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THE HOSPITAL OF LE PAPEY, IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

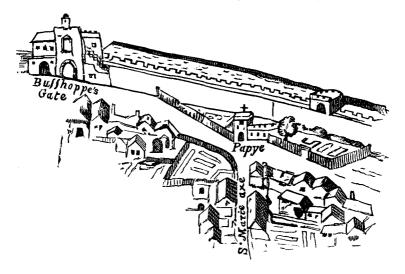
BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., &c., VICE-PRESIDENT.

Ir has often, and especially here in London, been objected to the students of archæology, that the results of their investigations, however interesting as evidences of laborious research, or as pictures of ages and men long passed away, are possessed of little or no value, either in the removal of present difficulties or as aids toward future The times, it is said, are so changed, and the needs of modern society have so altered in their character from those of bygone centuries, that very much which then was doubtless of essential service, even if we knew its original peculiarities and subsequent history, would give us in the elucidation of our manifold perplexities no details of substantial importance, and no lessons of practical utility. how utterly and absurdly false such assertions are in thousands of instances, how constantly it may be seen that they are but the odious outcome of self-sufficiency and self-conceit, and that, in very truth, the failures, the defects, the ugliness, and the unwisdom which we have so commonly to encounter, and whose evil influence is so wretchedly and indeed fatally conspicuous, are nothing else but the natural result of an ignorance of those very things which the exhibitors assert to be of

so infinitesimal a value. Their very blunders are proof positive of the inaccuracy of their estimate. And the result can cause no wonder. For such persons wilfully shut their eyes, and turn away their faces from the very quarter from whence their blindness would have the best—perhaps the only—chance of a happy removal.

I promise myself, in contradistinction to these, the gratification of proving that a search among the records of olden days may be as full of practical as of picturesque interest, that is, if a comprehensive review of an admirable model for much-needed Institutions in our own day has a right to be so considered. It may not only open to us an agreeable picture of an old London Brotherhood, but may also suggest a number of most valuable points in the organisation of similar establishments, which the circumstances of our age seem imperatively to demand.

If, during a considerable portion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one of us had walked from the church of St. Andrew Undershaft to the Bishopsgate entrance into the City, he would, immediately after leaving St. Mary Axe Street, and turning on his left-hand through what is now called Camomile Street, have observed on the right side of the street, and nearly opposite to the end of that which he had just left, a church and a small collegiate-looking edifice with its accompanying garden. The following is a bird's-eye view of it



copied from the celebrated map of Aggas, in 1560,* where a church appears, of Perpendicular character, and the figure of a tree gives evidence of the fact that a shady garden existed on the spot, though close under, yet happily to the south of, the city wall which frowned upon its privacy. The church was that of St. Augustine, united, as we shall presently see, to that of All Hallows-on-the-Wall; and the Religious House and garden which adjoined it were those of the Hospital of Le Papey, or Pappey, whose annals I am about to offer.

The history of this hitherto but little-known Institution has had for the most part to be gathered from fragmentary and otherwise obscure manuscript authorities. For I am constrained to add that hardly a writer of the last three centuries has devoted a few words to the place who has not to a greater or less degree repeated the errors of his predecessors, or added some of his own to the already vexatious aggregate. This, indeed, is the common fault of archæologists. Instead of conscientiously and carefully examining the original sources of information, only too many of them have been content to copy from each other; and a blunder of the older writer may with all confidence be expected, and in the great majority of instances is sure to be found, in the compilations of his successors.

The special sources from whence the annals of the Hospital are to be obtained are two MSS. respectively in the Cottonian and Harleian collections.† Of these, if the first were perfect our labour would be very much reduced, and the result for a long period of its history all but complete. I refer to a MS. of twenty-two pages, forming part of one of those precious volumes of the Cottonian Library which suffered by the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731. Enough remains not only to suggest the value of much that is irrecoverably lost, but most happily to furnish information which is obtainable from no other quarter. Although of many of the leaves little more than a half exists, the authorities of the British Museum have shown their wise appreciation of the value of the fragments by inlaying, mounting, and binding them in a sumptuous volume, where all the details which they are still able to impart may be examined without difficulty. We are now, therefore, notwithstanding the effects of the deplorable catastrophe

^{*} I am indebted to W. H. Overall, Esq., F.S.A., Librarian to the Corporation of London, for the excellent tracing, from the original map in his custody, from which the woodcut is taken.

[†] MS, Cott. Vitell. F. xvi. ff. 113-123 b. MS. Harl. 604. ff. 12, 12 b.

to which I have referred, in a far better position than Malcolm, who, when he attempted to include some account of the place in his Londinium Redivivum, "found it impossible to separate the leaves, which are contracted to half their original size."* The MS. was doubtless the original cartulary and leiger book of the Hospital. There was in the first place an account of its foundation, then of its possessions, with items of its subsequent history, continuing with the authorised copy of the rules and regulations, by which its concerns and the life of its inmates were governed, and concluding with a list of its Masters and Wardens from its first institution to its final suppression.

The other is a MS. of two pages in volume 604 of the Harleian Collection, in the handwriting, it has been said, of the antiquary Stow, or at least believed by Strype, his continuator, to have been in his possession, and is a translation of a small portion of the Cottonian MS. while it was yet uninjured.‡

I will, first, give the reader an account of the foundation of the Hospital, using so much of the Harleian as supplies the lacuna of the Cottonian MS., with some further particulars from the Patent which authorised it. From this we will pass to the facts that I have been able to gather from various sources relating to the inmates and their possessions during the period of their tenure, down to the final alienation of their property. And we will then examine the Rules and Ordinances which the wisdom of men in days when that commodity was at the very least, and to put it mildly, as usual as it is now, thought right and fitting for the government of a Religious House.

The Hospital of Le Papey was founded in the year 1442, by Thomas Symminesson, William Cleve, William Barnaby, and John Stafford, priests in the diocese of London. Symminesson, otherwise written Symmesson, and Symson, was Rector of All Saints, or All Hallows, on the Wall; Cleve was priest of the charity of St. John Baptist in the church of St. Mary Aldermary; Barnaby was a chantry priest in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; and of Stafford I know no more than that he was a priest in the city of London. The Hospital was founded for those of their own Order whom age or sickness disabled from the active performance of the duties of their function. A large proportion of the secular clergy was then employed in the various chantries founded in almost every church of importance for

^{*} Malcolm, ii. 76, 77. † MS. Cott. Vitell. F. xvi. ff. 113-123 b.

[†] MS. Harl. 604. ff. 12, 12 b.

the remembrance of the souls of deceased benefactors. Age in all and sickness in many were the inevitable results of protracted service, and this admirable Institution was organised for the most natural and most rightful care of those who were thus after a long period of dutiful labours enfeebled and incapacitated. The name of the Hospital was derived from that of the church which, as we shall see, was appropriated to it, ordinarily known as St. Augustine's de Papey; rather than from the name, however applicable, of the Order of its beneficiaries, who were commonly styled paper, or fathers, and certainly not, as Newcourt suggests, from the poverty of its inmates.* It must not be confounded, although one of the records of the period of the sixteenth century, with that carelessness and want of accuracy which is only too characteristic of the class of documents to which it belongs, uses the names as synonymous, with the "College of the Sixty Priests," which was the neighbouring college of Leadenhall, and founded, like this of the Papey, by three priests some thirty years subsequent to the establishment of our Hospital.† It was governed, as will be seen, by a master and two wardens, who were expressly forbidden to be of this Sixty Priests' College. "Pappy Chyrche," says a contemporary writer, "in the Walle be twyne Algate and Bevysse Markes. And hit vs a grete Fraternyte of prestys and of othyr segular men. And there ben founde of almys certayne prestys, both blynde and lame, that be empotent; and they have day masse and xiiij a weke, barber and launder, and one to dresse and provyde for hyr mete and drynke." And the brethren "were relieved." in the words of Stow, whose account, however, is far from accurate, "as to have chamber, with certaine allowance of bread, drinke, and cole. and one olde man and his wife to see them serued, and to keepe the house cleane."&

The charter of foundation is as follows. It will supply various particulars of interest which I have hitherto omitted for the sake of brevity.

To all the sons of our Holy Mother the Church to whom and to whose knowledge these letters or the contents of them shall come, and those whom the writing underneath do touch or shall hereafter touch, Thomas Symminesson, Parson [vicar or curate, note in margin] of the Parish Church of All Saints at

^{*} Newcourt, i. 258. † Monast. Angl. vi. 1457.

[‡] Collections of a London Citizen, &c. Camden Soc. N. S. xvii. Int. p. viii.

[§] Stow, ed. 1598, p. 110. Stow, by Strype, i. 406.

the Wall of the City of London, together with the Church of S. Augustine Pappey, of the same city, by ordinary authority, and for true, lawful, and honest causes, joined, annexed, and incorporated to the same Church of All Saints; and William Cleve, chaplain of the Chantry founded at the altar of S. John Baptist in the Church of the Blessed Mary of Aldermary Church of London; and William Barnaby, one of the chaplains of the Chantry in the Cathedral Church of S. Paul in London; and John Stafford, chaplain of the City of London, send greeting in our Lord everlasting.

Know you all by these presents that the most excellent prince in Christ, and our Lord and Master, the famous Henry the Sixth, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, of his special grace, sure knowledge, and mere motion, by advice and assent of his great council, by his letters patents, the tenor of which is underwritten, to us and to others hath graciously granted and given licence for him and his heirs, as much as in him is, that we three, or any two of us, may begin, make, found, ordain, unite and establish, in the honour of S. Charity and S. John Evangelist, a certain perpetual Fraternity or Brotherhood, as well of ourselves and other Chaplains of Chantries and hirelings [conducts, note in margin] as of other honest men whatsoever, in some place convenient and honest of the said City which we shall provide for that purpose, for the relief and sustaining of poor priests destroyed, [decayed, in margin] through poverty and detained by diseases, having nothing to live on, but, as well to the great displeasure of God as the reproach to the Clergy and shame to Holy Church, do miserably beg, to pray devoutly as well for the healthy state and happy prosperity of our said lord the king and kingdom of England, and of the nobility and peers, of the Brethren also and Sisters of the Fraternity aforesaid and also for the souls of all the Faithful Departed, as in the aforesaid royal letters patent, to which and the contents of the same we refer you, and which in the same here inserted is more fully contained.

Wherefore we, William Cleve, William Barnaby, and John Stafford, the Chaplains aforesaid,—considering that the premises are good, godly, and meritorious, and firmly minding effectually to perform and surely to fulfil them, and to found such aforesaid perpetual Fraternity, in the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Glorious Virgin Mary, S. Charity, and S. John Evangelist, in whose honour the aforesaid Fraternity by the king's licence given and granted, as is said, is founded and ordained, [the rights of all and singular persons interested in this part given and conceded], begin and proceed after this order.*

I have at length found the licence here referred to in the third part of the Patent Roll of the twentieth year of Henry VI. Its preamble sets forth, that Thomas Symmeson, rector of the parish church of All Saints at the wall of the city of London, by ordinary authority from lawful and honest causes lately united, annexed, and incorporated with the church of St. Augustine Pappey of the same

* MS. Harl. 604, f. 12b, 12 (the leaf is incorrectly mounted in the volume). Stow, by Strype, i. 418, 419.

city; William Cleve, chaplain of the chantry founded at the altar of St. John Baptist, in the church of St. Mary Aldermary, London; William Barneby, chaplain of one of the chantries in the church of St. Paul in London; and John Stafford, priest, and other chaplains of chantries and conducts of the city aforesaid, have turned their attention to the fact that very many officiating priests without benefices, when depressed by the weight of old age, or labouring under weak health, and without means of livelihood, are by necessity compelled to wander about the roads and streets, in begging miserably for food and raiment, as well to the displeasure of Him Whose ministers they are, the Creator of all things, as to the shame of the clergy and the disgrace of Holy Church, inflamed by charitable zeal, have a desire to found a certain brotherhood, of themselves and others desirous of piously aiding the need aforesaid, in honour of St. Charity and St. John the Evangelist. And, further, that the aforesaid rector proposes to give and assign a certain messuage of his, with a garden adjacent, and other its appurtenances, situated in the parish of the church of St. Augustine aforesaid, and bequeathed to the rectors of the same church by William Cressewyke, late citizen of London, in his will exhibited in the Hustings Court of London of Common Pleas, held on the Monday next after the feast of St. Barnabas, 8 Henry IV., late King of England, our grandfather [13 June, 1407], to the housing and maintenance of such poor chaplains. And, further, that the aforesaid have most humbly petitioned us mercifully to deign to grant them our royal licence and security for the performance of this work. The licence proceeds to state that, out of reverence to the supreme King and Priest, and that the chaplains aforesaid may devoutly offer for the future, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks by themselves and others for the health of the King and his heirs, he, being mercifully inclined to the prayers aforesaid, of his special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, grants and gives his licence, for himself and his said heirs. as much as in him is, to the aforesaid Thomas, William Cleve, William Barneby, and John Stafford, that three or two of them should commence, make, found, unite, and establish a certain perpetual fraternity, in honour of St. Charity and St. John the Evangelist, whereof a priest should always be master, as well of themselves and other chaplains of chantries and conducts, as of other honest men whomsoever, in some fit and honest place in the city of London, which they shall think

right to be provided for this purpose. It proceeds to order that the brethren of the said fraternity and their successors should have power to elect, appoint, and remove such master as often as they should think That the fraternity, and the master and brethren of the same should be one body in law, and a perpetual community. That they should have perpetual succession, and a common chest and a common seal for the continual preservation of the goods and matters of the said That the said fraternity, when it should thus be founded, should perpetually be called The Fraternity of St. Charity of the Priests of London, and the master and brethren of the same and their successors should be called the Master and Brethren of the Fraternity of St. Charity of the Priests of London. That the said master and brethren of the same and their successors should by the same name be persons able in law to plead or to be impleaded before any judges and justices in all actions, and suits, real, personal, and mixed, and capable in law to acquire in fee and perpetuity lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever from whatsoever persons, and to hold such property by themselves and their successors for ever in aid of the maintenance of the poor priests and the fraternity aforesaid. the master and brethren and their successors might hold lawful and honest assemblies of themselves, and pass fit rules for the wholesome government of the said fraternity, as often and when it should be requisite, lawfully and securely, without hindrance, impeachment, molestation or impediment from the King or his heirs, justices, escheators, or other officers.

The licence in conclusion permits the aforesaid Thomas to give and assign the aforesaid messuage with the garden adjacent to the master and brethren of the aforesaid fraternity, when it should have been founded, to be had and holden of the same for the purpose aforesaid, the receivers paying to the chief lords of the fee the services due and customary, and with the yearly observance of the anniversary, and other burdens specified in the will of the aforesaid William Cressewyke; and to the aforesaid master and brethren to receive the aforesaid messuage with all its appurtenances, as aforesaid, from the aforesaid Thomas, and to hold the same by themselves and their successors for ever, the statute of mortmain or any other notwithstanding. Witness the King, at Westminster, 16 April, 1442.*

From a perusal of the foregoing instrument it will be perceived * Pat. 20 Hen. VI. p. 3 m. 27. Appendix No. I. that it gives us particular and most valuable information which is not afforded by the documents already quoted. The offices of the founders are described with more exactness, the property given by Thomas Symmeson is mentioned in detail, while the mode in and the source from which it was obtained, the obligations under which the holders were placed by their possession, a few regulations in anticipation of those which we shall consider presently, and the permission to each of the parties to give and receive the property so transferred, are, among other matters, supplied by this new source of information. And, of course, not the least valuable is the addition of the date with which it concludes, and which, I presume, in conjunction with that of the first master in a list of those officers which will be found at a subsequent page, indicates with tolerable certainty the hitherto unascertained fact of the period of the foundation of the house.

The will of William Cresewyk, which is referred to in the patent, was made 3 November, 7 Henry IV. 1405. He bequeathes to the poor church of St. Augustine Pappey, by Bewesmarkes, and to the rector and parishioners of the same for the time being, after the decease of his wife Alice, a certain tenement, garden, and shops adjacent, with their appurtenances, to be held in augmentation of the revenues of the said church, charging them against injury or alienation of the same on peril of their souls, and on condition that they should pray for his and his wife's and all Christian souls; that at the daily celebration of mass the names of himself and his wife and others should be written on the table of the altar, or otherwise before their eyes, least in process of time his present will should be neglected; that the rectors for the time being should hold his anniversary on the feast of St. Vitalis the Martyr [28 April], in the aforesaid church of St. Augustine, and should make a special memory, and celebrate or cause to be celebrated a mass for the departed in memory of their souls, and on the same day distribute to those poor people three pence for the souls aforesaid, &c.*

The church of St. Augustine here described as annexed to the parish church of All Hallows on the Wall was so joined with the consent of the diocesan and its patrons, the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, as appears first by the following instrument. The document, I hardly need add, is also of special interest and im-

^{*} Hustings Roll, No. 134.

portance as minutely describing the size of the area occupied by the house and precinct:—

The donations of Pappey Church, with the Churchyard, the messuage and garden thereunto adjoining.

Be it known to all men by these presents, that I, Ric. Wodehouse, parson of All Saints Church, in the Wall of London, in Broad Street Ward, by assent and licence of William, Prior of the Trinity House within Aldgate, and the Convent of the same House, being Patrons of All Saints' Church, and of the Chapel, late the Parish Church, called Pappey Church, late in the parish of All Saints' aforesaid, in Aldgate Ward, situate at Beausmarkes (Bevismarks), next London Wall; also by consent, assent, and licence of the Reverend Father in Christ, William [Grey], by God's grace Bishop of London, ordinary of the same place, have given, granted, and by this present writing indented have confirmed to R. &c. the aforesaid Chapel, late the Parish Church, called Pappey Church, with the Churchyard, together with a certain tenement, or messuage, and garden joining to the same chapel, with all things, etc. that ought of right to pertain to the same chapel; which Chapel,* Churchyard, messuage, and garden are jointly situate in the foresaid Parish of All Saints, and containeth in length, in the south side by the King's highway, from the garden which pertaineth to the Chamber in Guildhall of London, and is now in the tenure of Richard Wymarke, towards the west unto the King's way, towards the east fifty-seven rods and one foot of assise in length; in the north part next London Wall, from the foresaid garden towards the west, unto the King's said highway towards the east, sixty rods of assize; and in breadth in the east end by the said way xij. rods of assize; and in breadth in the west end through the said garden viij rods of assize.

Wm. Estfeld, then major of the City of London.
Wm. Russe,
Ralf Holland,

Stephen Broun, then Alderman of Aldgate Ward.

The Richard Wodhouse of the foregoing document was admitted to the rectory of All Saints in the Wall, on the presentation of the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, 12 April, 1430,‡ and resigned his benefice 4 August, 1438.§

The actual cause of the union of the church of St. Augustine with that of All Hallows on the Wall, as here described, was that the former was of so small a value that no priest could be induced to accept it, and that the revenues of the latter also were insufficient for sustaining its several burdens. The patrons, accordingly, the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, obtained the consent of William Gray, then Bishop of London, for the annexation of the two benefices.

- * At this point a very much mutilated portion of the Cottonian MS. commences.
- † MS. Harl. 604, f. 12. MS. Cott. Vitell. F. xvi. f. 119.
- ‡ Reg. Gray, f. xxxiij b. § Reg. Gilbert, f. xiij b.

I can do no better than give the particulars of the union as detailed in the original licence.

After the usual greetings the instrument proceeds to set forth, on the part of the prior and convent, the patrons of both churches, that the fruits, oblations, and issues of the church of St. Augustine have so decreased, and that the benefice has arrived at such a poor estate, that no secular chaplain was or is desirous to obtain or willing to accept it. That the church and cure of the same and of its parishioners was neglected, and that the church was desolate, deserted, and unserved, and was likely to continue so, for the reason aforesaid. the church of All Saints on the Wall was sufficiently near, nor above a quarter of a mile distant, so that the parishioners of St. Augustine, both present and future, could go without difficulty to the church of All Saints for divine service. That the fruits, oblations, and issues of the church of All Saints were so small, and had arrived at such a poor estate, that the rectors for the time being were unable to support the burdens. That the prior and convent, the patrons of each church, with pious regard to the circumstances, had made most humble supplication that the premises should be duly considered, and that by authority of the ordinary the said Church of St. Augustine should be annexed to that of All Saints on the Wall, and should be possessed and held for his proper use by the rector of All Saints. The instrument proceeds to state that the bishop, on full information and proof of the premises, and considering the reasons given for the union, annexation, and incorporation, to be just, true, lawful, sufficient, and congruous, pronounces, decrees, and declares, both for the profit of All Saints, and the relief of the parishioners present and future, that the church of St. Augustine, with all its rights and appurtenances, should be joined, incorporated, annexed, and appropriated. That the rector of All Saints and his successors should have the right by themselves or their proctor, to enter the church of St. Augustine and its possessions, and to receive and appropriate the fruits, rents, oblations, &c. whatsoever of the said church, and of the same, to the use, advantage, and profit of the rector of All Saints for the time being. That he should supply to the parishioners of St. Augustine, divine services, sacraments, and sacramentals, who should use the church as their own. That the rector of All Saints for the time being should bear all burdens, ordinary and extraordinary, whatsoever incumbent on the aforesaid church of St. Augustine before the union, and should bear and acknowledge

what the rectors of St. Augustine had been held to and accustomed to perform. And that he should keep, or cause to be kept, the feast of the place, and the day of the dedication of the church of St. Augustine every future year for ever after the customary manner, in masses and other divine offices, as hitherto in use, solemnly and devoutly. In witness of all and singular the premises, the bishop had his seal annexed to the presents. Dated in his palace at London. A note is appended that the rector of All Saints is held to all burdens, ordinary and extraordinary, which the rectors of St. Augustine's were liable to pay before the appropriation.*

It will be observed that the date of the foregoing licence is not given, nor are there any indications in the Register to lead to the attribution of it to any particular period. All that we are certain of is that it must have been between the years 1426 and 1431, during which brief interval Bishop Gray occupied the episcopal throne of London.

As so little is known of this ancient church and parish of St. Augustine, I may perhaps be doing some of my readers a service, by giving them here all the information which is believed to be extant, in addition to that already included in the present memoir. Stow says that an Earl of Oxford had his inn within its boundaries, and that the last will of Agnes, Lady Bardolph, anno 1403, was dated from thence in these words: "Hospitio, &c., from the Inn of the Habitation of the Earl of Oxford, in the parish of St. Augustine's de Papey, London.†" When or by whom the church was founded I know not. But the names of the rectors, so far as they are preserved in the episcopal registers, are as follows:

Stephen de Benytone, clerk, presented by the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, xiij Kal. April (20 March), 1321-2.‡

Roger Oxecumb, ——?

Adam Long, priest, by the death of R. O., presented by the same, 21 October, 1372.

Adam Nunne, chaplain, by the death of A. L., presented by the same, 19 January, 1395-6 \parallel

I presume that he was the last rector. When he died, or otherwise vacated his benefice, I have no means of determining. But, on his avoidance, the church seems, as already mentioned, to have been too

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* Reg. Gray, ff. lb, lj.
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[‡] Reg. Bandake, f. lb.

 $[\]parallel$ Reg. Braybook, f. exxxviij b.

⁺ Stow, by Strype, i. 418.

[§] Reg. Sudbury, f. lxxxxiiij.

poor to be worth accepting, and was incorporated accordingly in the manner described. May I suggest, though with considerable hesitation, that the little graveyard still noticeable in Camomile street, and once used as a place of sepulture by the neighbouring but not adjoining parish of St. Martin Outwich, still marks the site of this ancient church?

We have not quite finished with the boundaries of the hospital. An agreement was made to the brotherhood by the mayor and aldermen in the following terms. I may add that I have thought proper to give in exact transcript the only two specimens, of which this is one, of the English entries in the Cottonian MS.:

A gⁿunte made by the Mayre and Aldermen of London to the saide fraternitee of a Skunchon in the Brike Wall at Pappey afforesaide, for the rent of iiijd by yere, &c.

Be hit remembred that where nowe late the maister and wardeyns of the ffraternitee of Pappey haue made a bryke walle closying in the Chapell of Seint Austyn called Pappey Chapell sette in the paroch' of all saintes in the walle in the ward of lymestrete of the Citee of london. ffrom the south est corner of the which brike walle is a Skunchon of xxj fote of assise from the said corner westward. And from the same Skuncheon there to a mesurage of lv fote and di' westward. The forsaid Skunchon brekith oute of lyneright southward betwixe the mesures aforsaid thre fote and v. ynches of assise vpon the comyn ground of the Citee aforsaid. Rauf Verney maire and thaldermen of the same Citee the xxiith day of Octobre the yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the fourth the sixth granted vnto John Hede Prest maister, John Bolt and Thomas Pachette also Preestes wardeyns of the ffrat'nitee of Pappey aforsaid and their successours for eu'more the said Skuncheon which brekith oute of the Brike walle aforsaid and is sette thre foote and v ynches vpon the comyn grounde like as it is abouesaid. To have and to holde the same withoute any int'upcion of the said maire and aldermen or their successors [for ever, &c. yielding four pence sterling yearly at Michaelmas. 7*

The foregoing account of the foundation and site of the house would appear to be sufficiently clear and unperplexed, and yet a number of writers have done their utmost to obscure and misinterpret it. Malcolm† deservedly calls Stow to task for substituting the name of William Oliver for that of William Cleve as one of the founders;‡ and, what is still worse, every succeeding writer has fallen into the same error. Leland, § Newcourt, || Howel, Bishop Tanner, ¶ and

^{*} MS. Cott. ut supra, f. 119. Au inaccurate transcript is given in Stow, ed. 1598, p. 125, and in Stow, by Strype, i. 419. † Malcolm ii. 77.

[‡] Stow, ed. 1598, 110; ed. 1633, 156. Stow, by Strype, ed. 1754, i. 406.

[§] Leland, Collect. i, 111. | Newcourt, i. 258. ¶ Tanner viii. 41,

others have unhappily shown the necessity of reference to the originals for correct information—a necessity which is proved even by the adoption of the same mistake by so generally careful and painstaking compilers as the last editors of Dugdale.* And that it is an error is indisputable from a glance at the original, either in the Cartulary or in the Patent Roll; and, moreover, is one which is without difficulty to be accounted for by any one conversant with mediæval writings. The simple fact—and it must be admitted to be one of no great honour to our antiquaries—is that one man blundered in his haste over the reading of a most important name, and that the rest who came after were content to adopt his error, simply from not choosing to take the trouble (I am presuming that they were able to read them) of consulting the originals for themselves.

Then the date of the foundation, as given by Stow and every subsequent writer, is unquestionably inaccurate. Thomas Symson, when rector of All Hallows, was one of the founders; and he was admitted to that benefice on the death of John Ffendard, 15 November, 1441,† and exchanged with John Punch, rector of Shaftesbury, in the diocese of Salisbury, 30 August, 1443.‡ The date of the royal patent, authorising the foundation, is, as we have already noticed, the 16th of April, 1442, added to which, if more need to be added, the list of the masters and wardens hereafter given commences with the officers of the same year. The year 1442 is, therefore, beyond any reasonable doubt, that of the foundation of the house.

The situation also of the hospital has been misunderstood. It was over against the north end of St. Mary Axe Street; not, as Maitland § and others have it, "near the north end" of that street. And to add yet another to the list of such errors as I am obliged, though unwillingly, to notice for the prevention of their permanence, it has been described as situated in the ward of Bishopsgate, whereas, as we have seen from indisputable authority, it is to that of Lime Street that the honour is to be attributed.

I will now proceed to a far more congenial task.

The brethren of the hospital were selected for their age and infirmities. Poor they necessarily were on admission, and the slender revenues of the house were barely sufficient to supply the common needs of human existence. With the exception of their home and the

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* Monast, Angl. vi. 767.
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[†] Reg. Gilbert, f. xxxix b.

[†] Reg. Gilbert, f. lj b.

[§] Maitland, 781.

benefactions previously recorded, I know not of any property belonging to them, save the following:—First, a tenement at Baynard's Castle, which is incidentally mentioned in a memorandum in the Cottonian MS., of which a literal copy here follows:—

Of the vaute in our ten't at Baynd castell—

Be it Remembryd that in o' howse at Bayn' Castell ys a drawght of the which the entry into the vaute.ys.vj.fote fro the Reredoce of the Chy'ney beneth in the Keehyn & ij.fote & di' fro the wall-plate or ground sell of the est syde of the sayd Kechyn.*

Then there were six cottages or chambers in Panyer Alley, in the parish of St. Michael-le-Querne, belonging to them; and two messuages in the same alley, some particulars of which I have found in the Patent Roll of the 17th of Elizabeth, which will be given in their proper place.

It appears, however, that whenever necessary, probably every year at the period of the annual election of officers and audit of accounts, they followed the custom of wealthier houses, where the constant employment of such an official was of paramount necessity, and appointed their proctor with the usual formalities. occurs in an instrument of theirs, appointing and constituting one of their chaplains to that office: "Know ye, that we with unanimous consent and assent have made, ordained, and constituted our beloved in Christ, N., our chaplain, to be our true and lawful proctor, &c.," and to do all that was requisite in the matter of their debts, annual pensions, legacies, receptions, admissions, and registration of members; notifying all that the said officer should do in their name, or think proper to be done. In witness thereof they caused their seal to be affixed to the presents, to last for one whole year only. "Dated at London, in our house of Pappey aforesaid, the —— day of the month of November, Anno Domini 1524."†

Their income was occasionally increased by benefactions in return for mortuary masses and attendance at the funerals of distinguished personages. Some of them, for example, were present at the obsequies of Dame Joan, widow of Sir John Milborne, knt., who by her will, dated 12 November, 1543, ordered her body to be buried in the church of St. Edmund, in Lombard Street, and bequeathed, among many similar donations to other clerics, the sum of 10s. to the Brotherhood of the Pappey for attendances at her burial and praying for her soul.‡

^{*} MS. Cott. Vitell, F. xvi. f. 118 b.

[†] Ibid.

[‡] Stow, by Strype, i., 406; Maitland, 781.

The name of the first master was John Welles, and of the first wardens William Hermer and David Overton, who were appointed by the founders. At the time of the foundation, or very shortly afterwards, there were twenty-four brethren and fifteen sisters whose names are still legible, besides as many more, to judge from the obliterated spaces, whose names were preserved in the Cottonian MS., but have perished in the manner to which I have adverted. Such of all ranks however, as can be recovered from the same mutilated authority I will now proceed to specify:—

I. MASTERS.

John Welles, 1442—1447.

William Sayer, 1448.

John Pynchebeke, 1449.

[Here is a mutilation.]

John

William Nico——.

William Leeke.

John Colyn. Anno regis xxxviii.? [1459—1461.]

Robert Gretham, 1462.

Ralph Kytson, 1463—1465.

John Hefd, 1466.

A note is here added that this John Hefd, and his wardens John Bolte and Thomas Packet, caused the present "quater" to be written by Thomas Hardyng, citizen and scrivener of London, in the month of September, 7 Edw. IV. [1467.]

[A mutilation.]
John Bolte, 1479.
Thomas Praty, 1480.
John Bell, 1481.
John Pyrules, 1482, 1483.
[A mutilation.]
William ———.
John Sclater, 1489?
William Smythe, 1490?
William Halverdale, 1491?
Peter Corffe, 1492?
Ralph Greke, 1493?

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[A mutilation.]
Thomas Ashborne, 1504-1507.
Thomas Day, 1508.
[A mutilation.]
William ————
George Done. (Three years.)
William Robynson, 11 Hen. VIII. [1519.]
Thomas Honyngton, 12 Hen. VIII. and 13 Hen. VIII. [1520,
  1521.
William Hortopp, 14 Hen. VIII. [1522.]
George Done, 15 Hen. VIII. [1523.]
John Mere, 16 and 17 Hen. VIII. [1524, 1525.]
William Basse, 18 Hen. VIII. [1526.]
[A mutilation.]
George Dune, 1534, 1535.
Geoffrey Town, 1536.
George Dun, 1537.
Robert Hanne, 1538, 1539.
Robert Ffox, 1540.
[ A mutilation. ]
John ———--
John Benson.
Robert Ffox, 1 and 2 Edw. VI. [1547, 1548.]
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II. Of the WARDENS the following names are preserved:-

1442.
) THEE.
11/12
1443.
1
1444.
)
1445, 1446.
1449, 1440.
1447
1447.

^{*} He died in office.

John Baron	1
John Holet	(1448.
John Laughton	1
William Wygote	{ 1449.
[A mutilation.]	'
Thomas ——	
John Hefde.	
Stephen Lowson	1
Richard Kynges	xxxviii.? 1459.
Richard Kynges	11400
John White	146 0.
John White) 1401
Robert Alexander	{ 1461.
Robert Alexander	1 1400
John Cherman	1462.
John Isbrond	11400
John Somerfeld	$\{1463.$
Richard Kynges	1 1404 1405
Thomas Mason	1464, 1465.
John Bolte	11400
Thomas Pachet	{ 1466.
$\lceil A \ mutilation. \rceil$	
William Herte	1475.
John Greve	1475.
Robert Bonsale	1476.
John Byshton	1410.
John Walsch	1477.
Henry Pavy	14(1.
Thomas Pratz	1478.
John Selatar	1410.
John Tylor	1479.
William Ffarbern	(1473.
Richard Dyeman	1480.
John Baker	1400.
Richard Dycman	1481.
William Mynherer	(110).
John Greve	1482.
William Smyth	{ 1482.
John Greve	1483.
John Elyott	1 1000

[A mutilation.]	
Thomas ———	1489 ?
John Ffyskot	1490?
Robert Smythe	1
John Horn	1491?
John Ruttur)
Thomas Gobbett	1492 !
William Maltby	1
William Teny	14937
Richard Carlton	1
[A mutilation.]	
Robert Knyght 1502?	
William Hortop	} 1503.
Robert Marshall)
William Hortop	1504.
George Don)
Symon Appulby	1505.
Nicholas Caverton	,
Symon Appulby	1506, 1507.
William Maystherother	1
William Basse	1508.
William Robynson	1
[A mutilation.]	
William ———	
John Mere	ix. H. 8? [1517.]
Thomas Honyngton) 2
Thomas Honyngton	x. H. 8 & xi. H. 8 [1518, 1519].
Thomas Lacy)
David Owyn	12 H. 8 [1520].
William Thurlynd	
Thomas Lacy	13 & 14 H. 8 [1521, 1522].
William Thurlynd)
William Thurlynd	} 15, 16, 17 H. 8 [1523, 1524, 1525].
Thomas Atkynson) 10, 10, 10 01 0 [1020, 1000, 1000]
William Thurlynd	18 H. 8 [1526]
Thomas Howell	10 11.0 [1020]
$[A\ mutilation.]$	
Robert Haune	1532.
Richard Brykhede	}
	P 2

Thomas Howell	1 + 500 0
Robert Ledes	1533?
Robert Ledes	1 1504
Thomas Castpole	1534.
Robert Ffox	1535
William Oxman	1555
John Gozgthe	1536.
John Benson	1550.
Robert Ffox	1597
John Gozght	1537.
Richard Archer	} 1538.
Antony Copplande	} 100 (*).
Thomas Castpoll	l 1539
Antony Copplande	1539.
John Gozght	1540.
Richard Philypes	\[\begin{align*}
[A mutilation.]	
John Wede	1 Ed 6 [1547]
Richard Bee	} 1 Ed. 6 [1547].
Richard Bee) 9 Ed & F15487 *
George Stroger	2 Ed. 6 [1548].*

III. The first Brethren and Sisters were, among others, as follow:—

BRETHREN.

John Ardelthorp.	William Segbooke.
John Warde.	William Orell.
William Barwyke.	William Launce.
John Pountfreyt.	John Hauerburgh.
John Sherman.	Robert Asteley.
Richard Badley.	Thomas Boudon.
John Bury.	Thomas Toll.
John Holet.	William Bakster.
Henry Rede.	Thomas Gyles.
Henry Melwith.	Richard Combe.
Stephen Ffloure.	Stephen Shete.
Semann Ballard.	Thomas Peyto.

^{*} MS. Cott. Vitell. F. xvi. ff. 119b-123.

From the authority of subsequent documents, as it will be hereafter seen, we can add the names of

Richard Birchall, John Barrett, John Moredocke, or Mardocke,

some of the last brethren of the house.

SISTERS.

—— Wode.	Elizabeth Troys.
——— Bailly.	Agnes Bentham.
Matilda Steett.	Margaret
Margery ——	Newman.
Beatrice Groude.	Margaret Brembill.
Margery Spycer.	Margaret Chapman
Juliana ——	Alice —
Elizabeth Lok.	

We have now arrived at the year 1548, when the doom which had already descended on the wealthier houses was about to visit even the meanest and the poorest. As it has been long said, "confiscation is contagious," and men to whom acquisition is paramount soon cease to regard with disapprobation any process, how atrocious and infamous soever, which shall put the coveted possession into their power. Colleges, free chapels, chantries, and hospitals yet remained to enrich the spoilers of the monasteries. It was but as the dust still adhering to the balance, but previous robbery had only whetted the appetite for more. In the second year of Edward VI. an Act was passed for the suppression of all chantries, hospitals, and other similar foundations. The hospital of Le Papey was of course among them. In a certificate of its goods and possessions it is stated to be worth xxv li. iiij s. viij d. a year, from which are to be deducted a quit rent of ix s. to Sir Thomas Pope, and another of iii s. to Austen Hynde, leaving a clear remainder of xxiiij li. xi s. viij d. Besides this there is mention, under the head of the parish of All Hallows in the Wall, of "certen goodes belonging vito the Priestes or brotherhedde of Pappey, the p'tyculers conteyned in an Inventory annexed to the certyfycate."*

^{*} Certificate of Chantries, City of London and County of Middlesex, Roll 34, nn. 105, 67.

Another certificate, which is specially devoted to an enumeration of the incumbents, with their pensions and stipends, gives the value of the lands as amounting to xxj li. xiij s. viij d. and further states that the incumbents were Sir Rob. Ffoxe, master, with a stipend of iiij li. vj s. viij d. and a pension of lxvj s. viij d.; Sir Ric. Bee, with a stipend of lxix s. iiij d. and a pension of liij s. iiij d. Sir Geo. Stroger, with a stipend of lxix s. iiij d. and a pension of liij s. iiij d.; Sir Ric. Birchall, with a stipend of xliij s. iiij d. and a pension of xl s.; Sir John Barret, with a stipend of xliij s. iiij d. and a pension of xl s.; and Sir John Moredocke, with a stipend of xliij s. iiij d. and a pension of xl s.*

We will now examine the particulars of the property offered, and the conditions of sale.

There was first the farm of a house, or mansion, called "le Pappey House," and stated to be in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, with all its chambers, cellars, solars, yards, and other its appurtenances, in the tenure and occupation of the master and brethren there, of which the yearly value was lx s. Also the farm of a garden adjacent to the same house, in the tenure of and occupation of the same master and brethren, lying on the east side of the church there, of the yearly value of xx s. By Hugh Loffe. This clear yearly value of the premises is thus stated at iiij li. which, rated at eighteen years' purchase, amounteth to lxxij li. This was to be paid all in hand. The King's Majesty was to discharge the purchaser of all incumbrances, except leases, and the covenants in the same. The tenure was in socage or free burgage, and the purchaser was to have the issues from the foregoing Easter. The account was passed in the name of William Nevel, esq. amongst others as parcel of the sum of M.cc.iiijxxvij li. xj s. iiij d. and bears date 19th July, 2 Edw. VI. 1548, and is attested by William Morice, of Cheppinhunger, co. Essex, one of the King's Supervisors of Particulars.†

Next was the farm of a chapel called "the Pappey Chappell," with a garden adjacent to the same, situate and lying in the parish of All Saints by London Wall, valued at xls. a year. By Hugh Loffe, supervisor. This, rated at fifteen years' purchase, amounted to xxx li. which was "to be paid all in hand." The King's Majesty has to discharge the purchaser of all incumbrances, except leases and the

- * Certificate of Chantries, City of London, No. 88; Appendix No. III.
- † Particulars for Sale of Colleges and Chantries, vol. ii. 476 b.

covenants in the same. The tenure was in socage or free burgage, the purchaser to have the issues from the foregoing Michaelmas. The lead and bells were excepted. The account was passed in the name of Will. Nevell, Esq. amongst other property, as parcel of the sum of 1,287*l*.; and bears date 21 December, 2 Edw. VI. 1548, with the attestation of the aforesaid William Morice, one of the King's Supervisors of Particulars.*

The purchaser of the property, William Nevill, who was an old offender in the same horrible line, gave for it, as demanded, the sum of 102l. only a small item among other appropriations in the counties of Somerset and Nottingham, to the amount of 1,287l. 11s. 4d. grant enumerates the various portions of the spoil, "all that late chapel called 'le Pappey Chappell,' and a garden adjacent to the same, with appurtenances, situate and being hard by London Wall in the parish of All Saints in the Wall, in the City of London, lately belonging to the house or fraternity called 'le Pappey' in the said city lately dissolved, and parcel of its possessions. Also all that capital house or mansion called "le Pappey House," with appurtenances, in the parish of St. Helen within Busshoppesgate, London, and a garden adjacent to the same capital house or mansion eastward of this Church there, and all houses, buildings, chambers, shops, cellars, solars, yards, gardens, and other profits, emoluments, &c. whatsoever to the same capital house or mansion belonging, and lately in the tenure or occupation of the late master and confreres of the said house called "le Pappey," and to the said house or late fraternity sometime belonging and pertaining, and parcel of its late possessions. The lead and bells were reserved. The chapel was to be held in free burgage, and the messuage in free socage, and not in chief. This grant bore date, witness the King, at Westminster 24th July, 1549.†

Then came the ruin of what pious hands had instituted for such considerate and beneficent purposes, and the source of such unmixed benefit and blessing to the poor and otherwise friendless, who had here found a home for the last few years of a life of holy labour. It was a foul instance of might prevailing over right, without even an imaginary benefit to palliate or set off its atrocity. The church was pulled down, and on its site "one Grey, an apothecary, built a stall

^{*} Particulars for Sale of Colleges and Chantries, vol. i., 248 b; Appendix No. IV. † Orig. 3 Edw. VI. p. 4, r. xlvi.

and a hay-loft."* At the time that Stow wrote his "survey," in or about the year 1598, a dwelling-house occupied the site of the church, and the churchyard was turned into a garden plot. The priests' house would appear to have been kept standing, and the names of Mr. Morris, of Essex, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Mr. Barrett, also of Essex, are mentioned as those of its tenants.†

The last record that I can supply of the outraged and pillaged bretheren, thus banished from their ancient home, is that contained in the pension book of Cardinal Pole, where four of them are enumerated as then, 1556, living and receiving pensions:—Robert Ffoxe, who, it will be remembered, had been the last master, receiving a yearly pension of lxvjs. viijd.; Richard Bee and George Stroger, the last wardens, each with a pension of lijs. iiijd.; and John Mardocke, with one of xls.‡ Two of the six who witnessed the suppression of their house, Richard Birchall and John Barrett, had, it would appear, died during the interval.

At a previous page I mentioned the fraternity was possessed of six cottages and two messuages in Panyer Alley, of these I can give the following particulars:—

By letters patent, bearing date at Westminster, 16 Feb., 8 Eliz. 1565-6, the Queen granted to Thomas Porche the two messuages with their appurtenances, &c., in Panyer Alley, in the aforesaid parish of St. Michael at Querne, then in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Porche or his assigns, lately belonging to the fraternity of St. John the Evangelist, alias Pappye, and parcel of its late possessions. To

^{*} Stow, ed. 1598, 124; Howel, 63; Stow, by Strype, i. 419.

[†] Stow, ed. 1598, p. 124. Stow by Strype, i. 406, 419; Maitland, 782.

[‡] Cardinal Pole's Pension Book, fol. iii b; Appendix No. V.

be held by the aforesaid Thomas Porche, his executors and assigns, from the Michaelmas last past for the term of twenty one years next ensuing, at a yearly rent of 46 s. 8 d.

By letters patent, bearing date at Westminster, 9 Feb. 17 Eliz. 1574-5, the Queen granted both of these properties to Robert Cole, alias Plume, from Michaelmas, 1586, for a term of twenty-one years, at a similar rent to those previously stated, payable in equal portions at Lady Day and Michaelmas.*

Such are the annals of the Hospital of Le Papey, so far as time and accident, the two great enemies of the transmission of knowledge, have allowed them to survive. But the subject is by no means concluded, or its most interesting features exhibited or exhausted. I promised to give my readers some particulars of the rules and regulations by which it was governed, and the interest which attaches to each of these is for all time. Ever, if priests do their duty and are true to their sacred vows, will there be instances of failing health and enfeebled powers, to say nothing of the age and decrepitude that comes alike to all. I shall not err, nor do I think that my reader will imagine me to do so, when I say that this essential feature of a clergyman's life is regarded by society in general with far less consideration than it ought to be. We demand, and rightly, the highest, qualifications in our Clergy-not only piety, but intellect, aptitude, energy, and diligence-and all and each of these to be employed without stint or hesitation in the performance of their holy labours. we give little or no thought to the approach of the inevitable hour when the poor labourer, once so full of activity and determination, shall be unequal to the work and physically unable to bear the burden. His very obedience to the demands of his priestly functions has brought him to his low estate. Which of my readers has not known. and indeed does not know, more than one clergyman grown grey in his master's service, who, had he employed in some secular avocation the ability, zeal, and unsparing devotion which he has exhibited in his sacred calling, would have reaped a plentiful harvest of the goods of this world? It must be admitted that we have done little or nothing towards offering to such men even a poor substitute for that which they have so disinterestedly and nobly surrendered. Nothing, as it seems to many of us, can be worse than the way in which the richest Church in Christendom treats those who have left all in serving at

^{*} Pat. 17 Eliz. p. 8, mm. (15), (16), (17).

her altars and in teaching her children. We have, it is true, such institutions as the "Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy," and the "Friend of the Clergy;" but we may without offence designate their efforts, how well-intended and right-minded soever, as partial, spasmodic, and utterly unequal to the need. It will hardly be denied that we require such local institutions as Englishmen in earlier times founded and endowed in the hospital of Le Papey. This, I am aware, is not the place for entering with any degree of minuteness into the subject of aid to old and invalid priests. But, it must be admitted, nevertheless, that the matter is one which has special claims on our most respectful attention. And, therefore, I think that this old hospital may do us a service and impart to us a benefit of no small value, by enabling us to make some kind of progress towards a good result from a careful examination of the regulations by which its life and actions were endeayoured to be directed.

The following are the rules which appear in the MS. It must be premised however, that they are but a part—though a considerable one—of the whole as originally settled. And yet they are full of most valuable directions and suggestive counsels.

- I. Of the Election and Removal of the Master.
- II. Of the Union of the Fraternity, and its Name, and Common Chest.*
- III. The title is lost. It was connected with their vested rights in their lands and tenements.
- IV. In what way it is allowed to the Master and Wardens to make proper and honest statutes and regulations.
- V. Of the election of the Master and Wardens, their power, and removal for negligence.
- VI. Of the establishment of the Fraternity, and admission of Conferes and Sisters.
- VII. Of the audit of the account of the Collectors, at the four terms of the year.‡
- VIII. Title lost. It related to visitation and correction of irregularities.
- 1X. Of the Λecount of the whole year, and the time assigned for the same.§
 - * Appendix VI.

† Appendix VII.

† Appendix VIII.

§ Appendix IX.

X. Of the common chest and common seal, and the custody of the keys of the same.

XI. Of obedience to the Statutes passed by the Master and Wardens, and against the interference of the Brethren in matters pertaining to the Fraternity, apart from the consent of the Master and Wardens, on pain of perpetual removal from the same.*

XII. Of the admission to the Fraternity of priests only, and by the Master and Wardens, or with their consent.

XIII. Of the reception to alms of past Masters and Wardens.†

XIV. Of the Sixty Priests.

XV. Of the moral duties of the Brethren, and the punishments for their violation.

With regard to (I.) the election of the master and wardens, it is ordered that the founders and their successors shall have power to choose, nominate, appoint, and depute one of their number to be master, as often as shall be expedient and necessary, and also to remove him.

That (II.) the said fraternity be called that of St. Charity and St. John Evangelist, and the founders, master, and brethren of the same for the time being are in reality and name one body in law, and one Community and perpetual Society, with perpetual succession and a common chest and a common seal, for the continuous preservation of the goods and matters of the said fraternity. And so of their successors for the time to come.

That (IV.) the said master and wardens, and rest of the brethren, and their successors for the time being, should have power to meet and pass such ordinances and statutes as shall be necessary, fit, and lawful for the wholesome government of the house, as often and when it shall be expedient and necessary, lawfully and securely, without hindrance, impeachment, molestation, or impediment from the king aforesaid, his heirs, judges, eschaetors, sheriffs, or other of his servants whatsoever.

That (V.) for the good and faithful government, direction, and supervision of the fraternity . . . [a master and two wardens shall be elected] and that the master and two wardens so elected shall continue in office for one whole year. That then, within fifteen days next after the feast of St. Michael, they shall resign their

^{*} Appendix X.

offices, and with the rest of their confrères shall forthwith proceed to a new election, when either the same shall be re-elected, or others appointed in their stead. That the electors shall consist of twelve or ten of the more able and worthy brethren, of the holy order of priesthood, of the said fraternity. And that the same form shall be observed, if a master or warden shall die or leave London during the year, in the election of another in his room.

That (VI.) John Welles shall be master, and William Hermer and David Overton shall be wardens, and that such and such persons [I have already given so many of their names as can be recovered] shall be the brethren and sisters; and others by them and their successors of either sex to be received, admitted, taken, and successively appointed, as brethren and sisters whilst they shall live and be willing to contribute decent alms to the same. That the said brethren and sisters and their successors shall continue and augment the said fraternity, a duty which the founders on the part of God firmly enjoin them to perform, as often as and whensoever it shall be necessary and proper, on peril of their souls.

That (VII.) the two wardens, thus elected annually with the master, shall, with the supervision of the said master, audit the account of the collectors at the four terms of the year, and shall receive the moneys so collected and levied, and with consent of the said master shall discreetly divide them among the poor elemosynaries, as the need of each shall require. With this proviso, that the aforesaid wardens shall have in their possession a box, in which the aforesaid sums so collected and levied shall be deposited, and a register wherein all the items of receipt and expenditure shall be set down.

That (VIII.) the wardens for the time being shall visit the brethren, and see that they are sufficiently provided with catables, drinkables, and other necessaries, and shall make investigation of their behaviour; and, if they shall discover any negligences or laxities, which shall be above their power to remedy, shall refer them to the master, that he with their aid and assent may correct them forthwith.

That (IX.) within fifteen days after Michaelmas, at some fit place and time to be limited by the master, the wardens, collectors, and other well-affected of the brethren, shall meet for the inspection and audit of the account of the whole year; and that the wardens shall have all the particulars of expenditure and receipt written in a large register book, with the names and surnames of the master and wardens, and the regnal year of the king written at the head of the said account; and that the aforesaid register book shall remain under safe custody in a chest to be specially kept for that purpose; and that the surplus of money, if any, shall be converted to stock.

That (X.) there shall always be a common chest, in which the common seal, chatells, and muniments of the fraternity shall be carefully preserved.

The foregoing appear to have constituted the original rules of the fraternity, as there immediately follows a mutilated fragment with various words indicative of their authorisation and the consent of the founders, and the date of the fifth day of , in the year of Henry VI. There are, however, some further directions referring principally to the conduct of each member of the house, and explaining certain of the foregoing rules.

In reference to that which had authorised the master and wardens for the time being to frame Statutes and Regulations for the use and advantage of the said fraternity, in agreement with the precept of the Apostle to the Hebrews: Obey them which have the rule over you, &c., it is ordered (XI.) that all and singular members of the fraternity, present or future, shall humbly and devoutly obey and submit themselves to the statutes, ordinances, and decrees enacted or to be enacted by the present or future master or wardens, which are to be inviolably observed without injurious words, sinister interpretation, distorted exposition, or evil ingenuity. And, further, that no brother shall meddle with the receipt or payment of things in any way relating to the use or advantage of the said fraternity, now or hereafter, apart from and against the knowledge, will, consent and assent of the present or future master and wardens, on pain of perpetual removal.

That (XII.) no one shall by any means be admitted by the master, or wardens, or collectors for the time being, to be a brother of the said fraternity, unless he be a priest, duly and canonically ordained; or by the consent and assent of the same; and not otherwise. And that if anyone shall hereafter be admitted in opposition to this regulation, he shall not be reckoned for a cleric at all, and shall have no benefit whatever from the said fraternity.

That (XIII.) all priests, confreres of the fraternity, who shall have been elected to the office of master or warden, and shall have honestly conducted themselves in their office, and shall afterwards have been reduced to such poverty or sickness as to be due and proper recipients of the alms of the house, shall, if they have served the office of master, receive from the wardens for the time being every week during life eight pence, and, if of warden, six pence every week from the same officers, exclusive of commons. And that each of them shall have liberty of ingress and egress into the city and in honest places at due and proper hours.

That (XIV.) no priest of the fraternity of the Sixty Priests shall ever be elected master or warden of this fraternity.

That (XV.) the founders are specially desirous of purity of morals, and that all and every one of the brethren, shall be of the order of priesthood, and of good and honest life, having their conversation as brethren, not quarrelsome, nor malicious, and rendering to no man evil for evil, to the disgrace and scandal of the said fraternity and of the whole order of priests. That no one of the brethren shall in any way use or cause to be used injurious, quarrelsome, malicious, opprobrious, or any other words whatsoever of evil character against the master, or either of the two wardens of the aforesaid fraternity, but shall do and pay them all proper and honest reverence, nor against any other brother of the said fraternity, under a penalty of twelve pence for every such offence, to be paid to the then wardens towards the support of the poor priests of the house. If after such penalty the aforesaid brother shall not abstain and cease from such offence, after a second monition by the master and wardens, the offender without further favour or grace shall incur eo facto the penalty of perpetual expulsion.

In conclusion, I may say without hesitation that if we study these regulations with reference either to the government and well-being of the institution itself, or to the duties of the brethren as members of a fraternity or as individuals, we can hardly rise from the examination without a profound respect and hearty admiration both for the religious spirit and the worldly sagacity of their framers. The good rules for the government of the house, for the successive and continuous supply of governors, for the careful preservation of the rights of those for whom the institution was designed, for the prevention of peculations of all kinds and from whatever cause or quarter, are only equalled by those which regulate the behaviour of each of its members, wherein the most merciful consideration of those who deserve such treatment is associated, as it ever ought to be, with the most determined resolution to bring the rebellious and self-seeking, the meddling

and officious, to a due sense of their position and its requirements. On a review of the whole, I have the happiness of feeling that I may be doing no little service in offering the results of my present investigation to all such as may contemplate the carrying into operation, so urgently and imperatively required, of any similar work. Old times may thus teach and benefit the present, and our studies, as I said at the beginning of my Memoir, may thus, as in so many other instances, be made to conduce to results of present value and practical utility. I will only add a devout hope that the modern institution may have a longer career of usefulness than was accorded to its olden predecessor, and that it may be more justly and respectfully, and therefore more deservedly, appreciated than was the Hospital of Le Papey, to whose place it shall have succeeded, and whose heritage of wisdom it shall have made its own.

THOMAS HUGO.

APPENDIX I.

[Pat. 20 Hen. VI., p. 3, m. 27.]

D' fratnitate sce Caritatis t Sci Johis Euangeliste london fundand. R' Omib3 ad quos te saltm. Sciatis qd cum Thomas Sym-

messoñ Rector ecctie parochialis Oïm Scoz ad murum Ciuitatis nre londoñ cum ecctia Sci Augustini Pappey eiusdem Ciuitatis auctoritate ordinaria ex causis legitimis t honestis nup vnita annexa t incorporata vt accepim Witts Cleve Capellanus Cantarie fundate ad altare Sci Johis Bapte in ecctia te Marie de Aldremarichirche londoñ Witts Barneby Capellanus vnius Cantariaz in ecctia Sci Pauli londoñ t Johes Stafford sacdos cetiq Capellani Cantariaz t conducticij Ciuitatis pdce attendentes qualit plures sacerdotes frequencius non curati diuina celebrantes quando senectutis mole depssi vel adusa valitudine fuint laborantes t nichil heant vnde viue possint necessitate cogunt p vias t plateas

hostiatim discurrere victum 7 vestitum miserabili? mendicando tam in illius cuius sunt Ministri Oïm Creatoris displicenciam qm in opprobriū Cleri I dedecus ecclie sce dei 3elo caritatis accensi quandam fratnitatem de seipis I alijs necessitati pecesitati pia largicoe subvenire volentib; in honore sce Caritatis I Sci Johis Euangeliste ordinare desiderant ac Pdcus Rector quoddam mesuagiū suū cum gardino adiacent t cetis suis ptin in parochia ecciie Sci Augustini Pdict situatum t Rectorib; eiusdem ecciie p Wiffm Cressewyke nup Ciuē londoñ in testamento suo in Hustengo londoñ de ĉóib3 plitis tento die lune px post festum Sči Barnebe anno regni dñi henrici quarti nup Regis Angl aui nri octavo legatum ad infiitacoem t sustentacoem huiusmodi paugum Capellanoz dare et assignare pponat quare nob humilime supplicarunt quatenus eis licenciam t securitatem regiam ad hoc concedere misericordit dignarem. Nos ad revenciam sumi Regis I Sacerdotis I vt ipi Capellani deuocius p salute nra I heredum nroz iuxta doctrinam apticam obsecracoes oracoes postulacoes t graz accoes a se t aliis fieri faciant infutur peibz suis pecis benignime inclinati de spăli gra cta sciencia t mero motu nro concedim⁹ I licenciam damus p not I dcis heredib; nris quantu in not est Pfatis Thome Witto Cleve Witto Barneby & Johi ad ipi tres vel duo eoz in honore sce Caritatis & Sci Johis Euangeliste quandam frathitatem ppetuam vnde sacerdos semp sit magist tam de seipis t cetis Capellanis Cantariaz t conducticiis am de aliis pbis hõib3 quibuscumq in aliquo loco congruo t honesto Ciuitatis nre london quem ad hoc dux int puidend inchoare face fundare vnire I stabilire qdq fres Capellani eiusdem frainitatis 7 successores sui Magrim huiusmodi de seipis tociens quociens expediens viderint elige pfice t ammovere possint. fraînitas ac Magis? I fres eiusdem re I noie sint vnû corpus in lege I coitas ppetua. Et qd heant successionem ppetuam ac cistam coem t sigillu coe p bonis t negociis de fratnitatis continuo suitur t gd fraenitas peca cum sic fundata fuit fraenitas sce Caritatis sacerdotum london ac Magist t fres eiusdem t successores sui Magist & fres framitatis sce Caritatis sacerdotum londoñ ppetualit nuncupent. Et ad ijdem Magist t fres

ac successores sui p idem nomen sint psone habiles in lege ptitare I implitari coram quibuscumq, Judicib3 I Justiciariis in omib3 accõib; I querelis realib; I psonalib; ac mixtis I capaces in lege ad pquirend in feodo t ppetuitate tras teñ redditus t alias possessiones quascumq de quibuscumq psonis I ea tenere sibi I successorib; suis imppm in auxiliū sustentacois paupum sacdotum I frainitatis antedici. Et ad Magist I fres frainitatis antedce 4 successores sui congregações licitas 4 honestas de seipis I ordinacoes congruas p salubri gubnacoe eiusdem fracnitatis quociens I quando opus fuit face valeant licite I impune sine occone impeticoe molestacoe vel impedimento nri vel heredum ñroz Justič Escaetoz Vicecomitū aut alioz Ministroz nroz vel heredum nroz quozcumą. Et vlitius de vitiori gra nra concessime t quantu in not est licenciam damus pfato Thome qd ipe mesuagiu pdem cum gardino adiacent t cetis suis ptin dare possint t assignare Magro t frib; fratnitatis antedce cum sic fundata fuit Hend t tenend pdcm mesuagiu cum gardino adiacent t cetis suis ptin eisdem Magro t frib; fratnitatis pdce I successorib; suis p sustentacoe paupum sacodotum pdcoz imppm de Capitalib; dnis feodi illius p suicia inde debita t de iure consueta observando semp annuatim anniusariu t alia ofla in testamento poči Witti Cressewyke specificat. Et eisdem Magro t frib3 qd ipi dem mesuagiū cum omib3 suis ptin vt pmissum est a pfato Thoma recipe possint t tenere sibi t successorib3 suis in forma pdca imppm Statuto de Pris I ten ad manu mortuam non ponend' aut aliquo statuto sive ordinaccoe quacumq in hac parte edit non obstant. In cuius te' T. R. apud Westm xvj die Aprit.

p ipm Regem t de dat pdca auctoritate pliamenti.

APPENDIX II.

[Certificate of Chantries, City of London and County of Middlesex, Roll 88.]

Names of the Con-				, amort		
What other of promotions.	none	none	none	none	none	none
Stipends.	iiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d lxvj ^s viij ^d	lxixs iiij ^d liij ^s iiij ^d	lxix ⁸ iiij ^d liij ^s iiij ^d	xliijs iiijd xls	xliij ^s iiij ^d xl ^s	xliij ^s iiij ^d xl ^s
	penc.	penc.	penc.	penc.	penc.	penc.
Incumbents.	S ^r Robte ffoxe, m ^r	Sr Richard Bee	Sr George Stroger	Sr Richard Birchall	S' John Barret	S ^r John Moredocke
			¥.	called the pappey $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} f(x) dx = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} f(x) dx = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty}$		

APPENDIX III.

[Particulars for Sale of Colleges and Chantries, vol. i. fol. 248b.]

Londoñ. Peeff terraz et possessionū nup domus voč the Pappey infra Civitatem Londoñ. hia coz in vaf in ppe Londoñ Wall arentat p annū. p Hugonem Loffe Supvis.	The clere yerely value of the pmisses xax li. whiche rated at xv yeres purchas amounteth to xxx li. To be paid all in hand. The Kynge maiestie to dischardge the purches of all incumbrance excepte leases and the couenante in the same. The tenure in Socage or ffree Burgage. The purchesor to haue thissues from Michelmas last. The leade and Belle to be excepted.
Londoñ. F Parochia omniŭ Sčoz in Mure.	xxj ^{mo} die Decemb ^r anno sčdo R¢ E. Sexti p Wiffm Morice vñ supviš dñi Reg. ptic.
	$\mathbf{Q} \ 2$

Past in the name of Willm Nevell, esquier, emongst other, as peell of the some of M'cciiij*xvij li. William Morice.

APPENDIX IV.

[Cardinal Pole's Pension Book, fol. iijb.]

Hospital)		Riči Bee nup incūbente ibm p annū liij s. iiij d. Robti ffoxe nup Incubeñ ibm
de le Pappey	pencoes	Robti ffoxe nup Incubeñ ibm p annū lxvj s. viij d. Johnis Mardocke nup Incūben ibm p annū xl s.
London)		benî ibm p annu xl s. Georgij Stroger nup Incubeñ
		ibm p annū liiij s. iiij d.

APPENDIX V.

[MS. Cott. Vitell. F. xvi. f. 113b.]

De unione ffraternitatis re 7 noie 7 comuni sista.

Et similiter statuimus ordinamus t volumus huiusmodi auctoritate licencia consensu q t assensu pdčis nobis vt pfertur in hac parte datis t concessis qd dča ffratnitas sancte caritate t sancti Johis Evangeliste ac nos magist q t ffratres eiusdem quicumq pro tempore existentes re t nomine sumus imppm vnū corpus in lege ac vna cõitas t societas ppetua successionem ppetuam ac vnam cõem cistam t sigillum cõe p bonis t negocijs ipius ffratnitate continuo suituris imppm hentes t heame Sicq sint t heant successores nõi temporibus suis in futurum.

APPENDIX VI.

[MS. Cott. Vitell, F. xvi. f. 114.]

Qualiter licitum est magro I gardianis facere licitas I honestas statuta I ordinaciones.

Et vlterius statuimus volumus ${\tt t}$ ordinamus d $\tilde{\tt c}$ is auctoritate licen * * * * ${\tt t}$ assensu nobis ut ${\tt p}$ fertur in hac parte datis con-

Put Se legine possint Erdeam facto latte a minime sone captione mycistie molestacióe volumposmiento posta sim med cease vel bened face ou a como ant aliaza involutara unité Denoblimet nous congregações luctais a bonetais atex ordinacióes at Fatura nécia rongrina a legitama pres falher exidinarione Acutinitate autobres tocions gnotiers a afferfu nobre out infertur in bar parter Lays concepte of a attributue of 80 min agmento expedient nexalthrinming a opine find. And placeforce will temporable - CHACKUG FACTUMILE Notwing a ordinamile End suddertite they HISTORY OF THE HOSPITAL OF LE PAPEY ands a house paticia a deduction m Arcadow Retart ance Sa /2 conden con Sam Bueliter Cotum eft magio e hand moze gnoze trungs in flatur

FAC SIMILE OF PORTION OF M.S. COTTONIAN COLLECTION, BRITISH MUSEUM

cessis q3 l'attributis qd dci mag l'gardiani ac nos ceteri q3 confres dce ffralnitate possimus l'aleamus temporibus niis de nobismet ipis congregacões licitas l'honestas atq, ordinações ac statuta nece ia congrua l'egitima pro salubri gub nacione ffralnitate antedce tociens quociens l'quando expediens necessarium q3 l'opus fu'it. Sic q3 successores nii temporibus suis de seipis possint l'aleant facere licite l'impune sine occasione impeticõe molestacõe vel impedimento pfati dni nii Rege vel here Justicia Escae vicecomii aut alioz ministroz suoz quozcuma in futur.

APPENDIX VII.

[MS. Cott. Vitell. F. xvi. f. 115.]

De audicione Compoti Collectoz ad quatuor anni terminos.

Statuimus insuper ordinamus t volumus qd duo Gardiani annuatim in elecce magri sie electi cum supuisione eiusdem magri ad quatuor anni tmos compom collector pecuniar confratru t soror firatnitate predce audiant pecunias q sie collectas t leuatas recipiant t cum consensu ipius magri discrete indigentib; elemosinarijs scam qd vnicuiq necessitatis opus fuerit diuidant. Hoe tamen prouiso qd pdci Gardiani penes se heant vnam pixidem in qua sume predce sie collecte t leuate r ponantur ac vnu registrum in quo singte parcelle recepcionu t expens inscribant.

APPENDIX VIII.

[MS. Cott. Vitell. F. xvi. f. 115 b.]

De compoto tocius anni et tempore assignato eiusdem.

Item statuimus ordinamus 't volumus quod inet nu futuris temporibus post festum sancti Michis aliquo loco 't tempore congruis infra quindenam p magim limitatis conveniant gardiani

Collectores & alij eiusdem ffratnitate Confratres vere zelatores compotum tocius anni visuri & audituri et qd ipi gardiani singlas parcellas expensaz & recepcionu heant inscriptas in vno magno registro cu noib; & cognoib; magri & eozdem Gardianoz & anno regni Rege in principio huiusmodi compoti intitulato et remaneat pdem Registrum sub salua Custodia in vna Cista p eodem ope consuand & excrescensie pecuniaz si que fuint ad coe stauru conutant.

APPENDIX IX.

[MS. Coll. Vitell. F. xvi. f. 116.]

Qualiter oës t singli de dea ffrat nită * * * statutis p magem t Gardianos dee ffrat nitate * * Et qd nullus Confratru se intromittat de aliquib; s * * recepcoib; eid ffrat nitati ptine absq. consensu magri t G * * * sub pena ppetue amocois ab eadem ffraternitate.

Cum cautum sit superius in statuto q'd intitulatur sub RUBRIC'. De potestate magri 't Gardianoz qd licitum sit eisdem magistro I Gardianis p tempore existentibus statuta I ordinacoes ad vtilitatem it comodum dee ffrainitatis rite it legitime condere presertim cum in huiusmodi statutis ordinacoibus 4 decretis obediena sit positis iuxta preceptum Apti ad hebreos vli ibi: Obedite prepositis vestris &c. Statuimus ordinamus & VOLUMUS qd omnes t singti qui de dca ffratnitate in psenti existunt aut infutur ad eandem assumentur humiliter t deuote obediant I obtempent cum effectu statutis ordinacionibus I decretis d eosdem magrim 't Gard nunc edit aut in futur rite edend 't promulgand eadem absq. calumpnia sinistra interpretacce torta exposicione aut malo ingenio inviolabiliter obsuand. Pretea statuimus qd nullus Confratrum dieti ffratnitate in aliquo se intromittat circa recepcoem aut solucoem eoz que ad vtilitatem aut comodum dee ffraternitate quomodolibet in psenti spectant

for frollate meter preseption. Stok as bediese ofer in . Obedie prepothe refare cof Ze poveftate mernis) e Anarajonez Afratum It er bom pulagrifico e Guistrome je temporte quifteratione fatutur e ochmande ad valitatem e comodum Das ffurtustatie veta e legitume consieve profession cum in Amafined Francis ordinaroisme le Doritte obedront meso planto nea valaba r aufactume D

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aut in futur spectabunt tem? itate sua ppria aliquid eozdem recipiend aut soluend preter I contra scitum voluntatem consensum piter I assensum magri I Gardianoz Psencium aut futuroz I hoe sub pena ppetue amocois.

APPENDIX X.

[MS. Coll. Vitell. F. xvi. f. 116b.]

De frib3 quoda magris et Gardianis dome nre ad elemosinas recipiendis.

Itm statuimus qd omes sacerdotes confres nre ffratnitatis qui ad officiu magistri vel gardiani electi fuerint et in officijs suis honeste se gesserint et postea ad tantam iopiam seu ifirmitatem deuenti qd ad elemosinas domus nre recipi debeant. qd quilibet eoz qui mari officiu habuit recipiat de gardianis p tempore existentib; septimati durante termino vite eoz viij d. Omes vero qui gardiani offm habuerunt vj d. quelibet septimana eciam a Gardianis pcipiant imino vite vltra comunes domo nre. Et qd quitt eoz habeat libertatem igrediendi i egrediendi i ciuitatem et i loce honeste in horis debite.