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THE HISTORY OF
ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL
VOLUME II

THE HISTORY OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL

VOLUME II

FROM 1600 TO 1800

By

F. G. PARSONS, D.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

WITH EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE

IN the first volume the tale of five hundred years of our hospital's life could be told ; but in this, owing to the greater mass of detail upon which we may draw, the events of only two hundred can be followed. As a definite record the present volume will, I hope, be found better than the last ; but a good deal of the interest and charm of the mediæval days will, I fear, be missed. The characters met with are becoming too like ourselves to amuse or please us, as their forerunners did, by their simple credulity and artless ways of looking at things ; and then, too, there is less scope for our imagination, fewer explanations to seek, and shorter gaps to be filled than in the older time.

Perhaps one whose task it is to record facts should be glad of this ; but I must own that I rather regret the absence of humorous impostors like Crosse, who deceived the infallible Pope by pretending to be of noble birth ; and of picturesque swindlers like Grygge, Sir Thomas Pope, or Mabott, the latter of whom said : " The world is naught, let us take while we may." And the versatile Thirlby, too, changing his religious opinions as a chameleon does its hues ; and Gates, declaring upon Tower Hill that he had lived as viciously and wickedly all the days of his life as any man, are impossible in these more respectable and artificial centuries.

Even in the generous charity of Clayton, Guy, and

Frederick there is a modern note. Like their predecessors they may have given for the health of their souls and those of their relatives and friends ; but if they did they were careful to say nothing about it. We lose, too, or to me it seems a loss, the close personal interest in their gifts of men like Dick Whittington, who " woulde not shame no yonge women in noo wyse " ; and of William de Hamelden who gave his land to provide seemly vestments for the poor, shabby brethren of the hospital when celebrating Mass.

These changes are like the growing up of a child whose ways we have learnt to love. They are natural changes and if they did not come there would be something wrong ; yet they leave a gap which, though it may mean progress, is rather saddening.

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In preparing this volume, as well as the former one, for the Press, I have had a great deal of help from my friends, Dr. Wills of Prince's Risborough and Mr. Maunsell, the Librarian of St. Thomas's, and for this I am very grateful indeed.

F. G. PARSONS

ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL,

1933

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THE HISTORY OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL

CHAPTER I

ST. THOMAS'S IN JACOBEOAN DAYS 1600 TO 1619

THE seventeenth century opens with Sir Henry Billingsley in his seventh year as president of St. Thomas's Hospital and John Alderson in his second year as treasurer. Queen Elizabeth is still upon the throne though her subjects know that she cannot live to rule them much longer ; while in Southwark, the playground of London, the influence of the stage is beginning to compete with the more brutal amusements of bull, bear and horse baiting, for we read in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Vol. CCV, June 22nd, 1600) that it is ordered that : " There shall be about the City two playhouses and no more, one in Surrey, at the Bankside, and Edward Allen's house building in Golden Lane. Each company may play twice a week, forbearing to play on the Sabbath, in Lent and in times of infection."

At the governors' court, held on January 21st, 1601, St. Thomas's exchanged the lease of some of the " Spital Acre " in Kent Street with St. Bartholomew's and received in return a piece of ground which now

gave an entrance from the road into our "great garden"; for the population of London was increasing rapidly and a frontage on to this main road to the Continent made the land much more valuable for future development.

At this meeting, too, the court decided to repair the Church and, at a later one, ordered that the timber in our own yard should be used for the purpose; and if more were needed it was to come from the Bridge-house. On March 18th, 1601, it was decided that all the wards should be visited by the treasurer and two governors on the first Monday of each month and all the poor interviewed as to their treatment. I think that this decision of the governors deserves special notice, for it shows how real was their care for the patients at this time and also that they were prepared to investigate any charge of neglect, oppression or extortion brought against their officers. The patients had another opportunity of ventilating grievances when they were presented to representative governors before leaving the hospital; but then, of course, so far as they individually were concerned, all chance of redress had passed.

At this same court, on March 18th, the surgeons made one of their periodical appeals for an increase of salary, but the matter was deferred until Sir Henry Billingsley should be present.

That the desire for vaults and cellars, noticed in the latter part of the last century, continued is shown by Empson, the tenant of the house at the King's ward gate into Trinity Lane, asking for a vault under his porch. There is no hint as to what our tenants kept in their cellars, though the fact that coals were now coming into common use is suggestive.

On July 1st, 1601, twenty shillings were given to the tenants in Blackman Street towards making a well there. In the map of Southwark in 1542, on p. 88 of Vol. 1, a well is shown in the middle of Southwark High Street, which no doubt was the most convenient place for tenants on either side of the road, and it seems likely, therefore, that the Blackman Street well had the same position.

So far as the water supply of the hospital is concerned we know from the *Chartulary* (Doc. 9) that a well was sunk near the hall when the brethren first moved across the road, in the time of Peter de Rupibus. In the sixteenth century this was found insufficient and a new one had to be sunk, and, so far as we can tell, these were the only sources from which water for drinking and washing was obtainable, for it is unbelievable that any taken from the dykes could be used for these purposes.

On February 15th, 1608, some of the governors were appointed to consider the water supply, because "one of the wells is become very muddy and noisome."

At this court, in 1601, two tenements at the corner of Pepper Lane and the High Street in Southwark were bought from Turner, the butcher, for £350; of this, £250 was a legacy to the hospital from Mr. Peter Blundell, founder of the school at Tiverton.

On August 19th, 1601, William Segar, Norroy King at Arms, became our tenant in the White and Black Yard, Old Bailey.

On September 26th, 1601, it was reported that on the 21st (St. Matthew's Day) Billingsley had been re-elected president and John Harber, treasurer; but that the latter had refused to serve. Alderson, the

late treasurer, and Alderman Bramley were asked to plead with him but, it seems, without effect, for on October 21st Mr. Henry Butler was appointed treasurer in his stead. Jno. Harley succeeded him in 1602.

On October 21st, 1601, a suitor for one of our houses in the Old Bailey brought a letter from "Sir Robert Cecill, Her Majestie's principall secretary"; another instance of the ease with which great and busy men could be induced at this time to use their influence in trivial matters for all sorts of people. Mr. Skelton, the incumbent of the Church, advised the governors that, in his opinion, the Archdeacon of Surrey was not legally entitled to $5/4$ a year which he demanded for procurations. This sum of $5/4$ is mentioned in Document 13 of the chartulary, in the thirteenth century, as due annually at Easter and presumably had been paid ever since. The governors thought that it was worth having legal advice upon this point, and on April 28th, 1602, when the archdeacon again made his demand, replied that he is to be answered by "learned counsell." The fact that there is no further mention of the matter rather suggests that the "learned counsell's" opinion was in favour of the archdeacon.

On December 13th, 1601, there are complaints about the condition of the churchyard which seems to be getting unpleasantly full.

During 1602 Osbaldiston's deficits as clerk occupy a good deal of the attention of the court. On February 26th he is told to pay the treasurer as much as he can of the money which he owes the hospital, between this and Lady day, and after that, interest on all which is left unpaid. He is also to provide sureties for all that he owes. On March 23rd he fails to provide sureties

and, since he owes the large sum of £232, equal to more than £2000 to-day, the treasurer is directed to appoint someone else to receive rents.

By June 5th he seems to have found sureties who are spoken to about his debt, but on June 9th it is discovered that he really owes the hospital £356. He manages to pay £175 8s. 4d. of this and on November 3rd he is given until Christmas to settle the remainder, failing which he is to vacate his office.

At Christmas the debt is still unpaid and on January 12th he is granted until the first court after next term and, apparently, is given leave of absence until Michaelmas since two substitutes are appointed to take his place.

On January 25th, 1604, Mrs. Offley, the widow of a late treasurer, pays off £100 of the debt and eventually Sir Thomas Hunt is accepted as surety for the remainder; Osbaldiston agreeing to pay it off by instalments. George Samwell is appointed clerk in his place but has to produce three sureties in £100 each. I have gone into this case of Lambert Osbaldiston at some length because it shows how unsatisfactory the system of auditing must have been at this time and also the wise forbearance of the governors which enabled them to recover all their losses with interest.

To-day an official of the hospital who had converted money entrusted to him to his own use could hardly hope for any further connection with the place; but in 1607 restoration of the appropriated funds, after a long interval, seems to have been followed by forgiveness; and we find Osbaldiston on July 31st renting our slaughter houses in Pentecost Lane.

The last court in Elizabeth's reign was held on February 28th, 1603, and it cannot be said that the

state of affairs at the hospital was very satisfactory ; for, in addition to the default of Osbaldiston, Dr. Palmer, the physician, and the apothecary were reported for negligence and the patients seem to have been very unruly. The court, therefore, ordered "that such of the poore as shall go out without leave or remaine out over night shall be expulsed, and any suster failing to report them shall be dismissed."

Queen Elizabeth died on March 24th, 1603, but there is nothing to show that the accession of James the First made any change in the life of the hospital. During the summer of this year there was a bad epidemic of the plague which presumably carried off the hospitaller, Ralph Harrison, who had just been given the living of Great Parndon, but died before he could be inducted. His place as hospitaller was given to George More, clerk. It seems that poor Harrison had already spent 27/2 on the parsonage at Parndon ; and this the governors refunded to his widow ; stopping it, not unreasonably, from the next incumbent's salary.

Besides its hospitaller St. Thomas's lost, during this evil summer, the incumbent of the Church, and Samuel Norcott, the steward and renter ; indeed when we are told that, in one week in July, 857 people died of plague in London, we can only wonder that more of the staff were not victims. It must be remembered, however, that plague patients were not taken into the hospital and that the plague was a disease much more fatal to the very poor than to those who were otherwise healthy and well nourished ; and that its reappearance every nine or ten years swept away the unemployed and unemployable fringe of the population and thus, from the social point of view, was a blessing in disguise.

The new curate of the Church (for the incumbent only held the rank of curate), Mr. Evans, seems to have found Southwark in plague time an unpleasant and dangerous post ; so he resigned after only two months' duty and Mr. Horne succeeded him.

During the summer of 1604 Dr. Palmer, the physician, and Mr. Gale, one of the surgeons, were absent without leave ; so their fees were stopped ; but later, on their supplication, were allowed them. One wonders whether they, like so many others, had run away from the plague which seems to have recurred in 1604, though not nearly so badly as in the summer before.

On June 20th, 1604, the treasurer is directed to arrange for manor courts in the country and to take with him whom he will. Unfortunately no record of the procedure at these courts has come into my hands, but it seems that their main object was to examine copyholds, to examine and confirm the action of the bailiff since the last court was held, and to decide any doubtful points which he might have set aside. They were not always held by the governors every year in each manor, and sometimes in distant ones, like Bewick, four or five years would intervene between them, for the treasurer was kept in touch with the progress of events by letters from the bailiff, probably sent by carriers when they were coming to London.

In the Charter which gave the Savoy Estates and the Royal Hospitals to the City mention is made of the right to hold Courts Leet in the various manors (Vol. 1, p. 153) ; while in other places Courts Baron are specified.

It seems that a Court Leet was the forerunner of our modern police courts, at which criminal charges were

heard and punished, as well as a view of Frank-pledge over the tenants, held. In the absence of the lord of the manor, represented in our case by the governors, the steward or bailiff could hold this court. Courts Leet are now superseded by Quarter Sessions.

A Court Baron was more like a County Court of to-day and settled disputes about property and civil rights. Since the governors often held these courts only at intervals of several years, I think that the bailiff must have presided over a great many of them.

A certain amount of impressiveness was lent to these courts by the presence of the beadle, in his blue uniform coat, carrying his tipstaff, and no doubt the function was a great event in the life of the countryside.

It has already been said that it was found convenient to hold the Cambridgeshire courts at the close of the great annual fair at Stourbridge and the governors took advantage of the opportunity to buy various necessities for the hospital in bulk on this occasion.

Since the governors who were selected to hold the courts had to travel on horseback, and the roads were terrible, it is no wonder that the summer and autumn were the times always chosen for holding these tribunals. Apparently the governors received no fee for this service though the beadle had a present of money or sea coals for accompanying them (Vol. 1, p. 239). In November 1604 the treasurer is directed to visit all the manors once at least during his treasurership.

It seems that the hospital had the reputation of being a good landlord, for most of its tenants were very anxious to renew their leases several years before they ran out ; and many would-be tenants tried to anticipate them by obtaining a reversion of the lease through the

influence of some high official. In order to check this it had been decided in 1579 that no new lease should be granted until within two years of the expiry of the old one and an example of this practice occurs on June 22nd, 1605, when Thomas Webster comes as a suitor for Birdlines at Comberton in Cambridgeshire, with a letter from the Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England, but is answered that the lease has still three years to run.

Noticing this reply, a servant of the King and a tenant of the hospital, named Henry Halfheid, induced James I to write the following letter on June 4th, 1606. It must be remembered that "King's Servant" meant a courtier in those days.

"JAMES. R.

Trustie and welbeloved we greete you well. We have been moved by our servant Henry Halfheid, gent to address theis our l^{res} (letters) unto you in his behalfe requiering you to make him a lease in revercōn for terme of three lives beginning after the expiration of the lease now in being. of that yo^r farme in Comberton in our Countie of Cambridge being parte of the possessions of St. Thomas Hospitall in Southwark and late in the tenure of ——— Anger who we are informed hath assigned over his estate therein to another.

"Yo^r readines herein to yeild us satisfacōn, being a request in the favour of our servant and one of yo^r tenants otherwise, we will thankfully accept and acknowledge when occasion shalbe offered.

"Given under our signet at our Manor of Greenwich the ffourteenth day of June In the ffourth yere of our reigne of great Brittain. Ffrance and Ireland."

Unfortunately, since the actual letter has not been preserved, the signature of James the First is missing from our collection of royal autographs; but its contents were considered very carefully by the court held on July 21st, 1606, and the terms of the reply agreed upon. I do not know who was responsible for drafting this reply, but it appeals to me as a strikingly harmonious piece of English. And this, indeed, it might well be since it was written so soon after the time at which our language is said to have reached its brief perfection. It is true that it wanders from the first to the third person in an erratic way, but otherwise it is clear, dignified, and quaintly musical.

“ To the King's most Excellent Ma^{tie}

“ The humble peticon of the Trēr, maisters & govnoours of the hospitall of St. Thomas in Southwark.

“ Most Excellent Ma^{tie} we humbly sue that yo^r Ma^{tie} will vouchsafe to admit yo^r Subject to their dutifull & reasonable answer without displeasure.

It hath pleased Yo^r Ma^{tie} of late by l^{res} (letters) most favourable towards us to require on behalfe of Henry Halfheid, yo^r Ma^{ties} servant, a lease in revercon for the term of three lives of a farme in Comberton in the countie of Cambridge, being part of the possessions of this hospitall.

So it is most gracious sovraigne That we the govnoours are not otherwise interested in these possessions but as trustee for the benefit of the poore, and at this tyme the hospital is much in debt and hath now a greater number of maymed soldiers and other ympotent and lame people than either usually have bin, or the smale proffitt belongyng to the house will beare or mayntaine.

“ Halfheid offers it but fortye pounds for the lease whereas the house may have one hundred and fiftye pounds, besides he is our Tenaunt and Bayliffe of other things wherein we have already much benefitted him.

“ We the govners, being bound in conscience and dutye to endeav^r the good and benefitt of the pore of the hospitall to the utmost of our power, cannot with out their evill give so great a benefitt from them.

“ We therefore in comisseration of the pore of this house, prostrate at the feet of your sacred ma^{tie}, doe most humbly pray to be spared herein and (according to their bounden dutye) they shall pray that yo^r most excellent ma^{tie} may long & long in all happines reigne over us.”

King James, if it ever reached him, seems to have taken no offence at this letter ; and on November 7th, 1606, Birdlines was let to Thomas Mofham for £200 fine instead of the £40 which Halfheid offered.

From the *Calendar of State Papers* (Vol. XXXI, March 18th, 1608, and Vol. XXXII, May 23rd, 1608) we learn that James I tried to induce the governors to grant Bewick to Halfheid and, afterwards, Shoreditch Place, Hackney, when he found that they would not give Comberton. In Vol. XXXVI, *ib.*, April 18th, 1604, is an entry that, before his shameless attempts to become the hospital's tenant at a ridiculously low rent, Halfheid had been appointed Royal overseer of game for hawking and hunting, for ten miles round Royston. It is easy to see, therefore, what a convenient home Comberton would have made him.

The minutes, about this time, give us so many examples of highly placed and influential people going

out of their way to write letters of recommendation for those desiring some benefit from the hospital that we cannot help wondering whether they acted entirely from good nature, or received something in return. Lord Verulam at his trial said that corruption and bribery were the vices of the time, and we know that it was the custom for litigants on both sides to make a present to the judge who was to try their case, and thus it is quite possible that some of the great people who wrote letters to the governors on behalf of suitors for hospital posts or lands may have received something for their pains. It is unlikely, of course, that kings and queens, like James and Elizabeth, would have accepted small bribes for writing letters, but their subordinates may have done so in order to procure the Royal signature to letters which it is doubtful whether the signers ever read.

The surgeons' posts were eagerly sought and in the early part of the century it was usual to grant reversions several years before they were vacant. We know that each surgeon had his own cases, because one of the hospitaller's duties was to allot them, but whether each of them attended every day I have no knowledge. Unless one of them happened to rent a house in the close unofficially, as sometimes he did, emergencies and casualties must have been attended by the apothecary who was the only resident medical officer.

On June 5th, 1602, the Countess Dowager of Derby forbade our tenant of Denham Durdant to fish in the Colne River ; and the governors at once decided to take counsel's opinion and to wait upon the countess. This lady was the widow of Ferdinando, the fifth earl, and lived at Harefield Park close to Denham. She was

a friend and patroness of Milton who lived at Chalfont, near by, and wrote a rather fulsome poem called "Arcades" in her honour.

In Hilary Term, 19 James I, the question of the fishing rights in the Colne was decided in the Law Courts in favour of the hospital with costs; and eventually the dowager countess received a lease of the fishing for her life at £8 a year.

On June 22nd, 1605, it was decided that a new bridge from the hospital to the Maze should be made over the main Southwark sewer and that a rail should be placed between it and Clean Alley. This, no doubt, is the bridge which the governors' predecessors had removed in 1590 (Vol. I, p. 240) but now found indispensable. The rail between it and Clean Alley could hardly have been a fixture, or why should there have been a bridge? Probably it was a movable bar which enabled the hospital to decide who should, and who should not, use the thoroughfare.

In November of the same year the paling of the back-yard of the hospital was reported to be much out of repair "so that the poor sometimes get away with things belonging to the hospital and also take in strong beer and disorder themselves." For this reason the question of building a brick wall at the back of the hospital was referred to a committee which, I think, is the first instance we have of appointing committees and probably was the natural result of the increasing size of the Court of Governors, the average attendance at which was now fourteen to seventeen members. Throughout this and the next century how to keep strong beer out of the hospital was a problem which the governors were continually trying to solve.

On looking at the list of hospitallers one is struck by the rapidity with which they died or resigned at this time. The four years between 1603 and 1607 saw five of these reverend gentlemen succeeding one another ; though, as the minutes between 1608 and 1618 unfortunately are lost, we cannot tell what happened then. The post was evidently a most trying and dangerous one, since in the absence of those governors who acted as "takers in," the hospitaller had to interview all urgent applicants for admission and to decide whether the sufferer had plague or not. If he had, he was not, as a rule, admitted and the hospitaller was the only officer with whom he came in contact. Occasionally, it is true, his friends made it worth the hospitaller's while to mistake the symptoms, but this practice soon came to the governors' ears and was stopped.

On p. 195, Vol. I, the duties of the hospitaller are given and were quite arduous enough to keep him in the hospital day and night. Can we wonder that, living continuously as he did in a foul atmosphere, overworked, and drinking a gallon of beer a day, the poor man offered little resistance to disease when it attacked him ? I suppose that the rapid disappearance of hospitallers during the plague time which marked the early years of the reign of James I, is the reason why no special gratuity was given them ; for in 1605 Alice Lucas, the matron, received the handsome "benevolence" of £5, and the steward, £3 6s. 8d. for "paines in the late time of sickness."

On February 19th, 1607, Sir John Garrard, then Lord Mayor, was elected president, to succeed Sir Henry Billingsley who had lately died. Garrard had been treasurer from 1587 to 1591 and had often taken

the chair when Billingsley was absent. He was not a man of sufficient notoriety to secure a place in the Dictionary of National Biography and thus, though the hospital is indebted to him for many years of hard work, we know less of him than we should like.

On November 28th, 1607, a committee was appointed to view the hospital's "manor of Goldbettors which the King wished to take to enlarge his park." Goldbeaters in Enfield is mentioned in the charter of Edward VI (see Vol. I, p. 146), and the King's park was that of Theobalds which James I had exchanged for Hatfield with Lord Burleigh. I do not know what further negotiations may have taken place between 1608 and 1618, during which interval the minutes are wanting, but on May 29th, 1620, "Mr. Tresswell, the king's surveyor at Theobalds, came from Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer and requested to have from the governors a parcel of land adjoining the park there ; without which the wall of the said park could not be buylded. He offered that they would give the governors for the use of the poore reciprocal satisfac̃con either in land or in money. Which demand (being for H. Maj^{ys} service) the court willinglie considered and agreed unto and appointed a committee to viewe and value the land that the poore might lose nothing by parting with the saide land."

It is quite certain that though James had what he wanted of Goldbeaters he did not buy the whole of the manor, for on October 20th, 1635, Dr. Ward offered £20 fine and £10 a year for what was left. The court, however, would not accept this and determined that the manor should be sold to Sir Nicholas Rainton for a reasonable price ; after which we hear of it no more.

I have hitherto been unfortunate in my attempts to find out exactly where Goldbeaters manor lay ; for since the brick wall surrounding Theobalds was ten miles in circumference it is not easy to tell which part of it was built on the hospital's land. The quotation "Goldbeaters in Enfield," suggests the Enfield side, but there no remnant of the name has rewarded my local enquiries.

The palace of Theobalds was destroyed by Cromwell's soldiers, but some of the park came into the hands of the Meux family and, with Temple Bar standing upon it, has now become the grounds of a private hotel.

On February 15th, 1608, the hospital ordered three dozen leather buckets, two ladders, and two iron hooks in case of fire. The iron hooks were used to pull down the thatch where it was likely to catch fire and their purchase shows that some of the hospital buildings still had thatched roofs in 1608. Another small addition to our mental picture of the hospital at this time is that a bowling green in the close (where Guy's Hospital stands now) is mentioned.

At this court, too, the parishioners ask for books and seats in the Church. Up to this time worshippers either stood during the service or took in their own stools.

At the end of Liber IV of the court minutes is the genealogy by which we held the advowson of the Church at Muche Parndon. It begins anno 9 Ed. I (1281), with Baldwin Whitsand and passes, through his daughter Elizabeth who married "Taylefare of Winchester," to their son Richard Taylfere ; and so to his daughter Katherine, who married John atte Churche, to their son Robert atte Churche, "from whom this Hospital do claim 60 acres land, 4 acres

meadow, 20 acres wood and 6/8 rente of assisse." We still own 10 acres at Parndon (1932), though we have parted with the advowson.

There are two points of some little sentimental interest about this genealogy. The first is that, although Parndon was given to the City by Edward VI as part of the Savoy Estates (see Vol. I, p. 146), the hospital had already owned some 85 acres there since the days of Robert atte Church, who seems to have lived in the reign of Henry IV ; while the second is that Taillefer, through whom the property passed to us, must have been a descendant of the minstrel of that name who rode at the head of the Conqueror's army at Hastings, singing the Song of Roland and juggling with his sword.

The gap in the minutes of the Governor's Court, to which reference has so often been made, begins after August 20th, 1608, and ends on March 6th, 1618 (N.S.). With this exception the minutes are complete from the reign of Mary Tudor to the present day. At first it was feared that the loss was a good deal more extensive and that one of the bound volumes had been borrowed and not returned. It seems, however, that for some reason the minutes from 1608 to 1619 were never bound as all the others had been ; but were written in two paper-backed manuscript books, one of which, from March 1618 to May 1619, was found loose among the pages of the next volume ; while the other has been sought anxiously but hitherto in vain.

There is thus an interval of nine and a half years during which our knowledge of what went on in the hospital is slight.

In March 1618, when the minutes begin again, Sir

John Garrard is still President ; but Thomas Bagshaw, who was Treasurer in 1608, has now been replaced by William Edge. It is possible that another unknown treasurer may have intervened, though it is not very likely, since Bagshaw was only appointed on October 16th, 1607.

The three surgeons, James Molins or Mullins, Henry Blakely, and Richard Wood, continued their work throughout the gap in the records without any change.

Molins came of a good family which seems originally to have been Molineux. He was appointed in 1605, on the recommendation of the Queen (Anne of Denmark), to succeed Thomas Crowe.

Blakeley had been an apprentice of Gale whom he succeeded in 1607, while Richard Wood had been appointed in 1567.

Dr. Palmer, who was physician in 1608, was replaced by Dr. Wynstone at some time during the interval ; and the latter retired on November 20th, 1618, to make way for Dr. Eleazer Hodson, about whom the late Dr. J. F. Payne contributed some notes in *St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette* (Jan. 1898, Vol. 8, p. 1). He was physician to St. Thomas's for twenty-one years and evidently at this time the hospital was beginning to attract to its staff men of considerable professional reputation, for Hodson had graduated at Cambridge and Padua and was made a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1618. As a physician his skill and learning were fully recognized though he does not seem to have written anything. As a man he is said to have been fond of a fine house and a fine horse.

How many hospitallers have been lost sight of during

the gap in the minutes we do not know, though I fear there may be several since, as has been noted on p. 14, they were dying like flies for several years before 1608.

When the minutes stopped in 1608, Elias Micklethwaite had been hospitaller for about sixteen months ; and when they began again in 1618 Richard Baker was at work.

It does not seem very likely that the pause in the minutes has caused us to omit the name of a matron ; because, unlike the hospitallers, their terms of office were rather lengthy and Widow Dorothy Warder had only been appointed on February 18th, 1606. In 1618 she had either died or retired and Dorothy Randall had replaced her ; unless, as seems unlikely, someone else had come between them.

The loss of ten years of our minutes is the more regrettable because they may contain the St. Thomas's point of view of the relation of the Royal Hospitals to the City. It will be seen on looking at the Charter of Edward VI (Vol. I, p. 157) that the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London were to be the governors of these hospitals, but that they were to have the power (p. 159 *ib.*) to nominate officers, ministers, or governors under them. Towards the close of the sixteenth century the hospitals, instead of being one body corporate, had gradually become four separate units, each electing its own governing body and choosing for its governors men whom it thought most likely to serve it well, either by their experience or their wealth. It did not even confine its choice to common councillors or freemen of London ; nor did it observe the direction that all governors

should be appointed at Christ's Hospital on St. Matthew's day.

It is true that in the seventeenth century the City from time to time realized that it was legally responsible for the work and good order of the hospitals and at such times made protests or even actually asserted its authority ; but, having done so, it seems to have been content to let the hospitals manage their own affairs in their own way once more. This rather unsatisfactory state of things went on until the end of the eighteenth century when it became clear that the original plan of governing the four units was unworkable if it were strictly carried out. But this will be discussed later.

In the " Order of the Hospitals of King Henry VIII and King Edward VI " (mentioned on p. 175, Vol. I) it was directed that the court of each hospital should consist of sixteen persons at least, all of whom were to be aldermen, common councillors (commoners), or freemen of the City ; but by 1619 the court of St. Thomas's Hospital contained thirty-eight governors, some of whom do not appear to have been freemen at all. This was only the beginning of the enormous number of governors who were afterwards elected ; and, though the presence of the words " at least " in the order gave each hospital the technical right to enlarge its court to any extent, it seems clear that the City viewed with some distrust the mass of new governors who were being added to the courts for the sake of the fees which they paid on entry, and in the hope of their generosity in the time to come.

Where there were so many it was clear that all would not keep in touch with the details of government, and yet there was always the danger of their being induced

to record an ill-considered vote by some interested canvasser.

As I have said already I have found no reason to think that this ever happened to any serious extent at St. Thomas's, where the relations between the governors and the City seem always to have been good ; but at some of the other Royal Hospitals quite serious friction occurred.

Of course the mayor and corporation were in rather an awkward position since they understood how difficult it was to find money for the upkeep of the hospitals ; and how serious a thing it would be if, by limiting the number of governors to the intended sixteen or thereabouts, they cut off the entrance fees and subscriptions of the rest ; and they also realized that if rich and generous men were to be excluded from the list of governors because they were not freemen of the City the pecuniary loss to the hospitals might be very great ; and so, upon the whole, it seems that their policy of only taking action when their potential authority was challenged or when glaring cases of misuse of funds occurred was the wisest they could have adopted.

On September 25th, 1604, for example, the Court of Aldermen ordered that all governors were to be chosen at Christ's Hospital on St. Matthew's day and not elsewhere or otherwise (Repertory of the Court of Aldermen 26, fo. 439) ; and this, so long as it was obeyed, which was not very long, enabled them to observe and control the kind of men who were being made governors.

On September 27th, 1610, the Court of Governors of Bridewell proposed to reward the long service of their treasurer by granting him a lease of hospital

lands ; but on October 16th the Court of Aldermen forbade this and gave its opinion that long and faithful service of officers should not be rewarded by hospital lands nor any precedent set for encouraging long service from a treasurer, but that he should continue but two years and perform his service gratis (Rep. 29, fo. 303b). In order, however, to show that its decision was quite impersonal the court, in 1615, gave Mr. Pollard, the treasurer in question, £50 from the Bridge-house, as a free gift for his services (Rep. 32, fo. 94). On April 30th, 1614, the Court of Governors of Bridewell suspended one of its governors ; but the Court of Aldermen "conceived the same to be rather unadvisedly done than of just cause, and ordered him to be continued a governor" (Rep. 31, fo. 299b).

On May 11th, 1614, nineteen governors of Bridewell attended the Court of Aldermen about a lease which they were determined to make ; but the court insisted upon its supreme authority and asked the governors whether they would submit to it or not. Seventeen of them did ; but two, refusing to do so, were at once discharged from their governorships (Rep. 32, fo. 94).

These transactions of course only concern St. Thomas's indirectly ; but they are useful in helping us to understand the relations which existed early in the seventeenth century between the City and the Royal Hospitals.

In 1619, and the years immediately following, the hospital had many troubles which must have cost it a great deal in legal expenses.

The lawsuit with the Countess of Derby was still going on (see p. 13) and an attempt to settle it by asking Lord Hubbard to act as arbitrator was made on

March 5th of that year. The suit, as has been said, was at last decided in the hospital's favour ; and Lord Hubbard probably arranged the lease of the fishing rights, the reversion of which was granted the countess on November 3rd, 1619.

On October 20th, 1619, the Recorder of London was given a standing fee of 40s. a year in order to retain him as counsel in the hospital's quarrel with the Warden of Fleet Prison, who had caused a back door to be made into a lane belonging to us (Fleet Lane ?). The governors had bricked this up and had also cut off the water supply to the Fleet from their well ; but the Warden had retaliated by entering our ground and pulling down the brickwork.

For this deed an action had been begun ; but in March 1621 the case evidently had not been heard, since the advice of further learned counsel was then sought. Like so many others of the hospital's lawsuits, the result is not recorded in the minutes and we are left to wonder whether St. Thomas's or the Fleet prevailed ; or whether, perhaps, some compromise were reached.

The recorder was also asked " to advise of the difference with the Earl of Northampton concerning a parcel of ground in Cheapside detained by the earl and his tenants." I wish that I knew more about this matter, for the Earl was a very interesting character. A clever, well-read, eloquent scholar ; described by some writers as the most contemptible and despicable of mankind, he was suspected of having helped his grand-niece, Lady Essex, to poison Sir Thomas Overbury ; and thus it seems quite possible that he was trying to rob the hospital of some of its property. By

a certain poetic justice he died from an unskilful operation on a tumour in his thigh, though there is no reason to think that one of our surgeons was the operator.

Since he died in 1614, and the title then became extinct, we must have been several years trying to recover our property.

In 1619 a new charge to the governors was drawn up which replaced the original one (printed on p. 162 of *Golding's History of St. Thomas's*). It does not differ very much, except in its English, from the older one ; and seems only to have been needed because the latter was meant to apply to the governors of all three of the Royal Hospitals, while the present is a charge to the St. Thomas's governors alone.

“ CHARGE TO THE GOVERNORS OF THIS HOUSE

“ May it please you to understand you are here elected and chosen as Ffellowe Governor of this Hospitall to contynue by the space of one yeare. By all which time according to such laudable desire, orders and ordinances as have bin and shall bee made by the authority of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, chief patron in the name of the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the Cittye of London, Governors of the possessions, revenews and goods of the Hospitalls of Edward late King of England, the sixt, of Christs, Bridewell and St. Thomas the Apostle.

“ All yor other business (having) set apart as much as you possibly may you shall endeavour yourselves to attend upon the needful and necessary affayres and businesses of this house with such a loving, careful and respective diligence and attendance (as) shall

become the faythfyl mynister and steward of God whom in this your office and place you are chiefly to serve and unto whome for your negligences and defaults herein you shall render an accompt ; For be you well assured you cannot be blamelesse before God yf after you have set hand to this ploughe and promised yo^r care, diligence and attendance in, upon and towards the poore and busines of this house you shall contrarywise turne yo^r head backwards and not performe that aid and succour w^h Christ looketh for at yo^r hand and hath witnessed to be done unto himselfe in theis words, viz—(Whatsoever you doe to one of theis needy persons for my namesake the same you doe unto mee and contrarywise if yee despise and neglect them yee despise and neglect mee). Wee therefore require and desire you on God's behalfe and in his most holy name that yee endeavour yourselves the best by y^r witts and powers so to comfort, order and governe the poore of this house and the lands, possessions, revenews and goods belonging to the same that (at) the last daye yee may appeare before the face of God as true and faythful mynisters, stewards and dispensers of all such things as at any time hereafter, during the time of this y^r office, shall be committed to yo^r credit and charge.

“ And this to doe we require you faythfully to promise in the sight of God and hearing of y^r brethren heere present ; in doing whereof wee heere admit you in to our society and fellowship.”

CHAPTER II

THE HOSPITAL WHILE CHARLES I WAS KING 1620 TO 1636

ANOTHER lawsuit, which began in 1619, was with Mr. Todd, the minister of St. Thomas's Parish Church, about whom the parishioners were complaining. The reason for their complaint is not given, but I think that it must have been connected with ritual because he seems to have had the support of his bishop. In any case he refused to be dictated to and told the governors that, though he might receive his tithes from them, his cure was given him by the ordinary.

This the court denied and promptly dismissed him ; but on March 17th, 1620, he was still there and the matter came up again ; " because he hath not behaved himself to the liking of the Governors nor to the content of the parishioners. But yt was thought fitt that ffirst the Bishop of Winchester should be made acquainted his faults and the governors' intent before they proceeded any further in it, for they are given to understand that the Lord Bishop hath taken him to be his chaplaine, and therefore they have appointed to attend his L'ship and to make him acquainted herewith and to certifie their proceeding at the next court."

When the next court was held, on May 29th, 1620,

“ Todd was called in and asked whether he would submit himself to it for his fault and he answered peremptorily that he would not but willed them to proceed against him as they thought good and try their right, and thereon yt is ordered and agreed that the clerk and the steward should give warning to all the tenants to pay him no more tithes but to pay them to the steward for the governors’ use and the tenants shall be held harmless and afterwards the governors to take a course against him to turn him out, according as they shalbe advised.”

On October 20th, 1620, it was decided that any suit brought by Todd for tithes against tenants should be borne by the hospital ; and that any tenant refusing to pay his tithes to the hospital instead of to Todd should be proceeded against.

It seems that a commission consisting of the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, and Rochester was appointed to consider Mr. Todd’s case ; and that, while it was sitting, he continued his unpopular ministrations in the Parish Church of St. Thomas, without receiving any tithes or emoluments from the hospital, until February 13th, 1622, when the following minute occurs : “ Also at this Court a petition of Mr. Todd being redd wherein he required that recompense may be made unto him for his service done for the tyme past to the full value of that which hath been detayned from him, so he aledgeth.” But the governors answered him that they did consider that was not according to the last order before the Lord Bishops’ commission ; for they expected a submission from him, as they understood the said Lords’ moving. And therefore they would show their Lords the same petition and

know their pleasure therein ; and appointed a committee to attend the said commission.

On May 24th, 1622, the lease and letter of attorney lately made by the Bishops of Durham and Rochester to Mr. Todd is to be ratified and confirmed ; after which nothing more is heard of him in the minutes until December 7th, 1625, when Mr. Greene, the steward, is told to remove him for sundry causes, by any means.

In Vol. CLXIV, May 7th, 1624, of the *Calendar of State Papers*, is a petition from the inhabitants of St. Thomas's Precincts to the King. It shows " That from the time of the foundation of the Hospital, 400 years ago, the land was exempt from tithes ; that Edward the Sixth granted it to the City of London to continue an hospital for the poor for ever, and ordered maintenance for the minister out of its revenues ; That the Mayor and Commonalty have appointed William Todd, minister, giving him no allowance except supposed tithes on their houses which he exacts at 2/- in the £ yearly and sues those who refuse to pay it. They beg that the case may be laid before the Council."

This petition refers to the Letters Patent by which Edward VI gave St. Thomas's to the City before he incorporated it with the other Royal Hospitals. The whole document is given on p. 132 of the first volume of this history and I certainly think bears out the contention of the parishioners that the City was paying its minister by tithes instead of from the revenues of the hospital. Apparently the petition was effective, for after this time we find that the minister was paid a fixed stipend by the governors and we hear no more of tithes.

I think that Todd must have been a typical Laudian clergyman, intent on forcing the High Anglican tenets of his Primate upon a congregation strongly opposed to them and supported in their opposition by the City of London. That the governors, representing the City, were successful, shows the feeling at this time in London against Laud.

Todd appears to have been removed ; and on December 6th, 1627, came to the court and demanded the tithes due to St. Thomas's Rectory for three years, according to an order made by the Bishops of Durham, Winchester and Rochester ; also £40 expended by him in defending a trial at the King's Bench about these tithes, also all tithes due to the minister. All which demands the court refused.

On November 10th, 1628, he realized that the governors of St. Thomas's, with the consent of the City, were masters in their own house and he now came, abandoning all claims against them, begging for a gratuity in order to move his family into Somerset. The court, rather generously, gave him £32.

I have quoted this case of Mr. Todd rather fully because no doubt it became a precedent in later years ; and showed that if the governors and the parishioners of the Parish Church were dissatisfied with the way in which the services were held the former had the power to remove the incumbent without any appeal to the Bishop.

One more controversy in which the hospital was engaged about this time was considered on May 29th, 1620 ; and the following decision reached : " Whereas there hath beene some controversie between the Company of the Salters and the governors concerning the

granarie of the Bridgehouse, auncientlie belonging to St. Thomas's Hospital, it is ordered and agreed that (a committee) shall buy a hundredweight of wheat, as good cheap as they can, for the good of the poor ; and that the same be laid up in the saide granarie to keep the possession thereof."

On January 31st, 1621, Roger Young was appointed apothecary, in Mr. Gwin's place, at £45 a year ; out of which he was to find all drugs needed in the hospital. This seems to show that even if money were worth eight times as much as it is now, either Mr. Young was very poorly paid or very few drugs were used.

On May 30th, 1621 : " The treasurer is directed to pay Mr. James Mullins, Molins or Moleyns, surgeon, a fine of £10 for his extraordinary skill in cutting four of his patients for the stone, and to the mother of the little boy 40/- for the charges she was at during his curing, to help and relieve her, she being a verie poore and needie woman."

This is the first mention of lithotomy in our records and, although the operation was described by Abul-kasim (Albucasis) in the eleventh century, it must have been something unusual in London at this time or such special notice of it would not have been taken. Apparently the reason for this was that it had fallen into the hands of quacks who did a great deal of mischief and, until Molins took it up and treated it scientifically, no reputable surgeon would have anything to do with it.

Unfortunately there is no record of how the operation was performed, but probably Molins used the median perineal or Marian operation, described by Marianus Sanctus Barolitanus in 1535.

On February 13th, 1622, we find the treasurer again paying Mr. Molins 48s. 8d. for cutting two boys for stone and for his man's watching and attendance upon them. This means very likely that Molins received $3\frac{1}{2}$ marks (46s. 8d.), and his man, 2s.

On July 12th, 1622, Mr. Ffrederick, a surgeon of St. Bartholomew's, is paid £3 for cutting a poor boy for the stone at St. Thomas's.

On October 4th, 1622, "A treaty was held by the treasurer and some governors of this hospital and of St. Bartholomew's with regard to a chirurgeon to be chosen and agreed withall for the cutting of such poore people as are or shall be grieved by the stone, incurable otherwise than by cutting. And certaine propositions were then set down in writing touching the same."

Nothing more is said about the matter in our minutes, but Sir D'Arcy Power points out ("Some byegone Operations in Surgery"—*Brit. Journ. of Surg.*—April 1931) that in the minutes of St. Bartholomew's it is recorded that James Molins was appointed to cut for stone there and at St Thomas's from January 1623, at the yearly stipend of £30. "He is alsoe to be allowed 2 lb of towe for each patient for their more easy and warmer dressinge."

In addition to cutting for stone he is to cure "the rupture or falling downe of the intestines or gutts into the coddys by cuttinge"; and to undertake "the cureing by insition the Carnosity or fleshy substance in the Coddys" (probably stricture of the urethra), also "the cureing of Wennis by insition." It would seem, therefore, that most of the actual knife work of the two hospitals, except amputations, was in Molins's hands.

On July 12th, 1622, Garrard, "on account of his

many years and sundry infirmities," resigned. He was asked to remain, "For there was never a gray-cloake of the governors but himself to supply his roome"; but still he pressed them to let him go; "Whereupon it pleased this court to nominate two ancient Aldermen, Gray Cloakes, out of whom to choose a President (viz. Sir Edward Barkham, nowe Lord Mayor, and Sir William Cockaigne, late Lord Mayor)." The latter of these was elected and accepted the post.

For some time past it has been evident from the minutes that Garrard was in failing health, for the courts were held at his house instead of at the hospital.

This title of "Gray cloak" is still unsettled though I have sought the help of the Librarian of the Guildhall and the Clerk of the Records of the City, to both of whom the name was unknown. Clearly, from the context, it meant an Alderman of a certain seniority, perhaps one who had served as Lord Mayor. I see that in Green's *Shorter History of the English People* there is a picture of the Lord Mayor and two Aldermen of Elizabeth's time and that both the two latter wear grey gowns though this of course does not show by what seniority they were distinguished from aldermen who wore gowns of another hue. The title certainly was well understood from 1575 (see Vol. 1, p. 175) to the date which we are now considering; though after this it only occurs again once or twice in our minutes.

At some time, the date of which is uncertain but probably in 1622, Mr. Hewlett left property in Southwark between St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, and Bridewell. Our share in this was bringing in £266 13s. 4d. in 1836.

At some time, too, in 1622, Richard Wood died after being surgeon for fifty-five years. He is therefore noteworthy as the holder of a medical staff appointment for a longer time than any other man. During all these years, so far as I can learn, he did nothing else worthy of note, either good or bad.

On February 28th, 1623, the following curious entry is found in the minutes : " At this court (consideration being had of the decencye and comelines of the Governors sitting in gowns in court time) It is ordered and thought meete (by the full consent of this court) that noe Governor of this house at any time hereafter shall sit in court not having on a gowne upon paine to forfeit the some of XII^d to the poore of this house upon every breach or fayler hereof."

We may, I think, gather from this that, at the end of James I's reign, city merchants were giving up the habit of wearing gowns ; and that some of them came to the court meetings arrayed in full knickerbockers and doublets and curious, dome-shaped hats with or without a feather on one side : they also, I am sorry to say, wore large rosettes on the front of their shoes. We may gather, too, that these dandies were in the minority, and were suitably ashamed of themselves, or the resolution would hardly have passed *nem. con.*

Since I cannot find that the resolution ever was repealed I presume that it still holds ; and that the treasurer to-day would be quite in order if he fined all the existing governors a shilling for every court meeting at which they have appeared without gowns. If this be so, a considerable source of revenue for the "poore" lies at his disposal.

About this time several leases fell in and it is inter-

esting to notice how the value of property was appreciating.

Allison, who gave such trouble with his payments, asked a new lease of Hastingleigh in Kent ; but, as the court was informed that he had sublet it and that his sub-tenant was asking for the lease, the matter was postponed until November 26th, 1624, when he was granted a new lease for £350 fine, an increase of £150 on the fine which he paid in 1604. In 1596 £66 13s. 4d. was paid as a fine for this property and £40 a year, rent. In 1604, £200 fine and £50 rent and in 1624, £350 fine and £50 rent.

Steward's Farm at Parndon was let on December 7th, 1625, for £100 and £10 rent, while in 1604 Greygoose had it for £66 13s. 4d. (100 marks) fine and £5 rent. Crofton Manor, at Orpington in Kent, was let on August 3rd, 1626, for £260 fine and £38 4s. 2d. rent ; in 1606 the fine had been £210 and the rent £40 ; while in 1583 only £20 fine and £40 a year had been demanded.

On June 27th, 1627, Lynsters Manor, near Rickmansworth, was let to Mrs. Wentworth for £500 fine and £50 rent, whereas in 1605 the fine had only been £246 13s. 4d. and the rent £50.

It will be noticed that in most cases the increase in price was put into the fine while the rent often remained stationary. Perhaps this was a survival of the old monastic finance which enabled the institution to conceal its real income from the general public.

The case of Lynsters is of special interest because it was let to Mrs. Wentworth ; and the more so because there is another entry, earlier in the year, that the governors demanded £600 fine for it but that Thomas

Wentworth refused to give this. It would be very interesting to know whether this was the statesman who afterwards became Lord Strafford. Upon the whole I do not think it was, because Strafford's second wife, whom he married in 1625, was the daughter of the Earl of Clare and therefore not very likely to be called Mrs. Wentworth.

On April 8th, 1625, James I died at Theobalds ; but at the court held on April 29th no notice is taken of the change of rulers. The accession of Charles I, like that of his father, was marked by the beginning of a bad plague epidemic and no doubt this was the reason why no court was held at the hospital between April 29th and December 7th, 1625. At the latter court William Morris, the steward, was given £5 "for his private care of the poor during the late great infection."

At this court, too, we have a reminder of the Ecclesiastical Courts which later became so unpopular under Archbishop Laud's guidance. We read that : "A proctor is to be retained in the Ecclesiastical Court to answer for the sidesmen of the Parish Church not repairing the steeple, not putting a convenient fence about the churchyard and for want of a decent surplice."

I cannot help thinking that the latter complaint had been instigated by Mr. Todd who clearly had the support of his bishop in opposing the spiritual desires of his parishioners. Todd, I fancy, was High Church, and St. Thomas's very much opposed to anything which savoured of Rome : probably he wanted to wear a surplice and his congregation objected strongly to his doing so.

In reading the history of these times we find that Laud, who was the spiritual adviser of Charles I from the time of his accession, was doing his utmost to counteract the puritan tendencies of the country and especially of London. One of the outward signs of his influence was a surplice, and for this reason the minute just recorded is of some interest.

On October 5th, 1627, when Todd was finally ejected, Benjamin Spencer was made the Minister of the church and seems to have conducted the services to the satisfaction of his parishioners, for on July 13th, 1631, it is directed that all marriage fees are to be paid to him; on April 23rd, 1632, he is to receive the "Easter Book," which I fancy means the Easter offering, while on July 23rd, 1642, he has a free gift of £10 made to him by the governors.

On December 8th, 1626, Sir William Cokayne, the President, is dead, and Mr. James Cambell, Alderman ("though not a graycloake"), is elected. A fine oil painting of this worthy hangs to-day above the fireplace in the grand committee room of the hospital and shows him to have been a dignified, reliable-looking, old gentleman with a grey beard. Cambell was President for sixteen years and the portrait probably was painted when he was Lord Mayor in 1631.

On February 3rd, 1627, the court learnt "That the king (Charles I) intended to claim certain wharves and houses, our Wapping property in the parish of St. Mary Matfellow (or Whitechapel)." "It decided that the suit shall be defended." The present St. Mary Matfellow's is the red-brick church which is so striking a feature in Whitechapel High Street, but since 1627 it has been rebuilt more than once. Then it really

was a *white* chapel which later gave its name to the district.

Our minutes, as I have already hinted, are all too fond of telling us the beginnings of legal disputes without recording how they ended, but in this case it is certain that Charles did not seize all the Wapping property which had been bought from Henry VIII (see Vol. I, p. 218) because, according to the report of the Charity Commissioners in 1837, we then still owned fourteen houses there ; but since this report also says that in the time of Charles I there were fifty-four tenements, including Execution and Wapping docks, belonging to the hospital, I fear that, rightly or wrongly, a good deal had to be given up.

The little that was left was let to Thomas Sherwyn, on February 8th, 1636, for £10 fine and £10 a year, rent.

It must be remembered that on June 15th, 1626, King Charles I had dissolved his second parliament without receiving any subsidy from it ; and consequently was at his wits' ends for ready money. Among other things he appointed commissioners to manage the Crown lands and improve in various ways the rents derived from them. There is, thus, every reason to believe that Wapping came under the notice of this commission and that some of the property which the hospital held there reverted to the Crown. It is only the record of the ways of Charles' satellites which makes me suggest that this may have been done " rightly or wrongly."

In Vol. LXXXVI (Dec. 2nd, 1627) of the *Calendar of State Papers*, it is recorded that Captain Jno. Mason, the paymaster, has sent 120 maimed and sick soldiers

to be carried to the hospitals of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew ; while on December 20th (Vol. LXXXVII, *ib.*) is a note that " payment is asked from the government for twelve maimed soldiers from the last expedition of the Duke of Buckingham, relieved at the Hospital in Southwark." These documents refer, of course, to the disastrous expedition of the incompetent favourite of Charles, to relieve La Rochelle and capture the Isle of Rhé.

On June 18th, 1628, a fine of £800 and £100 a year rent was asked for Tibshelf, which is nearly double the rent paid since 1599. After some bargaining the tenants agreed to pay this ; and no doubt the extra price is accounted for by the discovery that Tibshelf was part of the Derbyshire coalfield and likely to be a very valuable possession.

On May 11th, 1629, a letter was received from the King asking whether the salaries of the Doctors, Surgeons, and Apothecary were not too little. This letter, which unfortunately has not been kept, was possibly the outcome of suitable presents to King's servants ; but, however that may be, it did good ; for, on July 6th, 1629, the apothecary's salary was raised to £60 a year, out of which he still had to supply all drugs used in the hospital ; while the hospitaller and matron were allowed 50s. a year in place of charcoal and billets, 20s. for candles, and 13s. for oatmeal, salt, and beans. The question of the physician's and surgeons' salaries was postponed until February 26th, 1630, when a committee was appointed to consider it.

For some unexplained reason the court did not meet between that date and January 26th, 1631, when the

physician was given an increase of £5 a year, the surgeons of £6, and the steward of £5. This, when we consider how rapidly the cost of living was rising in those days and the greatly increased sums which the hospital was receiving for its lands, does not seem a too generous answer to the King's appeal.

At this court, too, a tenement at Cheshunt appears which figures in the minutes for the first time. From the Charity Commissioners' Report of 1837 and elsewhere it seems that this was a messuage, known as Estridge, given to the hospital by Elizabeth Freynd in 1562 and that for it a noble (6s. 8d.) had to be paid each year to the churchwardens of that parish.

During 1630-31 the plague again threatened Southwark, as is shown by the following extracts from the State Papers.

In Vol. CLXIV, April 16th, 1630, the Justices of the Peace for Southwark reported the precautions taken against the plague. These consisted in : "Apprehending Irish and vagrants, compiling a list of all alehouses, scouring all the ditches and providing two watchmen for every infected house." At the end of this report it is said that : "There are no infected houses now."

Vol. CLXXII, August 1st, 1630, records that the three great fairs of Bartholomew in Smithfield, Stourbridge in Cambridge, and Our Lady Fair in Southwark, have been prohibited on account of the plague which threatens London and Southwark and has much affected Cambridge.

In Vol. CLXXXVII, March 30th, 1631, it is said that out of 228 alehouses in Southwark and Kent St. the licences of 43 have been withdrawn and that 300

vagrants have been punished and passed on, as a plague precaution.

On April 23rd, 1631, the President (who was Lord Mayor in 1630-31 and henceforth becomes Sir James Cambell) accompanied by a committee of governors, attended a meeting of the Privy Council, "To answer to their Lordships demands touching the revenues and government of this house" which apparently were attracting some attention.

It seems that the deputation failed to satisfy the Council, for on May 2nd an order was sent to the governors and officers of Christ Church (Christ's Hospital), St. Thomas's, Bridewell, and Bethlem to bring in a more clear and ample account of their receipts and payments (*Cal. State Papers*, Vol. CCXIII). This St. Thomas's did in May 1632 when the following return was made (*ib.*, Vol. CCXVI): "Total permanent receipts £1839 16s. 3d. made up of rents in London £504 13s. 4d. In Southwark £514, in the country £720 5s. 10d. Annuities by divers benefactors £100 17s. 1d. Number of patients 300 and odd. 13 sisters 40/- each. Doctor £30. Apothecary £60. Three surgeons £36 each. Stone cutter £15 extra. Herb woman £4. Total payments £2761 7s. 10d. The deficiency is supplied by legacies and casual receipts." We learn from this that a herb woman was among the hospital functionaries and that there were thirteen sisters in 1632.

On April 23rd, 1632, it is recorded that "Alice Nortsopp was elected sister of New Ward within this house." In a former minute it was noticed that a new ward is being planned, but now it must have been nearly ready to open. Unfortunately nothing is said

about its site nor is its future name given although, owing to the fact that the court has now taken the appointment of the sisters into its own hands, we often learn the names of the wards about this time.

Between 1631 and 1642, for example, the following wards are mentioned : Magdalen in 1631, New 1632, King's and Jonas 1634, Noah 1635, Tobias and Job 1637, Abdiel 1638, Lazarus 1642. Of these King's and Job are mentioned in the sixteenth century (see Vol. I, p. 233), but the New Ward may have been given any one of the names of the wards which come after it.

There is no reason to think that all the wards have been mentioned in these twelve years, indeed we know that they have not, for Queen's, Lydia, and Luke are left out and certainly they were there.

Then, too, there were the Nightlayers' and the Sweat Wards, both of which, there is every reason to believe, were still in use. It will be remembered that the former was simply a night shelter for homeless vagabonds who were admitted by the hospitaller and their names recorded (see Vol. I, p. 196). Since I have found no record that it was furnished with beds, I fear that all that these people received was shelter, some straw upon which to lie and a warm, fœtid atmosphere to breathe. If they liked they could earn a few pence by grinding corn at the mill, but they were not actually made to do any work. Although nothing is said about the ward in the eighteenth-century minutes it probably survived until the new workhouse was established in Clayton's time, after which it was no longer needed. Before that its closure would have caused a good deal of suffering and would almost certainly have been noticed in the minutes.

Since the acute form of the sweating sickness was now a thing of the past and the more chronic hot ague, which replaced it, seems to have been less troublesome than in earlier days, there was little need for the sweat wards which were in the churchyard ; but that they were still there is shown by the minute of May 24th, 1642, which directs that : " Patients with the Pox are not to be cured unless there be room in the sweat wards." From this we may gather that Magdalen was not originally a venereal ward but that the old sweat ward or wards were used for that purpose.

It will be noticed that the names of the wards given at this time are all those of Biblical characters and mark the period when London was very puritan. Those who pass through Block 8 of the modern St. Thomas's to-day and see these names all round them should remember that they are relics of the time, three hundred years ago, when the hospital was offering a silent protest against the Laudian persecution which was driving so many of our countrymen to America. They are certainly a rather marked contrast to the names of Queen Victoria's relations which so many of the wards in other parts of the hospital bear.

It is rather sad to see how the hospitaller is constantly devising some little scheme to make life more livable and always being found out and frustrated by the governors. Now in April 1632 he has, among his many duties, to see that the relatives of each patient admitted give a bond that they will remove him when cured or found incurable. For preparing these bonds it is discovered that the hospitaller has been in the habit of charging the patients a shilling ; but the governors think that this is exorbitant, as indeed it is,

and the poor man henceforth is only allowed to charge twopence for his pains. Another complaint which comes up at the same court is so gruesome as to be hardly believable. It seems that the dead patients in the new churchyard are buried so near the surface that putrefaction is seen above ground ; and it is ordered, therefore, that no corpse shall be buried less than two feet deep. This, apparently, the governors think quite deep enough.

On December 3rd, 1632, Sir Thomas Culpeper or Colepeper took a new lease of one of our tenements in Black and White Court in the Old Bailey. He was evidently a member of the great Kentish family, one of whom had been our tenant elsewhere in former days (see Vol. I, 219) ; and he must also have been a relative of the Sir John Colepeper who, about this time, was an active member of parliament, associated with Falkland and Hyde.

At this court, too, our manor of Alvethley in Essex found that it needed a new pillory and a ducking stool for scolds, a need which of course was at once supplied.

On November 11th, 1633, there were two applicants for the reversion of a surgeon's post although there were no vacancies. One was Edward Molins, the son of our distinguished lithotomist James Molins ; and the other a surgeon named Enoch Bostock who brought the following letter from the King, a letter which is preserved among our records.

“ Trustie and well beloved wee grete you well. Whereas Enoch Bostock of London, Chirurgeon, hath humbly desired us that we would be graciously pleased to recomend him unto you to be chosen and admitted into the first and next place of one of the chirurgeons

of St. Thomas Hospitall in our Citie of London when the same shall fall void by the death or other advoydance of time of those that live in the present possession of the same. We, having received verie good testimony of the honest and sober carriage of the said Bostock and of his sufficiency for that place, are graciously pleased to condescend to this his humble suit and doe by these especial letters recomend him unto you to be chosen and admitted into the said first and next place of one of the Chirurgeons of that house when and as soone as the same shall fall void as aforesaid, to be by him enjoyed with all rights and profitts thereto belonging. And we doubt not of your readines to give us satisfaction herein as well in regard of this our recommendation as also in respect of the sufficiency of the partie recommended which we shall retain in our Princely remembrance for your benefitt as occasion shall be presented.

“ Given under our signett at our Pallace of Westminster the thirteenth day of October in the ninth yeare of our raigne.

“ (Signed) CHARLES. R.”

The court decided that : “ Yf the said James Mullines, the father, happen to dye before Henry Blackley or Edward Fleet, the two other present chirurgeons, then Edward Mullines the sonne to have the place—but yf eyther the saide Henry Blackley or Edward Fleet happen to dye before the saide James Mullines, the father, then the saide Enoch Bostock to have the place.”

I cannot help thinking that the governors may have expected that James Molins, the father, would be likely

to die or retire first ; since his anxiety to have his son appointed his successor seems to have been due to a feeling that he was growing old and his powers failing ; and things happened as they foresaw, for Edward succeeded his father in 1639.

Enock Bostock apparently did not live to profit by the death of either Fleet or Blakeley and thus the trouble which King Charles had taken on his behalf was thrown away.

Fleet and Blakeley seem to have been two of those very useful men, without brilliance or ambition, who did their work just so well that no one had a word to say for or against them. Fleet, we learn, took a house in 1633 belonging to the hospital in Sithes (Size) Lane at £8 a year ; but of Blakeley nothing is known. They both died in 1648.

On March 10th, 1634, a very long meeting of the court was held and a good many details of hospital management were discussed. It was decided that the number of patients should be reduced to twelve score in summer and fourteen score in winter (Sept. 1st to April 1st).

Judging by the past it was not very likely that this attempt at retrenchment would prove effective since only ten years before (April 9th, 1624) it had been ordered that the number of the poore should not exceed 200 ; and if in 1634 the number was to be reduced to 280 it is likely that there must have been over 300 of them at that time ; indeed, in the report to the Privy Council of May 1632, it is stated that there were " 300 and odd." It does not follow that because there were 300 patients the hospital boasted 300 beds ; since it was not until the following year (May 4th, 1635) that

the matron was told "not to place more patients than there were beds in any ward." Still, if in the winter of 1635-36, when this order was in force, the hospital was prepared to take in 280 patients it follows that it then had 280 beds.

It was also directed at this court that no patient discharged as incurable should be readmitted for the same complaint and that "no patient with the fowle disease shall be admitted until there be roome in the fowle wards." It is needless to say that the "fowle disease" was venereal and not an infection derived from birds. This is the first occasion on which this description, which lasted for more than a century, is used and apparently syphilis, gonorrhœa, and soft sores were all classified as "the foul disease" instead of the blunt Saxon name of "poxe," the derivation of which I have already given (see Vol. I, p. 17).

Cleanliness, one is glad to see, was making strides in the hospital at this time for six pounds of "sope" were allowed each week for washing linen; and all able patients were told to help the sisters in this work.

Sir Norman Moore in his *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, tells us that, until this time, wood ashes had always been used for washing linen, and that the process was known as "bucking." The St. Bartholomew's sisters, who apparently did not have soap provided for this purpose until 1685, reported that it did not wear out the clothes so much as the ashes did.

With regard to rations, a pound of butter was allowed each day between six patients, instead of between eight, thus giving each $2\frac{2}{3}$ oz. instead of 2 oz.

The amount of bread remained at 7 oz. for dinner and 7 oz. for supper, as fixed on July 9th, 1559.

On November 17th, 1634, a standing committee was appointed to deal with all matters which do or shall concern the matron and hospitaller. No matter where we open the old minutes we cannot read very far before coming to some difficulty between these two important people. It seems that trouble was inevitable, for not only had each of them to watch over the interests of those of his or her own sex in the hospital, but each had to overlap into the other's domain. The hospitaller while administering spiritual consolation no doubt received many complaints about the nurses and whether he reported these to the matron or dealt with them on his own account that lady was sure to think that he was interfering with things outside his province. This is only one of many cases in which their influence overlapped and, since it had never been decided that one of them was above the other, the hospital was very much in the position of a ship with two commanding officers. The treasurer, of course, could be appealed to, but at this time he was non-resident and often was a busy merchant who probably did not come to the hospital every day.

And so, even if the matron and hospitaller had always been the most amiable and blameless of people, their relations were such that their interests were bound to clash sooner or later. Unfortunately, however, they were only human ; the hospitaller was overworked and underpaid and always looking for some means of increasing his wretched pittance ; while the matron too often found relief from her many worries in stimulants.

If we try to picture the continual responsibility of the harassed lives these poor people lived, in a foul atmosphere, among endless squalor, misery, and pain, the amusement caused by their constant bickerings becomes tinged with sadness and we feel that great allowances should be made.

The governors' remedy, as usual, was threats which, to do them justice, they seldom carried out ; on May 4th, 1635, for instance, the matron, hospitaller, and porter of the back gate, who in some way had involved himself in the fray, were told to behave peaceably to one another and not to interfere with the other's business on pain of dismissal.

Joan Darvole had been matron since 1621 and in 1639 went to prison for debt ; to deal with which a committee was appointed with instructions to get her out " if they can without prejudice or loss to this house."

In the *State Papers* (fo. CCCCLV, May 30th, 1640) we learn that she, or the committee on her behalf, petitioned Archbishop Laud, saying that she was violently dragged out of the Chapel of St. Thomas's Hospital, during divine service, on a Sunday in July 1639, and most barbarously dragged along the streets to prison, under colour of an action for debt. Laud, we are told, referred the matter to Sir John Lambe to investigate.

It seems that her debts amounted to £127 7s. 6d. ; and she accounted for them by the fact that between 1621 and 1636 she had only 2s. 4d. a week for her diet while in those years food was very expensive. In any case the committee managed to release her for £50, of which the hospital paid £18 ; and I expect that the

governors made up the other £32 out of their own pockets.

The hospitaller at this time was Mr. Meredith Maidy who was appointed in 1625. In January 1639 he asked for an increase of salary, but the governors only saw their way to give him £10 as a free gift. On July 9th, 1639, the court was informed that he had been sent to the King's Bench Prison by order of the Privy Council. We are not told what was his offence, though it must have been something more serious than debt or the Privy Council would not have interfered.

No doubt it was very awkward for the hospital that its two executive officers should both be in jail at the same time ; and the court was obliged to appoint a Mr. John Trebick as a substitute until Mr. Maidy should reappear.

On July 29th he was free once more and attended a court meeting in order to answer for "abuses and disorders committed during his term of office." He asked for a written statement and time to reply in writing ; and a committee was appointed to consider this "and all charges against him whether by the matron or others." On August 31st the accusations of the hospitaller and matron against one another were read and held over ; it is a pity that they were not recorded, since probably they would have given some very picturesque details of the hospital life as it was lived then.

On September 4th, 1639, thirty-eight governors met at Sir James Cambell's house and decided that Maidy should be discharged and that the matron should remain. Of course, he sent in a petition which was referred to the inevitable committee, but it profited

him nothing, for on October 16th Trebick was confirmed in the hospitaller's post ; and on December 9th Maidy was ordered to be ejected from his lodgings in the hospital, though it was not until March 26th of the next year (1640) that the steward induced him to depart by breaking open his house and removing his possessions therefrom.

But the hospital had not heard the last of him, for on February 12th, 1641, the court was informed that he was petitioning the House of Lords ; and a committee was appointed to meet the committee of that house, with the result that Mr. Maidy was finally suppressed.

CHAPTER III

A CHAPTER IN WHICH ST. THOMAS'S BECOMES PARLIAMENTARIAN

1636 TO 1649

I HAVE called attention to the rapid decrease in the purchasing power of money between the years 1620 and 1636, especially with regard to food, and the way in which this had reduced the maïron to bankruptcy. In the latter year the governors had granted her 5s. a week for food instead of the 2s. 4d. on which she had hitherto tried to subsist though it came too late to save her from insolvency ; and at the same time the allowance to the fourteen sisters, two porters, cook, and butler, was raised from 2s. 4d. to 3s. 6d. a week.

The fact that there were at this time fourteen sisters at once turns our thoughts into another channel and suggests that the hospital now had fourteen wards to contain its 280 beds, giving an average of twenty beds to a ward. If we name once more the wards hitherto mentioned in the minutes we find that there were fourteen, assuming that the new ward had later a name given to it and that there were two foul wards, one for venereal cases of each sex. The names of the wards at this time were : (1) King's, (2) Queen's, (3) Lydia, (4) Luke, (5) Job, (6) Nightlayers', (7) Jonas, (8) Noah, (9) Magdalen, (10) Tobias, (11) Abdiel, (12) Lazarus, (13) Male Foul Ward, (14) Female Foul Ward ; the

two latter being on the site of the old Sweat Ward or wards. Later references tell us that six of these were great wards and on August 7th, 1657, five of these great wards, viz. Jonas, Noah, Tobias, Queen's, and Magdalen had deal floors laid instead of tiles ; I think there can be little doubt that the sixth great ward was King's.

These seem to have been all the wards there were in the hospital in 1636 ; but in February 1646 two others, Faith and Abraham, are mentioned, and in 1649 a ward called Dorcas is there. At this date, too, we find that there were fifteen instead of fourteen sisters ; and a possible explanation of the fact that three new wards have appeared with only one sister to look after them is that the two foul wards, perhaps rebuilt, have received names.

In 1636 and 1637 the plague was very bad again in Southwark and the Justices of the Peace reported to the Privy Council that : " The owners of houses in Southwark are much to blame and a great occasion for this infection by dividing their houses into so many small families for the lucre of the rents." The Council tells them to let it know : " Who are the owners of those poor tenements in Southwark in which these miserable people are lodged " (*Cal. State Pap.*, Vol. CCCXLIII, Jan. 9th, 1636-37).

In May 1636 Samuel Armitage who had been treasurer since 1621, died and was succeeded by Humphrey Clarke, a gentleman who began his term of office by appointing a committee to revise " the ancient and late orders of this house and also to treat with the treasurer and governors of St. Bartholomew's as touching the ordering of the poore of that house for

their physic and surgery and otherwise to consider amongst themselves of the best meanes and speediest wayes for the cure of the patients of this house and thereof to make their report."

On December 19th, 1636, this committee reported and some new orders were added to the old and were directed to be read publicly in the chapel by the hospitaller once a quarter.

The next evidence of Mr. Clarke's activity is that on July 5th, 1637, the chapel was enlarged at the expense the counting-house.

On October 22nd, 1638, Thomas Hollyer was appointed surgeon for scald heads. It has been shown in Vol. I (p. 189) how the treatment of this disease, like that of stone in the bladder, had got into the hands of ignorant quacks; and reputable surgeons for a long time would have nothing to do with either of them. It was, therefore, a distinct advance that this young and keen surgeon should have been induced to take up the treatment of the disease, which was very rife, in the hope that if he did so he might later become one of the surgeons of St. Thomas's. I must, however, point out that a precedent for this appointment occurs in 1567 when Edmonde Hill was admitted a surgeon for healing sore heads (see Vol. I, p. 238) though he was only an empiric who had no hope of succeeding to a full surgeon's post.

Sir D'Arcy Power, in a paper entitled "Some bye-gone Operations in Surgery" (*British Journal of Surgery*, Vol. XVIII, No. 72, 1931), thinks that Hollyer had been an apprentice of James Molins and the suggestion seems an extremely likely one.

On January 23rd, 1639, the court was told that Dr.

Eleazer Hodson was dead ; but a letter was read from the Earl of Denbigh intimating His Majesty's wish that the election of a successor should be postponed ; and this accordingly was done ; though it was rather awkward because, two days before, the President, Sir James Cambell, had promised the post to a Dr. Spicer. Sir James was at this time not well enough to be at the meeting so he sent a letter to the treasurer which is preserved among our records, and of which the following is a copy :

“ Mr. Treasurer and the rest of the Governors assembled this morning at the Hospital of St. Thomas.

I being yesterday informed of the death of Mr. Hudson, our late Doctor, and another worthie Gentleman (Mr. Doctor Spicer) tendring his service unto me for the performance of his office in the house, which may not be neglected, I have yielded unto him my consent for the same, which I hereby signifie unto you and desire likewise yor approbation therein, and withall that a court may be warned against Wednesday morning that he may then be confirmed and settled in the place by a generall consent, unless good cause may be shewed to the contrarie. And thus commending myself unto you I shall ever remayne

Your loveing Friende

JAMES CAMBELL.

From my house

the 21 of January

1638 (O.S) ”

Before this same court came a letter from Lord Coventry asking that Dr. Priciane should be chosen physician. I fancy that Priciane is another and pos-

sibly the correct way of spelling Prujean, since I know that there are several records of him as Pridgeon. I give the letter, which is among our collection, because the name of its author brings us into touch with the important matters which were taking place in the country outside our little hospital world, matters which are so seldom noticed in our archives and yet are of such interest now in helping us to visualize the world in which our forerunners lived and moved.

Thomas, Lord Coventry, who lived in Durham House in the Strand, and after whom Coventry Street is said to be named, died in 1640, the year after his letter to us was written. He was a law lord who took an active and I think very just part in the famous "ship money" question which had so much to do with hastening the Revolution. He held that Charles I was justified in raising this money but agreed with Hampden that it was illegal to impose the tax upon the inland counties until parliament had given its consent. If the hospital governors had dared to take his advice in the matter of a physician, instead of that of King Charles, they would have had Prujean's services for much longer than they did, and would have escaped those of a very inferior man. The letter is as follows :

"After my verie heartie commendacons I understanding that Dr. Hodson, Phisician to St. Thomas Hospitall, is latelie dead, and thereby that place become voyde and that Dr. Priciane is desirous to tender himself for yo^r favours in the choyce of him thereunto, I have thought fitt in respect of his abilities verified by men learned in that way (as by their Certificate enclosed may appeare) to recomend him unto yo^r acceptance.

And though his good parts will best tender him to yo^r respects, yet I p^rsume being accompanied by this my L^{re} he shall not finde he lose esteme among you.

And in confidence of his well deservings and yo^r good affeccone towards him I once more heartily recommend him to you and wishing only of yo^r welfare do rest

Yo^r very loving friend

THO COVENTRYE Js.

From Durham H^o
this 22nd of Jan^y
1638 (O.S.) ”

At the court meeting of February 4th, 1639, the letter from the King, for the reception of which the election of a physician had been postponed, was read. It remains in our collection and is as follows :

“ Trustie and welbeloved We greete you well.

Whereas We understand that the place of Phisician in that O^r Hospitall of St Thomas in Southwark is now void by the death of Dr. Hudson and having received very good testimony of the abilities of Thomas Grent, Doctor in Phisick, and of his diligences and good serving done to O^r City of London for many years ; specially in times of danger and infection ; Wee have thought good by this O^r lrs to recomend him to you to supply that place, not doubting but in regard of this O^r Intervention and his sufficiency you will admitt him to the said place, to be by him enjoyed w^h all rights and benefitts thereunto belonging in as ample manner as the said Hudson or any other heretofore enjoyed the same. W^h will be very acceptable to Us.

Given under Our Signett at O^r Pallace of West-

minster the seven and twentieth day of January in the fourteenth yeare of Or Reigne (1639)

(Signed) CHARLES. R."

This letter from King Charles, obtained by petticoat influence, settled the election of Dr. Grent, and I cannot do better than repeat what Dr. J. F. Payne has to say about him in the already quoted paper in *St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette* for January 1898.

"The next physician to St. Thomas's was Dr. Thomas Grent, who was, I am afraid, no very great ornament to our foundation. He was of New College, Oxford, M.D. of that University, and admitted Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1623. Grent was made Physician to St. Thomas's on the death of Hodson, being elected at a Court of Governors, 4th February, 1638-9, in obedience to the direct orders of King Charles I. The king was moved, we are told, by the influence of the Countess of Denbigh, to whom the doctor's wife was related. Apparently, through ill-health, Grent became unable to discharge the duties of his office, and at a Court of Governors held 7th December, 1640, Dr. Francis Prujean (of whom more hereafter) was appointed a temporary substitute for him, and was further elected to the reversion of the physicianship, to succeed if Grent should die within six months. Dr. Grent lived till 11th December, 1649, when he died in great poverty. During his lifetime the Governors had several times voted him gratuities of £20 or £40, in addition to his stipend 'in regard to his extraordinary pains and care taken for the poor of this house'; and after his death, the bounty was extended to his widow. A contemporary physician,

Dr. Baldwin Hamsey, has left a very unflattering account of Dr. Grent, which is given in Dr. Munk's Roll of the College of Physicians ; but except so far as he reports Grent's want of success in his profession, it seems spiteful and exaggerated."

The notice which Charles I took of St. Thomas's is probably greater than that taken by any other sovereign save Edward VI ; though the former never seems to have done anything for its welfare other than suggest that the pay of its officers was too small. All the rest of his letters are attempts to exploit the hospital for the good of his favourites, none of whom had any special merit. There may be much to say for Charles I—there must be because so much has been said—but I doubt whether his hospital of St. Thomas was the likeliest place in which to hear it. Had his self-sufficiency been tempered by the sense of humour which his father and one of his sons possessed perhaps things might have been otherwise.

At the time when he was saddling the sickly Dr. Grent upon us (January 23rd, 1639), he was trying to make us pledge ourselves to a surgical claimant, for we read : " Now at this court came William Clowes, Sergeant Surgeon to the King, bringing a letter from the King on behalfe of Lawrence Lowe, Surgeon, that this court would confirm Enoch Bostock's reversion of a surgeon's place to Lowe when it shall be void." It seems that Bostock, about whom the King had written in 1633 (see p. 43), had died before any vacancy occurred ; and the court now agreed to transfer his reversion to Lowe.

The letter which the sergeant surgeon brought unfortunately has not been preserved, though the

Calendar of State Papers (Vol. CCCIX, Jan. 22nd, 1638-39), gives the following extract from it : " Taking into consideration the faithful service done in our navy by Lawrence Low we recommend him unto you not doubting that you will confirm to him the said reversion (of a surgeon's post). Two other letters, written in 1639 and 1640 when Charles' difficulties were becoming acute, remain with us and show that he thought himself just as well able to manage our affairs as he did to direct those of the rest of the kingdom.

The first of these letters is only signed " Charles in the fifteenth year of his reign," but the signature is clearly that of Charles I and there is a record of its having been received at the court which met on December 9th, 1639. It is as follows :

" Trustie and Welbeloved We grete you well
Whereas humble suite hath been made unto Us for
Or Tres (letters) in favour of William Rouswell, Apothe-
cary, that he may be admitted to the place of Apothe-
cary to Or Hospitall of St. Thomas when the same shall
fall voyde. We having received very good testimony
of the sober conversation of the same William Rouse-
well, of his ability in his profession and his sufficiency
for that employment, have been graciously pleased and
by these Or special tres doe recomend him unto you,
not doubting but that you will take him into considera-
tion and in regards of Or intervention and his owne
meritt conferre the said place upon him when it shall
next become void by the death or other avoydance of
the present Apothecary there. The same to be by him
enjoyed with all righte and profite thereunto belonging
in as ample manner as the said present Apothecary

enjoyeth the same, or of right ought to hold and enjoy the same. Wh^h will be very acceptable to Us and We shall retayne it in Our Princely Remembrance for y^r advantage as occasion shall be presented.

Given under Our Sygnett at Or Pallace of West^r the two and twentieth day of October in the fifteenth yeare of Or Raigne.

(Signed) CHARLES. R."

The inner history of this letter is found in the *State Papers* (fo. CCCCXXX) which tell us that Rouswell had been for many years the medical attendant to Archbishop Neale of York ; and that the latter had written to Secretary Windebank asking him to procure a letter from the King to the governors of the hospital. It is a useful extract because it shows that the apothecary was a qualified practitioner who was not only the dispenser but the resident medical officer of the hospital, and we know from the statement on p. 79 that the physician only attended on two mornings a week and though there were three surgeons it is unlikely that there was always one in the house to attend to emergencies.

The governors postponed any action on the King's letter at this court but, on March 26th, 1640, they decided that Rouswell (or Russell) " should be heard first when the apothecary's place should become vacant " ; which was not the same thing as obeying His Majesty by giving his nominee the reversion for which he asked ; and I cannot help thinking that the feeling in the hospital, like that in the rest of London, was largely in sympathy with parliament and opposed to Charles and his adviser Strafford.

Perhaps, before going on to the other letter from the King, this will be a suitable place to gather up two or three scattered notes about the apothecary's salary. We have seen (p. 30) that in 1621 Roger Young, who in 1639 still held the post for which Rousewell was hoping, was appointed at a salary of £45 a year, out of which he had to provide, for at least 200 patients, all the drugs used in the hospital.

In July 1629 the wretched pittance was raised to £60 a year and this went on until December 19th, 1636, the year in which Humphrey Clark became treasurer, when it was admitted that "the best medicine had not been given to the poor owing to the small salary of the apothecary"; and to improve matters Young was now given £100 a year. This, however, was not found to be enough, for in 1640 he was receiving £180 a year and on July of that year a committee recommended that this should be increased to £200. Thus, during Clark's treasurership and, I have little doubt, owing to his exertions, the allowance for drugs was increased by £140 a year.

The last letter which Charles I wrote to the hospital was about one of our tenants. It is preserved among the historical letters of the hospital.

"Trustie and wellbeloved We greet you well

Whereas we are informed that our trustie and wellbeloved servant Henrie Jay Esq, Gentleman Usher to our deare Sonne, Prince Charles, and before him also his Father have been these many yeares Tenant to St. Thomas Hospitall in Southworke for certaine tenements in Budge Row in London, and some of the tenants of our saide Servant having withoute anie valuable

consideration gotten from him a seeming right of the premises, doe now unjustly seeke to become themselves tenants thereof to the said Hosp^{le} to the great prejudice of our said servant, by whose father and himself these leases have been purchased at deare rates and have been since many ways very chargeable to them. Now forasmuch as our said servant is desirious to keep and renew the said leases Wee therefore in consideration of the said premises and of his acceptable and faithfull service, have thought good by these our letters to recommend him unto you, That (without suffering any wrong to fall upon him) you doe continue our said servant Henrie Jay Tenant and grant unto him a new lease of the premises upon reasonable terms. And herein your conformitie to this our royal pleasure wee will upon occasion acknowledge to y^{re} advantage. Given under our signet at our pallace of Westminster the four and twentieth day of March In the fifteenth year of our raigne.

(Signed) CHARLES. R."

It seems from the *Calendar of State Papers* (Vol. CXL, March 1623) that the leases of these houses were of importance to the great house of Henry Jay "because the water courses thereto belonging run through them."

There was a court meeting on March 24th, 1640, but I can find no reference to this letter in the minutes. If it were silently ignored it shows that relations between the King and the hospital must have been very strained at the time.

On February 25th, 1642, it was reported that Sir

James Cambell was dead and the court elected Alderman Sir Edmond Wright to succeed him ; while at the next court, on May 24th, Joseph Draper was elected hospitaller in the place of Mr. Trebick who had resigned. He was ordered to read the charges to the officers publicly every three months or to forfeit 20s. for each neglect.

At this court, too, the worries of the matron were increased by the order that : " She is to examine all women patients suspected of being with child, monthly ; and if she neglect to do so she to provide for the child born in the hospitall." It is clear that the governors in this century, as in the last, had no intention of allowing St. Thomas's to become a lying-in hospital, though the extra work and responsibility thrown upon the matron was rather unfeeling at this time ; since we are told that she was " old and sickly."

Although the minutes give but a few scattered details it is pretty clear that the feeling in the hospital was largely in favour of the parliamentarians in the civil war ; indeed it could hardly be otherwise ; for Southwark as a whole had very little sympathy with the Royal cause. Oman tells us (*Social England*, Vol. IV, p. 328) that in September 1643 the Southwark regiment was nearly 1400 strong and in size was the second of all those that accompanied the Earl of Essex from London, to fight the King at Newbury.

On August 11th, 1643, the three surgeons, " Blackley Fleete and Hellyor " (Thomas Hollyer), the latter of whom was acting for Edward Molins, asked a gratuity for dressing many soldiers of the parliamentary army and were awarded £10 apiece. This, of course, shows the sympathy of the governors with the cause of

parliament, or at least with its wounded soldiers ; but, on the other hand, a later entry tells us that Molins is away tending the Royalist wounded. It may perhaps add a touch of local colour if I remind the reader that Edgehill was fought in October 1642, the first battle of Newbury in 1643, Marston Moor in July 1644, and Naseby in June 1645. On December 8th, 1643, a benevolence of 10s. apiece was given to all the sisters on account of the soldiers.

On January 25th, 1644, an order from the House of Commons is received to displace Edward Molins : " For that he was lately taken in arms at Arundell Castle against the Parliament " and to replace him by Mr. Henry Clodd.

Accordingly Molins is displaced, but parliament is asked to allow Mr. Hollyer to be appointed in his stead ; a request evidently granted.

On January 31st, 1645, an important change in the government of the hospital took place. For several years the Governors' Court had met only three or at most four times a year and the attendance had averaged some thirty-five members. Now, evidently, it was felt to be unwieldy and, since it met so seldom, could do little more than confirm the actions which the permanent officials, especially the treasurer, hospitaller, and matron, had taken. The governors, therefore, decided that a standing committee of seventeen of their number should be elected and that it should meet every fourteen days to transact all urgent business.

In many ways this was a return to the conditions under which the hospital was governed in Marian and early Elizabethan days when there were only thirteen governors who met once a week ; but the new com-

mittee differed in that it had the Court of Governors above it, to which it had to report and to refer matters of grave importance.

This executive body cannot be regarded as the beginning of our present grand committee, although it was often called by that name, for as a matter of fact, it only lived for some fifteen months.

On March 2nd, 1646, Dr. Osbolston, Rector of Parndon Magna, is reported dead but, since it is uncertain whether the presentation rests with us, a committee is appointed to consult "learned counsell." It has already been noticed (p. 16) that the details of our claim to the advowson of Parndon are recorded at the end of the fourth book of the minutes, and we have now reached the seventh. If the court knew that they were there for reference at this time it seems needless to have spent money upon "learned counsell"; but, the court seldom troubled to refer to its back minutes, some of which indeed were very difficult to read.

On March 19th, 1647, two decisions are recorded. The first is that the grand committee, which had only lasted a year and a quarter, is dissolved though no hint is given as to the reason. The second, which I confess interests me more, is that the manor house at Lynsters is ruinous and must be pulled down and rebuilt. I have very pleasant memories of a motor trip which I made in the summer of 1932 to this delightful old farm-house near Rickmansworth, and I think that the minute just recorded gives us the date at which some at least of the present, low, oak-beamed rooms were built, though it may be that much of the oak came from the older manor house which was pulled down at this time.

On September 17th, 1674, four acres at Southmeads, in the parish of Weybridge, were let, a transaction worthy of note because it is the first time that this property is mentioned.

The *Calendar of State Papers* (Vol. DXV, Nov. 10th, 1647) tells us that the governors petitioned Sir Thomas Fairfax for relief from the excise of ale which is given to the numerous sick and wounded soldiers sent into the hospital daily. As it is the brewer has had his goods seized in distraint for £181 8s. The entry finishes with the note : " Money returned."

Nothing has been heard of printing at the hospital since the days of Coverdale's Bible (see Vol. I, p. 112) ; but that the practice still went on is shown by an entry in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Vol. DXVI, Jan. 22nd, 1647-48) which records that a committee of both houses of parliament sent the following directions to two Justices of the Peace of Southwark : " There is a very dangerous book in the press at Mr. Hill's, a printer in St. Thomas's, which will be ready to come forth on Monday. You are to take care for the siezing of the books, and that the printer may be forthcoming (so as) to bring out the author."

On June 14th, 1648, the deaths of two of our surgeons, Edward Fleet and Henry Blakeley, are recorded ; they were replaced by Lawrence Lowe, who had held a reversion since 1639 (see p. 58), and Henry Clodd, who had been nominated by parliament in 1644. Lowe was granted a small house in the hospital precincts at 10s. a year, an arrangement which does not look as though his practice were very large ; while Clodd, three months after his appointment as surgeon, was granted " five months' leave to attend Sir Arthur Hazel-

rigg, King's Governor of Newcastle," provided he left a sufficient deputy. Another three months' leave was given him on May 9th, 1649, but he was warned, under pain of forfeiture of his post at the hospital, not to outstay it nor to expect more time.

We must not be misled by Sir Arthur Hazelrig's title of "*King's Governor of Newcastle*" to think that either he or Clodd was attached to the Royalist cause ; for the former, soon after the execution of Charles I, was appointed one of the Executive Council of State of the Commonwealth ; and Clodd, it will be remembered, had been recommended for his post of surgeon by parliament (see p. 64).

Another detail which shows how little sympathy there was at St. Thomas's with the Royalist cause is that from 1643 to 1649 Alderman Thomas Andrewes was a frequent attendant at the Court of Governors ; and that on March 1st, 1650, when Sir Thomas Adams retired, he was elected President. This Alderman Andrewes was one of the 135 commissioners who were appointed by the independent army to form a High Court of Justice for the trial of the King on January 6th, 1649.

I have already pointed out how busy Charles I had been in using the hospital for his favourites' benefit ; and how little, beyond making promises, he had done for the place ; still, it is rather a comfort to see that Andrewes' name is not among the fifty-nine who signed his death warrant, inevitable though that warrant may have been.

The vacancies made by the deaths of Fleet and Blakeley are responsible for this, the first, autograph letter which the hospital received from Oliver Cromwell.

" March 23rd 1648

Gentlemen

The bearer hereof, Mr. Thomas Crutchley, Chirurgeon, having for a long time served in my former regiment (of whose ability I have sufficient evidence) my desire is that you would look upon him as a person deserving and be pleased that he may be admitted into the next Chirurgeon's place that shall fall voyd in the said Hospitall ; for which you will very much oblige

Your humble servant

(signed) O. CROMWELL."

It will be noticed that Cromwell does not ask for a reversion for Mr. Crutchley and, since there were already reversions waiting for the two posts vacant, the governors were unable to help him in any way.

On January 24th, 1649, the hospitaller, matron, and fifteen sisters ask more wages on account of the dear-ness of provisions ; and accordingly the hospitaller receives an increase of £10 6s. a year, the matron, £3 6s. 8d., and each sister, 10s. This scarcity of food in London during the Civil War has already been noticed and I suppose was a natural result of the dislocation of labour during the struggle. At this court Andrewes was not present and, since it was held only six days before the King's execution, he was probably occupied with the trial.

On March 12th Lawrence Lowe resigned and the letter which he addressed to the President remains among our archives and is as follows :

" Righte Worshipp¹¹

I doe acknowlege wth all thankfullnesse to have receved favors from yo^r-selfe as Presidentt and others

the worshipp¹ Governors of St Thomas Hospitall ;
that according to the reversione granted me, you were
pleassed to make honourable performance to me when
oportunetye offered. I can but confesse y^r worthy-
nesse therein wth all possible gratitude for the same
wishing myselfe in a capacetye to doe further service.
but in regard my present ocasioness will not permit me
to give y^t (that) personal attendance w^h may be
required and is expected notwithstanding a sufficientte
substitute, I doe hearebye as in duty bound w^h all
humilley resign my saide surgeons place to be disposed
of as of righte may be dew, or otherwisse as to you
and the Governors wissedomes shall be thoughte, fitt,
beseetching yo^r worshippe to make knowne this my
hartye thankfullnesse for whatt I once receved and my
humble tender of my saide place to be provided for att
the end of this quartar. I have taken the bouldnesse to
offer this trouble (for w^h I crave pardon) being not in a
capacity to make any other dew addresse

Sir I am

Yo^r Worships mose humble serv^t

LAWRENCE LO

March 8th

1649 "

This courteous and dignified letter does not help us to understand whether Lowe's resignation was caused by private or political reasons. It seems quite unlikely that he was given a better position by the Independents who were now in power ; since he gained the reversion of his surgeoncy at the request of Charles I, in 1639 (see p. 58) ; indeed I cannot help thinking that, as a faithful Royalist, he found the political atmosphere of the hospital impossible and

retired with a good grace. During the short time he was with us he does not seem to have done anything to increase the reputation of the hospital ; but that he had some professional standing is shown by the fact that he acted as one of the examiners at the Barber Surgeons' Hall in Monkwell Street.

His place was at once filled by Giles Hicks whose reversion dates from 1645. Hicks had been a naval surgeon under Robert Rich, Lord Warwick, the popular and capable parliamentary admiral who preceded Blake. He, Lawrence Lowe, and John Browne were, I think, the only naval surgeons St. Thomas's ever had until the late Great War, when Mr. R. H. Robinson saw service afloat.

We still have Lord Warwick's letter recommending Hicks, as follows :

“ After my hartie Comendacons

I am entreated to recomend unto yo^r favourable respect this Bearer Mr. Giles Hicke who hath given us very good testimonie of a discrete cariage and of his skill in Chirurgerie in his late employm^t at Sea in the shipp wherein myself was, whereby I had the opportunity to take the better notice of his qualificacons.

The thing desired is that you be pleased to admitt him to the reversion of a Chirurgion's place in yo^r Hospitall. I may offer this consideraçon as an inducement to yo^r fav^r that his ffather in lawe Mr William King had a reversion granted him which, as I am informed, might ere this have taken place but that he is in possession of a Chirurgion's place in another Hospitall.

I shall leave him to yo^r consideracon, assuring you

that the acceptance of this desire shall be much valued by me.

And so I commit you to God and rest

Yo^r very loveing ffriend

(signed) WARWICKE

Holburne. 12 *Feb.*

1643."

The Mr. William King referred to was a surgeon to St. Bartholomew's and a colleague of Mr. Lawrence Lowe as an examiner at Barber Surgeons' Hall.

At the meeting which appointed Mr. Hicks it was decided that no reversion of any officer's post should henceforth be granted ; and we can understand quite well that these applications for reversions of posts were becoming very tedious when we read that at the next court (May 9th, 1649) five applications for surgeons' reversions were received and rejected.

One barber surgeon in particular, Mr. Bartholomew Lavender, seems to have left no stone unturned to secure a post on our surgical staff ; and his industry in collecting testimonials from well-known public men, though doubtless troublesome enough to them, has enriched the hospital's collection of letters and autographs considerably.

Since letters written by historical personages, however trivial their purport, are always interesting, I make no apology for copying these.

I

" Gentlemen

Having Received very good satisfac̃con touching the sufficiency of yo^r pet^r Mr Bartholomew Lavender,

Chirurgeon, and not doubting yo^r promptness to gratifie a man soe well quallified for yo^r imploy^{nt} I canot but recomend him to yo^r considera^çons and make it my request unto you that you would grant him his peti^çon w^{ch} will be an obliga^{cn} upon

Your very assured friend

(signed) T. FAIRFAX.

Jan^y 30th 1649 "

2

" Gentlemen

The desires wee have to promote ye Honor of yo^r House have induced us to give the assistance of these fewe lynes to your petitioner, Mr Bartholomew Lavendour, Chirurgion.

Wee are confident (such is yo^r zeale for the good of those poore creatures that shall fall under the practice of his art) that nothing can Byasse you in transactions of this nature but an apprehension of merit and therefore wee shall use no other Argument to unite and fix yo^r approba^çon upon him then to tell you that wee knowe him compleately able for yo^r service.

If you please to graunte his peti^çon you shall thereby doe a Worke which in the issue thereby tends to the comendable dischardge of yo^r trust, and to the benefitt of many ; and w^{ch} at present will greatly oblige

Yo^r verie affectionate ffriends

(signed) JO. BRADSHAWE

WILL BRERETON

HEN MILD MAY

WHICHERLEY

THO BIRCHE

Feb 2nd 1649 "

3

“ Gentlemen

I am glad itt falls in my way to accomodate both you and soe good a friend of mine as y^e bearer hereof, Mr Barth Lavender, with y^e same motion : for I make no question but upon y^e acceptance of him you will find him everie waie so well qualified for yo^r service, if I shall receive from you for my motion what I shall be a debtor to you for yo^r condescention (I meane thanks) Trust me gentlemen did nott y^e abilities and worth of y^e man intercede with me, I shoulde not have moved you on his behalfe. But (believing?) him a man thoroughly tried in y^e service of y^e State & found able & faithfull in his profession I could nott reasonably denie him my best assistance in soe faire a motion as to obtain y^e reversion of a Chirurgion's place with you in y^r Hospitall ; wherein, if it shall please you to gratifie him & mee, you neede not feare but yt (that) our gratification herein will soone become yo^r owne. W^h notwithstanding I doe nott mention or intend as a consideration for y^r favor, butt shall & must owne this upon another accompte, & in order hereunto subscribe myself

Your very lovinge freind

(signed) O. CROMWELL

Westminster

Mar 30th 1649 ”

4

“ Gentlemen

Having been informed as well of the ability as faithfullnesse of this Gentleman Mr Lavender, a chirurgeon and freeman of the City of London, as

likewise of yo^r willingnesse to employ such men as are so quallified And having taken cognizance that itt hath bin a favour you have usually vouchsafed to sutors unto you to grant the reversion of a chyrurgion's place in yo^r Hospitall, I thought good to make it my request unto you on his behalfe that you would afford him the benefitt of such a courtesy and respect. And you will very much oblige

Your very assured friend

(signed) FAIRFAX

From my house in

Queenstreete

April 4th 1649 "

Fairfax is so famous as the general who defeated Charles at Naseby that his signatures are almost as valuable possessions of the hospital as are those of Cromwell. What perhaps is not so well known about him is that, although he fully approved the deposition of Charles he was averse from his execution. Indeed, his record makes me feel very sure that he was an honourable, generous and kind-hearted man. The fact that he felt the need of supplementing his first brief letter by one more ample points, I think, to Lavender really being a man of some mark ; and this is borne out by Cromwell's letter which, from such a man, could hardly have been other than an honest one.

But while there is evidence that Fairfax felt that he could not justly refuse to support Lavender's application it did not prevent his urging the appointment of another man more warmly ; as the following letter, which was written only six days after his second in support of Lavender, shows.

“ Gentlemen,

I having received ample testimony of the sufficiency and good carriage of this bearer Thomas Allen a Chirurgeon of London formerly employed in yo^r Hospitall and in that respect better acquainted with Qualitees of Diseases and consequently with the meanes and skill to apply fitt remedies then other that are but of vaine and moderne Experience : And considering (upon due informa^{con}) the necessity of Chirurgeons of more then ordinary Endowm^{ts} in yo^r House above others to undertake the difficult cures of those desperately sicke and mamed sent you fro other places (after great expence and longe and many experim^{ts}) when help there cannot be had, doe intreate you for my sake as well as in respect of his owne abilityes, and the good that may redound thereby to the sicke and impotent, to admit the saide Thomas Allen, upon the first and next vacancy of any chirurgeon's place in yo^r House. And I shall accept yo^r condescen^{con} and graunt of this my Request as noe meane obliga^{con}, which shall engage me to an answerable Requital.

In the meane tyme will remaine

Your very assured friend

(signed) FAIRFAX.

Queenstreet

Apr. 10th, 1649.”

The second letter in the list on p. 72 bears five signatures, of which Bradshaw's is the most important. He was a judge of the Sheriffs' Court at the Wood Street Compter and chief justice of Chester when he was called upon to preside at the High Court which

tried and condemned the King. After the Restoration his body was dug up, hanged at Tyburn, and beheaded.

Sir William Brereton was the parliamentary general who captured Chester. Sir Henry Mildmay was one of the Executive Council of State of the Commonwealth. Whicherley and Birche I cannot identify ; the former cannot have been Wycherley the dramatist, although the spelling of his name means nothing, since the latter was not born until 1640 and would have been only nine years old at the time the letter was signed. The Whicherley of the letter may have been the dramatist's father ; but it is a mere guess founded on the name being an uncommon one.

Importunity for a post may sometimes be carried too far ; and I fear that this was the case with Lavender ; for when Clodd retired, on February 8th, 1650, the former was passed over and the surgeoncy given to William Walton, about whom, so far as we know, nobody had written any letters at all.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOSPITAL DURING THE COMMONWEALTH 1649 TO 1659

ON November 2nd, 1649, Edward Rice, the steward, was discharged "for various reasons," and on the 28th of the same month a committee was appointed to take all legal courses against him for the recovery of money; and also to supervise the various officers. It was ordered, moreover, that neither the treasurer nor any other officer is to borrow money for the hospital without leave of the court; and new orders for the treasurer and clerk (Wm. Duckett) concerning money and accounts were drawn up. It is clear that the court suspected that more was wrong with the finances of the hospital than was accounted for by the steward's peculations.

From another source we learn some, at least, of Edward Rice's shortcomings (*Cal. State Pap.*, Vol. DXVI, Dec. 2nd, 1648). This entry records that 2936 barrels of beer had been received into St. Thomas's since the excise began in September 1643, at 8s. a barrel. A footnote shows that: "Edward Rice certifies that he received 370 barrels more than the true amount."

For six months the committee continued its investigations; with the result that on May 28th, 1650, Mr.

Humphrey Clarke was asked "to take his ease henceforth from acting as treasurer"; and another committee was appointed to report which of the officers "have not performed their trust." The petition of Edward Rice, now in jail, to be released is refused by the court.

On June 26th, 1650, the committee was asked not only to find out whether Mr. Clarke was responsible for any sums of money which had miscarried but also to examine the late offences and breaches of trust of the matron, butler, and cook; and to review the hospitaller's charge. At the same court Mr. George Nashe was appointed treasurer, but only by the year, and was told that: "He is accomptable for all sums of money."

On October 18th, 1650, the committee reports that "The late treasurer, Mr. Clarke, hath not executed his said place as he ought to have done nor according to the trust in him reposed; and that the matron is very aged and weake and a newe person should be provided; but nevertheless she should continue in her house and have £20 a year pençon, and help the new matron."

As a result of this report, Elisabeth Bradshawe was appointed matron and all proceedings against the butler and cook were respited.

As to the hospitaller; his duties were to be reduced to "(1) Praying and expounding a piece of the scriptures daily, (2) preaching twice on the Lord's day, (3) visiting the sicke and weake, (4) burying no patient alone nor taking more than 3s. 4d. for the burial of any abroad. Furthermore he is not to marry nor to baptize in the Chapel."

I think that the main object which underlay these

orders was to free the hospitaller from any need to use the Book of Common Prayer, which the Independents disliked so much because it contains translations of earlier Catholic canticles and prayers.

Going back to December 14th, 1649, we find Dr. Grent dead and Dr. Prujean elected physician, at £40 a year, to attend the hospital on Monday and Thursday mornings. I cannot do better than quote Dr. J. F. Payne's account of him in "The Old Physicians of St. Thomas's Hospital" (*St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette*, January 1898).

"The next physician was a very eminent man, Dr., afterwards Sir Francis Prujean, Physician to King Charles II., and for years President of the College of Physicians. He was also a man of great literary and scientific attainments and a notable connoisseur in the fine arts. Beginning his studies as a sizar of Caius College, Cambridge, in 1610, he ultimately reached a distinguished position in the College of Physicians. When the great Harvey was elected President of the College in 1654, he excused himself on the ground of his age and infirmities, and recommended the continuance in office of Dr. Prujean, who had already been four years President. Our physician resigned his post at St. Thomas's in 1652, and died 23rd June, 1666.

"Sir Francis Prujean was a man of whom as physician to St. Thomas's we may be proud. One who was recommended by Harvey as the fittest president of the College of Physicians, and who enjoyed such universal respect and high distinction in his lifetime, will not be forgotten, though he left nothing written by which we can judge of his medical capacity. The splendid portrait of him by Streeter in the Medical Committee

Room is the finest work of art we possess, commemorating any of our staff."

I am afraid that the last paragraph of Dr. Payne's otherwise valuable notice needs revision. The famous portrait by Streeter is in the College of Physicians and shows a man very different from the black-haired, frail-looking individual, with a face of deathly pallor, in our hospital. Moreover, in the College of Physicians is a statement that the portrait of Thomas Prujean is in St. Thomas's, and I cannot help thinking that, though Sir Francis Prujean was undoubtedly our physician, the portrait which we have always believed to be his is really that of his son Thomas, who was also a fellow of the College.

On March 1st, 1650, after the already recorded election of Sir Thomas Andrewes as President, £3 10s. was voted for the annual dinner in Lent to the doctor, apothecary, surgeons, hospitaller, clerk, steward, their wives, and the matron, "according to ancient custom"; and 30s. for a humbler spread for the butler, cook, fifteen sisters and two porters. How long this ancient custom had existed I do not know, since this is the first mention we have of it, but the guests at the two dinners give an interesting sidelight on the social status of the various officials.

On September 5th, 1650, the number of the poor patients is reduced from 280 to 200 in the winter; and from 240 to 150 in the summer. No reason is given for this but it seems probable that a great many beds had to be provided for wounded and diseased soldiers and sailors; for at this time the Commonwealth had just realized that a well-equipped and well-organized navy was an absolute necessity; and the two great city

hospitals had to serve as the Haslar and Netley of those days.

On October 18th, 1650, the committee was asked to treat about bringing Thames water into the hospital and at the next court, on June 4th, 1651, an agreement was made with Mr. Cholmley to bring it, presumably in pipes, at a yearly rent of six pounds. This must have added very greatly to the comfort of the patients who hitherto had been dependent upon two wells, one of which was foul. We gather from an entry in 1653 that the pure well, near the church, was fitted with a pump which was then repaired ; but there is no record of when this pump was fitted to the well.

On January 23rd, 1652, on the resignation of Dr. Prujean, Dr. Edward Emelie was appointed physician. Dr. Payne tells us (*loc. cit.*) that he was a successful physician and would have been a distinguished one had he lived longer.

On August 20th, 1652, Mr. Giles Hicks, our naval surgeon, was reported dead. Since he had borrowed money from several of the governors his last quarter's salary of £10 was to go to them. This court consisted of forty-nine governors, which was about the usual number at this time ; and, of these forty-nine, three were colonels ; showing, I think, that the all-powerful army, well aware of the importance of the hospital to the fighting forces, was keeping in touch with that hospital's work.

The court had the two following letters read to it, both of them from eminent men, before electing a successor to Hicks. Fortunately these two letters have been preserved.

“ Gentlemen

I am informed that the bearer hereof Mr. Thomas Burton is very honest and faithfull to the interest of the Comonwealth and a p.son very well qualified and fitt for undertaking the Chirurgeon's place in St. Thomas' Hospitall w^h (as I understand) is now vacant, wherefore I doe now recomend the said Mr. Burton to you, desiring that you will conferr the said place upon him, w^h I doubt not but wilbe much for the good of the maymed souldiers.

I rest Gent^l

Yor lovinge friend

(signed) O. CROMWELL.

Cockpitt.

18. Aug. 1652.”

“ Gentlemen

Being informed of the death of Mr. Hicks late chirurgeon of your Hospitall whereby his place has become vacant, and remains now at your disposition ; I make it my earnest request unto you, that when you enter upon a choice, you would be pleased to take Mr. Ralph Thicknes into your favorable consideration he being a person of good ability, diligence and experience in the Profession of Chirurgery : and therefore I am the rather induced to move in his behalfe, that (if you think fit) he may succeed in that place ; the grant whereof will very much oblige

(Sirs) Your assured loving ffriend

(signed) W^m. LENTHALL

Speaker.

ffrom the Rolls.

19. Aug. 1652.”

William Lenthall, of course, was the most famous Speaker the House of Commons has ever known and it is quite possible that his influence upon the electors may have been as powerful as that of Oliver Cromwell and that, as a result of their neutralizing each other, a third candidate slipped in. In any case Thomas Allen, about whom Fairfax wrote (see p. 75), was elected.

In the *Calendar of State Papers* (Vol. XXXV, April 6th, 1653) is a petition from Dr. Emilie, Wm. Walton, Thos. Hollier, and Thomas Allen to the Council of State for proper remuneration for attending sick and wounded seamen. "Since the last engagement with the Holland fleet sixty sick and wounded had been brought in and more were daily expected." This petition was referred to the Admiralty Committee to do what is reasonable.

It seems that the Admiralty's idea of what was reasonable did not agree with that of the petitioners for, on December 2nd of the same year, we find the doctor and surgeons asking the governors: "For some gratuity for their extraordinary care and paynes of and among the seamen and souldiers in this house"; and it is ordered that twenty nobles (£7 3s. 4d.) be paid to the doctor and £5 apiece to the surgeons. The wounded, of course, were the result of the actions between Blake and Van Tromp.

At this court, too, we hear of an early form of fire-engine, for: "an engine for casting water, four dozen leathern buckets and two short ladders are to be provided in case of fire." The short ladders suggest that the buildings were still only two stories high.

September 21st (St. Matthew's Day), 1652, was the

last occasion on which the statutory meeting at Christ's Hospital for the nomination and election of governors of the five Royal Hospitals was held. It had been an annual function until 1587 but after that had fallen gradually into disuse. A certain respect, however, for old traditions was preserved ; for a list of those governors who had been elected during the foregoing year, at each of the hospitals, was sent always to the clerk of Christ's Hospital before St. Matthew's Day, and by him was forwarded to the Lord Mayor. Nominally, of course, these governors' names were sent to Christ's Hospital for confirmation but, since the combined courts of governors seldom met between 1559 and 1652, and never after the latter date, each of the five separate hospitals had become practically self-electing as to its own government and utterly indifferent as to the affairs of the others.

Moreover, as has been shown (p. 20), they were indisposed to welcome any advice or control from the Corporation of the City ; and all these changes, even though necessary, were distinctly against the intention of the founder of three of the hospitals, viz. Christ's, Bridewell, and St. Thomas's.

On September 7th, 1654, Mr. Hancock was appointed hospitaller at £40 a year and other profits. We learn, too, that a substitute, when needed, was paid £1 for a Sunday's duty.

I have said nothing about the hospital manors lately, largely because they seem to have been unaffected by the civil war. There have been few manor courts held, owing to the troubled times ; but the rents seem to have been regularly paid and to be steadily increasing in value.

On May 25th, 1655, courts were fixed for the manors in Essex and Cambridge. It seems that Mr Harbin, our tenant at Parndon, occupied two manors and therefore had two presentations to the parsonage, while we, as Lords of the Manor, had only one ; the governors riding to the court at Parndon were therefore asked to consider whether we should sell our presentation or buy the two others.

On August 2nd, 1655, a new trouble arises. Sisters King, Noah, and Tobias have turned Quakers and if they do not alter their opinions and conform before September 1st they will be discharged. At the next court, on December 14th, we learn that several sisters have been discharged and so we must assume that the Quakeresses had refused to change their religious opinions. The matter is of some little interest because I find that it was in the middle of the seventeenth century that George Fox first preached the doctrines which the "Children of Light," as they called themselves before they adopted the title of "The Society of Friends," received so gladly. They grew in number very quickly, and still more quickly after William Penn joined them in 1681.

We can understand, though we may not agree with, the action of the governors towards these sisters, because one of the Quakers' tenets was that there was no need of an intermediary between themselves and their God ; and that bishops, clergymen, and elders were superfluous. Hence the sect was persecuted alike by Independents, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians.

At this court, held on December 14th, 1655, Roger Young, who had been apothecary for thirty-four years, resigned owing to infirmity, and his place was given to

his kinsman, Samuel Young, in spite of the fact that in 1640 Mr. Rouswell had been promised the first hearing when it should be vacant. Young left to the hospital the house known as Bully Hill, Rochester.

On January 23rd, 1657, Mr. Nash resigned the treasurership because of his age and infirmities and his wish to live in the country ; and Mr. Gabriel Partridge succeeded him.

On August 7th, 1657, Isaac Ward is mentioned for the first time though nothing has been said about any new ward being built lately.

On November 20th, 1657, Dr. Thomas Wharton was elected physician, out of nine applicants, at £40 a year, Dr. Emilie having lately died. Dr. Payne (*loc. cit.*) says of him : “ Every student knows the name of Wharton’s duct, and this notable discovery in Anatomy was only one of the services rendered to science and medicine by our eminent physician. Dr. Wharton was born in 1617 at Winstone, Durham, and educated first at Pembroke College, Cambridge, afterwards at Trinity College, Oxford. On the outbreak of the Civil War he removed to London, and studied under Dr. John Bathurst, physician to Oliver Cromwell. When Oxford was taken by the parliamentary party he returned to the University and was created Doctor of Medicine 7th of May, 1647 in virtue of letters of recommendation from Sir Thomas Fairfax.—I may say that he (Wharton) is chiefly known in Anatomy by his researches on the glands, published in a little book *Adenographia*, which was of great importance in its day. The great Boerhaave of Leyden, speaks of him as a most eminent anatomist, of the greatest authority in that science, a man of integrity and of the highest

repute ; not a great reasoner, but relying exclusively on the dissecting knife. Dr. Wharton acquired a large and important practice in London, and was among the few physicians who remained at their posts during the Great Plague of 1665, when all the wealthier part of the population sought safety in flight. He was partly induced to remain because King Charles II specially asked him to take charge of the plague-stricken soldiers, who were brought to St. Thomas's ; with the promise of a future reward, which was never received. He was promised the place of physician to the King, but when a vacancy occurred, someone else was appointed ; and all that Dr. Wharton got was an augmentation to his coat-of-arms, for which he had to pay a fee of £10 to Heralds' College.

Dr. Wharton died at his house in Aldersgate Street, November 14th, 1673, in his 60th year, and was buried in St. Michael's Bassishaw."

We are indebted to Sir D'Arcy Power for pointing out (in the *British Journal of Surgery*, Vol. XVIII, p. 541), that on March 26th, 1658, Mr. Thomas Hollyer cut the famous Samuel Pepys for the stone. Hollyer, as has been noticed on p. 64, succeeded Edward Molins as lithotomist to St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's and was certainly the most experienced operator of his day. Sir D'Arcy says : " It was fortunate for Mr. Pepys as well as for the many generations who have read his diary that he was operated upon before Hollyer and his instruments became septic, for in 1661 he cut 30 of ye stone at St. Thomas's and all lived, and afterwards he cut 4 and they all died."

Pepys had a very large stone removed and doubtless it was done by the median or Marian operation (see

p. 30) the disadvantage of which was that whereas the lateral operation always left one of the ejaculatory ducts intact, the median, especially if the stone were large, often occluded them both. In Pepys' case he was rendered sterile though not impotent by the operation.

Sir D'Arcy Power reproduces one of the prescriptions written for Pepys and signed "Dr. J. M.", the initials of James Molyns who was the son of Edward Molins, the surgeon whom Hollyer supplanted at St. Thomas's.

While talking about Hollyer I should mention that in 1650 the hospital granted him the lease of a house in St. Saviour's Parish, close by, at £5 a year, with a fine of £450 : it seems therefore that this is where he practised in Pepys' time.

On April 8th, 1658, the allowance of bread to each patient was increased to 16 ozs. At this court, too, it was discovered that the hospitaller had hitherto demanded 3s. 4d. for every patient dying in the hospital but buried elsewhere ; and this is stopped because the governors are glad that they should be buried elsewhere : "For thereby both shroudes and ground to bury in will be saved."

On May 26th, 1658, Mr. Elijah Pledger was appointed minister of the Parish Church at £40 a year, the same stipend that the physician, surgeons and hospitaller were receiving.

On August 18th, 1658, it was reported that Lady Billingsley, the widow of Sir Henry Billingsley, our former president, had left the hospital an annuity of ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.) from the proceeds of Clifford Priory ; and that Thomas Tracy, who had succeeded to the Priory, had failed to pay the annuity for twelve

years. In 1657 an action was brought at the Hereford Assizes at which our claim was granted with £8 10s. costs. Tracy then paid us £100 and now asked time to pay the rest : “ Because his Priory had been plundered by the king’s soldiers and the family was almost destroyed.” The governors, as usual, dealt generously with him and remitted £26 13s. 4d. (40 marks) and also the costs of the lawsuit. This is the last court which was held during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, who died on September 3rd, 1658.

On March 18th, 1659, the incumbent of St. Thomas’s Church, Elijah Pledger, had resigned, and a Mr. Joseph Grave was appointed in his place ; but the appointment did not seem to please a large number of the parishioners who approached the new Lord Protector and induced him to write the following letter to the governors. It is an interesting letter because the term of office of Richard Cromwell was so short that letters written and signed by him are comparatively rare ; and thus it forms a valuable addition to our list of autographs. It is as follows :

“ Gentlemen

We having lately received a petition from the inhabitants of Thomas Parish Southwark setting forth that they being lately destitute of a minister did unanimously pitch upon one Mr. Bowman a person whome the petitioners say they have found by good experience to be very gracious and godly and concerning whom we have seen a large testimony from very eminent ministers whose ministry God hath been pleased to accompany and bless to the conversion of sundry of the inhabitants of the said parish to their greate joy hoping to have reaped further fruits of so

pretious a mercie by having Mr Bowman continued and settled among them. But that it hath so come to pass that another person is voted by the major part of your number to be their minister to the great saddening and grieving of the hearts of the saide inhabitants amongst whom, as we are informed, there are divers who are truly godly. And therefore out of tenderness to them and our care to further and promote the worke of the Gospell which is to convert and bring home souls to God We could not but lay these things before you earnestly desiring you to reconsider of yor former vote and that you may not do that which would grieve and sadden the hearts of God's people and which may hinder the good of souls when it lies in your power and choice to gladden them and to further that work. Not doubting of your willing compliance with Our desires herein which we shall esteem as a particular respect done to us.

We rest

Your loving friend

(signed) RICHARD. P.

Whitehall,

April ye 20th, 1659."

This letter evidently carried great weight for the court at once appointed Mr. Bowman ; though how it managed to settle matters with Mr. Joseph Grave, whom it had definitely appointed at its last meeting, is not related.

At the next court, held on September 2nd, 1659, the death of Sir Thomas Andrewes was reported. Perhaps he died none too soon, because when Charles II came to the throne, in less than a year's time, he was con-

victed of treason and no doubt would have been executed had he lived ; for, although he never actually signed Charles the First's death warrant, he was present at its signature and it was he who, as Lord Mayor, proclaimed the Commonwealth on May 30th, 1649.

The usual three aldermen were nominated, from whom the governors elected Alderman Francis Warner to succeed him as their President.

CHAPTER V

WAR, PESTILENCE, FIRES, AND THE "QUO WARRANTO" UNDER CHARLES II

1660 TO 1685

ON May 8th, 1660, came the Restoration and on the 11th Sir Henry Rose presided, as deputy president, over a court meeting. "At this court it was ordered that the late States Armes standing up in this Courte roome be forthwith taken down and rased out and the kinges armes new painted in the shield thereof and set up where formerly they stood. And that the late King Charles his picture be nowe trymed or washed and set up where formerly it stood. And also that the king's armes be newe painted in King's Ward of this House where formerly they were."

On May 7th, the day before these orders were given, the governors' court of St. Bartholomew's had met, when the same ceremony was gone through and from its minutes we learn that the "States Armes" were a red cross and a harp. It is sad to have to record that the portraits of Charles the First and Second have completely disappeared from St. Thomas's.

At the St. Thomas's Court on May 11th, 1660, Mr. Rouswell, who had been promised a first hearing for the apothecary's post on March 26th, 1640 (see p. 60), was elected after waiting twenty years.

At the next court meeting, on June 29th, 1660, only those governors who had already taken the oath of

allegiance and supremacy, and had obtained their certificates, were allowed to be present and people who had suffered under the Commonwealth began to come once more into their own. Among them was Edward Molyns who petitioned for reinstatement as surgeon ; but his claims were deferred because so many of the governors had not yet taken the oath of supremacy. Poor Benjamin Spencer, who had been sequestered from the ministry of the parish church by the late parliament, was dead, but a benevolence of £15 was voted for his widow.

On July 20th, 1660, a letter from Charles II was read recommending the reinstatement of Molyns. The court, though sympathetic, was unwilling to have four full surgeons, but readmitted Molyns as the "surgeon for cutting of stone." Unfortunately the letter of the King, on this occasion, has not been preserved. On December 7th, 1660, Alderman Francis Warner resigned the presidentship to Sir Thomas Adams, who already had been president from 1643 to 1650. There is nothing to tell us whether there was any political reason for this, though one cannot help suspecting it. Molyns at this court was re-established absolutely as full surgeon, as he was in 1641. "He said that he contemplated a suit against Mr. Hollyer for his salary ever since he was away ; but the court prayed him to compromise and both he and Mr. Hollyer selected two governors to arbitrate, with Sir Thomas Adams as umpire."

The following extract from the *Annals of the Barber Surgeons* (by Austin Young. London, 1890), suggests that Molyns was a man who would need some careful handling by the arbitrators.

“Jan. 12 1641. Edward Molins came into the Court (of the Barber Surgeons) and stood in the face of the Court, with his hat on his head and his armes on his side, and told the Court he would doe noe obedience to the Court ; and swore by God's Wounds he would submit to noe man living.”

For this contempt, we are told, he was fined forty shillings.

On May 8th, 1661, the court decided that, although it was necessary to have four surgeons for a time, the arrangement should continue only until one of them should die and that then his place should not be filled.

On this occasion, too, the court was informed that Sir Thomas Adams had been offered the presidentship of Christ's Hospital, but had refused it.

On November 22nd, 1661, the governors ordered that the portrait of King Charles II should be painted and framed in the same way as that of his father and set up in the courtroom ; and that the king's arms be set up in the accustomed place at the head of King's Ward.

On October 17th, 1662, the presentation to the living of Much Parndon cropped up once more and Mr. Harbin, the lord of the two manors of Katherine's and Somners, agreed to St. Thomas's presenting on this occasion, in order that he might have the next two presentations. Robert Osbaldston was appointed clerk and John Scott, minister of St. Thomas's parish at £40 a year with all fees. At the same court, Thomas Hancock was made hospitaller until Lady Day, on condition that he resided in the hospital.

The fact that a new minister and hospitaller were appointed at this time suggests that their predecessors had been unable to agree to all the provisions of the

Act of Uniformity of 1662, which restored the Prayer Book. It is said that over 2000 clergymen were deprived of their livings for this reason.

It was ordered that "a diet drinke for the patients of the ffoull disease should be given after their salivation"; and £20 was added to the apothecary's salary for this. The ingredients of this diet drink are not mentioned. I see that about this time a drink called Scurvy grass ale was in use at St. Bartholomew's and, since the two hospitals were in close touch with one another at this period, we may have been using the same, but the reference to "the ancient guiacum drink" on p. 116 makes it likely that this was really the one in question. It is important to notice that this is the first time that treatment by salivation is mentioned in the minutes.

On February 6th, 1663, a letter from Charles II, dated December 2nd, 1662, was read. It recommended John Moore for the Clerk's post and the reversion was accordingly given to him in spite of the decision of March 12th, 1649, that no more reversions should be given (see p. 71).

At this court £12 was granted to St. Thomas's Church for vestments, a grant which suggests that our Church was now adopting the revived Anglican ritual.

On August 29th, 1663, William Harrison, who had been doing duty as hospitaller for the last six months, was confirmed in the post and it was decided that Mr. Hollyer should still go on curing sore heads in addition to his posts of surgeon and cutter for stone.

On November 2nd, 1663, the death of Edward Molyns, "the ancientest surgeon of St Thomas's Hospital," was reported and the following letter (the original of which is preserved) from the King was read.

“ Trusty and wellbeloved Wee Greet you well

Whereas Wee are given to understand that the place of one of the Chirurgeons of that Our Hospitall is lately become voyd by the death of Edward Molins who wth great ability and successe had executed that place by succession to his Father formerly Surgeon in that Hospitall. Wee Graciously reflecting on the constant loyalty & long services of the said Edward as also of his Sonne James Molins to us and Our Royal Father & out of a Princely justice to the singular Skill & Art by w^h the said James is become eminent in his Profession & deserving of Our best incouragement, have thought fitt hereby to recomend him to succeed his said Father in y^e place of one of the Chirurgeons of that Our Hospitall, & Our Pleasure is that you forthwth admitt him into the said Place accordingly. wherein Wee doubt not of your ready compliyanse as being so considerable to the advantage & good of the Hospitall to furnish it wth a person of his Abilites. For which this shall be your Warrant. And soe Wee bid you farewell.

Given att Our Court att Whitehall. Octob. 23rd
1663

(Signed) CHARLES. R.

The decision upon this letter was deferred for four days by the court, presumably because of its determination to reduce the number of surgeons to three, but three governors were deputed to go to Mr. Walton and to press him to resign his surgeoncy “ because he is lame and infirm.”

It seems, however, that these gentlemen were not successful in persuading Mr. Walton how lame and

infirm he really was and so at the adjourned court, on November 6th, James Molyns was appointed Surgeon, he and Mr. Hollyer to cut for stone and to receive the extra fees for the same. At the same time it was once more enacted that the four surgeons be appointed for life but on the death of any of them : " the number be reduced to three Chirurgeons and noe more as anciently it was."

On May 26th, 1663, John Sear, who had married the widow of John Sawell, our late tenant at Marsworth on the Bucks and Herts border, complained that the manor house there was so old and ruinous that it could not be repaired. It was decided therefore that if he paid a fine of £240 and rebuilt the house he should have a new lease for thirty-one years at £10 a year. The court also decided that as the apothecary's expenses were more than the £200 a year paid him he should be allowed an extra £40 a year.

On December 2nd, 1664, Samuel Rolls was made hospitaller in the place of Mr. Harrison who had died. The following letter, written by members of the Privy Council, was read (it is preserved in the hospital) :

" Gentlemen

After our hearty commendations. You cannot but take notice of his Ma(jesty's) most pious and princely care in making so comfortable provision for all such mariners, seamen and others employed in his Majesties service at sea, as shall happen to be sick and wounded therein ; and that among sundry other particulars in and by his Majesties late printers Declaration of the 28th of October last his Majesties Royall pleasure is signified, That the moiety of all

roomes and convenient places in all Hospitalls in England Employed for the cure of wounded and sick people, with the allowance and attendance of the house be reserved during the time of warr at sea and disposed to such as shall be wounded in the service of the Navy as they shall become voyd from the first of November 1664. In pursuance whereof we do hereby pray and require you, that from and after the receipt hereof, you take into the Hospitall of St. Thomas in Southwark (under your government) no more sick, wounded, impotent or maymed persons during the continuance of this war, But that you reserve the lodgings, places and necessary accomodations of that Hospitall for the use, benfit, reliefe and comfort of such as shall happen to fall sick or be maymed or wounded in this his Majesties service, and shall be sent unto you by order from his Maj^{es}. Comissioners appointed to take care for their reliefe and comfort.

And so we bidd you heartilly farewell.

From the Court at Whitehall the 11th day of November 1664.

Your very loving ffrends.

(Signed) Gilb. Cant. Ormonde. E. Manchester. Anglesey. Bathe. Lauderdale. Tho. Wentworth. Middleton. Humphrey. London. Ch. Berkeley. Will Morice. E. M. V. Nicholas. Henry Browne. Richard Browne."

Many of the people who signed this letter are of a good deal of interest historically.

Gilbert. Cant., for instance, is Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon who built the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford at a cost of nearly £14,500.

Ormonde is James Butler, twelfth Earl and first Marquis, who was the companion of Charles II in his wanderings and the chief founder of the Irish College of Physicians.

E. Manchester is Edward Montagu who was impeached by Charles I with the five members of parliament and afterwards became a parliamentary general. He opposed the trial of the King and took an active part in the Restoration. He is said to have been a man of a generous and gentle disposition.

Anglesey is Arthur Annesley, another reformed parliamentarian, a man who, Burnet says : " Stuck at nothing and was ashamed of nothing."

Lauderdale, of course, stands for the last letter of the CABAL Ministry. He is John Maitland, an intimate friend of Charles II. He said that he hated " damned, insipid lies," and certainly was an authority on the subject.

Sir Thomas Wentworth of Nettlestead was a distant connection of the Earl of Strafford. Afterwards he became Baron Wentworth.

The Earl of Middleton had been a general under Cromwell but took an active part in the Restoration. During the first half of the reign of Charles II he and Lauderdale divided the chief part of the government of the country between them, although they were bitter enemies.

Humphrey. Lond., is Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, late Bishop of Salisbury.

Sir William Morice, a friend of Monck, was one of the Secretaries of State and Sir Edward Nicholas was the other.

After two of His Majesty's Commissioners had

addressed the court it was decided that 120 beds should speedily be made ready and that the house should be cleared of such as had been long in or were incurable.

About this time the Great Plague broke out and at a court held on February 9th, 1665, £20 were given to Edward Rice who : " Had cured some officers and many patients of this disease, all the surgeons refusing to intermeddle therein." These patients probably had shown their first symptoms after their admission to the hospital.

I cannot think that this person was the Edward Rice who had been dismissed and imprisoned for dishonesty on November 2nd, 1649 (see p. 77), for the former was a surgeon and the minute says : " Is to be remembered when a vacancy for a surgeon occurs." As a matter of fact such a vacancy was before the court at the time ; for Thomas Allen had died and, in spite of the repeated decisions that the place should not be filled, William Piers was elected.

Rouswell or Russell, the apothecary, had been appointed apothecary to the Queen (Catherine of Braganza), and had resigned his post at the hospital, which was given to Richard Sealy.

Owing no doubt to the plague no court was held for more than a year ; and when it next met, on May 23rd, 1666, after the plague was over, little business of importance was transacted.

On September 2nd the Fire of London began and, though fortunately Southwark was spared, the hospital lost a great deal of its City property. A court met on September 25th at which it was reported that our revenue was decreased by more than £600 a year and

it was suggested that no more sick and wounded seamen should be taken in. The commissioners, however, wrote and urged the necessity of receiving them, since the war was still going on and they would promise to be very sparing in the numbers sent.

At this court the death of Gabriel Partridge, the treasurer, was reported and Mr. Osbolston, the late clerk, was appointed to fill his place.

Some rules for the naval patients were drawn up, one of which was : "That they take not tobacco in their bedds to the indangering of the house by fire."

At this time the usual number of governors attending the court was between fifty and sixty and on March 15th, 1667, the treasurer was directed to "appear at the court of aldermen to excuse, if it may be, the continuance of the payment of £200 a year to Bridewell in regard to the vast losse this house hath received by the late fire ; and the good condition (as it is said) of that hospital." A committee was also nominated : "To view and take the dimensions of the grounds of the several tenants of this hospital whose houses were burnt or demolished in the late dreadfull fire in London ; and to treat with the same tenants respectively touching their new buildings of houses upon the same ground and to settle and compose differences by intermixture of rooms or ground if they can and report their proceedings and opinions from time to time to this court."

For more than a year the main business of the court was to receive and approve the suggestions of this committee, suggestions which are too numerous and detailed to be repeated here. Its chief aim was, by extending their leases, to induce the homeless tenants

to rebuild. Often as much as forty years' extension of lease was granted and in many cases the annual payments were reduced as well. Of course the hospital lost money by these extensions of lease because otherwise it would have demanded a fine on the renewal of each twenty-one-year lease, even if the rent had not been raised.

That compensation was paid to the hospital for land taken to widen the streets of the City is shown by an entry on December 22nd, 1670. This records that the sums received were to be handed over to the tenants.

Fleet Lane, leading from the Old Bailey, and Budge Row near Canon Street, were two of the thoroughfares which were widened.

An important stipulation, brought about by the fire, was that all new houses should be built of brick. Among other things we learn that the old Cardinal's Hat Tavern, without Newgate, had now changed its name for the less popish one of "The Fountaine," and was to be rebuilt.

On April 1st, 1668, Sir William Peake, the Lord Mayor, was elected President to succeed Sir Thomas Adams, deceased; but, as he refused the post, Sir John Laurence was chosen at the next meeting on April 21st.

On June 17th, 1668, it was decided that alienation fines should be enforced from all who bought the ground leases of burnt houses.

George Joyce was appointed steward for keeping courts at our manors, an appointment which henceforth relieved the governors from having to ride for many days upon this unpaid task. It also was decided that :

“ The governors’ dinners should hereafter be held in our own hall and not elsewhere as of late.”

On May 21st, 1669, two governors of Bridewell came and demanded the £200 due to that hospital. The court replied that it could not pay but would submit our accounts to an expert if Bridewell would do the same ; apparently, however, this proposal was not successful for, on June 2nd, 1670, the court ordered that the £200 should be paid as usual. At the court held on May 21st, 1669, it was reported that Robert Osbolston was dead and Peter Delauney was appointed to succeed him as treasurer. At this court, too, it was decided that no more married sisters or porters should be appointed and that preference should be given to freemen, or widows and daughters of freemen, of the City.

On November 12th, 1669, certain governors were fined 12d. for appearing without gowns in court. The order made in 1623 (see p. 33) evidently had become rather a dead letter for it was repeated on November 13th, 1668, and now for the first time the penalty was enforced. We must remember that the City merchants were now wearing the dress of Pepys’ time, with full wigs and richly laced coats, and it must have been something of a tax to keep and remember to bring with them gowns which they would only need twice or three times a year ; and so it seems that some of them found it easier to pay their twelve pence for the good of the poor. In any case there is only one more record of fines for this omission and the practice of wearing gowns gradually dropped out though, as I have said, the order never seems to have been repealed and could be re-enforced at any time.

At this court, held on November 12th, the treasurer reported that the diet drink (see p. 95) was not very effective on patients with the "foul disease," so the matter was referred to the committee for burnt houses, though why this already overworked committee was chosen for such irrelevant work is not stated. It was seven months before the committee was able to report that the drink was not effective, whereupon the governors stopped the £40 allowed the apothecary for supplying it.

On June 7th, 1670, it was ordered that stoves should be prepared for the sweating of venereal patients; for their systematic treatment by salivation was now becoming established. At the same time two of the four wards for foul disease were to be cleansed and used for "cleane" patients though, unfortunately, the names of these wards are not given. It was also directed that no person once healed of the foul disease should be admitted again; for at this time the term "foul disease" included all venereal complaints and Hunter taught that syphilis and gonorrhœa were manifestations of the same disease: indeed it was not until 1838 that Ricord showed that they were distinct diseases (*History of Medicine*, Garrison, p. 416).

On December 22nd, 1670, Thomas Hollyer, Junior, was allowed to take his father's place as surgeon, since the elder Hollyer was disabled from attending.

This date seems to be the first at which any indication of an Anatomy school is mentioned, for an order is given that: "No surgeon is to dismember the corpse of anyone dying in this house on pain of the displeasure of the court." It is not stated whether the surgeons

practised anatomy for their own instruction or for that of their apprentices and pupils.

Mr. Edward Rice, surgeon, was given £20 for attending accidents. This gentleman has been mentioned already on p. 100 as a likely candidate for a surgeoncy, but he was not definitely appointed until 1683.

It was ordered at this court that no patient with the foul disease should be admitted without a certificate from the parson and churchwardens of his parish that they will receive him back if incurable, or bury him if he die ; and every patient of any kind from London or Southwark shall procure a like certificate within fourteen days of admission.

At this court, too, the parson and churchwardens asked the governors to pay for hanging their five bells and whitening the inside of the church ; but they were answered that one bell should be hung, and the church whitened, by the hospital and the rest of the work paid for by the parishioners.

This entry destroys the pretty belief which formerly I held that the hospital throughout its history stood fast to the engagement entered into in 1215 with the Prior of St. Mary the Virgin, not to hang more than two bells in its belfry. The belief was founded on the fact that when the Parish Church of St. Thomas was dis-established in our own time there were still only two bells. My faith in our steadfastness, however, was shaken when I found that in 1580 we were charging 12d. " for any peale with the bells " (Vol. I, p. 241), and now it is certain that in 1670 we had five bells.

This long meeting ended with a display of seignorial clemency. John Fletcher, an inhabitant of Tibshelf, had killed himself and our bailiff seized his goods for

the hospital as lord of the manor. " They only amount to twenty pounds and his wife is very poor ; so the court directs that they be given back to her."

On July 18th, 1671, the proceeds of £250 East Indian stock, left us by Edmund Walcott and sold for £387, was made up to £400 and with it three messuages in Newgate Market and Paternoster Row, bringing in £171 a year, were bought on a 97-year lease.

On August 20th, 1671 John Gossage left the hospital two pieces of marsh at Plumstead in Kent, containing 4 acres and 7 acres respectively.

On November 20th, 1672, the shop owners facing the High Street, in front of the hospital, asked for more ground on which to build. A committee was appointed to consider how this might be done without prejudice to the wards ; and also how the building over the foregate might be beautified. The special interest of this minute is that it shows that some of the wards, though we are not told which, must have lain close behind the shops which lined the High Street and were flush with the foregate of the hospital. One notices that the main thoroughfare, formerly Long Southwark, is now the Borough High Street.

At this court the hospitaller, Mr. Rolls, had his salary raised from £40 to £60 ; and £50 was given to Mr. Crux our tenant of Hastingleigh to build a barn there. In an excursion which I made lately (1932) to our old manors in Kent I was shown a barn which I have every reason to believe is the one which Crux built.

On September 3rd, 1673, we are told that three foul wards, instead of the two which the court ordered in June 7th, 1670 (see p. 104), had been converted into clean wards for soldiers and sailors wounded in the

Dutch war which was now drawing to a close. An additional £50 was granted for repairing and beautifying the church and steeple and for repairing the wharfe or bank (of the canal or sewer) in the churchyard. Since another £15 was granted a year later it seems that the church had a thorough overhauling at this time.

On November 21st, 1673, the court met to elect a successor to Dr. Wharton who had lately died. There were thirteen applicants, by whom the governors seem to have been actively canvassed, for 85 appeared at the meeting. The successful candidate was Dr. Richard Torlesse who was appointed at £40 a year to attend on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday mornings.

On December 3rd, 1675, James Hayes, Esq., was elected treasurer to succeed Delauney, deceased.

On May 26th, 1676, Southwark was the site of a disastrous fire which the hospital narrowly escaped. It seems that Mr. Thomas Hollyer's house, which was just on the south side of the (main) gate, had to be blown up in order to save the hospital ; while several small buildings in the churchyard were burnt down. It is recorded that Jonah (late Jonas) ward lay close to Mr. Hollyer's house, which confirms the suggestion on p. 106 that some of the wards at this time were very near the main road. It is said that 500 houses in Southwark were destroyed in this fire and Richard Finch, the clerk's servant, was given 40s. for " saving the writings of this house."

Surely the hospital never spent 40s. to greater advantage than on Richard Finch and my poor efforts to keep his name green are most heartily given.

On September 20th, 1676, it is noticed that " Mr.

Charles Thurland, a bonesetter, has effected many cures of dislocations &c which our surgeons had given up " and his recompense and future employment is discussed. Apparently he remained about the place " effecting cures " for some time, though I fear that our surgeons' welcome to him as a colleague could only have been lukewarm, for a year later he is given £20 and discharged ; but : " If the surgeons refuse to treat broken or dislocated bones or shall present them out as incurable then the takers in may admit them as extra patients under Mr. Thurland who will treat them outside and receive a fee from the hospital."

On February 20th, 1678, a resolution that no governor should take any leases from the hospital was passed. This, of course, may point to corrupt practices which needed checking, but if so they must have been few and far between, for hitherto the court had shown the utmost determination to expose and punish dishonesty, no matter how high the place of the offender might be. Personally I regard this resolution as a self-denying ordinance to safeguard the court from any breath of scandal rather than as a necessary measure to stop corruption already in being. In any case, since all the leases are recorded, I know that few governors became tenants and when they did they paid a full price for their leases.

At the same court the resignation of Mr. Scott, the incumbent, was reported and four candidates for his post were directed to preach before the court on the next Lord's Day. One wonders how the present court of governors would welcome the treasurer's announcement that he had arranged for it to listen to four sermons on the following Sunday.

An agreement was made for a company to work the coal-pits (delphs) at Tibshelf in Derbyshire, which thus from a rural manor became a coal-field.

On March 26th, 1678, the result of the preaching competition was announced and Mr. William Sowton was declared the winner at a stipend of £60 a year. He seems, however, to have asked for, and to have received, a free gift of £10 in addition each year.

On December 12th, 1679, it is reported that brick houses were being built on our land in Kent Street, and it was quite a good thing that this road should be built upon because the State Papers (Vol. XCCVI, July 4th, 1631) tell us that the underwood by the side of it was such a receptacle for thieves that passengers scarce dare pass that way.

On April 27th, 1680, Hester Palmer was appointed matron in place of Katherine Green, deceased, and William Hughes succeeded Samuel Rolls as hospitaller, the latter having lately died. Mr. Hughes was to receive £60 a year. It was decided that no officer should henceforth petition the court for gratuities, since the practice had become almost ridiculous in the last few years. It must, however, be admitted that the salaries were very low and did not keep pace with the increasing cost of living.

On July 8th, 1681, another fire took place in Southwark and twenty-four houses belonging to the hospital were burnt. A committee was empowered to give increased leases to tenants who would rebuild with brick. It was now decided to build a new main entrance, eleven feet high with two rooms above it, since the old entrance was "awry," the inner gate being narrower than the outer. Moreover it was "very

obscure but the new one will be quite obvious and may attract contributions. Something would be taken from the wards but there were funds to build a new ward and also a withdrawing room for the president and governors which, with the hall, would be sufficient for burials and [*sic*] other public entertainments."

Later there was submitted "a draft of a fronticepiece to be made of Purbeck stone before the front of our hospital to the High Street, containing pillars, and the king's arms, and effigies of King Edward VI and four cripples carved in stone." The mason who prepared this estimated that it would cost £190. This estimate was accepted and the work ordered. The effigy of Edward VI is, I believe, the one which now stands on our river terrace, while the four cripples may still be seen, two on either side, as we enter the central hall from Lambeth Palace Road.

On February 20th, 1682, the governors were informed that a Royal Commission had been appointed to visit the hospital and to inspect its charter under the writ of *Quo Warranto*, a writ which dates from the time of Edward the First. At this time Charles was ruling without a parliament and as the strength of his opponents lay in the towns these were attacked by writs of *Quo Warranto*, calling on them to show cause why their charters should not be declared void on the ground of abuse of privilege. When the charters were surrendered fresh ones were granted, in which all officials but those in sympathy with the King were removed from office.

The St. Thomas's court replied to the commissioners that: "It did not possess the original charters, the same being granted to the Maior, commonalty and

citizens of London; nor could it wait upon the commission without the directions of the court of aldermen."

The commissioners, on receiving this reply, directed the Lord Mayor to send the original charters to the Council Chamber, to be compared, and kept, by them; and this direction was communicated to the court of aldermen on March 17th, 1682. The court ordered the charter, which it understood was lodged at Christ's Hospital, to be brought to it and the town clerk was directed to inform himself if such visitation had been formerly made, and how the three hospitals of Christ's, Bridewell and St. Thomas's, being all of one foundation, came to be divided. (Court of Aldermen, Rep. 87. fo. 125.)

It seems that the commissioners had to write once more demanding the charter of the hospitals from the Lord Mayor and were informed on March 20th that the Court of Aldermen could not deliver the same without the consent of the commons in common council assembled (Rep. 87, fo. 126b).

Eventually the original grant or charter of the three Royal Hospitals, which was, and still is, kept at Christ's Hospital, was delivered to the commission, but St. Thomas's heard nothing more of it for a year and nine months.

Meanwhile the hospital courts were held as usual and on November 29th, 1682, a lease was signed by which Thames water should be brought to the hospital's back gate for £4 a year.

On June 21st, 1683, the death of William Pierce was reported and a letter from the King was read recommending John Browne, one of His Majesty's surgeons

in ordinary, for the post. The court debated the prior claim of Edward Rice who, eighteen years before, "had exposed his life in the cure of several officers and patients of the house in the time of the late dreadful plague when all the chirurgeons had deserted their posts" (see p. 100). At last it was decided that both should be appointed, but Rice was to receive only £20 a year until one of the other three should die, "when he is to have the usual £40 and the number of surgeons is again to be reduced to three, according to the ancient and constant usage of this hospital."

On December 10th, 1683, it was a different court which met to hear the orders made by H.M. Commissioners for regulating hospitals in and about the City of London, under the judgment of *Quo Warranto*. Sir John Laurence, the president, and James Hayes, the treasurer, had been deposed and replaced by Sir William Hooker and James Reading. The clerk and the steward had been dismissed and a number of the governors who were opposed to the autocracy of the King, removed. Though it is not mentioned in the minutes the charter of the Royal Hospitals had been confirmed by Charles II and given back to Christ's Hospital and a standing committee, consisting of Sir Robert Jefferies, Sir John Chapman, and twenty-one carefully selected governors, was appointed to examine and audit the accounts of George Joyce and James Oakes, the late clerk and steward.

Among the medical staff Dr. Torlesse was replaced by Dr. Dawkins, who had been appointed his assistant on November 29th, 1682, and by Dr. Briggs, so that there were now two physicians, while Thomas Hollyer, junior, and, I think, James Molins and William Walton,

were removed and replaced by W. Pepper and Mr. Court.

I cannot find out anything about Dr. Dawkins, but Dr. Briggs was one of the first English physicians who studied diseases of the eye. He made valuable researches into its anatomy as well as into the Theory of Vision which were partly adopted by Sir Isaac Newton, and are still important in the History of the Science of Optics.

After this no court was held for eight months, and when it assembled on August 5th, 1684, fifty governors appeared, many of whom were new, and among the number our old friend Samuel Pepys was included.

The committee appointed to audit the accounts seems grossly to have exceeded the terms of its reference, for its report contained the following sixteen suggestions, some of them quite good, and all of them at once adopted by the court.

1. Drugs shall be bought by the hospital and the apothecary allowed £50 a year for compounding the same.

2. The beer allowance to be increased by one-third from June 1st to September 1st.

3. A fluxing ward for each sex to be set apart for fluxing patients with old sores and ulcers, whether caused by the foul disease or not ; and two diet drink wards with hot houses to be provided ; but no patient to be fluxed without the physicians' advice.

4. Elizabeth Woodcock (the sister of Queen's ward), a person of incorrigible behaviour, to be displaced.

5. A cartway to be made through the hospital premises from Southwark High Street to St. Olaves'.

6. The two physicians, Drs. Dawkins and Briggs, to have £40 a year each.

7. Mr. Sowtan, the incumbent, to have £120 a year until a house is provided for him.

8. No patient to be admitted (except emergencies) without a petition to the president and governors.

9. Patients to be reduced to 160 and not to be exceeded.

10. For six weeks in Spring and Fall extra patients to be admitted.

11. No skillet carriers or helpers to the sisters to be allowed except such as the president and treasurer authorise.

12. That no patient be brought upon the 4d. or 2d. score but by the advice of the physicians and surgeons.

13. That no consumptive patients be admitted except in extraordinary cases and then they shall be placed in the most airy wards.

14. Patients refusing to take prescribed physic, or taking other than that prescribed, to be dismissed.

15. That the surgeons and sisters shall give an account of the condition of all patients to the physicians.

16. The hospital shall be visited by the president or treasurer and the takers in pro. tem. and such other governors as the president or treasurer shall nominate, once a quarter, in order that cured or incurable patients may be discharged.

The sisters evidently were restive under the rule of the new governors, for in addition to the sister of Queen's ward, already mentioned, the court found it necessary to discharge sisters Dorcas, Abdiel, and Magdalen as well as assistant sisters Tobias and

Magdalen. (I should have mentioned that at this time all the great wards had assistant sisters.)

It seems, too, that Hester Palmer, the matron, was among those dismissed, for a new matron, Susannah Bayley, was appointed in 1684.

In spite of the terms of the charter, which had only just been confirmed, the commissioners decided that the court was at full liberty to "treat and contract for any leases ; any former usage, custom or order of the house to the contrary notwithstanding."

A standing committee was appointed to advise the court about everything connected with the hospital and a committee of four auditors and four assistants was nominated.

It will be noticed that the policy of the commissioners and new governors was to cast off the yoke of the City in a very arbitrary and unauthorized way, a policy which was later to lead to a great deal of trouble.

CHAPTER VI
THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY
1685 TO 1700

ON February 6th, 1685, James II came to the throne, but no governors' court was held until June 17th, 1686, when it was ordered that : " The ancient guiacum diet drink and no other is to be given to patients with the foule disease, or French Pox, unless the physicians order other." Also that : " Drugs are to be provided by such of the governors as are apothecaries, with the advice of the physicians."

The following letter from James II was delivered by James Pearce, Esq., Chirurgeon General of His Majesty's Forces, and a governor of the hospital.

" (Countersigned) JAMES. R.

It being necessary that such non Commission officers and private souldiers within our pay and entertainment as shall be sick from tyme to tyme be sent to ye Publique Hospitalls for their cure And for enabling the said hospitalls the better to receive them and ye Governors to furnish more beds then otherwise they can doe Our will and pleasure is that out of the subsistence appointed for our respective troopes and companies you deduct from time to tyme fourpence p. diem for each sick man that shall be sent to any such

Publique Hospitall by ye direcc̃on of the Chirurgeon General of our forces dureing his stay there according to such certificates as shall be delivered to you by him from time to time wch certificates are to specifie ye name of each souldier w^h Troope, Company or Regiment he is and ye time of his being there And ye money soe deducted from the subsistence of each man soe sent to the said hospitall Wee doe hereby direct to be paied by you to ye Govern^s or Treasurer of the respective hospitalls or whom they shall appoint to receive the same for ye purpose aforesaid. And for soe doing this shall be yo^r warrant. Given at our Court at Windsor this twentie eighth day of May 1686, In ye second yeare of our reigne

By his Ma^{ties} Comand

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT

To our R^t trustie and Right welbeloved Cousin & Chancellor Richard, Earle of Ranellah paymaster gen^l of our Guards and Garrisons and Land forces.

AD COLONELL (?) J. PEARSE."

H.M. Commissioners for regulating hospitals, at this court, ordered the admittance of James Hollyer as surgeon in place of Edward Rice, deceased.

The wording of this appointment enables us to understand how completely all opposition had been crushed and how absolutely the hospital was governed by the King's commissioners, with or without their creatures in the packed court of guardians. Although we may feel indignant at this, we must admit that the commissioners had the welfare of the place at heart and that probably St. Thomas's was all the better for the rough shaking up it received from them. Their

rule, however, was not to last long. They had defied the corporation and citizens of London and eventually met the usual fate of those who did so, though while they were in power they certainly put new life into the place.

In the present instance they realized that the hospital was not properly equipped for the work which it had to do ; that its buildings were too small and too insanitary even for those times and that the question to be faced was whether the greater part of it should be pulled down and rebuilt upon modern lines. To consider this a standing committee of thirty-five governors was appointed which was also to review all manors, tenements, etc., belonging to the hospital.

On September 14th, 1687, Mr. Turner, the hospitaller, said that his duties as curate of St. Thomas's Church prevented his holding service every day in the hospital, and he was allowed to appoint a substitute. It seems, therefore, that on this, I believe the only occasion, the duties of hospitaller and incumbent were performed by the same person, in spite of the decree of Edward VI, in his letters patent, that two ministers should be maintained in the hospital (see Vol. I, p. 133).

At this court the hospital clerk was ordered to attend all Courts Baron and Courts Leet (see p. 7), which must have entailed a good deal of travelling for him ; and there is also a note that : " The Old Bird in Hand," in Fore Street, Southwark, and messuages and a school-room in " Three Herring Yard," were let—information which may interest some Southwark topographer in the future.

One of the members of the standing committee

proposed that the surgeons be allowed to prescribe for certain patients ; but evidently he was ahead of his time for it was carried : " That the ancienne rule be adhered to that noe surgeon shall give anie phisick to any patient."

On January 7th, 1688, the Court of Aldermen ordered that all who had been made governors of St. Thomas's Hospital, before or after the *Quo Warranto* judgment, should be summoned to the courts there (Rep. 94, fo. 81). This order follows the reversal, by Act of Parliament, of the *Quo Warranto* rule and marks the return of Sir John Laurence to the post of President and also of Dr. Torlesse and Mr. Hughes, the hospitaller, to their old posts.

On February 12th, 1689, William III and Mary were declared King and Queen.

On July 1st, 1690, Sir John Laurence, the President, presented the names of fifty-nine governors, among whom Sir Robert Clayton first appears in connection with the hospital.

Dr. Briggs, Mr. Turner, the hospitaller and incumbent, and others who had been ejected on the reversal of the orders of the *Quo Warranto* commissioners, petitioned the Council of State on July 12th, 1690, against their dismissal and the Council referred the matter to Lord Chief Justice J. Holt for his report. This was given on December 11th, 1690, as follows :

" May it please your Majesty I have examined the matter referred to me by the order of Council hereunto annexed and having heard all persons by their Councill, I find the petitioners have totally failed in the prooffe of the suggestions of their petition. And I do

humbly certify that King Edward VI in the seaventh y^r of his reigne ffounded the Hospitall of St Thomas in Southwark and constituted the Mayor, Citizens and Commonalty of the City of London Governors, and for a long time the usage hath been that a president and a select number of Citizens who are called governors have had the government and management of that hospitall. And there hath been anciently one Physician and an Hospitaller or Chaplaine. And on the 21st of November 1673 Dr. Torlesse was elected Physician and on 27th April 1683—Hughes, Clerke, was elected Hospitaller or Chaplaine by the President and major part of the Governors, and they both continued in their several places until the judgment was given in the *Quo Warranto* against the City in the year 1683 and then the Commissioners appointed by King Charles II for the management of the affaires of the Hospital placed Dr. Briggs, one of the petitioners, to be Physician in the roome of Dr. Torlesse, and Mr. Turner to be Hospitaller in the roome of Mr. Hughes. But it did not appear to me that the Commissioners had a visitoriall power but they were only to govern the Hospitall.

I find that the 18th June 1869 there was an order made by the Court of Aldermen that Dr. Briggs should continue Physician until further order. And the 24th Jan. following It was ordered by the Court of Aldermen that all officers that were removed by vertue of the judgment in the *Quo Warranto* should be restored to their places. I am therefore humbly of opinion that since the judgment in the *Quo Warranto* against the City of London is reversed by the late Act of Parliament (Stat. 2. Wm. & Ma. Cap. 8) the Mayor,

Commonalty and Citizens are lawful Governors of the Hospitall and that all persons are restored to their places which they had before that judgment, And therefore according to the usage Dr. Torlesse is Physician, and Mr. Hughes is Hospitaller or Chaplaine, and that the petitioners Dr. Briggs and Mr. Turner have no right to the several places they pretend to. All which I humbly submit to Your Maj^{ies} wise consideration.

J. HOLT."

" His Majesty in Council was pleased to approve of the said report and to order that the said petition of Dr. Briggs, Mr. Turner and others bee dismiss this Board and the report confirmed accordingly.

CHA. MONTAGUE."

On September 11th, 1690, the following letter, which explains itself, was received from King William III :

" Trusty and Welbeloved Wee greet you wel, Whereas wee have been given to understand that the place of Steward to that our Hospitall of St Thomas Southwark is now become void by the death of James Oakes, late Steward there, and humble sute having been made unto Us in the behalf of our Trusty and welbeloved John Langwith, Gent. and having received a good character as well of his fidelity and integrity as of his ability for the said employment, We doe by these Our Letters very affectually recommend him, the said John Langwith, to you to be elected and admitted into the said place of Steward of that Our Hospitall in the roome and place of the said James

Oakes with all and singular the rights, Wages, fees, priviledges and allowances to the same belonging in as full and ample manner to all intents and purposes as the said James Oakes or any other heretofore Steward of our said Hospital [*sic*] held and enjoyed it. Soe not doubting of your chearful and ready compliance with this Our recommendation Wee bid you farewell.

Give at Our Court of Kensington the 11th day of September 1690 in the Second Year of our Reigne.

By his Ma^{tys} command

NOTTINGHAM."

(I should like to call attention to the fact that, in this letter, Hospital is spelt for the first time with only one final L.)

Although this letter is preserved among our documents no record of its reception occurs in the minutes ; and the post of steward was not filled until July 7th, 1691, when Thomas Whitehill and not John Langwith was appointed.

Perhaps the King was privately asked to allow the governors to appoint the men they thought best fitted for vacant posts and to consider merit rather than influence in their selection. From what we know of the good sense of William III an appeal of this kind would have been readily agreed to. In any case this is the last occasion on which we find monarchs or noblemen openly trying to influence elections at St. Thomas's.

On October 23rd, 1690, the Court of Aldermen ordered the clerk of St. Thomas's to furnish the names of all the governors at the time of entering judgment on the *Quo Warranto* and to state what governors have

been since appointed. It also appointed a committee to search into the original constitution of appointing governors to the Royal Hospitals (Rep. 95, fo. 181b).

This committee reported on March 10th, 1691 (1690 O.S.): "That they could not find any authority for altering the method of election nor for electing other than citizens (freemen) as governors" (Rep. 95, fo. 235).

On March 27th, 1691, a hospital committee was appointed to consider how many persons who were made governors between entering the judgment in the *Quo Warranto* against the City's charter, and the reversal of that judgment, are fit and proper to be continued as governors.

On May 26th, 1691, this committee reported that forty-three such members were fit to be governors and among these we find the name of Sir Christopher Wren, but not that of Samuel Pepys. Green staves were ordered to be sent to them and this is the first mention in our minutes of the old custom of sending a green staff to a newly elected governor as a sign of his office, though the custom may have been much older than this. The practice was discontinued a few years ago on the score of economy, but perhaps the court may reconsider the matter at some future time and think whether these picturesque links with the past have not a certain significance which, even in money, is worth more than the slight saving effected by abandoning them.

The committee also reported as follows: "That every of the four surgeons, viz, Mr. Browne, Mr. Elton, Mr. Court (Principal Surgeons) and Mr. Pepper, Ass^t Surgeon, are guilty of the breach of the orders

and neglect of their duty to the great prejudice of the patients and we humbly conceive that one chief cause thereof has been occasioned by the methods by which they came into their places, every one of them having been chosen by *mandamus* by the commissioners, and as they were not appointed by the governors they refused to observe the governors' rules."

The committee suggested that only those who have been examined and approved by the Company of Surgeons (Barber Surgeons) should be made surgeons to the hospital and that none but such as are bound apprentices at Surgeons' Hall for seven years at least, and have served two years of that time, shall be allowed to dress for or under any surgeon, unless in the presence of his master, except he be approved by the committee of governors.

Then the committee's report points out that the hospitaller has not been visiting the sick lately and suggests that he should be told that this is one of his chief duties.

Constant breach of the order against "prophane swearing" is next admitted and deplored.

The butler has been giving out extra beer and ale of late and the committee thinks that no patient should have more than a quart of either, unless the takers-in increase the amount in the summer months. Perhaps the committee was right, but I must point out that Dr. Norman Moore in his splendid *History of St. Bartholomew's*, tells us that the patients in the sister hospital were allowed three pints a day in 1687. In this we must certainly admit our inferiority with what grace we may.

The last suggestion that the committee makes is that

three surgeons and one physician are enough for the hospital "according to the ancient custom."

Among some new leases which were granted at this court is one for the George Tavern and the houses behind it in George Alley. The "George," so far as I can find out, was the only one of the great Southwark inns which belonged to us (see Vol. I, p. 213); "it was burnt in the late fire and must now be built of brick."

On July 7th, 1691, it was decided that the present surgeons, Messrs. Browne, Elton, Court, and Pepper, should be discharged and replaced by Messrs. Samuel Smith, Simon Rideout, and W. Coatsworth, all examined and approved surgeons: and that one of them should attend every morning. It was also decided that, between the courts, the grand committee should have power to transact all business and to suspend officers when needful.

On July 21st, 1691, the court was informed that three of the discharged surgeons had petitioned the Council of State for their restoration. By the direction of the Court of Aldermen (Rep. 95, fo. 311b) a deputation of governors was appointed to attend H.M. the Queen in Council; William III being then in Holland.

On November 6th, 1691, a last attempt to induce the governors to appear in gowns was made and all those who were not so attired were fined sixpence for the poor. Why this excellent incentive to charity was not continued I cannot imagine.

Mr. Davies was appointed apothecary in place of Mr. Soly, deceased, and Mr. Hughes had the hospitaller's post, from which he had been removed by the

Quo Warranto commissioners in 1683, returned to him. He was to read prayers every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday ; and to preach twice a week.

On February 18th, 1692, the death of Sir John Laurence was announced and Sir Robert Clayton elected president. Laurence had been an important man in the City and was looked upon as one of the chief leaders of the Whig Party there. It was this, with little doubt, which made the commissioners appointed by Charles II, under the *Quo Warranto*, displace him from his presidentship and it was this, with still less doubt, which ensured his replacement so soon as that writ was reversed ; for throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries St. Thomas's favoured the Whig cause, just as St. Bartholomew's favoured that of the Tories.

In addition to his political activities Laurence, who belonged to the Haberdashers Company, had been Lord Mayor in 1664-65 and Colonel of the White Regiment of the City's trained bands.

At this court £10 was voted to Mr. Rideout : " For work done between the death of Mr. (James) Hollyer and his appointment as surgeon." This is a difficult entry to understand ; for nothing is said in the minutes about Hollyer's death. We know that he was appointed in 1686 (see p. 117) and that then the four surgeons were Hollyer, Browne, Court and Pepper ; while in 1690 they were Elton, Browne, Court, and Pepper. It seems clear, therefore, that at some time during these four years Hollyer died and that the commissioners replaced him by Elton. But if Elton replaced him, why should Rideout have been doing his work ? I am afraid that I cannot solve this puzzle which perhaps,

after all, is of no great moment and the missing clue may turn up at any time.

On July 22nd, 1692, Clayton's presidentship opens with two practical decisions. The first is that all the officers and servants are to be chosen (? re-elected) each year at a general court in April ; and the second, that the grand committee has now to report to each court its activities during the interval between them.

On August 24th, 1692, the fact of Mr. Samuel Smith's death was announced and also that Mr. Browne, late surgeon, was appealing to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal for his reinstatement. The governors decided to counter this move by sending a committee, on October 10th, to these commissioners to tell them what the hospital thought of Browne.

On January 13th, 1693, the court met to appoint a surgeon in place of Samuel Smith ; and John Browne, of course, applied ; Mr. Thomas Elton, however, was appointed, or rather reappointed, since he had already served under the *Quo Warranto* commissioners.

On April 23rd, 1693, leave was given to enclose the common at Tibshelf in Derbyshire and to dig for coal on any of the farms, duly compensating the tenants. A list of twenty-six tenants is given and their compensation estimated at £100 a year with £1500 for fines. John Start was given a lease of Marsworth in Bucks at £10 a year and £300 fine provided he built a kitchen and dairy.

The grand committee recommended (1) That Mr. Bradford, the incumbent, be granted £15 per annum for a house. (2) That the older parts of the hospital, which cost so much to keep in repair, should be

replaced by modern ones. (3) That the apothecary be allowed £250 for drugs, as of old. (4) That the doctor and surgeons should have extra pay for their "extraordinary pains of late in the treatment of so many soldiers and sailors." This recommendation reminds us that, now Marlborough was at work, St. Thomas's was still very largely a military hospital. These recommendations were altogether approved and a special committee was appointed to enquire (1) Whether we, as lords of the manor, had the right to dig for coal at Tibshelf; (2) the cost of the necessary rebuilding of the hospital and what subscriptions could be raised; (3) what could be done to inspect the quality of the drugs supplied by the apothecary; (4) what gratuity should be given to the doctor and surgeons.

Mr. Hughes, the hospitaller, was directed to read prayers every day and his salary raised from £60 to £70 a year.

On January 17th, 1694, a ward named Susannah is mentioned incidentally, though there is no information as to when or where it was built.

On August 22nd, 1694, the committee reported that: "The house is very much in disburse"; and it asked the court to invite liberal contributions from well-disposed persons.

The apothecary had £30 added to his salary "so long as the present war (with France) lasts." Torlesse received a bonus of 20 guineas and each surgeon, one of 15 guineas.

In spite of the opinion of the grand committee, recorded on page 125, it was found impossible to manage with only one physician, so Dr. Caleb Coatsworth was appointed assistant, with £20 a year salary.

Several new governors were nominated, including Mr. Thomas Guy.

On July 5th, 1695, Captain John Smith was made treasurer in place of Mr. Reading, deceased. The sisters' wages were now fixed at 44s. a year.

On August 21st, 1695, Susannah Bailey was succeeded by Frances Till as matron.

On June 9th, 1696, subscriptions towards the new buildings began to come in from the governors.

On August 21st, 1696, the Tibshelf collieries were let for £15 per annum and £150 fine, but not more than four shafts were to be worked at a time.

On August 26th, 1697, the second burial ground "at the back end of this house" was reported so full that it could be used no longer; but since some small houses on the north side of the (original) churchyard had been burnt down lately by a fire (the third in this century) which otherwise seems to have done little damage, the tofts or enclosures of these were to be used as a third burial ground; and now for the first time the dead were to be buried in coffins, for hitherto only shrouds had been supplied.

It was ordered at this court, probably as a result of the last fire, that the hospital should be insured for £1500.

In order to stimulate subscriptions toward the rebuilding scheme the names of those governors who gave more than £20 were to be painted in the hall in gold letters.

On March 17th, 1698, the grand committee reported that it had been obliged to suspend Mr. Thomas Elton, one of the surgeons, because he had assaulted and beaten his colleague, Mr. Simon Rideout, in one of

the wards. The minutes, as usual, are provokingly reticent about the details, but, from the context, one gathers that Elton was annoyed that Rideout should have been given Hollyer's work to do after the latter's death; and that Rideout had caused further annoyance by preceding Elton in the ceremonial procession when the surgeons accompanied the governors to church in the Easter Holidays (see p. 175). Elton begged the pardon of the court, and, after a reprimand from the president, was reinstated; but a rule was made that: "If any officer strike another within the gates he shall be immediately expelled."

"John Browne, formerly a surgeon but discharged for misdemeanours, prayed now to be admitted a supernumerary (i.e. 4th) surgeon." This motion was put and lost and Browne is heard of no more.

John Browne in his day was an important man. He seems to have been a good surgeon and something of an anatomist though his chief asset was his skill as a courtier. A most interesting account of his life was written by Dr. F. Wood-Jones in the *St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette* (Vol. 21, Feb. 1911, p. 55) from which we learn that Browne had been a pupil of Thomas Hollyer at St. Thomas's (the first mention of a pupil in our records). He had also served as a naval surgeon in the Dutch wars.

He wrote several books, one of which, called *Myographia Nova*, was a shameless plagiarism of the plates of Casserius on the muscles. So far as the anatomy of his pictures went they were almost exact copies of Casserius' work, but he disguised his piracy by putting wigs on his figures and altering the scenery in the background.

No one at the time found him out, and Charles II, who was interested in Science, made him his chirurgion-in-ordinary and ordered the governors of St. Thomas's to appoint him a surgeon to the hospital. This they had to do although they had promised the post to Edward Rice who had behaved so splendidly during the plague year. After St. Thomas's got rid of Browne his abilities as a courtier made him surgeon successively to James II and William III.

In 1684 he published a fulsome work called *Adenochoiradelgia*, on Struma, in which he says that Charles II touched 92,107 persons for King's Evil in twenty years.

Dr. Barclay Smith, writing in the same *Gazette* for July, 1912, bears out Wood-Jones' charges against Browne.

Mr. Hughes, the hospitaller, prayed the court to "consider his low circumstances and poverty in addition to his having had to pay over £10 for which he was assessed by Act of Parliament on his salary." The matter was referred to the committee which, at the next court, recommended that he should receive £10 12s. for taxes and an additional £10. Unfortunately by that time the poor man was dead and so the money was given to his daughter. Poor Hughes seems to have had rather a sad life, for he was turned out of his post for eight years during the *Quo Warranto* epoch, during which he probably got deeply into debt; then he lost his wife and, after he was reinstated, his daughter and he had a hard fight to live on his stipend of £70 a year from which £10 12s. was deducted for tax.

At this court (May 17th) it was reported that seven

acres at Plumstead in Kent had been left to the hospital by John Gossage and that Mr. Deputy Thomas Eyre was elected treasurer in the place of Captain Smith, deceased.

At this court, too, the following order from the Court of Aldermen (Rep. 101, fo. 392) was read.

"Oct. 5th, 1697 (9 Wil. 3.) Whereas every alderman of this City is a governor of every of the hospitals of this City and ought of right to have notice of, and be particularly summoned to, all courts of the said hospitals ; which of late hath been by the negligence of the clerks of the said hospitals omitted. It is ordered by this court that all the aldermen shall be for the future, as formerly, summoned to every court to be holden for every of the said hospitals. And that the presidents of the said hospitals do order that summons be made by their officers accordingly. Goodfellow."

On July 20th, 1699, Mr. Weld, the steward, was reprimanded and pardoned for failing to account for monies received from the King for soldiers.

Mr. John Turton was appointed hospitaller in place of Mr. Hughes.

On November 8th, 1699 it was proposed that a building like those in the quadrangle be erected on the south side of the void ground, part of the late great wards, between the toft of the Parish Church, eastwards, and the yard of Mr. Balaam's house, westwards, by means whereof the wards called Jacob, Abdiel, and Judith, lying in the backyard but one, may be made use of for foul patients and will contain as many as are now usually kept ; and the utmost background may be continued for a burying place as formerly.

The following abstract of the orders for the hospital, passed at this last meeting of the seventeenth century, is worth recording, because from it the day's work of the place can be reconstructed more nearly than from any other source. It will be noticed that rather more than half of these forty-one rules say what is not to be done or allowed, and these, we may safely assume, were not drawn up without real need. And so I think it likely that the practices forbidden by these rules were common in the hospital before this date.

ABSTRACT OF ORDERS FOR 1700

(1) No patients to be received but on court days except by order of the president, treasurer or takers in.

(2) None to be received with plague or other infectious disease.

(3) None to be received without a churchwarden's security and certificate.

(4) None to be received twice except for a fresh disease.

(5) No incurables are to be received.

(6) No garnish money is to be demanded.

(7) The poor are to be dressed by the surgeons before ten o'clock in winter and nine in summer and no money is to be taken.

(8) No skillet carriers are allowed except at the surgeons' charge.

(9) All medicines are to be viewed twice a year by the staff.

(10) The doctors and surgeons are to meet at 10 a.m. on Monday, Thursday and Saturday ; and on the latter day they are to go altogether through all the wards.

(11) None but apprentices at Surgeons' Hall are allowed to dress for the surgeons.

(12) None to use costicks or dilate or cut open imposthumes or sinuous ulcers except the surgeon be present.

(13) Some of the governors and takers in to inspect the poor, without notice, once a week.

(14) Each surgeon to notify the rest of any extraordinary operation.

(15) The hospitaller to visit the poor for their instruction and consolation.

(16) All officers and patients to attend Chapel on the ringing of the bell.

(17) The steward, matron, cook and butler to furnish weekly accounts.

(18) The butler and cook to serve victuals when the bell rings and the sisters to fetch the same.

(19) No swearing, quarrelling, stealing or drunkenness to be allowed and grace to be said before and after each meal.

(20) No suspicious talk or contracting matrimony or entering wards of the opposite sex.

(21) The matron to supervise the sisters and see that they do not lodge outside the hospital.

(22) The sisters to see that no cardplay nor dicing takes place in the house.

(23) The sisters to clean their wards by six a.m.

(24) The sisters to keep their yards clean and to allow no hens ranging therein.

(25) No fire is to be carried in wooden vessels.

(26) All able patients are to help the sisters.

(27) No sister is to use the patients' fuel except for the wards.

(28) No patient is to sit up after 8 p.m. or 9 p.m. in the summer.

(29) No patient is to be kept after his presentation.

(30) No patient is to be kept to whom no physic or chirurgery is prescribed.

(31) The back gate is always to be kept shut except on court days and both gates to be shut at 7 in winter and 8 in summer and opened at 6 in summer and 7 in winter.

(32) The sexton to keep the Chapel and yards clean and to make graves six feet deep, six feet long and three feet wide at eighteen pence each.

(33) The officers are to eat their victuals in the house and not to go to alehouses for them.

(34) No drink is to be brought in and sold to patients except by the physicians' and surgeons' licence.

(35) The clothes of dead patients are to be disposed of by the treasurer and two governors (takers in).

(36) Every tenth bed is to be left empty to air and not more than one patient is to be put into each bed.

(37) Old sheets are to be washed and given to the surgeons for dressings.

(38) Neither steward, matron, butler, cook nor porters are to lodge out of the house nor to employ any patient about any but hospital business.

(39) No patient with the foul disease shall go out of his ward, nor come into the house to fetch anything, nor within the Chapel, nor sit upon the seats in the courtyards upon pain of expulsion.

(40) The porters are not to suffer the poor to go out but upon necessary occasions, and if they return late or drunk they shall be expelled.

(41) That such of these orders as govern admitting

patients shall be read before the takers in by the steward at each time of admitting.

A word or two in explanation of these rules may be useful.

In Rule 1 the "takers in" were two of the governors who did this duty for a month in rotation. They seem to have attended once a week to admit patients. When they were not on duty urgent cases, which in former days would have been seen by the hospitaller, were now taken in or attended to by the apothecary or surgeons' apprentices.

Rule 5 is worth noting in connection with the foundation of Guy's a little later.

Rule 8. A skillet now means a small saucepan, but at the date of these orders the term was probably used in its original form of scutella—a small dish containing the surgeon's appliances. The skillet carriers were special pupils.

In Rule 11 Surgeons' Hall was the Barber Surgeons' Hall, for at this time the two mysteries had not been separated. There was a distinction between dressers and apprentices and at a later date, if not at this time, the former paid an extra fee.

In Rule 12 an imposthume was an abscess.

In Rule 31 the gates have caused me a great deal of trouble. Three gates have been described at different times: (1) the foregate into Southwark High Street; (2) the side gate into Trinity Lane, often called the King's Ward Gate. Trinity Lane, I think, ran close along the side of the hospital and church and when St. Thomas's Street was made the latter ran from the same opening into the High Street, but took a slightly

more southerly direction than that of the lane, leaving a space enclosed by railings, still to be seen in front of the officers' houses, which are standing to-day; (3) the back gate opened on to a bridge which crossed the main sewer or canal and communicated with a lane in the Maze Pound, and so with Tooley Street. In 1699 apparently only two of these gates were in use, but I confess that I do not know which the second one was.

In Rule 32 it will be noticed that two feet were not now considered deep enough for a grave (see p. 43).

At the same court at which these rules were passed (Nov. 8th, 1699) it was decided that: "As there is an Act of Parliament for raising £3000 to rebuild the Church out of a duty on coals, the Church should be at once rebuilt on the old site with enlargement to the street." The latter part of this decision shows that St. Thomas's Street was now marked out, if not already made.

At the same court the following order from the Court of Aldermen (Rep. 103, fo. 450) was read. It is dated October 10th, 1699, and runs: "This court being resolved to restore the government of the four hospitals to their ancient constitutions and establishment, and the charters of their foundation, agreed and ordered that, for the future, no person should be elected a governor of any of the hospitals that was not a freeman of the City; and—that no one (other than the aldermen) should be admitted governor of any more than one of the said four hospitals."

On comparing the St. Thomas's of 1700 with that of 1600 the changes and advances are not very striking. It had been a wonderful century for philosophic

thought and scientific research since it covered the lives of such men as Bacon, Bartholin, Boyle, Brunner, Cowper, Descartes, de Graaf, Flamstede, Glisson, Halley, Harvey, Havers, Highmore, Locke, Malpighi, Newton, Nuck, Pacchioni, Peyer, Raleigh, Ruysch, Shakespeare, Spigelius, Stensen, Sydenham, Tyson, Wharton, Willis, Wirsung, Wren, and Vieussens, though the effect of their original thinking and observing had hardly time to influence the practice of Medicine and Surgery to any great extent.

Still, Typhus, Enteric, and Scarlatina were now recognized among the fevers, fresh air in sick-rooms and wards was understood, steel was prescribed for Chlorosis and Peruvian bark for Ague, while limbs were now sometimes amputated by the flap operation. Syphilis was treated by salivation, and lithotomy was a special branch of surgery. We must also note that Leprosy, Sweating Sickness, and Plague were things of the past.

On the other hand, the London Pharmacopœia, which went through several editions in the century, still retained the vile ingredients of earlier times and kings still touched for King's Evil or scrofula, though William III did so with reluctance and wished his patient better health and more sense.

At St. Thomas's Doctors Wharton and Briggs had made discoveries for which time would find an application, and the Molins and Hollyers were showing skill and daring in developing the craft of Surgery, particularly in Lithotomy and Urethrotomy.

The patients, I think, were a little more comfortable at the end than they were at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a bed each and a better,

if hardly a sufficient, supply of fairly pure water from the river instead of from tainted wells. Those who were fortunate enough to be put into the new wards were probably dry and warm and, though it is unlikely that any of them had enough pure air to breathe, they were better off in this respect than their fellows in the old monastic wards so soon to be swept away. They seem to have been better nursed as the century grew older, for, towards its close, there are fewer complaints of drunkenness and other misdemeanours of the matron and sisters to record.

Lastly, even when they were dead their lot was better for, at the beginning of the century, they were not covered with enough earth to prevent their disintegration offending the eyes and noses of their late companions ; while, at the end, each was decently buried in a coffin with five feet of earth above him. When we come to the president, treasurer and governors we still find them giving time, care, and money for the welfare of the patients. They still rather resented the control of the City and thought that they were quite able to manage the hospital without the help of others who knew nothing of its special needs. The historical side of the City's overlordship meant nothing to them, and it is doubtful whether any of them had ever read, or perhaps even heard of, the deed of Edward VI giving the hospital to the City.

Their chief development, however, was in the use of committees which came into being in this century. At first their use was overdone, and at times even comical, but, as experience grew, most useful work was done by these bodies and much time saved.

If merely teaching the next generation of practitioners

their craft constitutes a medical school that at St. Thomas's was making great progress, though, as I have already said, there were probably apprentices there since the days of Mary Tudor. At first it seems strange that we should find the surgeons and probably the apothecary, taking pupils, but not the physicians though, when we think, we remember the great difference in the status of these people, for the two former were craftsmen gradually working their way up from the level of the barbers and grocers with whom they were formerly united, while the latter were university graduates, learned men who would only impart their learning in recognized academic centres to undergraduates of a university. It is true that some of them were shocking humbugs who richly deserved Molière's satire, but this does not apply to men like Prujean, Wharton, and Briggs.

CHAPTER VII

THE REBUILDING OF ST. THOMAS'S AND THE TIMES OF DR. MEAD

1701 TO 1715

ON October 3rd, 1701, the grand committee reported that it had "agreed with Mr. Grinling Gibbon to cut the statue of Sir Robert Clayton," which the court had decided to have done, "in the best marble." Also that "the new wards on the south side of the first court were now finished and furnished, and the old foul wards on the north side, pulled down." Here I think "first court" means the one farthest from Southwark High Street. It was the south side of that which was later to be Clayton Square and replaced the old monastic hospital, now altogether cleared away.

It was also reported that the walls of the present St. Thomas's Church were now built and that Dr. Cyprianus was willing to instruct two of our surgeons to cut for stone; the same gentleman having superintended the enlargement of the cutting ward in the lowermost court.

At this meeting Mr. Pepper was appointed Assistant Surgeon without salary. Three nurses or helpers were admitted, and this is the first time that nurses are mentioned in the minutes, although assistant sisters had been recognized since 1684 (see p. 115).

It was ordered that for the future the president and

treasurer were to be members of every committee appointed in the hospital.

On March 8th, 1702, William III died, and under Anne the power of the Whigs declined.

On October 9th, 1702, the grand committee reported that it had sent staves to several persons whom it thought fit to be governors. Entries such as this appear very often and are rather interesting because they suggest that the committee, having decided that certain men would be useful as governors, at once sent them their insignia of office without asking whether they were ready to serve or whether the City or their fellow-governors were willing to receive them. No doubt only men of ample means were chosen, and at this time it was very needful that it should be so, for all the governors who had not already subscribed to the rebuilding fund were being pressed to do so.

Between 1693 and 1720 £37,769 were subscribed, and in Benjamin Golding's *History of St. Thomas's*, a copy of which is in our library, the names of all these donors, with the sums they subscribed, are recorded. Since they occupy fifteen pages I have not thought it necessary to copy their names here. Mr. Golding's remarks on the generosity of these contributors are worth quoting because they give a good idea of the florid style of writing which in 1821 was so appreciated. He says on page 93 of his *History* :

“ Such truly Christian-like generosity challenges our warmest admiration, but the sublime sentiments which actuated these private contributors, are above the feeble voice of praise.

O pudor ! O pietas !



SIR ROBERT CLAYTON
From the Statue by Grinling Gibbons



“ A reference to the Annals of St. Thomas's Hospital at this period cannot fail to produce in the admirers of benevolence the most unfeigned emotions of veneration and respect.”

The grand committee reported that the statue of Clayton was now finished and paid for, but the cost is not stated. Since Grinling Gibbons was at this time a very celebrated man his fee probably was large, and since he has left only a small amount of statuary work, the monument to Clayton, which now stands in the Medical School quadrangle, will probably become one of London's art treasures. It is a curious thing that, until these minutes were read through at the present time, nobody seems to have realized that we owned such an important piece of Gibbons' work.

In the old hospital at Southwark the statue was placed in the third square, which henceforth was known as Clayton Square. Golding says that Clayton rebuilt this square at his own expense, but I have only been able to find that he gave £600 to the rebuilding scheme and, after his death, left £2300 more with which we were to buy land.

The wards in this square, according to Golding, were as follows :

On the North side—Isaac (16 beds), Jacob (29 beds), and Job (25 beds).

On the South side—Jonah (26 beds), King's (30 beds), and Abraham (15 beds).

On the East side—Tobias (19 beds) and Noah (21 beds).

In the small court to the east of Clayton's were the two salivating wards, Lazarus (16 beds) and Susannah

(17 beds), the Lithotomy (Cutts) Ward (7 beds), as well as the bath or bagnio and the dead-house.

On October 9th, 1702, the £5 a year, allowed for the officers' dinner, was increased to £8.

Mr. William Coatsworth resigned his post as surgeon and Mr. Pepper apparently took his place as one of the "principal surgeons"; he was also appointed to cut for stone. Since no appointment of an assistant surgeon is recorded that post seems to have lapsed for a time.

Dr. Caleb Coatsworth, who for seven years had acted as an extra physician, was now given £40 a year, the same stipend that Dr. Torlesse was receiving. The relationship between this Dr. Coatsworth and Mr. William Coatsworth, the surgeon, is not given. Possibly they were brothers.

On March 8th, 1702, William III died and Anne became Queen, though, as usual, no notice of the change of sovereigns appears in the minutes.

On March 17th, 1702, the following four rules for the surgeons' assistants or pupils were passed.

(1) No surgeon to have more than three assistants (except apprentices) at one time, nor to take any for less than a year.

(2) None to be taken unless he have served five years with a physician or surgeon.

(3) Every one must be presented to, and approved by, the committee and must produce a testimonial from some person of credit in his town.

(4) Every surgeon infringing these rules to forfeit £20 to the poor.

The apothecary's grant was now increased to £300 a year.

The grand committee reported that it had discovered that Dr. Torlesse and Mr. Elton had applied for and received £1382 from the government for attending 4146 sick and wounded seamen in the hospital during the late war with France (which ended with the Peace of Ryswick in 1697). They acknowledge receiving 600 guineas, which they had applied to their own use, but said that the rest had gone to Mr. Brownjohn for solicitation. The committee therefore had suspended the two gentlemen and the court now dismissed them from their posts.

Very foolishly, I think, for their case was hopeless, they appealed to the Queen in Council on the ground that the so-called governors had no power to dismiss officers of the hospital, since the mayor and corporation of the City were the real governors. This appeal was heard on March 23rd, 1703, with the result that the Queen ordered the governors not to appoint a new physician and surgeon until her further pleasure was known.

Counsel's opinion was then taken by the governors of the hospital and he advised that though the mayor and corporation of the City were the real governors they had the right to delegate their powers, including the dismissal of officers, to subgovernors accepted by them.

This view was communicated by Sir Robert Clayton to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen and the latter, on April 6th, 1703, ordered the original patents of the Royal Hospitals to be delivered up by the authorities of Christ's Hospital, when needed by St. Thomas's (Rep. 107, fo. 253).

On April 13th, 1703, the draft of a petition to the

Queen, showing the St. Thomas's point of view, was laid before the Court of Aldermen and, after some amendment, "was ordered to be signed by the Town Clerk; and that as many aldermen as could conveniently, should attend with the Treasurer and Governors when the same is presented" (Rep. 107, fo. 555).

The deputation of Governors of St. Thomas's, supported by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, attended the Council of State on April 17th, 1703, and presented their petition, which Her Majesty was pleased to refer, with the petition of Dr. Torlesse and Mr. Elton, to Mr. Attorney General (Sir Edward Northey) and Mr. Solicitor General (Sir Simon Harcourt) for their opinion.

These gentlemen reported in favour of the hospital's contention on May 1st, and the Council then ordered that the hospital had the power to elect successors to Torlesse and Elton. Her Majesty was then pleased to discharge the said order of March 23rd and to dismiss the petition of the said doctor and surgeon.

In the foregoing account I have condensed the proceedings in connection with these two gentlemen very considerably. A good deal more about them will be found in the hospital minutes.

We know from Dr. Payne (*St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette*, Jan. 1898) that Dr. Richard Mead was appointed physician to the hospital in 1703. Apparently what happened was that Dr. Caleb Coatsworth took the place made vacant by the dismissal of Torlesse while Mead was given the junior post at £20 a year. This no doubt was done by the grand committee since no court was held until April, 1704. The appoint-

ment, of course, should have been reported to this court, but if it were the clerk has failed to enter it upon the minutes.

The dismissal of Elton just after the resignation of Mr. William Coatsworth left the hospital with only two surgeons, Rideout and Pepper, and I think that the grand committee must have appointed James Ferne at the same time that Mead was made physician and that, as was the case with Mead, his appointment was not notified to the court at its next meeting.

On April 7th, 1704, the grand committee reported that it had removed the apothecary's shop and laboratory, from under the matron's lodgings, to the ground ward on the south side of the passage leading out of the great quadrangle (Clayton Square). This passage must have been the one leading into the lowermost or most easterly court, where the cutting ward, etc. were situated, and the ward, now turned into the dispensary, must therefore have been on the ground floor of the south side of Clayton Square. A room for the doctors was made on the north side of the same passage.

The minutes are not very helpful in recording the building of what was to be the second square but, from its architecture, there can be little doubt that it was taken in hand while the church was being rebuilt. The church formed a large part of its south wall and the chapel, of its north. On the east was the governors' hall, raised on massive stone pillars, and under part of this a room, formerly used for "receiving the poor," was at this time turned into the counting-house; while the old apothecary's shop in Clayton Square became the new receiving room.

Whenever I look at the pictures of the old hospital,

as the architect and builders of Queen Anne's time left it, I am struck by its likeness to parts of the Temple, especially to that part of the Inner Temple containing the cloisters which are said to have been designed by Wren. I have not discovered who was the architect of the second and third squares, but they always appeal to me as a very restful and harmonious piece of work and it must be remembered that Wren at this time was one of our governors. It seems, therefore, only natural that the designs for them should at least have been submitted to him and that his influence is to be traced in the plan finally adopted.

At this same court, on April 7th, 1704, the committee reported that Lazarus old ward, which was partly underground and very damp, had been turned into an engine-house. Nothing is said as to the object of this change, but I see that the cylinder and piston engine was not a practical machine until 1705 and that since 1690 the only engine in use had been Savery's which pumped water from a low to a higher level. It seems, therefore, that the committee was well abreast of the times and had adopted the latest device for providing a constant supply of water to all parts of the hospital.

Lazarus and Susannah, it will be remembered, were the two salivating wards and when the former was turned into an engine-house the latter, above it, was to be used as a foul ward.

Still another structural alteration was made necessary by the decision of the court that henceforth the treasurer should be a resident officer, on account of the late irregularities of the patients and others. It was therefore necessary to build him a house and this

Mr. Thomas Frederick made possible by a gift of £500. At a later court the committee reported that the site of the old hall had been chosen for this purpose because it was close to the new hall and the buildings there were low and defective. It is interesting to know exactly where the old hall stood, but I am not quite sure that this was the same building in which the monastic masters of the hospital held their chapters, because the small amount of information we possess suggests that this original hall was farther away from the church.

The treasurer's house is still standing in St. Thomas's Street and continues the line of the church. The back of it formed part of the south side of the second (Edward) square and its ground floor was interrupted by the side entrance into the hospital from St. Thomas's Street. This side entrance has been mentioned many times both in this and the former volume, and in early days was known as the King's Ward gate. I believe that the lower part of the treasurer's house which we see to-day is the one which was built in 1704 and that it is practically contemporary with the present church.

At this court it was ordered once more that "none of the surgeons' young men or apprentices shall presume to open, dissect or dismember any dead patient and no surgeon to do so without the treasurer's consent." The experience of the next two hundred years, however, was to show that nothing—no matter how severe the penalty—would prevent medical men gaining a practical knowledge of the structure of the human body by dissection.

At this time the status of St. Thomas's Church occupies a good deal of the minutes. The difficulty seems to have begun with an order that the treasurer

should have a pew of his own, and that all the chancel should be reserved for the officers of the hospital. This led to a protest from the parishioners which, perhaps merely as a coincidence, was followed by a notice from the Bishop of Winchester that he intended to hold a visitation.

The governors asked the ruling of the Attorney General in the matter and he decided that St. Thomas's Church was free from all visitation by the Bishop and was endowed with all the privileges of a free chapel; he advised that the doors should be shut against the proposed visitation until a protest had been made and that then they might be opened and the visitation allowed to proceed.

Dr. Oldys, an official of Doctors' Commons, reported to the same effect and said that "the Ordinary was liable to attachment at the Queen's suit in case he should exercise jurisdiction therein." He further stated that he was of opinion that the governors might reserve part of the church for patients, and the chancel for themselves and officers.

In reply to this the Surrogate of the Bishop of Winton said that the visitation was not intended to be a precedent but was only to be held because St. Saviour's (now Southwark Cathedral) was temporarily closed. The bishop, therefore, after signing a deed to this effect in the great hall, was allowed to hold the visitation and King Edward's conveyance by letters patent of the old hospital and church to the City (see Vol. 1, p. 132) was copied into the minutes. The point which seems strange to me is that the City, which was the real owner of the church, took no part in this protest.

Four years later, in 1708, the new Bishop of Winchester, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart., again cited the incumbent to appear before him and acknowledge his jurisdiction. Nothing came of it, of course, since the court was armed with the opinions of the Attorney General and Dr. Oldys, and, no doubt, told the bishop that he would get into serious trouble if he persisted in his demand.

At the court held on April 7th, 1704, Mr. Rideout, the surgeon, was granted a piece of the hospital property near Cherry Tree Alley and the Billet Ale House, on which a house was to be built. He paid £5 10s. a year and £20 fine, but I presume that for this the hospital built the house.

On September 22nd, 1704, green staves were sent to Thomas Guy and three others, already nominated, asking them to become governors. Three houses in Basing Lane were left to the hospital by Mr. John Parsons. The death of Mr. Pepper was reported and Mr. John Bateman was chosen to succeed him.

Messrs. Rideout, Ferne and Bamber applied for Pepper's post of "cutter for stone" but the appointment was deferred.

On November 23rd, 1705, the construction of St. Thomas's Street was proceeding apace and the parishioners agreed to surrender the lease of the old almshouses which stood in its way on condition that the governors found a new site for them.

Mr. Ferne was appointed "cutter for stone," a post which was now granted only to surgeons who had worked some time in the hospital. At the same time Dr. Mead's salary was raised from £20 to £40 a year.

On August 27th, 1706, John Rand gave the hospital £2645 8s. 8d. with which to buy land.

On December 6th, 1706, the treasurer, now a resident officer, was granted £20 a year for petty expenses.

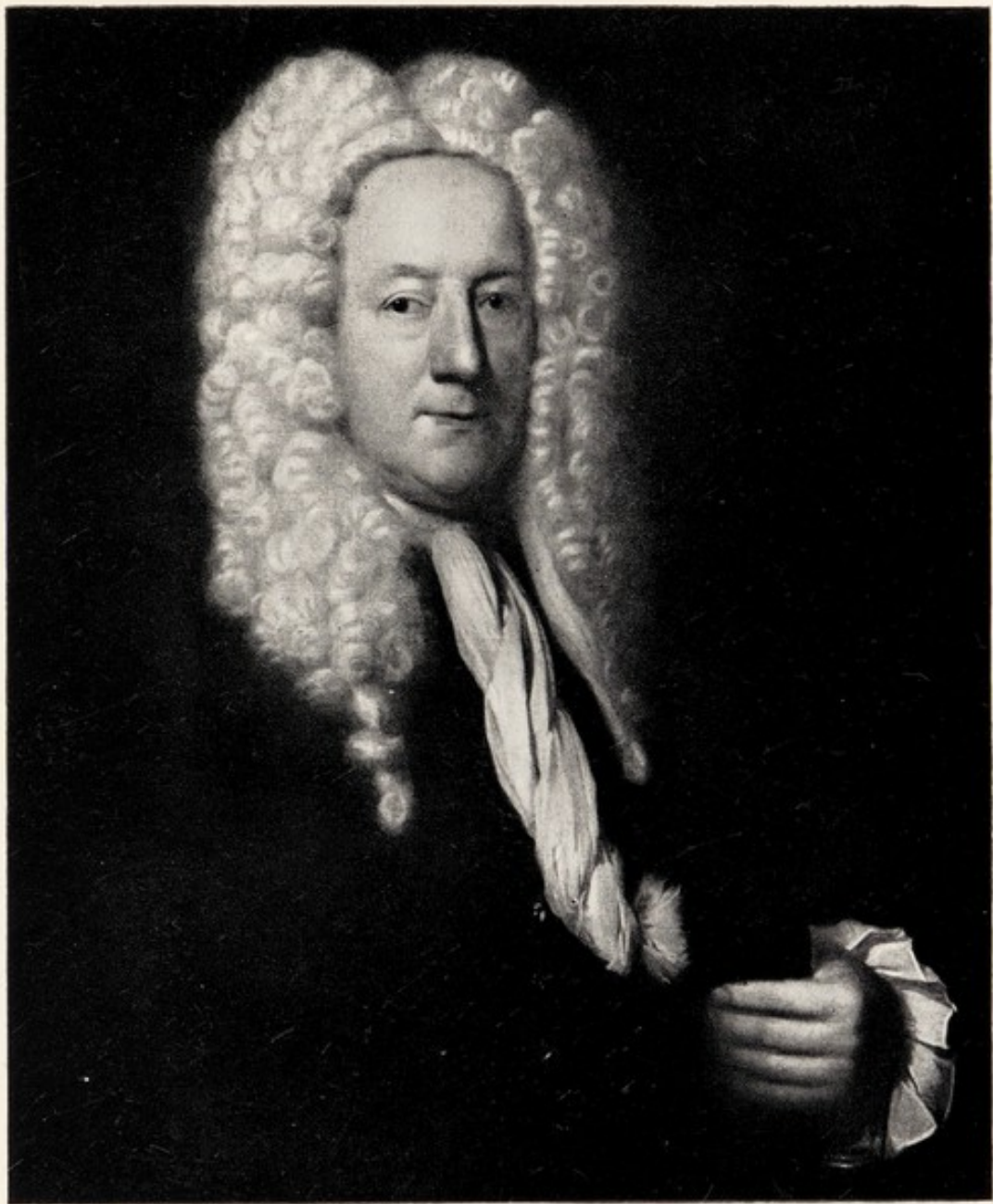
April 30th, 1707, marks the first appearance of Thomas Guy, Esq., among the governors. At this time those governors who owned the title of Esquire were carefully distinguished from, and at one time preceded, those who were only addressed as Mister. This practice extended from 1655, before which they were all Misters, to 1815, after which they all became Esquires.

Since beer was now costing £350 a year it was decided to build a brewhouse close to the burial ground. New charges to the governors and others were submitted and approved and Richard Mayo was made hospitaller in place of Mr. Turton who had been given the living of St. Olave's, Hart Street, the church which Pepys used to attend.

On August 8th, 1707, it was announced that Sir Robert Clayton had died on July 16th and Sir Thomas Abney was elected to succeed him.

Sir Robert Clayton was the son of a small farmer in Northamptonshire and was apprenticed to his uncle, a London scrivener, who left him a fortune. Since another fortune was left him by Alderman Morris and a third came with his wife, Martha Trott, he was able to devote all his energies to political and social interests. Like so many of our presidents, he worked hard and successfully for the good of the hospital but, unlike many of them, we find no trace of any intellectual or artistic sympathies in his life.

He was a very rich, very ambitious, and very success-



THOMAS GUY

*From the Painting by Vanderbank. By kind permission of the Governors of
Guy's Hospital*



ful man of business as well as a staunch Whig politician, which latter qualification probably explains his connection with St. Thomas's. In the City his solid reliability and absence of brilliancy were well liked and he became Alderman in 1670, Sheriff in 1671, and Lord Mayor in 1679-80; while in 1678 he was M.P. for the City, and in 1688 was one of the deputation sent to the Prince of Orange, to whom when King he lent £30,000.

His Tory opponents ridiculed his money-lending occupations and his frank desire for a peerage, and Dryden, in his poem of "Absalom and Ahitophel," cast him for the unpleasant role of Ishban. Evelyn, on the other hand, who sold him the great estate at Bletchingley, had nothing to say against him and praises the way in which he (or his gardeners) made his other estate at Marden produce wonderful results at an enormous outlay, though the soil was very poor.

His town house in the Old Jewry, where he entertained in the most lavish style, was almost a palace, though to our modern ideas pretentious and ugly. From what I have been able to read about Clayton he strikes me as a man of mediocre ability to whom fortune had been very kind. Industrious, conscientious, rich, reliable, and eaten up with ambition and a craving for notoriety, it is difficult to see why he was never made a peer, unless it were the notorious dislike of Queen Anne for the Whigs. When his will was proved, on December 14th, 1707, he left the hospital Ebony Court and Manor of 384 acres at Oxney, Kent, then let for £220 a year. This was sold for £2301 10s. and Clay Tye Farm, Warley Croft, and Nos. 21 and 42 Old Change were bought with the proceeds.

The above is only my estimate of a very important man and I think that I ought to add to it that of Miss M. Melville Balfour who has studied Clayton's history carefully for her novel *The Long Robe*. She says: "I am afraid I cannot agree with you regarding Sir Robert Clayton. Look at his portrait: there is no vulgarity there, but a remarkable refinement and austerity. As for artistic sympathy, I should have said he was a lover of beauty—as exemplified by his stately London house—there was nothing vulgar about a frescoed dining-room at that period—and his beautiful country estate where the stables were as carefully and finely planned as the mansion. Nor have I come across his 'frank desire for a peerage' except in those well-known lines that were not even written by Dryden himself—and I cannot think that the Tory hack writers are very sound witnesses against an extremely powerful and important Whig. One cannot help noticing that, while the Tories still considered him to be one of themselves, they spoke of him with praise and affection. All I have read of him seems to me to prove his charity and integrity, his courageous independence, and his sanity of outlook."

On December 8th, 1707, it was decided to instal a cold bath. Hot baths were already in position close to the salivating wards. The legacy left by Clayton made it necessary to apply to Her Majesty for permission to exceed the 4000 marks in Mortmain, which was all that the Charter of Edward VI allowed us to receive in any one year (Vol. I, p. 156). I believe that this permission has been asked only once since then, and that in the present year (1933).

Queen Anne's reply to the application was read on

December 15th, 1708, as follows: "Her Majesty hath been graciously pleased to grant a lysense to this Hospitall to take and hold lands in Mortmain either by the purchase or the guift of such persons as shall be charitably inclined to settle the same for the use of the poor in this Hospitall to the yearly value of £3000 over and above the present revenue. And that the original Lysense under the great seale is to be deposited in Christ's Hospitall containing lysenses of the like kind to that Hospitall and likewise to Bridewell but we have ordered an exact cobby thereof to be made on parchment and kept in this Hospitall."

During 1707, though the fact is only incidentally referred to in the minutes, Guy had built a block of three wards, costing £1100, which formed the north side of a new square between what was soon to be known as Edward Square and the Borough High Street; and now, at the end of 1707, another governor, Thomas Frederick, Esq., offered to build a second block like it. The grand committee, therefore, on February 18th, 1708, reported as follows: "Wee being of opinion that it will be much more commodious and beneficiall to the patients as well as ornamentall to the hospitall, that the wards on the south side of the first court in this hospitall should be made answerable to those lately erected on the north side at the charge of Thomas Guy Esq. a worthy Governor of this Hospitall. And we being acquainted that another worthy Governor of this Hospitall is willing to doe the same at his owne charge, we recomend it to this Court for their consent that the same may be forthwith altered accordingly." The meaning of the last two words "altered accordingly," is not very clear: they probably referred to

some other scheme which was abandoned owing to Frederick's generosity.

These wards in the first square were finished and ready for occupation in December 1708, Frederick's block having cost him £1021 7s. 6d. It will be noticed that they all bore female names and so it seems that from this time onward all the female, clean patients were housed in them while the males occupied the wards in Clayton Square, leaving Edward Square, which had no wards, between them for administrative purposes. At all events we know that this was the arrangement at the end of the eighteenth century.

The names of the wards in the first square were : Lydia (12 beds), Queen's (24), Dorcas (20), on the one side, and Elizabeth (12), Mary (23), and Ann (23), on the other. No doubt the reason why Lydia and Elizabeth wards had only twelve beds each was that they were on the ground floor and that a great deal of the space which otherwise they would have had was occupied by the colonnades containing benches for the patients.

On December 15th, 1708, Abraham Ward, which was on the ground floor of the south side of Clayton Square, was turned partly into a steward's store and, partly, since it was near the new brewhouse, into a cellar.

At this court two ale-houses, the " Old Bird in Hand " and the " London Bridge Alehouse," were let ; the former was within our precincts (see p. 118), but I have not been able to identify the site of the other.

It was reported that Dr. Tyson, late physician to Bridewell and Bethlem, had left £50 a year, for ninety-nine years, to Bethlem, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Christ's Hospitals in rotation. This

Edward Tyson was a very interesting and versatile man. He was the earliest comparative anatomist in England and his interests ranged from tapeworms to chimpanzees, from old poetry to philosophy. Though a physician he lectured at the Barber Surgeons' Hall and was honest enough to take up the cause of the apothecaries against the physicians in the quarrel between them. He was buried in St. Dionis, Backchurch, and his portrait is in the College of Physicians.

At this court, on December 15th, 1708, eight stewards were appointed to provide the dinner which was held after the general courts ; but they were not to have to pay more than the other diners. For a good many years the governors had been accustomed to dine together in the hall after the court meetings which, since the institution of the grand committee, only took place two or three times a year.

Sister Lydia, who was seventy-seven, was pensioned, and two years later, in 1710, it was ordered that no sister or nurse should be appointed without a certificate from the minister and churchwardens of her last abode, so that if she became too old or infirm for her work she should not become a charge upon the hospital.

Owing to the erection of the six new wards in the first court the number of beds was increased by 114 and the governors were now asked to contribute to the cost of maintaining them. This they did very liberally and Guy promised £100 a year during his lifetime. At the same time he proposed Mr. Henry White to succeed Peter Gray, deceased, as steward, and this, of course, was carried in spite of the fact that White was over fifty and, therefore, according to the rules, ineligible. As a matter of fact he lived for only a year.

On September 7th, 1709, Thomas Cole was chosen to replace Thomas Eyre, the late treasurer, who had died.

An application to receive and cure "poor palatines" was agreed to. These were refugees from the Palatinate, some of whom were sheltered in tents within the hospital (*History of Guy's Hospital*, p. 53).

On December 16th, 1709, the farm called Claytye at Great Warley in Essex, bought with Clayton's legacy, was let for £100 a year. A clause in Clayton's will directed that his statue should be preserved from any "spoyle or hurt save only by time." I fear that poor Clayton must have turned in his grave a few years ago when, after a smoking concert, a student climbed on to the shoulders of his statue and broke off the hand which held a parchment scroll. It is sad to have to confess that at the time no one seemed to remember anything about Clayton, and the hand was not even stuck on again. Now, however, we understand the value and beauty of this piece of Grinling Gibbons' work and have taken all the steps to preserve it which our advisers from South Kensington could suggest: the hand, unfortunately, seems to be utterly lost.

After receiving this solemn charge to keep Clayton's memory green, our predecessors of 1709 turned their attention to beer and decided that the butler and brewer, who were one person, should have £20 a year in addition to the butler's wages, though out of this he had to provide yeast.

The treasurer was to have "such small beer as his family needed," which, since he was to be the judge of their need, meant beer without stint or limit. The hospitaller and steward were to do the best they could

on a firkin (nine gallons) a week—not much more than nine or ten pints a day—while the matron, cook, butler, and two porters only received half a firkin every nine days, a mere pittance of four pints a day. We must remember, however, in admiring or deprecating these allowances, that, if the amounts seem large, the beer was small and that none of the recipients, except perhaps the treasurer, drank anything else. In any case they had to drink it all for, until later, they were not allowed to give away or sell any.

Leaden marks were to be affixed to all our London houses except those in St. Thomas's Parish ; and the order that no governor was to take any lease of the hospital was altered to, "No member of the grand committee."

On November 24th, 1710, John Girle succeeded Joseph Bateman, deceased, as surgeon. On February 14th, 1711, the death of Mrs. Till, who had been matron for fifteen years, was reported, and Elizabeth Aldersey was appointed in her place. On February 20th, 1712, it was reported that the number of in-patients had increased from 240 in August 1709, to 350 ; and the out-patients from 60 to 80 a month. This, of course, increased the demand for drugs, and, to meet this, the apothecary was given £100 as a gratuity.

A great many new leases were granted about this time, and most of them contained the clause that old timber houses should be replaced by brick ; and that, in country leases, any oak, elm, or ash tree cut down should have a sapling planted in its stead.

On February 11th, 1713, two "pightels" (half-acres) at Hackney were bought for £47 5s.

On February 26th, 1714, on the death of the apothecary

cary, it was decided that henceforth the post should be a resident one with a salary of £50 a year and that the holder should not practise outside. The drugs were now to be bought by the hospital.

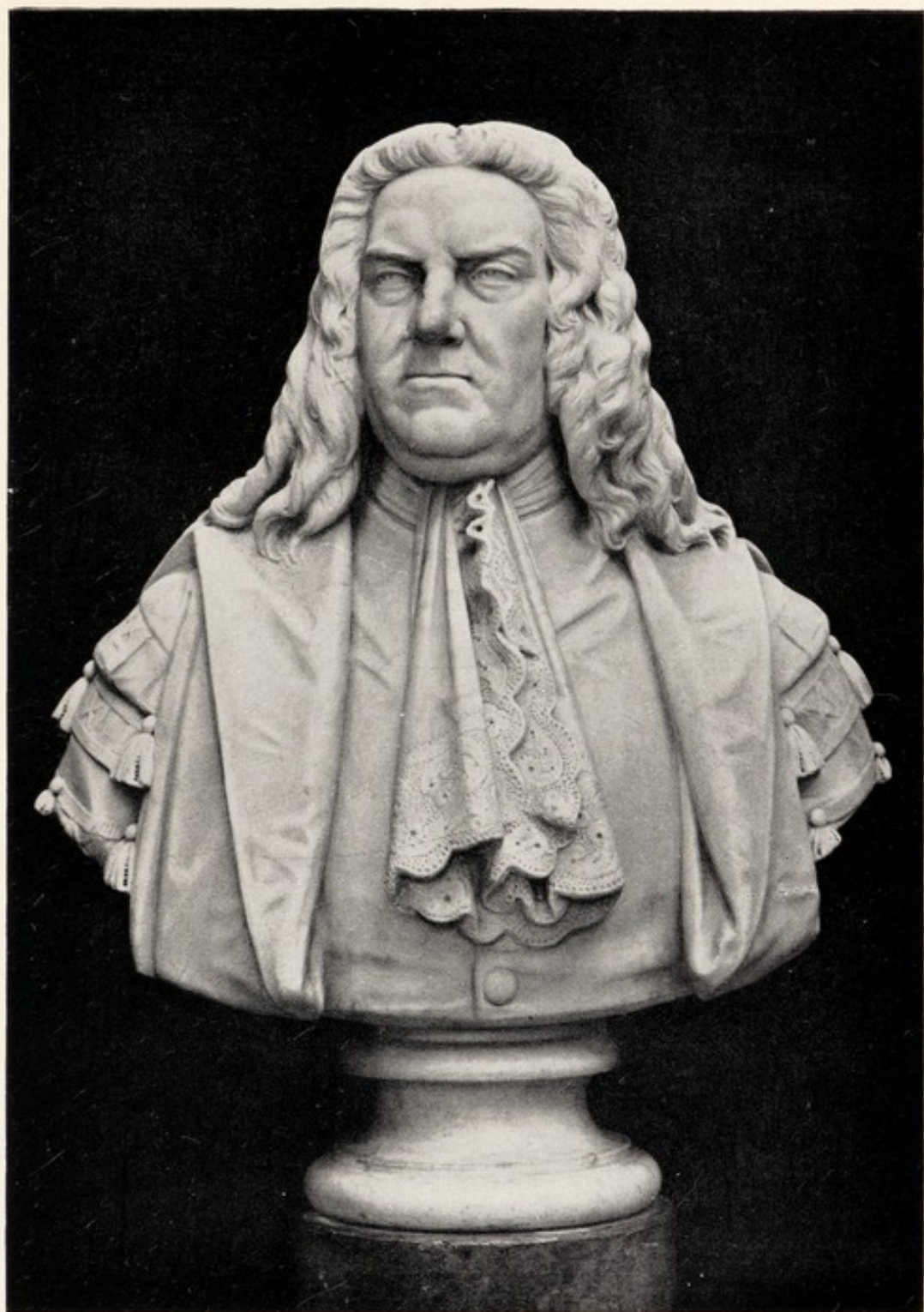
On May 4th, 1714, the manor of Katherine's at Parndon was bought for £1293, out of the legacy of John Rand (see page 152), as was also a small farm at Hackney. Mr. William Dickenson was appointed to succeed Simon Rideout, deceased, as surgeon, and it is interesting to notice that William Cheselden was one of the unsuccessful applicants. Mr. Girle was promoted to assist Mr. Ferne in cutting for stone, and it was decided that every new surgeon should take over the pupils of the one whom he succeeded. On August 1st, 1714, Queen Anne died.

On January 20th, 1715, Mr. Josiah Paul was elected to succeed Mr. Girle, whose death was announced. Cheselden applied but again was unsuccessful.

Dr. Mead's resignation was received and he was made a governor, the first instance of a retired member of the staff receiving that honour.

I cannot improve upon Dr. Payne's account of Mead, in his address on "The Old Physicians of St. Thomas's Hospital" (*St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette*, January 1898). He says :

"Dr. Richard Mead, the most eminent physician in the age of Queen Anne and the first two Georges, was born at Stepney, 11th August, 1673, the son of the Rev. Matthew Mead, a divine, who, at the Restoration of Charles II, was in the enjoyment of a city benefice ; but was driven out by the Act of Uniformity, as he belonged to the Puritan party and refused to conform to the new rule in the Church. More fortunate than



DR. RICHARD MEAD

many of his Nonconformist brethren, Matthew Mead was a man of good property, and when he settled at Stepney, in charge of a Nonconformist congregation, was able to give his son a good education. The English Universities being closed to him, he was sent to Holland, where he first studied classics and philosophy at Utrecht, and afterwards, for three years, medicine at the celebrated school at Leyden. Thus Mead's exclusion from the English Universities was favourable rather than otherwise to his professional education. After completing his studies he travelled in Italy in comfortable circumstances and acquired a taste for and knowledge of the fine arts which he never lost. He graduated at Padua, 16th August, 1695, and returning to England, settled in practice at Stepney, without at first belonging to the College of Physicians. In 1702 he published his first medical work, on *A Mechanical Account of Poisons*. By this he gained much reputation, and was in the next year elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

“ His scientific reputation doubtless contributed to his election at St. Thomas's in the same year. He was also chosen as Reader in Anatomy to the College of Surgeons (Barber Surgeons' Hall ?). After his election at St. Thomas's, Mead practised in the City, first in Crutched Friars, afterwards in Austin Friars. On the death, in 1714, of Radcliffe, who had been the most popular physician of Queen Anne's time, Mead removed to his house in Bloomsbury Square, then a centre of fashion, and resigned his post at the hospital. Later, when at the height of his reputation and popularity, he occupied the fine old mansion in Great Ormond Street, which in our time has become the

Hospital for Sick Children. Some vestiges of its ancient grandeur still remain. On the accession of George II he was appointed Physician to the King.

“He died 16th February, 1754, in his 81st year.

“Mead’s character was so many-sided, his life so full of prosperity and magnificence, his medical reputation so brilliant, and he was so emphatically the physician of his age, that it is difficult to do him justice in the time at my disposal. But there are several good accounts of his life to which you can refer, such as Dr. Norman Moore’s memoir in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and, as perhaps the most readable, one in the little work called *Lives of British Physicians*.”

I must confine myself to a few points.

First, his connection with St. Thomas’s Hospital. He was Physician from 1703 to 1714, and numerous references in his writings make it evident that he did his duty thoroughly and investigated his cases with great care. He made valuable clinical observations, though not any great discovery in Medicine. He was the first to show that the mortality from measles, which is said to have been very great at that time, was due to pneumonia, and by treatment based on this principle he greatly reduced the mortality. Mead also attached great importance to post-mortem examinations, though the information conveyed by them in those days must often have been ambiguous. In 1714, when Radcliffe died, Mead’s increased position and residence far from the hospital compelled him to give up his appointment at St. Thomas’s.

Dr. Mead showed his interest in the hospital by subsequently attending the Courts as a Governor. It was largely owing to him that Guy’s Hospital was

founded, for he persuaded the bookseller, Guy, who was also a benefactor to St. Thomas's, to devote his large fortune to that object. Mead was a Governor of St. Bartholomew's, and, I think, also of Guy's Hospital, and among the first supporters of the Foundling Hospital.

Mead's private practice was probably more brilliant and lucrative in proportion to the value of money, than that of any other physician we know of. It was an age in which wealth was rapidly increasing throughout the country. There were two classes of very remunerative patients, the Court and aristocracy at one end of the town, the city merchants and bankers (who then lived in the City) at the other. Conveniently situated between the two, Mead reaped a rich harvest from both classes.

A third class of society, distinct from either, the literary world—the wits and scholars—were not less devoted to Mead. Among them he had his closest friends, his most faithful patients, his warmest admirers. Pope has in one line immortalized our two great St. Thomas's names : “ I'll do what Mead and Cheselden advise.” Young (the author of *Night Thoughts*) has : “ Alive by miracle ! or what is one, alive by Mead.”

Mead, as a physician, was honest and fearless, with great confidence in himself but incapable of deluding his patients with false pretences. So far as we can judge, his treatment was very successful.

Finally we ask, what kind of a man was Mead really, apart from his magnificence, his position, his learning ? First, no doubt he was a genuine, upright, honourable, Christian man, faithful to his friends and affectionate to his family, benevolent to all in need. Nothing mean, false, ungenerous was ever laid to his charge. His motto

was *non sibi sed toti* (not for yourself, but for all), and he lived up to it.

Now if we want a little shadow to bring up these high lights and make our picture less monotonous, we can find it ; but it is of no very damaging kind. Mead had a temper ; he was proud, and also somewhat choleric. Like many, or perhaps most men noted for munificence, he liked to be in a position of superiority. He had some quarrels. One with Dr. Woodward, a Professor of Gresham College and notoriously a man of strife, is said to have ended in a duel, but the evidence is a little shaky. Another story illustrates Mead's character better. Among contemporary physicians, a very popular one was Dr. Cheyne, author of many popular works, which being not only written in English, but purposely adapted to attract the attention of the lay public, gave him then, as they would now, a doubtful reputation in his own profession. One of Mead's patients, a clergyman, whom, as his custom was, he attended gratuitously, had been reading Dr. Cheyne's works, and ventured to quote something from them in criticism of Mead's opinion. You may imagine the indignation of the magnificent Mead on having Dr. Cheyne thrown in his teeth. He forgot himself so far as to use about Cheyne and all his works, language stronger than clerical ears are accustomed to listen to ; and even departed from his usual habits in accepting a fee from the reverend patient (though he afterwards returned him half of it).

This was his weak side, we may be all of us glad if nothing worse could ever be said of us.

Mead's features are known to us by several portraits. The fine engraving which Mr. Cobb has been so good

as to photograph for us is one of the best. The marble bust in our hall is a copy of the splendid original in the College of Physicians by Roubiliac.

For a summary of Mead's professional and personal character I can only refer you to that charming little book, the *Lives of British Physicians*.

Here Dr. Payne's account ends, and it only remains to add that Mead, apart from his medical practice, took an interest in almost every branch of human knowledge. He was an omnivorous reader and such a great collector of books, pictures and works of art that, at his death, his library contained 100,000 volumes which were sold for £5500, while his pictures fetched £3417.

In politics he was a Whig, which no doubt helped his election at St. Thomas's, where Whig traditions prevailed at this time.

There is no doubt about his having been a governor of Guy's.

He lies in the Temple Church, and one of his daughters married Dr. Edward Wilmott, who later became physician to the hospital (see p. 186).

Dr. Thomas Wadsworth was elected to succeed Dr. Mead as physician on January 20th, 1715.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FOUNDATION OF GUY'S HOSPITAL AND THE PRACTICE AT ST. THOMAS'S IN CHESELDEN'S DAY

1715 TO 1726

ON July 15th, 1715, it was agreed that in future both in- and out-patients must produce a governor's or churchwarden's letter before admission and that the number of out-patients should be limited to forty a day, with an attendance of one month, unless specially recommended.

On January 11th, 1716, the death of Mr. Thomas Cole, the treasurer, was reported, and his son, Mr. William Cole, was appointed to his place.

On March 1st, 1716, the three surgeons were given £4 apiece, each year, in place of the old amputation fees, which came to about £10 per annum between them, and were now to be abolished. It is not stated why the change was made, and I can only think that its object was to promote conservative surgery.

The apothecary was now allowed one pupil a year, and it was decided that all the surgeons should cut for stone. Accordingly Messrs. Dickenson and Paul were given this privilege as well as Mr. Ferne.

New wards were planned for "ffoule patients" in the south-west corner of the burial ground, and the roofs of the upper wards in Clayton Square were to be raised.

On January 16th, 1717, it was decided that the apothecary should be allowed two pupils each year.

Mr. Casberd succeeded the Rev. Matthew Mead as incumbent, and this is the first occasion on which a clergyman is styled "Reverend" in our minutes. Since the father of Dr. Mead was named Matthew the question arises whether the late incumbent was his son and, therefore, the brother of our eminent physician.

On June 18th, 1717, the hospital was insured against fire in the "Hand and Hand" office in Snow Hill for £1350. In 1728 St. Bartholomew's insured in the same office.

It was found that John Barnett, the late receiver (renter has now become obsolete), had appropriated £348, which was to be recovered by law, though nothing is said as to the success of the recovery.

No apprentices or pupils were to be allowed to bring in friends to see the dressings, an order which suggests that watching the dressings may have been a fashionable amusement at this time, like going to see the patients in Bethlem after church on Sundays.

It was now found necessary to appoint a third physician and an assistant surgeon, but without fixed allowance. Accordingly, at the next court (July 9th, 1718), Dr. Henry Plumtre and Mr. William Cheselden were elected. It will thus be seen that Mead and Cheselden were never colleagues at St. Thomas's. At the next court (April 8th, 1719), on the death of William Dickenson, Cheselden was made a full (principal) surgeon, and Joseph Tanner appointed assistant surgeon.

About this time we see among the names of the governors attending the courts that of Mr. John Carbonell, which takes us back to 1215, for, in Vol. I,

p. 55, is the agreement between Prior Martin and Amicius and in it the names of Ralph and Richard Carbonel appear. It seems, therefore, that the family of Carbonel must have persisted in Southwark from 1215 to 1719.

On May 10th, 1721, a farm at Hastingleigh, worth £10 a year, was bought with Mr. Rand's legacy (see p. 152), and, after this, Mr. Tanner was advanced to the rank of full surgeon, but without salary, and thus the post of Assistant Surgeon lapsed for a time and the hospital had four full surgeons.

Now follows this very important entry: "Our worthy governor and benefactor, Thomas Guy, Esq., intending to ffound and erect an hospital for incurables within the Close of this hospital, in the parish of St. Thomas's, we have agreed to grant a lease to him, or such person or persons as he shall appoint, of several parcells of ground in the said parish and within the close of this Hospitall lately held of this Hospitall upon several leases under several ground rents, amounting to seventeen pounds and ffourteen shillings, per annum, for several terms of years yet to come, which are purchased in by the said Mr. Guy, or in trust for him for the term of One Thousand Years from Christmas last at £30 per annum, tax free."

It is said that this scheme of Guy's was suggested by Mead and no doubt the latter's idea was that the new hospital should act as an infirmary to relieve St. Thomas's from the task of treating chronic cases, and thus provide the staff there with interesting patients upon whom to practise and teach.

This probably was Mead's professional point of view, but the argument which would have appealed

most strongly to Guy was the more philanthropic one of providing a place where these poor incurables might be cared for when the rules of the hospital obliged them to leave St. Thomas's.

Had Guy intended to found a new general hospital he would never have selected a place so close to St. Thomas's but would have chosen one in the eastern or western parts of London, which at that time were without hospitals. He must have realized that to place two large general hospitals side by side was a waste of energy which must lead to friction and rivalry and that, sooner or later, one of them would be put to the trouble and expense of moving away to some spot where the need for it was greater.

But, although there can be no doubt that the idea in Guy's and Mead's minds was that the former's new hospital should act as a specialized colleague of St. Thomas's, no complaint of any kind can be made against the governors of Guy's for departing from it. They had a perfectly free hand, as the following extract from his will, which is quoted in full in Wilks' and Bettany's *History of Guy's Hospital*, proves.

“ And my mind and will further is, that if my said executors and trustees shall not find cause, or, on any account whatsoever, not think fit to keep all or great part of the beds or wards in the said intended hospital filled and supplied with sick persons deemed or called incurable, as aforesaid ; it shall and may be lawful for them to cause any number of the said beds or wards to be filled and made use of, in like manner and with like patients, as the beds in the hospital of St. Thomas are ordinarily used.”

Guy, in his will, desired that Sir Gregory Page, Bart., should be the first president of his hospital and Charles Joye, Esq., the first treasurer ; and, on May 16th, 1724, the latter was made treasurer of St. Thomas's as well ; so that the two hospitals had one treasurer between them. The court at St. Thomas's welcomed the appearance of what we would like to describe as its daughter in the following words.

“ The court gives hearty thanks to Thomas Guy, Esq., for his unparalleled bounty and benefaction in his several great gifts to this Hospital and in his erecting at his own charge another Hospital so great and useful as is that which he is now carrying out for incurables.”

Guy's biography is given so fully in the History of his Hospital (see above) that I need only say that he was born at Horsleydown near Southwark, of comparatively humble parents and began life as a bookseller's apprentice. He then started a small shop at the corner of Cornhill and Lombard Street. Here he did very well by selling Bibles printed abroad and, before very long, developed into a publisher, largely of religious works. He was very generous to his mother's native town of Tamworth and represented it in Parliament on several occasions.

Although Guy was very penurious in his private life and loved to make money, he was no miser, nor did he wait until after his death to benefit others with the result of his shrewd investments and speculations, for his gifts to Tamworth were many and to St. Thomas's he was very generous.

The greater part of his large fortune seems to have been made by buying up seamen's pay tickets at about



ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The east side of the first (most westerly) court, showing the "frontispiece" and clock,
as they were.

half their face value, and, since these were redeemed later by the government's issue of South Sea Stock, Guy found himself possessed of £45,500 of this stock, which then stood at 120.

When it reached 300 he began to unload and continued to do so until it touched 600, when he thought it prudent to realize all he had. No doubt he was annoyed to see it reach 1050 before the final crash, but it is estimated that in three months, in 1720, he made more money than erecting, furnishing and endowing his hospital cost him.

At St. Thomas's we have nothing to remind us of Guy, I suppose because his beneficence to us appears small in contrast with all that he did for Guy's. Still, when we remember that he built three wards in the first square, endowing them with £100 a year during his life, that he made a new entrance from Southwark High Street and that he removed the stone "frontispiece," with its statues of Edward VI and the four patients (see p. 110), from the old entrance gate to the eastern side of the First Square, we must admit that his name or portrait should have a place among our not forgotten men of note. This, perhaps, is the more desirable because he clearly intended that his hospital should increase the efficiency and importance of St. Thomas's and thus prove, it may be, the greatest of all his gifts to us.

While talking about Guy's I am able to fill a little gap in Wilks' and Bettany's *History* (p. 79) concerning the date at which the piece of our close between Guy's Hospital and St. Thomas's Street, was let. The minute of the St. Thomas's Court on Wednesday, March 29th, 1738, records that: "The ground between the north

front of Guy's Hospital and St. Thomas's Street was let to Guy's for $982\frac{1}{2}$ years," a transaction which will be dealt with when that date is reached (see p. 178).

Another entry concerning Guy's occurs in the minutes for May 12th, 1725. It says that John Hanson, porter of the back gate of St. Thomas's, was made steward of Guy's, to start at Michaelmas. The *History of Guy's*, however, says (p. 80) that the post of steward was filled on May 11th, 1725. Possibly the steward, appointed then, died before he could take up his duties; but it is not a point of great importance.

On January 10th, 1722, a meeting of the court was specially called to consider what steps should be taken with regard to the bill now before Parliament for a bridge, across the river, between Lambeth and Westminster. A committee was appointed which met on the 17th, assisted by two eminent mathematicians, and on the 19th a petition against the bridge was signed, on the ground that it would cause floods in Lambeth.

On March 1st, 1722, it was reported that the House of Commons had dropped the bill owing to the protest of the City.

It is difficult to see how this much needed bridge—for there was none between London Bridge and Kingston—could have affected the interests of St. Thomas's enough to make it retain the services of two eminent mathematicians. I cannot find that at that time we owned any property in Lambeth; though possibly, had we done so, we should have welcomed the proposal. I cannot see, either, why the City should have been so solicitous for the welfare of Lambeth which was outside its jurisdiction.

Perhaps the real objection to the scheme was that which nowadays makes towns object to by-passes for traffic being made round them. The City may have felt that a new bridge might divert travellers and customers from itself and therefore urged St. Thomas's, which was part of itself, to join in the opposition.

On March 1st, 1722, the treasurer reported one of the governors, a Mr. Waterman, for insulting behaviour. It seems that, for some reason, this gentleman objected to the funeral of one of the patients in the burial ground of St. Thomas's Church, and, laying his hand upon his sword, he insulted and threatened the treasurer. The result was that his name was expunged from the list of governors, in open court.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Knight and Alderman, was elected President in the place of Sir Thomas Abney who had died on February 6th. But Sir William Steward, the Lord Mayor, protested against this court to elect a president being called without his knowledge and authority. He was told, however, that "it was according to *anciente custom*" and, in order to establish the mayoral rights for the future, he gave the treasurer written permission to hold the court.

On January 23rd, 1723, it was reported that a barn was to be built at Orpington, containing six or seven bays; while soon afterwards the tenant agreed to build a brick house in return for fourteen years' extension of his lease. A great many new leases were granted at this court, for considerably increased fines, a fact which does not surprise us when we remember that the date was about the middle of Sir Robert Walpole's long and peaceful administration under which the country enjoyed wonderful prosperity. Very

active building seems to have been going on particularly in Kent Street.

It was now decided that Dr. Plumtre and Mr. Tanner should have the same stipend as the rest of the staff ; and the hospital now had four full surgeons and three physicians.

The burial fee for patients was now fixed at 19s. 6d., including 4s. for the coffin, 1s. for the pall, and 2s. 6d. for the minister.

On May 16th, 1724, it was reported that Guy had built a new entrance out of the High Street into the first square of the hospital ; and had caused the old stone " frontispiece," with the crippled patients carved upon it, which formerly had faced the street, to be set up on the east side of the said square.

At this court, William Cole, Esq., wishing to retire, Charles Joye, Esq., was appointed treasurer. At the same time Anne Kitson was elected matron.

Up to the present there has been very little information available as to the medical and surgical treatment of the patients in the hospital. Now, however, the case book of a pupil named Richard Austin is before us and his cases are so well recorded that they give us a good, though sad, idea of how the patients were treated and of the price which the poor—and I suppose the rich too—had to pay for ill health two hundred years ago. We, who know what happens in a modern hospital to-day, when we read these cases, cannot help feeling that Humanity really does owe something to the Medical Profession for what it has done in the last two centuries to lessen the sufferings of the sick.

On the first page of Mr. Austin's book is the following record :

“ On the first three days of Easter Week all the Governours, publick, surgeons and physicians attend ye Lord Mayor in ye Procession and give in their accounts. This year (1725) were cured and discharged in St. Thomas's 4537. Buried 401. Now under cure 662. At St. Bartholomew's—Cured and discharged 3414. Buried 250. Now under cure 521.”

It is an interesting little record because it tells us something more about the procession at which Ride-out had unduly preceded Elton in 1698 (see p. 130). It shows, moreover, that in 1725 St. Thomas's was attending more patients than St. Bartholomew's. I presume that “ the number of patients now under cure ” includes out-patients as well as in-patients.

I feel that some of these cases should be recorded without editing since they are useful additions to our knowledge of the History of Medicine, but to non-professional readers they are likely to be gruesome and repulsive. I would therefore suggest that these readers should continue the history of the hospital on p. 183.

The surgeons mentioned are Cheselden, Fern, and Paul, but it will be seen that in the first instance many of the cases were attended by Messrs. Arborough, Girle, and Whiteing. I think that these gentlemen must have been apprentices, men who remained with their surgeons for several years and from whom the staff was recruited. Mr. Girle was probably the son of the John Girle who was surgeon until 1715 ; and he (the son) was to become one of the surgeons in 1731. Mr. Whiteing, too, became a surgeon later, but I can find no record of the subsequent history of Mr. Arborough.

I wish that I knew more about Austin and what became of him, for certainly he could draw an interesting and understandable word picture better than most. Take this scene in the operating theatre, more than two hundred years ago, for instance.

A man had lacerated his hand very badly through the bursting of his gun and after two days was brought to the hospital and placed under Mr. Paul, who decided to amputate at once since the hand was black and mortifying.

We can see the following instruments and dressings being brought from the surgery to the theatre : (1) Tourniquet and tape ; (2) Knife, catlin, and saw ; (3) Forceps and ligatures ; (4) An armed needle ; (5) Sponge and "sissars" ; (6) Lint and buttons ; (7) A large armed pledget, a dry one, a long cloth, a cross cloth, and a double roller.

Meanwhile the word has been passed that there is an operation and the pupils come trooping in. Cheselden, too, who happens to be in the hospital, comes in, probably wearing the silk turban in which he works so much more comfortably and more aseptically, too, if he only knew it, than in a wig.

Then they place the unfortunate patient in a good light and Arborough, Mr. Paul's apprentice, fixes the tourniquet and twists it up, while the operator ties a piece of tape round the lower end of the forearm. Cheselden suggests pulling up the skin before he does this but Paul, not liking his forgetfulness noticed before so many eager eyes, says that he means to do it later.

Then the surgeon makes a circular cut round the limb right down to the bones and now he tries to take Cheselden's advice, by drawing back the soft parts,

but finds that the tourniquet prevents him. Meanwhile, the assistant divides the structures between the two bones with the catlin, and Paul, after notching the radius with the saw, cuts through the ulna and then the radius, notwithstanding the shrieks and struggles of the patient, for whom this is the most painful part of the operation.

Two arteries spirt and are picked up with the armed needle, but Cheselden says that three will need a ligature, and tells them to ease the tourniquet; when a third, the anterior interosseous, bleeds and is picked up.

Then the bones are covered with lint; and buttons, dipped in warm (? water), are placed over the cut arteries. Then comes the armed pledget dipped in warm —— ? and the dry one over that, and finally, the cross cloth and bandage. It is not said whether the roller was used in this case though it was there; Cheselden always used it to keep the muscles still and to prevent the soft parts from shrinking away from the bones.

Austin says: "Then the patient was carried to bed and had a haustus quietans and all things tended (tending) to his ease and quiet, for no man ever endured the operation worse."

The amputation was performed on January 15th, 1726, and by the 30th all the ligatures had been cast off. The stump was dressed every other day with dry dressing "in ye middle and grey to ye edges to cicatrize."

By February 10th there happened what might have been expected for: "There seem'd as if the bone ends would exfoliate because they appeared black and were not covered over as usuall. Opportunity being awanting I saw not ye consequences."

It is curious that a surgeon of Paul's experience should have made no provision at all to cover the ends of the bones ; for the flap operation was known and practised at this time. Even though he preferred the old circular incision he might have taken Cheselden's advice and retracted the skin before applying the tourniquet. Taken altogether I fear that this operation does not give a very high idea of the skill of Mr. Paul as a surgeon. Probably Ferne, and certainly Cheselden, would have made a better job of it.

Patients seem to have stood these operations very differently, for another case is recorded by Austin of a man who had his thigh amputated by Ferne, also by a circular incision, and never uttered a groan. It must be remembered, however, that the poor fellow whose hand was cut off had been suffering terrible pain for two days before he came to the hospital and was in no condition to face an operation with fortitude.

But we must not imagine that all the records of the operating theatre at the old St. Thomas's were as depressing as the foregoing. Listen, for instance, to the following short story of another operation which took place there. Cheselden on this occasion was the operator and the patient was a little boy. The good-natured surgeon promised the little fellow that, if he would lie still and bear the pain bravely, he would give him some sugar plums, things which then were a good deal rarer than they are to-day. The story goes that the little patient neither moved nor made a sound while Cheselden was at work and, as soon as the operation was over, demanded his sugar plums which I am quite sure that he received.

Mr. Austin has a great deal to say about " salivation "

and gives details of a large number of cases which he watched. Perhaps it will be well to let him describe the process in his own words.

“OBSERVATIONES AD PTYALISMUM PERTINENTES.

ANNO 1725.

“A salivation is caus'd by some of ye preparat. of Mercury and tis the saline particles of calomel that vellicates ye fibres of ye Stomack so as to discharge its contents, and thereby part of ye salts fixes upon ye glands of ye mouth and causes a salivat.

“A salivation is rais'd either by internalls or by Unction, & w^{ch} is begun & ended by ye Apoth. Mr. Dickman, according to ye humour of ye Doctor & Surgeon. But ye most common way is by unction, particularly when ther's any Eruption, pains & diseas'd bones, & ye patient being provided with a suit of flannen he has about ʒ3 of ye Ungt Coeruleum (Merc. Viv. ʒi. Tereb. ven, ʒfs Aux ung ʒ3) pharmacop. pauper, (all this may safely be us'd according to Turner). With this quantity he annoints every part for three nights except Breast, Belly and Back for fear of a paralysis by offending ye nerves, and the 4th day rests, to see ye effects but the cõmoness of the thing makes 'em do it so promiscuously & with such indifferency that Mr. Paul thought this a very uncertain way & ordered his patients, the first night to anoint (with ye same quant.) the legs and feet only. Second night thighs, & ye 3rd Arms, the 4th day rested, and then begun with internalls, this is done before ye fire & ye patients immediately put on woolen stockings flannen shirt & drawers & flannen round ye Neck, and from ye first night keep there bed all ye while, the patient is carefully supplied

with Hfs of warm broth, gruell or Bear every hour or two.

“ Some begin to spit and ye gums swell after ye first or 2nd night, & by raising it gently at first, tis easy to know whether more be requir'd, he must abstain from flesh & eat nothing but what's simple & easy to digest.

“ Each patient is furnished with a bellyed pot w^{ch} holds a pint not unlike a syrup pot, all close at Top excepting a little round hole for ye saliva to run. They seldom sleep above 2 or 3 hours at a time, nor ought they to lay on their Backs least they swallow ye saliva, or hang their face over ye Pots, as they often do that has a continuall dribling, for t'will make ye face swell. Chancres are usually cut off with sissars or where they grow in Clusters are par'd off before they lye down & then are allways annointed well w^{ch} co^monly cures 'em.

“ Nodes are frequently resolv'd by it & assisted by Emp. Mercuriale, but if they be very painfull are laid open by Caust. during salivat.

“ Buboes are either Suppurated, or destroyed by Caust & towards ye end of ye work a Salivat. compleats ye cure.

“ Carious bones will sooner exfoliate durement a salivat. than otherwise.”

Mr. Ferne seems, from Austin's notes, to have favoured the internal administration of mercury instead of that by inunction. He gave a bolus containing gr. xv. of calomel every morning, sometimes varying it with a “ red bolus ” (gr. x of pulv antisyphilitica). This drastic treatment was continued for twenty-five days, the wretched patient spitting $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 pots (pints) of saliva a day until all the teeth were loose. After

this he was allowed to "spit off all" and, after a final purge, was pronounced cured.

It seems that the treatment did cure most of the patients though sometimes they died under it, but it must be remembered that gonorrhœa and soft sores were thought to be syphilitic in those days and, therefore, would have been counted among the "cures." One case is recorded of a woman whose mouth sloughed so terribly that, after the sloughs had separated, the cicatrices contracted so much that she could hardly open her mouth enough to take nourishment. Salivation seems to have continued until the end of the eighteenth century, for the notes used by Cline for his lectures, which are in our hospital library, give nearly the same directions as those of Austin in 1725.

Details are given of many cases of lithotomy, both by the "high operation" (suprapubic) and "cutting on ye staffe." The former was seldom performed on account of the danger of wounding the peritoneum, while the latter was usually done by Cheselden in one and a half minutes, sometimes in less.

Many of the cases were fatal, though I fancy that this was due more to the foul atmosphere and general sepsis of the hospital than to want of skill in the operator.

Cheselden was as skilful at operating for cataract as he was at lithotomy. His method is thus described by Austin :

"The necessary preparations are gruell, salets, pudding &c, on w^h ye patient must feed a week or fortnight, and ye day before ye operat. take Haust. purg. to empty ye Intest.

“ Let ye operator & patient sit face to face, astride upon a bench, opposite to a good light, an assistant to hold his head steady. He must look toward ye nose while ye operator with his thumb & two first fingers hold open ye eye & secure the globe from moveing, then pierce through the Tunica Conjunct. a straw's breadth from ye cornea next to the lesser (external) canthus, with a spear pointed needle and pass it beyond (behind) the Iris, raise the point of the needle over ye Cataract and depress it & keep it down a little. If it rise again depress it once or twice more without drawing out the needle. If it remain below ye pupilla the patient will see the light if the eye have no other deficiency. But if it be too soft, break and rise again, tis probable it has not been ripe enough, & must be let alone to some other time for ye pieces will unite again and harden, and altho ye cataract be depressed and ye patient can't see it's no fault in ye operation, or is ye patient more blind than before.

“ Apply a bolster dipt in Aq. Ros. & let him sit up in bed, VS (venesection) ad 14 vel 16 $\frac{3}{4}$, & 8 hours after give Enem. Com., & apply to ye eye Ungt. Nutrit. vel Diacyl. let down with Ol & Acet., spread thin upon a cloth with B.B, to be renewed twice a day to prevent inflammat. But if ye inflammat be great Emp. Vesic. ad nuch. & Elect. Lenit. mane, & live abstemiously all ye while.”

I have asked the Librarian to give this Case Book a place among the historical works in our Library for, although it gives a very lively idea of the treatment at St. Thomas's in 1725 and 1726, I cannot find room for the whole of it in this volume.

It seems hard to believe that the governors at this

time were deliberately trying to keep the medical school as small as possible, but clearly that was their object. They regarded the surgeons' young men, as they called the pupils, as necessary evils, necessary because without their fees the surgeons would not have worked for the small stipend of £40 a year ; and it must be remembered that the pupils were the private property of the surgeons and apothecary and were not organized, even had they been fit, to help in working the hospital as they do now.

They were nominally attached to one surgeon but were allowed to follow the practice of his colleagues and, until 1760, to attend the operations but not the practice at Guy's, while the Guy's pupils had the same privilege at St. Thomas's.

Their fees of 24 guineas for twelve months or 18 guineas for six months were collected by the apothecary of St. Thomas's from the pupils of both hospitals, and the total amount was divided equally between the six surgeons and two apothecaries. The original entries of all their names, as well as the fees which they paid, may be seen in the muniment room of St. Thomas's Medical School to-day.

In 1724 the St. Thomas's surgeons had taken more than their quota of pupils, and the matter was brought up at the grand committee, which decided on November 6th, that : " When the respective times (of the pupils) expired the surgeons were not to take any more until the numbers were reduced to three for each surgeon, and then they were only to take such as should be approved and licensed according to the order of the general court of March 17th, 1702." (See p. 144.)

This pronouncement is worth noting, because the

governing body of the hospital so seldom looked up its old minutes before coming to a decision.

Lectures upon Anatomy, with its bearings upon Surgery, were given at St. Thomas's, and these were open to pupils of both hospitals, upon paying a special fee. At St. Thomas's, too, was the dissecting-room (see p. 186), where again a fee was charged. Guy's responded by giving lectures on Medicine and Chemistry and thus a pupil of either hospital got a good deal of his training at the other; though he could only attend the surgical practice of the one at which he entered.

On May 26th, 1726, each of the three surgeons was allowed to take four pupils instead of three and the apothecary, three instead of two. The register of pupils—they were never called students at this time—has been kept since 1723, and shows that in 1724 there were entered twenty pupils. At that time each surgeon might only have three pupils and the apothecary only two at a time, so that if they limited the time for teaching each pupil to six months they could only just manage to take twenty in one year without exceeding their allowance; since the apprentices, who stayed several years, were included with the pupils. No doubt they hoped that the supply of pupils was likely to increase, and this is the reason why in 1726 they asked to be allowed to take a larger number.

As a matter of fact the entries did not come up to their expectations for several years, since we find that in 1734 only sixteen entered, in 1744 twenty-three, in 1754 twenty-four, and in 1764 thirty-one.

CHAPTER IX
THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY
1726 TO 1751

ON June 15th, 1726, the steward, like the apothecary, was made a resident officer and was allowed no outside occupation. His emoluments, however, were curtailed, for he was no longer able to demand gratuities from out-patients, nor from sisters, nurses, and watchers on their appointment. At this court, too, the pay of the night watchers was raised from fourpence to sixpence a night.

On June 10th, 1727, George the First died and George the Second was proclaimed on the 15th. Not that it made the slightest difference to the hospital. On June 7th, 1727, two houses in Fleet Lane were let to " Benjamin Franklin " at £10 a year and £140 fine. It is known that the celebrated American man of letters and of science was in London during 1726 and 1727, and that he carried on business as a printer during this time. Thus it seems quite possible that he became our tenant and that, although he returned to America in 1727, a business was carried on under his name in Fleet Lane.

On July 17th, 1728, a house was provided in the hospital precincts for the renter, now called the receiver. And now all the principal officers except the president and medical staff were resident.

£6068 15s. 9d. was invested in South Sea Annuities ; for, owing to the wise arrangements made by Walpole, South Sea Stock carried on a legitimate business after the crash.

The old conduit in Cheapside was in existence at this time, for one of our houses, known as "The Angel and Crown," which stood opposite it, was let at this court meeting.

On July 24th, 1728, an additional estate at Hastingleigh in Kent was bought for £190 ; and Joshua Symons was appointed surgeon to succeed Josiah Paul, deceased. On March 20th, 1729, Dr. Caleb Coatsworth resigned and was succeeded by Dr. Edward Willmott as physician.

On July 9th, 1729, an acre at Hackney was leased to that vestry for 99 years in order to build a workhouse. At this meeting the portrait of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, now in the Governors' Hall, was ordered to be painted.

On May 8th, 1730, the foul wards in the small eastern quadrangle, together with the apothecary's house, dissecting room, cutting room, surgery, and brewhouse, were reported as being so ruinous that they were ordered to be replaced at an estimate of £4160. This is the first mention in the minutes of a dissecting room, though it must have been there for some time before this. That at St. Bartholomew's was built in 1722, and it is probable that some room in the small rectangular court behind Clayton Square, was used for this purpose at St. Thomas's. We know that the dead-house or mortuary was in this quadrangle and that so far back as 1670 surgeons and pupils were in the habit of dissecting dead patients there, though they had to get special

leave from the treasurer to do so. Since the dissecting room, but not the dead-house, is mentioned at this court meeting, it looks as though they were the same place, and that it was not until 1730 that a separate dissecting room was provided.

Perhaps this will be a suitable place at which to pause and review the scattered records of St. Thomas's as a teaching institution, since the question of when and how our medical school began is so often asked and is so difficult to answer clearly.

As I have said already the first attempt at definite authorized instruction must be as old as the first appointment of barber surgeons to the hospital when it was refounded by Edward VI in 1552. That these surgeons had apprentices, just as the members of other City companies had, is almost certain. The late R. G. Whitfield, Esq., formerly Apothecary to St. Thomas's, found a record of an apprentice in 1561, which bears out this conclusion, though I have not had the good fortune to find out where the record appears, since our minutes are silent about it. Mr. Whitfield was a keen student of the history of the hospital, and I fear that some of the documents which he owned have disappeared since his death.

Between 1644 and 1670 John Browne was a pupil of Thomas Hollyer (see p. 130), I think that had he been an apprentice it would have been mentioned and the fact that he is called a pupil shows that at this time the surgeons not only had apprentices bound to them for seven years, but were allowed to take pupils who, presumably, had already served or were serving apprenticeship to some practitioner unconnected with a hospital. The advantage of being able to follow the

practice of one of the two great London hospitals was great, and no doubt helped the pupil, after six or twelve months, to pass the examination at Barber Surgeons' Hall, where our surgeon, Lawrence Lowe, was an examiner in 1648.

The next information is in 1684, when the court decided that "No skillet carriers or helpers to the sisters are to be allowed except such as the president and treasurer authorize" (see p. 114). Again, in the orders for 1700 is one which says that no skillet carriers are allowed except at the surgeons' charge (see p. 133).

These skillet carriers seem to have been some of the pupils who had the privilege of carrying the surgeon's tray of dressings and instruments and thus be close to him while he was at work : it does not seem that they were either in name or in deed actually dressers, for we know that the dressings were done by the surgeon himself, or, in his absence, by his apprentices. That they were not dressers at this time is shown by the later rule (No. 11, p. 134), which says that, "None but apprentices at Surgeons' Hall (Barber Surgeons' Hall) are allowed to dress for the surgeons."

I do not understand, I admit, what is meant in Rule No. 8 on p. 133, already quoted : "That no skillet carriers were allowed, except at the surgeons' charge." Possibly they received some small payment at this time, and that this, hitherto, had been recovered from the governors.

On July 14th, 1731, it was decided that "cleane" patients should pay 2s. 6d. and "foule" patients 5s. on admission ; that £40 a year be paid to the sisters of the two foul fluxing (salivating) wards, Naples and Magdalen, and £32 a year to the sisters of the clean

fluxing wards, Job and Susannah ; for, although Susannah was a lesser ward than Job, it had been found that just as many patients were salivated there.

The other sisters were to have £25 apiece each year, out of which they had to provide crockery, soap, Fuller's earth, and scouring sand as well as the first pair of sheets, presumably for each patient, in their twenty to thirty beds ; thus a sister at St. Thomas's in those days must have been something of a capitalist. Each nurse in the clean wards received £16 a year, those in Job and Susannah, £18, and those in Naples and Magdalen, £20 ; while the night watchers were paid 4s. a week, and were allowed small beer.

At this court John Girle (junior), whom we have seen as Mr. Paul's apprentice, was appointed surgeon in place of Joshua Symons, deceased.

On November 24th, 1731, the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Walpole gave £100 to the hospital and was almost certainly made a governor though I can find no mention of it.

On July 19th, 1732, Denham Durdant was let for the old rent of £51 but the huge fine of £1550 was imposed. It was reported that no manor courts had been held at Hinton, Comberton, and Meldreth for the last eight years and the committee advised that they be held every other year. It also advised that the old custom of the governors visiting the whole hospital be revived and that it be undertaken twice a year.

On February 22nd, 1733, the death of Sir Gilbert Heathcote was reported and Sir Gerard Conyers was elected president.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote was a Cambridge graduate who became a merchant and, settling in St. Swithin's

Lane, traded chiefly with the East and West Indies. He was one of the founders and later a governor of the Bank of England and was also colonel of the blue regiment of the London trained bands. On one occasion it is said that he addressed Peter the Great in High Dutch on the desirability of importing tobacco into Russia. He was in Parliament during four reigns as a staunch Whig, which probably explains why St. Thomas's chose him as its president. In spite of his great wealth he was very parsimonious and Pope, in his *Moral Essays*, sums him up by saying :

“ The grave Sir Gilbert holds it for a rule
That every man in want is knave or fool.”

The fine portrait in our Hall shows him in his Lord Mayor's robes.

The way in which Sir Gerard Conyers was elected caused trouble between us and the City ; for we read in repertory 137, fo. 236, of the Court of Aldermen that the Lord Mayor reported to that court that, on the death of Sir Thomas (it should be Gilbert) Heathcote, the president of St. Thomas's Hospital, the treasurer of that hospital had caused a Court of Governors to be summoned, and had elected a president without acquainting his lordship, and that he thought the same derogatory to the honour and dignity of the chair as well as of the court ; on which the town clerk was directed to search what power and authority the Lord Mayor and the court have over the hospitals. On the 17th of April, 1733, the town clerk reported accordingly ; and he was directed to write to the treasurer of the hospital to attend the court with such precedents as he could find in the books of the hospital

relating to such elections : and on the 22nd of May following, the clerk of the hospital, attending, excused the treasurer's attendance, he being indisposed, but delivered into court, pursuant to order, an extract of precedents from the court books of the hospital touching the method used in choosing a president from 1643 to 1732, which was read and the following resolution passed, viz. :

“ This court (of Aldermen), taking into consideration the matter relating to Mr. Joy, the treasurer of St. Thomas's Hospital, his summoning and holding a court for the election of a president in the room of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, bart, and alderman, lately deceased, without the direction of the right hon. the lord mayor, doth resolve that, upon the death or resignation of any president of the said hospital, the right of summoning and holding the court in which the new president is to be chosen is in the lord mayor for the time being, and that no other person whatsoever hath a right to hold such court unless by a power delegated either by this court or the lord mayor for the time being.” And they ordered a copy to be sent to the treasurer.

On May 30th, 1733, Dr. Thomas Wadsworth resigned and Dr. Abraham Hall was made physician.

On July 11th, 1733, a house belonging to the hospital, near the *late* conduit in Cheapside, was let. In 1731 the “ Bell and Bull,” a house *opposite* this structure, had been let.

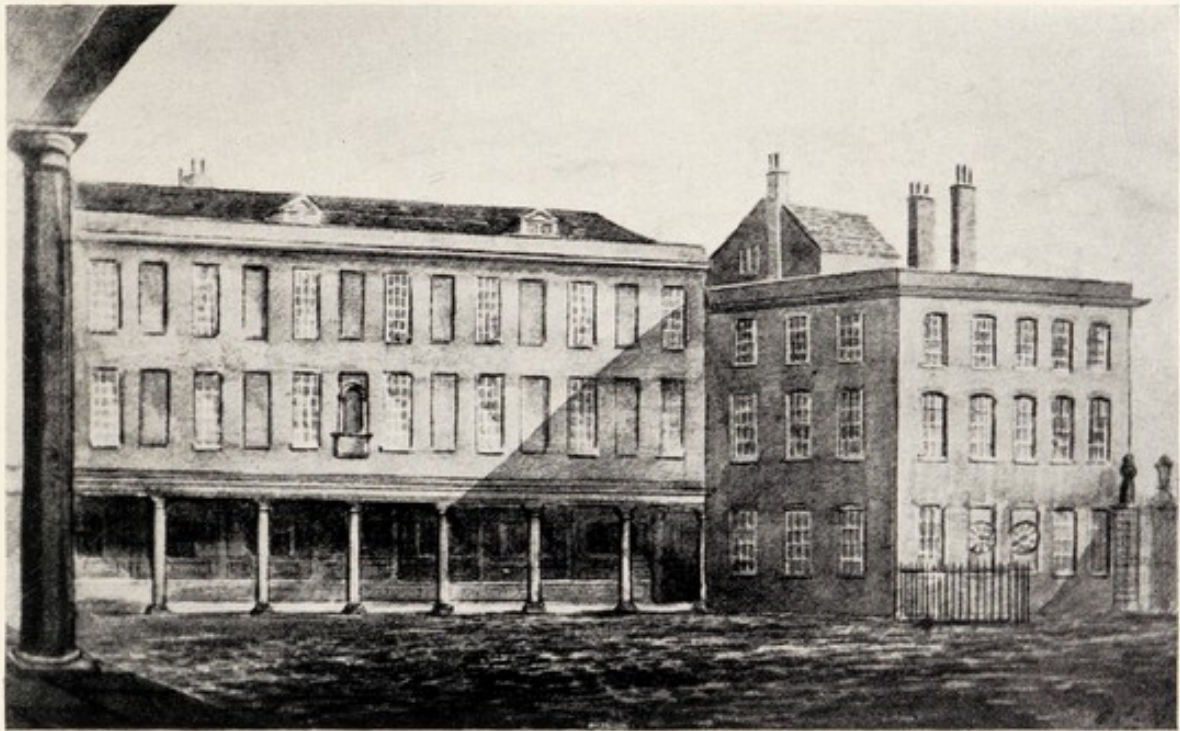
The manor of Bewick in Holderness was let for £50 per annum, and £2100 fine, an arrangement which made its real rent £150 per annum for 21 years ; but, since the fine could be invested at five per cent, the

actual rent became £155 a year against the nominal one of £50. One wonders whether any other advantage accrued from concealing the actual rent roll of the hospital in this way. Most of the fines of the other manors were being raised in proportion at this time, and their increase is a sign of the great prosperity of the country under Walpole's long and peaceful administration. There can be no doubt that land at this time was an excellent investment and it is no surprise to learn that an annuity left to the hospital by a man named Uphill was ordered to be sold and invested in this way.

Later, in 1759, there was a discussion as to the desirability of taking fines instead of charging an adequate rent and it was decided that the practice of taking fines in letting hospital estates was beneficial to the hospital, a conclusion which seems almost a self-evident proposition from the purely financial point of view.

In 1734, a book called *Seymour's Survey of London*, an edition of Stow's *Survey*, gives some details of the St. Thomas's Hospital of that time which agree very closely with those of Benjamin Golding in 1819 and show that little change took place in the appearance of the hospital between those dates.

The rebuilding of the hospital has already been recorded at various times between 1700 and 1717, but it may be worth noting the general result as it struck Seymour in 1734, even at the cost of repeating something which has already been described piecemeal. I think too that we should be grateful to Seymour for giving us the setting in which Cheselden and Austin moved and played their parts.



ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL IN 1708

Showing the southern side of the most westerly court, with the wards built by Frederick,
and also part of the entrance from Southwark High Street

“ The most westerly square at that time was the one flanked by Guy’s and Frederick’s blocks of wards ; its eastern end was ornamented with pillars of the Tuscan order and this front showed the fine clock with the statue of Edward VI and the four cripples, which Guy had removed from the old ‘ frontispiece ’ originally forming the entrance into the hospital from Southwark High St.

“ In the second court was the Parish Church, with Ionic pillars, on the South, and the Chapel, with Corinthian pillars, on the North ; while Tuscan pillars on the east front supported the hall. In this court were the treasurer’s, minister’s, steward’s, cook’s and butler’s houses, the steward’s being on the north side.

“ The third court, called the great square, had Tuscan pillars and pilasters of Ionic, and contained Clayton’s statue with a charter in his hand.

“ In a little court, farther to the East, were the two salivating wards (Job and Susannah) also the cutting ward, with seven beds, and the cutting room close by, as well as the bagnio, theatre and deadhouse.

“ In the hall were pictures of Edward VI, Charles II, William and Mary and Clayton, at full length, as well as the president’s seat, finely enriched with carved fruit, leaves &c. The governors are the Lord Mayor and sixty [*sic*] other gentlemen. Charles Joy is the treasurer with a committee of thirty, seven of whom form a quorum, ten retiring annually. There are twelve almoners who take in and discharge patients weekly.”

From this account we gather that in 1734 the portrait of Charles II was in the hall, and in earlier days there certainly was one of Charles I too. It would be

interesting to know what became of these portraits, for they are not to be found now.

“The other officers are Mr. Drew, the hospitaller ; Mr. Casberd, the curate ; Drs. Plumtre, Wilmot and Hall, the physicians ; Messrs. Fern, Cheselden and Symonds, the surgeons ; Mr. Pierce, the apothecary ; Mr. Gale, the steward ; Mr. Matthews, the clerk and registrar ; one cook, one butler who is also brewer ; two porters and four beadles. Mrs. Pierce is the matron, with whom are nineteen sisters, also nurses, watchers &c. The patients are taken in and discharged on Thursdays. In 1732 there were 4173 patients treated.”

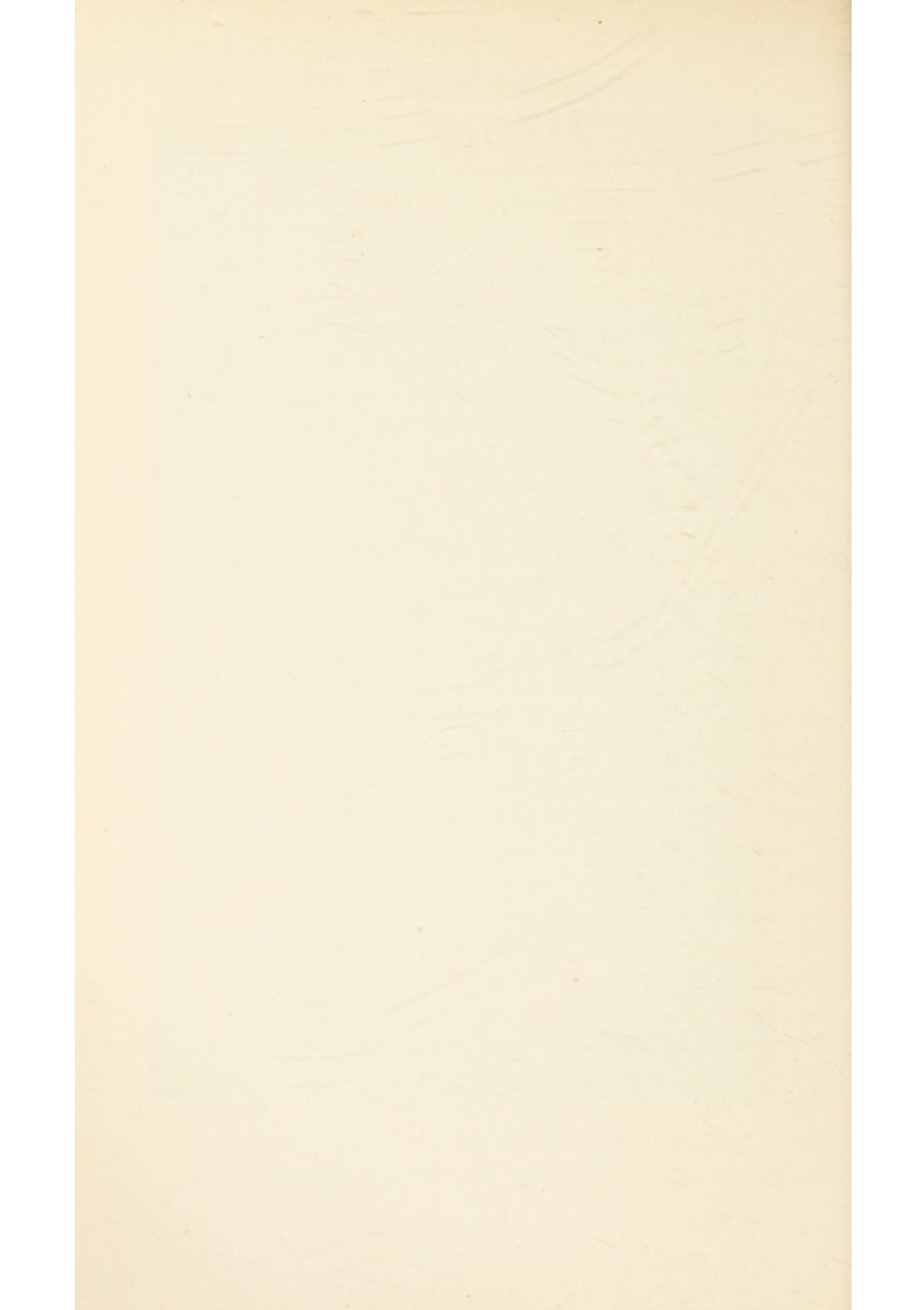
Two engravings of the hospital, made soon after this date, are available. The first is dated 1755 and was published according to act of Parliament to illustrate Stow's *Survey of London*, while the second one is dated 1758.

I do not think that the former one is at all accurate in detail, for there are no signs of the clock nor of the façade with the statues of the four cripples ; moreover the upper stories of Guy's and Frederick's blocks in the first square have only dormer windows in the roof and these could hardly have lighted the large wards which we know were there. Then too there is no statue of Edward VI in the second (Edward) Square though the minutes tell us that it was placed there in 1739.

The second engraving is much more accurate, for it shows the upper wards in the first and third (Clayton's) Squares lighted by large windows like those of the first floor ; moreover the clock is there and the façade is in its place on the east wall of the first square, to



ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL IN 1758



which Guy had it removed from the foregate. Above it is the turret with the weathervane.

Whether the metal statue of Edward VI would have been shown we cannot tell, because the point of view of this drawing differs from that of the earlier one and does not show so much of Edward Square.

But one of the most striking differences between the two engravings is that in the one of 1755 all the windows are glazed, while in that of 1758 almost every other window is bricked in. This, of course, was the effect of the window tax which was imposed in 1696 as an improvement on the old "Hearth Money" and its removal is one of the many things for which we ought to thank Sir Robert Walpole, probably a governor of St. Thomas's, about whom it is said that he found England with the worst fiscal system in Europe, and left her with the best.

Unfortunately the mischief which the window tax caused in cutting out light and air lasted long after its removal, and this is shown clearly enough in the reproduction of our front court, which faces p. 170. This photograph was taken about 1830 and it will be seen that many of the windows of Guy's and Frederick's blocks are still bricked up. The illustration is also useful in that it shows much more clearly than does the engraving of 1758 the details of the façade or "frontispiece."

I have little doubt that when the picture of 1755 was made the windows were blocked up, just as they were in 1758, and that the failure to notice them is one more evidence of the artist having made merely a rough sketch of the hospital and then having left the details to be filled in from memory.

On July 16th, 1735, a warrant from the Consistory Court of Winchester was received ordering that Dorothy Terribee should do penance in the vestry. We are not told what Dorothy had been doing to deserve this discipline nor, I think, did it interest the governors very much. What they feared was that if they obeyed this order of the Bishop's Court it would be used as a precedent in the future. So Mr. Casberd, the incumbent, was told not to carry out the warrant "since the parish is exempt from episcopal jurisdiction."

At this court three acres of land at Denham were added to our estate there, at a cost of £120.

On July 7th, 1736, 218 governors attended the court. These large attendances almost always meant that there was to be a contested election to the staff and that the governors had been actively canvassed. In this case the resignation of Dr. Plumtre was received and he, according to the now established custom, was made a governor. After some very close voting Dr. J. Leatherland was elected to succeed him as physician.

The grand committee reported that five houses on the west side of the church in St. Thomas's Street had been pulled down and four new ones built.

On August 17th, 1737, it was reported that Sir Gerard Conyers had died on July 20th and Sir John Eyles was elected to succeed him. It is noteworthy that, in spite of the remonstrance received on May 22nd, 1733, from the Court of Aldermen, the Lord Mayor was not given any notice of this election.

The Court of Aldermen, accordingly, at its meeting on October 18th, 1737, empowered Sir John Eyles to summon a governors' court at St. Thomas's, to preside

thereat, and to communicate to the governors assembled the aforesaid resolution of 1733. He was also desired to have it entered upon the books of the hospital and for the future, duly observed (Rep. 141, fo. 432, 458).

There is a full-length portrait of Sir Gerard Conyers in the Governors' Hall. It was painted in 1735, when he was eighty-four years old.

On January 18th, 1738, a court was held to elect a new treasurer in the place of Charles Joye, Esq., who had died. Samuel Lesingham was elected and the Lord Mayor, Sir James Barnard, was present. This is all that our minutes tell us, but evidently he made an impressive speech in support of the City's authority and rights in the election of a new president because, six days later, the Court of Aldermen met and declared its great satisfaction at the conduct of the Lord Mayor at the general court of St. Thomas's Hospital at which he presided. It resolved that: "The Lord Mayor for the time being, on the death of the president of any or either of the hospitals, be desired to hold a general court of governors within one month" (Rep. 142, fo. 145).

Soon after his death it was found that Mr. Joye had left 500 guineas for the purpose of adorning the hospital with a brass statue of Edward VI. The work was entrusted to Scheemaker who had already produced a beautiful statue of Guy for his hospital; and on September 15th, 1739, the statue was placed in the second or administrative court of St. Thomas's, which henceforth was known as Edward Square. Later an iron railing, costing £26 pounds, was placed round the statue and was the gift of the committee who carried out Mr. Joye's bequest.

On March 29th, 1738, the ground between the north front of Guy's Hospital and St. Thomas's Street was let to Guy's for 982½ years at £60 a year and a fine of £600. Guy's, therefore, was nominally paying St. Thomas's, now, £90 a year, though the interest on the £600 made it actually £120.

At this court the resignation of Cheselden was accepted and Mr. John Whiting, who had been an apprentice in the hospital, was appointed to succeed him as surgeon.

William Cheselden, who is generally regarded at St. Thomas's as its greatest surgeon, was born in Leicestershire in 1688. In 1703, when fifteen years old, he became the pupil of William Cowper, the distinguished anatomist and surgeon, and later was apprenticed to Mr. Ferne at St. Thomas's. It is said that in 1711, when twenty-three, he lectured on Anatomy (probably at his own house), and he certainly got into trouble with the Barber Surgeons in 1714 for dissecting the bodies of executed criminals without its consent; though he was pardoned on acknowledging his fault and promising not to do so again.

Twice in 1714 he applied for the post of surgeon to St. Thomas's unsuccessfully and I cannot help thinking that it was his difficulty with the Barber Surgeons which stood in his way, because it will be remembered that Mead had been reader in Anatomy to that body and his influence at St. Thomas's was very great. There must have been some unrecorded reason why he should have been twice passed over, for he was a St. Thomas's man and had already shown great capacity as an Anatomist and Teacher; besides which he had pub-

lished a text-book on Anatomy which was very popular in its day.

On July 19th, 1718, he applied once more and was appointed Assistant Surgeon, a post which he held for only a year, after which he was made full, or as it was then called, principal surgeon.

In 1723 he published his treatise on the "High operation for stone," but was violently attacked by Douglas who accused him of plagiarism. Cheselden therefore decided to modify the operation of Frere Jacques into his own Lateral Lithotomy and the first twenty-seven cases upon which he operated recovered satisfactorily.

In 1728 he introduced a new operation for artificial pupil (*Phil. Trans.*, Vol. 36, p. 447) and this Pope probably had in his mind when he wrote :

" I'll do what Mead and Cheselden advise
To keep these limbs and to preserve these eyes."

In 1733 his well-known *Osteographia* or *Atlas of Osteology* appeared, although only a few of the illustrations were actually drawn by him.

Cheselden was a jovial, good-hearted man, kind to his patients at the hospital and a wonderfully quick and skilful operator. Like most anatomists he was a good draughtsman and is said to have prepared the plans for the Surgeons' Hall in the Old Bailey after the surgeons and barbers parted in 1745. He is also said to have taken an active part in separating the two mysteries and in organizing the surgeons into a separate company. Certainly he was one of the first wardens of this new company when it was formed.

When Pope was ill Cheselden took him into his own

house in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, and attended him there.

On the foundation of St. George's Hospital in 1733 Cheselden was made one of its surgeons.

Two sidelights on the man himself may interest the medical student. The first is that in his youth he was a skilful boxer and in his later years remained a patron of all athletic pursuits. The second is that he died at Bath after a glorious though unwise meal of hot (Bath ?) buns and ale, on April 10th, 1752.

His tomb in Chelsea Hospital may still be seen and a full account of his life appeared in the *British Medical Journal* for September 17th, 1898.

On April 10th, 1739, the death of John Whiting was reported and Thomas Barker was appointed to succeed him as surgeon.

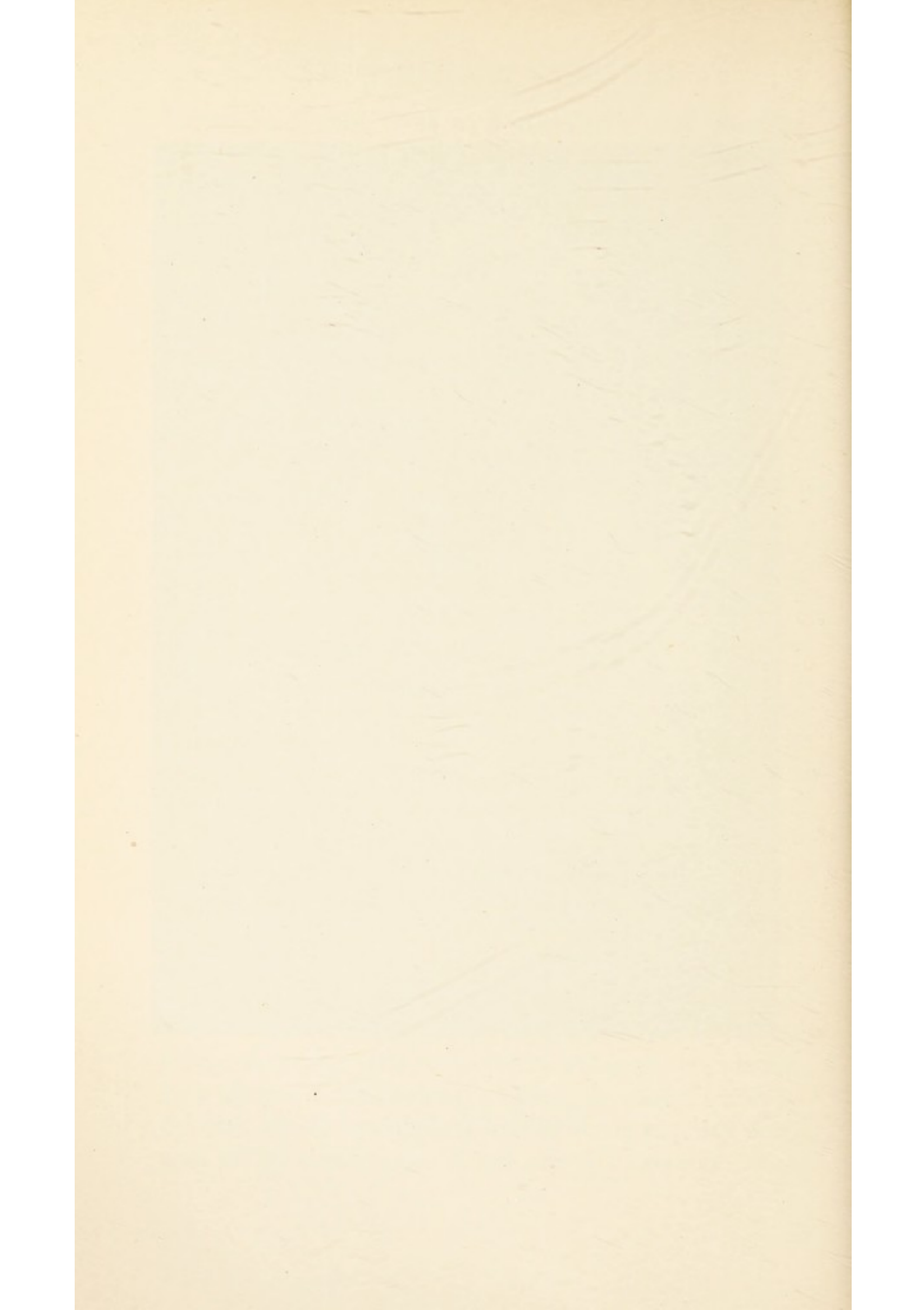
On April 2nd, 1740, Dr. Edward Wilmot resigned and Dr. Thomas Reeve was elected physician.

Dr., afterwards Sir Edward, Wilmot was a distinguished physician of his day. He was an M.D. of Cambridge and paved the way to the St. Thomas's Staff and the Royal Society by marrying one of Mead's daughters. He resigned his post at St. Thomas's when he was appointed physician general to the army and later became physician to Queen Caroline, Frederick Prince of Wales, George II, and George III. He was made a baronet in 1759.

On April 15th, 1741, the death was reported of James Ferne who had been surgeon to the hospital for thirty-six years. His name is remembered here chiefly by a picture in the Steward's Office, showing a wonderful case, which he cured, of a man whose arm had been torn off by machinery. From Austin's account Ferne



WILLIAM CHESELDEN



seems to have been a good surgeon who understood the importance of sending patients out of the close and septic atmosphere of the hospital as quickly as possible.

Joseph Paul, who succeeded him, seems to have been the son of Josiah Paul, a former surgeon who died in 1728 and was the operator mentioned on p. 176. Relationship to a present or former member of the staff seems to have decided several appointments at this time and, later, was to cause the hospital some loss of prestige.

On July 15th, 1741, it was decided that Abraham ward, which was small, should be turned into a room in which the medical officers might examine cases. The last we heard of this ward was that in 1708 it had been turned partly into a cellar and partly into a storehouse for the steward; it seems, therefore, that the latter part of it must have been used once more as a ward in the interval.

It was reported that at the Manor Courts lately held at Parndon and Alvethley, "sufficient copyholders did not appear to make a homage." It would seem from this that the old courts leete and courts baron, though they survived for several years, were becoming obsolete.

The names of benefactors since 1721, which were formerly on the staircase leading to the hall, were now ordered to be put up in the hall itself.

On July 11th, 1744, £5000 of 3 per cent annuities were bought, while a few years before £1700 had been invested in East India bonds. Possibly the governors thought that the price of land was now too high to make it a wise investment.

On March 27th, 1745, it was reported that Sir John

Eyles had died on the 11th. On this occasion the Lord Mayor, the Rt. Hon. Henry Marshall, took the chair and Sir Robert Bayliss, knight and alderman, was elected president. A full-length portrait of Sir John Eyles hangs in the Governors' Hall. It shows him as he appeared at the coronation of George II, which he attended as Lord Mayor in 1727.

On July 18th, 1745, it was decided that seven houses belonging to the hospital in Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row, should be pulled down and rebuilt.

On February 19th, 1746, Thomas Wingfield was appointed hospitaller to succeed the Rev. Mr. Drew, deceased. This court was rather an interesting one because the clerk had evidently adopted the "New Style" in dating it. The last meeting had been on July 18th, 1745, while this one, it will be noticed, is February 19th, 1746, showing that the year now began on January 1st instead of on March 25th. Hitherto I have followed the example of most modern histories and have, as I explained on pp. 164 and 169 of Vol. I, altered the year of any event which occurred between January 1st and March 24th to a year later in order to bring it into harmony with our modern system.

Up to the year with which we are dealing a court meeting in February, for example, would have been dated 1743 in the old style, but would have been given in this book as 1744.

The change from the old (Dionysian) to the new (Gregorian) style is said to have taken place officially in England in 1752, but the present entry shows that at St. Thomas's, and perhaps other places, it occurred six years earlier.

On July 22nd, 1747, several leases were renewed ;

among others an acre of garden in Kent Street was let for £10 a year. Perhaps this may have been the old Horse or Spittal Acre (see Vol. I, p. 215). In any case, it shows that Kent Street, the Tabard Street of to-day, was not completely lined by houses at this date.

On July 20th, 1748, the Fleece Alehouse in Threadneedle Street was let and many other leases were given.

At this court Samuel Lesingham resigned, and on August 3rd Anthony Walbuge was made treasurer.

Sir Robert Bayliss died on November 21st, 1748, and the Rt. Hon. William Calvert, Lord Mayor, presided over a court which elected Sir Edward Bellamy, knight and alderman, as president of the hospital. The rule of the latter, however, was a short one, for on April 26th, 1749, he was reported as having died, and the Lord Mayor—still William Calvert—presided over another court which elected Sir John Thompson as Bellamy's successor.

On July 12th, 1749, a great many leases were signed in different parts of Old London. We still find property in Harpe Row, Tower Royal Row, Finch (St. Benetfink) Lane, Pancras Lane, Budge Row, Blow-bladder Street, Red Lyon Square, Chequer Alley, Spreadeagle Court, George Alley, in which 17 houses were let, Blackman Street, Dolphin Yard (25 houses), and Snow Hill.

William Mount, Esq., was made treasurer to succeed Anthony Walbuge, Esq., who died on June 23rd, and Dr. Thomas Adams was appointed physician in place of Dr. Abraham Hall, who had resigned.

On August 23rd, 1749, 231 governors attended the court, which, of course, meant a contested election.

On this occasion Mr. John Girle, junior, resigned his surgeoncy and Mr. Benjamin Cowell was elected.

March 21st, 1750, again saw the Lord Mayor in the chair ; he was now Sir Samuel Pennant, and he presided over the election of George Arnold, Esq., alderman, as president, in place of Sir John Thompson, deceased.

On July 12th, 1750, many leases were granted, among which were three houses in Mare St., Hackney.

1750 was the year in which the register of dressers begins. It seems that this was the occasion upon which the title became recognized in the hospital in place of the older one of skillet carrier. The dressers now paid the surgeons, to whom they were attached, £50 for a year's appointment, or £31 10s. for six months, but they were not charged any pupils' fees.

At operations the dressers of the surgeon operating took their places by the table in the well of the theatre, while the front rows of seats were reserved for the other surgeons' dressers. It does not seem that they took any active part in the operation beyond holding the patient and handing instruments and dressings, since the apprentices, with their much longer experience, were there to give the surgeon any help he needed.

On July 10th, 1751, the Lord Mayor, Frederick Cockayne, presiding, Sir John Hankey was elected president in place of George Arnold, deceased.

On July 17th, 1751, nineteen acres at Clapton were let. Clapton seems to have come into our possession as part of the Hackney estate. It was reported at this court that the Archdeacon of Surrey had cited the St. Thomas's churchwardens for non-attendance before him, and that the Bishop of Winchester proposed to

make a visitation of the church. Both these demands were refused on the ground that the church was exempt from all episcopal and diaconal supervision, but the Bishop was to be allowed to make his visitation if he signed a statement that it was not to be a precedent for any future claim to jurisdiction.

In spite of the definite pronouncement obtained in 1704 (see p. 150), the episcopal lawyers began a new suit in the Court of Arches to recover the bishop's authority over St. Thomas's Church. This was settled in October of the same year, when the Dean of Arches decided that the church and churchwardens were exempt from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever, and the bishop and archdeacon seem to have realised at last that their claim to authority was hopeless, for no further attempt to control the church was made.

At this governors' court part of Abraham Ward was again used for its original purpose and eight beds were placed in it.

CHAPTER X

ST. THOMAS'S AS ONE OF THE UNITED HOSPITALS

1751 TO 1779

ON October 16th, 1751, 239 governors met to elect a new incumbent, since Mr. Casberd was now dead, after holding this office for thirty-four years. The Rev. Mr. Halford was appointed to the living.

At the next court on November 6th, 1751, 289 governors appeared. They had been beaten up to elect an assistant physician, without salary, to act during the illness of any of the physicians, but with the right to take two pupils. Dr. Thomas Milner was the successful candidate.

On July 15th, 1752, the court met to grant leases and to approve new rules for the hospital. It is interesting to notice that for this important work only 49 governors appeared, a number which contrasts strangely with the 289 who were collected to vote for a new physician. It shows, I think, that the system of appointment to the staff by the governors, without any preliminary investigation by the grand committee or a committee of medical officers, was a very undesirable one; for many governors who never came near the hospital at other times were induced to record their votes for candidates of whose comparative fitness for the post they could have known very little.

At this meeting it was decided to rebuild Pinner Park Farmhouse ; and, after that, the following rules, proposed by the grand committee, were adopted.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE ORDERS
OF
ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL
IN
SOUTHWARK, 1752

I. That the Steward receive no Person into the House but on Ordinary Court-Days, except Accidents, or by Order of the President or Treasurer. None received but on Court Days.

II. Item, That no Person be received, who is visited or suspected to be visited with the Plague, Itch, Scald-Head, or other Infectious Diseases, and if any such be taken in, then to be discharged as soon as discovered. None received of Infectious Diseases.

III. Item, That no Person coming from the adjacent parts, shall be admitted without a Certificate from a Church-Warden of the Parish where he or she then lived, or other substantial Person, with a promise to receive them when discharged ; and in case of Death, to take away and Bury the Corps, without Charge to this House, except in some extraordinary Cases, to be allowed by the Treasurer or Governors, Takers-In for the time being ; and the Steward to take care that the Patients do provide themselves with convenient Linen at their Admittance. None received without Security.

IV. Item, That none put out by Takers-in for the time being, be received in again by the succeeding Takers-in, except very likely to be Cured, or have some new Distemper ; and the Steward is required to take None taken in twice.

great care that the new Takers-in be constantly informed of such Persons so formerly discharged, when they desire to be taken in again.

None taken
in that are
Incurable.

V. Item, That none be taken in, that in the Opinion of the Doctors and Surgeons are Incurable.

No Garnish
Money.

VI. Item, That no poor Person at their Entrance pay any Money or Gratuity for Garnish or Footing, on Pain of Expulsion of the Person that Demands or Receives it.

The poor
dressed.

VII. Item, That the Surgeons begin to dress Patients at Nine o'Clock precisely, from Lady-Day to Michaelmas, and at Ten o'Clock precisely from Michaelmas to Lady-Day ; and that no Doctor, Surgeon, or Apothecary, take any Moneys or Reward for Curing any Poor admitted by the Governors.

Doctors and
Surgeons to
meet every
Saturday to
prescribe.

VIII. Item, That all the Doctors and Surgeons do meet together at the House every Saturday by Eleven of the Clock precisely, and go all together through all the Wards, to visit and inspect the Patients, and then and there jointly Consider and Consult of and concerning such whose Cases are extraordinary and difficult, whether Doctors or Surgeons Patients ; and prescribe and direct such Administrations or Operations as shall be by them, or the major Part of them thought fit.

Surgeons'
Servants.

IX. Item, That none be permitted to dress for or under any Surgeons in this House, but such as are bound Apprentices at Surgeon's-Hall, for a Term of seven Years at least ; and except such Young Surgeons as shall be approved by the Committee of Governors or Treasurer of this House for the time being, according to an Order made at the General-Court, the Seventeenth of March, 1702.

X. Item, That no Surgeon shall suffer any Servant to perform any Operation, dilate or cut open any Imposthumes, or Sinious Ulcers, except the Master of such Servant be present, and direct the same. And that no dead Body shall be Opened, Dissected, or Dismembered, without leave from the Treasurer, or Steward in the Absence of the Treasurer.

Surgeons'
Servants.

XI. Item, That some of the Governors, Takers-in for the time being, when they think proper do view the Poor, to see how all Things are managed, and to examine all the Provisions.

Governors
to view the
Poor, and
Provisions.

XII. Item, That if any Surgeon have any considerable or extraordinary Operation to perform, he shall give Notice of the time of his doing the same to the other Surgeons, that they may be present.

Surgeons to
acquaint
each other
of extra-
ordinary
Operations.

XIII. Item, That the Minister or Hospitaler do frequently and carefully visit the Sick and Lane Poor in this House, for their Instruction and Consolation, as their Case shall require.

The
Minister's
Duty to
Visit.

XIV. Item, That the Patients do constantly attend the Worship of God in the Chapel on Sabbath and other Days, on pain of forfeiting of one Day's Allowance for the first Offence, without reasonable excuse ; and upon after Offending, to be punished at discretion of the Treasurer or Steward. And at the time of Ringing the Bell to call to Worship in the Chapel, the Steward take care that the Men Patients, and the Matron the Women Patients, do duly attend the same ; and at all other times the Door of the Chapel shall be Locked.

Patients to
go to
Chapel.

XV. Item, That all the Money payable on account of Soldiers or other Patients admitted into this Hospital, or for Burials here, be collected by the Steward, and accounted for Monthly.

Steward's
Account of
Soldiers'
Money.

No
Swearing.

XVI. Item, That the Patients shall not Swear or take God's Name in vain, nor revile, or miscall one another, nor strike or beat one another, nor steal Meat or Drink, Apparel, or other thing, one from the other ; nor abuse themselves by inordinate Drinking, nor incontinent Living, nor talk, nor act Immodestly, upon pain of Expulsion ; and that when they go to or return from their Meals and Beds, they crave God's Blessing, and return Thanks to God. And that a proper Person be appointed to Read at the Desk on Sunday, and on Friday Morning to Read in every Ward the Rules and Orders to be observed by the Patients.

Men not to
go into the
Women's
Ward, nor
the Women
into the
Men's
Ward.
Matron's
Duty.

XVII. Item, That none of the Men go into the Womens Wards, not the Women into the Mens Wards, without Licence, upon pain of Expulsion.

XVIII. Item, That the Matron take care that the Nurses do their Duty diligently, and that they Lodge not out of the House, nor be absent from their Charge, without leave from the Treasurer, or in his Absence the Steward.

About
fetching
Fire.

XIX. Item, That no Person fetch or carry Fire from one place to another in wooden Vessels, or any other thing which may endanger the Firing of the House.

None to
sit up late.

XX. Item, That no Patient sit up in their Wards after Eight of the Clock at Night in Winter, and Nine in Summer, without Licence from the Steward, on pain of Expulsion.

No Patient
to lye out of
the House
without
Licence.

XXI. Item, That no Patient shall stay out of the House after Seven of the Clock at Night in Winter, and Eight in Summer, without special Licence from the Steward, on pain of Expulsion.

XXII. Item, That the Steward do examine daily, ^{The} and take an exact Account of the Number of Patients ^{Steward to} in every Ward, distinguishing how many are upon the ^{take an} House Diet, or the Two-penny or Four-penny Score ^{Account of} in each Ward; and if any false Accounts shall be ^{the Number} given of the Number of such Patients, the Persons ^{of Patients.} offending therein, shall be dismissed from the Service of this Hospital.

XXIII. Item, That no Patient be kept in the House ^{None con-} after presented out, on pain of Expulsion of the Nurse ^{tinued after} of the Ward, where such Patient shall be kept, without ^{presented} leave from the Treasurer or Steward. ^{out.}

XXIV. Item, That no Patient be kept in the House, ^{None kept} to whom Physick or Surgery is not Administered within ^{a Week} a Week after Admittance, on pain of Expulsion of the ^{without} Nurse that so keeps them, without giving Notice to the ^{Physick.} Treasurer or Steward.

XXV. Item, That no Patient eat any Meat, or drink ^{No Patient} any Wine, Brandy or strong Ale, or strong Beer, or ^{to eat Meat,} other Drink, but what shall be directed or allowed by ^{or drink} the Physician or Surgeon, under whose Care such ^{Wine and} Patients shall be: And that the Nurse take especial ^{Brandy, but} care that this be observed. ^{as directed} ^{by the} ^{Physician} ^{or Surgeon.}

XXVI. Item, That all the old Sheets, after they are ^{Old Sheets.} past Service for Beds, be wash'd clean, and deliver'd to the Matron, to be by her delivered to the Surgeon, for the use of the Poor.

XXVII. Item, That the Hospitaler, Steward, Apothe- ^{Officers not} cary, Matron, Butler, Cook, and Porters, shall reside ^{to Lodge} in this Hospital, in the Houses or Apartments respec- ^{Abroad.} tively provided for them, and shall not Lodge out of the

Hospital, without leave of the Treasurer, nor employ any Helper, Watch or Patient about any but the House Business.

About
Foul
Disease.

XXVIII. Item, That Patients admitted into this House, who have the Foul Disease, shall not go into any of the Clean Wards, Officers Houses or Chapel. And if any Patient having the Foul Disease, shall knowingly or wilfully conceal the same at the time of Taking-in, and shall be placed in a Clean Ward, every such Patient when discovered shall be immediately discharged the House.

None
admitted
Servants
above Fifty
Years of
Age.

XXIX. Item, That no Officer or Servant, Man or Woman, shall be admitted for the Future, who shall be above Fifty Years of Age, or shall be of an unhealthy Constitution.

Steward
and Matron
to visit the
Wards.

XXX. Item, That the Steward shall Daily, expecially in the Evening, visit the Mens Wards ; and the Matron the Womens Wards, to see that the Orders of the House be duly observed.

Governors
to enquire
of the
Patients be-
fore they
are Dis-
charged,
whether
they have
been well
used.

XXXI. Item, That the Governors appointed to take in Patients every Thursday, before a Discharge be made do enquire of the Patients whether they have been well used by the Nurses and Helpers, and have had their Provision and Physick regularly given, and the Linen so often Wash'd as they pay for.

Surgeons to
keep a Per-
son always
at the
Hospital.

XXXII. Item, That the Surgeon, whose Week it is to take in, do keep a fit Person at the Hospital Night and Day, to be ready in Case of any Accidents.

Patients'
Dinner at
One
o'Clock.

XXXIII. Item, That the Time of Patients Dining, be at One o'Clock.

XXXIV. Item, That the Names of Sisters, be changed to Nurses, and of Nurses to Helpers.

Names of Sisters changed to Nurses, and Nurses to Helpers.

XXXV. Item, That once in Four Months, the Governors Takers-in be desired to View the House, by going through every Ward, with the Doctors and Surgeons, to acquaint themselves with the Behaviour of the Servants, and Circumstances of the Patients, to discharge such as shall be thought not fit to be continued.

Governors Takers-in to view the House once in four Months.

XXXVI. Item, That the Allowance of Five-pence a Week for Beer, to the Matron, Butler, Cook and Porters, by an Order of the General-Court, held the 16th of December, 1709, be discontinued, they being now supply'd with Beer sufficient from the House Brewer.

Beer Money discontinued.

On July 24th, 1754, Samuel Pearce, the apothecary, having resigned, George Whitfield was appointed in his stead.

On July 30th, 1755, Mrs. Anne Pearce, the matron, resigned and Sarah Fuller was appointed. It was now decided that the matron should have a salary of £60 a year instead of £10 4s. od. and £19 14s. od. for board wages, together with the perquisite of providing flannels for patients who were salivated. These flannels were now to be provided by the hospital, probably without the patients being made to pay for them.

At the same time a new charge for the matron was drawn up which consisted chiefly of details of linen

and of the supervision of the nurses and helpers. It must be remembered that at this time the sisters were called nurses, probably as a protest against Roman Catholic traditions. It was also decided that henceforth the matron should be a single woman or widow.

In 1755 the records of the City tell us that the corporation was once more uneasy about its responsibility for the royal hospitals, and on November 6th of that year the Court of Common Council appointed a committee to enquire what is the right of the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London to the hospitals and whether that right has in any way been given up or taken away. The committee was granted £100 for the expenses of the enquiry which evidently was a very exhaustive one since the report did not appear until 1766 (see p. 222).

On July 27th, 1757, Sumners Farm of 99 acres, at Parndon, was bought by the hospital for £1700.

On February 1st, 1758, John Wright was appointed steward in place of Jonathan Welch, deceased. The steward's salary was now raised to £160 a year, with a house, in place of all fees and perquisites whatever, while the admission fees of patients (2s. 6d. for clean, and 5s. for foul) were abolished.

On August 2nd, 1758, Richard Leeson was made receiver instead of John Wright, who had been promoted to steward. The salary of the clerk to the hospital was raised from £40 to £100 a year; while the burial fees for patients were reduced from 19s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. (see p. 174). The sixpence, hitherto extracted from patients for sheet washing and other necessities, was now done away with and thus no patient had anything to pay on admission.

These remissions must have been very welcome to the poorer patients since there is no doubt that in former days they had been grievously preyed upon by several of the officials. Even the medical staff was not free from suspicion and the effect must have been that some of the very poor were prevented from applying to the hospital, however ill they might be. One would like to think that all these generous reforms were spontaneous, but one cannot help fearing that with so many new hospitals springing up in London, there was a certain competition for popularity among them.

It was pointed out to the governors, though it was not a very happy occasion, since only thirty-three were present, that all this generosity would cost the hospital £950 a year, and that the expenses were now exceeding the fixed income by £1500 a year, while the number of new hospitals built and proposed would make "casual help," by which was meant the donations of governors, less certain in the future than it had been in the past.

It was decided at this meeting that henceforth all elections of officers and servants should be by ballot, doubtless an improvement since it allowed governors to vote according to their discretion and to be influenced by the discussions preceding the voting.

It was now ordered that no surgeons' pupils should be in the wards after 1 p.m. At this court the elder Pitt, Henry Fox, and other members of the government were made governors; and Fox gave £100 to the hospital.

On January 3rd, 1759, Dr. John Leatherland resigned and Dr. Milner was made full physician.

On January 17th, 1759, Dr. Mark Akenside was appointed assistant physician, the first occasion upon which an officer was elected by ballot.

On March 21st, 1759, Dr. Thomas Adams resigned and Mark Akenside was made full physician.

On March 28th, 1759, Dr. Alexander Russell was appointed assistant physician.

On May 30th, 1759, the report of the committee appointed to look into the accounts and management of the hospital was presented. It has already been recorded on page 192 that the practice of taking fines, in addition to annual payments, in letting hospital estates was found to be beneficial. The salaries of the officers appeared (to the committee) to be moderate and reasonable (though it must be remembered that some of them had only very lately been made so). During the six years (1751 to 1757) 8433 patients a year had been received costing £7164, or about 16s. 11½d. each; while at St. George's Hospital 4500 patients a year had cost £3967, or 17s. 7½d. each. It was therefore resolved: "That the gentlemen concerned with the management of this hospital have conducted the affairs thereof, both with regard to the estates of the hospital and the care of the patients, with the greatest frugality, prudence and humanity."

From this report it seems that St. Thomas's was more economical than St. George's, but what the committee did not point out was that with a smaller number of patients the average cost of each must necessarily be greater, since many of the overhead charges, such as the chaplain's, steward's, and matron's salaries, would have to be shared among a smaller number.

On July 25th, 1759, the treasurer reported that he had agreed with the London Bridge Water Works to supply the hospital for £20 a year, the same sum that it charged Dr. Samuel Johnson's friend, Mr. Thrale, for supplying his brewery hard by. The present (1932) water bill of the hospital is £676.

On January 16th, 1760, Dr. Thomas Reeve resigned and Dr. Russell was made full physician.

On January 31st, 1760, Dr. John Hadley was appointed assistant physician.

On June 25th, 1760, the committee appointed to consider the duties of the physicians and apothecary reported as follows :

“ That the three senior (full) physicians should meet in the Doctors' Room every Tuesday morning to see all patients able to attend. Then they should visit their respective wards.

That the three senior physicians and surgeons should meet in their turn, on Thursday morning, to take in patients and one of (each of) them should see out-patients on the same day.

That the three senior physicians and surgeons should go round the wards together on Saturday morning.

That the junior (assistant) physician should attend in the wards on Monday, Wednesday and Friday ; and should see male out-patients on Wednesday and, women and children on Friday.

That the junior physician should fill any gaps in the seniors' attendance.

That an assistant to the apothecary should be provided at £40 a year and that the apothecary should attend in the wards upon the days when no physicians were there, and in any case of emergency.”

The foregoing report was primarily concerned with the physicians, but we learn from the *History of Guy's Hospital* that the surgeons' attendances were so arranged that a surgical round at one or the other hospital took place every day, for a St. Thomas's surgeon went round his beds on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday while a Guy's surgeon did the same on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. There was therefore a surgeon in the neighbourhood of both hospitals every day who might be called upon by either in an emergency ; and this was an important thing in days before the post of house surgeon was thought of. At this court Joseph Paul resigned and Thomas Smith was appointed surgeon in his place.

On August 6th, 1760, after granting several leases, among which we learn that Tailfers Farm at Parndon contained 87 acres and Sumners Farm, in the same manor, 99 acres, it was decided that henceforth no officer of the hospital over forty years of age should be appointed, and that all surgical medicines should be provided by the hospital, the surgeons having waived all fees except their £40 a year.

Dr. Hadley was appointed full physician which, since there was no vacancy, meant that now there were four physicians and no assistant physician.

On October 25th, 1760, George III began to reign.

It was during the year 1760 that a quarrel took place between St. Thomas's and Guy's about the pupils' right to attend the operations at both hospitals. I cannot find any details in our court minutes as to this occurrence though, doubtless, if the minutes of the grand committee of this time had been preserved we should find all about it there. The result, however,

was that a barrier between the two hospitals was put up, though I do not suppose that those pupils who paid extra fees for the lectures on Anatomy, Medicine, Chemistry, and Midwifery, or for the use of the dissecting room, were prevented from attending the hospital, so far as these subjects were concerned.

On July 29th, 1761, the patients' diet was revised and the following scale approved :

FULL DIET

Breakfast.—Milk porridge on four days a week and water gruel on three days.

Dinner.— $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. meat on five days a week and 4 oz. butter or 6 oz. cheese on two days.

Supper.—1 pint of broth.

Bread—14 oz. a day. Beer—1 qt. in winter and 3 pints in summer.

MIDDLE OR LOW DIET

Breakfast.—As above.

Dinner.—6 oz. mutton or veal on five days a week. Cheese or butter as above on two days.

Supper.—As at breakfast.

Bread—12 oz. a day. Beer—1 qt.

MILK DIET

Breakfast.—As above.

Dinner.—1 pt. rice milk on four days a week and 8 oz. pudding on three days.

Supper.—As in other diets.

1 qt. of milk and water ($\frac{1}{3}$ milk) in winter, 3 pints in summer, and 12 oz. of bread a day.

DRY DIET

Breakfast.—2 oz. of cheese or butter.

Dinner.—As in full diet.

Supper.—As at breakfast.

5 sea biscuits or 14 oz. bread, and 1 qt. of beer a day.

FEVER DIET

Barley water, water gruel, panado, thin broth, milk porridge, rice gruel, and balm or sage tea.

At the same court another house in Warwick Lane was bought for £150; the hospital, therefore, now owned eight houses in that lane.

The resignation of Mr. William Mount on account of old age was received. He had been treasurer for eleven years and his successor, William Bowden, was appointed a fortnight later (August 12th).

On April 17th, 1762, Dr. Thomas Milner resigned and Dr. James Grieve was appointed. The constant resignations of physicians, about this time, is very striking, but it does not seem that the hospital was in any way to blame for it. Medicine in those days was a much more lucrative profession than surgery and a physician on the staff of St. Thomas's was almost certain to gain so large a private practice in a short time that his hospital work had to be given up.

On June 10th, 1762, the Rev. Durand Rhudde was appointed incumbent of the church in place of Mr. Halford, deceased, and it was ordered that henceforth the minister should have a house provided for him in the precincts.

On July 25th, 1764, it was reported that several governors had subscribed 5 guineas apiece to furnish

the cutting ward with iron bedsteads as a cure for bugs ; and that the ward had been free from them since. The success of this experiment was followed, three years later, by a subscription being opened to place iron bedsteads in all the wards, to relieve " this terrible inconvenience."

On November 22nd, 1764, the death of Dr. Hadley was reported. As it was thought unnecessary to fill his place, the hospital went back to its old plan of having three physicians.

On July 24th, 1765, £40 was voted to Mr. George Whitfield, the apothecary, " for his extraordinary skill and diligence," and this grant was renewed annually for many years.

It was reported that between November 1759 and April 1765, 148 prisoners for debt had been released by the treasurer, from the Fleet, Marshalsea, White-chapel Gatehouse, and the City Counters, for £179 11s. 7d., and that the money was furnished by the bequest of Mrs. Anne Palmer, made in 1731.

On April 4th, 1766, Mrs. Elizabeth Wright (widow) was appointed matron, in place of Mrs. Sarah Fuller, resigned.

On July 23rd, 1766, a lease of the " Bird in Hand " ale-house in St. Thomas's Street was granted to Henry Thrall, Esq. It was decided that all tenants should insure their houses at their own expense and that the policies should be kept in the counting-house of the hospital.

As the vaults of the church were filling up, the fees for burial therein were raised from £1 5s. to £2 10s. for parishioners, and to £4 for non-parishioners.

On December 16th, 1766, the committee which had

been appointed by the Court of Common Council of the City, on November 6th, 1755, to enquire : " What is the right of the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London to the Royal Hospitals " (*Journ.* 61, fo. 22b. 24), reported as follows to the court above named.

" That it appeared to them that the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens were grantees of the hospitals and their revenues, with the sole power of governing and conducting them to the purposes of their institution, and this is, as they conceive, the right of the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens to the Hospitals : that they were clearly of opinion this right had in no instance been given up or taken away, except during the troubles and while the judgment on the *Quo Warranto* remained in force, and that this right is a subsisting incontrovertible right ; they were aware that many innovations had crept in, but did not conceive they in the slightest degree affected this right.

The present governors were governors under the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens, agreeable to the charter of Edward VI, and the authority which they exercise, whether expressly committed to them, or only permitted in order to extend the benefits of those charities, is an authority referable to and derived out of the right of the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens, and could have no other foundation (*Journ.* 64, fo. 91b).

With respect to the exercise of the right, they referred to various entries on the City's records, from the 1st Edward VI, 1548, to the 10th October, 1699, nearly the whole of which will be found amongst the preceding references and memoranda."

On August 5th, 1767, Earl Pomfret began to negotiate for the purchase of our manor of Sunbury, and

offered to procure an act of Parliament, at his own expense, to allow the transfer of the property, if it could be arranged.

On January 25th, 1768, the lordship and manor of Oxenford in Colkennington at Sunbury, consisting of the capital mansion house and fifty acres, now let at £15 a year, were sold to Earl Pomfret for £3000, free from all expenses. This was the first occasion on which any of the Savoy Estates bequeathed by Edward VI were sold. At first it looks as if the sum paid was out of all proportion to the rent received, but it must be remembered that when the lease should come to be renewed the Earl would be able to exact a heavy fine before granting it.

On August 19th, 1768, the grand committee reported that it had received complaints of a great decrease of pupils and also about the conduct of the surgeons (Messrs. Baker, Cowell, and Smith). It found that the disagreement between these gentlemen had been the chief cause of the dearth of pupils and had tended very much to the discredit of the hospital as well as to the disadvantage of the patients.

The governors placed the whole matter in the committee's hands and it is quite evident that at this time they had learnt to value a thriving medical school more highly than had their predecessors in 1725.

On September 28th, 1768, the committee met the governors again, having used the five weeks' interval to great advantage. Not only had they induced or forced the resignation of Mr. Cowell, but they had opened negotiations with Guy's toward healing the breach between the two hospitals, and now were able to recommend that "liberty be given the Guy's pupils

to see not only the surgical operations at St. Thomas's as formerly they did, but also the whole practice of the hospital." Furthermore, they advised that the rules guiding the physicians and surgeons should be redrafted and modified by a committee of those governors who held medical or surgical qualifications.

On October 12th, 1768, Mr. Joseph Else was appointed to take Mr. Cowell's place as surgeon.

On December 14th, 1768, the court ordered the barrier between the two hospitals to be removed in order that the Guy's pupils might have the advantages of both, and the Guy's governors announced that "The pupils of St. Thomas's have free leave to see not only the operations but also *all* the other practice of the hospital" (*History of Guy's Hospital*, p. 94). I feel that it is important to lay stress upon the exact wording of this decision of the governors of Guy's because Mr. R. G. Whitfield, a great authority upon St. Thomas's past, has said that the United Hospitals formed an amalgamation which never extended beyond the surgical practice (*St. Thomas's Medical School Prospectus*, 1931, p. 13). Perhaps the two records may be harmonized by suggesting that, although the pupils of either hospital undoubtedly had the right to attend all the practice of the other, they seldom if ever took advantage of the permission except in so far as the surgical practice was concerned.

It was decided that no surgeon should have more than four dressers, including apprentices, at one time; and that no dresser or pupil should enter for less than six months; while the fees already mentioned (see pp. 183 and 204) were to remain unchanged.

The committee reported that Mr. Thomas Baker,

the second of the contentious surgeons, had followed his colleague, Mr. Cowell, into retirement and the governors replaced him by Mr. George Martin ; while Dr. Richard Huck was elected physician in place of Dr. Alexander Russell, deceased.

On July 26th, 1769, the Lord Mayor, the Rt. Hon. Samuel Turner, took the chair, an event which foretold the election of a new president. It was reported that Sir Joseph Hankey had died on June 29th and it was proposed that the Lord Mayor should become president ; but this motion, no doubt by the wish of the Mayor, was withdrawn and Alderman William Nash was elected.

Among many leases which were granted was that of the Milton estate, near Abingdon in Berks, which lately had been bought for £3330. The rent received was £110 but the fine is not stated. At the same time a house and some land at Southgate was bought from the Quakers for £250.

Since it had become impossible to admit patients any longer without entrance fee, it was decided that clean patients should pay 2s. 6d. on admission and foul patients 17s. 6d. Whipping at the cross was now out of date, but it was thought that the way of the transgressor might be made hard to him and remunerative to others by a high tariff.

On July 11th, 1770, the death of Dr. Mark Akenside was reported and Dr. George Fordyce was appointed physician. Mark Akenside was one of the minor poets of the first half of the eighteenth century and probably was one of the minor physicians as well. He was the son of a Newcastle butcher and showed such precocity that a patron sent him to Leyden University, where he

took his M.D. His pedantry and conceit were so remarkable that Smollett caricatured him in *Peregrine Pickle* among the friends whom Peregrine met in Paris. He says : " One of them was a young man in whose air and countenance appeared all the uncouth gravity and supercilious self conceit of a physician piping hot from his studies." The famous Dr. Lettsom had been so impressed by reading Akenside's poetry that the hope of meeting the poet was one of the reasons which made him enter St. Thomas's as a dresser to Cowell in July 1766. It is not often that the personality of an admired author comes up to expectations ; and in this instance Lettsom found Akenside a mean tyrant to his hospital patients, discharging them if they wandered or were indefinite in answering his questions about their ailments.

The picture which Lettsom draws of the poet, wearing a very large white wig and a very long sword, passing round his ward, preceded by two patients with brooms who sweep a path for him while he bullies his patients, must have been a sad disillusionment, especially when he chided his pupils for spitting on the floor of the ward, a quite normal proceeding at that time. However, we must give every man his due and, though it is seldom read now, Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* had quite a vogue in his day. (For more about him see Abraham's *Life of Lettsom*.)

Fordyce, who succeeded Akenside, was not a physician of whom St. Thomas's has much reason to be proud ; but he seems to have been a " character " who caused a good deal of amusement. Sir Astley Cooper says of him : " Dr. Fordyce was a coarse man,

a bad lecturer, got drunk every evening, and, Mr. Cline said, was not over careful about truth.

“He himself said he was the only Scotsman he ever knew that had entirely lost his native dialect, and this he would assert in the broadest Scotch it could be spoken in.

“He was a remarkable instance of the force of habit, maintaining to the last that Fermentation was the cause of Digestion and Secretion.”

His best paper was on “Purgatives.”

Bransby Cooper, in his *Life of Sir Astley Cooper*, says that Whitfield, the apothecary, with whom Fordyce was very intimate, told the following story about him—I have heard it told of several physicians, but Fordyce seems to be the real hero of it :

“One night, after dinner, he was called to the bedside of a titled lady, and, *ebriolus* if not *ebrius*, obeyed the summons. After solemnly listening to a train of unusual symptoms he tried to count her pulse but found it beyond his powers ; and, realizing his condition, he muttered to himself : ‘ Drunk, by G——’ and prescribed a mild ‘ placebo.’

“Next morning she sent for him again and admitted that his diagnosis was correct since very occasionally she was the worse for stimulants. She made him promise that he would tell no one and afterwards recommended him to her friends as a physician with wonderful powers of diagnosis.

“The faithless man evidently told the story to his crony, Whitfield ; but, let us hope, did not divulge the lady’s name.”

On July 25th, 1770, many leases were granted, among which were tenements in Castle Court, off

Budge Row, as well as the " Bull and Bear " Inn and Lester's Coffee House, the sites of which I have not been able to identify.

At this time the invested capital of the hospital consisted of £3000 Bank reduced annuities, £15,000 Bank consolidated annuities, £3000 South Sea new annuities and £5450 South Sea old annuities.

On July 24th, 1771, an estate at Pewsey in Wiltshire was bought for £10,250 while the entrance fees for patients were modified to 3s. 6d. for clean, and 10s. 6d. for foul patients.

It was in 1771 that the Physical Society for debating subjects, chiefly medical, was formed by the pupils of the United Hospitals. When the two medical schools separated it was continued at St. Thomas's as the Medical and Physical Society.

On August 5th, 1772, the president, William Nash, Esq., was now Lord Mayor, and at this meeting it was decided that henceforth the duties of butler and brewer should be carried out by separate officers.

On January 29th, 1773, the Rt. Hon. James Townsend, Lord Mayor, presiding, it was reported that Sir William Nash had died on December 30th and Alderman Samuel Plumbe was appointed president.

On May 28th, 1773, the Rev. Thomas Green was elected hospitaller in the place of Dr. Thomas Wingfield, deceased, who had held the post for 27 years.

On July 23rd, 1773, Dr. Rawlinson was appointed to succeed Dr. James Grieve, deceased, as physician.

On August 4th, 1773, the Rev. Mr. Rhudde, incumbent of the church, had his stipend raised by £20 a

year. It was reported that a new oven had been built for John Crosse, the baker, with the result that the bread was now better and cheaper than before.

During the years 1773 to 1776 we have some further insight into the life of a pupil at St. Thomas's. James Ware was bound apprentice, at the age of fifteen, for five years, to a surgeon in Portsmouth but was released two years later in order that he might study in London. From his diary we learn that he joined the United Hospitals for the course of lectures in Anatomy, given by Mr. Else at St. Thomas's, and on Physic, given by Dr. Saunders at Guy's. During this time he attended the operations at the two hospitals as well as those at St. Bartholomew's.

When these courses were over he went back to Portsmouth but returned to London in 1775 and entered St. Thomas's as a "walking pupil" for one year.

The fees which he paid upon this occasion were as follows : £25 4s. to the hospital (we are not told the name of the surgeon to whom he was attached) ; 8 guineas to Mr. Else for a second course of Anatomy and instruction in the dissecting room ; £1 2s. to the surgeryman, 2 guineas to Dr. Saunders ; 10 guineas to Drs. Orme and Lowder of Guy's for Midwifery ; 1 guinea for a half share of a muscular subject to dissect ; 2s. 6d. for cleaning the anatomical theatre (and dissecting room ?) and one guinea to Mr. Whitfield ; but whether this were a registration fee in the latter's capacity of secretary of the medical school, or for instruction in Pharmacy, I do not know. His total payment therefore for his year's work was £49 10s. 6d.

His life during this year seems to have been a fairly strenuous one for, when not engaged with his muscular subject, and with his various lectures and courses, he attended as many operations as possible, though these of course took place on fixed days at the three hospitals already named.

On December 18th, 1775, for instance, he saw Lucas of Guy's operate for aneurism, tumour of the breast and tumour of the tibia ; Warner operate for hydrocele ; Else amputate at the wrist and Smith puncture the thorax for emphysema (empyema ?).

His pastimes seem to have been at once exciting and depressing. Sometimes he and a fellow pupil would bleed one another, at others he would bleed the servant and probably the landlady too in his lodgings in Joiner Street at the back of the hospital ; but his chief relaxation appears to have been attending the public executions at Tyburn where, in a good day, six or more people might be hanged at once. He does not seem to have taken much exercise, at least he never says anything about it ; possibly he did not feel the need for it after his repeated bleedings.

The stage must have appealed to him, for he records seeing Garrick in *Much Ado About Nothing* and Mr. Whitfield and other young gentlemen perform *The Tragedy of Cato* in the physicians' room. This, I am sure, must have been the younger Whitfield and not the elderly apothecary, as Dr. H. P. Hawkins, who rescued this interesting diary, thought.

Ware was not like Bob Sawyer or Benjamin Allen in his attire, for he notes that he paid £1 2s. 6d. for knitted breeches, 5 guineas for a suit, 13s. for a hat, and 19s. 4d. for laced ruffles.

Those who would know more of him will find it in the *St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette* for March, 1904.

On August 3rd, 1774, Guy's claimed part of the old burying ground as having been sold to it in 1756. Since the plans were indefinite they were ordered to be amended ; but, as the matter is not mentioned again, I do not know what arrangement was made. Up to this date St. Thomas's had owned three burial grounds, the earliest of which was the "dorter," along the north side of Tryvet Lane, close to the church (see Vol. I, p. 192). This, when full, was succeeded by the second which is shown in Rocque's map, published in 1746. It is the "old burying ground" referred to in the minute with which we are dealing, and lay to the south of St. Thomas's Street, and a little to the west of Guy's Hospital. The third burial ground lay to the east of Guy's, in the region of the Maze, and was the one in use at this time.

At this court a recommendation of the physicians was agreed to that a premium of 10s. 6d. be given to anyone bringing an apparently drowned person to the hospital within half an hour of his submersion, and 5s. 3d. within two hours. If the body were resuscitated two guineas extra were to be given. The reason for this offer was to induce rescuers to bring the numerous cases of apparent drowning, which occurred while "shooting" London Bridge, to the hospital as quickly as possible.

On August 2nd, 1775, tenements in Joiner Street and Pepper Alley were let. Both the places are shown on the plans of Southwark on pp. 88 and 126 of Vol. I.

On July 31st, 1776, Harpe Row was sold for £6250 in order to provide a site for Newgate Prison.

On March 21st, 1777, Dr. Henry Reynolds was appointed physician in the place of Dr. Huck, who had retired.

On July 28th, 1779, a house on the south side of St. Thomas's Street was let to Henry Thrale, Esq. The affairs of Tibshelf were discussed and a long report upon it appears in the minutes. An act to enclose the common there had been obtained and the rents had been raised by 6d. an acre. The manor was now becoming a very profitable coal-field.

CHAPTER XI

IN WHICH THE OLD MISUNDERSTANDING WITH THE CITY IS CLEARED UP

FROM July 28th, 1779, the minutes of the Grand Committee have been bound and preserved, and we are able to learn something of the procedure of that body. It seems that when the president came, which was very often, the treasurer always formally offered to surrender to him the chair, which courteous invitation he always formally declined. The average number of governors, out of the full number of thirty, who attended was about fifteen in the eighties but declined to eight or nine in the nineties.

It is unfortunate that the earlier minutes have not come down to us for, though they always were read at the meeting of the annual general court in July, a great many details which then appeared too trivial or obvious to be entered on the minutes of that court would be of great help to us in trying to understand the inner life of the hospital in the eighteenth century. Moreover, many things, like the improper election of Dr. Keir, were never allowed to appear upon the minutes of the annual general court.

No doubt Mr. Whitfield, the apothecary, had access to these old minutes and no doubt passed them on to his successors, and I expect that it was from them that Mr. R. G. Whitfield obtained some of the facts for which I have been unable to find his authority.

It is just possible that these lost minutes may still be in some corner of the basement of the present hospital, but I fear that, not being bound, they did not survive the double move to the Surrey Gardens and Lambeth.

On December 3rd, 1779, Edward Jeffries, the treasurer, said that there had been several meetings of the Royal Hospitals, relative to the court of common council claiming to be governors of the said hospitals (see p. 222), and that a petition to the Rt. Hon. Edward, Lord Thurlow, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, had been prepared by the hospitals, which he, the treasurer, then proceeded to read.

The actual wording of this petition is given in our minutes. It reviews the foundation of all the Royal Hospitals and admits that innovations in the mode of election, and in the number, of governors had been found necessary in order to secure their financial help, without which the hospitals could not be carried on. It also points out that until March 17th, 1778, all leases and contracts, duly signed by the presidents and treasurers, were sent to the chamberlain of the City, with a docket stating their contents ; and were there-upon sealed without their contents being read at any of the City's courts.

On March 17th, however, it was resolved by the Court of Aldermen : " That in future all business appertaining to the City and Hospitals' seals should be transacted in the court of common council." This, of course, meant considerable delay in sealing leases, and there were at this time 29 leases for St. Thomas's, and 230 for all the Royal Hospitals, awaiting examination and sealing.

The petition points out that many of these leases are in pursuance of contracts entered into for the building of houses, and that some of the builders need to borrow money upon the credit of such leases, which cannot be done until they are sealed ; furthermore, great inconvenience is caused by the town clerk asking tenants to deal directly with the common council.

The petitioners therefore pray the Lord Chancellor that the common hospital seal should be returned to the chamberlain and that leases, accompanied by proper dockets of their contents, should be stamped as heretofore without the delay of being read in court.

It is easy to see the difficulty which changed conditions had caused. The City logically was right in asserting its full responsibility for the hospitals committed to its care, and yet the assertion of this right was seriously handicapping the effectiveness of the hospitals.

It will, I think, be better to leave two years to be dealt with later, and to finish this difficulty between the City and the Royal Hospitals, a difficulty which had been smouldering for two hundred years, but had now burst into flame and soon was to burn itself out.

On February 1st, 1782, the treasurer told the governors that the petition to the Lord Chancellor had been presented and considered, and that, since no order had been made thereon, it was now desirable to apply to Parliament. Whereupon the president and treasurer, in conjunction with the presidents and treasurers of the other Royal Hospitals, were asked to prepare a petition for leave to bring in a bill for establishing the present acting governors as legal and responsible governors of the hospitals to which they were

attached ; for up to this time they had been nothing more than sub-governors whose appointment had not been strictly legal.

On June 12th, 1782, the treasurer informed the meeting that the bill had been presented and that the common council had appointed a committee to meet the presidents and treasurers of the Royal hospitals and draft an agreement finally and amicably to adjust the several matters in question as follows :

“ Articles of agreement made, concluded and agreed between the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London, governors of the possessions, revenues and goods of the hospitals of Edward, King of England, the Sixth, of Christ's, Bridewell and St. Thomas the Apostle by virtue of an order or resolution of a court of common council holden the thirtieth day of May 1782, of the one part, and the Rt. Hon. Thomas Harley, Alderman of London, president, and John Darker Esq., treasurer, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Robert Alsop Esq, Alderman, president, and Thomas Burfoot Esq, treasurer, of Christ's Hospital, Richard Clark, Alderman, treasurer of Bridewell and Bethlem, Samuel Plumbe, Alderman, president, and Edward Jeffries Esq, treasurer, of St. Thomas's Hospital and the several other persons now acting as governors of the said several hospitals respectively, who in behalf of themselves and others acting as governors as aforesaid have hereunto set their hands and seals by virtue of several orders made at several general courts of the said hospitals (dates given).

Whereas Henry VIII and Edward VI vested the rights of government of the Hospitals in the Mayor, the Commonalty and Citizens of London and whereas

said Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens accepted this government and whereas St. Bartholomew's was added to the Royal Hospitals at a court holden at Christ's Hospital on September 27th 1557 and that Sir Martin Bowes, Alderman, should be Controller General, and Sir Andrew Judd, Alderman, Surveyor General, and that three aldermen, a treasurer, and eight other citizens should be governors for each and every of the said hospitals, and that such hospitals continued under the same management with a small increase of governors until 1564 when a president, treasurer and other governors were chosen at each of the said hospitals and these elections upon St. Matthew's day were continued annually until 1587 and from that period courts were at several times held at Christ's Hospital down to 1652 for confirming these governors, but not yearly or in the same regular manner as theretofore and courts were also held during that period at the said hospitals for nominating and electing governors and for the management thereof and from and after that time it does not appear that such annual elections on St. Matthew's day were kept up or observed at Christ's Hospital save only for confirmation of governors elected at the said hospitals. And whereas it appears that lists of governors chosen at the said hospitals have been annually sent to Christ's Hospital for confirmation and by it presented to the Lord Mayor who made no objection to them and that this practice has continued save that the president, treasurer, governors and officers of the said hospitals were for some years appointed by certain commissioners (*Quo warranto*) authorized by his late Majesty King Charles II for the regulating of the said hospitals and whereas great benefit had been

derived to the charitable institutions of such hospitals of such a mode of managing and conducting the same and from the voluntary contributions of the governors and whereas disputes have arisen between the City and the governors of the hospitals touching their respective rights, it is considered well that all such disputes should cease and the management of the said hospitals shall for ever hereafter be continued in the Mayor and Aldermen of the said City together with the other persons now acting as governors or hereafter to be elected as such in the usual mode of election of governors.

Now therefore these presents witness that it is agreed

1st. That all existing governors are to be confirmed and all future governors are to be elected as they are now.

2nd. That whenever any legal process is threatened the City may act as the governors of the hospitals.

3rd. That the seal of the Royal Hospitals shall be restored to the City Chamberlain and all leases &c. approved by the hospital presidents and treasurers, shall be sealed at the next court of aldermen or common council as they used to be.

4th. That twelve members of the common council are to sit on each court of governors.

5th. That a bill shall be passed through parliament authorising these agreements.

The draft of this agreement was approved by the common council of the City on Thursday May 30th 1782 and is now approved by the court of governors of St. Thomas's Hospital."

On July 31st, 1782, the treasurer informed the meeting that the agreement with the City had been

engrossed and signed and a bill in Parliament had received the Royal assent. Thus ended the long misunderstanding between the City and the Royal Hospitals, caused not by any fault on the part of either but because the advisers of Edward VI, when drafting the Charter to the City giving it control of the hospitals, could not foresee and thus provide for the changes which time would bring about.

As may be supposed the expenses incurred in promoting the Act of Parliament for regulating the standing of the governors were heavy. The hospital paid £555 9s.—a quarter of the whole amount—as its share.

We now return to the events which took place while the agreement between the City and hospitals was being made.

On March 31st, 1780, 284 governors attended, including Sir Robert Clayton, son and heir of the former president. This large court met to appoint a surgeon to succeed Joseph Else, deceased, and Mr. John Waring was the successful candidate.

On July 12th, 1780, the death of William Bowden, the treasurer, was announced, and Edward Jefferies was appointed to succeed him.

On November 24th, 1780, 280 governors, including Lords Ashburnham and Rockingham, met to appoint a successor to Dr. John Rawlinson, physician, who had resigned. As each of the two candidates, Drs. Keir and Smyth, received 137 votes, Dr. William Keir was elected by the casting vote of the chairman.

On March 9th, 1781, there was some discussion in the grand committee about this election of Dr. Keir; and at the next meeting, on March 30th, the subject

was again referred to as the "improper" election of the above physician on November 24th last. Apparently some of the committee considered that the treasurer was out of order in giving his casting vote ; but in the end it was decided that the election should stand.

On August 8th, 1781, Mr. Henry Cline, who, while still an apprentice, had often lectured for Mr. Else, was appointed for twelve months to read lectures on Anatomy and Surgery, and Mr. Martin, one of the surgeons, was made his colleague in the surgical lectures.

We learn from Bransby Cooper's *Life of Sir Astley Cooper* that Cline, after the death of Else, bought the collection of anatomical preparations made by the latter. We must regard these anatomical and surgical lectures as private ventures of the lecturers, sanctioned by the governors, and held in the unsuitable accommodation provided by them in the hospital.

It was ordered that no person should use the theatre without leave from the grand committee or treasurer. The theatre at this time was not the one with the glass dome shown in the model of the old hospital which stands in our present central hall, for Golding (*History of St. Thomas's*, p. 128) tells us that : " Previous to the building of this structure the lectures on Anatomy and Surgery were delivered in a small and closely confined theatre which (from the impurity of its air produced by its narrow capacity) was deemed so destructive to health that many pupils were obliged to neglect that most essential part of professional instruction, practical dissection, lest they should thereby endanger their health and perhaps their existence."

From this we gather that the theatre was part of the dissecting room which, we have seen, replaced or shared the site of the old dead-house in the small court behind Clayton Square. It is not unlikely that his visits to this inferno may have been partly responsible for poor Keats' early death.

Further evidence of the danger of the dissecting room atmosphere is forthcoming from *The Life of Sir Astley Cooper*; for Astley in his second session became very interested in Anatomy and spent the greater part of his time in dissecting ("the source of serious illness or untimely destruction to not a few"). At the end of the session, in the Spring of 1787, he caught jail fever (typhus) from a friend whom he visited in Newgate, and was only saved from death by the unremitting care of Cline and his family with whom he lived. Bransby Cooper, who records this, says that: "It is well known that hospital students are much less able to withstand or sustain disease towards the conclusion of a session than at its commencement."

At this court meeting it was decided that the president and treasurer should be notified of the approaching resignation of the higher officers and staff of the hospital before other officers began to take steps for promoting the election of a successor. The need for this order, I think, tells its own tale.

On July 31st, 1782, the court granted a great many leases and, among other things, bought the tithes of Tibshelf for £3100, to provide which sum £1950 of Old South Sea Stock and £3000 of 3 per cent Reduced Bank Annuities were sold.

The lease of the "King's Head" public-house on the south side of St Thomas's Street was transferred

from Henry Thrale, Esq., to Messrs. Robert Barclay and John Perkins, a transference which was caused by the sale of Thrale's brewery to the two men whose names were to become household words throughout the country until the present day.

It will be noticed that in 1766 (see p. 221) an ale-house in St. Thomas's Street, called the "Bird in Hand," was leased to Thrale. Whether this were the same which had changed its name to the "King's Head," or whether Thrale rented two public-houses from the hospital in St. Thomas's Street, I do not know. Another possibility is that the clerk in writing the minutes has mistaken the name of the public-house.

Mr. Cline was reappointed lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery and the treasurer was empowered to "grant deputations" as gamekeepers on the hospital manors. On visiting our former estate of Hastingleigh in Kent in 1932 I was told by one of the older inhabitants that former treasurers of St. Thomas's were in the habit of coming down from time to time, with their friends, to shoot over the manor; it seems therefore that the privilege of shooting on these preserves may have induced certain sportsmen to become governors.

Further items settled at this meeting were: The purchase of two acres at Hackney. Changing the name of Susannah into Henry Ward and converting it into a male ward. The grant of £20 to St. Thomas's parish on account of the late Gordon riots, in which a good deal of private property as well as the Southwark jails had been damaged, although, as on all former occasions of popular turmoil, the hospital itself was unharmed.

On October 9th, 1782, the court rolls of our manors were properly drawn up and the title deeds and papers

connected with them duly copied out. For helping in this work the clerk received a gratuity of 50 guineas.

On December 20th, 1782, Samuel Plumbe, having seen the hospital through all its difficulties with the City, resigned, and the Rt. Hon. Nathaniel Newman, Lord Mayor, was appointed President.

On January 24th, 1783, 290 governors, among whom were the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Palmerston, Samuel Hoare, Baron Dimsdale, and the Rt. Hon. Thomas Harley, attended to elect successors to Thomas Green, hospitaller, and John Waring, surgeon, both of whom had died. This, I believe, was the largest attendance of governors ever recorded. The election resulted in the appointment of the Rev. John Rowe and Mr. George Chandler.

On June 26th, 1783, the Rev. Durand Rhudde having resigned the incumbency of the church, the Rev. Charles Hodgkin was appointed. It was reported that Dr. William Keir had died and Dr. John Watkinson was made physician in his place.

The court decided that : " Each surgeon shall in future take no more than two dressers before he takes an apprentice, in order that the hospital may be supplied with skilful and able surgeons, and that on taking such an apprentice he may take a third dresser."

On September 19th, 1783, Dr. Watkinson having died, Dr. Gilbert Blane was appointed physician. Dr., after Sir Gilbert, Blane was a man of note in his day. Before his appointment to St. Thomas's he had been physician to Lord Rodney's fleet ; and, after his retirement from the hospital in 1795, he became commissioner to the Admiralty for the care of sick and wounded sailors. He was largely responsible for

stamping out Scurvy in the Navy by supplying ships with abundance of lemon (not lime) juice. He was also consulted about prison reform and it is quite possible that to the advice he gave about free ventilation and cleanliness we owe the disappearance of Typhus or jail fever.

Sir Astley Cooper tells us that he was a painstaking physician but so cold in his temperament that he was known in the hospital as "Chilblaine."

On October 10th, 1783, Dr. Henry Revel Reynolds resigned and Dr. Adair Crawford was made physician.

On May 12th, 1784, Mr. John Birch was appointed surgeon in the place of Mr. George Martin, deceased. Henry Cline was a candidate but withdrew his application.

On July 28th, 1784, a number of leases were granted, among which were those of two houses in Gingerbread Court, Old Change. Six houses were bought in Black and White Court, Old Bailey, from a man named Bradley to whom they were re-let on condition that he spent £700 upon them.

The order of June 26th, 1783, seems to have proved unsatisfactory to the surgeons and was modified in such a way that they were allowed to have three dressers before taking an apprentice. Apparently the short-time dresserships were more remunerative to the surgical staff than the long-term apprenticeships. It was decided that the houses of the treasurer, steward, receiver, apothecary, hospitaller and matron should henceforth be subject to house duty.

Mr. Henry Keene, a governor, presented iron gates for the passage leading from Edward Square to St. Thomas's Street.

Mr. Birch, the new surgeon, agreed to take Mr. Gostling, the late Mr. Martin's apprentice, without his paying an extra fee.

On December 15th, 1784, Mr. Henry Cline was appointed surgeon in place of Mr. Thomas Smith, who had died. The appointment seems to have been understood when Cline withdrew his application at the last election, for only twelve governors attended the court.

On June 17th, 1785, the grand committee granted Mr. Whitfield an honorarium of £50 instead of the £40 which he had been receiving for several years.

On August 3rd, 1785, it was decided that two rooms should be built behind the surgery, the lower for examining patients, the upper, a private room for the surgeons.

On July 26th, 1786, the Rev. Servington Savery was appointed hospitaller in place of the Rev. John Rowe, deceased.

On July 25th, 1787, a good many leases in Hackney were granted, including the "Quakers' Field of eight acres." Hackney was evidently becoming a residential neighbourhood, for plots of land lately let at £25 were now relet at £63 a year.

On April 30th, 1788, the treasurer proposed to the grand committee that the pupils of the physicians and surgeons should be allowed to prescribe for patients under certain restrictions, as they were allowed to do at St. Bartholomew's. The consideration was deferred until the practice at the latter hospital could be ascertained. When, on June 26th, it was reported that the practice had been found inconvenient there and had been discontinued, it was decided that it could not be

allowed here. The record is of some little importance because it suggests that at this time the surgeons were allowed to prescribe for their patients (see p. 119), but, since the minute forbidding them to do so still stands, it is possible that a contentious physician might stop the practice until the next general court could repeal the order.

On July 30th, 1788, the number of beadles was reduced from four to two ; no doubt because they no longer had to walk the district as in former years (see Vol. I, p. 239).

On July 29th, 1789, it was ordered that in future no return should be made of admission fees paid by "foul patients." The probable meaning of this is that venereal diseases were then regarded as a divine punishment for lax morality, a punishment which it was presumptuous for man to relieve, and Golding tells us that some of the London hospitals refused to treat these diseases at all. The court therefore thought it wise not to advertise the fact that it was taking fees for what many possible benefactors might regard as interfering with a decree of Providence.

On July 28th, 1790, it was decided to change Isaac from a male to a female ward and to rename it Susannah (see p. 242). The name of Isaac, however, was to be transferred to the cutting or lithotomy ward.

It was also decided that the post of Assistant Physician should be revived and that the new officer should have whole charge of the out-patients and should relieve the physicians when needed ; but that no salary should attach to the post. At first sight this seems rather hard, but no doubt the idea was that the post would bring the holder private practice ; and would,

if properly carried out, be a stepping-stone to that of physician.

On August 18th, 1790, a piece of ground in the Borough High Street, close to St. George's Churchyard, and two houses in Shaw's Court, adjoining, were let, according to the minutes of the grand committee, to the churchwardens of St. George's Church for 999 years at £5 a year ; in which case they should come back to us in A.D. 2789. The court minutes, however, give the term of the lease as 99 years, and this, I think, is correct, for I find that we are no longer receiving £5 a year from St. George's. On June 3rd, 1791, Lord Warwick claimed two houses in Clapton which the hospital hitherto had regarded as its property ; and on February 16th, 1792, the grand committee threatened him with legal proceedings. On June 5th, 1793, His Lordship agreed to look into his right if the hospital would stay its hands. For five years the matter was under consideration until on April 26th, 1798, the treasurer was advised that the hospital had no chance of success in an action, and it was therefore decided that Lord Warwick should be paid the legal expenses which he had incurred.

On July 25th, 1792, the surgeryman was given No. 18 St. Thomas's Street as a residence, and this, I think, is the first mention in the minutes of the modern practice of numbering houses. At the same time many residents in St. Thomas's Street were given notice to quit in order that the street near the church might be widened.

It is astonishing how enormously the value of property in South London was increasing at this time ; a piece of land in Southwark High Street, for instance,

hitherto let for £8 a year was now relet for £110; while the rent of a tanyard in Bermondsey was raised from £24 to £90 a year.

With a view to improving the tone of the sisters and nurses, which I fear was at this time of the "Sarah Gamp" type, the court decided to offer a prize of £4 4s. each "to the three sisters and three nurses in the clean wards who have best satisfied the staff." Seemingly the amenities of nursing were not thought worth encouraging in the foul wards.

It was reported that the bill for the construction of the canal from Braunston to Brentford (the Grand Junction Canal) had passed through Parliament and the hospital was entitled to take up six shares of £100, being one share for each furlong of our property in Hillingdon, Denham and Marsworth through which it was to pass. The canal company bought more than three acres of land from the hospital in the following year for £254 10s. In July, 1796, further capital was needed by the company and the hospital took a half share of £50 for each of the six full shares which it already owned. On March 23rd, 1796, the grand committee agreed to the canalization of the Colne River, near Denham, but there is no record of any compensation being paid.

On July 25th, 1792, Mr. Whitfield, the apothecary and secretary of the Medical School, who had been forty years in the former post, asked for an assistant; and his son, Mr. Richard Whitfield, was appointed to help him.

CHAPTER XII

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IN the *St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette* for February, 1894, page 20, there are some interesting extracts from letters of an old student to a friend in the country. Neither his name nor the date of the letters is given; but from internal evidence it is clear that the latter were written between 1793, when John Hunter died, and 1800, when the Surgeons' Hall became the Royal College.

The following extract from the first letter shows us that the status of the dressers had improved a great deal since 1750 (see p. 204).

“ I have taken a lodging in the same house with two of Mr.— Dressers, who in consideration of my proposing to have dressed if I could, have promised me every assistance, and an introduction to the private lectures which are occasionally given to them, this will be a particular advantage, for I find a dresser so situated that he must be idle indeed, if he does not profit very much in his station.

“ He has the absolute execution of everything but the great operations, the smaller and most frequent ones he is allowed to perform when he has been long enough in train to lose the trembling hand, in short,

before the end of his year he becomes, as it were, an Assistant Surgeon, for all the accidents are submitted to his care and judgment, he takes up the vessels after operations, puts on the bandages, and acts a foremost character in the presence of numerous spectators, by which he must acquire confidence and courage. When his first year is expired, he is still the right hand of his teacher, upon him reposes the care of all dangerous cases, till he has instructed the successors to go alone, as they term it, and in consideration of his services his attendance is usually permitted as long as convenient to himself.

“The only persons more privileged than dressers are the apprentices, who, in general, are such fine gentlemen, that they do not choose to dirty their fingers, or screen their pantaloons with a stuff apron, for the fashion of education now, I hear, is to receive all instructions at the ear, we keep Professors to read for us what we should believe. It is a bore to study, and if we can but manage the trick of passing at the Hall (Surgeons' Hall), we obtain a licence to cut, hack, and slay, any or all of her (? his) Majesty's subjects.”

The second letter enables us to follow the day's work of a pupil at the end of the eighteenth century.

“You are so anxious to know what I do every hour, that to satisfy your enquiries, I must begin with the day, before I am out of my slippers. Well then, as soon as I am out of bed, and almost before I am awake, I go to the Midwifery Lecture ; next I break my fast, and put on my boots, then to a lecture on Chemistry or Physic, till eleven, at this hour the business of the

hospital commences and I go round with the dressers and assist them in holding the fractures, applying some bandages, and when any of them is absent I take his box and attend his patients.

“ But I have now learned the regular system of the Surgeons’ attendance. At Guy’s the surgeons come by eleven o’clock, not to interfere with those of St. Thomas’s who attend at twelve. Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, one of the surgeons of each house sees their patients and makes out their weekly return, dismissing such as are cured.

“ But to return to the order of the day, about one o’clock the business of the Hospital is finished, and soon after the Anatomical Lectures begin, this lasts till three, when our labours cease, and our appetites begin to crave for dinner, after which some little respite from business is proper, and pleasant conversation lulls the time till evening, when I look over some books, write down cases and observations, or employ myself agreeably, as I am now doing, in corresponding with a friend.

“ I forgot to mention that on Saturday evening there is an assembly in the theatre at Guy’s, to read and debate on a Medical paper ; this is a very agreeable amusement, and gives an opportunity for those who have confidence enough to display their abilities.”

The next two extracts seem to reflect the conservative frame of mind of the two non-progressive surgeons, Chandler and Birch, and make us suspect that the writer of the letters was the pupil of one or the other. Had he been Cline’s pupil he would have come under his and Astley Cooper’s influence and have imbibed a

more scientific outlook on Surgery. It will be noticed that dissection plays no part in the day's work of the writer, perhaps because of the insanitary atmosphere of the dissecting room, though I cannot help suspecting that Chandler and Birch, since they knew little or no anatomy or pathology themselves, were in the habit of belittling these subjects to their pupils.

“Hogarth's prints of the diligent and idle apprentice would be very proper furniture for one of the apartments, for there is a great deal too much gaming going forward. Billiards and cards consume most of the time of certain gentlemen, and by a want of principle which is evident in the conduct of some, we may trace those seeds of empiricism and ignorance which sometimes burst forth to the destruction of mankind.”

“After the death of Mr. Pott, the new doctrines of John Hunter displaced they say the good old successful practice of the Hospitals, and introduced a number of whimseys, which have succeeded so ill that the old methods have been restored.—Fancy gets the better of science in the present age, which is the reason why we are so overrun with bad systems. Physiology gets the better of practice, and what has been proved to be good and right by the success of years, is found to be wrong and injudicious in five minutes harangue. This is an age of revolution, and a new light is to shine upon us.”

The last of the extracts enables us to size up the writer fairly accurately. I do not know whether he passed his examination or not, but I am sure that it would have done him a lot of good if he failed.

“ I shall not be able to present myself at Surgeon’s Hall till my return to London. I have no sort of trepidation about my examination, we have accustomed ourselves to question and answer in our walks, and I understand the examiners are gentlemen of liberal minds, who never intend to puzzle or perplex the timid mind, but allow to real talents every chance of fair success, while at the same time they abash the bullying blockhead and send him back to learn his lesson more perfect.

“ I rejoice to think how soon I shall shake your hand, and in the interim remain

“ Dear Henry,

“ Yours, &c, &c.”

On July 29th, 1795, owing to the scarcity of provisions, a sum of 10 guineas was voted for the poor of St. Thomas’s Parish and, for the same reason, the annual dinner of the governors was abandoned and the dietary of the patients modified. On looking up some statistics of the period I find that the price of a quarter of wheat was 52s. at Michaelmas 1793, 56s. at Lady Day 1794, and 71s. at Lady Day 1795 as the result of a very poor harvest, while the French Revolution made it difficult to obtain supplies from the Continent. This scarcity of provisions continued during 1796, in which year every parish was charged 6d. a day for each pauper sent into the hospital, instead of the former charge of 4d. a day.

On August 12th, 1795, Dr. Adair Crawford having died, Dr. Lister was made full physician and a week later, on the 19th, Dr. Henry Ainslie was appointed assistant physician.

On November 18th, 1795, Dr. Blane resigned his post of physician and Dr. Ainslie was appointed.

On November 25th, 1795, Dr. William Charles Wells was made assistant physician.

On November 27th, 1796, the burial fees were raised from 13s. to 20s. ; and £300 of Bank Annuities were sold in order to reimburse the treasurer for money which he had advanced.

On August 2nd, 1797, the death of Elizabeth Wright, the matron, was recorded, and her daughter (in-law ?), Mrs. Jane Wright, was appointed.

On July 18th, 1798, many new leases were granted, all at increased rentals ; that of Lynsters was raised from £50 to £470 a year, but I think that this is probably the first instance of a full rent being charged instead of a nominal one with a large fine.

At this court Mr. Jeremiah Crutchley, a governor, refused to act as steward at the annual dinner. For this he was deprived of his governorship according to an order passed in 1706.

It was now decided that, after three months in the hospital, patients should be charged 6d. a day unless recommended by the physicians and surgeons. On June 12th, 1799, Anthony Wingfield, late receiver, was found to have been embezzling the hospital property for some time, and that his default had now reached the sum of £4412 2s. 4d. Wingfield had been the assistant of Mr. Core, the former receiver, and succeeded him on June 20th, 1775.

A gentleman named Charles Smith, now deceased, had given a bond for £1000 for Wingfield's fidelity, and it was decided that the family of this gentleman should be pressed to pay that sum. The lawyer who

represented the family pleaded contributory negligence on the part of the auditors, who thereupon tendered their resignations though these were not accepted.

The treasurer offered £1000 towards Wingfield's default, and this the governors accepted, though they recorded their opinion that he was in no way responsible. Meanwhile Wingfield was locked up in a debtors' prison, possibly the Marshalsea, where he remained until December 17th, 1800, the governors allowing him 1s. a day for his subsistence. Eventually the son of Mr. Smith offered £500, which the hospital accepted.

Undoubtedly St. Thomas's acted generously in this unfortunate case, but I cannot help thinking that, though they would not accept the auditors' resignations, the treasurer and governors felt that it should not have been possible for money to be stolen systematically without detection until it had reached so large a sum. At the same court, on July 12th, Mr. Leeson, who had been steward for nearly fifty years, asked for some help in his work. Accordingly an assistant at £100 a year was appointed.

On July 24th, 1799, £5000 of Old South Sea Annuities were ordered to be sold; possibly to replace the ready money which Wingfield had stolen.

A new receiver, Joseph Beavers, was appointed, with a house, coals, etc., but was made to give a guarantee of £1000. It seems that the receiver's work was being lightened by the appointment of local receivers, for the Rev. Mr. Marshall was made receiver in the County of Cambridge (and probably Essex and Bucks) with a payment of five per cent on the gross rents collected.

It will be noticed that in the eighteenth century very

little has been heard of the manor courts, to hold which some of the governors used to ride during the summer, for it was only then that the roads were passable. In 1668 a special officer was appointed for this work (see p. 102), and the last mention which I can find of a manor court being held was at Marsworth in 1755 (see Vol. I, p. 223). I believe that the old feudal "courts leet" have never been abolished but that their work has been taken over by the petty sessions. It may be that, if they wished to do so, some of the governors might still claim the right to hold a manor court and to dispense rough-and-ready justice as of yore, though I fancy that before they could establish their claim a good deal of expense would be incurred.

It was decided that all tenants at will in St. Thomas's Parish should pay the whole of the land tax, since the houses were only bringing in $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent when all deductions were made. It was felt that rents could not be raised more than this for trade was very bad in Southwark, and already the tenants were taxed 6s. 6d. in the pound on the rack rents (assessment), that is to say, 4s. for poor rate, 2s. for lamps, watch, and scavenger, and 6d. for improvements. This compares with 11s. 6d. in the pound paid in 1932.

On November 22nd, 1799, a letter, with a cheque for £100, was received from the committee of subscribers to the relief of the seamen wounded in Lord Duncan's action on October 11th, 1797. The letter thanked the governors for the care and attention paid to the wounded men who were sent to the hospital after the victory over the Dutch fleet off Camperdown.

On March 7th, 1800, it was agreed that the minutes

of the grand committee should be read at the next general court of governors, instead of only once a year, at the annual general court in July or August.

On June 18th, 1800, the stipend of the incumbent of the church was raised from £80 to £100 a year ; and that of the hospitaller, from £77 to £100.

At this meeting, too, Edward Jeffries sent in his resignation on account of old age. In his letter he pointed out that during the twenty years of his treasurership (from 1780 to 1800) the hospital rents had increased by £5000 a year. It was decided that the new treasurer should give a bond of £4000 which should be held by the president ; and it was also decided that all present or future gentlemen, acting as sureties, might withdraw from their responsibility on giving six months' notice.

On June 25th, 1800, Abel Chapman, Esq., was elected treasurer.

On December 17th, 1800, Dr. Ainslie resigned his post of physician and Dr. Wells, the assistant physician, succeeded him.

On December 24th, 1800, Dr. Thomas Turner was appointed assistant physician.

It was in 1800 that William Cooper, the uncle of Astley Cooper, retired from his post of surgeon to Guy's Hospital ; and Astley was appointed to succeed him. For a time this new post for the popular teacher did not loosen his connection with St. Thomas's, since he still continued his lectures on Anatomy and Surgery there, lectures which he shared with Cline to whom he had been apprenticed in 1784. Until 1800, therefore, Astley Cooper was altogether a St. Thomas's man and his nephew and biographer, Bransby Cooper, tells us

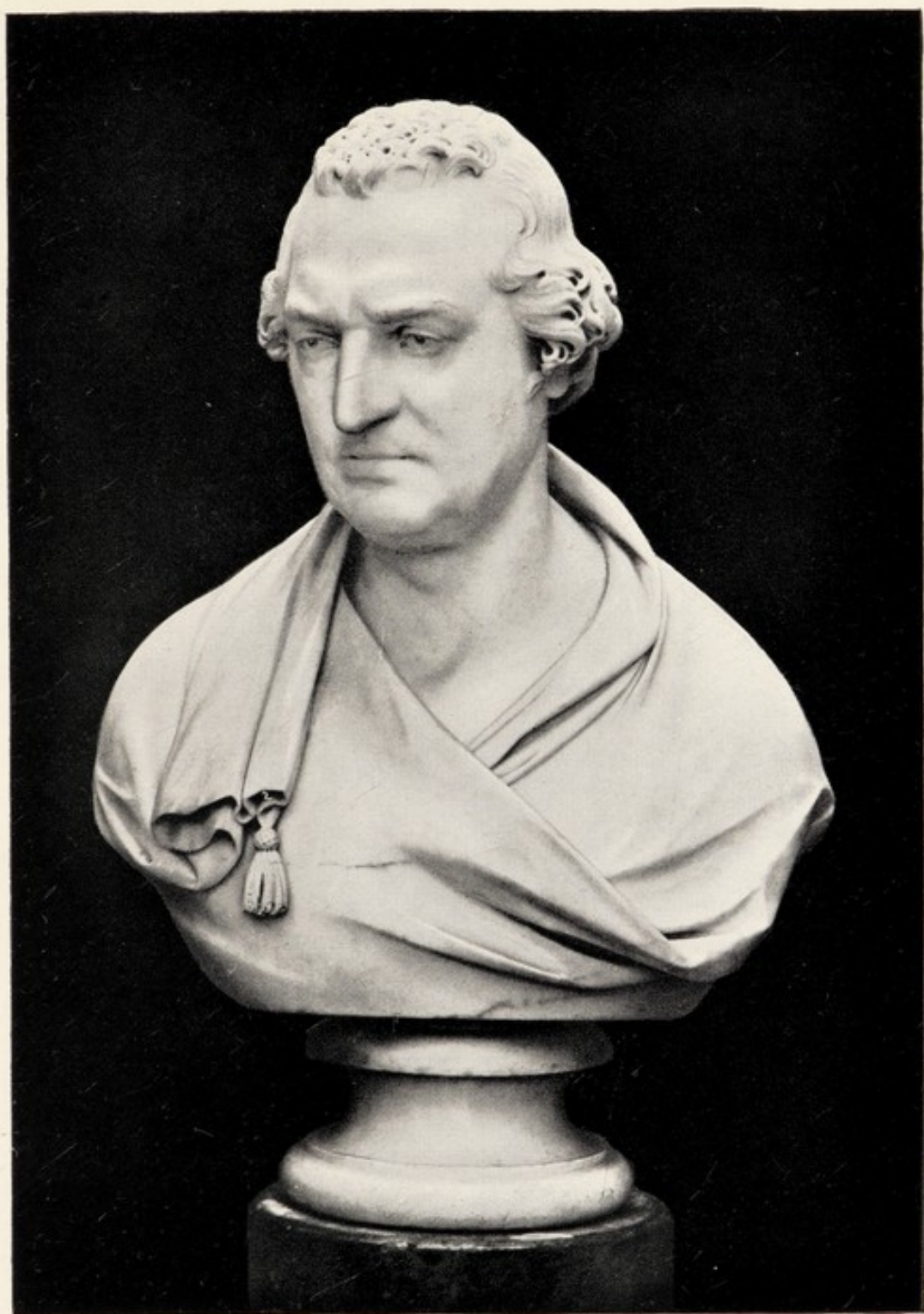
that his affection for his old hospital was very great and lasted as long as he lived.

If a vacancy on the St. Thomas's Staff had happened before that at Guy's no doubt Cooper would have been appointed to it. As it was it seemed at one time that his chances of the Guy's surgeoncy were small on account of his democratic leanings and open admiration of the French Revolution. Indeed it was only after he had renounced all sympathy with the excesses of the Revolution that Harrison, the treasurer of Guy's, felt able to recommend the governors of that hospital to appoint him to their staff.

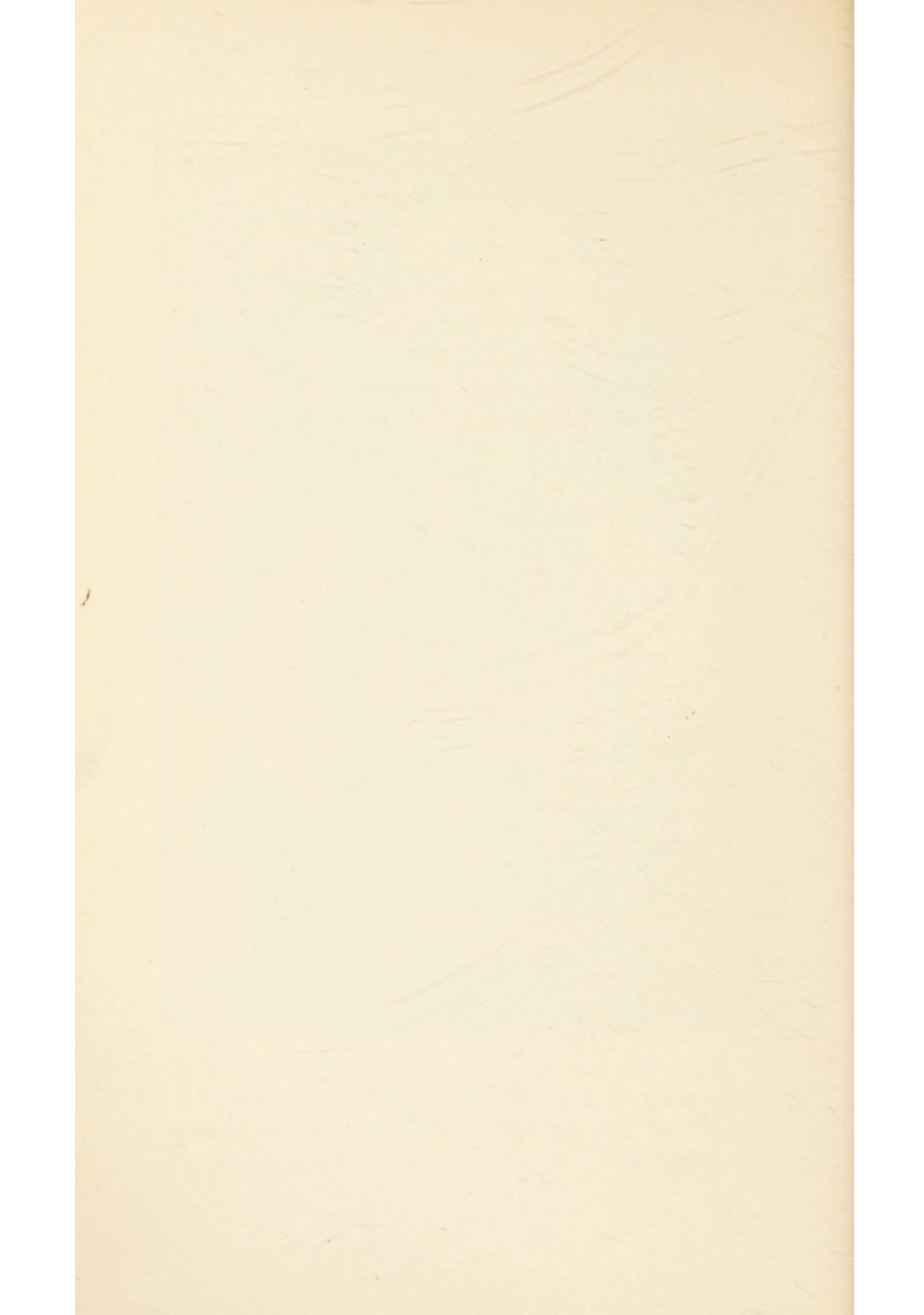
Astley Cooper was a man of great personal charm, handsome, hardworking and honest ; a successful and fearless surgeon and, what was rarer in those days, a man who really knew all that was then known of the anatomy of the human body. But he was much more than a highly skilled mechanic with a pilot's knowledge of what was beneath the surface of the body, for he gave a great deal of his time to comparative Anatomy and some of his preparations are still in the St. Thomas's Anatomical Museum and were of great value to me when I lectured there.

Undoubtedly he owed much of his success in life to Cline's influence and training, though he is said to have been greatly inferior to the latter in judgment, and he certainly possessed an ambition for notoriety unknown to his teacher.

Henry Cline as a man was probably the greatest personality the staff of St. Thomas's has known ; and although his connection with the hospital extended well into the nineteenth century, I feel that some appreciation of him is due in this, the eighteenth. I



HENRY CLINE



feel this because I have so often noticed that those men who exert great influence in a hospital and, what is more important, stamp their personality upon the minds of their students, do it chiefly during the first half of their professional lives, before the importance of manœuvring for place, power, and wealth has made them cautious about saying just what they think.

It is true that in Cline's case there was never any need for such manœuvring ; wealth, perhaps unfortunately, he always had, and place and power came to him unsought, though no doubt when they came they brought their responsibilities. Like so many other St. Thomas's men he wrote very little and the vast store of experience which he accumulated would have died with him had he not passed it on freely to his pupils by word of mouth.

It was lucky for Astley Cooper that he was sent to live with Cline and to be his apprentice, since it was the influence of the latter that changed the reckless, idle, dare-devil boy into the industrious seeker after knowledge which afterwards he became. Hear what Cooper thought of Cline :

“ Mr. Cline was a man of excellent judgment, of great caution, of accurate knowledge ; particularly taciturn abroad, yet open, friendly and very conversational at home.

“ In surgery, cool, safe, judicious and cautious ; in anatomy, sufficiently informed for teaching and practice. He wanted industry and professional zeal, liking other things better than the study or practice of his profession.

“ In politics, a democrat, living in friendship with Horne Tooke.

“ In morals, thoroughly honest ; in religion, a Deist.

“ A good husband, son and father.

“ As a friend, sincere but not active ; as an enemy, most inveterate.

“ He was mild in his manners, gentle in his conduct, humane in his disposition, but withal, brave as a lion.

“ His temper was scarcely ever ruffled.

“ Toward the close of life he caught an ague, which lessened his powers of mind and body.”

APPENDIX

LIST OF OFFICERS OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL FROM 1600 TO 1800

PRESIDENTS OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

13.	Sir Henry Billingsley	Elected	1594
14.	Sir John Garrard	„	1607
15.	Sir William Cockayne	„	1622
16.	Sir James Cambell	„	1626
17.	Sir Edmund Wright	„	1642
18.	Ald. Thomas Adams	„	1643
19.	Ald. Thomas Andrewes	„	1650
20.	Ald. Francis Warner	„	1659
21.	Sir Thomas Adams	„	1660 (Second term)
22.	Sir John Lawrence	„	1668
23.	Sir William Hooker	„	1683
24.	Sir John Lawrence	„	1690 (Second term)
25.	Sir Robert Clayton	„	1692
26.	Sir Thomas Abney	„	1707
27.	Sir Gilbert Heathcote	„	1722
28.	Sir Gerard Conyers	„	1733
29.	Sir John Eyles	„	1737
30.	Sir Robert Bayliss	„	1745
31.	Sir Edward Bellamy	„	1748
32.	Sir John Thompson	„	1749
33.	Ald. George Arnold	„	1750
34.	Sir John Hankey	„	1751
35.	Ald. William Nash	„	1770
36.	Ald. Samuel Plumbe	„	1773
37.	Ld. Mayor Nathaniel Newnham	„	1782

TREASURERS OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL
DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES

16. Henry Butler	Elected 1601
17. John Harley	„ 1602
18. Robert Thomas	„ 1605
19. Thomas Bagshawe	„ 1607
Minutes lost from 1608 to 1618	
20. William Edge	At work 1618
21. Samuel Armitage	Elected 1621
22. Humphry Clarke	„ 1636 (Dismissed)
23. George Nash	„ 1650
24. Gabriel Partridge	„ 1657
25. Robert Osbaldston	„ 1666
26. Peter Delauney	„ 1669
27. James Hayes	„ 1675 (Deposed by “ Quo Warranto ”)
28. James Reading	„ 1683
29. Captain John Smith	„ 1695
30. Thomas Eyre	„ 1698
31. Thomas Cole	„ 1709
32. William Cole	„ 1716
33. Charles Joye	„ 1724 (Also Treasurer of Guy's)
34. Samuel Lesingham	„ 1738
35. Anthony Walburghe	„ 1748
36. William Mount	„ 1749
37. William Bowden	„ 1761
38. Edward Jefferies	„ 1780
39. Abel Chapman	„ 1800

PHYSICIANS OF ST. THOMAS'S DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

— Palmer	Elected	1598		
— Wynstone	„	?	Retired	1618
Minutes lost (1608 to 1618)				
Eleazer Hodson	„	1618	Died	1639
Thomas Grent	„	1638	„	1649
Francis Prujean	„	1649	Retired	1652
Edward Emelie	„	1652	Died	1657
Thomas Wharton	„	1657	„	1673
Richard Torlesse	„	1673	Deposed	1683
(By “ Quo Warranto ”)				
William Dawkins	„	1683	Ret. or d.	1703 ?
William Briggs	„	1683	Deposed	1690
(Reversal of “ Quo Warranto ”)				
Richard Torlesse	Reinstated	1690	Dismissed	1702
Richard Mead	Elected	1703	Retired	1715
Caleb Coatsworth	„	1715	„	1729
Asst. Phys. 1694				
Thomas Wadsworth	„	1715	„	1733
Henry Plumtre	„	1718	„	1736
Edward Wilmott	„	1729	„	1740
Abraham Hall	„	1733	„	1749
Thomas Reeve	„	1740	„	1760
Thomas Adams	„	1749	Retired	1759
Thomas Leatherland	„	1736 ?	„	1759
Thomas Milner	„	1759	„	1762
Asst. Phys. 1751				
Mark Akenside	„	1759	Died	1770
Asst. Phys. 1759				
Alexander Russell	„	1760	„	1768
Asst. Phys. 1759				
John Hadley	„	1760	„	1764
Asst. Phys. 1760				
James Grieve	„	1762	„	1773
Richard Huck	„	1768	Retired	1777
George Fordyce	„	1770	Died	1802

John Rawlinson	Elected	1773	Retired	1780
Henry Reynolds	"	1777	"	1783
William Keir	"	1780	Died	1783
John Watkinson	"	1783	"	1783
Gilbert Blane	"	1783	Retired	1795
Adair Crawford	"	1783	Died	1795
William Lister	"	1795	Retired	1817
			Asst. Phys.	1790
Henry Ainslie	"	1795	"	1800
			Asst. Phys.	1795
William Wells	"	1800	Died	1817
			Asst. Phys.	1795
Thomas Turner	"	1802	Retired	1816
			Asst. Phys.	1800

SURGEONS OF ST. THOMAS'S DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Richard Wood	Elected	1567	Died	1622
William Gale	"	1569	Resigned	1607
Thomas Crowe	"	1587	Died	1605
James Molins	"	1605	"	1639
Henry Blakeley	"	1607	"	1648
Edward Fleet	"	1622	"	1648
Edward Molins	"	1639	Retired	1644
			(Discharged by Parliament)	
Thomas Hollyer	"	1644	"	1670
Laurence Lowe	"	1648	"	1649
Henry Clodd	"	1648	"	1650
Giles Hicks	"	1649	Died	1652
William Walton	"	1650	Retired	1683 ?
			(Deposed by "Quo Warranto")	
			Commissioners ?)	
Thomas Allen	"	1652	Died	1665
Edward Molins	Reinstated	1660	"	1663
James Molins, Jun.	Elected	1663	Retired	1683
			(Deposed by "Quo Warranto")	
William Pierce	"	1665	Died	1683

Thomas Hollyer, Jun.	Elected	1670	Retired	1683
			(Deposed by " Quo Warranto " ?)	
Edward Rice	"	1683	Died	1686
John Browne	"	1683	Appointed by " Quo Warranto " Commissioners, and deposed in 1691, after its reversal.	
—— Court	"	1683		
William Pepper	"	1683		
James Hollyer	"	1686	Died	1687 ?
			(Appd. by " Quo Warranto ")	
Thomas Elton	"	1687 ?	Retired	1691
			(After reversal of " Quo Warranto ")	
Simon Rideout	"	1691	Died	1714
Samuel Smith	"	1691	"	1693
William Coatsworth	"	1691	Retired	1702
Thomas Elton	Re-elected	1693	Dismissed	1702
William Pepper	"	1702	Died	1704
			Assistant Surgeon 1701	
Joseph Bateman	Elected	1704	Died	1710
James Ferne	"	1705	"	1741
John Girle	"	1710	"	1715
William Dickenson	"	1714	"	1719
Josiah Paul	"	1715	"	1728
William Cheselden	"	1718	Resigned	1738
			Assistant Surgeon 1718	
Joseph Tanner	"	1719	Died ?	1725 ?
			Assistant Surgeon 1719	
Joshua Symons	"	1728	Died	1731
John Girle, Jun.	"	1731	Resigned	1749
John Whiting	"	1738	Died	1739
Thomas Baker	"	1739	Resigned	1768
Joseph Paul	"	1741	"	1760
Benjamin Cowell	"	1749	"	1768
Thomas Smith	"	1760	Died	1784
Joseph Else	"	1768	"	1780
George Martin	"	1768	"	1784
John Waring	"	1780	"	1783
John Chandler	"	1783	"	1822
John Birch	"	1784	"	1815
Henry Cline	"	1784	"	1820

HOSPITALERS OF ST. THOMAS'S DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

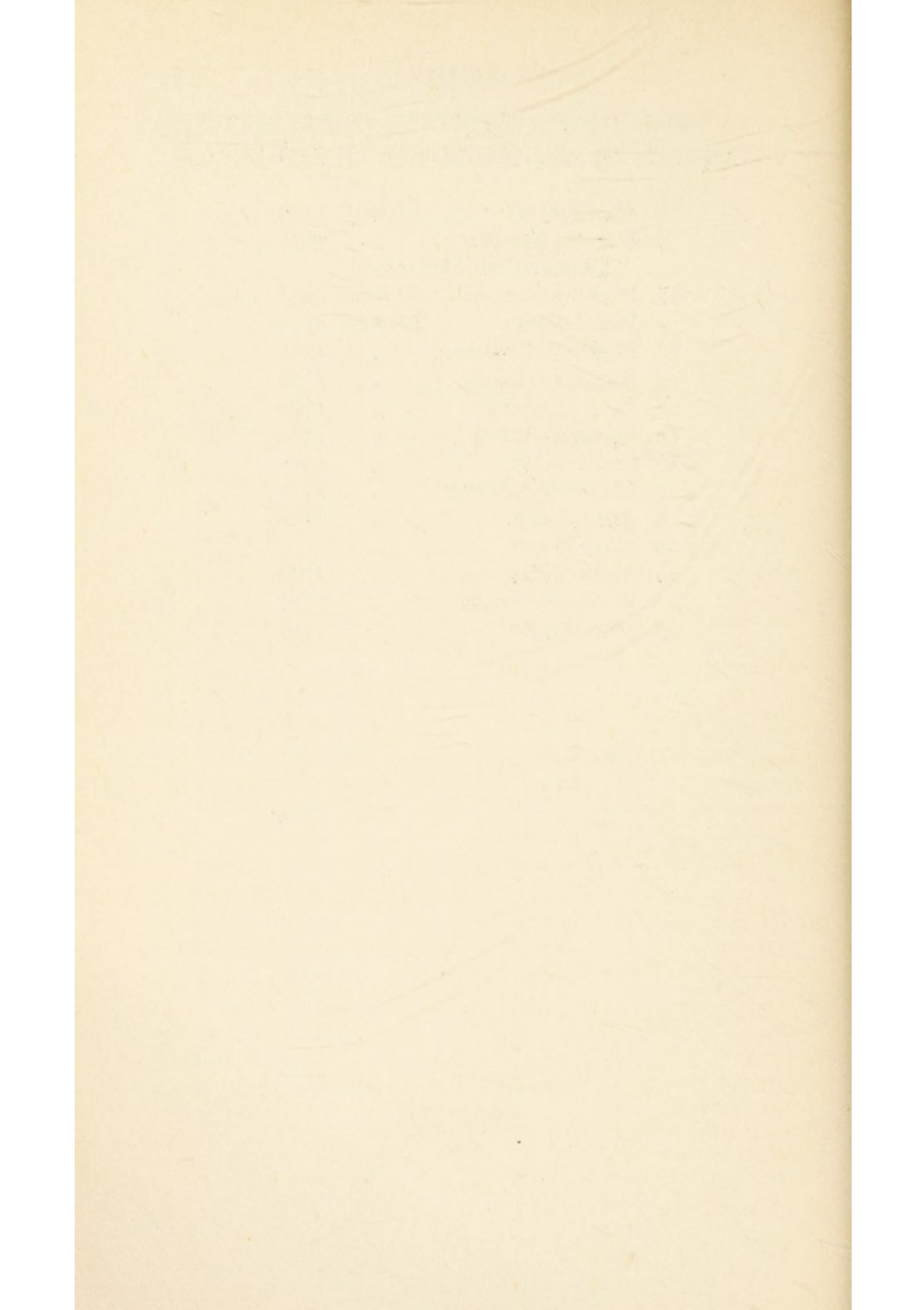
12.	Ralph Harrison	Elected	1589
13.	George More	"	1603
14.	Richard Colby	"	1605
15.	Edward More	"	1605
16.	Lawrence Bailie	"	1606
17.	Elias Micklethwaite	"	1607

(Minutes lost 1608 to 1618)

18.	Richard Baker	At work	1618
19.	Meredith Maidy	Elected	1625 (Discharged)
20.	John Trebick	"	1639
21.	John Draper	"	1642
22.	Roger Edwards	"	1644 or 45
23.	John Beaton	"	1646
24.	Thomas Whyte	"	1646
25.	Henry Shepard	"	1647
26.	Thomas Ffuller	"	1650
27.	Thomas Hancock	"	1654
28.	William Harrison	"	1663
29.	Samuel Rolls	"	1664
30.	William Hughes	"	1680 (Displaced by " Quo Warranto " Commissioners)
31.	— Turner	"	1683 (Deposed on reversion of " Quo Warranto ")
	William Hughes	Re-elected	1691
32.	John Turton	Elected	1699
33.	Richard Mayo	"	1707
34.	Richard Mayo, Jun.	"	1717
35.	Robert Drew	"	1727
36.	Thomas Wingfield	"	1746
37.	Thomas Green	"	1773
38.	John Row	"	1783
39.	Servington Savery	"	1786

MATRONS OF ST. THOMAS'S DURING THE
SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

8.	Alice Lucas	Elected	1593
9.	Dorothy Warder	„	1606
	(Minutes lost 1608-1618)		
10.	Dorothy Randall	At work	1618
11.	Joan Darvole	Elected	1621
12.	Elizabeth Bradshaw	„	1650
13.	Katherine Green	„	1656
14.	Hester Palmer	„	1680
15.	Susannah Bailey	„	1684
16.	Frances Till	„	1695
17.	Elizabeth Aldersey	„	1711
18.	Anne Kitson	„	1724
19.	Anne Pearce	„	
20.	Sarah Fuller	„	1755
21.	Elizabeth Wright	„	1766
22.	Jane Wright	„	1796



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