

THE LEPER HOSPITALS OF THE LONDON AREA

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This account sets out to give a comprehensive history of the leper houses of the London area. Between them the ten hospitals, strategically placed, served for over four hundred years to give the community a measure of protection from an ever-present threat. The last case of leprosy recorded in London seems to have occurred in 1557, but even after the disease had been eliminated, some lazar houses continued to provide care for those suffering from other ailments. It was not until 1760 that the last survivors, Kingsland and the Lock (in Southwark), finally closed their doors. By this time both institutions were un-economic subsidiaries of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, to which their work was transferred. The last substantial link with a London leper house disappeared within living memory: Trinity Chapel, Knightsbridge, erected in 1861 to replace an earlier structure built for Knightsbridge Lazar House in 1699, was demolished in 1904.

Miss Honeybourne's paper begins with an introduction in which the significance of leprosy in the Europe of the Middle Ages is briefly discussed, and a summary is given of the development of the London leper hospitals. There follow historical accounts of each of the hospitals (arranged in alphabetical order), together with lists of their officials. An appendix contains similar accounts of five other Middlesex hospitals of medieval foundation. Notes will be found at the end of each section.

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INTRODUCTION¹

Leprosy (*elephantiasis Graecorum*)² and the plague were the two most dreaded diseases of the Middle Ages in Europe. The former seems to have been introduced from the east by traders, pilgrims and crusaders. Little is heard of it before the eleventh century;³ it came to a peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in most parts more or less died out by the sixteenth century. To deal with the scourge more than 20,000 leper hospitals were set up in Europe.⁴ These hospitals, as was the case with all other hospitals, were closely connected with the Christian Church, and those who entered them were expected to live according to a Christian rule.⁵ A chapel was therefore a necessity. The physical care of the lepers was a different matter. No one knew any cure and one gets the impression that very little attention was paid to this part of the problem. Some hospitals were set up not so much to help the lepers in them as to protect the people outside, though many founders of leper hospitals were inspired by charity. Segregation of lepers had been practised in early Hebrew days and in the time of Christ, but the leprosy of Bible days was of an exceptionally contagious type⁶, if indeed it was the same disease as that of the Middle Ages. It was not until some time after the Norman Conquest that segregation became the accepted treatment in England. So terrified were other men by then that lepers became social outcasts with no common law rights. The burial service was read over them by the Church;⁷ and they were classed with idiots, madmen and outlaws by the State.⁸ They lost all property rights and a long list of prohibitions was inflicted on them. These included exclusion from churches, market places, taverns, mills, bakehouses and all other places of assembly. Further, the leper was not to wash in springs or running water, walk along any narrow path, touch any women or children, or any posts or rails, or give anything to anyone; he was allowed to talk to people only off the road and in the open air, and to eat and drink only with lepers, using his own cup. If a leper went abroad to beg for alms⁹ he was to be closely covered from head to foot in a hat or hood, a long-sleeved tunic fastened with a girdle, a cloak, leggings and shoes; and he had to carry a rattle, clappers or bell to warn people of his approach.¹⁰

Almost every country in Europe was visited by this dread disease, and leper houses were set up in Russia, France (2,000 of them), Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, Scotland, Ireland, Shetland and the Faroes. In England there were about 200 leper hospitals.¹¹ The two earliest were founded in Kent, one outside Canterbury by Archbishop Lanfranc in the reign of William the Conqueror, and the other outside Rochester in the reign of his son.¹² London, like Kent, was sure to be smitten early owing to its proximity to the continent and its great trade. The first notice of leprosy in London comes actually in Saxon times, when Aelfweard,¹³ Bishop of London (from 1035) and also Abbot of Evesham, was stricken at the close of his life with leprosy inflicted on him, so it was said, by a vengeful saint whose tomb he had plundered for relics. Aelfweard resigned his position as Abbot of Evesham and thereupon the monks refused to shelter him. Aelfweard promptly took away all the books and sacred vessels that he had given them and was welcomed at Ramsey Abbey, where he died and was buried in 1044. Another tale of a leper is connected with Edward the Confessor at Westminster. His servants began to drive away a leper full of sores but the king restrained

them. When the leper begged to be carried into the church on the royal shoulders the king agreed, God answered his prayers and the leper was healed.¹⁴

In early Norman times Hugh d'Orivalle,¹⁵ Bishop of London, died of leprosy in 1085 'for no cure could be found'. By Henry I's reign the revival of religious enthusiasm was leading to a slightly more charitable attitude than heretofore towards such sufferers, partly because Lazarus, the friend of Jesus, was being equated by then with Lazarus 'ulceribus plenus', whose disease was assumed to have been leprosy:¹⁶ hence the term 'lazar' for a leper, and 'lazarette' for a leper house. Queen Matilda (Maud),¹⁷ the wife of Henry I, showed no repugnance for, nor fear of, lepers. Her home, probably at the Palace of Westminster, was on one occasion in 1105 full of lepers, and she washed and kissed them. It was Queen Matilda who founded in the open country, on the great western highway out of London, the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, with an oratory and other buildings, for the lepers of London and Middlesex. The Queen died in 1118. Her attitude must have stirred public opinion (as Robert of Gloucester¹⁸ asserts in general terms) and focussed more attention on the problem of lepers, who were still regarded by most people simply as loathsome creatures. After Queen Matilda's death an increased fear of contagion developed alongside this repugnance. In 1200 Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, at a synod held at Westminster¹⁹ confirmed the Lateran Council's leper decree of 1179, which condemned the prevailing unchristian selfishness towards lepers but ruled that lepers must not dwell with healthy men. The archbishop laid down that any group of lepers living by themselves could build a church with a churchyard, have a priest of their own (saving the rights of existing parish churches) and 'for pity's sake' pay no tithe for their gardens and increase of cattle.

With the new outlook towards leprosy came the need for lazar houses on the outskirts of London. By the end of the Middle Ages there were ten leper hospitals, strategically placed, in the London area. They were St. James's Hospital in Westminster; St. Giles's Hospital and one at Knightsbridge on the two western roads out of London; Highgate and Kingsland (near Hackney) on the roads to the north; Mile End on the road to the east; the Lock Hospital beyond Southwark on that to the south; and, farther out, Hammersmith,²⁰ Enfield, and Rotherhithe (Bermondsey). These hospitals formed a ring round London, and most of them were in Middlesex.²¹

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many gifts of land and houses were made by the citizens and others to the leper hospitals of St. James's and St. Giles's. Lepers, however, still continued to live in London, where their presence was condoned by certain citizens, probably relatives of the sufferers. The mayor and commonalty therefore passed a decree in 1276-78²² that 'no leper shall be in the city, nor come there, nor make any stay there by night or by day' under pain of imprisonment; but so that these lepers, who were to stay outside the city, might have sustenance, they were to choose a common proctor for themselves, to go each Sunday to the parish churches to collect alms. Another ordinance of Edward I's reign, repeated by Edward II, was that enquiry was to be made in every ward as to whether any leper were resident within it.²³ These leper ordinances of Edward I's reign may be connected with the establishment by the city authorities of leper hospitals of their own and perhaps with their assumption of responsibility for others already in being, to supplement the work of St. James's and St. Giles's Hospitals. No records exist of the actual foundation of the City's lazar houses, nor are the dates known, but certain of the leper hospitals already mentioned are definitely described later in the Middle

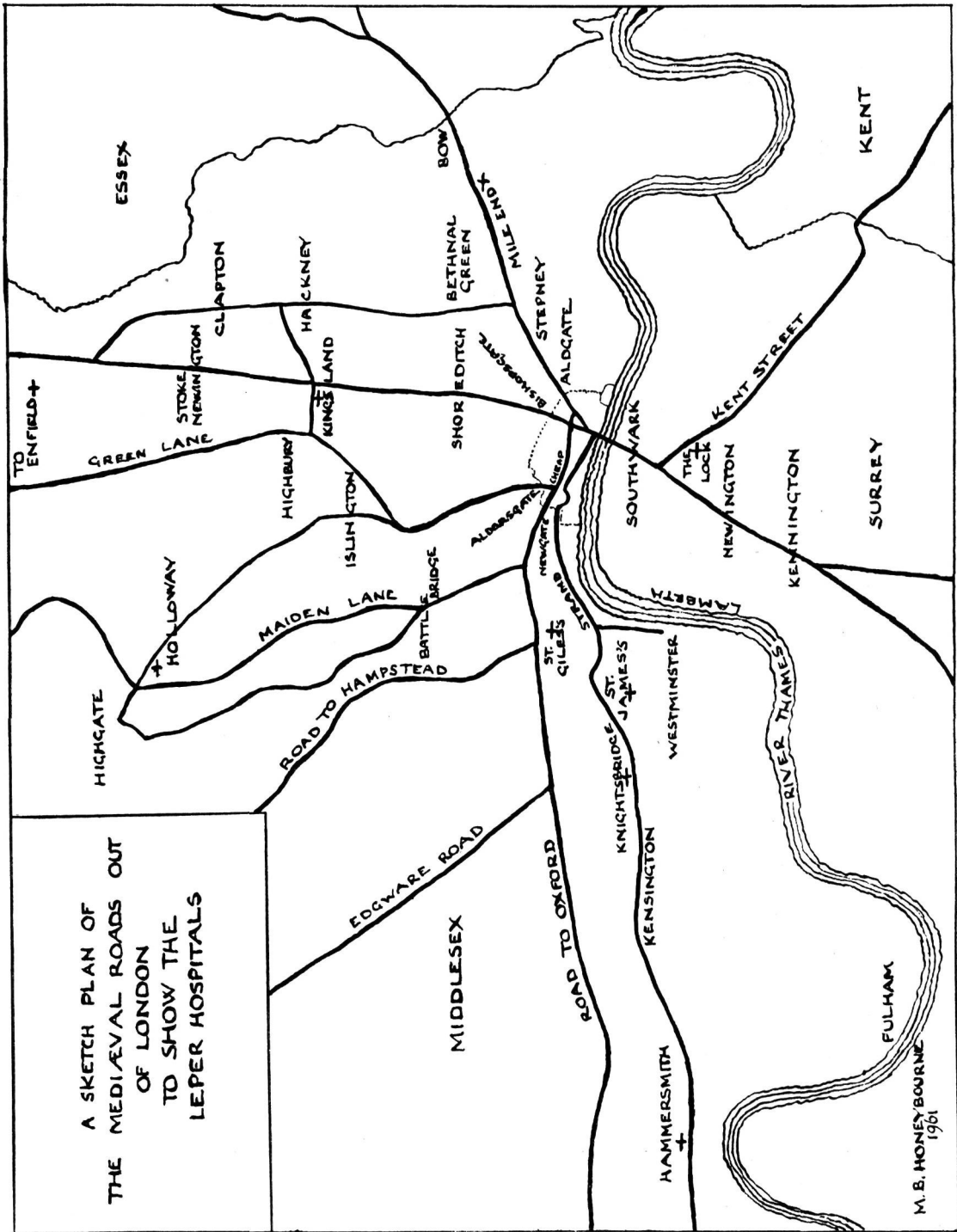


Fig. 1

Ages as 'of the City's foundation', and the citizens took full responsibility for them.²⁴ These hospitals were at first four in number. They were those at Kingsland near Hackney, at the Lock beyond Southwark, at Mile End towards Stratford-at-Bow, and at Knightsbridge, along the north, south, east and west roads respectively out of London. Later Hammersmith (in existence by 1500) and Highgate (independently founded in 1473) were taken over by the City.

In 1346 there came to the citizens a very important and urgent royal ordinance concerning leprosy.²⁵ Proclamation was to be made at once in every ward that all lepers were to be removed from the city within 15 days. The mayor and sheriffs themselves, with the aid of discreet and lawful men with a knowledge of leprosy, were to remove all those with leprous spots as decently as possible from the society of healthy citizens and place them in 'solitary field places' at a notable distance from the city and suburb. There the lepers were to stay, getting food as usual from those who were willing to help them; and alms for lepers were to be encouraged. Any citizen who henceforth permitted a leper to continue to stay in his house was to forfeit it. To prevent delay or procrastination the king appointed a day on which the mayor was to report what he had done in this matter of the lepers. Two years later (1348) another decree was received from Edward III:²⁶ this ordered the sheriff of Middlesex to issue at once a proclamation that all lepers, who were usually to be found begging by the roadside, were to abandon the highways and fieldways between the City of London and the vill of Westminster, along which very many magnates, justices, clerks and other royal servants were continually passing. The king urged, however, that the giving of alms to lepers should continue.

Probably none of the lazar houses belonging to the City was very large and in any case the mayor and commonalty naturally wanted to make full use of the older well-established lazar houses as well. Therefore, in 1354, a few years after the Black Death, the citizens appealed to the king over their ancient claim to send 14 lepers to the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. The citizens at the same time also successfully asserted their claim to supervise, through two elected Wardens, the revenues of this hospital for the benefit of the lepers there.²⁷ These Wardens are first mentioned between 1191 and 1211.²⁸ They were always two important London citizens. Their official description by the late 14th century was 'the Wardens and Surveyors of lepers at St. Giles' Hospital, "les lokes" [*i.e.* the Lock], and at Hakeneye'.²⁹ The two last named lazar houses always stand out as the two most important of the City's own leper hospitals. The other four never seem to have had the same standing, and they disappeared earlier.

Despite royal and civic decrees, the existence of these lazar houses, and the efforts of the city and ward officials, lepers were evidently still to be found in the city, for in 1367 they were forbidden to beg in the streets for fear of spreading infection.³⁰ Stronger action was taken five years later, in 1372, when any leper found walking in the streets became liable to imprisonment.³¹ It was in this same year that John Mayn, a baker 'smitten with the blemish of leprosy', who had often disobeyed the mayor and aldermen on this issue, was at last made to swear before them in the Husting court that he would quit the city forthwith and take up his abode elsewhere. If he returned he was to suffer in the pillory.³² By 1375 the authorities felt that they could exercise even greater pressure: lepers who tried to enter or re-enter the city were to be stopped without fail by the porters of the eight city gates and posterns, and were to have their horses or outer garments temporarily confiscated. If a leper still persisted in trying to force his way in he was to be

bound fast and kept in safe custody till the mayor's wishes were known. There were also penalties for the porters of the gates if they did not obey the edict. They had to swear an oath before the mayor and recorder that they would well and trustily protect the City and suburbs from leprous persons on pain by the pillory. The 1375 oath of John Gardener, porter by the Postern Gate by the Tower, has been preserved. The 'formen' (or masters) of Le Loke in Southwark, and Hackney (or Kingsland) similarly had to swear to protect the city.³³ Three years later, in 1378, another civic ordinance once more forbade lepers to enter the city; and there was a further similar order after another three years.³⁴

The two elected wardens were meantime finding their duties heavy, time-consuming and expensive in every way, so in 1389 they were exempted, so long as they held office, from serving on inquests and holding other civic positions, owing to 'their meritorious labour and their unpleasant and onerous occupation', which included daily visits to three of the hospitals, the chastisement and punishment of difficult inmates, and general supervision 'as of old has been the usage'.³⁵ In 1417, 1432 and again in 1514-18 the Wardens were excused from all other services.³⁶ The above royal and civic ordinances for lepers, and these overseers or visitors of the leper hospitals, seem to have been among the first health regulations and public health officials in England.

Possibly one of the fatal weaknesses of all attempts to deal with the lepers was the small size of the hospitals, and probably as well the unattractive conditions in them. As to their size, John of Gaunt, who died in 1399, left 5 nobles to each leper house within 5 miles of the city that had 5 lepers in it, and 3 nobles to those with less.³⁷ The need of such help was very great, for the leper hospitals round London seem to have been very poor for one reason or another.

No cure for leprosy was known in England and therefore John Luter, a Flemish 'leche' was found guilty by the mayor of London in 1408 of taking jewels by false pretences from a certain John Clotes of Bernelond because he said that he would cure him of a disease called 'lepre'.³⁸ There may have been a tightening-up of the regulations in 1422, for in that year two lepers, Maud Hoke of St. Sepulchre's parish and Nicholas Yonge of Candlewick Street, were presented at the mayor's court. A few years later, in 1441, John Carpenter, the most famous of the town clerks of London, remembered the lepers, probably with cause, in his will: he gave 40 shillings to the poor lepers at Holborn (i.e. St. Giles's), the Locks and Hackney (Kingsland),⁴⁰ the three hospitals under the special care of the wardens and supervisors of the lepers. The City Journals between 1443 and 1447 record the oaths of the masters of these three hospitals.⁴¹ The Journals and the Letter Books also record the royal ordinance of 1472 sent from Westminster to the mayor and sheriffs of London and Middlesex.⁴² This ordinance definitely asserted that leprosy was on the increase in London. It commanded that all lepers on the highways of the city and county, on horseback or on foot, were to be removed to the hospitals and sequestered places prepared specially for them, 'the disease being infectious from the air the leper breathes and the sight of their eyes'. A heavy penalty (of £500) was to be imposed if the mayor and sheriffs ignored the order, so once again the mayor and aldermen decreed that the porters of the gates were to take oath to guard them against the entry of lepers. This time the ward constables and beadles were likewise to be sworn each year to protect their wards against lepers, who were again to lose their horse or upper garment if found. Dame Joan Frowick's will of 1500⁴³ also makes it clear that there were still a number of lepers.

She bequeathed 4d. 'to eny lazor be it man or woman beyng at tyme of my decesse in the lazerhous of Saint Gylis beside Holborn, Newenton Grene,⁴⁴ the Loke beyonde Saint Georges barre, Hamersmythe and Knygthbruge for to pray for my soul'.

The City records⁴⁵ show that the City was responsible for the buildings at Kingsland and the Lock. Between 1485 and 1505 the elected wardens were asked to report what repairs were necessary 'for the relief of the sick men there', and in 1514 £4 was allocated. Appointments of these wardens or visitors to the spital houses occur in 1536, 1542, 1543 (*bis*), 1545, 1549 and 1565–74.⁴⁵ This last date raises an interesting point, viz., that the City continued to supervise the lazar houses after St. Bartholomew's Hospital had taken over the day-to-day administration of them and the appointment of their masters, by now called Guiders or Guides. These Guiders were always surgeons, and in time the two junior assistant surgeons at the hospital were nearly always appointed to the two houses of the Lock and Kingsland.⁴⁷ It is a possibility that the city leper houses had always been associated with St. Bartholomew's Hospital for such medical attention as was given.

The transfer of the City's lazar houses to St. Bartholomew's took place in 1549. In that year, on 15 October, it was agreed before my Lord the Mayor and the whole bench of aldermen that two aldermen of the City and two commoners of St. Bartholomew's, 'shall always be overseers of the vi lazar houses abowtt this ciety for one yere and they to make report to the hoole company what thinges they do fynd ther owt of order'.⁴⁸ This arrangement was entered in the hospital records on 25 October.⁴⁹ It will be noted that the City's lazar houses by then numbered six. These were the Lock in Southwark, Kingsland, Hammersmith, Highgate, Knightsbridge and Mile End. Next year, in the March, and again in 1551, the hospital ordered a survey of these six houses. Numbers, order and an inventory were required.⁵⁰ Unfortunately no returns survive.

In 1553 a gift of £60 was made to the lazar houses round London on condition that the inmates did not beg to people's annoyance within three miles of the City.⁵¹ In 1555–56 and on two other occasions 26s. 8d. was allocated by St. Bartholomew's to four of the houses, but they are not named. In 1556–57 the six spitals received £22 4s. 6d. for 'keeping the poor',⁵² and from henceforth more or less regularly monthly payments of varying amounts were made by St. Bartholomew's to the lazar houses. In 1581 an extra 40s. was bequeathed by Sir Thomas Rivell for the six lazar houses.⁵³ Patients, sometimes named, with various complaints other than leprosy were sent from the mother hospital to these 'outhouses', as they were usually designated. The cost of 2 patients for a month in 1554–55 was 13s. 4d.⁵⁴ The last recorded incidence of leprosy in London was in 1557, when 2 patients were sent to the Lock as they were found to be lepers.⁵⁵ In 1575 Stephen Tratt, sick and lame of his limbs, was to go to one of the lazar houses, and in 1576 a blind inmate was given 12d. a week so long as he did not use 'the trade of begging'.⁵⁶ An autopsy is first mentioned in 1589–90, when 20s. was paid to the Guider for 'dismembring 3 poor persons at the outhouses'. In 1590–91 10 bodies were dissected, for £3 6s. 8d.⁵⁷ Many cures are also reported. In 1604 first occurs a mention of a minister at one of the outhouses.⁵⁸

From 1608 the Guiders or masters were being paid £4 yearly, and 4d. a day for each patient's food.⁵⁹ The Guider was expected to be continually on duty attending the poor, administering their physic, helping them in extreme sickness, minutely supervising their food, firing and lodging, and maintaining good order in the house.⁶⁰ Later on, in 1682, for this 'bussines soe offensive and nautious' the Guides were paid £30 a year, with

£3 extra for washing the patients' sheets, which the Guide had to maintain, 'having his ancient allowance of hemp'. Each patient's diet cost 4d. a day and £50 was provided annually for medicines.⁶¹

From 1605–13 there were almost yearly visits of inspection to the outhouses, and dinner for the governors or visitors usually figures as an item of expenditure. In 1605 the cost was 28s. 4d., and in 1613 £3 4s. 10d.⁶²

Meantime some of the outhouses were silently slipping away from St. Bartholomew's. Nothing is heard of the Mile End lazar house after 1589.⁶³ The five others were there until 1623.⁶⁴ After that date only the Lock and Kingsland remained on the hospital books, though some of the others continued independently for a time. For these two, Dr. William Harvey, the great physician, drew up new rules in 1633. All incurable and infectious cases as well as 'the scandalous' (i.e. syphilis cases) were to be sent to the outhouses.⁶⁵ Three years later an inscription engraved on the Lock chapel described the inmates as "the poor, infirm and impotent".⁶⁶ In or just before 1657 it was decided to separate the male patients from the female; the men were to go to the Lock and the women to Kingsland. The Guider of the former soon complained of the greater cost of keeping men. He said that they did less for each other in cases of sickness; and that women worked in the house, span the sheets, helped with the washing, needed smaller doses of physic, and were easier to govern, being less troublesome.⁶⁷

During the civil war period costs mounted, but it was the Great Fire of London that most seriously depleted the revenues of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Funds sank so low that for a time the two remaining outhouses had to be closed except for a few paying patients;⁶⁸ but by 1682 each outhouse had twenty patients again,⁶⁹ and gradually certain amenities in the way of better washing facilities were introduced.⁷⁰ By 1754 there were 30 beds each at Kingsland and the Lock, and in 1758 there were 62 patients.⁷¹ Protracted discussions were by then taking place as to the cost of the outhouses, which came to over £700 a year. As St. Bartholomew's Hospital had recently been rebuilt with more wards, and two specially for venereal diseases, the need for the outhouses had gone. Both were closed in 1760,⁷² after an existence of some 500 years.

THE CITY'S WARDENS FOR THE OVERSIGHT OF THE LEPER HOSPITALS

Thomas de Haverill ⁷³	1191–1211
William Hardell ⁷⁴	1191–1211, 1218, 1223
Thomas de Harvyle ⁷⁵	1218, 1230
Andrew le Uclose ⁷⁶	1223
Andrew Bocherel ⁷⁷	1223, 1234–37
William Hardell ⁷⁸	1230, 1240–52
Roger Duce ⁷⁹	1234–37
Sir Ralph Eswy ⁸⁰	1237–40
Adam de Basing ⁸¹	1246 appointed, 1252, 1253, 1261–62
William FitzRichard ⁸²	1246 appointed, 1261–62
Nicholas Bat ⁸³	1253
Walter Henry ⁸⁴	1270

Sir Gregory de Rokesley, knight ⁸⁵	1280
Sir Ralph Eswy ⁸⁶	1283
Walter Henry ⁸⁷	1291
Robert Ivyngho ⁸⁸	1389
Gilbert Rothynge ⁸⁹	1389
Robert Mildenhale, "pelter" ⁹⁰	1417
John Wassborn, mercer ⁹¹	1417
John Bacoun, grocer ⁹²	1432
Peter Andrew, "pelter" ⁹³	1432
William Brown, painter ⁹⁴	1514
John Sendell, vintner ⁹⁵	1514
Thomas Barnwell ⁹⁶	1536
— Callard ⁹⁷	1542
Richard Holt ⁹⁸	1543, 1547
William Turke ⁹⁹	1543, 1547
Clement Cornwell ¹⁰⁰	1548-49



NOTES

- 1 See R. M. Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (1909), pp. 35-69; A. Weymouth, *Through the Leper Squint* (1938); E. Muir in *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* (1950 ed.), pp. 486-8; and W. H. Godfrey, *The English Almshouse* (1955).
- 2 Lupus, syphilis and acute eczema were probably often confused with leprosy in the Middle Ages (Weymouth, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-9, 96-7).
- 3 The first leper house in England is said to date from the 7th century (*ibid.*, p. 25).
- 4 *New English Dictionary*.
- 5 Weymouth, pp. 94, 105. Like monks and nuns, most inmates wore a uniform dress.
- 6 *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*, p. 486.
- 7 Weymouth (pp. 15-16) gives the service in full.
- 8 *ibid.*, pp. 91-2.
- 9 *ibid.*, p. 93.
- 10 *ibid.*, pp. 15-17. There is a picture of a mediaeval leper in Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
- 11 Clay, p. 35. Weymouth (p. 53) says 112.
- 12 Clay, p. 37.
- 13 *D.N.B.*
- 14 Weymouth, p. 119.
- 15 *D.N.B.*
- 16 Clay, pp. 49-50.
- 17 *D.N.B.*, M. Paris, *Chronica Majora* (ed. Luard, Rolls Series), Vol. II, pp. 130, 144.
- 18 He continually stresses her direct, personal and most beneficial influence, and the good that she did. Her brother David was unmoved by her example, but her husband founded the leper hospital outside Oxford, and her daughter helped the lepers of York (Clay, pp. 71-2).
- 19 Wilkins, *Concilia* (1737), pp. 1, 507.
- 20 Stow mentioned Highgate (Holloway) but Hammersmith escaped him: it was a long way off.
- 21 The exceptions were the Lock by Southwark, and the hospital in Bermondsey (or Rotherhithe).
- 22 *Cal.*, *City Letter Book A*, p. 219; *Liber Albus* (1861), pp. 219, 238.
- 23 *Liber Albus*, pp. 227, 291; see also pp. 454, 508-9.
- 24 Guildhall Letter Book M, fo. 246b; Repertory 1, p. 445b; and 3, fo. 44; Stow, II, p. 146.
- 25 *C.C.R. 1346-9*, pp. 54, 61-2; and *City Letter Book F*, f. cxvi (*Cal.*, p. 138); and H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries* (1868), pp. 230-1.

- 26 *C.C.R.*, 1346–9, p. 509. See also B. M. Cott. MSS., Vespasian, c. xiv, 127 (*Cat.*, p. 471).
- 27 See below, under St. Giles's Hospital.
- 28 E. Williams, *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London* (1927), no. 1642; from St. Giles's Hospital Cartulary, f. 129, 131b.
- 29 *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 343.
- 30 *ibid.*, G, p. 217.
- 31 *ibid.*, p. 301.
- 32 Riley, *Memorials*, pp. 365–6; *Cal. Letter Book G.*, p. 294.
- 33 Riley, *Memorials*, p. 384; *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 9.
- 34 *Cal. Letter Book H*, pp. 110, 173.
- 35 Riley, pp. 510–1; *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 343.
- 36 *Cal. Letter Book I*, p. 184; *K*, pp. 142–3; and Guildhall Record Office, MS. Cal. to City Repertories, 1495–1552, p. 75a.
- 37 Clay, pp. 39–42. In the same year Richard II, John of Gaunt's nephew, left 5 or 6,000 marks for the better sustenance of the lepers at Westminster and Bermondsey (*Rolls of Parliament*, Vol. III, p. 421a).
- 38 *Cal. City Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1381–1412*, p. 289.
- 39 *ibid.*, 1413–37, pp. 125, 132.
- 40 W. Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (1856), pp. 139, 144; *D.N.B.*, Vol. III, pp. 1064–5.
- 41 Guildhall Records, MS. Cal., 1416–1590, p. 47.
- 42 *ibid.*, p. 45b; and *Cal. Letter Book L*, p. 102.
- 43 Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 2 Moone.
- 44 i.e. Kingsland.
- 45 Guildhall, MS. Cal. of Repertories, 1495–1552, pp. 74b, 75a; and Letter Book M, f. 246b.
- 46 Guildhall, MS. Cal. of Repertories, 1495–1552, p. 75; Letter Book P, f. 66b; R, f. 36; V, f. 113b (MS. Calendar); T. Vicary, *Anatomie* (1888 edition of 1548 text = E.E. Text Society, Extra Series, LIII), p. 157 and app. iii, 149.
- 47 D'Arcy Power, *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1123–1923* (1923), p. 47.
- 48 Guildhall, Repert., 12/1, f. 154.
- 49 St. Bartholomew's Hospital MSS., Ha 1/1, f. 1. I am very much indebted to Miss V. Stokes (Asst. Archivist) for allowing me to use her transcripts of these hospital deeds. Ha = Journals, Hb = Ledgers, Ha 4/1 = Order Book, and Rep. = Repertory.
- 50 *ibid.*, Ha 1/1, f. 4, 29v.
- 51 Clay, p. 47.
- 52 Hb 1/1, f. 277v, 305v, 306v.
- 53 Hb 1/2, f. 280.
- 54 Moore, Vol. II, p. 218.
- 55 *ibid.*, p. 276.
- 56 *ibid.*, p. 282.
- 57 Hb 1/3, f. 34; 2Hb 1/3, f. 53.
- 58 2 Hb 1/3, f. 321.
- 59 J. Paget, *Records of Harvey in Extracts from the Journals of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew* (1846), p. 13.
- 60 Moore, Vol. II, pp. 317–18.
- 61 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 339. In 1650 4d. a day for the patients was considered too little 'in these present dear times' (Ha 1/5, f. 48v, 49). The surgeons were still receiving £30 yearly in 1754 (Moore, p. 372).
- 62 Hb 1/3, f. 305 *et passim*.
- 63 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 483.
- 64 Hb 1/4.
- 65 J. Paget, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- 66 D'Arcy Power, *op. cit.*, Plate xviii (opp. p. 46); from Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata* (1815).
- 67 Ha 1/5, f. 136.
- 68 Ha 1/6, f. 28, 36, 39v, 76; and Moore, Vol. II, p. 330.
- 69 Ha 1/7, f. 95v, 122v; and Moore, Vol. II, p. 339.
- 70 Ha 1/10, f. 46v, 53v, 85v, 115, 138v, 301v; and Moore, Vol. II, pp. 351, 360.

- 71 Hosp. Journal 12, p. 488.
- 72 Ha 4/1, f. 53v; Ha 1/13, pp. 164, 166, 171; and Moore, Vol. II, pp. 372, 376, 867.
- 73 Williams, *Early Holborn*, no. 1642 (from Cartulary of St. Giles's Hospital).
- 74 *ibid.*, no. 1642; Parton, *St. Giles's*, p. 46.
- 75 Parton, pp. 42, 46.
- 76 *ibid.*, p. 42.
- 77 *ibid.*, pp. 42, 46; Williams, no. 1643 (from Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem).
- 78 Parton, p. 42; Williams, nos. 1622, 1645 (St. Giles's Cartulary).
- 79 Williams, no. 1643 (St. John's Cartulary).
- 80 *ibid.*, nos. 1033, 1554, 1624, 1644, 1646.
- 81 Parton, p. 43.
- 82 Williams, nos. 1033, 1624.
- 83 Parton, p. 43.
- 84 *ibid.*, p. 44.
- 85 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 86 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 87 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 88 *Cal., City Letter Books, H*, p. 343.
- 89 *ibid.*
- 90 *Cal. Letter Book I*, p. 184.
- 91 *ibid.*
- 92 *Cal., Letter Book K*, pp. 142-3.
- 93 *ibid.*
- 94 Letter Book M, f. 246b.
- 95 *ibid.*
- 96 Letter Book P, f. 66b; City Repertory 9, f. 117b.
- 97 City Rep. 10, f. 269.
- 98 *ibid.*, f. 334b; 11, f. 361b.
- 99 *ibid.*
- 100 City Rep. 12 (No. 1), f. 142b.

1. BERMONDSEY LEPER HOSPITAL

The only well-founded reference to lepers at Bermondsey is in the will of Richard II.¹ He left five or six thousand marks 'for the better sustenance of the lepers and their chaplains appointed by us at Westminster and Bermondsey'.

A few years later, in 1412, it is asserted that Henry IV was at an old stone house in Bermondsey 'to be cured of a leprosie'.² Henry IV certainly in the July of that year signed two charters at Rotherhithe,³ which was part of Bermondsey. In his lifetime Henry IV was accounted a leper.⁴

This house would have been the responsibility of the abbot and convent of Bermondsey.

NOTES

1 *Rolls of Parlia.*, Vol. III, p. 421a.

2 Manning and Bray, *The History . . . of Surrey*, I (1804), p. 229. The reference has not been traced.

3 *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1341-1417*, p. 447 (*bis*).

4 *D.N.B.*

2. ENFIELD, ST. LEONARD'S HOSPITAL FOR LEPERS

To this leper hospital only one reference has been found. This records that Henry II in 1270 granted simple protection for 3 years to the poor lepers of the house of St. Leonard without Enfield.¹ No county is stated, but Enfield in Middlesex seems to be the only place of that name.² The hospital site is unknown.

NOTES

1 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266-72*, p. 436.

2 E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1947 ed.), p. 159.

3. HAMMERSMITH LEPER HOSPITAL

The first and only mediaeval mention of this leper hospital has been found in the will, dated 1500, of Dame Joan Frowyk of Ealing.¹ Her husband, Sir Thomas Frowyk, had died in 1485 seised, *inter alia*, of the manors of 'Gonelsbury' (Gunnorsbury) and 'Palyngeswyke',² so that his widow may have known this hospital personally. She bequeathed 4d. each, to pray for her soul, to every leper, "be it man or woman", in the lazar houses of St. Giles beside Holborn, Newington Green (Kingsland), the Loke beyond St. George's Bar (Southwark), Hammersmith and Knightsbridge.

In 1549 Hammersmith Hospital, like the other lazar houses round London except St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, St. James's, Westminster and Enfield, came under the care of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, West Smithfield, and the next reference to Hammersmith is in 1555-56, when the inmates there were to share in the 26s. 8d. paid by St. Bartholomew's Hospital to the poor of the lazar houses under their control.³ Then in 1558-59 a woman was sent from St. Bartholomew's to Hammersmith;⁴ and in 1559-60 the hospital sent another two patients to John Golsyngper, the Keeper.⁵

In 1578 and again in 1581 John Payne or Penne "of Hammersmith", probably a relative of William Payne, the then owner of Pallingswick,⁶ was proctor of "the poor house or hospital of Hammersmith". He gave two bonds in the above years that he would truly account for the alms which he had licence to collect for the poor and maimed of Hammersmith from good and godly disposed people within the counties of Buckingham and Northampton. The sums collected were to be handed over to the Guider of the hospital.⁷

In 1590-1 St. Bartholomew's Hospital received 3s. 4d. from a certain Mr. Wythers 'towards keeping Hawkesworth at Hammersmith';⁸ and in 1595-96 a larger sum of 20s. from Mr. Higham for Tymothy Wamesley.⁹ Meantime in 1591 the 'Spittleman at Hammersmith' appears in the Fulham Churchwardens' Accounts;^{10a} and in 1607-08 St. Bartholomew's received £4 'of old Betteris, who was sent to Hammersmith by order of the Governors'.^{10b}

Each year from 1602 to 1622 the Guider of Hammersmith received at irregular intervals varying sums from the Governors of St. Bartholomew's for the cost of the patients,

and for himself.¹¹ The yearly totals vary between £5 13s. 4d. in 1602–3 to £13 10s. in 1605–06. Only in the 1612–13 account are any details given against any item: £1 for the care of one person, and £2 for the care of two other persons. There were six persons in all, costing £13. In 1621, and again in 1622 and 1623, these varying amounts ceased and a yearly stipend of about £9 10s. took their place. These are the last Hammersmith entries in the St. Bartholomew's records.

Although St. Bartholomew's Hospital governors administered the Hammersmith leper house the ownership rested elsewhere, as in the case of the Highgate spital. In the early part of the seventeenth century Isabella, Lady Rich, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Cope, held the hospital at Hammersmith: but as the hospital, which was copyhold, had been demised without the consent of the lord of the manor of Fulham, it was forfeited to him in 1618. The appeal for its restoration by Sir Henry and Lady Rich was, however, successful.¹²

In a later Fulham parish book is a payment 'to Goodwyve Baker, in tyme of her weakness, before she got right to the hospital, where she died a pitiful creature'.¹³ Another entry, in the Hammersmith Churchwardens' Book for 1677, relates to the expenditure incurred in 'burying the woman at the spittle-house'.¹⁴ This is the last known reference to the hospital, which seems to have fallen into gradual and silent decay for lack of endowment and support.¹⁵

John Norden on his map of Middlesex in 1593 marks 'Ye Hospitale' as south of Palingswick (now Ravenscourt Park), on the north side of the western road (King Street), just west of the Creek.¹⁶ The editor of the London Survey volume on Hammersmith confirmed this position from the Fulham Court Rolls for 18 April, 1616.¹⁷ By 1705 'not a stone, not so much as the Remembrance of it, is now left'.¹⁸ Judging from the irregular south-eastern boundary of Palingswick, the hospital probably stood not far from the highway, opposite the northern end of Rivercourt Road.

KEEPERS, ETC.

John Golsyngper, Keeper	1561
John Payne, Proctor	1578, 1581

NOTES

- 1 Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 2 Moone.
- 2 Survey of London, Vol. VI, *Hammersmith* (1915), pp. 105–7. Sir Thomas was buried in Ealing church. His family had probably owned Palingswick from before 1390. His father Henry was twice Mayor of London, in 1435–6 and 1444–5.
- 3 N. Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), Vol. II, p. 219. See St. Bart's Hosp. Ledger Hb 1/1, f. 277v.
- 4 *ibid.*, f. 370v.
- 5 Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 6 Survey, pp. 107–8. A certain John Payne bought the manor in 1548–9 and died in 1573. His son, William Payne, lived at Palingswick and probably died there in 1626. He was succeeded by his nephew, another John, later M.P. for St. Ives.
- 7 B.M., Harl. Ch. 86, B.11 and 25 (transcript of the 1578 bond in T. Faulkner, *Hammersmith* (1839), p. 264).

- 8 St. Bart's Hosp. Hb 1/3, f. 46v.
 9 *ibid.*, f. 132.
 10a Lysons, Vol. II (1795), p. 421; and Faulkner, *Fulham*, p. 342.
 10b Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/3, f. 397.
 11 *ibid.*, f. 279v, 572; and Hb 1/4.
 12 Survey, p. xvi, from Fulham Court Rolls.
 13 W. H. Draper, *Hammersmith* (1913), pp. 10–11.
 14 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 421; and Faulkner, *Fulham*, p. 342.
 15 Faulkner, *Hammersmith*, p. 264.
 16 Lysons (Vol. II, p. 421) and Faulkner (p. 342) confused the Creek with Stamford Brook, which is farther west.
 17 Survey, p. xvi.
 18 W. Bowack, *Antiquities of Middlesex* (1705), p. 43.

4. HIGHGATE (OR HOLLOWAY) LEPER HOSPITAL

This hospital was of very late foundation compared with other leper hospitals. It owed its origin to William Pole, sometime yeoman of the Crown to Edward IV. William Pole was smitten with leprosy and, realising that others were in worse distress—suffering from the same disease but also destitute and walking at large in the realm to the offence of others—he prevailed on his master the king in 1473 to grant him a parcel of land, 60 by 24 feet, lying in the highway between Highgate and Holloway, in the county of Middlesex.¹ On this land William Pole built his hospital, complete with chapel, and dedicated it to St. Anthony, though the inscription on the hospital seal is 'To Christ and St. Anthony'.²

As the king had given at least the land for the hospital he claimed the right to appoint the master or governor, and this right the Crown had until the reign of Charles I. Poor William Pole soon died, for only four years after he had founded his hospital the king granted it to another leper, Robert Wylson of the City of London, saddler, 'for his good service in divers fields and elsewhere';³ Wylson had evidently been a soldier at some time. Then in 1498 John Gymnar and Katherine his wife were appointed to the keepership for life of the hospital with its chapel of St. Anthony between Highgate and 'Holwey'.⁴

The next notice of the hospital occurs in 1517, when Richard Cloudesley bequeathed 6s. 8d. 'to the poor lazars of Hyegate, to pray for me by name in their bede-roll'.⁵

In 1533 the Crown granted Symon Guyn for life the spittle house of Holloway.⁶

It was in 1549 that the City lazar houses were taken over by St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Highgate, still partly a private institution, may have been taken over a year earlier, for in 1548 a man was sent there as a patient from St. Bartholomew's; and later in the same year another three were sent, and were given drinks on the way. In 1551–52 another new patient went by cart, at a cost of 12d.⁷ Meantime, on 8 March, 1550, two Governors of St. Bartholomew's were sent to view the Highgate Spital, and on 21 November, 1551, the St. Bartholomew's Hospital committee had before it a report of the spital numbers and order, together with an inventory.⁸ Its revenues were small and leprosy evidently persisted in the London area, for John Stafford the Governor, and the brethren and sisters of the house of lepers in the parish of Islington in this same year appointed Thomas Ecckylls to be their proctor for one year, to collect alms as far afield as Yorkshire and Lancashire.⁹

However, the hospital could not have catered only for lepers, for in 1555 John Stafford received 6s. 8d. for the keep of an epileptic, Roger Long, 'one of the poor of this house (St. Bartholomew's) diseased of the falling evil or sickness, sent unto Highgate Spital there to remain'.¹⁰ Edward the Innocent, another patient with the same complaint, was sent to Highgate at the charge of St. Bartholomew's in 1559, and travelled by cart. In the same year William Parker, Keeper of Highgate, received 6s. 8d. on behalf of Isbell Florence and Thomas Mallos. A year earlier, in 1557-58, a man had been sent from Highgate to Bridewell. No reason was given for this transfer, the only one recorded. Another interesting entry, of 1560, relates to St. Thomas's Hospital: the governors there sent a poor incurable to St. Bartholomew's Hospital to be sent on to a lazar house. Highgate was chosen.¹¹ William Parker is recorded as Keeper in 1559 and 1561.¹² In 1563 the Crown appointed William Storie in consideration 'of his service in the wars of our progenitors and in consideration of his age'. Highgate was now described as 'our hospital or almshouse at Highgate, in our county of Middlesex, commonly called the Poor House or Hospital of Highgate in the parish of Islington'. From the revenues William Storie was to find victuals for the poor persons there, and to keep the premises in repair.¹³ The next mention of Highgate Spital comes in the 1565 will of Sir Roger Cholmeley, founder of Highgate School. He made a bequest of 40s. to the 'pore hospitall at Highgate'.¹⁴ Then in 1577 comes news of an operation: William Storie, still the Guide of the lazar house of Highgate, was to have 13s. 4d. for his charges in relation to a woman sent there to be cured. He caused her leg to be amputated, 'which otherwise would have rotted off'.¹⁵

William Storie died in 1584 and a grant similar to his was made to John Randall, 'in consideration of his infirmity'. A second grant to him in 1589 described the property in more detail: the almshouse and all and singular orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures and hereditaments.¹⁶ These particulars, some of which may be common form only, were probably added because a certain John Gage and Christopher Robinson were claiming the lands asserted by John (or Robert) Randall to belong to the spital house at Highgate.¹⁷ During Randall's term of office patients of both sexes were being received for treatment. They were John Crown, Rose Evans (40s. received for her), Robert Stone (3s. 8d.), Thomas Loncaster (6s. 8d.), and one Morris, for whose keep the parishioners of St. Alphage (? by London Wall) paid 20s.¹⁸ From these notices, and Mr. Tomlins' study of the parish registers of St. Mary's, Islington,¹⁹ it is clear that from the latter half of the sixteenth century the type of inmates at Highgate made it more like a poor house than a hospital, and this conclusion is borne out by the later descriptions of the institution. Some of the inmates died of the plague in 1577, 1578, 1579 and 1593. One of those who thus died in 1593 was Anne, daughter of Thomas Watson, governor since the death of John Randall in 1590.²⁰ The Queen had appointed Thomas Watson in consideration of his infirmity. He was followed in 1605 by William Stockwell, for the same reason.²¹ In 1606-07 and 1607-08 this Guider of Highgate received 6s. 8d. each year from St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Then in 1608-09 the amount soared to £6 13s. 4d. In 1610-11 came £7 6s. 8d., and in the next three years £8, £5 13s. 4d. and £5 respectively. Payments were also made in 1621, 1622 and 1623, and then no more.²² Highgate Spital, however, continued on its own for some years. Charles I made the last appointment to the governorship. He chose John Harbert, surgeon, who had died by September, 1650. The spital then closed its doors. As it had belonged to the Crown it was surveyed by

the Parliamentary authorities, in that month and year.²³ It was reported that the spital house was of timber with a tiled roof, and had been newly whitewashed. It consisted of a hall and, on the south side, a small kitchen and another small room adjoining. There were two more small rooms on the ground floor, and two very small chambers over them. Over the hall and kitchen were three more small chambers. There was also an orchard and garden 'very well planted'. The area covered by the spital and its grounds was about two roods, and the whole was worth £9 per annum. The survey adds that the house 'standeth on a pleasant hill in a good ayre'.²⁴ The Keeper was dead and there do not appear to have been any inmates, so Parliament sold the property in 1653 to Ralph Harrison of London, esquire, for £130 10s.²⁵

The hospital stood near the foot of Highgate Hill on the west side, facing Whittington Stone. Brunswick Road and Salisbury Road and some houses facing the high road were built on the site in 1852.²⁶ The exact position of the hospital was ascertained by Tomlins from the court rolls of the manor of Clerkenwell, where the field in this position opposite the stone was for long called the Field Lazarette or Lazarcot Field.²⁷ Tomlins also noted that some land in this position was understood to be held on the tenure of keeping the stone in repair.²⁸ Early descriptions and pictures²⁹ of the first stone, removed in 1795, show that it was then a truncated pillar on a square base surrounded by a pavement about 18 feet in circumference. Tomlins concluded, probably rightly, that the stone was the remains of a wayside cross in the roadway in front of the hospital chapel of St. Anthony, and had been erected to attract the notice of travellers to the needs of the lepers.³⁰ In consequence of this stone and its large base there was a wide curve on this side of the road, not straightened until 1853. The present stone, the third, was originally erected in 1821. It stands on the edge of the pavement, a little farther to the west than the original stone.³¹

The hospital seal (plate 1(a)) has a bronze oval matrix.³² In the centre are two figures under canopies. The younger figure on the left holds a sphere with cross in his left hand, whilst two fingers of his right hand are raised in blessing. The left-hand figure is St. Anthony, bearded, with his hands together in prayer. By his right side is a T-shaped staff, from his girdle hangs a bell, and at his left foot is a pig. Around the edge of the seal, in Roman lettering, is the inscription: "S[igillum] Hospitalis S[ancti] Ihesu S[ancti] Antoni de Holwei".

MASTERS, ETC.

William Pole, the founder ³³	1473
Robert Wylson, governor ³⁴	1477 appointed
John Gymnar and Katherine his wife, keepers ³⁵	1498 appointed
Symon Guyn, keeper ³⁶	1533 appointed
John Stafforde, governor, keeper, proctor ³⁷	1551–52, 1555
William Parker, keeper ³⁸	1559, 1561
William Storrye, governor or guide ³⁹	1563 appointed, 1577, 1584 died
John Randall ⁴⁰	1584 appointed, 1586–87, 1589, 1590 died

Thomas Watson ⁴¹	1590 appointed, 1593
William Stockwell, guide ⁴²	1605 appointed
John Harbert, surgeon, the last keeper ⁴³	1650 September, dead

NOTES

- 1 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77*, p. 373. Stow, Vol. II, p. 147, gives 34 ft. Miss Clay's references (*Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 102) to two Henry VI patents do not refer to this hospital.
- 2 Soc. of Antiquaries, Seals, B 8.4.
- 3 *C.P.R., 1476-85*, p. 48.
- 4 T. E. Tomlins, *A Perambulation of Islington* (1858), p. 135: his patent roll reference has not been traced.
- 5 Will in the London Registry, cited in full by J. Nelson, *History and Antiquities of Islington* (1811), p. 303.
- 6 *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. VI, p. 196 (5).
- 7 St. B's Hosp. Ledgers, Hb 1/1, f. 16, 55, 110.
- 8 Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 4, 15.
- 9 *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, VI, C. 6891. The endorsement reads 'The Powre howse of Hallowsyd in the paryshe of Islyngton'.
- 10 Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 122, 277.
- 11 *ibid.*, f. 196, 196v, 205 (*bis*), 330v.
- 12 *ibid.*, f. 196v; and N. Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), Vol. II, p. 278.
- 13 Tomlins, *op. cit.*, p. 136, from Pat. Roll 7 Eliz., p. 4, m. 92.
- 14 Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 24 Morrison.
- 15 Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 282.
- 16 Tomlins, p. 139, from Rot. Pat. 26 Eliz. p. 14, m. 35; and 31 Eliz. p. 8, m. 32.
- 17 *ibid.*, p. 138, from Exch. Law Suit, 27 Eliz. Hilary, 16 Feb.
- 18 Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/2, f. 359; 1/3, f. 97v.
- 19 Tomlins, pp. 137, 212n. In 1608 an infant described as 'a lazar of our spital' was christened.
- 20 *ibid.*, p. 138, from Rot. Pat. 32 Eliz. p. 12, m. 29.
- 21 *ibid.*, from Rot. Pat. 2 Jac. I, p. 23, m. 38.
- 22 Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/4.
- 23 Tomlins, p. 139, a transcript from Augm. Office, Parlia. Surveys, Middlesex, no. 45.
- 24 John Norden in 1593 commented on 'the sweete salutarie aire' and delightful view over London (*Spec. Brit.*, p. 22). By 1650 the hospital chapel had gone, or been converted into the hall or taken into it.
- 25 Tomlins, p. 139, from Rot. Claus. 1653, p. 10, m. 1.
- 26 Tomlins, p. 134.
- 27 *ibid.*, p. 141; and Nelson (1823 ed.), p. 76. A later name was Blockhouse Field.
- 28 Tomlins, p. 140, from *Gentleman's Magazine*, xciv (1824), ii, pp. 200, 290.
- 29 Tomlins, pp. 141, 142.
- 30 The stone would in this case have been later than the time of Dick Whittington.
- 31 Tomlins, pp. 140-1.
- 32 Soc. of Antiquaries, Seals, B 8.4. In 1902 the owner of the matrix was Mr. George Withers of Newbury, Berkshire.
- 33 *C.P.R., 1467-77*, p. 373.
- 34 *ibid.*, 1476-85, p. 48.
- 35 Tomlins, p. 135.
- 36 *L. and P. of Henry VIII*, Vol. VI, p. 196 (5).
- 37 *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, VI, C. 6891; and Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, f. 277.
- 38 Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 196v; and Moore, Vol. II, p. 278.
- 39 Tomlins, p. 139.
- 40 *ibid.*, pp. 138-9.
- 41 *ibid.*, pp. 137-8.
- 42 *ibid.*, p. 138.
- 43 *ibid.*, p. 139.

5. HOLBORN, THE LEPER HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES-IN-THE-FIELDS¹

This leper hospital was founded by Henry I's wife, Queen Maud or Matilda, who died in 1118.² The 'Historia Anglicana' gives 1118 as the foundation date. Stow says 'about 1117'; and others suggest 1106-09, if the entries in Leland's *Collectanea*³ are in chronological order. A 1101 date seems too early.⁴

The hospital was dedicated to St. Giles, the patron saint of cripples and therefore of lepers.⁵ The hospital, with an oratory, was built on the south side of the old Roman highway from London to the west, on the curve of St. Giles's High Street near the present Charing Cross Road (once Hog Lane). The existing parish church of St. Giles probably stands on the same site as the hospital chapel. In A.D. 972-5 the land under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Westminster included all the land of the present St. Giles's parish lying on the south side of High Holborn.⁶ The 1222 perambulation⁷ of the abbot's bounds, drawn up after the foundation of the hospital, significantly excluded this area, and the abbot never laid claim to it. Queen Matilda gave the hospital all the soke or manor of St. Giles and probably at that time caused the southern part to be taken out of the jurisdiction of the abbot of Westminster.⁸ The hospital precinct comprised only a small part of the manor but the master of the hospital held court, of course, for the whole.⁹

The queen endowed her hospital with 60s. yearly rent issuing from Queenhythe, which was the perquisite of the queens for many years.¹⁰ Queenhythe was granted for a time to Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, and later, when, in 1246 the City obtained control of this public landing stage, the 60s. yearly rent due to St. Giles's for the food of the lepers was specially noted.¹¹ The royal endowment of this 60s. was supplemented by many gifts, to the value of over £100, from the citizens of London; and it was probably because of one citizen's gift in particular that in *c.* 1354 the mayor and commonalty claimed that the hospital had been founded by this individual, himself a leper.¹² His name was not given but in Henry II's confirmation charter and in Pope Alexander's bull (*temp.* John) Robert son of Ralph is specially mentioned as having given many tenements in London. The citizens had a very close connection with the hospital not only because most of the patients must have come from London but because Queen Matilda granted the supervision of the hospital to the City.¹³ For most of the Middle Ages the mayor and commonalty regularly appointed two Wardens for this and the other leper hospitals in the London area.

Henry II, Queen Matilda's grandson, confirmed¹⁴ her gift of the site and the 60s. rent from Queenhythe for the lepers' food. Henry II added another 60s. yearly from his treasury to buy a habit or dress for the lepers, and a further 30s. 5d. from his rents in Surrey to provide lighting. Other property being confirmed to the hospital comprised the church of Feltham in Middlesex and land in that parish from Hawysia, Countess of Roumère; a freehold in the hundred of Isleworth from Bernard de St. Valericus; land at 'la Barre' (of Holborn) from Richard junior, canon of St. Paul's; 4 acres of land bought from William Pinaera (later knighted); 2 acres from Geoffrey son of Fredessant; 10s. rent in the parish of St. Clement Danes given by Peter son of Meileme; all the land in London given by Robert son of Ralph; and other tenements there.

It is clear from a second charter of Henry II that St. Giles's Hospital was a royal free chapel, *i.e.*, not under the jurisdiction of the bishop. In John's reign, during the Interdict,

the hospital came under the special protection of Pope Alexander IV, from whose bull¹⁵ we learn that the lepers were trying to live as a religious community. The bull gives further particulars of the hospital site: the property included gardens, and 8 acres of land adjoining the hospital on the north and south. Roger son of Hubert had joined the list of donors, and Earl Baldwin de Rediver's name is linked with that of the Countess Hawysia's gift of land in Feltham. R. de Valence had given certain land and woods in Heston and so had Richard, Bishop of London. Matilda de Stokes' interest in Canon Richard Young's land had been bought up.¹⁶ The brethren of St. Giles's had also bought from Brungere le Stepne an acre of land lying near the hospital. It was in John's reign that the above land in Feltham was leased to Robert Simple 'on condition that he received and entertained any of the infirm brothers who passed that way with the best food that he had'.¹⁷ These travellers would have been collectors of alms.

In 1245 the settlement of an early lawsuit¹⁸ is recorded between Walter, the master of the hospital, and William de Kent and Egidia his wife. The master had hindered the plaintiffs from having a right of way through the hospital lands from William's gate to the church. The plaintiffs and their household were to be allowed a footway to the church and were to be given a key to the hospital door, on which a lock was to be placed. For this amenity the plaintiffs were to pay 8d. yearly.

The rural nature of the district and the activities of St. Giles's in the 13th century are illustrated by a deed of 1258–69.¹⁹ William the Chaplain, master of St. Giles's, and the brethren and sisters thereof, granted to Walter Osgood for 2s. yearly a messuage in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn fronting on the high road. To the north was land belonging to the master and brethren (late to James Baldwyn) and in order to retain access to this agricultural holding the master and brethren were to have through Walter Osgood's messuage free entrance and exit for themselves, on foot or on horseback, and for their ploughs and carts. On the street frontage was to be a special gate, wide enough for a cart, to be made and maintained by St. Giles's.

A year or two later trouble arose over the appointment for life of the two wardens or keepers of the hospital, who had full powers over the administration of all its property. In 1246 the Crown had made the appointments.²⁰ In 1261–2 it was registered on the Patent Rolls²¹ that the citizens of London had always been accustomed to appoint, by consent of the hospital brethren and by royal mandate. The citizens, having secured their point, thereupon chose the same two citizens of London as the king had chosen. *The citizens then tried to go further and secure the right to appoint the master of the hospital as well.* In 1286 Edward I had made the appointment on the resignation of Ralph de Septem Fontibus.²² The next year this royal appointment was confirmed after a legal action on the issue had been lost by the commonalty of London on the ground that the hospital had been founded by the king's ancestors.²³

The king having won his case against the citizens over the right of appointment to the mastership next had to defend his position against the claim of the bishop of London to exercise the right of visitation. At an inquisition held in 1293²⁴ it was asserted that the hospital was a free chapel of the king, that the hospital advowson had ever since its foundation belonged to the Crown (except when it had temporarily come into the hands of the citizens), and that upon appointment the master (also confusingly called the warden) had at once exercised spiritual jurisdiction both in the parish and precinct of St. Giles's 'without any intermeddling' of the bishop (or archbishop, when the see was

vacant). Of all the hospital's real property, only the church of Feltham was under the bishop. The king alone had the right to visit St. Giles's Hospital. Yet in 1259, 'when the hospital was in the hands of the citizens of London by commission of the king', Bishop Fulk Basset had visited it, thanks to the weakness and impotence of William the Warden.

The hospital henceforth felt the weight of the king's power over it. In 1299 Edward I suddenly granted²⁵ the whole revenues and administration of the hospital to the master and brethren (or friars) of the Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, who had their English headquarters at Burton Lazars in Leicestershire.²⁶ St. Giles's Leper Hospital thus became a cell to this house, which by then was for the poor, aged and sick, not lepers. As the gift of St. Giles's Hospital was in return for a remission of 40 marks payable yearly from the Exchequer (by gift of Richard I) to Burton Lazars, and now in arrears, the king's action seems to have been due to financial exigencies. He was apparently short of ready money, perhaps because the Jews had been expelled from England in 1290. So long as the new owners of St. Giles's saw to the essential needs of the inmates, it was laid down that they could have all the rest of the revenues. Under the royal grant the head of Burton Lazars became *ex officio* Master of St. Giles's. Sometimes he appointed a deputy.²⁷

The year after the transfer (1300) Edward I ordered the mayor and sheriffs to assist St. Giles's Hospital to recover certain arrears of debt from rents in the City: otherwise serious curtailment of the establishment would be necessary.²⁸ The Master, accompanied by the mayor's serjeant, took an active part in asserting his claims, and in 1302 personally visited John Orpedeman's fish shop in Bridge Street to collect two years' arrears of one mark rent. When the Master attempted to lay hands on a fish lying on the stall in order to distrain for his rent the owner attacked him. Orpedeman said in court that he had only wanted to prevent his fish being thrown down in the mud. The case dragged on for three years, till 1305,²⁹ when another similar case came up for hearing in the mayor's court. This time the Master said that he entered Peter Adrian's house in Soper Lane and took as a pledge a piece of wax weighing 20 lbs. for 16s. arrears due on an annual rent of 8s. The defendant took away the wax, and asserted that the house was not held from St. Giles's and that no 8s. rent was due.³⁰

The hospital's affairs did not improve, partly owing to quarrels and waste in the hospital itself. It was probably owing to these dissensions that in 1303 some of the inmates broke the locks off the gates and allowed Robert de Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, to enter and usurp the office of visitor. Some papal letters, charters, writings and muniments were carried off, and Brother Crispin, the keeper (master) complained to the Crown. A commission³¹ was therefore appointed and in the same year Edward I took the hospital under his protection and appointed as Master Geoffrey de Birston, one of the brothers of the house. He was to straighten matters out, and collect and apply the hospital revenues to their legitimate use, the sustentation of the diseased inmates.³²

The practice of sending non-leprous persons to the hospital, commonly employed by the officers of the royal household in the case of decayed domestics and others, also caused trouble. The master, brethren and sisters petitioned in Parliament against this usage in 1315.³³ They said that the hospital had been founded for lepers only and that healthy persons ought on no account to live and intermix with the diseased. Edward II gave way, and his verdict in favour of the hospital was incorporated in a new charter, entered on the patent rolls.³⁴

The farming activities of the master and brethren continued, as a deed of 1321 shows.³⁵

William de Northmymes, a farrier, was granted the use of a messuage in Holborn measuring 51 by 34 feet and worth 20s. for the service of maintaining the iron and steel of the hospital's two ploughs. William was also, at his own expense, to shoe the 7 farm horses and the master's horse, and bind yearly one pair of cart wheels with iron supplied by the hospital authorities, who would give him a gallon of ale each time.

In 1338, at the onset of the Hundred Years' War, the master of St. Giles's Hospital, usually like other religious houses exempt from scot and lot, paid 50s. to help put the city into a state of defence pursuant to the king's command.³⁶

A corrody granted in 1342³⁷ gives a different glimpse of hospital conditions. The master and brethren gave to Sarah, widow of John de Baillol, a corrody for life, including a weekly allowance of 7 white loaves, 4 black loaves (such as the sisters received for their maids), and 12d. for ale and kitchen. There was also to be a yearly allowance of 1 bushel of peas, 1 of oatmeal for porridge, 1 of salt, 52 faggots, a quarter of coals for the hearth, 1s. for lighting, 14s. 4d. for clothing, and 20s. for her chamber. Other corrodies followed. Perhaps it was no wonder that in 1343, 1344 and 1351 messengers or proctors had to be sent out under royal protection to collect alms.³⁸

In 1347, possibly as a result of the Black Death, Edward II ordered the mayor and sheriffs to see that all lepers left the City within 15 days.³⁹ The City had by this time set up its own leper hospitals but it naturally wanted to use to the full the Hospital of St. Giles, on which it had always had a claim. The citizens therefore in 1348 complained to the king that since the master and brothers of Burton Lazars had taken over St. Giles's the friars had ousted the lepers and replaced them by brothers and sisters of the Order of St. Lazarus, who were not diseased at all and ought not to associate with those who were. After an enquiry it was agreed in 1354 that henceforth the mayor and commonalty should for ever present to the warden of the hospital 14 lepers of the city and suburbs or, if there were not enough there, from the county of Middlesex. If the citizens gave further gifts, the number of lepers was to be increased in proportion.⁴⁰ Probably in connection with the above petition the Chancellor, John de Ufford, who was *ex officio* royal visitor to the hospital, drew up new rules for the management of the hospital:⁴¹ unfortunately these have not survived.

In 1375 an exceptional, and remunerative, corrody was granted.⁴² Nicholas de Exton, a rich city fishmonger, paid £40 for the use for life of a house, garden and curtilage in the precinct for himself, his wife Katherine and his brother Richard. There they were all to live safely in sanctuary during a great civic quarrel.

The affairs of the hospital continued not to prosper and in 1384 the new king, Richard II, required the aldermen of London to make returns of the yearly value of all the tenements and rents in the city belonging to St. Giles's Hospital.⁴³ The next year the king appointed some of his clerks, the Chancellor being much occupied, as visitors, to enquire into defaults in the books, vestments, ornaments, houses and other buildings, and into the dissipation, waste and alienation of the hospital lands, rents and possessions.⁴⁴ Four years later the king appointed another commission⁴⁵ to visit the hospital in place of William de Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, the new Chancellor, who was again too busy to attend in person. Various defects had been reported, so that the hospital was miserably depressed and in debt. The visitors were to reform abuses and remove incompetent officials. Meantime, in an attempt to safeguard the position of Burton Lazars, its Master in 1387 had had engrossed on the patent rolls an *inspeximus* and confirmation charter of

the 1299 royal grant of St. Giles's Hospital to his house.⁴⁶ Nevertheless the king took the hospital once more under his special protection and in 1389 appointed as warden or master for life John Macclesfield, one of his royal clerks,⁴⁷ who removed his predecessor Nicholas de Dovoire, Master of Burton.⁴⁸ Two years later Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, usurped the right of visitation and jurisdiction by collusion with Richard de Kynble, then a 'brother' of the hospital, and his brother Hugh. This action of the bishop was in spite of the opposition of the warden of the hospital, and its brothers, sisters and men. John Macclesfield duly reported the intrusion and had an account of it recorded on the patent rolls,⁴⁹ together with a record of a former bishop's similar intrusion, and the verdict of the 1293 inquisition confirming that the Crown had the right of appointment to the mastership and that the hospital was a royal free chapel subject to no interference from anyone. The choice of one of the king's tools as master, and this formal recording, were evidently the prelude to another unexpected action, prompted again by financial considerations, on the part of Richard II. On 8 August, 1391, he ignored the rights of Burton Lazars and handed over St. Giles's Hospital, with its advowson and all its lands, in frankalmoine, to his grandfather's new Cistercian foundation of the Abbey of St. Mary Graces on Tower Hill, in exchange for the royal grant to the abbot of 110 marks from the farm of the church of Scardeburgh (Scarborough).⁵⁰ Walter Lynton, the dispossessed Master of Burton Lazars, soon instituted legal proceedings.⁵¹ He complained that on Monday, 11 September, 1391, the abbot of St. Mary Graces and three others had forcibly taken away from St. Giles's 8 horses, 12 oxen, 2 cows, 4 boars, 12 sows, 140 pigs, 60 geese, 40 capons, 6 cocks, 40 hens, 100 pullets (20 a year old), furniture, kitchen utensils, carts, grain, books, vestments and ecclesiastical ornaments, all together worth over £1,000.

In 1393-4 John Macclesfield, whom the abbot of St. Mary Graces had left as Master of St. Giles's, took advantage of his position to procure a grant to himself on a 24-year lease⁵² of a tenement, possibly the master's house, within the precinct on the west of the hospital entrance. With it went two gardens, a courtyard and a small grove. John Macclesfield was to have whenever he needed it haybote of thorns growing on the hospital lands, 4 cartloads (drawn by 4 horses) of the best hay, and 2 cartloads (4 horses) of white straw for litter. Macclesfield also got the use of the hospital bakehouse at any time so long as he used his own fuel. For all these amenities he gave one rose a year.

The City doubted the legality of the grant of St. Giles's Hospital to the abbot of St. Mary Graces and held back various rents in the city until commanded by the king in 1393 to hand the money over to the abbot, monks and lepers.⁵³ Three years later the abbot had engrossed on the patent rolls an exemplification of Richard II's grant of St. Giles's to him, as the original had not been enrolled. In this exemplification the 110 marks were to be retained by St. Mary Graces.⁵⁴ The next to take action was Walter Lynton of Burton Lazars. In 1399 a writ⁵⁵ was issued for his arrest because he had taken the law into his own hands, had gone to St. Giles's with a crowd of armed men, had entered by force, turned out the abbot's men and servants, and was occupying the hospital premises. There he seems to have stayed.

During these troublous and expensive times the poor lepers were 'in want of maintenance'; so the new king, Henry IV, in 1401 issued a writ⁵⁶ to the mayor bidding him collect 100s. from the hospital's tenants in the city. This sum was duly handed over to five lepers, all men.⁵⁷ A few months later a similar collection and distribution took place.⁵⁸ In the same year Walter Lynton after petitioning parliament secured two writs of *scire facias*,⁵⁹ by which

the abbot of St. Mary Graces was to attend the Chancery and state his case. Walter Lynton was supported by the ex-king, Richard II. After Henry's IV's coronation he 'humbly and with great contrition prayed the king to succour the master of Burton Lazars, that the matter might be restored to his hospital of St. Giles without London, to ease the conscience and soul of the late king, who declared that by sinister information he had done the master an injury in expelling him from the hospital and making a grant of it to others'.⁶⁰ In 1402 Walter Lynton was once more in full legal possession as warden or master of St. Giles's, with the letters patent to the abbot of St. Mary Graces revoked;⁶¹ and it was probably at this time that he compiled the cartulary of the hospital.⁶² Some years later, in 1414, he had the chief royal grants to Burton Lazars relating to St. Giles's inspected, confirmed and enrolled.⁶³

During the legal proceedings noted above the abbot of St. Mary Graces had accused Walter Lynton of reducing the number of lepers, getting rid of the chaplain, clerk and servants, and replacing them by sisters, contrary to the foundation statutes. At an enquiry that followed (1402) as to whether the master and brethren used to sustain 14 lepers or not, it was found that in case of necessity the number of lepers was often reduced, by even five or more, according to the state of the hospital funds.⁶⁴ Incidentally, it was about this time that the city gallows was moved from West Smithfield to a place in or near the present St. Giles's Circus, and at the hospital gate the condemned prisoners were given a large bowl of ale, called 'St. Giles's Bowl'.⁶⁵

Leprosy was still rife in the London area in the 15th century though not so common elsewhere. As a result Edward IV gave the leper hospital of the Holy Innocents near Lincoln to Burton Lazars in 1461-2, on condition that any leprous menials of the king's servants were to be provided for in St. Giles's Hospital.⁶⁶ In the 16th century, however, the 14 inmates of St. Giles's were described as 'paupers', with no mention of leprosy.⁶⁷

In 1539 the Priory of Burton Lazars was dissolved, and with it went its dependent house of St. Giles's.⁶⁸ Three years earlier Henry VIII and the Master of Burton had agreed upon an exchange of land under which St. Giles's had lost a considerable part of its possessions without any compensation. The king had taken the manors of Feltham and Heston (except the church and rectory of the former), 10 acres of meadow in the fields of St. Martin in Westminster, and 43 acres of pasture, 2 closes and 3 messuages in St. Giles's parish, the whole worth £27.⁶⁹ All that was left was the precinct and other property in St. Giles's parish, rents in 57 parishes in London and the suburbs, and land in Edmon-ton.⁷⁰ In 1545 Henry VIII granted this property, excluding St. Giles's church, to John Dudley, Lord Lisle.⁷¹

The hospital buildings originally comprised the oratory or church, very soon partly parochial, wherein burned 'St. Giles's Light';⁷² the houses of the lepers;⁷³ the master's house; and rooms for the chaplain, a clerk, and a messenger or servant. By 1224 other brothers and sisters had been added, to carry on the administration and help the sick; and between 1224 and 1259 the master and 3 other chaplains and clerks are mentioned. In the latter year money was given to find a chaplain to celebrate perpetually divine service in the chapel of St. Michael; and in 1292 a sub-deacon was provided for, and a chaplain and a proctor are mentioned.⁷⁴ Further, a chapter house had been built by 1321.⁷⁵

The common seal⁷⁶ of St. Giles's Hospital⁷⁷ was oval, with a figure of St. Giles, the patron saint. His right hand holds out an almsbox, and in his left hand he has a staff.

The inscription reads: 'Sigillum Sancti Egidii Infirmarum.' An enlarged cast-iron facsimile of this seal is in St. Giles's church, and there is a photograph of this copy in the Survey of London volume on *St. Giles-in-the-Fields*, Part II, p. 139.

MASTERS, WARDENS, PROCURATORS, ETC.

John the Chaplain ⁷⁹	1118 or earlier
Osbert FitzGodwy ⁸⁰	?
Ralph, son of Ade ⁸¹	1186
Robert ⁸²	1186
Richard of St. Anthony ⁸³	?
Walter, procurator ⁸⁴	c. 1200
Walter de Oxonia, master ⁸⁵	1200-1
Gerard ⁸⁶	1201
William the Chaplain, master or custos ⁸⁷	1212 and earlier
William de Kirkes, procurator ⁸⁸	1216
Edward, procurator ⁸⁹	1218
Dominus Roger de Clare, master (earlier called receptor, rector and co-magister) ⁹⁰	1223
Gerard, master (procurator 1216, 1219, 1223) ⁹¹	1224
Walter the Chaplain (or Walter de Thame), master, rector (earlier procurator) ⁹²	1227 to c. 1258
William de Kirkes, master ⁹³	1253 (? 1258)
Thomas de Kirkeby ⁹⁴	1260
William the Chaplain, master ⁹⁵	c. 1260-70
William de Cokefeld (succeeded William the Chaplain; earlier procurator) ⁹⁶	1271, 1272
Brother James, master ⁹⁷	1272-3
Walter Capellanus, procurator, later master ⁹⁸	1273, 1283
Roger, master ⁹⁹	c. 1275-9
Gerard, procurator ¹⁰⁰	1279
Radulph de Septem Fontibus, a lay- man ¹⁰¹	1280 appointed; in 1286 described as dead
Henry de Dunhelm, clerk on the resignation of Radulph de Septem Fontibus ¹⁰²	1286 a royal appointment
Robert de Stapul, procurator ¹⁰³	1287
Brother Roger de Sancto Antonio, procurator, later master ¹⁰⁴	1291

William de Wytheresfeld, chaplain, master, warden ¹⁰⁵	1291 a royal appointment, 1300
Walter de Clerkenwell, chaplain, master ¹⁰⁶	c. 1293 appointed
Geoffrey de Birston, a brother of the house ¹⁰⁷	1293 a royal appointment, 1303
Henry de Cateby ¹⁰⁸	1297
Brother Richard Leighton, master of Burton Lazars ¹⁰⁹	1299, 1354, 1358 died
Walter Christmas, ? deputy ¹¹⁰	1302
William de Wakefeld, ? deputy ¹¹¹	1326
Hugh Michell, ? deputy ¹¹²	1347
Robert Halliday, ? deputy ¹¹³	1350
Geoffreyde Chaddesden, ? deputy	1354, 1357
Brother John Crispin, master of Burton Lazars, keeper 1303, 1316, suc- ceeded Richard Leighton ¹¹⁵	1358
William de Tytnt, master of Burton, succeeded John Crispin ¹¹⁶	c. 1358-73
John Comberlawe ¹¹⁷	1364
Geoffrey de Byrston or Bristow ¹¹⁸	1367
Brother William Croxton, master, con- frater of Nicholas de Doverie, be- came master of Burton, 1380 ¹¹⁹	1371, 1380, 1389
Nicholas de Doverie, master of Burton, governor, keeper ¹²⁰	1371, 1387, 1389 removed
Brother Hugh Michell, ? deputy ¹²¹	1373
William, ? deputy ¹²²	1375
Thomas, ? deputy ¹²³	1376
Robert Halliday, ? deputy, suc- ceeded Thomas ¹²⁴	1380
John Macclesfeld, the king's clerk, warden ¹²⁵	1389 a royal appointment, 1391, 1393-4, 1397
Richard Croweleigh ¹²⁶	1390
Richard Clifford, clerk, later Bishop of Worcester ¹²⁷	1390 a royal appointment
The Abbot of St. Mary Graces ¹²⁸	1391 by royal grant, till c. 1402
Brother Walter Lynton, master of Burton (not always in possession) ¹²⁹	1391, 1399, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404-5, 1414
Geoffrey Shriggeley, knight, master of Burton, warden, succeeded Walter Lynton ¹³⁰	1415, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1431, 1436
William de Septem Fontibus, master ¹³¹	? 1420
William Sutton, knight, master of Bur- ton ¹³²	1449, 1461

George Sutton, master of Burton, succeeded William Sutton ¹³³	1484, 1491
Thomas Harringwold, succeeded George Sutton ¹³⁴	1493
Sir Thomas Norton, knight, succeeded Thomas Harringwold ¹³⁵	1507, 1508
Brother Thomas Ratcliffe ¹³⁶	1530, 1536
Robert Barker ¹³⁷	1542
Sir Thomas Leigh, knight, master of St. Giles ¹³⁸	1543

NOTES

- 1 The chief works relating to the hospital are Stow, *Survey* (1598); W. Dugdale, *Monasticon* (1817 ed.) Vol. VI, p. ii; J. Parton, *History of the Hospital and Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields* (1822); The Survey of London, Vol. V, *St. Giles-in-the-Fields*, Part II (1914); C. L. Kingsford, *Piccadilly, Leicester Square and Soho* (1925); and E. Williams, *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London* (1927). These sources are fully discussed by E. Jeffries Davis in 'The University Site, Bloomsbury' (*London Topographical Record*, Vol. XVII (1936), pp. 110-15).
- 2 *D.N.B.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 52-3.
- 3 Leland, *Collectanea* (1770 ed.), Vol. I, p. 112. Leland died in 1552.
- 4 For a full discussion, with references, see Survey, p. 117.
- 5 St. Giles himself was lame (Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 262).
- 6 Edgar's charter of A.D. 972-5 is printed in A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin* (1911), p. 170. It and Ethelred's charter (A.D. 978-1016) are discussed in *Lond. Topog. Record*, Vol. XVII, pp. 22-3, and English Place-Name Society, Vol. XVIII, *The Place-Names of Middlesex* (1942), pp. 222-3. There is an earlier description of A.D. 959.
- 7 G. Saunders, 'The Extent of Westminster at Various Periods' in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXVI (1836), pp. 223-41.
- 8 The whole manor or 'berewic' was under Westminster Abbey in Ethelred's time (see *L.T.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 23n, and *Place-Names*, pp. 222-3). For the separation, see *L.T.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 25n. In 1253 William of St. Giles, cordwainer, was Serjeant of the Soke of St. Giles (Williams, nos. 1568, 1572, 1574).
- 9 The soke seems to have been co-terminous with the parish of St. Giles. There is no mention of this parish before the foundation of the hospital. Early names for the parish were 'the parish of the hospital' (1252-7), and 'St. Giles of the Lepers' (1289) (Williams, nos. 1559, 1562; and *Cal. London and Middlesex Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 62).
- 10 H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (1918), pp. 492-3.
- 11 *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, Vol. IV, p. 69 (A. 6684); *Cal. City Letter Book C*, p. 15; and *Chronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniorum* (Camden Series, 1846), pp. 12, 20.
- 12 *Cal. Letter Book G*, p. 27.
- 13 Survey, p. 117, from P.R.O. Ancient Petitions, E. 617; 2448. See also N. Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), Vol. II, p. 146.
- 14 In St. Giles's Hospital Cartulary = B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, cited by Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), pp. 635-6; translation in Parton, pp. 6-7. For a 1330 confirmation of both Henry II's charters, see *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1327-41*, pp. 192-4. A charter of Stephen to Westminster Abbey mentions the site of St. Giles's Hospital (Dugdale, Vol. I (1817), p. 308).
- 15 *Cal. City Letter Book G*, p. 29; Parton, pp. 8-11.
- 16 Cartulary, f. 129b (trans. Williams, no. 329).
- 17 Parton, p. 15n.

- 18 Williams, no. 1649; from Feet of Fines, case 147, F.14, no. 240 (*Cal. L. and M. Ft. of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 29).
- 19 Williams, no. 1652; from Cartulary, f. 131.
- 20 Williams, no. 1033.
- 21 *ibid.*, 1624, from Pat. Roll 46 Henry III, m. 15 (*Cal.*, 1258–66, p. 201). The City appointed Wardens or supervisors till at least 1565 (see above, p. 9).
- 22 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281–92*, p. 252.
- 23 *ibid.*, p. 271.
- 24 Not enrolled until 1391 (Williams, no. 1631, from Pat. Roll 15 Rich. II, p. 1, m. 35).
- 25 *C.P.R.*, 1292–1301, p. 404; see also Parton, pp. 18–19.
- 26 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 632–4.
- 27 As in 1384 (*C.P.R.*, 1381–5, p. 463). See also the list of masters.
- 28 Deed in Parton, pp. 11–12.
- 29 *Cal. Early Mayors' Court Rolls, 1298–1307*, pp. 125, 131, 219.
- 30 *ibid.*, p. 230.
- 31 Williams, no. 1626, from Rot. Pat. 31 Ed. 1, m. 29d. (*Cal.*, 1301–7, p. 189). At the end of 1303 the see of London was vacant, owing to the death of Richard de Gravesend (Dugdale, Vol. I, pp. 15–16).
- 32 Deed in Parton, pp. 13–14.
- 33 *Rolls of Parliament, 1278–1324*, 310b.
- 34 *C.P.R.*, 1313–17, p. 300; see also Parton, p. 16; and *C.P.R.*, 1334–8, p. 231, and 1377–81, p. 117.
- 35 Williams, no. 1239, from Cartulary, f. 125. See also *ibid.*, 1238.
- 36 *Cal. City Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1323–64*, pp. 100–1.
- 37 Williams, no. 1615.
- 38 Parton, p. 5; and Williams, no. 1615.
- 39 Deed in Parton, pp. 17–18.
- 40 *Cal. Letter Book G*, pp. 28–9.
- 41 *ibid.*, pp. 30–1. John de Ufford, Dean of Lincoln, was Archbishop-Elect of Canterbury, but he died before his consecration.
- 42 Williams, nos. 1617, 1661. In 1381 Exton left St. Giles's. He became M.P. for the City, and mayor in 1386 (*ibid.*, no. 1618).
- 43 *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 155.
- 44 *C.P.R.*, 1381–5, p. 596. The Chancellor for 1383–6 was Michael de la Pole, created Earl of Suffolk in 1385 (Williams, no. 1629).
- 45 *ibid.*, no. 1630, from Rot. Pat. 13 Rich. Vol. II, p. 1, m. 4d. (*Cal.*, 1388–92, p. 143).
- 46 *C.P.R.*, 1385–9, p. 309.
- 47 *ibid.*, 1388–92, p. 115. Unlike former Masters, John Macclesfield was not a priest.
- 48 Williams, no. 1637, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. V, no. 8.
- 49 *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 458.
- 50 *ibid.*, 1396–9, pp. 47–8. See also Parton, p. 22.
- 51 Williams, no. 1638, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. VIII, no. 171.
- 52 *ibid.*, no. 1633, from Augm. Office, Conventual Leases, London, 292. This lease was renewed in 1420 (*C.P.R.*, 1416–22, p. 311).
- 53 Williams, no. 1632, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. XVII, no. 135.
- 54 *C.P.R.*, 1396–9, pp. 47–8.
- 55 Williams, no. 1635, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. XII, no. 156.
- 56 *Cal. Letter Book I*, p. 13–14.
- 57 The few leper patients mentioned by name are never women.
- 58 *Cal. Letter Book I*, p. 14.
- 59 Williams, nos. 1637, 1638, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. V, no. 8, and IX, no. 37.
- 60 Williams, no. 1639, from Rot. Pat. 3 Henry IV, p. 2, m. 3 (*Cal.* 1401–5, p. 120).
- 61 Deed in Parton, p. 26.
- 62 B.M. Harl. MS. 4015. See also Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; and Williams, nos. 1638n., 1646n. The entries commence in I Rich. I, but a few are of earlier date (Parton, p. 8).
- 63 *C.P.R.*, 1413–16, p. 248.
- 64 Deeds in Parton, pp. 22–6. The hospital never had 40 lepers (see Survey, p. 117).

- 65 Stow, Vol. II, p. 91; and Parton, p. 38.
- 66 Parton, p. 27, from Rot. Pat. 1 Ed. IV, p. 4, m. 8 (*Cal.*, 1461-7, p. 123). See also *Rolls of Parliament*, V, 472a, 521a, 602a. St. Giles's is mentioned as a leper hospital in a 1500 will (see under Hammer-smith Leper Hospital), and at about the same date the citizens of London ordered the master of St. Giles's to attend a court to renew the old agreement between the City and the hospital concerning the number of lepers (Guildhall, City Rep. 2, f. 27 (MS. Cal. 1495-1552, p. 84)).
- 67 In 1535-6 (Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635). Each pauper was given 2d. a day by the master and brethren of Burton Lazars 'according to the force and effect of the foundation'.
- 68 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 69 Parton, pp. 29-32, from Statutes, 28 Henry VIII, c. 42 (*Statutes of the Realm*, pp. 701-3); partly summarized in C. L. Kingsford, *Piccadilly*, p. 7.
- 70 This land in Edmonton had belonged since at least 1203 (*Cal. Lond. and Midd. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 6). See also Parton, p. 59. The parishes are enumerated in Parton, pp. 61-2.
- 71 Parton, pp. 33-4, from Rot. Pat. 36 Henry VIII, p. 9, m. 29 (*L. and P.*, Vol. XIX (i), no. 610 (8)). See also Parton, pp. 51-2. Viscount Lisle became Duke of Northumberland. The old church of St. Giles survived until 1623 (Survey, p. 118; and *Piccadilly*, p. 33).
- 72 Parton, pp. 55-7.
- 73 W. H. Godfrey (*The English Almshouse* (1955), pp. 17-18), says that the lepers usually had individual cottages or lodgings. The most complete plan of a mediaeval leper hospital in England is that of St. Mary Magdalen, Winchester. Here all the lepers were under one roof (*ibid.*).
- 74 Parton, pp. 5, 55-7. The sound, as opposed to the leprous, members of the community governed the hospital. See also Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 75 Williams, no. 1239, from Cartulary, f. 125. The most reliable picture of the buildings in the precinct is the 1585 plan, reproduced by the London Topographical Society as publication 54 (1925), and discussed, with a small reproduction with a modern overlay, by C. L. Kingsford in *Piccadilly*, pp. 32-5. Matthew Paris (died 1259) drew a little sketch of the hospital, naming it 'the memorial of Matilda the Queen'. This sketch is reproduced in Clay, p. 71.
- 76 See Plate 1(b).
- 77 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Moore, *St. Bartholomew's*, Vol. II, p. 146; Survey, p. 139. There is a cast at the British Museum (Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, Vol. I, pp. 635-6 = no. 3511).
- 78 The chief authorities for this list are Parton, Dugdale and Williams.
- 79 Parton, p. 42; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 80 Williams, no. 1622.
- 81 Parton, p. 42; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 82 Williams, no. 1622.
- 83 *ibid.*
- 84 Parton, p. 55.
- 85 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 86 Parton, p. 46; Williams, no. 1622.
- 87 Parton, p. 42; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 88 Parton, p. 43.
- 89 Parton, p. 46; Williams, no. 1622.
- 90 Parton, p. 42; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 91 *Cal. London and Middlesex Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 13; Moore, *St. Bartholomew's*, Vol. I, p. 336; Vol. II, p. 146.
- 92 *Cal. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 39; Parton, p. 43; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, nos. 1499, 1560, 1561, 1565, 1570, 1571, 1622, 1646.
- 93 Parton, p. 43; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 94 Parton, p. 44; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 95 Moore, *St. Bartholomew's*, Vol. II, p. 146; Parton, p. 44; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 96 *Cal. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 49; Parton, p. 44; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 97 *Cal. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 49.
- 98 Parton, p. 45.
- 99 *Cal. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 55; Parton, p. 44; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, nos. 1572, 1622.

- 100 Parton, p. 46.
- 101 Parton, p. 45; Williams, no. 1622.
- 102 *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, pp. 252, 271; Williams, no. 1622.
- 103 Parton, p. 46.
- 104 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 105 Parton, p. 46; Williams, nos. 1578, 1622, 1653.
- 106 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 107 Parton, p. 46.
- 108 Williams, no. 1622.
- 109 Parton, p. 47.
- 110 Williams, no. 1622.
- 111 *ibid.*
- 112 *ibid.*
- 113 *ibid.*
- 114 Williams, nos. 1242, 1622.
- 115 Parton, p. 47; Williams, no. 1622.
- 116 *ibid.*
- 117 Williams, no. 1622.
- 118 *ibid.*
- 119 Parton, p. 47; Williams, no. 1622.
- 120 Parton, p. 48.
- 121 Parton, p. 47.
- 122 *ibid.*
- 123 *ibid.*
- 124 *ibid.*
- 125 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1388-92*, pp. 115, 458; Parton, p. 48; Williams, no. 1622.
- 126 Williams, no. 1622.
- 127 Parton, p. 48.
- 128 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-9*, pp. 47-8; Parton, p. 48; Williams, no. 1622.
- 129 Parton, p. 48.
- 130 *ibid.*, Williams, no. 1622.
- 131 Williams, no. 1622.
- 132 Parton, p. 49; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 133 *ibid.*
- 134 Parton, p. 49; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 135 *ibid.*, Williams, no. 1622.
- 136 *ibid.*
- 137 Williams, no. 1622.
- 138 *ibid.*, no. 1674.

6. KINGSLAND (OR HACKNEY) LEPER HOSPITAL

Kingsland Leper Hospital¹ was one of those founded by the citizens of London beyond the outskirts of their mediaeval city in *c.* 1280.² The site was carefully chosen. It was just over two miles from the city, on the left of the great Roman highway running from London through Bishopsgate, Shoreditch and Stoke Newington to the north of England. The hospital was at the south end of the little hamlet of Kingsland in the manor of Newington Barowe.³ To the north was Stoke Newington, while a side road to the east (now Dalston Lane) led to Hackney: hence the concurrent mediaeval names of Kingsland, Hackney and Newington for the hospital. Not until the sixteenth century did 'Kingsland' become the established usage.

William Walssheman is the first named 'forman (or governor) of Hackney'. In 1375 he took an oath that he would prevent lepers from entering the city.⁴ From his strategic site on the great northern road he was in a key position to help the authorities in this way. The hospital is again mentioned in 1389, 1417 and 1432, in connection with the City's two wardens or supervisors of lepers for Kingsland, the Lock in Southwark, and the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.⁵

Among early gifts to the hospital is recorded that of John Pope, citizen and barber, who in 1437 bequeathed to the 'masters and governours' of 'Le Lokes at Kingsland without London' a rent charge of 6s. 8d. issuing out of certain shops and tenements in Sherborn Lane in the parish of St. Mary Abchurch in the city of London.⁶ Four years later John Carpenter, the Town Clerk, remembered the lepers of Hackney in his will,⁷ and so in 1500 did Lady Joan Frowyk of Ealing, who left 4d. to each inmate of the lazaret-house at 'Newenton grene', 'for to pray for my soul'.⁸

In 1545 the Guides of Kingsland and the Lock in Southwark petitioned the City for rules for their houses. Three weeks later both men were allowed by the City to continue in their office as long as they remained of good behaviour.⁹ Four years later Kingsland, with the other five leper hospitals of the City, passed into the hands of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and became one of its 'outhouses'.¹⁰ The hospital records give particulars of several patients sent to Kingsland. The first recorded was in 1551, when John Pascall being 'bothered' desired to go there. He was sent with a mattress, a bolster, a pair of sheets and a coverlet, at a cost of 12d.¹¹ A little later two patients were carried there for the same charge.¹² In 1555-6 Kingsland got a quarter share of 26s. 8d. paid by St. Bartholomew's Hospital to four of its outhouses.¹³ Other money came through the patients. In 1557 Margaret Flower, 'one of the poor at Kingsland', was discharged at the request of her brother Lancelot, who thereupon claimed the £40 which their father Richard had deposited with the hospital as a guarantee that he would pay 40s. yearly for his daughter's keep.¹⁴ In the same year a Mr. Eden and a Mr. Bridge promised to pay 20d. a month for John Greene. In 1558 his yearly account of 20s. was duly paid, but next year the patient had to be expelled 'for his naughty behaviour and disobedience'. He was threatened with Bridewell¹⁵ if he was found begging in the city. In the same year St. Bartholomew's sent a "lazar" to Kingsland;¹⁶ and 6s. 8d. was paid for 'dismembring' a corpse.¹⁷ Next year the Guide, Cuthbert Harrison, had only two inmates.¹⁸ Then there is no further mention of Kingsland until 1584, when 5s. 0½d. was received from Thomas Clemen, who had died there. Another 10s. came next year from John Redman for the relief of John Gravis, 'one of the poor in Kingsland'; and a further 10s. from Nicholas Barlow for John Richards in 1586-7. Meantime, in the year before this, 19s. had been paid out to buy a livery for Nicholas Hill, another of the poor there.¹⁹ A different type of patient in 1591 was 'a poor lunatic woman diseased who lately lay near the wall of the Artillery Yard' (Bishopsgate). The Guide was to have £3 a year for her keep and 20s. for her clothes, the sums to be collected half from St. Bartholomew's and half from St. Thomas's Hospital.²⁰ This Guide, John Dyconson, mentioned as such in 1589-90, had died by 1595-6, when his widow received 4s. In 1601-2 William Moore held the office. He was paid £17 odd in 1601 and £14 odd in 1602.²¹

During this time large sums were spent in repairs, *viz.* over £48 on the brickwork of the barn, and over £100 on the house. The next year, 1603, 14 bedsteads were bought for £14. Three years later over £5 was spent on work at the laystall.²² Meantime the Guide

PLATE 1(a)



By courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London

The seal of Highgate (or Holloway) Leper Hospital

Inscription: S[igillum] Hospitalis S[ancti] Ihesu S[ancti] Antoni de Holwei

PLATE 1(b)



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The seal of Giles's Leper Hospital, Holborn

Inscription: Sigillum Sancti Egidii Infirmarum

PLATE 2



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The seal of Knightsbridge Leper Hospital

Inscription: Sigillum Ospici S[anc]ti Len[ard]i de Kynghtbrigge

was receiving at irregular intervals sums usually amounting to about £8 a year. Some of the sums were earmarked for the care of a patient, usually a pound a time. An extra £1 in 1611, and 10s. in 1612, was received for the Christmas diet of the inmates.²³ Then in 1613 Kingsland was enlarged by the building of a new 'sweatlie ward' for £6 4s. 7d.; and lime and brick, together with boards and quarters to make bedsteads, cost £10 6s. 6d.²⁴ Quite a different charge came in 1614, the payment of £1 to William Lambe, High Constable of Islington, for conveying Marie Catesbie from Kingsland to Warwickshire.²⁵ Another interesting entry occurs in 1623, when a certain Matthew Wymfrey asked for 10s. for reading to the poor of the spittle house of Kingsland, though he had undertaken the work voluntarily. He was prohibited from reading any more.²⁶ Costs were mounting enough in other directions. John Topliffe, the Guide, in both 1625 and 1627 had to ask for more money for fuel and diet for the poor. He was given £2 the first time and £5 the next time. In 1643 and 1644 he had to be given £10 extra for winter fuel alone.²⁷

Services were undoubtedly held regularly in the chapel at Kingsland right from the foundation of the hospital but no record of them survives until 1638, when Jeremiah Gosse, clerk, was chosen to officiate as minister at the Lock and at Kingsland in place of Mr. Powell, who had received £10 per annum. Three years later Mr. Gosse was given a gratuity of £6 13s. 4d.; and in 1643 another £5, this time for his extraordinary pains in praying and preaching on fast days at Kingsland, to the poor and to the soldiers attending the Court of Guard there—an interesting side light on the beginning of the civil war.²⁸

Most of the Guides at Kingsland are shadowy officials. Of John Topliffe, surgeon, who by 1646 had been Guide for fifty years, more is known. In recognition of his great labour and pains and to encourage him to go on cheerfully a fixed yearly salary of £8 was granted to him, and £16 'for the poor that are admitted into diet'. On 20 May, 1649, he was given another £13 6s. 8d. in compensation for his extraordinary charges and expenses 'these dear and chargeable times for victuals for the patients'. This sum was to last till Christmas. Only a month later, on 25 June, Topliffe was dismissed, with no reason recorded.²⁹ John Kent, citizen and surgeon of London, was appointed in his place and took over on 16 July. He had to promise that he would keep 'noe victualling house, or sell or suffer to be sold any ale, beer, wine or cakes'; and that he would behave himself honestly . . . 'to the good liking of the Governors and for the good of the poor patients under his charge'.³⁰ By 5 October the ex-Guide was in financial difficulties on his own account, and the treasurer of St. Bartholomew's was empowered to give him a gratuity of £9 when he left Kingsland; but on 17 December he had still not delivered the keys of the garden and doors nor taken away his goods. He had died by 25 November of the next year, when his widow was given £5.³¹ Meantime the new Guide was soon in difficulties over the cost of medicine, special diets and fuel 'during these present dear times'. The hospital building had also been enlarged and so another £20 was needed for drugs, physic, sheets, shrouding, straw for beds, and charges for burials. John Kent continued in office until some date before February 1669. It was during his time that it was definitely laid down that a candle was to be burned in each of the six wards every night in winter, and that a detailed list was drawn up of the exact amount and kind of food for each day. The patients had best wheaten bread, beef, soup, beer, cheese or butter, and water gruel or milk pottage. In 1656 Suffolk cheese took the place of Cheshire cheese, and five dozen of hemp was received for half a year for sheets. An innovation was the provision in 1683 of a drying room for clothes and frocks by laying an extra floor along half the length of the

barn, towards the west. A further improvement was a sundial.³² It may have been during Kent's tenure that the practice began of admitting only women patients to Kingsland, and only men to the Lock.³³

In 1666 came the Great Fire of London. This so depleted the revenues of St. Bartholomew's Hospital that all the patients at Kingsland had to be discharged before Christmas, 1666, and no new patients were to be sent, though the Guide was to continue living there, to look after the building, the bedding and the furniture. Next year the Guide was allowed to take patients whose friends agreed to pay for everything except special diet, and by 1669 the new Guide, John Bignall, had effected twelve cures, one a 'double one'. For these cures he received £14.³⁴ By 1680 conditions were normal again and Kingsland was to have twenty patients, all kept at the sole charge of St. Bartholomew's. The Guide after 1682 was to receive £30 a year, together with another £3 for washing the patients' sheets, for coals and candles, and for 'the ancient allowance of hemp to maintain the sheets'. Each patient was given 4d. a day to buy his own food. As for blankets, in 1686 St. Bartholomew's was to buy 'duffes' to make them.³⁵ A substantial bathing tub was to be made for Kingsland in 1700. Eight years later those inmates discharged as cured were each to be given a copy of a book, 'The Practice of Piety' by Lewes Bayley, Bishop of Bangor, 1616–31.³⁶ One wonders how many patients could read.

All sorts of outside persons attended the chapel services as the parish church was far off. In 1716, after certain strangers had been very disorderly and had disturbed the patients and the rest of the congregation, it was decided to provide stuff curtains to keep the patients out of sight.³⁷ These patients were suffering from ague, fever, dropsy, jaundice and diarrhoea, amongst other diseases.³⁸ The 1754 Report said that many had venereal disease and that the Kingsland and Lock outhouses had always been used by St. Bartholomew's for such patients, but the extant records do not bear out this statement. The outhouses were used in the 16th century for any cases of leprosy that still occurred and also for convalescent patients and for any incurables needing constant medical attention.⁴⁰ Only in 1633 and in the 1754 Report is venereal disease mentioned. Evidently by then many such patients were cared for at Kingsland and the Lock and so the belief arose that it had always been so.

More information about the hospital buildings is available in 1721. The existing dining-room was too large to be wainscotted, so the two rooms over the hall fronting the road were to be made into one, wainscotted, and used as a dining-room. A new pair of stairs was to be made next to the hall, and the chapel tiles mended. The next year Sir John Aaston gave Kingsland some more land and a brick wall was built round this; and in 1723 the buildings were insured against fire at the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office. Two years later St. Bartholomew's made a survey of Kingsland. It was found that all the wards were on the ground floor, without cellaring under them, and were 'very ancient and very defective'. To make matters worse, the road running past the hospital had of recent years been considerably raised, so that the wards were now three feet below the roadway and therefore most cold and damp. It was decided to rebuild and enlarge the wards (cf. Plate 5). The rebuilding programme provided for thirty beds, a bagnio, a couch room, a surgery and other amenities. It was next decided to rebuild the coachhouse and stable, at a cost of £170. In 1727 the surgeon's house was to be repaired.⁴¹ The chapel services had also come under review, In 1722 Robert Hawkins, the minister for the last twenty years, was 88 years old and so weak and failing in sight that he could neither preach nor read the services. He was

paid his £12 salary and another £6 per annum to keep himself and his 'antient sickly wife'. The new minister was to read prayers and preach every Sunday afternoon, and to administer the sacrament once in two or three months if enough patients wished it.⁴² In 1729 the allowance for these patients was raised from 4d. a day to 6d. and in 1730 the night watcher's fee became 4d. a night. In 1734 two small coppers were exchanged for one larger and more useful one. In 1731 we hear of new railings in front of Kingsland, and two years later the pavement there was to be so made as to carry off the water from the building.⁴³ In all these years there is no hint of the impending end of Kingsland, but evidently the cost of maintaining the outhouses had become too great. In 1754 a sub-committee of the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital was set up to report on both Kingsland and the Lock. It was found that the Guide or surgeon of Kingsland was receiving as well as a house and his salary of £30 an additional £50 for medicines. The other staff consisted of a chaplain, with a salary of £12 and a gratuity of £8; and a sister, a nurse and a helper at 3s. 6d. a week each for wages. The two outhouses together were costing upwards of £700 per annum to maintain. It was recommended that both outhouses should be dissolved and all the patients taken into St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where by then there were two wards, one for men and one for women, specially equipped for venereal diseases.⁴⁴ The resolution was rejected by the Governors of the St. Bartholomew's and in 1755 it seemed to be definitely decided that both the outhouses were to be retained. This decision, however, was reversed in 1760⁴⁵ and in that year the doors of Kingsland were closed after a useful existence of nearly 500 years. The last known Guide was Joseph Webb, appointed in 1749 after serving for 20 years as assistant-surgeon at St. Bartholomew's.⁴⁶

The hospital proper at Kingsland was let on a building lease for other purposes (in 1815 a corn-chandler did business there),⁴⁷ but at the petition of the inhabitants of Kingsland the chapel, at the S.E. corner of Balls Pond Road, continued to be used for divine service. The patients' pew, then in the gallery, was taken down and the other seats were raised, at the expense of the ex-chaplain, Mr. Cookson, who continued there, being paid henceforth by his congregation. 6d. was given yearly to the poor box at St. Bartholomew's Hospital as an acknowledgement that the chapel belonged to the hospital, which kept the right of nomination of the preacher.⁴⁸ By 1823 the chapel roof was overgrown with moss and weeds, and the interior much neglected. The hospital governors repaired, painted and re-roofed the building, but in 1846 it was pulled down as the then governors refused to pay the stipend of the minister, the Rev. Isaac Hill.⁴⁹ On its site was built the Star and Garter Public House, with its north door on the same site as the old chapel's north door.⁵⁰ Part of this chapel and all the hospital buildings proper were in the parish of Hackney, but the western end of the chapel was in Islington. Those beating the bounds entered by the north door of the chapel and left by the south door.⁵¹ The chapel communicated with the lazar-house, which was to the south of the chapel and faced the Kingsland Road. The hospital proper had been rebuilt in brick but the mediaeval chapel, of stone and in the Gothic style, survived till 1846. It was a simple oblong building measuring only 27 feet by 18 feet, with a height of 20 feet on the outside to the top of the roof.⁵² There are three views of the chapel and other buildings. The earliest was engraved by Benjamin Green, c. 1780.⁵³ The second is in J. Nelson's *History and Antiquities of Islington* (1811), Plate IV, drawn by F. W. L. Stockdale and engraved by Francis Hawkesworth. The third, drawn by Schnebbelie and engraved by Wise, was published in Wilkinson,

Londina Illustrata (1819) Vol. I, pl. 68 and thence in D'Arcy Power, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 1123–1923 (1923), Plate XIX. It is now reproduced as Plate 4.

GUIDES

William Walssheman, 'forman' ⁵⁴	1375
John Nyk, governor ^{55a}	1543
Cuthbert Harrison, keeper ^{55b}	1559–60, 1561
John Dyconson, guider ⁵⁶	1589–90, 1595–6 died in office
William Moore, guider ⁵⁷	1601–2
John Topliffe, guide ⁵⁸	1625, 1649 dismissed (died <i>c.</i> 1650)
John Kent, guide ⁵⁹	1649, 1666
John Bignall, guide ⁶⁰	1669, 1682 resigned
Richard Berry ⁶¹	1682, 1689
Nicholas Field ⁶²	1708, 1720 died in office
James Dansie ⁶³	1720, 1734
Joseph Webb ⁶⁴	1749

CHAPLAINS

Jeremiah Gosse ⁶⁵	1643
Stephen Huggins ⁶⁶	1659, 1661
Robert Skingle, clerk ⁶⁷	1663 appointed
Richard Babington ⁶⁸	1681 appointed
Robert Hawkins ⁶⁹	1702, 1722 retired
— Bethune ⁷⁰	1724, 1734 died
Charles Weaver, M.A. ⁷¹	1734 appointed
— Cookson ⁷²	1761
James Maidman ⁷³	1795
Isaac Hill, the last ⁷⁴	1823, 1846 (chapel pulled down)

NOTES

- 1 The chief works referring to the hospital are Lysons, *Environs of London*, Vol. II (1795), pp. 473, 513; Vol. III, p. 149; J. Nelson, *The History and Antiquities of Islington* (1811 and 1823); T. E. Tomlins, *A Perambulation of Islington* (1858); and N. Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918).
- 2 R. Clay (p. 304) gives 'before 1334' as the date of foundation but gives no reference. She says that the hospital was dedicated to St. Katharine.
- 3 For Newington Barowe see Tomlins, p. 210.
- 4 H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries* (1868), p. 384; see also *Cal. City Letter Book H*, p. 9.
- 5 *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 343; *I*, p. 184; *K*, pp. 142–3.
- 6 Will in Bp. of London's Register, cited by J. Strype (*Survey* (1720), Vol. II, app. I, p. 131).
- 7 Will translated in T. Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (1856), p. 139.
- 8 Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 2 Moone.
- 9 Guildhall, City Repertory 11, f. 173, 177.

- 10 See Introduction, p. 9
- 11 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/1, f. 20v.
- 12 *ibid.*, Hb 1/1, f. 110.
- 13 See Introduction, p. 9
- 14 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/1, f. 169.
- 15 *ibid.*, Ha 1/1, f. 170. 186v; Hb 1/1, f. 336.
- 16 Hb 1/1, f. 372v.
- 17 Hb 1/3, f. 17.
- 18 Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 19 Hb 1/2, f. 309v, 325v, 344v, 354.
- 20 N. Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 291.
- 21 St. B's Hosp., Hb 1/3, f. 33, 131v, 235, 235v, 236, 236v, 256v.
- 22 *ibid.*, f. 287v, 357v.
- 23 f. 512, 542.
- 24 f. 547v, 548v.
- 25 f. 581.
- 26 Ha 1/4, f. 138.
- 27 f. 150, 164, 276v, 286v.
- 28 f. 245, 260v, 272v.
- 29 Ha 1/4, f. 310; Ha 1/5, f. 30, 33v.
- 30 Ha 1/5, f. 34, 35v.
- 31 f. 39, 42, 58v.
- 32 f. 48v, 72, 187, 194v, 195, 318v, 320, 321v. Candles were 4s. 6d. a dozen, and there were 8 to the pound. The sundial's motto was 'Post voluptatem miseria' (Tomlins, *op. cit.*, p. 212). The weekly diet is given in Ha 4/1, f. 12v–18v. In 1662 the wheaten bread was so scarce and expensive that 'wholesome and good household bread made of wheat' was temporarily substituted (f. 28).
- 33 This division had taken place by 1657 (Ha 1/5, f. 136).
- 34 Ha 1/6, f. 28, 36, 39, 76. See also N. Moore, Vol. II, p. 330; and G. Whitteridge, 'The Fire of London and St. Bartholomew's Hospital' in *London Topographical Record*, Vol. XX (1952), pp. 47–78.
- 35 Ha 1/7, f. 95v, 122v, 185v; Ha 4/1, f. 54v. In 1714 each nurse received an extra 15s. per annum for washing the patients' sheets because of a new soap duty (Ha 4/1, f. 63v).
- 36 Moore, Vol. II, pp. 351, 353.
- 37 Ha 1/9, f. 142v.
- 38 f. 149.
- 39 See below, note 44.
- 40 *Lond. Topog. Record*, Vol. XX, p. 54n.
- 41 Ha 1/10, f. 54, 63, 65v, 97, 133, 138, 138v, 141v, 154v. In 1731 the allowance of coal had to be increased to 25 chaldrons a year because of the erection of the bagnio (Ha 4/1, f. 68v). The surgeon's house had been whitewashed in 1720 (Ha 1/10, f. 16v).
- 42 Ha 1/10, f. 63, 110.
- 43 f. 154v, 229, 284v, 290, 301v.
- 44 J 12, p. 488. It was calculated that £300 a year would be saved.
- 45 Moore, Vol. II, pp. 372, 376.
- 46 *ibid.*, p. 633n.
- 47 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 513; Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, Vol. I (1819), pp. 67, 68; Tomlins, p. 212. The building had the arms of St. Bartholomew's over the door.
- 48 Lysons, Vol. II, pp. 473, 513; Nelson (1823), pp. 181–2. The chapel was usually called St. Bartholomew's Chapel (Tomlins, p. 211). Balls Pond Road is the comparatively modern name for a very ancient lane from Islington to Kingsland (Tomlins, p. 212) and thence to Hackney (Dalston Lane).
- 49 Nelson (1823), p. 182; Tomlins, p. 212.
- 50 Tomlins, pp. 178, 212.
- 51 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 149; Nelson, p. 5; Tomlins, pp. 178, 211.
- 52 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 513; Nelson, p. 182.
- 53 Tomlins, p. 212.
- 54 *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 9.

- 55a Guildhall, City Repertory 10, f. 303.
 55b Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
 56 Hb 1/3, f. 33, 131v.
 57 f. 235–256v.
 58 Ha 1/4, f. 150; Ha 1/5, f. 33v, 58v.
 59 Ha 1/5, f. 33v; *Lond. Topog. Record*, Vol. XX, p. 54.
 60 Ha 1/6, f. 76; Ha 1/7, f. 125.
 61 Ha 1/7, f. 125, 325.
 62 Ha 1/9, f. 5v; Ha 1/10, f. 14v.
 63 Ha 1/10, f. 14v, 301v.
 64 Moore, Vol. II, p. 633n.
 65 Ha 1/5, f. 318.
 66 *ibid.*, f. 253v; Moore, Vol. II, p. 318.
 67 Ha 1/5, f. 328v.
 68 Ha 1/7, f. 107.
 69 Ha 1/4, f. 272v.
 70 Ha 1/10, f. 110, 305v.
 71 *ibid.*, f. 305v.
 72 Nelson (1823), p. 182.
 73 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 473
 74 Nelson, p. 182.

7. KNIGHTSBRIDGE LEPER HOSPITAL

Knightsbridge Leper Hospital was one of those set up or, more probably in this case, taken over by the mayor and commonalty of the City of London in the 13th or 14th century.¹ The earliest reference to the hospital is in 1475, when Thomas Wood, vicar of Foulsham in Norfolk, developed leprosy ‘and is in the spitell howse of Knygtyes brygge beside Westminster’.² Ten years later Thomas Padyngton, fishmonger of London, made his will and left money to the lazar house at Knightsbridge.³ The hospital was in the Domesday manor of Eia, or Eye⁴, held by the abbot and convent of Westminster, to whom an annual rent was due. The abbey also seems to have had the patronage of the hospital.⁵

There are only four other references to the hospital under the old dispensation. The earliest is in 1526, when a child from the lazar house at Knightsbridge was buried in the churchyard of St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, which soon afterwards became a recognized parish church. In 1540 a poor priest from the hospital was similarly buried without fee in St. Martin’s churchyard, and two days later came John Warde ‘oute of the lazar house’. Six years later Richard, the ‘goodman’ of the lazar house, was buried, and 2s. 2d. was charged for two torches, a funeral knell and the use of a pall.⁶

Like the other five leper hospitals of the Lock, Kingsland, Hammersmith, Highgate and Mile End, Knightsbridge was handed over by the City to St. Bartholomew’s Hospital in 1549.⁷ Hereafter until 1623 sporadic references to Knightsbridge appear in the hospital records as well as in the parish registers of the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. In 1549–50 Hugh Fabian, Proctor (or Guider) of Knightsbridge buried three of the poor who had been sent there from St. Bartholomew’s; and in 1550 four more were sent, with 4 mattresses, 4 bolsters, 4 coverlets and 4 pairs of sheets. Three weeks later Henry Fabian received 2 sheets and a smock. The carriage of another patient sent there in 1551–2

cost 12d.⁸ Then in 1552 comes a casual reference to the hospital: the dean and prebends of the cathedral church of St. Peter in Westminster were presented 'for lack of repairing the bridge at the Spittel Howse at the est end of Knightsbridge'.⁹

In 1555-6 Thomas Fabyan, Keeper, was given 6s. 8d. by St. Bartholomew's Hospital for 'keeping the poor'. Two years later St. Bartholomew's sent a boy patient to Knightsbridge, and in 1559-60 another patient is mentioned as having been sent.¹⁰ Next come the records of several burials in St. Martin's churchyard. In 1571 there were two: Thomas Jones and John Tacke. In 1572 a poor unnamed woman was buried. Three men followed, in 1575, 1576 and 1581 respectively.¹¹

By 1582 John Glassington, the most outstanding of all the Guiders, was in command at Knightsbridge, which he held under the church of Westminster at a rent of 4s. per annum.¹² In that year he was paid 45s. for 9 'sore poor people' from St. Bartholomew's.¹³ As the years went by he received frequent and increasingly large amounts, and between 1589 and 1596 the names of some of his patients are given: they were Margery Byrde, John Stedman, Chrisofer Hardy, John Daye, Judythe Johnson, Thomas Draper, John Guyle and Gyles Mattchett.¹⁴ It will be noted that both men and women patients were treated. Nearly all those mentioned seem to have been discharged as cured. John Glassington's own family were the most unlucky. Between 5 October and 5 November, 1593, four of his surname died of the plague.¹⁵ When it seemed desirable to Glassington a *post mortem* was held, and one of these took place in 1596-7, when a certain Mr. Hynde was paid 6s. 8d. for 'dismembering one at Knightsbridge'.¹⁶ Glassington is the only one of the Guiders at any of the 'outhouses' who is recorded as having presented formal bills for payment.¹⁷ In 1595 he submitted as well a long report on the state of his hospital.¹⁸ He said that it had no lands and no endowment. It had once had a piece of land but this was now lost, enclosed in Hyde Park. Glassington said that when he became Guider the hospital buildings were ready to fall down and that he had spent over £100 on their repair. There were now 36 or 37 patients there, supported wholly by voluntary contributions, and their food alone in 1594 had cost £161 19s. 4d. Candles, linen, woollen 'salves' and medicines had also been bought; and burials had had to be paid for. Glassington claimed to have cured 55 persons, some of whom had been dismissed as incurable from other hospitals. He said that those who were able were made to work, that their daily dinner consisted of warm meat and porridge, and that every inmate had his own dish, platter and tankard, 'to keep the broken from the whole'—a truly hygienic measure. The patients attended prayers in the chapel every morning and evening, and the neighbours came too on Sunday mornings and evenings. The last mention of this very able Dr. John Glassington is in 1597-8.¹⁹

The St. Bartholomew's records from that date rarely give more than the bare amounts paid to 'the Guider of Knightsbridge'. In 1602-3 he received £19; in 1603-4, £23 13s. 4d.; and in 1604-5, £37 13s. 4d. Once, in 1611-12, the yearly payment fell to £10. In 1612-13 some items are marked 'for the care of 1 person,' or 2 persons, or even 7. Each patient seems to have cost about 20s.²⁰

It was during James I's reign that an improved water supply was obtained for the hospital. The king ordered that the hospital for sick, lame or impotent people of Knightsbridge was to be supplied with water from an independent pipe from the conduit in Hyde Park.²¹ The earlier water supply would probably have been direct from the Ravensbourne Brook, which ran to the west of the hospital.

In 1622 a strange order came to Daniel Bissell, guider of Knightsbridge. He was to clear his house of the poor patients committed to him by the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and was then further to plead his suit. Of this there is no record, but it was arranged that for the ensuing year he was always to have under his care six poor patients from the hospital, and that he was to be paid as formerly.²² This arrangement was evidently only temporary, for in 1623 the last hospital payment was made to the Guider of Knightsbridge.²³

The hospital continued without this regular support. Contributions would undoubtedly have been forthcoming from the inhabitants of the hamlet of Knightsbridge, who regularly attended the Sunday services in the hospital chapel because their parish church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields was so far off. In 1625 the vicar of St. Martin's went personally to the chapel to take the communion service. He and the churchwardens travelled in a hired cart, the cost of which is recorded, and took with them provisions to distribute to the poor folk in distress being in Knightsbridge.²⁴ The Vestry of St. Margaret's, Westminster, the mother church, also made grants at times to this unendowed lazar house,²⁵ but by 1629 the hospital chapel had become old and ruinous and ready to fall. Therefore the inhabitants of Knightsbridge petitioned William Laud, then Bishop of London, to allow them to rebuild the chapel. Permission was given, with the consent of the vicar and churchwardens of St. Martin's. The congregation paid all the costs and the new chapel was consecrated to the use of the poor of the hospital. There was no endowment for the chaplain, so in 1634, with the permission of the Chancellor of the diocese of London, and with the assent of the Governor of the hospital, the chaplain, and some of the principal inhabitants of Knightsbridge, it was arranged that there should be pew-rents. The money so collected was to maintain the chaplain, repair the chapel, and relieve the poor in the hospital. A register book for the accounts was to be kept and made up every six months.²⁶

In 1650 the Parliamentary Commission on Ecclesiastical Benefices reported on Knightsbridge chapel. The report said that 20 years earlier the chapel had been rebuilt and enlarged by public subscription, and that the minister was Henry Walker, who had been placed there on probation by Parliament. He was receiving £10 a year from the inhabitants. Later the parliamentary committee allowed him £40 annually, and in 1655 he was formally presented by Cornelius Holland and George Prime, joint governors of the chapel, which seems by then to have been quite separately administered.²⁷

In 1654 a second John Glassington, surgeon, prayed to be admitted to the governorship of the lazar house, which he said his ancestors had always rented from the dean and chapter of Westminster, now in commission. The doctor's petition was backed by a certificate from Sir John Thurogood.²⁸ Years later, in 1699, the chapel was again rebuilt, at the expense of Nicholas Birkhead, citizen and goldsmith of London.²⁹

The lazar house of Knightsbridge, with the chapel belonging to it, is mentioned as still in existence by Newcourt, writing in 1708,³⁰ but Strype in 1720 described only the chapel.³¹ This chapel was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and in 1725 came into the parish of St. George, Hanover Square.³² Its front was a third time rebuilt and enlarged by being brought into line with the adjacent houses, and the whole chapel was repaired, in 1789.³³ Six years later Lysons reported that the lessee of the chapel was Dixon Gamble and that the chaplain was a relative, John Gamble, M.A., appointed 'as usual' by the dean and chapter of Westminster. Adjoining the chapel, and either in or on the site of the old

hospital buildings, was a charity school for boys and girls, founded about ten years earlier and supported by voluntary contributions. Fifty-five children were being educated there.^{34a} Hennessy listed the ministers of Trinity chapel, Knightsbridge, until 1895. Meantime, in 1861, a new "Gothic" building took the place of the 1789 one and this, the last chapel, was demolished in 1904.^{34b}

The old leper hospital had stood originally in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster. In 1536 it was apportioned to the newly formed parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and again in 1725 to the new parish of St. George, Hanover Square.³⁵ The hospital stood about a quarter of a mile west of Hyde Park Corner, between Piccadilly and Kensington, on one of the west roads out of London. The buildings were on the north side of the road, east of the ancient bridge which carried the road over the Westbourne Brook, the site of which is now marked by Albert Gate.³⁶ The chapel, as refronted in 1789, was very carefully drawn by Joseph Salway in connection with the Kensington Turnpike Trust in 1811.³⁷ The chapel stood about 100 feet from the stream and its frontage measured 30 feet from east to west. To the west of the chapel Salway drew an ancient house with two gables, partly refronted and measuring 25 feet along the street. Westward stood another house or two, and then the White Hart Inn next the stream. These buildings must have included, or been on the site of, the hospital proper and its grounds, which would have stretched down to the stream. When the White Hart Inn was pulled down in 1841 human remains, various ancient implements and coins were found under the foundations. On the western side of the stream, under the Elizabethan Fox and Bull Inn, six entire male skeletons were found deep down.³⁸ Unfortunately none of these remains have been dated. It may be that both banks of the stream were used in mediaeval times for hospital burials. After these banks were built upon, apparently in the time of Elizabeth, the hospital authorities used the churchyard of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, but there is a tradition that during the crisis of the 1665 plague the hospital was used for victims and that a part of Knightsbridge village green was set apart for a burial ground for those inmates who died of the plague.³⁹ This green, nearly opposite the hospital, was a little west of the Westbourne Brook, at the junction of Brompton Road with the main west road out of London.

The hospital seal (Plate 2) is a pointed oval with a cabled border, and measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. On the seal are two figures, each under a separate canopy. The left-hand figure is of the Virgin, crowned, with the Child in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. The other figure is of a bishop. His right hand is raised in benediction, and his left holds a pastoral staff. The inscription reads: "Sigillum Ospici S[anc]ti Len[ard]i de Kynghtridge." ⁴⁰

GUIDERS OR GOVERNORS

Richard, the goodman of the lazarus house ⁴¹	1546 buried
Hugh Fabyan, proctor ⁴²	1549-50
Henry Fabyan, proctor ⁴³	1550
Thomas Fabyan, keeper ⁴⁴	1555-6
Henry Fryer, keeper ⁴⁵	1559-60, 1561
John Glassington, guider ⁴⁶	1581-2, 1597-8
William More, prefectus ⁴⁷	1620 buried
Daniel Bissell, guider ⁴⁸	1622
John Glassington, surgeon, governor ⁴⁹	1654 appointed

NOTES

- 1 See p. 7.
- 2 Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
- 3 *Cal. City Husting Wills*, Vol. II, p. 589.
- 4 C. T. Gatty, *Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury* (n.d.), Vol. I, p. 20.
- 5 See below, p. 40.
- 6 J. V. Kitto, *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1525-1603* (1901), pp. 3, 60 (*bis*) 112. The lights for the child cost 2d.
- 7 See above, p. 9.
- 8 St. Bartholomew's Hosp. MSS. Hb 1/1, f. 55v. 110; Ha 1/1.
- 9 W. F. Prideaux, 'Notes on Salway's Plan of the Road from Hyde Park Corner to Counter's Bridge' in *London Topographical Record*, Vol. III (1906), p. 23n. (from Hist. MSS. Comm., 15th Report, app. II, p. 257).
- 10 St. Bartholomew's MSS. Hb 1/1, f. 277v, 339v; Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 11 *Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1550-1619* (Harleian Soc., 1898), pp. 116 (*bis*), 119, 120, 124; and Kitto, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 289.
- 12 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 766.
- 13 Hb 1/2, f. 282.
- 14 Hb 1/3, f. 33, 46v (*bis*), 51, 53, 63v.
- 15 *Register of St. Martin*, pp. 138-9. From 1583 to 1619 only seven burials from the spital or ptochodochio (or zenodoch) of Knightsbridge are recorded (*ibid.*, pp. 127, 135, 137, 140, 173, 179 (*bis*)). From 1619 to 1627 there were 39 burials (*Register, 1619-36* (1936), pp. 156-231).
- 16 Hb 1/3, f. 157.
- 17 *ibid.*, f. 51.
- 18 Lysons, Vol. II (1795), p. 179.
- 19 Hb 1/3, f. 176.
- 20 *ibid.*, f. 279v, *et seq.*
- 21 E. Walford, *Old and New London*, Vol. V (1872-8), p. 23. It was James I who helped Sir Hugh Myddleton with the New River. For the conduit, see H. W. Dickinson, *Water Supply of Greater London* (1954), p. 14.
- 22 Ha 1/4, f. 127v, 130.
- 23 Hb 1/4.
- 24 J. McMaster, *A Short History of the Royal Parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields* (1916), p. 332.
- 25 M. E. C. Walcott, *Westminster* (1849), p. 301; and Walford, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 23.
- 26 Newcourt, *Repertorium* (1708), Vol. I, p. 694, from London Diocesan Records, Lib. Duck, Vic. General, f. 77, 185. Since 1627 the chapel had been an official chapel-of-ease to St. Martin's (McMaster, p. 332).
- 27 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 180, from the Parlia. Surveys at Lambeth Palace.
- 28 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 179.
- 29 *ibid.*, p. 180; McMaster, p. 332.
- 30 Newcourt, p. 694. He has a list of the chaplains or ministers from 1630. This list is continued to 1895 in Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* (1898), p. 441.
- 31 Strype, Vol. II (vi), pp. 67, 78.
- 32 McMaster, p. 332.
- 33 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 180.
- 34a *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 180-1.
- 34b W. F. Prideaux in *London Topog. Record*, Vol. III, pp. 28-29. See also Walford, Vol. V, p. 23; and 2 pictures (after 1789) in McMaster, opp. p. 332.
- 35 McMaster, pp. 332-3.
- 36 The course of the Westbourne Brook is traced in Gatty, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. The bridge was there by 1042-66 (*The Place-Names of Middlesex* (English Place-Name Society, 1942), p. 169). As late as 1809 the stream ran across the street and caused bad flooding by overflowing its banks (Walford, Vol. V, p. 16). There is a picture by G. F. Phillips of the stream flowing south through what is now Albert Gate in Gatty, opp. p. 20. The Albert Gate was built on an arched surface over the bed of the stream in 1845 (W. F. Prideaux in *Lond. Topog. Record*, Vol. III, p. 30).

- 37 The Turnpike Trust Plans have been reproduced in colour by the London Topog. Soc., Publication 8 (1899–1903). The site of the chapel is clearly marked on Rocque's 1746 Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster (reproduced, Lond. Topog. Soc., No. 34 *et seq.*).
- 38 *London Topog. Record*, Vol. III, pp. 29, 30. The White Hart had a low court of very old houses running down to the bank of the stream (Walford, Vol. V, p. 22).
- 39 Walford, Vol. V, pp. 16, 17, 23, 27; W. G. Bell, *The Great Plague of London in 1665* (1924), p. 283. A small railed-in triangular piece of ground opposite Tattersalls was all that remained of the village green in 1921 (A. Abrahams in *Notes and Queries*, series XII, ix (1921), pp. 12–13). See also *L.T.R.*, Vol. III, p. 32.
- 40 B.M. Seals, LXVIII, 17 (Birch, *Cat.*, no. 3379; no. 3380 is the 1573 signet seal of John Glassington, warden and governor). See also Clay, pp. xii, 103, with illustration.
- 41 Kitto, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
- 42 St. Bart's MSS. Hb 1/1, f. 55v.
- 43 *ibid.*, Ha 1/1 (*bis*).
- 44 Hb 1/1, f. 277v.
- 45 Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 46 Hb 1/2, f. 282; 1/3, f. 176.
- 47 *Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1619–36*, p. 159.
- 48 Ha 1/4, f. 127v, 130.
- 49 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 179.

8. MILE END LEPER HOSPITAL

Mile End Leper Hospital was one of the lazar houses either set up or taken over by the City of London in the Middle Ages for the receipt of leprous persons sent out of the City. The hospital is said to have been founded before 1274.¹ No other mediaeval reference to it has been found.

Mile End, with the City's five other leper hospitals, was transferred to the care of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1549. The first reference to the lazar house in the hospital records is in that year, when three surgeons of St. Bartholomew's were paid 2s. for going to Mile End to amputate a leg.² The next year four patients were sent by St. Bartholomew's to Mile End. One patient was a sick woman; another was Richard Gibson, who was given 4s.; and a third, another man, was sent with bedding. John Myll, the proctor, also received two shirts, presumably for the patients.³ Next year (1551) the poor lazars of the house of our Saviour Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene, at Mile End, in the parish of Stepney, co. Middlesex, were given protection to beg; and John Mills was again appointed proctor or collector.⁴ In 1555–6 this same John Mylles was described as Keeper and was paid 13s. 4d. 'for keeping the poor'.⁵ Next we hear, in 1556, that John Clarke, the porter at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, had to report that Robert Middleton had discharged himself from Mile End.⁶ The following year (1557) Mr. Flower of Staple Inn undertook to pay 40s. per annum to St. Bartholomew's Hospital for Margaret Flower, one of the poor of St. Bartholomew's who had been sent to Mile End. She was later transferred to Kingsland, where she was living in 1577.⁷ Also in 1557 Thomas Vynard was paid for taking a woman to Mile End. John Mylles was still the Keeper there, and was paid 6s. 8d. for keeping Edward Durran for a month. He had come from Hammersmith.⁸ Next year Mr. Alderman Wylford and two others from St. Bartholomew's were to ride to Mile End and the Lock in Southwark to report on the lazar houses at these two places.⁹

Two years later, in February 1560, John Stafford was Keeper or Guider, and had two patients, Thomas Loncester and Marie Dawes, from St. Bartholomew's.¹⁰ John Stafford was still Keeper in 1561.¹¹ The last heard of Mile End is in 1589, when Henry Smith was granted letters patent empowering him to collect alms for the support of the lazarus house.¹²

Mile End Hospital stood between the hamlets of Mile End and Stratford-at-Bow,¹³ on the main road out of London through Aldgate to the east of England. The exact position of the hospital is unknown.

The 16th-century hospital seal¹⁴ was oval, with two figures under one canopy. One figure stands with a spade in hand. The other, a crippled leper, is crouching. The inscription reads: 'Sigillum Domus Dei et Sce. Marie Magdelene apud Myle Ende.'

KEEPERS, ETC.

John Mylles, proctor	1550, 1551
John Mylles, keeper	1555-6, 1557
John Stafford, keeper	1560, 1561
Henry Smith, proctor	1589

NOTES

- 1 Clay, pp. 46-7.
- 2 St. Bartholomew's Hospital MSS., Hb 1/1, f. 43; Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 204.
- 3 *ibid.*, f. 54v, 55; Ha 1/1.
- 4 J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials of King Edward VI* (1822 ed.), Vol. II, p. 248; Lysons, Vol. III, p. 483 (from the parish register of Stratford-by-Bow).
- 5 Hb 1/1, f. 277v.
- 6 Ha 1/1, f. 146v.
- 7 *ibid.*, f. 159, 169.
- 8 Hb 1/1, f. 305v, 336, 170v.
- 9 Moore, Vol. II, p. 269.
- 10 Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 11 Moore, Vol. II, p. 278.
- 12 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 483.
- 13 Stow, Vol. II, p. 146.
- 14 Clay, p. 47, with an illustration.

9. SOUTHWARK, THE LOCK HOSPITAL

The Lock Hospital,¹ dedicated to St. Mary and St. Leonard² (the patron saint of captives) was one of the most important mediaeval leper hospitals in the London area, for it was the only one south of the Thames.

The hospital stood near the south-west corner of Kent or Kentish Street (since 1877 renamed Tabard Street),³ which till 1814⁴ was the main road into London from Kent and the continent. On the south side of the hospital was a stream, which here crossed the street and in its lower course had the name of Neckenger.⁵ The highway was carried across this stream by a stone bridge, probably of the early 13th century as its arch was 'similar to the earliest portion of London Bridge',⁶ built 1176 to 1206. This Southwark bridge

now lies buried under the roadway at the place where Kentish, or Tabard, Street significantly changes its name and becomes the Old Kent Road.⁷ 'Lock Bridge and brook' are an outstanding landmark on Ogilby's roads out of London (1675).⁸ The stream is also prominent in Rocque's map of 1746,⁹ which shows as well, on the south side of the bridge, the first milestone out of London.¹⁰ One other landmark surprisingly does not appear on any map. This was the Bar of Southwark, otherwise known as St. George's Bar.¹¹ The Lock Hospital is always described in mediaeval days as 'without Southwark', or 'Beyond St. George's Bar'.¹² The Bar probably consisted just of posts and a chain. It did not mark the south end of St. George's parish, which continued for nearly another mile along the Old Kent Road to St. Thomas a Watering,¹³ now marked by Albany Road, where there was another boundary stream. Nor did the Bar in consequence

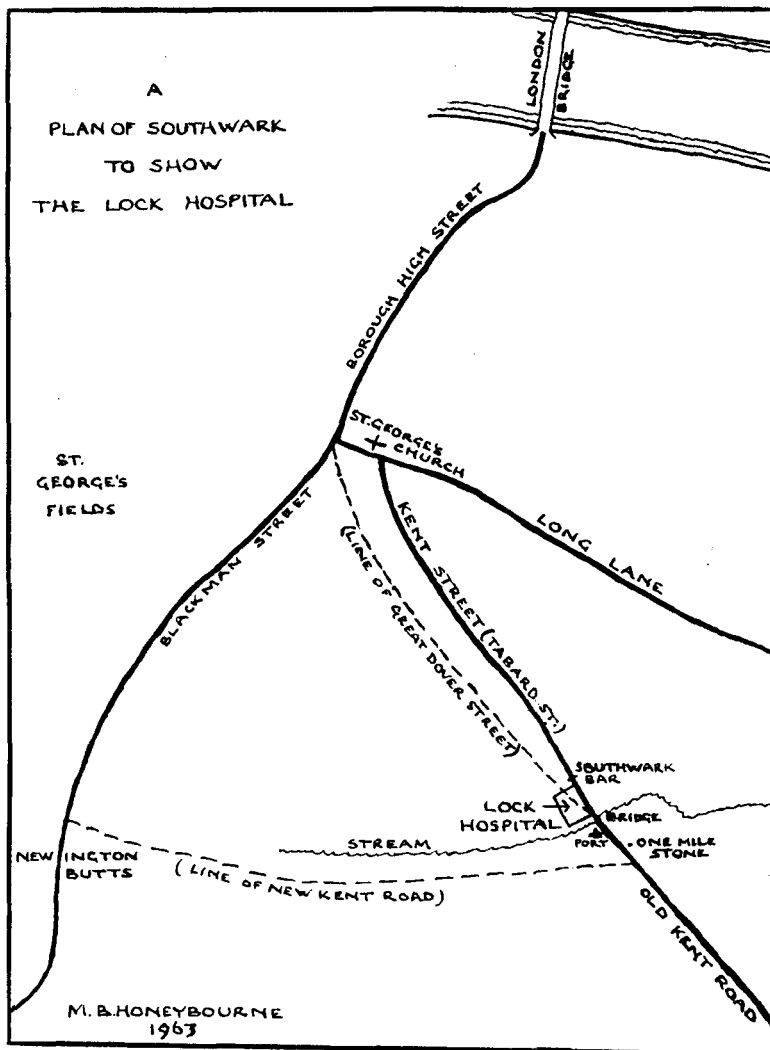


Fig. 2

mark the end of the City's jurisdiction from the mid-16th century onwards, for this according to the 1550 grant was co-terminous with, *inter alia*, the parish of St. George.¹⁴ What the Bar does seem to have delimited was the south-east boundary of the ancient vill or township of Southwark, i.e. the mediaeval built-up area commonly known to all as 'Southwark'. Stow's description of Southwark, which ignores all manors, parishes and liberties, bears out this conclusion.¹⁵ Morden and Lea's map of 1682¹⁶ shows a very well-defined boundary line running south down the centre of Kent Street nearly to the south end, and then turning up to the east of it. This line marks the parish boundary of St. George except at this southern turn, where instead of ending the parish continues south on both sides of Kent Street and the Old Kent Road to St. Thomas a Watering.¹⁷ The point of difference lies in Kent Street just north of the Lock Hospital, and there seems every reason to assume therefore that the Bar was here. This position was only a little north of Lock Bridge, so Bar, hospital, bridge and milestone were all grouped within a comparatively few yards of one another and together formed a notable landmark.

The Lock Hospital had two traditional founders, the City and the Crown. The first reference occurs only in 1315,¹⁸ but this date has no bearing on the time of the hospital's foundation, which is unknown. Both Edward II and Edward III helped forward the work of the hospital by granting the master and brethren protection against molestation and permission to collect alms, as the hospital income was far from sufficient.¹⁹ The Lock, if not always under the City's jurisdiction, definitely came under it, together with other leper hospitals, possibly in the late 13th century, when the City's leprosy decrees began to be issued in the reign of Edward I.²⁰ Mediaeval references to the hospital are few. In 1375 it is known that William Cook was the 'forman' or governor of 'le Loke' in Kent Street without Southwark Bar, and that he had to take an oath to allow no lepers to enter the city.²¹ Some hundred years later John Miller became Guider or governor in place of one, Whitehead, who surrendered office on account of his impotency and weakness.²² Perhaps it was when this change-over took place that Richard Holt, one of the City's Visitors of the spital-houses, was commanded to visit this lazar house called the Lock to see what rule was kept there.²³

Earlier, in 1408, John Gower the poet, who lived in Southwark, bequeathed 10s. to the lepers in the Lock.²⁴ 6s. 8d annual rent was bequeathed by John Pope in 1437;²⁵ in 1441 John Carpenter, the City's town clerk, also left money to the Lock,²⁶ and so did Dame Joan Frowyk in 1500.²⁷ As for the patients, only one mediaeval reference may refer to the Lock. The case is recorded in the court roll of the manor of Harrow, in a 1443 view of frankpledge:²⁸

William Bunde chief pledge and ale taster of Wembley with his tithing being sworn presents that John Webbe is a leper remaining within the demesne to the harm of all. Ordered that the whole tithing should provide for the said John that he should be moved out of the tithing to the lokehouse by the feast of Corpus Christi next under penalty of 20s.

The City was responsible for the buildings and the general running of the Lock Hospital until it was taken over by St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1549. Four years before this change the Guider of the Lock petitioned the City to have a rule for the house;²⁹ and three weeks later this Guider was allowed to continue in office during good behaviour;³⁰ one wonders what tale lies behind these few laconic notes. All that is known is that the Guider died within two years, and that the City's Visitor was to find a new one, and

report on the number of patients, their diseases and their rule.³¹ The report has not been preserved.

The records of St. Bartholomew's Hospital contain many references to the Lock after 1549. The most interesting of these relates to 31 July, 1557, when two patients were sent to the Lock 'as they are found to be lepers, there to remain'.³² This is the last recorded instance found of leprosy in the London area.

Considerable building repairs were undertaken from time to time, and the street pavement (of pebbles) had to be maintained in good condition after 1566.³³ Between 1599 and 1606 £207 14s. 5d. was paid out, and in 1608 a further £74 for a brick wall and five new houses 'for noysome persons'.³⁴ 1611-12 saw thirteen settles placed at the ends of the beds at a cost of £2 19s.; and sixteen bedsteads 'with testers all of joiners work' were provided for the new wards, at 22s. each.³⁵ A fire occasioned repairs costing £3 6s. 9d. to the little room next the kitchen in 1613-14.³⁶ Perhaps owing to an increase in numbers the Guider's house was to have bedding for twenty in 1618-19.³⁷ In 1636 the hospital chapel was rebuilt.³⁸ Martin Bond, the leader in 1588 of the trained bands of London at Tilbury,³⁹ contributed £100 towards the cost⁴⁰ and his initials were placed upon the door, with the inscription:—

M.B.

This chapel was built to the honour of God and for the use of the poor,
infirm and impotent people harboured within this Hospital.
May, Mar. Bond Esq., Treasurer, Anno, 1636⁴¹

In George I's reign a small goblet was acquired for the services, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital still owns this piece of plate.⁴²

The Civil War had its effect on the Lock. In 1643 the number of patients 'on diet' was reduced to twelve or under; and only six were to be admitted each quarter.⁴³ As the Lock stood by the Bar, at the end of the populated area⁴⁴, one of the parliamentary forts for the defence of London was built on 'a parcell of pasture land at the Lock'.⁴⁵ Four years later Richard Eden, an outstanding, though rather quarrelsome, Guider of the Lock, was to be tenant of this land for £8 *per annum*, but was to pay more 'when the fort that stands upon part of it is demolished'.⁴⁶ Richard Eden had already taken an interest in the grounds of the Lock: he had planted trees about the spittle and sown a bed of 'lickerass' in one of the gardens.⁴⁷ Prices rose owing to the unsettled times, and in 1649 Richard Eden was to have £20 yearly 'for extraordinary charges and expenses these dear and chargeable times for victuals for the patients'. Next year the amount was raised to £20 'in these present dear times'. Further increased expenses in 1651 were for drugs, physic, sheets, shrouding, straw for beds, and charges for burials.⁴⁸

By 1657 only men were being admitted to the Lock (the women going to Kingsland Hospital). The Guider soon found that the men were more expensive and less helpful than women and he was therefore granted more towards their keep. At the same time watch candles and sea coals were provided for the six wards in winter; 5 dozen of hemp was sent for half a year for sheets; and the patients were to have good Suffolk cheese instead of Cheshire.⁴⁹

A complete diet sheet had been drawn up for the patients at the Lock in 1646, during Richard Eden's rule.⁵⁰

Sundays:

4 oz. best wheaten bread
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. boiled beef (no bones nor gristle)
 a quart bowl (a pipkirot) of pottage
 1 Winchester quart of beer

Tuesdays and Thursdays:

4 oz. bread
 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. boiled beef
 4 oz. cheese or 2 oz. butter
 pottage
 beer

Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays:

bread
 4 oz. cheese
 2 oz. butter
 1 pipken of gruel or milk pottage or oatmeal
 beer

If 'sore mouthed', the patients were to have:

1 pennyworth of white bread
 6 oz. boiled beef for flesh days
 milk pottage or water gruel for other days, with white bread and butter
 beer

or

2d. a day
 pottage and pease.

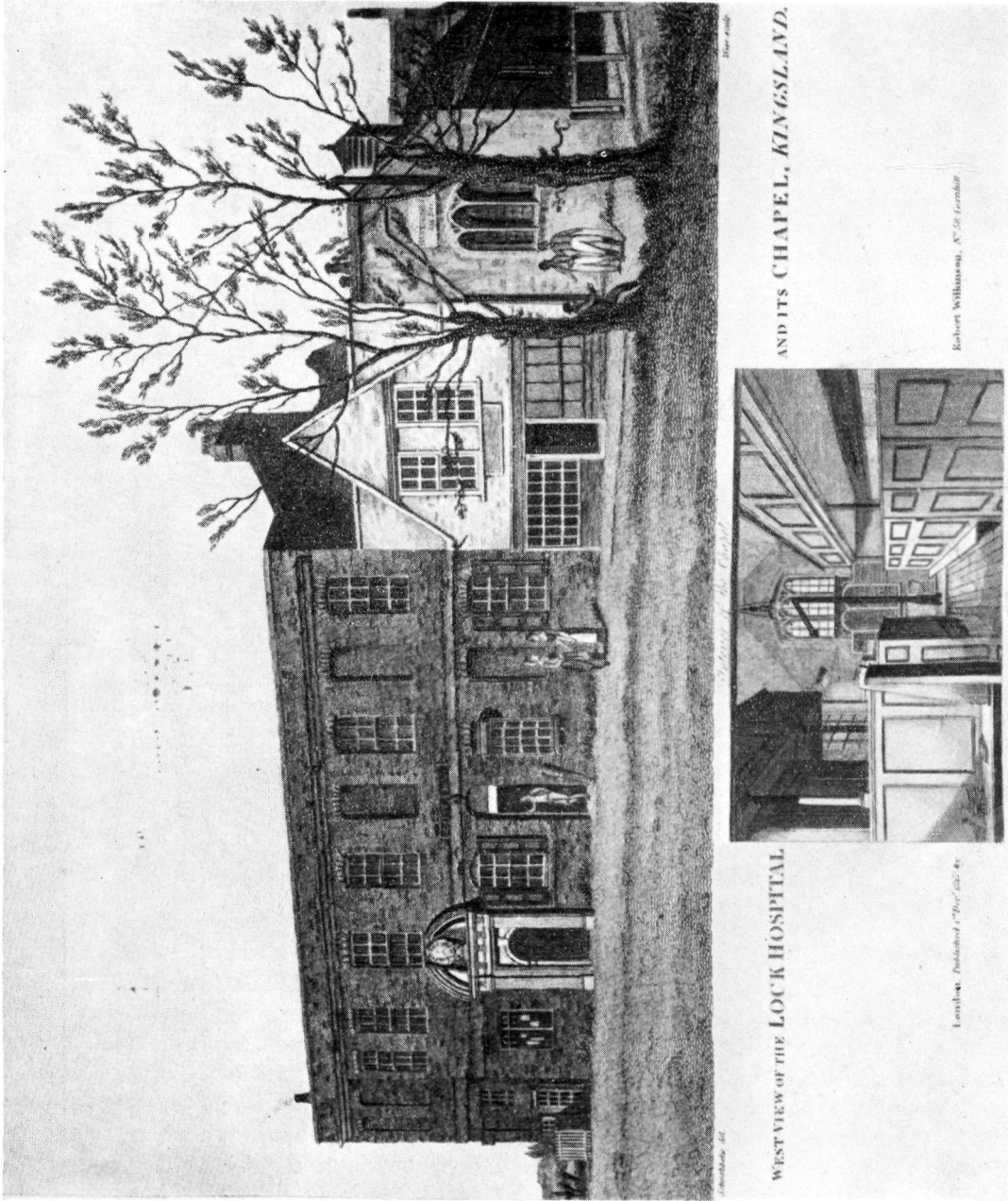
At the Restoration interested persons falsely accused the Guider, John Haselock, of being 'disaffected to the King and a friend of the fanatickes party' and alleged that he 'did embalme the Protector'.⁵¹ Haselock evidently cleared himself and retained his post till his death in 1661. There were then 26 applicants for the vacancy. John Knight was Charles II's choice but he would not promise to 'make the said howse his habitation, and constantly attend the poore in his owne person', so he was passed over in favour of Dr. John Dorrington, another outstanding Guider.⁵² His predecessor had planted fruit trees, built a mount and arbour, provided three hives of bees, and painted and beautified the parlour.⁵³ Donnington had a hot-house made for the patients.⁵⁴

The Fire of London in 1666 so decreased the revenues of St. Bartholomew's Hospital that the Lock had to be closed for a time. The Guider was left to look after the bedding, furniture, and buildings, and could take paying patients. In 1667 the Lock might again be sent exceptional cases by the parent hospital, which would, however, only pay for their diet: the friends of those admitted must pay the surgeon.⁵⁵ By 1682 there were 20 patients again, provided with 20 new pairs of sheets, 20 new pairs of blankets, 14 new coverlets, and there were 22 new beds, as well as 10 remade ones. The roof and lanthorn had been re-tiled, a brick wall rebuilt, and the pavement and common sewer attended to. A 'helper' had also been appointed (1679) at a salary of 2s. 4d. a week, with an allowance of 10s. a quarter 'towards buying him clothes'. The Guider was to receive £30 *per annum* and £3 for washing the sheets, which were to be maintained with the 'ancient allowance of hemp'.⁵⁶ In 1687 an assistant to the nurse was to be paid 3s. weekly; and in 1689 the Guider received an extra £5 a year.⁵⁷



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The seal of St. James's Leper Hospital, Westminster
Inscription: Sigill[um] Santi Iacobi Infirmarum



Kingsland Hospital
A general view of the building in 1815

During the Great Plague of 1665 Dr. John Dorrington said that he had helped many outpatients with costly medicaments but St. Bartholomew's would only pay for its own patients.⁵⁸ By 1690 these were to be increased from 20 to 30; and in 1700 a substantial bathing tub was to be provided, and the surgeon was to have for his own use 1 chaldron of seacoal and a dozen of candles.⁵⁹ A few years later the minister's salary was raised from £8 to £12, and a religious book called *The Practice of Piety* was given to each patient cured.⁶⁰ In 1715 the nurse received for washing the patients' linen 'an extra 15s. per annum by reason of the duty laid upon soap'; and between 1711 and 1714 40 lb. of tow were delivered at the Lock.⁶¹ The money spent on drugs and medicines had increased by nearly double by 1716, but the number of cures had also gone up, maybe because the medicines were more effective. However that may be, the Guider was granted an additional £20 per year.⁶²

Samual Palmer was Guider for 13 years. When he resigned he presented £100 to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of which he was thereupon made a governor. His son-in-law, who had been apprenticed to him and had helped him at the Lock, was appointed Guider in his place.⁶³ In a general review made of the Lock at the change-over it was found that the water supply from the pump was unfit for washing and dressing the food, and that the patients were having to buy water for this purpose. It was suggested that Thames water should be brought from St. Saviour's Mill, but as such a plan was expensive it was decided to make gutters to divert the rainwater into a reservoir. Consequently two new cisterns were made, one to stand at the end of the wards, and the other at the end of the dwelling house. A hot and cold bath costing £100 was also made (1728) for the patients, towards which Mr. Palmer, the former Guider, gave £25.⁶⁴ A low brick wall with a wooden upper part was to be constructed on the west side of the house garden, which measured 93 feet. Another similar wall was to be built at the north end of the kitchen garden at its lower end. Other changes were the substitution of drawers for lockers in the newly white-washed upper wards (as in the lower); the provision of eighteen new beds 3 feet wide and of new floors for two wards; and the construction of a new wash-house, with rooms over, having sash windows with weights and crown glass, and a half-wainscotted 'rampant and twist' staircase with carved brackets and twisted banisters. The whole hospital was to be insured against fire with the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office (1723).⁶⁵

The surgeon's house extended in one place 14 ft. 9 in. by 6 ft. 4 in. beyond the other buildings into the highway at its narrowest point. In 1722 a widening of the turnpike at this point had been suggested. In 1736 matters came to a head owing to 'the great obstruction and hindrance to the free passage of coaches, carts and horsemen'. St. Bartholomew's Hospital therefore agreed that the Commissioner should remove the jetty, make good the damage and pay £5 for the ground. Two years earlier the hospital had planned to let some garden ground, for which purpose an advertisement was to be inserted in *The Daily Post Boy* and *The Advertiser*.⁶⁶

In 1760 the Lock Hospital closed. The building was let out in tenements and by 1800 only the chapel and parlour were left. These were pulled down in 1809 for the new road, Great Dover Street, west of Kent or Tabard Street and mainly parallel to it, and running from Borough High Street to the Old Kent Road (the Dover road).⁶⁷ Great Dover Street met the south end of Kent Street at the hospital site and therefore just south of the old Southwark Bar. Some of the hospital ground became part of the road, some was left in

the narrow tongue between the two roads, and the rest was let on building leases and became Portland Place and Warner Street (now Bartholomew Street) (1818–19), Union Crescent (pulled down in 1903), the south end of Dover Street, and the east end of the New Kent Road (made in 1751).⁶⁸ The main hospital block consisted of the chapel, hall, parlour, kitchen, surgery and Guider's quarters, and abutted directly upon Kent Street. The wards, which formed a detached block to the west, across a courtyard, were of three storeys, over a vault.⁶⁹

The names of only four patients have survived, of whom two came from St. Thomas's Hospital. In 1443 there was possibly John Webb from Harrow;⁷⁰ in 1571 John Hoode had 20d. paid weekly for him; in 1573 two relatives of Richard Prince of Westend, a 'syngingman', bound themselves in 20 marks to pay 5s. 4d. in advance monthly for him so long as he continued in 'the Lock, a lazar house'. William Mychyll, a blind man, was there in 1576, and was to be given 12d. a week 'so long as he shall not use the trade of begging, but shall live well and honestly by some lawful occupation'.⁷¹

GUIDERS

Willian Cook, 'forman' ⁷²	1375
— Whitehead ⁷³	c. 1500, resigned
John Miller ⁷⁴	c. 1500
Thomas Waman ⁷⁵	1561
Nicholas Reignold ⁷⁶	1600–1
Robert Murray, surgeon ⁷⁷	1618, dismissed
John Franche, surgeon ⁷⁸	1618–25
Richard Sampson ⁷⁹	1626
Richard Eden (the elder), surgeon ⁸⁰	1627–47, resigned
Richard Eden (the younger), surgeon, ⁸¹ son of the above	1647–53, died
John Haselock, citizen and barber- surgeon ⁸²	1653–61, died
John Dorrington, surgeon ⁸³	1661–84, died
Andrew Herriot ⁸⁴	1684, 1689
Samuel Palmer, surgeon ⁸⁵	1708–21, resigned
Peter St. Hill, surgeon, son-in-law of the above ⁸⁶	1721
— Freke ⁸⁷	1729, appointed
John Townshend ⁸⁸	1748, appointed
Percival Pott ⁸⁹	1756

CHAPLAINS OR MINISTERS

Richard Gregory ⁹⁰	1626–7, appointed
— Powell ⁹¹	c. 1638, died
Jeremiah Gosse ⁹²	1641, appointed
Stephen Haggin ⁹³	1659, 1661

John Weldon ⁹⁴	1663
James Bisse ⁹⁵	1706–15, died
Thomas Pocock, clerk of St. Bartholomew's Hospital ⁹⁶	1715–33, died
William Wilson, clerk ⁹⁷	1733, appointed

NOTES

- 1 There are short accounts of the Lock Hospital in Manning and Bray, *The History . . . of Surrey* (1814), Vol. III, p. 634; W. Rendle, *Old Southwark and its People* (1878), pp. 309–10, 312–13; H. Douglas-Irvine in V.C.H., *Surrey*, Vol. IV (1905), p. 162; J. C. Cox in V.C.H., *London*, Vol. I (1909), p. 542; D'Arcy Power, *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1123–1923* (1923), pp. 47–8; and L.C.C. *Survey of London*, Vol. XXV, *St. George's Fields* (1955), pp. 114, 125–6. The name 'Lock' probably denotes simply an enclosure (see E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1947), p. 287; and English Place-Name Society, *Surrey*, p. 363). The plural form, 'le lokes', was often used.
- 2 *C.P.R.*, 1313–17, p. 294; 1317–21, pp. 438, 492, 511, 514; 1327–30, p. 320.
- 3 L.C.C. *Survey*, Vol. XXV, p. 121.
- 4 *ibid.*, p. 107–8, 121.
- 5 Rocque's Map of London, 1746; reproduced by the London Topographical Society, Publication 44, etc.; and the relevant part in Rendle, *op. cit.*, p. 311. The Neckenger ran past Bermondsey Abbey into the Thames at Savory or St. Saviour's Dock.
- 6 G. R. Corner in *British Archaeo. Assoc. Journal*, Vol. III (1848), pp. 348–9, with picture; and Rendle, pp. 310–12. By 1640 the Corporation of London was responsible for the upkeep of this bridge (P. Norman, *The Inns of Old Southwark* (1888), pp. 385–6). The bridge is said to have marked the tidal limit of the stream (Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 634).
- 7 The word 'Old' was added in the early 19th century to distinguish this street from the New Kent Road (L.C.C. *Survey*, p. 122).
- 8 Reproduced by the L.T.S., No. 30.
- 9 See Note 4.
- 10 This mile-stone is also marked on Rocque's Map of Surrey, 1762.
- 11 First mentioned in 1321 (*Cal. City Letter Book E*, pp. 157–8). Other references are *Cal. Letter Book G*, p. 191; *Hall's Chronicle of Henry VIII* (ed. C. Whitley from the 1550 edition, 1904), p. 250. See also G. R. Corner in *Notes and Queries*, July, 1862, pp. 141–2.
- 12 See Note 2; and the will of Dame Joan Frowik, 1500 (Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 2 Moone).
- 13 *Parish Clerks' New Remarks on London* (1732), p. 164, and R. Horwood's Map of London, 1819. These are not mediaeval references, but the parish of St. George, Southwark, always extended beyond the Bar, in the same way as the parish of St. Andrew Holborn extends beyond Holborn Bar. Mr. P.E. Jones, Deputy-Keeper of the Guildhall Records, has kindly given me two references of 1331 and 1349 (Bridge House Records, D, 32 and D, 74) referring to the 'parish of St. George without the Bar of Southwark'. The site of St. Thomas a Watering marks the boundary of the modern boroughs of Southwark and Camberwell.
- 14 Stow, Vol. II, pp. 68–9. The City's part of Southwark formed the Ward of Bridge Without (*City Remembrancia*, pp. 231–2, 472–3).
- 15 Stow, Vol. II, pp. 52–3. Stow must have included Kentish Street in what he called the Borough, for he notes the Lock at the south end of this street. The term 'Borough' was often loosely used.
- 16 Reproduced by L.T.S., No. 15. The relevant part is also reproduced in Rendle, p. 325.
- 17 See Note 13.
- 18 *C.P.R.*, 1313–17, p. 294.
- 19 See Note 2.
- 20 See above, p. 5.
- 21 *Cal.*, *Letter Book H*, p. 9; and Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries* (1868), p. 384.
- 22 Guildhall, City Repertory 11 (MS. Cal., 1495–1552, 75a).

- 23 *ibid.* (MS. Cal., 75b).
- 24 F. Higham, *Southwark Story* (1955), p. 76.
- 25 Strype, Book IV, p. 20.
- 26 W. Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (1856), pp. 139, 144; *D.N.B.*
- 27 See Note 12.
- 28 Middlesex Record Office, Acc. 76/2417 m.82. Miss E. D. Mercer, the County Archivist, has kindly provided this reference. 'Le lokehouse' may possibly be a local one, otherwise unknown, and not the Southwark one.
- 29 St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Rep. 11, f. 173. (For the records of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, see Introduction, note 49.)
- 30 *ibid.*, f. 177.
- 31 *ibid.*, f. 361v.
- 32 N. Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), Vol. II, p. 276.
- 33 In 1566 there was an Act (8 Eliz. c. 32) for the paving of Kentish Street in Southwark (*Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. IV, not printed); see also N. Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 279. The pavement ended at the Lock, hence the name Stone's End for this area. For this name, see L.C.C. *Survey*, p. 122. In 1723 at least 10 tons of new large pebbles were needed for the Lock frontage (St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/10, f. 85v).
- 34 St. B's Hosp., Hb 1/3, f. 216v, 305-21, 337, 358v, 359v, 406 (*bis*), 407.
- 35 *ibid.*, f. 573, 577.
- 36 *ibid.*, f. 577.
- 37 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 103.
- 38 *ibid.*, Hb 1/4, f. 111.
- 39 See his memorial, 1643, in St. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate.
- 40 Manning and Bray, Vol. III, p. 634.
- 41 Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, Vol. I, pl. 67; and thence in D'Arcy Power, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 46. The engraving in *Londina Illustrata* is here reproduced as Plate 6. The initials and the wording imply that Martin Bond himself was the chief contributor.
- 42 D'Arcy Power, p. 84.
- 43 St. B's Hosp., Hb 1/4, f. 276.
- 44 There were hedges beyond on both sides of the road as late as 1746 (Rocque).
- 45 Southwark Borough Library (Reference Section), 'A Plan of the City and Environs of London, as fortified by order of Parliament in the years 1642 and 1643', by — Downs, published by Alex. Hogg. This plan shows a redoubt like a star, with four points, south of the Lock Hospital in Kent Street. The fort is shown on the east side of the street, but one arm covers the roadway, an important point as the Lock is only said to have owned land on the west side. N. G. Brett-James (*The Growth of Stuart London* (1935), 272 opp.) seems to mark the fort too far east. Mr. H. C. Sansom of the Reference Library has given every assistance in locating the site of the Bar.
- 46 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/4, f. 315v. In 1651 Eden had to apologise for striking on the head his brother Guider of Kingsland (Ha 1/5, f. 72).
- 47 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 126.
- 48 *ibid.*, f. 30, 48v, 49, 72.
- 49 *ibid.*, f. 136, 187, 187v, 195; Ha 4/1, f. 12v; Hb 1/3, f. 315.
- 50 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 315v. In 1662 the best wheaten bread had to be altered to 'wholesome and good household bread made of wheat' (i.e. brown bread), because the other was too expensive owing to 'the present dearth of corn' (Ha 4/1, f. 28). This diet sheet should be compared with the mediaeval one for St. Julian's Leper Hospital outside St. Albans, printed in A. Weymouth, *Through the Leper Squint* (1938), pp. 131-2.
- 51 *ibid.*, Ha 1/5, f. 265.
- 52 *ibid.*, f. 293; printed in full in Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 317-18.
- 53 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 295. The mount was probably on the remains of the parliamentary fort, which Daniel Defoe noted in 1724 as a landmark at the end of Kent Street (*A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 1724-7 (1927 ed.), p. 170).
- 54 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 287.
- 55 Moore, Vol. II, p. 330. See also G. Whitteridge, 'The Fire of London and St. Bartholomew's Hospital' in *London Topographical Record*, Vol. XX (1952), pp. 54-5, 75-6.

- 56 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/6, f. 66, 99; Ha 1/7, f. 52, 70v, 77v, 83, 95v, 121v, 122, 122v. In 1709 the common sewer was described as the County Pond. It was on the south side of the garden belonging to the Lock Hospital and a brick wall was to be built there. Rocque shows a very wide sewer almost like a pond. A little to the west this sewer or stream survived open for many years as the stretch of water in front of County Terrace, north of New Kent Road (*Survey*, Vol. XXV, p. 117).
- 57 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/7, f. 196v, 325. In 1730 another attendant was specially engaged at 4d. daily to watch and attend the patients at night (Ha 4/1, f. 68v).
- 58 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 370v.
- 59 *ibid.*, Ha 4/1, f. 53v, 58; Moore, Vol. II, p. 351.
- 60 St. B's Hosp., Ha 4/1, f. 60; Moore, Vol. II, p. 353. This minister read prayers and preached every Sunday, visited the patients twice a week, and was always on call. For further details of the book, see under Kingsland Hospital.
- 61 St. B's Hosp., Ha 4/1, f. 63v; Ha 1/9, f. 51, 99.
- 62 *ibid.*, Ha 1/9, f. 149, 184v.
- 63 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 39 (*bis*).
- 64 *ibid.*, f. 46v, 53v, 115. The Bagnio needed an extra 5 chaldrons of coal each year (Ha 4/1, f. 68v).
- 65 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 53v, 85v, 86, 97, 107. Crown glass was made in circular sheets by blowing and whirling.
- 66 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 60v; Ha 1/11, f. 85, 86, 156; Moore, Vol. II, p. 364.
- 67 Manning and Bray, Vol. III, p. 634.
- 68 *Survey*, pp. 117–18, 119, 125–6. Buckenham Square was not part of the hospital property and seems to be the successor of the Bull (see Rocque). The hospital land evidently ran to the west of it. The hospital precinct measured about 260 ft. along the highway, and had a depth of 110 ft. (see the 1745 plan).
- 69 Rocque's Map; St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/10, f. 58 (for the vault). See also *Survey*, p. 125. There are pictures of the Lock in Wilkinson, *Lond. Illus.* (1813), and thence in D'Arcy Power, Plate 18; and in the *Survey*, p. 124. The latter is from St. B's Hosp. Surveyor's Plan Book 2, where there is also a plan of the Lock just before its closure (*Survey*, pp. 125, 136). There are duplicates of these two plans, and another of the upper floor of the ward, in B.M. King's Library, XXVII, Maps and Plans, No. 56 (in the Map Room). These are now reproduced as Plates 7 and 8. The main plan, dated 1745, is by William Collier, Land Surveyor.
- 70 See above, p. 46.
- 71 P. Norman, *Inns of Old Southwark* (1888), pp. 382–3; Moore, Vol. II, p. 282.
- 72 See Note 21.
- 73 See Note 22.
- 74 See Note 22.
- 75 Moore, Vol. II, p. 278.
- 76 St. B's Hosp., Hb 1/3, f. 235v–256v.
- 77 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 98v.
- 78 *ibid.*; and Hb 1/4.
- 79 *ibid.*, Hb 1/4.
- 80 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 272v–314v.
- 81 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 314v; Ha 1/5, f. 117.
- 82 *ibid.*, Ha 1/5, f. 120v, 283. The Lord General Cromwell supported another candidate, William Bury, surgeon (Moore, Vol. II, p. 311).
- 83 Moore, Vol. II, p. 283; St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/7, f. 146.
- 84 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/7, f. 149, 325. Thomas Dorrington, John's son and the acting surgeon, was passed over (Ha 1/7, f. 146, 149).
- 85 *ibid.*, Ha 1/9, f. 5v; Ha 1/10, f. 39.
- 86 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 39, 45.
- 87 Moore, Vol. II, p. 633n.
- 88 *ibid.*
- 89 D'Arcy Power, p. 48.
- 90 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/4, f. 160.
- 91 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 245; Moore, Vol. II, p. 303.
- 92 *ibid.*
- 93 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 259v, 286; Moore, Vol. II, p. 318.

- 94 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 328v.
 95 *ibid.*, Ha 4/1, f. 60; Ha 1/9, f. 110v.
 96 *ibid.*, Ha 1/9, f. 110v; Ha 1/10, f. 284v.
 97 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 284v.

10. WESTMINSTER, ST. JAMES'S HOSPITAL FOR LEPERS

There is a full account of this hospital, and a list of its masters, by Miss M. Reddan in the *Victoria County History, London* (1909), pp. 542-6.

The hospital was for 13 women. There were also a master or warden, and 8 brothers, 4 of whom were to be priests.¹ The numbers, however, varied considerably. The hospital is said to have been visited by Gislebertus, Abbot of Westminster, in 1100;² and in 1838 during repairs to the Chapel Royal some Norman stone mullions and other masonry came to light³ to prove the hospital's early foundation. It was one of the best endowed leper hospitals in the London area, for at the time of its dissolution it was worth £100 yearly.⁴ The seal of the hospital is now reproduced as Plate 3.

NOTES

- 1 *V.C.H.*, p. 544.
- 2 E. Sheppard, *Memorials of St. James's Palace* (1894), pp. 2-3; from B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus. This reference has not been traced. See also B. Graeme, *The Story of St. James's Palace* (1929), p. 15.
- 3 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 4 *V.C.H.*, p. 545.

APPENDIX

SOME OTHER MEDIAEVAL HOSPITALS OF MIDDLESEX

Apart from the leper hospitals there were only five other mediaeval hospitals in Middlesex. Two of these were on the high road at Brentford, one stood outside Aldersgate, and the others were at Shoreditch and Tottenham. All were small and seem to have been in the nature of almshouses except for one of those at Brentford, which was definitely for the receipt of travellers.

1. ALDERSGATE HOSPITAL

Outside Aldersgate both Leland¹ and Stow² say that there stood in mediaeval times a hospital for the poor. This hospital was of the French order of Cluny and was therefore suppressed by Henry V when he dissolved all alien priories. The king gave the hospital lands and goods to the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, and a brotherhood of the Holy Trinity was founded by William Bever in place of the hospital. This brotherhood in its turn was suppressed by Edward VI as it was said to be devoted to superstitious uses. The property, worth £18 16s. yearly, consisted by then of a common hall called Trinity Hall, a kitchen, a store house, eight messuages in Trinity Alley adjacent to the hall, a messuage underneath the hall, and five other messuages between this messuage on the north and 'le George' on the south. As endowment there were eight other messuages, all in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate. Three of these messuages were on the south side of 'le Cookes Hall':³ one called 'le Woll Sacke' was in Petybryttayne (= Little Britain) with two tenements on its north side, and two were at the Barbican. These tenements have not been further identified. The whole of the property was granted in 1548 to William Harvyne *alias* Somerset, one of the king's heralds at arms, for himself and his heirs, at a rent of 13s. 4d.⁴

MASTER

Alexander Chapman, master of the guild 1547

NOTES

- 1 Leland, *Collectanea* (1770 ed.), Vol. I, pp. 113-14.
- 2 Stow, Vol. II, pp. 80, 144, 395.
- 3 On the east side of Aldersgate Street, a little north of Gesham Street. The site is marked by a plaque.
- 4 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edward VI*, Vol. I, p. 271; Vol. II, p. 99.

2. BRENTFORD, THE HOSPITAL OF ALL ANGELS

The Hospital of the Virgin Mary and the Nine Orders of Holy Angels was founded in 1446 by the king's servant, Master John Somerset, physician and chaplain to the king, and from 1441–6 chancellor of the exchequer.¹ The community proper was to consist of three groups: a chaplain and his clerk; nine poor men, weak or impotent, to wit blind, lame or withered; and two sober and industrious men to serve the nine. At the same time there was founded a gild of a master, brethren and sisters, to be called the Gild of the Nine Orders of Holy Angels by Syon. This gild was to administer the hospital and chapel. To this end the gild was to be a corporate body able to hold land in mortmain to the value of £40 yearly, and authorized to use a common seal. Each Michaelmas one of the gildsmen was to be elected master of the gild, the chapel and the hospital.²

The hospital was at Brentford End, just inside the parish of Isleworth, and not far east of Syon monastery. The above John Somerset held land here under the Crown, of the honour of Hampton. To the north of his land had run the old highway through Brentford to Hounslow—the main Bath road. This highway had been carried over the River Brent at New Brentford by a wooden bridge.³ Before 1446 a new three-arched stone bridge had been built to the north of the old wooden one, and the roadway had consequently been diverted. On the deserted piece of road and the ground to the north of it bounded by the new highway and the river John Somerset had already by 1446 built a chapel which stood close to the new stone bridge.⁴ Henry VI had himself laid the foundation stone of this chapel. He now in 1446 gave to John Somerset the land, measuring 220 ft. by 40 ft., on which the chapel stood, together with the old bridgehead and the water of Brent, for the use of the new community, whose buildings were to adjoin the south side of the chapel.

John Somerset endowed his hospital with 260 acres of land in Northwood, and nearly 500 acres in the parishes of Isleworth, Brentford and Heston. These lands included Osterley or Esterly with its appurtenances, closes and fields, bounded in 1376 by hedges and ditches,⁵ and seem only to have been acquired by John Somerset about three years before the foundation of the hospital, for in 1443 John Forde of Yver, Co. Bucks., quit-claimed them to him.⁶ Seven years after the foundation these same lands were passed through two sets of trustees back to John Somerset,⁷ probably to establish firmly his legal claim to them.

In 1463 the funds of the hospital were clearly rather low and a very curious arrangement was accordingly made to ensure the continuance of the foundation for at least a few years.⁸ Richard Plokyndon, one of the feoffees at the foundation of the hospital in 1446, together with William Voysy and William Pokelynton granted to Philip Malpas and three others all the lands, etc. in Isleworth, Chiswick, Heston and Northwood which had belonged to John Somerset, except his own great house and two tenements called respectively 'Sandons' and 'Clementes'. This land was granted to the new feoffees and their heirs for ever, on condition that for twelve years they should pay ten marks yearly in quarterly sums to the chaplain celebrating divine service in the chapel at 'Braynford Brigge' in the parish of Isleworth lately built by John Somerset. The payments were to be for prayers for the souls of the last named and of the above Richard Plokyndon. For the same purpose the clerk of the chapel was to have four marks annually during the twelve years, and five poor persons there were to have 7½d. a week, payable monthly in the said chapel. Every second year, at Christmas, the five poor persons were each to be given a suitable robe,

and two cartloads of fuel delivered free at the almshouses. The clerk was also to have two loads of fuel delivered free, but the chaplain had to pay for the cutting and carrying of his fuel. The new owners of the lands were to keep the chapel and houses in repair, and fill any vacancies among the chaplains, clerks or poor within a month. If during the twelve years the lands had to be mortgaged to pay for the maintenance of the hospital, the grant was not to be affected. There is no record of what happened at the end of the twelve years, but in 1479 John Saverey, master of the fraternity or gild, obtained an exemplification of the letters patent setting up the hospital in 1446.⁹ By 1498 much of the endowment had been alienated, for in that year Peter, son of William Pokelynton, one of the above grantors, released and quitclaimed to Edward Cheseman, gentleman, his rights in the manor of Osterley and 16 messuages, 550 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 12 acres of wood and £5 of rent in Isleworth, West Brentford, Chiswick, Heston and Northwood, all in the county of Middlesex and late of John Somerset.¹⁰

In 1508 these lands were returned to the hospital by Hugh Denys, esquire, citizen of London. He had bought from Robert Cheseman, evidently a descendant of Edward Cheseman, the manors of Osterley and Wyke (a hamlet of Isleworth).¹¹ These manors Hugh Denys bequeathed in 1511 to the Carthusian priory of Sheen charged with certain payments, *viz.* to enlarge, or perhaps refund, the Hospital of All Angels 'beside Braynford Brygg' for seven poor men, and to found a chantry for two secular priests in the chapel. These priests were to pray for the souls of Henry VIII, Hugh Denys and John Somerset, but the foundation was to be called 'the Chapel and Almshouses of Hugh Denys'. The priests must be resident and hold no other benefices, and their salary was to be 9 marks per annum, together with free fuel. The poor men, also resident, were each to have 7½d. a week, free fuel, and a gown worth 4s.¹² In 1530 the prior and convent of Sheen made over the two manors of Osterley and Wyke to the abbess and convent of Syon, who henceforth administered the estates for the benefit of the hospital, and were liable for all repairs.¹³ On the dissolution of the monastery of Syon, Henry VIII granted Wyke to the marquis of Exeter,¹⁴ on whose attainder in 1538 it reverted to the Crown.

The hospital itself was suppressed in 1547. In that year, and again in 1550, Edward VI granted to his uncle, Protector Somerset, the chapel, the almshouse, Osterley (202 acres), Wyke (104 acres), two messuages called the Sprottes and the Rose (both let on lease to Sir R. Lister for 99 years), the chapel pool and the fishing rights.¹⁵ On Somerset's fall in 1552 the property reverted to the Crown, and Mary Tudor in 1557 granted 'the church or chapel in the parish of Isleworth near to the said capital mansion' (of Syon) to the newly restored convent of Syon.¹⁶ Included in a second grant¹⁷ of 1558 were the eight adjoining bedehouses, the Sprottes and the Rose Inn,¹⁸ the chapel pool, the fishing and at least 33 acres of ground;¹⁹ but the freehold of Osterley and Wyke and other outlying properties, together valued at £15 10s. 8d. yearly, Queen Mary had already granted to Augustine Thayer and Alexander Chesenell, and then to the heirs of the former.²⁰ Wyke was later, before 1565, purchased with Osterley by Sir Thomas Gresham, who died seised of both on 21 November, 1579.²¹

After the second dissolution of the monastery of Syon Queen Elizabeth I leased the All Angels chapel and hospital with its appurtenances to Richard Burton,²² and he or his successors pulled down the chapel and two of the bedehouses and converted the site into a garden 'near adjoining to the bridge'. This garden was let in 1582-3 by Mr. Robert Knollys, the then lord of the manor of Syon.²³ Later on, in 1611, Henry, Prince of

Wales, bought the property from George and Thomas Whitmore, who had been granted it by James I in the previous year, possibly as feoffees. In 1629 Charles I held his late brother's land and alienated it to the mayor and commonalty of London, presumably to get ready money. In 1639 the property was sold by the City to Sir Richard Wynne,²⁴ who resided at Little Syon, a short distance to the westward, near the later Adam gateway leading to Syon House.²⁵ As for the manor of Wyke, this was mortgaged in 1640 by Sir William Washington, its then owner, to Sir Edward Spencer and the above Sir Richard Wynne.²⁶ The latter retained it and so once more the chapel site and much of the land given for its upkeep first by John Somerset and then by Hugh Denys came together again; but only for a short time, for when Sir Richard Wynne died in 1649 he bequeathed the five almshouses that were left to the parish of Isleworth.²⁷ They were rebuilt in about 1653²⁸ but had been pulled down before Lysons' time (1795) and the parish workhouse built on the site.²⁹ The further descent of Osterley and the rest of the hospital property can be read in Lysons.

There is no detailed description of the hospital. All that is known is that the hospital was of brick³⁰ and had once consisted of two priests' houses with small gardens and seven bedehouses with similar gardens, and that these bedehouses adjoined the south aisle of the chapel,³¹ which had a steeple³² and stood on the triangle of land bounded by the River Brent, the old road and the new road. Near by was a small pond called the Chapel Pool, and west of the almshouses, and adjoining them,³³ were the two messuages called the Sprottes and the Rose Inn. Southward of the hospital had originally stood John Somerset's own house.

There are two picture plans, dated 1606 and 1607,³⁴ of the site, and a written survey of 1608,³⁵ all bearing solely on a dispute between the Earl of Northumberland (lord of Syon) and Sir Thomas Savage. The 1608 survey says that Sir Thomas Savage had acquired the site of the south aisle of the chapel, the chapel pool and the water of Brent from the bridge to the Thames; had rebuilt his house of brick; and had converted the Sprottes and the Rose into a stable. The 1606 plan³⁶ shows to the south of the site of the old road Sir Thomas Savage's house and grounds, with Rose Close to the west. Sir Thomas Savage had evidently replaced John Somerset and had incorporated into his estate not only the south aisle but the whole of the Sprottes. On the frontage of Rose Close and the Sprottes is drawn a row of low buildings stretching along the high road as far as the distinct bend to the north of this road before it crosses the Brent to London. These buildings must have included the stable. No buildings are shown in the bend of the road. The 1607 plan, by R. Tresswell, also at Syon House, has "Chapel Piece" in this bend, but again no buildings, though the six almshouses were still standing and being used for their original purpose by the poor of Isleworth, who later acquired the freehold under the will of Sir Richard Wynne in 1649, as already stated. Earlier than this, in 1635, a third 17th-century picture plan was drawn by Moses Glover, to show the manor of Syon and the hundred of Isleworth.³⁷ Sir Thomas Savage's house was by then owned by Mr. Noye, Attorney-General to Charles I, who lies buried at Brentford.³⁸ A group of buildings at the east end of the 1606 cottages and stable and more or less at right angles with them may represent the six almshouses. Glover knew of this foundation and comments rather sadly that the chapel had entirely disappeared: 'At Brentford End at the bridge foot stood the chapel, which hath tasted likewise of the mortal changes of decaying time, which now hath left neither ruins nor materials, only a bare name to posterity.'

MASTER

John Saverey³⁹

1479

NOTES

- 1 In 1443 John Somerset or Somerseth was also Keeper of the Exchange and Master of the Mint. He served 25 years at the royal court and died in 1455 (*D.N.B.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 653). There is an escheat of his property in 1464 (*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Vol. IV (1828), p. 324), when the hospital was in low waters.
- 2 *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, p. 29; 1476-85, p. 138 (a 1479 exemplification). See also *Cal. Lond. and Midd. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 197. G. J. Aungier (*The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (1840), pp. 215, 459-65) gives in full the foundation charter.
- 3 In A.D. 705 there was only a ford. The first mention of the bridge is in 1280, when three years' pontage was granted for its repair. Later mentions are in 1331 and 1369 (*Midd. Place Names*, pp. 31, 35); *C.P.R.*, 1272-81, p. 418; 1330-4, p. 81; 1367-70, p. 325). There are a few further details in Lysons, Vol. II, p. 57. The Brent Bridge mentioned in *Public Works in Mediaeval Law* (Selden Society, vols. 32, 40) was considerably farther north, on the Oxford road.
- 4 *Itinerary*, Vol. II, f. 1, under date 1542.
- 5 *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, Vol. V, p. 513; see also *Middlesex Place-Names*, p. 25.
- 6 *C.C.R.*, 1441-7, pp. 147-8; the deed states that all the property had once belonged to Thomas, son and heir of John Osterlee, and had been granted to John Somerset by Richard Dunket and others, apparently feofees of Richard Plokyndon (Aungier, p. 220).
- 7 *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, Vol. I, p. 362 (*bis*); and see Aungier, p. 222.
- 8 *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 507-8.
- 9 *C.P.R.*, 1476-85, p. 138.
- 10 *C.C.R.*, 1485-1500, p. 334.
- 11 *Midd. Place-Names*, p. 29. Wyke is first mentioned in 1238 and 1243 (*Cal. Lond. and Midd. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, pp. 24, 27).
- 12 Lysons, Vol. III, pp. 91-2, 96; Aungier, pp. 221-2, 465-78 (the priests were to have houses with gardens next the chapel, and the poor men were to be similarly housed); E. Williams, *Early Holborn* Vol. I, no. 656n. Hugh Denys died in 1511 (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. I, 1662 (10)).
- 13 *ibid.*, IV (iii), n. 6264 (and see Lysons, Vol. III, pp. 91-2, 96; and Aungier, p. 222).
- 14 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 96; the grant is not in the *L. and P.* for 1534-8.
- 15 *C.P.R.*, 1547-8, p. 172; 1549-51, p. 431. See also Aungier, pp. 222-3. Robert Cheseman (see above) held a lease of Osterley for £8 13s. 4d. yearly. The manor of Wyke was let for £6 17s. 4d. yearly. In 1520 the hospital and all its lands had been valued at £33 12s. 6d. per annum (*Valor Eccles.*, Vol. I, p. 424).
- 16 *C.P.R.*, 1555-7, pp. 290-2.
- 17 *ibid.*, 1557-8, pp. 295, 450.
- 18 The Rose had two tenements on its frontage, and orchards and gardens in the rear.
- 19 *C.P.R.*, 1555-7, p. 444; many of the Osterley fields are described by name.
- 20 Full details are given.
- 21 *D.N.B.*; see also Lysons, Vol. III, pp. 96-8. The later owners of Osterley and Wyke are given.
- 22 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 92; Aungier, p. 224.
- 23 Syon House MS. A. XV, 5a = 1608 Survey. There was only a lane to the water between the garden and the bridge.
- 24 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 92; Aungier, p. 224. By this time the 'Chapel Lands' were included for some purposes in the manor of Isleworth, which the Earl of Northumberland had bought in 1604. A law suit followed between the Earl and Sir Thomas Savage on the ownership of these lands (see below, p. 58).
- 25 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 93.
- 26 *ibid.*, pp. 96-8.
- 27 *ibid.*, pp. 121, 638-9: the statement on p. 121 that Thomas Stainford gave the almshouses in 1574 is corrected on pp. 638-9.

- 28 *ibid.*, p. 121.
 29 *ibid.*, pp. 92, 96–8. The chapel site went to Philip Godard, who died in 1762 and left it in remainder for the use of the charity school of the parish of Isleworth, but the bequest was disallowed (Aungier, pp. 224–5).
 30 Leyland, Vol. II, f. 1, under date 1542.
 31 1608 Survey of Syon.
 32 See note 12.
 33 1608 Survey.
 34 Syon House MSS. B. xiii, 1d, 1a.
 35 *ibid.*, 1a.
 36 Syon House MS. A, xv, 5a.
 37 Original at Syon House; copies at the British Museum and Midd. Record Office. The scale is $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.
 38 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 93.
 39 *C.P.R.*, 1476–85, p. 138.

3. BRENTFORD, THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, ST. ANNE AND ST. LOUIS

At Brentford there was a small hospital for travellers and poor pilgrims. The hospital, newly built in 1393,¹ was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Anne her mother, and St. Louis,² and consisted of a chapel (mentioned in 1327) and two houses with bedding ('lectis') and other necessities for poor travellers. Those who contributed to the upkeep of this hospital and the repair of the highway between Brentford Bridge and the chapel of St. Lawrence the Martyr (a chapel of ease to Hanwell, two miles off) were to be rewarded by 40 days' indulgence.³

NOTES

- 1 Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, pp. 8, 262, 304, citing Bishop Fordham of Ely's Register, f. 180 (see A. Gibbons, *Ely Episcopal Records* (1891), p. 398).
 2 St. Iodowicus or Ludovicus.
 3 This chapel of St. Lawrence, also called Brentford Chapel, is mentioned in 1327 and 1335 and was probably built about that time (Newcourt (1708), Vol. I, pp. 626, 627n.). The chapel was in New (Great, West or Market) Brentford. See also G. Hennessy, p. 193; and Lysons, *Environs*, Vol. II (1795), pp. 49, 553.

4. SHOREDITCH ALMSHOUSES

These almshouses were considerably south of Shoreditch church. They stood on the east side of Norton Folgate, north of the city boundary, and stretched from White Lion Street to Magpie Alley, now Fleur de Lis Street, a little south of the modern junction of Norton Folgate with Commercial Road. The almshouses consisted of 'one row of proper small houses with gardens for poor decayed people, there placed by the prior of the said Hospital [of St. Mary Spital without Bishopsgate]: every one tenant whereof paid one penny rent by the year at Christmas, and dined with the prior on Christmas Day'.¹ The date of foundation is unknown, and the almshouses may have been out of

use and were certainly in a very poor state even before the dissolution of the monasteries.² The prior in 1536 granted a lease of the almshouses for 99 years to William Sherland.³ The property was then described as consisting of the Crown and the Crown Rents, the latter numbering 31. The frontage along the high road has been calculated as 387 feet, with a depth varying from about 87 feet on the north to 92 feet on the south.⁴

NOTES

- 1 Stow, Vol. II, pp. 74-5.
- 2 Within a few years of the suppression Stow says that they were known as Rotten Row (*ibid.*; see also *Add. Notes to Stow*, p. 27).
- 3 Survey of London, Vol. VIII, *St. Leonard, Shoreditch* (1922), pp. 5-7. 'The said tenements . . . lie at this present day in great decay and far out of all reparation.'
- 4 *ibid.*, p. 7.

5. TOTTENHAM HOSPITAL

An ancient spital house in Tottenham, 6 miles from London, is mentioned in the court rolls as early as 1416.¹ This hospital is probably the poor house called the Offertory of St. Loy standing in 1631 on the west side of the main highway, near the bridge and a little north of the cross. To the south of this poor house there was a well, famous for its curative waters and known as St. Loy's Well.² No other reference has been found.³

NOTES

- 1 Lysons, Vol. III, pp. 552, 540.
- 2 W. Bedwell, *A Briefe Description of the Towne of Tottenham Highcross in Middlesex* (1631: this is a small unpagged tract, bound with others, at the British Museum).
- 3 J. Norden, in *Spec. Brit.* (1593), pp. 40-1, mentions that Henry VIII founded in Tottenham a little hospital or almshouse for three poor widows.