

Family Strategies in Medieval London:
Financial Planning and the Urban Widow, 1123-1473
Susan M. B. Steuer

In the Middle Ages, as today, the family was a varied and vital structure which functioned to serve its members in a variety of ways. The family was the basic financial unit, providing food, clothing and shelter. It also served as the social and spiritual base for the individual. Yet, like today, the family unit sometimes broke down, or was not willing or able to provide for all of its members. Being on one's own was problematic for anyone, but particularly for women, who were more physically and legally vulnerable. In these cases, the church often stepped in, offering aid to women who did not have a family infrastructure to support them.

In London, St. Bartholomew's Hospital was one institution which offered such aid to women. Though we know that St. Bartholomew's offered help to single and married women from its foundation book, these individuals are virtually invisible in the property records that survive.¹ Widows are the most prominent group of women in hospital records, appearing as one of the major actors in at least 90 of the approximately 1650 transactions in the cartulary,² because of their financial and legal responsibilities. Upon the death of her husband, a woman controlled substantial family property, often for the first time in her life. In London, this usually included the dower, consisting of at least one-third of the marital property which was to provide for the widow for the duration of her life.³ Widows were also allowed to remain in the homes they had shared with their husbands until they remarried or died; this right was known as free bench.⁴ It is these property responsibilities which make widows stand out in the records of St. Bartholomew's. Such assets could give a woman greater freedom than she had ever experienced. On the other hand, they might prove to be a burden to women with little experience managing assets on their own, who were in ill health or who had large debts or family problems. Some widows appear to have turned to the hospital for help. In this paper, I will make some preliminary interpretations of transactions by widows recorded in the Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.⁵

St. Bartholomew's financial help for widows seems to have consisted primarily of aid in poverty and in making retirement arrangements which freed the widow from the burdens of property management. The dynamics of these situations varied. Clearly widows overburdened by debt were not in a strong bargaining position, while widows overburdened by property had more options and better control over their situations. At times, the hospital simply provided witnesses, and perhaps aided in negotiations, between widows and third parties to arrange the payment of debts or the maintenance of property. In other cases, the hospital took more direct action, by arranging payment plans, forgiving debts or taking on property or income in exchange for the care of the individual. Most of these women seem to have lived within the confines of the land held by the hospital and have turned to the institution as both a landowner and a source of help.

Information on these arrangements is based upon St. Bartholomew's Cartulary, a fifteenth century index of the deeds and other important property documents held by the hospital. Though the hospital was founded with a priory, the two operated separately in most property concerns.⁶ Unfortunately, because the Cartulary was not composed to explain the lives of medieval women, but rather to trace the lands and income of the hospital, the motivation behind these transactions is usually unclear. Some entries contain little information beyond the name of the donor and the amount or location of the donation. Many of these entries are simply transfers of land held from the hospital between tenants, but a large number of entries involve widows and the hospital or third parties. The most common entries involving widows as one of the major actors involved, include grants of property in exchange for rent or other holdings, transfers of responsibility for rent and/or maintenance, and simple inheritance. Because of the London custom of free bench, widows frequently had either to quitclaim their rights to property in which they had lived with their husbands or to confirm grants made by men in their wills or by the heirs.

Table 1

Major Categories of Transactions Involving Widows

<i>Grants (total)</i>	41
To other family members	5
To non-family	34 ⁷
From others	2
<i>Quitclaims (total)</i>	32
To family	2
To non-family	30
With family consent	3
Confirmation of land granted by family members	4
Help from St. Bartholomew's	6
Other	7
Total number of entries	90

In only six cases is a widow's need for help specifically stated in the entry, though this does not necessarily preclude assistance in other cases. Many widows probably did not require aid, and some who did may have sought it from other sources. Because of these factors, it is impossible to ascertain what proportion of widows who needed help took advantage of the aid offered by St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

To understand these transactions, I have relied heavily upon two studies which provide information on retirement and maintenance arrangements in other areas of England. Elaine Clark's work on retirement contracts among peasants in East Anglia outlines the personal and family issues which must be considered in reaching conclusions about individual arrangements.⁸ Pat Cullum's study of corrodies--that is, pensions purchased by individuals from hospitals that provided a place as boarders, food, and care or some combination of these benefits in old age--is based upon the more complete records of St. Leonard's Hospital in York and has provided a model for financial arrangements made between individuals and hospitals.⁹

The direct relief of poverty is the type of help most clearly tied to the hospital's mission to aid the sick poor. Several transactions imply situations in which widows were overwhelmed by debt.¹⁰ All seem to have held property from the hospital and owed substantial back rent. These debts may have been payable upon the husband's death because the leasehold was partially or primarily in his name or because the wife was charged with executing his will.¹¹ Perhaps at some point in her widowhood, the hospital believed a given woman could not support her property. This cannot be determined from the records. What does seem clear is that, at least in some cases, the hospital was willing to take a financial loss to prevent women from becoming destitute or homeless. For example, in the case of Agnes, widow of Everard Carpentarius, the hospital took over her property, but assumed a loss of 60 shillings to repay her debt, repair the property and provide poverty relief for Agnes and her two daughters.¹²

But the hospital was also careful in allocating its funds. In less desperate situations, such as that of Isabel, the widow of Richard le Forester, hospital and priory officials seem to have merely overseen arrangements for the property to be assumed by Richard de Basingstoke until she could pay her debts.¹³ In four months, Isabel regained her property.¹⁴ Whether her tenement was surrendered as bond for a loan or if Basingstoke was the person to whom she owed money is not stated, but the notation of her payment states that her property was returned to her, "according to a former agreement."¹⁵ In this case, I believe the widow was provided breathing space to get her finances in order before losing her property. Another woman, Florence, who was 18 years in arrears of rent, arranged to make her payments over time and retain her property,¹⁶ but upon her remarriage a new payment plan was negotiated with her husband and it appears that he assumed responsibility for her debt.¹⁷ The hospital was probably able to retrieve their investment in Florence and was relieved of their responsibility for her.

Finally, the hospital may have actively sought interested parties to support women who found themselves in financial

difficulties. In the case of Lucy de Berkyngge, the hospital quitclaimed rights to her unpaid rent, which appears to have been assumed, at least in part by the Goldsmith's Guild, to which her family had ties.¹⁸ The property was retained by the guild after her death.¹⁹

Because of the influence of the hospital, some women may have relied on it when making financial agreements with third parties, both family and non-kin, as well as by making arrangements with the institution itself. Many of these arrangements appear to be retirement contracts, that is, agreements which transferred property to either family members or other parties in exchange for an income, a place to live, allowances of food and clothing, physical care or some combination of these elements.

Elaine Clark's work on maintenance contracts among peasants in East Anglia discusses reasons why families may have developed retirement agreements.²⁰ The younger generation may have wished to marry. A landholder might not be able to continue maintaining land or other property. The elder party might no longer wish to work and had adequate wealth to support a life of leisure. Clark also notes that many families may have made such agreements informally. She believes that the existence of manorial records documenting such arrangements may indicate families with problematic relationships or with a great deal of wealth at stake. In the case of the transactions in St. Bartholomew's Cartulary, the arrangements made are less explicit than the contracts Clark studied, since they reflect only transfers of property, but specific cases raise interesting questions about the process of the transfer and the motivation of the parties involved.

Emma Vyande received a substantial inheritance in 1322 including a brewhouse, shops and houses.²¹ In 1324, she transferred this property to her daughter, also named Emma, and her son-in-law,²² despite the fact that she had a surviving son who was of an age to inherit.²³ Many different situations may have led to this. Emma and her late husband may have anticipated this inheritance and planned to give it to their daughter, having allocated other resources to provide for their son. If this property transfer was simply an equalizing inheritance and the two years between transfers is simply time for legal process, then it does not necessarily imply that the elder Emma wished to retire from her activities. On the other hand, the two-year gap between her inheritance and the transfer of the property to her daughter may represent time during which Emma controlled the property and found she was not willing or not able to continue to do so. Emma may have required something in return from her daughter, perhaps a promise of care should she become ill or an increase in her income; but either she did not feel it necessary to formalize this agreement, or the document does not survive. The elder Emma may finally have simply felt closer to her daughter, or may have been in conflict with her son, and made a statement with her gift.

Emma was, however, more fortunate than Margery, the widow of John Tarent, who transferred a great deal of property to her daughter, Gillian, and son-in-law, Hugh.²⁴ Margery survived her daughter, and then granted further property to Hugh, presumably for her daughter's offspring.²⁵ Hugh also died, and some these assets went to his surviving widow, who was (at least) his third wife.²⁶ The property eventually did end up with Margery's granddaughter, but the chance of running out of people to whom one could entrust the family assets is apparent.

For these two widows, their position of power in these transactions seems clear, unlike the widows in poverty. We simply cannot determine the family dynamics from the deeds that survive, or to what extent these women asserted themselves to make demands upon their families. Property transfers between individuals who do not appear to be related cause even greater problems.

In a typical scenario, Margaret, the widow of John Godefrey, a carpenter, quitclaimed a house and one-third of a yard to Nicholas de Acton, a clerk.²⁷ This property appears to have been her free bench. In return, Nicholas granted her a shop for life for the token rent of one rose a year.²⁸ Margaret no longer had to pay 10 shillings silver in annual rent for her residence, which presumably allowed her to live more easily on her income, and she provided Acton with a piece of property he needed or wanted. Some women may have made specific stipulations, like the widow who required a promise from the man who received her house to keep it and the solar in good repair, as well as pay the rent.²⁹

Other situations were more complicated. For example, one individual, William Arundel, a horse trader, was involved in property transactions with at least four widows between 1303 and his death sometime before 1328.³⁰ One woman seems to have received rent,³¹ while another rent went to the priory and a church.³² In at least one case, William

exchanged a tenement for a shop.³³ William may have simply been engaging in land speculation, but he may have been providing retirement agreements for these women. The information in the entries in the Cartulary do not explain his motivations or any processes before or beyond the actual transfers. Yet the frequency with which Arundel appears in the Cartulary implies that he had an important and ongoing relationship with the hospital. He may even have been working as the hospital's agent, and he did grant much of the land he received from the widows to the institution during the last few years of his life, in part for masses for "all the faithful departed."³⁴ The brethren of the hospital may have entrusted laymen to make arrangements for vulnerable widows and simply overseen the agreements in order to free themselves from property management which would have taken time and attention from their service to the sick and poor.

William himself, and his wife Christine, granted many of their possessions to the hospital in 1325, only about three years before William's death.³⁵ In turn, the hospital granted a tenement to the couple for the rent of one penny per year for the duration of their lives.³⁶ Couples may often have made such arrangements, which only one survived to enjoy. In some instances, such arrangements seem to have been made by the couple, then affirmed or changed by the woman when she was widowed.³⁷ In addition, some arrangements may have required the consent of other family members.³⁸

Such transactions conducted directly with the hospital offered potential benefits beyond immediate financial assistance, particularly for those who had substantial assets. Lands or money transferred to St. Bartholomew's could also serve a religious function, providing funds for masses and priests whose work was to speed the donor and/or her loved ones on to heaven.³⁹ This may also have allowed women to embark upon a "second career" as a religious in the hospital.⁴⁰ Some of these widows may have been young women who did not wish to remarry or who did wish to embark upon a religious vocation they had not been able to undertake earlier in their lives. Such widows might not have been able to become one of the four sisters in residence dictated by the founder, but may have served in a less formal capacity.⁴¹ Several widows granted rents to the hospital of about ten shillings, the amount which two of the sisters seem to have brought with them into the order.⁴² The hospital also had accommodations for severely ill and infirm individuals. Certainly, the medieval aged suffered from many of the health problems which trouble the elderly today, such as brittle bones, arthritis, decreased immunity, slow recovery from illness, poor hearing and vision, and other difficulties.⁴³ Some must have found the idea of living in a place that offered regular food and an established social and spiritual network much more appealing than struggling to care for themselves in their own homes or relying upon family or neighbors for assistance. In addition, St. Bartholomew's was a double hospital. It seems to have had separate wards for male and female patients ⁴⁴ and both brothers and sisters engaged in nursing. Perhaps receiving care from women, as they most likely would have from their daughters or other women at home, was an added attraction for widows.⁴⁵

One woman's grant of a tenement included the hospital's promise that she would be granted "a sister's portion," presumably speaking of victualling.⁴⁶ This may have included meat two or three times a week, a ration of bread, pottage and special treats like cheese on festival days.⁴⁷ Such full benefits may not have been an option for all widows because it seems likely that they required the contribution of substantial wealth to the hospital. Compromise arrangements may have been available, including "out-patient" care. In a deed granting a tenement and an orchard to the hospital in 1180, Ralph Quartermaras and Aubrey his wife included the conditions for the donation that: "If necessary, the brethren will look after them either in their house or after receiving them in the community."⁴⁸

Pat Cullum's discussions of the accounts of St. Leonard's show parallels for such transactions.⁴⁹ She finds that men or couples most commonly purchased corrodies, and in some cases that a man's portion was assumed by his widow.⁵⁰ Some contracts were for life, but others had to be renewed after a pre-determined period of time.⁵¹ Agreements for residency, provisions, clothing and other issues of maintenance varied depending on the payments or assets the individual could give to the hospital.

Scarce space for residents in St. Bartholomew's may have been reserved for those with a physical need or those who were willing to make themselves useful, as in the case of one man who granted land with the promise that he would work only for the hospital in exchange for food and housing within the close.⁵² Perhaps in some cases these agreements functioned as insurance, providing a safety net for people who did not require any financial support and were still able to live on their own.

Beyond property, widows left other cares and responsibilities in the hands of the hospital. In one of the most fascinating cases in the Cartulary, a widow named Christine left all of the property held by her late husband to St. Bartholomew's on the condition that the hospital care for her two minor sons.⁵³ The brethren were to "keep them in good condition, giving them a reasonable quantity of food, clothes and shoes."⁵⁴ The income from the property was to go to the hospital during the boys' minority. Then the real estate was to be deeded to the boys, should they survive childhood. Christine must have left the area, since she left the deed with one Geoffrey Faber whom she calls her executor.

The care of orphans and the children of unwed mothers was a part of the hospital's founding mission, but taking over the care of legitimate children with surviving parents is a different matter. Of interest, also, is the note that explains that Christine takes this action upon the advice of her friends and neighbors.⁵⁵ She may have been mentally or physically unable to care for her children. Perhaps she had the opportunity to remarry, but her new husband did not want children from a previous marriage, or could not be entrusted with their lands. Christine may have entered a nunnery and needed to take care of her earthly responsibilities before she left London. In any case, here St. Bartholomew's most clearly takes the place of family, despite the fact that the boys still had a mother.

In conclusion, St. Bartholomew's Cartulary shows that the financial transactions conducted with widows seem to have contributed to the institution's overall mission to help the sick, poor and helpless. Widows turned to St. Bartholomew's for help when they were faced by poverty or they wished to be relieved of responsibilities. The hospital did not always aid these women directly, but strove to make arrangements which were desirable for all of the parties involved. The institution took direct action in those cases most clearly tied to its mission to the sick poor, that is in cases of extreme poverty, with the elderly and infirm and in providing spiritual support.

I would argue that turning to the hospital for help was an attractive option for widows because of the stability and religious mission of the institution. My interpretation of the deeds in the Cartulary assumes that the hospital was acting in some way to aid these women and not simply to safeguard its own fiscal interests. The hospital clearly took pride in its position with the laity in the city, as illustrated in its foundation book:

this dede anon was dyvulgate by all the Cyte. And with a grete fame gretely accendid the people of bothe ordres the Clergie. And the laife. And frome that tyme the noble matrones of the Cite kept ther nyght wacchis; the clergie and the laife by companyes, fyllyn with grete deuocyne of soule and herte gladdenes, hawntyng this place. and with ofte visitation solempne laude yeldid to God, with the fowndatoure.⁵⁶

The fact that Christine, the widow with the two sons, was advised to entrust them to St. Bartholomew's also reflects the trust bestowed on the hospital by the community at a time when wardships were often abused.⁵⁷ Finally, the desire of the citizens to refound the institution after its dissolution under Henry VIII indicates its importance to the city and the citizens of London.⁵⁸

I assume, as well, that the individual women saw the hospital as a potential and effective ally, rather than just a landlord. The documents do not make these conclusions readily apparent or indisputable because they do not offer great insight into the circumstances under which each of the land transactions were made. Further research needs to be undertaken to see if more evidence is available to support the assertion that the sisters and brothers of St. Bartholomew's Hospital made a special effort to help widows.

Though the primary mission of the institution was to provide spiritual succor, it also engaged in social good works. This included support of what might today be called "family values." Those who had no families to care for them or perform duties for which some individuals, such as women who had never controlled property or who were in ill health, might not be prepared, could turn to the hospital for immediate help or to help them make arrangements to meet their needs. By providing such services, the hospital, and perhaps its agents, metaphorically extended the family of Christ into the larger society. One of the ways this ideal of Christian unity was realized was by taking on some of the responsibilities of family for widows. The institution reinforced the social order in which it existed by helping those who fell outside of the established organization of the family and served the community at large, as well as the individual. Perhaps this service is best understood through the words of those citizens who asked for the hospital to be refounded after the dissolution:

for the ayde and comferte of the poore sykke, blynde, aged and impotent persones, beying not able to helpe theymselffs, nor hauyng any place certeyn whereyn they may be lodged, cherysshed and refresshed tyll they be cured and holpen of theyre dyseases and syknesse. For the helpe of the said poore people, we enforme your grace that there be nere and styn the cytye of London three hospytalls or spytells, comenly called Saynt Mary Spytell, Saynt Bartylmews Spytell, and Saynt Thomas Spytell ... fownded of good devocion by auncynt fathers ..." [59](#)

Notes

1. Norman Moore, ed., *The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Church in London, the church belonging to the priory of the same in West Smithfield*, Early English Text Society o.s. 163 (London, 1923). Several women figure among the miraculous cures recorded.
2. This number cannot be exact because some women have no marital status listed in the entry and because some women appear several times with a different marital status noted at different points in their lives. Some women are identified by other relationships, such as their mother or father. This occasionally seems to be related to the source of the property being discussed, though this is not consistent.
3. Carolyn M. Barron, "The 'Golden Age' of Women in Medieval London," in *Medieval Women in Southern England*, Reading Medieval Studies 15 (Reading, England, 1989), p. 41. For a discussion of the relative merits of remaining a widow and remarriage in both London and rural areas, see Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Remarriage as an Option for Urban and Rural Widows in Late Medieval England," in *Wife and Widow in Medieval England*, ed. Sue Sheridan Walker (Ann Arbor, 1993), pp. 141-164.
4. Barron, "Golden Age," p. 41.
5. Nellie J. M. Kerling, ed. and trans., *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital founded 1123: a calendar* (London, 1973). Future references to this work will be noted as *Cartulary*, with the entry number in the document rather than the page number.
6. Edward Alfred Webb, *The Records of St. Bartholomew's priory and of the church and parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield* (London, 1921), pp. 75-92.
7. This includes all individuals not designated as family members, however distant.
8. Elaine Clark, "The Quest for Security in Medieval England," in *Aging and the Aged in Medieval Europe*, ed. Michael M. Sheehan (Toronto, 1990), pp. 189-200.
9. P. H. Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies: Care of the Poor and Sick at St. Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages*, Borthwick Papers 79 (York, England, 1991).
10. Such as in *Cartulary*, 71-5 (Mabel, widow of John Le Fundur), 89-91 (Isabel, widow of Richard le Forester, Baker) and 291-2 (Edith Hod).
11. Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1923), 2:399-436.
12. *Cartulary*, 396 reads, "Grant by Agnes, widow of Everard Carpentarius, her daughter Cecily and her daughter Sibyl to SBH of land they held of SBH for 12s rent. SBH paid 60s for arrears of rent, for repairs and for the relief of their poverty."
13. *Cartulary*, 89-91. 89 reads "Grant by Isabel, wife of the late Richard le Forester, baker, to Richard de Basingstoke, goldbeater, of a tenement in Clerkenwell St," while 91 states "Acknowledgment by Richard de Basingstoke, goldbeater, of the payment of 40s by Isabel, wife of the late Richard le Forester, baker. According to a former agreement her tenement in Clerkenwell St., granted to Richard, now reverts to her."
14. *Cartulary*, 91.
15. *Cartulary*, 91.
16. *Cartulary*, 819-820. "Grant by Florence, widow of Roger le Cofrer, to Hugh de Rothewelle, master of SBH, of 5 1/2 marks annual rent for as long as 100s arrears of rent is not paid off. The arrears accumulated over eighteen years of a rent of 6 marks."
17. *Cartulary*, 821. "Quitclaim by SBH to Thomas de Ludea and Florence his wife of the right to arrears of rent for a tenement in the corner of St. Lawrence Jewry. Fine: 10 marks for which SBH will remit during the life of Thomas."
18. *Cartulary*, 809. "Quitclaim by Stephen de Maydenhuth, master of SBH, to Lucy de Berkyngge of the right to arrears of rent of 6s for a tenement formerly of John de Lodegrashale The goldsmiths pay 4s rent."
19. *Cartulary*, Appendix I, 199.
20. Clark, "Quest for Security," pp. 191-8.
21. *Cartulary*, 189. "Grant by John le Musters, plasterer, and Emma le Plastrer, executors of the testament of Thomas le Musters, plasterer, to Emma Viaunde, wife of the late Robert Viaunde de Cobeham, of all houses received for SBH between the tenements of William Arundel and the prior of Kelingworth in the West and North, and Aubrey, wife of the late Roger de Appelby in the South and the highroad."
22. *Cartulary*, 190. "Grant by Emma Vyaunde, wife of the late Robert Vyaunde de Cobeham, to William de Westhey, painter, and Emma his wife, her daughter, of houses in Smetefeld formerly of Thomas le Mounsters, plasterer."
23. *Cartulary*, 449. Regrant of land from will of Thomas le Musters to William, the younger Emma and remainder to one Robert Vyaunde, son of

Emma.

24. *Cartulary*, 640. "Grant by the same Margery to Hugh Walsshe, tailor, and Gillian his wife of a hall, two rooms, a cellar, a kitchen and two shops." This series of transactions, while occurring during the decades of plague, seems to be the result of deaths from other causes, since the dates do not directly coincide with years of plague outbreak.
25. *Cartulary*, 642, 644. "Grant by Margery, widow of John Tarent, to Hugh Walsshe, tailor, and Margaret his wife of a shop with solar between the tenement of Hugh in the West and that formerly of Thomas de Pertenhale in the East." "Grant by the same to Hugh Walsshe, tailor and Alice daughter of Hugh and his late wife Gillian daughter of Margery, widow of John Tarent, of the Leg on the hop in Wattelyngstrete."
26. *Cartulary*, 646. "Testament of Hugh Walsshe, tailor, who wishes to be buried next to his wife Margaret . . . to his wife Margery, the tenement in which he lives with two shops."
27. *Cartulary*, 462. "Quitclaim by Margaret, widow of John Godefrey, carpenter, to Nicholas de Acton, clerk, of her right to a house and one-third of a yard."
28. *Cartulary*, 463. "Grant by Nicholas de Acton, clerk, to Margaret, widow of John Godefrey, carpenter, for life of a shop between the tenement of Nicholas held of Robert de Kestevene, tailor. Rent: One rose."
29. *Cartulary*, 409, 410. "Quitclaim by Joan de Mymmes, wife of the late William de Mymmes, to SBH of her right to property . . . because the rent has not been paid. Joan grants to SBH the payment which she receives from Henry Marescallus." "Promise given by Henry Marescallus to Joan, widow of William de Mymmes, to keep in good repair a house and solar . . . If Henry does not carry our repairs or does not pay the rent, he must pay 100s to the fabric of St. Paul's."
30. *Cartulary*, 214 (Joan de Byddyk, widow of Adam de Byddyk), 217 (Alice, widow of Stephen de Honilane), 220 (Emma Sprot, widow of John Sprot), 223 (Aubrey de Appelby, widow of Roger de Appelby).
31. *Cartulary*, 214. One mark silver.
32. *Cartulary*, 217. "5s., 6s. to the prior of St. Bartholomew, 6d. to the fabric of the Church of St. Sepulchre."
33. *Cartulary*, 220, 222. "Quitclaim by Emma Sprot . . . to William Arundel, horsedealer, of her right to the tenement." "Grant for life by William de Arundel, horsedealer, to Emma Sprot, widow of John Sprot, of a shop between the tenement of the same William in the East . . ."
34. *Cartulary*, 229.
35. *Cartulary*, 228. "Letters Patent granting permission to William de Arundell to give two messuages, fourteen shops, eight solars and 13s 4d in annual rent in order to provide for a chaplain to pray for the souls of the said William, his wife Christine, of Thomas de Sibethorpe, and of brother William le Rouse, in the Chapel of St. Katherine which is on the North side of SBH and which is newly built by the said William." Dated 5 May 1325. An entry referring to his wife Christine as a widow is dated 3 March 1328.
36. *Cartulary*, 235. "Grant by William le Rouse, master of SBH, to William de Arundel, horse-dealer, and Christine his wife of a tenement This grant is for the joint lives of William and Christine. Rent: 1d."
37. *Cartulary*, 746, 726, 1042, 1143-4 are some examples.
38. *Cartulary*, 71-5, 1514, 1521 are some examples.
39. Clive Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead': wills and pious provision in late medieval Bristol," *English Historical Review* 305 (1987), 837-858, discusses such arrangements in this article addressing the inadequacy of wills in assessing pious donations. St. Bartholomew's had at least three chapels, which Rotha Clay believes may have been attached to the wards. Rotha Mary Clay, *Medieval Hospitals of England* (London, 1966), p. 114.
40. Margaret Wade LaBarge, "Three Medieval Widows and a Second Career," in *Aging and the Aged in Medieval Europe* (Toronto, 1990), ed. Michael M. Sheehan, pp. 159-172.
41. Descriptions of the functions and duties such women might have served are detailed in Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, pp. 152-6. Also, *Cartulary*, 1577 may be such a case. "Grant by Ralph de Bidun to SBH of a hermitage on his land at Tikenham and the land within the enclosure belonging to the hermitage, on condition that SBH will accept Ralph, his mother Agnes and John de Bineham into the brotherhood."
42. *Cartulary*, 11, 562.
43. For further information, see Luke Demaitre, "The Care and Extension of Old Age in Medieval Medicine," in *Aging and the Aged*, pp. 5-22.
44. Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (New York, 1994) discusses such double monasteries. St. Bartholomew's medieval site is now covered by a modern hospital complex, so discussions of its original buildings are largely supposition.
45. Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, "Medieval Nursing," *Nursing History Review* 1 (1993), 89-104, offers more information on the role of nurses in the Middle Ages.
46. *Cartulary*, 593. "Grant by Isabel, daughter of Edward de Bray, to SBH of a tenement between the land of master Richard de Wendovre, canon of St. Paul's, and that of Roger Albyn, fishmonger SBH promises to give her a sister's portion."
47. Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, pp. 167-171, discusses records from other institutions that detail provisions for brothers, the ill, and boarders.
48. *Cartulary*, 726. "Grant by Ralph de Quatremaras and Aubrey his wife to SBH of their tenement . . . and their orchard."
49. Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies*, p. 20.
50. Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies*, p. 21.
51. Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies*, p. 21.
52. *Cartulary*, 1439. "Grant by the same [Henry Cementarius, son of Osbert Clericus de Barlingia] to the same [SBH] of two-thirds of his land provided SBH will feed and close him. Henry will only work for SBH. If Aubrey, wife of Henry, dies before him, her livestock will be added to this grant."
53. *Cartulary*, 107. "Grant by Christine, widow of Walter de Chaure, clerk, to Bartholomew, master of SBH, on the advice of her friends and neighbors, of all the houses held by Walter next to Smithfield, on condition that her sons Ralph and John will be in custody of SBH until they will come of age. SBH must keep her sons in good condition giving them a reasonable quantity of food, clothes and shoes. The houses will be given to

them when they will come of age or to the one who survives. If they both die while still in SBH, the property will remain with SBH. Christine will leave her copy of this deed with Geoffrey de Faber, her executor" (c. 1260).

54. *Cartulary*, 107.

55. *Cartulary*, 107.

56. Moore, *Foundation*, p. 19.