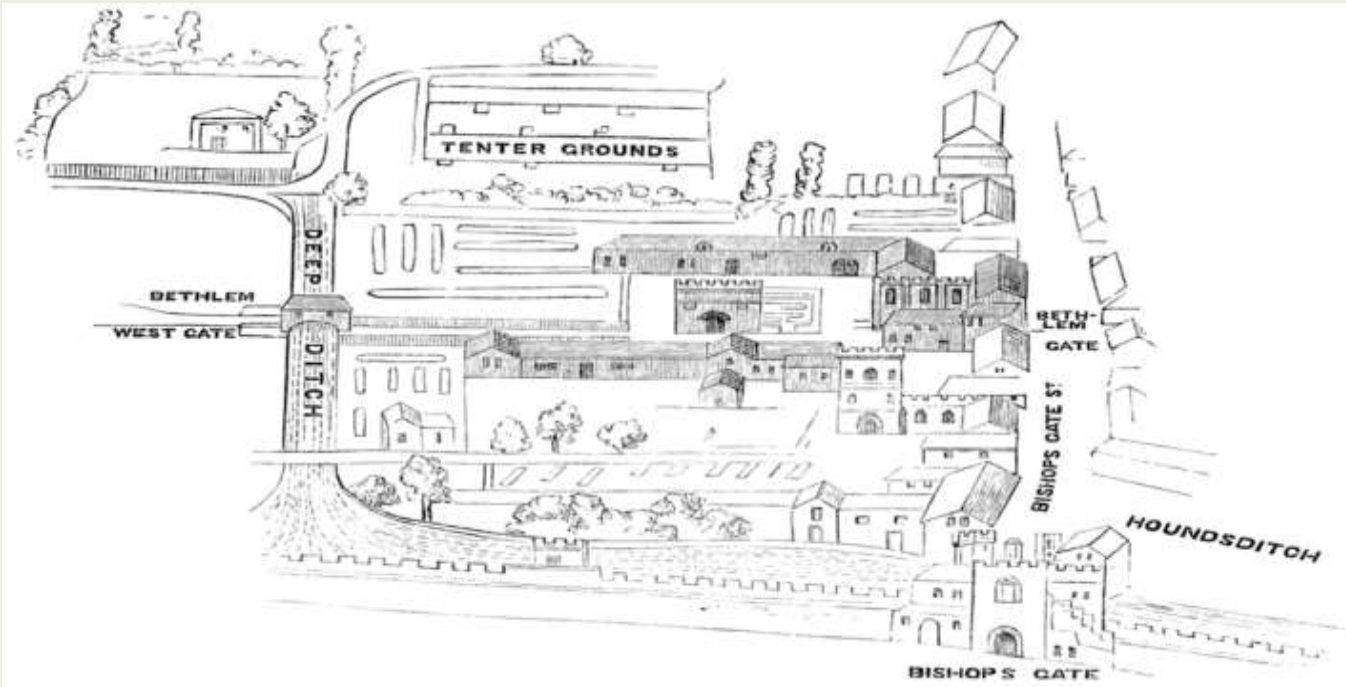
Tom o'Bedlam

From the hag and hungry goblin
That into rags would rend ye,
The spirit that stands by the naked man
In the Book of Moons defend ye,
That of your five sound senses
You never be forsaken,
Nor wander from your selves with Tom
Abroad to beg your bacon,
While I do sing, Any food, any feeding,
Feeding, drink, or clothing;
Come dame or maid, be not afraid,
Poor Tom will injure nothing.

Of thirty bare years have I
Twice twenty been enragèd,
And of forty been three times fifteen
In durance soundly cagèd
On the lordly lofts of Bedlam,
With stubble soft and dainty,
Brave bracelets strong, sweet whips ding-dong,
With wholesome hunger plenty,
And now I sing, Any food, any feeding,
Feeding, drink, or clothing;
Come dame or maid, be not afraid,
Poor Tom will injure nothing.

Early 17th century anonymous ballad

Bethlem Hospital, first location

BEDLAM HOSPITAL, MOORFIELDS, LONDON, ENGRAVED BY ROBERT WHITE. PLATES BY WHITE WERE APPROVED BY THE COURT OF GOVERNORS IN AUGUST 1677.
By Permission of the Guildhall Library

Bethlem Hospital, 1676

Bethlehem Hospital

Printed for & Sold by Carington Bowles,   N°69 S.Paul's Church Yard, London.

A View of the Hospital of Bethlehem . . . . Vûe de l'Hôpital de Bethlehem .
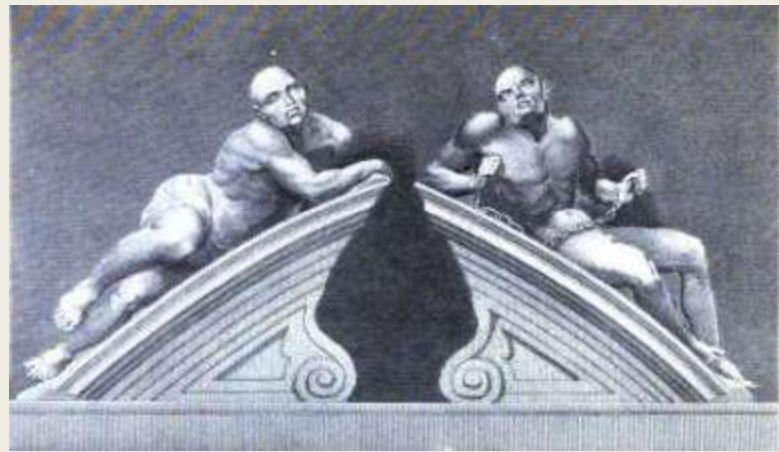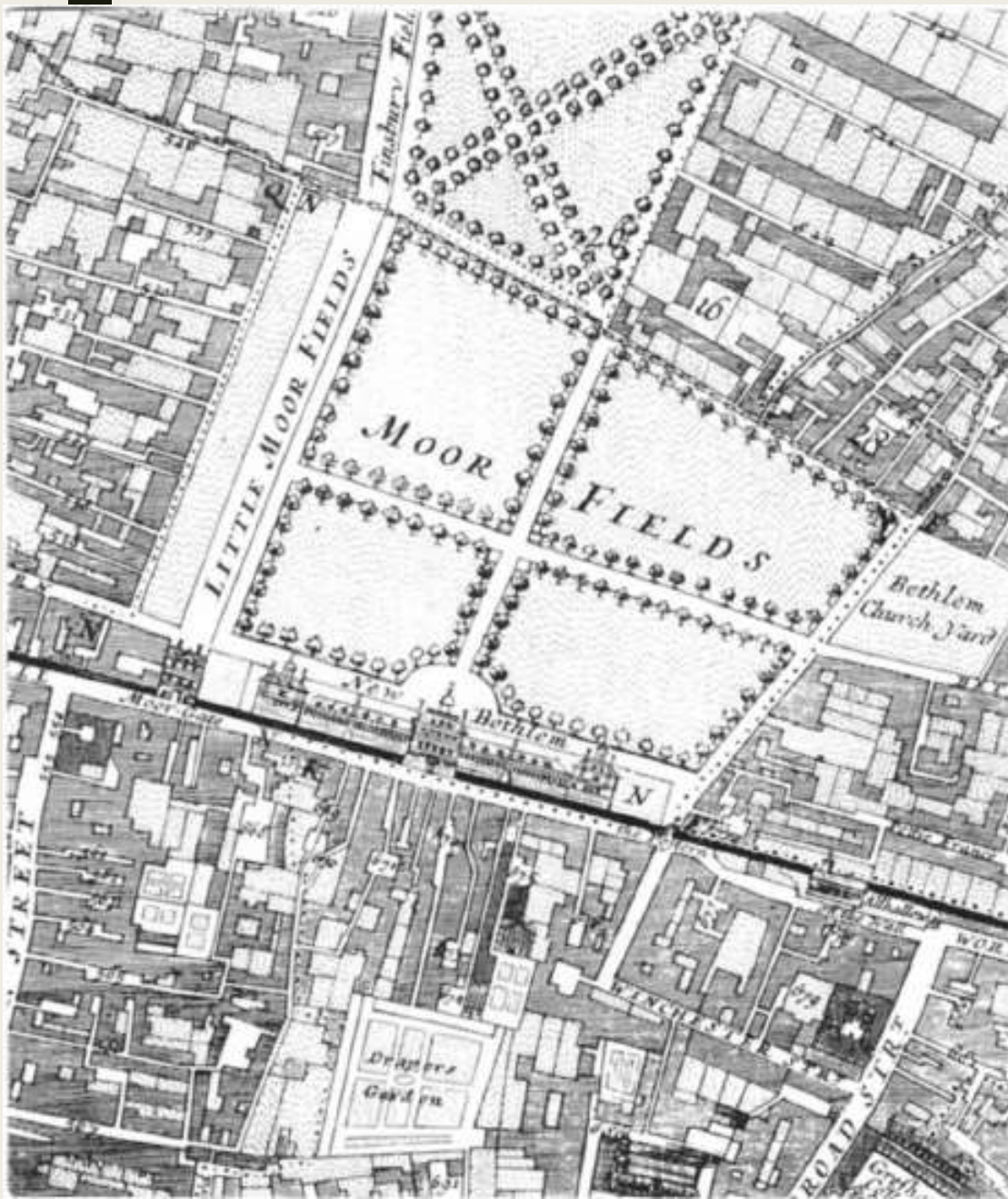
Mortality in Tudor London

- London's population boomed: from 50,000 in 1500, to 120,000 in 1550, 200,00 in 1600, and 375,000 in 1650

- Mortality was higher than in any other part of the country, with lives claimed by regular plagues and disease. In poorer parishes life expectancy was only between twenty and twenty-five years, while in the richer it rose to thirty or thirty-five years.

- Diseases included 'ague' (malaria), 'fever' (influenza), 'consumption' (TB), typhus, smallpox and plague

- As well as the Sweating Sickness of 1485, there were several major outbreaks of plague: 1563 (17.5k), 1578, 1582, 1593, 1603, 1625, then 1664-5

- 'These fatal infections confirm the evident truth that sixteenth-century London remained a city of the young. The greatest proportion of the citizens were under the age of thirty, and it is this actuarial statistic which helps to explain the energy and restlessness of urban life in all its forms.' (Ackroyd)

Population of Early Modern European cities (in thousands)

	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
London	50	120	200	375	490	675
Constantinople					700	
Paris		250	250	450	530	570
Naples		80	289	265	232	315
Marseilles		30	45	65	75	88
Lisbon		100			188	
Amsterdam					172	
Rome			102	121	142	158
Rouen	40	75	60	82	64	67
Seville			150			
Venice		158	139	120	138	149
Moscow					130	
Bordeaux	20	33	35	40	45	60
Milan			130	109	120	124
Palermo		80	105	100	100	107
Antwerp					66	43

Sources: T. Chandler and G. Fox, 3000 Years of Urban Growth (New York, 1974), pp. 11–20; P. Benedict, 'French cities from the sixteenth century to the Revolution: An overview', in P. Benedict, ed., Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France (London, 1989), p. 24; R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population growth and suburban expansion', in A. Beier and R. Finlay, eds, London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis (London, 1986), p. 39; G. Felloni, 'Italy', in C. Wilson and G. Parker, eds, An Introduction to the Sources of European Economic History (London, 1977), pp. 5–6.

Number of cities with at least 10,000 inhabitants, by territory

	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
Scandinavia	1	1	2	2	2	3
England and Wales	5	4	6	8	11	21
Scotland	1	1	1	1	2	5
Ireland	0	0	0	1	3	9
Netherlands	11	12	19	19	20	18
Belgium	12	12	12	14	15	15
Germany	23	27	30	23	30	35
France	32	34	43	44	55	55
Switzerland	1	1	2	2	3	4
Italy	44	46	59	50	51	65
Spain	20	27	37	24	22	24
Portugal	1	4	5	5	5	5
Austria/Bohemia/Moravia	3	3	3	3	4	6
Poland	0	1	1	1	1	2

Source: J. de Vries, European Urbanization 1500–1800 (London, 1984), p. 29.

Total population of all cities with at least 10,000 inhabitants (in thousands)

	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
Scandinavia	13	13	26	63	115	167
England and Wales	80	112	255	495	718	1,021
Scotland	13	13	30	35	53	119
Ireland	0	0	0	17	96	161
Netherlands	150	191	364	603	639	580
Belgium	295	375	301	415	486	432
Germany	385	534	662	528	714	956
France	688	814	1,114	1,438	1,747	1,970
Switzerland	10	12	25	22	39	60
Italy	1,302	1,498	1,973	1,577	1,761	2,159
Spain	414	639	923	672	673	767
Portugal	30	138	155	199	230	209
Austria/Bohemia/Moravia	60	67	90	100	180	294
Poland	0	10	15	20	15	36

Source: J. de Vries, European Urbanization 1500–1800 (London, 1984), p. 30.

Urban population as a percentage of total population

	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
Scandinavia	0.9	0.8	1.4	2.4	4.0	4.6
England and Wales	3.1	3.5	5.8	8.8	13.3	16.7
Scotland	1.6	1.4	3.0	3.5	5.3	9.2
Ireland	0	0	0	0.9	3.4	5.0
Netherlands	15.8	15.3	24.3	31.7	33.6	30.5
Belgium	21.1	22.7	18.8	20.8	23.9	19.6
Germany	3.2	3.8	4.1	4.4	4.8	5.6
France	4.2	4.3	5.9	7.2	9.2	9.1
Switzerland	1.5	1.5	2.5	2.2	3.3	4.6
Italy	12.4	12.8	14.7	14.0	13.4	14.2
Spain	6.1	8.6	11.4	9.5	9.0	8.6
Portugal	3.0	11.5	14.1	16.6	11.5	9.1
Austria/Bohemia/Moravia	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.4	3.9	5.2
Poland	0	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.5	1.0

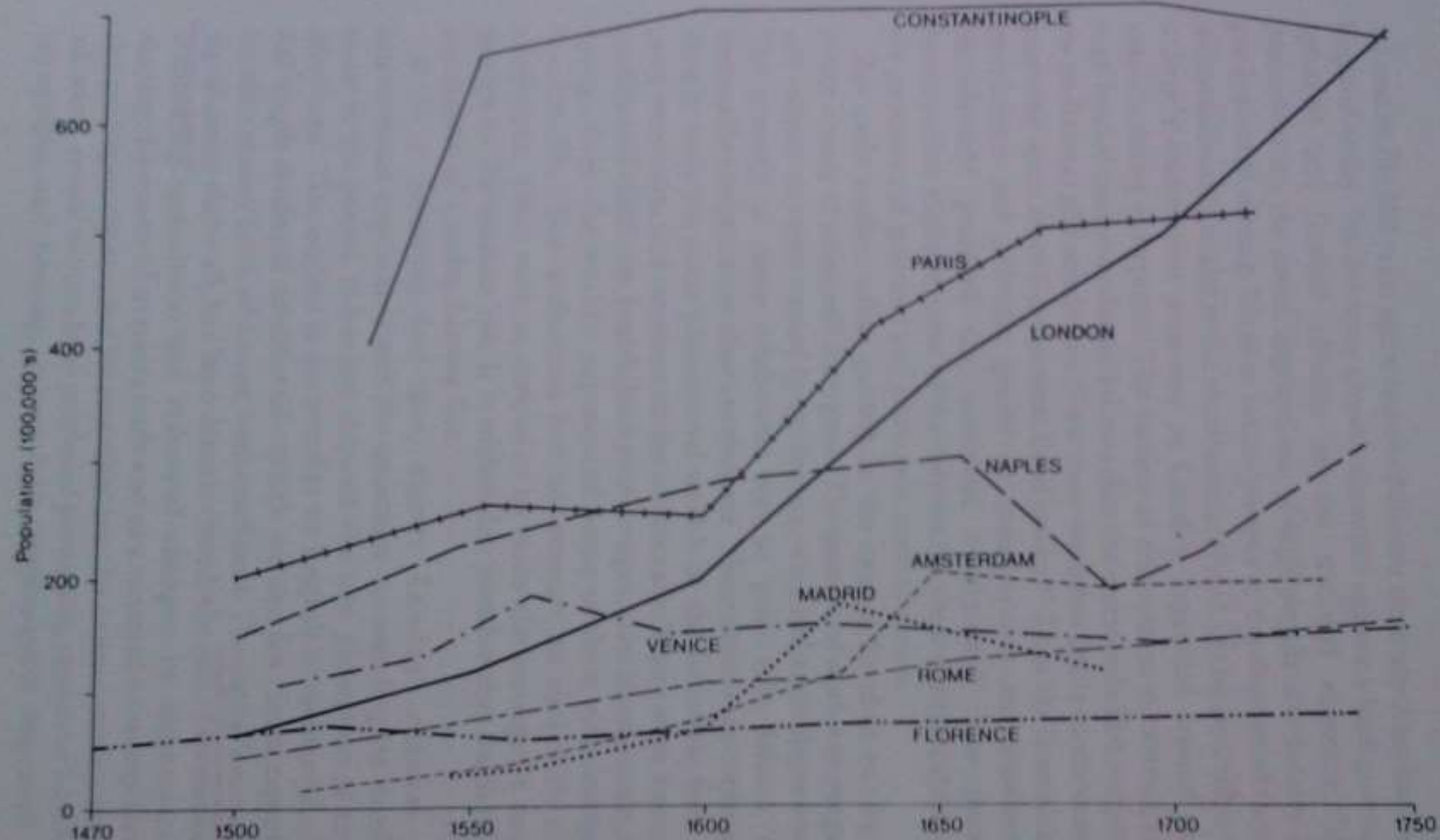Source: J. de Vries, European Urbanization 1500–1800 (London, 1984), p. 39.

Fig. 1. European metropolitan population movements, 1470–1750. *Sources:* C. Tilly, Karen Fonde and Ann V. O'Shea, 'Statistics on the urbanization of Europe, 1500–1950' (unpublished typescript, 1972); E. Hélin, *La démographie de Liège aux XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles* (Brussels 1963); T. Chandler and G. Fox, *3000 Years of Urban Growth* (London 1974). We are most grateful to Professor Tilly for permission to cite his unpublished figures. The London totals, 1550–1700, are from Table 5, p. 49, below.

- 'IN THE SAME yere a newe kynde of sicknes came sodenly through the whole region even after the first entryng of the Kyng into this Isle, which was so sore, so peynfull, & sharp that the lyke was never harde of, to any manes remembrance that tyme: For sodenly a dedly & burnyng sweate invaded their bodyes & vexed their bloud with a most ardent heat, infested the stomack & the head grevously: by the tormentyng and vexacion of which sicknes, men were so sore handled and so painfully pangued that if they were layed in their bed, beyng not hable to suffre the importunate heat, they cast away the shetes & all the clothes liyng on the bed. If they were in their apparell and vestures, they would put of all their garmentes even to their shirtes. Other were so drye that they dranke the colde water to quenche their importunate heate and insaciable thirst. Other that could or at the least woulde abyde the heate & styntche (for in dede the sweate had a great and a strong savoure) caused clothes to be layed upon theim as much as they coulde beare, to dryve oute the sweate if it might be. All in maner as sone as the sweate toke them, or within a short space after, yelded up their ghost. So that of all them that sickened ther was not one emongest an hundreth that escaped: in so muche, that beside the great nombre which deceased within the cytie of London, two Mayres successively dyed of the same disease within, viij daies and VI. Aldermen.' – Edward Hall, 1485

Left document:

1624. 1625.

A Generall or great Bill for this Yeere, of the whole Number of Burials, which have beene Buried of all Diseases, and also of the Plague in euerie seuerall Parish within the Citie of London and the Liberties thereof; As also in the Nine Out Parishes adioyning to the said Citie; with the Pest-house belonging to the same. From Thursday the 16. day of December, 1624. to Thursday the 15. day of December, 1625. According to the Report made to the Kings most Excellent Maieste: Made by the Companie of Parish Clarkes of LONDON.

Buried in the nine out Parishes.

London, Printed by William Stansby, 1625.

Right document:

MEMENTO MORI

LONDON'S Dreadful Visitation:

Or, A COLLECTION of All the

Bills of Mortality

For this Present Year:

Beginning the 27th of December 1664. and ending the 19th. of December following:

As also, The GENERAL or whole years BILL:

According to the Report made to the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty,

By the Company of Parish-Clerks of London. &c

LONDON:

Printed and are to be sold by E. Cotes living in Aldersgate-street. Printer to the said Company 1665.

Bills of Mortality

- In June of 1557 the registrar of a parish records the following causes of death within that one month—'a swellynge … ague … consumption … thought [cough] … blody fluxe … poches [pox] … postum which brake … browce [bruise?] … famyne … consumed away'.

- The bills of mortality, published every Thursday, include those who were 'planet struck', or suffered from 'horseshoe head' or 'rising of the lights', as well as those 'killed in the pillory' or who 'died from want in Newgate'

- These Bills were produced by some City parishes from 1532, usually during outbreaks of plague, and was undertaken systematically from 1603 by royal charter to the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks

- They include cause of death from 1629, and by early 18th century, age of death

- John Graunt would use and analyse these to estimate London's population and estimate life expectancies

Bills of Mortality

- From St Katherine Creechurch:

- It seems that in the 1630s there were more than 1,600 people resident in the parish and that within this heavily populated area there were 325 or so houses and tenements, the majority of them probably occupied.

- Death in the parish, as in all of London, was a common occurrence.

- According to the Bills of Mortality, between 1629 and 1636 there were a total of 576 burials in St. Katherine Creechurch.

- Together with 66 burials recorded in the Bishops' Transcripts for 1639, this produces a mean total of 71.3 burials per annum for these years

- We can pull together a picture: a large base of floating inhabitants made up primarily of single young males (vagrants, servants, apprentices, journeymen), together with more established householders who had lived in the parish several years

London in 1593

Plan of the City of London in the Time of Queen Elizabeth.

London, the great plague of 1665

Year	All burials	Plague burials	Total pop.	Mortality %
1563	20,372	17,404	85,000	24.0
1578	7,830	3,568	101,000	7.8
1593	17,893	10,675	125,000	14.3
1603	31,861	25,045	141,000	22.6
1625	41,312	26,350	206,000	20.1
1636	23,359	10,400	313,000	7.5
1665	80,696	55,797	459,000	17.6

'raving and distracted, and oftentime laying violent hands upon themselves, throwing themselves out of their windows, shooting themselves, mothers murdering their own children in their lunacy—some dying of mere grief as a passion, and some of mere fright and surprise without any infection at all, others frightened into despair and melancholy madness'

L: Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year*
R: Woodcut from Thomas Dekker, *A Rod for Run-Awayes* (1625)

The Great Plague

- Begins in the poor slum of St Giles, and moves from west to east

- Outbreak initially concealed, with Bills of Mortality concealing causes of death

- By June 1665 it is widespread, and city authorities begin quarantining the sick in houses marked with red crosses, with watchers appointed to ensure none escaped

- A curfew closes pubs, theatres and other public places, and orders the wholesale destruction of all domestic animals (fleas) – Pepys estimated around 40,000 dogs and up to 200,000 cats killed – ideal for rats

- Some of the sick were moved to new 'pest houses', where there was better chance of recovery, like those at Old Street, Stepney, Westminster, Marylebone and Soho

- Key sources include Samuel Pepys and Daniel Defoe (drawing on his uncle, Henry Foe's first-hand experiences)

- 'Alas! Sir', says he, 'almost desolate: all dead or sick. Here are very few families in this part, or in the village' (pointing at Poplar), 'where half of them are not dead already, and the rest sick.' Then he, pointing to one house, 'There they are all dead', said he … Then he pointed to several other houses. 'There,' says he, 'they are all dead, the man and his wife and five children. There', says he, 'they are shut up; you see a watchman at the door'; and so of other houses.' – Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year*

- 'Lord, how empty the streets are and melancholy, so many poor sick people in the streets, full of sores: and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, everybody talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that.' – Pepys, October 1665

Problem of burial

- 'They died in heaps, and they were buried in heaps' – Henry Foe

- 'a piece of ground beyond Goswell Street, near Mount Mill … abundance were buried promiscuously from the parishes of Aldersgate, Clerkenwell, and even out of the city' – Defoe

- Huge burial pits across London, dug in haste and without record, including at what is now Hyde Park, Spitalfields, Southwark, Stepney and Knightsbridge, where the tube is diverted

- Some of the bodies 'were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rags, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart'

- Pepys and Foe both visited the massive plague burial pits at Moorfields and Aldgate

Grieving

- Out of despair, some of those grieving or sick flung themselves among the dead, as Henry Foe records

- He befriends a grieving man who watches his wife and child buried in the Pye tavern, close to the Houndsditch pit

- Some drunken apprentices in the pub began jeering at the grieving man who they had watched, encouraging him to jump in the pit

- Foe also noted some uttered 'blasphemous expressions' such as *There is no God* or *God is a devil*.

- One driver, Buckingham, 'When he had any children in his dead cart could cry 'Faggots, faggots, five for sixpence' and take up a child by the leg', and would undress women – later jailed

- By October-November 1665 the Plague recedes

Wenceslaus Hollar, *Plan of London before the fire*

Wenceslaus Hollar, Map of London, 1666

The city of London, as it was before the burning of St. Pauls ste[eple] , [London? : G. Godet?, 1565?]

The City of London, as it was before the burning of St. P[auls]

A The Tower	O The Savoy
B Algate	P Durham house
C Billingate	Q Whitehall
D London Bridge	R Bow church
E The three Cranes	S Saint Sepulchers
F Queenes hine	T Saint Giles in the fields
G Pauls Wharfe	V Westminster bridge
H Baynards Castle	X Charing Crosse
I Common stayres	Y Pauls steeple
K Blackfriars	Z Saint Iames
L Bridewell	1 Lambeth marsh
M The Temple	2 Parisgarden
N Sommerset house	3 Winchester house
	4 Saint Saviours
	5 Saint Olaves

CIVITAS LONDINVM

Unknown artist, *The Great Fire of London*, c.1670

Workhouses

- Paul Slack identifies five episodes in the histories of hospitals: the royal, civic, metropolitan, baroque, and voluntary from between 1505-1728

- In 1505, Henry VIII set up at the Savoy Hospital as a nightly lodge and asylum for beggars, travellers and pilgrims

- From 1552, the Bridewell Hospital – at times jointly administered with Bethlem – was a 'house of labour and occupations', and perhaps the first known workhouse

- Yet its functions were conflicted, and like the Savoy, often became used as 'a nursery of rogues, thieves, idle and drunk persons', a place to imprison undesirables

- The London Corporation of the Poor was set up in 1647 to centrally control social welfare and manage the new workhouses, but closed in 1660

The Prospect of Bridewell

Reconstruction

- After the destruction of much of the City, and hospitals like Bridewell and Christ's, there was a great reconstruction programme

- Increasingly scientific principles of treatment and care were introduced and developed by the early 18th century, drawing on European examples

- Military-linked hospitals like Chelsea (1691) and Greenwich (1692)

- Reconstruction of Bethlem (1676), St Thomas' (1700s), St Bartholomew's (1720s)

- New hospitals like Guys' Hospital (1721), the Foundling (1739), and St Luke's Hospital for the insane (1751)

- Development of maternity hospitals, like the British Lying-In Hospital, Long Acre (1749), the General Lying-In Hospital (later Queen Charlotte's, 1752)

- The Lock Hospital for venereal cases (1746), patients receiving moral and religious instruction as well as medical care

The new Bethlem Hospital (1676)

- William Battie, founder of St Luke's asylum, published the *Treatise of Madness* (1758), proposing to treat insanity via more specific treatments: 'Madness is frequently taken for one species of disorder, nevertheless, when thoroughly examined, it discovers as much variety with respect to its causes and circumstances as any distemper whatever: Madness, therefore, like most other morbid cases, rejects all general methods, e.g. bleeding, blisters, caustics, rough cathartics, the gumms and faetid anti-hysterics, opium, mineral waters, cold bathing and vomits.'

- John Monro at the Bethlem replies: 'Notwithstanding we are told in this treatise, that madness rejects all general methods, I will venture to say, that the most adequate and constant cure of it is by evacuation; which can alone be determined by the constitution of the patient and the judgment of the physician. The evacuation by vomiting is infinitely preferable to any other, if repeated experience is to be depended on'

- Treatments usually involved vomiting and cold baths