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Poor Relief in England, 1350–1600

Between the mid fourteenth century and the Poor Laws of 1598 and 1601, English poor relief moved towards a more coherent and comprehensive network of support. Marjorie McIntosh's study, the first to trace developments across that time span, focuses on three types of assistance: licensed begging and the solicitation of charitable alms; hospitals and almshouses for the bedridden and elderly; and the aid given by parishes. It explores changing conceptions of poverty and charity and altered roles for the church, state, and private organizations in the provision of relief. The study highlights the creativity of local people in responding to poverty, cooperation between national and lower levels of government, the problems of fraud and negligence, and mounting concern with proper supervision and accounting. This ground-breaking work challenges existing accounts of the Poor Laws, showing that they addressed problems with forms of aid already in use rather than creating a new system of relief.

Marjorie Keniston McIntosh is Distinguished Professor of History Emerita, University of Colorado at Boulder. Her previous publications include *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600* (Cambridge, 1998), *Working Women in English Society, 1300–1620* (Cambridge, 2005), and two books about African women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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2 Number of institutions founded, closed, and in existence per decade, including ascribed numbers
3 Region and type of community, by date of founding and type of institution
4 Sex and religious status of residents, by date of founding
5 Number of intended inmates at time of founding
6 Actual number of residents per house, 1500–1549 and 1550–1599
7 Total estimated number of places in these institutions in the sixteenth century
8 Analysis of a sample of Sussex wills that left bequests to the poor, 1500–1560
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Acknowledgements

Writing this book has heightened my gratitude to the many teachers who helped me become a social historian. David Riesman and Erik Erikson guided my initial independent studies on the relation between history, sociology, and psychology in 1960–1; Myron Gilmore supervised my attempt to utilize those approaches in an undergraduate honors thesis on the late medieval Dance of Death. During my first year in graduate school at Harvard, I focused on African history. But shortly before classes started the following September, the History Department decided that Africa was not a suitable field for Ph.D. work, because its history relied so heavily on oral sources. I therefore signed up at the last minute for a seminar on the reign of Edward VI of England. Led by W. K. Jordan, who was writing his two-volume study of the reign of the boy king, our discussions were structured around a series of interpretive questions. Each student was given a document to analyze and present weekly, an experience from which I gained an affection and respect for primary sources that has lasted ever since. Professor Jordan then supervised my Ph.D. thesis on the Cooke family of Gidea Hall with his usual gentlemanly courtesy. Joel Hurstfield provided valuable suggestions and friendship while I was doing thesis research in England, as did Michael Postan and Geoffrey Elton during the next decade. After Professor Jordan suffered an incapacitating stroke, Giles Constable kindly stepped in to offer advice and encouragement. To all of them, I am deeply indebted.

Because the sources for early poor relief are disparate in nature and scattered among many different collections, research for this study stretched over several decades. The book pulls together manuscript material from more than 70 archives, joined by information from printed primary sources and secondary studies. Most of the research in local record offices was done while I was working simultaneously on two earlier projects (*Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600* and *Working Women in English Society, 1300–1620*). The extended period of travel, analysis, and writing that finally resulted in this book was generously supported by a Research Fellowship from the National Endowment for

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Notes on conventions and online resources

Several conventions need explanation. The 125 churchwardens' accounts or other church books used to analyze parish activity are cited in notes as CWA followed by a number (for example, CWA #52). The CWAs are listed numerically, with archival/bibliographic information, in part 1 of the References. In recent years I gained some information through the online entries in Access to Archives. That material is cited with a reference to the archival source, as "used through A2A," to make clear that I did not consult the original document. When a second reference is provided at the end of a given note with the wording "For below, see . . ." it refers to the following sentence. Money is given in the system of pounds (£), shillings (s.), and pence (d.) in use at the time, in which 12d. = 1s. and 20s. = £1. When an accounting year spans more than a single calendar year, the date is shown in the format 1576–7. I have modernized the spelling of place names, personal first names, and direct quotations from English manuscripts or early printed sources; Latin quotations are translated into modern English. Manuscript citations give fol. or p. before the folio or page number, with r indicating the front of a folio and v the back. The index includes all places mentioned in the text, but personal names appear only for major entries. Hospitals and almshouses are indexed under their location, not the name of the institution.

To lessen the mass of this book, ten of its detailed methodological and quantitative appendices have been posted on a permanent, open access website maintained by Cambridge University Press. They are cited in the notes as "CUP Online Apps." and are numbered, to distinguish them from the appendices included in the printed volume, which are labeled with letters. The web address for the supplementary appendices is: www.cambridge.org/mcintosh/appendices under the "resources" tab.

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Abbreviations

A2A	Access to Archives, an online catalogue of document listings from many county and national collections
APC	*Acts of the Privy Council of England*
Beds&LA	Bedfordshire and Luton Archives, Bedford
BerksRO	Berkshire Record Office, Reading
BIA	Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York
BodlL	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
BristolRO	Bristol Record Office
BritL	British Library, London
B-u-TwRO	Berwick-upon-Tweed Record Office
CalB&EMSS	Calendar of the Bridgewater and Ellesmere MSS, Dockets, section 8 (an unpublished list of items in Huntington Library EL 3044–5609)
CambsA	Cambridgeshire Archives, Cambridge
CambUL	Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts
CantCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
CBucksS	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury
CHAbing	Christ's Hospital, Abingdon, Berkshire
ChChRO	Cheshire and Chester Record Office, Chester
CKentS	Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone
CornwRO	Cornwall Record Office, Truro
CorpCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls*
CSPD	*Calendar of the State Papers*, *Domestic Series, 1547–1625*
CumbAS-C	Cumbria Archive Service, Carlisle
CWA	Churchwardens' accounts or parish books (see References, part 1)
DerbRO	Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock
DevonRO	Devon Record Office, Exeter
DoncA	Doncaster Archives

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DorsetHC	Dorset History Centre, Dorchester
DurhUL	Durham University Library, Special Collections, Palace Green Library
ERYoAS-B	East Riding of Yorkshire Archives Service, Beverley
EssexRO-Ch	Essex Record Office, Chelmsford
EssexRO-Colch	Essex Record Office, Colchester
ESussRO	East Sussex Record Office, Lewes
GloucsA	Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester
GuLLond	Guildhall Library, London, all of whose MSS are now at the LondMA
HadlTR	Hadleigh, Suffolk, town records
HampsRO	Hampshire Record Office, Winchester
HarvUA	Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Mass.
HerefRO	Herefordshire Record Office, Hereford
HertsA	Hertfordshire Archives, Hertford
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HullCA	Hull City Archives, Kingston upon Hull
HuntL	Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
HuntsA	Huntingtonshire Archives, Huntington
JP	Justice of the Peace
LambA	Lambeth Archives, Minet Library, London
LambPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
LancsRO	Lancashire Record Office, Preston
L&IS	List and Index Society
L&P	*Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*
LichfRO	Lichfield Record Office, Lichfield
LincsA	Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln
LondMA	London Metropolitan Archives, Clerkenwell, London
MS or MSS	Manuscript or manuscripts
NELA	North East Lincolnshire Archives, Grimsby
NewCO	New College, Oxford, Archives
NoDevRO	North Devon Record Office, Barnstaple
NorfRO	Norfolk Record Office, Norwich
NorthantsRO	Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton
NottsA	Nottinghamshire Archives, Nottingham
N-u-TrMus	Newark-upon-Trent Museum
NYksRO	North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*

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OxfdsRO	Oxfordshire Record Office, Oxford
ROLeics	The Record Office for Leicestershire, Wigston Magna
ShakespCLA	Shakespeare Centre Library & Archive, Stratford-upon-Avon
ShropsA	Shropshire Archives, Shrewsbury
SomstRO	Somerset Record Office, Taunton
SouthCA	Southampton City Archives
SR	*The Statutes of the Realm*
StaffsRO	Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford
StGeoCh	St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle
SuffRO-BSE	Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds
SuffRO-I	Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich
SurreyHC	Surrey History Centre, Woking
T&WAS	Tyne and Wear Archives Service, Newcastle upon Tyne
TNA-PRO	The National Archives, Public Record Office, Kew
TRP	*Tudor Royal Proclamations*
ULondL	University of London Library, Archives and Manuscripts
UNottL	University of Nottingham Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections
VAI	*Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*
VCH	Victoria County History (= *The Victoria History of the County of . . .*)
W&FM	Wisbech and Fenland Museum, Wisbech
WarwsRO	Warwickshire Record Office, Warwick
Wilts&SA	Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Chippenham
WorcsRO	Worcestershire Record Office, Worcester
WSussRO	West Sussex Record Office, Chichester
WYksAS-L	West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds
YorkCA	York City Archives

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