Bodies of Authority: Contesting the Coercive Space in Early Modern England

This workshop begins with representations of moments of disease and medical necessity that render individuals visible to institutional and moral authority. We hope that attendees will interrogate the ways women are not only subject to, but also contest and enact, such authority. Because we will investigate the disputed boundaries of this control, we envision this workshop as a part of the plenary topic "Confrontation."

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Workshop Description:

This workshop will address the contested sites and practices of medical intervention in early modern England; related disputes about domestic, professional, civic, and moral authority; and women's roles in these confrontations.

Both workshop organizers are scholars of the literature of early modern England. We analyze historical material and are interested methodologically in the ways that the literary material engages with early modern events and practices. Workshop participants will read material focused on particular behaviors and sites—the vexed civic role of the spital house and the domestic disorder produced by a (real or perceived) extramarital pregnancy—but we hope that participants will draw from their own work to raise additional historical and literary examples from different periods and geographical areas. Often, the early modern practices we study—especially those related to women—are obscure and/or fragmentary. As scholars, we work to construct comprehensible narratives about very specific literary constructions or events. This workshop offers participants an opportunity to share our micro-narratives with a view toward understanding larger trends and commonalities.

Our first set of materials considers how one particular site of medical aid, the London spital house, increasingly became an institution associated with the idle, corrupt, and sexually immoral in the late sixteenth century. Spitals such as St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, were originally intended to help indigent and infirm men, women, and children; they began treating venereal patients in the mid-sixteenth century. These institutions may have continued to provide vital charitable care for poor individuals suffering from the pox, yet as several late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century works reveal, they became known as sites of moral corruption and degradation. At the center of these depictions are women. In Shakespeare's Timon of Athens, for instance, Timon desires to take revenge on a corrupt, urban populace by infecting everyone with syphilis, and the syphilitic prostitutes, Phrynia and Timandra, are the agents whereby general
population infection would be achieved. Timon’s invocation of the London “spital house” helps to articulate his desire to infect the populace and clarifies his conflation of diseases, namely leprosy and syphilis, since the perceived ambiguity of the two ailments played out historically in these hospitals. Whether or not spital houses actually became de facto brothels in practice, the literary references suggest that early modern Londoners increasingly perceived this to be the case. The complex reputation of the spital houses raises questions not only about the particular clientele at each venue but also about the role of charitable institutions in early modern London and what theatrical and literary representations reveal about that role.

Our second set of materials focuses on the ways that extramarital pregnancy subjects the body of the particular individual and the household of which she is a part to the scrutiny and intervention of external authority structures. This process is depicted in a conservative fashion in Shakespeare’s Measure for Measure as Claudio and Juliet are arrested and subject to prosecution for their extramarital sexual behavior as evidenced by Juliet’s pregnancy, but a far more interesting representation of this situation appears in Shakespeare’s A Winter’s Tale, when the pregnant queen, Hermione, falsely accused of adultery by her husband Leontes, is brought to trial. The trial offers Hermione a very public forum in which she refutes Leontes’ accusations and, in effect, subverts the king’s effort to shame and convict her, rendering the trial ineffective. In actual extramarital pregnancy cases before the Bridewell court, women who were charged with whoredom due to extramarital pregnancies used their appearances before the magistrates as opportunities to present their own narratives about their behavior and often to gain financial assistance from the child’s father. Such appearances, then, could be financially advantageous and significant in terms of the women’s ongoing positions in their communities. They also could disrupt domestic authority structures by subjecting the head of a household to public sanctions.

In both of these contested sites, women, fictional and historical, are figured as agents of medical disorder or visible markers of illegitimate sexuality. Women’s bodies, in many of these texts, bear the responsibility for corrupt or failed institutional practices, whether in the London spital house or in the Bridewell court. However, early modern literary works and historical sources also demonstrate women contesting such practices and ideologies, challenging the means, bounds, and borders of civic, domestic, or professional power. These women confront systemic institutional biases while they endure and undergo their effects. This workshop seeks to investigate this fraught interplay of control and confrontation in such coercive spaces.

At the June meeting, we intend to promote discussion by having participants introduce themselves at the beginning of the workshop, by keeping organizers’ remarks about the materials brief, and by generating larger, open-ended discussion questions for participants to consider either in small groups or as a whole (depending on the group’s size). Questions may include the following: How was medical need defined, identified, and organized in early modern communities? In what situations does a need for medical aid generate an authoritative response? Are those situations gendered? To what degree do women see civic institutions as a counterbalance to domestic ones? How does gender inform the practices of early modern medicine and hospitals? How did hospital administrators exert control over space and behavior? What confrontations occurred in these spaces/situations? What kinds of new questions can we ask if we consider what larger narratives might be revealed by paying attention to very minute or obscure evidence?
Reading List:

No. of pages  Text

1  William Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens* and *The Life of King Henry V*  
   Selections related to the Spital Houses.  
   Thomas Dekker, *The Second Part of the Honest Whore*  
   Edward Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat in Eighteen Parts*  
   Selections related to immorality.

6  Robert Copland, *The Highway to the Spital-House* (selections)


4  William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* and *A Winter's Tale*  
   Selections related to the prosecutions of Juliet and Hermione.

3  *Bridewell Court Record Books*, IV-V.  
   Selections of court records where wives and servants are  
   prosecuted due to extramarital sexual activity resulting in  
   pregnancy.
“This is it
That makes the wappen'd widow wed again;
She whom the spital house and ulcerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and spices
To th’ April day again. Come, damned earth,
Thou common whore of mankind, that puts odds
Among the rout of nations, I will make thee
Do thy right nature.” (Shakespeare, Timon of Athens, 4.3.34-49)

“Be a whore still. They love thee not that use thee.
Give them diseases, leaving with thee their lust.
Make use of thy salt hours. Season the slaves
For tubs and baths. Bring down rose-cheeked youth
To the tub-fast and the diet.” (Shakespeare, Timon of Athens, 4.3.93-97).

“O hound of Crete, think’st thou my spouse to get? No, to the spital go, and from the pow’d’ring
tub of infamy fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid’s kind, Doll Tearsheet she by name, and her
espouse” (Shakespeare, The Life of King Henry V, 2.1.73-76).

“So this is for the Bawd, the Rogue, the Whore [...] 
Nor is it seene,
That the whip drawes blood here, to coole the Spleene
Of any rugged Bencher: nor does offence
Feele smart on spitefull, or rash euidence:
But pregnant testimony forth must stand,
Ere Justice leaue them in the Beadles hand,
As Iron, on the Anuill are they laid,
Not to take blowes alone, but to be made
And fashioned to some Charitable vse.” (Thomas Dekker, The Second Part of the Honest
Whore, 167-168 [no act/scene divisions])

“A Grave Gentleman, whose Awful Looks bespoke him some Honourable Citizen, was mounted
in the Judgment-Seat, Arm’d with a Hammer [...] and a Woman under the Lash in the next
Room; where Folding Doors were open’d, that the whole Court might see the Punishment
Inflicted.” (Edward Ward, The London-Spy Compleat in Eighteen Parts, 6.141)
The holy way to the Spytell hous.

Copland and the porter.

Who so have lust or will leave his chape
And will fynd no better way no styte.
Come this holy way, here to seke some rest
For it is ordained for the beholde of all.

Page II
ELIZABETHAN UNDERWORLD

THE HIGHWAY TO THE SPITAL-HOUSE

By ROBERT COPLAND

[1535-6]

WHOSO hath lust, or will leave his thrift,
And will find no better way nor shift,
Come this highway, here, to seek some rest,
For it is ordained for each unthriftye guest.

Prologue of Robert Copland,
Compiler and Printer of this Book.

To despise poor folk is not my appetite,
Nor such as live of very alma' deed,
But mine intent is only for to write
The misery of such as live in need.
And all their life in idleness doth lead,
Whereby doth sue such inconvenience
That they must end in mechant indigence.

Christ in this world right poverty did sue,
Giving us example to follow that degree,
Saying, Beati pauperes spiritu,
Beati mites, beati mundo carde;
Blessed be they that poor in spirit be,
And ben clean in heart, and make therewith all,
For they shall possess the realm celestial.

They be not poor that have necessity,
Except therewith they ben right well content;
Nor they be not rich that have great plenty;
If they think that they have competent
And ever pleased with that God hath them sent,
For surely it is our Lord's ordinance
That each should be pleased with suuffiurce.

That man that hath more than sufficient
With goods at will, and daily doth increase,
And ever is bare, hungry and indigent,
Scrapping and smudging without any cease,
Ever coveting; the mind hath no peace,
But lyeth by rapine and usury
And careth not how he cometh thereby,
ELIZABETHAN UNDERWORLD

Eke in distress doing no benefit,
Letting the poor die in great misery,
His neighbour in prison doth not visit,
Nor yet forgive small parcel of duty,
Weary travellers in the streets let lie,
The dead bodies without any burial;
    His goods his god a man may full well call.

Of such rich men reciteth the Gospel
Making likeness of impossibility,
Saying that more easily a great camel
May pass and go through a needle's eye
Than a rich man in Heaven for to be;
For whoso misuseth that God hath him sent
    With cursed Dives in Hell shall be bren.

These truant beggars, begging from place to place,
Nor yet these needy of all manner fashion,
These apprentices that do run from all grace,
These hired servants that keep no condition
Nor all that feign perfect devotion,
Nor many other living in needy covert,
    Though they lack good, be not poor of heart.

See ye not daily of all manner estate,
How in the law they traverse and conject,
How neighbours do fall at anger and debate;
    'Tween man, wife, eke the life imperfect,
The father and child, from quietness abject;
And all that for good they may make each other smart,
    Which is a sign they be not poor of heart.

If that our prince do ask a subsidy,
From our enemies us to defend,
Or if our creditors demand their duty,
To confess poverty then we pretend.
But if our neighbour in aught us offend
Then we find money to play overthwart,
    Which is a token we be not poor at heart.

How many poor that have little in store
Is content with his small substance?
But ever they grudge and wish for more
To be promoted and have furtherance.
The very beggars for their pittance
From bag and staff are loath for to depart,
    Which is a token they be not poor at heart.

Of these two estates there be four degrees:
A rich rich, a poor poor, a rich poor also,
A poor, rich in all necessities.
The two can agree, but the other, no.
A proud heart, a beggar's purse thereto,
The rich purse and the poor spirit
    May well agree and be in one perfect.
HIGHWAY TO THE SPITAL-HOUSE

Exhortation of the Compiler.
I pray all you which have enough, with grace, For the love of God to do your charity, And from the poor never turn your face, For Christ saith, Whatever that he be That to the leaf of Mine doth in the name of Me, Unto Myself I do accept the deed, And for reward my realm they shall possede.

Fints.

Here beginneth the causality Of the entrance into hospitality.

To write of Sol in his exaltation, Of his selfifice or declination, Or in what sign, a planet, or degree, As he in course is used for to be, Scorpio, Pisces, or Sagittary, Or when the day or her way doth contrary, Or her eclipse, her wane, or yet her full It were but lost for blockish brains dull. But plainly to say, even as the time was, About a fortnight after Hallowmas, I chanced to come by a certain spital Where I thought bett to tarry a little And under the porches for to take suscoup To tidy the passing of a stormy shower, For it had snowen and frozen very strong, With great icicles on the eaves long; The sharp north wind hurled bitterly, And with black clouds darkbld was the sky, Like as in winter some days be natural With frost and rain and storms over all: So still I stood. As chanced to be, The porter of the house stood also by me With whom I resound of many divers things Touching the course of all such weatherings; And as we talked there gathered at the gate People at unprofited of very poor estate, With bag and staff, both crooked, lame and blind, Scabby and scurvy, pock-eaten flesh and rind, Lousy and scald, and pecked like as apes, With scanty a rag for to cover their shapes, Breechless, barefooted, all stinking with dirt With thousand of tatters, drabbling to the skirt, Boys, girls, and jarkish strong knaves... Diddering and dadding, leaning on their slaves', Saying, "Good master, for you're mother's blessing, Give us a halfpenny towards our lodging!" The porter said, "What need you to crave, That in the spital shall your lodging have?"
ELIZABETHAN UNDERWORLD

Ye shall be entreated as ye ought to be,
For I am charged that daily to see.
The sisters shall do their observance
As of the house is the due ordinance."

Copland.

Porter (said I), God's blessing and our Lady
Have ye for speaking so courteously
To these poor folk, and God his soul pardon,
That for their sake made this foundation!
But, sir, I pray you, do ye lodge them all
That do ask lodging in this hospital?

Porter.

Forsooth, yea! We do all such folk in take
That do ask lodging for our Lord's sake,
And, indeed, it is our custom and use
Sometime to take in, and some to refuse.

Copland.

Then is it comen to every wight,
How they live all day, to lie here at night?
As boyles, mighty beggars and vagabonds,
And truants that walk over the lands,
Michers, hedge-cutters, pillocks and lusks,
That all the summer keep ditches and busks,
Loitering and wandering from place to place,
And will not work, but the bypaths trace,
And live with hawks, and hunt the blackberry,
And with hedge-breaking make themselves merry;
But in the winter they draw to the town,
And will do nothing but go up and down
And all for lodging that they have here at night?
Methinks that therein ye do no right,
Nor all such places of hospitality,
To comfort people of such iniquity.
But, sir, I pray you of your goodness and favour
Tell me which ye leave and which ye do succour.
For I have seen at sundry hospitals
That many have lain dead without the walls,
And for lack of succour have died wretchedly.
Unto your foundation I think contrary;
Much people resort here and have lodging;
And yet I marvel greatly of one thing,
That in the night so many lodges without:
For in the watch when that we go about
Under the stalls, in porches, and in doors,
I wot not whether they be thieves or whores
But surely, every night there is found
One or other lying by the pound,
In the sheep cots or in the hayloft;
And at Saint Bartholomew's church-door full oft,
ELIZABETHAN UNDERWORLD

Porter.

Enow, enow. With bousy cope maund nase,
   Tour the patrico in the darkman case,
Docked the dell for a copper make;
   His watch shall feng a proune's nab-chose.
Cyrum, by Solomon, and thou shalt peck my jere
   In thy gan; for my watch it is race gear;
or the bene hause my watch hath a wyn.
And thus they babble, till their thirst is thin,
I wot not what, with their babbling French,
But out of the spital they have a partye stench.
And with them comes gatherers of cony-skins,
   That chop with laces, points, needles and pins.

Copland.

Come any mariners hither of Cock Lorel's\textsuperscript{9} boat?

Porter.

Every day they be alway afloat:
   We must them receive and give them costs free:
And also with them the fraternity
Of unthrifts, which do our house endue,
   And never fail with brethren alway new.
Also here is kept and holden in degree
Within our house the orders eight time three
Of thieves only; we can them not keep out
   They swarm as thick as bees in a rout;
And chief of all that doth us encumber,
The order of fools that be without number;
For daily they make such press and cry
   That scant our house can them satisfy.

Copland.

Yet one thing I wonder that you do not tell;
   Come there no women this way to dwell?

Porter.

Of all the sorts that be spoken of afore,
   I warrant women, enow in store,
That we are weary of them. Every day
   They come so thick that they stop the way.
The sisterhood of drabs, sluts and callots
To here resort, with their bagets and wallets,
And be partners of the confrérie
Of the maintainers of ill husbandry.

Copland.

A lewd sort is of them, of a surety.
   Now, master porter, I thank you heartily
Of your good talking. I must take my leave.
The shower is done, and it is toward eve.
Another time and at more leisure
I will do for you as great a pleasure.
THE FOUL DISEASE IN THE ROYAL HOSPITALS: THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Many Londoners could not avail themselves of the services that the market provided. This posed a problem. What can be done, lamented surgeon Charles Peter in 1693, for “those poor unhappy wretches where the Pox and Poverty are complicated”? In a sense, that is the central question of the remainder of this book. Such folk were not entirely without options in the seventeenth century, as scholars have sometimes presumed. One of their main options lay in one of the two royal hospitals that offered venereal care, St. Bartholomew’s and St. Thomas’s. However, contemporaries did not always see these as a desirable choice. An anonymous commentator criticized hospital foul wards, claiming that “more rude Ignorance, and slacker Management in curing this disease, has not been heard of, than in these places.” He went on to claim that “some that have undergone their common motions there, and come forth uncur’d, have protested they had rather chose to dye, than to return thither again.” In 1696 a doctor named Wall similarly described the “Despised Hospitals and Lock Nursery” that represented the only resort for paupers who had been taken advantage of by ruthless quacks who took their meager pennies and sold them phony cures.

Wall’s depiction of seventeenth-century hospital VD care is notable for its lack of a clear opinion; it is a description that, though brief, captures well the tension and difficulty inherent in trying to sum up early modern hospital provision in simple terms. On the one hand, Wall offered rather little hope to the “captives” who resorted to the foul wards, where they might find themselves “reduced... to a drabbling Condition” by the substandard care and “slack attendance” that characterized hospital therapeutics. Yet despite that grim picture he also acknowledged that the foul wards still “furnish[ed] out more Mercy to the Afflicted” than the dog-eat-dog market from which paupers were excluded. Wall’s depiction is, generally accurate, exaggeration notwithstanding. There can be no question that hospital patients faced inferior care when compared on many counts to the care, available to paying patients. However, before gauging that care we must first acknowledge the absolutely impressive scope of both hospitals’ provision for venereal patients, which has been largely unrecognized. The royal hospitals steered quite significant resources towards tackling the complicated problems of poverty and the pox, and saw venereal patients as worthy objects of that significant charity. Ultimately, Wall’s ambiguity seems well placed: despite significant “mercy” these hospitals indeed remained “despised.”

London hospitals admitted foul patients fully two centuries before the famous Lock Hospital was even a glimmer in its founder’s eye. The first instances of posed patients treated in Bart’s and St. Thomas’s Hospitals come from the earliest administrative records, which for Bart’s survive from 1549 and for St. Thomas’s from 1556. For example, the governors of St. Thomas’s agreed to treat a posed woman named Enoe Damyll on March 10, 1556. The earliest surviving records of St. Bartholomew’s also contain similar entries. Financial records indicate that surgeons received gratuities for treating patients with the pox during the fiscal year 1547/48. Considering that venereal patients emerge from the earliest surviving records, it is likely that both hospitals may have accepted venereal patients even earlier. One of Bart’s surgeons, William Clowes, proclaimed as early as 1579 that the hospital was practically overrun by
such patients. According to Clowes, over one thousand venereal patients had received cures in St. Bartholomew’s between 1574 and 1579. He stated, “among every twenty diseased persons, that are taken in, fifteen of them have the pox.” Clowes may have exaggerated his figures, but hospital records indicate that his claim must still be taken seriously. According to the gratuities granted to surgeons for specified cures in 1547/48 almost one quarter (21 of 87) were for the pox.

While this evidence alone already runs counter to the traditional histories of early English institutional VD provision, research indicates that the English case was hardly unique in Europe. Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson, and Roger French have examined how various increasibil hospitals also treated venereal patients throughout Italy during the first half of the sixteenth century, and institutional care has been explored in sixteenth-century Germany as well. The continental context shows that varius charitable organizations responded to provide relief during the raging first phase of the pox, which, by all accounts, seems to have been horrible. The new disease spread rapidly and killed many, causing lay Italians to define the disease as “incurable” and develop special hospitals to cater to the poor so affected. As mercury and gusa became increasingly popular over the century this belief that the pox was incurable faded, but the increasibil hospitals continued to provide the important service of housing and treating the infected poor. The Italian hospital records pre-date the London ones, but it is likely that the chronology of the English response parallels the case that these scholars describe in Italy, and we should not be surprised to find English institutional VD care in the first decades of the sixteenth century as well.

The governors at St. Bartholomew’s hit upon one solution to the problem presented by the poor foul Londoners who came weekly to the hospital in search of care. They sent venereal patients to one of the various leper houses under the hospital’s control, a response similarly recorded in Germany and Norwich. The City of London transferred control of six lazar houses to Bart’s in 1549. As indicated, a number of venereal patients were recorded in the hospital just the previous year. There may well be a connection between the significant number of foul patients in the hospital in 1547/48 and the transfer of the six lazar hospitals in 1549. Although no explanation has been given for just why Bart’s took control of these six hospitals, it is probable that the prevalence of venereal patients and their demands on Bart’s limited ward space may have encouraged hospital governors and/or City officials to hit upon the scheme of transforming leper hospitals into “outhouses” for venereal patients.

It is likely that venereal disease may have provided the original impetus behind the transference of the lazar hospitals, because it is clear that leprosy itself was no longer a significant medical concern by the mid-sixteenth century. By all accounts the disease faded rapidly after 1500, and lazar houses all over England began to shut throughout the first half of the century. While the decision to house venereal patients in lazar houses may seem unique, it hardly required a great stretch of the imagination. Popular and medical beliefs about the pox and leprosy had linked the two diseases in a variety of ways from an early date. First, some medical thinkers argued that they were actually the same disease. Well into the eighteenth century this notion continued to be a cornerstone of the argument in favor of the antiquity of the disease (against the Columbianists, who argued that it was new to Europe). In the late seventeenth century, medical writers like Stephan Blankaert continued to remark on the striking symptomatic similarities between leprosy and the pox, concluding that “there is all the probability in the world that men are frequently deceived . . . and that the Venereal Distemper has been taken for the Leperie.” This belief remained alive and well into the eighteenth century, when William Beckett produced the most extensive exploration of the subject, publishing three letters on the antiquity of the venereal disease in the Royal Society’s Philosophical Transactions. Beckett marshaled evidence from various classical sources on the symptoms, transmission, and treatment of leprosy to claim that “leprosy” was merely a different name for the pox. The longstanding belief in the sexual transmission of leprosy also helped connect the two diseases.

Many medical writers disagreed, but some nonetheless forged theoretical links between lazar and leprosy. The most influential of these was Paracelsus. He posed a novel explanation of the French Disease’s origin, which medical authorities would debate throughout the following two centuries. It is interesting that the Paracelsian theory exhibits a theme common to theories about early venereal disease production: namely, that a disease transmitted by sex must be originally produced by sex. This idea manifested itself in various explanations for venereal disease’s origin,
including theories about promiscuous women, miscegenation, and even bestiality. In Paracelsus's case, he argued that the pox arose from the following event:

The French Disease derives its origin from the coition of a leprous Frenchman with an impudent whore, who had venereal bussels, and after that infected everyone that lay with her; and thus from the leprosy and venereal bussels, the French disease arising, infected the whole world with its contagion, in the same manner as from coition of a horse and ass the race of mules is produced.

Metaphorically speaking, leprosy gave birth to the pox. Those who believed that the venereal disease was leprosy were a minority. But there were many others who believed that, although distinct, the two were very closely related.

The suspected etiological connection between the foul disease and leprosy helped inform Bart's decision to house venereal patients in former leper hospitals. But practical issues also played a key role. Contemporary medical writers believed strongly that the pox spread by various forms of casual contact. Sex was not the only means of contagion that worried sixteenth-century doctors. Bart's surgeon, William Clowes, illustrates the point. In addition to sex and nursing, the two most commonly discussed means of transmission, Clowes warned readers that they might catch the pox by eating from the same dish as an infected person, sleeping on bedlinens after a pox-stricken person, sharing their clothing, or using the same privy.

Clowes believed so strongly in the dangers of casual contagion that he advised people to avoid all contact with foul patients. For example, he warned them to stay clear of places like alehouses, an environment filled with "rogues and vagabonds," where innocent people might easily catch the disease. Such fear of casual contagion made a strong case for segregation. To early doctors like Clowes the pox posed a significant health risk that demanded quarantine measures. In this way, again, the pox paralleled leprosy. In fact, it may be that the fear of casual transmission represented another aspect of the pox's cultural inheritance from leprosy. Regardless, when the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital faced the problem of large numbers of infected Londoners seeking treatment, members of the medical staff like Clowes must have warned them of the dangers that these people posed to other patients who might easily share bedding, dishes, or clothing. Luckily, in 1549 the City of London put at the hospital's disposal a series of institutions specifically designed to segregate such patients. Thus as foul patients' assumed the discursive and imaginative space left in the wake of disappearing lepers, so they also took up the physical (segregated) space that they once inhabited.

Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century Bart's sent most of its venereal patients to one of these six lazaretto's situated on the outskirts of the city, where they would be treated by a surgeon called a "guide." But they also seem to have continued treating foul patients in wards on the main hospital grounds, a phenomenon first noticed by Mabvare Tilling. In the 1570s, well after the City had granted the lazaretto's to Bart's, two of its eight wards, "Cloister Dorset" and "Garden Dorset," and possibly a third, the "Sweating Ward," still received venereal patients. But Bart's strategy became much more uniform in the early seventeenth century. In 1622 the governors decided to close down all of the former lazaretto's, save the lock in Southwark (not to be confused with the eighteenth-century voluntary hospital of the same name, which will be explored in coming chapters), and the Kingsland near Hackney. The hospital focused its venereal operations entirely in these two institutions, and stopped accepting foul patients at the main hospital; from this point forward foul men went to the Lock and foul women went to the Kingsland.

Evidence indicates that VD provision became the primary function of both these institutions. To begin with, the records do not indicate that any foul patients were admitted to the main house at any point after 1622. Nor did any of the house surgeons or physicians receive gratuities for treating such patients at any point in the seventeenth century, as they had in the sixteenth century. A 1633 set of rules drawn up by William Harvey, Bart's chief physician, also indicates that Bart's had by now focused its VD operations in these institutions. Harvey stressed that all patients diagnosed "uncurable & scandalous or infectious shall be put out of the said howse [Bart's], or to be sent to an out howse." The scholars who have examined this rule have interpreted "scandalous" patients as venereal cases. They are undoubtedly right. For it is likely that Harvey's continuum on "uncurable & scandalous or infectious" patients actually refer to the two categories of patients, not three: "uncurable & scandalous"
LUCIO
Why, how now, Claudio! whence comes this restraint?
CLAUDIO
From too much liberty, my Lucio, liberty:
As surfeit is the father of much fast,
So every scope by the immoderate use
Turns to restraint. Our natures do pursue,
Like rats that ravin down their proper bane,
A thirsty evil; and when we drink we die.
LUCIO
If I could speak so wisely under an arrest, I would send for certain of my creditors: and yet, to say the truth, I had as lief have the foopy of freedom as the morality of imprisonment. What's thy offence, Claudio?
CLUDIO
What but to speak of would offend again.
LUCIO
What, is't murder?
CLAUDIO
No. I
LUCIO
Lechery?
CLUDIO
Call it so.
Provost
Away, sir! you must go.
CLUDIO
One word, good friend. Lucio, a word with you.
LUCIO
A hundred, if they'll do you any good. Is lechery so look'd after?
CLUDIO
Thus stands it with me: upon a true contract
I got possession of Julietta's bed:
You know the lady; she is fast my wife,
Save that we do the denunciation lack
Of outward order: this we came not to,
Only for propagation of a dower
Remaining in the coffers of her friends,
From whom we thought it meet to hide our love
Till time had made them for us. But it chances
The stealth of our most mutual entertainment
With character too gross is writ on Juliet.
LUCIO
With child, perhaps?
CLUDIO
Unhappily, even so.
And the new deputy now for the duke--
Whether it be the fault and glimpse of newness,
Or whether that the body public be
A horse whereon the governor doth ride,
Who, newly in the seat, that it may know
He can command, lets it straight feel the spur;
Whether the tyranny be in his place,
Or in his emmence that fills it up,
I stagger in:--but this new governor
Awakes me all the enrolled penalties
Which have, like unsour'd armour, hung by the wall
So long that nineteen zodiacs have gone round
And none of them been worn; and, for a name,
Now puts the drowsy and neglected act
Freshly on me: 'tis surely for a name.
LUCIO
I warrant it is: and thy head stands so tickle on thy shoulders that a milkmaid, if she be in love, may sigh it off. Send after the duke and appeal to him.
CLUDIO
I have done so, but he's not to be found.
I prithee, Lucio, do me this kind service:
This day my sister should the cloister enter
And there receive her approbation:
Acquaint her with the danger of my state:
Implore her, in my voice, that she make friends
To the strict deputy; bid herself assay him:
I have great hope in that; for in her youth
There is a prone and speechless dialect,
Such as move men; beside, she hath prosperous art
When she will play with reason and discourse,
And well she can persuade.
LUCIO
I pray she may; as well for the encouragement of the like, which else would stand under grievous imposition, as for the enjoying of thy life, who I would be sorry should be thus foolishly lost at a game of tick-tack. I'll to her.
CLUDIO
I thank you, good friend Lucio.
LUCIO
Within two hours.
CLUDIO
Come, officer, away!

Exeunt
'Tis meet so, daughter: but lest you do repent,  
As that the sin hath brought you to this shame,  
Which sorrow is always towards ourselves, not  
heaven,  
Showing we would not spare heaven as we love it,  
But as we stand in fear,—

**JULIET**  
I do repent me, as it is an evil,  
And take the shame with joy.

**DUKE VINCENTIO**  
There rest.  
Your partner, as I hear, must die to-morrow,  
And I am going with instruction to him.  
Grace go with you, Benedicite!

*Exit*

**JULIET**  
Must die to-morrow! O injurious love,  
That respires me a life, whose very comfort  
Is still a dying horror!

**Provost**  
'Tis pity of him.

*Exeunt*
(A court of Justice.)

*Enter LEONTES, Lords, and Officers*

**LEONTES**
This sessions, to our great grief we pronounce,
Even pushes 'gainst our heart: the party tried
The daughter of a king, our wife, and one
Of us too much beloved. Let us be clear'd
Of being tyrannous, since we so openly
Proceed in justice, which shall have due course,
Even to the guilt or the purgation.
Produce the prisoner.

**Officer**
It is his highness' pleasure that the queen
Appear in person here in court. Silence!

*Enter HERMIONE guarded; PAULINA and Ladies attending*

**LEONTES**
Read the indictment.

**Officer**
[Reads] Hermione, queen to the worthy
Leontes, king of Sicilia, thou art here accused and
arraigned of high treason, in committing adultery
with Polixenes, king of Bohemia, and conspiring
with Camillo to take away the life of our sovereign
lord the king, thy royal husband: the pretence
whereof being by circumstances partly laid open,
thy, Hermione, contrary to the faith and allegiance
of a true subject, didst counsel and aid them, for
their better safety, to fly away by night.

**HERMIONE**
Since what I am to say must be but that
Which contradicts my accusation and
The testimony on my part no other
But what comes from myself, it shall scarce boot me
To say 'not guilty:' mine integrity
Being counted falsehood, shall, as I express it,
Be so received. But thus: if powers divine
Behold our human actions, as they do,
I doubt not then but innocence shall make
False accusation blush and tyranny
Tremble at patience. You, my lord, best know,
Who least will seem to do so, my past life
Hath been as continent, as chaste, as true,
As I am now unhappy; which is more
Than history can pattern, though devised
And play'd to take spectators. For behold me
A fellow of the royal bed, which owe
A moiety of the throne a great king's daughter,
The mother to a hopeful prince, here standing
To prate and talk for life and honour 'fore
Who please to come and hear. For life, I prize it
As I weigh grief, which I would spare: for honour,
'Tis a derivative from me to mine,
And only that I stand for. I appeal
To your own conscience, sir, before Polixenes
Came to your court, how I was in your grace,
How merited to be so; since he came,
With what encounter so uncurrent I
Have strain'd to appear thus: if one jot beyond
The bound of honour, or in act or will
That way inclining, harden'd be the hearts
Of all that hear me, and my near'st of kin
Cry fie upon my grave!

**LEONTES**
I ne'er heard yet
That any of these bolder vices wanted
Less impudence to gainsay what they did
Than to perform it first.

**HERMIONE**
That's true enough;
Through 'tis a saying, sir, not due to me.

**LEONTES**
You will not own it.

**HERMIONE**
More than mistress of
Which comes to me in name of fault, I must not
At all acknowledge. For Polixenes,
With whom I am accused, I do confess
I loved him as in honour he required,
With such a kind of love as might become
A lady like me, with a love even such,
So and no other, as yourself commanded:
Which not to have done I think had been in me
Both disobedience and ingratitude
To you and toward your friend, whose love had spoke,
Even since it could speak, from an infant, freely
That it was yours. Now, for conspiracy,
I know not how it tastes; though it be dish'd
For me to try how: all I know of it
Is that Camillo was an honest man;
And why he left your court, the gods themselves,
Wotting no more than I, are ignorant.

**LEONTES**
You knew of his departure, as you know
What you have underta'en to do in's absence.
HERMIONE
Sir,
You speak a language that I understand not:
My life stands in the level of your dreams,
Which I'll lay down.

LEONTES
Your actions are my dreams;
You had a bastard by Polixenes,
And I but dream'd it. As you were past all shame,—
Those of your fact are so—so past all truth:
Which to deny concerns more than avails; for as
Thy brat hath been cast out, like to itself,
No father owning it,—which is, indeed,
More criminal in thee than it,—so thou
Shall feel our justice, in whose easiest passage
Look for no less than death.

HERMIONE
Sir, spare your threats:
The bug which you would fright me with I seek.
To me can life be no commodity:
The crown and comfort of my life, your favour,
I do give lost; for I do feel it gone,
But now not how it went. My second joy
And first-fruits of my body, from his presence
I am barr'd, like one infectious. My third comfort
Starr'd most unluckily, is from my breast,
The innocent milk in its most innocent mouth,
Haled out to murder: myself on every post
Proclaimed a strumpet: with immodest hatred
The child-bed privilege denied, which 'longs
To women of all fashion; lastly, hurried
Here to this place, 't the open air, before
I have got strength of limit. Now, my liege,
Tell me what blessings I have here alive,
That I should fear to die? Therefore proceed.
But yet hear this: mistake me not; no life,
I prize it not a straw, but for mine honour,
Which I would free, if I shall be condemn'd
Upon surmises, all proofs sleeping else
But what your jealousies awake, I tell you
'Tis rigor and not law. Your honours all,
I do refer me to the oracle:
Apollo be my judge!

First Lord
This your request
Is altogether just: therefore bring forth,
And in Apollos name, his oracle.

Exeunt certain Officers

HERMIONE
The Emperor of Russia was my father:
O that he were alive, and here beholding
His daughter's trial! that he did but see

The flatness of my misery, yet with eyes
Of pity, not revenge!

Re-enter Officers, with CLEOMENES and DION

Officer
You here shall swear upon this sword of justice,
That you, Cleomenes and Dion, have
Been both at Delphos, and from thence have brought
The seal'd-up oracle, by the hand deliver'd
Of great Apollo's priest; and that, since then,
You have not dared to break the holy seal
Nor read the secrets in't.

CLEOMENES DION
All this we swear.

LEONTES
Break up the seals and read.

Officer
[Reads] Hermione is chaste;
Polixenes blameless; Camillo a true subject; Leontes
a jealous tyrant; his innocent babe truly begotten;
and the king shall live without an heir, if that
which is lost be not found.

Lords
Now blessed be the great Apollo!

HERMIONE
Praised!

LEONTES
Hast thou read truth?

Officer
Ay, my lord; even so
As it is here set down.

LEONTES
There is no truth at all i' the oracle:
The sessions shall proceed: this is mere falsehood.

Enter Servant
Excerpts from Bridewell Court Books (Minutes of the Court of Governors of Bridewell Hospital)

Case 1: Jane Edwyn
Book V, folio 6
December 19, 1604
Jane Edwyn examinied saith that Thomas Price her fellowe servant had y carnall knowledg of her bodie and yt she is with childe by him And the firste tyme was on a hollidaie a weeke before midsomer in her Masters chamber on a chest there as this examinate saith and the second tyme three dayes after.
Thomas Price acknowledgeth the confession of the said Jane to be true in all particularers as she hath alledged; kept till he finde sureties.

Case 2: Amey Bennett
V.10
January 23, 1605
Amey Bennett late servant with one Mr. Morris examined saith John de lane a Frenchman & servant with one Mr. Wheteley in the mynories had the use and carnall knowledg of her bodie at his Masters house sise severall tymes on a bedd there (And she saith she is with child by him) and the firste tyme was about a senight or a fortnight after Whitsentyde about which tyme the said John De lane gave this examinat two Ringes (thone was a gould gemell; and thother a dyamond) and promised her mariagie; which said Rings (as this examinat saith ) the said John de lane tooke from hir agine after hee had had his desire of this exmainats bodie and would not restore them againe.

John de Lane being pute in corte confesseth he gave the said Amey those Ringes to have the use of her bodie which hee had in his Master Wheteleys house; ordered to be keppte till he finde sureties for discharge of the citty of the childe or children which the said Amey goeth with.

15
February 26, 1605
It is ordred tt John Delane Frenchman shall paye & allwe for & towards the keepinge of Amey Bennettt for one moneth before shee be brought to bedd & delivered of the child or children wherewith she nowe goeth—iis xid And for and duringe the moneth that shee shall lye in & be brought to bed xx & And then the said John Dealame to take the child and provide for it that it bee not chargeable to the citty; for yt the said John is directly accussed to be ye father.

Case 3: Elizabeth Greene
IV. 459
September 1, 1604
Elizabeth Greene servant with one James Powell a Tailor at pie corner examined confesseth that her said Mr. had the use and carnall knowledge of her body about the ixth or xth of August last about xii of the clock at night in her owne bedd and about a fortnight after in theafternone in the chamber called the hall chamber and the third time was about x daies past his weif being gone to the bakehouse And at the first time she toold her Mreis that her Mr. had put her in feare and she would not dwell theare who replied and saied what is he fallen to his old wont to followe whores, She is ponished and delivered.
The said James Powell being presente denieth that ever he had thuse of her bodie, he is kept till he finde suerties to keepe such childe or children as she goeth withall.
Case 4: Elizabeth Pullen  
IV.54  
Dec 16, 1598  
Whereas John Takle porter was bound to appeare this daye for getting of one Elyzabeth Pullen with child there was this day a certificate brought by the sayd Takle to this house under the hand of John Simpson parson of St. Olaves in Hartstreet London that the sayd Takle and Pullen were marryed the xith of this instant December whereupon it is this daye ordered that forasmuch as the sayd Takle hath maryed the sayd Pullen that he shalbe discharged of his punishment.

Case 5: Katheren Golding  
IV. 250  
August 5, 1601  
This day Katheren Golding lying in Shoreditch being presente in court and examined whether one Peter Hayward playsterer is not the father of her childe which she goeth withall sayeth that the sayd Peter Hayward is the father of her childe and sayeth further that the first tyme that he had the use of her body was a fortynight after Alhallowyde last in Northumberland house by Aldersgate and that he had thuse of her bodye there three severall tymes and as often as he list and sayeth further that the last tyme he had thuse of her bodye was above Whitsonyde last and that he gave her iii gerdles a purse and a payre of knives in Northumberalnd house hall and there he promysed her marriage when he gave her those thinges before one Thomas a cobler in longe lane the sayd Peter Hayward being charged with the same denyeth that ever the had to doe with her but confessed he gave her those thinges Ordered that he shall putt in suurties to keepe the woman a moneth before her delivery and a moneth after and to discharge the citye of the childe or children which she goeth withall as allso the parishe where the sayd childe or children shalbe borne. The sayd Hayward was bound with suurties for the keeping of the said Golding a moneth before and moneth after she shalbe brought to bed & to finde the child or children & discharge the parishe & the Cittie where she shall be.

Case 6: Ann Oliver  
V.226  
Oct 31, 1607  
[Ann Oliver was formerly servant with Lady Vaughn in St. Bartholomewes] where she was begott with childe by a prentice and since married unto her. . . . And sayeth the cause whie shee would not reveale her husbands name is because he is an apprentice and hath but half a yere to serve And sayeth if she should discover him then he were in hazard to loose his fathers favour and his freedome. And for that their came to this court one Thomas Dyer of the parishe of St. Loenards in Shordich Marchantaylor and Richard Baker and John Lawrence of the same parishe who offered to be bound to dischardge the Cytty and the Towne of Uxbridge from the said childe this court therupon received the endinge? of the same and the takeinge of the same bond unto Richard Read of Uxbridge Mercer who accordinglie went with them and had the same bond sealed and delivered unto this therupon this court did dischardge the said Ann Oliver hence and gave the vs which was sent with her back againe unto the said Mr. Read of Uxbridge to be disposed as he thought fit.
Case 7: Margaret Wall
V.147
November 19, 1606
Margaret Wall being lately delivered of a bastard childe which since she hath left at the doore of one Mr. Millington in the Strand being examyned sayeth that the said Mr. Millington her then Mr. is father therof, And that the first tyme he hadde the use of her body was at his garden in a stable their at Michaelmas: was Two yeares Att which tyme he gott in their by a Wilde[?], and locked the doore and put the key in his pockett; And that ever since he hath hadd the use of her body at sondry tymes, and that at the first tymt he gave her a french crowne when they came home. Confesseth her Mr. offered to marry her to one Blinck his Manuer [?] and promised to give him with her Two Juidere[?] & poundes, And when the said Blinck would not marry her but ran away then she laid the childe at her Masers doore, And further sayeth that the said Millington said that if she would not disclose the trueth or lay itt from him he would doe any thinge for her. Ordered to be kept [unpunished] till next court daie.

Case 8: Elizabeth Taylor
IV.45v
November 8, 1598
This day Elizabeth Taylor Widdow dwelling in the parishes of St. Katherine Collman in Fairchurch streete London being examined that one Thomas Roye glover was the father of her child and that he had thuse and carnall knowledge of her bodye divers and sondry tymes the first tyme that he had thuse of her bodye was at Christmas last in her dwelling house and sayeth that he the sayd Thomas Roye did then dwell with one Mr. Maske a glover dwelling in Northumberland Alley in the parisehe aforesaid.

46
John Roye, Wm's brother ... gave his word for his appearance this daye [but John doesn't know where Thomas is]. John Roye shalbe committed to the keeping of this Corte of this house untill he put in suretyes to bring forth his brother Thomas or also to appeare from court daye to court daye.

48
November 18, 1598
This daye it is ordered that John Roye shall bring his suretyes on Wedensdaye next and enter into bond for the keeping of the child which Elizabeth Taylor Widdow is delivered of for that he tooke his brother Thomas Roye father of the sayd child from the officers where he was apprehended as by his former examinacion appeareth.

November 22, 1598
Elizabeth Taylor was punished.

49V
November 25, 1598
This daye John Roye carpenter was bound to pay weekly twelve pence a week on every Saterdaye being lawfully demanded for the fynding of a Bastard child called Margaret Roye also Taylor which was begotten by his brother Thomas Roye glover of the body of Elizabeth Taylor dwelling in the parishes of St. Katherine Collmans in Fanchurchstreete London untill she be of sufficient yeares to maintayne her self.