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THE HISTORY
OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

Ο ΒΙΟΣ ΒΡΑΧΥΣ Η ΔΕ
ΤΕΧΝΗ ΜΑΚΡΗ



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Emery Walker fecit

*Dr Norman Moore
President of the Royal College of Physicians of London*

THE HISTORY
OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

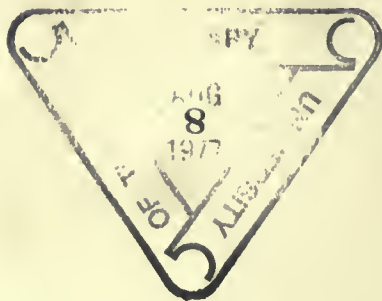
BY

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ILLUSTRATIONS

MR. E. MULREADY STONE has kindly allowed me to use a photograph taken by him of Rahere's tomb, which in these times of war is hidden from view by a covering of sandbags.

Dr. Elliott Thornton Glenny and Mr. Dudley Macaulay Stone, students of the hospital, have been of very great service to me as skilled photographers.

Mr. Edmund Cahen has placed at my disposal his beautiful negatives of the Smithfield gate and of the Fountain.

The reproductions of Mr. Reginald Eves' painting, of the photographs and of the charters have been executed under the direction of Mr. Emery Walker.

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Some of these dates are approximate, and are discussed in the text.

ERRATA

- Page 76, line 6, for *Londonstone* read *London*.
,, 92, seventh line of note 2, for *iratribus* read *fratribus*.
,, 92, eighth line of note 2, for *ficus* read *sicut*.
,, 162, note 2, line 2, for last word read *stabimus*.
,, 219, line 15, Amfrid's seal bears an inhorn and pence, and not
a figure.
,, 310, for first word of line 21 read *marsh*.
,, 349, line 20, read *James* (Blund).
,, 353, line 17, in charter of Winmarc omit stop between *Waltero*
and *Bruning*.
,, 367, in note, penultimate line, for *fluis* read *flurs*.
,, 419, line 5, note 2, in Adam Berenger's charter for *Albertis* read
Abbatis.

PREFACE



THE history of St. Bartholomew's Hospital from its foundation in 1123 to the present day is a part of the history of England which has never before been written at length, and which I have endeavoured to set forth in this book.

Such a work must enter upon many separate parts of historical study besides that dealing with transactions within the hospital walls. The city of London and its inhabitants, the social life of successive periods, particular events in the reigns of our kings, the organization of the several parts of the profession of medicine, the growth of medical education, the increase of medical knowledge, the lives of a long series of men concerned in the practice and teaching of medicine—all these and many subjects of less extent form natural parts of this history.

I have followed the plan of placing the history and the documents from which it is drawn side by side, believing that this method is the best in writing a history entirely based upon original authorities.

My first sources of information are original charters. At St. Bartholomew's many of these remain. They were copied into a register or cartulary, with others of which

the originals are not now extant, in the reign of Henry VI., mostly by John Cok, a brother of the hospital. Those originals which have been preserved are generally of the nature of ancient title-deeds or leases of hospital property, but two papal documents, and some licences in mortmain, soon after the statute, also remain. All charters of which the originals exist are marked throughout this book by having their grantor's names printed in capitals. I have read all those at St. Bartholomew's, and have printed two hundred and thirty-four in full, and have given abstracts of over two hundred and seventy, in both cases with the names of all witnesses, and have examined many others of which the originals are at St. Paul's Cathedral, the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Wells Cathedral.

My next sources have been copies of charters contained in ancient cartularies. That of St. Bartholomew's shows extreme accuracy when compared with its originals. I have printed from it fifty-seven charters. These copies include several papal bulls and royal charters, of which the originals were surrendered in the reign of King Henry VIII. Other copies of charters I have cited from the cartularies of the Benedictine nuns of Clerkenwell,¹ of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate,² of the leper hospital of St. Giles,³ of the Priory of Dunmow,⁴ and of the Abbey of Messenden.⁵ All these charters, whether originals or transcripts, I have

¹ Faustina, B. ii.

³ Harley 4015.

² In Dr. William Hunter's library at Glasgow.

⁴ Harley 662.

⁵ Harley 3688.

copied with my own hand, and my friend, Mr. Francis Jenkinson, University Librarian at Cambridge, has most kindly revised all the proofs. His predecessor, Henry Bradshaw, beloved of all Cambridge men, gave me invaluable advice at the beginning of the work. A calendar of all the charters at St. Bartholomew's would have made this book too bulky, but I intend to print one as an addendum to the history.

My other sources, so far as the mediæval history is concerned, are, first, the "Liber Fundacionis," a work composed in the reign of Henry II., of which the existing manuscript¹ was written in the reign of Richard II. Secondly, various notes made by John Cok in the cartulary and a separate record of quit-rents in his hand. Thirdly, the Bishops'² Registers, which I examined at Dean's Yard, St. Paul's. These well-preserved volumes, bearing the names of the Bishops of London in whose times they were written, contain lengthy accounts of the election and institution of several masters of the hospital.

The most venerable of all the evidences is a charter granted by Rahere, the founder of the hospital, in 1137, to which the seals affixed in his presence remain attached. There are copies in the cartulary of a brief of Thomas Beket, at the time of its issue Archbishop of Canterbury,

¹ Vespasian, B. ix.

² Before I had the opportunity of examining the originals, Mr. E. A. Webb courteously allowed me to use several transcripts belonging to him of passages in these registers.

and of a charter of his opponent, Gilbert Foliot. The seal has disappeared of an original charter to which it was affixed more than seven hundred years ago by Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, author of the "*Ymagines Historiarum*," but the charter, which relates to the Church of Little Wakering, remains at St. Bartholomew's. At St. Paul's is the original ordinance for the regulation of the hospital, sealed by Richard of Ely, then Bishop of London, author of the "*Dialogus de Scaccario*." Beside the relics of these men of letters of the twelfth century are the soiled, and in some cases torn, charters of magnates of that time, of John, Earl of Moreton, afterwards King of England, and of Hawisia, later Countess of Albemarle, but for a time his wife, and of William and Baldwin, Earls of Albemarle.

The first Mayor of London, Henry Fitz Ailwin, appears in twenty-four original charters, now printed for the first time, in which he is a witness of transactions directly or indirectly connected with St. Bartholomew's, twelve as Henry of Londonstone, or Henry son of Ailwin or Eilwin, and twelve in which he is designated mayor. Besides these I have printed from the cartulary seven charters witnessed by him before he was mayor and five while mayor, as well as his grant to St. Bartholomew's, and his similar grants to Holy Trinity, Aldgate, St. Mary of Clerkenwell, and the leper hospital of St. Giles. The great men of London who were his contemporaries also appear in the affairs of St. Bartholomew's, the

Bucuintes, the Bukerells, William de Blemunt, Richard and William, sons of Reiner, Thomas of Haverhill, Michael of Valencins.

Jocelyn, Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, and some of the barons of Magna Carta, had to do with the property of the hospital, and two were benefactors. The coming of Louis of France in 1216, and the death of the Count de la Perche at Lincoln, were used as dates from which to calculate hospital rents, and the presence together of the names of Constantine Fitz Alulf, of his brother Ernulf and his nephew Constantine as witnesses points to the date of many charters as before Constantine's execution in 1222. Thomas Fitz Thomas, the mayor who sided with Simon de Montfort, appears among the original charters as alderman in 1246, and afterwards as mayor, while a grant under the great seal of Henry III. of land forfeited by his treason remains as the first of several transfers which brought it to the hospital. Robert Bruce the justiciar, grandfather of the King of Scotland, confirmed to St. Bartholomew's some land at Little Wakering in a charter sealed with his arms, a shield bearing a lion passant, and in another charter he grants in 1269 the right of presentation to the living. Later in the century there was for a time no mayor. A warden living in the Tower, Sir Ralph de Sandewyk first, and afterwards Sir John le Breton, was the chief ruler of the city of London, and occupied the mayor's place as the first witness of charters. The mayor was restored in 1298.

Here and there on country estates, and even so near London as St. Pancras, indications of villenage are plain: "two villeins namely Thiedric and Edric, who remain upon the land," says William of Beaumeis at the end of the reign of Henry II. "I have granted and given to Symon of Dunton and his heirs Peter Man son of Robert Man my villein with all his family," declares Ralf of Ginges a hundred years later.

The importance of the witnesses of charters declines after the reign of Edward I., while in Edward III.'s reign, with the increase of the practice of dating, they become for the most part unimportant. The mayor and the sheriffs and the alderman of the ward are named, but were clearly not present, as the phrase of attestation follows instead of preceding their names.

The sealed original of the lengthy Composition of Simon of Sudbury in 1373 for regulation of the hospital is at St. Paul's, but there is a copy in the cartulary. The archbishop's head is at Sudbury, but no entry mentioning his decapitation or the death of Wat Tyler within the hospital exists in St. Bartholomew's.

The cartulary shows that Sir Robert Knowles, the famous knight of Edward III.'s French wars, and Talbot, who fell in those of Henry VI., were both tenants of the hospital. Cok, the writer of the cartulary, in a short chronicle which he has written at the end, tells that he himself was present in Westminster Abbey at the coronation of Henry V. He mentions that Dame Joan Astley,

Henry VI.'s nurse, was a tenant dwelling near the Smithfield gate within the close. Such are a few of the associations of St. Bartholomew's with the mediæval history of England which appear as the evidences are perused.

In the later centuries the Letters patent of Henry VIII. of 1544 and 1549, the manuscript Journals, Ledgers, and Repertory Book, and the printed "Order" are the chief sources so far as the daily life and management of the hospital are concerned. The Letters patent have been printed by the Court of Common Council, but the originals are preserved in the hospital.

The progress of the study and practice of medicine and surgery are set forth in the lives of the physicians and surgeons, and are to be learnt in their works. I have endeavoured to show each man's place in medical history and his effect at St. Bartholomew's.

Seven men have in different ways had so distinct a part in the history of the place that it has seemed right to give each a separate chapter.

RAHERE, because he was our founder, the originator of the good which the hospital has done for the poor of London through eight centuries, and indirectly of all the opportunities of acquiring knowledge and making it useful which the physicians, surgeons, and students have possessed.

THOMAS OF ST. OSYTH'S, Rahere's successor, who is to us more than a venerable canon regular of the Order of

St. Augustine, since by his regulation of the relations of the hospital and the priory he gave to the former that independence which enabled it to weather the storm of dispossession which raged in the reign of King Henry VIII.

ALEXANDER OF SMITHFIELD, as a representative of the scribes of the thirteenth century, whose fine vellum, un-fading ink, and beautiful handwriting have preserved so much of the social history of their time. The reign in which he wrote charters, of which more than fifty have been preserved, was that of Henry III., the builder of Westminster Abbey. The charters of Alexander and his contemporaries are the sole remains in St. Bartholomew's of the artistic grace of that time. We may hope that such hands as wrote them touched with tenderness the poor patients lying round the fire in the great hall.

JOHN COK, the brother of the hospital who wrote its cartulary, and has thus preserved for us most of its history up to the end of the reign of King Henry VI. It is easy to perceive in many passages penned by him how he loved the place, and gave his life to it.

Dr. JOHN CAIUS, who lived in the hospital through a long period of his life without having any closer relation to it than that of a tenant, has yet had a profound effect upon it by his influence as President of the College of Physicians, confirming among the Fellows of the College that attachment to every part of learning which Linacre thought proper to physicians, and of that

munificence for which English physicians have since been remarkable.

HARVEY, as the greatest discoverer in the profession of medicine whom England has produced, and whose name gives the most shining distinction to St. Bartholomew's in the world of science. Proud indeed may all its physicians be to be his successors in office.

JOHN ABERNETHY, who deserves a foremost place in the history of St. Bartholomew's as the greatest teacher, the most lucid expositor, the most eloquent lecturer of his time, and who was the chief founder in London of the teaching of anatomy in relation to surgery, and of surgery in relation to general pathology.

The hospital has formed so great a part of my own life, that it has been impossible for me to write impersonally. I love the place, and feel a regard for all who have served it, or studied in it, or been relieved by it.

I have to thank the governors of the hospital for giving me access to their precious muniments and perfectly kept records. A generous friend, like one of the eighteenth-century patrons of plates, munificently subscribed for the reproductions of charters. My wife has helped to make the Index, and this is only a part of the aid which she has given to the work throughout many years.

The History is a gift from me to St. Bartholomew's, and I hope that the labour of investigating historical

events, of meditating upon them, and of finally writing the book in such hours as my profession allowed during more than thirty years, may be taken as a proof of the gratitude which I feel to the noble hospital with which my whole professional life has been connected.

Lord Sandhurst, our Treasurer, has asked me to put my portrait as a frontispiece. He is so good as to say that he thinks this will gratify many Governors and St. Bartholomew's men. I like to be called to their remembrance in this way, and have complied with his request.

NORMAN MOORE.

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

I

SMITHFIELD IN THE SUBURB OF LONDON



THE city of London in the time of King Henry I. was surrounded by a high wall with several towers, and had seven fortified gates. Outside the wall there was a ditch, except where the river completed the defences. Within it, the building which stood highest was St. Paul's Cathedral, and there were more than a hundred other churches. Eastward from St. Paul's was the open market-place, of which Cheapside is a part, and near the western end of this was the enclosed precinct of the Church of St. Martin-le-Grand. The Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate, the first large monastic building in the city, was not begun till eight years after Henry's accession. There was a London bridge, and east of it

the great keep of the Tower was then a new and wonderful building. In the west of the city, between the river and the precinct of St. Paul's, stood the fortress called Baynard's Castle, and further west was the castle of the Baron of Muntfichet. Many of the houses were built along the lines of streets which were already known by the names which they bear to-day. Beyond the walls, to the north, the Benedictine Nunnery of Clerkenwell, and the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem were in course of construction. Outside Newgate, and near the portal called Chamberlayne's gate which ended Chamberlayne's lane, stood the church of St. Edmund's, more often called St. Sepulchre, as it does to this day. On the opposite slope of the valley of the Holeburn, beside the road leading towards the King's Palace and the Abbey of Westminster, the church of St. Andrew was then to be seen as it is in our own time, and beyond it Holborn Street continued up the hill to the bars which marked the end of the suburb of London. To the north of St. Sepulchre's was the open space of Smithfield. There are now many miles of houses between Smithfield and open country, and it seems a mere part of the vast city in the midst of which it lies; but in the time of Henry I. the wall bounded it on one side, and it was continuous on the other with pastures and tilled fields, beyond which were unenclosed forest lands, harbouring deer and wild boar, and the white cattle of which a few herds still

SMITHFIELD IN THE SUBURB OF LONDON 3

remain in remote parts of Great Britain. A clear stream ran past the north end of Smithfield from Clerkenwell, and another rising in Faggesswell crossed the south side of Smithfield and flowed through a piece of swampy ground surrounding a pond. The rest of the field was dry. Here every Friday there was a horse-fair. William Fitz-Stephen, a Londoner proud of his city, secretary of Thomas of London, Archbishop of Canterbury, describes this, at which he had often been present, in an account of London which forms a prologue to his biography of his canonised master. He tells how earls, barons, knights, and numbers of citizens went out to look on or to buy. The paces of nags, colts, and coursers were tried, and the horse-boys sometimes rode races. He enjoyed the sight when, the sign being given, the horses stretched out their limbs and galloped away, the riders spurring them on for the love of praise or in hope of victory. In another part country people stood with agricultural produce with long-flanked swine and milch cows, huge oxen, and flocks of sheep.

Seven hundred and fifty years before Fitz-Stephen's time, while Britain still formed part of the Roman Empire, Smithfield was a place of burial. Two sarcophagi of stone, of the ancient Roman form, were discovered, in December 1877, eleven feet below the surface, in digging the foundations of the Library and Museum of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. One sarcophagus had in it a leaden case decorated by a cable moulding and

enclosing a woman's skeleton. The other contained a male and a female skeleton. Both were covered by close-fitting stone lids seven inches thick. Except for a few inches on each side, the gravel near these tombs was in its original layers, and it was clear that the sarcophagi had lain undisturbed from their first entombment to the day of their discovery. Some fragments of Roman brick and a small broken stone pillar lay near them, and there were no Christian symbols. The stone was an oolite limestone such as occurs in Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire. After the Roman legions left Britain in the reign of Honorius, the times were so uncertain and tumultuous that it is unlikely such huge blocks of stone could have been safely brought from distant quarries. Hence it seems probable that these citizens of London were entombed before the end of the Roman occupation in A.D. 420, and that their bones had remained undisturbed for some fifteen hundred years. The contrast between the long quiet of their rest and the continuous, varying, restless business above them was striking indeed.

One of the sarcophagi, the leaden case, and the broken pillar are placed on the staircase of the Medical School, so that the memory of these ancient citizens of London, whose great-great-grandfathers might have consulted Galen himself in Rome, is preserved by the teachers and students of medicine of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, a duty suitable to their profession in the opinion of that

meditative physician, Sir Thomas Browne, who says in his "Hydriotaphia":—

"Beside, to preserve the living and make the dead to live, to keep men out of their urns and discourse of human fragments in them is not impertinent unto our profession, whose study is life and death, who daily behold examples of mortality, and of all men least need artificial mementoes or coffins by our bedside to mind us of our graves."



II

RAHERE THE FOUNDER



WHOEVER wishes to learn the history of St. Bartholomew's Hospital should first visit the tomb of its founder.

On the north side of Smithfield, near the end of a narrow street now considered as part of Little Britain, but till lately known as Duke Street and before that as Doke or Duck Lane, stands an ancient pointed gateway overhung by a picturersque old house of red brick. The arch is of the Early English period, and has four finely moulded orders with dog-tooth ornaments. On the south side of the archway is a beautiful recess, and a similar one existed on the north side. This venerable portal, which has looked out into Smithfield during seven centuries, leads by a short paved passage into a churchyard, which is bounded on one side by the houses of Cloth Fair, some of them gabled and older than the Great Fire of London. A path on the other side of the churchyard leads to a modern porch at the base of a

brick clock-tower. Within this entrance is an ancient and partly ruined porch with some grouped columns and fragments of a stone vault, and beyond it there is a beautiful vista of a vaulted aisle. The visitor in a moment more has before him the choir of a Norman church, the only one, if the small chapel in the Tower be excepted, remaining in London. The choir, which is all that is now standing of this noble edifice, has five bays with triforium and clerestory east of the central tower, and one west of it. The piers are circular, with cushioned capitals, and round the arches have fine billet mouldings. Over each in the triforium is a semicircular arch enclosing a broad tympanum, beneath which are four small arches on long pillars and with varied capitals. The clerestory is somewhat later, but that it was part of the original plan is shown by the height of the grand round east and west arches of the tower. The solemnity of the building impresses the beholder, and solid as is the structure, it has a grace which relieves it from gloom. This grace is due partly to its admirable proportions and effective lines of ornament, and most to the thoughts of divine things and of their steadfastness, which its builder has expressed so that all can feel them. This is the house built upon a rock, which neither rain, nor floods, nor winds can overthrow. "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

The tomb of the founder of St. Bartholomew's

Hospital stands on the north side in the easternmost arch of the choir, before the smaller arches of the apse begin. On the tomb, under a canopy of later date, is his effigy, carved not long after his death. The recumbent figure, with its hands in the attitude of prayer, is in a monastic habit. The head is tonsured, and the features are well marked; the forehead ample, the eyes large and expressive, the mouth and chin suggestive of temperance, decision, and firmness. Two small kneeling figures of Augustinian canons, one on each side, are reading from Latin Bibles: "For the Lord shall comfort Zion. He will comfort all her waste places, and He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord. Joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody." The figure may be regarded as a portrait of Rahere, the first canon and the first prior of this church. The inscription—"Hic jacet Raherus primus canonicus et primus prior hujus ecclesiæ"—was cut in a later age than the effigy.

The history of his life and of his foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and of the priory, in the church of which his remains rest, is contained in a vellum manuscript entitled "*Liber fundacionis ecclesie sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum*," now in the British Museum, but once the property of the priory, as is shown by the words which follow the title, "*pertinens prioratui eiusdem in Westsmythfelde*."



HIC JACET RAHERUS.

All the accounts of the foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and of the Priory of St. Bartholomew, which have hitherto been published, with almost everything which has been written about the founder, are based directly or indirectly on this manuscript. It measures 10¼ inches by 7½ inches, and contains eighty-six leaves of vellum in quires of eight, encased in a modern binding. The famous library of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, to which the *Liber fundacionis* once belonged, was contained in fourteen bookcases, on which stood busts of the Cæsars, of Cleopatra, and of Faustina. This book was placed under the tenth Cæsar, and is therefore numbered "Vespasian B. IX." It escaped the fire which in 1731 destroyed part of the Cottonian collection, and came to the British Museum in 1753.

Records of four of its owners after it left the library of the priory are to be found on its leaves. On the first page is written, "Thomas Cotton." He was the son and heir of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton and died in 1662, and deserves remembrance for the kindness he showed to Dugdale, whose studies in his library prepared that historian to write his great account of the monastic foundations of England. On a vacant page at the end an earlier owner has written, "Iste liber pertinet ad Thomam Otwell de London," and lower down on the same page is written, "Thomas Powell of London, stationer." Below the title is the autograph of another owner, probably intermediate between Otwell

and Cotton. "Ri. St. Geo. Norroy King at Arms." Sir Richard St. George was Norroy King at Arms from 1603 to 1623. There are a few words on its margins which Mr. Kingsford, the latest editor of Stow, declares are in the handwriting of that famous historian of London.

The manuscript contains two versions of the same work, the first Latin, the other English. The Latin is in a clear vertical character with large letters, while the English is in a less vertical and more cursive hand. A manuscript of about the year 1400 in the Cambridge University Library exhibits a similar distinction between the character in which the Latin is written and that of the vernacular text. The name of the author of the *Liber fundacionis*, the date of its composition, and the date of transcription are none of them recorded, but it is possible to learn something about all these from internal evidence. The author states that he became one of the canons, following the rule of St. Augustine, in the Priory of St. Bartholomew in the time of Prior Thomas, who died January 17, 1174. He wrote in the reign of Henry II. between the year 1174 and 1189, as is shown by the facts that he mentions no later king, and that he tells of privileges obtained from Pope Anastasius IV. (1153-1154), Adrian IV. (1154-1159), and Alexander III., who died August 30, 1181, and names no later Pope, although, as is known from other records, later Pontiffs granted favours to the

priory. He speaks of the castle of Muntfichet, which was demolished in the reign of Henry III., as an existing building. The Augustinian canon wrote in Latin in a good twelfth-century style. He uses many phrases taken from St. Jerome's version of the Bible, and shows familiarity with both the Old Testament and the New.

The English version, which contains a few amplifications, is shown by its language to be of a later period than Henry II.'s reign; and as the Latin text and the English are written on vellum of one period, the date of the English version fixes that of the manuscript. The language is Middle English, of about the time of Chaucer. The scribe by a slip of his pen has given an indication of his period. In Chapter XXII. of Book II. of the translation, where the original Latin has *Henricus II.*, he has given Richard II. as the king's name. The Latin version was written before any Richard had reigned in England, and nothing is more likely than that a scribe who had lived with Richard II. on the throne, should inadvertently put the name of the reigning king for that of a past sovereign of the same number, but of a different name. The translation gives evidence of its later date in its version of phrases, familiar when the Latin was written, but afterwards forgotten. Thus "*primi regis anglorum ex aquilonaribus*," of the first King of England of the Norman race, is translated "first kynge of Englishmen in the North."

Such are the circumstances which demonstrate the place, the time, and the author of the work. The manuscript in the British Museum was transcribed about the year 1400, and the English translation was made at about that date. The original Latin treatise was composed before 1189.

The *Liber fundacionis* is therefore an original authority for the life of Rahere, written by a man who knew several of Rahere's contemporaries, and while some of them were still alive. It must be remembered in reading it that the object of the writer was spiritual edification, and not the mere record of biographical details. The biographers of the Middle Ages often wrote, in accordance with the opinion of Plutarch, that the use of telling the history of men of past ages is to teach wisdom and to show by their example how best to spend life.

The canon begins by telling that Rahere founded the priory in honour of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, for religious men following the rule of St. Augustine, records that he was prior for twenty-two years, and then draws his character. "He was little given to profane learning, but had what is better, purity of conscience, with devotion towards God, humility towards his brethren, kindness towards his enemies. His tried sincerity of soul, his cheerful manners, his proved uprightness were easy to see. His pre-eminent diligence in Divine things and his prudent care in

administering earthly things are to be praised. He was temperate at feasts: a great observer of hospitality: attending to and patiently aiding the sufferings of the wretched and the needs of the poor: not too much elated in prosperity, patient in adversity. When anything unfortunate happened he rested under the shadow of his patron whom he venerated and whom he clasped to his heart, and under whose protection he was always safe. He increased daily in grace before God and man, providing all that was necessary, with great diligence, for the flock he ruled. He increased the veneration to the place, the gladness of his friends, the pain of his foes, the glory of those who followed him."

Next the canon tells how Rahere was born of a lowly race; that when he was a youth he frequented the houses of nobles and residences of princes, and finally the king's court, making himself liked by his witticisms and flattering talk; "but God, who sees and takes pity on all, who cast seven devils out of Mary Magdalene, who to a fisherman gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, mercifully turned this man from the error of his ways, and when thus converted gave him many gifts of goodness."

He determined to go to Rome, hoping by so laborious a journey to obtain complete forgiveness of his sins. He started at once and reached Rome. There he went to the places of martyrdom of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, bewailing his sins and resolving to

sin no more. He fell ill, and thought his last hour was drawing nigh. He burst into tears and vowed a vow that if he should be allowed to return to his own country he would there build a hospital for the recovering of the poor, and would serve the poor gathered there, as far as he could, in all their needs.

“The kind and merciful Lord who saw the tears of Hezekiah, who the importunity of the Canaanitish woman of his fatherly kindness rewarded with good,” gave him his health, and he started home to fulfil the vow he had made.

One night on his way home he had a vision. A four-footed winged beast carried him to a high place, whence he saw a deep pit into which he feared he might be cast, and was terrified. A stately figure appeared to him, and spoke good and consolatory words and cheered him. “Oh man!” said the figure, “what would you do for him who in such danger helped you?” Rahere answered that he would do all he could. Then said the figure, “I am Bartholomew, the apostle of Jesus Christ, who am come to help thee in difficulties, and to show thee the hidden things of heavenly mystery. Know that, by will and command of the Trinity on high, I have chosen a place in the suburb of London, at Smithfield, where, in my name, thou shalt found a church, and it shall be there a house of God, a tabernacle of the Lamb, a temple of the Holy Ghost.” After further encouragement, the

apostle bid him, having faith in the Lord, to work like a man, and not to be anxious about means. "Of this work know that you shall be the servant and I the lord; do you do the part of servant, and I will discharge the duty of lord and patron."

With these words the vision disappeared. Was this a fantastic illusion such as men have in sleep, or was it a heavenly oracle? He decided that it was a real, Divine, and apostolic command. One example from the Old Testament, that of Daniel, and one from the New, that of Joseph, may suffice, says the canon, to show that sometimes the secrets of God's will have become known to men by dreams. He then proceeds to show much scriptural learning in explanation of the vision, quoting Ezechiel and Joel and Zacharia and the Psalms. The rest of Rahere's journey was soon passed, and he reached London. He spoke to the barons of London, and took their advice as to what should be done. They said nothing could be done about these things without asking the king, for the place divinely indicated was within the king's forum, or market ground, of which no one could take any part for himself. Acting on this advice, and having secured the help of Richard, Bishop of London, he made his petition to the king in the presence of the bishop. His words pleased the king, who granted the land. Then Rahere, having obtained this grant from the king, joyfully set to work on the twin works of piety, the one in accordance with the vow

which he had made, the other as had been enjoined him by the apostolic command. He began to build the church of cut stone, and immediately began also to build the hospital house at some little distance from the church.

The canon then gives a statement about the date of the foundation: "The church was founded as we have received from our seniors in the month of March, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in memory of the most blessed Bartholomew the apostle, in the year from the Incarnation of the same Lord our Saviour 1123: the most holy father Pope Calixtus II. then holding and ruling the Holy See of Rome: William archbishop of Canterbury being President in the Church of England: and Richard bishop of London, who by due right consecrated, and by episcopal right dedicated, the place in the east part of Smithfield: In the year xxxiii. of the reign of Henry I., the younger son of William the Bastard, the first Norman king of the English."

It is to be observed that the transcriber has here inadvertently written one x too much, as a consideration of the rulers mentioned shows, for Calixtus II. was elected Pope February 1, 1119, and died December 12, 1124. William de Corbuil was elected archbishop February 4, 1123, and died November 26, 1136. Richard de Belmeis was elected Bishop of London May 24, 1108, and died January 16, 1128. So that of the dignitaries named two were already dead in 1133, while all were living in 1123.

The canon next mentions some prophetic remarks on Smithfield made by King Edward the Confessor and by three noble Greek pilgrims. Then he goes on to tell of the improvement of the place. The highest part of Smithfield was a place of execution, and the rest "right unclean it was," and had pools of water at most times of the year.

Rahere wore the dress and adopted the guise of a countryman, and persuaded youths and labourers to help him, and drew stones by their aid; and so built a great fabric. He preached in various churches, and moved his hearers by his sermons to applause when he spoke of joyful things, and when he spoke of sad things compelled them to sighs and tears. His life agreed with his speech, and his deed with his word. Both the new church and its founder astonished men. All were amazed that the place had been purified by so sudden a cleansing, and that the ensign of the adorable cross had been raised where sometime stood the frightful gallows of thieves. All men were filled with wonder that there should be the mystery of the sacred body and most holy blood where before was shed the blood of criminals.

In a little while ecclesiastics came to live there under religious rule, and Rahere became prior. Men plotted against him and reviled him, so he went to the king and asked his protection. The king gave him a charter, some of the terms of which are mentioned,

showing it to be that of 1133, of which there is a copy in the Record Office. Rahere wished also to go to Rome again and obtain a papal bull granting ecclesiastical privileges, but never succeeded in going. After his death, three of the canons carried out his wish, went to Rome, and obtained bulls from Anastasius IV. (1153-1154), Adrian IV. (1154-1159), and Alexander III. (1159-1181).

After the building of the oratory in honour of St. Bartholomew, says the canon, many signs and wonderful things took place that were not recorded; but he relates a few of those known by sight and not merely by tradition to men still living in his own time. Once, in the twilight, a light from heaven shone on the church. The English version of this passage is a good example of the style of the translation. As they peruse it most readers will remember to have seen some such gleam of light shining over a particular place, and if that place has chanced to be one which they held in reverence or regarded with affection, they will understand why it was that the canon thought the light a sign of Divine approval of his beloved religious home and of its founder.

“OF LIGHT HEVENLY SENT OWTE

“Whan therefore in the forsaid place at the bygynnyng was made an oratorye in honoure of the blessid apostle, many and innumerable were schewid tokynnys

of myracles, but what for the grete plenty of them, and necligence of wrytyng of the same, they be almoyste unremembered, wherfore of these a fewe, specially of these that lattir dayes were knowe to us more by sight, than by heryng, as they cam to oure mynde, feithfully we shall tell. In the begynnyng of this areysed frame oure senyores tellid us, that on a day at evensong tyme, whan derkenys drew upon, ther was seyn a light from hevyn sent schynyne on this chirche, abidyng there upon the space of an howre, that they sawe them self, and many othir men also, the whiche lyght aftir returnyd up an hye, and to no man aftirwarde aperid, and that yn a moment was take a wey from the yis of the beholders. Howe grete a tokyn this was of pite and grace hevynly, opynly aftirward was schewid, by multitude of toknys yn the same place."

Wolmer, a cripple, who had sat for thirty years in St. Paul's Cathedral asking for alms, in 1123 was borne in a basket before the altar of St. Bartholomew's, and there stretched out his limbs and walked out well.

Once a man took from the church an antiphoner, there being at that time very few books there, so that it was necessary to the cantor. Rahere was told, and did not seem disturbed. At night he had a vision of St. Bartholomew, and the apostle advised him to ride into the city to the Jews' street, and told him that in the house at which his horse stopped he would find the book. Rahere in the morning followed this course,

and spoke kindly to the Jews, discovered the book, received it, and brought it home.

Rahere had a relic of the true cross, and when a poor woman with a swollen tongue came to him, he prayed for her recovery and then washed her tongue in water in which he had dipped the relic, and made the sign of the cross with it on her tongue, and she recovered.

A rich man from some country place came, and after devotions there told Rahere that he purposed in future to regard St. Bartholomew as his lord. Rahere said, "Thou proposest well, and hast chosen a wise guardian to thyself and thy goods ; without doubt through him thou shalt obtain the blessing of God." When the man was at home some time after, part of his house took fire. In faith he waited for it to abate, and the fire soon came to an end, doing little damage.

A captain in peril at sea was advised by some Londoners of his crew to beg the intercession of St. Bartholomew, "the doer of such great marvels in London." The ship escaped the rocks, and on their return the sailors went to St. Bartholomew's, and gave as an offering two very large wax candles.

Osberne, a young man with a stiff arm and neck, came, and before the altar of St. Bartholomew prayed for relief. The stiffness passed off.

A woman, long bedridden in St. John's parish in London, was brought to St. Bartholomew's, and recovered her strength.

A boy, blind from birth, was brought on the feast of St. Bartholomew, and, after some hæmorrhage from his eyes, recovered his sight.

Winmund, a young retainer of Eustace de Broc, had lost the power of speech. He went to St. Bartholomew's one day after Complin, where the chain that bound his tongue was broken, and he became able to speak.

Rahere, as his work grew, associated with it a man named Ailfumnus, who had built the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate. Ailfumnus, with others of the priory, went about asking alms for the poor who were lying in the hospital, and for the men who were building the church. Once Ailfumnus was collecting the things necessary for the brewing of ale, which he begged from housewives in the district. Edena, wife of Edred, in the parish of St. Giles, was brewing, and had only seven loads of malt, and feared that less would prevent her beer coming off. However, she gave one to the men of St. Bartholomew's, and then found she yet had seven; so counted them again, and there were eight; and again, and there were nine; and a fourth time, and there were ten. She sent off the superabundance to the church.

A woman named Godena, who had long had stiff knees, was carried to the church and recovered.

¹ Vesp., B. ix. f. 15a, col. 1, Alfumnus; col. 2, Alfumno; f. 15b, col. 1 and 2, Ailfumnus; f. 54a (in English), Alfumne.

A well-known man at Norwich did not have himself bled at the proper season, and so became sleepless. He had sleepless nights for about seven years, and grew wretchedly thin and wrinkled. He lost, at the same time, both all his money and his friends, till in the seventh year of his unhappiness the relic of the Holy Cross at St. Bartholomew's was brought to St. Nicholas Church at Yarmouth. The man prayed before the relic, and at last went to sleep in the church for a long time, and then rose up well and went home.

A boy that had been dumb for a long time regained the power of speech. This cure shows the observation of a natural phenomenon. Children in acute illness, as may sometimes be observed in St. Bartholomew's Hospital at the present day, lose the power of speech, and after a considerable time completely recover it.

Another boy, named Nicholas, got well of a stiff leg, and in gratitude stayed in the priory and served the canons in their kitchen.

The cures of a carpenter with rigid muscles, and of a dropsical man, complete the twenty-ninth chapter of the first book, and the history of the time of Rahere.

The second book after the preamble, "Hitherto we have written examples of wonders which took place in the days of Rahere of happy memory, the prior and founder of this place," goes on to relate that Rahere died, after holding the office of prior for twenty-two

years and six months, on the 20th day of September. On that day, says the English version, "the cley howse of this worlde he forsoke, and the howse everlastynge he enterid, that foundid this howse in to the laude and honoure of the name of Cryst, that in the howse of his fader he myght be crownyd yn his myldness and yn his mercyes." This shows that Rahere began his priorate March 1123, and that he died September 20, 1145.

The hospital and the priory were the first edifices on the open space of Smithfield, and the hospital was placed upon the highest part, where a great bed of gravel formed exactly the basis which modern knowledge would select for such a building.

Three men took part in the foundation. Rahere was founder of both hospital and priory.

Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London, supported him by his episcopal influence.

Henry, King of the English, son of the Conqueror, granted the land.

The foundation took place in 1123. The tradition within the hospital was that it was founded before the priory—"Fundata fuit hospitalis prius et principalis, prius tempore principalis racione personarum," wrote a brother of the hospital in the reign of Henry VI.

The canon of the priory, who wrote the Liber fundacionis in the reign of Henry II., puts the hospital first in the founder's intention. Rahere started from Rome,

having vowed to found a hospital. When he was already some distance on his homeward way, his vision of St. Bartholomew determined him to found also the priory. The canon does not quote Rahere's very words, but tells the story "as they testified to us that saw and heard him, and were present in his works and deeds." The mention of the precise locality of the foundation, in the history of the second vow, since it is not stated as the actual utterance of Rahere, seems likely to be the writer's interpretation of the past by the present, while the explicit statement, coming from the priory, that the hospital was first intended, and that the priory was an addition to the original vow, at a time so near the lifetime of the founder, shows that this was his own universally known statement. The oldest extant royal charter—that of 1133—shows the precedence which the priory soon acquired. In that charter the sole indication of Rahere's first intention is the separate mention of the hospital, there called "hospitalis eiusdem ecclesie." Hospital and priory were the work of one man, and were both complete in his lifetime.

During four hundred years, in which both flourished, the hospital owed certain duties to the priory, but had its own chapter, and its own separate seal and administration. This independence, which its founder gave it, was confirmed by later royal charters, by several papal bulls, and by other ordinances.

When evil times came, and so many ancient foundations throughout England were destroyed, this independence helped to preserve the hospital to its ancient uses, while many of its neighbours were ruined. Rahere's Priory of Augustinian canons, its contemporary, was dissolved, and the buildings, except the Norman choir, now St. Bartholomew's the Great, were sold. The great Franciscan Convent in Newgate Street, a century younger than St. Bartholomew's, the noble Carthusian House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, founded nearly two hundred and fifty years after St. Bartholomew's, on land purchased from it by Sir Walter Manny, with the house of the Benedictine nuns at Clerkenwell, and the Priory of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, both more ancient than St. Bartholomew's, all found out the force of the King's enmity. Their societies were dispersed, and their buildings for the most part turned to secular uses. The Hospital of St. Bartholomew remained. Had it not been for its separate foundation it would in all probability have been destroyed with the priory.

No part of the hospital as built by Rahere is now standing, but within the present building, which covers the original site, there still remains one thing which was there in his time. It is a legal document which his eyes beheld, and which was sealed in his presence. This charter is written on vellum in the clear hand-

writing of the first half of the twelfth century. Two large seals of dark wax are attached to the document by vellum tags. On one is represented an edifice with three turrets, and on the other a tall figure with a slender rod in the right hand and an object in the left, which a comparison with other seals of the time shows to be an alms-box. The building on the seal is probably the Priory of St. Bartholomew's as it looked in the first twenty years of its existence, for the surrounding inscription is sufficiently legible to show the words "*sigillum conventus ecclesie dei et sancti bartholomei de sme[thefeld].*" This seal of the convent of the Church of God and of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield is nearly circular. The other seal is oval, and its inscription is less distinct, but "Bartholomei de Smethefeld" may be read on the right of the figure, while on the left an "o" is discernible about the middle of the curve, suggesting that the whole inscription is "*sigillum hospitalis sancti bartholomei de smethefeld.*"

The words of the charter are here printed in their lines, the expanded contractions being indicated by italics.

"Notum sit uniuersis fidelibus quod ego RAHERUS sancti bartholomei qui est in smethefeld prior.

totusque ecclesie nostre conuentus. ecclesiam Sancti sepulchri hagnoni clerico si regulam alterius professionis

non inierit usque ad finem dierum suorum in elemosina concessimus. Illud autem scitote quod

totū sic uniuersis fidelibus qd ego raher' scī bartholomei q' ē in smethefeld por.
 totū ecclis nre conuenit. ecclia: s' sepulchri hagnoni clerico sigilla alci p'ssionis
 i' inierit usq; ad finē dieꝝ suoz in elemosina concessim'. Illud autē scitote quod
 dem p'dict' hagno. singlis annis ad usuf canonicoz simul & paupum in hospi-
 ali degentiū. quāq; ginta sol' nob' reddet. In festiuitate Scī michaelis. xxv. sol'. xxv.
 n pascha. Anno incarnationis dñi millesimo. c. xxxvii. Anno ū scdo impij stephani
 regis in anglia. his existencib; test. haco decan'. hugo. s. garyani can'. G. alcer' ff
 witti archidiaconi. Tiold' can'. Raduf' magist'. Gilebt'. p'. Ostb'. p'. Rodbr' de scā
 maria. Algar'. p'. Godefrid' fili' holdewini sac. Rog' nig'. Alexander. Odo. Gau-
 frid' cunestable. Ric'. p'. Burdo. cleric'. Gaufrid' de heli.



idem predictus hagno singulis annis ad usus canonicorum simul et pauperum in hospi—

tali degentium : quinquaginta solidos nobis reddet. In festiuitate Sancti Michaelis, xxv. solidos. xxv.

in pascha. Anno incarnationis domini millesimo. c. xxxvii. Anno uero secundo imperii Stephani

regis in anglia. His existentibus testibus Haco decanus. Hugo Sancti Martini canonicus. Gwalterus frater

Gwillelmi Archidiaconi. Tioldus canonicus. Radufus magister Gilebertus presbiter. Osbertus presbiter. Rodbertus de Sancta

MARIA. Algarus presbiter. Godefridus filius baldewini sacerdotis. Rogerus niger. Alexander. Odo. Gau—

fridus cunestable. Ricardus presbiter. Burdo clericus. Gaufridus de heli."

"Be it known to all the faithful, that I, Rahere, of St. Bartholomew's which is in Smithfield, the Prior and the whole convent of our church have granted in alms to the end of his days the church of St. Sepulchre to Hagno the clerk, provided that he shall not have entered the rule of another order. And ye are to know that the same aforesaid Hagno shall every year pay us for the use of the canons and of the poor abiding in the hospital fifty shillings—at Michaelmas twenty-five shillings, twenty-five at Easter. In the year of the Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and thirty-seven, the second year moreover of the rule of King Stephen in England. These being witnesses :—Haco the Dean ; Hugh, Canon of St. Martin's ; Walter, brother of William the Archdeacon ; Tiold the Canon ; Ralph the Master ; Gilbert the Priest ; Osbert the Priest ; Robert of St. Mary's ; Algar the Priest ; Godfrey son of Baldwin the priest ; Roger niger ; Alexander ; Odo ; Geoffrey Constable ; Richard the Priest ; Burdo the Clerk ; Geoffrey of Heli."

Rahere, according to a list of the Masters of the

Hospital drawn up in the reign of Henry VI., was succeeded as Master by Hagno in 1137, the year of this charter. The assertion that Hagno was Rahere's successor seems to be confirmed by the presence of this charter in St. Bartholomew's. A copy of it, as the earliest document in the possession of the hospital, was made by John Cok, the Rentar of St. Bartholomew's in the reign of Henry VI., and there is no reason to doubt that it has actually been in the hospital since the second year of the reign of King Stephen. Cok's fidelity as a scribe is shown by the fact that he has reproduced the grammatical errors of the original. To maintain the precision of history it is right to mention that the charter may once have passed outside the hospital walls for a short time, though not out of the possession of the governing body. The possible occasion is recorded in a manuscript minute-book of the hospital.

“Curia tenta : Lune, 3^o die Septembris, 1666. In presence of the Rt. Worshipful Sir Richard Chinerton, Knight, Richard Mills, Treasurer, William Fidges, Adoniah Fox, Edward Arris, Esquires.

“Whereas this day, upon the sad disaster of the terrible and unmerciful fire all over this citty, it was taken into consideracion how Mr. Thesaurer's cash and the writings concerning the affairs of this hospitle should be preserved and disposed of. It was there-upon resolved and ordered that the said cash should remain in Mr. Thesaurer's compting-house where it now is, and that only such writings and bookes might be removed and put upp in a trunk that were most useful, and that the same should bee sent to Squire Ridge's house att Hornesey to bee so kept there for most safety until the tymes shal bee convenient to return them back.”

The name of Rahere, and Smithfield in which he dwelt, are as well known to us as they were to the Londoners of the year 1137. St. Bartholomew's will, we trust, flourish in Smithfield to the end of time. St. Sepulchre's Church occupies in our day the local relation to Smithfield which it did in the twelfth century.

St. Martin's is our neighbour still, and is called St. Martin's - le - Grand, as the chief church of that saint in the city. It was a college of canons, with a dean for president. Aldersgate Street does not continue to the corner of Cheapside, as may be learned by looking at the street names upon the buildings, and the reason is that the enclosure of the Dean and Canons of St. Martin intervened. The foundation was earlier than the Norman Conquest, and the canons obtained a charter from the Conqueror, and thus protected, worthily served God, day and night, according to their rule till King Henry VII. granted the possessions of the college to the Abbey of Westminster towards the endowment of his famous chapel there. The modern label "St. Martin's-le-Grand," just beyond the end of Aldersgate Street, is the only existing indication of the ancient seclusion of St. Martin's. The ground of the Dean and Canons is now occupied by the General Post-Office.

The first witness of the charter is Haco, the Dean. Was he Dean of the St. Martin's, of which Hugh, the

next witness, is described as a canon? Haco was clearly a resident in London, for his name appears in three documents of the same period as our charter. One of these is an agreement between the canons of St. Paul's and Orgar, the deacon, about a Church of St. Martin (probably that known later as St. Martin Orgar) and the Church of St. Botolph, and provides that after the decease of certain relatives of Orgar, these churches are to be in the possession of the Canons of St. Paul's. The witnesses are: "Haco decanus, Radulphus presbiter, Alexander clericus," and twenty-five others whose names follow.

The second record is in a twelfth-century manuscript (Liber L.), in which "Haco presbiter et decanus" is the first witness of a gift of land. Both these documents are at St. Paul's.¹

The third document is a charter of the twelfth century in the register of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate,² of which Haco decanus is a witness.

In the endeavour to obtain information as to the identity of Haco, the dean, it seems right to mention one Haco whose name occurs in a manuscript of the first half of the twelfth century, containing a description of lands in the city belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral,

¹ H. C. Maxwell Lyte, "Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. (1883)," where both documents are given. This Report is hereafter quoted as "Ninth Report."

² The Register once belonged to Dr. William Hunter, and is now in the library which he presented to the University of Glasgow, and which, with his museum, so well displays his learning and the many occupations of his mind.

though there is no proof that he was the same man as the dean. The land of Albert of Loraine, "which Rannulfus, the canon, holds," is in this manuscript stated to be "in Warda Haconis," and this ward, judging from its place in the description, is the next ward to that of the Bishop of London and adjoining "Warda fori,"¹ the Ward of Cheape.

The agreement between the Canons of St. Paul's and Orgar, in which Haco, the dean, is the first witness, as well as the charter in Liber L., might support the view that he was Dean of St. Paul's, but William is generally assumed to have been Dean of St. Paul's from before 1128 to 1138. He was entrusted with an arm of St. Osyth² by RICHARD DE BELMEIS, who died in 1128, and is stated by Radulfus de Diceto, the historian, who was himself dean in 1181, to have died in the year 1138. A cartulary of St. Martin's, written in the reign of Henry VI., is preserved at Westminster Abbey. The manuscript is bound in a soft leather cover with overhanging edges, and professes to contain copies of all the charters, bulls, briefs, royal letters, and other documents belonging to St. Martin's. The notary shows the caution of a true historian in describing precisely what he could see, and not trying to guess at what was indistinct on the great seal of William the Conqueror

¹ J. E. Price, "Descriptive Account of the Guildhall" (1886), where a facsimile is given.

² The deed is at St. Paul's, and is printed in the "Ninth Report," p. 38. Part of Bishop Richard's seal remains attached to the charter.

affixed to the charter of St. Martin's. He describes its circular form and red wax, and that on one side it bears the figure of the King sitting on a throne holding in his right hand a sword, and in his left "quoddam rotundum cum cruce infixâ" (the orb) ; and on the other side the King on horseback with his lance and pennon in his right hand, the reins in his left hand, and his shield on the left arm. "The surrounding letters of the seal," adds the notary, "I have not transcribed, because, owing to the antiquity of the said seal, these letters are indistinct." This laudable caution seems to have prevented him from giving a list of the deans, and only an imperfect series can be constructed from the charters in the register. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, was dean in the reign of Henry I., and was confirmed in his office by Stephen,¹ and Stephen, after Roger's death in 1139, granted the deanery to Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester. The writ addressed to Osbert Octodenarius² seems to prove that there was no Dean of St. Martin's between Roger and Henry of Blois, who continued in office till his death in 1171. Thus the dean of the period of Rahere's charter seems to have been Roger, Bishop of Salisbury. Haco's name does not occur among those of the English deans mentioned by the laborious and ill-rewarded Le Neve ; nor is he associated with any deanery in the pages of Dugdale,

¹ Charter printed from copy in Lansdowne MS. by Kempe, "St. Martin's le Grand" (1825).

² J. H. Round, "London under Stephen" (1899).

of Newcourt, of Weever, or of Willis, those untiring recorders of ecclesiastical foundations and preferments. I am inclined to answer the question with which I began this discussion by saying that Haco was probably a Dean of St. Paul's, and that in that case Rahere's dated charter shows that William died in 1137 and not in 1138.

Two canons of St. Martin's are witnesses of Rahere's charter: Hugh, whose name follows that of Haco, and Tiold. That Tiold was one of the nine canons of St. Martin's is shown by a confirmation of prebends drawn up on the feast of St. Calixtus (October 14) 1158, of which there is a copy in the St. Martin's cartulary, which states that his prebend was in the church of Christehale, with ten shillings in Tolleshunt and ten in Hoddesdon. William, brother of Walter, was the first recorded Archdeacon of London, and his name occurs in other documents of the time of St. Paul's.¹ Geoffrey Constabularius was a canon of St. Paul's, and held the prebend of Chamberlayne's Wood.² A grant to him of land at the gate of Ludgate by ROGER, Bishop of Sarum, who died in 1139, is at St. Paul's.³ The sixteen witnesses of the grant to Hagno were neighbours of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the second decade of its existence, and the charter presents a picture of the western part of London in the time of Rahere.

¹ Ninth Report, p. 61.

² Le Neve, "Fasti" (Oxford, 1854), ii. 374.

³ Original at St. Paul's, A. box 24, 1351: the land was held of Bishop Roger by Hugh de Bochlanda, who bought it of Peter Fittmid.

The choir of the conventual church built by him and this charter are the sole material relics of Rahere's time remaining in Smithfield ; but if the works of his hands have yielded to Time, those of his heart have grown and are yet growing, showing how true are the lines of Shirley—

Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in their dust.

These flowers once sown in the ground sow themselves again year by year, and their seed never fails.

Richard de Beaumes, or de Belmeis, Bishop of London, who aided Rahere, was one of the great men of his time. He took his territorial name from Beaumes, now Beaumais, a few miles from Falaise in Normandy. Beaumais is a scattered village built on lands which slope down to the river Dive, and on the higher ground stand the château, a building of the sixteenth century, and the church, which was built early in the twelfth. The square east end has a beautiful external arcade and a corbel table with quaint corbels of various design. The tower is on the south side, and has columns at its angles and arcades of round arches in the two upper stories separated by fine horizontal mouldings, while farther west, on the same side of the church, is a noble doorway with a richly carved tympanum. The interior of the chancel has another fine arcade. Richard, Bishop of London, may have said mass in this very church, and

in grateful memory of him, as a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's and of London, I left a bough of spindle wood gay with crimson fruit by the altar when I visited Beaumais. The orchards in which the houses of the village are embedded were bright with rosy apples, and the cheerful note of the green woodpecker was every now and then to be heard. A small corn-mill was worked by the Dive, the successor of that mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis. In a farmhouse there were a few tables spread for public meals. At one sat Agricola, whom I had seen at work in the fields with his mother. At another my wife and I had breakfast of eggs and potato, a Norman apple-tart, and plum jelly, followed by coffee. The son of the house, a courteous and well-read man, waited upon us, and we talked of Beaumais and of the debt of gratitude which St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London owed to Richard of Beaumais, the bishop who befriended our founder. "I knew," said the Norman, "that the lord of Beaumais had gone to the conquest of England with William, but that we had produced a Bishop of London was a detail of which I was ignorant." Soon after the Norman Conquest Richard of Beaumes had lands in England, and he acquired great estates in Shropshire, which was then a sort of frontier state between England and Wales. Henry I. appointed him its ruler, and he strengthened the Norman power on that border. Richard became versed in the Welsh politics of the time, the chief object

of his diplomacy being to keep the Welsh princes from attacking him by constantly encouraging them to attack one another. On May 24, 1108, he was elected Bishop of London, and was ordained priest at Mortlake by St. Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who, on Sunday, July 26, consecrated him bishop at Pagham in Sussex. He was a liberal benefactor of his diocese, and rebuilt a great part of St. Paul's Cathedral. He also bought the houses which were then crowded close to it, and pulled them down, so that we owe the fresh air of the open space round St. Paul's to him.

Bishop Richard retired after an attack of paralysis, in the latter half of 1123, to the Priory of St. Osyth in Essex, which he had founded, and there died January 16, 1127-8. The fine gate of the priory is in the Perpendicular style, and some centuries later than Bishop Richard; but a Norman arch which remains near it belongs to his time. It was probably to him that Rahere owed the prebend of Chamberlayne's Wood, which he is recorded to have held in the cathedral after 1115, and which he must have resigned not later than 1123. Bishop Richard was buried in the Priory of St. Osyth, and on his tomb was a Latin inscription¹:—"Here lies Richard Beames, named Rufus, Bishop of London, an upright and munificent man, hard working all his life, our most religious Founder, and who bestowed much property on us and on the

¹ Weever, "Ancient Funerall Monuments" (London, 1631), p. 607.

servants of his church of St. Paul. He died 16 January 1127, on whose soul may the Most High have mercy."

St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the poor of London owe him gratitude for the aid he gave to Rahere at the beginning of his work.

King Henry I., ten years after he granted the land for the hospital and for the priory, gave to Rahere and to the convent over which he presided a charter of privileges, to protect and confirm the foundation. This charter, the earliest which the priory possessed, granted to it numerous franchises, the right of free election of its head, and the right of peaceful holding of a fair. The document possessed by the prior and canons was probably surrendered to King Henry VIII., and is no longer extant; but it had been produced for confirmation several times during the Middle Ages, and an authorised copy of it, without date of transcription, was kept in the Tower of London, and is now preserved in the Public Record Office in Fetter Lane. There is another copy in the hospital cartulary.

The charter was addressed to William, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gilbert, Bishop of London, and to the king's lieges in general. The archbishop was a friend of St. Bartholomew's, and had himself been an Augustinian canon and prior of Bishop Richard's foundation of St. Osyth's. "He was not a very clever man," says Henry of Huntingdon, who relates that King

Henry deceived the bishops owing to the unsuspecting simplicity of William Corbuil, the archbishop. Nor was he very firm, for though he had sworn allegiance to the Empress Maud, he placed the crown on the head of Stephen. He died soon afterwards, and some of his contemporaries regarded his death as a fit punishment for this breach of his oath.

Gilbert, the Bishop of London, was called The Universal from his varied knowledge, and about the time that Rahere went on his pilgrimage to Rome was a lecturer at Auxerre. He wrote commentaries on the Old and New Testament, and it was thought that he and Alberic of Rheims were the two greatest teachers of their time in France. In the week after the death of Richard de Belmeis, Gilbert was consecrated Bishop of London at Canterbury. Henry of Huntingdon wrote a letter to a friend on contempt of earthly things, in which he mentions as lessons the falls of princes in his own time, the loss of William, son of Henry I., in the White Ship, the disappointments and unhappy ends of politicians of the day, and the deaths or failures of scholars and ecclesiastics. "In my own life," he says, "I have known four Bishops of London,—Mauricius, after him Richard, then Gilbert the great philosopher, and now Robert." Of Gilbert he says: "There was not between this and Rome his equal in knowledge. He was most learned in the arts, original and uncommon in thought, therefore in renown famous and brilliant. For

which reason, when presiding over the school of Nevers in France, he was called to the highest ecclesiastical office in London; and having been called, came to it." A letter of St. Bernard's to Gilbert,¹ soon after his consecration, acknowledging a present, praises him for his simple way of living as bishop, and urges him to continue it. He died on a journey to Rome, August 10, 1134. The following is a translation of Henry I.'s charter of 1133, made from the copy in the hospital cartulary²:—

"In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father and Son, and Holy Ghost. I Henry, King of the English, to William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Gilbert, Bishop of London, and to all bishops, and abbots, and to earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, and officials, and to all my men, and faithful subjects, and to the citizens of London, greeting.

"Know ye, that I have granted, and have by this my charter confirmed, to the church of St. Bartholomew of London, and to Rahere the Prior, and the Canons Regular, in the same church serving God, and to the poor of the Hospital of the same church, that they be free from all earthly servitude and earthly power and subjection, except episcopal customs, to wit, only consecration of the church, baptism, and ordination of clergy; and that as any church in all England is free, so shall this church be free, and all the lands to it appertaining, which it now has, or which Rahere the Prior, or the Canons, may be able reasonably to acquire, whether by purchase or by gift. And let it have socc and sac, and thol and theam, and infogheneteof; and all liberties and free customs and acquittances in all things which belong to the same church, in wood and in plain, in meadows and pastures,

¹ Antoine de S. Gabriel, "Les Lettres de S. Bernard" (Paris, 1672), pt. i. p. 202.

² Cartulary of St. B. H., f. 39a.

in waters and mills, in ways and paths, in pools and vineyards, and marshes and fisheries, in granges and copses, within and without, and in all places now and for ever.

“This church, moreover, with all things that appertain unto the same, know ye that I will to maintain and defend, and that it is to be free as my crown, and that I have taken it in my hand and in defence against all men. Wherefore I grant to Rahere the Prior, and to the same church, in all its own jurisdiction and possession, the breach of peace and fight made in the house, and the invasion of house or court, and all assaults, and all forfeitures made in its own jurisdiction, and forestal and flemenfermdeth, in the way and without, in the air and without, in the city and without. Discussions of causes also it may have and the rights of causes concerning every plea which may happen in their land, and all customs, whether in ecclesiastical things or secular, as fully and freely as I might have if they were of my own house and table. I release also and quitclaim Rahere the Prior, and the aforesaid church, and all belonging to the same, of shire and hundred of pleas, and plaints and murders, and scutage, and gelds and danegelds, and hydages, and sarts and assizes, and works, and breaking of castles, repairs or the rebuilding of camps or bridges, of enclosing parks, of drawing timber or other things, of fendwite and hegwite, of wardpane and averpane, and bloodwite, and fietwite, and childwite, and of hundredespane, and hechinepane, and muthbryche, and meschennige, and schewigt, and fridsochne, and wetgeiltheof, and of wardwithe and utlepe, and fornenge, and withfange; and they shall be quit in all my land of all tollage, passage, and pontage, and lastage, and stallage, and of all secular service in land and in water, and in ports of the sea, so that they be loaded with no burdens of expeditions, or occasions or aids of sheriffs or reeves of the hundred, or of episcopal officials. I forbid also by my royal authority, that any man, whether my minister or any other in my whole land, be troublesome to Rahere the Prior, or the aforesaid church, concerning anything which belongs thereto;

or introduce himself without the consent of the prior or brethren ; and that no man, of the clergy or laity, presume to usurp dominion of that place.

“ I confirm also all privileges and donations and charters, both which it has or is about to have, from kings, from bishops, or other faithful persons whatsoever. And whatsoever shall be remembered and proved to have been justly granted and acquired by the same church, by writing or by the testimonies of good men, that same no person shall presume, upon any pretence, claim, judgment, or power, to take away or disperse.

“ After the death, moreover, of Rahere the Prior, out of the same assembly let him who is worthy be chosen prior ; but let no one be chosen from elsewhere owing to the influence of prelates or princes, unless in open decision no one can be found worthy of such office, and if it should happen that there is no one fit, let them have the power of choosing a prior from some other known and friendly place. The possessions moreover which have been there given, or purchased by any persons, whether separated from the church by the consent of the chapter, or reduced to a small service, may be recalled by our royal privilege and authority, and let that place be perpetually defended by the protection of kings. And let the prior himself, serving the king alone, abundantly cherish, with spiritual and temporal food, the flock committed to him.

“ I grant also my firm peace to all persons coming to and returning from the fair, which is wont to be celebrated in that place at the feast of Saint Bartholomew ; and I forbid any one of the royal officials to send to implead any one, or without the consent of the canons on those three days, to wit, the eve of the feast, the feast itself, and the day following, to demand customary dues from them.

“ And let all the people of the whole kingdom know, that I will maintain and defend this church, even as my crown ; and if any one shall presume in any thing to contradict this our royal privilege, or shall offend the prior, the canons, the clergy, or laity

of that place, he, and all and every thing that belongs to him, shall come into the king's power.

“And all these things I have granted to the said church for ever, for the love of God and the welfare of myself and of my heirs, and for the souls of my ancestors. Therefore I adjure all my heirs and successors, in the name of the Holy Trinity, that they maintain and defend this sacred place by royal authority, and that they grant and confirm the liberties by me granted to it.

“And the witnesses of this my grant are: Henry, Bishop of Winchester; Roger, Bishop of Salisbury; Bernard, Bishop of St. David's; Geoffrey the Chancellor; Stephen, Earl of Mortaigne; William de Albin, Brito; Alberic de Vere; Richard Basset; Milo de Gloucester; Pagan Fitz John; Robert de Curci; Hugh Bigot; and many other barons of my kingdom.

“And this charter I have made and ordered to be confirmed at Westminster, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1133, but of my reign the 33rd year.”

The final exhortation was not without effect; for attached to the copy of this charter in the Record Office¹ are others of Henry's successors, Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III.

The approximate date of the charter is determined by the fact that Geoffrey the Chancellor was made Bishop of Durham on August 4, 1133; and on that day also the thirty-third year of the king's reign came to an end. It was therefore granted after Lady Day, on which the year 1133 began, and before August 2, 1133, when the king left England for Normandy, whence he never returned alive.

¹ *Carta Antiqua*, l. n. 1-9.

The witnesses were great men of the time, and their names appear again and again in William of Malmesbury's account of the wars of King Stephen.

The Bishop of Winchester, Henry of Blois, was a younger brother of Stephen, whom he proposed for king; and later it was he who arranged the succession of the son of Maud. He ordained St. Thomas of Canterbury, and was the founder of the hospital of St. Cross near Winchester.

The Bishop of Salisbury, a favourite of the king, had been consecrated by Anselm in 1107. He regulated the Exchequer and ruled England in Henry's absence. One of his nephews became Bishop of Ely and another Bishop of Lincoln. When the wars began he was a partisan of Stephen, but declared that he was never his servant.¹ Roger's cathedral stood in that long-deserted city, of which Burke wittily said that there "they only know the streets by the colour of the corn, and their only produce is members of Parliament"; but his remains were translated to the present cathedral on June 14, 1226. He gave St. Sepulchre's Church in London to Rahere. An imperfect portrait of him, showing a burly form, remains on his seal in white wax attached to his grant of the land at Ludgate which Hugh de Bochlanda had bought of Peter Fittmid.²

Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, was another Norman

¹ William of Malmesbury (ed. Stubbs), vol. ii. (Rolls Series).

² Original, A. box 24, 1,351, at St. Paul's Cathedral.

prelate, and had been consecrated in 1115 by Roger. When, after the defeat of Stephen at the battle of Lincoln, the Empress Maud was received on March 3, 1141, in Winchester Cathedral, Bernard walked on her left hand in the procession.¹

Geoffrey, the Chancellor, was a trusted friend of the king. He long held the office; and Sir William Dugdale² quotes this very document in proof of the existence of the chancellorship in Henry's reign.

The Earl of Mortaigne was the brother of the Bishop of Winchester, and two years later seized the crown, and held disputed sway over England as King Stephen for nineteen years.

William de Albini, the Breton, was a benefactor of the Priory of Belvoir, which his father founded.

Alberic de Vere was created Great Chamberlain in this year, and the office still remains among his descendants. A speech of his, made at Winchester in 1139 in defence of the arrest of Bishop Roger and of other acts of Stephen, and recorded by William of Malmesbury, shows much subtle reasoning, and he delivered it without violence "modeste tamen sine ulla verborum contumelia."³ Castle Hedingham was his home, and he was probably the builder of its keep, which has stood for nearly eight hundred years like a faithful sentinel on the northern boundary of Essex.

¹ William of Malmesbury (ed. Stubbs, 1889), vol. ii. (Rolls Series).

² Dugdale, *Chronica series*.

³ William of Malmesbury (ed. Stubbs, 1889), vol. ii. p. 552.

Milo was a baron at the time of this charter, and was later created Earl of Hereford by the Empress Maud. He first sided with Stephen, but after the empress came in 1139 he changed sides and supported her.¹ He died in 1143.

Pagan Fitz John lost his life in the Welsh war at the beginning of Stephen's reign.

Robert de Curci, who in Stephen's wars was on the side of the empress, founded a convent of Benedictine nuns at Canyngton in Somerset.

Hugh Bigot, King Henry's seneschal, gave most important assistance to Stephen by solemnly swearing that King Henry while dying had in his presence released his vassals from the oath they had taken in favour of Matilda. He was created Earl of Norfolk by Stephen.²

The witnesses are a group characteristic of their time: a royal claimant, who held his throne by force of arms and led his party into many a fight; four bishops, of whom all were active politicians; the rest knights, accustomed to ride into battle and to wear chain-mail:

—the good old rule

Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.

War was in some sense an occupation of all the

¹ J. H. Round, "Geoffrey de Mandeville" (1892), p. 284.

² *Ibid.* p. 191.

witnesses ; but in spite of the roughness of their times they had faith in more than the sword, and it is to these very men that we owe many religious buildings in the solid Norman style, so suggestive of a well-founded faith.

Two other charters of Henry I. to St. Bartholomew's Priory, with the same witnesses and in slightly different terms, are recited in later royal charters.

King Henry left England for Normandy soon after the granting of this charter, and died December 1, 1135, in Normandy. Ordericus Vitalis,¹ who was his subject, praises the king in verse :—

Sceptryger invictus, sapiens dux, inclytus heros
 Qui fovit populos justo moderamine multos
 Proh dolor ! occubuit. Dolor hinc oritur generalis.
 Publica Normannis clades simul instat et Anglis.
 Divitiis et justitia, sensu, probitate,
 Strenuitas ejus manifesta refulsit ubique
 Nullus eo melior princeps dominatur in orbe.

Henry will always be held in grateful remembrance at St. Bartholomew's as our first royal benefactor.

The choir of the church built by Rahere, his monument there, the actual charter which he sealed in 1137, the copies of King Henry I.'s charters of 1133, the *Liber fundacionis* written in the reign of Henry II.,

¹ Pt. iii. bk. xiii. cap. 8.

and a record¹ that he had filled the stall of Chamberlayne's Wood in St. Paul's Cathedral—these are the foundations of our knowledge of Rahere's life.

He died on September 20, 1145, a day which was long observed both in the hospital and in the priory. The anniversary of the birth into heaven of their benefactor, as his biographer terms it, was deemed a proper day of rejoicing for men convalescent from illness, for the withered, the blind, the dumb, and the deaf, and a suitable occasion for the public to make gifts of money, of corn, and of household furniture to the canons and to the brethren for the use of the poor and of the church.

In the account of him given in the *Liber Fundacionis* it is not mentioned that Rahere attained to a great age, and the effigy on his tomb, as well as the sequence of events of his life, indicate that he was born towards the end of the eleventh century and died when about sixty. The day of his death was a Wednesday, and was within the octave of the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, in honour of which he founded the hospital. This dedication has been forgotten in later times, but is recorded in the cartulary of the reign of Henry VI., where the list of Masters is headed "*Nomina Magistrorum Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei nuncupati et in Honore Exaltacionis Sancte*

¹ Richard Newcourt, "*Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*," 1708, vol. i. p. 133. John Le Neve, "*Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," Oxford, 1854, vol. ii. p. 374.

Crucis fundati." An illuminated initial of the same book contains a picture of Brother John Cok, the Redituarius, kneeling before a cross held in the air by an angel, and with the words "crucis exaltatio ducat nos celi consortio," in allusion to this dedication of the house. Another illuminated initial shows John Wakeryng, Master from 1422 to 1466, kneeling before Saint Helen, with the sentence "crucis invencio sit nobis salus et protecio," so that we may be sure that September 14, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, and May 3, the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, were both duly observed in the hospital.

Rahere founded it for eight brethren and four sisters tending the poor and the sick, and observing the rule of St. Augustine. This rule is founded on a letter of St. Augustine of Hippo to a religious society. It recommends, in general terms, charity, and pious observance, humility, prayer, and temperance, "subdue your flesh by fasts and abstinence in meat and drink as much as health allows." Kindness to the sick is to be constantly shown, and reproof of errors humbly borne. The dress is to be simple, not remarkable. The religious are to have no disputes or lawsuits, and are to obey the head of the society, and to read the rule aloud often.

The societies of canons regular of St. Augustine were not so closely united as those of the greater religious orders, but were separate congregations following

a common rule. Many of them took charge of hospitals; and no better general direction for those who are to take part in the work of the hospital, whether as attendants of the patients or as directors of affairs, could be found than the words of St. Augustine which form the first clause of his rule: "Before all things, dear brother, love God, and next your neighbour; for these are the chief commandments given to us."



III

THOMAS OF ST. OSYTH'S



THE second book of the *Liber fundacionis* tells that within a year of Rahere's death Thomas, one of the canons of the church of St. Osyth, was elected Prior of St. Bartholomew's. Stephen was king; Robert was Bishop of London; Theobald of Bec was Archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop had been Abbot of Bec in Normandy, and ruled at Canterbury from December 13, 1138, to April 18, 1161. Robert de Sigillo was Bishop of London from 1141 to 1151.

The canon describes many wonders as taking place while Thomas of St. Osyth's was prior. Some of the anecdotes give glimpses of life in London in Henry II.'s reign. A poor man and his wife came every year to London, he to buy food, she to receive payment for the thread she had spun, and their custom was to visit St. Bartholomew's Church and make an offering there. The wicked bedell (such an officer in the ward is named in many London charters), whose name was Alured,

seized him, beat him, and bound him, and when he could not extract money from him, the bedell shut him up in his house, put a heavy collar round his neck, and chained the poor man to the wall of his inner court. There he was left weeping and bruised for some days. One Saturday, when the canons of St. Bartholomew's, having finished matins before dawn, struck the bell that they might sing *Te Deum Laudamus*, the poor man in chains, hearing the sound of the bell and the harmony of the hymn, for the bedell's house was not far from the church, cried aloud for deliverance, and, raising his arms, found his irons loose. The door was open, and he walked out. Alured heard the clanking of the chains as he cast them off, and gave chase, seeing the fugitive in the moonlight, but found himself unable to run or to call out, so the poor man escaped, and entered the church of St. Bartholomew, and told every one what had happened.

Another chapter tells of a merchant of Colchester who made money by providing goods for the army with which Henry II. invaded Wales in 1157, and of his gains made an offering to St. Bartholomew's Church. Three chapters tell of deliverance from perils at sea. In one of these it is related that the sailors, in fulfilment of a vow, gave to the church a ship of silver formed like their own ship. "And so they goynge owt of the shippe, that litill shippe forgyd and made of silvyr joyfully they bare to the chirche of the holy

apostle, and to the prior, i called with summe of his chanouns, they tellid the process of all this storie, yeldyng thankys to almighty God and to the glorious apostle and martir, seynt Barthilmewe.”

The canon has left a pleasant description of the prior:—“This Thomas, as we have proved in common, was a man of jocund company and fellowly cheeriness, a man of great eloquence and varied knowledge, versed in philosophy and deep in the Holy Scriptures. He was able to set forth what he wished to say in measured periods, and it was his custom on every feast day to pour out the words of God to the people.”

In 1147 Prior Thomas¹ appointed Adam the merchant to the mastership of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, by a deed which states that Thomas the Prior and the

¹ Thomas Prior Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei de Lundon et Conventus eiusdem ecclesie universis matris ecclesie filiis salutem. Universitati vestre notum facimus quod nos Adam mercarium in fraternitatem nostram recepimus ad participandum beneficiis corporalibus et spiritualibus que in ecclesia nostra fiunt. Qui quoniam laicus est et scimus eum non posse in conventu fratrum clericorum supplere vicem curam domus hospitalis eius fraterne prudentie commisimus. Hac dispensacione: Ut quecumque ille vel alius in terris vel redditibus vel in quibuscumque domus illius utilitatibus perquisierit omnia integra et illibata domui hospitali finabiliter permaneant. In extremis agentem vel fervenciori desiderio volentem habitum ex integro canonicum suscipere parati erimus ex animo eius satisfacere desiderio. Et quia Adam solemniter fecit fidelitatem Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei juramento astrictus et promisit obedienciam Thome priori et successoribus suis salva convencionem de custodia domus hospitalis, sicut ista carta testatur. Ideo quoad iunxerit in habitu conversionis exteriori: prefate domus curam ad salutem anime sue presentis scripti attestacione firmamus. Ut sit ei libera potestas in pauperes orphanos pueros projectos vicinos pauperes infirmos quoslibet et sine hospicio vagantes quantum ei deus inspiraverit, misericordie visceribus habundare. Gratum eciam erit nobis si quempiam de familiaribus suis vel de benefactoribus domus ad congregandum secum quandoque susceperit et humanitatis studio eis honeste obsecutus fuerit. Nostre autem reservamus auctoritati ne ad victum aut vestitum concinnum et perpetuum absque nostro consensu ullum admittat nec extra domum prebendam alicui assidue prebeat. Capellam que fere cum prefata domo fundari cepit damus assensum ut perficiat obstruso tamen hostio versus mercatum equorum. In qua

convent of St. Bartholomew have received Adam the merchant into their brotherhood, but that since he is a layman he cannot take his turn in the meeting of the clerical brethren, they have committed the hospital to his care. Adam has solemnly professed fidelity to the church of St. Bartholomew, and has promised obedience to Prior Thomas and his successors, save the agreement as to the keeping of the hospital, as that charter testifies.

vero scrinium trimocum collocabitur ad collectam faciendam. Capellam autem que in medio domus ex religionis dispensacione et caritatis intuitu hactenus fuit, complanabit : Ut domus pulerior appareat et adventantibus capacior fiat. Cum autem vita sua in mundo finitur convocatis fratribus ad capitulum ecclesie si quos per suam industriam in domum prefatam attraxerit, communi assensu auctoritate nostra unus ex illis dignus et honestus et utilis prefate domui preferetur. Et alii custodes qui per successionem post eum venient eandem curam quam predictus Adam habuit perpetue habuerint. Et quicumque Ade successerit in predictam domum hospitalis custodiam : simili juramento fidelitatis et obediencie solemniter astringetur. Et preterea concedimus Ade et fratribus suis hospitalis ut habeant capellanum alium quam Canonicum, virum honestum consilio nostro et fratrum suorum, qui assiduus divinum officium in hospitali predicto ministret. Et fratres domus hospitalis eant in adquisicionem ea que sunt necessaria domui hospitalis sicut hactenus consuetudo fuit. Beneficium quod hactenus de ecclesia scilicet totam panis nostri decimacionem et fratrum reliquias tam panis quam carniem et piscis et potus majori si potest fieri hilaritate quam hactenus et uberius dabimus. Et si, quod absit, domus illa aliquibus egerit que nobis exuberent vel si predicta domus aliquibus habundaverit quibus ecclesia nostra indigerit : vicissim sibi absque utriusque gravamine subvenient. Et quicumque capellanus ecclesie nostre et hospitalis prepositis suis fidelitatem faciet. Ut igitur cunctis appareat quo studio quam insolubili caritatis vinculo voluimus ut illa domus cum ecclesia nostra societetur, et in unitate consistat : et quod nostra ecclesia et domus predicta unum in Deo sint : Ego Thomas prior et conventus ecclesie anathematizamus et excommunicamus omnes qui divisionem et separationem facere attemptaverunt. Hiis testibus Stephano priore de ecclesia Sancte trinitatis. Roberto canonico suo. Priore de Ecclesia Sancte marie de ultra pontem. Ada Canonico suo. Ricardo presbytero de Sancta Mildreda. Ismaele presbytero de Sancto Thoma. Magistro Clemente nepote Willelmi Grand. Willelmo de Coveham. Radulpho Buctel. Roberto de Cornhull. David fratre suo. Petro filio Walteri. Willelmo Magno. Edwardo Albo. Willelmo de Blemunt. Goce Vinitore. Andrea Bukerell. Bricmaro de Haverhull. Willelmo filio suo. Galfrido filio Sabelline. Willelmo fratre suo. Radulpho Brand. Laurencio fratre suo. Remerdo mercerio. Theobaldo mercerio. Willelmo Faceto. Bartholomeo mercerio. Malgero mercerio. Hugone de Clovilla. Ricardo filio Raineri. Ricardo de Haverhull. Ada filio Liswini. Beremundo. Johanna Filia Stephani Brande. Gaufrido filio Stephani. Waltero de Clovilla. Rogero de Wittebie.—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*

The prior and convent confirm him in the care of the hospital, and give him authority to do all he can for the needy, for orphans, for foundlings, and for the poor of the district, for every kind of sick person, and for homeless wanderers. But no one is to be admitted to the hospital society and habit without the consent of the prior and convent. The chapel begun at almost the same time as the hospital is to be completed, but the entrance on the side of the horse market is to be walled up. There shall be an alms-box in the chapel for making collections, and the chapel hitherto allowed in the midst of the hospital is to be pulled down, so as to make a better appearance and give more room. When Adam shall die the brethren of the hospital shall be called to a chapter, and shall elect to the mastership whom they think best of their number. And the wardens who succeed shall have the same charge as Adam, and shall be solemnly bound by an oath of fidelity and of obedience to the priory. The hospital may have a chaplain. The brethren may go out to collect things necessary as hitherto the custom has been. The prior and convent grant the gift they have hitherto granted; that is to say, a whole tenth of their bread and the remains, whether of bread or meat, of fish, and of drink, if possible more cheerfully and plentifully than before. "And if, which God forbid, the hospital shall want in anything wherein we abound, or if the hospital shall abound in anything in which

our church may be deficient, turn about, they shall help one another without grumbling.

“And whatever chaplain shall go into the church shall promise obedience to the religious superiors of our church and to the hospital.

“Accordingly, that it may be clear to all how we desire that the hospital may be linked with the church by an unbroken chain of affection, and that the two may live in unity; and that our church and the aforesaid house are one in God, I, Thomas the Prior, and the assembly of our church curse and excommunicate all who shall try to make division and separation between them.”

The first four witnesses are Augustinian canons. Holy Trinity, Aldgate, was the oldest foundation of the order in London. The church of Sancta Maria de Ultrapontem was called in English St. Mary Overy, and is now known as St. Saviour's, Southwark. Two of the parochial clergy follow; Richard, the priest of St. Mildred's, and Ismael, who held the church of St. Thomas, under a grant from Hugh, the Dean of St. Paul's.¹ There are several representatives of great families of the city and of its tradesmen. Andrew Buckerel was sheriff in 1172, David of Cornhill in 1169, Peter son of Walter in 1174, Bricmar of Haverhill in 1158 and 1174, and William his son in 1189 and 1190. Richard was one of the three sons of William of Haver-

¹ Ninth Report, p. 64 b.

hill. Geoffrey, son of Sabeline, and William were of the great family of Bucuinte. William de Blemunt was of the family who gave their name to their estate on the north of Holborn—Blemunts-byric, of which the modern form is Bloomsbury. Many families have risen to greatness in the city, and become magnates in the country, and retain in their names evidence of their origin, as Cowper and Spencer. De Blemunt perhaps, in a different way, points to connection with the city, for Blemont may be a French form of Cornhill. Goce the vintner was sheriff in 1157, and there are four mercers. Hugh de Clovilla¹ and William Facetus² occur as witnesses of charters at St. Paul's while Hugh de Marinis was dean (1160–1181).

The chapel near Smithfield (forum equorum) occupied the site of the present church of St. Bartholomew the Less. The pulling down of the inner chapel, so as to make more room for the patients, is the first structural improvement recorded after the original building of the hospital.

The freedom of election of master, granted in this charter, was first used in 1166, when Adam's successor, Stephen, was chosen.³

Thomas the Prior witnessed in 1145 a charter at

¹ Last witness in grant by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's of the church of St. Thomas.—Ninth Report, p. 24 a, 1,721.

² With Andrew Bukerel in grant to William FitzIsabel.—Ninth Report, 24 b, 21.

³ "Stephanus procurator fuit primus magister Secularis secundum formam electionis. Anno Henrici Secundi XII°."—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*

St. Paul's by which Dean Ralph of Langford and the chapter gave to Christina, the head of a convent of Benedictine nuns, the site of her religious house at Merkyate, in Bedfordshire.¹ On this occasion three other heads of houses of Augustinian canons were present: Norman, prior of Holy Trinity; John, prior of St. Botolph's, Colchester; and Robert, prior of Merton.

The hospital was improved, and the Priory of St. Bartholomew's enlarged, under the rule of Thomas, so that the canons were increased in number from thirteen to thirty-five. He was active in improving the condition of his priory, and obtained bulls, as is stated in the *Liber fundacionis*, augmenting or confirming its privileges from Pope Anastasius IV. (1153-54) and from Adrian IV. (1154-59), the only English pope.

He also obtained a charter, in which St. Bartholomew's Hospital as well as the priory is concerned, from Thomas of London, the archbishop slain in 1170, canonised in 1173, and since known as St. Thomas of Canterbury.

This charter² states that the archbishop has taken

¹ Ninth Report, p. 66 a.

² *Thomas dei gratia Cantuarensis Ecclesie humilis Minister omnibus sancte matris ecclesie tam presentibus quam futuris Salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos ecclesiam Sancti Bartholomei London, et canonicos regulares ibidem Deo famulantes sub protectione dei et nostra suscepisse eisdemque confirmasse et carte nostre testimonio corroborasse locum illum de Smythfulde in quo ecclesia eorum fabricata est et domum hospitalis ejusdem ecclesie cum terris et tenementis et libertatibus et omnibus rebus ita bene et libere et quiete sicut Rex Henricus primus in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam eundem locum eis donavit et carta sua confirmavit. Preterea confirmamus*

the church and canons regular under his protection, and has confirmed to them by his charter the place in Smithfield where their church is built, and the hospital house of the same church, with all rights granted by King Henry I., and confirmed by his charter. The canons are to be secure in any future possessions, and to possess in peace all liberties and privileges which they had in the time of Henry I. None shall disturb them or diminish their dignity or possessions.

St. Thomas of Canterbury was born December 21, 1118, and it is easy to recognise his birthplace at this day, for the residence of Gilbert Beket and Matilda, his wife, in Cheapside, occupied the position of the present Mercers' Hall. One night, when he was a little child, his mother dreamed that she saw him uncovered in his cot, and scolded the nurse. The nurse said she had covered him with a red coverlet. His mother went to see whether what the nurse said was true, and was amazed at the beauty and grandeur of the coverlet. She began with the help of the nurse to unfold it; it was too big for the room or the rest of

eis omnes ecclesias et possessiones quas juste et canonicè in presentiam possident aut in futurum juste adipisci poterunt. Has ergo prescriptas possessiones et quas in posterum adipisci juste potuerint prefatis canonicis sancti Bartholomei presentis scripti munimine et sigilli nostri appositione confirmamus precipientes ut has prefatas possessiones et omnes libertates et dignitates quas tempore Regis Henrici primi habuerunt in summa pace et quiete possideant ita ut decetero nulli omnino homini liceat ecclesiam eorum temere perturbare aut dignitates eorum minuere aut possessiones auferre aut ablatas retinere aut eos quibuslibet vexacionibus fatigare. Omnes autem hanc confirmationem nostram conservantes Dei et nostram optiniant benedictionem; eam vero infirmantes Dei et nostram incurrant maledictionem."—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*, f. 39b.

the house, and they unfolded it farther into the street, and farther yet, till they passed the city wall and came into Smithfield. There she heard a voice saying that all England was not wide enough to hold it, for in this way did the Divine goodness foreshadow to his devout mother the extent of the future greatness and glory of her son.

Thus the early life of St. Thomas is associated with the open space beside which, five years after his birth, our hospital was built. He was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on Trinity Sunday, June 3, 1162, by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, a prelate who knew St. Bartholomew's, for he was a witness of the charter granted to Rahere in 1133 by King Henry I. At the end of his life Henry of Blois liked to remember that he had consecrated Thomas of London, and said, "My time is near when it may please God to lay me beside my fathers, but with the rest of my body this hand will not rot which ordained as archbishop that holy martyr of God."¹

The citizens of London, in common with the whole Western world, admired the champion of religion and opponent of arbitrary secular power, and placed the figure of their canonised fellow-citizen on their common seal. On one side was St. Paul with a sword in his hand, with a background of an embattled wall and

¹ *Vita S. Thomæ: auctore anonymo I.*, printed in "Materials for the History of Thomas Becket," edited by J. C. Robertson, 1879 (Rolls Series), vol. iv. pp. 4, 5.

fortified gate enclosing a city in which stands a tall staff with a flag bearing three lions passant. On the reverse was St. Thomas in mitre and pall, seated on a throne in the act of benediction, with a group of kneeling ecclesiastics on his left, and on his right a group of laymen. The throne had an arch below it, beneath which was a view of London showing St. Paul's Cathedral and several church spires within the city wall and gate. The saint's figure remained on the seal, with some changes of design, for nearly four centuries.

Thomas of St. Osyth's, the ruler of St. Bartholomew's Hospital from 1145 to 1147, and of the priory for twenty-seven years more, who obtained from Thomas of London, Archbishop of Canterbury, this charter of confirmation and benediction, deserves to be remembered with gratitude as having added to the usefulness of the hospital by firmly establishing its power of electing its master, thus strengthening that independence which in later and worse times was an important aid in protecting the hospital from destruction. In the *Life of St. Osyth* printed by Capgrave, it is related that the saint appeared to a cleric who had vowed to enter the priory but postponed doing so for four years. Then he was taken ill and called to St. Osyth on his sick bed. She appeared and reproved him for his delay in fulfilling his vow. He promised that he would no longer neglect it, and the

saint took pity on him. He recovered and received the monastic habit, and earnestly serving God he came to be elected prior at St. Bartholomew's in London. William de Ver, a canon of St. Osyth's, on whose "De miraculis S. Osythe"¹ this life is based, was a contemporary of Thomas, and the history is likely to refer to Rahere's successor.

Thomas of St. Osyth's died at the age of nearly one hundred, says the *Liber fundacionis*, on January 17, 1174, in the fifteenth year of Pope Alexander the Third, and the twentieth of Henry II., and in the same year as the election of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury.

¹ J. Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, 1516. F. Verhaer, *Vitæ Sanctorum*, 1594. J. H. Round, "Geoffrey de Mandeville," 1892, p. 389. C. Horstman, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, Oxford, 1901, citing a passage in Leland.

The name Hagenau occurs in the early French romances, but it seems possible that the name Hagno in Rahere's charter (*ante*, p. 27) may represent ἀγνός, "the pure," a name given to the cleric after his conversion, and that he was otherwise known as Thomas. The name Hagno does not occur in any other charter relating to St. Bartholomew's, and the name Thomas does not occur in the early part of the *Nomina Magistrorum* of the Cartulary, though Thomas is proved by the *Liber fundacionis* and by his deed of appointment of Adam to have ruled the hospital from Rahere's death to 1147. This hypothesis, if correct, would explain the occurrence of the name Hagno in the list of masters and the absence of the name Thomas. It was a remark of Sir Richard Jebb, whose learning, good-nature, and delightful conversation will be remembered and missed by all his friends to the end of their lives, which first suggested this explanation to me.

IV

THE TIME OF HENRY FITZ-AILWIN



HENRY FITZ-AILWIN, the first mayor of London, was a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He became mayor early in the reign of King Richard I., and held office till his death in the autumn of 1212. He was probably born before the death of Rahere, and was certainly living in the later days of Thomas of St. Osyth's. He knew four successive masters of St. Bartholomew's Hospital: Adam the merchant, Stephen, Alan the priest, and a second Stephen. His gift to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield and to the brethren and sisters of the same place¹ was a quit-rent of five shillings from land in the parish

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus filius Alwini de London dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Smethfelde et fratribus et sororibus eiusdem loci pro salute anime regis Henrici et anime mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum In perpetnam et puram elemosinam quinque solidos quieti redditus de terra quam Willelmus de Hauerberg tenuit de me extra Byschopgate Habend. et tenend. predicto hospitali et fratribus et sororibus ipsius loci in perpetuum libere et quiete integre et finabiliter ad faciendum seruicium pro anima predicti regis Henrici et pro anima mea et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum in die anniuersarii obitus mei annuatim quum euenerit ut autem hec mea donacio et concessio perpetua et firma consistat presens scriptum sigillo meo confirmaui.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 288.

of St. Botolph outside Bishopsgate which William of Haverberg held of him, and he asked that prayers be said for the soul of King Henry and for his own soul and for those of his ancestors and descendants and of all the faithful departed, every year on the anniversary of his death. HENRY FITZ-AILWIN made a grant of the same value in the parish of Bothaghe (now St. Mary Bothaw, near Walbrook) to the prior and canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, from the land which Henry Toltrich held of him, between the land of Ailwin the plasterer and that of Laurence the plumber,¹ and a third grant of five shillings of quit-rent to the nuns of St. Mary of Clerkenwell² from the land which Laurence the plumber

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri* quod ego Henricus filius Ailwini de London dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui

ecclesia Sancte Trinitatis Londoniarum et canonicis ibidem deo seruientibus pro salute anime regis Henrici et anime mee et

successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum In puram et perpetuam elemosinam quinque solidatos

redditus de terra quam Henricus Toltrich tenuit de me Inter terram quam Ailwinus dubur tenuit versus orientem

et terram quam Laurentius plumbar tenuit versus occidentem Habend. et tenend. predicte Ecclesie sancte Trinitatis et Canonicis

ibidem deo seruientibus in perpetuum libere quiete integre et finabiliter ad faciendum seruicium pro anima predicti regis

et pro anima mea et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum In die anniuersarii obitus mei annuatim quum

euenerit ut autem hec mea donacio et concessio perpetua firmitate consistat presentem paginam sigilli

mei munimine roborau.—Original torn. Italics indicate the defaced part, A. 7351, Public Record Office.

² *Sciant presentes et futuri* quod ego Henricus filius Ailwini de London dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et ecclesie S. Marie de Clerkenwelle et sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo seruientibus pro salute anime regis Henrici et anime mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam v solidos quieti redditus de terra quam Laurentius plumbar tenuit de me inter terram quam Henricus Toltrich tenuit et terram quam Willelmus

held of him between the land of Henry Toltrich and that of William the man at arms. Thus he provided that he should be held in pious remembrance every year on the anniversary of his death in the east of the city by the Augustinian canons of Holy Trinity; in the west, just outside the walls, by the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital; and on the north side beyond the walls by the Benedictine nuns of Clerkenwell.

Henry Fitz-Ailwin confirmed his donation by his seal, but the St. Bartholomew's deed is only preserved in a copy made in the reign of Henry VI. His seal, however, remains attached to an agreement of November 30, 1191, which is in the Public Record Office. It represents him on horseback with a hawk on his fist, for a great man in the city of London was then

"Most like a baron bold."

The seal of William Bucuinte, son of Sabelina, shows its owner on horseback with a falcon, while John Bucuinte and Ralph Steperanc, also contemporaries of Henry Fitz-Ailwin, appear upon their seals, as they were often seen in life, well mounted and in chain mail and helmet, with a shield on the left arm and a drawn sword in the right hand.

Bukelar tenuit habend. et tenend. predictis sanctimonialibus in perpetuum, libere quiete integre et finabiliter ad faciendum seruicium pro anima predicti regis Henrici et pro anima mea et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum in die anniuersarii obitus mei annuatim quum euenerit ut autem hec mea donacio et concessio perpetua firmitate consistat presens scriptum sigillo meo confirmaui.—Cartulary of St. Mary of Clerkenwell, f. 78b (Faustina, B. II. Brit. Mus.).

Henry Fitz-Ailwin's house was in St. Swithun's Lane, in the situation of the present hall of the Salters' Company.¹ His land on the west reached to the Walbrook, then an open stream sometimes ascended by boats from the Thames; and on the south he was close to London Stone. That famous monolith, much worn by time, is to be seen at the present day, fixed into the wall of the church of St. Swithun. It was moved from the south to the north side of the way once called Candelwrihttestrate, and now Cannon Street, in 1742, and in 1798 was placed in the wall of the church,² but these disturbances have not altered its position by more than a few yards. Henry Fitz-Ailwin lived so near it that he was called "of Londonstone." Fitz-Ailwin is written as a surname in later times, but in contemporary charters it is always *filius Ailwini* or *filius Eilwini*; so that his designation tells whose son he was, but is not a permanent family name. His own son, when witnessing a charter, is described as Peter, son of Henry the mayor.³

Henry was not the only person of his time named

¹ The evidence as to its situation is given in Stapleton, "De Antiquis Legibus" (Camden Society), 1847; Herbert, "History of the London Companies," 1836; and Lethbury, "London before the Conquest," 1902.

² Godwin, "Churches of London," 1839, vol. ii.

³ "Petro filio Henrici maioris" (original charter of Johannes Bocointe filius Gaufridi Bocointe).

from Londonstone,¹ for a grant of WALTER BLUND is witnessed by Salomon of Londonstone,² and Godefrid of

¹ Henry's name is written in several forms. Before he was mayor it appears in original charters as:

Heurico de Lundenstone (Robert de Taidena).
 Henrico de Lundenstone (William de Beumes).
 Henrico de Lundestone (Gilbert de Ver).
 Henrico de Lundonestane (Amfridus).
 Henricus de Lundenestone (Robert Camerarius).
 Henricus filius Ailwini (William de Plessit).
 Henrico filio Ailwini (Roger, son of Reinfrid).
 Henrico filio Ailwini (Peter, son of Alan). (Richard, son of Reyner.)
 Henrico filio Eilwini (Laurence, son of Robert).
 Henricus filius Ailwini de London (his own charter).

After his appointment as mayor he is mentioned in original charters as:

Henrico maiore (Michael de Valecins). (Adam Beremund.)
 Henrico filio Ailwini tunc maiore. (Avicia filia Alueue.)
 Henrico maiore Londoniarum (John, Abbot of St. Albans). (John Bucuinte, son of Geoffrey Bucuinte.)
 Henrico filio Ailwini maiore Londoniarum (Jordan de Turre).
 Henrico filio Eilwini tunc maiore Londoniarum (Jocelin, son of Peter). (Henry, son of Renner.)
 Henrico filio Ailwini maiore Londoniarum (Jordan, son of Saiat).
 Henrico filio Ailwini maiore Londoniarum (John Bocointe, son of Geoffrey Bocointe).

In fifteenth-century copies of charters in the St. B. H. Cartulary, his name occurs as:

Henrico de Lundenestane maiore London (Johanna de Tam).

Henrico maiore de Lundonestane (William, son of William of Rannberg).

In writing of him I have used the form Fitz-Ailwin for convenience, since it is that by which he is usually mentioned at the present day.

² It is a grant from WALTER BLUND to his son Thomas of his land in the Fishmarket between the land of John the Burgundian and the land formerly held by Richard le Chevaler, as well as that shop which lies between what was Richard le Chevaler's shop and Gerard's shop, "which shop I hold of the daughter of Ralph, brother of Goce the wine merchant": "All my land between Newgate and Luthgate next the wall which I hold of John le Bere: And all my land which I hold of William de Blemond which lies next the garden of the sick men of St. Giles." The witnesses are: Godefrid, priest of St. Martin's; Gilbert the priest of St. Nicholas; Walter Niger; Salomon of Lundonestane; Goldhaveke; Walter Bruning; Thurstan the fishmonger; Robert, son of Gilbert Ruffus; Hugh of Wandlesworde; Ailmer de Castello; Alan the fishmonger; Geoffrey of Watford; Richard, son of Pagan; Simon the clerk; Simon, son of Walter Niger; Thorold the fishmonger; and many others." The seal of Walter Blund is attached, upon two lines of cord, and bears a large fish and the inscription: "Sigil: Walteri Piscenarii," showing its owner's occupation.

The approximate date of Walter Blund's charter is determined by one of JORDAN THE DRAPER, son of Edwin the baker, granting land in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, in

Londonstone is witness of two charters in the Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, one of William, son of Ysabell, and one of Dionisia, daughter of Richard of Haverhill, both addressed to Robert Mesgucer. These three charters all belong to Henry Fitz-Ailwin's lifetime.

That Henry was not the only "filius Ailwini" of his time is shown by a charter of SABINA,¹ prioress of

the Fishmarket, to Walter Bruning, next the land which he held of Adam, son of Alulf. The land contains in depth twenty-three ells of the iron ells of Richard the King. The rent is to be five shillings a year, fifteenpence at Michaelmas, Christmas, Easter, and the Feast of St. John Baptist. Walter gave him two marks and a half "in gersumam." "These being witnesses: Jukell the Alderman; Arnulf, son of Alulf; Adam his brother; Nigell the goldsmith; John the Bedell; John of Bares; Goldhaek; Rannulf Bataill; William Kenting; Richard Kenting; John of Brakings; Thurstan the fisherman; Hugh the palmer; Gerard the fisherman; Roger his servant; Walter Blund; Thomas his son; Richard, son of Pagan; Ailmar de Castello; Stephen the fisherman; William the clerk." The seal, attached by a vellum tag, bears an eagle with open wings (*v. p. 270* for text).

Jukel was sheriff in 1194, and Arnulf, son of Alulf, in 1198; so that the second half of the reign of Richard I. is the probable period of the charter.

¹ SABINA, prioress of the church of St. John the Baptist of Keneburnia (*Kilburn*), and the assembly of the same church grant to William of Tunebrigge, tanner, that house (managium) which we hold of William of Haverill which is behind the land which William of Haverill holds of the sick men of the hospital of St. Giles beyond the bridge of the Fleet in the parish of St. Brigid, with the whole entrance from the street to the house, which entrance is three ells of the ells of Henry, King of England, in breadth. The breadth of the front of that house is sixteen ells, and in breadth from behind it is fifteen ells, and in length from the front of this house to the end of the court is forty-seven and a half ells. This house belonged to Ralph the man at arms. William of Tunebrigge is to have and to hold it, and his heirs, from us and our church in fee and hereditament freely, quietly, altogether, and permanently. Returning thence to our church eight shillings sterling at the four terms of the year, two within the octaves of St. John the Baptist, of Michaelmas, of Christmas, and of Easter. The same William of Tunnebrigge has given faith to us as to this holding in our full chapter. We guarantee this to him, and he gave us a gold besant (in gersumam). These being witnesses: Thomaas, son of John, son of Nigell; John of Chereaburi; Augustine Calic; Edmar the tanner; Ralph the tanner; Adam the clerk; Thomas the palmer; John Biset; Turgise the parmenter; Ailwin the parmenter; Edwin of Hamton; John his brother; Edward Curi; William of Salerno; Stephen the goldsmith; John Morin; Mark the Carpenter; Stephen Calic; John of Hastings the parmenter; Symon de la Gaole; William of Grenestede; Ralph of Harge; Dering the tanner; William, son of Ailwin the parmenter; Martin the

the church of St. John the Baptist of Kilburn, which is attested by William, son of Ailwin the parmenter; Ailwin the parmenter himself is another witness.

Ralph le Parmentier married Joan the daughter of Peter, son of Henry the mayor,¹ and it seems possible that the parmenter William, son of Ailwin, was a younger brother of the mayor, Henry, son of Ailwin.

The precise date at which Henry Fitz-Ailwin came into office as mayor is uncertain.² Roger of Hoveden³ the chronicler, who was his contemporary, mentions that the sum collected for the ransom of King Richard in April 1193 was to be in the keeping of the Archbishop of Canterbury elect; of Richard, Bishop of London; William, Earl of Arundel; Hamelin, Earl Warenne; and the Mayor of London. This shows that the office was then in existence, but how long it had been so has not yet been discovered. The vicecomites or sheriffs paying money every year into the King's Exchequer existed in the reign of Henry I., and their names are

parmenter; Henry the parmenter; Abel the parmenter; John the clerk. The seal of the convent is perfect, and bears a saint holding a flower in the right hand and an alms-box in the left hand and the surrounding legend, "sigil. sci. Johannis Baptiste de Keneburnia Puellarum."

John, son of Nigell, the father of Thomas, was sheriff in 1177. It is to be noticed that there are three tanners besides William of Tunnebrigge, and six parmenters or dealers in fur robes. The land was in the parish of St. Bride, and hence the presence of Symon de la Gaole from the Flete prison.

¹ Stapleton, Introduction to "De Antiquis Legibus."

² J. H. Round, "Commune of London," and *Antiquary*, vol. xvi. 1107, and in "Dictionary of National Biography," has fully discussed this date. Also G. B. Adams, *English Historical Review*, 1904, p. 702.

³ R. de Hoveden, Chronicle, III. 212 (Rolls Series).

nearly all preserved from the first year of Henry II. The name of the mayor often appears in charters after the fourth year of King Richard.

In 1191 political events took place which probably led to the establishment of the mayoralty.¹ William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor and Justiciar of England, carried on the government of the country while King Richard was abroad, till John, Richard's brother, then Earl of Moreton, came over from Normandy and raised a powerful opposition with the object of obtaining formal recognition as his brother's heir, and of superseding Longchamp in the executive government during Richard's absence from England. On October 7, 1191, Longchamp reached London, and found that the city was divided in opinion. Henry of Cornhill, one of the chief men, was prepared to support him; but Richard, son of Reiner, another of the magnates, was for John. Longchamp established himself in the Tower, and John arrived in London later in the day. He stayed in the house of Richard, son of Reiner,² who with his party promised to support him if he would swear fidelity to the "Communa," or association of the citizens. Next day, October 8, 1191, as Radulfus de Diceto relates, who was alive at the time and who, if not himself present, was the friend of many men who were, "pulsata cam-

¹ Stubbs, "Select Charters" (Oxford, 1870), p. 299.

² R. de Diceto, "Ymagines Historiarum" (Rolls Series, ed. Stubbs), i. 99.

pana quae populum solet ad conveniendum urgere," the bell being tolled which was used to summon the citizens to meet together, there was a meeting at St. Paul's and, in the Chapter House, John and the Archbishop of Rouen, who had become justiciar by virtue of a commission from Richard which he had produced, took an oath that they would uphold the Communa of London. Then the bishops, earls, and barons all swore fidelity to King Richard, and agreed that they would regard John as his brother's heir. The corporate liberties thus established were confirmed by a charter of King John of May 9, 1215,¹ and, though sometimes suspended by Henry III. and Edward I., were never abolished. Thus October 8, 1191, is a day of great importance in the history of London.

A passage in later history shows the mayor in the reign of Henry III. as a friend of the "Communa," or association of the citizens, an interest distinct from the magnates and the aldermen of wards.

"It is to be remembered that that Mayor in the time of his mayoralty so fostered the people of the city that calling them the communa of the city, they came to have the first voice in the city. For the Mayor himself did and ended all his acts through them, saying to them, 'Do you wish that it be done thus?' and if they did say 'ya, ya,' so it was done; and on the other hand the aldermen or magnates of the city were but

¹ Stubbs, "Select Charters," p. 306.

little consulted; but were as if they did not exist."¹ The mayor was Thomas Fitz-Thomas and the year 1262, but the passage shows who the "Communa" were and throws light on what happened in 1191.

Did John, having sworn, find excuses to avoid fulfilling his oath; or was Richard's assent necessary—if so, was it given; or did the citizens elect a mayor as a direct consequence of John's oath, and was his appointment as a custodian of the ransom the first formal recognition of his office, a recognition due to help expected from him in obtaining money? All these are questions to which historical research has still to discover the answers. The mayor in some French towns was the head of the Communa. In London it seems possible that, though this was the intention, the first mayor was in fact a representative of the magnates, the sheriffs, the heads of great families, and the aldermen of wards.

The day of the election of the first mayor is unknown, nor is it known by whom he was elected; but it is certain that Henry Fitz-Ailwin was the man first chosen as mayor, and that his tenure of office continued till his death in 1212.

King John's charter of May 9, 1215, grants and confirms to the citizens of London that they shall elect from their number a mayor every year. "Sciatis nos

¹ "Chronica majorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum," ed. Stapleton (Camden Society, 1846, p. 55).

concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse baronibus nostris de civitate nostra Londoniarum quod eligant sibi maiorem de se ipsis singulis annis.”¹ There is no mention of the *Communa* as the elective body, and the speech of Thomas Fitz-Thomas shows that the words “*baronibus nostris de civitate*” are not identical in meaning with “*Communa*.”

Henry Fitz-Ailwin appears as a witness in several charters of benefactors to St. Bartholomew's and in other records of its affairs, and is a man of so much interest to London and of whom so little is known that these deeds deserve to be set forth as contributions to the history of the first Mayor of London, and are at the same time illustrative of the state of society in the first century of the existence of the hospital. They show the ranks and languages and occupations and possessions of the inhabitants of the city, and bring before us the castles, houses, and streets in which they lived, the churches in which they worshipped, the wards of which the city was made up, the gates which led into the country and some glimpses of the country itself with its water-meadows and pastures, granges and crofts, woods and moorlands.

Ancient charters, in which we have before us the actual piece of vellum and the writing upon it which the witnesses beheld, and sometimes the very wax

¹ Stubbs, “*Select Charters*,” 1870, p. 306.

which they saw impressed by the seal, seem to bring the men named into our actual presence, and to introduce us into the company of long past centuries. In some cases formal leave was given to append the attestation of men not present at the time,¹ and this is in itself proof that the witnesses named were required to be at the place of record. The witnesses follow one another in an order which indicates their condition in life and their relative seniority. They occur in groups which often mark their daily associations with one another or their relationship in blood or in feudal dependence to the grantor of the charter or the person to whom the grant was made, or to others among the witnesses.

Such charters rarely contain the year of their issue, and their date must be determined, precisely or approximately, by a knowledge of the events of the time and of the lives of the persons mentioned, with some consideration of the character of the handwriting and of the verbal expressions.

The names are often contracted and the signs of contraction are not always of a constant value, so that they must be interpreted only after full consideration of the context. Thus "Henr' de Lond'," which occurs in a charter of RICHARD, ARCHDEACON OF POICTIERS,²

¹ Warner and Ellis, "Facsimiles of Charters," 69.

² *Ricardus Archidiaconus Pictauensis Omnibus hominibus et fidelibus suis Salutem. Sciatis quod ego concessi et dedi et hac Carta mea confirmaui Johanni Burgund' domum meam quam teneo Londoniis in Piscaria de Abbate et Monachis Westmonasterii illam*

at St. Bartholomew's, probably stands for Henry of London, who was Archdeacon of Stafford in 1170 and Archbishop of Dublin in 1213, and not for Henry of Londonstone. This charter, however, deserves consideration, as it helps to indicate the date of one which Henry of Londonstone did witness.

Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers, was an Englishman born, whose whole life was spent in public business. Early in the reign of Henry II. he was a scribe in the king's court, and a few years later became a judge. He was elected Bishop of Winchester on May 1, 1173, having then held office as Archdeacon of Poitiers for about ten years, and he died in December, 1188. On his seal as Bishop of Winchester he is represented as of short stature, wearing the low mitre then in use, giving a benediction with his right hand and in his left holding his pastoral staff. Another distinct picture of him is drawn in the "Dialogus de Scaccario" of Richard of Ely, Bishop of London (1189-1198), one of his contemporaries: "To the right of the justiciary presiding sits in the first place the present Bishop of Winchester, formerly Archdeacon of Poitiers, not indeed *ex officio*, but owing to a new regulation, to be

scilicet que fuit Petri de Windesore Quare uolo quod ipse Johannes et heredes sui teneant domum predictam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis de me et de meis heredibus in feodo et hereditate reddendo inde michi et meis heredibus unum Bisantium et unam libram piperis singulis annis in vigilia Pasche pro omni seruicio. Et hoc ideo feci quia ipse Johannes dicebat se in domo illa rectum habere et pro Triginta Marcis quas propter hoc michi dedit. Testibus Henrico de Lundontis: Willelmo de Sancta Fide: Johanne Bucuinte: Gaufrido filio Sabeline: Alexandro de Barentona: Osberto Quarell: Osberto de Kinton: Roberto filio Alani: et multis aliis.

Richardus Archidiaconus. Omnibus hominibus & fidelibus suis. Scitis quod
ego accessi & dedi & hac carta mea confirmavi Johanni Burgundio domum
meam quam teneo Londoniam in parochia de Abbate & Monachis Westmonasterii illam
scilicet que fuit Petri de Wintonie. Que uolo quod ipse Johannes & heredes sui
teneant domum predictam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis de me & de meis here-
ditariis in feodo & hereditate reddendo inde in duas heredes unum solidum
unum & unam libram super singulis annis in vigilia Pasche pro omni seruicio.
Et hoc ideo feci quia ipse Johannes dicebat se in domo illa rectorem habere.
Et Triginta marcas quas pro hoc michi dedit. Testes Henricus de
Londonia. Willmo de Sca. fidei. Johne Bucann. Gaufridus filius Sabet. Alexander
de Bayern. Osbertus de Jett. Osbertus de Lincotria. Robt filius Alani & alius alius



RICHARD, ARCHDEACON OF POICTIERS, TO JOHN THE BURGUNDIAN.

next the treasurer and the more closely to inspect the rolls of writing." "He is great indeed, and ought not to be occupied but with great things." "In the days when he sought advancement, when he worked in a somewhat lower station in the king's court, he was seen to be serviceable by trustworthiness and assiduity in the king's affairs, and to be very quick and careful in calculations and in the writing of rolls and letters."¹ Our charter, in which Richard is only Archdeacon of Poitiers, is not later than 1173. His seal, which is attached by a broad vellum tag, shows his full-length figure with a crucifix in his right hand and the inscription "Sigillum Ricardi Pictaviensium Archidiaconi." Thus his portrait is preserved in his earlier as well as in his later dignity.

His charter grants to John the Burgundian a house in the Fishmarket which the Archdeacon held of the monks of Westminster, and which had before been the house of Peter of Windsor. He desires that John shall hold this of him and his heirs, paying an annual rent on Easter Eve of one besant and one pound of pepper for every service, "and this I have done, because John himself used to say that he had a right in that house and for thirty marks which on account of this he gave to me."

The fishmarket, in which was the house of Peter

¹ Thomas Madox: "History and Antiquities of the Exchequer"; "Dialogus de Scaccario," pp. 9 and 13. London, 1711.

of Windsor, was that which was held at the southern end of Friday Street near the church of St. Mary Magdalene,¹ and its memory survives in the name of Old Fish Street. There are eight witnesses to the Archdeacon's charter. John Bucuinte, whose name is next but one to that of Henry of Londonstone, was sheriff in 1169.² The name of Geoffrey, son of Sabelina, follows that of John Bucuinte in a charter³ of which the date⁴ is between 1163 and 1170.

The grant of the Archdeacon of Poitiers to John the Burgundian is confirmed in a charter of LAURENCE, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER (1160-1176).⁵

It is interesting to notice the difference in handwriting of these two documents of the same date.

¹ As is shown by the charter (at St. Paul's, A : box 17, 270) of Roger, son of William son of Ysabel, as to a house in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene at the fishmarket, witnessed by Jukel (sheriff 1194) : John Bukuinta (sheriff 1190) : Robert le Bel (sheriff 1197). As all the witnesses are not given in Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte's Ninth Report it may be worth while to give the list here :—

Jukello aldermanno eiusdem Warde :

Johanne Bukuinta : Roberto le Bel : Arnulfo Rufo : Ricardo Parmentario : Ranulfo Bataille : Hugone Taillatore : Ricardo Bacun : Constantino filio Ailulfi : Willelmo Blundo : Rogero Coco : Waltero Piscario : Thurstino Caluo : Johanne de Mundeno : Willelmo Waps : Willelmo Clerico : Alano Aurifabro.

² List of Sheriffs (Public Record Office), 1898.

³ Harleian Charter, 50 B. 24, in British Museum.

⁴ Warner and Ellis, "Facsimiles of Charters."

⁵ *Laurentius Abbas Westmonasterii vniuersis hominibus et fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis quod nos communicato fratrum nostrorum consilio concessimus et hac Carta nostra confirmauimus Johanni Burgund' donationem quam Ricardus Archidiaconus Pictaviensis ei fecit de domo que fuit Petri de Windsor' London' in Piscaria. Scilicet ut Johannes et heredes sui teneant domum * ipso Archidiacono et de suis heredibus in feodo et hereditate : reddendo inde eidem Archidiacono et heredibus suis per Annum unum Bisantium et unam libram piperis sicut ipse Archidiaconus ei concessit et Carta sua confirmauit. Testibus Roberto de Burneham. Willelmo de Sancta Fide. Radulfo de Croüt. Alano Senescalco. Alexandro de Barenton. Osberto quarel : et multis aliis. (* defect)*

Laurence Abbat Westm. vniuersis hominib; & fidelib; suis salutem. Scias qd nos communitate
 fratru nroru consilio concessimus & hac Carta nra confirmauimus Johi Burgundio. Donacionem qm
 Ric. Archid. Ric. et fratres de Lamo que fuit Petri de Wintonia London in Bisetaria. Seluere ut solis
 & heredes sui teneant domum. Et Ric. Archid. de suis hereditib; reddo & hereditate reddendo
 inde eidem Archid. & hereditib; suis p. annu unum Bisetarium & unam libram piperis. Sic ipse Archid.
 ei concessit & Carta sua confirmauit. T. Robertus de Burgha. Willm de Sa. hie. Rad de Lamo.
 Mano Senesc. Alex de Barre. Albro quare. & alii.

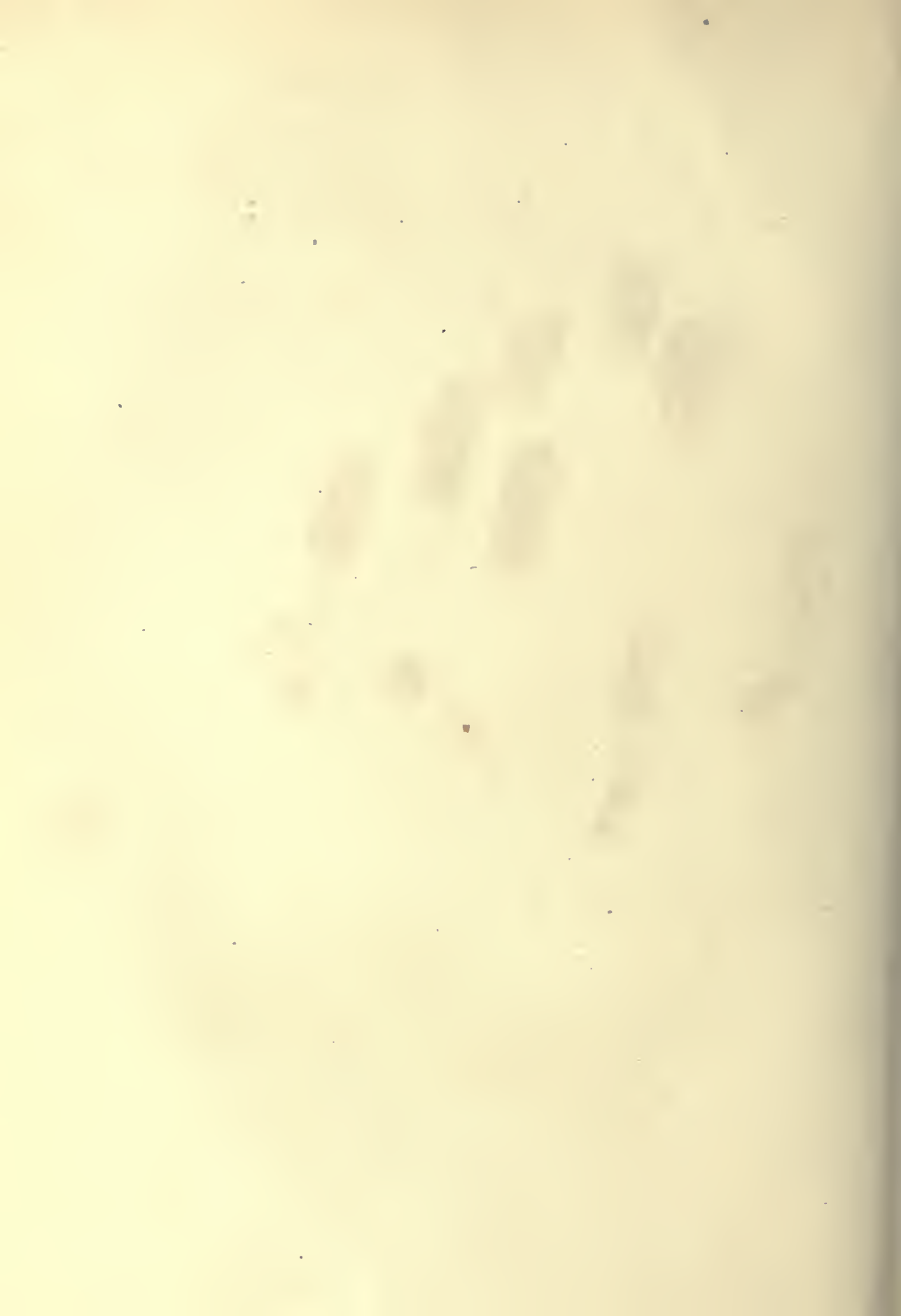


Sciatis ppe facte & scripte. q. Ego Petrus fil. Alan. d. d. iii. Soldat. ep. que. in focca Regine. qua. Satus
 Ab. teny. ho. pitalo. Sci. bartholomei. in ppetua. deuolua. p. anima. patris. & matris. mee. Et. parentu. meoru.
 Et. p. aia. mea. Et. ego. & heredes. mei. debemus. & amittimus. hanc. pdicta. terra. & pdicto. hospitalo. Inuallitay. Cetero.
 Johes. buenitay. Petrus. fil. Satus. Gualtero. fil. Sabelme. Ralfo. brand. henrico. fil. Al. iii. Willm. Rouer. hen
 rico. fil. Guas. Willm. fil. Alan. Ricardo. fil. Alan. Rogo. fil. Alan. Jordano. fil. Et. mte. Al.

INCHES
 1 2



LAURENCE, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER, TO JOHN THE BURGUNDIAN.



The work of the scriptoria of various religious foundations and of the king's courts as well as the peculiarities of individuals are to be studied before the characteristics of the writing of any particular period in England can be determined. The character of the writing in the Archdeacon's deed bears some resemblance to his signature when Bishop of Winchester, and is very different from the writing of other London charters of its period. It seems possible that this document was either written by him or by some follower who admired and imitated his hand. Abbot Laurence was a Norman and at first a monk of Durham. His seal is of a partly translucent red wax and bears the legend "Sigillum Laurentii Abbatis" surrounding his three-quarter-length figure.

The charters of Archdeacon Richard and of Abbot Laurence enable us to fix the approximate date of a charter of PETER, SON OF ALAN,¹ of which Henry Fitz-Ailwin was a witness. It gives three shillings worth of land in the Queen's soke held by Walter Albus to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in perpetual alms for the souls of his father, mother, and ancestors, and for his own soul. A circular seal is appended on a

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Petrus filius Alani Dedi iii solidatas terre que est in socca Regine quam Walterus Albus tenet hospitalo sancti bartholomei : in perpetuam elemosinam pro anima patris et matris mee : Et parentum meorum : Et pro anima mea : Et Ego et heredes mei debemus warantizare hanc predictam terram predicto hospitalo : finabiliter. Teste Johanne bucuinte. Petro filio Walteri. Galfrido filio Sabeline. Ralfo brand. Henrico filio Ailwini. Willelmo flemeng. Henrico filio Geruasii. Willelmo filio Alani. Ricardo filio Alani. Rogero filio Alani. Jordano clerico. Et multi Alii.*

vellum tag, and bears a lion standing beside a formal plant of five branches and with his right paw raised, and in the margin the inscription, "Sigillum Petri filii Alani."¹ These charters are copied into the Cartulary with those of other grants in the parish of St. Michael ad ripam reginæ, so that it is clear that the Queen's soke was Queenhythe, the next territory on the left bank of the Thames below Castle Baynard.

A comparison of their lists of witnesses shows that these three charters cannot be far removed from one another in date. The charters of the Archdeacon and of the Abbot are not later than 1173, and that of Peter, son of Alan, has two witnesses who also appear in the charter of the Archdeacon.

RICHARD,
ARCHDEACON OF POICTIERS

Witnesses.

Henry of London
William of Sancta Fide
John Bucuinte
Geoffrey, son of Sabelina
Alexander of Barenton
Osbert Quarrelle
Osbert of Kintone
Robert, son of Alan

LAURENCE,
ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER

Witnesses.

Robert of Burneham
William de Sancta Fide
Ralph of Croût
Alan the Seneschal
Alexander of Barenton
Osbert Quarrelle

PETER,
SON OF ALAN

Witnesses.

John Bucuinte
Peter, son of Walter
Geoffrey, son of Sabelina
Ralph Brand
Henry, son of Ailwin
William Flemeng
Henry, son of Gervase
William, son of Alan
Richard, son of Alan
Roger, son of Alan
Jordan the Clerk

Henry of London, at the time of the charter which

¹ Sir Francis Palgrave has printed a charter of Henry Fitz-Ailwin, in which Peter son of Alan is the first witness and Ralph Brand also a witness, in *Rotuli Curie Regis*.

he witnesses, Archdeacon of Stafford, was, like the Archdeacon of Poitiers, much concerned in legal affairs. William de Sancta Fide was Precentor of Wells in 1185, and was an active supporter of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his controversies with the monks of Canterbury. A letter of his written to Baldwin in 1187 is extant, and his monastic opponents, in their letters, sarcastically speak of him as William Sine Fide and William Mala Fide. Robert of Burneham was Archdeacon of Buckingham in 1188. John Bucuinte, sheriff in 1169, was head of the family to which Geoffrey, son of Sabelina, belonged. Peter, son of Walter, was sheriff in 1174.

A charter of Robert Camerarius to Gervase de Camella at St. Paul's¹ mentions that Peter, son of Alan, had brothers named Richard and William. Roger, from the position of his name, is probably also his brother.

A charter of WILLIAM, SON OF ALAN,² at St.

¹ A: box 24, 1744. The witnesses are: John, son of Nigel the alderman: Peter, son of Alan: William and Richard, his brothers: William Facetus: John floccar. and Philip his brother: Geoffrey Bucuinte: Henry, son of Ailwin: Roger (a gap here): Gilbert Mailard: Ralph de Seloune goldsmith: Roger gallicus: Laurence su—

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus filius Alani dimisi et concessi Waltero albo filio Walteri piscatoris terram meam que est in uico piscatorum inter terram Ricardi militis et terram Roberti filii briani in feudo et hereditate finabiliter tenendam de me et de heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis. Annuatim soluendo dimidiam marcam argenti: scilicet xl denarios infra octabas sancti michaelis et alios xl denarios infra octabas pasche. Ita quod ego Willelmus et heredes mei non possumus dehospitalari predictum Walterum nec heredes suos causa hospitalationis nostre. Pro hac conuentione tenenda dedit michi prenomiatus Walterus xx solidos in Gersumiam. Huius conuentionis sunt testes. Godselmus piscator. Galfridus frater eius. Robertus piscator. Rogerus bedel. Ricardus filius Algodii. Paganus fructiferus. Turstanus filius Gerardi. Simon frater eius. Ricardus miles. Willelmus uilein. Walran. Ricardus

Bartholomew's, may be attributed to the eighth witness of Peter's charter ; for it is a grant to Walter Albus, son of Walter the fisherman, of land in Fish Street, between the land of Richard the military tenant and that of Robert, son of Brian, at a rent of half a mark a year.

The seal of William, son of Alan, is attached by a plaited cord, and has on it a curious bird, perhaps a phoenix, with open wings. The thirty-two witnesses were probably inhabitants of the district round the Fishmarket, and among them were five fishers, two fruiterers, a baker, a salter, a bedell and a vilein.

The charters of Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers, and Peter, son of Alan, were written while Hugh de Marinis (1160-1181) was Dean of St. Paul's, and another charter of the time of the same dean is that of WILLIAM DE BEAUMES. He was a canon of St. Paul's, son of Robert de Belmeis, and of the family which gave two bishops to London, Richard, our benefactor, who died in 1127, and his nephew Richard, who died in 1162. William de Beaumes appears as a witness in five charters¹ at St. Paul's during the decanate of Hugh

le sesterir. Willelmus piscator. Johannes pulcher. Sperlingus. Ædwardus palmier. Hugo fructiferus. Gillebertus rufus. Galfridus de plaisiez. Radulfus Kellebolle. Willelmus blunt. Radulfus longus. Tuoldus piscator. Walterus niger. Alanus filius Rogeri. Swetmannus saunier. Gillebertus brun. Ricardus crassus. Sigarus pistor. Ricardus lifswet. Robertus nepos swein. Osbertus blund: et plures alii.

¹ Dean and Chapter to Master Richard (A: box 71, 1797); Dean and Chapter to Peter, son of Revelun (A: box 72, 1113); Dean and Chapter to William Brokedent (A: box 22, 1651); Dean and Chapter to William FitzIsabel (A: box 23, 21); Dean and Chapter to Gilbert Ruffus (A: box 24, 1302).

Gilbert, Bishop of London, to Canons of St. Paul's (A: box 24, 834).

Hocum sit omibz tam p̄sentibz qm̄ futuris qd̄ ego wills de beaunies canonic̄ eccle
 s̄i pauli concessi & dimisi omibz diebz uite mee Stephano albo in feodo & in herita
 te. lx. acras terre apud s̄an̄ panctū q̄s alfricus rufus tenuit de me. & q̄ sunt de
 meo d̄no. s. cū una grana. & cū uno gardino. & ij. rustias. s. thiedric̄ & edric̄.
 qui sup̄ t̄ram manent. habend̄ & tenend̄ illi & heredibz suis libe & q̄ere & hono
 rifice. sic qd̄ p̄dic̄ stephs ul' hoies qui sup̄ t̄ram manent n̄ uenient ad meum
 hallimotū nisi p̄dic̄ stephs sponte noluerit. Reddendo in uno q̄q; anno dimid
 anarē argenti p̄ omibz seruitijs q̄ ad me p̄tinent. s. xl. s. ad pascha. & xl. s.
 ad festū s̄i mich̄. p̄tēa p̄dic̄ stephs ponet t̄ram p̄dictā in firmā si uolu
 erit. ul' inuadiabit cuiq; uoluerit. saluo honore & seruitio meo. s. dimid
 anarē argenti qm̄ p̄sēp̄m̄. Et post decessum meū habebit p̄dic̄ stephs
 annuū totū illi tenementi. hanc uentionē & p̄sēptū totū tenem̄tū affi
 dam ego wills de beaunies p̄dic̄o stepho guarantizand̄ oia om̄s hoies.
 P̄tē hanc uentionē p̄dic̄o stepho legalit̄ tenendā dedit in p̄dic̄o stephs
 unā anarē argenti in ger sumam. his testibz. Nicholao archid̄ lund.
 Robto d̄ clifford. Ricardo iunore. Nicholao capell' archid̄. Robto ca
 pell' d̄ kent. Gaufrido sac̄dote d̄ cecilia. s. anarē uer̄s p̄ntē. Sucus
 ne diacono. Otuel nepos huḡ de rai. anarē hugone. Thoma fil'
 scoelandi. Henrico d̄ lundnest. Ric̄ fil' rai. Osberto d̄ som.



de Marinis, and in one of the time of Ralph de Diceto.

The charter refers to St. Pancras in Middlesex, and is worth translating in full.

“ Be it known to all, as well present as future, that I, William de Beaumes, canon of the church of St. Paul, have granted and demised for all the days of my life to Stephen Albus in fee and in heritage sixty acres of land at St. Pancras, which Alfricus Rufus held of me and which are of my demesne, namely with a farmhouse and with a garden and two villeins namely Thiedric and Edric, who remain upon the land, to have and to hold for him and his heirs freely and quietly and honourably ; so that the aforesaid Stephen or the men who remain on the land shall not come to my hallimote unless the aforesaid Stephen wishes it : Rendering to me every year half a mark of silver for all services which are due to me : namely forty pence at Easter and forty pence at the feast of St. Michael. Further the aforesaid Stephen may put the aforesaid land in farm if he wishes, or mortgage it to whomsoever he will, reserving my honour and service, namely the half a mark of silver which we have appointed, and after my death the aforesaid Stephen shall have the annuum of all that tenement. This agreement and the whole before described holding I, William de Beaumes, pledge to the aforesaid Stephen against all men. For this agreement that the aforesaid Stephen

should hold legally the aforesaid Stephen gave me a mark of silver 'in gersumam.' These being witnesses: Nicholas, Archdeacon of London: Robert of Clifford: Richard junior: Nicholas the chaplain of the archdeacon, Robert the chaplain of Kent:¹ Geoffrey, priest of the church of St. Margaret towards the bridge: Swen the deacon: Otuel, nephew of Hugh the Dean: Magister Hugh: Thomas, son of Scotland: Henry of Lundenestone: Richard, son of Reiner: Osbert de Roin."

The seal bears an Agnus Dei and the inscription "Sigillum Willelmi de Beaumeis." There is a charter in

¹ A charter, interesting from the number of occupations it mentions, contains a Ricardus de Kent—a name of which I am uncertain of the correct interpretation:—

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Reginaldus senex dimisi et concessi Hamundo fabro terram meam ad biscopegate quam cepi cum uxore mea concessu uxoris mee finabiliter tenendam de me et heredibus meis illi et heredibus suis unam marcam argenti reddendo annuatim pro omni seruicio ad quatuor terminos scilicet ad festum sancti michaelis xl denarios: ad Natale xl denarios: ad pascha xl denarios: ad festum sancti Johannis bptiste xl denarios. Ita quod Ego Reginaldus nec heredes mei possumus deherbergare predictum Hamundum uel heredes suos propter nos uel heredes nostros herbergandos. Et pro ista concessione dedit ipse Hamundus michi unam libram piperis et uxori mee unum bisancium in Gersumam. His testibus: Ricardo de Kent. Baldrico le tanur. Alwrico tanur. Willelmo de Neuwde. Riquardo tanur. Roberto Muillecake. Johanne lorimero. Waltero le ferrun. Earnaldo le bret. Reginaldo tegulatore. Willelmo de Rotomago. Eustacio fratre eius. Radulfo le tacuner. Ricardo le cuilter. Roberto clerico. Eadmundo fabro. Salomone de Stubenheia. Odo de Bassieshage. Durando le fuster. Willelmo pictore. Eadwardo pictore. Earnaldo clerico de Bassieshage. Ailrico fenario. Willelmo Belami. Everardo le Waite. Fulcone nuncio. Elya. Roberto le uintner. Willelmo pistore. Salomone pelcunn. Osmundo ianitore. Ricardo filio Goldburg. Fsbien. Osgodo fabro. Adamo filio Willelmi le Heiward. Rogero homine radulphi dunni.

The grantor may perhaps be the Reginald Viel (oldman) who was sheriff in 1179. Bishopgate, in which Hamund the smith became his tenant at a rent of one mark a year, remains to this day, as do Stubenheia (Stepney) and Bassieshaw. Three tanners, a tiler, two painters, two smiths, a lorimer or harness ornament maker, a hay merchant, a baker, an innkeeper, a vintner, two clerical persons, a Breton, and two citizens of Rouen are associated in this group of thirty-seven Londoners of the last quarter of the twelfth century.

the British Museum¹ of William de Belmeis, in which he gives the church of St. Pancras to Fulcher the priest. Nicholas the archdeacon and Robert de Clifford are witnesses of this gift, so that the date of St. Bartholomew's charter is nearly the same, about 1180. The seal of the document in the British Museum is identical with that of the St. Bartholomew's charter.

The huge railway stations and broad lines of rails, the streets full of traffic, the tall brick houses and shops covering the parish of St. Pancras, now a metropolitan borough, what can be more unlike the demesne of William de Beaumes, with its sixty acres round a farmhouse and garden, and Thiedric and Edric the natives who may not leave the land.²

Richard, son of Reiner, sheriff in 1187, the supporter of John in the contest with Longchamp, was a greater man in the city of London than Henry Fitz-Ailwin, and but for his death in 1191 might well have been the first mayor. Two charters at St. Bartholomew's are witnessed by both Richard, son of Reiner, and Henry Fitz-Ailwin. In one LAWRENCE, SON OF ROBERT,³ grants to Walter the

¹ Warner and Ellis, "Facsimiles of Charters," 62.

² In Domesday Book the entry as to St. Pancras in Middlesex mentions an estate which in whole or part probably corresponds to that which William de Beaumes held a century later. "Manerium. ad sanctum Pancratium tenent canonici Sancti Pauli quatuor hidas. Terra est ii carucatæ Villani habent i carucam et alia caruca potest fieri Hoc manerium fuit et est in dominio Sancti Pauli." (Vacher: Text of Domesday, 1862.)

³ Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod Ego Laurencius filius Roberti concessi et dimisi et hac Carta presenti confirmaui Waltero piscenario totam terram meam que est in noua piscenaria iuxta managium Johannis Burguinum uersus occidentem tenendam de me et de heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete et finaliter reddendo inde michi et heredibus meis singulis aunis i marcam argenti pro

fishmonger his land in the new fishmarket next to the premises of John the Burgundian on the west at a rent of one mark of silver a year, the said Walter giving him three marks and a half of silver "in gersummam." These being witnesses: Richard, son of Reiner; Ralph of Cornhill; Henry, son of Eilwin; William, son of Alan; Roger, son of Alan. Roger, son of Alan, was sheriff in 1192, and mayor in 1212-13, the second mayor of London. William was his brother. John the Burgundian is the tenant in the fishmarket of the Archdeacon of Poitiers mentioned in his charter and in that of Laurence, Abbot of Westminster.

The other charter in which Richard, son of Reiner, and Henry Fitz-Ailwin are associated is that of ROBERT CAMERARIUS.¹ It is a chirographum or deed headed

amni seruitio. Ad duos terminos anni. Scilicet infra Octabas Sancti Michaelis dimidiam marcam et infra Octabas pascha dimidiam marcam sine omni Causa. Et ita quod nec ego Laurencius nec heredes mei possumus predictum Walterum inde deherbergare uel heredes suos propter nos ibidem herbergandos uel heredes nostros. Et Ego Laurencius et heredes mei debemus istam terram prenominatam garantizare prefato Waltero et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et omnes feminas per predictum Censum. Pro hac autem concessione et conuentione et Carte presentis confirmatione dedit michi Laurencio prefatus Walterus iii marcas argenti et dimidiam in Gersummam. Hiis testibus: Ricardo filio Reineri. Radulfo de Cornhill. Henrico filio Eilwini. Willelmo filio Alani. Rogero filio Alani.

¹ *ΚΑΝΑΒΑΘΟΡΙΝΟ*.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus Camerarius dimisi et concessi et hac carta mea confirmaui Deo et sancte Marie et hospitali sancti bartholomei et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totam terram quam Ingelrammus Albus qui neptem Roberti cobbe duxit uxorem tenuit de me. que iacet inter ecclesiam sancti Mathei et forum quam etiam fratres predicti hospitalis tenuerunt de me per annuam pensionem x et vii solidorum. Unde predicti fratres dederunt michi xxi solidos in gersummam. et Dionisie uxori mee unum bizantum. et liberis nostris xii denarios. Hanc prenominatam terram concessi predictis fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei tenendam de me et heredibus meis iurehereditario finabiliter sine omni ingenio. Reddendo inde michi uel heredibus meis annuatim ix solidos pro omnibus seruiciis. Scilicet infra octo dies sancti Michaelis iiii solidos et vi denarios et ad pascha iiii solidos et vi denarios. Et ego Robertus et heredes mei garantizabimus totam prenominatam terram predictis fratribus hospitalis

Notum sit omnibus plenibus & futuris quod ego Laurence filius Roberti concessi & duxi & hac Carta confirmavi Walteri piscenarij totam terram meam que est in villa piscenaria iuxta managium
hinc burgum meum & vicum ad vicum viciniam & de heredibus meis sibi & heredibus suis & frater-
nitate libere & quiete. Et annuatim reddens inde in festis sibi meis singulis annis. .i. mane dng. p-
m festo. Ad festum Michaelis. Sed infra Octavas sicut Michaelis diei mane & infra Octavas
Michaelis diei mane. In die omni anni. Et ut quod nec ego Laurence nec heredes mei possumus predictam
terram inde annuatim reddere nisi heredes suos pro nobis ibidem hereditando ut heredes nostros. Et ego Lau-
rence & heredes mei annuatim annuatim pro nobis in festo Michaelis & festis suis contra omnes
nos & omnes nostras. Pro hac autem concessione & quietione & Carta plenius
confirmacione debemus in carta nostra patris Walteri. .ii. mane dng. & dng. i. confirmacione. Nos Test.
Walterus Remensis. & Robertus Comitis. & Henricus Rex. & Henricus Comes. & Henricus Comes. & Henricus Comes.



LAURENCE, SON OF ROBERT, TO WALTER THE FISHMONGER.

with that word cut through the middle of the letters, so that each party might have proof of the authenticity of his copy.

Robert granted to St. Bartholomew's Hospital all the land which Ingelram Albus, who married the niece of Robert Cobbe, held of him, which lay between the church of St. Matthew and the market-place, which land also the brethren held of him by an annual payment of seventeen shillings. Thence the brethren had given to him twenty-one shillings "in gersumam," and to his wife Dionisia a bezant, and to their children twelve pence. He granted this land to the brethren to hold of him, rendering him nine marks a year. For this grant the brethren gave him nine marks "in gersumam," and half a mark to Dionisia, his wife, and two shillings to William their son, and to each of their children twelve pence.

The witnesses of the agreement were Henry of Londonstone; Richard, son of Reiner; Ralph of Cornhill, Andrew Albus, Roger le Duc, Richard senex, Maurice de Fovea, William of Westminster, Richard Del Baille, Gocelin of Smithfield.

sancti bartholomei contra omnes homines. Pro hac concessione dederunt michi predicti fratres hospitalis sancti bartholomei ix marcas in gersumam. et Dionisie uxori mee dimidiam marcam et Willelmo filio nostro ii solidos et unicuique liberorum nostrorum xii denarios. Et fratres predicti hospitalis promiserunt michi et heredibus meis fidelitatem tenendam de tenemento et de pensione illius tenementi. Huius conuentionis sunt testes: Henricus de Lundenestone. Ricardus filius Reineri. Radulfus de Cornhill. Andreas Albus. Rogerus Leduc. Ricardus senex. Mauricius de fouea. Willelmus de Westmonasterio. Ricardus Del baille. Gocelinus de Smethefelde.

The seal is attached on a vellum tag and bears a large lean lion passant.

Robert Camerarius, as regards other land, was a tenant on the estate of Ralph of Cornhill, as is shown by a charter at St. Paul's,¹ of which Henry Fitz-Ailwin, then mayor, was a witness. In the same muniment room there is a charter² of Robert Camerarius granting to Gervase de Camella the house in Alsies Lane, on the north side of St. Paul's, in which Robert, brother of Fulcred Camerarius, dwelt, and Baldric his son, and of this Henry Fitz-Ailwin is the ninth witness. This charter is nearer the date of that at St. Bartholomew's, as Henry Fitz-Ailwin is not described as mayor. The names of the two last witnesses of the grant to the brethren illustrate the arrangement of the streets. You still pass the Old Bailey where Richard Del Baille lived as you go from St. Paul's to Smithfield, the home of Gocelin.

A charter in the British Museum³ of John, son of Geoffrey Bucointe, attributed to the year 1193-4, is witnessed by Robert Camerarius.

So many Camerarii or Chamberlains occur in London at this period that their relationships, whether of blood or of office, are difficult to trace. It does not seem improbable that the William mentioned in this charter of the reign of Henry II. as son of Robert and Dionisia was the William Camerarius who was sheriff in 1202. Roger le Duc was sheriff in 1189, and in 1192. In the

¹ St. Paul's MSS., A : box 9, 456.

² A : box 24, 1744.

³ Warner and Ellis, "Facsimiles of Charters," 76.

former year he appears on the record as Roger Dux, a variation in name from French to Latin such as was common at the time. Richard Senex might also be written Richard Viel or le Viel, and Andreas Albus is a version of Andre Blund or Andrew the fair. Such variations are frequent when two or more languages are in daily use in a population. They are sometimes real translations and sometimes translations resting upon an erroneous etymology, and sometimes are based on a phonetic resemblance between names which have otherwise nothing in common. In the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John ; Latin, French, and an early form of English were in common use in London, and names from any one of these languages infiltrated the others.

The church was St. Matthew, Friday Street, and the land lay between it and Cheapside. The abbey of Westminster had the patronage of the living and some rights in the parish, and this perhaps accounts for the appearance of William of Westminster as a witness. The market-place has become a street, and St. Matthew's Church has been turned to the uses of trade. I remember some thirty years ago going to see a patient who lived in the top room of a warehouse near the site of the church. In the room I noticed a fine copy of the "De Civitate Dei" of St. Augustine and some other folios of the Fathers. I was told that the books were the remains of the library of the house, which had formerly been the rectory of the church of

St. Matthew, Friday Street. These last traces of Christian learning have since disappeared, and the whole parish is now given up to commerce.

RICHARD, SON OF REYNER,¹ sheriff in 1186–87, the second witness of the charter of Robert Camerarius, was himself a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's, to which he gave the land he possessed in the parish of St. Martin of Baremanecherche, with the houses and quay upon it, subject to certain dues and a payment of twenty shillings to the nuns of Clerkenwell. The parish is on the river in Vintry Ward. The witnesses were: Henry, son of Ailwin; William of Haverhill; Roger Duke;

¹ *ϠϠϠϠϠϠϠϠϠϠ ϠϠϠϠϠ*—*Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Ricardus filius Reyneri Dedi et Concessi et presenti Carta mea Confirmaui pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum et successorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum Deo et Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld et fratribus et sororibus ibidem deo seruientibus totam Terram cum domibus et kayo Quam habui in parochia sancti Martini de Baremanecherche inter terram que fuit Ricardi Bascat uersus occidentem et terram Boberti Brytonis uersus Orientem Scilicet quicquid in dicta terra cum domibus et kayo et cum omnibus pertinenciis suis habui integre sine aliquo retinemento Habendam et Tenendam dictis fratribus et sororibus dicti Hospitalis in Liberam Puram et perpetuam elemosinam ad sustentacionem dictorum fratrum et sororum dicti hospitalis faciendo seruicia capitalibus dominis feodi quantum ad eandem terram cum domibus et kayo et cum omnibus pertinenciis suis per annum pertinet. Scilicet Monachis Westmonasterii viginti solidos per annum et Monialibus de Clerekenewelle viginti solidos per annum pro omni seruicio et exactione et rebus cunctis. Ita quod ego dictus Ricardus nec heredes mei nec Aliquis per nos nel pro nobis nichil poterimus decetero in predicta terra cum domibus et kayo et cum omnibus pertinenciis suis habere exigere capere neque clamare in perpetuum Hanc autem terram predictam cum domibus et kayo et cum omnibus pertinenciis suis ego dictus Ricardus et heredes mei dictis fratribus et sororibus dicti Hospitalis et successoribus suis contra omnes homines et feminas Warantizabimus. Quare volo et firmiter Concedo quod dicti fratres et sorores dicti Hospitalis et successores sui habeant et teneant dictam terram cum domibus et kayo et cum omnibus pertinenciis suis libere quiete bene in pace sicut liberam et puram elemosinam. Ut hec autem mea Donacio Concessio Warantisacio et presentis Carte mee confirmacio perpetua stabilitate consistat presentem Cartam sigilli mei Munimine Roborau. Hiis testibus: Henrico filio Ailwini. Willelmo de Hauerhulle. Rogero duce. Nicholao duket. Matheo Aldermanno. Mauricio de Rushe. Alano burser. Petro bacon. Alano filio Petri. Petro Bugenal: et multis aliis.*

Nicholas Duket; Matthew the Alderman; Maurice of Rushe; Alan Burser; Peter Bacon; Alan, son of Peter; Peter Bugenal, and many others. Roger Duke (in the last charter written Roger le Duc) was sheriff in 1189 and 1192, William of Haverhill in 1189-90, and Nicholas Duket in 1191, and again in 1196. The seal remains attached by a vellum tag to the original deed. It is circular and bears a lion passant guardant, and the inscription, "Sigil. Ricardi filii Reineri."

WILLIAM OF PLESSIZ¹ gave to St. Bartholomew's Hospital four shillings worth of rent from the land which Richard, son of Reiner, gave him of the fee of Ralph de Marci, which is between the land which Spichand held and the head of Maniunelane. "Of this grant and gift these are the witnesses: Henry of Cornhill; Henry, son of Ailwin; Richard, son of Reiner; Ralph of Cornhill; William of Haverhill; Roger Dux; John, son of Herlicun; Ralph, son of Adam; Andrew,

¹ *Omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Willelmus de plessiz salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui hospitali sancti Bartholomei de lundoniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis quatuor solidatas redditus de terra quam Ricardus filius Reineri michi dedit imperpetuum. de feudo Radulfi de marci que est inter terram quam spichand bene tenuit et caput de maniunelane in perpetuum et liberam elemosinam et iure hereditario habendas imperpetuum. reddendo inde annuatim predicto Radulfo de marci. et heredibus suis in vigilia pasche. unam libram piperis pro omnibus seruiciis et omnibus rebus. Et ego Willelmus et heredes mei predictas quatuor solidatas redditus Warantizabimus prefato hospitali et fratribus eiusdem contra omnes gentes et de rebus omnibus per predictum seruicium defendemus sicut liberam elemosinam nostram. Huius concessionis et donationis sunt testes: Henricus de cornhelle. Henricus filius Ailwini. Ricardus filius Reineri. Radulfus de cornhelle. Willelmus de hauerhelle. Rogerus dux. Johannes filius herlicun. Radulfus filius Ade. Andreas filius suus. Michael filius iohannis. Ricardus filius eius. Henricus filius Reineri. Willelmus de sancto Michael. Johannes filius ailof. Radulfus frater eius. Johannes albus. Adam filius siwardi. Picot de marisco. Johannes filius godardi.*

his son ; Michael, son of John ; Richard, his son ; Henry, son of Reiner ; William of St. Michael's ; John, son of Ailof ; Ralph, his brother ; John Albus ; Adam, son of Siward ; Picot de Marisco ; John, son of Godard."

On the seal is William of Plessiz on horseback, with helmet and shield, and his sword drawn in his right hand. His spurs are long and the cross hilt of his triangular sword bends downwards at the ends. On the rim of the seal are the words, "Sig. Willelmi de Plachiz." The grantor is perhaps the same as the William of Plaisiz, who is the last witness but one of a charter¹ of the second Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, to Robert Blund of London, of which the date is 1157-58. He also appears as a witness among several feudal tenants of the Earl in a grant to the Earl's brother Ernulf,² and is a witness of a charter of the same Earl,³ who died 1166, which grants to Ernulf

¹ Warner and Ellis, "Facsimiles," 43.

² J. H. Round, "Geoffrey de Mandeville," p. 230.

³ Galfridus comes Esessa omnibus hominibus amicis suis francis et anglicis clericis et laicis salutem. Sciatis me firmiter concessisse Ernulfo filio Alfwi mercerio totam terram quam Bernardus Culdeboef tenuit de Comite Galfrido patre meo infra London et extra et Nominatum pratum quod ipse Bernardus tenuit in villa Edelmeton illi et heredibus suis de me et meis heredibus hereditarie tenendam, cum omniibus predictae terre pertinentibus per quedam calcaria deaurata de xii denariis singulis annis michi reddenda pro omnibus seruiciis vel xii denarios. Quare volo et precipio et hac carta mea confirmo quatenus predictus Ernulfus et heredes sui habeant et teneant terram predictam et omnes alias terras que de meo feodo sunt sicut predictus Bernardus eas rationabiliter tenuit de me et meis heredibus ita bene et libere et honorifice sicut Bernardus Culdeboef melius et liberius eas tenuit tempore Comitis Galfridi patris mei infra London et extra. Testibus : Ricardo dapifero meo. Otuell de Bonille. Willelmo filio Alured. Simone filio osberti. Roberto Blundo. Edwardo genero eius. Willelmo de Plazis. Willelmo de Barlefelle. Galfrido pincerna. Phelippo seruianti Galfridi et ceteris.—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*, fol. 378a.

1
12
Venerabilibus hominibus et amicis suis Willelmo de Plessis salutem. Sciatis presentem et hunc quod ego Willelmo de Celli et debi
t hac presentem carta mea confirmavi. hospitium sancti Bartholomei de Lund. et terris eidem hospitium una acra de pro.
in Suchmarisco de enefeld. que iacet contra malendinum abbas de Waledene. usque onentem. in ppecuam et libere
demofina. tenenda et habenda iure hereditario in ppecuam. Et ego Willelmo et heredem meum predictam acram ppetuo
hospitium et terris eidem Willelmo et heredem meum cum omnibus gentibus. et de rebus omnibus defendem. sicut libere elemosi
na nostra. Qui concessionis et donationis sunt testes. Henricus de combett. Henricus filius Willam. Ricardus filius
Ricardi. Ricardus de combett. Willelmo de haubelle. Rogue dux. Iohannes filius Glicum. Ricardus filius Ade. Andreas filius
suis. Willelmo filius Iohannis. Ricardus filius eius. Henricus filius Ricardi. Willelmo de sco ancti. Iohannes filius Ricardi. Ricardus filius eius. Iohannes
Alb. Adam filius Willam. Ricardus de marisco. Iohannes filius godardi.



WILLIAM OF PLESSIS TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

the mercer, son of Alfwy, the land which Bernard Culdeboef¹ held of Earl Geoffrey, "my father."

The family of De Marci was powerful in Essex. Richard and Hamo de Marci were benefactors of St. Mary of Dunmow,² Serlo de Marci had a transaction with Alan the master of St. Bartholomew's³ Hospital, of which Richard and Hamund were witnesses.

Henry of Cornhill and Richard, son of Reiner, who witnessed the charter of William of Plessiz, were sheriffs of London in 1187; John, son of Herlicun, and Roger Dux and William of Haverhill in 1189. Picot de Marisco is the first witness of a charter of WILLIAM CARETARIUS OF HEDELMETUN. The carter of Edmonton

¹ Culdeboeuf, near Falaise, in Normandy.

² Registrum de Dunmawe (Brit. Mus., Harley 662), fol. 29.

³ Serlo de Marci omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis presentibus et futuris Salutem. Sciatis quod ego Serlo de Marci: ratam habeo uenditionem totius mee terre de bulgefen factam a laurentio de berking homine meo deo et sancte marie et hospitali sancti bartholomei et magistro A. eiusdem hospitalis procuratori et fratribus ibidem perpetuo manentibus pro qua terra cum omnibus pertinentiis suis dedit michi idem laurentius in gersumam xxx solidos et uxori mee ii bisancios. Reddendo singulis annis michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruitio quod ad me pertinet iiii solidos et eandem terram me et fratribus meis uolentibus et consentientibus emit idem magister A. nomine illius hospitalis sancti bartholomei pro xxxviii solidis ab eodem Laurentio et michi et uxori mee dedit ii bisantios in gersumam. Totam istam predictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis concedo et hac mea carta confirmo ego serlo de Marci predicto hospitali sancti bartholomei et magistro A. eiusdem procuratori tenendam de me et heredibus meis finabiliter reddendo michi et heredibus meis quatuor solidos pro omni seruitio quod ad me pertinet singulis annis ii solidos ad pascha et ii ad festum sancti Michaelis defendendo eam aduersus regem pro xxx acris. Et ego serlo garantizabo predictam terram et conuentionem predictis fratribus aduersus omnes. Hiis testibus: Alano capellano de Kelewedune. Ricardo capellano de Standune. domino turgisio persona de standune Magistro Galfrido constant. fratre Stephano. Willelmo lorimario. Ricardo de marci. Hamundo de marci. Ricardo noblet. Rogero de Stamforde. Henrico guriun. Radulfo clerico. Atlardo de sancto bartholomeo. Radulfo hastiulem.

Bulgefen is probably Bulvan, about ten miles from Barking. Serlo's wife was Emma. (Reg. de Dunmawe, fol. 29a.)

grants half an acre in the meadow of Edmonton towards the support in St. Bartholomew's Hospital of the poor and sick there living.¹ The meadow lies between that of John Ruffus towards the south and a rood "which I had given before to the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew."

In another charter WILLIAM OF PLESSIZ² addresses all men and his friends, and bids them note that he has given to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in free and perpetual alms, an acre of meadow in Suthmarsh of Enefeld, which lay on the east side of the mill of the Abbot of Waledene.

Waleden, in Essex, was a Benedictine priory, afterwards an abbey, founded by the first Geoffrey de Mandeville, and the rectory of Enfild belonged to it. Sir Thomas Audley, the Lord Chancellor, obtained a grant of the abbey in the time of Henry VIII., and his grandson, Thomas, Lord Howard of Walden, Earl of Suffolk, built in its place the famous Jacobean house, now known as Audley End.

¹ These being witnesses: Picoth de Marisco; John, son of Walter; Richard, son of Ralph the clerk; William, son of Geoffrey; Richard of Plaseiz; William of Dorset; Richard of Prestun; William Modus; Luke the clerk; Ralph the clerk; William the clerk; and many others.

² *Omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Willelmus de plessiz salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui: hospitali sancti Bartholomei de lundoniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis unam acram de prato in suthmarisco de enefeld. que iacet contra molendinum Abbatis de Waledene uersus orientem in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam: tenendam et habendam iure hereditario in perpetuum. Et ego Willelmus et heredes mei predictam acram prefato hospitali et fratribus eiusdem warantizabimus contra omnes gentes et de rebus omnibus defendemus ficus liberam elemosinam nostram. Huius concessionis et donationis sunt testes (as on page 89, note).*

The witnesses of these two charters of William of Plessiz are identical, and are named in the same order, and their names are written with precisely the same abbreviations, so that these documents may be assumed to belong to the same year and perhaps to the same day. They were evidently witnessed in London, and the hand-writing proves that the two were written by the same scribe.

Plessiz, now Pleshy, is a village six miles north of Chelmsford, in the direction of Dunmow. The road from Chelmsford goes for some miles directly north, and generally on high ground, and beyond the village of Great Waltham bends to the west and descends a narrow valley, on the far slope of which is the street of Pleshy.

On the high ground above the village is the Castle of Geoffrey de Mandeville, the first Earl of Essex, with which William of Pleshy must have been familiar in all its original strength. A steep and lofty mound, with a flat top and a deep ditch surrounding its base, is all that is left of the keep. It is connected by a causeway passing over a fine pointed arch of brick with a vast grass-grown court like that of the castle of Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire. The court itself has a high earthen rampart, and this is surrounded externally by a broad ditch. Opposite the bridge leading to the keep is the main entrance of the enclosure.

One side of the village street is built on part of

the counterscarp of the ditch of the keep. The top of the village is a few yards beyond the castle, and the church, no part of which seems as ancient as the castle, is the last building. The roadway of the main street is continued past it across an extensive tract of high ground. From opposite the church a deep ditch may be traced right round the village to a point just above the deepest part of the road from Chelmsford. On the other side of the road the ditch is continued till it meets the great foss of the rampart of the court of the castle, so that the whole place, as well as the castle, was capable of defence. When the great Geoffrey de Mandeville was seized by Stephen at St. Albans, he was obliged to surrender the castle of Pleshy to the King.¹

Henry II. restored Pleshy to Geoffrey, son of Geoffrey de Mandeville, and he was succeeded by his brother William, who married there Hawisia, daughter and heiress of William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, in 1180. Through her it ultimately descended to another heiress, Eleanor de Bohun, who married Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III. The Duchess in Shakespeare's "Richard II." sends a message to Edmund, Duke of York, to come to her at Pleshy.

" Bid him—what? oh,
With all good speed at Plashy visit me.

¹ Igitur ut rex liberaret eum reddidit ei turrim Lundoniæ et castellum de Waledene et illud de Plaissez. "Henry of Huntingdon" (Rolls Series), p. 276. J. H. Round, "Geoffrey de Mandeville," p. 207.

Alack, and what shall good old York there see
 But empty lodgings and unfurnish'd walls,
 Unpeopled offices, untrodden stones?
 And what hear there for welcome but my groans?"

The walls, the offices, and even the stones have now disappeared, and earthen mounds and ridges overgrown with traveller's joy show the outline of the ancient castle, while a solitary yew tree seems to mount guard on the keep.

Some of the great people who inhabited the castle were benefactors of St. Bartholomew's.¹ WILLIAM, EARL OF ALBEMARLE, gave to the hospital one mark of silver from his toll at Hedon, to be paid to the brethren every Michaelmas at Stonhe, as well as a toft. BALDEWIN, EARL OF ALBEMARLE, confirmed the gift in a charter, of which the original has survived, and has still attached to it by a cord his huge seal with his figure in armour on horseback. HAWISIA, COUNTESS OF ALBEMARLE, also confirmed the gift, and so did WILLIAM DE MANDEVILLE, EARL OF ESSEX.

A charter of ROGER, SON OF REINFRID,² refers to

¹ The charters are printed further on in this chapter.

² *Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Rogerus filius Reinfridi dimisi et concessi et presenti Carta confirmaui Vitali Gibun totam terram meam quam emi a theodorico filio Willelmi filii Richold que est sita iuxta terram que fuit Nicholai merzer uersus orientem scilicet illi et heredibus suis ad tenendum de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate finabiliter pro quinque solidis annuatim michi et heredibus meis persolendis ad iiii terminos Videlicet infra Octabas pasche xv denarios et infra octabas sancti Johannis xv denarios et infra octabas sancti Michaelis xv denarios et infra duodecimum diem Natiuitatis domini xv denarios. Ita quod predictus Vitalis debet herbergare predictam terram de petra ad securitatem. Et ego et heredes mei debemus warantizare predictum tenementum predicto Vitali et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et omnes feminas. Et*

lands or rents which not long afterwards came into the St. Bartholomew's property. He grants to Vitalis Gibun the whole of the land he had bought from Theodoric, son of William, son of Richold, to hold from him for five shillings a year, and Vitalis gave him a pound of pepper "in gersumam."

Roger, son of Reinfrid, was, in 1176, when England was divided into six circuits, appointed with Robert, son of Bernard, and Richard Giffard,¹ a justice itinerant for the counties of Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Sussex, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, and an original final concord, preserved in the British Museum, shows that on June 29, 1176,² he was on circuit at Oxford with Richard Giffard and John of Cardiff. He was brother of Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, who succeeded Longchamp as Justiciar of England. The design of his oval seal, bearing two elongated fish, like pike, was perhaps adopted by him when he was in the service of Richard de Luci in the years 1170 to 1174.³ De Luci's own seal,⁴ of which there is a

ipse Vitalis fecit michi fidelitatem de predicto tenemento. Pro hac autem concessione dedit michi predictus Vitalis unam libram piperis in Gersumam. His testibus: Philippo Flandrico. Jacobo Flandrico. Johanne Malaterra. Roberto de Boicte. Radulfo Britone. Stephano de sancto Jacobo. Willelmo filio Sabeline. Johanne Bucuinte. Radulfo filio Brihtrich. Ricardo de legf. Bartholomeo Blundo Alderemanno. Henrico filio Ailwini. Walerammo filio Meillem. Gaufrido blundo. Gaufrido vnitore. Ricardo palmario. Gervasio et Willelmo et Ricardo de Padintone. Bartholomeo filio Roine. Theold' draperio. Hugone nepote Stephano brand. Osberto Pedefer. Albrico de Frideistrete. Herberto Joie. Hugone Bataille. Radulfo de Calicot. Waltero de Rislape. Ricardo filio Petri. Ernaldo, draperio. Waltero Aeren.

¹ Dugdale: *Origines Juridicales*, and a *Chronologie*: London, 1666, p. 3 of the latter.

² Warner and Ellis, "Facsimiles of Charters," 55.

³ *Id.* 54.

⁴ *Id.* 34.

fine example in the British Museum, has upon it a large pike with open mouth.

Roger, son of Reinfrid, had a wife Alicia¹ and three sons, Reinfrid,² Gilbert,³ and Henry⁴; Robert, son of Nigel, who owned land in Old Street, was his friend—these particulars are to be found in charters in the Cartulary of the nuns of St. Mary of Clerkenwell. Roger was a benefactor of their convent, gave them land in Dunmow, and was a witness of ten of their charters.⁵

¹ De dono Roberti filii Nigelli in Eldestrate "pro salute anime mee et patris mei et matris mee et pro anima Rogeri filii Reinfridi et Alicie uxoris sue."—*Cartulary of St. Mary of Clerkenwell*, f. 89a.

² Charter of the widow (of Ingulf) Helevisia. "His testibus: Henrico filio Eilwini maiore Londoniarum: Radulpho de Kornhull et Reginaldo fatre suo: Rogero filio Reinfridi: Reinfrido filio suo: Willelmo filio Reinfridi. (Perhaps an error of copying for filio Reineri who occurs on f. 67b.) Galfrido Blundo: Rogero Duce: Rogero filio Alani: Willelmo filio Sabeline" (*id.* f. 66b).

Charter of John, son of Reiner. "His testibus: Henrico filio Ailwini maiore Londoniarum: Radulpho de Cornhell: Rogero filio Reinfridi et Reinfrido filio suo" (*id.* 67a).

³ Charter of William de Waredna. "His testibus: Rogero filio Reinfridi: Gileberto filio eius: Roberto de Pierepunt: Reginaldo de Sancto Martino: Radulfo de Castello: Willelmo filio Herlewini" (*id.* f. 13a).

⁴ Charter of the four sons of Alulf. "His testibus: Domino Rogero filio Reinfridi: Henrico filio eius" (*id.* 71a).

⁵ The Charters of the St. Mary of Clerkenwell Cartulary in which, besides those mentioned in notes 2, 3 and 4, Roger, son of Reinfrid, is a witness, are those of:

i. Lecia de Muntein (H. T. Henrico filio Ailwini maiore Londoniarum: Rogero filio Reinfridi: Reinfrido filio suo: Galfrido Blund), f. 21b.

ii. Henry Foliot and Lecia his wife (H. T. Henrico filio Eilwini maiore Londoniarum: Rogero filio Reinfridi: Reinfrido filio suo: Galfrido Blund: Rogero duce: Gilleberto uaco), f. 26b.

iii. Henry Foliot and Lucia his wife (H. T. Henrico filio Ailwini maiore Londoniarum: Rogero filio Reinfridi: Reinfrido filio suo: Galfrido Blund), f. 21b.

iv. Henry Foliot and Lucia de Muntein his wife (H. T. Rogero filio Reinfridi: Reinfrido de Brues), f. 24a.

v. Muriel de Muntein (H. T. Ricardo episcopo Londoniense: Rogero filio Reinfridi: Magistro Ricardo de Storteforde: Henrico filio Ailwini maiore Londoniarum), f. 32b.

Henry Fitz-Ailwin is the twelfth of thirty-one witnesses of Roger's charter, and some of the other names are those of well-known men. Ralph Brito¹ was sent on circuit as a judge after the great council of Windsor in 1179 to Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire. He was a witness of a charter of Henry II. of 1175.² Waleran was sheriff in 1177, and John Bucuinte in 1169. Stephen of St. James's is a witness of a charter of Walter of Coutances, then Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of Rouen,³ brother of Roger son of Reinfrid. It is clear that Roger's charter was written in the second half of the reign of Henry II. Herbert Joie probably belonged to the same family as ROBERT JOIE,⁴ who held land at the same period in Freningham.

Muriel de Muntein was mother of Reginald de Ginges and Lecia was his sister, as is shown by his charter in the same cartulary, f. 25b.

vi. Willelmus de Bancr. (H. T. Rogero filio Reinfridi: Reinfrido filio eius: Rogero de Bancr.), f. 36a.

vii. Ida vidua filia Hugonis cricket que fuit uxor Rogeri de pyrro (H. T. Waltero de Constanc. Archiepiscopo Rothomagense: Rogero filio Reinfridi: no other witnesses), f. 42a.

viii. Besides the above mentioned charters, Henry Fitz-Ailwin witnessed one of Ermengard the Prioress in the same cartulary (H. T. Ricardo: Gileberto, Willelmo, Capellanis de Clerkenwell: Ricardo filio Reineri: Henrico filio Eiluini: Jacobo Aldermanno: Alwino finke: Roberto Besant: Mauricio de Wairwic), f. 99a

¹ Dugdale: *Origines Juridicales*. Roger de Hoveden.

² Warner and Ellis, "Facsimiles of Charters," 56.

³ *Id.* 66.

⁴ An original charter of his remains in the hospital; a grant to Thomas Dudeman of all his land in Freningham for an annual payment of sixpence. Thomas to pay also to the curia of the Lord of the fee, sixpence and to defend annually the lands to the King's scot for five acres. Thomas gave him three marks of silver "in gersumam."

Robertus Joie omnibus hominibus et amicis ad quos presentes littere peruenerint: *Salutem*. Notum sit uobis quod concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui thome dudeman et heredibus suis totam terram meam de Freningham, hereditabiliter tenendam de me et

Henry Fitz-Ailwin of Londonstone was, before he became mayor, a witness of several charters relating to benefactions to the hospital outside London, as well as to several other charters to be mentioned in relation to the masters of the hospital in whose time they were written.

Ralph Bidun granted to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital a heremitorium in his land at Tikeham, with the condition that they should receive him and his mother Agnes and his lord, John of

heredibus meis reddendo annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruicio ad festum sancti Michaelis sex denarios et idem thomas et heredes sui acquietabunt predictam terram uersus curiam domini fundi pro sex denariis, duos uidelicet denarios ad festum sancti Michaelis et duos denarios ad natiuitatem Domini et duos denarios ad pascha et ad scottum Regis defendent nominatam terram pro quinque acris. Ego uero et heredes mei debemus warantizare contra homnes homines predictam terram predicto thome et heredibus suis uel cuicumque illam dederit et hoc iurau. Pro hac concessione et carte mee confirmatione dedit michi prefatus thomas iii Marcas argenti in gersumam. His testibus: M. clerico: Otuelo et Ambrosio capellanis: Magistro Willelmo: Ernulfo de Kingesdune: Walkelino: Godefrido de Fenna: Ricardo et Reginaldo Lundoniis: Ada de Beverle: Sstephano clerico de Lundoniis: Ricardo Francigena: Helia coco: Radulfo Blundo: Et multis aliis.

A charter of AMFRID, CANON OF ARUNDEL (vol. i.), is witnessed by Helias the cook and "Ricardo Gaudio," so that the Joy family clearly included a Richard as well as Herbert and Robert. Helias the cook, probably the same man, also witnesses charters of ATHELARDUS RUFUS and of ALAN DE RUPE, printed further on.

It is interesting to observe a slight transient agraphia in the words "homnes homines."

¹ *Universis sancte matris ecclesie Radulphus de Bidun Salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulphus de Bidun concessi et dedi Deo et sancte Marie et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Lundoniis heremitorium in terra mea de Tikenham et terram infra closturam que eidem heremitorio pertinet in perpetuam elemosinam et liberam ab omni seculari seruicio tali condicione quod predicti fratres intuitu caritatis susceperint me et matrem meam Agnetem et dominum meum Johannem de Binch in fraternitatem suam et singulis ebdomadibus in predicto hospitali duas missas celebrabunt pro animabus antecessorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum et duobus pauperibus finabiliter ministrabunt in predicto hospitali necessaria. Istius elemosine donacionem ego Radulphus de Bidun et heredes mei warantizabimus contra omnes homines et pro posse nostro augmentabimus. Hiis testibus: Johanne de Liusei. Johanne Lemainant. Ricardo de Picteo. Gileberto filio Walteri. Ricardo de Puntchardun. Alano de Oseborn. Sampsona Malhurde. Ricardo filio Reineri. Henrico de Lundene-stone. Jeremia.—Cartulary of St. B. H., f. 466b.*

Binch, to the advantages of their fraternity, and should celebrate two masses every week in the hospital for the souls of his ancestors and of all the faithful departed, and should provide necessaries for two poor men in the hospital. These being witnesses: John of Livissey: John Lemainant: Richard de Picteo: Gilbert, son of Walter: Richard of Puntchardun: Alan of Oseborn: Sampson Malhurd: Richard, son of Reiner: Henry of Lundenestone: Jeremia. This charter may belong to a late year of Henry II., and, as Richard son of Reiner died in 1191, cannot be later than the early part of the reign of Richard I.

John Cabus¹ gave to the hospital four and a half acres of land of his estate at Tikeham. The witnesses were Gilbert of Cranforde the dean, Richard of Horse-dune, Philip of Coflee, Roger de la Dune, Walkelin parson of Tikeham, Henry of Lundenestane, Michael of Walencins, Roger le duc, Ralph son of Bold, Ralph of Bidun, William son of Reimbert, and others.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes Cabus concessi et dedi et hac carta mea confirmaui Deo et hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis quatuor acras terre et dimidiam acre terre de dominio meo in Tikeham Scilicet duas acras super Hagelawe et dimidiam acram super foreriam que extendit ad capud predictarum duarum acrarum et duas acras in Westfelde quas eis assignaui et tradidi in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam pro amore Dei et pro animabus patris mei et omnium antecessorum meorum et pro salute anime mee et successorum meorum. Et ego predictus Johannes et heredes mei hanc elemosinam warrantizabimus predicto hospitali contra omnes gentes et defendemus quasi liberam elemosinam nostram de omnibus exaccionibus consuetudinibus et omnibus rebus. Hiis testibus: Gileberto de Craneford decano: Ricardo de Horsedune: Philippo de Coflee: Rogero de la Dune: Walkelino persona de Tikeham: Henrico de Lundenestan: Michaele de Walencins: Rogero le duc: Radulpho filio Bold: Radulpho de Bidun: Willelmo filio Reimberti et aliis.—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*, f. 466a.

This charter seems to belong to the same period as the last. Henry of Londonstone was not yet Mayor.

Gilbert, son of Joan of Tham,¹ granted in perpetual alms to the hospital two fields in his land of Kelintune, called La Claendune and La Binendune, and all the holding of Almund de la Dune and all meadows and pasture near them, and the heath of Kelintune, before the gate of Gocelin the weaver, and the service of Clement for the moorland which he holds, namely, one penny a year, and the Farencroft and four acres of land in Bradfield, with right-of-way through his land; paying him eighteenpence a year.

¹ Gilebertus filius Johanne de Tham que fuit uxor Roberti filii Ricardi omnibus hominibus suis et amicis francis et anglis salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Gilebertus de Tham dedi et concessi in perpetuam elemosinam deo et hospitali Bartholomei de Lunduniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis de terra mea de Kelintune duos campos scilicet la Claendune et la Binendune et totum tenementum quod Almundus de la Dune tenet et totum pratium et totum pascuagium eidem prato contiguum usque ad uiam uersus orientem sicut fouea distinguit ab alio prato et totam bruerium de Kelintun quod iacet ante portam Gocelini textoris et seruicium Clementis de Brucio quod ipse tenet scilicet unum denarium per annum et le Farencrofte qui iacet inter la Claendune et uiam uersus orientem et quatuor acras terre in Bradefelde tenenda in perpetuum et ad terram excolendam et pratium et bruerium liberum ingressum et liberum exitum per meam terram sine omni condicione concessu matris mee Johanne de Tham. Reddendo michi annuatim xviii denarios pro omnibus seruiciis ad duos terminos scilicet ad pascha ix denarios et ad festum Sancti Michaelis ix denarios et unum denarium quando accidit ad scutagium. Omnia ista suprascripta fratres predicti hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei defendent aduersus regem pro quinque acris. Et ego Gilbertus de Tham et illi qui michi succedent in hereditate warrantizabimus istam conuencionem et donacionem predictis fratribus contra omnes homines. Pro ista conuencionem et donacionem dederunt michi predicti fratres xiii solidos argenti in gersumam et Johanne matri mee quatuor marcas argenti et Willelmo fratri meo duodecim denarios. Hiis testibus: Henrico de Lundenestone. Ricardo de sancto Johanne. Gilberto de Ver. Petro milite suo. Thoma filio Scotlandi. Petro filio Neueloni. Hosberto paruo. Ricardo de Warene. Godardo clerico. Gilberto filio Roberti. Willelmo filio Roberti. Michaele de Valacins. Mauricio aurifabro.—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*, f. 471a.

For this the brethren gave him thirteen shillings of silver, "in gersumam" and to his mother four marks of silver, and to his brother William fourteen pence.

Joan of Tham,¹ widow of Robert, son of Richard, confirmed the charter of her son Gilbert. Her eleven witnesses also attest, with two additional witnesses, her son's grant, so that the two charters probably belong to nearly the same date. The first witness in each is Henry of Londonstone, Mayor of London.

Henry the alderman was a witness of a charter of GEOFFREY THE CLERK, OF WIDEFELD,² a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's. The position of his name, just before that of Roger, son of Alan, suggests that he was Henry Fitz-Ailwin, but this is not certain. The charter is probably of the reign of Henry II., and deserves to be translated in full :

To all the sons of Holy Mother Church, Geoffrey the clerk, of Widefeld greeting. Be it known to you all that I, for the sake of charity, for the welfare of the souls of my father and of my mother and of my brother Richard and of all others my ancestors,

¹ Johanna de Tam que fuit uxor Roberti filii Ricardi omnibus hominibus suis et amicis francis et anglis salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johanna de Tam concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui donacionem Gileberti filii mei de terra de Kelitun quam fecit in perpetuam elemosinam Deo et hospitali Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis in omnibus rebus sicut carta predicti Gileberti filii mei testatur. Hiis testibus : Henrico de Lundenestane maiore Londoniarum, etc.

The other witnesses are as in Gilbert's charter and in the same order, omitting Osbert the little and Gilbert, son of Robert.—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*, f. 471a.

² Uniuersis sancte MATRIS ecclesie filiis Gaufridus clericus de Widefeld Salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra quod ego intuitu caritatis pro salute animarum patris mei et matris mee et fratris mei Ricardi et omnium aliorum antecessorum meorum concessi et dedi hospitali sancti Bartholomei de lundoniis et fratribus eiusdem loci duo managia in uilla de Hornigdune. Illud scilicet Managium quod Reginaldus corueisarius de me tenuit,

have granted and given to the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London and to the brethren of the same place two houses in the town of Hornigdune. That house namely which Reginald the cobbler held of me, and another house next on the north, in firm and perpetual alms free from all secular service. These being witnesses: Geoffrey, son of Roger; Helias the farmer; Robert of Tovicthe; Alfwin of Muckinkes; Michael of Valencins; Stephen, son of Tochi; Robert of Hornigdune; Berengar, his brother; Henry the alderman; Roger the alderman, son of Alan; Reginald the cobbler; John, son of Herlicun.

The seal is circular and bears an eagle or phoenix with the surrounding legend, "Sigillum G. de Widefeld." It is attached by a vellum tag. Horndon and Thurrock and Mucking are all in Essex; Mucking is a manor in the parish of Barling, a district slightly raised above the far-extending tidal marshes intersected by inlets from the north bank of the estuary of the Thames, where the descendants of the sandpipers and plovers of the time of Alfwin of Muckinkes are still abundant.

Some of the charters in which Henry Fitz-Ailwin is named as mayor probably belong (as shown by the general standing of the chief witnesses) to the reign of Richard I.; others clearly belong to the reign of John.

et aliud Managium iuxta uersus aquilonem in firmam et perpetuam elemosinam ab omni seculari seruuicio libera. His testibus: Gaufrido filio Rogeri. Helia le terrer. Roberto de touicothe. Alfwino de Muckinkes. Michaele de Valencins. Steffano filio tochi. Roberto de Hornigdune. Beringario fratre suo. Henrico aldermanno. Rogero aldermanno filio Alani. Reginaldo le corueiser. Johanne filio herlicun.

JORDAN, SON OF SAIAT,¹ granted and confirmed by his charter to the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London four shillings, paid yearly on the Nativity of St. Mary (September 8), from the land which Ranulf le cuvereurier held from him in the parish of St. Augustin towards the wall of London, lying between the land of the prior of Holy Trinity and the land of Salomon Blund. The brethren of St. Bartholomew's are to pay ten pence thence to the canons of St. Paul's within the octave of St. Michael, and the three shillings and twopence shall remain to the brethren to form a pittance on the day of the Nativity of St. Mary for the sick in the hospital. "It is to be known that I Jordan grant these alms for the souls of my father and mother and of my wife and of my ancestors and successors, and I have sealed this with my seal. These being witnesses: Henry, son of Ailwin, Mayor of London; Peter his son; Alan, son of Peter; Roger, son of Alan; Michael of Valecines; and many others." The seal of Jordan bears an eagle, with a

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Jordanus filius Saiati concessi et dedi et hac carta mea confirmaui fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis iiii solidos percipiendos in die Natiuitatis sancte Marie annuatim de terra quam Ranulfus le cuereurier tenuit de me in parochia sancti Agustini versus murum London que iacet inter terram prioris sancte Trinitatis et terram Salomonis Blundi. fratres vero predicti hospitalis reddent annuatim x denarios canonicis sancti Pauli pro prefata terra infra octauis sancti Michaelis et iiii solidi et ii denarii remanebunt prefatis fratribus ad faciendum pitanciam in die Natiuitatis sancte Marie Infirmis prenominata domus. Sciendum est autem quod ego Jordanus prenominatus concessi istam elemosinam sepe dicto hospitali pro animabus patris et matris mee et vxoris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum. Et ut ista confirmatio Rata sit et stabilis Sigilli mei appositione eam corroboraui. Hiis testibus. Henrico filio Ailwino maiore Londoniarum. Petro filio suo. Alano filio Petri. Rogero filio Alani. Micaele de Valecines: et multis Aliis.*

tortoise in its claws, and round the margin are the words, "Sigill. Jordani fil. . . ."

This parish of St. Augustin was afterwards called St. Augustine in the Papey, and was in Lime Street Ward, in which ward Salomon Blund lived.

Alan, son of Peter, is the nephew of Roger, son of Alan, who appears in several charters of Henry Fitz-Ailwin's mayoralty. He was the citizen who after Fitz-Ailwin's death became Mayor of London, and who was sheriff in 1192.

Jordan, son of Saiat, was himself the first witness of a charter in which RALPH THE COBBLER of Bassie-hage, son of William the Hayward, granted to Peter Somangere a piece of land twenty-five feet in breadth, of the feet of St. Paul's, in the parish of St. Adelburga (Ethelburga) towards Bishopsgate, at an annual rent of six shillings.¹

MICHAEL OF VALECINS,² the last witness of the

¹ Testibus Jordano filio Saete: Reginaldo canun: Rogero pet: Ansegod' filio Gilleberti: Rogero palmario: Thome de Oxonia: Ricardo Blundo: Johanne palmario: Willelmo tannatore: Willelmo de Plasseto: Hugone tabur: Petro tabur: Rannulfo oitell.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Michael de Valecins caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et liberorum meorum et patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum meorum dedi et concessi et legavi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei de lundoniis duas terras que iacent inter terras canonicorum et fossam ante portam predicti hospitalis uersus austrum. Scilicet quicquid in illis terris habui in longitudine et latitudine et rebus cunctis habendas et tenendas in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam bene in pace libere quiete honorifice integre finabiliter sine omni retinemento. Reddendo inde annuatim infirmis sancti egidii xlii denarios quatuor terminis anni. Scilicet ad natale x denarios et obolum et ad pasca x denarios et obolum et ad festum sancti iohannis batiste x denarios et obolum et infra octo dies sancti michaelis x denarios et obolum et laurencio filio edmundi ii denarios infra octo dies sancti michaelis sine omni occasione pro omnibus seruiis et exaccionibus et consuetudinibus et omnibus rebus, Et sciendum est quod ego predictus michael et heredes mei warantzabimus has duas

charter of Jordan, was himself a large benefactor of the hospital. His seal bears a figure of the archangel, his patron, with half-extended wings and the words, "Sigill. Micael." His charter states that he, Michael of Valecins, for the sake of charity and for the welfare of his soul and of the souls of his wife and children, father, mother, and ancestors, hath granted and bequeathed, and by this his charter hath confirmed to God and the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London, two pieces of land which lie between the lands of the canons and the ditch before the gate of the hospital to the south. This land has to pay annually to the sick of St. Giles forty-two pence at four terms of the year—at Christmas ten pence halfpenny, at Easter ten pence halfpenny, at St. John the Baptist ten pence halfpenny, and in the octave of St. Michael ten pence halfpenny, and to Lawrence, son of Edmund, two pence in the octave of St. Michael, for all occasions, services, exactions, and customs. And this gift "I have confirmed by affixing my seal. These being witnesses: Henry the Mayor; William of Haverhill; Peter Bat; Robert Bat; John Ruffus; Edward, son of Ralph of Bedewurde; William Mulvel; Alan the goldsmith; and many others."

predictas terras fratribus sepedicti hospitalis contra omnes homines et feminas et defendemus quasi liberam elemosinam nostram per predictum seruicium. Ut autem ista donacio et concessio et confirmacio rata fiat et stabilis huius sigilli mei appositione eam corroborauimus. Hiis testibus: Henrico maiore. Willelmo de hauerhulle. Petro bat. Roberto bat. Johanne ruffo. Edwardo filio Radulfi de Bedewurde. Willelmo muluel. Alano aurifabro: et multis aliis.

William of Haverhill was sheriff in 1189 and 1190, and the position of his name in this charter immediately after that of the mayor, though he is not described as sheriff, suggests that he was second in standing of those present, and that the charter may be of one of the early years of Henry Fitz-Ailwin's mayoralty. Peter Bat was sheriff in 1213. A charter of William of Haverhill of the same period shows that a Bat was one of his tenants, so that the position of the two Bats in this list after him, may be due to this relationship.

A charter of BEATRICE, WIDOW OF EDMUND LE FIER, states that this land had been given to her as dower by her husband, that she granted it to her son Laurence, and that Laurence granted it to Michael of Valencins. Her seal of white wax bears a crescent between two stars, and the legend "Sigillum Beatrici."

Another charter of MICHAEL OF VALECINS, an indented chirographum, with his seal on a vellum tag, grants to Reiner the carpenter land outside the bar which belonged to Ragenild and paid half a mark of silver, namely, twenty pence at each of the four terms of the year. Michael gives Reiner a mark of silver in

¹ The land was 34 ells in length, and in breadth in front 30 ells and behind 6 ells. The charter ends: "Hanc itaque conuencionem ego Laurentins affidau i predicto Michaeli fideliter obseruandam sine omni ingenio sibi et heredibus suis pro me et heredibus meis. Stephano sacerdote. Simoni diacono. Jordano peuerel. Thome filio Michaelis. Willelmo filio Michaelis. Thome Aldermanno. Henrico de Sancto Albano. Petro neuelon: et multis aliis: et Alicie vxori Nicholai."

aid of building houses on this land; and should the hospital of St. Bartholomew be transferred into that place, Michael will return to Reiner all the work he has put into the land, and will give him twenty shillings sterling, less the mark which was given him. Michael gave Reiner a bezant "in gersumam."¹

Ivo the priest and Alard the tiler of Michael's charter are witnesses of another charter, in which EDMUND RUFFUS, son of Roger Ruffus, grants to Ailred the husarius part of his land outside the bar of Faggewelle which Robert de Profundis held of Richard the priest.² The witnesses are the secular clergy and the tradesmen of the neighbourhood of Faggewelle, a spring near the site of the Charterhouse. Another charter of MICHAEL OF VALECINS,³ witnessed by local

¹ These were the witnesses: Ivo chaplain of St. Sepulchre's; Robert of Godrune Lane; Walter Albus; Thomas the mason; Stephen of the bar and John his son; Athelard the tiler; William the smith; Hugh of the bar; Ralph the mason; Ailward the clerk; William the cobbler; Stephen the clerk, of the hospital of St. Bartholomew.

St. Sepulchre's and Godrune Lane (now Gutter Lane), remain to this day. The bar was that of Smithfield, at the end of the present St. John Street.

² Ailred gave Edmund ten shillings "in gersumam." The witnesses named are: Ivo the priest; William the clerk; Richard the priest; Henry the priest; Gilbert the clerk; Roger the clerk; Thomas the clerk; Wiscard the cordwainer, Robert his brother; Robert Weneloc; Robert Ippescathe; Spileman; Gilbert the soldier (miles); Turstan without the bar; Osgood the smith; Turoid the shoemaker; Keneward; Alard the tiler; Robert the joiner; William the miller.

³ "All that my land upon which Geoffrey of Colchester and Edith his wife are seated. Which land lies between that of Kenewrd the linen draper and Thomas the mason outside Smithfield bar before the gallows. Which land has 13½ ells in breadth towards the street of the ells of King Richard and 33 ells in depth of the same ells." "Returning to me for every service five shillings a year." If Robert wishes to sell, Michael is to have it for twelve pence less than any one else. Robert gave two shillings "in gersumam." The witnesses named are: Richard the smith; William the smith; Thomas the mason; William le corveisier; Robert singlepin; William le Mounes; Keneward the linen draper; Robert the parmenter; Richard Belcon; Valerian the clerk; Richard of Trafford; Stephen of the bar.

tradesmen, shows that the witness Keneward was a linen draper. It is a grant to Robert le Globbere of land outside Smithfield bar.

Michael de Valescinis, as his name is also written, had bought land from DAVID, SON OF RICHARD, PRIEST OF ST. MARTIN'S LE GRAND, whose deed has been preserved, though without its seal.

David sold for twenty shillings of silver twenty pennyworths of rent of the fee of Edmund which Edmund held of St. Paul's, at Faggesswelle, which rent was situated between the land of Richard Ruffus and the land of Osbert the fishmonger outside the bar, "which rent the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew held of Richard my father and afterwards of me."¹

EADMUND RUFUS had some right in the land, and confirmed David's sale. Michael was to pay him a halfpenny annually on St. John Baptist's day.²

JORDAN DE TURRE was one of the witnesses of the agreement between the Knights Hospitallers and the Bishop of Winchester concerning the hospital of St. Cross in 1185.³ St. Hugh of Lincoln, acting as judge,

¹ Witnesses: William, son of Tust- the clerk; Hugh, son of Lebert the clerk; Jeremia; Walter le Dorterier; Ralph Halfdevil; Richard Blund; Baldwin of Alcaz; Hugh of St. Edmund's; Master Robert; William, son of William of Carduil; Richard the son.

² Witnesses: Richard, Chaplain of St. John's; Ernald son of Robert; Robert of Woburne; Richard the son; Richard of Abendun; Osebert Pedefer; Robert the chamberlain. On the seal of this and of his other charter are a lion passant and the words, "Sigill. Edmundi rufi."

³ Warner and Ellis, 67, and the original charter.

censured him for detaining the property of two poor orphans, but said that it would be of no effect to give a mere decision against so powerful a man, and that he would therefore write to the Pope, since Jordan had proceeded on the authority of a papal letter.¹ Jordan's charter² to St. Bartholomew's shows him in a more amiable light:—

“Be it known to all the sons of Holy Mother Church to whom the present writing cometh that I, Jordan de Turre, for the love of God and for the souls of my father and mother and of my relations and friends, have given and granted in pure and perpetual alms to the hospital of St. Bartholomew and to the brethren of the same hospital all my land which I have next Smithfield, which land lies before the house of Robert of Fuleham and of William the clerk; to have and to hold free and undisturbed from me and my heirs for ever, returning thence twelve pence to Lecia de

¹ *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* (ed. Rev. J. F. Dimock), Rolls Series, 1864, p. 299.

² *Notum sit omnibus Sancte Matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Quod ego Jordanus de Turre pro amore dei et pro animabus patris et matris mee parentum et amicorum meorum dedi et concessi in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totam terram meam quam habui prope Smetefeld que terra jacet ante domum Roberti de Fuleham et Willelmi clerici. Habendam et tenendam liberam et quietam de me et heredibus meis in perpetuum. Reddendo inde duodecim denarios liece de monteigni: In festo sancti Martini pro omni seruicio: quos ego eidem liece consueui reddere. Quare uolo et firmiter concedo quod predictum hospitale et fratres eiusdem hospitalis predictam terram habeant: libere Integre et quiete et honorifice et finabiliter: per predictum seruicium duodecim denariorum. Hiis testibus: Henrico filio Ailwini Maiore Londoniarum. Willelmo filio Gocce. Rogero filio Alani. Alano filio Petri. Willelmo de Hauerhille. Thoma filio suo. Micaele de Valecins. Pentecosten fratre Jordani de turre. Roberto filio Siwardi. Stephano clerico: et Multis Aliis.*

Hocum sit omnibz sc̄e matris ecclesie filis. ad quos presens scriptū puenit. Quod ego Jordanus
de turre pro amice dei et pro animalibz patris et matris mee parentum et Amicorum meorum.
dedit et concessit in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. hospitali sc̄i Barth̄ et fratribz eiusdem hosp̄ totam
terram meam quam habui prope Smechefeld. que terra latet ante domū Rob̄ti de Fuleham. et
Wlms clerg. habendam et tenendam libere et quiete. de mo et hereditibz meis imperpetuum. Redden
do inde. duodecim denarios. licet. de monteign. In festo sc̄i. n. utam pro omni seruiuo quos
ego eidem licet consueui reddere. Quare uolo et firmiter conuado qd̄ predictū hospitali et fra
tribz eiusdem hospitalis predicti terrā habeant. libere. In pace et quiete. et honorifice. et firmiter.
per predictum seruiuū duodecim denarios. Huius testibz. Henrico filio Alwini. canone londoniarum.
Willelmo filio oac. Rogo filio Alani. Alano filio petri. Willelmo de hauerhille.
Thoma filio suo. Micaele de valeant. Petricosten fratre Jordanus de turre. Roberto fili
o Siwardi. Stepho clerico. et multis aliis.



JORDAN DE TURRE TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

Munteigny at the feast of St. Martin for every service, which twelve pence I have been wont to pay to the aforesaid Lecia. Wherefore I will, and firmly grant, that the aforesaid hospital and brethren of that hospital shall have the aforesaid land freely, wholly, and undisturbed, and honourably and finally, through the aforesaid service of twelve pence. These being witnesses: Henry, son of Ailwin, Mayor of London. William, son of Goce. Roger, son of Alan. Alan, son of Peter. William of Haverhill. Thomas his son. Michael of Valecins. Pentecosten, brother of Jordan de Turre. Robert, son of Siward. Stephen the clerk, and many others."

In this charter the only contractions in the names, titles, or residences of the witnesses are in those of the third and of the last; all the others are written out at full length, a somewhat unusual circumstance.

LECIA DE MONTAIGNI¹ was wife of Henry Foliot and the daughter of Jordan Briset, the founder of

¹ *Sciant presentes Et futuri quod Ego Leice De Montaigni Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et animarum patris et matris mee et animarum omnium antecessorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum Dedi et concessi et presenti Carta mea confirmaui Deo et Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde et fratribus ibidem Deo seruiantibus Totam terram meam extra barram de smethefelde que iacet inter terram quam Radulfus steperhanc tenuit et terram Hereuici filii Galfridi habendam et tenendam predicto hospitali et prefatis fratribus libere et quiete integre finabiliter In puram et perpetuam Elemosinam. Et sciendum est quod in Capitulo sepedicti Hospitalis michi concessum fuit quod sacerdotes eiusdem Hospitalis singulis annis pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et pro anima mea aniuersarium facient. Hanc autem donationem et concessionem in libera mea potestate et viduitate factam sigilli mei appositione corroborauit. Hiis Testibus: Roberto Sene presbitero et alio Roberto presbitero. Godefrido et Firmino clericis. Roberto filio Siwardi et Waltero Rat. Willelmo de Tonebrige. Alexandro de Norfolc. Herweio fratre eius.*

St. Mary of Clerkenwell. A charter of hers at St. Bartholomew's has her circular seal bearing a griffin passant, and the inscription, partly worn away: "Sig. —Liscie de Montaigni." Another charter of hers, and several charters which mention her or her husband, are to be found in the Cartulary of the nuns of Clerkenwell.¹ In three of these Henry Fitz-Ailwin, Mayor of London, is a witness, and all three are also attested by Roger, son of Reinfrid, who was a benefactor of Clerkenwell.

Michael de Munteign is a witness in a charter of "Henry Foliot and Lecia my wife,"² and he was Lecia's brother.

His famous namesake in a later age complains of the confusion arising from calling men after their lands: "c'est un vilain usage, et de tresmauvaise consequence en nostre France, d'apeller chascun par le nom de sa terre et seignurie, et la chose du monde qui faict plus mesler et mescoignoistre les races."³ This Michael de Munteign of the reign of King John certainly did not bear on his shield "azur, semé de trefles d'or, a une patté de lyon de mesme, armée de gueules mise en fasce," for heraldry had not yet attained to such complications. It is easy to imagine how the celebrated bearer of his name, had he seen these charters, would have made some happy observations on the changes of

¹ Faustina B. ii. Brit. Mus.

² Faustina B. ii.

³ "Essais de Montaigne," book i. chap. xlvi.

times or the passing in and out of men from the world like citizens through the gates of their city.

One of the most frequent witnesses of the charters of his time in relation to the hospital of St. Bartholomew and to the nuns of Clerkenwell was Jocius, or Goce, son of Peter, a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

He was an alderman who became sheriff in 1211, and was a benefactor of the Franciscans when they came to London. He was probably the sokereeve of the church of St. Martin¹ who was witness of the grant of a garden from Master Otuel of London to his very dear friend Master Robert of Arches, since Master Otuel is no doubt the Otuel, nephew of Hugh, dean of St. Paul's, who witnessed the charter of William de Beaumes about land at St. Pancras.² Joce, son of Peter, had two sons, one of whom, Nicholas, was a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and also gave to the nuns of Clerkenwell a ground rent from land which his father held over against the way which leads to Holborn from Cubrige, and further gave twelve pence annual rent to the Franciscans who lived where Christ's Hospital has since stood, from a tenement of his in Stynkyng Lane (later Butcher Hall Lane and now King Edward Street). The other son, named Joce after his father, lived in Cornhill and is called Jocius de Cornhill. The first Franciscan brothers arrived in London September 11th, 1224, and soon after Joce of Cornhill

¹ Ninth Report, p. 11 a.

² *Vide supra*, pp. 81-2.

joined them. He was the third person to do so in London, and long after died in Spain, as is recorded in the Franciscan Chronicle.¹

A charter of JOCE, SON OF PETER, in handwriting of peculiar beauty, is preserved at St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

“Let men present and to come know that I Joce son of Peter have given and granted and by this my charter have confirmed to God and to the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield three shillings worth of quit rent in pure and perpetual alms for the welfare of my soul and of the souls of my ancestors and successors, namely those three shillings worth of rent which the aforesaid brethren were wont to pay yearly to Henry son of Rener for a certain land which they held from him in the parish of St. Martin of Ludgate, which land to wit belonged to Hugh de Fossato, and which rent I Joce bought from the aforesaid Henry son of Rener, as the charter of the same Henry testifies, which I Joce have in my possession as to the same land. To have and to hold by the aforesaid brethren and their successors well and in peace, freely and quietly, wholly and finally as my free alms. And it is to be known that the aforesaid brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew for the sake of charity have granted to me that annually on the morrow of the feast of All Saints,

¹ “Frater Jocius de Cornbulle clericus qui post multos labores quos ibi sustinuerat profectus est in Hispaniam moraturus et ibidem feliciter obiit.”

...ant p[re]sent[ur] et l[ite]r[is]. Et ego Henr[icus] filius Renneri. vendidi et concessi. et quicquid clamavi. et me et heredes
 Joce filii petri. et solidatas quicquid reddidit in Lond[onia]. scilicet illas et solidas. que sunt tres hospicij sancti Barth[olomei] de Incechestr[e] et
 de solebar de quodam via que de me tenuerunt. in pocha sancti Martini de Ludgate. que sit era fuit Lang de tollat
 quicquid ibide huius in ullo reanemto. Et tunc et tenens p[re]sent[ur] Joce et heredes sui. et illis que in heredes facere voluerunt. bene
 p[ro]p[ri]e. libere et quiete. Inceps et tenabitur. Ita quod non ego Henr[icus] neque heredes mei. neque alij pro nos. poterit ut debet. aliquid
 et exigere. ut clamare in p[re]sent[ur] reddere. neque in p[re]sent[ur] suis. Et tunc an et solidas. annuatim quietas. Et p[re]sent[ur]
 et heredes sui. p[re]sent[ur] loci. et heredes sui. et illis que in heredes facere voluerunt. tenabitur de bene. Et tunc me et quiete
 omnis heredes et heredes. Et tunc an vendidit. et concessit. et quicquid clamavit. p[re]sent[ur] Joce dedit in Henr[icus] dual ante
 et ante Henr[icus] et tunc Henr[icus] filius Henr[icus] et tunc Henr[icus] de manore Lond[onia]. Rog[atus] sit Henr[icus]. Manore filii petri. Henr[icus] ducer
 de hantill. Thom[as] filii et. Will[elmu]s filii Henr[icus]. Henr[icus] filii Henr[icus]. Henr[icus] ducer. Com[ite]s filii Henr[icus]. Henr[icus] filii et.



HENRY, SON OF RENNER, TO JOCE, SON OF PETER.

namely on the day of the commemoration of all the faithful departed, they shall spend and give away the aforesaid three shillings worth of rent in the sustenance of the poor, so that they shall not be converted to any other uses except to the maintenance of the poor annually on that day.

“These three shillings worth of quit rent I the aforesaid Joce and my heirs finally are bound to guarantee to the aforesaid brethren and their successors against all men and women. In order that this may stand for ever I have confirmed this written page by the impression of my seal. These being witnesses: Henry, son of Eilwin, then mayor of London; Roger, son of Alan; Alan, son of Peter; Roger duke; William of Haverhill; Thomas his son; William, son of Rener; Richard blund; Nicholas Duket; Constantine, son of Alulf; Ernulf his brother.”

Roger, son of Alan, was sheriff in 1192 with Roger le Duc. Nicholas Duket was sheriff in 1191 and again in 1196, and Constantine, son of Alulf, in 1197, and his brother in 1198. The charter probably belongs to an early year of the first mayor.

Joce son of Peter's charter has lost its seal, but that of HENRY, SON OF RENNER,¹ selling the “tres solidatas”

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Henricus filius Renneri vendidi et Concessi et quietam clamani extra me et heredes meos Joceo filio Petri tres solidatas quieti Redditus in Londoniis scilicet illas tres solidatas quas fratres Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde michi reddere solebant de quadam terra quam de me tenuerunt in parochia sancti Martini de Ludgate que scilicet terra fuit Hugonis de fossato scilicet quicquid ibidem*

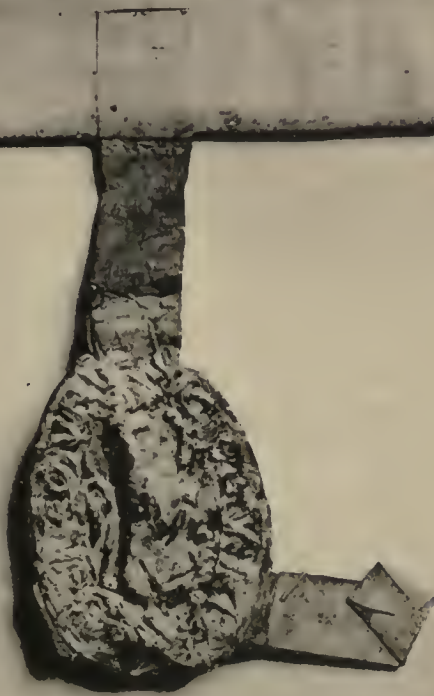
retains the seal of the vendor, bearing a two-headed eagle with a crescent above it, and the legend "Sigill. Henrici filii Reineri." The charter is written in the same fine hand as that of Joce, son of Peter, with the same phrase, and has the same witnesses in the same order. The only additional information is that Joce paid Henry, son of Reiner, two marks and a half of silver.

Henry, son of Reiner, is himself a witness of the charter of ADAM BEREMUND,¹ in which Adam grants to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital six penny-worths of quit rent annually at Christmas, from land which lies between the land of Alfred the mercer and

habui sine ullo retinemento. Habendam et tenendam predicto Joceo et heredibus suis et illis quos mei heredes facere uoluerint bene et in pace libere et quiete integre et finabiliter. Ita quod nec ego Henricus necque heredes mei necque aliquis per nos potuit uel debet aliquid habere uel exigere uel clamare in prefato redditu necque in pertinenciis suis. Has autem tres solidatas annuatim quietas: Ego predictus Henricus et heredes mei predicto Joceo et heredibus suis et illis quos mei heredes facere uoluerint finabiliter debemus warantizare et aquietare uersus omnes homines et feminas. Pro hac autem vendicione et concessione et quieta clamacione predictus Joceus dedit michi Henrico duas marcas et dimidiam argenti. Hiis Testibus: Henrico filio Eilwini tunc Maiore Londoniarum. Rogero filio Alani. Alano filio Petri. Rogero duce. Willelmo de hauerhille. Thome filio eius. Willelmo filio Reneri. Ricardo blund. Nicolao duket. Constantino filio Alulfi. Ernulfo fratre eius.

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Adam Beremund Caritatis intuitu et pro salute Anime mee et uxoris mee et liberorum meorum et patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum meorum dedi et concessi et legani et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei lundonarium sex denariatas Quietis Redditus annuatim ad natale percipiendas de terra que iacet Inter terram Alfredi le mercer et Inter terram Yngelberni In parochia Sancti Alphegi apud Crepellesgate In liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Sciendum est Autem Quod Ego Adam predictus et heredes mei Warantizabimus hunc predictum Redditum fratribus predicti hospitalis contra omnes homines et feminas finabiliter. Ut hec mea donacio et concessio stabilis et inconcussa In perpetuum permaneat eam huius sigilli mei appositione confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Henrico maiore: Johanne Buchointe: Henrico filio Reiner: Willelmo bat: Petro bat: Roberto bat: Andrea filio Petri filii Neuelonis: Laurentio duket: Stephano de Chigeswelle: Ricardo le cromonger: Stephano crasso: Rogero de Cudintune: Johanne Ruffo: Willelmo Mulnel: Germano le mercier: Radulfo de Clare: Rogero clerico: et multis aliis.*

Sciatis presentes et futuri quod ego Adam Beremund Cantuariensis civitatis et p[ro]p[ri]e salute anime mee et uxoris mee et
liberorum meorum et posteritatis mee et successorum meorum dedit et concessi et legitime et h[ab]e[re] p[ro]p[ri]e carta mea
confirmavi deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londonie et vicariis eorum et successoribus annuatim
ad vicarium percipiendum de terra que vocatur Incey t[er]renum. scilicet de mercet et Incey t[er]renum
singulorum s[an]c[t]i parochie sancti Alphegi apud Epselteswic in lib[er]am et puram et p[er]petuam elemosinam.
Secundum est. Autem ego Adam predictus et heredes mei vicariis et successoribus hanc predictam red-
ditum fratribus predicti hospitalis contra omnes homines et feminas firmabiliter. Et hec mei dona-
tio et concessio stabili et inextinguibili supereminet permanere cum huius sigilli mei appositione confirmavit
h[ab]e[re] testibus. Henrico magistro. Johanne Buchhouce Henrico filio Remer. Will[el]mo bar. pet[ro] bar. Rob[erto] bar. And[re]o
et pet[ro] et Henrico. Lau[rentio] Dulce. Stephano de Chigwellle. et Leconmonge. Sepho d[omi]no. Rogo de Cu-
dington. Johanne Ruffo. Willelmo milite. Germino le mercet. Rad[ulpho] de me. Rogo elio. et multis aliis.



ADAM BEREMUND TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

that of Yngelbern in the parish of St. Alphege at Cripplegate, in free and perpetual alms. Adam confirms this gift with his seal, which bears a curious animal sitting in the attitude of a fighting cock, but with a thin tail and a horned head with upturned snout, features which destroy the first impression that it is a bird.

The witnesses are: "Henry the mayor. John Buchointe. Henry, son of Reiner. William Bat. Peter Bat. Robert Bat. Andrew, son of Peter son of Nevelon. Laurence Duket. Stephen of Chigeswelle. Richard the cormonger. Stephen crassus. Roger of Cudintune. John Ruffus. William Mulvel. German the mercer. Ralph of Clare. Roger the clerk, and many others." John Buchointe is probably the sheriff of 1190, and Stephen crassus is perhaps the Stephen le Gras who was sheriff in 1210.

Chigeswelle was one of the springs like Clerkenwell, Faggesswell, and Goswell, whose streams now flow underground. Chigwell Street preserves its name.

The charter is somewhat later than those of Joce, son of Peter, and Henry, son of Reiner. A fifteenth century note in the cartulary refers it to the tenth year of King John (1208-9).

A chirograph indented of JOHN, ABBOT OF ST. ALBANS, was written between 1195 and 1212.

John de Cella, or of Studham, was Abbot of St. Albans 1195-1214. Matthew Paris says of him that as

soon as he was grown up he was considered a Priscian in grammar, an Ovid in verse, a Galen in medicine.

John by the grace of God Abbot and the Convent of St. Albans grant to Nicholas son of Theobald of St. Albans certain land in London containing in breadth from the street called Crepelgatestrete to the street called Mukewellestrete sixty-two ells and a quarter of one ell, without the thumb, by the iron ell of John King of England, and in breadth along Crepelgatestrete between the land of the fee of the canons of St. Bartholomew's, and the land of the fee of the sick of the hospital of St. Giles thirty-two ells and a quarter of the same measure, and in Mukewellestrete between the land of the fee of the monks of St. Peter's of Westminster and the land of Laurence son of Gregory thirty-four ells, and it contains in the middle of the same land, measured from the land which belonged to Stephen son of Toki to the land which belonged to Geoffrey Manekin fifty-one ells and a half and half a quarter of an ell, and it contains from the land of the sick of the hospital of St. Giles to the land of the monks of Westminster twenty-five ells and a half. Nicholas is to pay them twenty-three shillings sterling and eight pence, that is every quarter five shillings and eleven pence. Nicholas gave them for their charter towards their sustenance "ad pitanciam" one mark of silver. The witnesses were: "Henry mayor of London; Roger son of Alan; Alan son of Peter; Thomas of Haverhill;

Constantine son of Aigulf and Arnulf his brother; Thomas son of Robert the chamberlain; Richard Scutarius; William of Sissevernere; William, Thomas, and Nicholas his sons; Geoffrey of Childewic and William his brother; Laurence of Theobrege; and many others." Two seals remain attached by vellum tags. That of the abbey bears a saint enthroned, with the legend "Sigillum Sci. Albani Anglorum protomartiris," and that of Nicholas, a classical head from a gem.

Roger, son of Alan, succeeded Henry Fitz-Ailwin as mayor in 1212. His brothers William and Richard, who witnessed the charter of his brother Peter, are absent, as is Peter himself, whose son Alan is the third witness. Constantine, son of Aigulf, more often written Ailulf, had been sheriff in 1197 and his brother Arnulf in 1198. Robert Camberlanus is probably identical with the Robert Camerarius whose charter Henry Fitz-Ailwin witnessed in the reign of Henry II., and if so his son Thomas belongs to the same generation as Alan, son of Peter. Mukewellestrete, now Monkwell Street, remains near Cripplegate, and St. Peter's, Westminster, is to this day the place of coronation of our kings. The hospital of St. Giles is the leper hospital which stood in Holborn near the site of the church St. Giles in the Fields.¹

Juliana, the daughter of William, son of Reiner,

¹ The mention of this hospital in deeds as to land in Cripplegate is perhaps the foundation of Stow's statement, that a hospital existed in this part of London.

became the wife of JOHN BOCOINTE, SON OF GAUFRID BOCOINTE, whose charter grants to the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, land in Smithfield, in the parish of St. Sepulchre, between the land which the Abbot of Leicester holds of him and the land which Wido de Tria held of him, with a front of fifty feet (of the feet of St. Paul's) towards the street, paying to him or his heirs annually for every service, sixpence, to be paid in the hospital within the octave of St. Michael. For this concession the brethren gave him two marks of silver "in gersumam." These being witnesses: "Henry son of Ailwin mayor of London; Roger son of Alan; Alan son of Peter; Thomas Alderman of the same ward; William of Haverhill; Thomas his son; Peter son of Henry the mayor; Constantine son of Alulf; Arnold and Adam his brothers; Norman Blund, then sheriff; Gervase of Aldermanbury; Michael of Valecins; Stephen Bonehaie; Geoffrey Bonehaie; Edward the clerk; Robert son of Siward; and many others." His seal shows John Bocointe in armour on horseback, with the inscription "Sigill. Johis. fil. Gaufrid. Bvc." Johannes filius Galfridi Bucuinte has a slightly different seal and the inscription "Sigil. Johis. fil. Galfrid. Bucuinte." Two charters sealed by him are a little later than the time of Henry Fitz-Ailwin, and it is possible that the different seals represent different owners. Norman Blund was sheriff in 1201-2, which gives the date of the charter, the third

or beginning of the fourth year of King John. Roger, son of Alan, and his nephew Alan, son of Peter, follow one another, as in Abbot John of St. Albans' charter. Thomas, alderman of that ward, is the Thomas of Haverhulle (Haverhill) of the abbot's charter, and is followed by two members of his family. Peter, son of Henry the mayor, was Henry's eldest son, and married Isabella, daughter of Bartholomew of Chesnet. They had two daughters, and descendants of one of these are known at the present day. The Bucuintes were a great family in London during the reigns of Henry II. and his sons, and some of their property was in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn. They were friends of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and were also generous to the nuns of Clerkenwell. John Bucuinte the first was sheriff in 1169, and was a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. One of the earliest charters which remain has his seal attached to it, and is described later in this chapter.

A charter of Isabella, the prioress of Clerkenwell, and her convent belongs to the year 1206.¹ It states

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Isabella priorissa ecclesie sancte marie de Clerkene-
welle et conuentus eiusdem loci debemus reddere singulis annis Rogero Palmere et
heredibus suis duos solidos sterlingorum finabiliter de terra que fuit Willelmi Wiliemere
que iacet iuxta capellam sancte Marie de Stannghell uersus orientem. Quam scilicet
terram Rogerus de Paddington dedit nobis in liberam elemosinam. Et hos duos solidos
annui redditus eidem Rogero palmare uel heredibus suis singulis annis ad quatuor
terminos anni scilicet infra octauas pasche vj d. et infra octavas Natiuitatis sancti Johannis
Baptiste vj d. et infra octo dies festi sancti michaelis vj d. Et infra duodecim dies Natalis
Domini vj d. sine omni occasione. Et non queremus artem nec ingenium per quod idem
Rogerus Palmerus uel heredes sui adsint presentes de redditu predicto et quia uolumus*

that they paid to Roger Palmer two shillings a year for the land which Roger of Paddington had given them in free alms, and this they promise to continue to pay: the witnesses being: Henry, son of Ailwin, mayor of London; Robert of Wyburne; William of Haverhill; Thomas his son; Serlo the mercer and Henry of St. Albans, then sheriffs of London; William, son of Reiner; Henry his brother; Alan, son of Peter; Robert Blund; William, son of Aliz; Robert his brother; William Wilkyn, wool-stapler; William the clerk.

Serlo the mercer and Henry of St. Albans were sheriffs in 1206. William of Haverhill had been sheriff in 1189 and 1190, and his son Thomas in 1203.

A chirograph of the same date, that of AUINA, DAUGHTER OF ALUEUA OF SMITHFIELD,¹ is witnessed by the

predictum Rogerum et heredes suos securos esse de redditu predicto finabiliter presentem cartam sigillo nostro confirmauimus. Hiis testibus Henrico filio Alwini maiore Londoniarum: Roberto de Wyburne: Willelmo de Hauerille: Thoma filio eius: Serlone mercerio et Henrico de Sancto Albano tunc vicecomitibus Londoniarum: Willelmo filio Reneri: Henrico fratre eius: Alano filio Petri: Roberto Blund: Willelmo filio Aliz: Roberto fratre eius: Willelmo Wilkyn lanerio: Willelmo clerico.—Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, f. 214.

In the Cartulary of St. Mary of Clerkenwell (Faustina B. ii.) there is a list of Prioresses. The name of Prioress Isabella is shown by this her charter to be placed too late in the series. 1. Christina (Stephen); 2. Ermengard (Richard I.); 3. Hawys; 4. Elyanor; 5. Cesoly; 6. Margery Whatvyll (36 Henry III.); 7. Isabell.

¹ CYROGRAPHUM.—*Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Auina filia Alueue de Smethefelde concessi et dimisi et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis totam terram meam quam habui apud Smethefelde in parochia Sancti Sepulchri que iacet inter terram prioris de Kenningeworthe et Regiam viam uersus fossam domini Regis. Scilicet quicquid ibidem habui in terris et lignis et lapidibus in longitudine et latitudine in rebus cunctis sine aliquo retenemento. Habendam et tenendam eisdem fratribus de me et de heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre et finabiliter reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruitio et exactione et pro omnibus rebus dimidiam libram piperis ad festum Sancti*

Sciant presentes & futuri. Et ego Joce filius Petri d. d. & concessi. & plena carta mea confirmavi. Deo & fratribus Hospitalis sancti
 Bartholomei de Smeetheld. & soliditas quicquid deditur in puram & perpetuam elemosinam placuisse aie meo & successores & suc-
 cessores meos. Et illas & solidos reddunt. Quod pater meus reddere volebat annuatim. Hinc fit deus de gratia sua qui de
 eo conuertit in portu sancti Martini de Ludgate. Et sic tunc hinc Hugo de Smeetheld. & quo reddere ego Joce. de pater
 meo fit deus cum. hic carta dicitur hinc reddere. quoniam ego Joce tenet me heredes de eadem terra. Hinc & tenent pater
 meus & successores hinc. hinc & in pace. hinc & quicquid. hinc & hinc. hic meam terram elemosinam. Et sciend
 est quod pater meus hospitali sancti Bartholomei manent. in possessione. quod annuatim in gratiam hospitalis sui factis
 sicut in die communi omnium fidelium de successores. pater meus & solidos reddunt. in pauperum sustentationem expedit & largiuntur.
 Ita quod non in alios usus nisi in die illa in sustentatione pauperum hinc pater meus. pater meus & solidos annuatim nequam quicquid.
 Das autem & solidos quoniam reddunt. ego memoratus Joce & heredes mei. pater meus & successores hinc. hinc de terra
 & manentibus contra omnes heredes & terras. Et ut ratum & stabile in perpetuum plenarie. plene pagine insep-
 tate & legitime in apostolorum confirmavi. Hinc usque. Et sic fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc
 fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua.

Sciant presentes & futuri. Et ego Anna filia Aluere de Smeetheld concessi & dimisi & hinc plena carta mea confirmavi. fratribus
 Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Lond. tota terra mea quam habui apud Smeetheld & portum sancti Sepulchri que vocatur sancti Martini portus
 de Kenningswellorche & Regia burgi usque Smeetheld. dicitur deus. Et sic quod ibidem hinc & lignis & lapidibus & longum
 & latum in parte curatis hinc aliquo retentionem. Hinc & tenentur eadem fratribus de me & heredibus meis & heredibus
 Libere. quod tenent & habitant. dicitur & annuatim hinc & heredibus meis pater meus & heredes & pater meus & heredes
 dicitur ad festum sancti Bartholomei hinc omni occasione. Et ego Anna & heredes mei & manentibus pater meus & heredes hinc contra omnes
 heredes & tenentes pater meus & heredes. Et hic & concessio & dimissio & manentibus & plena carta mea confirmata deditur archiepi
 pater meus hinc viginti & quatuor solidi & sumam. & Osanne regina mea. xii. s. hinc restibus. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc
 Sintonia hinc de vicecomite. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua.
 hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua. hinc fit deus de gratia sua.

JOCE, SON OF PETER, TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

same John Bucuinte and Michael of Valencins, as well as by Henry, son of Ailwin, then mayor. Avina granted to the brethren of the hospital all the land she had in Smethefeld in the parish of St. Sepulchre lying between the land of the priory of Kenningworthe and the royal highway towards the ditch of our Lord the King, to have and to hold for ever, yielding to her and her heirs half a pound of pepper on the feast of St. Bartholomew. The brethren give her twenty-four shillings "in gersumam" and twelve pence to Osanna, her niece. These being witnesses: "Henry, son of Ailwin, then mayor: Serlo the mercer, then sheriff: Thomas, son of John, son of Nigell, then alderman: John Bucuinte: Galfrid Bonehaie: Michael of Valencins: Robert, son of Bricthtrich: Richard, son of Michael: Ralph of Seintemariglise."

Serlo the mercer was sheriff in 1206: John, son of Nigell, father of Thomas, was sheriff in 1177.

A charter of RADULFUS STEPERANC¹ may probably

Bartholomei sine omni occasione. Et Ego Auina et heredes mei Warantizabimus predictam terram predictis fratribus contra omnes homines et feminas per predictum seruitium. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione et warantislone et presentis Carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi predicti fratres viginti et quatuor solidos in gersumam et Osanne Nepti mee xii denarios. Hiis testibus: Henrico filio Ailwini tunc maiore. Serlone mercero tunc vicecomite. Thoma filio Johannis filii Nigelli tunc Aldermanno. Johanne Bucuinte. Galfrido bonehaie. Michael de Valencins. Roberto filio Bricthtrich. Ricardo filio Michaelis. Radulfo de Seintemariglise.

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Radulfus Steperanc concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmani fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei de londoniis et successoribus suis quandam terram meam extra barram de Smethefelde quam Willelmus faber tenet et uiam que ducit ad gardinum predictorum fratrum que scilicet terra continet in latitudine uersus uicum xii ulnas de ulnis ferreis dimidium quarterium ulne minus. Et in profunditate l et iiii ulnas et in latitudine retro xii ulnas et dimidium de eisdem ulnis. scilicet quicquid ibi est in rebus cunctis. Habendam et tenendam Eisdem fratribus et successoribus suis de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre*

belong to the year 1205-6, as the witness whose name immediately follows that of the mayor is John, son of Elinant, who was sheriff in that year, the eighth of King John.

Ralph grants to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital his land outside the bar of Smithfield which William the smith holds and the way which leads to the garden of the brethren of the hospital, which land contains in breadth towards the street twelve ells of the iron ells, less half a quarter of an ell, and in depth fifty-four ells, and in breadth at the back twelve ells and a half of the same ells. The brethren are to pay to him for every service twenty pence a year, ten within the octave of Easter, and ten within eight days of Michaelmas. The brethren gave him one mark "in gersumam." The witnesses were: Richard, chaplain of Berkingecherche; Salomon, chaplain of the church of St. Mary-le-Bow; Henry, mayor of London; John, son of Elinant; Robert, son of Siward; Robert of Woburne;

fnabiliter. Reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis pro omni seruitio et exactione et pro omnibus rebus xx denarios ad duos terminos anni scilicet infra octabas pasche x denarios et infra octo dies sancti Michaelis x denarios sine omni occasione. Preterea autem sciendum est quod Ego Radulfus siue heredes mei nullatenus poterimus dehospitalari predictos fratres causa aliquem alium hominem siue feminam Ibidem hospitandi. Hanc quoque terram prefatam Ego Radulfus prefatus et heredes mei warantizabimus predictis fratribus et successoribus suis contra omnes homines et feminas per predictum seruitium. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione et warantisione et presentis Carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi predicti fratres unam marcam in gersumam. Hiis Testibus Ricardo Capellano de Berekinge cherche. Salomone Capellano de ecclesia Sancte Marie de archa. Henrico Maiore Londoniarum. Johanne filio Elinante. Roberto filio siwardi. Roberto de Woburne. Radulfo bedello. Hugone thabor. Bruningo piscatore. Johanne clerico: et Multis Aliis.

Ralph the bedell; Hugh thabor; Bruning the fisher; John the clerk, and many others.

Ralph Steperanc's seal is well preserved on its vellum tag, and shows him in armour on horseback with a square helmet, a shield, and a large sword. The legend is, "Sigillum Radulfi Steperanc."

Two other charters of RALPH STEPERANC, sealed with the same seal, relate to land outside the bar of Fageswelle, and in the same region as the land which he granted to the brethren of the hospital. These are witnessed by men of less importance, but are of great interest in relation to the population of the district. One is addressed to Keneward¹ the linen-drapeer, and the other to Gilbert² the husier.

Henry of Cornhill (at that time written Cornhull), the supporter of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, the justiciar who was deposed by John and the Archbishop of Rouen in 1191, was the head of a great family in the city. One of this family, Reginald of Cornhill, was com-

¹ Ralph grants to Keneward all the land which Alard le Tiulur held of Ailred le husiere outside the bar of Fageswelle, between the land of Robert Clobbere and that of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, rendering thence twenty-nine pence a year for every service. For this concession Keneward the linge-drapeer gave him one besant in "in gersumam." Witnesses: Gilbert le husier: Geoffrey le macun: Richard the smith: William the smith: Thomas le macun: Robert clobbere: William Singel-pin: Robert Singel-pin: Walter Scogan: Richard le tiulur: Robert Bishop.

² Ralph grants to Gilbert le husiere all the land which Thubernus the baker held outside the bar of Fageswelle, between the land of Richard the smith and Fageswelle, rendering two shillings a year for every service. For this concession Gilbert gave one besant "in gersumam." Witnesses: Geoffrey le macun: William the smith: Robert clobbere: Keneward the linen-drapeer: Thomas his son: Reimund, son of Keneward: William Singel-pin: Robert Singel-pin: Walter Scogan: Richard the tiler: Robert Bishop.

missioned by King John on October 21, 1205, to buy furs: "The King to Reginald of Cornhill," is the entry in the Close Rolls¹—"We command you that of the sables which William the Englishman of Rouen shall show you, you buy three for our use if better are not to be had in England."

The same Close Rolls show that John, on April 11, 1206, ordered R. of Cornhill to send him ten casks of strong red wine and one cask of Auxerre.² On February 26, 1208, the King commanded W. of Cornhill to buy for his use twenty casks of good red wine that would keep; fifteen were to go to Nottingham and five to Tikehill.²

Two charters in the Cartulary, one of which is witnessed by Henry Fitz-Ailwin, give us a glimpse of this family. Ralph of Cornhill³ gave to St. Bartholomew's two shillings' worth of rent from the land held by Absalon, son of Haldan, in the parish of St. Mary of Redliselane. The witnesses were: Henry, mayor of London; Reginald of Cornhill; Ralph, son of Ralph;

¹ Excerpta Historica: (extracts from the Close Rolls of King John) London, 1831. p. 397.

² Idem, p. 403.

³ Radulfus de Cornhulle omnibus et amicis meis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse pro salute anime mee Deo et hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Lundoniis duas solidatas redditus in terra quam Absalon filius Haldan tenet in parochia Sancte Marie de Redliselane annuatim percipiendas de eodem Absalon. Quare uolo et firmiter concedo quod predictum hospitale teneat bene et in pace predictas duas solidatas redditus saluo seruicio domini feodi. Et ego et heredes mei warrantizabimus predicto hospitali predictas duas solidatas redditus contra omnes homines. Hiis testibus: Henrico maiore Londoniarum: Reginaldo de Cornhull: Radulpho filio Radulphi: Johanne Bucuinte: Rogero filio Alani: Rogero le Duc: Willelmo de Hauerhill: Petro filio Alani: Petro filio Henrici: Willelmo clerico: Petro clerico.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 275b.

John Bucuinte ; Roger, son of Alan ; Roger le Duc ; William of Haverhill ; Peter, son of Alan ; Peter, son of Henry ; William the clerk ; Peter the clerk.

Among these witnesses William of Haverhill was sheriff of London in 1189 and 1190, Roger le Duc in 1189 and 1192, John Bukuinte in 1190, and Roger, son of Alan, in 1192. The charter is therefore likely to belong to an early year of Henry Fitz-Ailwin's mayoralty.

In the Close Rolls of King John¹ there is an entry dated July 11, 1205, in which the King commands Hugh of Nevill to send a good and strong cart to Southampton to carry casks of the King's wine which Daniel the butler will deliver to him to Freismantel, to Lutegershall, to Marlborough, and to Gillingham ; thirty-two casks in all.

A charter in the St. Bartholomew's Cartulary² shows that Hugh of Nevill was the son-in-law of Henry of Cornhill. It is a grant from Hugh of Nevill and his wife Johanna, daughter of Henry of Cornhill, to Roger de Angulo, baker, of land which they held in the parish of St. Peter at Cornhill. The baker was to pay them eight shillings a year and gave them eight marks "in gersumam."

The latest transaction at St. Bartholomew's in which Henry Fitz-Ailwin was concerned was a consequence of the interdict in the reign of King John.

¹ Excerpta Historica, p. 402.

² f. 278a.

On Monday, March 23, 1208, an interdict was proclaimed throughout England. All the sacraments ceased to be administered, except only those of the dying and the baptism of infants. The bodies of the dead, says Mathew Paris, who was a child at the time, and knew in after life many people who could remember it, were brought out of the towns, and, after the manner of dogs, were buried in byways and ditches, without prayers and without the attendance of priests. William of Sanctmerglise, Bishop of London, with the Bishops of Ely and Worcester, communicated to the King the certainty of an interdict if he continued to refuse to receive Stephen Langton as Archbishop, and when they found no sign of penitence in the King the bishops placed his realm of England under an interdict. The three bishops were banished for five years, but William, having received a safe conduct from the King from July 14th to September 29th, returned with papal messages. He was also in England in 1209, but after October in that year went to Rome, and did not return to England till 1213. It was probably between March 1208 and October 1209 that William of Sanctmerglise issued an ordinance,¹ of which a copy is preserved in our

¹ Willelmus Dei Gracia Londinensis episcopus omnibus saucte matris ecclesie filiis per episcopatum Londinensem constitutis salutem in auctore salutis eternam. Cum nuper apostolica iussione per totam Angliam fuit generalis interdicti sententia promulgata adeo quidem ut nusquam liceret defunctorum corpora sicut moris erat Christiane tradere sepulture uiri nobiles et karissimi in Christo filii *Henricus* maior et ciues Londoniarum a dilectis filiis priore et canonicis Sancti Bartholomei necnon a procuratore ac fratribus hospitalis eorundem postulauerunt Ut eis aream quandam hospitali Sancti Bartholomei ex

cartulary, to the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's Church, and to the procurator and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, as to land which they had granted for the burial of the dead during the interdict, to Henry the mayor and the citizens of London.

Christian burial being forbidden, the mayor and citizens had asked the prior and canons and the procurator and brethren for a certain area lying next the hospital on the east side for the public burial of their dead. This was granted, and the place was enclosed. Care is to be taken, says the ordinance, that no bodies of those who chance to die in the hospital are to be buried in this ground. Brethren alike and poor coming to the hospital from other places during the interdict are to be buried as before

orientali parte adiacentem ad publicam mortuorum suorum sepulturam indulgerent. Quorum piam petitionem attendentes memorati tam canonici quam fratres simulque urgentem totius urbis necessitatem considerantes postulacionibus eorundem consensum adhibere felicem et benignum. Verum: Ne sub pretextu pietatis istius oriri poset impietatis occasio: Sano quidem et salubri consilio prouisum est in communi ut area memorata mortuis deferendis Secundum que ciues disposuerunt deputanda circumquaque claudatur aperto aditu ad usum sepulture ciuibus reservando. Cautum est etiam diligenter ut nulli liceat corpora defunctorum quos in hospitali predicto mori contigerit in eadem area sepelire. Omnes enim eiusdem hospitalis tam fratres quam pauperes aliunde uenientes durante interdicto sicut et ante fieri consuevit secundum arbitrium canonicorum in loco competenti ab eis canonicis prouidendo sepelientur sane quam cito gracia diuina largiente sacrosanctam ecclesiam pristina tranquillitate ac libera sacramentorum suorum obseruancia gaudere contigerit. Locus sepe dictus ad ius et possessionem fratrum hospitalis libere reuertetur. Dum tamen nulli omnino homini liceat ulterius in eadem area defunctum aliquem sepelire. Hec autem que scripta sunt ut futuris temporibus inter memoratos canonicos et fratres hospitalis pax inconcussa seruetur sigilli nostri testimonio curauimus communire. Hiis testibus: A. Decano ecclesie Sancti Pauli Londinensis: S. archidiacono Colecestric: R. archidiacono Essexie: J. cancellario: B. precentore: R. de Camera: J. de Sancto Laurencio: H. maiore London: Constantino filio Alulfi: Arnaldo fratre suo: Alano filio Petri: Willelmo filio Reigner: Thoma de Hauerulle: T. filio Nigelli: Michaele de Valentin: et Aliis.

in a suitable place provided by the canons till after the interdict. The place granted at request of the mayor and citizens shall return to the possession of the brethren of the hospital, and after that no one shall bury any one in that area. The ordinance shall in future times keep unbroken peace between the canons and the brethren of the hospital.

The bishop confirmed the ordinance with his seal, the witnesses being Alard, Dean of the church of St. Paul, of London; Simon, Archdeacon of Colchester; Richard, Archdeacon of Essex; John the Chancellor; Benedict the Precentor; Robert de Camera; John of Saint Laurence; Henry, Mayor of London; Constantine, son of Alulf; Arnald, his brother; Alan, son of Peter; William, son of Reigner; Thomas of Haverhill; Thomas, son of Nigel; Michael of Valencin, and others.

The dean was Alard of Burnham, who died August 14, 1216. The Archdeacon of Colchester is probably the Simon who was in office in 1214. Richard of Hegham was Archdeacon of Essex, 1206-14. John of Canterbury is said to have been the first to be called chancellor at St. Paul's, and is recorded to have been a contemporary of Alard. Benedict of Sansetun was precentor, 1203-15. Robert de Camera held the prebend of Chamberlainswood, and John of St. Lawrence that of St. Pancras.

The first lay witness is Henry, Mayor of London, and this deed is evidence of his being in office in 1208.

The absence of documentary evidence of any other mayor till after his death in 1212, and the almost continuous documentary evidence from 1193 to 1208 are sufficient to establish the fact that Henry Fitz-Ailwin was mayor during twenty years.

Constantine, son of Alulf, was sheriff in 1197. After a disturbance in the city, in August 1222, Constantine was hanged by order of Hubert de Burgh, an event which helps to determine the period of the many undated charters witnessed by Constantine and his brother Arnald. Alan, son of Peter, was nephew of Roger, son of Alan, who was the second mayor of London, and successor of Henry Fitz-Ailwin.

William, son of Reigner, or Reiner, was brother of Richard, son of Reiner, who entertained John, then Earl of Moreton, when he came to London in October, 1191.

Thomas of Haverhill took his name from Haverhill in Suffolk, and both he and Michael of Valencin (more often written Valencins) were benefactors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The names of both occur in many charters preserved in St. Paul's Cathedral.

His gift to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the reign of Henry II. is one of the earliest recorded acts of Henry Fitz-Ailwin, then a private citizen, and this arrangement with the Bishop of London about burials during the interdict which is also connected with the hospital is one of his latest recorded public acts as Mayor of London. His name appears in several of the

transactions of the masters who ruled the hospital during his lifetime.

ADAM THE MERCHANT

ADAM the merchant, a layman, was master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the youth of Henry Fitz-Ailwin. He was nominated by the prior of St. Bartholomew's Church, Thomas of St. Osyth's, in 1147,¹ and held office till 1168.² In his time an important addition was made to the extent of the hospital. JOHN BECOINTE,³ WILLIAM, SON OF SABELINA, AND HERSENT,

¹ Deed, p. 52.

² Nomina Magistrorum in Cartulary of St. B. H.: original Charter of Abbot Symon of St. Albans.

³ The name is also written Bocoainte and Bukuinte, and the name "Humfrido Buccauncta" occurs in a charter of James, son of Richard Carbonarius, at St. Paul's (A: box 2, 212), which belongs to the end of the reign of John, or to the beginning of the reign of Henry III. Contractions in this and most subsequent charters are indicated by *italics* in the names only. The charter is written in twenty-five lines:—

CHIROGRAPHUM. | Sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Johannes Becointe et Willelmus filius Sabeline et Hersent uxor Gaufridi | de *sancta* lege concessimus Magistro Ade Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei et ceteris fratribus eiusdem hospitalis terras nostras | que circa predictum hospitale sunt in utraque uia tenendas a nobis et heredibus nostris in feudo et hereditate | finabiliter pro xiiii solidis reddendis annuatim in duobus terminis : pro omni seruitio scilicet infra octauas | sancti Michaelis michi Johanni Becointe xxviii denarios et Willelmo filio Sabeline xxviii d. et Hersent uxori Gau | fridi de *sancta* lege xxviii d. Et infra octauas pasche: michi Johanni Becointe xxviii d. et Willelmo fi | lio Sabeline xxviii d. et Hersent uxori Gaufridi de *sancta* lege xxviii d. Sic quod isti predicti xiiii | solidi predictis terminis perpacati sint. Et terra illa que est apud forum equorum Incipit a spacio quinque pedum | capelle predicti hospitalis sancti bartholomei et tenet in longitudine l. ulnas regis et dimidiam uersus | monasterium *sancti* Bartholomei et in latitudine xix ulnas et dimidiam. Altera uero terra que est in | altero uico apud australem partem uersus ciuitatem continet longitudinem xxii ulnarum et quartam | partem unius ulne. In profunditate xxiii ulnas et quartam partem unius ulne. Pro ista concessione: | dederunt nobis predicti fratres tria talenta auri in gersumam scilicet michi Johanni becointe unum talentum. Willelmo | filio Sabeline unum et Hersent unum. Et predictus Adam et ceteri fratres predicti hospitalis affidare fe | cerunt quod non querent artem nec ingenium ut nos nec heredes nostros exhereditare ualeant nec | census nostros amittamus et quod census nostros presignatis

Scaint tã p̄sentat̄ q̄. fuit̄ qd̄ ego Johes becomte ⁊ Will̄s filī Sabeline ⁊ her̄sent̄ ux̄or̄ Gaufridi
 de sã lege concessim̄ maḡo Ade hospitali sã Bartholomei ⁊ ceteris fr̄ibz ead̄e hospitali t̄ras n̄ras
 que circa p̄dicat̄ hospitale s̄t̄ in usq; una tenendas a nob̄ ⁊ hereditibz n̄ris in feudo ⁊ hereditate
 fut̄abit̄ p̄. xiiij. sol. reddend̄ annuatim̄ in duobz terminis p̄ om̄i sermo. s. infra octavas
 sã mich̄. in Johi becomte. xxviiij. d. ⁊ Will̄o filio Sabeline. xxviiij. d. ⁊ her̄sent̄ ux̄or̄ Gau
 fridi de sã lege. xxviiij. d. Et infra octavas pasche. in Johi becomte. xxviiij. d. ⁊ Will̄o fi
 lio Sabeline. xxviiij. d. ⁊ her̄sent̄ ux̄or̄ Gaufridi de sã lege. xxviiij. d. Sic qd̄ isti p̄dicat̄. xiiij.
 sol. p̄dicat̄ terminis p̄pacati sunt. Et t̄ra illa que ē apud for̄ū equoz incipit̄ à spacio quinq; pedū
 capelle p̄dicat̄ hospitali sã Bartholomei. ⁊ tenet̄ in longitudine. l. ulnas regis ⁊ dimidiã usq; ad
 monastium sã Bartholomei. ⁊ in latitudine. xix. ulnas. ⁊ dimidiã. Alta ū t̄ra que ē in
 alio uno apud aulhalē parte usq; cunctat̄ com̄et̄ longitudinē. xxiiij. ulnarū. ⁊ quartam
 parte un̄i ulne. In p̄funditate. xxiiij. ulnas. ⁊ quartam parte un̄i ulne. P̄ ista concessione.
 deder̄ nob̄ p̄dicat̄ fr̄s tria talenta auri in gersumã. s. in Johi becomte un̄i talentū. Will̄o
 filio Sabeline. unū. ⁊ her̄sent̄ unū. Et p̄dicat̄ adam ⁊ ceteris fr̄s p̄dicat̄ hospitali. affidare fe
 cerunt qd̄ n̄ querent̄ ayte nec ingenū ut nos nec heredes n̄ros ex hereditate ualeant. nec
 census n̄ros amittant̄. ⁊ qd̄ census n̄ros p̄signatas terminis sine occasione pacabunt. Et
 ista conuentio facta fuit̄ corã Rogo p̄ore sã Barth̄ ⁊ corã parte conuent̄. Et si nos uel
 heredes n̄ri redditū p̄dicat̄. xiiij. solidoz dispense uel uendere uel inuadiare uel extra
 termin̄ n̄ras pouē uellen̄. p̄dicat̄ fr̄s p̄p̄ndoz. s. xiiij. d. erunt q̄ nulli alij. Et si forte p̄ p̄dicat̄
 hospitale remanēt̄ qd̄ census n̄ri nob̄ reddit̄ n̄ fuissent. terras n̄ras sine malo ingenio re
 cuparent̄. Et ista p̄dicat̄ conuentione p̄dicat̄ fr̄ibz guarantizabim̄ sic nob̄met̄ipsis.
 His r̄. Rogo sac̄dote de s̄co lausenḡo. Pego filio alani. Radulfo byand. Joh̄e filio her̄.
 henrico filio alswim. Alulfo filio homidy. Maḡo henre de hozk. Mich̄ de val. Lethwino
 besant. Alwino althez. helia sac̄dote. Joh̄e filio ingelly. Will̄o ch̄co. Baldeuim̄ bedel.



THREE BUCINTES TO ADAM, THE MASTER.

wife of Geoffrey de Sancta Lege, granted to Adam and to the other brethren of the hospital their property which adjoined it in two directions to have and to hold from them and their heirs in fee and inheritance permanently for fourteen shillings a year, namely, twenty-eight pence to John Becointe, the same to William, son of Sabelina, and the same to Hersent, wife of Geoffrey de Sancta Lege, at Michaelmas and at Easter. The land which is at the horse market begins, says the charter, five feet from the chapel of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, and is in length fifty ells and a half of the king's ells towards the monastery of St. Bartholomew: in breadth nineteen ells and a half. The other piece of land is on the south side towards the city, and contains in length twenty-two ells and a quarter; in depth twenty-three ells and a quarter.

For the grant the brethren gave three talents of gold "in gersumam," namely to John Becointe one talent, to William son of Sabelina, one, and to Hersent one; and Adam and the brethren promised that they would take no steps to disinherit them or to deprive them of their

terminis sine occasione pacabunt. Et | ista conuentio facta fuit coram Rogero priore sancti Bartholomei et coram parte conuentus. Et si nos uel | heredes nostri redditum predictorum xiiii solidorum dispendere uel uendere uel inuadiare uel extra | manus nostras ponere uellemus predicti fratres propinquiores xii d. erunt quam nulli alii. Et si forte Per predictvm | hospitale remaneret quod census nostri nobis redditi non fuissent terras nostras sine malo ingenio re | cuperaremus. Et istam predictam conuentionem predictis fratribus garantizabimus sicut nobismetipsis | His Testibus: Rogero sacerdote de sancto LAURENTIO. Petro filio Alani. Radulfo Brand. Johanne filio Herlicuin. | HENRICO filio Ailwini. Alulfo filio fromundi. Magistro HENRICO de NORHAMPTONIA. Michaele de valencins. Lefwino | besant. Ailwino Alther. Helia sacerdote. Johanne filio Nigelli. Willelmo clerico. Baldewino bedel |

payment. This agreement was made before Roger, prior of St. Bartholomew's, "and if we or our heirs wish to alienate the fourteen shillings of rent the brethren shall have the same for twelve pence less than any one else, and if by chance the hospital be unable to pay the sum promised, we shall recover our lands without ill-will, and we guarantee this agreement to the aforesaid brethren as to ourselves. These being witnesses: Roger, priest of St. Lawrence; Peter, son of Alan; Ralph Brand; John, son of Herlicun; Henry, son of Ailwin; Alulf, son of Fromund; Master Henry of Northampton; Michael of Valencins; Lefwin Besant; Alwin Alther; Helias the priest; John, son of Nigel; William the clerk; Baldewin the bedell."

The original deed has been preserved in the hospital with three fine seals in dark green wax fastened to vellum tags. The first is oval (3 inches by $1\frac{5}{8}$) and bears an eagle with half-open wings and a legend, "SIGILLUM HARSENT FILIE BEATRI. BVIC." The second seal is circular ($2\frac{1}{4}$ by 2 inches), and shows a man on horseback with a conical helmet and a large shield on his left arm riding to the left. In the margin are the words "SIGILLUM JOHANNIS BUCVINTE." The third seal is also circular ($2\frac{1}{4}$ by 2 inches), and bears a horseman galloping to the right with a falcon on his fist, and wearing a large spur. The man is bare-headed and has long hair. The inscription is "SIGILLUM WILLELMI BUCVINTE."

The grantors were thus all members of the family of Bucuinte.¹ The relationship of Hersent, wife of Geoffrey de Sancta Lege, daughter of Beatrice Bucuinte, and that of William, son of Sabelina Bucuinte, to John is not mentioned, but as their rights in the land were equal it seems probable that they were nearly related. Hersent may have been the sister of John and half-sister of William. John's position in the deed suggests that he was the chief of his generation.

Peter, son of Alan, is the grantor of the deed already mentioned² of which John Bucuinte and Ralph Brand were witnesses, and in which their names precede that of Henry Fitz-Ailwin.

John, son of Herlicun or Erlecon, was sheriff at Michaelmas 1189. Alulf, son of Fromund, was the father of Constantine, son of Alulf. Henry of Northampton is the often-mentioned canon of St. Paul's who held the stall of Kentish-town in 1181. Michael of Valencins has already been mentioned as a benefactor to the hospital. William, son of Sabelina, was sheriff in 1184, as is shown in a deed (*convencio*) of

¹ John Bucuinte was sheriff at Easter 1169. He was probably the grantor in this charter, described on his seal as *Johannes Bucuinte*. A later John Bucuinte was sheriff at Michaelmas 1190, and it is probably he whose seal bears the legend "*Sigillum Johannis filii Galfridi Bucuinte*" described by Warner and Ellis, 76.

² P. 77

³ William son of Sabelina, John Bucuinte, Ralph Brand, John son of Herlicun, and Alulf son of Fromund were witnesses together of a proceeding before Ranulf Glanvill, the King's justiciary (St. Paul's, A: box 15, 839), in which John Bucuinte and Dionisia, his wife, renounced a suit which they had begun against the canons of St. Paul's, the canons agreeing to inscribe their obits in their martyrology and celebrate them every year. Ranulf Glanvill became the King's chief justiciary in 1180 and died in 1190.

WALTER,¹ ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER, dated the thirtieth year of Henry II. and the year of the burial of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the Abbot gives to St. Bartholomew's Hospital the tenement of Terric, son of Albric, in Friday Street: William, son of Sabelina, then being sheriff of London. The witnesses were: William, son of Sabelina; John Bucuinte; Henry, son of Ailwin; Richard, son of Reiner; William, son of Brithmar.

A tenement formerly held by the same John Bucuinte, of the priory to which it had been given by Roger Punchenhall, was afterwards granted to the brethren of the hospital by Richard, prior of St. Bartholomew's Church, and the canons. The brethren were to pay five shillings a year, half at Michaelmas, half at Easter.² The first witness is Henry Fitz-Ailwin, then mayor.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Walterus Dei gratia Abbas Westmonastrensis et conuentus eiusdem loci concessimus hospitali sancti Bartholomei de London, et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totum tenementum Terricii filii Albrici quod predictus Terricus de nobis tenuit in frydaystret preter unam domum de eodem tenemento quam Andreas filius predicti Albrici de nobis tenet, tenendum de nobis iure perpetuo. Reddendo annuatim camere monachorum vii solidos ad duos terminos scilicet ad purificationem sancte Marie iii solidos vi d. Et ad festum sancti Petri ad uincula iii solidos vi d. Similiter eis concessimus totum tenementum quod de nobis Radulfus de quatremares tenuit in Bredestrete. Soluendo inde annuatim camere monachorum v solidos et x d. ad festum Sancti Petri ad uincula. Ut autem conuencio ista perpetuetur sigilli nostri auctoritate et sigilli hospitalis sancti Bartholomei testimonio roboratur. Facta est nero hec conuencio anno regni Henrici regis secundi xxx^o Depositionis autem Ricardi cantuarensis archiepiscopi primo. Willelmo filio Sabeline tunc existente vicecomite Londoniarum. Hiis testibus: Willelmo filio Sabeline: Johanne Buchuinte: Henrico filio Ailwini: Ricardo filio Reineri: Willelmo filio Brithmari.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 202a.

This grant in fee farm of part of the property of the Abbey of Westminster is mentioned by Richard Sporley, the monk of Westminster who wrote the history of the abbey about 1450 (Sporley MS., British Museum).

² Ricardus Prior et Conuentus Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei London omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis salutem. Uniuersitati uestre notum facimus nos concessisse et

A later charter of WILLAM BUCUINTE¹ shows that

hac carta nostra confirmasse fratribus domus hospitalis nostri presentibus et futuris tenementum illud quod Rogerus Puchenall dedit Ecclesie nostre in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam scilicet illud tenementum quod Johannes Bucuinte tenuit de nobis: Habendum et tenendum sibi de ecclesia nostra in perpetuum libere et quiete integre et finabiliter, Reddendo inde nobis quinque solidos per annum medietatem ad Festum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad Pascha. His testibus: Henrico maiore London: Rogero filio Alani: Roberto le Bel: Willelmo filio Sabelline: Johanne Bucuinte: Ernulfo filio Alulfi: Toma Aldermanno: Michaele de Valencins: Johanne le Burguinum: Guberto: Waldino: Ricardo filio Rogeri Puchenall: Nicholao et Petro fratribus suis: Radulpho bedello.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 37b (recent pagination).

Roger son of Alan was sheriff in 1192, Robert le Bel was sheriff in 1197, William son of Sabelina was probably the sheriff of 1193, John Bucuinte the sheriff of 1190, Ernulf son of Alulf was sheriff in 1198, Thomas the alderman was sheriff in 1208.

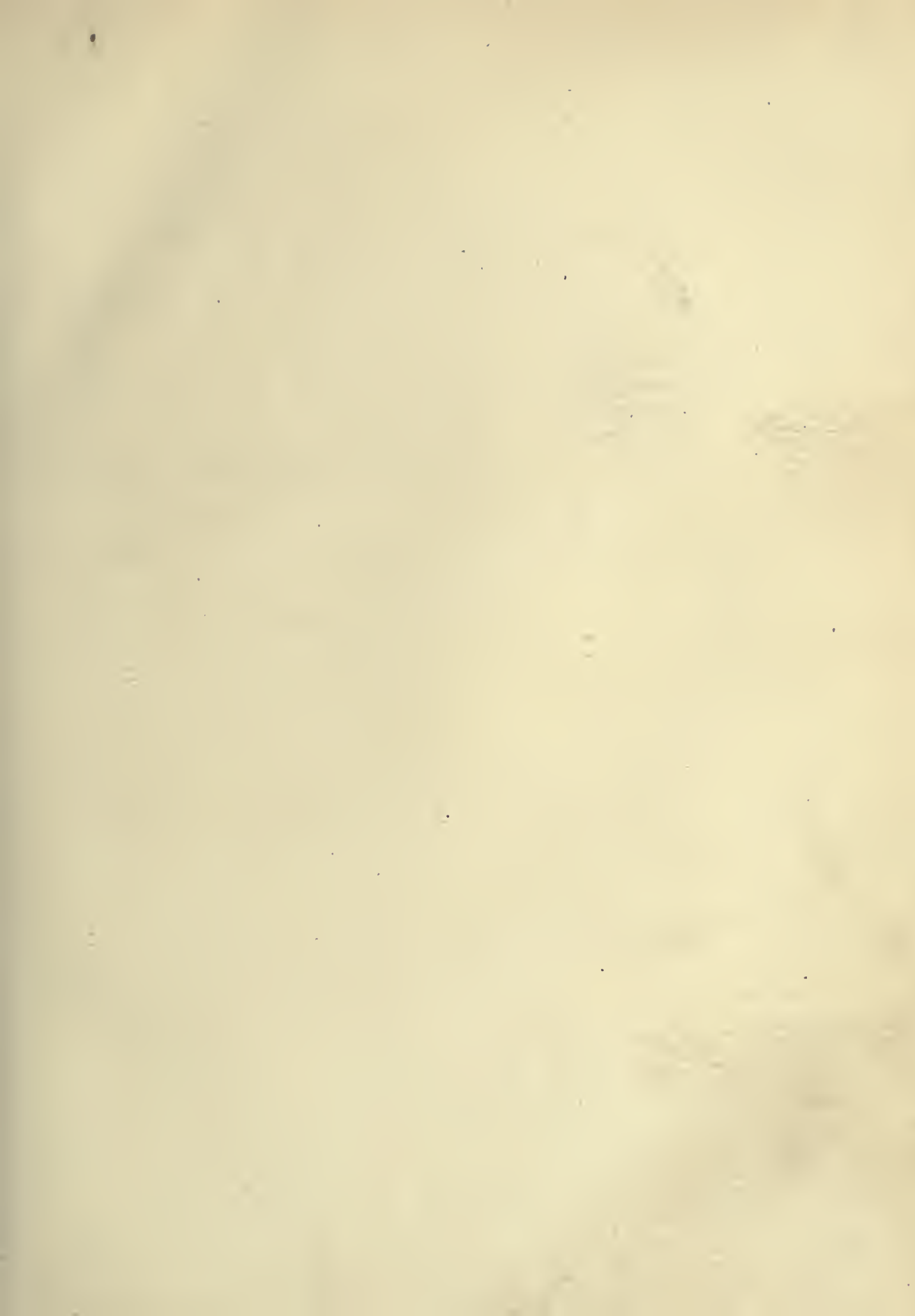
Willelmus filius Sabelline was a Bucuinte, and calls himself Willelmus Bocuinte filius Sabel. in his grant to Edeua, daughter of Wakerilde de Writele.

The John Bucuinte who follows William son of Sabelina is probably the man who was sheriff in 1190, and not the sheriff of Easter 1169.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri Quod ego Willelmus Bocuinte filius Sabeline dedi et concessi et hac mea Carta confirmaui Edeue filie Wakerilde de Writele famule mee pro seruicio suo decem solidatos quieti redditus scilicet septem solidos per annum de terra quam fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei tenuerunt de me apud Smethefelde recipiendos ad duos terminos scilicet infra octo dies festi sancti Michaelis xlii denarios, et infra octauas pasche xlii denarios: et duos solidos per annum ad quatuor terminos recipiendos de terra et soppis quas Simon de Sancto Licio de me tenuit in Parochia Sancte Marie de Archubus que scilicet terra cum soppis iacet in Corneria de Corueserstrate iuxta tenuram Monachorum sancte Trinitatis de Cantuaria uersus orientem et Duodecim denarios per annum infra Octo dies festi Sancti Michaelis recipiendos de terra que fuit Radulfi fabri in Parochia Sancti Johannis Baptiste uersus Aldredesgate. Que scilicet terra iacet iuxta terram Walteri filii Algari uersus Austrum. Quam scilicet terram Decanus sancti Martini de me tenuit Scilicet quicquid in illis decem solidis quieti redditus habui in rebus cunctis sine aliquo retinemento. Habendas et tenendas Eidem Edeue omnibus diebus uite sue libere quiete bene et in pace integre. Si uero predicta Edeua Habitum religionis predicti hospitalis suscipere uoluerit concessi ut predictae decem solidatas quieti redditus remaneant predicto hospitali et fratribus et sororibus ibidem Deo seruientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum. Si autem habitum prefatum suscipere noluerit post decessum eiusdem Edeue septem solidi quos prefati fratres rediderunt michi per annum remaneant predicto hospitali et fratribus et sororibus ibidem Deo seruientibus pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum in puram et perpetuam Elemosinam in perpetuum. Has uero decem solidatas quieti redditus Ego predictus Willelmus et heredes mei warrantabimus prefate Edeue omnibus diebus uite sue contra omnes homines et feminas. Et quia uolui hanc donacionem et concessionem et warrantationem ratam et inconcussam haberi sicut prenotatum est presentem Cartam Sigillo meo confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Herberto capellano. Rogero filio Alani. Thoma de Hauerill. Willelmo Camerario. Ricardo filio Edwardi. Willelmo Joinier Turberno Lorimero. Roberto le Curteis. Johanne clerico.

another part of his estate came to belong to the hospital. It is a grant to Edeua, daughter of Wakerilda of Writele, his servant, of ten shillings of quit-rent, seven from the land which the brethren of the hospital hold of him in Smithfield and two shillings from the land and shops which Simon de Sancto Licio hold of him in the parish of St. Mary-le-Bow, which land and shops stand in the corner of Corveseres Street, next the holding of the monks of the Holy Trinity of Canterbury towards the east, and twelve pence a year from the land which was that of Ralph the smith in the parish of St. John the Baptist towards Aldredesgate (Aldersgate), which land lies towards the south next the land of Walter, son of Algar; and which the Dean of St. Martin's held of William Bucuinte. All these ten shillings he grants to Edeua for all her days. If Edeua chooses to take the religious habit as a sister of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, he grants that the aforesaid ten shillings worth of quit-rent shall remain to the brethren and sisters there serving God, in pure and perpetual alms for ever, but if she does not wish to assume their religious habit, the seven shillings which the brethren pay every year to him shall remain with them after her death, for the good of his soul and those of all his ancestors.

The witnesses were: Herbert the chaplain; Roger, son of Alan; Thomas of Haverill; William the chamberlain; Richard, son of Edward; William Joinier;



Sciant presentes et futuri Qd ego Walterus filius hugonis filii ulgeri dimisi et concessi fratri ade magistro
 hospitalis sancti bartholomei et ecclesie fratri eadem hospitalis terram cum portu ecclesie sancti sepulchri uersus ori-
 entem quam tenent pauca tenenda de me et heredibus meis iure hereditario finaliter reddendo in
 festis sancti andree .xii. diebus. Sic quod nec ego Walterus nec heredes mei potuerunt prescriptam terram unadiare nec
 dispendere nec uendere nec dare nisi predictos duos sol. Et ego Walterus et heredes mei guaranturabimus terram
 presignatam predictis fratribus contra omnes homines. Per istam concessionem deditur in predicta fratri dimidia mayra
 in gersumam. Et ego Walterus istam predictam conventionem tenebo predictis fratribus quantum in heredibus meis
 bene pacabitur in presignatis terminis. scilicet infra octavas iugis festis. His testibus. Willmo de hestera came-
 rario. Joke filio nigelly. Michaela de val. Rogo filio ricardi. Thoma vrec. Alexmo abthe. Ra-
 dulfus fabro. Thoma de noua porta. Nicholao le feyre. Willmo de noua porta.

AD HUGONEM FILIUM ULGERI DIMISI ET CONCESSI FRATRI ADE MAGISTRO

Sciant presentes et futuri Qd ego Walterus filius hugonis filii ulgeri dimisi et concessi fratri ade magistro
 hospitalis sancti bartholomei et ecclesie fratri eadem hospitalis terram cum portu ecclesie sancti sepulchri uersus ori-
 entem quam tenent pauca tenenda de me et heredibus meis iure hereditario finaliter reddendo in
 festis sancti andree .xii. diebus. Sic quod nec ego Walterus nec heredes mei potuerunt prescriptam terram unadiare nec
 dispendere nec uendere nec dare nisi predictos duos sol. Et ego Walterus et heredes mei guaranturabimus terram
 presignatam predictis fratribus contra omnes homines. Per istam concessionem deditur in predicta fratri dimidia mayra
 in gersumam. Et ego Walterus istam predictam conventionem tenebo predictis fratribus quantum in heredibus meis
 bene pacabitur in presignatis terminis. scilicet infra octavas iugis festis. His testibus. Willmo de hestera came-
 rario. Joke filio nigelly. Michaela de val. Rogo filio ricardi. Thoma vrec. Alexmo abthe. Ra-
 dulfus fabro. Thoma de noua porta. Nicholao le feyre. Willmo de noua porta.



WALTER, SON OF HUGH, SON OF ULGER, TO ADAM, THE MASTER.

Turbern the lorimer; Robert le Curteis; John the clerk.¹

The charter is preserved at St. Bartholomew's, which shows that the quit-rent came to the brethren, and therefore that Edeua, the daughter of Wakerilda of Writele, ended her days tending the poor and sick in the hospital in the habit of a sister. She deserves remembrance as the first sister whose name is recorded, and a monument to her memory might well be placed on the green of Writele (now Writtle) in Essex. She died in the reign of John or in that of Henry III., a little before or a little after the first centenary of the hospital. The names of a few of her successors who wore the same habit may be recovered, and the title of sister survives to the present day. Blue dress and a white cap have replaced the religious habit, and the sisters are bound by no vows and are purely secular, but these alterations have made no difference in the thorough nature of their service to the poor. Their assiduous kindness to the patients of St. Bartholomew's is such that the sisters may to this day be truthfully described as "ibidem Deo servientes," there serving God.

WALTER, SON OF HUGH SON OF ULGER,² made a grant

¹ Roger son of Alan was sheriff in 1192, and Thomas of Haverill in 1202. He was son of William of Haverill, who was sheriff in 1189 and 1190, and grandson of Brithichtmer of Haverill, who was sheriff in 1157 and again in 1158. William Joinier was a benefactor of the Franciscans, and is said to have ended his life as a brother of the order.

² ΠΑΝΑΥΡΟΘΙΝΩ.—Sciant presentes et futuri Quod ego Walterus filius Hugonis filii Ulgeri dimisi et concessi fratri Ade magistro hospitalis sancti Bartholomei et ceteris fratribus eiusdem hospitalis terram contra portam ecclesie sancti Sepulchri uersus orientem quam tenuit pauia Tenendam de me et heredibus meis jure hereditario fina-

to Adam the master of land opposite the door of the church of St. Sepulchre towards the east, from which the brethren were to pay two shillings a year, and they gave him half a mark "in gersumam." The first witness is William de Herleia the chamberlain, and nine others follow, of whom the last but two and the last are named from the gate,—Thomas of Newgate, Nicholas le Ferre, William of Newgate.

Thomas and William de Nova Porta no doubt lived near Newgate, which is latinized in their names, and within sight of St. Sepulchre's Church. Chamberlain's gate was not far from Newgate, and was probably a smaller western gate in the wall, and this perhaps explains the presence of the chamberlain as the first witness in this charter referring to land near his gate.

This chirograph was probably written near the end of Adam's mastership. Walter's part and Adam's part have both survived since they were cut asunder in the reign of Henry II. It is interesting on putting them together to observe the slight differences made by a most skilful scribe in two transcriptions of the same

biliter reddendo michi uel heredibus meis annuatim ii solidos ad duos terminos pro omnibus seruitiis. Scilicet Ad pascha xii d. Ad festum sancti Michaelis xii d. Sic quod nec ego Walterus nec heredes mei poterimus prescriptam terram inuadiare nec dispendere nec uendere nec dare nisi predictos duos solidos. Et ego Walterus et heredes mei Guarantizabimus terram presignatam predictis fratribus contra omnes homines. Pro ista concessione dederunt michi predicti fratres dimidiam marcau in gersumam; et ego Walterus istam predictam conuentionem tenebo predictis fratribus quamdiu michi nel heredibus meis bene pacabunt in presignatis terminis scilicet infra octauas utriusque festi. Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Herleia camerario: Johanne filio Nigelli: Michaele de Valencins: Rogero filio Ricardi: Thoma vree: Ailwino alther: Radulfo fabro: Thoma de noua porta: Nicholao le ferre: Willelmo de noua porta.

Hec est conuencio inter Symonem Abbatem et Ceteram sancti Albani Hospitalis
 sancti Bartholomei in Smepestet London. Videlicet quod frater predicti hospitalis
 tenebunt iure perpetuo de ecclesia sancti Albani totam tenementum quod heruasius
 clerici tenebant de ecclesia sancti Albani in Wdestrata London. reddentes inde
 singulis annis per manum ipsi qui custos procurator hospitalis fuerit ecclesie sancti
 Albani quatuor solidos ad duos terminos. Videlicet duos solidos ad pascha et duos
 ad festum sancti Michaelis. Tenebunt preterea ipsi hospitalis fratres tenementum
 quod Henricus Le esgreis tenuit in Wdestrata de ecclesia sancti Albani. Soluentes
 annuatim inde memores ecclesie quatuor solidos ad presbiteros terminos. scilicet ad
 ustrungis terminum. decem et octo denarios. In festo. Manum le maynes.
 Martini. huc de clouulka. Terminus beate Michaelis de Valencem. Martini
 Locharnis. Ruce de asparis. Willo armico. Mano de chaur. Willo
 Apellano. Mano cluco. Symon fit canonicus. Altero le loynges.



SYMON, ABBOT OF ST. ALBANS TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

words. Little did he think that the parts of his chirograph would come together again after seven hundred and forty years.

Walter, son of Hugh son of Ulger, afterwards entered into an agreement about the same land with Alan, the next master but one.

Adam continued master for nearly twenty years. The latest charter in which he appears is an agreement between SYMON, ABBOT OF ST. ALBANS,¹ and the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The agreement is a chirograph divided by a straight cut at the side, and with the fine seal of the abbey, "*Sigillum sancti Albani Anglorum Protomartiris*," attached to the side opposite to the word "Chirographum." The brethren are to hold of the church of St. Alban, the tenement in Wode Street, London; which Gervasius the clerk held of the church of St. Alban, paying thence every year by the hand of whoever should be warden or procurator of the hospital to the church of St. Alban four shillings, two at Easter, two at Michaelmas. The

¹ Hec est conuencio inter Symonem Abbatem et Ecclesiam Sancti Albani et Hospitale Sancti Bartholomei in Smethefelde lundoniarum. Videlicet quod fratres predicti hospitalis tenebunt inre perpetuo de ecclesia Sancti Albani totum tenementum quod Gervasius clericus tenuit de ecclesia Sancti Albani in Wodestrata Londoniarum reddentes exinde singulis annis per manum ipsius qui custos et procurator hospitalis fuerit ecclesie Sancti Albani quattuor solidos ad duos terminos. Videlicet duos solidos ad Pasca et duos ad festum Sancti Michaelis. Tenebunt preterea prefati hospitalis fratres tenementum quod Henricus le estreis tenuit in Wodestrata de ecclesia Sancti Albani. persoluentes annnatim inde memorate ecclesie tres solidos ad prescriptos terminos. Scilicet ad utrumque terminum decem et octo denarios. His testibus: Adam le mercer: Martino: Hugone de clounilla: Terrico bette: Michael de Valencenis: Martino Lotharing: Race de Merideizre: Willelmo Armigero: Alano de chاوز: Willelmo capellano: Alano clerico: Symone filio Gaufridi: Alberto le lorimer.

brethren are also to hold the tenement which Henry le Estreis held in Wode Street of the church of St. Alban, paying thence three shillings a year, eighteen pence each half year. These being witnesses: Adam le mercer; Martin; Hugh of Clouvilla; Teric Bette; Michael of Valencins; Martin the Lotharingian; Race of Merideizre; William the esquire; Alan of Chauz; William the chaplain; Alan the clerk; Symon, son of Geoffrey; Albert le lorimer.

Stow conjectures that the family of a sheriff of 1491, Thomas Wood,¹ gave their name to the street, but this deed shows that it was known by its present name early in the reign of Henry II. St. Alban's Church, with a fine, solid Gothic tower built by Wren, is one of the features of Wood Street at the present day, and marks the ancient relations of the district with St. Alban's Abbey.

Symon, a great lover of books, was installed Abbot of St. Alban's, May 30, 1167,² and the lists of masters in the St. Bartholomew's Cartulary states that Adam's successor was elected in the twelfth year of Henry II. The earlier dates of the list are not always precise, and the presence of Adam the mercer, as the representative of St. Bartholomew's, while Symon was Abbot of St. Albans, proves that his mastership continued into the thirteenth year of Henry II., A.D. 1167.

¹ Stow, "Survey of London" (ed. 1633), p. 307.

² Matthew Paris.

Sancti Petri et Pauli q[ue] ego Stephanus Mag[ister] hospit[alis] s[an]cti Dunst[onis] et eiusdem loci frat[er] abbas et concessimus Mag[ister] Rad[olphus] de Alcr[ia]
tota placua n[ost]ra cu[m] v[er]g[er]ia q[ua]m in eade[m] fecit Rob[ertus] Red[er]d[us] esse[m] tenenda et habenda om[n]ib[us] dieb[us] uite sue
reddendo nob[is] singulis annis .xxij. s. p[er] om[n]i[um] fest[iv]o. ad fest[iv]u[m] Salic[ie] s[an]cti Michael[is] vi. den[ari]o[rum]. et ad pasche .xij.
den[ari]o[rum]. Concessimus et p[re]dicto Mag[ister] Rad[olphus] q[ua]ndu[m] iure[m] liberu[m] iure[m] et exitu[m] p[er] portu[m] n[ost]ru[m]
exterior[em] usq[ue] ad placua sua que extendit a porta exterior[is] usq[ue] ad portu[m] interior[em] usq[ue] ad glonem
sic d[omi]n[us] muro n[ost]ro que[m] i[n]t[er]na[m] et licet deo Mag[ister] Rad[olphus] h[ab]eat una[m] claue[m] in porta n[ost]ra exterior[is]
ut q[ua]n[do] voluerit h[ab]eat diffidat n[ost]ru[m] iure[m] et exitu[m]. Mag[ister] u[ero] Rad[olphus] p[re]dictu[m] placua n[ost]ra nob[is]
relinq[ue] lib[er]am et q[ua]nta[m] cu[m] tota[m] exco[m]m[un]icac[i]o[n]e[m] q[ua]m in ea fecit. et ad maiore[m] securitate[m] cum nos q[ue] Rad[olphus] p[re]dictu[m]
scripto sigill[is] n[ost]ris apposuimus. H[uius] Test[is]. Alano cap[itu]l[ar]i. Vitale. Lamb[ertus]. Rob[ertus] de Cam[er]well. J[oh]n[es] de Can[ter]bury
et toto cap[itu]lo n[ost]ro. Mag[ister] B[er]n[ardus]. J[oh]n[es] de Gas[par]ind. Canon[us] s[an]cti Pauli. Al[ex]ander de Valcon. Theoph[ylus]
de Gropel[er]e Bald[ulphus] cleric[us]. et q[ua]n[da]m alius.

STEPHEN THE MASTER

STEPHEN, Adam's successor as master,¹ was elected by the chapter of the brethren according to the regulations of the Composition of Thomas of St. Osyth's.

The earliest list of the staff of St. Bartholomew's Hospital now extant occurs among the witnesses of a charter, an indented chirograph, of STEPHEN.² It was probably written soon after he became master, and grants to Master Ralph de Alcr. a place, "with the storehouse in the same which Richard, Archdeacon of Essex, built," paying to the master and brethren twelve pence for every service, sixpence at Michaelmas, sixpence at Easter.

¹ In the list in the Cartulary of St. B. H., Stephen is called "procurator" and "primus magister secularis." The list was compiled by brother John Cok from the records now extant in the Cartulary, and these, when compared with such originals as exist, show that he made several historical errors. Stephanus Magister lived in the reign of Henry II., before the time of Alan the priest. Stephanus procurator lived after Alan, and was master of the hospital till shortly before the death of Henry Fitz-Ailwin in 1212.

² CIROGRAPHUM.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Stephanus Magister hospitalis sancti Bartholomei et eiusdem loci fratres dedimus et concessimus Magistro Radulfo de Alcr', totam placiam nostram cum Grangia quam in eadem fecit Robertus Archidiaconus Essexie tenendam et habendam omnibus diebus uite sue reddendo nobis singulis annis xii d. pro omni seruitio. Ad festum scilicet sancti Michaelis vi denarios et ad pascham vi denarios. Concessimus etiam predicto Magistro Radulfo quam diu uixerit liberum introitum et exitum per portam nostram exteriorem usque ad placiam suam que extendit a portu exteriori usque ad portam interiorem uersus aquilonem sicut antiquitus muro terreo erat inclusa et licebit dicto Magistro Radulfo habere unam clauem in porta nostra exteriori ut quamdiu voluerit sine difficultate nostri intret et exeat. Magister uero Radulfus post decessum suum placiam nostram nobis relinquet liberam et quietam cum tota melioratione quam in ea fecerit, et ad maiorem securitatem tam nos quam Radulfus presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposimus. Hiis Testibus: Alano capallano: Vitale: Lambert: Robert de Camerwelle: Jordano le tanur: et toto capitulo nostro: Magistro Benedicto: Johanne de Garlande: Canonicis sancti Pauli: Michael de Valecins: Stephano de Crepelgate: Baldewino clerico: et multis aliis.

The place adjoined the hospital, for the charter goes on to state: "We grant also to the aforesaid Master Ralph, as long as he lives, free entrance and exit through our outer gate to his place, which extends from the outer gate to the inner gate towards the north, so that it was of old shut in by a brick wall; and the aforesaid Master Ralph may have a key for our outer gate, so that he may go in and come out without difficulty when he wishes. At his death Master Ralph shall restore free and undisturbed possession of the place to us, with the whole improvement which he may have made there, and for greater security we as well as Ralph have affixed our seal to this writing."

These being witnesses: Alan the chaplain: Vitalis: Lambert: Robert of Camberwell: Jordan the tanner: and all our chapter: Master Benedict, John of Garland, Canons of St. Paul's: Michael of Valecins: Stephen of Cripplegate: Baldwin the clerk: and many others.

Alan, Vitalis, Lambert, Robert, and Jordan, with Stephen presiding over them, were the staff of St. Bartholomew's in the reign of Henry II., the representatives in that remote time not only of the physicians and surgeons but of the president, of the treasurer and almoners, of the governors, of the clerk, the rentar and the steward, and the other officials who carry on the work of the hospital for the benefit of the patients in its wards.

John of Garland held the stall of Newington in St. Paul's Cathedral after Gilbert Foliot, who became Bishop of London in 1163. Richard, Archdeacon of Essex, who is mentioned in the charter as belonging to the past, was succeeded in his office in 1168 by Robert Banaster. Master Ralph de Alcr,¹ who was granted free entrance and egress, and trusted with a key, was a person of importance, and probably a member of the chapter of St. Paul's, since two of the canons were present as witnesses.

The termination of the mastership of Stephen is not recorded, but it may be inferred that he retired or died shortly before the election of the next master² in 1182.

¹ The contraction in the original charter is "Alcr.," with a dash horizontal above *cr*, beginning in a fine upstroke at an acute angle to termination of the *r*. Small *t* and small *c* are sometimes difficult to distinguish, but in this charter the difference is well marked. Besides three *t*'s combined with *s* in *festum*, *Testibus*, *Stephano*, there are fifty-eight small *t*'s, and in every one of these the extension backwards and forwards of the top stroke makes the nature of the letter certain. There are, excluding capitals, thirty-eight *c*'s, in only one of which, that of *securitatem*, is there any possibility of confusion with *t*. An identical horizontal dash occurs in several words of the charter, representing *ist* in *magistro*, *m* in *placiam* and in *suam*, and *ano* in *Stephano*. It is clearly a general sign of abbreviation, so that the name was probably Radulfus de Alcr. I have never seen a contemporary writing of the name of Radulfus de Alta Ripa, who was magister scholarum or chancellor of St. Paul's during the episcopate of Gilbert Foliot (1163-1188). I once hoped to identify the chancellor with Radulfus de Alcr— of this charter.

² In the "Nomina magistrorum" in the Cartulary, Hugh is named as succeeding Stephen and preceding Alan. He is described (Hugo capellanus procurator primus magister capellanorum qui obiit quinto decimo die mensis aprilis) as "first master of the chaplains," and as having died April 15th. No year of his election is given, and no year of his death, and an examination of the charters of Hugh shows that he lived after Alan and not before him, and that he was master in the reign of Henry III. and not of Henry II. The Stephanus procurator of several charters belonged to the later years of the mayoralty of Henry Fitz-Ailwin, and does not appear in the list of masters because John Cok confused him with Alan's predecessor.

ALAN THE PRIOR

ALAN, a priest, was elected master¹ in 1182, and died in 1211, but seems to have resigned his office before the end of 1198. His lifetime included all but the last year of the mayoralty of Henry Fitz-Ailwin.

Ralph de Diceto, the historian, was elected Dean of St. Paul's the year before Alan became master of St. Bartholomew's.

Gilbert Foliot, who preached the sermon when Henry II. did public penance at Canterbury for the hasty words which led to the murder of the archbishop, was Bishop of London for the first six years of Alan's mastership. Richard of Ely, author of the "Dialogus de Scaccario," the earliest account of the royal revenues and their administration by the Court of Exchequer, was his bishop from 1189 to 1198, and William of Sanctmerglise, also a man of letters, was the occupant of the see for the remainder of Alan's life.

When Alan was elected master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Richard of Dover was Archbishop of Canterbury, but died in 1184 and was succeeded by Baldwin, whose life ended at the siege of Acre in November 1190. Hubert Walter, Chancellor of England, a great statesman as well as a great prelate, was the next ruler

¹ Cok counts Alan as the sixth master: "Alan the priest, procurator A.D. 1182, in the time of King Henry II. in his xxiii year, and he died A.D. 1211." It is evident that a *v* was accidentally omitted in writing the regnal year.

C. et Legati London. Episcopi et Rector Decanus et Nicholaus Archidiaconus London. Omnibus Sancte matris Ecclesie
 filiis in domino salutem. Invisitata uere presentia scripta duximus mandanda. quod cum de cognato. que in
 dilectos uros. Alanum fratrem et fratres sancti Bartholomei et Petri de Watling. super Ecclesia de Watley. uere
 not. a summo pontifice domino papa lucio audienda et fini debito concedenda comissa fuisset. nos domini papa mandata
 effectum incipere uolentes. predicti. p. semel. f. do. demum et edicto peremptorio. citare curauimus. sed cum
 nec per se. nec per responsales sufficientem coram nobis aliquam comparerent. prefati. p. et fratres. in possessione ipsius
 Ecclesie causa rei secundum decreuimus immittendos. donec idem. p. se nobis exhibens possessionem suam ipsorum
 aduocato iudicio saltem recuperare uideretur. Elapsi uero anno cum memorato. p. nec per se. nec per Alanum suum not
 copiam exhiberet. habito super hiis cum uiris discretis consilio. sepedem. p. et fratres. uos tandem Ecclesie
 possessiones constituendos decreuimus. et eos auctoritate qua fungebamur. salua eisdem. p. iustitiae. p. et
 in expensis predictae Ecclesie possessionem induci fecimus. In uate



GILBERT, BISHOP OF LONDON, RALPH DE DICETO, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S,
 NICHOLAS, ARCHDEACON OF LONDON.

of the province, and after Hubert's death Alan lived four years under the primacy of Stephen Langton.

Henry II. was king when Alan was appointed master, and he may have seen King Richard when he returned thanks at St. Paul's on his release from captivity. John he had certainly seen while he was only Earl of Moreton, and he was his subject for twelve years.

The Holy See was filled by five successive popes during his mastership: Lucius III. (1181-1185), Urban III. (1185-1187), Gregory VIII. (1187), Clement III. (1187-1191), and Celestine III. (1191-1198).

Pope Lucius III. referred the investigation and decision of a cause in which Alan was concerned to GILBERT, BISHOP OF LONDON, RALPH THE DEAN, and NICHOLAS, ARCHDEACON OF LONDON.¹ It was a controversy between Alan the prior and the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Peter of Wakering about the church of Little Wakering. The dean and the

¹ *Gilbertus Dei gratia Londoniensis Episcopus et Radulfus Decanus et Nicholaus Archidiaconus Londoniensis Omnibus Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis in domino Salutem. Vniuersitati uestre presenti scripto duximus intimandum quod cum cause cognitio que inter Dilectos nostros Alanum priorem et fratres Sancti Bartholomei et Petrum de Wakeringa super ecclesiam de Wakeringa uertitur nobis a summo pontifice domino papa Lucio audienda et fini debito contradenda commissa fuisset: nos domini pape mandatū effectus mancipare uolentes predictum Petrum semel secundo demum etiam edicto peremptorio citare curauimus set cum nec per se nec per responsalem sufficientem coram nobis aliquatenus compareret: prefatum priorem et fratres in possessionem ipsius Ecclesie causa rei seruande decreuimus inmittendos donec idem Petrus se nobis exhibens possessionem suam prestita cautione iudicio sisti recuperare mereretur. Elapso uero anno cum memoratus Petrus nec per se nec per alium sui nobis copiam exhiberet habito super hoc cum uiris discretis consilio sepredictum priorem et fratres ueros iamdictę Ecclesie possessores constituendos decreuimus et eos auctoritate qua fungebamur salua eidem Petro questione proprietatis in corporalem predictę Ecclesie possessionem induci fecimus. Bene valete.*

archdeacon cited both parties, but Peter neither appeared nor appointed a representative. A year passed by, and no evidence was produced to support his claim to the church. Alan and the brethren of the hospital maintained their claim, and were accordingly put in possession of the church.

Three seals were affixed to the deed, of which two remain on their vellum tags. That of the bishop is much broken, and the seal on his right has disappeared. The seal on the left has an outer and an inner border of words much obscured, and within them a finely executed head which looks like a late classical design. The seal is probably that of the archdeacon.

A charter of ALAN¹ is preserved at St. Paul's Cathedral in which, as in the above judicial decision, he is styled Prior, a term sometimes applied to the master of a hospital, but which was rarely used at St. Bartholomew's. Alan, the prior of the hospital, and

¹ *Sciant omnes quod ego Alanus prior et fratres Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei: tenemur in perpetuum reddere: annuatim canonicis Sancti pauli, in Nativitate Sancte Marie x. denarios et obolum pro terra que fuit. Swetmanni de pola. quam emimus in eorum presentia: a Gileberto et Stephano filiis eius et eorundem sororibus. Adelia. Hyldiarda. et Hersent. Ipsam etiam non poterimus donare neque uendere neque alio modo expendere. nisi per ipsos et coram ipsis. Et de hac conuentione feci ego Alanus prior loco fratrum meorum ipsis fidelitatem. quod et facient mei successores. His testibus: Radulfo decano. Nicholao archidiacono. Henrico thesaurario. Magistro Nicholao. Magistro David. Magistro Hugone. Magistro Radulfo. Magistro Henrico. Roberto de Cliforde. Ricardo iuniore. Henrico filio episcopi. Gileberto Banastre. Radulfo de Chiltonia. Hugone de Raculf. Magistro Ricardo, canonicis. His etiam laicis Osberto. Fergant. Wlfrico. Ailwino.*

the brethren agree to pay an annual rent of five pence halfpenny on the Nativity of St. Mary (September 8th) to the canons of St. Paul's for land which once belonged to Swetman de Pola, and which the brethren had bought in the presence of the canons from Gilbert and Stephen, sons of Swetman, and their sisters, Adelia, Hyldiarda, and Hersent. Alan promises not to give away or to sell the property, except with their consent, and pledges his faith and that of his successors to the agreement.

The witnesses were the dean and fourteen canons and four laymen, Osbert, Fergant, Wulfric, and Ailwin.

The date of the charter is an early year of Richard I., as is indicated by comparing the years in which the witnesses held their several offices or estates.¹

Radulfus de Diceto (Dean), 1181-1199.

Nicholas, Archdeacon (of London), 1181-1192.

Henry Banastre (Treasurer), 1162-1192.

Robert de Clifford (Prebend of Portpoole), 1192.

Gilbert Banastre (Prebend of Consumpta per mare), 1192.

Hugh de Reculver (Prebend of Reculverland), 1185-1192.

Radulfus de Chilton (Prebend of Rugmere), 1183-1193.

There is a copy of this charter in the Hospital Cartulary and of its confirmation by the dean.

Alan maintained the ecclesiastical privileges of the hospital, and he obtained several papal bulls confirming

¹ Le Neve, "Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanæ" (Oxford, 1854), vol. ii.

them. Before his time, in the pontificate of Alexander III., which began September 7, 1159, and ended August 30, 1181, St. Bartholomew's Hospital had obtained a bull confirming its possessions and rights.¹ This ancient document, written on very thick parchment, still remains in the hospital, having escaped the surrender of papal documents which took place in the reign of Henry VIII.; and there is a copy of it in the Cartulary. A fragment of thread is all that remains of its appended seal. All that property which the master and brethren canonically possess or may justly acquire in future are taken by this bull under the protection of the Holy See. The chapel of the hospital and the tenths granted by the prior of the church of St. Bartholomew are confirmed to the brethren. No one is to disturb them or deprive them of their possessions. The year of Alexander III. is not given, but the bull ends, "Datum Anagnie v. Idus Aug."

¹ ALEXANDER episcopus seruus seruorum dei Dilectis filiis. preceptori et fratribus hospitalis domus sancti Bartholomei de Smedhefeld salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quotiens aliquid a sede apostolica postulatur, quod honestati conueniat, et a iuris ordine non discordet, prompta nos decet uoluntate concedere, ac postulancium uota effectu prosequente complere. Ea propter dilecti in Domino filii, uestris iustis postulationibus clementer annuimus, et locum uestrum in quo diuino mancipati estis obsequio cum omnibus que in presentiarum canonicè possidetis, aut in futurum iustis modis prestante domino poteritis adipisci sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus. Preterea capellam domui uestre contiguam, et decimas a priore ecclesie sancti Bartholomei canonicè uobis concessas, uobis et per uos eidem domui auctoritate apostolica confirmamus. Decernimus ergo, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat, uos uel prefatum hospitale temere perturbare, aut possessiones uestras auferre, nel ablatas retinere, minuere, aut aliquibus uexacionibus fatigare, seu hanc paginam nostre protectionis et confirmationis infringere, uel ei aliquatenus contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursum. Datum Anagnie v. Idus. Aug.

ALEXANDER q̄s servus servorum dei. Dilectis filiis. preceptorum et fratribus hospitalis
domus s̄ci Bartholomei de Smedebefeld. etc. apostolicis benedictis. Quotiens aliquid a
sede apostolica postulatur. quod honestati committitur. aures ordine non discer-
det. prompta nos deest voluntate concedere. ac postulanti nota effectu
prosequere complecti. Ea propter dilecti in domino filii. vestre iustis
postulationibus clementer annuimus. et locum vestrum in quo domino
mancipati estis obsequio. cum omnibus que in presentiarum canonice pro-
fuerint. aut in futurum iustis modis vestre domus poteritis adipisci.
sub beati Petri et Pauli proteccionis suscipimus. Preterea castellum domus
vestre contiguum. et decimas a vicario ecclesie s̄ci Bartholomei canonicis vobis
concessas. vobis et per vos eidem domui auctoritate apostolica confirmamus.
Occurrimus ergo. ut nulli omnino hominum liceat. nos vel prefatum hospi-
tale temere perturbare. aut possessiones vestras auferre. vel ablatas re-
tinere. minuere. aut aliquibus negotiationibus fatigare. seu sui regnamus nre
confirmations proteccionis infringere. vel ei aliquatenus contraire.
Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit. indignationem et iram nostre
et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum. Dat. Inque. v. Id. Aug.

In 1183 Alan obtained from Pope Lucius III.¹ a bull which sets forth that the hospital and its property,

¹ Lucius Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis Alano presbytero procuratori hospitalis domus de Smethfulde eiusque fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris canonicè substituendis in perpetuum. Quosciens a nobis petitur quod religioni et honestati conuenire dinoscitur, ex animo nos libenti concedere, et petencium desideriis effectum congruum impertiri. Ea propter dilecti in Domino filii uestris iustis postulacionibus clementer annuimus et prefatum hospitalet domum cum omnibus que in presenciarum iuste et canonicè possidet uel in futurum concessione pontificum, largicione regum uel principum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis iustis modis prestante Domino poterit adipisci sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et presentis scripti priuilegio communiuimus. Statuentes ut ea firma uobis uestrisque successoribus ut illabata permaneant. Ex quibus hec propriis duximus exprimenda uocabulis: locum ipsum in quo idem hospitalet situm est cum omnibus pertinenciis suis: Ex dono Willelmi de Choneham unam domum Londonie cum pertinenciis suis: Decimam panis et elemosinarum que remanet in mensa canonicorum Sancti Bartholomei et quicquid habetis in elemosinis et possessionibus in Ciuitate Londoniarum et extra. Sane noualium uestrorum quos propriis manibus aratis siue de nutrimentis Animalium uestrorum nullus a uobis decimas exigere uel extorquere presumat. Cum autem generale interdictum fuerit, liceat uobis clausis ianuis et pulsatis campanis exclusis excommunicatis et interdictis suppressa uoce diuina officia celebrare. Crisma uero, oleum sanctum, consecraciones altarum seu basilicarum, ordinaciones clericorum qui ad sacros ordines fuerint promouendi, et cetera ecclesiastica sacramenta a diocesano episcopo sine prauitate uobis precipimus exhiberi, si quid catholicus fuerit et gratiam atque communionem apostolicæ sedis habuerit. Insuper de consueta sedis apostolicæ clemencia uobis duximus indulgendum ut sepulturam ad opus uestrum et familie et proprium Capellanum qui in ecclesia uestra ministret sine contradictione qualibet habeatis. Obeunte autem te nunc eiusdem loci procuratore uel tuorum quolibet successorum nullus ibi qualibet astucia seu uiolencia proponatur nisi quem fratres communi consensu uel fratrum pars consilii sanioris secundum Dei timorem prouiderint eligendum. Paci quoque et tranquillitati uestre paterna in posterum sollicitudine prouidere uolentes auctoritate apostolica prohibemus ut nullus infra fines domorum seu grangiarum uestrarum furtum uel rapinam seu uiolenciam facere aut hominem capere uel interficere audeat. Prohibemus eciam ut nullus archiepiscopus, diaconus, archidiaconus uel eorum officialis uos aliquibus presumat indebitis exaccionibus uel grauaminibus molestare. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat prefatam hospitalet domum temere perturbare uel eius possessiones auferre, aut ablatas retinere, minuere, seu quibuslibet uexacionibus fatigare sed omnia integra conseruentur eorum pro quorum gubernacione atque sustentacione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura: Salua sedis apostolicæ auctoritate et diocesani episcopi canonica iusticia: Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisue persona, hauc nostram constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere tentauerit ire secundo tercioue commonita, nisi reatum suum congrua satisfaccione correxerit, potestatis honorisque sui careat dignitate, reamque se diuino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine Dei ac Domini redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi aliena fiat atque in extremo anime districtæ ulcioni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco sua

or any it may in future acquire from the beneficence of popes, of kings, or princes, or from the offerings of the faithful, are taken under the protection of St. Peter and of the Holy See. The following possessions are confirmed by name—the site of the hospital, a house in London given by William of Choneham, the tenth of the bread and alms of the table of the canons of St. Bartholomew's, and whatever possessions the hospital has in alms or property in the city of London or without. No tithe is to be levied on its tillage or cattle. If there should be a general interdict, the brethren may nevertheless, doors being closed and no bells rung, celebrate the divine offices in a low voice, excommunicated and interdicted people being excluded. The holy oils and other "ecclesiastica sacramenta" from the bishop of the diocese may be given to them. They may have a burial-ground for themselves and their household. The freedom of the election of the master is to be observed. Peace and quiet are to be preserved within their walls, and no theft or violence or taking or slaying of men are to be permitted there. No one is to molest the hospital or diminish its substance.

The bull was granted at Anagni by the hand of Abert, cardinal priest and chancellor, December 18th,

iura seruantibus sit pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Quatenus ex hoc fructum bone actionis recipiant et apud districtum iudicem premia etern. pacis inueniant. Amen. Datum Anagnie per manum Aberti Sancte Romane ecclesie presbyteri Cardinalis et Cancellarii xv kal. Januarii Indictione Secunda Incarnacionis Dominice Anno M. C. xxxiiij. Pontificatus nostri Domini Lucii pape tercii Anno tercio.—Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, f. 47a and b.

the second indiction, the year of Our Lord 1183, and the third year of the pontificate of Pope Lucius III. The bull is attested by eleven cardinals and a bishop.

Ego Johannes presbyter Cardinalis titulo Sancti Marci.

Ego Petrus presbyter Cardinalis titulo Sancte Susanne.

Ego Vinianus titulo Sancti Stephani in celio monte presbyter Cardinalis.

Ego Laborans presbyter Cardinalis Sancte Marie transtiberin titulo Calixti.

Ego Pandulfus presbyter Cardinalis titulo basilice XII. Apostolorum.

Ego Henricus Albanei episcopus.

Ego Jacobus Diaconus Cardinalis Sancte Marie in cosmidyn.

Ego Gracianus Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani Diaconus Cardinalis.

Ego Bobo Diaconus Cardinalis Sancti Angeli.

Ego Gerardus Sancti Adriani Diaconus Cardinalis.

Ego Octavianus Sanctorum Sergii et Bachii Diaconus Cardinalis.

Ego Albinus Diaconus Cardinalis Sancte Marie nove.

Most of the names, after so many centuries, recall not the signatories, but their churches.

Every one who has been to Rome knows St. Mark's, which stands in the shadow of the splendid palace once the residence of the ambassador of the Republic of Venice.

The mosaics of the apse of St. Mark's were already ancient in the time of this grant to St. Bartholomew's.

St. Stephen, the great round church on the Celian Hill; Santa Maria in Trastevere, in which the huge, irregular, monolithic columns, and the mosaic of the

apse representing the faithful flock are much older than the days of Alan ; Santa Maria in Cosmedin, where the fine brick tower was, at the end of the twelfth century, comparatively new ; SS. Cosma and Damian, by the forum, dedicated to the physicians who, except the evangelist St. Luke, have been more often mentioned throughout Christendom than any others of our profession, and in which the mosaic showing Bethlehem on one side and Jerusalem on the other, and between them the figures of the charitable physicians, was already in its place,—these are what come into the mind of a modern reader of this list of the great ecclesiastics who attested the bull granted to our master Alan in the reign of King Richard I.

Pandulf, the cardinal priest of the basilica of the Twelve Apostles, was a learned Pisan, who had at the date of this bull just completed his first year of office, and was not the legate who died Bishop of Norwich, and who appears in Shakespeare's " King John."

During Alan's lifetime the interdict of 1208 occurred, and the hospital no doubt had the advantage of the privilege of exemption from the terrible inconveniences of such a time.

Alan obtained a second bull from Pope Lucius III.¹

¹ Lucius Episcopus servus servorum Dei Dilectis filiis *Alano* presbytero procuratori hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum eiusque fratribus communem vitam ducentibus Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem : Quanto laudabilius imminetis servicio conditoris in operibus caritatis et maxime in receptione pauperum et ministerio infirmorum uos iugiter exercentes : tanto libencius paci uestre et profectui debemus et uolumus providere, ne forte per cuiuslibet molestiam prauitatis pauperum cura deperat aut erga

After the benediction it commends the works of charity of the hospital, and especially the reception of the poor and the attendance of the sick. It had been observed that by an ill-considered arrangement of Adam, a layman, who was formerly procurator of the hospital, an agreement had been made between the hospital and the

illud quod absit feruor vestre deuocionis tepescat. Significatum siquidem nobis est quod per inprudam ordinacionem Ade laici, qui procurator domus uestre quondam fuerat constitutus, talis inter domum illam et canonicos Sancti Bartholomei conuencio facta est et scripto publico roborata, quod obeunte pro tempore eiusdem loci custode, ille uobis erit auctoritate prioris et capituli proponendus quem uos communi assensu de uestro consortio duxeritis eligendum, qui iam dicto priori, salua domus custodia et indemnitatem, fidelitatis prestito iuramento generalem de concensu uestro et liberam loci ipsius administracionem habeat, excepto quod sine prioris et canonicorum assensu neminem ad uictum perpetuum in uestram societatem assumet, unde accidit, sicut est nobis pro certo relatum, quod licet in eodem loco nunc per Dei gratiam multitudo maxima infirmorum, pauperum, et orphanorum elemosinis Christi fidelium uestroque studio sustentetur, supradicti prior et canonici, que sua sunt querentes non que Iesu Christi, si quando super recepcione quorumlibet pro necessitate pauperum a uobis fuerint requisiti, eo se difficiliore exhibent quo magis qui recipiendi sunt domui uestre utiles esse creduntur, ut uobis uiam universe carnis ingressis domus uestra et stipendia pauperum in eorum omnino deueniant potestatem. Quum igitur ea que de cupiditatis radice prodeunt falce sint correccionis apostolice rescicanda, presentium auctoritate statuimus ut seruato in aliis tenore conuencionis inter uos et canonicos memoratos, sicut sine prauitate facta est et scripto autentico continetur si forte sepedicti prior et canonici a uobis cum humilitate qua conuenit requisiti in recipiendis personis liberis et absolutis uobis de cetero graues fuerint aut molesti, liceat tibi, *Alano* fili tuisque successoribus cum consilio fratrum tales e seculo fugientes cum opportunum fuerit libere ad conuersionem recipere et absque ullius contradicione in uestro consorcio retinere, qui tamen predictis canonicis debitam reuerenciam exhibeant et honorem. Ad hec quia locus in quo domus uestra constructa est pro fratrum et aliorum ibidem consistencium multitudine nimis angustus esse proponitur, liberam uobis concedimus auctoritate apostolica facultatem ut salua indemnitatem uicinarum ecclesiarum oratorium uestrum cum officiis infra fundum proprium ad locum pauperibus uobis magis idoneum transferre possitis assensu diocesani episcopi requisito, cui, cum constructum fuerit, ab ipso munus consecracionis et alia ecclesiastica sacramenta sine difficultate aliqua exhiberi et interim, nullius contradicione nel applicatione obstante, cimiterium ibidem pro fratribus, familia et pauperibus precipimus benedici non obstante quod apud predictorum ecclesiam canonicorum hactenus habueritis sepulturam, cum in paccione prefata nulla de fratribus uestris apud eos sepeliendis mencio habeatur. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre constitucionis et concessionis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursurum. Datum Verone. xvii. Kal. Augusti.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, f. 48a.*

canons of St. Bartholomew's, confirmed by a public document, that when the warden of the hospital might die, the brethren, with the authority of the prior and chapter, should propose whom they thought most fit, and that he should have free administration of the place, except that without assent of the prior and canons no one should be admitted to permanent residence in the society. Whence it has happened that although, by the grace of God, a very great multitude of sick, of poor, and of orphans by the alms of the faithful of Christ, and by the care of the brethren are sustained, the prior and canons have wished to obtain the whole power over the hospital and the revenues of the poor. This is censured, and it is ordered that the agreement between the hospital and the canons be observed in general, but Alan is authorised, with the counsel of the brethren, to admit to the society such, fleeing from the world, as he thinks fit, and they are, however, to pay due reverence to the canons. The brethren may transfer their oratory to another and more suitable part of the hospital with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, to be consecrated by him when so constructed. The brethren may have a cemetery for themselves and for the poor, notwithstanding that the brethren hitherto had burial with the canons. The bull was issued at Verona, July 16.

The canons still oppressed the brethren, and a brief

of Pope Lucius III.,¹ written from Verona on July 24 to the Abbot of Boxley, the Archdeacon of Rochester, and Master Henry of Northampton, directs them to hold an inquiry into the matter. It seems that when the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, according to custom, had placed in their own chapel the body of a brother who had been removed from this present life, the prior and canons against custom and right wished to carry off the body by force, the

¹ Lucius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis Abbati de Boxelia : Roffensi Archidiacono : et magistro Henrico de Norhantonia. Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad audienciam apostolatus nostri noueritis peruenisse quod cum dilecti filii nostri fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum corpus cuiusdam fratris sui qui de presenti fuerat uita sublatas sicut moris est in Capella propria collocassent Prior et canonici Sancti Bartholomei nolentes contra consuetudinem et iusticiam corpus per uiolenciam asportare : in eosdem fratres sibi prout poterant resistentes propter appellacionem ad nos factam leuitate propria excommunicacionis sentenciam protulerunt : Ac insuper in eos ausu temerario irruentes manibus uiolentis in eos iniectis turpiter et inhoneste tractarunt manusque cupidas extendentes ad cereos que a plerisque fidelibus laudabili deuocione ad exequias ferebantur eos in usus proprios conuerterunt. Cumque predicti fratres et Alanus presbiter procurator eorum ad Archidiaconum loci suam querimoniam pertulissent, memoratus Prior de Canonicorum assensu et prenominatus Alanus in manu ipsius Archidiaconi fidem dedisse dicuntur quod super hiis et aliis que a parte fuerant canonicorum objecta sex uirorum quos communi eligerent uoluntate arbitrium conseruarent et licet in eadem compromissione sub fidei religione fuerit comprehensum quod neutra parcium ullum grauamen aut molestiam alteri interim irrogaret, nichilominus tamen ut audiuius dicti prior et canonici contra sacramentum fidei uenientes memoratis fratres sicut excommunicatos fecerunt a quam pluribus euitari et insuper graues eis iniurias et dampna plurima intulerunt. Quocirca discrecioni uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus si uerum est quod asseritur, priorem et canonicos pro transgressione fidei pena debita sine appellacionis diffugio percellentes, eos memoratis fratribus de dampnis datis et illatis iniuriis satisfacere competenter et ab eorum indebita molestacione desistere per censuram ecclesiasticam compellatis. Sentenciam autem excommunicacionis, si propter appellacionem interpositam in fratres ipsos ut dictum est lata fuit, irritam denunciatis. Ipsunq; priorem pro eo quod appellacioni non detulit ab auctoritate excommunicandi aliquem appellacione postposita suspendatis donec apostolicam super hiis resciscitis uoluntatem. Quod si omnes hiis exequendis nequiueritis interesse duo uestrum ea nichilominus exequantur, nullis litteris ueritati preiudicantibus et iusticie a sede apostolica Impetritis. Datum Verone. viiiij. Kal. Augusti.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 48b.

brethren resisting as much as they could. On account of an appeal made to the Holy See, the prior excommunicated the brethren. Afterwards the canons took away the candles which were brought by many of the faithful with praiseworthy devotion to the funeral ceremonies and converted them to their own use. When the aforesaid brethren and Alan, the priest, their procurator, carried their complaint to the archdeacon of the place, the prior, with the assent of the canons, and the before-named Alan, agreed before the archdeacon himself that on these and other points which the canons raised, six men, whom by common agreement they should choose, should hold an arbitration, and that in the meantime neither party should molest the other. Nevertheless the prior and canons, against their oath, made the brethren, as if excommunicate, to be shunned by many persons, and inflicted serious injuries and many hurts upon them.

The abbot and his colleagues are to ascertain the facts, and if the prior and canons have thus broken faith, they are to compel them to make good the injuries and to desist from any further molestation. The sentence of excommunication they passed on the brethren is to be denounced, and the prior is to be suspended from the power of excommunication till the apostolic will is known on the matters referred.

The Archdeacon of London to whom the brethren had complained was probably the Nicholas who was

one of the arbitrators of the controversy with Peter of Wakeryng. Henry of Northampton was an active canon of St. Paul's, holding the prebend of Kentish-town in the time of Dean Ralph de Diceto. Boxley was a Cistercian abbey in Kent, founded about forty years before the date of this papal letter.

Urban III. (1185-87) addressed a brief from Verona, September 5, to the Bishop of London, exhorting him to take St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where many sick and poor are sustained, under his protection and to protect the brethren from attacks, and to publicly censure any who lay hands on them.

On January 10, 1190, Alan¹ obtained from Pope Clement III. a bull granted at the Lateran taking the hospital and its property under the protection of the Holy See, and granting them a cemetery for the burial of the brethren and sisters and of the poor in the hospital.

¹ Clemens episcopus Seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis Alano Procuratori et fratribus domus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Sacrosancta romana ecclesia deuotos et humiles filios ex assuete pietatis officio propensius diligere consuevit et ne prauorum hominum molestiis agitentur eos tanquam pia mater sue protectionis munimine confouere: Ea propter, dilecti in domino filii, deuocionem quam erga romanam ecclesiam et uos ipsos habere dinoscimini attendentes: personas uestras cum omnibus bonis tam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis que in presenciarum racionabiliter possidetis uel in futurum iustis modis prestante domino poteritis adipisci sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus. Specialiter autem domum hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei cum omnibus pertinenciis suis sicut eam iuste possidetis: deuocioni uestre auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrociniio communimus. De consilio fratrum uobis ibidem cimiterium indulgemus, ad sepulturam fratrum et sororum in domo hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Deo seruiencium et pauperum ibi existencium. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat personas aut bona uestra nullatenus perturbare: seu hanc paginam nostre protectionis, confirmacionis, et constitucionis infringere: uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit: indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursum. Datum Lateran. iij Idus Januarii: Pontificatus nostri Anno iij^o.—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*, f. 51a.

In the following year the indefatigable master obtained a bull from the new pope, Celestine III., taking the hospital under his protection, confirming its privileges, and encouraging it, if attacked, to appeal to the Holy See. The document was completed at the Lateran, March 13, 1191.¹

In the same year the Pope addressed the Bishop of London, desiring the bishop to protect the hospital, its master and brethren. The brief is dated from St. Peter's, May 20, "in the first year of our pontificate."

On August 29 of the same year Alan obtained a bull,² dated from St. Peter's and addressed to him and

¹ Celestinus episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis Alano procuratori domus hospitalis Sancti bartholomei de Landoniis et eiusdem loci confratribus. Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Sacrosancta romana ecclesia deuotos et humiles filios ex assuete pietatis officio propensius diligere consuevit et ne prauorum hominum molestiis agitentur tanquam pia mater sue proteccionis munimine confouere. Ea propter, dilecti in Domino filii, deuotionem uestram quam erga beatum Petrum et nos ipsos habere dinoscimini attendentes, personas uestras cum omnibus bonis iam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis que nunc et infuturum poteritis de propicio adipisci: sub beati Petri et nostra proteccione suscipimus. Specialiter autem libertates uestras et immunitates et antiquas consuetudines et priuilegia et Indulgencias nobis et successoribus nostris ad sustentacionem fratrum et hospitem suscepcionem auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus: Statuentes ut nullus contra priuilegia uestra et indulgencias nos aliquo modo molestare presumat siue pro impetracione Indulgentiarum seu priuilegiorum a sede apostolica optentorum excommunicacionis uinculo uos innodare. Si uero pro necessaria rerum hospitalis prefati alienacione ad questio preuenerit et propter istud vos aggrauari presenseritis, libere uos liceat ad sedem apostolicam appellare ut sub romani pontificis arbitrio questio mota finem debitum sorciatur. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat personas uestras uel bona temere perturbare: seu hanc paginam nostre protectionis et confirmacionis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursum. Datum Lateran. iij Id. Marci: Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.* The briefs of Urban III. and Celestine III. are also in the Cartulary. They are in general terms.

² Celestinus Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis Alano procuratori hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Landoniis eiusque fratribus communem uitam ducentibus: Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quanto laudabilius imminetis seruicio conditoris in operibus pietatis et maxime in recepcione pauperum et ministerio infirmorum uos iugiter

to the brethren, which commends their work of receiving the poor and tending the sick. It recites the

exercentes tanto libencius paci uestre et perfectui debemus et uolumus prouidere. Ne forte per cuiuslibet molestiam prauitatis pauperum cura depereat aut erga illos quod absit feruor uestre deuocionis tepescat. Significatum siquidem est quod per inprudam ordinacionem Ade laici, qui procurator domus uestre quondam fuerat constitutus, talis inter domum illam et Canonicos sancti Bartholomei conuencio facta est et scripto publico roborata quod obeunte pro tempore eiusdem loci custode: Ille uobis erit auctoritate prioris et capituli proponendus quem uos communi assensu de uestro consorcio duxeritis elegendum qui iam dicto priori salua domus custodia et indempnitate fidelitatis prestito iuramento generalem de consensu uestro et liberam loci ipsius administracionem habebit: excepto quod sine prioris et canonicorum assensu neminem ad uictum perpetuum in uestram societatem assumet. Unde accidit sicut est nobis pro certo relatum, quod licet in eodem loco nunc per Dei gratiam maxima multitudo infirmorum pauperum, et orphanorum elemosinis Christi fidelium uestroque studio sustentetur supradictus prior et canonici que sua sunt querentes non que Iesu Christi: si quando super recepcione quorumlibet pro necessitate pauperum a uobis fuerint requisiti eo se difficiliore exhibent quo magis qui recipiendi sunt domui uestre utiles esse creduntur ut uobis uiam uniuerse carnis ingressis domus uestra et stipendia pauperum in eorum omnino deueniant potestatem. Quum igitur ea que de cupiditatis radice prodeunt falce sunt correccionis apostolice resecanda, presencium auctoritate statuimus ut seruato in aliis tenore conuencionis inite inter uos et canonicos memoratos sicut sine prauitate facta est et scripto autentico continetur: si forte sepe dictus prior et canonici a uobis cum humilitate qua conuenit requisiti in recipiendis personis liberis et absolutis uobis de cetero graues fuerunt aut molesti. Liceat tibi, *Alane*, tuis que successoribus cum consilio fratrum tuorum tales e seculo fugientes cum oportunum fuerit libere ad conuersionem recipere et absque ullius contradiccione, in uestro consortio retinere. Ad hec quum ex multitudine morientium in domo hospitalis uestri et nimia cimiterii longinquitate per medium forum equorum et uias lutas labor fratrum et seruiencium in domo uestra qui tumulandis funeribus intendunt diebus hiis in immensum creuisse dinoscitur: precipimus infra cepta domus uestre cimiterium uobis per Londoniensem episcopum, nullius contradiccione uel appellacione obstante beneficii ad opus fratrum et familie et pauperum et illorum qui gracia pauperum apud uos elegerunt sepeliri: Non obstante quod apud ecclesiam canonicorum Sancti bartholomei hactenus habueritis sepulturam cum in pactione uestra nulla de fratribus uestris apud eos sepeliendis mentio habeatur: non obstantibus litteris si que contra hanc indulgenciam nostram et predecessorum nostrorum priuilegia et indulgencias fuerint impetrate. Preterea si quis tibi, fili *Alane*, uel tuis successoribus occasione pacti initi inter uos pro impetracione priuilegiorum uel indulgenciarum a sede apostolica inpetratarum notam periurii sine excommunicacionis obiecerit, auctoritate apostolica uos absolutos esse noueritis. Nulli ergo omnino homini licet hanc paginam nostre concessionis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit: indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se nouerit incursum: Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum iiii Kal. Septembris: Pontificatus nostri Anno primo.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 49a and b.

substance of the composition of Adam's time and generally confirms the bull of Lucius III.

On June 28, 1192,¹ another bull granted at the Lateran was addressed to Alan. The hospital was not to be prevented from receiving legacies duly made to it. No one without special leave from the Holy See was to excommunicate or to suspend the master or brethren or to publish a sentence of interdict against the hospital.

On the same day² another bull was issued by Pope

¹ Celestinus episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto filio Alano procuratori hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Cum a nobis petitur quod iustum est et honestum, et uigor equitatis ut ordo exigit rationis ut deo per sollicitudinem officii nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum. Ea propter, dilecte in Domino fili, tuis iustis postulacionibus grato concurrentes assensu, procuracionem dicti hospitalis sicut rationabiliter possides, auctoritate tibi apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communnimus: Districtius prohibentes ne quis testamenta que extremis decedentium uoluntatibus fuerint gracia pauperum hospitali quod procuras rationabiliter legata auertere aut extorquere presumat. Iubemus insuper ut nullus in personam tuam uel uicarios tuos uel fratres excommunicationis uel suspensionis aut in ipsum hospitale Interdicti Sentenciam absque speciali mandato nostro audeat promulgare. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmacionis et prohibicionis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit Indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se nouerit incursum. Datum Lateran. iiii Kal. Julii: Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 49b.

² Celestinus episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uniuersis Christi fidelibus per Angliam constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quum ut ait apostolus omnes stauimus ante tribunal Christi recepturi prout gessimus in corpore siue bonum siue malum oportet nos diem missionis extreme misericordie preuenire operibus et eternorum intuitu seminare in terris quod reddente cum multiplicato fructu recolligere debeamus in celis firmam spem fiduciam que tenentes: quum qui parce seminat parce etiam metet et qui seminat in benedictionibus de benedictionibus etiam metit uitam eternam. Unde quando dilecti filii nostri fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londonie ad reparacionem edificiorum suorum et refectiones pauperum uestris indigent elemosinis adiuuari: Uniuersitatem uestram monemus et exortamur in domino atque in remissionem uobis peccatorum iniungimus quatenus diuini amoris intuitu et proprie salutis optentu predictis fratribus, cum ab eis fueritis iaunatis requisiti manum auxilii porrigatis, ut uobis et aliis coadiuantibus incepta ad receptionem pauperum edificas ualeant promoueri salubriter et hospitalitatis officium commodius exerceri et uos per hec et alia bona opera que domino inspirante feceritis ad eterne felicitatis gaudia mereamini peruenire. Datum Lateran. iiii Kal. Julii: Pontificatus nostri Anno Secundo.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 49b.

Celestine, urging the faithful in England to contribute to the repair of the buildings of the hospital and the support of the inmates.

These papal bulls show plainly that the differences with the priory had not been terminated by the deed of Thomas of St. Osyth's. Alan obtained a fresh composition¹ or settlement of affairs from the Bishop of London, Richard of Ely.²

¹ In the list of masters in the Cartulary this is called "the second composition," the first being that of Thomas of St. Osyth's.

² Ricardus dei gratia *Lundoniensis* Episcopus Omnibus fidelibus per episcopatum *Lundoniensem* constitutis eternam in domino Salutem. Ad uniuersitatis uestre noticiam uolumus preuenire quod cum controuersia et longa disceptatio coram nobis inter Canonicos sancti Bartholomei et fratres hospitalis eiusdem ecclesie uerteretur de procuratore domus hospitalis instituendo: tandem post multas altercationes lis inter eos pacifice in hoc modo conqueuit. Videlicet quod procurator domus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei *Lundoniarum* debet sollempiter obedienciam facere priori eiusdem ecclesie et iurare quod fideliter ministrabit in hospitali et quod terras et redditus eiusdem domus non alienabit neque uendet neque alicui in feodo concedet nec ad paruum seruitium rediget sine assensu nostro et assensu prioris et Canonicorum sancti Bartholomei. Neminem etiam ad uictum uel uestitum continuum et perpetuum poterit admittere nec extra domum prebendam uendere uel dare uel inuadiare sine assensu prioris et Canonicorum sancti Bartholomei. Et quicumque recipiendi sunt ut fratres et sorores in eadem domo: debent habitum conuersionis a priore in Capitulo Canonicorum recipere: et Obedienciam facere priori et Ecclesie sancti Bartholomei. Procurator etiam domus hospitalis debet bis compotum reddere per annum de receptis et expensis in presentia domini Episcopi uel alicuius quem a latere suo destinare uoluerit: et in presentia prioris sancti Bartholomei. Et omnes fratres et sorores domus hospitalis quater in anno ad processionem sancti Bartholomei debent conuenire. Videlicet in purificatione beate MARIE et dominica in ramis palmarum et in die Pasche et in die Ascensionis domini.

Quicumque etiam in predicto hospitali debet institui procurator communi consilio Canonicorum Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei et fratrum hospitalis de eisdem fratribus uel aliunde si inter eos ydoneus inuentus non fuerit: ita tamen quod non sit Canonicus sancti Bartholomei: debet eligi et substitui et eo modo quo supradictum est priori Sancti Bartholomei obedienciam facere. Similiter quicumque Capellanus in eadem domo ministrabit, debet per priorem et procuratorem eligi et Episcopo uel Archidiacono presentari et admissus Canonicam obedienciam facere Episcopo uel Archidiacono et sacramentum fidelitatis prestare Ecclesie sancti Bartholomei et eorum communi consilio si postea minus idoneus fuerit inuentus, debet ammoueri et maius idoneus substitui. Eodem modo procurator domus hospitalis, si inuutilis fuerit, communi consilio tam Canonicorum quam fratrum debet ammoueri et alius ydoneus sicut supradictum est substituetur. Ut autem nec

The original deed, with the bishop's seal attached, is among the records of St. Paul's Cathedral, where it has been ever since it was drawn up in the reign of Richard I. The seal of the bishop is a little broken, but otherwise the ordinance is in perfect preservation.

The ordinance states that there has been a prolonged controversy between the canons of St. Bartholomew's and the brethren of the hospital with regard to the institution of the procurator of the hospital house, and that at length, after many discussions, the dispute between them has been peacefully settled as follows:—The master or procurator of the hospital is to solemnly undertake obedience to the prior, and is to swear that he will faithfully administer the hospital, and that he will not alienate any of its property except with the consent of the Bishop of London and that of the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's. No one is to be admitted to permanent pension or investiture without consent of the prior and canons, and no prebend is to

Canonicis nec fratribus hospitalis contra hanc compositionem et utriusque domus ordinationem in presentia nostra uiris discretis assidentibus factam liceat uenire de communi eorum consensu sententia excommunicationis eos omnes Innodamus qui predictam ordinationem irritare presumpserint.

Testibus His: Radulpho de diceto decano Ecclesie Sancti Pauli Lund: Alardo Archidiacono Lund: Henrico Banastre thesaurario Sancti Pauli: Ricardo de Storteford magistro scholarum Lund: Roberto de Cliford: Rogero Capellano: Alano Capellano episcopi: Ricardo Capellano Episcopi: Magistro Benedicto: Magistro Thoma de Cabbeham: Berengario Capellano: Johanne de Waltham: Magistro Roberto de Meldis: Henrico filio Ailwini Maiore Lund: Gervasio de Aldermansberi: Rogero filio Alani: Johanne filio Herlicuin: Gwillelmo de Hauerhelle: Nicholao duket: Johanne Bukuinte: Johanne Burgelun: Adam Beremund: et Multis Aliis.

be disposed of without their consent. Whatever persons are admitted as brethren or sisters of the hospital are to receive their habit of conversion from the prior in a chapter of the canons, and must swear obedience to the prior and church of St. Bartholomew. The procurator of the hospital is to render account twice a year of the receipts and expenditure in the presence of the Bishop of London, or of some one deputed by him, and of the prior, and four times in the year all the brethren and sisters of the hospital house are to come to the general assembly of the members of the foundation at St. Bartholomew's, namely, on the Feast of the Purification, Palm Sunday, Easter Day, and Ascension Day. The procurator of the hospital is to be placed in office with the common consent of the canons and of the brethren of the hospital, and is to be chosen from the brethren, or from elsewhere if none of the brethren be fit for the office, but is not to be one of the canons of St. Bartholomew's Priory. He is to promise obedience to the prior. All chaplains serving in the hospital are to be chosen by the prior and the procurator, and they are to be presented to the bishop or to the archdeacon, and are to swear canonical obedience to the bishop or to the archdeacon and are to take an oath to be loyal to the church of St. Bartholomew. If the procurator turn out worthless, he is to be removed, by common consent of the canons and of the brethren, and a better to be substituted. Finally

excommunication is threatened against any who dare to disturb this ordinance. The names of twenty-two witnesses follow.

The bishop who issued the ordinance—Richard of Ely—had been Dean of Lincoln, and was consecrated Bishop of London, December 31, 1189. He died September 10, 1198, so that it is clear that the deed belongs to the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion.

This Bishop Richard, the third of his name in the see of London, was a statesman and a man of letters as well as an upright and munificent prelate. His dialogue on the Exchequer is a well-written piece of political history: and it is to be regretted that his historical book "Tricolumnis" has not survived. He received the King at St. Paul's, in 1194, on his return to England from his captivity. Many of the witnesses of this old piece of writing were present, and saw the royal Crusader on his knees in St. Paul's. The first witness is Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, who like the bishop was an historian, and one of the chief men of letters of his day in England. He became dean in 1181, and held office about twenty years. He spent most of his life at St. Paul's, there wrote his history, "Ymagines Historiarum," and when he died left a chasuble of red samite embroidered with foliage in gold, and other vestments, and his books, to his beloved cathedral. The deed of gift of his library is addressed to this Bishop Richard. The dean's

name is followed by that of Alard, Archdeacon of London.

Henry Banastre, the next witness, was treasurer of the cathedral in 1192, when he signed some regulations as to residence drawn up by the dean.

Richard of Storteford, master of the schools of London, an office which was somewhat later merged in that of Chancellor, was in office in 1184, and died about 1215. Robert of Clifford held the prebend of Portpoole, and the next eight witnesses, Roger, the chaplain; Alan, the bishop's chaplain; Richard, the bishop's chaplain; Master Benedict; Master Thomas of Cobbehams; Berengarius the chaplain; John of Waltham; Master Robert de Meldis, were all ecclesiastics, and most of them connected with the cathedral. The names of nine laymen follow, of whom the first is Henry, son of Ailwin, Mayor of London. He is followed by Gervase of Aldermanesberi, whose place of residence, now a picturesque winding street of tall warehouses and offices of varied architecture, with the church of St. Mary the Virgin among them, retains its ancient name in the modernised form of Aldermanbury. Roger, son of Alan, the successor of Henry Fitz-Ailwin as mayor, is the next witness, and is followed by John, son of Herlicuin, and William of Haverhill, sheriffs in 1189, Nicholas Duket, sheriff in 1191, John Bukuinte, sheriff in 1190, and John Burgelun, and Adam Beremund, Londoners, whose names have already

been mentioned in charters relating to St. Bartholomew's, and of the time of Henry Fitz-Ailwin.

John, afterwards king, then Earl of Moreton (Comes Moretonie), was in London in 1194, and a record of a transaction with him in which Alan was concerned has been preserved: a much soiled and slightly torn charter in which JOHN, EARL OF MORETON,¹ addresses all men and his friends, French and English, present and future, and states that for the love of God and the welfare of his soul, and those of his ancestors and successors, by the petition and consent of William, son of Reimberd, he has granted, and by his charter confirmed to the hospital house of St. Bartholomew of London, all the land which William aforesaid gave to it in Tikeham, and all the land which Richard son of Azor gave to the same hospital to have and to hold from the aforesaid William and his heirs for ever for the service named in the charter of the aforesaid givers.

¹ *Johannes comes Moretonie omnibus hominibus et amicis suis francis et anglicis presentibus et futuris Salutem. Sciatis me pro amore dei et salute anime mee et antecessorum nec non successorum meorum petitione et assensu Willelmi filii Reimberdi concessisse et hac Carta mea Confirmasse deo et hospitali Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum totam terram quam idem Willelmus eis dedit in Tikeham et totam terram . . . quam Ricardus filius Azor: eis dedit, tenendam et habendam predicto hospitali et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis in perpetuum de predictis Willelmo et Ricardo et heredibus suis per seruicium quod in cartis predictorum donatorum nominatur. Quare uolo et firmiter precipio quod idem hospitale et fratres eiusdem hospitalis habeant et teneant predictas terras cum omnibus pertinentiis suis bene et in pace libere et quiete plenarie et integre et honorifice sicut carte donatorum testantur quod illas habere debeant. Hiis Testibus: Stephano Ridell: Cancellario meo: Willelmo de Wenn: Roberto de Mortuomari: Willelmo de Riners: Ricardo fratre suo: David Walensi: Fulcon de Cantel: Ingelrico de Parcell: Roberto de Mares: et multis aliis. Vigilia omnium sanctorum: Anno regni Domini Regis Ricardi quarto: apud London.*

The witnesses were John's officials and associates—beginning with "Stephen Riddell my chancellor," and the date was October 31, 1193: "on the eve of All Saints—the fourth year of the reign of our lord King Richard, at London." Matthew Paris¹ describes Stephen Riddell as an agreeable and everyway praiseworthy man, and relates that in 1216, when the Earl of Salisbury and Falcasius were plundering the Isle of Ely, he was dragged out of the cathedral by a band of marauders who only consented not to torture him when one hundred marks were paid them. A charter of John's in the British Museum,² granted at Worcester the Sunday next after the octave of SS. Peter and Paul (July 10) in the year 1193, is in a hand very like that of this charter.³

All that John gave to St. Bartholomew's was a confirmation of the grants of others, a sort of undertaking not to disturb the gifts of William, son of Reimberd, and of Richard, son of Azor, as far as he was overlord of their holdings. Richard, Earl of Moreton, a vassal of William the Conqueror, is recorded in Domesday book to have held some land in Buckinghamshire. Was John's charter asked for in case he had any rights in the estate of the former earl in the district?

Copies of the charters confirmed are in the Cartu-

¹ *Chronica Majora* (Luard), i. 645.

² Lansdowne charter, 33.

³ As also Harley charter, 83a 27.

lary. William son of Reimbert (also written Raimberg) of Tikeham¹ (or Tikenham or Tykeam), already mentioned as a witness of the charter of John Cabus, granted to the hospital, in perpetual alms, the stubbed piece between the King's highway and the stubbed piece of Acer next the land which he gave to the church of Tikenham. He also gave six acres of land next the park of Gilbert Basset, and three other acres on the south side of Acer's stubbed piece, and all the meadow from the ditch of the Roghemad to Laurence's barn. These lands were to be held by the brethren at an annual rent of a pound of cummin at Christmas. The brethren gave him five marks of silver "in gersumam." Of the eighteen witnesses, nine are mentioned in

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus filius Reimberti de Tikenham dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi deo et hospitali sancti Bartholomei de London et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis assartum inter stratam regiam et acertum aceri totum preter terram quam dedi ecclesie de Tikenham. Et preterea dedi eis et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi sex acras terre que iacent iuxta terram de parco Gilberti Basset, Et tres acras proximas acerto Aceri uersus meridiem. Et totum pratum a fossa del Roghemad usque ad granam Laurencii, in perpetuam elemosinam pro dei amore et animabus antecessorum meorum et pro salute anime mee et successorum meorum tenendum et habendum de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete et honorifice bene et in pace integre in omnibus rebus finabiliter, reddendo inde michi annuatim et heredibus meis unam libram cimini ad natale Domini pro omni seruicio et omnibus rebus saluo regali seruicio scilicet defendendo eam uersus dominum regem pro dimidio uirgata terre. Et ego Willelmus et heredes mei fide interposita warrantizabimus predictis fratribus hospitalis predicta per predictum seruicium contra omnes gentes. Pro hac autem donacione et concessione et warrantizacione dederunt michi predicti fratres quinque marcas argenti in gersumam. Hiis testibus: Gilberto de Cranforde decano: Ricardo de Horsendune: Philippo de Couele: Rogero de la Duune: Johanne Cabus: Henrico de Lundenestune: Rogero le Duc: Michaelae de Valentin: Johanne de Burguigno: Baldewino filio Baldwin: Waltero filio Aceri: Rogero Clerico: Reginaldo Capellano de Helis: Walkelino persona de Tikeham: Philippo de Sancto Michaelae: Waltero filio Thurstani: Warino forestario: Edwardo pincerna: et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 464b.

the charter of John Cabus. RICHARD OF HORSENDUN,¹ as is shown by an original charter of his, was related to William of Tikeham, whose charter he confirms. Henry of Londonstone is the first witness of several Londoners who follow the local landowners in William son of Reimbert's charter, and his name is succeeded by the familiar ones of Roger le Duc, Michael of Valencins, and John the Burgundian, so that the end of the reign of Henry II. or beginning of that of Richard I. is the probable date of the charter.

Alan the master made an agreement with William son of William of Tikeham,² in which William confirmed

¹ Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis Ricardus de Horsenduna salutem. Sciatis me pro amore dei et pro salute anime mee concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse deo et hospitali sancti Bartholomei de *Lundoniis* et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totam terram quam *Willelmus* de Tikeam cognatus meus eis dedit et concessit in Tikeam in perpetuam elemosinam et totam terram quam *Ricardus* filius *Aceri* eis dedit et concessit. Tenendas et habendas in perpetuum de predictis *Willelmo* et *Ricardo* et heredibus eorum per seruicium quod in cartis predictorum donatorum nominatur pro omnibus rebus. Et ego *Ricardus* predictas terras cum omnibus libertatibus et pertinentiis suis warrantizabo predicto hospitali et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis contra omnes gentes plenarie et integre sicut carte predictorum donatorum testantur. Pro ista concessione et confirmatione dederunt michi predicti fratres unum bisantum. His testibus: *Willelmo* de Tikeam: Petro capellano: *Willelmo* capellano: *Willelmo* diacono: *Roberto* de Mendam: *Henrico* flandrigo: *Helia* coco.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod hec est conuencio inter *Willelmum* filium *Willelmi* de Tykeam et inter fratrem *Alanum* procuratorem domus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de London et ceteros fratres eiusdem hospitalis. Scilicet quod ego *Willelmus* dimisi et concessi et dedi et hac carta mea confirmaui deo et sancte marie et hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei in London et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totam terram illam que est inter campum meum et ductum aque uersus occidentem et inter terram *Ricardi* filii *Aceri* et nouam fossam uersus meridiem, pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee *Alicie* et patris et matris nostrorum et antecessorum et successorum nostrorum, habendam et tenendam finabiliter de me et successoribus meis in perpetuam elemosinam, Reddendo inde michi uel successoribus meis singulis annis unam libram cimini infra octo dies sancti Michaelis sine omni occasione pro omnibus seruiciis et omnibus aliis rebus que ad predictam terram pertinent. Et ego *Willelmus* et successores mei warrantizabimus predictam terram et predictam conuencionem prefato hospitali et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis contra omnes

to the hospital, in perpetual alms, all the land between his field and the channel of water to the west and between the land of Richard son of Acer and the new ditch to the south, for the good of his own soul and that of Alice his wife, and of their parents and ancestors and successors, the brethren to pay a pound of cummin a year. The brethren gave him twenty-two shillings "in gersumam." Ralph Bidun and John Cabus, whose charters have been mentioned, were witnesses. The sixth witness was Henry of Londonstone, and he is followed by Richard son of Reiner, Roger le Duc, and Richard son of Alan. This grant is earlier than 1191, the year of Richard son of Reiner's death, and not earlier than 1182, the year of Alan's accession as master.

In a later chapter William of Tikeham¹ confirms

gentes et defendemus predictam terram de omni forinseco seruicio pro predicta libra Cimini. Pro ista concessione et donacione et conuencione dederunt michi Willelmo fratres predicti hospitalis viginti et duos solidos in gersumam. Huius conuencionis et concessionis et donationis sunt testes : Philippus de Coueleya et Rogerus filius eius : Radulphus de Bidun : Richardus de Punchardun : Johannes Cabus : Henricus de Lundunestone : Ricardus filius Reineri : Rogerus LeDuc : Rogerus filius Alani : Ricardus filius Aceri : Johannes Francis : Stephanus de Bedburne.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 464b.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Tikeham concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmaui fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis xii acras terre propinquas domui sue de Tikeham, habendas et tenendas libere et quiete de me et heredibus meis in perpetuum, Reddendo indi michi uel heredibus meis annuatim pro omnibus seruiciis michi pertinentibus ii solidos duobus terminis anni uel infra octo dies Sancti Michaelis xii denarios sine ulla occasione. Istam uero concessionem feci fratribus predicti hospitalis ad festum Sancti Nicholai proximum post coronacionem Johannis regis Anglie, fratres uero predicti hospitalis defendent prenominatas xii acras aduersus regem pro dimidia uirgata terre. Et ego prenominatus Willelmus et heredes mei warrantizabimus fratribus predicti hospitalis terram prenominatam contra omnes homines et feminas per predictum seruicium. Pro hac autem concessione et dimissione et warrantizone et carte mee confirmacione dederunt michi predicti fratres xxiiii solidos in gersumam. Hiis testibus : Radulpho de Standune : Stephano de Colemanstrate : Roberto Capelano : Roberto de Hildisdune : Rogero de La Dune : Philippo de

to the brethren of the hospital twelve acres at a rent of two shillings a year, and states that the grant was made on the Feast of St. Nicholas next after the coronation of King John. John was crowned on Ascension Day, May 27, so that the date of this charter is December 6, 1199. Three of the witnesses of the earlier charter were present.

William, son of William son of Reimbert (or Ramberg) of Tikeham,¹ sold to the brethren twelve acres of

Coffee: Rogero filio suo: Johanne de Horsendune: Warino Le forstere: Willelmo de Grenewico: Bartholomeo diacono: Ricardo clerico: Petro nepote Roberti de Kamerwelle: Waltero filio Aste: Edwardo pincerna: Gileberto coco: Galfrido homine Johannis de Horsendune: Stephano qui scripsit hanc cartam: Et multis Aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 465a.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus filius Willelmi filii Rambergi de Tikeham dedi et concessi et dimisi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis duodecim acras terre propinquas domui sue in Tikeham et totam terram quam Robertus filius Albrethe tenuit de me, scilicet granam unam et terram arabilem que iacet inter illam granam et inter granam que fuit Gilberti de Cramford et pratum quoddam et croftum sperhaveke et quattuor acras terre que iacent iuxta duas acras et dimidiam que sunt de ecclesia de Messendene et totam terram illam que est inter campum meum et ductum aque uersus occidentem et inter terram Ricardi filii Aceri et nouam fossam uersus meridiem, Habendas et tenendas bene et in pace libere et quiete honorifice integre finabiliter, Reddendo inde michi uel heredibus meis annuatim pro omnibus seruiciis et exactionibus et pro omnibus rebus michi et heredibus meis pertinentibus quattuor solidos sterlingorum duobus terminis anni scilicet infra octauas Sancti Michaelis duos solidos et infra octabas Pasche duos solidos sine omni occasione saluo seruicio regali uersus dominum regem de tribus uirgatis terre. Pro hac autem donacione et concessione et dimissione et presentis carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi predicti fratres octo marcas et decem in gersumam. Et preterea sciendum est quod ego Willelmus dedi eis et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui assartum, &c. [as in his charter, p. 170, as far as "granam Laurencii"]: et terram illam que iacet inter terram Gilberti basset et inter terram fratrum predicti hospitalis in quantum terra fratrum predicti hospitalis tendit, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro Dei amore et pro salute anime mee et pro animabus patris mee et matris mee et antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum, habendam et tenendam in pace honorifice libere et quiete integre finabiliter absque omni seculari seruicio. Has itaque terras predictas ego prenomatus Willelmus et heredes mei warantzabimus fratribus sepe dicti hospitalis contra omnes homines et feminas sicut liberam elemosinam nostram finabiliter. Ut hec autem donacio et concessio et confirmacio rata sit et inconcussa sigilli mei appositione corroboraui. Hiis testibus:

land near their house at Tikeham, and all the land which Robert the son of Albreda held of him, and the arable land between the granary of Robert son of Albreda, and that of Gilbert of Cranford, and a meadow and the croft of Sparhavek, and four acres of land next two acres and a half which belonged to the church of Messenden, and all the land between his field and the water channel towards the west and between the land of Richard son of Acer and the new ditch, returning to him, for everything, four shillings a year. For this grant he received eighteen marks from the brethren "in gersumam." At the same time he confirmed his former grant of the stubbed piece in pure and perpetual alms. There are twenty-nine witnesses, beginning with Gilbert of Cranford, the local dean, who is followed by the chaplains of two neighbouring villages, and William, a chaplain of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Henry the Mayor, of Londonstone, is the first lay-witness, and is followed by six or seven men from the surrounding country; then come two Londoners, Michael of Valencins and John the Burgundian. The nine who

Gilberto de Cranforde decano: Radulfo capellano de Hyllendun: Willelmo capellano de Cofle: Willelmo capellano hospitalis sancti Bartholomei: Henrico maiore de Lundene-stane: Rogero de la dune: Willelmo de Keneuele: Johanne de Hoysenden: Johanne Cabus: Rogero de Cofle: Humfrido de Laweline: Willelmo filio Umfridi: Michael de Valencins: Johanne de Burguignon: Waltero filio Aceri: Roberto filio Matilde: Walkelino cabull: Philippo de sancto Michael: Waltero filio Thurstani: Warino le fforstere: Radulfo de Bydun: Ricardo de Pinchardun: Willelmo cabus: Gilberto dispensatore Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei: Edwardo pincerna: Gilberto coco: Radulfo de Renham: Henrico filio Roberti de Cur—: Johanne clerico: et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, f. 464a.*

follow can, for the most part, be shown to belong to the district, and after them come Gilbert the steward of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Edward the butler, and Gilbert the cook. Ralph of Renham, Henry son of Robert, and John the clerk are the other witnesses named by the scribe.

Kenevele and Cofle were parishes which in part belonged to the neighbouring monastery of the Blessed Mary of Messenden. It was founded in 1133 by Sir William of Messenden, as is stated in its fine cartulary, now in the British Museum.¹ The London road mentioned in its charter of foundation still passes the site of the monastery, and the church of Messenden, up to which its lands extended, stands high on the side of the long valley, which at the present day, as in the twelfth century, is crowned by woods, some of which were given to the monks for their fuel and for feeding their swine. The course of the stream also mentioned in the charter may be traced along the valley past the garden of the modern house called Messenden Abbey, which occupies part of the ground once covered by the church, the cloister, the chapter house, and the other parts of the home of the abbot and canons of Messenden.

Alan entered into an agreement with the abbot and canons of Messenden,² in which the abbot grants

¹ Harley, 3688.

² *Sciant presentes et futuri quod hec conuencio facta est inter A. abbatem et canonicos de Messenden et inter Alanum procuratorem domus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de*

the brethren of the hospital, for an annual payment of six shillings a year, a holding which Robert son of Albreda the Frenchwoman of Wybrigge held of the monastery in Tikeham, and the land, also held of them, of Richard, his brother-in-law. There is a copy of this agreement in the Cartulary of Messenden among the deeds relating to Tykeham.

The records of the transactions between this district in Buckinghamshire and St. Bartholomew's Hospital during the mastership of Alan are completed by two charters of Richard son of Azor, also written Acer.¹ In one he

Lunduniis et fratres eiusdem hospitalis, scilicet quod A. abbas et canonici de Messenden concesserunt hospitali Sancti Bartholomei et fratribus ejusdem hospitalis tenendum de eis in perpetuum totum tenementum quod Roberde filius Albrede francigene de Wybrigge tenuit de eis in Tikenham in decimis et in terris et in pratis et in pasturis et in omnibus rebus et terram quam Ricardus sororius eius tenuit de eis in la laifelde. Pro quibus tenementis predicti fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei reddent annuatim predictis canonicis sex solidos in duobus terminis anni scilicet ad festum Sancti michaelis tres solidos et ad pascha tres solidos pro omnibus seruiciis et omnibus rebus que ad predictos canonicos pertinent saluo forinseco seruicio. Hiis *testibus*: Radulfo Capellano de Wybrigge: Willelmo de Tikeam: Ricardo de Horseden: Rogero de la dun: Philippo de Couell: Willelmo et Rogero filiis eius: Roberte de Mendam: Willelmo clerico: Gilberto clerico: Andrea sacrista sancti Pauli de Lunduniis: Hugone filio Euerardi aurifabri, et ceteris.—
Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, f. 468a.

The copy in the Messenden Cartulary, f. 62, has a few unimportant verbal differences, as at the beginning: "tam presentes quam futuri."

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Ricardus filius Aceri concessi et dedi et hac presenti carte mee confirmaui Deo et sancte marie et hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Lunduniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis xiiii acras terre scilicet de assarto quod pater meus Acerus assartauit iuxta tres acras quas predicti fratres tenent de domino meo Willelmo de Tykeam uersus orientem. Tenendas et habendas de me et de heredibus meis libere et quiete honorifice bene et in pace integre in omnibus rebus finabiliter, reddendo inde michi annuatim et heredibus meis quatuor solidos in duobus terminis anni pro omni seruicio et exaccione et consuetudinibus et omnibus rebus. Scilicet ad pascha ii solidos et ad festum sancti Michaelis ii solidos saluo seruicio regali. Scilicet defendendo eam uersus dominum regem pro duabus porcionibus unius uirgate terre. Et ego Ricardus et heredes mei fide interposita warantizabimus et defendemus has xvii predictas acras ad opus predictorum fratrum per predictum seruicium contra omnes gentes. Pro hac autem concessione et warantizone dederunt michi predicti fratres vi solidos in

confirms to St. Bartholomew's Hospital eighteen acres of land, which his father Azor had stubbed, at a rent of four shillings a year. William of Tikeham, Richard of Horsenden, Philip of Couel, Roger de la Dune, and John Cabus, Walkelin the parson of Tikeham, Ralph of Bidun, and Richard of Punchardun, among the eleven witnesses, prove that the grant is of the time of Alan.

In a second charter Richard son of Acer confirms the grant of a corner of land between his arable land and the brook, to the hospital in free alms for his soul and those of his father and mother, his ancestors and successors. The names of seven of the eight witnesses show that this charter is of about the same date as the former one.

Besides these benefactors in Buckinghamshire, there were also, in Alan's time, generous benefactors of the hospital in London and its vicinity, in Kent, in Essex, and in Lincolnshire.

gersumam. Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Tikeham: Ricardo de Horsenden: Philippo de Couel: Rogero de La dune: Johanne Cabus: Walkelino persona de Tikeham: Willelmo de Reburne: Willelmo le Juene: Herberto de Wyxlebrugge: Radulpho de Bidun: Ricardo de Punchardun.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 468b.

¹ Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis Ricardus filius Aceri salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus filius Aceri concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi deo et sancte marie et hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Lunduniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totum illum angulum terre qui iacet inter terram meam arabilem et inter torrentem pro salute anime mee et patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum in puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et ego Ricardus et heredes mei warrantizabimus et defendemus ad opus predictorum uirorum de omnibus rebus totum predictum Angulum terre contra omnes gentes. Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Tikeham: Ricardo de Horsendune: Philippo de Couell: Rogero de la Dune: Radulpho de Bidun: Richarde de Punchardou: Johanne Cabus: Walkelino persona: et multis Aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 465a.

In Lincolnshire MAURICE OF CREUN was probably our earliest benefactor. He was son of Alan of Creun, one of the founders of the priory of Frestun, and is mentioned as joining his father in a grant to that monastery. The date of this charter of Alan of Creun is determined by its mention of the release of King Stephen (November 1, 1141), and of Godfrid, abbot of Croyland, who died in 1142.¹ It shows that Maurice of Creun, who died in 1216, was born before the death of Rahere. As his son Wido was grown up at the time of the gift to St. Bartholomew's, it was probably made during the reign of Henry II.

MAURICE gave in perpetual alms to the hospital of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield of London two shillings of rent in his vill of Frestun, of the service of Roger of Boston, the military tenant, for the welfare of his soul and those of his heirs and of his ancestors, and with the assent of his sons Wido and Ralph.

Ralph, prior of Frestun, is the first witness of the grant, and is followed by Maurice's two sons. Walter

¹ "Cum prato addidimus etiam post liberationem regis Stephani, presente domino Godfrido abbate."—Dugdale, *Monasticon* (London, 1846), vol. iv. p. 125.

² Mauricius De Creun omnibus Sancte Ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me dedisse in perpetuam elemosinam et hac mea Carta confirmasse Deo et hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Smethe feld Londoniarum duos solidos de redditu meo in villa frestunie Scilicet duos solidos de seruicio Rogeri militis de Sancto Botulfo. Hos duos solidos donauit Deo et Sancto Bartholomeo pro salute anime mee et heredum meorum et pro animabus antecessorum meorum: concessu Domini Withonis et Radulfi filiorum meorum. Teste Radulfo priore de Frestunia: Domino Withone de Creun: Radulfo de Creun: Waltero filio Mattefrei: Rogero milite: Galfrido de Welle: Alardo de Butterwic: Toma filio Aceri: De lundoniis: Edwardo le blund: Galfrido le blund: Rogero le duc: Rogero le palmer: Andrea le blund: Terri Bette: et Aliis multis.

of Mattefry, Geoffrey of Welles, and Alard of Butterwic, and Thomas son of Acer, are obviously Lincolnshire men. The Londoners follow in a separate group, and are Edward and Geoffrey le Blund; Roger le duc; Roger le Palmer; Andrew le Blund; Terric Bett.

WIDO OF CREUN¹ confirmed his father's grant with the same country witnesses, but without the Londoners. His large seal represents him on horseback in armour, and is well preserved. The handwriting of his charter is not so finely executed as that of his father's, and it has some peculiarities of spelling. The two charters were certainly written by different scribes, perhaps in different places, but nearly at the same date.

ADELARD THE RED,² who is also called Adelard of Butterwic, at the same period, granted to the hospital

¹ Wido de creun : omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris salutem : sciatis me concessisse in puram et perpetuam helemosinam et hac mea charta confirmasse deo et hospitali sancti bartholomei lundoniarum duos solidos de seruicio rogeri militis de sancto Botulfo in villa frestunie quos pater meus predicto hospitali dedit et charta sua confirmauit. his testibus : Radulfo priore de frestunia : Radulfo de crun : Waltero filio Matefrei : Rogero milite : Galfrido de Welle : Alardo de Butterwic : Toma filio Aceri : et multis aliis.

² Uniuersis sancte Matris ecclesie filiis Adelardus Rufus Salutem. Notum sit uobis omnibus me concessisse et dedisse et hac mea carta confirmasse deo et beate MARIE et hospitali Sancti BARTHOLOMEI de lundoniis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam et liberam ab omni seculari seruicio pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum concessu Rogeri et clementis filiorum meorum et aliorum liberorum meorum terram quam Johannes filius thori tenuit de me in buterwic unde predictus Johannes michi reddidit de anno in annum sex denarios, et insuper concessi predicto hospitali et dedi quartam partem unius acre in lodenestoft uersus aquilonem liberam perpetuo habendam : concessu predictorum filiorum meorum. His testibus : Widone de creon : Radulfo de creon : Rogero milite de sancto Botulfo : Waltero filio matfredi : Rogero filio adelardi : Clemente fratre eius : Ricardo ratre eius : Jacobo filio Alani : Magistro Gileberto : Osberto paruo : Helia coco : Amfredo : Gaufrido albo : Andrea albo.

Osbert the little, Helia the cook, Geoffrey Blund (albus) and Andrew Blund are names which occur in London charters of this period.

in pure and perpetual alms, free from all secular service, with the agreement of his sons Roger and Clement and his other children, the land which John son of Thor held of him in Butterwic, paying from year to year six pence. Adelard further granted a fourth part of an acre in Lodenestoft to be held free for ever with the assent of his before-mentioned sons.

Another benefactor of the same period in this part of Lincolnshire was ALAN DE RUPE,¹ who granted in pure and perpetual alms to the hospital a toft which had been Walter Pitard's in Butterwic, on condition that his wife should hold the toft from the hospital, rendering eighteen pence a year for every service.

The finely written charter of WALTER MARREGUARD² is witnessed by Adelard the red. Walter grants to

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Alanus de rupe dedi et concessi hospitali sancti bartholomei de scmethefeld toftum quod fuit Walteri pitard in butruwic, pro anima patris mei et matris mée et filiorum et filiarum meorum et pro anima mea et uxoris mée in puram et perpetuam elemosinam tali conditione quod uxor mea teneat predictum toftum de prenominato hospitali libere et quiete, inde reddendo annuatim octodecim denarios pro omni seruitio. His testibus: Benedicto clerico de Mendham: Arnaldo fratre eius: Widone filio Godefridi: Johanne de lundoniis: Helia de camera: Helia coco: fratre fermino: et multis aliis. Vt autem hec donatio rata habeatur munimine sigilli mei eam corroboravi.

The vellum tag on which it was made is all that is left of the seal.

² Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Walterus Marreguard dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et Sancte Marie et Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Lundoniis Et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis unam acram terre in Aldreding quam Rogerus filius Rolf tenuit, in puram et perpetuam et liberam elemosinam pro animabus patris mée et Matris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Et ego Walterus Marreguard et heredes mei warrantizabimus predictam acram terre prefato hospitali de lundoniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis et defendemus de omnibus rebus contra omnes gentes. His Testibus: Alardo Rufo: Henrico Marreguard: Gerardo Marreward: Rogero Rufo: Clemente Rufo: Willelmo clerico: Thoma Marreguard: Petro Iunctore: Et multis Aliis.

the hospital in perpetual alms for his own soul and the souls of his father and mother and ancestors and successors, and for all the faithful departed, an acre of land in Aldreding, which Roger son of Rolf held. Of the eight witnesses three are named rufus and three Marreguard. The circular seal "Walteri Marreward" bears a lion passant of bold design with a tail ending in a floreate pattern.

In Kent, WILLIAM SON OF HELTA¹ granted all the land which was held by Reginald son of Ranulf and his predecessors in Ferningeam to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in perpetual alms. The brethren granted it in his presence to Reginald and his heirs through his wife, to have and to hold, by hereditary right, of

¹ Uniuersis sancte Matris ecclesie filiis Willelmus filius Helte Salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui totam terram que fuit Reginaldi filii Ranulfi et predecessorum suorum in ferningeam hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Lundoniis in perpetuam elemosinam et liberam ab omni seculari seruicio et omnibus exactionibus et omnibus rebus, saluo domini nostri Regis seruicio et domini cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Istam predictam terram concessi et dedi predicto hospitali et fratribus pro salute anime mee et patris mei et Matris mee et pro animabus omnium predecessorum et successorum meorum, libere, quiete, honorifice, et in pace tenendam et habendam sine omni retinemento sic quod sepedicti fratres nulli hominum in aliquo de predicta terra respondebunt nisi domino nostro Regi et domino Cantuariensi quando eorum seruicium emerit Et ego Willelmus et heredes mei predictam terram garantizabimus predicto hospitali et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis sicut liberam elemosinam nostram contra omnes gentes. Fratres uero sepedicti hospitalis singulis annis facient anniuersarium nostram, et participium omnium beneficiorum et orationum suarum nobis imperpetuum concesserunt. Sciendum est preterea quod predicti fratres prescriptam terram in presentia mea concesserunt predicto R. et heredibus suis de uxore sua, habendam et tenendam iure hereditario de predicto hospitali per seruicium trium solidorum per annum. Huius concessionis mee et donationis et Carte mee confirmacionis sunt Testes: Anfredus de Canci nepos ipsius Willelmi: Willelmus de Cherintunia nepos suus. Eustachius de dikemue: Thomas filius scotlandi: Radulfus de Sancto leodegario: Hugo de cherintunia nepos suus: Ernulfus dapifer suus; Thomas filius eius: Walterus de Canci: Leonius: Ricardus filius Reineri: Henricus frater oius: Gaufridus albus: Willelmus de sancto Michael. Et curia ipsius Willelmi.

the hospital. The witnesses were: Andfredus de Canci, nephew of William himself; William of Chirentunia, his nephew; Eustace of Dikemue; Thomas son of Scotland; Ralph of St. Leger's; Hugh of Cherintunia, his nephew; Ernulf, his seneschal; Thomas son of the the same; Walter de Canci; Leoni; Richard son of Reiner; Henry his brother; Geoffrey Albus (Blund); William of St. Michael's; and the court of William himself. The seal, on a vellum tag, is perfect, showing William son of Helte in armour on horseback.

A smaller charter of WILLIAM SON OF HELTA,¹ with his seal, has been preserved, which releases Robert son of Wedeman for service from all customs of the land which he held of William in the vill of Freningham, except a rent of six pence. Andrew, abbot of Cumwell, is the first witness:

In 1184 WILLIAM OF CHIRENTUNIA,² son of William son of Helta's sister, confirmed this grant in a charter

¹ Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod Ego *Willelmus* filius *Heltonis* relaxavi *Roberto* filio *Wedemani* pro seruiio suo omnes consuetudines terre illius quam tenet de me in uilla de freningeham preter redditum scilicet sex denarios. Ita ergo concessi terram prenominatam ei et heredibus suis tenendam de me et heredibus meis. His testibus: *Andrea* abbate de *cumbwell*: *Hugone* canonico eiusdem loci: *Ricardo* filio *heltonis*: *Hernulfo* *saluage*: *Roberto* de *Wateuile*: *Fulcone* *pesforire*: *Rogero* de *ros*: *Alexandro* de *ros*: *Roberto* clerico: *Johanne* capellano: *Bartholomeo* capellano: *Gileberto* capellano: *Thoms* *saluage*: *Willelmo* de *bese*: *Johanne* de *boxe*: *Thoma* De *boxe*: *Symone* *gernun*: *Alardo* *tundu*: *Rsginaldo* de *frening*: *Thoma* fratre eius: *Willelmo* et de *chirintunia*: *Hugone* fratre eius: *leone*: *Salomon*: *Waltero* de *canebi*: *Turstan*: et *halimoto* de *freningeham*.

Cumbwell is in the parish of Goudhurst in Kent. This charter confirms Tanner's statement that the religious house had at first an abbot (*Notitia Monastica*, p. xxvii.). The fragment of the Cumbwell cartulary in the Cambridge University library does not contain a list of its rulers.

² Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis *Willelmus* de *chirentunia* salutem. Sciant

Uniuersis scē axatē eccleie filis Willm̄ de chirentunia salutē. Sciunt p̄sentēs y futū q̄
ego Willm̄ d̄ chirentunia credo y ratam habeo donationē p̄ salute aīe mee y uxoris
mee y parentū meorū q̄ Willm̄ fil' hētr̄ auunctus meus dedit y concessit dō y hospitali
scī bartholomei y frīb' eidem hospiti. Scī d̄ t̄ra q̄ reginald' fili' xanulki tenet in ferming
cham q̄ fuit p̄decessor ipsius reginald'. B' q̄ t̄ra p̄dict' reginald' ut heredes ei' sing' l'is
annis reddent p̄dictis frīb' .iiij. sol. p̄ oī seruicio in t̄b' t̄nnis. Saluo seruicio dñi regis
y cantuariensis archiepi. y p̄dictus reginald' nec heredes sui nulli responsuri sunt n̄
fuit p̄dicta hospiti d̄ p̄dicta t̄ra. Quia ū uolo ut ista concessio rata sit y firma y in cassā
sigilli mei appositione y firmo y corroboro. Istā concessio y confirmatio facta ē anno ab in
carnatione dñi. m̄. c̄. lxxv. iij. h'is testib'. hugone d̄ xachulua. Wittino fil' yngelli.
Thoma d̄ hessendene. hugone d̄ chirentunia. y hētr̄one. Guilfo le Sauluage. Rad' d̄
scō leodegare. Wittino d̄ cusem. y multis aliis.



dated "in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1184."

REGINALD SON OF RANULF,¹ the tenant of William son of Helta, granted all his land of Freningham to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in perpetual alms, the brethren to pay him and his heirs a pound of cummin at Christmas. The brethren gave him three shillings as a fine. The witnesses were Hugh, Bartholomew, William, and John, priests of the hospital of St. Bartho-

presentes et futuri quod ego *Willelmus* de chirentunia concedo et ratam habeo donationem pro salute anime mée et uxoris mée et parentum meorum, quam *Willelmus* filius helte auunculus meus dedit et concessit deo et hospitali sancti bartholomei et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis: scilicet de terra quam *reginaldus* filius *Ranulfi* tenet in ferningeham que fuit predecessorur ipsius *Reginaldi*. De qua terra predictus *Reginaldus* uel heredes eius singulis annis reddent predictis fratribus iii solidos pro omni seruitio in tribus terminis: Saluo seruitio domini regis et cantuariensis archiepiscopi: et predictus *Reginaldus* nec heredes sui nulli responsuri sunt nisi fratribus predicti hospitalis de predicta terra. Quia uero uolo ut ista concessio rata sit et firma et inconcussa sigilli mei appositione confirmo et corroboro. Ista concessio et confirmatio facta est anno ab incarnatione domini M^oclxxxiii^o. His testibus: *Hugone* de Rachulua: *Willelmo* filio nigelli: *Thoma* de Hessendene: *Hugone* de chirentunia et heltone: *Ernulfo* le Sauluage: *Radulfo* de sancto leodegare: *Willelmo* de cusentis: et Multis aliis.

A fragment of the seal remains, showing William of Chirentunia in armour on horseback bearing a long shield.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego *Reginaldus* filius *Ranulfi* pro salute anime mee et salute animarum antecessorum meorum dedi et concessi et quiete clammaui et hac presenti Carta mea Confirmaui totam terram meam de Freningham cum omnibus pertinentiis deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum apud smethefelde habendam et tenendam de me et de meis heredibus sibi et suis successoribus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in feodo et hereditate: Bene et in pace: libere et quiete: Integre: et finabiliter: Reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis dimidiam libram cimini ad Natale pro omni seruitio et consuetudine et Rebus cunctis ad me uel heredes meos pertinentibus: saluo forinseco seruitio domini Regie et Cantuariensis archiepiscopi cum euenerit. Et sciendum est quod ego predictus *Reginaldus* et heredes mei predicti prescriptis fratribus et suis successoribus totam terram prefatam Contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus per predictum seruitium in perpetuum. Et pro hac donatione et confirmatione et warantizatione dederunt michi predicti fratres tres solidos in gersumam. Hiis Testibus: *Hugone*: *Bartholomeo*: *Willelmo*: *Johanne* sacerdotibus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei: *Constantino* filio *Alulfi* et *Constantino* *Juene*: *Serlone* le mercer: *Johanne* de Mares et *Rogero* de Aukemere: et *Henrico* persona de *erpintune*: et multis aliis.

lomew ; Constantine son of Alulf and Constantine the younger ; Serlo the mercer ; John of Mares and Roger of Aukmere ; and Henry, parson of Orpington.

The fine circular seal of Reginald son of Ranulf remains, bearing a device made up of a fleur-de-lys and an eagle party per pale, and has the legend "SIGILL. REGINALDI FIL. RANULF."

Serlo the mercer became Mayor of London in 1215. Henry, the parson of Orpington, possibly wrote this charter and another,¹ of which he is also the last witness, and which is sealed with the same fleur-de-lys and eagle. REGINALD SON OF RANULF in this second deed confirms to the hospital all his land in Freningham which he holds of the brethren. The grant is witnessed by Bartholomew, Thomas, and William, chaplains of St. Bartholomew's Hospital ; Salomon, parson of St. Botolph ; John, priest of Athfeld ; and the five laymen who witnessed the former charter, and ends with the parson of Orpington. The place has now a very modern aspect, but it is old inhabited ground, for once

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Reginaldus filius Ranulfi de Freningham Dimisi : concessi : quiete clamaui : et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethfelde totam terram meam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in tenemento de Freningham quam tenui de eis, habendam et tenendam eisdem fratribus et suis successoribus libere : quiete : Integre : Finabiliter : in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Et Sciendum est quod ego Reginaldus predictus uel aliquis alius pro me uel a me aliquod ius in illa terra de cetero nec debemus nec poterimus obtinere. Vt autem hec mea concessio et quieta clamatio rata sit et inconcussa maneat in perpetuum sigilli mei testimonio presentem paginam corroborauit. Hiis testibus : Bartholomeo : Thoma : Willelmo cappellanis eiusdem hospitalis : Salomone persona de Sancto Botulfo : Johanne sacerdote de Athfelde : Constantino filio alulfi et Constantino Iuene : Serlone le mercer : Johanne de Mares : Rogero de Aukemere : Henrico persona de orpintune.

when visiting a house there I was shown a gold coin of the Emperor Valens which had been dug up in its garden. It was probably in the earth of Orpington when Henry the parson in the reign of John walked about the village.

In Essex many great people, such as WILLIAM, Earl of Albemarle, BALDWIN, Earl of Albemarle,² HAWISIA, Countess of Albemarle, and WILLIAM DE

¹ W. Comes Alb. omnibus filiis Sce matris ecclesie tam presentibus quam futuris Salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse deo et sce Marie et fratribus Hospitalis Sci bartholomei de lund. unam marcam argenti annuatim in theloneo meo de hedon et unum toftum librum et quietum ab omni seruicio in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro animabus antecessorum meorum defunctorum et pro Salute anime mee et heredum meorum. Predicta autem marca soluetur apud Stonhe ad festum sancti michaelis per fratres uel alium qui loco illorum cum breui illuc missus fuerit. Testibus: Roberto constabulario: Willelmo camerario: Bricmaro de Auerill: Magistro Rogero: Radulfo fratre suo: Alfredo sacerdote: Nicholao clerico: Normanno —: Thoma clerico: Roberto de Schelt. The latter half of the charter is dark and in places rubbed. I can only read the names of witnesses iii., iv., v., vi., ix. The others, as well as all words altogether in italics, are supplied from the cartulary.

² Baldewinus Comes Albemarle Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas uestra me pro amore dei et salute anime mee concessisse et presenti Carta mea confirmasse deo et sancte MARIE et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Lundois unam marcam argenti annuatim in theloneo de Hedonia et vnum Toftum que Willelmus Comes de Albemarle illis in liberam et perpetuam contulit elemosinam sicut Carta predicti Comitiss de Albemarle testatur. Hiis Testibus: Waltero de Faukenberg: Fulcone de Oyri: Galfrido de Nortun: Adam Capellano: Philippo de Langebber: tunc senescaldo: Yuone capellano de Lunden: Galfrido de Heseltona: Adam et Ricardo de Langebber: Henrico de Cunnigcote.

³ Vniuersis Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis ad quos presens Scriptum peruenerit Hawisia Comitissa Albemarle Salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra me diuini Amoris intuitu et pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum concessisse et presenti Carta mee confirmasse deo et Sancte Marie et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Lundois unam marcam argenti annuatim in Thelonio meo de Hedona et unum Toftum que Willelmus Comes Albemarle in puram et perpetuam contulit elemosinam Sicut carta predicti Comitiss Willelmi de Albemarle testatur. Hiis testibus: Waltero de Faukenberg: Fulcone Oyry: Galfrido de Nortun: Ada capellano: Philippo de Langebber. tunc senescalo: Yuone Capellano de Lundois: Galfrido de Heselton: Henrico de Cunnigcote.

The charter of Hawisia is dark and torn in two, but can be read in a bright light.

The seal of Hawisis broken into several pieces remains in a vellum bag. She is represented as tall and with a grand air. She wears leggings and a long thin

MANDEVILLE,¹ Earl of Essex, had been friendly to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The grants of William of Pleshy, and of Serlo de Marci² and Geoffrey of Widefeld's gift in Hornden have been already mentioned.

WALTER SON OF ROBERT³ was another Essex bene-

cloak, and bears a goshawk on her left hand. The reverse shows a shield bearing a bordure.

The seals of William, Earl of Albemarle, and of Baldwin, Earl of Albemarle, show them in armour on horseback and with drawn swords. These seals are circular and about 3½ inches in diameter.

¹ *Willelmus de Mandeville Comes Essexie Vniuersis sancte Matris ecclesie fidelibus presentibus et futuris Salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas uestra me pro amore dei et salute anime mee Concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse deo et Sancte Marie et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Lundoniis unam marcam argenti annuam in tholoneo de heduna et unum toftum que Willelmus comes de Albemarle illis in liberam et perpetuam contulit elemosinam. Sicut carta predicti comitis de Albemarle testatur.*

His testibus: Hugone de Lasci: Hugone carlelo: Simone de Bellocampo: Gaufrido de Say: Roberto constabulario: Willelmo de otringham: Dragone filio Radulfi: Willelmo filio Raginaldi: Henrico de Ver: Ernulfo Kenosek: Radulfo de Mandeville: Ernulfo de Mandeville: Widone de Adfeld: Ernulfo de Rohing: Roberto Wascelin: Nicolao clerico: Waltero clerico: Johanne clerico: Hugone clerico.

The charter has lost a piece on one side. All contractions are marked by italics, and where whole words other than *et* are printed in italics, they have been restored from the copy in the cartulary.

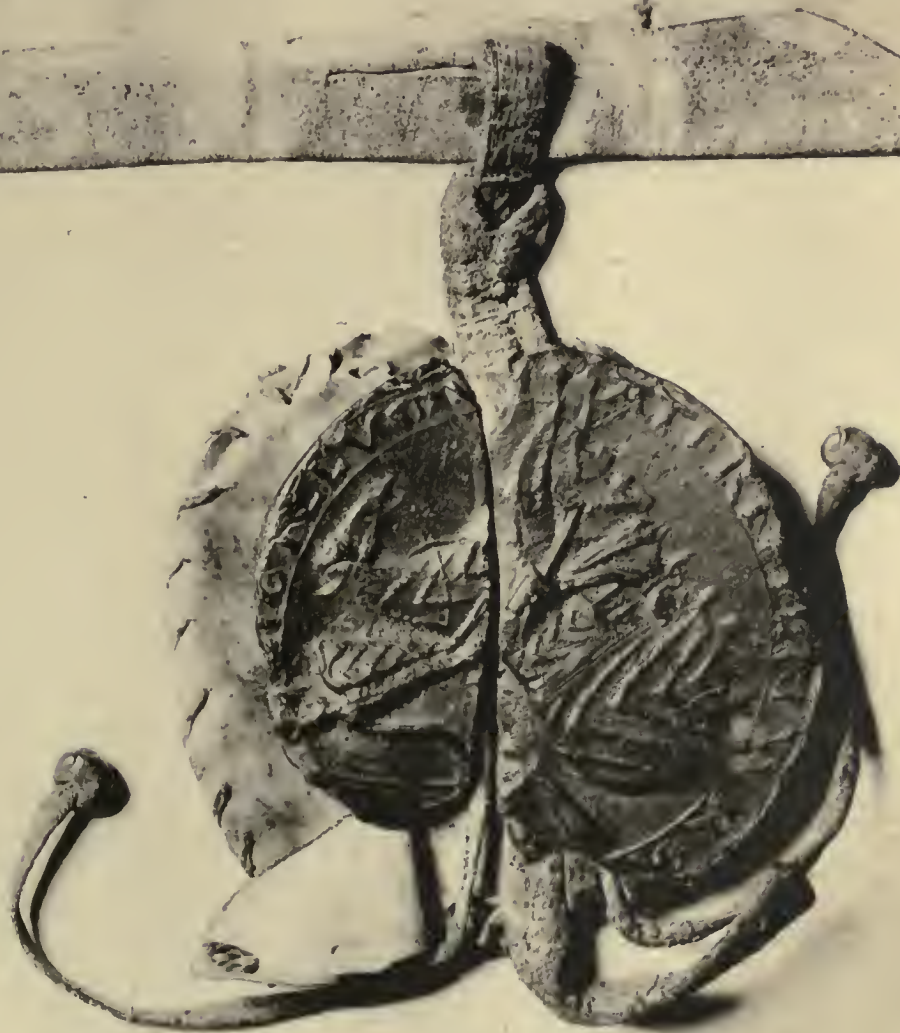
² The Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital contains three charters of Serlo de Marci, of which the second is printed from the original on p. 91. In the first he grants his land in Bulgefen to Laurence of Barking and receives thirty shillings and his wife two talents of gold: a rent of four shillings a year to be paid to him. There are eighteen witnesses, of whom the first five are Ralph de Marci, James dean of Berking, William de Marci, Richard de Marci, and Hamo de Marci. Barking is one of the seven deaneries of the archdeaconry of Essex.

The third charter is a grant by Serlo to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital of two shillings a year out of the four which he receives from the Bulgefen estate. There are eleven witnesses, of whom the first is John, prior of Blakmore. Blackmore was a priory of Augustinian canons in Essex. Dugdale does not give the name of any prior before 1385. (*Monasticon*, vi. 552.)

There is a grant of Serlo de Marci and Emma his wife to Alwin of Newport in the Dunmow Cartulary, f. 29a.

³ *Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie fidelibus et filiis Walterus filius Roberti salutem. Noseat familiaritas uestra quod ego Walterus do et concedo deo et sancte Marie et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei quinque solidorum redditus in molendino meo del parc de Wudeham in puram et liberam elemosinam et quietam ab omni seculari seruitio pro me et matilda uxore mea et infantibus nostris et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee e*

Uniuersis scie matris eccle fidelibus et filiis. Walterus filius Rob. salutem. Hoscumque familiaritas uestra que ego Walterus deo et concedo deo et scie marie et fratribus hosp. sancti bartholomei quicquid solidorum redditus in molendino meo del parre de wudeham in puram et liberam elemosinam et quecumque ab omni seculari seruitute pro me et matilda uxore mea et in futurum nostris. et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee. et pro anima matilde de lucy et ante decessorum meorum. reddendo quicquid predictos solent ad duos terminos. scilicet ad festum sancti michel. id est. sabbatum. et vi. id est. ad pascham. id est. sabbatum. et vi. id est. hys t. Rob de quec. heric dapifer. Albondo puler. Gocelmo piscator. Sunone de adchetune.



WALTER, SON OF ROBERT, TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

factor. He gave five shillings of rent from his mill in the park of Wudeham. He was the son of Robert son of Richard, to whom Henry I., whose seneschal he was, had given the lordship of Dunmow, forfeited by William Baynard, whose family name remains to this day in the title of the ward of Castle Baynard, on the bank of the Thames, the site of his great castle. Walter's father and mother were benefactors of the Priory of Dunmow, and a grant of his to the same foundation is contained in the Cartulary of Dunmow.¹ Walter, according to Francis Thynne's transcript of the Dunmow chronicle,² was twice married, first to Matilda de Bohun, and secondly, in 1148, to Matilda de Luci. The prayer asked in his grant to St. Bartholomew's for Matilda de Luci after that for "my wife Matilda," suggests that the transcript of the chronicle has stated the names of the wives of Walter son of Robert in the wrong order, and that his second wife was Matilda de Bohun and his first Matilda de Luci, and that the mother of "our infants" was Matilda de Bohun. The chronicle

pro anima Matilde de luci et antecessorum meorum. Reddendo quinque predictos solidos ad duos terminos: scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis ii solidos et vi denarios, ad pascha ii solidos et vi denarios. His testibus: Roberto de Quinci: Henrico dapifero: Albono pulcin: Gocelino piscatore: Simone de Achetune.

¹ *Walterus filius Roberti omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis et omnibus hominibus suis francis et anglicis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse licenciam Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Dunmawe et canonicis ibidem Deo seruiantibus faciendi unum molendinum ad uiuarium suum ante ianuam illorum et dedisse cisplaciam qua est inter cheminum quod ducit ad domum meam et campum meum in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et pro salute animarum patris et matris mee et antecessorum et amicorum meorum. Teste Willelmo preceptore templi Londoniarum.*—British Museum, Harley, 662. f. 10.

² Cleopatra, C. 3.

states that Walter died in 1198. His large round seal, on which he is represented on horseback in armour, remains attached to his charter. The first witness is Robert de Quinci, whose family were also benefactors of the priory of Dunmow.

A more important grant was one from which the hospital receives income to this day—that of the lords of Wakering, of the family of Theydon (de Theidena, Taidena, or Taydena). In the time of Alan the master, the church of Little Wakering in Essex was given to the hospital by WILLIAM OF THEYDON.¹ The witnesses of the grant belong to Alan's period, and the confirmatory charter of the donor's brother is undoubtedly original, but the handwriting of William's charter belongs to a later age and is altogether unlike that of two other charters of William of Theydon. The seal, sewn up in vellum, remains. The deed seems to have

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Taydena dedi concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et beate marie et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smetefeld Londonie et eorum successoribus totam ecclesiam de parua Wakeringia cum iure patronatus eiusdem et cum omnibus iuribus et possessionibus et libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus et aisiamenis et accrescenciis et omnibus aliis pertinentiis ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum ad sustentacionem pauperum infirmorum et peregrinorum. Dedi eciam pro me et heredibus meis prefatis magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus in perpetuum unam acram terre in parua Wakeringia proximam acre ecclesie de Wakeringge que uocatur Geldeneaker ib puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Sicut aliqua elemosina liberius et securius dari uel confirmari potest laico. Et ego et heredes mei warantzabimus prenominatam ecclesiam cum iure patronatus eiusdem et acram terre predictam cum omnibus iuribus et possessionibus et pertinentiis suis ut predicatur deo et beate Marie et prefatis magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus contra omnes gentes imperpetuum. Et apposui sigillum meum ad robur omnium prelibatorum. Hiis testibus: Godefrido de Shopiland: Alano de Wakeringge: Ricardo Grapinel: Roberto de Rocheford, Capellano: Reginaldo de Weluedham: Jurdano lynswire: Roberto de Meleford: Willelmo de Marsille: Rogero de Sumeruilla clerico: et pluribus aliis.*

been re-written about the year 1300, and the original seal attached to the new document.

WILLIAM OF THEYDON,¹ in another charter of which Alan the master is the first witness, confirmed to the church of St. Mary of Little Wakering, and to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, two acres of land, as well as land near the thicket of the church, and common pasture for four plough oxen and for the palfrey of the chaplain with William's own plough oxen and steeds, and the common pasture of three pigs which the church and the brethren had in Wakering, and at Theydon each year feeding for ten pigs with his

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Theidena dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et ecclesie beate Marie de parus Wakeringia et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeldia duas acras terre que iacent *iuxta* terram eiusdem ecclesie uersus orientem et terram illam que adiacet uirgulto ecclesie que etiam consueuit dare . . . cuius illa terra fuit tres densrios annuatim de quibus nunc ecclesia quista est et erit in perpetuum, et comunem pasturam quatuor bouum awrorum et palefridi capellani eiusdem ecclesie cum propriis bobus awris et palefridis meis et heredum meorum, et comunem pasturam iii porcorum quos eadem ecclesia et idem fratres habuerint in Wakeringia et aputh Theidenam quolibet anno perpetuo decem porcos cum propriis porcis meis et propriis porcis heredum meorum quietos de panthagio et omni custamento, et totam terram quam Auelina mater mea et antecessores mei dederunt et concesserunt eidem ecclesie cum marisco et aliis pertinenciis et omnibus aisiamenis, et omnes liberas consuetudines et libertates omnium secularium consuetudinum et omnium exactionum et omnium uexationum, ut aliqua libertas liberius et quietius dari uel concedi uel confirmari potest a laico alicui ecclesie in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Hanc donationem et concessionem feci ut anima patris mei et anima matris mee et anime omnium antecessorum meorum et anima mea et anima uxoris mee Beatricis et anime omnium heredum parentum et amicorum meorum participes fiant omnium bonorum que fiunt in sancta domo beatorum pauperum hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld. Et ego et omnes heredes mei warantzabimus omnia predicta predictae ecclesie et predictae domui hospitali contra omnes homines et contra *omnes feminas*. Et quia istam meam donationem sub aliqua occasione in irritum reuocari nolo, sigilli mei appositione eam roborari uolo. *His testibus*: Fratrem alano tunc magistro domus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei: Acelino de Schopilande: Alano de Wakeringia: Roberto de Rokefordia, capellanis: Reginaldo de Wheluedham: Jurdano Luueswir: Roberto de Meleforde: Willelmo Marsille: et pluribus aliis. One edge of the charter is slightly torn. The words supplied are in italics, as well as the expansions of proper names.

own pigs ; and all the land given by Avelina his mother and his ancestors, with the marsh and all its appurtenances : in pure and perpetual alms. The brethren are to pray for his soul and his wife's and those of all the family, and they are to share in the benefit of the good works of the hospital.

It is pleasant in this ancient document to perceive that the chaplain of Little Wakering was fairly well off with his plough oxen and his pigs, and had a horse on which to ride about.

In a third charter WILLIAM OF THEYDON¹ gave three acres and a half of land to the church of Little Wakering to hold in free alms, and also made that

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego uilelmus de taidena donauī ecclesie beate marie de Wakeringia tres acras et dimidiam habendam sicut liberam elemosinam ab omni exactione seculari securam. Preterea liberam feci eandem ecclesiam a consuetudinibus quas facere solebat in augusto, et adquietauī de tribus nummis quos persona eiusdem ecclesie soluere consueuit de fossato quod est sub uirgulto eius inter ipsum et uicinum suum radulfum bule. Persona quoque ob hanc donationem concessit michi in curia mea edificare capellam cum indemnitate matris ecclesie sub hac forma seruata : quod licebit sacerdoti matris ecclesie quando uoluerit et quotiens ministrare in capella et omnes obuentiones eius tollere. Cappellanus uero meus prius quam in cappella ministret inspectis sacrosanctis euangeliis obedientiam et fidelitatem matri ecclesie et persone iurabit et qui post illum futurus est hoc ipsum iurabit priusquam in ea ministret. Ita tamen quod nec communicatio in capella conseruetur, nec capellanus aliquem ad confessionem recipiat nec baptismum faciat : solo contentus denario misse. Non fontes non campana in capella habeantur non uigilie non predicationes non receptationes parrochianorum, set omnia ad integritatem et decorem et honorem matris ecclesie conseruari debent. Hanc igitur donationem et conuentionem sic celebratam ego Willelmus et Rodbertus frater meus firmiter et legitime sine fraude et malo ingenio tenere promisimus et accepto textu super sacrosanctum altare in ecclesia de Wakeringa manu propria obtulimus. Decimationes omnes ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentes amodo eidem integre presoluentes. Et ne labente tempore quod a me actum est in irritum reuocetur aut denotetur in dubium, presentis carte confirmatione et sigilli mei appositione communiui. Hiis testibus: Redginaldo priore de Pritewella: Ascelino decano: Gileberto de estewode: Warino capellano de pritewella: Johanne de Soberia: petro capellano: Waltero capellano de berlinge: Roggero capellano: Waltero diacono.*

church free both from the dues which it used to pay in August, and from three pence which the parson of the church used to pay for the ditch which is under his orchard between him and his neighbour Ralph Bule: "The parson, on account of this gift in my court, granted to me to build a chapel with indemnity of the mother church preserved under this form: that the priest of the mother church whenever and as often as he wishes may minister in the chapel and may take away all the offertories. My chaplain before he ministers in the chapel shall swear on the holy gospels obedience and fidelity to the mother church. And so likewise his successors. So that neither the communion shall be kept in the chapel, nor shall the chaplain receive any one to confession nor perform baptism: but shall be content with the penny of the mass only. They shall not have fonts nor bells in the chapel, nor vigils nor preachings nor fruits of parishioners, but all things ought to be kept to the integrity, propriety, and honour of the mother church. This gift and agreement thus inaugurated I William and Robert my brother firmly and lawfully, without fraud or ill intention, promise to maintain, and have offered, taking the gospels on the holy altar in the church of Wakering in our own hands, and paying all tenths belonging to this church. And lest in lapse of time what is done by me be rendered void or called in doubt, I have fortified it by the confirmation of the present charter and by the apposition of my seal."

Reginald, prior of Pritwell, is the first witness. His priory was of the Cluniac order, and had been founded early in the twelfth century. Ascelin the dean was perhaps the rural dean of Rochford, in which deanery Pritwell, now Prittlewell, is situated. Gilbert of Eastwood came from the next parish to Warin, chaplain of Pritwell, who follows him. John of Shobury and Walter the chaplain of Barling belonged to two other parishes of the deanery. Two more chaplains and a deacon complete the list. The seal remains, sewed up in vellum. William of Theydon,¹ in a fourth charter, grants to the Church of Little Wakering the liberty of feeding ten pigs in the woods of Theydon, which it had in the time of his father. His mother Avelina is the first witness.

ROBERT OF THEYDON,² for the love of God and the

¹ Willelmus de Taidena omnibus hominibus suis Amicis Francis et Anglis salutem : Sciatis quod ego concessi et reddidi ecclesie Sancte Marie de parua wakeringes libertatem quam habuit tempore patris mei in nemore de taidena scilicet tempore despascendi decem porcos quietos de pascuagio, et uolo et firmiter precipio quatinus illa libertas amodo sit rata et potestas ecclesie concessa, ad honorem dei et sancte marie in cuius nomine predicta fundata est ecclesia et pro salute anime mee et anime patris mei et matris mee et omnium pertinencium meorum et amicorum. Ualete Teste : Auelina matre mea : Willelmo filio mabelle : Geroldo Grapinell : Petro Capellano.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 430a.

² Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis Robertus de taidena Salutem : Sciatis quod ego pro dei amore et spe non temporalis sed eterne retributionis ratam habeo donationem fratris mei Willelmi de taidena super ecclesia de Wakeringa parua quam predictus Willelmus assensu et consensu meo dedit cum omnibus predictae ecclesie pertinentibus deo et hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de lundoniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Hanc etiam ecclesiam de Wakeringa parua cum omnibus libertatibus et pertinentiis suis ego Robertus de taidena pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee Agathe et patrum et matrum nostrarum et antecessorum et successorum nostrorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam deo et hospitali sancti Bartholomei et fratribus ibidem deo seruientibus ad sustentandam hospitalitatem concedo, et hac presenti carta mea et

hope not of transitory but of everlasting reward, confirms the gift of William of Theydon, his brother, in regard to the church of Little Wakering, "which the aforesaid William with my consent gave to the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London in pure and perpetual alms." This church of Little Wakering Robert of Theydon, for the welfare of his soul and that of his wife Agatha, and of his father and mother, ancestors and successors, grants in pure and perpetual alms. The witnesses were: Nicholas, Archdeacon of London; Master Henry of Northampton; Ralph of Chilton; Gilbert Banastre; Henry of Londonstone; Richard son of Reiner; Ralph the Breton, clerk. The seal of Robert of Theydon shows him on horseback in armour, with helmet, sword, and shield.

A Nicholas appears as Archdeacon of London in 1181 and 1185. Henry of Northampton was prebendary of Kentish Town in 1181. Gilbert Banastre was in possession of the prebend of Consumpta per Mare in 1192, and Ralph of Chilton occupied that of Rugmere in 1183 and 1193. Ralph Brito is probably the judge of 1179, so that the date of this charter is a little earlier than that of Roger son of Reinfrid. Henry Fitz-Ailwin of Londonstone had not yet become mayor when it was attested.

sigilli mei appositione confirmo et corrobore. His Testibus: Nicholao Archidiacono de Lundenis: Magistro Henrico de Norhamtona: Radulfo de chiltona Gileberto banastre: Henrico de Lundenestone: Ricardo filio Reineri: Radulfo clerico britone.

BEATRICE OF THEYDON,¹ widow of William of Theydon, afterwards gave to the church of Little Wakering and the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital an acre of land in Little Wakering next, on the north, to the acre of the same church which is called Gelden Acre, in pure and perpetual alms, and confirmed the grant with her seal. It is a large oval seal bearing a spread eagle and the inscription "Sigil. Beatricis de Taidena."

HENRY OF THEYDON² confirmed to the church of

¹ Sciant Presentes et futuri quod Ego Beatrix de teydene quondam uxor W. de teydene divine miserationis intuitu dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et sancte Marie gloriose virgini et ecclesie de parua Wakeringa et fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei de londoniis unam acram terre in parua Wakeringe Que est proxima apud North acre eiusdem ecclesie que uocatur Geldenacre: in puram et perpetuam elemosinam dum vixero. Hoc videlicet tenere quod prouentes omnes acre istius perpetuo impendantur in vsus ecclesie de Wakeringa et honores quibus ecclesia prosus indiguerit. Concessi etiam eidem ecclesie omnia iura et omnes libertates cum omnibus Aisiammentis pascuorum et aliorum omnium que habere consueuit uel habuit temporibus dominorum uel dominarum a fundatione ecclesie. Ita tamen quod W. de teydene quondam dictus et ego B. et antecessores nostri et successores simus participes omnium bonorum orationum elemosinarum que facta sunt et fient in sancta domo hospitalis in perpetuum. Sigillum meum apposui ad RobuR prelibatorum. His testibus: Roberto persona de Wakering: Helia: Gilliberto: Nicolao: Johanne capellanis: Jordano filio Hugonis: Nicolao grapinel: Willelmo marsilie: Ricardo grapinel: Johanne filio meo: Godefrido de Sopilande: Absalone clerico scriptore carte: et multis aliis.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Henricus de Thayden concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et ecclesie beate Marie de parua Wakeringa et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum quamdam paruam particulam marisci mei de Borewerde: Que adiacet marisco eiusdem Hospitalis In parua Wakeringa, habendam et tenendam de me et heredibus meis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro anima patris et matris mee et pro animabus omnium antecessorum meorum: et pro anima mea et pro animabus omnium successorum meorum. Ad emendanda luminaria ecclesie de parua Wakeringe: et ad sustinendam Hospitalitatem infirmorum pauperum et peregrinorum hospitali aduenientium: et ego Henricus et heredes mei warantizabimus prenominata ecclesie et predicto hospitali scilicet In uiis: In semitis: In aquis: In stagnis: In pascuis: In exitibus et cum omnibus libertatibus ad predictum mariscum pertinentibus contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. Sigillum meum carte apposui: ad robur prelibatorum. Hiis testibus: Roberto persona de magna Wakeringa: Gilliberto capellano: Johanne capellano de Wakeringa: Nicolao capellano: Willelmo de Torindon: Willelmo de Soberi: Jordano filio Hugonis: Nicolao grapinell: Ricardo grapinell: Willelmo marsill: et Multis aliis.

St. Mary of Little Wakering and to the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's a small piece of his marsh of Borewerde, adjoining the marsh of the same hospital in Little Wakering, towards improving the lights of the church of Little Wakering, and towards the keeping up of the hospital of the sick and the poor, and of wanderers coming to the hospital. The witnesses were Robert the parson of Great Wakering, Gilbert the chaplain, John chaplain of Wakering, Nicholas the chaplain, William of Torynden, William of Shobury, Jordon son of Hugh, Nicholas Grapinell, Richard Grapinell, William Marsill, and many others.

Henry's seal shows him on horseback, in full armour, with sword and shield. The inscription is "Sigillum Henrici de Taidena."

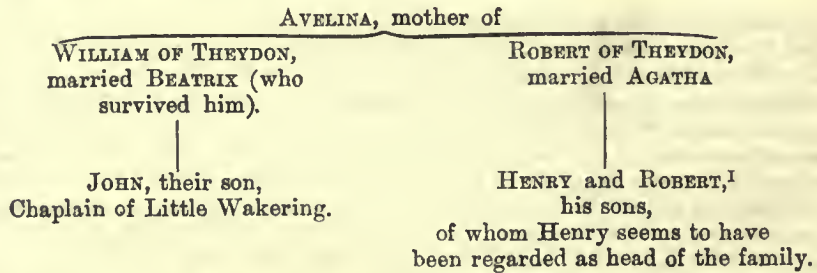
In another charter, also bearing his seal, HENRY OF THEYDON¹ confirms to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital the church of Little Wakering, as

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus de Taidena Concessi et presenti mea carta Confirmaui deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei Londonie ecclesiam de parua Wakeringia cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis et aisiamentiis et accrescenciis omnibus Sicut eas habent de dono et confirmacione Willelmi de Taidene auunculi mei et Roberti de Taidene patria mei sicut carte eorum testantur. Dedi eciam pro me et pro heredibus meis eisdem fratribus ad sustentationem infirmorum pauperum et peregrinorum unam acram terre in parua Wakeringia proximam acre ecclesie de Wakeringia que uocatur Geldone aker in puram et perpetuam elemosinam sicut aliqua elemosina liberius et securius dari et confirmari potest a laico. Et ego et heredes mei Warentizabimus prenominatam acram cum omnibus prenominatis fratribus eiusdem hospitalis contra omnes gentes. Et opposui sigillum meum ad robur omnium prolibatorum. Hiis testibus: Johanne tunc capellano eiusdem ecclesie: Gilberto et Nicolao tunc capellanis ecclesie de magna Wakeringia: Roberto persona de magna Wakeringia: Roberto fratre meo: Jordano filio Hugonis: Godefrido de Schopelaunde: Ricardo Grapinel: Rogero de Sumeruilla clerico: et omnibus fratribus eiusdem hospitalis et multis aliis.*

they have it from the gift of William of Theydon his uncle and Robert of Theydon his father. He also gives for the support of the sick, the poor, and pilgrims an acre of land in Little Wakering next the acre of the church of Wakering called the Geldone acre. The witnesses were : John, then chaplain of the church of Little Wakering ; Gilbert and Nicholas, then chaplains of the church of Great Wakering ; Robert, the parson of Great Wakering ; Robert, brother of Henry of Theydon ; Jordan son of Hugh ; Godfrey of Shoplond ; Richard Grapinel ; Roger of Somervill, the clerk ; and all the brethren of the hospital, and many others.

John the chaplain of Little Wakering was son of William of Theydon. Three of the other clergymen were witnesses of the charter of Beatrice of Theydon as well as the Grapinels.

These charters make it possible to draw up a table of this family of benefactors :



St. Bartholomew's has still property in Little Wakering, and its arms, with those of John Wakeryng,

¹ Robert, the parson of Great Wakering, was not Henry's brother, as is shown by the charter of Henry, witnessed by Robert the parson and "Roberto fratre meo."

master of the hospital in the reign of Henry VI., are carved near the church door. Near the village is Little Wakering Hall, an old farmhouse, and as I was looking at its exterior in July 1885, the tenant emerged and invited me to come in and have tea with him. He was Philip Benton, a farmer, and he produced a history of the hundred of Rochford, printed at Rochford, which he had written. I bought a copy from him, and found it to contain many curious details as to the successive owners of farms, the names of fields, and many other particulars of the local history unlikely to be known outside the district. On the same day I saw the church of Great Wakering, part of which goes back to the time of Robert the parson of Great Wakering, who is the first witness of Henry of Theydon's charter.

As I passed another parish church that day I met with one of those disappointments which come to all students of history. The sexton was in the churchyard, and told me a little about the neighbourhood, who was lord of the manor, and where he held his court. I asked if there were any old books or rolls. "I," said the sexton, "have the only old book I know of in the parish, and it is a very old book." "And whom is it by?" I asked. "I do not know who it is by," he said, "but it is on Job." "Then it must be Caryl on Job?" "Yes," he said, "it is Caryl on Job—that is on the back." Thus were my hopes of a view of ancient records and of the Middle Ages dis-

appointed, and nothing more ancient found than an edition of a Puritan preacher whose work is often to be seen in the second-hand bookshops of London.

Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London,¹ approved the gift of "our well-beloved son William of Theydon" of the church of Little Wakering, "with a view to the mercy of God," to the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London in pure and perpetual alms, with the assent of Robert of Theydon. The witnesses were Master Henry of Northampton, Master Ralph of Chilton, Master Gilbert Banastre, canons of St. Paul's; William of Carnamvill, Thomas Barthold, Richard of Sayre, John Witeng, Ralph the cantor, clerks; Reginald son of Richard, Henry son of Ailwin, Reginald camerarius, Reginald the dispenser, Robert the butler, and many others. The witnesses are three canons of St. Paul's, five clerks, and five laymen, in which last group Henry Fitz-Ailwin is the second.

¹ *Gilbertus dei gratia Londonensis Episcopus omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis salutem in domino. Ad uniuersitatis uestre uolumus deuenire noticiam nos ex tenore carte dilecti filii nostri Willelmi de Taidena aduocati ecclesie de parua Wakeringa nobis presentate et exhibite cognouisse ipsum Willelmum dedisse et concessisse diuine caritatis intuitu deo et sancte marie et Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de londoniis et fratribus eiusdem loci ecclesiam de parua Wakeringa cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam de assensu et concessione et uoluntate Roberti de Taidena fratris predicti Willelmi et eiusdem heredis cuius etiam super hoc cartam inspeximus Has igitur concessiones nos ratas habemus uel acceptas et ut firmitate gaudere possint imposterum eas pagine presentis inscriptione et sigilli nostri appositione confirmauimus. Testibus: Magistro Henrico de Northamptonia: Radulfo de Chilton: Gileberto Banastre Canonicis Sancti Pauli: Willelmo de Carnamuilla: Thoma Bartholde: Ricardo de Sayre: Johanne Witenges: Radulfo Cantore clericis: Reginaldo filio Ricardi: Henrico filio Alwyni: Reginaldo Camerario: Reginaldo dispensatore: Roberto Pincerna: et multis aliis.—
*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, f. 43ob.**

St. Thomas of Canterbury knew St. Bartholomew's, and this deed shows that the hospital had also come under the immediate notice of his most active ecclesiastical opponent in England.

One other transaction of Gilbert Foliot¹ in relation to St. Bartholomew's is recorded in the cartulary. He confirmed an agreement between Richer the precentor of Rouen, a canon of St. Paul's, and the brethren of the hospital as to part of the land of Richer's prebendal estate which had been let by William of Ely to the brethren at an annual rent of twenty-six shillings. Robert, Archdeacon of Essex in the time of Foliot, is the first witness, and among the laymen is Michael of Valencins. The occurrence of a Gilbert Foliot as a witness among the canons of St. Paul's seems to suggest that the canon who held the stall of Newington was not the bishop but a namesake of his.

There were other grants to the hospital in the same district as Wakering. HENRY THE MASON, son of Osbert the clerk, of Barling, made a grant of an acre and a piece, which was witnessed by Godfrid of Shoplond and

¹ Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Gillebertus Lundonensis dei gracia Episcopus gratam habeo conuencionem que habita est iuter dilectum filium nostrum Richerum precentorem Rothomagensem atque canonicum ecclesie Sancti Pauli et fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Lundoniarum super terram prebende ipsius Richerii super ea scilicet istius terre porcione quam Willelmus de Heli domini regis thesaurarius tenuerat quanquam fratribus ipsius hospitalis sub annua viginti sex solidorum pensione tenendam concesserat. His Testibus: Roberto Archidiacono Essexie: Magistro Henrico de Norhamtonia: Magistro Hugone de Londoniis: Ricardo Ruffo: Roberto de Clifford: Gilleberto foliot: Willelmo de Heli: Michaelae de Valecinis: Roberto de Fuleham: Gocelino piscatore: Henrico filio Ricardi: Magistro Ricardo de Storteforde.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 43ob.

Richard Grapinel, contemporaries of William of Theydon. Henry afterwards made a grant of three acres and a rood "next the footpath which leads to the church of Barling," of which William Marsill and Nicholas Grapinel, men of the same generation, are witnesses. HUGH OF GLOUCESTER,¹ Henry's overlord, confirmed the grant. His circular seal remains attached to his charter on a vellum tag, and bears a rudely designed lion passant guardant, with a waving tail ending in a large leaf. The words "Sigillum Hugonis de Gloucestrie" are just legible. The witnesses include Godfrid of Shoplond and Richard Grapinel.

HENRY THE MASON OF BARLING,² also entered into

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Hngo de gloucestria pro dei amore et quia ego et mei uiui et mortui simus participes omnium bonorum que fiunt in domo sancta hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui magistro et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totam terram quam habent in barlinges ex dono et confirmatione Henrici cementarii: tenendam et habendam libere quiete pacifice honorifice, sicut carte eiusdem Henrici quas habent de eadem terra loquuntur: et quod istam meam concessionem in perpetuum roborari uolo sigillum meum apposui. Hiis Testibus: Giliberto: Stephano: Johanne capellanis: Nicholao Grapinel: Godefrido de Sopilonde: Willelmo de Barlinges: Ricardo Grapinel: Henrico de Hatfeld: Johanne Delfrit: Galfrido et Joscio fratribus: Willelmo filio Baldewini: Luca de Barlinges: Bernardo de Middelmad: et multis aliis.

² ΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΡΟΝ.—Hec est conventio facta inter Henricum cementarium de Berlyng et magistrum et fratres hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis saluo iure maritali et coniugali affectu inter eum et Albredam uxorem suam in omnibus uidelicet quod idem Henricus tradidit eisdem magistro et fratribus duas partes tocius terre sue de Barlinge cum catallis et fructibus et omnibus pertinenciis que terre contingebant: habendum et tenendum et colendum dum idem vixerit Henricus tota vita sua. Ita tamen quod pascent eum et vestient mediocriter dum vixerit et acquietabunt debita que partem suam contigunt. Ipse vero Henricus per tradicionem eorundem fratrum defendet terram versus dominos in omnibus adiuncta tertia parte omnium honerum que contingunt Albredam uxorem eiusdem dum poterit, Si impotens fuerit, ipsi de nomine suo inpotenciam suam versus dominos suplebunt Et hoc de voluntate et de petitione eiusdem Albrede. Si contingerit Henricum laborare alicubi in arte cementaria laborabit ad vsum et ad vtilitatem domus ospitalis sancti Bartholomei dum laborare voluerit et potuerit. Et cum dies mortis sue institerit Relinquit eisdem fratribus in testamento omnem laborem

an agreement with the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's. It is a chirograph, and the part preserved at St. Bartholomew's has attached to it on a vellum tag a circular seal of white wax inscribed "Sigill. Henrici cementarii." The centre bears a hand holding a double axe of the kind used to dress stone before the chisel was introduced, the marks of which may be seen on the walls of many of the Norman churches of England. The substance of the agreement is the transfer to the hospital of two-thirds of Henry's land. The Master and brethren promise to feed and clothe him. The descendants of the mason seem to have long remained at Barling, for Agnes, widow of Walter, "called mason of Barling," executed a charter in 1302. What in the reign of John was the indication of a man's handicraft, had in his descendant of the end of Edward I.'s reign become an hereditary name.

eorum et omnia catalla eorum que in terra eiusdem Henrici habuerint quieta et soluta absque alicuius contradictione. Et si contigerit Albredam ante Henricum mori *pecudem* que contingit Albredam fratribus acrescat pacto prelocuto. Et hoc affidavit uterque Henricus et Albreda. Et quod non aponent Artem vel ingenium ad elegandum fratres de possessione predicta vel in aliquo perturbandum. Si vero Malitia mutauerit intellectum Henrici vel Albrede quod adsit [*sic*] Deturbanda possessione fratrum concesserunt quod remaneant excommunicati et vitati ab omnibus. Et quod in eternum pereant auctoritate maiorum Nisi citius errorem suum mutauerint et fratribus in omnibus satis fecerint. Fratres vero Ospitalis in Verbo Dei promiserunt quod providebunt Henrico in victu et vestitu dum vixerit sicut est prelocutum. Et habent licenciam ferendi fructus et omnes aliorum labores suos ubi voluerint et quando voluerint sine omni contradictione. Et idem Henricus warantizabit totam prelibatam terram predictis fratribus cum omnibus pertinenciis contra omnes gentes tota vita sua: Et sigilla sua partes utrimque aposuerunt et robur averunt. Hiis Testibus: Steffano capellano: Ricardo capellano: Nicolao Grapinel: Ricardo Grapinel: Henrico seruiente de Magna Wakeringia: Willelmo Marsile: Godefrido de Sopilande: Luca de Barlinge: Johanna filia domine de parua Wakeringe: Gocelino Gernet: Ricardo fratre: Rodbertulo qui hanc conuencionem conscripsit: et Multis Aliis.

ROBERT OF KRICKESHEE¹ (now Cricksea) confirmed the grant of a benefactor of Alan's time, Brice of Stepney, who had given to the hospital a marsh, held by him of Robert, in the hundred of Daneseie, part of the fee of Reginald of Dunton and Richard of Mulesham. Brice gave the marsh to the brethren in perpetual alms, except four marks a year, which were to be paid to Robert on Palm Sunday, at Whitsuntide, at the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and at Michaelmas. The brethren gave him six shillings and his wife Matilda two bezants for this charter.

A charter of RICHARD OF MULESHAM² grants "in liberum maritagium" with his daughter Juliana to Robert of Clovill, land in the marsh of Crickese.

GILBERT DE VER,³ who afterwards became Prior

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Robertus de Krickeshee gratam habeo et concedo et confirmo deo et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei londoniarum et eorum successoribus donationem Bricii de stebehee de marisco quem tenuit de me In hundredo de Daneseie de feodo Reginaldi de dontune et Ricardi de Mulesham. Quem mariscum predictus Bricius dedit eisdem fratribus In perpetuam elemosinam: saluo seruitio quatuor marcarum reddendarum annuatim michi et heredibus meis: sicut continetur in carta Bricii quam habuit de me: scilicet ad pascha floridum I marcam: et ad pentecosten I marcam et ad exaltacionem sancte crucis I marcam et ad festum sancti Michaelis I marcam. Pro hac autem concessione et carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi predicti fratres sex solidos sterlingorum et Matildi vxori mee duos Bisantios. Et ut hec mea confirmatio stabilis permaneat in perpetuum et firma presenti scripto sigillum meum Apposui. Hiis testibus: Gileberto capellano de Wakeringia: Bartholomeo capellano de sancto Bartholomeo: Adam capellano de Burnham: Jordano clerico: Willelmo clerico fratre meo: Nicholao Grapinel: Henrico de hatfeld: Willelmo marsillo: Ricardo Grapinel.*

Daneseie seems to be a more ancient form of the name of the hundred of Dengy, in which are both Cricksea and Burnham. William Marsille and the Grapinels are witnesses of both these charters, so that they clearly belong to the same period.

² "Hiis testibus: Gilberto de Nuiel: Willelmo de Alna: Willelmo de Ginge: Ricardo Bataill: Nicholao peche: Henrico filio Willelmi: Gileberto de Mulesham: Widone filio Hugonis: Rogero de Herlan: et multis aliis."

³ Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris Quod ego Gilebertus de ver

Hocum sit omnib; tam presentib; qm̄ futuris. Quod ego Gilbertus de Ver gaceti & dedi & pre-
senti carta confirmavi deo & Beate marie & scti hospitali domini de scti barth de quethe-
feld. & scti eiusdem domini suam virgata terre in Remeham totam illam scti qm̄ Ro-
bertus de Alms tenuit. tenendam & habendam in perpetuum de me & heredib; meis in-
tegre cu omib; stantibus suis in perpetuam elemosinam. libam & quietam ab omni se-
culari servicio. Et ego & heredes mei warrantabim; predicto hospitali hanc vir-
gata terre contra omnes homines. Et post obitum meum scti predicti hosp. faciant fieri annui-
tariu meum sumptibus annis in predicto hosp. his scilicet. Gary de Haysot. priore
hosp. rectori in Anglia. Regni presbitero de Remeha. Luca presbitero de Wokend. Waltero de
Crammunt. Petro de Gersmunt. Robto de Burgate. Rad' de Archis. Johne de
Kerding. Waltero de Herefordia. Reginal. de Trussmunt. Ric' fil' regis. Henr'
de Lundeston. Rogo fil' Almy. Rogo duce. & multas alijs.



GILBERT DE VER TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, granted to the hospital house of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield, and to the brethren of that house, a virgate of land in Rainham, that namely which Robert of the Elms held, to hold for ever from him and from his heirs in perpetual alms, free from all secular service. After his death the brethren are to commemorate his anniversary. The charter has fourteen witnesses, of whom the first is Garnier of Nablús, Prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England. Richard son of Reiner, who died in 1191, is the first of the London witnesses, and is succeeded by Henry of Londonstone, Roger son of Alan, and Roger Duke, who all three became Mayors of London.

A gateway of the priory of Garnier remains in Clerkenwell, and marks the site of his priory. It is now ancient, but was built long after his time. Garnier himself was present in 1185 at the settlement of a controversy as to the administration of the hospital of St. Cross at Winchester, of which the first witness

concessi et dedi et presenti Carta confirmaui deo et Beate Marie et Sancte hospitali domui de sancto Bartholomeo de Smethefeld et fratribus eiusdem domus vnam virgatam terre in Reineham, totam illam scilicet quam Robertus de vlmis tenuit : tenendam et habendam in perpetuum de me et heredibus meis integre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in perpetuum elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni seculari seruicio. Et ego et heredes mei warantzabimus predicto hospitali hanc virgatam terre contra omnes homines. Et post obitum meum fratres predicti hospitalis facient fieri anniuersarium meum singulis annis in predicto hospitali. Hiis testibus : Garnerio de Neapoli, Priore Hospitalis ierosolimitani in Anglia : Reginaldo Presbitero de Reineham : Luca Presbitero de Wokend' : Willelmo de Cramavilla : Petro de Gergunevilla : Roberto de burgate : Radulfo de Archis : Johanne de Kertlinge : Waltero de Herefordia : Reginaldo de Trullanvilla : Ricardo filio Reineri : Henrico de Lundestone : Rogero filio Alani : Rogero duce : et multis aliis.

Mr. J. H. Round has demonstrated that the place of Garnerius was Nablús in Syria and not Naples in Italy : "Garnier de Nablous," *Archæologia*, January 29, 1903.

is King Henry II., and to which Richard, once Archdeacon of Poitiers and then Bishop of Winchester, as has been already mentioned, was a party.

Garnier of Nablús,¹ as prior of the order, confirmed his grant of land at Rainham to St. Bartholomew's in a charter, dated at London in the year of the Incarnation 1190, of which there is a copy in the cartulary. It is witnessed by six brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, by a chaplain, a clerk, and eight magnates of London—Henry of Cornhill (sheriff in 1187), Richard son of Reiner (sheriff in 1187), Henry son of Ailwin (the first mayor), William of Haverhill (sheriff in 1189 and 1190), Roger Duke (sheriff, 1189), Roger son of Alan (sheriff, 1192), William of St. Michael's, John son of Herlicun (sheriff, 1189). Alan, the first in the list of members of the order who witnessed their prior's charter, is probably the brother who succeeded Garnier as prior. There is in the British Museum a charter of his,² dated

¹ Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Garnerius de Neapol' Prior fratrum Hospitalis Ierusalem in Anglia de communi assensu et uoluntate fratrum capituli nostri concessi et presenti carta confirmari Deo et Beate Marie et sancte hospitali domui de sancto Bartholomeo de Smethefeld et fratribus eiusdem domus unam virgatam terre in Reineham : totam illam scilicet quam Robertus de Ulmis tenuit : quam Gilebertus de Ver eis in elemosinam dedit : tenendam et habendam finabiliter de domo nostra integre cum omnibus pertinentiis in perpetuam elemosinam, liberam et quietam ab omni seculari seruicio et hanc virgatam terre eis warantizabimus quamdiu uillam de Reineham tenere poterimus. Hiis testibus : Fratrem alano. Fratrem Matheo : Willelmo Capellano : Fratrem Roberto filio Ricardi. Fratrem Adam coco. Fratrem Sampsonem. Fratrem Alexandro. Waltero clerico. Henrico de Cornhill. Ricardo filio Reineri. Henrico filio Ailwini. Willelmo de Hauerhull. Rogero Duce. Rogero filio Alani. Willelmo de Sancto Michaele. Johanne filio Herlicun. Anno Incarnacionis dominice M^o C^o XC^o. apud Londonias.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 393a.

² Warner and Ellis, "Facsimiles," i. 71.

Michaelmas 1190, granting lands at Arundel to Ralph Burgensis, in which Brother Gilbert de Ver is the fourth witness.

When these two charters are considered together, they show that Garnier was prior at the beginning of 1190, and had by Michaelmas been succeeded by Alan.

Two other de Veres were benefactors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. William de Ver,¹ with consent of his wife, gave three acres of meadow in his marsh at Hackney, and the gift was confirmed by ADAM DE

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Vere concessi et dedi et hac mea presenti carta confirmaui Deo et hospitali sancti Bartholomei Lundon et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis pro salute anime mee et pro salute predecessorum meorum concessu uxoris mee et heredum meorum tres acras de prato in marisco meo in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ex omni seruicio et ex omni exactione seculari et consuetudine de me et heredibus meis sicut aliqua elemosina liberius vel melius viria religiosis et domui pauperum possit dari vel confirmari. Hanc donacionem feci ego Willelmus de Vere pro salute anime mee et heredum meorum et pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum : et ut hoc ratum et inconcussum per succedencia tempora consistat sigilli mei impositione corroborauit. Hiis testibus : Willelmo capellano de stebennhia : Petro capellano de Soresdich : Willelmo de Pontefracto dapifero : Radulfo clerico de Stebennia : Ricardo de Beauchampe clerico : Johanne clerico nepote Sancti Thome : Helia clerico : Gileberto Daco : Willelmo Cancele : Willelmo Cole : Salomone atte Strate : Johanne filio Frethes : Gualtero atte Grone : Turgisio filio Eunninge : Salomone clerico : Rogero de Hakeneia : Sigario filio Colemanii : et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 376.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Adam de uer dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et hospitali sancti Bartholomei de lundoniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum concessu heredum meorum tres acras de prato in marisco meo de dono patris mei : in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam : liberam et quietam ex omni seruitio et ex omni exactione aeculari et consuetudine de me et heredibus meis sicut aliqua elemosina liberius uel melius uiria religiosis et domui pauperum possit dari uel confirmari. Hanc donacionem feci Ego Adam de uer pro salute anime mee et heredum meorum et pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum : et ut hoc ratum et inconcussum per succedencia tempora consistat sigilli mei impressione corroborauit. Hiis testibus : Michaele de ualencins : Waltero le taillur : Willelmo de Stubehuthe : Johanne de la Muldelande : Ricardo filio Gileberti de Soresdihc : Waltero Blundo : Waltero filio suo : Euuardo pincerna : Stephano clerico : Radulpho capellano : Roberto capellano : et multis aliis. A small seal on a vellum tag remaina. On it is a bear, and as a border the inscription "Sigillum Ade de ver."

VER his son. It is interesting to observe among the witnesses of William de Vere's charter, John the clerk, nephew of St. Thomas. As in the wilds of Tirconnell the family of O'Firghil, by whom St. Columba was fostered, were long held in special respect, so in London it seems that the relatives of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the saint bred and born in the city, were treated with reverence. In the cartulary of the nuns of Clerkenwell is entered a charter concerning the gift of Agnes Beket¹ in the parish of St. Mary of Colemanekeriche. The charter begins: "To all the sons of holy mother church present and to come, Agnes Beket, sister of Saint Thomas the martyr, greeting."

William de Ver is a witness of a confirmatory grant to the hospital in Hertfordshire, that of William of Wydeford, brother of Robert of Beeches, who gave to St. Bartholomew's Hospital ten shillings quit-rent from the land of Tothinges, which Hugh of Vabundan (also written Vanbadun) held. The brethren gave him twenty shillings as a fine. He made the concession in

¹ *Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Agnes Beket soror sancti Thome martiris Salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra me caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum ac heredum meorum dedisse et concessisse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Clerkenwell et sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo seruientibus unam solidatam quieti redditus in Londoniis de terra quam Willelmus karretarius tenuit de me pro quatuor solidis per annum: In parochia de colemannecherche. Habendas et tenendas predictas quatuor solidatas quieti redditus ipsis sanctimonialibus finabiliter in liberam et puram et perpetuam elenuosinam quietam ab omni seruitio et exactione seculari in perpetuum. Et ut karta mea donatio et concessio stabilis perseueret, presentem cartam sigilli mei testimonio confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Magistro David: Willelmo Sacerdote: Magistro W. de Londoniis persona de Stebenheia: Rogero huscarl: Roberto de pinkem: Roberto filio Radulfi: Alexandro filio Johannis: Roberto dispensario.*

the presence of his lord, Richard [of Ely], Bishop of London, in his court in London.¹ Peter of Blois, the first witness, was Archdeacon of London in 1192. The land was at Standon in Hertfordshire. The Knights Hospitallers had an estate there, which explains the presence among the witnesses of Brother Nicholas, the Preceptor of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

Robert of Beche (or Beeches), William's brother, went later on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, if he returned, this gift of ten shillings in the vill of Tockinges was to remain to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's.²

London Bridge was being built of stone during Alan's mastership, and he may have known PETER, PRIEST OF COLECHERCHE, the procurator of the bridge, under whose superintendence the building took place.

¹ Coram hiis testibus : Petro Archidiacono Lunduniensi : Magistro Alardo Canonicis Ecclesie Pauli : Fratrem Nicholao preceptore hospitalis Sancti Johannis ierusalem : Rogero, Alano, Ricardo, capellanis Ricardi Lundoniensis episcopi : Magistro Alexandro : Rogero Pietres : Willelmo de Ver : Johanne capellano de turre : Michaelae de Valencins : Odone de Cornhull : Ricardo de Wydeford : Ricardo filio Matildis de Wydeford.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 473a and b.

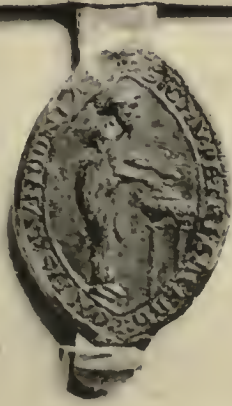
² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robert de Beche concessi et dedi deo et sancte marie et hospitali sancti barthelomei de londoniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis decem solidatas redditus in perpetuum quas Hugo de Vabandun michi debet annuatim de terra quam de me tenet : illas videlicet x solidatas quas Matilda Baiarde coram domino meo E. Lond. episcopo michi concessit et dedit pro seruiicio meo finabiliter habendam in uilla de tockinges : quam donacionem quia firmam et inconcussam manere nolo si de peregrinatione mea ierosolimitana rediero presenti scripto et sigilli mei auctoritate pro salute anime mee et uxorum mearum et antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum in perpetuum et puram et liberam elemosinam predictis fratribus confirmo coram Hiis testibus : Rogero sacerdote de Haddam : Ricardo fratre : Roberto de Beche : Widone nepote suo : Ricardo rufo : Radulfo homine Roberti de Beche : Willelmo sacerdote juniore domus hospitalis : Willelmo diacono de eadem domo : Ricardo francigena de eadem domo : et Aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 473a.

Peter, who was rector of the church of St. Mary Colechurch in the Old Jewry, was buried in the undercroft of the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury on the middle arch of the bridge in 1205. A charter of his, of Alan's time, has been preserved at St. Bartholomew's.¹ It relates to land in the parish of St. Clement Danes:—

“Be it known to men present and to come that I Peter priest of Koleccherch procurator of the bridge of London and my brethren have given and granted and by this our charter confirmed to William son of Sabern of Wendenn and his heirs all that land which Osbert May sold to Helyas Palmer in the parish of saint Clement Danes (Danschemannescherchia): to hold of us and of the other wardens of the bridge of London who shall come after us in fee and heredity freely and quietly for six shillings and two pence to be paid at two terms of the year, namely at Easter three shillings and a penny, and at the feast of St. Michael three shillings and a penny for every service. And it is to be known that I the aforesaid Peter and my brethren and the Wardens of the bridge of London who shall come after us

¹ Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod Ego Petrus sacerdos Koleccherchie procurator Pontis Londoniarum et Confratres mei Dimisimus et Concessimus et hac Carta nostra confirmavimus Willelmo filio Saberni de Wendenne et heredibus suis totam terram illam quam Osbertus May vendidit Helye Palmero in Parochia sancti clementis de Danschemannescherchia: tenendam de nobis et de ceteris pontis Londoniarum custodibus qui post nos venturi sunt in feudo et hereditate libere et quiete pro vi. solidis et ii. denariis ad duos terminos anni reddend. scilicet ad Pascha domini iii. sol. et i. d. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis iii. sol. et i. d. pro omni seruitio. Et sciendum est quod ego prenomi-natus petrus et confratres mei et Custodes pontis Londoniarum qui post nos venturi sunt warrantizabimus predictam terram prenominato Willelmo filio saberni et heredibus suis contra omnes gentes. Pro hac Donatione et Concessione et Confirmatione dedit predictus Willelmus filius Saberni Ponti Londoniarum xvi solidos et viii denarios in Ghersumiam. Hiis testibus: Johanne capellano sancti clementis: Radulfo Diacono: Gaufrido Blundo: Gilbertero le Sohroh: Herlewino de Grenforde: Rogero filio Gilberti: Willelmo de Clane-forde: Willelmo filio Johannis: Bartholomeo filio Fulkonis: Roberto Bode: Henrico fratre Saberni: Osberto Mai que hanc predictam terram uendidit: et quam pluribus aliis.

Hactenus in presentibus quibus fuerit quod ego Petrus Sacerdos Colechurchie
 parochie parochie Londonie et Cantuarie in Anglia concessimus et hac Car
 ta mea confirmavimus Willelmo filio Saberni de Wandem et heredibus suis tota
 tenementa illa quibus Osbertus noster vendidit herico Palmero et parochia sua de
 maner de Danchemungesberch. tenenda de nos et de certis parochiis
 custodiis et per nos veniantur. et tenenda et hereditate libere et quiete. p. d.
 festo. ad duas annos domini reddent. scilicet ad Pascha domini
 ad festum sancti Michaelis. p. omni servicia
 et tenenda et ego p. d. et heredes parochie Londonie et
 nos veniantur. Willelmo filio Saberni et heredibus
 suis omnino omnino. Et hinc Donatio. Confirmatio.
 predicta Willelmo filio Saberni parochie Londonie.
 test. Johanne capellano Rad.
 herico de Willelmo de
 Willelmo filio Saberni.



PETER OF COLECHURCH TO WILLIAM, SON OF SABERN.

will warrant the aforesaid land to the beforenamed William son of Sabern and his heirs against all people. For this gift and grant and confirmation the aforesaid William son of Sabern gave to the bridge of London sixteen shillings and eight pence as a gersuma : These being witnesses : John chaplain of St. Clements : Ralph the deacon : Geoffrey Blund : Gilbert le Sohroh : Herlewin of Grenford : Roger son of Gilbert : William of Claneford : William son of John : Bartholomew son of Fulk : Robert Bode : Henry brother of Sabern : Osbert Mai who sold this aforesaid land : and very many others."

The seal, of green wax on a vellum tag, is perfect, and shows the reverend figure of Peter of Colecherche, saying mass at a small altar,¹ such as probably stood in the Chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury on the bridge. In the border are the words, "Sigillum Petri Sacerdotis Pontis Lundoniarum." Peter is the first witness of a grant in which Geoffrey Blund of London addresses "all men, French and English, clerical and lay, and asks them to note his gift to the nuns of Clerkenwell, from land and houses which Symon of Feldsted once owned, and which lie in the hylthe of his lady the queen and which he held of the queen and William son of Symon, for a lamp to hang day and night before the altar of the Blessed Mary in the nuns' church."² St. Mary Colechurch stood in Old Jewry, in the Ward of Cheap, and near the house in which St. Thomas of Canterbury was born.

¹ There is an ancient altar of this form in one of the chapels of the Abbaye-aux-hommes at Caen.

² "His testibus Petro capellano de collekerche : Waleramo filio Meillam : Huberto nepote : Galfrido filio Willelmi : Willelmo filio Roberti : Roberto fratre suo : Alexandro filio Ramke : Galfrido de Sancta Margareta." (Faustina, B. II. f. 69b.)

At the present day it now and then happens that a person who has served the hospital, or who was educated there, is brought by accident of illness or injury into its wards, and there makes a happy recovery or ends his days peacefully, and such patients seem to regard the hospital as a natural home in which they are ill amidst their own family. So long ago as the days of Alan this chance of fortune seems to have been contemplated, as is shown by a charter of RALPH OF QUATREMARES,¹ executed "coram omni hustengo," in full hustings of the city of London. Ralph and Albreda his wife give to the hospital all their holding which they hold of Westminster Abbey, in Bread Street, next the church of All Hallows, at a rent of five shillings and tenpence, with every edifice upon it and all utensils of the house for their welfare and that of their ancestors in free and perpetual alms. They also give their orchard which they hold of the church of St. Paul for three

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulfus de quatremaras et Albreda uxor mea concessimus et dedimus deo et hospitali sancti bartholomei et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totum tenementum nostrum quod tenemus de Westmonasterio iuxta ecclesiam omnium sanctorum de bredstret pro quinque solidis et decem denariis cum omni edificio superposito et omnibus utensilibus domus pro salute nostra et antecessorum nostrorum in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Preterea dedimus et concessimus prenominate fratribus pomerium nostrum quod tenemus de ecclesia sancti pauli pro tribus solidis in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute nostra et antecessorum nostrorum. Si uero necessitas nobis ingruerit fratres predicti hospitalis ministrabunt nobis quasi fratri et sorori in predicto hospitali uel in domo nostra quam eis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis dedimus omnia necessaria. Et cum nobis placuerit ipsi recipient nos in societatem suam. Istam uero donationem fecimus predictis fratribus coram omni hustingo et ut donatio ista perpetuetur hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus. [No seal and no witnesses.]

Ralph is a witness of a charter of John Bukuinte son of Alice Bucointe at St. Paul's (Ninth Report, p. 1), and of a charter of the sons of Alulf witnessed by Roger son of Reinfrid (Faustina, B. II. f. 71a).

shillings. "If want attacks us, the brethren of the aforesaid hospital shall supply to us all necessary things as if we were a brother and a sister in the aforesaid hospital or in our house which to them with all its belongings we give. And if we wish they shall receive us into their community."

The house of Ralph of Quatremares was in the southern part of Bread Street, for the church of All Hallows stood at the corner farthest from St. Paul's Cathedral, where the south side of Watling Street crosses Bread Street. An inscription on the wall now marks the position of the church where Milton was baptized, but when I first lived in St. Bartholomew's a church of All Hallows was still standing there, and upon its outer wall were inscribed the fine verses of Dryden—

"Three poets, in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn,
The first in loftiness of thought surpassed,
The next in majesty, in both the last;
The force of Nature could no further go—
To make a third she joined the former two."

Ralph of Quatremares and his wife gave to the hospital their interest in their house and home, which about seven hundred and twenty years ago stood at the south-east corner of Watling Street and Bread Street. Next door to them towards the river¹ was a stone house which belonged to Alulf the father of

¹ Charter of the sons of Alulf (Faustina, B. II. f. 71a).

the Constantine who was sheriff in 1197. This house Alulf son of Fromund gave to the nuns of Clerkenwell, and the confirmation of the gift by Walter, Abbot of Westminster,¹ shows that the next house was that of Gwarner the turner.

Ralph and Albreda also gave an orchard which they held from St. Paul's, so that we may add the cheerful pink and white of apple blossom to the picture which these charters give of Watling Street in the reign of Henry II. They were tenants of the great abbey of Westminster, and Walter the abbot by an agreement made in 1184² granted to the hospital the whole property which Ralph of Quatremares held in Bread Street at an annual rent of five shillings and tenpence to the chamber of the monks (*camera monachorum*), paid on the Feast of St. Peter's Chains (August 1). In the same document the abbot also granted to the hospital the holding in Friday Street of Terric son of Albric at a rent of seven shillings a year. Abbot Walter is blamed by a mediæval historian³ of the abbots of Westminster for granting

¹ Witnessed by William sheriff of London : Richard son of Reiner : Henry son of Ailwin : John son of Herlicum : Roger son of Alan : William son of Brithmar. (*Faustina*, B. II. f. 66a.)

² "Depositionis autem Ricardi Cantuarensis archiepiscopi primo." Richard was Archbishop 1174-1184, died February 16, and was buried February 18. "Willelmo filio Sabelline tunc existente vicecomite London." "His testibus Willelmo filio Sabelline : Johanne Buchunte : Henrico filio Ailwini : Ricardo filio Reneri : Willelmo filio Brithmari."—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 202.

No sheriff is recorded for the years 1183-1184 in the Record Office "List of Sheriffs," 1898.

³ Fol. 50 in the MS. which is attributed to Richard Sporley and begins : "Sequitur extraccio et compilacio tocuis operis sequentis per fratrem Ricardum quondam monachum ecclesie Westmonastrensis anno domini mccccl." (*Claudius*, A. VIII. Brit. Mus.)

Et ante presentem et futurum quod ego Willm de Haverhill curialis in curia 7 p salute anime mee 7 yorul mee 7 libor mee 7 patris mei 7 matris
mee 7 antecessor mee 7 dedit 7 concessi 7 legavi 7 hanc carta mea confirmavi do 7 habeare a parte 7 filijs hospitalis scilicet Bartholomei apud Smechefeld. viii. sol.
quinta redit. Scilicet tres sol. 4 den. qui s. ogerus hanc tenet de me apud Halls. Et. xii. d. redd. cuius de quadam tena qui s. Wido hunc tenet de me 7 tunc
extra burgum. Et quatuor sol. redd. cuius de quadam tena qui s. Wido hunc tenet de me in parochia s. sepulchri. Et. xx. d. redd. et
de quadam tena qui s. Wido hunc tenet de me in parochia s. Albani de Westgate. Et. xii. d. redd. et de quadam tena qui s. Wido hunc tenet de me
tenet de me ex parte camerarii s. os p. d. s. viii. sol. quatuor redd. p. d. s. hanc hospitalis tenet in uita mea 7 p. p. s. sunt in p. p. s.
P. r. e. c. a. s. e. c. u. n. d. u. m. e. l. t. q. d. s. e. p. d. a. t. h. a. n. c. h. o. s. p. i. t. a. l. i. s. p. e. p. i. a. n. e. x. s. o. l. quatuor redd. de quadam tena qui s. Wido hunc tenet de me s. c. e. d. e. t. e. n. e. t. d. e. m. e. s. e. t. p. o. s. t. o. b. i. t. u. m. s. i. c. a. r. d. i. f. i. l. i. j.
mea q. d. e. a. e. l. t. e. x. t. r. a. n. e. u. g. a. r. e. r. e. d. u. n. d. o. i. n. d. e. a. n. n. u. a. t. i. o. n. e. h. e. r. e. d. i. t. i. b. u. s. v. i. l. l. i. a. n. a. r. e. l. d. u. o. s. o. l. d. u. o. b. u. s. t. e. n. u. s. a. n. n. u. i. s. l. e. t. a. d. p. a. s. c. h. i. x. i. d. 7 a. d. f. e. s. t. u. m. s. a. m. i. c. h. a.
e. t. x. i. d. E. t. o. a. u. t. v. i. l. l. i. g. a. l. l. i. g. a. n. t. q. d. d. e. p. d. a. s. r. e. d. i. t. i. b. u. s. q. u. i. n. d. e. c. i. m. s. o. l. 7 d. u. o. t. e. n. i. 7 u. n. o. b. e. r. p. e. n. d. a. n. t. a. n. n. u. a. t. i. o. n. e. a. d. m. u. n. d. u. s. p. r. i. n. c. i. p. i. u. i. t. a. u. t. q. u. a.
l. i. b. e. r. d. i. e. e. m. i. e. i. n. a. o. b. u. l. a. t. a. p. m. i. s. a. l. b. i. 7 d. u. n. d. a. n. t. i. n. v. i. l. l. i. p. r. e. s. 7 d. e. v. i. l. l. i. p. a. m. p. h. i. i. n. p. e. d. o. h. o. s. p. i. t. a. l. i. m. a. g. i. s. i. n. d. i. s. p. e. n. d. i. b. u. s. 7 r. e. s. i. d. u. u. m. t. e. n. u. a. n. t.
a. d. p. r. e. m. i. a. m. i. n. d. i. e. o. m. n. i. u. m. s. o. l. e. i. n. o. c. q. u. i. n. a. a. d. o. p. i. s. i. n. f. i. r. m. i. o. r. u. m. S. i. q. u. i. s. a. u. t. h. u. n. c. m. e. a. n. t. d. o. n. a. t. i. o. n. e. m. 7 a. l. l. i. g. a. t. i. o. n. e. m. i. n. f. r. i. n. g. e. s. i. n. e. i. n. a. l. i. a. m.
f. o. r. m. a. m. i. n. t. a. r. e. p. l. u. m. p. s. e. r. v. e. i. n. i. n. a. n. s. u. l. o. a. n. t. e. r. m. a. t. i. s. s. e. u. i. n. d. u. m. p. c. e. r. t. o. e. s. e. a. r. e. v. t. h. m. e. l. d. o. n. a. t. i. o. 7 c. o. n. c. e. s. s. i. o. s. u. n. t. 7 i. n. c. o. n. c. e. s. s. i. l. l. a. i. n. p. p. r. e. t. u. m.
p. m. a. n. e. a. t. e. n. i. h. u. i. s. i. g. i. l. l. i. m. e. i. a. p. o. s. t. r. o. n. e. c. o. n. f. i. r. m. a. n. t. H. u. i. s. t. e. s. t. i. b. u. s. H. e. n. r. i. c. o. s. i. t. a. l. l. i. v. i. n. a. i. m. a. i. o. r. e. l. o. n. d. o. n. i. R. o. g. e. t. A. n. i. A. l. a. n. i. s. i. t. p. e. t. T. h. o. m. a. s. s. i. t.
v. i. l. l. d. e. h. a. u. e. n. t. R. u. c. a. n. d. d. e. h. u. n. c. h. i. t. e. i. d. v. i. l. l. i. G. o. t. t. f. i. t. p. e. t. a. l. d. e. r. t. i. n. i. R. o. b. f. i. t. r. i. c. h. o. l. d. M. a. r. t. n. e. p. s. u. o. G. u. i. l. d. e. p. l. a. t. r. i. d. e. W. i. l. l. e. l. d. e. u. a. l. e. n. e. R. o. b.
f. i. t. s. k. w. a. r. d. R. o. b. f. i. t. a. l. i. c. i. e. R. o. b. a. l. l. o. h. e. n. e. d. e. s. c. o. a. l. l. u. m. o. v. a. l. t. l. e. b. u. r. g. R. a. d. d. e. c. l. a. r. A. n. d. r. a. l. t. o. e. t. m. u. l. t. i. t. u. s. A. l. i. e. n. e. t. e. n. e. t.



fee farm rents in perpetuity, and Friday Street and Bread Street are mentioned as places where such grants were made of the abbey property.

WILLIAM OF HAVERHILL¹ gave to St. Bartholomew's Hospital eight shillings of quit-rent, which the brethren

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego *Willelmus* de Hauerill caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et vxoris mee et liberorum meorum et patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum meorum dedi et concessi et legavi et hac carta mea confirmaui deo et beate Marie et fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei apud smethefeld viii solidos quieti redditus. Scilicet tres solidos redditus quam [*sic*] Rogerus bat tenet de me apud bassishae Et duodecim denarios redditus de quadam terra quam Ewardus huser tenet de me in ballio extra lutgate. Et quatuor denarios redditus de quadam terra quam heredes Walteri longi chincer' tenent de me in parrochia sancti sepulcri. Et xxxii denarios redditus de quadam terra quam david hunet' tenet de me in parrochia sancti albani de Wodestrat. Et duodecim denarios redditus de quadam terra quam cecilia que fuit vxor Roberti noreis tenet de me extra portam Camerarii. Hos predictos viii solidos quieti redditus predicti fratres hospitalis beati bartholomei perceperunt in uita mea et percepturi sunt in perpetuum. Preterea sciendum est quod sepredicti fratres predicti hospitalis percipiant x solidos quieti redditus de quadam terra quam episcopus *Cestrensis* tenet de me: scilicet post obitum Ricardi filii mei: que terra est extra neugate: reddendo inde annuatim heredibus *Willelmi* Martel duos solidos duobus terminis Anni: scilicet ad pascha xii denarios et ad festum sancti michaelis xii denarios. Ego autem *Willelmus* assignaui quod de predictis redditibus: quindecim solidos et duo denarios et unum obolum expendantur annuatim ad emendum panem ita ut qualibet die ematur una obulata panis albi et dividatur in viii partes et detur viii pauperibus in predicto hospitali magis indigentibus, et residuum remaneat ad pitanciam in die omnium sanctorum in coquina ad opus infirmorum. Si quis autem hanc meam donationem et assignationem infringere siue in aliam formam mutare presumpserit uinculo Anathematis se uinctum pro certo esse sciat. Vt hec mea donatio et concessio stabilis et inconcussa in perpetuum permaneat eam huius sigilli mei appositione confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Henrico filio Ailwini maiore *Londoniarum*: Rogero filio Alani: Alano filio petri: Thoma filio *Willelmi* de Hauerill: Ricardo de Hauerill filio eiusdem *Willelmi*: Goce filio petri aldermanno: Roberto filio richold: Martino nepote suo: Gileberto de Colecherche: Michaelle de Ualencenis: Roberto filio siwardi: Roberto filio Alicie: Roberto albo: Henrico de sancto Albano: Waltero le brun: Radulfo de clare: Andrea albo: et multis Aliis.

William son of Brithmar de Haverhill granted six shillings of rent, four shillings to the nuns of Clerkenwell and two to the sick of the Hospital of St. Giles. The witnesses are Richard and Ernald, Ralph and Gilbert, chaplains of Clerkenwell: Henry son of Eilwin, then Mayor of London: William son of Reiner: Henry his brother: John son of Herlicuin: Roger son of Alan: Roger Duke: Jordan de Turri. (Faustina, B. II. f. 86a.)

were to receive during his life and ever after, from the lands held of him by

Roger bat: in Basseshae	3 shillings
Edward huser: in Baily outside Ludgate	12 pence
Heirs of Walter long the chincer: in parish of St. Sepulchre	4 pence
David hunet': in parish of St. Alban's Woodstreet	32 pence
Cecilia wife of late Robert noreis: outside Chamberlain's gate	12 pence

William of Haverhill is sometimes called William son of Brithmar. He was sheriff in 1189 and 1190. His father Brithmar was sheriff in 1157 and 1174, and had property in the parish of St. Brigit beyond the Fleet. William was alderman of Cripplegate Ward and sok reeve of the Bishop of Ely in Wood Street. He had three sons, Thomas, Richard, and James.¹

Also the brethren were to receive ten shillings from the land outside Newgate "which the Bishop of Chester² holds of me, after the death of Richard my son," paying thence to the heirs of William Martel two shillings a year. William of Haverhill desires that fifteen shillings and twopence and one halfpenny should be spent in each year in buying bread so that each day there should be bought one ha'porth of white bread, to be divided into eight parts, to be given to the eight poor in the hospital who most need it. The rest of the money is to remain as a provision (pitanciam) in the kitchen on All Saints'

¹ Charter of Stephen of Berkinge, A: Box 20, 1528 (St. Paul's). ² *i.e.* Lichfield.

Day for the use of the sick. "That this my gift and concession may remain unbroken for ever I have confirmed it by the apposition of this my seal." The first witness is Henry son of Ailwin, Mayor of London; and he is followed by Roger son of Alan, who afterwards succeeded him as mayor.

The large oval seal, on a vellum tag, of William of Haverhill is almost perfect. It has a broad border with inscription in Roman letters "*Sigillum Willelmi de Haverhelle.*" The centre is occupied by what seems to be a large classical gem representing a man and a woman standing one on each side of the altar of a god, on which they are sacrificing.

Except Chamberlain's Gate, the memory of which has been quite lost in Newgate, all the names of places are easily recognised at the present day. Basseshae is preserved in the name of the parish of St. Michael's, Bassishaw. The church was now and then visited by physicians to show respect to the memory of Dr. Thomas Wharton, a fellow of their college, whose monument it contained. He deserved honour as one of the physicians who stayed in London throughout the great epidemic of plague in 1665. The King granted him an honourable augmentation to his arms, and in the world of medicine Wharton's Duct—that of the submaxillary gland, discovered by him—preserves his memory. A few years ago the church was pulled down and the site converted to secular uses. Basinghall, a ward of the

city in which this church stood, is said by Stow and other writers to derive its name from the family of Solomon Basing,¹ mayor in 1216, but this charter shows that before 1212 the district was known as Bassishae, the form equivalent to Bassishaw, and probably the true name afterwards changed by a false analogy into Basinghall, owing to the long residence of the Basings in the parish. William of Haverhill seems to have been the first improver of the diet of the inmates of the hospital, and his gift shows that coarser bread than white was that commonly used by the poor in his time.

William of Haverhill was the first witness of a transaction which took place between ERMENGARD,

¹ A charter of JOHN OF VALECINES of this period is witnessed by a member of this family :

Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Johannes de Valecines caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et amicorum meorum dedi et concessi et quiete clamavi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei londoniarum duodecim denariatas quieti redditus quas recepi per manum dictorum fratrum annuatim de terra quam Ricardus pesemongere tenuit de eisdem fratribus in parochia sancti michaelis ad ripam reine : habendam et Tenendam eisdem fratribus libere quiete finabiliter In puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio et quieta clamatio firma et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat eam huius sigilli mei appositione confirmaui. Hiis testibus : Constantino filio Alulfi : Arnulfo ruffo : Johanne Bucuinte : Constantino Juene : Willelmo de Basinge : Johanne uiel : Johanne de arundel : Ricardo de porta : Willelmo athelston : Firmino clerico : et multis aliis.

John of Valecins had a son Ralph and a brother Thomas, whose wife was Constancia and their son John : as is shown by charters at St. Paul's. (Ninth Report, p. 13b.)

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ermengarda priorissa de clerkenewelle et conuentus eiusdem loci dimisimus et concessimus et hac Carta nostra confirmauimus hospitali sancti Bartholomei et fratribus ibidem deo seruientibus quandam terram nostram que iacet prope terram que fuit Roberti de Fuleham : habendam et tenendam de nobis et successoribus nostris sibi et successoribus suis libere et quiete, finabiliter, reddendo nobis inde annuatim duodecim denarios pro omnibus rebus. Et sciendum est quod nos clammauimus quietos predictos fratres hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de istis predictis duodecim denariis redditus pro aliis duodecim denariis redditus quos predicti fratres relaxauerunt nobis de octo solidatis redditus quos solebamus reddere eis per annum pro quibusdam terris quas

the Prioress of Clerkenwell and St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the time of Alan. The nuns granted to the hospital some land yielding them twelve pence a year which lay next the land of Robert of Fuleham, receiving in return a relaxation of twelve pence out of eight shillings of rent which they were wont to pay from land which Heimer the lorimer and Robert the goldsmith gave them in alms. For this arrangement the brethren gave them four shillings "in gersumam." The large seal of the convent of Clerkenwell with a seated figure of Our Lady of ancient design remains upon the vellum tag. It has the legend "SIGILLUM S. MARIE DE FONTE CLERICORUM" in Roman capital letters.

This lorimer appears in a charter of Alan as to property in Holborn confirming to Eimer le lorimer¹ the

heimerus lorimerus et Robertus aurifaber dederunt nobis in eemosinam. Ita scilicet quod predicti fratres predicti hospitalis non poterunt exigere a nobis pro predictis terris nisi tantum modo septem solidos per annum ad quatuor terminos scilicet ad pascha xxi denarios et ad festum sancti Johannis baptiste xxi denarios et ad festum sancti Micaelis xxi denarios et ad natale domini xxi denarios. Pro hac autem concessione et dimissione et quieta clamatione dederunt nobis predicti fratres quatuor solidos in gersumam. Et ut hec nostra concessio et quieta clamatio et confirmatio rata et stabilis permaneat eam huius carte nostre atestacione et huius sigilli nostri appositione corroborauimus. Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Hauerhille: Micaele de Valecins: Radulfo: Arnoldo: Waltero capellanus nostris: Roberto: Benedicto clericis.

There is a copy of this charter in Faustina, B. II. f. 82*b*, headed "De donatione priorisse Ermengarde de Clerkenwelle hospitali sancti Bartholomei." The name of the last witness is omitted, and the name of the second is written "de Walencis."

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego frater Alanus procurator domus hospitalis sancti bartholomei de londoniis et ceteri fratres eiusdem hospitalis concessimus et dimisimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Eimero le lorimer terram nostram apud Holveburne quam Hugo Hauer tenuit de nobis: habendam et tenendam de nobis iure hereditario finabiliter sibi et heredibus suis. Reddendo inde nobis singulis annis quatuor solidos pro omnibus seruitiis in quatuor terminos anni scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis duodecim denarios et ad natale domini xii denarios et ad pascha xii denarios et ad natale sancti Iohannis Baptiste xii denarios. Sciendum est preterea quod predictus Aimerus nec*

hospital land at Holborn "which Hugh Haver held of us." In another charter Alan confirms the same land to Symon le huser.¹

The original charters of three other transactions with Alan remain at St. Bartholomew's. In two certain spiritual advantages are to be given by the hospital to the grantors.

AMFRID, CANON OF ARUNDEL,² with the assent of

heredes eius poterunt predictam terram uendere uel dispendere uel inuadiare nisi per nos et coram nobis. Predictus uero Eimerus iurauit super sacrosancta euangelia fidelitatem nobis tenendam de predicta terra et de pensione predictae terre. Pro hac autem concessione et dimissione dedit nobis prefatus Eimerus duodecim denarios in gersumam. Hiis testibus: Stephano aurifabro: Rogero de Chudenton: Roberto oisel: Ada nepote Eimeri: Ricardo de Edelmeton. (Faustina, B. II. ff. 74b, 75a.)

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego frater Alanus procurator domus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis et ceteri fratres eiusdem hospitalis concessimus et dimisimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Symoni le huser terram nostram apud Holburne quam Hugo Hauer tenuit de nobis: habendam et habendam [sic] de nobis iure hereditario finabiliter sibi et heredibus suis. Reddendo inde nobis singulis annis quatuor solidos pro omnibus seruiciis in quatuor terminis anni scilicet ad festum sancti michaelis duodecim denarios &c. Sciendum est preterea quod predictus Symon nec heredes eius poterunt predictam terram uendere uel dispendere uel inuadiare nisi per nos et coram nobis. Predictus uero Symon iurauit super sacrosancta euangelia fidelitatem nobis tenendam de predicta terra et de pensione predictae terre. Et fidelitatem jurabunt nobis omnes qui predictam terram per predictum Symonem habebunt. Pro hac autem concessione et dimissione dedit nobis prefatus Symon quatuor solidos in gersumam. Hiis testibus: Edmundo singeinalse: Johanne le huser: Symone de Wicumbe: Rogero de Norhamtonia: Thoma de Lincolnia. (Faustina, B. II. f. 85a.)

² Sciant Omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod Ego Amfridus Canonicus de Arundel assensu et voluntate Ricardi filii mei et heredis uendidi magistro Alano procuratori domus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de lundoniis et fratribus eiusdem loci totam terram quam predicti fratres prius de me tenuerunt que terra iacet ante portam Bracini sancti Pauli uersus orientem pro sex marcis quas predicti fratres michi et predicto Ricardo filio meo dederunt, michi scilicet quatuor marcas et Ricardo filio meo duas marcas pro predicta terra et omni iure et seruicio quod in terra illa habuimus. Hanc terram habebunt prefati fratres finabiliter ita liberam et quietam quod nichil iuris uel seruicii uel consuetudinis in terra illa de cetero ego uel heredes mei uendicare poterimus. Hanc terram et hanc uendicionem Ego Amfridus et Ricardus filius meus et heredes nostri precepte domui hospitali et fratribus eiusdem loci contra omnes gentes warantizabimus. Et hoc eis affidauius tam ego quam prefatus Ricardus filius meus. Et ut hec uendicio rata sit et firma memorate domui hospitali in perpetuum, eam presenti scripto et sigilli mei

Salut hinc in p[re]sentia qu[od] fuit p[er] h[oc] Amfridus Canonic[us] de Arundel assensu et
uoluntate Ric[ardi] filij mei et heredis uendidi magistro Alano pariter dom[us] hospitalis
s[an]cti Eustachii de London[ia]. et fr[atr]ib[us] eiusdem loci tota[m] terram qu[am] p[re]dicti fr[atr]es prius
de me tenuerunt. que terra iacet ante portam braxani s[an]cti Pauli vsus oriente p[er]
sex vias quas p[re]dicti fr[atr]es in p[re]dicto Ric[ardo] filio meo dederunt. michi saluet p[er]
vires. et Ric[ardus] filio meo duas vias. p[er] p[re]dicta terra et om[n]i usque et seruicio quod
terra illa habuit. hanc terram habebunt p[re]dicti fr[atr]es finaliter in lib[er]am et quietam.
quod nichil usque ut seruicio ut consueuerunt in terra illa decere ego ut heredes
mei uendicare poterunt. hanc terram et hanc uenditione ego Amfrid[us] et Ric[ardus] filius
meus et heredes n[ost]ri p[re]sentem domum hospit[is] et fr[atr]ib[us] eiusdem loci cont[ra] om[n]es gentes.
uenerunt. Et hoc est affirmatum. cum ego p[er] p[re]sentem Ric[ardus] filius meus. Et ut
h[oc] uenditio rata sit et firma memorie domini hospit[is] imp[er]ium. eam p[re]sentem
scripto et sigilli mei p[re]sentem p[re]sentem et assensu p[re]sentem p[re]dicto Ric[ardo] filio meo
confirmavi. firmitate in domo eiusdem nob[is] concessa. et quam nulli in futuro sit inu[er]sal
p[er] salute animar[um] n[ost]rar[um] specialiter celebranda. Testib[us] h[uius]. Rob[ertus] Decano s[an]cti Pauli.
Rob[ertus] de Clifford hug[ue] de Lacul[us] magistro henry de Northam. henry thesaury. Mag[ister]
hug[ue] a London[ia]. Ric[ardus] Lupo Ric[ardus] Tunore fr[atr]ib[us]. magistro Ioh[ann]e de Cana. Ioh[ann]e de s[an]cto
laurenceo canonic[us]. henry de Londonest[er]. Ric[ardus] filius Ric[ardi]. Galf[er]dus Almanno. Rob[ertus]
p[ro]p[ri]o. Aluicio hog. Ioh[ann]e. Rob[ertus] Buchin. Suermin. Alredo. Giff[er]dus. Aluicio. Ric[ardus]
gudio. Aluicio de p[re]sentem. Aluicio de p[re]sentem. Ioh[ann]e de Castell[is]. et multos alios.

Richard, his son and heir, sold to Alan and the brethren land which they had before rented from him. The land lay before the gate of the brewhouse of St. Paul's towards the east, and four marks were paid to Amfrid and two to his son. A mass was to be celebrated on the morrow of Holy Trinity for the welfare of their souls. The first witness is Ralph de Diceto, the Dean of St. Paul's, and nine canons follow. Then come three great laymen of London: Henry of Londonstone, Richard son of Reiner, and Geoffrey the alderman. Ralph the priest and eleven other witnesses end the list. Richard son of Reiner died in 1191, so that the sale took place between 1182, when Alan became master, and 1191. The oval seal has the inscription "Sigil. Amfridi," and bears a figure with a staff and a long, pointed head-dress.

Another transaction of Alan's time was about a triangular piece of land in the parish of St. Audoen.

WILLIAM SON OF BRUNING¹ granted to the hospital

appositione presente et assensum prebente sepedicto Ricardo filio meo confirmani: Fraternitate tamen domus eiusdem nobis concessa et quadam missa in crastino sancte trinitatis pro salute animarum nostrarum specialiter celebranda. Testibus hiis: Radulfo Decano Sancti Pauli: Roberto de Clifford: Hugone de Raculfer: Magistro Henrico de Norhantonia: Henrico thesaurio; Magistro Hugone a Lundon^{is}: Ricardo rufo; Ricardo Iuniore fratribus: Magistro Osberto de Camera: Johanne de Sancto Laurentio canonicis: Henrico de Lundonestane: Ricardo filio Reineri: Galfrido Aldermanno: Radulfo presbytero: Alurico hog: Jokel: Roberto Buchin: Suetmanno: Eddredo: Gilleberto tintore: Alboldo: Ricardo Gaudio: Ada de Pistrino: Eadwino de Pistrino: Johanne de Castello: et multis Aliis.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus filius Brunningi concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmani deo et sancte Marie et hospitali sancti Bartholomei de

this piece of his land, measuring nine ells and a half of the ells of King Richard in length, and from the back northwards eight ells and a quarter. The brethren had built a wall of earth on this, and they paid him half a pound of cummin at Michaelmas every year for every service, and gave him for this charter five shillings "in gersumam."

WALTER SON OF HUGH SON OF ULGAR,¹ whose agreement with Adam the master has been mentioned,² entered into an agreement with Alan, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew and the brethren, by which

londoniis unam partem terre mée in parochia sancti audoeni, que terra iacet iuxta terram que fuit Fromundi telarii : et sciendum est quod illa terra triangula est et continet in longitudine ix vlnas et dimidiam vlnam de vlnis Ricardi regis et de retro versus austrum viii vlnas et quarterium ulne de predictis vlnis : et murum terre construxerunt fratres super ipsam terram : predicti uero fratres dabunt michi uel heredibus meis annuatim pro omnibus seruiciis dimidiam libram cimini, scilicet ad festum sancti Micaelis sine omni occasione : et ego Willelmus et heredes mei warantizabimus prefatam terram fratribus predicti hospitalis per prenomiatum seruicium contra omnes homines et omnes feminas : pro hac autem concessione et donatione et warantisione et cartis [sic] mee confirmatione dederunt michi predicti fratres v solidos in gersumam. Huius conuencionis sunt testes : Stephanus capellanus : Robertus capellanus : Thomas aldermannus : Micael de Valecins : Mathews aurifaber : Ricardus pistor : Johannes de stanes : Tuoldus piscator : Daniel clericus : Eustachius oil de Larron : Galfridus tannator.

¹ CHIROGRAPHUM.—Sciant presentes et futuri Quod ego Walterus filius Hugonis filii Vlgeri dimisi et concessi fratri Alano magistro hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de lundoniis et ceteris fratribus eiusdem hospitalis terram contra portam ecclesie sancti Sepulcri versus orientem quam pauia tenuit : quam etiam predicti fratres tenuerunt de me annua pensione duorum solidorum : unde etiam dederunt michi dimidiam marcamin gersumam. Istam eandem terram concessi predictis fratribus tenendam de me et de heredibus meis iure hereditario finabiliter : reddendo michi uel heredibus meis duos denarios singulis annis pro omni seruicio ad festum sancti Michaelis. Et ego Walterus et heredes mei guarantizabimus terram presignatam predictis fratribus et conuentionem contra omnes homines. Pro ista concessione dederunt michi predicti fratres unam libram piperis in gersumam et me animasque patris mei et matris mee participes admiserunt omnium beneficiorum que fiunt uel fient in predicto hospitali. Huius conuencionis sunt testes : Johannes filius Nigelli : Reginaldus filius vrri : Johannes filius danielis : Laurentius rufus : Petrus meruin : Johannes blundus : Robertus filius Milonis.

² P. 139.

WALTERUS

Sciatis presentes et futuri Qd' ego walter' filii hugonis filij ulgeri dimisi et concessi
fratri Alano magistro hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de lund et ceteris fratribus eisdem hospitalis terram cont'
portam ecclesie sancti Sepulchri uersus orientem quam pama tenuit. quam etiam predicti frater tenuerunt
de me annua pensione duorum solidorum. unde etiam dederunt mihi dimidiam manerium
in gersumam. Ista eadem terra concessi predictis fratribus tenendam de me et de heredibus meis
et iure hereditario finabiliter. reddendo mihi uel heredibus meis duos denarios singulis
annis pro omni seruitio ad festum sancti michel. Et ego walter' et heredes mei garantizabunt
terram preesignatam predictis fratribus et conuentionem contra omnes homines. Pro ista concessio-
ne dederunt mihi predicti frater unam libram pipis in gersumam. et me animalibus prois meis
et manerium mee participet admiserunt omnium beneficiorum que sunt uel fuerint in predicto
hospitali. huius conuentionis facti testes. Johes filius wigelli. Reginaldus filius vrrr. Jobes
filius daniel. Laurentius rufus. Petrus merun. Johes blundus. Rob filius milonis.



he granted to them certain land over against the gate of the church of St. Sepulchre. This land had been let to them at two shillings a year, and was now to pay only twopence a year. The brethren gave Walter a pound of pepper "in gersumam," and agreed to admit him and the souls of his father and mother to participation in all the good works that are done or shall be done in the aforesaid hospital.

Alan let some hospital land in the parish of St. Martin, Ludgate, first to William of Salerno and then to him and to Alice his wife, at two marks of silver a year, and they gave him twenty-one marks "in gersumam." The same nineteen witnesses were present on each occasion.¹

He obtained a formal confirmation from the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's² of the land the hospital had bought from the sons and daughters of Swetman de Pola. The brethren are to pay to the Dean and

¹ Testibus Willelmo de Clanuilla : Willelmo de Campo : Willelmo Bruno : Thoma filio Johannis : Waltero filio Ailredi : Roberto blundo : Thoma Bukerell : Johanne filio Alexandri Sperling : Nigello aurifabro : Ricardo palmerio : Augustino Calic' : Johanne monier : Stephano aurifabro : Nicholao de Colescestria : Johanne de Gipewic : Alexandro filio Roberti : Edwardo clerico : Roberto de St. omare : Waltero camelo.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 231b, 232a, and f. 143.

² The charter begins : "Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulfus de Diceto decanus et capitulum sancti Pauli Londoniensis concessimus fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei terram illam quam in presencia nostra emerunt a gileberto et Stephano fratribus et filiis swetmanni de Pola et ab eorundem sororibus Adelia et Hildiard et Hersent. Procurator et Prior predicti hospitalis Alanus fidem suam dedit. Predicti fratres de nobis in perpetuum tenebunt reddendo annuatim in natiuitatem sancte Marie decem denarios et obolum de solita pensione." The terms of the original deed are cited and the usual statement made as to the affixing of the seals. The original charter does not exist at St. Bartholomew's, but was there in the reign of Henry VI., as is shown by its copy in the *Cartulary*, f. 245.

chapter tenpence halfpenny every year on the feast of the nativity of St. Mary. Alan is styled "Procurator et Prior predicti hospitalis." The witnesses, clerical and lay, are identical with those of the charter confirmed,¹ so that it was probably completed on the same day.

THOMAS OF VERDON² confirmed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital the gift which Lecelina of Clinton, his ancestress, gave in perpetual alms: namely, one hyde of land in his estate of Heden—that hyde which Baldric held—reserving the homestead of Baldric for his own use. The fine circular seal of the grantor is perfect, showing him on horseback in armour, with sword and shield, and the inscription "Sigillum Thome de Verdum."

In the Book of the foundation of St. Bartholomew's Church³ in London it is related that a certain military tenant, Ralph by name, of the household of William of Munfichet, whilst journeying to London through Essex, was by the judgment of God seized upon by a fiend

¹ Page 148 *supra*.

² Sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod ego thomas de Verdon concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui donum illud quod Lecelina de clintona auita mea dedit et concessit deo et sancti Marie et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Lundoniis in perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni seruicio de me et ad heredes meos pertinentibus pro salute anime meé et patris mei et matris meé et antecessorum meorum, unam hydram terre in terra mea de hende scilicet illam hydram quam Baldricus tenuit. Istam vero prefatam hydram dedi predictis fratribus cum omnibus libertatibus et pertinenciis suis in pratis et in pasturis preter managium predicti Baldrici quod ad opus meum tenui. Hiis Testibus: Willelmo pantof: Normanno pantof: Hugone de Acour: Ricardo de garsale: Roberto de champere: Suano de Fleccov: et multis aliis.

³ Book ii. chapter x.

and made mad, and driven out of his senses. Whence being raving mad he leaped from his horse and tore his raiment and threw about his money and took to throwing stones at those he met, and wandered about in woods and on hills, and anon threw himself into the midst of crowds and terrified all who came towards him. After a time, resisting greatly, he was captured and brought to the church of St. Bartholomew's, and when he had passed two nights there he came to his right mind.

Since the Book of the foundation was composed about 1180, it was probably the William of Munfichet mentioned in this story who became a benefactor of the hospital. His castle in London was near the mouth of the Fleet, west of Baynard's Castle. He granted to the hospital twelve pence of rent with the assent of Reiner the hostage, to whom he had before given it.¹ The charter mentions that the hostage was living in prosperity, and that Godemend, wife of Ralph the mason, paid the twelve pence of rent every year. The witnesses were Richard, priest of Aldermanbury,

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Munfichet et heredes mei concedimus et damus deo et hospitali sancti Bartholomei et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam et pro salute animarum nostrarum et antecessorum nostrorum duodecim denariorum redditum quem dedi Reineri obsidi pro seruicio suo in uita sua. Et ipse idem Reinerus eundem redditum in prosperitate adhuc uiuens predicto hospitali liberum et quietum concessit. Unde Godemenda uxor Radulphi cementarii singulis annis xii predictos denarios soluit. Huius donacionis sunt testes: Ricardus sacerdos de Aldermanburie: Walterus de sancto Martino: Ailwinus Alher: Willelmus parmentarius: Outi et Wido homines ipsius Reineri obsidis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 272b.

Walter of St. Martin's; Ailwin Alher; William the parmenter; Outi and Wido, the men of Reiner himself, the hostage.

A charter of Agnes of Guvers¹ seems to indicate a personal regard for Alan as a spiritual adviser which adds a little to his reality as he appears in the obscurity of the past. It is addressed "to her lord and spiritual father Alan, master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and to the other brethren of the same, and to all Christ's faithful to whom these letters come." She makes a grant of thirteen pence for ever from her mills of Duddingeswierd which were part of her dowry. This she did with the consent of her son Richard of Guverres. He is the first witness. The mill was in Essex.

Hubert of Anstie² granted a load of wheat from his

¹ Domino suo et patri spirituali Alano magistro hospitalis sancti Bartholomei et ceteris fratribus eiusdem Hospitalis omnibusque Christi fidelibus ad quos hee litere peruenerint Agnes de Gvvers Salutem in domino. Uniuersitati uestre presenti scripto notifico me amore dei et pro salute anime mee et pro salute amicorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam dedisse et concessisse deo et hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis xiii denarios in perpetuum de molendinis meis de Duddingesgwierd que sunt de maritagio meo, qui predicto hospitali singulis annis debent in pascha exsolui; et quia hanc donacionem meam assensu et uoluntate Ricardi de Guverres filii mei et heredis factam ratam uolo cedere et inconuulsam, eam carta mea et meo sigillo confirmari. Testibus Ricardo de Gvverres: Silvestro filio Simonis: Waltero clerico de Acleia: Willelmo de mortemer: Hugone grosso: Willelmo coco: Silvestro filio Gileberti: et aliis multis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 452a.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Hubertus de Anesty dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmari deo et beate marie et hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld unam siminam frumenti per annum apud Anecestriam reddendam singulis annis infra quindecim dies post festum sancti michaelis per mensuram quam Hubertus Walterus Archiepiscopus Cantuarie posuit in Anglia, quum fuit iusticiarius: pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro salute mea et uxoris mee et pro animabus nostris et puerorum nostrorum et fratrum et sororum et antecessorum nostrorum et omnium successorum qui hanc elemosinam manu tenebunt et pro salute uiuorum et requie defunctorum: in puram et perpetuam elemosinam habendam de me et heredibus meis in perpetuum: fratres

estate at Anstey, to be given to the hospital within fifteen days of Michaelmas every year. The measure of the load was to be according to the standard fixed by Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he was Justiciar. This is the regulation mentioned by Matthew Paris under the year 1197. "In that year it was ruled by King Richard, on the proposal of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury and Justiciar of England, on the day of St. Edmund, king and martyr, at Westminster, that throughout England all measures of corn and pulse, as well in cities as without, were to be of the same quantity, and chiefly measures of oil, wine, and of merchants' weights. It was also established that linen cloth made everywhere in the realm should have a breadth of two ells between the borders, and should be of one goodness from edge to edge."¹

Hubert Walter before he was Justiciar or Archbishop was witness of a charter of the time of Alan the Prior, which contains the earliest mention of a physician in relation to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. It is a grant of GILBERT,² Prior of Butley in Suffolk,

autem de predicto Hospitali mittent apud Aneestriam singulis annis ad predictum terminum pro illa simina frumenti ad balliuos meos uel ad balliuos heredum meorum. Et quia uolo quod hoc donum ratum et stabile sit, presenti scripto, cum sigilli nostri appositione illud corroborauit et confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Edmundo canonico qui hanc cartam scripsit: Philippo presbitero de Hornen: Roberto de Wynestrie: Nicholao de Marci: Roberto filio Ricardi de Cornubest: Johanne de Reddeswelle: Willelmo clerico: Ricardo pascet: Johanne Travers: Ada marescallo et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 443a.

¹ Matthew Paris (ed. Wats), p. 134.

² CIROGRAPHUM.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Gilebertus Prior ecclesie sancte Marie de Butteleia et conuentus eiusdem loci concessimus hospitali sancti Bartholomei Lun-

to the hospital and its brethren. Butley was an Augustinian priory, and was founded in 1171 by Ranulf de Glanville, Chief Justiciar of England, the reputed author of the most ancient of English legal books. He was a commander as well as a lawyer, accompanied King Richard to the Crusades, and died at Acre in 1190. Gilbert, the Prior of Butley, granted to St. Bartholomew's a tenement of the fee of Ralph of Arden, which one Jeremia held of the church of St. Mary of Butley. This tenement was on the south side of Newgate Street, in a street then called the street of St. Nicholas, at the new flesh market. The market was afterwards known as Newgate Market, and was originally held in the street itself.

CRISTIANA,¹ the daughter of this Jeremia and wife

doniarum et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totum tenementum de feodo Radulfi de Ardenn quod tenuit Jeremias de ecclesia sancte Marie de Butteleia in uico sancti Nicholai apud nouum macellum, tenendum de nobis iure perpetuo. Reddendo nobis annuatim Pro omni seruiio x solidos ad duos terminos: scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis v solidos et ad Pascha v solidos. Vt autem conuentio ista perpetuetur sigilli nostri auctoritate et sigilli hospitalis sancti Bartholomei testimonio roboratur. His testibus: Huberto Waltero decano Eboracensi: Oseberto de Glamvilla: Jurdano de Scheltunn: Magistro Roberto subera: Rogero Waltero: Henrico de Flegge: Nicholao Pincerna: Walram Janitore turris Londoniarum: Henrico de Cornhill: Radulfo fratre eius: Ricardo filio Reineri: Henrico de Lundenestone: Rogero le duc: Rogero filio Alani: Galfrido Albo: Andrea Albo: Petro filio Neuelon: Roberto de Edelmetune: Johanne medico Lundoniarum.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Cristiana que fui vxor Galfridi Aspoinz concessi et dedi et legauit et quiete clamaui pro salute domini mei galfridi anime et anime mee et patris mei et matris mee et puerū [sic] meorum et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei apud Smetbefelde dimidiam marcam argenti quam recepi annuatim de predicto hospitali per manum prelibatorum fratrum. Scilicet Illam dimidiam marcam quam clamaui tenere de terra quam Jeremia pater meus tenuit apud macellum de prenominato hospitali. In puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Si quis autem fratres predicti hospitalis ab hac mea donatione et concessione et legatione spoliare presumerit Iram et Indignationem omnipotentis dei et beate Marie et omnium sanctorum et sententiam anathematis a sacerdotibus datam se incurrisse sciat. Vt hec

of Geoffrey Aspoinz, was a benefactor of the hospital. She gave half a mark a year from the land which her husband held in the parish of St. Nicholas Fleshambles.

JOSEPH, SON OF GEOFFREY ASPOINZ,¹ confirmed his mother's grant to the hospital.

The hospital was to pay the priory of Butley an annual rent of ten shillings a year—five at Michaelmas, five at Easter. The witnesses are nineteen in number, and the first is Hubert Walter, Dean of York from 1186

mea donatio rata et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat : Eam huius sigilli mei appositione confirmaui. Hiis testibus : Alexandro capellano sancti Martini : Alano Alderman : Hugone May : Roberto de Basingcort : Gileberto conan : petro clerico : Hugone duel : Garin gabot : Ricardo West : Roberto palmero : Benedicto : Jobe : Johanne de merleburge : Stephano vinitore : et Multis Aliis.

Christiana's circular seal of yellow wax is upon a vellum tag, and bears a fleur-de-lys which fills the part within the border, on which is the inscription, "SIGIL : CRISTIANE : ASPUNZ."

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Joseph filius Galfridi Aspoinz caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et animarum patris et matris mee et Willelmi fratris mei et omnium fidelium defunctorum Concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui donacionem et concessionem et confirmacionem quam Cristina mater mea fecit et carta sua confirmavit deo et Sancto Bartholomeo de Smethefeld et fratribus ibidem deo seruiantibus de dimidia marca redditus de terra que fuit Jeremie patris predictae Cristine matris mee in parochia Sancti Nicholai apud macellum : habendam et tenendam predicto Hospitali et fratribus ibidem deo seruiantibus libere quiete integre et finabiliter reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et rebus cunctis unam libram cimini infra octauas natalis Sancti Johanni Baptiste uel cui predictam libram cimini dare uel assignare ad terminum statutum voluero. Ita quod ego predictus Joseph et heredes mei nichil amplius poterimus nec debemus in predicta dimidia marca redditus exigere nec habere nec clamare quam predictam libram cimini per annum termino statuto. Hanc autem dimidiam marcam redditus integre ego Joseph et heredes mei predicto Hospitali et fratribus ibidem deo seruiantibus contra omnes homines et feminas finabiliter warrantizabimus. Pro hac igitur concessione et presentis carta mee confirmacione predicti fratres prenominati hospitalis dederunt michi Joseph duas marcas argenti. Hiis testibus Goceo filio Petri tunc Aldermannno : Jordano peverel : Willelmo juvenal : Roberto de Gerton : Willelmo bataille : Elia mercatore : Matheo aurifabro : Radulfo de frowic : Andrea blund : Ada aurifabro : Andrea filio Johannis merum : Ricardo le fundor : Hugone blundo : Warino longo : Terrico scaldario : Alredo : Waltero de Enfeld : et multis aliis.*

Joseph's seal is appended on a vellum tag. It measures $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth, and is of yellow wax, bearing a half-length figure of a man with a merlin on his left hand : and the inscription "SIGILL. JOSEPH ASPOINS."

to 1189, so that the chirograph belongs to that period.¹ This great man, whose mother was a sister of the wife of Ranulf de Glanville, began life in his service. Some of the legal authorities of those times were soldiers, and others ecclesiastics. Hubert Walter belonged to the latter class, and after being one of the clerks in the service of Ranulf he became a Baron of the Exchequer in 1184. In 1186 he was made Dean of York, and was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury in 1189. Richard Cœur de Lion took him to Palestine, where he carried on the negotiations with Saladin, and was one of the first company of pilgrims admitted by the Mussulmans to the Holy Sepulchre. He led the English army back to Sicily, and there heard of King Richard's captivity. He went to see the king, and came home to arrange the ransom in 1193. At the end of that year he became Archbishop of Canterbury, and was also appointed Justiciar of England. When Richard, after his release from captivity and return to London, left England in May 1194, Hubert Walter was made the chief governor of the country. He crowned King John on Ascension Day, 1199, and his speech on the occasion has been preserved by Matthew Paris. Hubert called on the people to choose their king, and reminded them how Saul, and after him David, had been elected kings

¹ The word *chirographum* is sometimes written at the top, as in this charter of Prior Gilbert of Butley: sometimes at the side, as in that of Symon, Abbot of St. Albans (p. 141). Sometimes the words *carta chirographata* are written instead of *chirographum*. Madox, in his "Formularium Anglicanum" published in 1702, mentions that there was then an officer in the king's courts called the chirographarius.

of Israel because they were fit for the office, though not of royal race. Having thus stated that the choice was open, he went on to propose "Earl John, who is here to-day, brother of our most illustrious King Richard, lately now dead"; and he added that he did so rather on account of John's good qualities than of his royal blood.¹ There is no reason to doubt Hubert Walter's sincerity, as he had great personal influence over John, and hoped to keep him in just courses. When the archbishop died John felt free from restraint, and declared that now he was for the first time King of England. Hubert Walter died July 13, 1205.

Walram, Janitor of the Tower of London, is the eighth witness, and is followed by several city magnates, of whom the first is Henry of Cornhill, and the second Ralph his brother. The next is Richard son of Reiner, Henry of Cornhill's opponent in the quarrel of 1191 between John, Earl of Moreton, and Longchamp, Bishop of Ely. Henry of Londonstone is the fourth witness of this charter. Ten years later his name, if present, always stands first of those of the laymen of the city. The other witnesses are Roger le Duc and Roger son of Alan, sheriffs in 1192; Geoffrey Blund, Andrew Blund, Peter son of Nevelon, sheriff in 1191; Robert of Edmonton, and John the Physician of London. John therefore was

¹ Matthew Paris (ed. Wats), 1644, p. 138.

acquainted with St. Bartholomew's, and is the earliest physician whom we can in any way connect with our ancient foundation.

Alan, the Prior, according to the statement written in the Cartulary in the reign of Henry VI., died in 1211. He had ceased to be master before the death of Richard of Ely, Bishop of London, on September 10, 1198. It was probably in that year that he resigned.

BROTHER STEPHEN

STEPHEN, the second master of that name, in most of his charters is styled Brother Stephen. He was in office before the end of 1198, as is shown by two charters relating to a transaction of his with Robert, son of the Robert of Theydon¹ who has already been

¹ Vniuersis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit frater Stefanus procurator domus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei londoniarum et omnes eiusdem domus capituli fratres Salutem in domino. Ad uniuersitatis uestre noticiam uolumus peruenire nos intuitu caritatis et pro bono pacis de communi consensu fratrum nostrorum et Ricardi prioris sancti Bartholomei et capituli concessisse et dedisse Roberto clerico nostro filio Roberti de taidene xl solidos in domo nostra quoad uixerit annuatim soluendos his duobus terminis anni ad pascha scilicet et ad festum sancti micaelis vel infra xv dies alterutrum terminum sequentes. Hoc tenore ut si infra predictum terminum alterutra medietas soluta non fuerit: dispendium quod predicto Roberto aciderit in sumptibus eidem a fratribus recompensabitur: prefatus siquidem Robertus cartam quam de domo nostra habuit de ecclesia nostra de parua Wakeringes in manus domini episcopi restituit et omne ius suum quod se in eadem ecclesia habere dicebat abrenuntiabit. Prefatus etiam miles R. de taidene eiusdem ecclesie patronus coram domino episcopo promisit se predictam ecclesiam memoratis fratribus contra omnes homines sicut patronus garantizare. Et ut hec concessio et donatio rata habeatur et in posterum Ricardus prior sancti Bartholomei sigillo suo eam corroborauit et nos eidem scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. His testibus Magistro Athalardo archidiacono Lond.: Magistro Benedicto: Magistro thoma de cappeham: Magistro Roberto de Kent: Magistro Waltero de Rasendune: Gileberto de

mentioned as one of the lords of Wakering. Stephen speaks of Robert as "our clerk," to whom he and the brethren, with the assent of Richard, Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and his chapter, grant forty shillings a year "in our house" as long as he lives.

Robert returned into the hand of the lord bishop the charter which he held of St. Bartholomew's Hospital as to the church of Little Wakering, and renounced all the right that he said he had in that church. Robert of Theydon, the military tenant, his father, patron of the church, promised before the bishop to warrant the church of Little Wakering to the brethren against all men. Athalard, Archdeacon of London, is the first witness. John, the Dean of Shobury, another witness, was perhaps the head of the deanery of Rochford, in which Shobury is. Hamelin the clerk of Stapleford belonged to that Essex parish, and William of Horkesley was of the district, including two parishes of that name, in which at the time of this charter there was a Cluniac priory.

The date is determined by the charter in which RICHARD, BISHOP OF LONDON (1189-1198),¹ authorises

crantford: Johanne decano de scoberi: Hamelino clerico de stapelford: Henrico de taidena: Willelmo filio otes': Ricardo filio Willelmi: Reginaldo filio serlonis: Willelmo de crantford: Willelmo basset: Willelmo de Horkeslee: et multis aliis.

A charter of Stephen to Richard son of Robert, also granted with the assent of the prior of St. Bartholomew's, is at St. Paul's Cathedral.—Ninth Report, p. 22*b*.

¹ Ricardus dei gratia Lundoniensis Episcopus Omnibus Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis per Episcopatum Lundoniensem constitutis Salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Ad uniuersitatis uestre noticiam peruenire uolumus quod Lis que inter Robertum clericum filium Roberti de Taydena et fratres Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Lundoniarum super

the arrangement, and thus ends the suit between Robert the clerk, son of Robert of Theydon, and the brethren of the hospital about Little Wakering Church, on the terms of the agreement with Brother Stephen.

The witnesses were: Richard, Prior of St. Bartholomew's, who gave his assent to the agreement: Master Alard, Archdeacon of London: Master Benedict: Master Thomas of Chobbeham: Gilbert of Crantford, "our dean": John of Shobury, dean: and four of the witnesses of the former charter. The witnesses are so nearly the same that the charters may have been attested together, but they were certainly written by different scribes. The seal of the bishop remains on its vellum tag, showing the mitred figure of Richard of Ely, with his pastoral staff in his left hand and his right raised in benediction.

Ecclesiam de parua Wakeringia uertebatur coram nobis hoc modo conquireuit. Prefatus siquidem Robertus clericus Cartam quam prefati fratres super predicta Ecclesia eidem conscripserant in manus nostras resignauit et Iuri quod se in eadem Ecclesia habere dicebat coram nobis renunciauit. Memorati uero fratres pro bono pacis quadraginta solidos annuos ei soluent ad duos terminos uidelicet ad pascha xx solidos Et ad festum sancti Michaelis xx solidos Vel infra xv dies alterutrum terminum sequentes. Hoc quidem tenore ut si infra predictum terminum alterutra medietas soluta non fuerit dispendium quod predicto Roberto propter dilationem acciderit in sumptibus eidem a fratribus predictis recompensabitur. Prefatus etiam Robertus Miles de Taydena eiusdem Ecclesie patronus coram nobis promisit se predictam Ecclesiam memoratis fratribus quantum ad patronum spectat contra omnes homines warantizaturum. Hiis Testibus: Ricardo priore sancti Bartholomei qui huic compositioni assensum suum prestitit: Alardo Archidiacono London.: Magistro Benedicto: Magistro Thoma de Chabbeham: Gilleberto de Crantford decano nostro: Johanne de Soberi decano: Hamelino clerico de Sapelforde: Henrico de Taydena: Willelmo filio Oth': Reginaldo filio Serlonis: et aliis.

If Radulfus de Diceto had ceased to hold office in 1198 and not 1199, then Gilbert of Crantford may have been Dean of St. Paul's in the period of uncertainty before Alard of Burnham.

Ric de Ely London eps Amb, Deco greg Decie filius p Episcu Lond gtraas
 Sate gram y bndicem. Ad unificacis nre noiaa puenire uolum qd hic e
 ho Rob etiam filiu Rob de Cayden y frs bohuat Sa Barchat Lond sup Ecclia de
 pua Waberging. Ecclia cora nob timido ggent. Prefat sigde Rob die Curia qm ptra
 frs sup pda Ecclia eide gleserat. in man nre psequunt. y iura qd se in ead Ecclia
 hredicebat cora nob renunciant. Memorati us frs p bona pacis psequuntur salidos
 annos ei soluet ad duos annos. videte ad festu. xx. sol. Et ad festu sci Michael
 xx. sol. Et inf. xv. dies aliteru dmini sequitur. Hoc qd tenore ut si infra pda
 mnu aliter medietas soluta in fide. dispendiu qd pda Rob ppe ditonem acadie in
 fuprib. eide a frubz pdaa reosensabit. Prefat cora Rob Miles de Cayden eide de
 die pacis cora nob pmissa se pdaam Eccliam memoratas frubz qm ad pacia
 spectat. qd omz hoisqz uisitatam. Hic testibz. Ric Pirrie Sa Barchat ghuo
 pponi assensum suu ptra. Alredo Archid London Angro Bndeo. Angro hom
 de Chabbcha Gillob de Quinford Decano nro. Jh de Sobi Decano. Hamelino
 etico de Sapelford Henrico de Cayden Willo fit Oct. Rogan fit Serlon. y alia



RICHARD DE ELY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital retains to this day its interest in Little Wakering. The rights which it had held there from the reign of Henry II. were surrendered to King Henry VIII., but were by him, on January 13, 1547, re-granted to the hospital, as appears in the words of his letters patent of that date, "and also all that our rectory and church of Little Wakering, with all houses, lands, tenements, glebe lands, tythes, oblations, obventions, profits, hereditaments, rights, and appurtenances whatsoever in our county of Essex to the said late hospital heretofore belonging and appertaining and parcel of the possessions thereof late being: and the advowson, donation, free disposition, and right of patronage of the vicarage of the parish church of Little Wakering in our said county of Essex to the said late hospital heretofore belonging and appertaining."

The seals of the priory¹ and of the hospital are

¹ The first seal of the priory was that attached to Rahere's charter to Hagno (1137), representing St. Bartholomew's Church in its oldest form. The second seal was the one attached to Brother Stephen's charter (1198). It is attached to an indented charter of Prior Gerard (1232-41). The writing is in seventeen lines with few contractions, all of which are here indicated by italics.

CARTA CYROGRAPHATA.—*Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentem cartam inspecturis nel audituris. Gerardus Prior sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino. | Noueritis nos dedisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Willelmo de Colecestria clerico quandam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis quam habuimus | in parochia sancti Botulfi extra Aldredesgate quam Amicicia quondam vxor Galfridi aurifabri le prestre nobis in puram contulit Elemosinam et que | continet in profunditate versus aquilonem uiginti nouem ulnas et unum quarterium de ulnis ferreis Henrici regis Anglie et in profunditate uersus Austrum | viginti septem ulnas et tres quarterios de predictis ulnis et in latitudine iuxta regium uicum a terra que fuit Henrici de Sepertone usque ad terram nostram | quam tenuimus de Willelmo de Froywik nouem ulnas et unum quarterium et in latitudine retro inter predictas terras nouem ulnas et unum quarterium.*

appended to the charter of Brother Stephen. The seal of the priory, which is much broken, has a huge figure with a nimbus, holding in the left hand a staff surmounted by a cross and giving a benediction with the right hand. The holy figure is sitting behind and above a church with two lofty round-arched porches, and with a turret of four storeys surmounted by a conical roof at each side of the façade, and in the centre a shorter domed turret. Such was probably the west front of the church of St. Bartholomew's Priory in the latter half of the reign of Henry II., a design intermediate

Tenendam et habendam de nobis et successoribus nostris predicto Willelmo et heredibus suis uel quibuscumque dare uendere uel assignare uoluerit libere | quiete iure hereditario in perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris sex solidos et octo denarios ad quatuor terminos anni. Scilicet | ad Natiuitatem Sancti Johannis Baptiste viginti denarios et ad festum sancti Michaelis viginti denarios et ad Natalem domini viginti denarios et ad Pascha | viginti denarios pro omnibus seruitiis consuetudinibus et demandis. Nos autem predicti prior et conuentus et successores nostri predicto Willelmo et heredibus | suis uel quibuscumque assignare uoluerit totam predictam terram cum pertinentiis contra omnes homines et feminas warrantizabimus et defendemus | in perpetuum per predictum seruitium. Pro hac autem donatione et warrantizatione nostra dedit nobis predictus Willelmus viginti solidos sterlingorum | in gersumam. Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem uni parti huius carte cyrographate sigillum capituli nostri apponi fecimus quam penes | se retinet dictus Willelmus reliquam uero partem sigillo ipsius Willelmi signatam penes nos reseruauimus. Hiis testibus : Michaelē de sancta Helena | tunc Aldermanno : Johanne de Woburna : Galfrido de Suffok : Ada de Beuerle : Willelmo de Froywyk : Ricardo Ayl : Hillario draperio : Henrico de | sepertone : Johanne le fundur : Normanno Cordewanario : Henrico et Radulfo de Valoines : et aliis multis.

This seal was still in use in 1289. Its inscription is "Sigill conuentus sancti Bartholomei Apostoli de Lundon." A third seal came into use later, and continued till the Dissolution. It bore St. Bartholomew seated on a throne of Perpendicular style, and on the reverse the ship of the Church. It is affixed to an ordinance of Simon of Sudbury, Bishop of London (1362-1375), which is at St. Paul's.

When, in the reign of Queen Mary, the Dominicans inhabited the priory, they had a distinct seal, which is now in the possession of the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, owing to the exertions of Mr. E. A. Webb, to whom the fabric owes so much. It is oval, and bears the figure of St. Bartholomew under a canopy of Renaissance architecture, and the inscription: "Sigillum conuentus sancti Bartholomei ordinis fratrum predicatorum London."

between the three deep western recesses of Peterborough and the fine single lofty recess of the west end of Tewkesbury Abbey.

The seal of the hospital is but little damaged. It is oval ($3\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$), and bears a noble standing figure of St. Bartholomew finely draped. The head has a circular nimbus behind it, and the face is bearded. The apostle holds a staff, bent inwards at the top, in his left hand, while his right is raised in benediction. The inscription, which is contained in a border three-eighths of an inch wide, bounded by a single line, is "SIGILLUM HOSPITALIS SANCTI BARTHOLOMEI," and is in well-formed Roman capital letters. On the reverse is a small seal made from a classical gem enclosed in a border bearing the inscription, in somewhat rude letters, "SIGILLUM HOSPITALIS S. BARTHOLOMEI." The outline of the gem can be distinctly traced in the impression. It was engraved with an eagle, its head turned to one side, and with extended wings and legs and expanded tail.

Classical gems were used in a good many mediæval seals. Several examples occur among the muniments of St. Bartholomew's. The fine "Signaculum secretorum" of JOHN, ABBOT OF ST. ALBANS (1195-1214), has a man's head on a gem.¹

¹ It is to be seen on the charter of Abbot John mentioned on p. 117, the text of which is here printed :—

CIROGRAPHUM.—Johannes dei gratia Abbas et Conuentus sancti Albani omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Salutem. Nouerit Vniuersitas uestra

A charter of ARNULF SON OF ALULF, granting land

nos concessisse et dimississe et presenti Carta nostra confirmasse Nicholao filio Theobaldi de sancto Albano quandam terram nostram in London que continet in profunditate a uico qui uocatur *Crepelgatestrate* usque ad uicum qui uocatur *Mukewellestrate* sexaginta duas ulnas et unum quartarium unius ulne sine pollice per ulnam ferream *Johannis Regis Anglie*: et continet in latitudine secus predictum uicum qui uocatur *Crepelesgatestrate* inter terram quandam de feodo *Canonicorum sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum* et terram que est de feodo infirmorum *Hospitalis sancti Egidii* triginta quatuor ulnas et quartarium unius ulne ad predictam ulnam et continet in latitudine secus predictum uicum qui uocatur *Mukewellestrate* inter terram que est de feodo monachorum *Sancti Petri Westmonasterii* et terram *Laurentii filii Gregorii* triginta quatuor ulnas ad predictam ulnam et continet in medio eiusdem terre mensurate a terra que fuit *Stephani filii Toki* usque ad terram que fuit *Galfridi Manekin* quinquaginta et unam ulnam et dimidiam et dimidiam quartarii unius ulne ad predictam ulnam et continet a terra infirmorum predicti *Hospitalis* usque ad terram que est de feodo predictorum monachorum *Westmonasterii* uiginti quinque ulnas et dimidiam ad predictam ulnam quicquid scilicet in illa terra sic mensurata habuimus in lapidibus in profunditate et latitudine et rebus cunctis: habendam et tenendam ipsi *Nicholao* et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete integre et finabiliter reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris apud *Londonias* pro omnibus seruiciis et exaccionibus et omnibus rebus uiginti tres solidos *esterlingorum* et octo denarios ad quatuor terminos anni scilicet infra quindecim dies *Natalis domini* quinque solidos et undecim denarios et infra *Octauas Pasche* quinque solidos et undecim denarios et infra *Octauas Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste* quinque solidos et undecim denarios et infra octo dies festi *sancti Michaelis* quinque solidos et undecim denarios sine omni occasione et forisfactura. Et sciendum est quod nos siue successores nostri nullatenus poterimus dehospitalari predictum *Nicholaum* nec heredes suos nec aliquem ibi hospitatum per eos causa nos uel aliquem alium hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi. Idem etiam *Nicholaus* uel heredes sui nemini poterunt aliquo modo dictam terram dare uel uendere uel inuadiare uel tenendam dimittere ad detrimentum *Ecclesie sancti Albani* sed absque detrimento ipsius *Ecclesie* et saluo nobis in perpetuum annuatim predicto reddito poterunt de terris adiacentibus *Capitali mesagio* et ad illud pertinentibus commodum suum ubi uoluerint facere: religiosis domibus et *Judeis* et *Ecclesie sancti Albani* publicis inimicis personis exceptis. Similiter faciat et de *Capitali Mesagio* predicta exceptione seruata. Et si quoque illud et pertinencias suas uendere uoluerint nos semper erimus ad ea emenda omnibus aliis hominibus priores. Hanc autem terram premensuratam in profunditate et latitudine et rebus cunctis Ego *Johannes Abbas* prenominate de *sancto Albano* et *Conuentus eiusdem Loci* finabiliter warantizabimus predicto *Nicholao* et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas et pro omnibus seruiciis uersus *Seinnuragios* feodi finabiliter quietabimus per predictum seruicium: Scilicet per uiginti tres solidos et octo denarios terminis statutis soluendos. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione warantizatione et acquietacione et presentis carte nostre confirmacione dedit nobis dictus *Nicholaus* ad pitanciam unam marcam argenti. Testibus his: *Henrico Maiore Londoniarum*: *Rogero filio Alani*: *Alano filio Petri*: *Thoma de Hauerhulle*: *Constantino filio Aigulfi* et *Arnolfo fratre eius*: *Thoma filio Roberti Camberlani*: *Ricardo Scutario*: *Willelmo de Sisseuernio*: et *Willelmo* et *Thoma* et *Nicholao* filiis eius: *Gaufrido de Childewic* et *Willelmo fratre eius*: *Laurentio de Theobregge*: et *Multis Aliis*.

to Henry the palmer and his wife Sailda, witnessed by Constantine, son of Alulf, and therefore not later than 1222, is sealed by Arnulf, with a gem bearing a female head surrounded by the inscription, "SIGILL. ERNULFI AL. FILI" (1¼ in. by 1½ in.).

A deed of Simon of Abondune, sealed when Roger le Duc was Mayor of London (1228-1231), has a classical gem on which is engraved a cow with her head turned aside.

The seal of Walter of Chaure, of whose children Bartholomew, master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital (1241-1270), became guardian, has within it a deeply excavated classical gem engraved with a beautiful draped female figure holding a flower in the left hand and a wand in the right.

John of Orwell, baker, who, in the year 1314, agreed to pay twenty-six shillings a year to the hospital, used a seal with a classical head on a gem.

In the sixteenth century many of these gems detached from monastic seals must have been sold, which is perhaps the reason that a citizen who entered into an agreement with Richard Grafton, grocer, in the reign of Edward VI., had as a seal a gem bearing a fine head, perhaps of a Cæsar.

The apostle seal of the mastership of BROTHER STEPHEN is also affixed to a grant by him to Osbert the little "of our land in Bread Street" in the parish of All Saints, and to an indenture given to William, son of

Simon of Renham, by the same master. It is appended to a charter of Hugh, master of St. Bartholomew's (*circa* 1212-23), to William Joynier;¹ and to one of William the master (1224-1246) addressed to John of Woburn,² sheriff in 1230; and to a charter of Bartholomew the master (1247-1269), letting to Richard Mytre land given by Nicholas, son of Joyce,³ who was sheriff in 1248. A charter of the same master addressed to John of Braynford,³ of the year 1258, bears a fine impression of the same seal. It is also affixed to a charter of Adam of Rothing, master of the hospital, to Robert of Thelnothan, dated 10th August 1308.

Soon after this a new seal was made, which shall be described further on, and which continued in use as long as the ancient constitution of the hospital remained.

The reverse seal with the eagle gem was used from the reign of Richard I. to that of Henry VIII. The earliest impression I have seen of it is on the seal of Brother Stephen's charter of 1198, and the latest that on the acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy made on June 25, 1534, by John Brereton the master and three of the brethren.⁴

After the time of the charters of the Theydons, others appear relating to the district. WALTER SON

¹ At St. Paul's, A : box 17,539.

² At St. Paul's, A : box 17,223.

³ At St. Bartholomew's.

⁴ Public Record Office.

OF HUMPHREY,¹ and Avicia, Walter's mother, gave to the church of Wakering and to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital twelve pence a year from the land of Absolon, whoever chanced to hold it. "And we promise," says the charter, "that when we shall have been at Barve on great festivals we shall come to the mother church unless prevented by illness or other reasonable cause," and at other times they agree to pay all oblations to the mother church. This was drawn up in the presence of the bishop, and with his assent. Walter's seal, somewhat broken, alone remains, and has on it a centaur-like gryllus. The first witness is William, Bishop of London (1199-1221), and the next is Richard of Stortford, master of the schools of London (1184-1215).

The two parts of an indented chirograph of the mastership of Brother Stephen have been preserved in the hospital. The document gives a view of the state of

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Walterus filius Humfridi et eius heres et Avicia mater mea concessimus et dedimus redditum xii denariorum matri ecclesie de Wakeringes et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei *Lundoniarum* soluend' eis singulis annis duobus terminis scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis sex denarios : Ad Pascha sex denarios scilicet de terra Absolonis quicumque eam tenuerit. Et promisimus quod cum fuerimus apud Barue In magnis annalibus festiuitatibus uenimus ad matricem ecclesiam nisi egritudine uel alia rationabili causa fuerimus impediti : et in aliis temporibus omnes oblationes ad manum capellani in capella uenientes soluentur matri ecclesie. Et ipse Capellanus fidelitatem iurabit matri ecclesie de soluendis oblationibus predictis et quod nichil machinabitur in fraudem uel dapnum matri ecclesie. Hec autem facta sunt in presencia domini *Willelmi lundoniensis* episcopi et eius assensu. Quod ut ratum et inconnuulsum habeatur presentem cartam et sigillorum nostrorum impressione roboramus. His testibus : Domino *Willelmo lundoniensi* episcopo : *Richardo de storteford* magistro scolaram *lundoniarum* : *Magistro Johanne de Storteford* : *Rogero de omnibus sanctis* : *Galfrido capellano* : *Rogero flemeng* : *Galfrido de Geldham* : *Willelmo filio Humfridi*.

agriculture in Essex in the reign of King John.
BROTHER STEPHEN,¹ the procurator of the hospital

¹ CYROGRAPHUM.—Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego frater Stephanus procurator domus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis et Ceteri fratres eiusdem Hospitalis concessimus et dimisimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Willelmo filio Simonis de Renham totam illam terram nostram quam Gilbertus de uer dedit domui nostre in elemosinam in eadem uilla de Renham et etiam unam acram terre quam Rogerus de Cramauilla nobis dedit in eadem uilla. Habendam et tenendam ad firmam de nobis et de domo nostra sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum pro viginti et octo quarteriis bladi annuatim domui nostre reddendis. Scilicet de frumento quinque quarterios, de siligine quinque quarterios, de ordeo quinque quarterios, de fabis quinque quarterios, de avena octo quarterios rasos: et totum bladum illud tenetur soluere nobis Londonie optime uento purgatum ad duos terminos anni. Scilicet infra octo dies sancti Michaelis medietatem. Et in media quadragesima aliam medietatem. Et nos debemus illud Londonie suscipere ad kayum fratrum hospitalis de Clerkenewelle. Debet etiam nobis predictus Willelmus annuatim quatuor karreas feni. Cum uero tempus colligendi fenum fuerit: mittemus nuntium nostrum speculari si karre rationabiles sunt scilicet cum quatuor bobus et duobus equis uel cum duobus bobus et quatuor equis et ut rationabiliter honerentur. Debet etiam predictus Willelmus fenum ducere ad nauem et nauem et nautas locare et nuntio nostro quam diu ibi moram fecerit cum feno uel in nauis fenum custodierit uictualiam ministrare. Nos uero fenum istud sicut bladum prescriptum Londonie suscipiemus ad eundem kayum fratrum de Clerkenewelle. Et ad utramque uicem cum suscipiemus bladum Londonie nautis quam diu nauis honerata fuerit uictualia ministrabimus. Et cum fenum suscipiemus Londonie tribus nautis quam diu nauis honerata fuerit cum feno. Concessimus etiam eidem Willelmo et heredibus suis quicquid in prefata terra habuimus in terris et pratis et pascuis in uis et semitis: in edificis in aquis et ortis et uirgultis in rebus cunctis sine aliquo retenimento. Habendum et tenendum Sibi et heredibus suis finabiliter de nobis et de domo nostra in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre bene in pace honorifice per predictum seruitium. Et sciendum est quod tradidimus eidem Willelmo de elemosinis domus nostre cum prefata terra decem marcas argenti ad debita sua soluenda. Et nos debemus predictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis sepredicto Willelmo et heredibus suis warantizare et defendere uersus Dominos feodi et omnes homines et feminas excepto Regis seruitio si forte aliquo tempore aliquid exigatur. Sciendum itaque est quod predictus Willelmus nec heredes sui poterunt predictam terram Iudeo uel Iudee dare uendere inuadiare nec alicui ecclesie uel domui Religionis conferre nec artem uel ingenium querat unde domus nostra de predicto tenemento uel aliqua portione redditus alienetur. Si autem contigerit quod prefatus Willelmus uel heredes eius aliquo tempore a pacto prescripto uoluerint resilire et tenementum illud dimittere tenentur eum nobis edificatum tradere cum tot domibus rationabiliter edificatis quot ibi inuenit. Et decem marcas prescriptas nobis soluere: edificia autem que inuenit super terram illam hec sunt: Domus cum duobus thalamis et in domo stabula equorum orreum bueria bracinum et in eo clibanus domus gallinarum. In obitu uero eiusdem Willelmi et heredum suorum Recipiemus terciam partem bladi quod inuentum fuerit in tenemento illo in initio infirmitatis unde obierit. Scilicet quod in tenemento illo creuerit uel eo tempore seminatum fuerit et omnium

house of St. Bartholomew's of London, granted to William, son of Simon of Rainham, "the land which Gilbert de Ver gave to our house," in the vill of Rainham, and an acre of land which Roger of Cramavill gave in the same vill, to have and to hold "from us and our house for twenty-eight quarters of corn annually, namely, of wheat five quarters, of rye five quarters, of barley five quarters, of beans five quarters, of oats eight quarters; and the whole of this corn he is to deliver at two terms of the year in London, namely half within eight days of the feast of St. Michael and the other half in the middle of Lent, and we are to receive the same at the quay of the brethren of the hospital of St. John of Clerkenwell. The said William is also to pay to us every year four cartloads of hay." When the time of collecting hay came round, the hospital was to send a messenger to see if the carts were reasonable, namely, with four oxen and two horses, or with two oxen and four horses, and that they were reasonably loaded. William was to lead the hay to the ship, and to hire the ship and sailors, and to provide food for the

cattallorum qui nutrita ibi fuerint. Hanc conuentionem firmiter et sine dolo tenendam affidauit predictus Willelmus pro se et heredibus suis et etiam tactis sacrosanctis in Ecclesia nostra super altare sacramento confirmauit. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione et warantisione et presentis carte nostre confirmatione dedit nobis prefatus Willelmus unam marcam argenti in gersumam et dimidiam marcam ad pitanciam. Hiis testibus: Rogero de cramavilla: Roberto Lenueisie: Gilberto de Marisco: Gerardo de Garcumuilla: Serlone filio germani: Hugone filio Bernardi: Sawino de Wenintune: Radulfo filio Willelmi: Philippo filio Palmerii: Michaelae de Valencins: Henrico de sancto Albano: Roberto filio Siwardi: Henrico filio raineri: Bartholomeo de sancto Martino: Radulfo de clare: Johanne filio Elinant': Gileberto dispensatore: Johanne clerico.

messenger as long as he stayed there with the hay or took care of the hay in the ship. On each occasion when they received corn at London, the hospital would provide food for the sailors as long as the ship was laden. And when the hay was taken to London, the hospital was to provide food for three sailors, as long as the ship was loaded with hay. They also grant to the aforesaid William and his heirs whatever they own in the aforesaid land in arable lands and meadows and pastures, in roads and paths, in buildings and waters and gardens and brushwood, and in all things without any reservation, to have and to hold for him and his heirs "finally" from them and their house in fee and heredity freely, quietly, entirely, well, and in peace, honourably for the aforesaid payment. "And it is to be known that we have given the aforesaid William of the alms of our house with this land ten marks of silver towards paying his debts." They undertake to guarantee and defend the land against the lords of the fee and all men and women, except as regards the service of the king, if by chance it should at any time require something. Neither William nor his heirs may give, sell, or pledge the land to a Jew or Jewess, or grant it to any church or religious house, nor may he attempt in any way to alienate any part of the rent. If it should happen that William or his heirs wish at any time to draw back from the above written agreement, he is to give back with the tenement as many houses and buildings as he had found there,

and to pay back the ten marks given to him. "Now the buildings which he finds on the land are: a house with two bedrooms (thalamos), and in the house stalls for horses, a barn, ox-stalls, and brew-house, and therein an oven and a fowl-house. On the death of William and his heirs we shall receive a third part of the corn which shall be found in that tenement at the beginning of the fatal illness, namely what shall have grown in that tenement or have been sown there at that time, and of all cattle there fed. This agreement the said William has pledged his faith to keep without deceit, and, touching the holy gospels, has sworn on the altar of our church. For this concession, dimission, warranty, and the confirmation of this our charter, William gave us a mark of silver 'in gersumam' and half a mark as a pittance, these being witnesses:—Roger de Cramavilla: Robert Lenuesie: Gilbert de Marisco: Gerard de Garcumvilla: Serlo son of German: Hugh son of Bernard: Sawin of Wenintun: Ralph son of William: Philip son of Palmer: Michael of Valencins: Henry of St. Albans: Robert son of Siward: Henry son of Rainer: Bartholomew of Saint Martin's: Ralph of Clare: John son of Elinant: Gilbert the steward: John the clerk.

The hospital seal is attached by a vellum tag to one part of the indented agreement, and to the other that of William son of Simon, bearing a lion passant.

Michael of Valencins was probably the oldest of

the London witnesses. John son of Elinant was sheriff in 1205, and Henry of St. Albans in 1206.

It is remarkable that after seven hundred years both parts of this agreement, each with its seal perfect as when its apposition was witnessed by the eighteen witnesses in the reign of King John, should be found in St. Bartholomew's Hospital; its place of origin. How complete is the picture of an Essex farm in the beginning of the thirteenth century! It had fields of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans; meadows yielding crops of hay, with horses and oxen to plough and draw carts. The farmhouse was small, and had stables and ox-sheds adjoining it, as well as a brewhouse, an oven, and a barn. The crops were sent to London by the Thames, and the rent, which was paid in kind, and not in money, was delivered by a ship at the quay of the Hospitallers, which may perhaps have been on the Fleet, and thus nearer to St. Bartholomew's than any quay on the Thames. It is a view of a settled country. The landowners advancing money for the tenant to improve the farm, the tenant a man of substance, the crops differing from those of our time in the presence of rye and the absence of roots. Most things were ruder, but the artistic seal of the tenant is a finer work of art than that of any man in Essex at the present day. On the broad waterway of the Thames are still to be seen ships of antique form, great barges with brown sails, conveying Essex hay to the wharves and quays of London,

just as they did the crops of William son of Simon in the time of King John.

The brethren obtained a grant of free ingress and egress for their ships on the river Fleet from ROBERT DE LALIEFLONDE, warden of the gaol of Fleet.

“ Know men present and to come that I, Robert de Lalieflonde, warden of the Gaol of Flete, for the welfare of my soul and that of my wife and those of my children and of my father and my mother and my ancestors, have given and granted and by this my charter confirmed to God and to the brethren of the Hospital House of St. Bartholomew’s of London, the passage over the Fleet water for all ships which carry the goods of the aforesaid Hospital House of St. Bartholomew, both going in and coming out, without either custom or exaction, in free, pure and perpetual alms for ever. So that neither I, Robert de Lalieflonde, nor my heirs nor any through us, shall be able, or have any right, or set one up, or claim on these aforesaid ships. And because I wish that the gift and concession and confirmation of the present charter shall be settled and unbroken, I confirm it by the apposition of this my seal.

“ These being witnesses: Robert of Wincestre: Henry of St. Albans: Richard of Wincestre: Reginald le Bucher: Simon of the bridge of Flete: Robert veidevele: Alexander of Soland: Warin the parchiminer: and many others.”

The circular seal is on a vellum tag, and bears a boar’s head with huge tusks, figuring some of the terror with which the men of his time must have regarded the warden of the gaol of Fleet. The legend is “ SIGILL. ROBERTI DE LIEVELAUND.”

The Fleet River itself is now shut up in a tubular

dungeon, which conducts it under the pavement of Faringdon Street and Bridge Street to its old entrance into the Thames, as if to remind it of all the unhappiness it had passed by in the Gaola de Flete from the time when Robert de Lalieflonde watched the ships passing up it with corn for St. Bartholomew's Hospital brought from Little Wakering creek to the days when the body of Samuel Pickwick was "confided to the custody of the tipstaff, to be by him taken to the Warden of the Fleet Prison, and there detained until the amount of the damages and costs in the action of Bardell against Pickwick was fully paid and satisfied."

ROBERT DE LALIEFLONDE¹ in another charter granted to St. Bartholomew's certain land between the land

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de la lieflande concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmari Deo et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld quandam terram meam que iacet inter terram Abbatis de Cyrestren' et aquam de flete et ex alia parte inter terram que fuit Willelmi de Tonebrige et viculum que tendit ab aqua de flete usque ad vicum de scolande scilicet quicquid habui ibi in longitudine et latitudine et rebus cunctis habendam et tenendam eisdem fratribus de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete honorifice integre finabiliter reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omnibus seruiciis et exactionibus et pro rebus cunctis duos solidos esterlingorum ad duos terminos anni scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis duodecim denarios et ad pascha duodecim denarios sine omni occasione et meskenigge. Preterea sciendum est quod ego predictus Robertus de lalieflande nec heredes mei poterimus dehospitalari dictos fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei causa me uel heredes meos siue aliquem alium hominem uel feminam hospitandi. Hanc autem terram prenominatam in longitudine et latitudine Ego R. prenominatus et heredes mei finabiliter warrantizabimus predictis fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei contra omnes homines et feminas et de omnibus seruiciis per predictum seruicium finabiliter aquietabimus. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione et warrantizatione et aquietatione et presentis Carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi prenominati fratres quindecim solidos esterlingorum in gersumam. Hiis Testibus: Joceo filio Petri tunc Aldermanno: Ricardo clerico: Henrico monacho: Elya la feutrer: Warino le parcheminer: Albino parmentario: Hugone le calcer: Waltero le parcheminer: Willelmo lenluminer: Riohero de fonte: Roberto de lithletone: Johanne Eued: Firmino clerico: et Multis Aliis.

of the Abbot of Cirencester and the Fleet River, and on the other part between the land of William of Tonbridge and the lane leading from the Fleet River to the street of Scolande,¹ at an annual rent of two shillings sterling. The brethren gave him fifteen shillings "in gersumam." An inscription on a modern house a little way up Fleet Street from the foot of Ludgate Hill states that it occupies the site of the house of the Abbots of Cirencester.

ROBERT DE LALIEFLONDE² was son of Nathanael de Lalieflonde, as is shown in another charter in which he grants to St. Bartholomew's Hospital the land which his father had granted to William of Tonbridge in the parish of St. Bride opposite the gaol of Flete on the other part of the water for a service of two shillings. NATHANAEL DE LALIEFLONDE³ made a grant of this same land of William Wudecoc which was

¹ The street of Scolanda is the modern Shoe Lane, which has a winding course from Fleet Street to the east end of the parish church of Holborn. The name occurs in several forms. John Cok in the reign of Henry VI. writes it Sholane: Walter, the chaplain of the hospital of St. Giles in the early years of the thirteenth century, Scholonde: Bartholomew the master (1246-1269), in vico Scholonde: John de Camerwell master (1283), in vico de Solaunde. Scolanda is a prebendal farm, and the Latin forms which occur in charters show that this is the origin of the name Shoe Lane, and the direction of the street points to Holborn as the particular solanda.

² Hiis testibus: Roberto de Wincestre: Henrico de Sancto Albano: Ricardo de Wincestre: Reginaldo le Bucheler: Symone de ponte de Fiete: Roberto verdevele: Alexandro de Solande: Warino le parchiminer: et multis aliis.

The circular seal in yellow wax remains, and both its legend and the boar's head are distinct.

³ Hiis testibus: Thoma filio Johannis filii Nigelli: Willelmo portario: Johanne lumenario Symone de Ponte: Roberto de Marisco: Willelmo le tieis: Abel parmentario: Reginaldo Bukelario: Godwino wudemonger: Martino parmentario: Willelmo Wudecoc: Johanne Bukelario: Andrea Blundo parmentario: Roberto folhard: Ricardo de Ely: Rogero palmerio: Johanne clerico: Hamundo sethere: et multis aliis.

behind, to William of Tonbridge for two shillings a year. William gave him six shillings as a gersuma, and to Desireia his wife and Robert his son one besant of gold each. The land was thirty-six iron ells of King Richard in length, and eleven and a half ells in breadth. The charter belongs to the mayoralty of Henry Fitz-Ailwin.

It was perhaps in the last year of Richard I. that BROTHER STEPHEN¹ granted to Osbert the little "our land in Bread Street," in the parish of All Saints, in a charter now much soiled by age, but with the hospital seal still attached, and on its reverse the impression of the eagle gem. The land was between that of Richard Travers and that of John son of Elinant, and the rent was thirty-three pence a quarter. Osbert gave as a gersuma one gold besant. There are eighteen witnesses, and it is characteristic of the time that Peter, son of Simon of Rouen, William of Rouen and Richard of Rouen, and William of Epping are found together. Two members of the hospital staff were present—Edward the pincerna or butler, and Gilbert the dispensator or steward.

Osbert the little acquired some adjoining land, as is shown by a charter of John son of Elinant,

¹ Hiis testibus : Ricardo palmerio : Willelmo gallico : Willelmo pictore : Gilberto marscall : Widone de leicestrie : Petro filio simonis Rothomagense : Willelmo de Rothomagia : Thoma de Brantefeld : Willelmo de Eppinges : Ricardo de Rothomagia : Willelmo fratre suo : David cureior : Radulfo bruno : Johanne rosa : Edwardo pincerna Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei : Gilleberto dispensatore eiusdem hospitalis : Ricardo gappe : Willelmo clerico et pluribus aliis.

witnessed by Brother Stephen, of which there is a copy in our cartulary. The grantor was sheriff in 1205. He confirms the grant to Osbert of part of the land he holds of Reginald of Cornhill in the parish of All Hallows, Bread Street, the part namely between the land of Andrew, son of Theodoric, and that of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The piece of land, which is measured in the iron ells of King Richard, was in the front next Bread Street three and a half ells in breadth, in length twenty-four ells, and extended backwards ten and a quarter ells. The rent was ten shillings a year, and Osbert gave a pound of pepper "in gersumam." Roger le Duc, sheriff in 1192, his son Peter, sheriff in 1208, and Constantine son of Alulf, are the witnesses who precede Stephen, procurator of the hospital of St. Bartholomew. Eleven others follow.¹

In the cartulary of St. Mary of Clerkenwell² there is a charter of Brother Stephen, proctor of the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London, which grants to Roger of Edmonton land in the parish of St. Sepulchre outside Newgate, "which lies between the land of the sick of the hospital of St. Giles and the land which the nuns of Clerkenwell held of us." It is witnessed by

¹ Roberto Brand : Thoma filio Ricardi : Ricardo palmerio : Ingelberto : Andrea filio Theodorici : Willelmo francigena : Willelmo pictore : Gilleberto Marscall : Guidon of leycesetria : Ricardo of Rothomago : Willelmo fratre eius et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 199b. Such copying as "of Rothomago" shows that the charter was being copied directly and not read aloud by one man to another.

² Faustina, B. ii. f. 52.

“Thomas, alderman of that ward, Robert of Burc, Eustace le Husier.” Thomas the alderman was sheriff in 1208.

James son of Ernald¹ the baker gave to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, for the support of the weak and sick poor, his land in the parish of Aldermarichurche, with a stone house on it, in free and perpetual alms. The measurements of the land are in the iron ells of King Richard, and Constantine son of Alulf (sheriff in 1197) is the first witness, and is followed by his brother (sheriff in 1198), so that the gift probably took effect at the end of the reign of Richard I.

Brother Stephen granted to William le tyeis and Cecilia his wife, at a rent of two marks of silver and five shillings a year, the land in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate which Hugh of the ditch had given to the hospital in pure and perpetual alms. As a bounty were given a hundred loaves and a full cask of beer. The first witness was William, chaplain of St. Martin's Ludgate, and the next Thomas, son of Neel the alderman, and there were sixteen others.²

¹ Hiis testibus: Constantino filio Alulphi: Ernaldo ruffo: Constantino Iuvene: Willelmo de Basynges: Willelmo Camerario: Martino filio Willelmi: Johanne de Valencinis: Joceo filio Petri: Michaelle de Sancta Helena: Johanne viell: Petro Iuvene: Alexandro monacho: Hugone clerico.—*Cart. of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 234b.

² Augustino calicer: Ricardo trauers: Willelmo hostiario: Willelmo de Tunebrigge: Ricardo le tyeis: Stephano aurifabro de sancto Michaelle: Galfrido le Carcere: Berengaro pistore: Pentecoste aurifabro: Adam Iarmonario: Radulf tannario: Adhemaro tannario: Waltero nepote Alicie de Salerna: Ricardo fundario: Roberto fundario: Willelmo clerico et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 142b.

Alice of Salerno was wife of William of Salerno, an inhabitant of this part of London, to whom Alan the master afterwards granted this same land at a rent of two marks of silver a year.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 143a.

The brethren of St. Bartholomew's made an agreement as to part of this property with Brother R., treasurer,¹ at the time prior of the hospital house of Jerusalem in England. It is a confirmation on the part of the hospitallers to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's of the messuage occupied by Berengar the baker in the parish of St. Martin the Little at Ludgate, which was part of the holding of Hugh of the ditch, and rendered eight shillings a year. The agreement is undated, but the compiler of the cartulary ascribes it to the second year of King John. It is witnessed by seven brethren of the hospital of Jerusalem and two chaplains.

It was in this period that the hospital purchased forty pence of quit-rent in the parish of St. Alban, Wood Street, of THOMAS OF BUDEL,² from the land which

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod hec convencio facta est inter fratrem R. Thesaurarium tunc priorem sancte domus hospitalis Ierosolimitane in Anglia et fratres eiusdem domus ex una parte et fratres hospitalis sancti Bartholomei ex alia. Scilicet quod fratres hospitalis sancti Bartholomei tenebunt iure hereditario mesuagium quod Berengarius pistor tenuit in parochia sancti Martini parvi apud Ludgate, quod erat de tenemento Hugone de fossato, de priore et fratribus prefate domus reddendo inde annuatim iamdictis fratribus octo solidos ad duos terminos: Videlicet quatuor solidos infra octabas pasche et quatuor solidos infra octabas sancti Michaelis. Et ut hec convencio fideliter hinc inde seruetur fuit presenti scripto et sigillorum utriusque partis appositione roborata: Hiis testibus: fratre Laurentio sacerdote: fratre Roberto de Wahyc: fratre Sampson: fratre Rogero Folioth: fratre Gilleberto de Lyndesi: fratre Alexandro: fratre Gregorio: Waltero et Bartholomeo capellanis: et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 138a.

² Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego thomas de budele dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui et vendidi et foris affidavi et quiete clamaui deo et sancte Marie et fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei londoniarum xl denariatos Quietis Redditus in parochia sancti Albani de Wudestrate de terra quam Rogerus le paumer tenuit de patre meo Edwardo in eadem parochia. Habendos et tenendos eidem [*sic*] fratribus finabiliter libere et Quietie plenarie et integre in finabili vendicione. Reddendo inde annuatim per manus predictorum fratrum ad socagium domini Regis iiii denarios scilicet in vigilia pasche pro omni seruicio et exaccione et pro hac donacione et concessione et carte mée confirma-

Roger le paumer held of Edward, father of Thomas. The brethren were to pay "ad socagium domini Regis" three pence on Easter eve for every service and exaction, and they paid Thomas two marks of silver and a half. Matthew and Simon, then chaplains in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, were among the eight witnesses.

A charter of ADAM PEPERCORN,¹ in which he grants to St. Bartholomew's ten shillings quit-rent from some

cione et vendicione et foris affidacione et quiete clamacione dederunt michi predicti fratres ii marcas argenti et dimidiam. Et Ego predictus *Thomas* et heredes mei warantizabimus dictis fratribus predictum redditum finabiliter contra omnes homines et feminas. Et vt hac mea donacio et concessio et Carte mée confirmacio et vendicio et foris affidacio et quiete clamacio rata sit et stabilis sigilli mei impressione eam confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Thoma de hauerbel tunc aldermanno: Constantino filio Alulfi: Constantino Juene: Matheo; Simone tunc capellanis in predicto hospitali: petro bachun clerico: luca clerico: Goce filio petri.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Adam Pepercorn diuine pietatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et animarum patris et matris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum dedi Concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et hospitali Sancti bartholomei de Smethefeld et fratribus ibidem Deo seruientibus. In liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam decem solidatas quieti redditus de quadam terra mea que est in Grubbestrate secus terram Henrici Naket uersus australem plagam in parochia sancti Egidii extra Crupelgate. Quam Johannes pater meus aliquando tenuit et inuadiavit Benedicto Quaterbuch Judeo. Habend' et Recipiend' dictis fratribus et successoribus suis annuatim de dicta terra libere quiete et integre in perpetuum ad quatuor terminos anni. Scilicet infra octo dies festi Sancti Michaelis triginta denarios et infra octabas Natalis Domini triginta denarios et infra octabas Pasche triginta denarios et infra octabas Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis baptiste triginta denarios sine omni occasione et meskenninga. Si autem contingat quod ego dictus Adam uel heredes mei aut tenentes super dictam terram manentes decem solidos dictis fratribus annuatim non soluerimus licebit eisdem fratribus et successoribus suis sine placito et contradictione et impedimento aliquo distringere et namum capere in dicta terra donec integre decem solidos annuatim inde receperint. Ego etiam dictus Adam et heredes mei predictas decem solidatas quieti redditus dicto hospitali et fratribus contra omnes homines et feminas finabiliter warantizabimus. In huius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigilli munimen dicti Ade est appensum. Hiis Testibus: Bartholomeo: Richard: Willelmo: Thoma tunc capellanis dicti hospitalis: Constantino filio Alulphi: Constantino iuene: Waltero filio Algari: Ricardo clerico filio eius: Hugone de Bukingham: Willelmo tunc clericis dicti Hospitalis.

land in Grub Street in the parish of St. Giles outside Cripplegate which John his father held and mortgaged to Benedict Quaterbuch the Jew, probably belongs to the mastership of Brother Stephen. Six members of the staff of St. Bartholomew's are among the witnesses. The charter shows that a street often mentioned in literature bore the name of Grub Street so long ago as the reign of King John.

"Grub Street," says Dr. Johnson, "the name of a street in London, much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems; whence any mean production is called Grub Street." Swift wrote "Advice to the Grub Street Verse-writers," and Pope spoke unkindly of them in the *Dunciad*, as he did of too many of his contemporaries.

"Sepulchral Lies our holy walls to grace,
And New Year Odes and all the Grub Street race."

The best poetic company in which the street appears is that of Goldsmith, in whose satirical humour there is no trace of malice.

"How did Grub Street re-echo the shouts that you raised
While he was be-Rosciused and you were be-praised."

Surely to have been mentioned in the writings of four such men of letters as Swift and Pope, Johnson and Goldsmith, was enough to distinguish it from streets unknown to history, and ought to have pre-

vented any change of its name. In the late reign this was altered to Milton Street, a designation given, as I was told by a resident in that parish, by a contractor who rebuilt a great part of Grub Street. A few of the old houses of the time of the Dunciad remained some years longer, and I once went into one of them to see a poor woman who had been under my care in the hospital. She was lying on a bed near the fire, in a large room with a fine mantelpiece old enough to have seen Samuel Boyse or Hogarth's distressed poet; but the proportions of the house suggested that before it became a haunt of indigent writers Grub Street had been the dwelling-place of some well-to-do citizens.

In the same neighbourhood Richard the son of Richard Picot¹ confirmed the gift of his father Richard to St. Bartholomew's Hospital of land and houses in Chiselstrete (now Chiswell Street) in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, yielding six shillings a year to him. The area measured in length twenty-three ells and half a quarter of an ell of the iron ells of King John, and in breadth fifteen ells and a quarter of an ell.

Alan son of Peter² granted to St. Bartholomew's

¹ Hiis testibus : Symone Albotunc Aldermanno : David de la More : Galfrido uinitore : Rogero le Careter : Rogero ruffo tannatore : Martino Dutere : Normanno tannatore : Waltero tannatore : Rogero sinech : Rogero takenario : Thurstano toindor : et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 111a.

² Hiis testibus : Willelmo filio Reineri : Jocio filio Petri : Thoma de Hauerhill : Jacobo fratre eius : Rogero Duce : Constantino filio Alulphi : Constantino Juuene : Roberto de Gretton : Waltero filio Algari : Ricardo filio eius : Hugone tunc clerico dicti hospitalis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 163a.

Hospital in pure and perpetual alms a shop which Alwurd Penistone held in the parish of St. Nicholas Fleshambles, between William Creche's land and that of Walter Bruning. The dimensions are given in the iron ells of King John.

William son of Reiner is the first of the eleven witnesses, and the last is Hugh, then a cleric of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The grant was probably made towards the end of the mastership of Brother Stephen.

Henry son of Wale¹ gave a house with ten acres of land in Aiedon to the hospital, for the good of his soul and that of his wife Margaret. He and his wife and their children were to be admitted "in fraternitatem" to participate in the spiritual benefits of the hospital. He also gave a load of corn as long as he lived. This gift was confirmed by Richard his son, who also gave half a virgate of land held by Durand the miller. Philip the parson of Aiedon was a witness of both grants. Richard's is also witnessed by four members of the staff of St. Bartholomew's: Jordan and Hugh, then chaplains, and Gilbert and Thomas, then stewards.

Gifts to the hospital were sometimes actual grants of land, sometimes quit-rents or rent charges. The grazing of fourteen oxen was given by Robert of

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 477a.

Novobury (Newbury) "in my pasture of Wolaston," "wherever my oxen feed in the aforesaid vill."¹

Henry of Pinkem² at Datchet, near the Thames, confirmed the grant of half an acre of land which Hugh de la Marke had given to the hospital; and Henry later gave, with the goodwill of Leticia his wife and Robert his son, a load of corn from his lands in Buckinghamshire, half wheat and half barley and oats, every year. One of the witnesses is Roger of Beconsfield, and it is easy to imagine how it would have delighted Burke to have read this ancient record of the crops of the district, where farming gave him so much pleasure, witnessed by a resident in the parish.

The little river Roding flows through the forest land of Essex to the Thames near Barking, and passes eight parishes called Roding, in old times written also Rothing and Roing. High Roding and Eithorp Roding are the farthest north. South of them, on the left bank, are White Roding, Abbey Roding, Beauchamp Roding, and on the left Leaden Roding, Margaret Roding, and Berners Roding. These Rodings are just north of the three Theydons, whence came our benefactors William and Robert of Theydon.

¹ Hiis testibus : Martin de Pateshull : Radulfo Harang : Simone de insula : Stephano de Segraue : Willelmo de Raleia : Johanne Bucuinte : Galiemo clerico : Radulfo de Thrope : Ricardo de Pauell : Johanne Hardiner : Roberto de Flurs : Simone de london, et aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 483a.

² The witnesses were :—Ankul de Pinkem : Roberto persona : Stephano capellano : Waltero de Ramegrave : Amando filio Gerardi : Godefrido de la Merke : Rogero de Bekenesfelde : Johanne filio Hugonis et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 482a.

Simon de Rohinges¹ in early times, and probably not later than the mastership of Brother Stephen, granted to St. Bartholomew's in pure and perpetual alms all the croft in which Haldene dwelt, the mesuage which was that of William Malras, and the land between it and the land of Ralph the cowkeeper as it is divided by fences as far as the wood, round up to Goseford. The brethren gave three annualia to him, one besant to Robert his son, and twelve pence to Nicola his wife.

RICHARD BEL² gave twelve pence of quit-rent from

¹ Simon de Rohinges Omnibus amicis suis presentibus et futuris Salutem. Sciatis quod Ego dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis in puram elemosinam totum Croftum in quo Haldene mansit cum toto mesuagio suo et in augmento mesuagium quod fuit Willelmi Malras et insimul terram que iacet inter predictam mesuagium Scilicet terram prenominatam que iacet iuxta terram Radulfi naccarii sicut sepius dinidit usque ad nemus in circuitu usque ad Goseford, pro salute anime mee et Matildis uxoris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum Habendum et tenendum de me et de heredibus meis libere quiete et integre et finabiliter liberum et quietum ab omni seculari seruuicio. Et ego Simon prefatus et heredes mei warrantizabimus istam terram prenominatam fratribus predicti hospitalis contra omnes homines et feminas sicut liberam elemosinam nostram. Pro hac autem donacione concessione et carte mee confirmacione concesserunt michi predicti fratres caritatiue pro salute anime mee et predictae uxoris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum tria annualia et dederunt Roberto filio meo et heredi unum bisantum et Nicholae uxori sue xii denarios. Hiis testibus Radulfo de la Newelande : Ricardo de la Newelande : Bartholomeo de Rohing : Adam fratre suo : Gilberto clerico : Roberto de la Newelande : Henrico filio Fulcheri : Roberto de la More : Rogero fabro de Rohing : Waltero de Muntemni : Johanne fabro : Willelmo filio Roberti : Ambrosio de Canc de Rohinges : Rogero de Hatfelde clerico.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 452a.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus Bel dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et sancte marie et hospitali sancti bartholomei et fratribus ibidem seruiuentibus deo in puram et perpetuam elemosinam duodecim denariatus quieti redditus recipiendos de mesuagio quod messuagium iacet inter messuagium Ricardi corset uersus occidentem et hagam roberti seruientis in uilla de eisnesford quod messuagium Willelmus corueis tenet annuatim quatuor terminis scilicet ad festum sancti michaelis tres denarios : Ad natale domini tres denarios : Ad pascha tres denarios : Ad nativitatem sancti Johannis baptiste tres denarios. Et ego Ricardus bel et heredes mei predictos duodecim denariatus quieti redditus predicto hospitali contra omnes homines et feminas warrantiza-

a message in the vill of Eynsford (Kent). His circular seal bears a single fleur-de-lys and in a broad border the inscription "Sigil: Ricardi le Bel." Bartholomew, William, and Thomas, chaplains of the hospital; Gilbert the cordwainer; Geoffrey the mercer; Stephen of Staford; John of East Cheap; and Roger the clerk were the witnesses.

This was probably Richard le Bel, son of Robert le Bel,¹ who gave seven shillings of rent to the hospital of St. Giles of the lepers by a charter copied into the Cartulary of that hospital in the year 1402.² Bel's charter to St. Giles was witnessed by Thomas of Haverell, Henry son of Reiner, Roger son of Alic, and Henry, Mayor of London. The wife of Robert

bimus. Et ut hec donacio et concessio rata sit et stabilis hanc cartam sigilli mei appositione corroboravi. Hiis testibus: bartholomeo, willelmo, thoma, capellanis tunc predicti hospitalis: Gileberto cordiwanario: Galfrido merser: stæphano de staford: Johanne de eschepes: Rogero clerico: et multis aliis.

¹ *Cartulary of St. Giles* in British Museum (Harley, 4015), f. 111.

² Frater Walter Hynton magister Hospitalis de Burton sancti Lazari Jerusalem: in Anglia ordinavit istum librum fieri cartarum et munimentorum Hospitalis sancti Egidii leprosororum extra barram veteris templi Londoniarum A.D. 1402: anno secundo regni regis Henrici post conquestum quarto mensis martis die secundo (Harley, 4015).

This Cartulary (f. 111) contains a charter of Henry Fitz-Ailwin giving five shillings of quit-rent to St. Giles's Hospital in the same terms as his grants mentioned at the beginning of this chapter:—

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus filius Ailwini de Londoniis dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et Hospitali sancti Egidii et fratribus et sororibus ibidem deo seruiantibus pro salute anime regis Henrici et anime mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam quinque solidos quieti redditus de terra quam Thomas carpentarius tenuit de me intra portam Episcopi: habendam et tenendam predicto hospitali et fratribus et sororibus ibidem deo seruiantibus in perpetuum libere et quiete integre et finabiliter et ad faciendum anniuersarium pro anima predicti regis Henrici et pro anima mea et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum in die anniuersarii obitus mei annuatim quum euenerit. Ut autem hec mea donacio et concessio perpetua firmitate consistat cum sigillo meo confirmaui."

le Bel, with Henry le Bel and John le Bel, made a further grant to the hospital of St. Giles, also witnessed by Henry Fitz-Ailwin. The hospital of St. Giles of the lepers stood on ground now in part occupied by the church of St. Giles in the Fields. Several benefactors like Henry Fitz-Ailwin made gifts both to it and to St. Bartholomew's, and there were from time to time transactions in which both hospitals were concerned.

St. Gilbert, the founder of the order of Sempringham, the only purely English monastic order, was more than thirty years old when St. Bartholomew's Hospital was founded, and lived till February 4, 1189, so that Rahere, and Thomas of St. Osyth's, Adam, and Stephen, and Alan, our masters, had heard of him as one of the wonders of their time; of his piety, of his teaching the children of the poor in Lincolnshire, of his foundation of his order, of his meeting with St. Bernard and St. Malachi, of his help to St. Thomas of Canterbury during exile, of the veneration shown to him by Pope Eugenius III. and by King Henry II.

Gilbert was canonised in 1202, and the agreement between St. Bartholomew's Hospital and his order is a little later than that event.

Brother Stephen,¹ with the consent of Richard, Prior

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos scilicet Stephanus procurator hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de London et ceteri fratres eiusdem hospitalis de consensu et assensu domini Ricardi prioris et conuentus canonicorum sancti Bartholomei dimisimus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus deo et beate marie et ordini de Sempringham*

of St. Bartholomew's Church, and the canons, granted to the order of Sempringham a piece of land belonging to the hospital, which adjoined the land which had belonged to Robert of Fuleham and that which had belonged to William of Smithfield, the clerk, as far as the mill of the brethren of Clerkenwell westwards, and the road which goes to Holborn Cross towards Smithfield eastwards, which land the hospital held from the gift of Jordan de Turre. The canons of the order of Sempringham were to pay three shillings a year for every service for this grant, and gave to the brethren eight marks and four shillings "in gersumam." The charter is witnessed by Henry, Mayor of London; Ivo the chaplain; Jordan de Thurre; and Thomas the alderman.

Ivo was a chaplain of St. Sepulchre's; Jordan de Turre was the benefactor already mentioned in this chapter; and Thomas the alderman was sheriff in 1208. The town house of the head of the order of Sempringham continued to be in this district, and probably on this land, till the Dissolution.

quamdam terram nostram totam que iacet ante terram que fuit Roberti de Fulleham et ante terram que fuit Willelmi clerici de Smethefeld sicut eam uia includit que tendit ad molendinum fratrum de Clerkenwelle ab occidente et uia que uadit ad Holeburne uersus Smethfeld includit ab oriente, quam scilicet habuimus ex dono Jordanys de Thurre et concessione monialium de Clerkenwelle: habendam et tenendam cum libertatibus omnibus et pertinenciis de nobis et successoribus nostris perpetuis temporibus in futuris reddendam inde nobis annuatim iii solidos pro omni seruicio scilicet ad festum sancti michaelis xiiii denarios et ad Pascha xiiii denarios. Et sciendum est quod canonici ordinis de Sempringham pro predicta terra et hac nostra confirmacione dederunt nobis in gersumam octo marcas et quatuor solidos. Nos uero acquietabimus prenominatam terram ad opus eorum erga dominos fundi et omnes alios de omnibus rebus in perpetuum et warantizabimus. Hiis testibus: Henrico maiore Londoniarum: Iuone capellano: Iordano de Thurre: Thoma aldermanno: et aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 16 (Cok).

The date at which Brother Stephen ceased to be master can only be determined from the charters in which his name occurs, and this evidence suggests that his mastership ended about the year 1212, the last of the mayoralty of Henry Fitz-Ailwin, the first Mayor of London.

This series of charters of the time of Henry Fitz-Ailwin will not seem too long in relation to the history of St. Bartholomew's, if the reader can perceive how much light their details throw on the daily life of London, amid which the hospital was growing up in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John. The places named in them bring the remote past into contact with the immediate present, and make us who walk in the city of London to-day feel that our footsteps follow the track of those of the men of the twelfth century. We cross St. Paul's Churchyard with Gilbert Foliot and Ralph de Diceto, pass along Cornhill with Henry of Cornhill and William de Blemunt, walk along the course of Walbrook and past Londonstone with Henry Fitz-Ailwin, go over London Bridge with Peter of Colechurch, are daily reminded of "The holy, blisful martir" in Cheapside, leave the city by Newgate, pass St. Sepulchre's Church, and ascend Holborn with John Bucuinte, go down Wood Street or Monkwell Street and out by Cripplegate with Simon, Abbot of St. Albans, emerge by Aldgate with the Prior of Holy Trinity or by Aldersgate with the Dean of St. Martin's le Grand. These

bustling, modern-looking streets thus excite the imagination and bring back remote times, as do the Via Sacra and the Appian Way.

So many things become clear to the mind as these charters are carefully considered, that the appetite for them once acquired is difficult to satisfy, and the historian is apt to think that every reader will like to enjoy the pleasure which he has himself felt in tracing men once famous, but now long forgotten, and in ascertaining the topography and the inhabitants of London in the twelfth century. In his essay in the *Spectator*¹ on the effects of custom, Addison mentions how a great man, no doubt Lord Somers, came to feel the charm of the study of such documents:—
“I have heard one of the greatest geniuses this age has produced, who had been trained up in all the polite studies of antiquity, assure me, upon his being obliged to search into several rolls and records, that notwithstanding such an employment was at first very dry and irksome to him, he at last took an incredible pleasure in it, and preferred it even to the reading of Virgil or Cicero.”

The charters bring before us men of many stations and occupations. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Abbot of Westminster, the Abbot of St. Albans, the Priors of Holy Trinity and of St. Bartholomew's Church, and their canons regular, the

¹ No. 447.

dean and canons of St. Paul's and of St. Martin's le Grand, the archdeacons of the diocese, many secular priests, some chaplains, some rectors and vicars of parishes in the city, some country clergymen, clerks in minor orders and scribes who wrote charters, are the chief varieties of ecclesiastics. Earls and great tenants of the crown with their courts and their officers and lesser military tenants appear among the laymen. In the City, the mayor (*maior Londoniarum*) is generally followed by the sheriffs (*vicecomites*¹) and they by the alderman of the ward (*aldermannus, aldermannus eiusdem warde, or custodie*), and when the alderman is there the beadle (*bedellus, or serviens*) often follows at a respectful distance.

¹ The stained and injured charter of JORDAN TESSUN contains as a witness his son Roger, a vicecomes whose county I have been unable to determine. He may have been Sheriff of Essex in some year between 1171 and 1189. Jordan Tessun gave to the hospital half a mark from his rent of the mill of Raffort in free alms for ever. The brethren were to pray for him, for his wife Leticia, for their children, for his father Ralph, and his mother Adelia :

"Universis sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis Jordanus tessun salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus presentibus et futuris *quod ego* Jordanus dedi et concessi deo et sancte Marie et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de lundoniis dimidie marche redditum de redditu quem habeo in molendinis de raffort in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam et quietam ab omni seculari seruitio pro me et pro leticia mea uxore et infantibus nostris et pro animabus Radulfi tessun patris mei et Adelitie matris mee et antecessorum nostrorum. Et constituo quod predicta elemosina reddatur predictis fratribus ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste. Et ut hoc ratum sit, statuo et firmiter precipio quod ista elemosina nunquam deficiat, etiam si redditus quem habeo de predictis molendinis deficeret : Quia si nichil haberem in illis molendinis nisi dimidiam marcham : precipio ut predicti fratres illam dimidiam marcham sine aliquo defectu habeant. Testibus his : Symone de Tilleio, Radulfo de perceio, presbiteris : Rogero vicecomite filio eiusdem domini Jordani : Willelmo de solers : Rogero de monte acuto : Henrico crasso, militibus : Rogero de veeis : Petro de falleise : Ber laio, famulis eiusdem domini Jordani."

The seal of Jordan is about three inches in diameter. It bears his figure in armour and on horseback, within a border marked by a plain line and containing the words "Sigillum Jordani Taxson."

The most ancient sheriff of whom I have found a charter is REINER SON OF BERENGER,¹ sheriff in 1156, 1157, 1158, and 1162. He let to Hugh the tanner the land which William the Frenchborn and Alberida his wife held, and which was next to the holding "of Osbert who makes shirts of mail," at a rent of three shillings a year. As a gersuma, Hugh paid to Reiner one penny of gold,² and to his wife another.

As Richard son of Reiner was sheriff in 1187, it seems not improbable that Reiner son of Berenger was his father.

¹ Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod Reinerus filius Berengerii dimittit Hugo tanatori illam terram quam tenuit Willelmus francigena et Alberida uxor eius, que terra iacet iuxta Osbertum qui facit loricas, tenendam de eo et heredibus suis predicto hugoni et suis heredibus libere et quiete et honorifice in feodo et hereditate finaliter, reddente hugone nel heredibus suis singulis annis iii solidos Reinero filio Berengerii uel heredibus suis pro omnibus rebus, xviii denarios ad pascha et xviii d. ad festum sancti Michaelis sine causa. Et propter istam conuentionem et concessionem dedit hugo Reinero unum denarium auri et uxori sui alium in gersumam. Huius conuentionis isti sunt testes: Salemannus sacerdos sancti Martini et Godefridus diaconus: Wlfricus tanator: Willelmus aurifaber: Athelardus de ludgate: Rogerus pischator: Toki tanator: Griffinus: Galfridus aldermannus et iohannes filius eius: Halden tanur, Robertus tanur: Johannes pealchumer: Walterus barate: Angodus clericus: Osmundus magister: Fromundus aldermannus: Ailwinus chese: Paganus clericus. The charter belongs to the reign of Henry II. The position of the alderman after two tanners and a fisher, a goldsmith and two other laymen, would be unusual in the reigns of Richard I. or John. The presence of two aldermen is somewhat unusual at this period. Fromund the alderman is probably the grandfather of the well-known Constantine, son of Alulf son of Fromund.

² The penny of gold was either money of account or a foreign coin, if the statement of the *Chronica Maiorum* (p. 29) is to be accepted that in 1257 Henry III. first formed a golden penny of the weight of two shillings, of very pure gold, and willed that that gold coin should circulate at the value of twenty shillings. The mayor and citizens gave reasons against such a gold coinage, but the King said, "I will that that coin circulate as a penny (denarius) for twenty shillings."

The circular seal shows Reiner on horseback, in armour with shield and sword, and bears the legend, "Sigillum Reineri fili Berengarii." The first witnesses, Saleman, priest of St. Martin's, and Godefrid the deacon, were probably of St. Martin's, Ludgate, as Athelard of Ludgate is the fifth witness.

The citizens appear in their varied callings in these charters—William the miller, Richard the cornmonger, Edwin and Thubern the bakers, Alan and Bruning and Thurstan and Thorold the fishermen, WALTER¹ and Godselin the fishmongers, Joce the wine merchant, and Geoffrey the vintner, Hugh and Pagan the fruit sellers, Adam the merchant, Ailwin and William son of Ailwin, and John and Richard the dealers in fur and fur robes (parmentarii), Stephen the tailor, Wiscard the cordwainer or leather dealer, Tuold the shoemaker, William and RALPH² the cobblers, Ernald and

¹ Notum sit presentibus et futuris quod Ego Walterus blundus sanus et incolumis: Et in ligia potestate mea constitutus dedi concessi et dimisi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Thome filio meo pro seruicio suo totam terram illam meam in piscaria que iacet inter terram Johannis le Burgoign: Et terram que fuit Ricardi le cheualier cum omnibus pertinentiis et edificiis suis tam subtus quam super terram. Et preterea sopam illam que iacet inter sopam que fuit Ricardi le cheualier et sopam Gerardi quam scilicet sopam teneo de filia Radulfi fratris Goce uinitarii. Item totam terram meam que iacet inter Newgate et Luthgate iuxta murum, quam teneo de Johanne le bere. Et totam terram meam quam teneo de Willelmo de Blemond, que iacet iuxta gardinum Infermorum de Sancto Egidio: Habendas et tenendas illi post mortem meam sicut ei quem ex hiis predictis terris heredem meum facio tam libere tam quiete quam libere quam quiete ego Walterus predictas terras aliquo tempore tenui. In spe maiorum beneficiorum et aliorum per dei gratiam reddituum. Hiis Testibus: Godefrido presbitero de Sancto Martino: Gilleberto presbitero de Sancto Nicholao: Waltero Nigro: Salomone de Lundunestane: Goldhauek: Waltero Bruning: Thurstano piscario: Roberto filio Gilleberti Ruffi: Hugone de Wandlesworde: Ailmero de Castello: Alano piscario: Galfrido de Watford: Ricardo filio pagani: Simone clerico: Simone filio Walteri nigri: Thoroldo piscario: Et pluribus aliis.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulfus Tacunarius de Bassiehage filius Willelmi haywardi concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Petro Samangere Quandam terram meam que est in parochia sancte Adelburge uersus Bissopegate que continet in latitudine secus vicum viginti quinque pedes de pedibus sancti Pauli et totidem uersus curiam: Et in longitudine Centum et quatuor pedes de minori Centum de eisdem pedibus Que uidelicet terra est secus terram quam Rogerus faber de me tenuit ex parte aquilonari huius terre scilicet quicquid in huic tenemento habui in terris in lignis in longitudine et latitudine in rebus cunctis. Habendam et tenendam eidem petro et heredibus suis de me et de heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre finabiliter. Reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et

JORDAN¹ the drapers, Keneward² the linendraper, Ailred

exactione et pro omnibus rebus sex solidos quatuor terminis anni scilicet infra viii dies sancti Michaelis xviii denarios Et infra octabas Natalis Domini xviii denarios Et infra octabas Pasche xviii denarios Et infra octabas Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste xviii denarios sine omni occasione et sine omni meskenningia. Preterea autem sciendum est quod ego Radulfus uel heredes mei non poterimus eundem petrum uel heredes suos dehospitalari causa me uel heredes meos ibidem hospitandi. Idem uero petrus terram hanc hospitatam auscepit precio vnus marce ita quod si ipse petrus uel heredes sui feodum suum relinquere uoluerint si per illos deuastatum fuerit hospitabuntur feodum illud infra primos xl dies post deuastacionem ad precium quinque marcarum uel soluent ipsi Radulfo uel heredibus suis quinque marcas argenti. Hanc autem terram predictam ego Radulfus et heredes mei warantizabimus et acquietabimus finabiliter contra omnes homines et feminas eidem petro et heredibus suis per predictum censum. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione et warantizone et acquietatione et presentis carte mee confirmatione idem petrus dedit michi duos solidos in Gersumam. Testibus: Jordano filio Saete: Reginaldo tannatore: Rogero pet: Ansegodo filio Gilleberti: Rogero Palmerio: Thoma de Oxonia: Ricardo Blundo: Johanne Palmerio: Willelmo tannatore: Willelmo de plass: Hugone tabur: Petro tabur: Rannulfo oitel.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Jordanus draperius filius Edwini pistoris concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Waltero Bruning quandam terram meam in parochia Sancte Marie Magdalene in piscaria iuxta terram quam prenominatus Walterus tenuit de Adam filio Alulfi uersus occidentem. Hec autem terra predicta continet in profunditate viginti tres ulnas de ulnis ferreis Ricardi Regis et in latitudine nouem ulnas et dimidiam de eiusdem ulnis. Scilicet quicquid ibidem habeam in terris in lignis in longitudine et latitudine et rebus cunctis. Habendam et tenendam eidem Waltero et heredibus suis de me et de heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre finabiliter Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et pro omnibus rebus quinque solidos ad quatuor terminos anni scilicet infra octo dies Sancti Michaelis quindecim denarios et infra octo dies Natalis xv denarios et infra Octabas Pasche xv denarios et infra Octabas Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Bapstiste xv denarios sine omni occasione. Et sciendum est quod nec ego Jordanus prenominatus nec heredes mei poterimus dehospitalari eundem Walterum nec heredes suos causa me uel heredes meos uel aliquem alium hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi. Hanc autem terram predictam in rebus cunctis Ego J. predictus et heredes mei finabiliter warantizabimus eidem Waltero et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas et de omnibus seruiciis uersus capitales dominos feodi finabiliter acquietabimus per predictum seruicium. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione et warantizone et acquietatione et presentis carte mee confirmatione idem Walterus dedit michi duas marcas et dimidiam in Gersumam. Hiis testibus: Jukello aldermanno: Arnulfo filio Alulfi: Adam fratre eius: Nigello aurifabro: Johanne Bedello: Johanne de Bernes: Goldhaek: Rannulfo Bataille: Willelmo kenting: Ricardo kenting: Johanne de Brakinge: Thurstano piscatore: Hugone palmerio: Gerardo piscatore: Rogero famulo eius: Waltero Blundo: Toma filio eius: Ricardo filio pagani: Ailmario de castello: Stephano piscatore: Willelmo clerico.

The seal of Jordan, of dark wax, on a vellum tag, bears an eagle. The inscription is indistinct.

² In a charter of RALPH STEPERANO:—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Radulfua steperanc concessi et dimisi et hac

and Gilbert the hosiers,¹ Tubern the lorimer, Reiner the carpenter, Geoffrey and Harry and Ralph and Thomas the masons, Richard and Athbelard the tilers, Hamond and Ralph and William the smiths, Alan the goldsmith, and William the carter.

We may even realise the outward aspect of some of

presenti Carta mea confirmaui Kenewardo lingedraper totam terram illam quam Alardus le Tiulur tenuit de Ailredo le husiere extra Barram de fageswelle : que terra iacet inter terram Roberti clobbere et terram hospitalis sancti Bartholomei in longitudinem et latitudinem et in profunditatem : habendam et tenendam predicto kenewardo lingedraper, et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis : in feudo et hereditate libere quiete honorifice integre et finabiliter, reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis uiginti nouem denarios pro omni seruicio et exactione et rebus cunctis : ad duos terminos anni scilicet infra Octabas Pasche decem et quatuor denarios et obolum sine occasione : infra Octabas sancti Michaelis decem et quatuor denarios et obolum sine occasione. Et sciendum est quod Ego Radulfus steperanc uel heredes mei nullo modo poterimus prefatum kenewardum uel heredes suos de predicta terra hospitari : propter me uel heredes meos uel aliquem alium hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi. Et preterea sciendum est quod Ego Radulfus steperanc neque heredes mei nichil amplius de hac terra prenominata exigere uel habere debemus nisi censum prenomatum scilicet uiginti nouem denarios per annum terminis statutis. Et Ego prefatus Radulfus et heredes mei prenominato Kenewardo et heredibus suis finabiliter contra omnes homines et feminas debemus warantizare et de omnibus seruiciis et exactionibus et rebus cunctis : uersus omnes gentes et feminas aquietare per predictum seruicium scilicet uiginti nouem denarios : sicut predictum est. Pro hac ergo concessione et dimissione aquietacione et presentis Carte confirmatione dedit michi predictus Kenewardus Lingedraper unum Besantium in Gersummam. His Testibus : Gilberto le husiere : Galfrido le macun : Ricardo fabro : Willelmo fabro : Tome le macun : Roberto clobbe : Willelmo Singelpin : Roberto Singelpin : Waltero scogan : Ricardo le tiulur : Roberto Episcopo : Et multis aliis.

The seal of Ralph Steperanc (or Steperanc) is perfect on a vellum tag, and bears his figure in armour on horseback with shield on his left arm and sword in his right hand ; and between the single lines of a border the inscription "SIGILLUM RADULFI STEPERANC."

¹ In another charter of RALPH STEPERANC :—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Radulfus steperanc concessi et dimisi Et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui Gilberto le husiere totam terram illam quam thubernus pistor tenuit extra Barram de fageswelle que terra iacet inter terram Ricardi fabri et fageswelle [*words as in Keneward's*] reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis duos solidos sterlingorum [*words as in Keneward's except the halves of the rent*] ; duodecim denarios [*and so on*]. His testibus : Galfrido le macun : Willelmo fabro : Roberto clobbere : Kenewardo lingedraper : Tome filio eius : Reimundo filio kenewardi : Willelmo Singelpin : Roberto singelpin : Waltero scogan : Ricardo le Tivlur : Roberto Episcopo. Et multis aliis. The seal of Ralph Steperanc is perfect as on the grant to Keneward.

the inhabitants of London from their figures on their seals. The bishop and the archdeacon we see in their robes and the warden of the bridge of London in his sacerdotal vestments at the altar.

Henry Fitz-Ailwin and Ralph Steperanc and John Bukuinte are on horseback in chain mail with conical helmets and with sword and shield. RICHARD OF PRESTUNE¹ is on foot armed with bow and arrow,

¹ On his oval seal "SIGILL. RICARDI DE PRESTUN," attached to his grant to St. Bartholomew's, which probably belongs to the reign of John.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus de prestune assensu et consensu uxoris mee Aldride Dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et sancte Marie et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei pro salute anime mee et patris et matris mee et antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam vnam acram prati in marisco de henefelde : scilicet de illo prato quod *Willelmus* brustein tenuit : scilicet que iacet proxima iuxta la luye : habendam et tenendam de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete plenarie et integre finabiliter in perpetuum et ego predictus Ricardus de prestune et heredes mei warrantizabimus deo et predictis fratribus et successoribus suis predictam acram contra omnes homines et feminas : et ut hec mea donacio et concessio et carte mee confirmacio rata sit et stabilis permaneat eam sigilli mei inpressione confirmaui. Hiis testibus : *Willelmo* de feringes : *Johanne* ad mariscum : *Willelmo* de dorsete : *Waltero* dau : *Galfrido* de Barbefle : *Ricardo* adforde : *Ricardo* de plaisez : *Constantino* filio alulfi : *Constantino* juvene : *Luca* clerico : *Gervasio* le parmenter : *Edwardo* et *Gileberto* le despenser : *Thomas* le buteiler.

Richard of Prestune grants to the Hospital for the welfare of his own soul and those of his father and mother an acre of meadow in the marsh of Enfield in pure and perpetual alms.

He appears as a witness in the charter of WILLIAM THE CARTER, OF EDMONTON, quoted on p. 91 :—

Sciant presentes et futuri Quod ego *Willelmus* Caretarius de Hedelmetune dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui pro anima patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum deo et Sancte Marie et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum ibidem deo seruientibus ad sustentacionem pauperum et infirmorum ibidem existencium dimidiam acram in prato de Hedelmetune inter pratum *Johannis* Ruffi versus austrum et Rodam Quam ego *Willelmus* prius eisdem fratribus dederam : habendam et tenendam eisdem fratribus de me et de heredibus meis Libere et quiete bene et in pace in perpetuum : In liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam : Adeo libere ut aliqua elemosina haberi uel dari potest : et ego *Willelmus* et heredes mei : warrantizabimus predictis fratribus predictum pratum finabiliter contra Omnes homines et feminas : Et vt hec mea donatio et concessio et carte mee confirmatio : Rata sit et stabilis permaneat in perpetuum eam Sigilli mei inpressione corroboraui. Hiis testibus : *Picoth*

dressed in a tunic coming to his knees and with his head hooded. Ladies are in long gowns with sleeves close-fitting to the wrist and dependent manches, with broad girdles and cloth-draped head-dresses, or with long cloaks and leggings sometimes: in either dress with hawks on their hands.

The inmost thoughts of the Londoners of that remote time, their family affection, their charity, their hopes of everlasting life, as well as their relationships, their material surroundings, and temporal affairs, appear in these ancient records. A charter of one of the Bukerells, a family which flourished in London from the reign of Stephen to that of Edward I.,¹ is a good example.

Andrew Bukerell, sheriff of London in 1172, granted a piece of land to the hospital² for a yearly rent of six shillings and after the receipt of one besant from the brethren of the hospital for the concession. That the grant was made in the reign of Henry II. is indicated by the presence among the witnesses of Alulf son of Fromund, for a charter in the cartulary of the nuns of

de Marisco: Johanne filio Walteri: Ricardo filio Radulfi clerici: Willelmo filio Galfridi: Ricardo de plaseiz: Willelmo de dorset: Ricardo de Prestun: Willelmo modo: Luca clerico: Radulfo clerico: Willelmo clerico: et Multis Aliis.

The circular seal of William is attached on a vellum tag and bears a lion passant. Round the circumference without any border are the words "Sigillum Willelmi le Cartier."

¹ Andrew Bukerell was sheriff in 1172, Thomas Bukerel in 1217, another Andrew Bukerel in 1223, Stephen Bukerell in 1227, and Matthew Bukerel in 1255. In 1272 Isabella Bukerel brought an action about some land in the City against the then mayor, Walter Hervey.

² *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.*

Clerkenwell¹ shows that he was the father of Constantine son of Alulf, who became sheriff in 1197. Michael of Valencins, another witness, was a benefactor of the hospital in Henry II.'s reign, while Jeremia, another witness, is the tenant of land in St. Nicholas Street, off Newgate Street, who is mentioned in the grant of Gilbert, prior of Butley,² made between 1186 and 1189, and in a charter of ROBERT CAMERARIUS,³ a contemporary of Henry Fitz-Ailwin.

Andrew Bukerell⁴ later in life resolved to go on a

¹ Faustina, B. II., f. 71a.

² v. s. p. 225.

³ CHIROGRAPHUM.

Sciant moderni et futuri Quod ego *Robertus camerarius* concedo deo et sancte Marie et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei terram quam Ingelram albus qui neptem Roberti cobbe duxit uxorem : tenuit de me : que iacet inter ecclesiam sancti Mathei et forum : tenendam de me et heredibus meis iure hereditario finabiliter remota ex utraque parte omni occasione molestie et iniuriarum actione : reddendo michi uel heredibus meis singulis annis xvii solidos pro omnibus secularibus seruitiis duobus terminis. Scilicet infra octo dies sancti Michaelis viii solidos et vi denarios : Ad pascha viii solidos et vi denarios. Pro hac igitur concessione dederunt michi predicti fratres xxi solidos in gersumam : et Dionisie uxori mee unum bizantium et infantibus nostris xii denarios. Hanc conuentionem sine dolo tenendam frater Martinus affidauit sic quod predicti fratres non querent artem nec ingenium quo terram neque census eiusdem amittam. His testibus : Petro filio alani : *Willelmo* fasceto : *Michaele de valencinis* : Jeremia : Rogero le duc : Rogero fratre petri : *Willelmo* filio Ediue : *Willelmo* filio algoti : Jordano nepote Geruasii : *Hugone* de clouilla : *Roberto* de basinges : *Stéphano* parmentario : *Willelmo* fratre : Waltero uenditore feni : *Roberto* diacono : *Nicholao* francigena : Samsone : Godefrido filio Godardi : *Johanne* parmentario : *Rogero* fratre eius : Henrico nepote *Michaelis de valencinis* : *Gileberto* coco : Alano clerico : Ricardo sacerdote de sancta Mildreda : Reinero obside.

This charter may be compared with that of Peter son of Alan (p. 77). Both are witnessed by Peter's brother Roger, and perhaps Jordan the clerk and Jordan the nephew of Gervase are the same person.

⁴ Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Andreas Bukerell salutem. Noverit uniuersitas uestra me pro amore Dei et pro salute anime patris mei Stephani et matris mee Sabelle et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee Ydonie et liberorum nostrorum et omnium amicorum nostrorum concessisse et dedisse in prosperitate mea priusquam peregrinare profectus essem hospitali Sancti Bartholomei et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis sex solidorum redditum in per-

pilgrimage, and being uncertain of his safe return, made a gift of this annual rent of six shillings to the hospital. "Be it known," he says, "to you all that, for the love of God, and for the welfare of the soul of my father Stephen, and of my mother Sabella, and for the welfare of my own soul, and of my wife Ydonea, and of our children and of all our friends, I have granted and given in the days of my prosperity and before I start on my pilgrimage, to the hospital of St. Bartholomew, and to the brethren of the same, six shillings of rent in perpetual and free alms if I die in this journey of my pilgrimage: namely, I grant for ever those six shillings which the aforesaid brethren used to pay me for the orchard which they held of me in perpetuity on the east side between the aforesaid hospital and a certain small street over against the church of St. Bartholomew."

The brethren are to remember him and his wife Ydonea and their children in masses and public and private prayers, and are to admit them as sharers in the entertaining of strangers and the solace of poor patients. "When, moreover, I go the way of all flesh, they shall solemnly celebrate my anniversary every

petuam et liberam elemosinam si in hoc itinere peregrinationis mee decessero. Illum scilicet sex solidorum redditum eis perpetuo concessi quem michi annua pensione predicti fratres persoluebant de pomerio quod de me in orientali parte inter predictum hospitale et vicum quendam paruum versus ecclesiam Sancti Bartholomei iure perpetuo tenebant. Predicti vero fratres caritatis intuitu me et uxorem meam Ydoneam et liberos nostros specialiter in missis in psalmis oracionibus publicis et priuatis in refecone peregrinorum et solacio pauperum infirmorum participes admiserunt. Cum autem viam uniuerse carnis incessero anniuersarium meum singulis annis solemniter celebrabunt. Testibus his: Henrico Aldermanno: Ricardo filio Reineri: Johanne Aldermanno: Johanne filio Herlicun: Radulfo Brand: Walerano.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.*

year. These being witness:—Henry the Alderman; Richard son of Reiner; John the Alderman; John son of Herlicun; Ralph Brand; Waleran.”

This charter shows that Stephen Bukerel and his wife Sabella were the parents of Andrew, and that Andrew had children. It is at least probable that the Andrew Bukerel who was sheriff in 1223 and the Stephen who was sheriff in 1227 were his sons, called respectively after their father and grandfather. Richard son of Reiner, the second witness, was sheriff in 1187, and died in 1191. His colleague as sheriff was Henry of Cornhill, perhaps the Henry the Alderman who is the first witness; but this is not certain, as Henry Fitz-Ailwin, afterwards mayor, appears as an alderman in a charter in the Public Record Office. Henry of Cornhill is the more probable because his name as a witness in charters generally precedes that of Richard son of Reiner, while that of Henry Fitz-Ailwin more often follows that of Richard son of Reiner. John son of Herlicun was sheriff in 1189.

As we read these charters the men of the time of Henry Fitz-Ailwin seem alive before us in streets with well-known names, along which stand houses, some of wood and some of stone, churches, and castles and monastic gateways.

Men walking eastwards along the Fleet Street of that old time admired St. Paul's, as we do, as the crowning point of the view. Just before the cathedral, high

on the hill, was Ludgate: below it on the right were the walls and towers of Castle Baynard and of the castle of Muntfichet. There were houses on the slopes down to the Fleet River and beyond it, and washed by that stream stood the high walls of the gaol of Fleet. A lane along the rising ground above the bank of the Fleet led from Fleet Street to the parish church of St. Andrew, Holborn, near which, to the east, was a way across the Fleet, from which the ground rose to St. Sepulchre's Church and the houses near it outside the New Gate. The nunnery of Clerkenwell and the priory of the brethren of St. John of Jerusalem were visible on the high ground to the north of the road from St. Andrew's to Newgate. A straight line of wall extended along the Old Bailey from Newgate to Ludgate, and another nearly straight piece of wall extended behind St. Bartholomew's Hospital from Newgate to Aldersgate.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital was plain to every man entering or leaving the City by the New Gate. It was separated from the City wall by a ditch full of water and by a piece of ground outside the margin of the ditch. Near the south-west corner of the hospital there was a pool of water,¹ and opposite its north-west corner stood the fine west front of the church of the Augustinian canons, with flanking towers and with two western windows set in round arched

¹ The spring which must have formed this pool was uncovered in 1908 in digging the foundations of the part of the new out-patient rooms nearest to the library.

recesses.¹ The hospital had an outer gate leading from Smithfield to an inner gate, with doors sometimes locked and sometimes open, with a brick wall on one side of the passage from the outer to the inner gate.² Near the Smithfield Gate was the hospital chapel, with an external box for the alms of passers-by. The hall in which the patients lay had a lamp, kept alight by the gifts of benefactors. The inmates of the hospital were sick or maimed people, as at present, with occasional tired pilgrims or homeless orphans. They had bread from the gift of benefactors and broken meat from the refectory of the canons. Their beds had a bolster and a sort of canopy.³ The patients were attended by brethren and sisters, and when they died were buried in a graveyard within the hospital. Some of the brethren were priests, and some were not in holy orders. One held the office of steward (dispensator), another was butler (pincerna). They were jealous of their independence, and were inclined to regard the Prior and Canons of St. Bartholomew's as aggressors, the Holy See and the Bishop of London as their natural protectors, the king and the barons of London as their friends.

Some benefactors gave money to sustain the light before the altar in the chapel, and there many benefactors were duly commemorated and the holy sacrifice daily offered up. There was a gate on the south side, towards the City ditch, which was sometimes called the

¹ Priory seal. ² Charter of Stephen the master, p. 143. ³ St. Cross seal (Winchester).

Tanhouse Gate,¹ from the tanning carried on near it in pools formed from the springs which supplied the ditch. It had been considered whether it would be wise to move the hospital buildings over to the south side, towards Aldersgate and away from Smithfield.² The hospital had a garden and an orchard, and within its enclosure were a burial-ground for the patients and another for the brethren and sisters.

The master and the brethren had transactions with their religious neighbours, the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's; the brethren of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; the Benedictine nuns of Clerkenwell; the community of Sempringham, whose town house was in Cow Bridge Street; the Abbot of St. Albans, whose property came near theirs in Wood Street; and the hospital of St. Giles, outside the bar of the Old Temple in Holborn. The vicar of St. Sepulchre's was often a witness in their affairs. They frequently had business with the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, and had occasional relations with the dean and canons of St. Martin's le Grand. The warden of the Fleet Prison allowed their boats to bring the corn and hay which were the rent of their land in Essex up the Fleet River to the landing-place nearest to them. The brethren sometimes went out to ask for alms. Aldersgate, Chamberlain's Gate, and Newgate were their nearest entrances to the city.

Many of the streets were known to them by names

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.*

² *Charter of Michael of Valencins.*

almost identical with those at present in use, and some of the features of the City which they knew remain to this day. The slope of Holborn (Holeburne) is still obvious, and a St. Andrew's Church stands in our time as in theirs on its south side. St. Sepulchre's Church, overlooking the valley westwards, was already ancient in their day. It now looks eastwards through the end of Newgate Street, where they used to see a massive fortified gateway. The straight line of the Old Bailey (le Baille) from Newgate to Ludgate is still plain, and suggests to any one who has seen a walled town the fortification which the brethren knew. Cheapside (Forum) was more of an open space than it is now, but a church of St. Mary le bow (de Arcubus) stood in the position of Wren's church. Gutter (Godrune) Lane, Wood (Wode) Street, and Milk (Melke) Street opened on to the north side ; Friday (Fridei) Street and Bread (Brede) Street on to the south side of the Chepe or Forum. Wood Street contained a St. Alban's Church and Bread Street a St. Mildred's, as at the present day. Following the central way of their City eastwards, the brethren walked along Cornhill (Cornhulle) or turned into Eastcheap (Eschepes). They regarded with awe the royal fortress, of which the main feature in their time, as in our own, was the lofty keep built by William Rufus. They had watched the building of a London Bridge of stone, by the successor of which, in nearly the same line, we cross the Thames. The Ludgate they often entered at the west of the City

crossed the hill bearing its name just above the church of St. Martin, the graceful spire of which in our time marks the ancient entrance to the City and to the precinct of St. Paul's. The church of St. Bridget of Kildare in their time stood on the slightly rising ground opposite the foot of Ludgate Hill ; and Shoe Lane (*vicus de Scolanda*), on the dry ground above the swampy Fleet valley, led from the parish of the Mary of the Gael to the church of St. Andrew in Holborn. As they took their way westwards along the Strand they came as we do to St. Clement Danes (*Danischmannescherche*). A decree of the Corporation has lately been sought to abolish the terms "within" and "without" as applied to Bishopsgate Street, but the difference was plain to the brethren, for a great gate crossed the way. Without it there was a church of St. Botolph and within it a church of St. Ethelburga. The two holy Saxons are commemorated in the same situation to this day. As you follow the ambit of the City now you pass Shoreditch (*Soredihc*) and Moorgate and Aldermanbury, Monkwell (*Muggewell*) Street, and Crip-legate and Smithfield—all known to the brethren by the same names as to us.

They measured their land by the ells of King Henry II. or the iron ells of King Richard, or of King John, or by the feet of St. Paul's.¹

¹ As in the charter of William son of Isabel, in which he grants to Robert Melgucer, clerk, his land in the Chepe between the land which formerly belonged to Reginald Viel

Many of their rents were paid in kind. The only English coin was the silver penny (denarius), which might be divided into half-pennies (oboli). There was very little gold in England, but now and then the brethren probably saw the besant of the Emperor of the East. It was a handsome coin with the figure of our Lord on one side, that of the emperor in his robes on the other, and is sometimes called a talent¹ in

and that of Robert of Cornhill in the parish of St. Mary le Bow, which land was twenty-four feet of the feet of St. Paul's in length, at an annual rent of forty shillings.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Willelmus filius ysabel concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Roberto Melgucerio clerico totam illam terram quam habeam in foro inter terram que fuit Reginaldi senis et terram que fuit Roberti de Cornhill in parochia beate Marie de Arcu. Que videlicet terra continet in longitudinem quatuor uiginti pedes et xv polices de pedibus Sancti Pauli et in latitudinem xviii pedes de pedibus sancti Pauli. Scilicet quicquid ibidem habeam in terris et domibus in lignis in lapidibus in omnibus rebus in longitudinem et latitudinem cum omnibus pertinenciis suis sine aliquo retenemento: habendam et tenendam de me et de heredibus meis illi et heredibus suis bene et in pace in feodo et hereditate libere, quiete, integre, finabiliter; reddendo inde annuatim michi siue heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et pro omnibus rebus xl solidos quatuor terminis anni scilicet infra octabas pasche x solidos et infra octabas Natiuitatis beati Johannis Baptiste x solidos Et infra octo dies sancti Michaelis x solidos Et infra xii dies Natalis domini x solidos sine omni occasione et meskenningia: preterea autem sciendum est quod nec ego Willelmus prefatus siue heredes mei poterimus predictum Robertum siue heredes suos dehospitalari causa me uel heredes meos hospitandi. Si igitur idem Robertus siue heredes sui uoluerint feodum suum alicui uendere: ego Willelmus prefatus uel heredes mei propiores erimus omnibus aliis hominibus uno bizancio auri: hanc quoque terram predictam scilicet in longitudinem et in latitudinem Ego Willelmus prefatus et heredes mei warrantizabimus prenominato Roberto et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas per predictum seruicium scilicet per xl annuos solidos. Pro hac autem concessione et dimissione et warrantizatione et presenti carte mee confirmacione dedit michi predictus Robertus xx solidos in gersumam. Testibus Michaele filio Johannis: Waltero Bruno: Benedicto Wendegos: Ffulcacio fflandrico: Alberico fflalcum: Waltero de scocia: Herberto Bucher: Geroldo palmerio: Gaufrido crasso: Martino magno: Godefrido de Lundunstone: Gladewino wancer: Godwino Blund: Radulfo de Cesfer: Gunfrido Melgucer: Fulcone soppier: Radulpho de Gildford: Edmundo de Mora: Rogero filio Alani.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 228 (Cok).

¹ "A besant or (as some call them) a Talent is taken for a massive plate or Bullion of Gold." Guillim: "Heraldry."

the charters. Marks and shillings were money of account only, as guineas are at the present day. The amount of money in circulation may be inferred from the fact that the addition of all the sums of money mentioned in the numerous charters in the lifetime of Henry Fitz-Ailwin which are cited in this chapter does not exceed one hundred and fifty pounds, reckoning the besant at one hundred and forty-four pence, the mark at one hundred and sixty pence, and the shilling at twelve pence.

The chaplains and clerical brethren could of course read. Had they made any medical studies, or were the Holy Scriptures, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and later theologians their whole reading? The medical treatise with which they are most likely to have been acquainted is the fourth book of the "Liber Etymologiarum" of St. Isidore of Seville.¹ He was bishop of that city in the year 601, and this book is a general summary of the knowledge of his time. It was used for many centuries as an introduction to learning, and few religious houses in England were without a copy. It is divided into twenty books; the first three treat of the liberal arts in detail; the fourth discusses medicine in thirteen chapters; the fifth book is on Law; the sixth, seventh, and eighth on theology; the ninth on languages and on the laity; the tenth on the meaning of certain general terms; the eleventh and

¹ "Liber Etymologiarum Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi" (Venice, 1483), pp. 20-22.

twelfth on man and the animal kingdom ; the thirteenth on physiography ; the fourteenth on geography ; the fifteenth on human society and on buildings ; the sixteenth on mineralogy ; the seventeenth on the vegetable kingdom ; the eighteenth on war and soldiers and public games ; the nineteenth on ships, on painting, on textile arts and their products, on ornaments, rings, girdles, and shoes ; the twentieth on tables, on meat and drink, and on the furniture of the house, the kitchen, the farm, the garden, and the stable. The thirteen chapters of the book on medicine begin with the definition that medicine is the art of keeping the body well or of restoring it to health. The meaning of the word, the originators of medicine, its schools of thought, and the four humours of the body are discussed in the first five chapters. Chapter VI is on acute diseases, and those brethren of St. Bartholomew's, who had read it, had in their minds definitions of fever, of delirium, and of stupor, were aware that the heart might be diseased, and understood some of the dangers of sore throat. They used the terms pleurisy and pneumonia, but had no method of distinguishing those conditions. Apoplexy, convulsions, tetanus, hydrophobia, were terms to each of which Isidore enabled them to attach a definite meaning. Plague, he says, when it attacks one man rapidly spreads to others. Chronic diseases are the subject of Chapter VII, and under this heading many symptoms such as cough, wasting, and dropsy

are described, as well as epilepsy, mania, melancholia, and paralysis. Phthisis is placed in relation to hæmoptysis. Gout and dysentery are defined. Chapter VIII describes baldness, leprosy, jaundice, cancer, ulceration, and scars as diseases of the surface of the body. Chapter IX is on treatment. There are, it says, three ways of cure—by diet, by drugs, and by surgery. Those things that are not affected by medicine must be cut out with the knife. The forms in which drugs may be administered are discussed, but no drugs are named. Chapter X mentions the kinds of medical treatises, Chapter XI tells a little about instruments, Chapter XII considers the use of ointments, and the last chapter contains a general discussion on the place of medicine in learning.

“Some ask,” says Isidore, “why the art of medicine is not included among the seven branches of a liberal education. It is because each of them contains but a single matter, while medicine includes all things. For the physician must know *Grammar* in order that he may be able to understand or set forth what he reads; *Rhetoric*, that he may explain by sound arguments that of which he treats; *Logic*, so that he by use of reasoning may discover the causes of diseases, and their cure; *Arithmetic*, on account of the calculation of hours in paroxysms, and in periods of the critical days; *Geometry*, on account of the characteristics of regions and the situations of places, in which he may teach what every

one ought to observe. *Music* ought not to be unknown to him, for there are, as we read, many things which may be done for sick men by music; as, for example, it is read of David that, by the art of melody, he snatched Saul from an evil spirit, and Asclepiades, the physician, restored a madman to health by harmony. Lastly, the physician ought to have a knowledge of *Astronomy*, by which the reckoning of the stars and changes of seasons are considered, for with the variations of these, as a certain physician says, our bodies are altered. Thus it is that medicine is called a second philosophy. Philosophy and medicine each lays claim for itself to the whole man."

This summary of the intellectual requirements of a physician concludes what Isidore has to say about medicine. His book shows how much of medicine the brethren of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth are likely to have known. Medicine, at the time of the foundation of St. Bartholomew's, and throughout the Middle Ages, was mainly acquired from books, and thus was open to all men who could read. The master and brethren had only an indistinct view of its connection with the natural sciences. The study of medicine as a natural science of vast extent in which the observation of phenomena is the basis of knowledge was not familiar to them. Yet so penetrating is the influence of that great teacher, the patient, that even in the twelfth century the observing habit

of the medical mind might probably have been detected in conversation with Stephen the master, or with Alan the priest, or with Vitalis and Lambert and Robert of Camberwell and the other brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

This chapter shows the state of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the time of the first Mayor of London. It was already beloved by the citizens, and known in some of the counties, and was in full practice of its works of mercy. The old benefactors and the early members of its staff should never be forgotten. They had their difficulties in the hospital and in life, their unsatisfied ambitions, their successes, their anxieties, of which we know nothing, but they have handed on the great gift of the hospital to the poor of London and to us, and so deserve perpetual remembrance by us and in London :

“ Their tears, their little triumphs o'er,
 Their human passions now no more,
 Save charity, that glows beyond the tomb.”

V

THE REIGN OF KING HENRY III



KING HENRY, the son of King John, was a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, both at the beginning and towards the end of his long reign. His first gift was made in his youth, a few months after he had been declared competent to rule in his own name. The record is in abbreviated Latin on one of the Close Rolls of his reign, a huge roll of parchment which has to be kept flat by weights as it is unrolled to be read. The first entry of the gift is on September 11, 1223, and there is a second entry,¹ in slightly different terms, in 1224²:—"The king to Engelard of Cicogny greeting. We command you to give to the patients of the hospital of St. Bartholomew in London, as our gift, one old oak in our forest of Windsor, on the Thames, with the least possible injury to our forest and the greatest usefulness to the aforesaid patients for their hearth."

¹ T. D. Hardy, "Rotuli Literarum Clausarum," vol. i. London, 1833, and original roll.

² The order in the second entry is addressed to the constable of Dover.

The sick men at that time had their beds in a single hall, on the hearth of which the oaks were burned. On wintry days, as the patients watched the cheerful fire and enjoyed its warmth, they must often have blessed King Henry the son of King John.

Five masters and one administrator presided over the hospital during his reign: HUGH, who became master in the reign of King John and died in 1223; MAURICE,¹ who was directed to administer the hospital by the king in April 1223; WILLIAM, master from 1224 to 1246; BARTHOLOMEW, master from 1246 to 1268; JOHN OF WALETON, who was master in February 1269 as well as for several years of the next reign; and JOHN OF EYSLEBURY, who was master in 1270.

HUGH was the successor of Brother Stephen in the mastership. He held office till 1223, and probably died on April 15 in that year. Hugh, a clerk of the hospital, is mentioned in a charter of the end of the reign of Richard I., of OSBERT THE CHAPLAIN,² who

¹ "Close Rolls," vol. i. p. 542.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Osbertus Cappellanus pro salute anime mee et animarum omnium fidelium dei defunctorum Dedi Concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis de Smethefelde et fratribus ibidem deo seruiantibus Ad sustentationem debiliu pauperum et infirmorum ibidem existentium quandam terram meam cum domibus superpositis et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis Que est in parochia Sancti sepulchri : que est opposita Ecclesie ex parte australi : Quam Yuo capellanus michi dedit. Que continet in longitudine a fronte que est ab oriente usque ad partem illam eiusdem terre que est ab occidente viginti ulnas et quinque pollices de ulnis ferreis Regis Ricardi : In latitudine in capite quod est ab oriente octo ulnas duobus pollicibus minus de eisdem ulnis ferreis : In latitudine in capite quod est ab occidente tresdecim ulnas et unum quarterium de eisdem ulnis : In latitudine in medio duodecim ulnas et unum quarterium scilicet quicquid ibidem habui in Longitudine in Latitudine in Lignis in Lapidibus et in Rebus cunctis :

grants in support of the weak poor and sick dwelling in the hospital, his land with houses on it in the parish of St. Sepulchre, opposite the church on the south, which Yvo the chaplain gave to him. This is the Yvo who was a witness of the somewhat later grant in the same parish to the Order of Sempringham. From east to west Osbert's land measured twenty ells and five thumbs of the iron ells of King Richard. The brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital were to have full and final possession of the land "saving a service of three shillings a year paid to the brethren of the Temple of Jerusalem by the hands of the brethren of the aforesaid hospital." The circular seal of Osbert is perfect, and bears an Agnus Dei supporting with one forefoot a cross-topped standard of three folds. The inscription is "Sigill. osberti capellani." The first three witnesses are chaplains of the hospital, Bartholomew, William, and Richard. They are followed by Joce son of Peter, then alderman of the ward, and after five

Habendam et Tenendam dictis fratribus in feodo et hereditate : Libere Quiete Integre finabiliter sine aliquo Retinemento : Saluo seruitio trium solidorum annuatim soluendorum fratribus templi ierosolimitani per manus fratrum dicti hospitalis ad duos terminos anni scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis decem et octo denarios et ad pascha decem et octo denarios. Ita scilicet quod nullus ex parte mea de cetero aliquid poterit nec debet in dicta terra nec in domibus superpositis nec in pertinentiis exigere nec habere nec clamare in perpetuum. Hanc uero donationem concessionem et presentis carte confirmationem Ego Osbertus Cappellanus dicto hospitali et fratribus contra omnes homines et feminas sicut meam liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam finabiliter warantizabo. In huius rei testimonio presentem cartam sigillo meo confirmaui. Hiis testibus Bartholomeo : Willelmo : Ricardo tunc capellanis dicti hospitalis : Jocio filio Petri tunc aldermanno : Bartholomeo filio Mazre : Johanne clerico filio Yuonis capellani : Waltero filio Algari : Hugone blundo : Ricardo le fundur : Willelmo et Hugone tunc clericis dicti Hospitalis.

other witnesses by "William and Hugh, then clerks of the aforesaid hospital."

It seems probable that this is the Hugh who was chosen as master after Brother Stephen. A charter of RICHARD SON OF PETER the shoemaker¹ is addressed to Hugh as minister and to the brethren. Minister, like prior, procurator, and custos, is a term sometimes applied to a master. The deed relates to the land which Osbert gave to the hospital in pure and perpetual alms, and mentions his charter: "Whence there was an arrangement between me and Hugh and the aforesaid brethren of the hospital in the court of the lords of the fee of the aforesaid land namely the brethren of the Temple." Richard granted to St. Bartholomew's Hospital all his rights in the land. The brethren gave him ten shillings sterling and agreed to pay a pound of cummin every year at Michaelmas. The

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Ricardus filius petri le corduaner dedi et concessi et quiete clamaui et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Hugoni Ministro Hospitalis sancti bartholomei et fratribus eiusdem domus totum ius et clamum quod habui in terra que fuit Osberti capellani: Quam idem Osbertus dedit hospitali sancti bartholomei in puram et perpetuam elemosinam que terra iacet versus austrum ante portam cimiterii sancti sepulchri. In longitudine et latitudine et in omnibus rebus secundum tenorem carte dicti Osberti facte predicto hospitali: Vnde placitum fuit inter me et predictum Hugonem et fratres predicti hospitalis in curia dominorum feodi predictae terre scilicet fratrum templi et pro hac donacione mea et Queta clamacione et carte mee confirmacione dederunt michi Hugo dictus et fratres predicti hospitalis decem solidos esterlingorum Reddendo annuatim michi et heredibus meis unam libram cimini scilicet ad festum sancti michaelis. Vnde Ego predictus Ricardus et heredes mei predictam terram predictis fratribus et eorum successoribus in perpetuum warrantizabimus fide et media et vt hec mea donacio et concessio et queta clamacio et carte mee confirmacio rata sit et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat sigilli mei aposicione hoc scriptum corroboraui. Hiis Testibus: fratre galfrido preceptore templi: Henrico filio Willelmi: Ricardo filio Johannis: Bartholomeo filio Mazre: Willelmo filio Radulfi: Willelmo fiteri: Willelmo de aundeli: luca clerico: Helia clerico: Luca le Mareschal: et Multis aliis.

circular seal bears an eagle looking to the right and the inscription "Sigill: Ricardi fil. Petri." The first witness is Brother Geoffrey, preceptor of the Temple, and the fourth is Bartholomew son of Mazre, whose name appears in the former charter. William Fiteri, the sixth witness, is the William of Vitry who owned land near the hospital, and the seventh witness is William of Andelys, a Norman. The great Château Gaillard, which has for seven centuries crowned the high land overlooking the Seine near Andelys, was not built in his childhood, but as a man he may have watched the rapid construction of its lofty walls and towers.

A charter of REGINALD SON OF RANULF,¹ confirming his grant of land in Freningham to the hospital, is witnessed by Hugh with three other priests of the hospital, and from the names of the witnesses and their order may be inferred to belong to an early year of the thirteenth century.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Reginaldus filius Ranulfi pro salute anime mee et salute animarum antecessorum meorum dedi et concessi et quiete clammaui et hac presenti Carta mea Confirmaui totam terram meam de freningham cum omnibus pertinentiis deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum apud smethefelde habendam et tenendam de me et de meis heredibus sibi et suis successoribus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam: In feodo et hereditate: Bene et in pace libere et quiete: Integre et finabiliter: Reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis dimidiam libram cimini ad Natale pro omni seruitio et consuetudine et Rebus cunctis ad me uel heredes meos pertinentibus. saluo forinseco seruitio domini Regis et Cantuariensis archiepiscopi cum euenerit. Et Sciendum est quod ego predictus Reginaldus et heredes mei predicti prescriptis fratribus et suis successoribus totam terram prefatam Contra omnes homines et feminas Warantizabimus per predictum seruitium in perpetuum. Et pro hac donatione et confirmatione et warantizatione dederunt michi predicti fratres tres solidos in gersumam. Hiis Testibus: Hugone: Bartholomeo: Willelmo: Johanne sacerdotibus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei: Constantino filio alulfi: et Constantino iuene: Serlone le mercer: Johanne de mares: et Rogero de aukemerer: Henrico persona de orpintune: et multis aliis.

These charters seem to justify the opinion that Hugh was a member of the foundation, and was in priest's orders. The day of Hugh's death¹ was most likely taken by John Cok from the Hospital Martyrology, where it was written in the calendar, so that he might be duly remembered on his anniversary. Numerous documents of Hugh's mastership prove that his period was the end of the reign of John, and the first seven years of Henry III.

The chronicles which relate the events of this period in England present to the mind a picture of tyranny, civil war and foreign invasion, but the charters of gifts to St. Bartholomew's, and the records of its legal affairs, show that agreements were made between citizens, land and houses bought and leased, handicrafts pursued and general business peacefully transacted, while the storms of war and of political strife raged with varying force now in this and now in that part of the realm. Here and there the presence of war or the results of tumult may be traced among words referring to charity and to prayer, to the exercise of established rights, to the legal assemblies of citizens, to buying and selling.

London was for more than a year in the hands of

¹ Hugo capellanus procurator Primus magister capellanorum qui obiit quinto decimo die mensis Aprilis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 62. No year is given.

He is placed by John Cok the writer of the Cartulary in the list of masters after Stephen and before Alan. This error was due to the fact, easily traced in the charters, that his transactions succeeded those of a Brother Stephen of the reign of John, whom Cok did not distinguish from the earlier Stephen of the reign of Henry II.

Louis of France, who entered the city on June 2, 1216. He was received as a friend by many of the inhabitants, both ecclesiastics and laymen. This feeling was afterwards strengthened by his successes, the capture of Winchester and Worcester and of the Tower of London, and later, of Hertford and of the castles of Hedingham and Orford, Colchester and Norwich. The Londoners, or a large number of them, seem to have been on his side during his whole stay in England, and after his departure in 1217 a party in his favour remained in the city.

An indication of the political events of this time is contained in the charter of JULIANA,¹ relict of Alan Balun, which grants to the hospital four shillings of quit-rent from a shop opposite the church of St. Michael Queenhithe next the Thames, which shop her husband Alan had given to the hospital. Juliana declares that she has affixed her seal on the Nativity of St. John

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Juliana Relicta Alani Balun in mea uiduitate et libera potestate Dedi et concessi et quiete clamaui et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui Deo et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smetefeld quatuor solidatos quieti redditus de quadam sopa que est opposita ecclesie Sancti Michaelis iuxta Ripam Regine ex parte thamisie : quam quidem sopam predictus Alanus dedit prefato hospitali habendam et tenendam predictis fratribus libere quiete integre finabiliter in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Ego siquid Juliana omne ius quod in illa sops habui eisdem fratribus ita quiete clamaui vt nec ego Juliana nec aliquis alius pro me uel per me aliquid ius in illa sops decetero uendicem uel uendicare possim. Quia uero nolo ut ista mea donatio concessio quieta clamatio rata sit et inconcussa sigilli mei appositione post primum aduentum Domini Ludouici primogeniti Regis Francie in Angliam ad Natiuitatem Sancti Johannis Baptiste proximo sequentem in presentem paginam corroborauit. Pro hac autem donatione et concessione et quieta clamatione dederunt michi predicti fratres unam marcam argenti. His testibus : Bartholomeo ; Thoma ; Willelmo ; tunc capellanus eiusdem hospitalis : Constantino filio Alulfi : Ernaldo ruffo : Constantino Juuene. *Michaelis* de sancta Helena. *Johanne* Herlicun : *Johanne* viel : *Johanne* de ualencins.

the Baptist next after the first coming of Lord Louis, the eldest son of the King of France, into England. The brethren gave her, for this concession, a mark of silver. The impression of her oval seal made on a heavy piece of wax, on June 24, 1216, bears a fleur-de-lys and the legend "Sigill. Iuliane uxoris Alani." The first three witnesses are chaplains of the hospital. The next three, Constantine son of Alulf, Ernald, and young Constantine, were supporters of the French interest in London, and it seems likely that the other witnesses, all prominent men, were of the same political party. In a deed of sale of the year 1203, Alan of Balon is the thirteenth witness.¹ The charter of Juliana shows that he was no longer alive on June 24, 1216. A settlement of ALAN'S² on his wife Juliana,

¹ The first witnesses are Henry, Mayor of London; Thomas of Haverill, and Hamo Brant, sheriffs. Ninth Report, p. 8 b.

² Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Alanus de Baalon Dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Juliane uxori mee pro seruiicio suo totam terram et Managium cum omnibus pertinenciis suis quod est in Parochia Ecclesie Sancte Marie que uocatur Sumer-sete chirche: inter terram Mainardi cum barba uersus occidentem et terram Rogeri pentecost' uersus orientem: Scilicet quicquid in predicta Terra et Managio habui in longitudine et latitudine in lignis et lapidibus et in rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis integre post obitum meum. Habendam et tenendam dicte Juliane et cuiunque dare uel dimittere uel assignare [*uoluerit*] et heredibus suis: In feodo et hereditate libere quiete bene et in pace integre et finabiliter. Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruiicio et exaccione et rebus cunctis dimidiam libram Cymini uel vnum denarium: Infra octauas Natiuitatis sancti Johannis baptiste sine omni occasione. Et sciendum quod Ego Alanus et heredes mei nullo modo poterimus nec debemus predictam Julianam nec eius assignatum nec heredes suos de predicta terra nec managio nec pertinenciis deospitari: Causa me uel heredes meos uel aliquem hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi. Nec amplius inde exigere nec habere nec clamare debemus quam predictam dimidiam libram Cymini uel vnum denarium per annum termino statuto. Hanc autem terram predictam et managium cum omnibus pertinenciis suis integre: Ego Alanus et heredes mei predictae Juliane et cuiunque dare uel dimittere uel assignare uoluerit et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas finabiliter debemus warrantizare et

grants to her land and a house in the parish of St. Mary Somerset between the land of Mainard with the beard on the west and that of Roger Pentecost on the east. The land is to pay him half a pound of cummin or a penny a year.

The deed was executed "in the church of St. Nicholas before the gate of the abbey of Abingdon," probably on their wedding day.

Juliana's own charter refers to the beginning of the invasion of Louis; and an event which happened towards the end of his stay in England is mentioned in an agreement between HUGH,¹ the master of the

aquietare per predictum seruicium dimidie libre Cymini uel vnus denarii per annum termino statuto. Ut autem hec mea Donacio et Concessio et Warantisacio et Aquietacio et presentis carte mee confirmacio perpetuam firmitatem obtineat presens scriptum sigillo meo confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Roberto filio pagani: Andrea de Scakario: Galfrido de Cornhull: Henrico uinitore: Willelmo filio Andree: Roberto fratre eius: Waltero filio Petri: Turber gule: Alano gule: et multis aliis. Actum in ecclesia Sancti Nicholai. Ante portam Abbacie de Abindona.

A small circular seal is attached on a vellum tag. The centre is occupied by a head rudely drawn in straight lines, and with a legend in letters of unequal size "Al. de Balun."

¹ Hec est conuentio facta inter Hugonem capellanum procuratorem Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde de Londoniis et fratres ibidem deo seruientes ex vna parte et Reginaldum capellanum filium Henrici le Perer ex alia parte Videlicet quod idem Reginaldus concessit et dimisit Hugoni Capellano et dictis fratribus quoddam managium suum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis quod est in parochia sancti martini apud Ludgate scilicet illud managium quod est inter terram Ricardi de Egesham versus orientem et quoddam managium versus occidentem quod Serlo le calecier aliquando tenuit. Habendum et tenendum Hugoni capellano et dictis fratribus a festo sancti Michaelis proximo post mortem Comitum de Perche apud Lincolniam vsque in octo annos sequentes bene in pace libere quiete integre. Saluo seruitio dimidie marce annuatim soluende per manus dictorum fratrum dominis feodi Hospitalis Sancti Egidii quatuor terminis anni, sine omni occasione. Et sciendum est quod Hugo capellanus et dicti fratres debent prenominatum managium a vento et a pluvia defendere. Et si cameram vel aliquid aliud nouum superedificauerint: In fine huius conuentionis complete illud asportabunt: Nisi dictus Reginaldus vel suus assignatus illud secundum consuetudinem Ciuitatis emere voluerit. Peractis vero octo annis predictum managium cum pertinentiis dicto Reginaldo vel suo assignato solutum et

hospital, and Reginald, the chaplain, son of Henry le Perer. In this document Reginald grants to Hugh his house with all its belongings in the parish of St. Martin at Ludgate, the house, namely, between the land of Richard of Egesham on the east, and a house sometime occupied by Serlo le Calecier, on the west. The brethren of St. Bartholomew's are to pay half a mark a year to the lords of the fee, the hospital of St. Giles. Hugh and the brethren moreover are to keep the house secure from wind and rain, and if they build a room or anything new on it they are to take it away at the end of the term of eight years of the agreement unless Reginald chooses to buy it in accordance with the custom of the city. After the eight years, the property is to revert to Reginald for his

quietum tota vita eiusdem *Reginaldi* remanebit salvo tamen seruitio xii denariorum quod dictus *Reginaldus* vel suus assignatus quamdiv idem *Reginaldus* vixerit dicto Hospitali annuatim de dicto Managio facere debet. Et nisi ipse *Reginaldus* vel suus assignatus quolibet anno infra terminum prenominatum xii denarios dicto Hospitali persoluerit: Hugo capellanus et dicti fratres predictum Managium cum pertinentiis toto Nono Anno proximo sequente octo Annos predictos habebunt et tenebunt Quietate et Integre vt dictum est. Hugo siquidem capellanus et dicti fratres in pleno capitulo fideliter promiserunt quod non querent artem nec ingenium vnde dictus *Reginaldus* in vita sua de predicto managio sit elongatus: Idem igitur *Reginaldus* hanc conuentionem fideliter esse tenendam ex parte sua in verbo Domini promisit et dictum managium vsque ad finem huius conuentionis complete dictis fratribus contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabit. Pro hac autem conuentione firmiter tenenda Hugo capellanus et dicti fratres dicto *Reginaldo* sex marcas sterlingorum pre manibus pacauerunt Et in huius rei testimonium scriptum est Cyrographum in duas partes diuisum Quarum una pars Sigillo dicti Hospitalis signata penes dictum *Reginaldum* remansit. Altera vero penes dictos fratres est Cui sigillum eiusdem *Reginaldi* est appensum. Hiis Testibus Magistro Waltero de Londoniis: Magistro Geruasio de Hobrugg: Domino Henrico capellano de Sancto Paulo: Radulfo capellano Sancti Pauli: Magistro Osmundo capellano: Jocio filio Petri tunc Aldermanno: Constatino Iuvene: Pentecoste aurifabro: Ricardo clerico: Michaeli clerico: Willemo le cyeis: Willemo plummario: Waltero filio Algari: Hugone clerico: Alexandro monacho: Ricardo clerico.

life. Reginald is to pay twelve pence a year to Hugh, and if he fails to do this in any year the brethren are to hold the house for a ninth year. Hugh and the brethren pay Reginald six marks sterling for the agreement. One part of the chirograph is to remain in the hospital, the other with Reginald.

The house is to be held, says the chirograph, "by Hugh the chaplain and the said brethren from the feast of St. Michael next after the death of the Count of Perche at Lincoln for eight years following." In November 1216, Louis had captured the Tower of London, and held other castles throughout the country. His army occupied the city of Lincoln, but Nichola of Camville held the castle for King Henry. William the Marshal, regent of England, marched to its relief, and the French were routed. Matthew Paris, whose sympathies were with Henry III and against the French, describes the battle. The army of the king had broken down the gates and was fighting in the streets of the city. "They rushed in close ranks upon the Count of Perche," says the historian,¹ "surrounding him on all sides, and the weight of the fighting was turned against him. At last when he could not bear up against the force of those rushing upon him they urged him to retreat so that he might escape alive, but he with a frightful oath swore that he would never yield to any Englishman and that they were all traitors

¹ Matthew Paris (ed. Wats), 1644, p. 205.

to their king. On this one of the king's side rushed upon him and wounded him mortally through the eye-piece of his helmet."

The last words of the Count of Perche bring to mind those of Earl Percy at Chevy Chace,

"I will not yeele to any Scott that ever yett was borne,"

and show that the invasion of Louis had some effect in rousing English national spirit, since such feelings as the Count's always excite similar emotions in opposition to them.

The death of this potent French lord, whose personal appearance was probably known to the Londoners, was looked on as a great event of the time. The account of it given in French in the metrical history of William le Marechal¹ is probably that which the marshal's household had heard from his own lips. The poem relates that the marshal seized the reins of the Count's horse; but at this time he had already received his mortal wound by a sword thrust through his vizor by Sire Reinal Croc, yet had strength to raise his sword with both hands and to strike three blows which dented the marshal's helmet. Then the Count fell off his horse. The marshal ordered William de Montigni to loosen his helmet; and it was seen that he was dead.

The tomb of William le Marechal, the eye-witness of the death of the Count of Perche from the Michaelmas

¹ Paul Meyer, "L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal."

after which Hugh's lease was to begin its eight years, is to be seen to this day in the Temple Church. The grave aspect of the aged man in chain mail well represents the steadfast character of the marshal. The round part of the church itself with its ornate doorway was one of the great buildings outside the wall of London in Hugh's time, and was no doubt well known to him. The written agreement between Hugh and Reginald son of Henry le Perer, and the church of the Temple both remain where they were in the time of Hugh the master.

The same REGINALD THE CHAPLAIN¹ granted in pure and perpetual alms to St. Bartholomew's Hospital twelve pennyworths of quit-rent from his land and the houses on it in the parish of St. Martin at Ludgate between the land of Richard of Egesham on the east and that of Michael of St. Helena on the west.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Reginaldus Capellanus filius Henrici le Perer Dedi : Concessi et presenti Carta mea confirmaui deo et beate Marie et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld' de Londoniis: In liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute animarum patris mei et Matris mee et pro salute anime mee et Omnium fidelium defunctorum Duodecim denariatas quieti redditus de terra mea et de domibus superpositis que est in parochia sancti Martini apud Ludgate Que iacet inter terram Ricardi Degesham versus Orientem et terram Michaelis de Sancta Helena versus Occidentem. Habendas et recipiendas dictis fratribus et successoribus suis annuatim omni tempore vite mee de me vel de assignato meo aut tenente super dictam terram manente duobus terminis anni Scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis sex denarios et ad Pascha sex denarios. [*Provision in case of non-payment*] Ego etiam Reginaldus Dedi et Concessi quod dicta terra cum domibus et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis post obitum meum integre et finabiliter Remaneat dictis fratribus — saluo seruitio duodecim solidorum et viii denariorum annuatim soluendorum per manus dictorum fratrum capitalibus dominis feodi hospitalis sancti Egidii quatuor terminis anni [*days: clause against incumbrance or sale by Reginald*] Si uero necessitate coactum me oportuerit pro meo negotio dictam terram in vita me vendere uel invadiare Dicti fratres propiores erunt Omnibus Aliis uno bizantio auri: [*confirmation clause*—eam sigilli mei appositione Roborauit. Hiis testibus [*as in former deed on pp. 292, 293, except that the last is*] Ricardo clerico filio Algari.

The first two witnesses in this document and in the agreement between Hugh and Reginald are members of the chapter of St. Paul's, Walter of London and Gervase of Hobbrugge. The latter was deposed,¹ soon after his election as dean, by the Papal legate as a schismatic. Gervase had persisted in supporting Louis of France in London in spite of that prince's excommunication by the Pope after the submission of John. The fine circular seal of Reginald remains bearing a double-headed eagle and the legend "Sigill. Reginaldi capellani fil. Henrici Per."

A second charter of REGINALD² has the same seal. It grants to the hospital for the support of the feeble, poor, and sick there living all his land, with the houses

¹ Le Neve, vol. ii. p. 308, quoting *Annal. de Dunstaple*.

² *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Reginaldus Capellanus filius Henrici le Perer caritatis intuitu et pro salute animarum patris mei et Matris mee et pro salute anime mee et pro salute omnium antecessorum meorum Dedi Concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et beate Marie et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smetefeld' Ad sustentationem debilium pauperum et infirmorum ibidem existentium: In liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam Totam terram meam cum domibus superpositis et omnibus pertinentiis suis; Que est in parochia Sancti Martini de Ludgate que iacet inter terram Ricardi de Egesham versus orientem et inter terram Michaelis de Sca. Helena versus occidentem videlicet unum managium cum omnibus pertinentiis quod Serlo le calicer aliquando tenuit et aliud managium cum omnibus pertinenciis quod Osbertus le Plummer aliquando tenuit: scilicet quicquid ibidem Habui in longitudine et latitudine in lignis lapidibus et in Rebus cunctis Habendam et tenendam eisdem fratribus dicti Hospitalis de me et de heredibus meis libere quiete integre honorifice in feodo et hereditate finabiliter saluo seruitio dominorum feodi Hospitalis Sti. Egidii Scilicet duodecim solidis et octo denariis annuatim soluendis hospitali Sci. Egidii ad quatuor terminos anni per manus dictorum fratrum scilicet . . . Et sciendum est quod nec ego Reginaldus capellanus filius Henrici le Perer nec aliquis alius per me vel pro me possum uel debeo aliquid decetero habere uel exigere uel clamare in predicta terra saluo seruitio dominorum feodi [*final warranty*]
—eam sigilli mei appositione corroborauit: Hiis testibus Magistro Geruasio de Hobrige: Willemo fratre eius: Magistro Roberto de Meaus: Henrico de bracino Canonico Sancti Pauli: Benedicto le seinter tunc vicecomite: Jocio filio petri tunc Aldermanno: Constantino filio Alulfi: Ernaldo ruffo: Constantino iuvene: Hamone famulo sancti pauli: Osberto le plummer: Hugone tunc clerico Hospitalis.*

upon it, in the parish of St. Martin of Ludgate, namely a house sometime occupied by Serlo le calicer and another which Osbert le plumber sometime held, saving always the service of the lords of the fee (the hospital of St. Giles) of twelve shillings and eight pence a year. Gervase of Hobrugge and his brother William are the two first witnesses. The last witness is Hugh, then clerk of the hospital, and as there is no other hospital witness this may be assumed to be the master.

The year of this charter is 1217, and with the two preceding ones it must have been sealed between the end of May 1217 and Michaelmas Day 1217, when Benedict the bellfounder was succeeded as sheriff by Ralph Elinant and Thomas Bukerel. Peace was declared on September 11, and Louis swore upon the gospels that he would at once leave the realm. From the benefits of this peace were excepted, says Matthew Paris, bishops, abbots, secular canons, and many clerks who had sided with Louis and the barons, and especially Master Simon of Langton and Master Gervase of Hobrugge, who were deprived of all benefices by the legate and compelled to go to Rome.¹

A party in favour of the King of France nevertheless remained in the city, and to this Constantine son of Alulf, Ernulf his brother, and Constantine their nephew belonged. They are witnesses, generally in this order, to a great many of the charters of St.

¹ Matthew Paris (ed. Wats), p. 207.

Bartholomew's, St. Paul's, St. Mary of Clerkenwell and other foundations. Constantine was sheriff in 1197, and was at one time an alderman.¹ Constantine himself and his sister Alice were both benefactors of St. Bartholomew's.

Constantine² gave twenty shillings of annual quit-rent from his land on the Thames opposite the church of All Saints upon the Cellar (afterwards called All Hallows the Less), and Alicia daughter of Alulf son of Fromund and wife of Richard of Heregyrd, Justiciar of the King of England, gave four shillings of annual quit-rent from the land held by Osbert the smith in the parish of Berkingcherche (All Hallows Barking). Her grant³ is witnessed by Richard of

¹ Charter of John son of Baldwin of land in the parishes of St. Mary le Bow and St. Mary Aldermary witnessed "Constantino filio Alulfi tunc Aldermanno."—*Cartulary of St. Mary of Clerkenwell*, f. 73b.

² Notum sit omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis quod ego Constantinus filius Alulfi dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et Sancte Marie et hospitali Sancti Bartholomei et fratribus ibidem Deo seruientibus pro saluatione anime mee et Katerine vxoris mee et puerorum nostrorum et patris et matris et omniū antecessorum nostrorum et successorum in puram et perpetuam Elemosinam viginti solidatas quieti redditus annuatim ad sustentacionem cuiusdam sacerdotis qui celebret ter in ebdomada pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum: videlicet de terra mea super tamisiam videlicet de illa terra que iacet ante ecclesiam omnium sanctorum super celarium recepturos per manus: eandem terram tenentium habendos et tenendos libere et quiete et integre sicut aliqua elemosina plenius et melius et liberius ex donacione alicuius uiri teneri poterit recepturos. Annuatim per manus eandem terram tenencium ad quatuor terminos anni videlicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis quinque solidos [sic]. Et ego vero predictus Constantinus vel heredes mei warrantizabimus predictos viginti solidos redditus predictae domui firmiter contra omnes homines et feminas Quia uolo quod hec mea donacio firma et stabilis permaneat in perpetuum presens scriptum sigilli mei appositione confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Geruasio sacerdote: Henrico de Sancta helena: Martino de limoges: Ricardo de parmo qui hanc cartam scripsit et aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 254a.

³ The grant is in the usual terms: the following are the chief points:—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Alicia filia Alulfi filii Fromundi de London dedi—hospitali Sancti Bartholomei—quatuor solidatas quieti redditus de terra quam Osbertus faber tenuit in

Heregird her husband, Constantine and Ernald her brothers, and Constantine her son.

A family tree of some of the descendants of Fromund may be constructed from a series of charters beginning with one in the Cartulary of St. Mary of Clerkenwell in which four sons of Alulf¹ grant to the nuns the stone house and land of their father in the parish of All Hallows, Bread Street. These sons were Constantine, Fromund, Adam,² and Arnold (also written Ernulf and Arnulph). Alulf son of Alulf and William his brother are witnesses of a charter of STEPHEN OF BARKING³

parochia de Berkingecherche tempore Ricardi de Heregyrd uiri mei tunc tempore Domini regis justiciarii.—Hiis testibus Ricardo de Heregird uiro meo : Constantino et Ernaldo fratribus meis : Constantino filio meo : Matheo de Valencinis et magistro Symone fratribus et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 365a.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Constantinus et Fromundus : Adam et Arnold filii Alulfi filii Fromundi concessimus et hac presenti Carta nostra confirmauimus deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de clerkenewelle et monialibus Ibidem deo seruientibus pro anima patris nostri et pro salute anime nostre et heredum nostrorum terram que proxima est domu que fuit Radulfi de quatremares uersus Thamiseam In parochia omnium sanctorum de Bredestrete cum domo lapidea mea edificata quam uidelicet domum et terram pater noster Alulfus dedit et concessit predictis monialibus pro salute anime sue et uxoris sue et heredum suorum sicut emptionem suam et perquisitionem et eis Inde In pleno hustingo saisiuit. Habendam et Tenendam libere et quiete, bene et In pace et honorifice finabiliter saluo seruicio dominorum feodi illius scilicet Duos solidos et sex denarios persoluendos annuatim conuentui Westmonasterii. Et nos etiam eas Inde In pleno hustengo saisiuimus. Et ut hec concessio et Carte nostre confirmatio Rata et Inconcussa permaneat eam Sigillorum nostrorum appositione muniuimus. Hiis testibus: Domino Rogero filio Reinfrei: Henrico filio eius: Ricardo de Herierda: Roberto filio Nigelli: Rogero filio alani: Henrico foliot: Rogero duc: Galfrido Blund: Petro filio Newelun: Ricardo, Radulfo, Arnoldo, Geocelino capellanis.—*Cartulary of St. Mary's Clerkenwell*, f. 71a.

This is the Ralph of Quatremares whose grant to the hospital has been mentioned. His origin was probably the village of Quatremares, near Louviers. The rights of Westminster Abbey in this part of London have been already mentioned. Richard of Herierda is probably the husband of Alicia, sister of the sons of Alulf.

² Walter Bruning held land of Adam son of Alulf in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene in the Fishmarket. See Charter of Jordan the draper, p. 266.

³ Stephen of Berkinge grants to Roger Palmer land in the parish of St. Michael Woodstreet which he held of the Bishop of Ely for two and a half marks of silver a

at St. Paul's, and a charter, also there, of RALPH OF CORNHILL,¹ is witnessed by William son of Alulf, followed by Constantine son of Alulph and Arnulf his brother. Alulf son of Alulf and William son of Alulf do not appear in most of the charters witnessed by Constantine and his brother Ernulf.

Two charters of JORDAN PEVERELL,² one of STEPHEN year. Roger gave to Stephen one mark of silver and to Dionysia his wife one talent of gold "in gersumam."

Hiis testibus: Henrico sacerdote de sco. michaeli: Willelmo de Hauerill aldermanno eiusdem custode et [misprinted J. in Ninth Report, p. 21 b] sokireue eiusdem tenementi: Roberto de Turneham: Roberto brun: Goduino mercerio: Roberto de Woburne: Rogero de desertis: Roberto aurifabro: Rogero de Tyele: Reinerio cusin: Alrico de hese: Gileberto filio Martini: Symone de Aldermanburi: Bernardo taillur: Willelmo nepote: Ricardo de Baille: Andrea blund: Toma de Terefeld: Terric Bette: Alulfo filio Fromundi: Nicolao taillard: Toma de Hauerill: Ricardo et Willelmo fratribus suis: Radulfo Flaell: Alulfo filio Alulfi et Willelmo fratre suo: Normanno mercerio: Daniele: Laurencio filio Gregorii: Gregorio filio matilde: Symone de Muaford: Roberto de Castello: Geruasio filio Willelmi: Symone turte: Henrico ruffo: Willelmo de Sturteuille: et pluribus aliis. (St. Paul's MSS., A: box 20, 1528.)

¹ Radulfus de Cornhullia grants to John de Sancto Laurentio all the land he holds of Robert Camerarius in Alsies Lane for half a mark of silver.

His Testibus: Osberto filio Heruei: Ricardo de Heriet: Henrico filio Ailwini maior Londoniarum: Philippo filio Roberti: Roberto fratre eius: Rogero filio Alani: Alano filio Petri: Jordano de Turri: Johanne filio Herlizon: Willelmo filio Alulfi: Constantino filio Alulphi: Arnulfo fratre eius: Guidone de Vou: Gaufrido blundo: Willelmo de sancto Michaeli: Willelmo filio sabeline: Henrico filio Reineri: Roberto filio Brictricii: Rannulfo thesaurario sarisburie: Symone de Camera: Eustachio mercerio: Petro clerico: Symone de Andiuilla: Henrico seruiente Johannis: Johanne clerico. (St. Paul's MSS., A: box 9, 456.) The large circular seal of Ralph of Cornhill remains, though somewhat broken. It bears his figure on horseback with a floreate pattern on the area beneath the horse. The seal is of yellow partly translucent wax and is attached by a double twisted cord.

² (a) Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Jordanus peuerellus filius Willelmi peuerelli Concessi et dimisi et presenti Carta mea confirmaui Ade filio Alulfi filii Fromundi Et Agneti uxori sue Totam terram meam quam habui in Wudestrata in parochia sancti Albani Quam uidelicet terram Edwardus Chinchier de me tenuit que etiam terra est iuxta terram quam Symon Wederoc tenuit de Willelmo de Blemon^t uersus partem australem — reddendo inde annuatim mihi — decem et octo denarios — Pro hac autem concessione — dedit michi predictus Adam Quinque Marcas Argenti in Gersumam Et Agnes uxor eius similis donauit michi Quinque Marcas Argenti in Gersumam. Testibus hiis Johanne Bocu^{inte} filio Gaufridi Bocu^{inte}: Willelmo de Blemon^t: Johanne de Rothomago: Roberto de Woburna: Jacobo draperio: Auenell: Ricardo kic: Rogero fratre

master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital,¹ three of
ARNULF SON OF ALULF,² and one of RICHARD,

suo: Ricario draperio: Willelmo filio Willelmi de Rothomago: Henrico de Blemont': Terrico de Blemont': Laurentio parmentario: Willelmo de Sancto Edmundo: Henrico monacho: Rogero de Blangere: Willelmo rustico: Edwardo clerico: Johanne nigro: Gilleberto draperio Et quampuluribus aliis.

The seal of Jordan Peuerell remains attached upon a double cord. It is circular and bears a lion passant within a border of a single line with the inscription "SIGILL: JORDANI PEVERELL."

ΚΩΗΛΥΡΑΘΟΥΡΗΘ

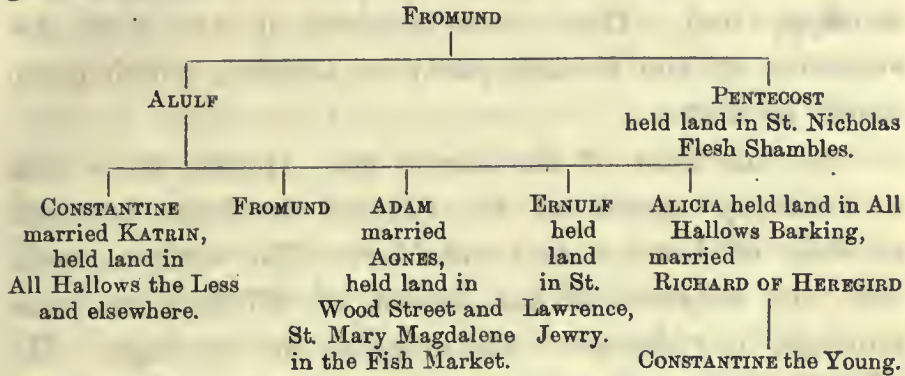
(b) Sciant presentes et futuri quod Hec est Conuentio Inter Jordanum Peuerellum filium Willelmi Peuerelli et Adam filium Alulfi filii Fromundi et Agnetem uxorem eiusdem Si contigerit quod terrā quam idem Adam et Agnes uxor sua tenent in feodo et hereditate de eodem Jordano in Wudestrata in parochia Sancti Albani uidelicet iuxta terram quam Symon Wedercoc tenuit de Willelmo de Blemont' uersus partem australem, sit deuastata per ignem siue per aliquod aliud infortunium quod non ualeat predictis Ade et agneti uxori sue et heredibus suis annuatim viii solidos et sex denarios si quid de illis viii sol. et vi denar. annuatim defecerit restituatur illis de xviii denar. redditu quem annuatim reddere debent de eadem terra predicto Jordano siue heredibus suis. Si uero redditus xviii denar. non sufficiat ad predictos xviii solidos et Sex denarios perficiendos quicquid inde defecerit prenominatus Jordanus siue heredes sui perficient predictis Ade et Agneti sue uel heredibus suis de Soppa sua que est in piscaria opposita Ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene. Hanc autem Conuentionem affidauit predictus Johannes fideliter tenendam prenominatis Ade et Agneti et heredibus suis. Testibus Johanne Bocuinte: Willelmo de Blemonte: Guydone de Lymogiis: Constantino filio Alulfi: Johanne de Rothomago: Terrico de Blemonte: Edwardo Cinchier: Johanne Luuell: Jacobo draperio: Roberto de Wuburna: Auenell: Edwardo Clerico.

The seal of Jordan Peuerell is attached by a vellum tag. This agreement may perhaps be regarded as a very early form of insurance against fire.

¹ Grant to Richard son of Robert of land between that of Pentecost son of Fromund and that of Hugh le scaldur in the parish of St. Nicholas Flesh-shambles. (St. Paul's MSS., A: box 21, 396.)

² (a) Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Arnulfus filius Alulfi Concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico palmerio et Ssilde uxori sue Totam illum terram meam in parochia Sancti Nicholai apud Macellum que est inter terram Walteri Nepotis Henrici filii Episcopi et terram monialium de Clerkenwelle super quam terram Eulardus Melgucer mansit. Scilicet quicquid ibidem habui in longitudine et latitudine. Habendam et tenendam illi et heredibus suis de me et de heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre finabiliter. Reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et pro omnibus rebus Decem solidos Duobus terminis anni scilicet infra octabas Pasche v solidos et infra viii dies sancti Michaelis v solidos sine omni occasione. Preterea autem sciendum est quod Ego Arnulfus prefatus siue heredes mei nullatenus poterimus debospitari predictos Henricum Saldam siue suos heredes causa me uel heredes meos hospitandi. Item, Idem H. uel S. uxor eius uel heredes eorum non poterunt detrescere terram meam predictam causa alicuius hominis feodum sugendi. Hanc autem terram prefatam ego Arnulfus prefatus heredesque mei warrantizabimus

prior of Holy Trinity,¹ complete the sources of the genealogy.



FROMUND an alderman witnesses a charter of Reiner son of Berenger, *vid.* p. 264, early in the reign of Henry II. Alulf and William were perhaps elder brothers of Constantine.

eisdem H. Sailde herédibusque suis contra omnes Homines et feminas per predictum seruicium. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione et warantisione et presentis carte méé confirmatione prefatus Henricus donauit michi dimidiam marcem argenti in Gersumam. Et prefata Silda donauit michi dimidiam marcem argenti in Gersumam. Testibus Ricardo de Sancto Johanne: Thoma capellano sancti Nicholai: Constantino filio Alulfi: Adamo fratre eiusdem: Reginaldo aurifabro: Pentecoste filio Fromundi: Stephano aurifabro: Waltero Nepote Henrici Maino: Herberto soucer: Willelmo cormangero: Waltero piscario: Ricardo carnifice: Roberto de Edelmetona: Eustachio filio Walteri.

The seal remains upon a vellum tag. It is circular, and has a broad border, inside which is an oval classical gem of a female head. The legend is "SIGILL ERNULFI FILI AL."

(b) Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Arnulphus filius Alulphi civis Londoniarum Salutem in domino. Cum constet michi quod dominus prior et conuentus sancte Trinitatis Londoniarum uendiderunt extra se in perpetuum magistro Johanni Romano canonico Eboracensi decem solidatas redditus de terra cum domibus que fuit Willelmi de Wrotham prope bracinum sancti Pauli London' quas decem solidatas redditus ego predictus Alulphus eidem reddere consueui: remitto eidem Johanni et heredibus siue assignatis suis pro me et heredibus meis decem solidatas redditus quas J. de R. siue assignatis eius michi annuatim reddere consueuit secundum tenorem carte note inter me et ipsum magistrum Johannem in huius rei testimonium presentes literatas sigillo meo Roborare dignum duxi. Valet. (St. Paul's MSS., A: box 24, 714.)

The circular seal of Arnulph in white wax is attached: a somewhat worn impression of the same seal as that of his grant to Henry Palmer.

(c) Arnulphus filius Alulfi grants land with buildings upon it in the parish of St. Benedict versus Tamisiam (Paul's wharf) to Master John the Roman, caupon of York. (St. Paul's MSS., A: box 4, 273.)

¹ Ricardus prior et conuentus sancte Trinitatis Londoniarum dilectis sibi in Christo

It seems right to collect all memorials of a family of benefactors which arbitrary power brought to an unhappy end. They were involved in the final destruction of the French party in London, which came about in 1222.

On the feast of St. James the Apostle there was a wrestling match at St. Giles-in-the-fields between citizens of London and outsiders. The citizens won, and the steward of the Abbot of Westminster was amongst the defeated and longed for revenge. He offered a ram as prize on the day of St. Peter ad vincula, and a second match took place. The sports ended in a riot, and the strong men he had collected drove the Londoners in confusion and with bloodshed into the city. The city bell was rung, and in the presence of the Mayor, Serlo the mercer, a public meeting of the citizens was held. Serlo advised that the matter should be settled by obtaining compensation from the abbot, but Constantine son of Alulf urged the citizens to go and destroy the buildings of the abbot and the house of his steward, and this proposal was carried. The buildings were probably those on the abbey property near Cheapside. The crowd rushed off to the attack, and amid the tumult Constantine cried out "Montjoie," "Montjoie," which was the war-

heredibus Johannis de Wortham et domino Arnulpho filio Alulphi-cui Londoniarium salutem in domino. The prior sells ten shillings of quit-rent to Master John of Rome, canon of York. (St. Paul's MSS., A: box 24, 713.)

cry of the King of France, "May the Lord give aid and our Lord Louis." This shout enraged the king's friends, and a report of the affair came to Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar of England. He sent into the city and commanded the presence of its seniors. When they came before him he asked who dared to break the king's peace. Then Constantine, and here Matthew Paris cannot forbear a pun, "qui constans fuit in seditione, constantior autem in responsione," said that his faction had just cause and that they had done no more than what was right. He relied on the oaths of Henry and of Louis, sworn when Louis left England in 1217, that no partisan of either should be hurt for his partisanship. Hubert detained Constantine in the Tower,¹ as well as a certain Geoffrey and the young Constantine.

¹ Constantine's grant to St. Bartholomew's is witnessed only by Gervase a priest, by two citizens and by its scribe. The absence of the usual witnesses of his time and with whom his name so often appears in charters suggests some unusual circumstance in the time of granting this charter, which provides for a mass to be said thrice a week for the salvation of the souls of Constantine, of his wife and family. Is it possible that he made this grant in the Tower on the anxious night in August which preceded his execution? He did not know of his approaching death, but must have been in a state of apprehension.

Henry of St. Helena, one of the citizens who witnessed Constantine's charter, is also witness of a charter of benefaction to St. Bartholomew's of RICHARD THE CLERIC SON OF WALTER SON OF ALGAR of the year 1216.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Ricardus clericus filius Walteri filii Algari Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et pro salute animarum patris mei et matris mee et omnium fidelium defunctorum Concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi donationem et concessionem et confirmacionem et warrantizacionem quam Walterus filius Algari pater meus et Sabelina mater mea fecerunt et carta sua confirmauerunt Deo et beate Marie et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde de Londoniis de quadam terra nostra cum domibus superpositis et cum omnibus pertinenciis suis que est in parochia Sancti Johannis Zacarie quam Godefridus Capellanus de Sancto Martino aliquando de

Next morning without any trial the justiciar sent out the three prisoners with an escort under Falke de Breaute, who hanged them. Such was the end of our benefactor Constantine son of Alulf. Hubert and Falke then entered the city with an armed force, seized several citizens, imprisoned them, and after cutting off hands from some and feet from others, let them go back into the city. The object was to suppress the French king's party in London. The means adopted resembled those of the Khalifa in our own time:—

“There were now only twenty-seven left, and on arriving on the ground he sent for butchers to cut off their hands and feet. Soon there was a heap of these bleeding members, whilst the bodies of the poor Batahin lay writhing on the ground, beads of anguish pouring

illis tenuit Habendam et tenendam dictis fratribus libere quiete integre finabiliter Reddendo inde annuatim michi uel successoribus meis unam libram cymini ad pascha pro omni seruitio consuetudine et exactione. Ita quod Ego predictus Ricardus uel aliquis alius per me uel pro me nichil amplius poterimus nec debemus in predicta terra exigere nec habere nec clamare quam predictam libram cymini per annum termino statuto saluo tamen seruitio quadraginta denariorum Canonice ecclesie Sancte trinitatis annuatim soluendorum per manus dictorum fratrum quatuor terminis annis [*sic*] Ego autem dictus Ricardus et heredes mei predictam terram integre ut dictum est contra omnes gentes dictis fratribus finabiliter warrantizabimus. Et vt mea donatio Huius mee concessionis et presenti carte mee confirmatio et mea warrantizatio Rata sit et stabilis maneat in perpetuum eam sigillo meo confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Constantino filio Alulfi: Alfredo clerico: Ernaldo ruffo: Constantino Juuene: Benedicto le seinter tunc vicecomite: Michaelle de Sancta Helena tunc aldermanno: Abel aurifabro: Jocio filio petri: Ilgero aurifabro: Willelmo Juuenal: Henrico de Sancta Helena: Hugone clerico.

The oval seal of Richard remains on a vellum tag. It bears within a linear border a right hand extended palm forwards from a cloud, with a sun on the dexter side and a moon on the sinister and at foot a draped human head. The legend is “SIGILL. RIC. FIL. WALTERI ALGAR.” This illustrates one way in which the name of an ancestor tended to become a surname. The Walter Algar of the seal was in the deed Walter son of Algar.

from their brows. Long after this I used to see these poor creatures dragging themselves about in the market-place begging for alms."

Such was Omdurman twenty years ago, as we are told by an eye-witness. Most of the words of Father Ohrwalder might have been used by Matthew Paris in describing what took place in London in 1222.

Hubert de Burgh was denounced in the city, and the memory of Constantine son of Alulf long remained. When St. Louis hesitated to make war on Henry in 1242, a French magnate reminded him of how, in spite of Henry's oath, Constantine son of Alulf had been executed in London.

The grant of Magna Carta was the greatest political event in England during the mastership of Hugh, and it adds to the glory of St. Bartholomew's Hospital that some of the men to whose wise conduct the grant was due, knew the hospital and esteemed it.

Lord Chatham, in a famous speech, praised those iron barons, as he called them, in comparison with the silken barons of modern days. "Their virtues," he said, "were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had the spirit to maintain them."

Some men of this illustrious group must be commemorated as benefactors, others come into the history of the affairs of the hospital. Among the venerable fathers and noble men mentioned in the preamble as those by whose advice the Charter was granted, Joscelin, Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, William, Earl of Salisbury, and Robert son of Walter, were benefactors. Richard of Muntfichet, one of the twenty-five barons elected to see to the observance of the peace and liberties granted to the kingdom, conveyed a royal gift to the hospital. The Mayor of London, another of these barons, was a witness of its transactions, while two other barons of the twenty-five, the Earl of Gloucester and Earl Roger, were lords of lands which afterwards came into the possession of St. Bartholomew's.

JOSCELIN, Bishop of Bath,¹ granted on August 1, 1220,

¹ *Uniuersis sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis ad quos presens Carta peruenerit Joscelinus dei gratia Bathoniensis Episcopus eternam in domino Salutem. Cum fratres domus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum operibus misericordie pietatis studio audierimus libenter insistere iuxta suarum possibilitatem facultatum pauperes Christi misericorditer exhibendo ipsorum commendabilis opinio nos induxit ut habita oportunitate ipsius domus beneficiis aliquid adderemus. Eidem itaque domui et fratribus ibidem pauperes exhibentibus intuitu dei in Ecclesia beati Georgii in Heanton que ad nostram spectat aduocationem perpetuum beneficium duximus assignandum uidelicet totam decimam garbarum de dominico Ecclesie eiusdem prouenientium et medietatem decimarum omnium aliarum garbarum ad ipsam ecclesiam spectantium totamque decimam feni prouenientem de dominico Roberti de Barneuilla in eadem uilla. Concessimus etiam nichilominus eisdem de dominico Ecclesie memorate duas acras terre ad facienda sibi orrea competentes. Vt igitur predicta domus et eiusdem fratres omnia prescripta que ipsis in perpetuum beneficium contulimus habeant et possideant inconcuse presentem cartam sigilli nostri appositione duximus roborandam. Datum per manum nostram apud Wellenses: in festo sancti Petri ad uincula: Pontificatus nostri Anno Quartodecimo.*

In Magna Carta (1215), he is styled Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury: in a charter of Hugh, master of St. Bartholomew's, copied into the Register of Wells (Calendar I. 471), Bishop of Bath, and in a grant by William, master of St. Bartholomew's, made 1232-38, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

to the master and brethren a tithe of the sheaves of the church land of the parish of Hinton St. George in Somersetshire, and half of the tithes of all other sheaves belonging to the church, and the whole tithe of hay from the domain of Robert of Barneville and in that vill two acres of land of the domain of the aforesaid church suitable for making barns.

Robert of Barneville,¹ as far as a lay person could, had granted the church of Hinton St. George to the hospital towards the maintenance of priests therein ministering. Hugh, the master, had acknowledged the bishop's rights in the living by granting the advowson to him, and the bishop's charter makes a formal grant to the hospital on his own part, and confirms what Robert of Barneville was entitled to give. There were afterwards disputes about the grant. Robert, Prior of Bath,² and his convent recited Jocelyn's charter, and protested against it. Peter, the dean, and the chapter of Wells also protested against it, and about a hundred years later, in 1334, Pope John XXII.³ had to appoint a commission to settle questions of tithe at Hinton St. George between the Bishop of Bath and Wells and St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Richard de la Hegh, rector of the parish, was called as a witness with others, lay as well as clerical, and the matter was decided in favour of the hospital.

¹ Calendar of MSS. of Dean and Chapter of Wells (W. H. B. Bird), 1907, vol. i. p. 479, and *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 576.

² *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 577.

³ *Ibid.*

William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, whose noble figure in chain armour remains to this day in Salisbury Cathedral, the foundations of which he saw laid, died, March 7, 1226, and gave to the hospital eight oxen by his will.

Robert son of Walter son of Robert, the ninth of the barons named, had been chosen leader of the barons; who entered London under his command on May 17, 1215, the final move in the struggle with John, which led to the grant of Magna Carta, on June 15 in that year. This Robert Fitzwalter gave to the brethren of the hospital a way in and out of his marsh of Burnham from their marsh called Le Suthwale and other rights of way important to them. They might ride, or drive carts and lead flocks by these ways. The way is precisely described "beyond my marsh and my land of Burnham, namely from the marsh of the master and brethren which is called Suthwale beyond the new wall to Yanlades mead as far as the new marsh so called, and through the aforesaid march up to the sheepfold of the lord to the rabbit warren and sheepfold as far as the corner of the land of Dominus William of Ambly to Longditch, and from the aforesaid corner beyond the land of the lord as far as Holemade, and through the middle of Holemade towards the west as far as Scampet, and

¹ Item assignavi Hospitali sancti Bartholomei de London octo boves. Rotuli Lit. Claus. ii. 71.

by the way which is called Smalethornesway from Scampet to the old road, as long as the way of the lord lasts."¹

Richard of Muntfichet,² the last but one of the twenty-five barons, was commanded by Henry III., in 1229, to deliver to the master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, or to some one nominated by him, six leafless oaks for the hospital fire.

¹ Nouerint uniuersis hoc presens scriptum uisuris uel audituris quod ego Robertus filius Walteri filii Roberti dedi concessi et hoc presenti scripto confirmaui diuine caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum magistro et fratribus et sororibus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam unam uiam ad librum introitum et exitum ultra mariscum meum et terram meam de Burnham, uidelicet a marisco dictorum magistri et fratrum et sororum hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum, qui uocatur le Suthwale ultra nouum murum ad le yanlades mede usque nouum mariscum dictum et per predictum mariscum usque ad Bercariam domini ad cunicularium et bercariam usque ad angulum terre domini Willelmi de Ambly ad le longedyche et a dicto angulo ultra terram domini usque ad Holemade et per mediam Holmade uersus le West usque ad scampet et per uiam que uocatur Smalethornesway a scampet usque ueterem uicum quamdiu uia domini durat per eam eundi equitandi carucam caretam et pecora ducendum et fugandum sine mora faciendum [*sic*] in pascendo. Quicumque et ad commodum et asiamentum sua [*sic*] et terrarum suarum quocienscumque et quandocumque prefatus magister et fratres et sorores et assignati sui uoluerint absque impedimento uel contradictione mei uel heredum meorum siue assignatorum. Habendam et tenendam dictam uiam cum libero introitu et exitu prout superius dictum est de me et heredibus meis et meis assignatis predictis magistro et fratribus et sororibus et eorum successoribus et assignatis suis quibuscumque libere quiete integre bene et in pace sine contradictione uel impedimento mei uel heredum meorum in puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam et ego predictus Robertus et heredes mei warrantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus dictam uiam cum libero introitu contra omnes mortales in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium hoc presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roborauimus. Hiis testibus: Domino Ranulpho de Monte Canicio: Domino Johanne de Monte Canisio: Domino Willelmo Amblye: Domino Roberto de Cantelupo: Huberto le Waleys: Hugone de lachendon: Gileberto baton: Willelmo longedyche: Thoma filio Radulphi et aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 439b.

² 1229. De roboribus datis: Mandatum est Ricardo de Muntfichet quod habere faciat magistro Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum uel certo assignato suo sex robora folia non ferencia in ballia sua ad focum suum de dono regis. Teste ut supra. (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1227-1231.)

GEOFFREY DE MANDEVILLE,¹ Earl of Essex and Gloucester, another of the twenty-five barons, granted to Walter the goldsmith, son of Algar (who was a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's), the land with houses which Nicholas Burgoin had held. He had sold it to Geoffrey son of Peter, Earl of Essex, father of this Geoffrey de Mandeville. The land extended from the corner of Friday Street to the land of Walter Blund the fishmonger, and from the same corner northwards to the land of Walter Black the fishmonger, rendering every year within the octave of Easter gilt

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Galfridus de Mandeuilla Comes Essexie et Gloucestrie dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Waltero filio Algari aurifabro pro seruicio suo totam terram cum domibus quam habui et que fuit Nicholai Burgoin filii Johannis Burgoin que extenditur a cornerio de frideistrate usque ad terram Walteri Blundi pisconarii uersus occidentem et ab eodem cornerio usque ad terram Walteri nigri pisconarii uersus aquilonem. Scilicet quicquid in predicta terra et domibus habui in longitudine et latitudine: in lignis et lapidibus et in rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertineniis suis integre: habendam et tenendam predicto Waltero filio Algari et cuicumque dare uel dimittere uel assignare uoluerit et heredibus suis de me et de heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate: libere: quiete: bene: et in pace: integre: In perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et rebus cunctis quedam calcaria deaurata uel sex denarios infra octabas pasche sine omni occasione super ipsum feodum saluo seruicio capitalium dominorum quod idem Walterus et eius assignatus et heredes sui facere debent quantum ad dictam terram pertinet. Et sciendum quod ego Galfridus et heredes mei nullo modo poterimus nec debemus prefatum Walterum nec eius assignatum nec heredes suos de predicta terra nec domibus nec pertineniis dehospitalari causa me uel heredes meos uel aliquem hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi. Nec amplius inde exigere nec habere debemus quam predicta calcaria uel sex denarios per annum termino statuto. Hanc autem terram predictam cum domibus et omnibus pertineniis suis ego Galfridus et heredes mei predicto Waltero et cuicumque dare uel dimittere uel assignare uoluerit et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum debemus warantizare. Pro hac igitur donatione et concessione et warantisione et presentis carte mee confirmatione dictus Walterus dedit michi Galfrido Quater uiginti marcas argenti in gersumam. Hiis testibus Galfrido de Boclande: Willelmo de Houbrigge: Hugone de Bibbesworthe: Rogero Camerario: Radulfo de Hauseuille: Waltero fratre eius: Gerardo de Kayli: Rollando: Ricardo Clerico de Stapelleforde: Radulfo de Stratforde: Waltero de Pertesheude: Waltero de Cosford e Willelmo de Turri: et multis aliis.

² Charter of Nicholas Burguine, p. 314.

spurs or six pence. Walter gave the earl four score marks of silver.

The grantor of the charter was the Earl of Essex who married Isabel, daughter and heiress of William Earl of Gloucester. She had been married before in 1187 to John, son of King Henry II, but the marriage had been declared void. The names of the witnesses suggest that the charter was attested at one of the earl's country estates. His seal, a rather small circular one with a shield in high relief divided quarterly, but without marks of tinctures, remains attached on a vellum tag.

ROGER BIGOT,¹ Earl of Norfolk, announces to all men and his friends, French and English, that he has granted to Anketil, son of Asketill of Bungay, the land which Robert Palmar held at an annual rent of thirty-two pence. Thomas le Bigot is one of the witnesses.

¹ *Rogerus Bigot Comes Norfolc Omnibus Hominibus et Amicis suis Francis et Anglis Presentibus et Futuris Salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et Hac Presenti Carta confirmasse Anketillo filio Asketilli de Bongeia pro Homagio et Seruicio suo totam terram quam Robertus Palmarius tenuit in Haluriato cum pertinenciis. Illi et Heredibus suis tenendum de me et Heredibus meis In Feodo et Hereditate reddendo inde annuatim xxxii denarios de Censa pro omnibus Seruitiis et consuetudinibus Saluis liberis precibus meis et auxiliis denar. secundum quod acciderit ad tantum tenementi quando ponam commune Auxilium super Homines eiusdem ville. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predictus Anketillus et Heredes sui post eum Habeant et teneant predictam terram cum pertinenciis de me et Heredibus meis bene et In pace: libere et quiete: Integre et Honorifice in omnibus rebus et in omnibus Locis per predictum Seruicium. Testibus. Galfrido Lenuise: Milone fratre suo: Eustacio de Brahera: Thoma de Beilha: Thoma le Bigot: Godefrido de Bello monte: Clerenbaldo: Rannulfo de Seingeo: Roberto Lenuise: Reginaldo de Wichanton: Johanne de Ormesbi: Nicholao de Grauele: Willelmo Mulardo: Reginaldo Gupillo: Willelmo Porun: et multis aliis. The seal has broken up in a vellum bag.*

314 SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

The name of the Mayor of London is not given in the list of barons in Matthew Paris, but he seems from the *Chronica Majorum* to have been Serlo the mercer, who is shown by numerous charters to have known St. Bartholomew's Hospital well.

Between the death of Henry Fitz-Ailwin in 1212 and the end of the mastership of Hugh in 1223, seven mayors held office in London, five of whom appear during their period of office in the records of St. Bartholomew's.¹

Roger son of Alan, the second Mayor of London, and the sheriffs, Constantine son of Alard and Ralph Helm,² were witnesses of the charter of NICHOLAS BURGUIN which has already been mentioned.³ It

¹ If these mayors were all elected on the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude (October 28), their dates may be taken to be

Roger son of Alan	1212	— 1214
Serlo the mercer	1214	— 1215
William Hardel	1215	— 1216
James Alderman	1216	— 1217 June 12
Saloman de Basing	1217 June 12	— 1217 Oct. 28
Serlo the mercer	1217	— 1222
Richard Renger	1222	— 1227

² No names of sheriffs appear for this year on the printed list.

³ *Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Nicholaus Burguine filius Johannis Burguine de Londoniis vendidi et quietam clamaui Extra me et heredes meos Galfrido filio Petri Comiti Essexie et heredibus suis Totam Terram et Managium cum omnibus pertinenciis suis quod habui et quod fuit predicti Johannis Burguine Patris mei In Parochia Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai apud Pisonariam: In Cornerio Juxta vicum domini Regis qui uocatur Frideistrete uersus Orientem et Terram que fuit Walteri Blundi uersus Occidentem: Que etiam continet in fronte secus vicum domini Regis Australem in Latitudine Triginta et tres ulnas de ulnis ferreis domini Regis Johannis Anglie et In Longitudine a predicto vico Australi usque ad Terram que fuit Walteri nigri pisonarii uersus Aquilonem: Triginta et septem ulnas de eisdem ulnis Scilicet Quicquid Ibidem habui: In Longitudine et Latitudine et in rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis Integre sine aliquod retinemento. Habendam et Tenendam prenominato Galfrido filio Petri et heredibus suis extra me et heredes meos finabiliter In perpetuam et Finabilem vendicionem: Saluo seruicio*

records the sale by Nicholas Burguin of land and houses at the corner of Friday Street¹ for a hundred marks of silver to Geoffrey son of Peter, Earl of Essex. The measurements are given in the iron ells of King John, thirty-three east and west by thirty-seven north and south. The date is fixed by the facts that Roger son of Alan succeeded Henry Fitz-Ailwin as mayor soon after Michaelmas 1212, and that Geoffrey son of Peter died on October 14, 1213.

Serlo the mercer was mayor in 1214-15. He was again chosen in 1217, and continued in office till 1222. He is the first witness of a charter of JOHN SON OF GEOFFREY BOCOINTE,² who granted to the brethren of

Capitalium Dominorum Feodorum. Quod Idem Galfridus et heredes sui annuatim facere debent quantum ad eandem Terram et managium cum pertinenciis pertinet. Ita quod nec Ego predictus Nicholaus nec heredes mei nec aliquis per nos nec pro nobis Aliquid poterimus nec debemus In predicta Terra nec Managio nec pertinenciis exigere nec habere nec clamere In perpetuum. Hanc autem terram et Managium predictum Integre in rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis Ego prefatus Nicholaus Burguine et heredes mei memorato Galfrido filio petri et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas finabiliter debemus Warantizare. Pro hac igitur vendicione et Quietaclamacione et Warantisione et presentis Carte mee confirmacione predictus Galfridus dedit michi Nicholao Centum marcas argenti. Hiis Testibus Rogero filio Alani tunc maiore Londoniarum : Constantino filio Alardi : Radulfo helm' tunc vicecomitibus Londoniarum : Alano filio Petri : Thoma de Hauerill : Constantino filio Alulfi : Ernulfo fratre eius : Petro Juuene : Willelmo filio Aliz Aldermanno : Roberto de Antiocha : Ricardo filio Johannis : Alano balun : Matheo filio vitalis : Martino furmagio : Willelmo de Westmonasterio : Willelmo de Stanes : Johanne finschat : Johanne filio vitalis : Ambrosio de Rothomago : Daud de mora : Stephano parmentario : Stephano pisonario : Serlone mercerio : Waltero filio Algari : et pluribus aliis.

The circular seal remains attached on a vellum tag with the inscription, on a simple border, "Sigill. Nicholai Burguine." It bears a griffin passant which fills the central space.

¹ As to this land see p. 312.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod Johannes filius Galfridi Bocoine caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et pro animabus patris et matris et uxoris mee et antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum Dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mee confirmaui Deo et beate Marie et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld ibidem dei

the hospital of St. Bartholomew, there serving God, five shillings' worth of quit-rent towards the lamp of the hospital of the sick, from his capital messuage in the parish of St. Andrew at Holborn. The first witnesses are great men of the city. Serlo the mercer, the mayor; Richard of Wimbledon and John Viel, the sheriffs (of 1219), and Goce son of Peter, then alderman; Constantine son of Alulf, Arnulf his brother, and young Constantine. They are followed by thirteen others, among whom are two inhabitants of Holborn, Richard the clerk and William the parmenter; six members of the hospital staff—Matthew and Thomas,

seruentibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam quinque solidatas quieti redditus ad luminarium hospitalis infirmorum recipiendas annuatim de capitali managio meo que est in parochia sancti Andree apud Holeburne habendas et tenendas eisdem fratribus iu puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam lihere quiete integre finabiliter et precipiendas annuatim per manus illius quicumque predictum managium tenuerit ad iiii terminos anni scilicet ad pascha xv d. et ad natiuitatem sancti Johannis Baptiste xv d. et ad festum sancti Michaelis xv d. et ad natale domini xv d. omni occasione remota. Ita scilicet quod nec ego predictus Johannes neque heredes mei nec aliquis alius per nos uel pro nobis aliquit poterimus uel debemus de predictas v solidatas quiete redditus exigere nec habere nec clamare. Has autem predictas v solidatas quiete redditus ego Johannes filius Galfridi Bocointe et heredes mei uel cuicumque predictum capitale managium cum pertinenciis assignare uoluerim contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus et finabiliter Ad terminos statutos soluebimus sicut nostram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et si ita contigerit quod predictas v solidatas quieti redditus ad terminos statutos non reddidero licet predictis fratribus namium capere in predicto managio et pertinenciis omnibus sine contradictione predicti Johannis uel heredum suorum uel eius cui capitale managium assignauero donec predictis fratribus soluerint uel satisfecerint. et ut hec mea donacio et concessio rata sit et stabilis Ego predictus Johaunes filius Galfridi Bocointe eas presenti scripti testimonio et sigilli mei appositione roborare dignum duxi. Hiis testibus: Serlone le mercer tunc maiore Lundoniarum: Ricardo de Wimbeltune et Johanne Viel tunc uicecomitibus et petro filio goce tunc aldermanno: Costantino filio Alulfi: Arnulfo fratre eius et Constantino iuene: Geruasio parmentario: Ricardo clerico de Holeburne: Willelmo fructuario: Matheo, Thoma tunc capellanis de hospithali: Willelmo, Thoma tunc clericis de hospithali: Gileberto dispensatore: Thoma dispensatore: Heliseo Belebarbe: Hamone de essexe: Brice le parmenter: Willelmo le parmenter de Holeburne.

The scribe has in error written *petro filio goce* for *goceo filio petri*.

chaplains; William and Thomas, clerks; Gilbert the steward and Thomas the steward.

In another charter the same JOHN BOCOINTE¹ grants that the master and brethren may take pledges in his chief house of Holborn, and in other rents of his in London or Portsoken, in order to receive five shillings a year which he had granted to them. Both these charters bear the circular seal of John son of Geoffrey Bucuinte (or Bocoainte), showing him on horseback in armour, with a long shield on his left arm and a sword in his right hand.

In 1220, when Serlo the mercer was mayor and Richard son of Reinger and Josce son of William sheriffs, they were the first three witnesses of a charter of JOHN SON OF JOHN SON OF NIGELL.² His circular seal bears an eagle regardant, and in the simple border the inscription in capitals "S. JOHIS. FIL. JOHS. FIL. NIGELLI." He grants to Martin of Limoges son of

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes filius Galfridi Bucuinte concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui quod magister et fratres de hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld capiant nama in capitali masuagio meo de holeburne et pertinenciis eiusdem masuagii et in aliis redditibus meis infra londoniam vel porsocam ad recipiendos quinque solidos per annum sicut carta quam de me habent testatur. Ita quod si nama in predicto masuagio meo aliquis deforciaserit vel aliquo casu contingente euenerit quominus predicti fratres predictos v solidos non receperint, licet eis in aliis terris meis omnibus infra londoniam namia capere donec satis fiat eis de v solidatis redditibus sine contradiccione mei uel heredum meorum. Hiis testibus: Gocelino tunc aldermanno: Constantino filio Alulfi: Arnaldo fratre suo: Constantino iuene: Willelmo filio benedicti: Heliseo belebarbe: Hamundo de essexe: Johanne de essexe.

² Sciant presentes et futuri Quod ego Johannes filius Johannis filii Nigelli Dimisi concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Martino de Limoges filio Gwidonis de Limoges totam terram quam habui in parochia sancti Sepulcri inter terram que fuit Johannis de Stanes et terram qui fuit Thoroldi piscatoris in Vico decani que scilicet aliquando fuit Alani pistoris Scilicet quid ibidem habui uel habere potui In domibus: In lignis: In

Gwido of Limoges his land in the parish of St. Sepulchre between the land of John of Stanes and that once occupied by Thorold the fisher in Dean Street,¹ at an annual rent of six pence at Michaelmas, saving the service of the chief lords of the fee, the canons of St. Mary of Southwark (Suwerka), namely six shillings a year. Martin gave him a hundred shillings sterling.

HUGH and the brethren,² in the next year of Serlo's

lapidibus : In Longitudine et Latitudine et in Rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis Integre Habendam et tenendam eidem Martino de Limoges et heredibus suis uel cuicumque eam dare dimittere uel assignare uoluerit et heredibus eorum de me et heredibus meis : In feodo et hereditate libere Quiete Bene In Pace finabiliter Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et Rebus cunctis sex denarios ad festum sancti Michaelis Saluo seruicio capitalium dominorum feodi scilicet Canonicis sancte Marie de Suwerka sex solidos per annum pro Rebus cunctis. Ita quod ego Johannes filius Johannis filii Nigelli predictus nec heredes mei siue aliquis alius per nos uel pro nobis nullo modo poterimus uel debemus dictum Martinum de Limoges uel heredes suos nec assignatos suos uel heredes eorum de dicta terra nec domibus nec pertinenciis dehospitali causa nos uel heredes nostros uel aliquem alium hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi nec aliquid amplius inde poterimus habere clamare uel exigere In perpetuum quam predictos sex denarios per annum termino statuto. Et ego Johannes predictus et heredes mei warantizabimus dictam terram cum domibus et omnibus pertinenciis suis dicto Martino de Limoges et heredibus suis uel assignatis suis et heredibus eorum contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum et per dictum seruicium uersus omnes gentes acquietabimus. Pro hac autem dimissione : concessione : warantisione : acquietacione : et presentia carte mee confirmacione dictus Martinus de Limoges dedit michi Johanni predicto centum solidos sterlingorum In Gersumam. Hiis Testibus : Serlone mercerio tunc maiore Londoniarum : Ricardo filio Reingeri et Josceo iuvene tunc vicecomitibus : Henrico de Edelmeton aurifabro : Michaeli de Sancto Paulo : Constantino filio Ade : Samsone de Yaicterne : Abel ligatore : Ada et multis aliis.

The fine church in the Early English style, on the right hand by the far end of London Bridge, is all that is left of the home of the Canons Regular. Many years ago I went there on a Sunday afternoon with a friend. The door was shut, and, following a notice, we applied at the house of the keeper of the key. He objected to let us in, and said, "I am opposed to the opening of institutions on a Sunday."

¹ Dean Street was probably the present Warwick Lane; formerly called Old Dean's Lane. (Deeds at St. Paul's, 1257-1458, Ninth Report, p. 9 b.)

² CYROGRAPHUM

Hec est concordia facta inter Hugonem magistrum et fratres hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum ex una parte et feliciam que fuit uxor Nicholai Burgelun ex altera scilicet quod predicta felicia in libera potestate et viduitate et mera voluntate sua concessit et

mayoralty (1221), made an agreement with Felicia, once the wife of Nicholas le Burgelun, as to her rights in the land once held by him in the parish of St. Nicholas of the Fishmarket¹ and in the parish of St. Margaret of Friday Street, as to which she pleaded against the aforesaid Hugh the master, "in hustingo per breve domini regis" before the mayor and sheriffs of London. The master and brethren gave her for this concession one hundred shillings sterling. Their part of the indented chirograph has her circular seal, bearing a very graceful fleur-de-lys and the legend, "S. Felicie Burgenung." Her seal was impressed upside down on the mass of wax on the vellum tag.

The ward in which St. Bartholomew's Hospital is

quiete clamavit et foris affidavit extra se et omnes suos et hoc presenti cyrographo confirmavit predictis H. magistro et fratribus totum ius et clamium quod se dicebat habere vel quod habere debuit vel potuit in perpetuum in dote sua et libero banco suo et in omnibus aliis rebus sibi pertinentibus in terris et domibus Nicholai predicti le burgelun quondam viri sui in parochia sancti Nicholai de pischario et in parochia Sancte margarete de fridaistret Vnde illa eadem felicia placitavit versus prefatum H. magistrum in hustingo per breve domini Regis coram maiore et vice comitibus Londoniarum habendas et tenendas eisdem H. magistro et fratribus libere et quiete bene et in pace et integre in perpetuum Ita quod nec predicta felicia nec aliquis nec aliqua suorum vel suarum per illam in predictis terris et domibus umquam amplius exigent vel exigere presument vel habere poterunt. Et sciendum quod predicta felicia quantum ad se et ad suos pertinet warantizabit Hanc concessionem et quietam clamationem et foris affidationem contra omnes homines et feminas. Et pro hac concessione et quietam clamationem et foris affidationem et warantizationem predicti magister et fratres dederunt eidem felicie centum solidos sterlingorum. Et ut hec concessio et quietam clamatio et foris affidatio et warantizatio rata sit et stabilis permaneat finabiliter utraque pars hoc cyrographum in duo diuisum munimine sigilli sui corroboravit. Hiis testibus: Domino Serlone tunc maiore Londoniarum: Ricardo Reigner: Thoma Lambert tunc vicecomitibus Londoniarum: Willelmo filio Aliz tunc aldermanno; Goce filio petri aldermanno; Costantino filio Aluph: Arnoldo lerus: Constantino Inuene: Stephano le gras: Henrico de Oxonia.

Richard Reigner and Thomas Lambert were sheriffs in 1221. Arnold lerus is Constantine's brother, elsewhere called Ernulphus rufus and Arnulfus filius Alulfi. Stephen le gras was sheriff in 1210.

¹ Now St. Nicholas Cole Abbey.

situated was at this period known as the ward of Josce son of Peter, as is shown in a charter of JOHN WALKELIN,¹ mercer, of London, in which he grants land to John of Trompinton, son of Thomas. Serlo the mercer, then mayor, is the first witness, and the second is Thomas Lambert, who was sheriff in 1221 and 1222. The name of a later alderman, Faringdon, has become the permanent designation of the ward.

William Hardel, Mayor of London in 1215-16, was witness of a charter of ALEXANDER OF NORFOLK,² in

¹ Walkelin held the land of Dionisia, daughter of Warin the goldsmith. It was in the parish of St. Nicholas retro macellum, between the land of Thomas of Oxford and that of Ralf son of Walter, and rendered each year for every service one pair of white glove, or a penny at Easter. John of Trompinton gave him ten marks in silver "in gersumam."

Hiis Testibus: Serlone mercerio tunc maiore Londoniarum Thoma lambert vicecomite: Josceo aldermanno: Jacob blund: Thoma de sancto Martino: Helya mercero: Willelmo de Couente: Waltero capon: Waltero de Basingh: Herue de Colonia: Willelmo bonalet: Thoma de Oxonia: Waltero de Celario: Ricardo de Neketon: Radulfo specer: Roberto et Helia seruientibus de custodia domini Joscei filii Petri: Willelmo clerico: et multis aliis.

The seal bears a crescent and a feathery star, and in the border "Sigil. Johs. Walkelini."

A charter of JOHN OF TRUMPINTON adds to our knowledge of the witnesses of Walkelin's charter. He sold to Laurence the chaplain, William of Neketene, Nicholas of Saint Alban's, and Thomas of Balesham, the executors of the will of Richard of Neketone, goldsmith, twelve shillings' worth of annual rent to found a perpetual chantry for Richard's soul in the church of St. Nicholas de macellis. It came from some land behind the stalls of the butchers held by John Fizden: and from it three shillings a year had to be paid to the canons of Dunmawe (Dunmow), and three shillings to the hospital of St. Giles, and half a pound of pepper annually to the heirs of Dionisia, daughter of Warin the goldsmith. The executors gave John six marks of silver from the money of the deceased Richard.

Hiis Testibus: Josceo filio Petri tunc aldermanno: Roberto filie Hugonis: Roberto Winter: Waltero petit: Simone de Wiuclmers: Thoma de Necketone: Willelmo de Bonchesham: Willelmo Jaye: Benedicto clerico: Reginaldo Longejambe: Andrea: Johanne Bedello: Willelmo de Ripa et aliis.

² *Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Alexander de Norfolkia pro deo et pro anima mea et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et pro anima Fulgeri auunculi mei et pro animabus omnium antecessorum meorum et benefactorum Dedi Concessi legauit et presenti carta mea confirmaui In puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei de smethefeld domum meam que est extra portam*

which he grants to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, his house outside the gate of St. Paul's, towards the south and opposite the brewery of the canons of St. Paul's in the parish of St. Gregory. With its rent they are to buy the clothes necessary "in tulchia¹ magna hospitalis" for the poor staying there at night—according to the direction of the master. If there is anything over it is to be spent in linen cloths and other garments in the infirmary. After five witnesses connected with the cathedral, the charter is attested by William Hardele, then Mayor of London, and four other city witnesses. The seal of Alexander of Norfolk remains attached by a vellum tag, but its design is indistinct.

A charter of WILLIAM HARDELE² confirms the gifts

sancti pauli uersus austrum ex opposito bracini canonicorum sancti pauli in parochia sancti Gregorii de cuius redditu emanantur panni in magna tulchia hospitalis necessarii ad opus pauperum ibi de nocte hospitantium secundum dispositionem magistri et si quid residuum fuerit expendatur in lintheaminibus et aliis pannis in infirmario: Quam scilicet domum hereditarie de eisdem fratribus tenui: Habendam et Tenendam prenominatis fratribus et successoribus suis: Quicquid ibidem habui: In lignis: in lapidibus: in longitudine et latitudine et rebus cunctis bene et in pace hereditarie libere quiete Integre: finabiliter cum omnibus pertinenciis suis In puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et sciendum quod Magister H. capellanus custos predicti hospitalis et fratres eiusdem hospitalis compromiserunt deo et michi totum redditum prenominatae domus eis date et concessae ad predictos usus fideliter expendere. Vt autem hec mea Donatio Concessio et legacio rata sit et stabilis et firma permaneat legatum meum et Donnū carta mea confirmaui et presens scriptum sigilli mei appensione muniui. Hiis Testibus: Domino B. capellano: Domino Henrico de bratino: Domino Osmundo capellano: Magistro Otone: Willelmo de bratino: Willelmo hardel tunc maiore Londonarium: Constantino sene: Arnulfo ruffo: thoma de hauerille: Constantino iuene: et multis aliis.

The grantor is possibly the Alexander of Norfolk who witnessed each of the four London charters belonging to the abbey of Holy Trinity, Caen (J. H. Round, "Calendar of Documents in France," p. 151).

¹ I am unable to translate *tulchia*.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Hardele concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et Hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld et fratribus et sororibus

which Katherine, his late wife, made to the brethren and sisters of the hospital. A blank space is left for the names of witnesses, which were never written, but the seal of William Hardel was duly affixed. It is a deeply cut classical intaglio of a female head with the hair bound in a fillet, and has on the rim the words "S. Willi Hardele." Katherine Hardel¹ obtained from the king in 1227 a grant of a small piece of land in Smithfield next the chapel of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, to build there a little cell in which she could spend her time in solitude and in prayer.² Since she is spoken of as dead in her husband's charter, it belongs to some year of Henry III. after 1227.

Salomon of Basinges, mayor in 1216-17, and Benedict the bell-founder, sheriff in that year, were witnesses of a charter of RICHARD THE CLERIC SON OF WALTER SON OF ALGAR,³ which confirms a grant of his father to St.

ibidem deo seruientibus donacionem et dimissionem quam Katerina quondam uxor mea fecit dictis fratribus et sororibus de terris domibus et redditibus in Civitate Londonarium Habendas et tenendas dicto Hospitali et fratribus et sororibus ibidem deo seruientibus in perpetuum sicut Carte quas dicta Katerina eis super hiis fecit testantur Et ut hec Concessio et Confirmacio stabilis permaneat presentem paginam sigilli mei impressione roborauit. Hiis Testibus.

On the fold of the vellum is written "in parochia S. Nich. Piscar. Cole Abbey."

¹ Rot. Lit. Claus. v. ii.

² As to the life of such aueresses see Abbot Gasquet's introduction to "The Nun's Rule," 1905.

³ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus clericus filius Walteri filii Algari Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et pro salute animarum patris mei et matris mee et omnium fidelium defunctorum concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui donacionem et concessionem et confirmationem quam dictus Walterus fecit et carta sua confirmauit Deo et beata Marie et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld de quadam terra et managio cum omnibus pertinentiis suis: Quod idem Walterus habuit et tenuit in parochia Sancti Nicholai apud pisconariam Habendum et Tenendum dictis*

Bartholomew's Hospital of land with a house on it in the parish of St. Nicholas by the Fishmarket. The first witness is Master Walter of London, then follow Thomas and William, chaplains of the hospital, and after them Salomon of Basinges, then mayor.

SALOMON OF BASINGES granted ¹ to the hospital seven shillings' worth of annual rent which the brethren used to pay to him from the land which lies between the chapel of the Holy Cross of the said hospital and the royal street towards the cury of the canons of St. Bar-

fratribus in omnibus libertatibus sicut carta patris mei testatur: quam dictis fratribus fecit de predicta terra et managio et omnibus pertinentiis suis Hanc autem concessionem et presentis carte mee confirmationem Ego dictus Ricardus ut rata sit et stabilis maneat in perpetuum sigilli mei testimonio roboravi. Hiis testibus: Magistro Waltero de Londoniis: Thoma: Willelmo tunc capellanis dicti hospitalis: Salomone de Basinges tunc maiore: Constantino filio alulfi: Constantino Juvene: Alwredo clerico: Benedicto le seinter tunc vicecomite: Willelmo filio Aliz tunc aldermanno: Thebaldo de Fering: Willelmo filio eius: Hugone clerico.

The seal is perfect, and is the same as that attached to the charter of Richard son of Walter son of Algar, printed p. 305.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri Quod ego Salomon de Basinges Dedi et Concessi et Quiete clamaui et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui In liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum deo et Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus ibidem deo seruiantibus septem solidatos annui Redditus quos fratres predicti hospitalis michi solebant Reddere de terra illa que iacet Inter Cappellam sancte crucis eiusdem hospitalis et Regalem vicum uersus curiam Canonicorum Sancti Bartholomei. Scilicet ubi corpora mortuorum sepulti fuerunt In generali Interdicto. Vnde ego dictus salomon feci escambium Auitie vxori mee de septem solidis quieti Redditus de Redditibus meis de melstrate quos tenui de feodo hospitalis Sancti Johannis de clerkenwelle: Quoniam predicta terra erat de maritagio dicte Auitie vxori mee. Et ego predictus Salomon et heredes mei warantizabimus predictos Septem Solidos annui redditus de predicta terra predicto hospitali Sancti Bartholomei et fratribus eiusdem loci contra omnes homines et feminas et aquietabimus uersus omnes gentes ab omnibus secularibus seruitiis in perpetuum sicut nostram liberam puram et perpetuam Elemosinam. Hiis testibus: Ricardo Reinger tunc Bailliuo Londoniarum: Thoma Lambert Et Willelmo Goinier tunc vicecomitibus: Willelmo filio Benedicti: Serlone mercatore: Willelmo de Basinges: Johanne de Basinges: Et multis Aliis.

The seal remains on a vellum tag. It is oval and bears a fleur-de-lys with the legend in a border "Sig. Salomonis de Basing."

tholomew's ; namely, where the bodies of the dead were buried in the general interdict.¹ "Whence I, Salomon, have made exchange with Auitia my wife for seven shillings of quit-rent from my rents of Melstrate (Milk Street) which I held of the fee of the hospital of St. John of Clerkenwell, which land was of the dowry of Auitia my wife."

This charter belongs to the year of the execution of Constantine son of Alulf, and the absence of his name and of those of his brother and nephew may indicate that it was sealed after that event. Thomas Lambert and William Goinier were the sheriffs, and it is noticeable that Richard Reinger is called Bailiff of London and not mayor. Since Serlo the mercer, who had been mayor at the time of the disturbance, appears next but one after the sheriffs, and since the sheriffs are those of 1222-3, this charter supports the view that Serlo was deposed and that Richard Reinger was nominated Bailiff of London at some date between the rioting in August and his election as mayor on the Feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude (October 28th), 1222.

Richard Reinger, the last mayor of the time of Hugh the master, was a witness—with Andrew Bukerel and John Travers the sheriffs of 1223—of a grant to the hospital of WILLIAM SON OF WILLIAM REYNIER,² confirming

¹ See p. 129.

² William's circular seal has on a border "Sig. Willelmi filii Reineri," and in the centre a shield bearing a fess with three roundles in chief. The first witness is "Martino filio Alic' tunc aldermanno," and his name is followed by those of the mayor and sheriffs.

that of his uncle Richard son of Reyner, of land with houses and quay in the parish of St. Martin Baremancherche between the land once held by Richard Bascat and that once held by Robert Bryto.

These charters show that in each ward of the city an alderman was the chief person, and that he was named as a witness after the mayor and sheriffs, but no phrases occur which demonstrate the relation of the aldermen as a body to the mayor, or to the government of the city as a whole.

The term citizen of London rarely appears in documents of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. ARNULPH SON OF ALULPH¹ describes himself as citizen of London in a charter at St. Paul's, of which the date is probably before 1222, and ROBERT BLUND² is one of the earliest of our benefactors to describe himself as

The other witnesses named are:—Rogero duco: Joseco filio Petri: Thoma Bukerel: Johanne Waleram: Stephano Grasso: Willelmo Hardel: Henrico de Sancto Albano: Willelmo filio benedicti: Henrico de Cocham: Petro dagon: Roberto la Justice: Ada Blundo vinitario.

¹ See charter, pp. 303-4.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus Blundus Aldermannus Civis Londoniarum Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et liberorum meorum et patris mei et matris mee et pro animabus predecessorum meorum dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta confirmaui deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartolomei apud Smethefeld ad sustentationem debilium infirmorum ibidem existentium duodecim deneratas quieti redditus in London in puram et perpetuam elemosinam: Recipiendas annuatim infra octabas pasche de soppa propinquiore terre que fuit Elye Marescalli uersus occidentem in parochia sancte Mildrede de Walebroch quousque illis prouiderim excambium de aliis terris meis in London. Has autem predictas duodecim deneratas quieti redditus ego predictus Robertus et heredes mei warrantizabimus finabiliter predictis fratribus predicti Hospitalis contra omnes homines et feminas. Ut autem hec mea donatio rata et stabilis permaneat eam Sigillo meo presenti carte mee apposito confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Constantino filio Alardi: Thoma filio Ricardi: Adriano de Wintonia: Adam de Withebi: Willelmo de Kunehethop: Ricardo filio sacerdotis: Galfrido de Baldac: et Multis Aliis.

St. Mildred's Court, at the end of the Poultry on the north side, preserves the name of this church, which was closed November 26, 1871, and soon after demolished.

citizen of London. He gave twelve penny worths of quit-rent to the hospital for the support of the sick men there living. The gift was to be paid every year within the octave of Easter, and came from a shop next the land of Elia, the shoeing smith, in the parish of St. Mildred of Walbrook. The grant is witnessed by Constantine son of Alard, who was sheriff in 1212, and certainly belongs to the mastership of Hugh.

The circular seal of Robert Blund is attached on a vellum tag. It bears a long-legged bird walking rapidly with its head turned over its back and its wings slightly raised, and the inscription "Sigillum Rodberti le Blund."

The presence of this seal makes it possible to identify the citizen, our benefactor, with ROBERT BLUND ALDERMAN,¹ son of Bartholomew Blund alderman, of whom a

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus Blundus aldermannus filius Bartholomei Blund aldermanni concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Ricardo de sancto Christoforo Capellano totam terram meam in parochia sancti christofori que iacet iuxta cimiterium eiusdem ecclesie. Scilicet inter cimiterium predictae ecclesie et Walebrok et inter terram Hereberti de Bedeford et Terram Thome filii Hodiernae quam teneo de heredibus Henrici de Cornhelle et que terra continet in longitudine a vico Regio usque Walebrok quateruiginti et quinque vlnas et a cimiterio predicto usque ad Walebrok iuxta terram Thome filii Hodiernae sexaginta et sex vlnas : in latitudine autem iuxta prenommatum cimenterium continet viginti quinque vlnas et iuxta Walebrok triginta et sex vlnas. Et introitus terre iuxta vicum continet in latitudine quatuor vlnas et contra corneriam iam dicti cimiterii nouem vlnas. Habendam et tenendam eidem Ricardo Capellano et illis quos uoluerit hereditare libere et quiete integre honorifice in feudo et hereditate finabiliter reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis dimidiam marcam argenti pro omni seruitio et omni exactione et pro omnibus rebus ad duos terminos anni scilicet infra Octabas Pasche quadraginta denarios et infra octabas sancti Michaelis quadraginta denarios sine omni calumpnia et malo ingenio. Ita quod nec ego Robertus Blundus Aldermannus nec heredes mei poterimus predictam Ricardum de Sancto Christoforo capellano uel illos quos hereditauerit deospitari propter nos hospitandos. Hanc autem predictam terram Ego Robertus Blundus Aldermannus et heredes

charter remains at St. Bartholomew's. It is a grant to Richard of St. Christopher's, chaplain, of land in the parish of St. Christopher, between the cemetery of that church and Walbrook, and between the land of Herebert of Bedeford and that of Thomas son of Hodierno, "which I hold of the heirs of Henry of Cornhill." The rent was to be half a mark a year, and the chaplain paid nine marks and a half of silver "in gersumam" to Robert and one besant to his wife.

Edmund son of Gerard, the second witness of this charter, was sheriff in 1205. The piece of land mentioned occupied part of the now open space between those modern buildings the Mansion House and the Bank of England. The church of St. Christopher stood upon a part of the site of the Bank of England near the west end of Threadneedle Street, and Walbrook flowed towards the Thames at a distance of sixty-six ells from its churchyard. The royal way mentioned was probably that extending along Cheapside and eastwards by Cornhill.

The name of Geoffrey Blund is often followed in charters by that of Robert Blund, so that they may

mei warrantizabimus Ricardo de Sancto Christoforo Capellano et illis quos hereditauerit contra omnes homines et omnes feminas et adquietabimus erga Capitalem dominum fundi et de socagio per predictum seruitium. Pro hac igitur concessione et dimissione et warrantisione et aquietacione et presentis carte mee confirmacione dedit michi sepedictus Ricardus de sancto Christoforo nouem marcas Argenti et dimidiam in Gersumam : et vxori mee vnum Bisantium. Hiis testibus : Radulfo de Bare : Edmundo filio Gerardi : Widone de Suberi : Waltero filio Algari : Stephano de Bare : Hereberto de Bedeforda : Lemmato Cultelario : Ricardo Bukelario : Waltero de Bures : Alexandro seruiente : Stephano de Wandlesworthe.

have been related to one another. Geoffrey's daughter Joan married HENRY SON OF RENER,¹ as is shown by a chirograph in which they jointly confirmed a grant made by JOAN² to Alelm the dyer.

Many of the business transactions of the hospital have an interest from the light they throw on the streets and inhabitants of London of their period.

¹ Sciant presentes .et futuri quod Ego Henricus filius Renerii et Ego Johanna uxor eiusdem filia Galfridi Blundi concessimus et dimisimus et presenti Carta nostra confirmauimus Alelmo tinctori et heredibus suis Quandam terram nostram que eat in parochia sancti Petri parui ueraus tamisiam inter terram Roberti Bochini et terram Heluini telarii que continet in latitudine decem ulnas regales de ulnis Henrici Regis— [the terms are as in Joan's charter, note below, except as regards the gersuma]— prenominatus Alelmus dedit michi Henrico lx solidos esterlingorum et michi Johanne duos Bisantios aureos in Gersumam. Testibus Hiis: Alano de Balon aldermanno: Roberto Blundo Aldermanno: Gaufrido Blundo: and the other names as in Joan's charter except that *Radulfo crome* is written instead of *crum*. Joan's oval seal and her husband's circular seal are attached on twisted double cords. His seal bears an eagle volant and the inscription "Sigill. Henrici Rene —"

² Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Johanna filia Galfridi Blundi Concessi et Dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Alelmo tinctori et heredibus suis Quandam terram meam que est in parochia Sancti Petri parui uersus tamisiam inter terram Roberti Bochini et terram Heluini telarii Que continet in latitudine decem ulnas regales de ulnis regis Henrici Que uidelicet terra extenditur in longitudine a regio vico usque in tamisiam: scilicet quicquid ibidem habui in terris in lignis in lapidibus in longitudine et latitudine in rebus cunctia. Habendam et tenendam eidem Alelmo et heredibus auia de me et de heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre finabiliter Reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et pro omnibus rebus Viginti solidos quatuor terminis anni [the usual expressions follow and the several pledges] Pro hac igitur Concessione [etc.] et presentis carte mee confirmatione prefatus Alelmus dedit michi quadraginta solidos in Gersumam. Testibus Roberto Blundo aldermanno: Alano de Balon aldermanno: Gaufrido Blundo: Iukello: Stephano crasso: Ricardo tulusano: Gilleberto monetario: Nigello aurifabro: Johanne de Sancto Albano aurifabro: Lamberto wudemanger: Waltero nigro piscatore: Roberto de Marisco: Willelmo rufo: Godefrido Goldhay: Ricardo pesemanger: Radulfo crum: Jooeco filio petri: Willelmo de Berkinga: Johanne fuat: Stephano filio Stephani crassi.

The oval seal bears the figure of Johanna with a hawk on her left hand and a lure in her right. She has a cloth headdress, a frock drawn in at the waist, and tight-fitting sleeves with long manches pendant from the wrists. The inscription is on a plain border: "Sigill: Johanne: fil: Galfridi Albi."

HUGH¹ the master, in an indented chirograph, confirmed to William Viteri and his heirs some land of the hospital in the parish of St. Sepulchre between the land of Robert the Englishman and William's own land. The annual payment was to be three shillings sterling a year, and William, having sworn to keep faith with the master and brethren in full chapter, gave them twenty marks sterling "in gersumam."

William of Viteri was probably of Breton origin. He had a stone house and other possessions in our part of London, and a lane which extended from

¹ CARTA CYROGRAPHATA.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Hugo Magister Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei London et fratres eiusdem domus concessimus et dimisimus et presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Willelmo Viteri et heredibus suis quandam terram quam habuimus in parochia Sancti Sepulchri que iacet inter terram Roberti Anglici et terram ipsius Willelmi. Scilicet quicquid in dicta terra habuimus in longitudine et latitudine in lignis et lapidibus et in rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Habendam et tenendam dicto Willelmo et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo et hereditate libere quiete bene et in pace in perpetuum: Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris pro omni serucio et exactione et rebus cunctis Tres solidos sterlingorum ad duos terminos anni [Easter, Michaelmas]. Et sciendum est quod ego Hugo Magister dicti Hospitalis nec fratres nec successores nostri [shall have any more right than these three shillings. William shall not be disturbed]. Et sciendum est quod dictus Willelmus nec heredes sui poterunt nec debent dictam terram iudeis inuadiare [etc.], nec domui religionis conferre sine assensu nostro uel successorum nostrorum [and if William wishes to sell] nos propiores erimus omnibus aliis omnibus aliis uno bisantio auri. Predictus uero Willelmus in pleno capitulo nostro prestito iuramento nobis fecit fidelitatem super predicta terra et redditu nostro annuatim reddendo [warrant to William against all others]. Pro hac igitur concessione [etc.] dedit nobis dictus Willelmus Viteri viginti marcas sterlingorum in Gersumam. Hiis Testibus: Domino Josceo filio Petri Aldermanno: Galfrido Gibuin: Ricardo fundatore: Hugone Blundo: Rogero Paumer: Hugone le Fraunceis: Reginaldo Lungeiaumbe: Ada Marescallo: Michaelle de Bures: Waltero Sawine: Petro Tabur: Roberto Anglico: Willelmo ferelle: Willelmo unitario: Maikin de Eylesbur: Henrico Pikebon: et Aliis. The circular seal of William Viteri is attached on a vellum tag. It bears a lion with a floreate tail.

Accidental repetitions are rare in the London charters of this period. The writing of *omnibus aliis* twice immediately before *uno bisantio auri* is an example of the occasional error of one of these careful scribes.

Smithfield towards Aldersgate on the south side of the hospital and between it and the city ditch was long known as Vitry Lane. WILLIAM OF VITERI¹ was living in 1227, as is shown by a remission and quit-claim of his to the hospital of a piece of land which he held opposite its south face, thirty-four ells long of the iron ells of King Henry, witnessed by Roger le duc, then Mayor of London, Henry of Cocham and Stephen Bukerell, then sheriffs. His circular seal, which is perfect, bears a lion passant with floreate tail and the legend "Sigill. Willelmi de Viteri." Another charter of the same year² records his sale to the hospital of another piece of land with a stone house on it. The con-

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Willelmus de Viteri Remisi et quietum clamaui fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei quamdam terram quam tenui de eisdem fratribus ex opposito dicti Hospitalis uersus austrum dicti hospitalis que continet in parte aquilonali triginta ulnas in Latitudine et in Longitudine triginta et quatuor ulnas et in capite australi octo ulnas de ulnis ferreis regis Henrici. Preterea remisi et quietum clamaui eisdem fratribus totam terram quam tenui de Canonicis Sancti Bartholomei que circuit et includit predictam terram quam tenui de dicto hospitali in parte orientali australi et occidentali. Videlicet quicquid in dictis terris habui uel habere potui in rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis sine aliquo retinemento. Habendam et Tenendam dictis fratribus et successoribus suis Bene et in pace perpetuum saluo seruicio dominorum feodi quod facere debent quantum ad dictam terram pertinet. Ut autem mea remissio et quietaclamatio et confirmatio in perpetua firmitate consistant presens scriptum sigillo meo confirmaui. Hiis Testibus Rogero le duc tunc maiore Londoniarum: Henrico de Cocham: Stephano Bukerell tunc Vicecomitibus: Ricardo reinger: Joceo filio Petri aldermanno: Willelmo Joimer: Andrea Bukerell: Michaelle de Sancta Helena: Johanne Viel: Johanne de Wburne: Roberto de Grettune: Elia aurifabro: Rogero pistore: Reginaldo Lungeiambe: Edmundo le Mercier.

² Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Willelmus de Uiteri vendidi Foris Affidau Quietum Clamaui et presenti Carta mea confirmaui fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld Totam terram cum domo Lapidea quam desuper edificau in parochia Sancti Sepulchri quam terram tenui de eisdem fratribus. Preterea uendidi eisdem fratribus quamdam particulam terre quam tenui de Cecilia norensi in predicto parochia Sancti Sepulchri que particula terre iacet uersus Austrum dicte terre et extenditur a uico regio occidentali usque ad terram quam idem Willelmus tenuit de canonicis Sancti Bartholomei uersus orientem que eciam particula terre continet in Latitudine uersus

tiguity of parts of the property of the hospital and of the priory is shown by the description of the holding of which William hands over the tenancy to the hospital.

He was living in the time of WILLIAM, the master who succeeded Hugh, and in the mayoralty of Roger Duke, 1221-1231, as is shown by an indenture¹ between him and the master. He died during William's mastership (1224-1246), for his widow EGELINA² gave and quit-

uicum regium predictum tres ulnas et quinque pollices de ulnis ferreis regis Henrici et in capite orientali septem ulnas et unum quarterium de predictis ulnis et in longitudine quadraginta et octo ulnas de eisdem ulnis. Scilicet quicquid in dicta terra et prefata particula terre habui in Longitudine et Latitudine in Lignis et Lapidibus et rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis integre sine aliquo retinemento. Habendam et Tenendam dictis fratribus et successoribus suis finabiliter in perpetuam et finabilem vendicionem ita quod nec ego Willelmus nec heredes mei nec aliquis per nos uel pro nobis aliquid poterimus nec debemus in dicta terra nec domibus nec pertinentiis nec in prefata particula terre exigere nec capere nec habere nec clamare in perpetuum. Pro hac igitur uendicione foris affidacione quieta clamacione et presentis Carte mee confirmacione dicti fratres dederunt michi Willelmo¹ Viginti et tres marcas sterlingorum. Hiis testibus: Rogero le duk tunc maiore Londoniarum: Henrico de Cocham: Stephano Bukerell tunc vicecomitibus: Ricardo Reingier: Joco filio Petri Aldermanno: Willelmo Joimer: Andrea Bukerell: Michael de Sancta Helena: Johanne Viel: Johanne de Wburne: Roberto de Grettune: Elia Aurifabro: Rogero Pistore: Reginaldo Lungeiambe: Edmundo Mercerio.

¹ William the master and the brethren agreed to grant to William of Viteri for life certain land in the parish of St. Sepulchre with a stone house on it and an orchard, between William of Viteri's own land on the south and that of Robert the Frenchman on the north. The land bordered the king's highway for 10 ells and 5 thumbs of the ells of King Henry the son of King John, and towards the orchard measured 11½ ells and in depth 3¼ ells. William de Viteri agreed to pay twenty shillings sterling a year, five shillings within fifteen days of each of the usual quarter days. The master and brethren might take pledges in case of non-payment, and at his death the land was to return to them.

The witnesses are Roger le Duk then mayor: Richard son of Reinger, Robert son of John, and Walter Adrian sheriffs: Andrew Bukerell, William Joiner, Joco son of Peter, Robert of Grettune, John of Woburne, Roger the baker, Reginald lungejambe, and Edmund the mercer.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Egelina quondam uxor Willelmi de Viteri in libera potestate et uiduitate mea consensu et assensu et consilio Radulfi filii et heredis nostri dedi et concessi et quietumclamaui et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Willelmo

claimed to the hospital with the consent of their son Ralph a piece of land in the parish of St. Sepulchre which lay between the land of the hospital on the north and the land of Reginald Longejambe on the south. The hospital was to pay Ralph a pound of cumin or twopence every year on Michaelmas Day for every service due from the land except the service due to the lords of the fee. For this grant the master and brethren gave Egelina five marks sterling, and she confirmed it with her seal. The seal bears a bird with open wings and the inscription "Si. Egeline de Viteri."

William of Viteri's son RALPH made a grant of this same land to his mother Egelina at the same rent and

Capellano Magistro Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis que fuit Willelmi predicti quondam uiri mei in parrochia Sancti Sepulchri que est inter terram predicti Hospitalis uersus Aquilonem et terram Reginaldi Longejambe uersus austrum quam uero terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis habent de dono predicti Radulfi filii et heredes nostri. Scilicet quicquid predictus Willelmus quondam uir meus et ego ibidem habuimus in terris lignis et lapidibus in longitudine et latitudine et in rebus cunctis sine aliquo retenemento: Habendam et tenendam predictis Magistro et fratribus uel cuicumque predicti Magister et fratres assignare uoluerint libere et quiete hereditarie in perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim predicto Radulfo filio et heredi nostro et heredibus suis unam libram cimini ad festum Sancti Michaelis uel duos denarios pro omni seruitio: saluo seruitio dominorum illius feodi. Ita etiam quod ego Egelina predicta siue aliquis per me uel pro me nullo modo poterimus neque debemus dictos magistrum et fratres uel eorum assignatos de dicta terra cum pertinentiis de hospitari causa me uel aliquem hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi. Pro hac autem donatione concessione quietaclamatione et carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi dictus Willelmus Capellanus, Magister predicti Hospitalis, et eiusdem loci fratres quinque marcas esterlingorum. Et ut hec mea donacio concessio quietaclamatio et presentis carte mee confirmatio rata et inconcussa in perpetuum perseueret presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine roborauit. Hiis testibus: Domino Willelmo de Ripa Capellano Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei, Domino Joco filio Petri Aldermanno, Domino Ricardo Rengero, Hugone Blundo Aurifabro, Willelmo Horpedemanno, Roberto de Gipeswich Aurifabro, Johanne le Chapelain, Rogero le Palmere, Reginaldo Longejambe, Edmundo Otche, Gileberto Spensero, Alexandro de Smethefelde clerico: et alisi.

received from her two marks sterling. He also executed a charter to the hospital in the same terms, and with the assent of his mother, and received ten marks sterling. These three charters have the same witnesses in the same order and were written by the same scribe, Alexander of Smithfield.

The lane leading out of Smithfield continued to bear William of Viteri's name for some centuries. The small space between the medical school library and the new out-patient building, which was lately called Windmill Court, is probably the last remaining piece of Vitry Lane. The hospital owned the northern corner of the lane, as it does of this space. Some of the houses had one face in Smithfield and another in the lane,¹ so that its direction was from the Smithfield end of Giltspur Street obliquely towards the central way through the hospital. William of Viteri's gift was made in the twelfth year of Henry III. The hospital had another property in the lane which was the gift of SIBILIA,² daughter of

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 4a.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Sibilia filia Willelmi de Crauene dimisi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum quandam terram in parochia Sancti Sepulcri quam hereditarie tenui de ecclesia sancti Bartholomei canonicorum per duas solidatas redditus annuatim reddendo pro rebus cunctis que iacet inter terram Willelmi de Viteri et terram Roberti Anglici scilicet quicquid ibidem habui in longitudine et latitudine in lignis et lapidibus et in rebus cunctis Habendam et Tenendam eisdem fratribus in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete Integre finabiliter Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et pro omnibus rebus viginti sex denarios ad duos terminos anni scilicet ad pascha tresdecim denarios et ad festum Sei. Michaelis tresdecim denarios sine omni occasione et meskenningia. Et sciendum est quod ego Sibilia et heredes mei nichil amplius poterimus uel debemus in predicta terra exigere nec habere in perpetuum quam

William of Cravene. In the mastership of Hugh and in the fourteenth year of King John she granted to the hospital at a rent of twenty-six pence a year some land in the parish of St. Sepulchre, which she held from the canons of St. Bartholomew's Church for two shillings of annual rent. The land lay between that of William of Viteri and that of Robert the Englishman. The brethren gave her eight marks of silver "in gersumam." The charter is written in a hand somewhat uncommon among writings of the time, perhaps that of Firmin the clerk, the last witness but one. His script is altogether unlike that of Alexander of Smithfield. The seal of Sibilia, which remains perfect on a vellum tag, is oval in form and bears a fish which is probably a pike, though it has some resemblance to a sturgeon. The inscription is "Sig. Sibilie filie Willelmi de Cravene."

William Joinier or Joimer, the witness of William of Viteri's charters, was sheriff in 1222. He was mayor for part of 1239, and Stow says that he afterwards became a Franciscan lay brother. A charter recording the sale

predictos duos solidos et duos denarios per annum terminis statutis. Hanc autem terram cum pertinentiis ego Sibilia et heredes mei debemus warrantizare predictis fratribus contra omnes homines et feminas finabiliter et de omnibus seruitiis et exactionibus et rebus cunctis uersus capitales dominos feodi acquietare. Et si forte contigerit quod terram illam non acquietauerimus uersus predictos dominos feodi bene licebit dictis fratribus terram illam acquietare per manum propriam de duobus Solidis. Pro hac autem dimissione Concessione Warantizatione acquietacione et presentis carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi predicti fratres octo marcas argenti In gersumam. Hiiis Testibus : Constantino filio alulfi : Constantino Juuene : Josceo filio Petri tunc Aldermanno : Roberto de Grettune : Ricardo fundatore : Hugone Blundo : Willelmo Viteri : Roberto anglico : Roberto filio Othonis : Hugone Pistore : Rogero Pistore : Reginaldo Lungejambe : Edmundo le mercer : Johanne fratre suo : Firmino clerico : Odone de Sancto Martino : et aliis multis.

by HUGH¹ and the brethren and sisters of ten shillings' worth of quit-rent in Milk Street (Melkestrate) and in Honey Lane (Hunilane) to William Joynier records as witnesses the names of six brethren, Sir Robert the chaplain, Elias, Walter of Hatfeld, Osbert of Campenden, Ralph the red, Adam, and seven others. William Joynier gave them five marks of silver. The document is preserved at St. Paul's, and bears a fine impression of the hospital seal of its period.

A list of members of the staff probably somewhat earlier than that in Hugh's deed of sale is contained in the charter of ISABEL,² widow of Astmar of Enfield.

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Hugo Procurator Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum, et fratres et sorores eiusdem loci vendidimus et quietamclamaimus extra nos et successores nostros Willelmo Joynier et heredibus suis [etc.] decem solidatas quieti redditus quas nobis annuatim soluere solebat de tota terra [etc.] quam de nobis tenuit [etc.] In Melkestrat et in Hunilane Habendam et tenendam eidem Willelmo Joynier [etc.] Pro hac igitur finali uendicione [etc.] dedit nobis prenominatns Willelmus Joynier Nouem Marcas argenti. Hiis Testibus: Domino Roberto Capellano: Elia: Waltero de Hatfelde: Osberto de Campendene: Radulfo Rufo: Ade: loci fratribus: Thoma de Hauerhulle tunc Aldermanno: Ricardo Rengeri: Joceo filio Petri: Thoma Lamberti: Thoma filio Ricardi: Ada Le Taillur: Ricardo Derekur: et multis aliis.*

Thomas of Haverhulle was sheriff in 1203, Joce son of Peter in 1212, Richard Renger in 1221, and Thomas Lambert in 1221 and 1222.

² *Sciant [etc.] quod Ego Isabel quondam uxor astmari de Enefeld in viduetate mea et in libera potestate mea concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui pro deo: et pro salute anime me et pro animabus patris et matris mee deo et sancte marie et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld dimidiam acram prati in uilla de Enefeld in marisco molendini quam habent ea dono Willelmi moth sicut carta dicti Willelmi testatur in puram et perpetuum elemosinam. Et ego predicta Isabel et heredes mei warrantizabimus dictis fratribus et eorum successoribus dictam dimidiam acram prati contra omnes et feminas. Et ut hec mea concessio et carte mee confirmacio stabilis et inconcussa permaneat prius ascriptum sigilli mei coroboraui aposicione. Hiis Testibus: Martino: Willelmo: Petro: Capellanis dicti Hospitalis: Hendrico filio Willelmi: Johanne marcallo de Enefeld: Gilleberto dispensatore: Willelmo nuncio: Waltero Coco: Johanne Tub: Ricardo clerico: et multis aliis.*

The omissions: the second *e* of *mee* and the word *homines* after *omnes* are those of the scribe. The abbreviation after *sciant* is in the original. Many of the vowels are accented.

She granted to the hospital for the good of her soul, half an acre of meadow at Enfield in the marsh of the mill which the brethren had from the gift of William Moth. Martin, William, and Peter, three chaplains of the hospital, are the first witnesses.

About the same period EUDO SON OF BRIAN¹ granted in pure and perpetual alms to the hospital the fourth part of a virgate of land in the vill of Meaudun, five acres with a messuage which Estmer formerly held situate on the east of the land formerly held by Ralph the merchant, and one acre of land in Estfel which abutted on Symmingeswei, and one acre in Westlongdune which extended towards the water.

A grant of John Testad² to the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, of land in the parish of St. Sepulchre is witnessed by Hugh, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, and Gerard, master of the hospital of St. Giles.

JOHN TESTAD³ was a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's

¹ Eudo's circular seal bears an eagle with extended wings and the words "Sig. Eudonis fil. Briani." Hiis testibus : Johanne Crois : Roberto de Chisenduna : Ricardo de prisun : Roberto filio Yuonis : Ricardo Wallensi : Galfrido de Billingesburh : Roberto de Bukham : Ricardo de Smethefeld : Willelmo de derkinges : Hugone de Hebesham : Bartholomeo clerico : Thoma dispensatore : Gileberto dispensatore : Et multis aliis.

² *Cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate*, f. 143b, in the Hunterian Library at Glasgow.

³ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes Testad clericus Dedi Concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui in puram et perpetuam elemosinam : Deo et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Lond pro salute anime mee et pro anima Iuonis capellani auunculi mei : et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum meorum octo solidatas quieti redditus In parochia sci. Sepulcri de terra quam Hugelina soror mea tenuit que terra jacet inter terram que fuit Roberti mercerii et terram predicti Hospitalis que fuit Osberti capellani. Recipiendo annuatim de predicta terra ad quatuor terminos anni : sicut carta dicte Hugelina testatur. Et sciendum est quod predicta Hugelina

Hospital. He gave eight shillings of quit-rent in the parish of St. Sepulchre from land which his sister Hugelina held from him. It was between the land of Robert the mercer and that of the hospital once that of Osbert the chaplain. John, prior of St. Bartholomew's, the subprior of Holy Trinity, and Alexander, canon of Holy Trinity, are the first three witnesses.

A few other transactions of Hugh's mastership may be mentioned.

PETER OF POIOLES¹ sold to the hospital three shillings and sixpence of quit-rent from the land with house and garden which Andrew son of John the tanner had sold to him for payment of a debt which John owed him. The brethren gave Peter two marks and a half of silver "in gersūmam."

HUGH granted to Robert Long, fishmonger, some land with the houses on it, in Friday Street, in the parish of St. Margaret, at a rent of eleven shillings a year. Reimund le pesemonger had formerly held the land next it, and its breadth towards the royal way called Friday Street was seven ells and a half and two

et heredes sui debent adquietare predictam terram uersus capitales dominos feodi de tribus solidis. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio rata sit et firma presens scriptum sigilli mei appositione roborauī. Hiis testibus : Johanni priori sci Bartholomei : Suppriori sancte trinitatis : Alexandro canonico eiusdem ecclesie : Willelmo Walden canonico : Odone : Thoma capellanis : Ricardo de Neketuna : Rogero pistore : Willelmo taillefer : Ernaldo filio Rogeri : Umfrido filio Luce : et aliis.

¹ Constantine son of Alulf, Ernald the red, young Constantine, Joce the alderman, son of Peter ; Michael of St. Helena, Edwin the lorimer, Osbert the tanner, Clement the smith, William of Tunebrige, Alexander the monk, and Hugh the monk were the witnesses.

Peter's oval seal bears a fleur-de-lys and the legend "Sigill. Petri de Poioles."

thumbs of the iron ells of King John; and on the other part eight ells and a quarter and four thumbs, and in length eleven ells and a quarter and two thumbs. The rent was to be eleven shillings a year. Robert, chaplain of the church of St. Margaret in Friday Street, is the first witness of this agreement.¹ The church came to be called St. Margaret Moses, and its name may still be seen on a notice-board in Friday Street, but it was not rebuilt after the fire of 1666. The deed is a chirograph indented at the base, and the seal of Robert Long is perfect upon a broad vellum tag. It is oval and bears a large fish lengthwise, and the inscription "Sigil. Rodberti le Lung."

Hugh the chaplain, procurator of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and the brethren and sisters, let to Richard son of Gervase the parmenter all the hospital land in the parish of St. Peter of Woodstrete, between the land of Alulf the old, parmenter, and that which was the land of Henry son of Alan, at twenty shillings a year. Richard gave them twenty shillings.²

CECILIA,³ widow of Norman le mercer, sold to the

¹ The other witnesses are: "Philipo de Wincestre: Helia talitore: Willelmo de frowike: Ada blundo: Lefwino: Roberto le furmager: Henrico tailiatore et multis aliis."

² The witnesses were: Andrew Bukerell then alderman: Henry de Castello: Robert son of John: Henry of Oxford: Martin son of William: Stephen son of Andrew: William cissor: Gilbert of Egle: Richard Blund, goldsmith: Hugh of Basyng: Thomas of Stanes: Gervase the mercer: William the vintner: Reiner the clerk.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i. 300b.

Andrew Bukerell was sheriff in 1223, Robert son of John in 1229. Stephen son of Andrew was perhaps the Stephen Bukerell who was sheriff in 1227.

³ Hiis Testibus: Willelmo de export: Waltero de basinges: Luca clerico: Gernasio

brethren all the right she had in two shops in the market-place "de Hoilonde in la Mercerie" next but two to the bridge. For this the brethren gave her eight shillings sterling. Alice, Katharine, and John, her children, agreed. Her oval seal bears a six-branched finial and on a border the words "S. Cecill. uxoris Normanni Mercer."

WILLIAM¹ the charcoal man and his wife MARGARET granted to the hospital all their land in Brettenestrade (Little Britain) in the parish of St. Botulf outside Aldredesgate, which Salamon (schaldarius) and Henry of Schigwelle and Lebert (monetarius) held, "which we held of the brethren of the hospital of St. Giles." The land lay between that of Chichell wife of Edwin and the street "which goes towards the hospital of St. Bartholomew." The brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew are to pay to those of the hospital of St. Giles twelve shillings sterling a year for all services, while William and his wife received from St. Bartholomew's eight marks of silver "in gersumam," and warranted the land to the brethren against all men and women. William's seal bears a cross pattée and

le mercer: Nicholao de Heli: Thoma de basinges: Johanne de heli: Jacobo le alderman: Willelmo bon naleit Herenico de choloin: et Multis Aliis.

The date of this charter is approximately fixed by the presence of Walter of Basinges, who was living in the mayoralty of Roger son of Alan, 1212-14.

¹ Hiis testibus: Michaelde Aldermanno: Thoma capellano de Sco. Botulfo: Jordano cappellano: Bartholomeo cappellano: Hugone cappellano tunc capellanis in predicto hospitali: Gileberto le corduaner: Gileberto aurifabro: Waltero le cureur: Gerardo schaldario: Willelmo bonechin: Luca clerico: Radulfo le cuciller: Gileberto le despenser: Thoma seruiente magistri: et multis Aliis.

Margaret's a fleur-de-lys. Michael the alderman, who is the first witness, is probably Michael of Valencins. Thomas the chaplain of St. Botolph's is the next, and then follow Jordan, Bartholomew, and Hugh, chaplains in St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

The charter of MILO, another charcoal man, brings before us some of the inhabitants of another parish near the hospital. Milo grants to Reginald the timbermonger and Leticia his wife that messuage which they hold of him in the street of Holborn, at a rent of four shillings a year. Reginald gave him four shillings "in gersumam."

The first three witnesses are the parson of Holborn, his chaplain and a deacon.

They are followed by five laymen who were probably

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Milo Carbonarius concessi et dimisi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Reginaldo timbermongere et Lecie uxori sue illud mesagium quod predictus Reginaldus et Leticie uxor sua tenent de me in uico de Holeburne. Habendam et tenendam predicto Reginaldo et Leticie uxori sue et heredibus eorum de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete integre honorifice finabiliter reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis quatuor solidos ad quatuor terminos anni scilicet ad festum Sci. Johannis Baptiste xii d. et ad festum Sci. Michaelis xii de et ad Natale Domini xii d. et ad pascha xii d. pro omni seruicio et exactione et pro rebus cuntis. Ita quod ego predictus Milo nec heredes mei nullatenus poterimus dehospitari predictum Reginaldum nec Leticie uxori sue nec heredes eorum causa me uel heredes meos uel aliquem alium hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi. Et ego predictus Milo debeo s. et heredes mei debent warrantizare finabiliter predictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis et edificiis super edificatis predicto Reginaldo et uxori sue et heredibus eorum contra omnes homines et feminas. Pro hac autem dimissione et concessione et warrantisacione et presenti Carte mee confirmatione dedit michi predictus Reginaldus quatuor solidos in gersumam. Hiis testibus: Jacobo sacerdote persona de Holeburne: Rogero capellano suo: Andrea diacono: Alexandro nepote Fulcheri: Henrico fratre suo: Heruico fratre suo: Hunfrido Bukuinte: Waltero filio Roberti: Jacobo filio Ricardi carbonario: Godefrido caretario: Viel de Purtepole: Roberto fratre suo: Johanne fratre Symeonis: Pentecost filio Radulfi nadledre: Symone filio Brunnig: Godefrido tegelatore: Serle cuerur: Sanson extra barram: et multis aliis.

of higher station than the other witnesses. Humphrey Bukuinte, who is the only one of the group who has a formed surname, was perhaps a kinsman of the Bucuintes whose charters and possessions in Holborn have been already mentioned. A charcoal man, a timbermonger, a carter, a shoemaker, and a tiler represent the working people of the district. Portpool Lane, which at this day leads into Gray's Inn Road, preserves the name of the manor of Purtepole, a part of which is occupied by Gray's Inn. The granite pillars in Holborn bearing the city arms mark the site of the bar outside which the last witness of this charter lived.

The sums of money mentioned, a rent of one shilling a quarter and a gersuma of four shillings, show how small were the monetary transactions of that period, while the finely-executed circular seal, bearing a lion with the inscription "sigillum Milonis le Coliere," illustrates the artistic taste of the time of Magna Carta, for Milo affixed his seal to this grant within a few years of that famous statute.

Another charter of this time may be here quoted as a further record of the population of Holborn. ANDREW THE TANNER¹ of Holborn grants to Robert Copersmid all his land between the land of Richard

¹ Hiis testibus: Duranto presbitero: Alexandro persone: Henrico soper: Roberto le Mai: Johanne le Tiulur: Ricardo famulo Andree: Waltero Tanbetere: Willelmo de Felstede: Nicolao de Storteforde: Ricardo clerico: Oseberto legos: Johanne poter: Terrico wanter: Ricardo Copersmid: Watero de Hamme: Willelmo eius fratre: Johanne de la Bruere: Huberto clerico: Johanne diacono: Et multis aliis. The circular seal bears a spread eagle, with the legend in the margin "Sigill. Andree de Holeburne."

the clerk and that of Osbert legos, thirty-six royal ells long and ten ells and a palm broad in front and at the back in breadth nineteen ells, at a rent of twelve pence sterling a year. For this Robert gave Andrew twelve shillings and two pounds of pepper.

AGNES, wife of the late Everard the carpenter, and CECILIA and SIBILLA their daughters, granted to the hospital the land in the parish of St. Botulf outside Aldersgate (Aildredesgate), which they formerly held of the brethren for twelve shillings a year. They did so on account of their poverty, and for the arrears which they owed, and of the money which the brethren had given them to relieve their poverty, which with the cost of repairs of the houses on the land came to the sum of sixty shillings. Bartholomew, Baldric, Richard, William, and Thomas, then chaplains of the hospital: Michael of St. Helena, then alderman: Constantine son of Alulf: young Constantine: Ernald the red: Walter son of Algar: and Richard his son were the witnesses. The oval seals of the three remain upon vellum tags. That of Agnes bears a tall female figure holding a distaff in her left hand and spinning the wool from it with her right. That of Sibilla bears a large fish (a pike), and that of Cecilia a crescent and six-pointed star. It is a curious coincidence that the wealthy benefactress Sibilia of Cravene also has a pike on her seal like this indigent Sibilla.

WALTER SON OF ALGAR,¹ who appears as one of the witnesses of the charter of these three poor women, was a benefactor of this period. He gave to the hospital, at the prompting of charity, in pure and perpetual alms, for the welfare of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and of all the faithful departed, all his land and house, which was once that of Nicholas Burgoin the son of John Burgoin, in the parish of St. Nicholas, at the fishmarket (now Cole Abbey) in the corner next Friday Street towards the east, and the land of Walter Blund towards the west, thirty-three of

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Walterus filius Algari Caritatis intuitu et pro salute animarum Patris mei et Matris mee et pro salute anime mee et pro salute omnium antecessorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum Dedi Concessi et hac presenti Carta mei confirmaui Deo et Beste marie et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld de Londoniis ad sustentationem Debilium Pauperum et Infirmorum Ibidem Existentium In liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam Totam terram meam et mansorium meum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis : Quod habui et quod fuit Nicholai Burgoin filii Johannis Burgoin : In parochia Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Apud Pisonariam. In Cornerio Juxta vicum qui vocatur Frideistrete uersus orientem et Terram que fuit Walteri Blundi uersus Occidentem : Que etiam continet in fronte secus vicum Australem in latitudine Triginta et tres vlnas de vlnis ferreis Domini Regis Johannis Anglie et in longitudine a predicto uico Australi usque ad terram que fuit Walteri nigri Pisonarii uersus Aquilonem Triginta et Septem vlnas de elsdem vlnis. Scilicet quicquid Ibidem habui In longitudine et latitudine et in Rebus Cunctis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Integre sine aliquo retinemento. Habendam et Tenendam dictis fratribus extra me et heredes meos finabiliter : In perpetuam et Finabilem Elemosinam. Saluo seruitio Capitalium Dominorum Feodi : Quod dicti fratres annuatim facere debent Quantum ad Eandem Terram et Managium cum pertinentiis pertinet. Ita quod nec ego predictus Walterus nec heredes mei nec aliquis per nos uel pro nobis aliquid poterimus nec debemus : In predicta terra : nec managio nec pertinentiis exigere nec habere nec clamare In perpetuum : Hanc autem terram et managium predictum : Integre : In Rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Ego prefatus Walterus et heredes mei dictis fratribus contra omnes homines et feminas finabiliter warantizabimus. Et ut hec mea Donatio Concessio et presentis Carte mee confirmatio warantizatio rata sit et inconcussa maneat in perpetuum eam sigilli mei munimine confirmaui. Hiis Testibus : Magistro Waltero de Londoniis : Thoma : Willelmo tunc Capellanis dicti Hospitalis : Salomone de basinges tunc maiore [other witnesses the same as in the charter of Richard the clerk son of Walter son of Algar, pp. 322, 323].*

the iron ells of King John in breadth, and in length as far as the land of black Walter the fishmonger thirty-seven ells. His seal remains. Round the border are the words "Sigill. Walteri fil. Algari," and the centre is occupied by a classical intaglio of a ram treading on a small plant.

Another charter of this WALTER AND SABELINA¹ his wife grants to the hospital for an annual rent of a pound of cumin their land with the houses on it in the parish of St. John Zachary, which Godefrid chaplain of St. Martin's at one time held of them, between the garden of the dean of St. Martin's and the house of Abel the goldsmith. The brethren are to pay the capital lords of the fee, namely the canons of the church of the Holy Trinity of London, an annual sum of forty pence. Walter's seal and that of Sabelina are attached. Her seal is oval and nearly twice as large as his, and bears a spread eagle surrounded by a border with the words "S. Sabeline ux. Walteri Algari."

A charter of SABELINA² shows that Walter assumed

¹ Hiis Testibus : Conatantino filio alulfi : Ernaldo ruffo : Constantino Juuene : Benedicto le seinter tunc vicecomite : Jocio filio petri : Michaele de Sancta Helena tunc aldermannis : Johanne viel : Johanne Herlicun : Petro Iuene : Roberto de Grettune : Alexandro monacho : Hugone clerico.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Sabelina que fui uxor Walteri filii Algari Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et pro salute animarum omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum In libera mea potestate et bona uoluntate et post habitum Religionia que est apud Gogeshall ab eodem Waltero ausceptum dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta confirmari Deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei de Londoniis quoddam mesuagium meum In parochia Sancti Johannis baptiate cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in lignis in lapidibus et in cunctis rebus Scilicet mesuagium quod iacet inter Gardinum Domini Decani Sancti Martini Magni et Mesuagium quod Abel aurifaber tenuit. Habendum et Tenendum dictis fratribus Libere.

the religious habit at Coggeshall, the Cistercian monastery in Essex, and that afterwards she, of her own will and having full power, granted to the hospital a messuage of hers on the before mentioned land in the parish of St. John the Baptist. Their son was already in orders, and the year was 1216. Did Sabelina grieve for the loss of her husband like the wife in a similar situation described in an ancient metrical dialogue¹ some centuries older than this charter?

“ Bene nos junxerat Deus
Congaudet animus meus,”

says the wife, lamenting her husband's resolve.

RICHARD² their son confirmed this gift. His charter is written in precisely the same handwriting as theirs, the writer probably being Hugh the clerk, the last witness.

Quiete Integre Finabiliter. Reddendo inde annuatim michi uel heredibus meis unam libram cymini ad pascha pro omni seruitio consuetudine et exactione. Ita scilicet quod ego Sabelina uel heredes mei pro me uel per me nichil amplius poterimus nec debemus in predicto mesuagio exigere nec habere nec clamare quam predictam libram cymini per annum termino statuto. Saluo tamen seruitio quadraginta denariorum canonicis Ecclesie Sancte trinitatis annuatim soluendorum per manus dictorum fratrum quatuor terminis anni. Ego autem dicta Sabelina et heredes mei predictum mesuagium ut dictum est contra omnes gentes dictis fratribus finabiliter warrantizabimus. Et ut mea donatio concessio et presentis carte confirmatio et Mea warrantizatio rata sit in perpetuum et inconcussa presentis scripti testimonio Sigilli mei munimen apposui. Hiis Testibus: Willelmo de bello campo: Constantino filio Alulfi; Benedicto le seinter tunc vicecomite: Henrico de Sancta Helena: Michaele de Sancta Helena tunc Aldermanno: Alfredo clerico: Johanne de Woburn: Abel aurifabro: Ilgero aurifabro: Ewerardo aurifabro: Hugone clerico.

¹ Discovered by Henry Bradshaw.

² Hiis Testibus: Constantino filio Alulfi: Alfredo clerico: Ernaldo ruffo: Constantino juuene: Benedicto le seinter tunc uicecomite: Michaele de Sancta Helena tunc aldermanno: Abel aurifabro: Jocio filio petri: Ilgero aurifabro: Willelmo juuenal: Henrico de Sancta Helena: Hugone clerico.

The charter of HERWIC SON OF GEOFFREY¹ gives to the hospital twelve pence of quit-rent in pure and perpetual alms, out of three shillings of annual rent formerly paid to him by Keneward the linendraper from land next the garden of the hospital on the north side. It contains a list of the staff of the hospital, since it is witnessed by Bartholomew, Balderic, William, Thomas, and Richard, then chaplains of the hospital, and Hugh of Bugingeham, clerk and steward of the hospital. Since Walter son of Algar is also a witness, the charter belongs to a year before 1217, when he had become a monk at Coggeshall.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Herwicus filius Galfridi Diuine pietatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et pro salute animarum patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum Dedi et Concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis de Smethefeld et fratribus ibidem deo seruientibus In liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam xii denariatas quieti redditus de quodam redditu meo annuo scilicet de tribus solidatis redditus quas Kenewardus le lingedraper aliquando annuatim michi reddidit pro quadam acra terre cum pertinentiis suis quam idem Kenewardus aliquando de me tenuit. Que scilicet iacet iuxta gardinum dicti Hospitalis versus aquilonem. Habendas et percipiendas dictis fratribus libere quiete integre finabiliter per manus illorum quicumque predictam acram terre habuerint et tuerint. Ita scilicet quod nec Ego Herwicus Nec aliquis heredum meorum nec aliquis alius per nos uel pro nobis poterimus uel debemus de cetero aliquid habere uel exigere uel clamare de predicta acra terre preter quam duos solidos michi Herwico uel heredibus meis annuatim soluendos per manus illorum quicumque illam acram terre habuerint uel tuerint pro omni seruitio et exactione. Ego uero Herwicus et heredes mei predictas xii denariatas quieti redditus contra omnes homines et feminas dictis fratribus fideliter et finabiliter warantizabimus. Hiis Testibus: Bartholomeo: Balderico: Willelmo: Thoma: Ricardo tunc capellanis dicti hospitalis: Waltero filio Algari: Ricardo clerico filio eius: Radulfo Cultellario: Gileberto pincerna: Edwardo: Ricardo coco: Willelmo filio Ricardi: Hugone de Bugingeham tunc clerico et senescallo eiusdem Hospitalis.

Herwic's circular seal bears a fleur-de-lys of fine design and the inscription "Sig. Herwici fil. Galfridi."

AGNES FLAEL¹ gave to the hospital towards the support of the poor therein dwelling sixteen penny-worths of quit-rent from the land which Ralph le kicur held of her in the parish of St. Ethelburga (Adeburge) at Bishopsgate. Her charter is witnessed by four men of St. Albans, and may have been written there. Her

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri Quod ego Agnes flael caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mée Dedi et concessi : quiete clamaui et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui In puram et perpetuam elemosinam deo et sancte marie et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de smethefeld ad sustentationem pauperum ibidem existentium xvi denariatas quieti redditus de terra quam Radulfus le kicur tenuit de me : que terra iacet in parochia sancte adeburge apud bissopesgate. Habendas et tenendas eisdem fratribus et successoribus suis sicut meam puram et perpetuam elemosinam de me et de heredibus meis quiete Integre : finabiliter sine omni occasione. Et ego predicta Agnes has prenominatas xvi denariatas quieti redditus dictis fratribus hospitalis sancti bartholomei de smethefeld sicut meam puram et perpetuam elemosinam contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabo. Vt autem hec mea donatio et concessio et quiete clamatio rata sit et firma et in perpetuum permaneat presens scriptum sigilli me appositione confirmaui. Hiis Testibus : Radulfo filio Ade et Thoma fratre suo : Gregorio bidune : Domino Thoma capellano : fratre Michaelis : Ada hostiario : fratre Gileberto tannatore : Ricardo clerico de sancto Albano : Daniele filio assur de sancto Albano : Waltero bessus : et multis aliis.

The first witness is shown by the seal of the next charter to be the Ralph of St. Albans who married Agnes Flael.

A Richard of St. Albans appears in a charter of ALEXANDER DEL CHAFTEL which belongs to this period. This Alexander, chaplain, had bought a holding in Smithfield from John Pincerna, and granted it with his daughter Alitia in free marriage to William of Pesemer. The land paid an annual rent of three shillings to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Alexander Del Chafstel Capellanus dedi et Concessi et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui Willelmo de Pesemer cum Alitia filia mea in liberum Maritagium totum illud Tenementum quod ego Alexander Capellanus Emi de Johanne Pincerna videlicet illud Tenementum quod Radulfus de Wincestre tenuit de me Extra London In Smethefend In parochia sancti sepulcri cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et iacet inter messuagium Radulfi Macherun. Tenendum et Habendum sibi et heredibus suis Libere et Quiete : Bene : et in Pace : Jure et Hereditarie. Reddendo inde annuatim Hospitali sancti Bartholomei De Smethefend : tres solidos ad duos terminos : videlicet ad festum sancti michaelis decem et octo denarios et ad Pascha x et viii denarios : Pro omni seruitio et Exactione. Hiis testibus Johanne de Valoniis : Laurentio et Henrico Capellanis : Philippo filio Gallion : Willelmo filio Wiger : Waltero falchonis : Normanno filio Hugonis : Radulfo mustard : Ricardo De sancto Albano : Ricardo Taleboif : Rogero Julianni : et Multis Aliis.

oval seal bears a thick maltese cross and the legend "Sig. Agnetis Flael."

Another charter, that of RALPH OF ST. ALBANS¹ and AGNES his wife, tells a little more of this benefactress. She was daughter of Ralph Flael, who was an alderman in London of the gild of goldsmiths in 1180, when William of Haverhill and Peter son of Alan were also aldermen. In that year the feeling in the city must have been something like what it was in 1683, when the forfeiture of its charter

¹ Ralph of St. Albans and Agnes his wife, daughter of Ralph Flael, grant to Ralph brother of Hamo the smith, paying yearly one mark of silver, all their land which Hamo held in fee of Reginald the old in the parish of St. Ethelburga at Bishopsgate. For this grant Hamo brother of Ralph gave them two marks of silver and a half "in gersumam."

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod Ego Radulfus de sancto Albano et Ego Agnes uxor eius filia Radulfi flael Concessimus dimisimus et presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Radulfo fratri Hamonis fabri Totam illam terram nostram quam sepe dictus Hamo in feodo et hereditate de Reginaldo sene tenuit in parochia sancte Adelburge apud Bissopesgate scilicet quicquid ibidem habuimus in terris in lignis in longitudine et latitudine cum omnibus pertinentiis suis sine aliquo retinemento. Habendam et tenendam illi et heredibus suis de nobis et de heredibus nostris in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre finabiliter reddendo inde annuatim nobis siue heredibus nostris pro omni seruicio et exactione et pro omnibus rebus vnam marcam argenti quatuor terminis anni scilicet infra oct. Natal. domini xl denarios [*dc.*] sine omni occasione et meskenningia. Preterea autem sciendum est quod ego Radulfus de sancto Albano prefato uel ego A. uxor eius siue heredes nostri ulla tenus poterimus de hospitari predictum Radulfum fratrem Hamonis fabri uel heredes suos tam nos uel heredes nostros hospitandi. Idem prefatus Radulfus siue heredes sui non poterunt hanc terram Ecclesie siue judeo dare uendere siue inuadiare. Hanc autem terram predictam ego Radulfus de sancto Albano prefatus et ego Agnes uxor eius et heredes nostri warantizabimus eidem Radulfo fratri Hamonis predicti et suis heredibus contra omnes homines et feminas per predictum seruicium secundum Legem Ciuitatis Londoniarum. Pro hac autem concessione et dimissione et warantisione et presentis carte nostre confirmatione prenominatus Radulfus frater Hamonis fabri donauit nobis duas marcas argenti et dimidiam in Gersumam.

T.: Radulfo de Cornhill: Johanne Bocuinte: Johanne filio Danielis: Johanne magno palmerio: Johanne paruo palmerio: Edwardo pictore: Willelmo Beretun: Gilleberto de Ainz': Ricardo de Cantia: Reginaldo pictore: Adam Cuilter: Willelmo Turner: Thoma de Warewic: Hamone capellano: Hugone tabur: Rollando mesgucer: Godefrido capellario [*sic*]: Normanno fustion: Stephano selario: Ricardo nigro.

followed a writ of Quo warranto. The citizens were made to feel the power of King Henry II. Eighteen gilds founded without royal authority were amerced. The importance of Ralph Flael is shown by the fact that his gild had to pay the largest fine—(this was forty-five marks)—while the gild of William of Haverhill paid ten, and that of Peter son of Alan fifteen.¹

Agnes's seal as a married woman bears a straight stalk with three pair of waving lateral branches topped by an ear of corn, and with the legend, "Sigillum Agnetis uxoris Raul de Sco Albano." Her husband's seal has an eagle regardant and the words, "Sigillum Radulfi filio Ade."

Ralph Flael is a witness of a charter of Reginald of Ginges, in the cartulary of the nuns of Clerkenwell.²

Numerous other gifts were made in the city. Peter son of Gilbert le Cuverturier³ granted to the hospital, land in the parish of St. Margaret Lothbury, between Walbrook and the land of William Kisker of Lothbury. The grant has only two witnesses, Jacob Blund then alderman, and Joce son of Peter. The land is measured in the iron ells of the King of England.

¹ Madox, "History and Antiquities of the Exchequer," 1711, p. 390.

² Testibus Willelmo filio Ysabel vicecomite Londoniarum: Johanne Bocuinte: Brichtmaro de Hauerhell: Edwardo le blund: Henrico aldermanno: Radulfo flael. This series of witnesses suggests the middle part of the reign of Henry II. since a William son of Ysabel was sheriff in 1156, 1162, 1176, 1178, 1179, 1181, and 1193. John Bocuinte was sheriff in 1169 and Brichtmar de Haverhell in 1157, 1158, and 1174.—*Cartulary of St. Mary's, Clerkenwell*, f. 33a.

³ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 249b.

In All Hallows, Thames Street, John Pynchaste and Agnes his wife in 1220 gave land. In the charter the names of six members of the staff, Ferherd, Bartholomew, Baldric, Jordan, Thomas, and Hugh, then chaplains, follow those of the sheriffs of the year, John Viel and Joce le Posur.¹

In the parish of St. Nicholas of Acon next Queenhythe, Anselin of Walton² gave his land and houses to the hospital.

In St. Michael Candelwyke Street, William the tailor of Sandon,³ at the prompting of charity and for the good of his soul, confirmed the grant of Robert his nephew, son of Godfrey the tailor, of eight pence quitrent on the house of Godfrey the tailor in Candelwyke Street by the hands of Sanson le buveller or of whoever holds the house.

RICHARD SON OF MICHAEL granted to the hospital and to the brethren and sisters there serving God two shillings and six pence of rent each year in the city of London, for the welfare of his soul and for those of his father and mother, and for that of Robert son of Ralph and those of his own ancestors and successors, in pure and

¹ The other witnesses are Luca clerico: Radulfo cutiller: Constantino iuvene: Roberto la justice: Alexandro Bat.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 254a.

² His testibus Waltero capellano de Sto Swithun: Johanne de Haliwell capellano: Johanne de Sancta Mildreda capellano: Henrico filio Reineri: Thoma filio maioris: Rogero Herlicon: Thoma soluere: Goduyn Marschall: et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* f. 244b.

³ His testibus: Bartholomeo: Ricardo: Willelmo: Thoma capellanis dicti Hospitalis: Constantino filio Alulfi: Constantino iuvene: Magistro Stephano de Valencyns Waltero filio Algari: Ricardo filio eius: Hugone de Bukingham: Willelmo: tunc clericis dicti Hospitalis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 269b.

perpetual alms ; from five shillings' worth of rent then held by Robert son of Aliz in fee "and which stands upon Walebroc" (Walbrook). Robert or his heirs are to pay the two shillings. Robert son of Alic was brother of William son of Alic, sheriff in 1200. Richard's circular seal, "Sigill. Ricardi fil. Michill," is perfect, and bears a hound.¹

RICHARD SON OF RICHARD PICOT, at the prompting of charity and for his own soul and those of his father Richard and his mother Cecilia, confirmed his father's legacy to the hospital of land and houses in Chiselstrate between Richard Picot's own land and that held of him by Richard Leppere ; "the land in fact which Geoffrey the carpenter held of my father and of me." The land returned six shillings a year. Its length was twenty-three ells and half a quarter of an ell of the iron ells of John King of England, and its breadth fifteen ells and one quarter and half a quarter of an ell.²

Richard's circular seal bears a large crescent and a star and the words "Sig. Ricardi fil. Ricardi Picot."

The name *Albus* (undeclined or declined) is convertible with *Blund*, as is shown by two charters of

¹ Roger the chaplain is the first witness, and is followed by Peter Bat (sheriff in 1213); Gerard Bat his son (sheriff in 1232); William son of Reinner; William Hardel (sheriff in 1207); Salomon of Basinges (sheriff in 1214); William of Basinges; William of Sauerne; Robert Bat; Robert the deacon; "et pluribus aliis."

² His testibus: Simone albo tunc Aldermano; David de la more; Galfrido; Manicas; Rogero le careter; Rogero ruffo tannatore; Martino; Durante; Normanno tannatore; Waltero tannatore; Rogero smeth; Hacone takenario; Thurstano conreor; et multis aliis.

THOMAS BLUND,¹ whose circular seal bears an ill-drawn falcon and lure, with the legend "Sigillum Thome Albus."

Since Blund was an adjectival designation which in some cases gradually became a surname, its occurrence does not in itself at this period necessarily indicate relationship. WALTER BLUND² the fishmonger, whose grant has already been mentioned, does not seem to have been a kinsman of Robert Blund; and neither Robert Blund nor Geoffrey Blund appear as witnesses in his charter, nor in a grant to him by WIMARC,³

¹ Nouerint vniuersi presens scriptum inspecturi uel audituri Quod Ego Thomas Blundus concessi &c. magistro et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld octo solidatos quieti redditus de terra quam Walterus Mass aliquando tenuit de me in parochia sancti Nicholai in piscaria de sopa secunda introitus uersus occidentem capitalis mesagii mei &c. Testibus istis: Rogero le duc tunc maiore Londoniarum: Johanne de Wburne: Ricardo filio Walteri tunc vicecomitibus: Ricardo reinger: Johanne Viel tunc aldermannis: Andrea Bukerell: Joceo filio Petri: Henrico de Oxonia: Roberto filio Johannis: Waltero Bruning: Willelmo de Cham: Johanne furnager: Willelmo saluario: Roberto longo: Roberto fabro. The year is 1230.

Sciunt presentes et futuri Quod Ego Thomas Blundus debeo Magistro et Fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld unam marcam argenti soluendam dictis magistro et fratribus Infra octavas sancti Michaelis Anno Rengni Regis Henrici filii Johannis Regis Anglie Quinto Decimo. [If he does not pay it they shall have four shillings of quit-rent from the shop which William Tabur held of him in the parish of St. Nicholas in Piscaria.] Et ad maiorem securitatem Hoc fideliter tenendum Ego Thomas Blundus pro me et heredibus meis affidauit et renunciauit priuilegio fori et omnibus cauillationibus inpetraciis et inpetratidis et subposui me Juridicioni Archidiaconi Londoniensis Qui me ad hoc Tenendum si necesse fuerit compellat. The witnesses are the same as those of the first charter.

² p. 278.

³ Sciunt presentes et futuri quod Ego Wimarc que fui filia Ricardi militis concessi et dimissi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui ut ea que sum in ligia potestate mea et iusta heres terre que fuit patris mei post mortem suam: Waltero Blundo et heredibus suis unam partem curie mee quam habui in parrochia Sancti Nicholai apud piscariam in distavelane que uidelicet pars terre fuit de feodo Ricardi militis patris mei continens in latitudine tres ulnas et unum quarteronem in longitudine uero septem ulnas quarterone deficiente de ulnis ferreis Ricardi regis anglie habendam et tenendam de me et heredibus meis predicto Waltero et heredibus suis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete

daughter of Richard the military tenant mentioned in the charter of William son of Alan. Osbert Blund who is mentioned in this last charter may have belonged to the same family group as Walter. His son RALPH BLUND¹ made a grant of five shillings of quit-rent to

integre honorifice finabiliter reddendo inde michi et heredibus meis annuatim duos denarios uel unam libram cimini pro omnibus seruiciis et exactionibus et omnibus rebus ad unum terminum anni scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis ii denarios uel unam libram cimini absque omni occasione. Et sciendum quod Ego Wimarc et heredes mei warantizabimus predictam partem terre ipsi Waltero et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas per predictam censum Scilicet per duos denarios uel per unam libram cimini per annum. Et ita quod nec ego Wimarc nec heredes mei poterimus ipsum Walterum siue heredes suos inde dehospitalare causa me uel heredes meos ibidem hospitandi. Et sciendum quod si predictus Walterus uel heredes sui prenominatam terre partem hospitare uoluerint qualemcumque claustrum uoluerint facient super prenominatam terram. Et Ego sepe dicta Wimarc et heredes mei aquietanciam suam recipiemus. Hanc uero conuentionem Ego prefata Wimarc affidauit pro me et heredibus meis fideliter tenendam predicto Waltero et heredibus suis. Pro hac autem mea concessione et dimissione et Warantisione et presentis carte mee confirmatione prenominatus Walterus dedit michi Wimarc filie Ricardi militis sexdecim solidos in gersummam. Hiis testibus: Gileberto presbitero: Alano Balun: Johanne Burguin: Johanne Bedello: Hugone cisore: Goldhac: Waltero: Bruning: Galfrido de Watford: Ricardo filio Pagani: Thurstano caluo: Roberto longo: Johanne longo: Ricardo de Hese: Roberto de Murthelach: Ricardo Buchart: Roberto Clerico: Ricardo Clerico: et multis aliis. The charter probably belongs to the end of the reign of Henry II.

¹ Ralph Blund's charter begins:—

Sciunt presentes et futuri Quod Ego Radulfus Blund filius Oseberti Blundi vendidi et quieteclamaui et forisaffidauit extra me et heredes meos Ricardo de Necketone Aurifabro: Quinque solidatos Quieti et annui redditus de quadam domo mea lapidea cum pertinentiis in parochia Sancti Vadasti Inter capitale managium meum et ecclesiam Sancti Vadasti vel de selda mea cum introitu et exitu uersus forum Londoniarum ad uoluntatem eiusdem Ricardi et heredum suorum [and after the usual expressions as to the dates of payment and warranty, ends with the statement that Richard paid to Ralph forty shillings sterling and to Leticia his wife half a mark of silver]. Hiis Testibus: Joco filio Petri tunc Aldermanno: Thoma filio Ricardi: Nicholao de Sancto Albano aurifabro: Nicholao filio Jocci: Willelmo de Frowic: Adam de Benetelega: Willelmo fiz: Willelmo de Hakene: Radulfo de Holanda: Alexandro de sancto Albano: Roberto de Lenne: Hugone filio Galfridi aurifabri: Waltero Flemeng: Willelmo de Ripa: et aliis.

The presence of William de Ripa makes it probable that this charter was written in the mastership of Hugh. Joco son of Peter was sheriff in 1211, his son Nicholas in 1248, Adam of Benetelega in 1245; so that the first witness, besides being alderman, was probably much older than the others.

Richard of Neketone the goldsmith in the time of Hugh our master in the parish of St. Vedast. It was to come from a stone house next the church or from his shop with a way in and out to Cheapside.

ALICIA daughter of Ingenolde granted to the hospital all the land which Lece la Lunge gave in pure and perpetual alms in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn of the prebend of Master Peter de Collemedio, canon of St. Paul's, lying between the capital messuage of Lecia and the land of William le Stuter: the land, namely, that she claimed against John Hinhine "per Breue domini Regis" and against Alan of Menumester in the court of Master Peter de Collemedio, canon of St. Paul's. The hospital was to pay at Easter every year a single penny for all services, customs and exactions except the service of the lord of the fee, namely twenty-two pence a year. The master and brethren gave her twenty shillings sterling "in Gersumam."¹

This Alice was the wife of WILLIAM SON OF ROBERT BLUND² of Krokesle, as is shown by a charter which

¹ Hiis testibus: Magistro Roberto de Watford tunc Decano Sancti Pauli Lond. Magistro Philippo de Hadham: Gocio filio petri tunc Althermanno: Hernaldo Ruffo: Constantino filio Alardi: Jordano de Bracino: Johanne Buquoise: Ricardo Riche-manno: Ailwyno chese: Radulfo et Matino tunc clericis hospitalis: et multis aliis.

Robert of Watford was Dean of St. Paul's during the years 1218-1227: Philip of Hadham held the prebend of Chamberlain's wood, and Peter de Collemedio Romano that of Holborn. Constantine son of Alard was sheriff in 1212.

² Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Willelmus filius Roberti Blundi de krokesle et Ego Alicia filia Ingenolde uxor sua Dedimus [&c.] Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus eiusdem loci (the words of the two charters are identical except those in which the number of the grantors requires an alteration). The seal of Alicia's own charter has not been preserved. Both seals of the joint charter remain

they issued at the same time as hers, and which is witnessed by the same witnesses.

RALPH NIGER¹ gave to the hospital, for the welfare of his own soul and that of Emma his wife and those of his father and mother and of all his kinsmen, whether living or dead, six shillings' worth of quit-rent in the parish of Holy Trinity the little, three shillings from the messuage next that church along the churchyard on the north held by his son Thomas, and three shillings from the land held by his son Geoffrey between the land of Hamo the merchant and the land of Emma La Josne, Ralph's daughter. Of this money three shillings are to be spent in providing oil for the lamp before the altar of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and three shillings for oil for the sick ward. His circular seal bears a hawk carrying a quarry in its talons and on a border in capitals the words "SIGILL: RADULFI NIGRI."

HUGH OF THE DITCH,² a parmenter, for the welfare of

upon vellum tags. William's seal is circular, and bears a fish and the legend "S. Wil: Kurciel de Hatfeld": while that of Alice is oval, and bears a cross, and on a border the legend in capitals, "S. ALIZ. FILIE INGENALDE." The joint charter may be judged to have been copied from that of Alice. Both were probably written by the same scribe.

¹ Hiis testibus: Thoma de Wrotham: Helya Aurifabro: Hamone mercatore: Radulfo le Cuteiller: Rogero de Kudintune: Hernoldo le Quinter: et multis Aliis.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Hugo de Fossato parmentarius Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et pro anima Constantie uxoris mee et pro animabus puerorum nostrorum ——— Dedi ——— Deo et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld ad sustentationem infirmorum ibidem existentium Totam terram meam quam tenui de Johanne filio Johannis Herlicun in parochia Sancti Botulfi extra Aildredesgate. Que terra est inter terram Jacobi Aldermanni et terram Danielis Sellarii. Scilicet quicquid ibidem habui ——— et Totam terram quam tenui de Daniele Sellario Habendas et Tenendas eisdem Fratribus predicti hospitalis in puram liberam et perpetuam Elemosinam saluo seruitio capitalium dominorum predictarum

his own soul and that of Constanca his wife, and those of their children, granted to the hospital for the support of the sick there living, all the land he held of John son of John Herlicun in the parish of St. Botulf outside Aldersgate, which land lay between that of James the alderman and that of Daniel the sadler, and also all the land he held of Daniel, subject to the payments of three shillings a year to John son of John Herlicun and to Daniel two pence at Michaelmas. The fine circular seal of Hugh of the Ditch bears a lion passant with a large bush terminating its tail, and on a border the words "Sigillum Ugonis Del Fosse."

Hugh of the Ditch had obtained the land from Ralph of Frowic, and the grant was confirmed by EDITH RELICT OF LAURENCE RUFUS,¹ the goldsmith, whose

terrarum quod predicti fratres annuatim facere debent. Scilicet Johanni filio Johannis Herlicun et heredibus suis tres solidos ad quatuor terminos anni ——— Item ad festum sancti Michaelis predicto Danieli et heredibus suis ii denarios (the usual warranty follows).

Hiis Testibus: Thoma capellano de Sancto Botulfo: Michaeli de Sancta Helena: Johanne filio Johannis Herlicun: Gileberto corduanario: Willelmo thrusse: Willelmo de eschep: Willelmo de Ripa clerico.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Editha relicta Laurentii rufi aurifabri concessi et presenti carta mea confirmanti Hugoni de fossato in libera potestate mea concessionem et dimissionem et carte confirmationem quam Radulfus de frowic aurifaber fecit eidem Hugoni super quadam terra que est in Parochia sancti Botulfi extra Aldredesgate inter terram Jacobi Aldermanni filii Benedicti et terram Edmundi le fiers ——— Habendam et tenendam eidem Hugoni — de prenominate Radulfo et de heredibus suis qui exierunt de Adrianna uxore sua filia mea ——— Reddendo — tres solidos quatuor terminis anni — Pro hac autem concessione ——— prenominate Hugo dedit michi Edithe Quatuor solidos in Gersumam. Hiis testibus: Thoma filio Johannis filii Nigelli: Roberto Blundo Aldermanno: Andrea Blundo parmentario: Johanne aurifabro: Reginaldo aurifabro: Johanne meruin: Fermine aurifabro: Baldewino parmentario: Hugone cementario: Willelmo de Bedefordia: Symone de Cycestria: Jordano chynchero: Willelmo de Estchep: Ricardo puyer: Willelmo Lytelgrom.

daughter Adriana had married Ralph of Frowic, also a goldsmith. Hugh of the Ditch was to pay three shillings a year, and he gave Edith four shillings "in gersumam." Her oval seal bears a rampant lion and the legend "Sigill. Edithe filie Johann." It is interesting to observe among the witnesses two parmenters and three goldsmiths, members of the crafts with which the parties to the transaction were associated.

HUGH¹ the master granted this land outside Aldersgate to John of Eschep, at thirteen shillings and two pence a year, and John gave the brethren ten marks of silver. The deed was a "Carta cirographata," and the part sealed by John of Eastcheap remains in the hospital. His seal (partly broken) bears an Agnus Dei and the legend "*Sigillum Johis de Estchepe.*"

Hugh of the Ditch also gave to the hospital, land in

James Alderman, whose father's name is here given, was sheriff in 1199, and John son of Nigell in 1177, whose son Thomas is the first witness.

A charter of BEATRICE, widow of Edmund le fiers, as to land in Aldersgate, is mentioned above (p. 107).

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Hugo Capellanus procurator Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld de Londoniis et fratres Eiusdem Loci Concessimus ——— Johanni de Eschep Totum capitale managium ——— quod fuit Hugonis de Fossato in parochia sancti Botulfi extra Aldredesgate quod etiam managium predictus Hugo de Fossato Hospitali nostro in puram contulit elemosinam. Scilicet quicquid Ibidem habuimus ——— Reddendo inde annuatim domui nostre ——— tredecim solidos et duos denarios sterlingorum ad quatuor terminis anni [within fifteen days of Michaelmas, Easter, Christmas, and the feast of St. John the Baptist, thirty-nine pence halfpenny at] sine omni occasione et meskenninga Et sciendum est quod non poterimus dehospitalari dictum Johannem ——— Prenominatus uero Johannes in pleno capitulo nostro prestito Juramento fecit nobis et domui nostre fidelitatem super predicto tenemento [and as to paying the rent] ——— Preterea sciendum est quod nec idem Johannes nec heredes sui poterunt Tenementum illud Judee uel Judee vendere uel inaudiare uel aliquo modo alienare nec alicui ecclesie dare sine assensu nostro ——— [and if he or his heirs wish to sell or mortgage] nos erimus preiores

the parish of St. Martin Ludgate, and HENRY FOLIOHT¹ granted and sold his right in the same land, in a beautifully written charter of the year 1222, addressed to Hugh the master. Henry Folioht had bought the land from William of Buvenei.² Eustace, Bishop of London, and

omnibus aliis de vno bisancio aureo. [The usual warranty follows.] Pro hac igitur concessione ——— dedit nobis decem marcas argenti in Gersumam. Hiis Testibus: Michaele de sancta Elena tunc Aldermanno: Rogero Bursario: Randolpho de stanore: Simone hacpetit: Gileberto cordewanario: Willelmo de Eschep: Ricardo: Ricardo peauconer: Stephano de Stafford: Willelmo Thrusse: Johanne filio Jordani: Gileberto orbatu: Johanne de Woburn: Radulfo Bedello: Willelmo de Ripa Clerico: Et pluribus aliis.

Michael de Sancta Helena was sheriff in 1231, and, as this charter is not later than 1223, it shows that he had been an alderman at least seven years before he was sheriff. John of Woburn was sheriff in 1230.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Henricus folioht Concessi Dimisi et Vendidi Hugoni Magistro Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus eiusdem Loci totam terram meam cum domibus superpositis et omnibus pertinentiis suis in Lignis Lapidibus et omnibus Rebus Aliis quam habui in Parochia Sancti Martini Extra Ludgate in Londoniis Pro viginti marcis argenti quam emi de Willelmo de Buenei filio Willelmi de Buueni. Que terra est de feodo dictorum fratrum hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Quam Hugo de Fossa contulit dicto hospitali in puram et perpetuam Elemosinam. Habendam et Tenendam dictis Hugoni et fratribus et eorum successoribus sicut proprium feodum suum extra me et heredes meos. Libere et Quietate Integre et finabiliter. Ego uero predictus Henricus et heredes mei warantizabimus predictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et predictam emtionem contra omnes homines et feminas predicto Magistro Hugoni et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei et eorum successoribus et Aquietabimus predictam terram contra Willelmum de Buenei et heredes suos de omni seruitio et exactione pro predictis viginti Marcis argenti. Et Hanc Conuentionem et venditionem Ego predictus Henricus folioht fideliter pro me et pro heredibus meis Affidau predictis Hugoni et fratribus et eorum successoribus obseruare. Et vt hec dimissio et venditio Rata permaneant et inconcussa Sigilli mei appositione presens scriptum Roborau. His Testibus: Domino Eustachio Londoniensi Episcopo: Domino Radulfo de Neule tunc Cancellario Domini Henrici Regis: Domino Serlone tunc maiore Londoniarum: Willelmo Joimer et Thoma Lambert tunc vicecomitibus Londoniarum: Domino Gotio tunc Adermanno: Philippo de Faukunberge: Willelmo de Castello: Roberto filio Willelmi.

Philip of Faukunberge was Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and held the prebend of Cadington Major in St. Paul's.

² William of Buvenei's grant is in the *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 137a:—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Bouenaye filius Willelmi de Bouenay dedi [d.c.] Henrico foliot pro homagio et seruicio suo totam terram meam quam habui in suburbiis Londoniarum extra portam que vocatur Ludgate et in parochia

Ralph of Nevile, chancellor of King Henry, are the first witnesses, and are followed by Serlo, then mayor, and the sheriffs, William Joinier and Thomas Lambert, and by Goce the alderman. Henry Folioht was a great person, probably a kinsman of Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London.

Hugh of the Ditch also held land of the prior and brethren of the holy Hospital of Jerusalem in the parish of St. Martin; and Berengari the baker held a messuage,¹ part of this holding. R. the treasurer, then prior, and the brethren entered into an agreement with the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital that they (*i.e.* of St. Bartholomew's) should hold this messuage "jure hereditario," and should pay eight shillings a year. The charter is witnessed by seven brethren of

Sancti Martini [*dc.*] habendam et tenendam sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis tam plene et integre [*dc.*] Hiis testibus: Willelmo Coventrie episcopo: Eustachio de Kantebrigia Thesaurario: Roberto de Neville cancellario de scaccario: It' Radulfo Hareng & Stephano de Segraue & Martino de Pateshull & Johanne de Gesting Justiciariis: Ricardo de Dol: Magistro Alexandro de Dorsete: Elias de Suming custodibus Judeorum: Roberto Maudutt: Thoma de Chimeli clerico: Willelmo de castello clerico: Johanne filio Willelmi.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod hec conuencio facta est inter fratrem R. thesaurarium tunc priorem sancte domus hospitalis Ierosolimitane in Anglia et fratres eiusdem domus ex una parte et fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei ex alia. Scilicet quod fratres Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei tenebunt iure hereditario messuagium quod Berengarius pistor tenuit in parochia sancti Martini parui apud Iudegate quod erat de tenemento Hugone de fossa, de priore et fratribus prefate domus reddendo inde annuatim iam dictis fratribus octo solidos ad duos terminos Videlicet quatuor solidos infra octabas pasche et iiii solidos infra octabas sancti michaelis: Et ut hec conuencio fideliter hinc in de seretur fuit presenti scripto et sigillorum utriusque partis appositione roborata. Hiis testibus: fratre laurencio sacerdote: fratre Roberto de Wahye: fratre Sampson: fratre Rogero folioth: fratre Gilleberto de lyndesi: fratre Alexandro: fratre Gregorio: Waltero: Bartholomeo capellanis: et multis aliis.—
Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, f. 137.

the Hospital of Jerusalem and two chaplains. Roger Foliot is one of the brethren.

Hugh the master¹ leased this land which Berengari the baker had occupied to Richard Cook, it then being between the land of John Hachard, goldsmith, and that of William the baker, at one mark a year. Richard gave them ten marks of silver "in gersumam" and one mark of silver towards maintenance. The first of the fifteen witnesses is Bartholomew of St. Martin's, then in the place of alderman (tunc loco aldermanni), and the last is William de Ripa, clerk, who perhaps wrote the original charter, as he certainly did others.

Richard Cook afterwards disposed of his property by will,² leaving to his wife Agnes his house, and to Basilia his daughter the house in which she lived. When Agnes should die he left half her house towards the Fleet to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; the other half to his daughter, and that too to come to the hospital on Basilia's death. The witnesses were the master of St. Bartholomew's; Lawrence, chaplain of St. Martin Ludgate; Walter potage, chaplain; John, serjeant of the ward; and Agnes, wife of Richard Cook. Basilia married John, and they had a son

¹ Hiis Testibus: Bartholomeo de Sco. Martino tunc loco Aldermani: Matheo aurifabro: Galfrido capellano: Ricardo capellano: Reginaldo buckel: Arnulfo cormanger: Ricardo clerico de Westmel: Reigner pistore: Osberto plumbar: Pentecost aurifabro: Serlone calicero: Johanne blundo: Waltero monetario: Waltero sutore: Willelmo de Ripa clerico.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 138.

² Will of Richard Coc.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 139a.

Richard the goldbeater, probably called after her father, with whom a subsequent master in the reign of Henry III. made an agreement as to the house.

Before taking leave of Hugh of the Ditch, our benefactor, the dealer in fur robes, a charter may be mentioned which contains a list of some of his contemporaries in London, and mentions some of the streets and buildings with which they were familiar: Westminster Abbey, St. Bartholomew's Priory, Aldersgate, and Honey Lane. RICHARD SON OF OSBERT LE BACHELER¹ granted to William of Chabeham the land which he held of the church and convent of St. Peter of Westminster. The land lay between the land of the church of the canons of St. Bartholomew's in the parish of St. Botulf outside Aldersgate. William was to pay six shillings a year rent, and was not to be disturbed. Margaret, William's wife, was a kinswoman

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Ricardus filius Osberti Le bacheler Concessi et Dimisi et presenti Carta mea confirmaui Willelmo de Chabeham quandam terram meam quam teneo de Ecclesia et conuentu Sancti Petri de Westmonasterio. Que uidelicet terra iacet inter terram Canonicorum Ecclesie sancti Bartholomei de Londoniis in parochia Sancti Botulfi extra Aldredesgate. Scilicet quicquid ibidem habui _____ Habendam et tenendam prenominato Willelmo _____ Reddendo inde annuatim _____ sex solidos duobus terminis anni _____ Preterea sciendum est quod Concessi prenominato Willelmo et heredibus suis quos habuerit de Margareta uxore sua et agnata mea quod habeant et teneant prenominatam terram post obitum meum ita libere et quiete sicut illam teneo de ecclesia et conuentu Sancti Petri de Westmonasterio: scilicet pro duobus solidis et dimidio annuatim pro omnibus seruiciis. _____ Pro hac igitur concessione — dedit michi predictus Willelmus dimidiam marcam argenti in Gersumam. Hiis testibus: Ada de Brunges: Hugone de fossato: Gaufrido de Chabeham: Elya le bukelar: Waltero de Eya: Baldewino parmentario: Jordano Le Cuilter: Albino de Hunilane: Johanne Bodin: Hereberto tannatore: Radulfo Cute: Willelmo filio Eustacii: Iuone blundo: Henrico Aurifabro: Waltero de Huntindonia: Willelmo de Tantoniam; Waltero le peker: Osberto the Cimin thauree.

of Richard, and her children were to continue the holding. They were to pay to St. Peter's, Westminster, two shillings and a half a year. William paid to Richard half a mark of silver "in gersumam." Hugh of the Ditch was the second witness.

REGINALD OF WIRHAM¹ left Bartholomew the chaplain of St. Bartholomew's the sum of ten shillings.

This Reginald made his will when he was himself starting for Jerusalem. Hugh the master of St. Bartholomew's is one of the executors, and two others are Martin son of William, who was sheriff in 1225, and Andrew Bukerell, sheriff in 1223. Bartholomew the chaplain seems to have been his friend. The money left to him is to go to the hospital if Bartholomew dies before the testator. He left ten shillings annual rent to keep a chaplain at St. Bartholomew's, and wishes to share in the spiritual benefits of the work of the brethren, and desires that his name may be entered in the hospital martyrology. He also left money to the nuns of Kilburn, to the hospital of St. James, to the hospital of St. Giles, to that of St. Thomas, and to St. Mary's beyond the bridge, to London Bridge, and to the nuns of St. Helen's. To the works of restoration at St. Paul's he left forty pence, and the same sum to St. Mary Aldermary, to St. Mary le Bow, to the nuns of Clerkenwell, of Haliwell, and of Stratford, and to

¹ Hoc est testamentum Reginoldi de Wirham quod fecit in libera potestate sua quando Inter suum arripuit uersus terram Ierosolimitanam.

the new hospital of Bishopsgate forty pence each and to the nuns of Chestrhunt ten shillings. His brother William is left two marks, if he returns from the Holy Land. If not, they are to be spent in buying shoes for the poor. Adam his nephew is left two marks, and his godson, son of Hugh of Meldeburne, a third mark of the aforesaid forty shillings. In the event of their not surviving him, these are to be given to the poor. He leaves his shop and another at Winchester Fair to Peter Burgensis his partner to pay twelve pence a year to the canons of St. Bartholomew's, and, if he does not come back, to St. Bartholomew's Hospital on the same terms. A seal bearing a classical head remains attached to this indented copy of the will.

The hospital of St. Thomas the martyr was founded in Southwark in 1228, near the present site of Guy's Hospital, so that Reginald of Wirham's bequest was one of its earliest benefactions. The hospital is now dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle, and its handsome building on the river near Lambeth Palace is worthy of its medical fame.

WILLIAM THE FRENCHBORN¹ at about the same period made gifts to St. Bartholomew's, to Haliwell, and to St. Thomas's Hospital. He gave from the house which

¹ Datum Willelmi Francigene. Deo et domui hospitali sancti Bartholomei de smithelfelt de domo que est proxima hugonis caretarii ii solidos ad emendum sepum fermerie et ii solidos aliuelle et ii solidos hospitali sancti thome de suwerc et medietatem iiii domorum oppositarum et de aula et gardino: medietatem hospitali sancti bartholomei ad sustentacionem Infirmorum firmerie

was next to Hugh the carter two shillings to buy lard for the infirmary at St. Bartholomew's, two shillings to Haliwell and two to the hospital of St. Thomas and half of four opposite houses, and from the hall and garden a half to the hospital of St. Bartholomew towards the maintenance of the patients in the infirmary. These two documents are the earliest in which the hospital of St. Bartholomew is mentioned with another still existing London hospital. William the Frenchborn's deed is roughly written. His seal remains, but its design is obliterated.

Another gift outside London in the time of Hugh the master was that of Robert of Bekenham,¹ who gave to the hospital his land at Tokenham towards sustaining the sick and the poor therein living.

During Hugh's mastership the hospital twice had recourse to the Holy See. In 1217 the master and brethren obtained from Honorius III., who was elected Pope on July 18, 1216, a bull² dated June 19 of the first year of his pontificate, which recites and con-

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 552a.

² Honorius episcopus servus servorum Dei Dilectis filiis Rectori et Fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exhibitas nobis ex parte vestra felicis memorie Lucii pape predecessoris nostri litteras inspeximus in hec verba Lucius episcopus servus servorum dei Dilectis filiis A. presbytero ——— (as printed on p. 151). Nos igitur ratas habentes constitutionem et concessionem easdem auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus: Nulli ergo homini liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmacionis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum apud Urbemuerem xii kal. Julii Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 50a and b.

firmes the second of the three bulls granted by Lucius to Alan the master, and dated at Verona, July 16, 1184.

The master and brethren afterwards complained that their rights were invaded by the Priory, and in 1221 the Pope¹ referred their difficulties for decision to the Bishop of Rochester and the archdeacons of Canterbury and Colchester. The Bishop of Rochester was Benedict of Sansetun and the Archdeacon of Canterbury was Henry of Sanford, who afterwards succeeded Benedict in his bishopric. Roger Niger, afterwards Bishop of London, was the Archdeacon of Colchester.

In some of the transactions of the master and brethren the king's judges appear. Like those of the time of Henry II., the lay judges still wore mail and are represented on horseback with sword and shield. **WALTER DUREDENT**,² one of these, granted to St.

¹ Honorius Episcopus seruus seruorum dei Venerabili fratri Episcopo Roffensi: Dilectis filiis Cantuariensi et Coldcestrie Londoniensis diocesis archidiaconis Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum sicut dilecti filii Rector et Fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei London transmissa nobis petitione monstrauerunt multa de bonis hospitalis ipsius alienata sint ac distracta Discrecione vestre per apostolica Scripta mandamus quatenus ea curetis ad jus et proprietatem hospitalis ejusdem legitime reuocare, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam applicatione postposita compescendo. Quod si non omnes hiis exequendis potueritis interesse tu frater episcope cum eorum altero ea nichilominus exequaris. Datum apud Urbem ueterem iij non. Septembris Pontificatus nostri Anno quinto.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus duredent concessi et dimisi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Lundoniis et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis duo prata in suthmad et ingressum et egressum ad predicta prata. Scilicet que *Robertus* pistor aliquando de anno in annum tenuit. Illa predicta prata ut predixi concessi predicto hospitali et fratribus eiusdem habenda et tenenda: de me et heredibus meis imperpetuum: libere: honorifice: integre: sine omni retinemento reddendo inde singulis annis michi et heredibus meis tres solidos pro omnibus seruiciis et omnibus

Bartholomew's Hospital two meadows in Southmead, with the right of ingress and egress, which had before been held by Robert the baker. The brethren were to pay an annual rent of three shillings, and for his charter they gave him nineteen shillings and eight pence. His circular seal represents him in armour on horseback, and with the letters "Sigill. Walteri D———" in the margin. He was nominated with Ralph Hareng and Henry of the Exchequer to hold Assizes¹ in 1223, and he was justice itinerant in Buckinghamshire in 1224. Philip of Couele, the first witness, was a Buckinghamshire man.

In the sixth year of Henry III. (1221–22) Hugh the master made a final agreement with Gilbert son of Reinberd before the king's justices² concerning four acres of land in Herdwingley. Gilbert agreed that the land belonged to the hospital from the gift of Robert son of Peter his grandfather. The brethren were to pay four pence a year to Gilbert and his heirs, and they gave him twelve pence for this final agreement.

consuetudinibus et omnibus rebus in iiii terminis anni. Scilicet infra octabas pasche ix denarios et infra octo dies sancti Johannis baptiste ix d. et infra octo dies sancti Michaelis ix d. et infra natalem domini ix d. et ego Walterus et heredes mei predicta duo prata warantizabimus prefata hospitali et fratribus eiusdem contra omnes gentes et defendemus de omnibus rebus per seruitium predictorum iii solidorum. Pro hac concessione et carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi Waltero fratres predicti xix solidos in gersumam et viii denarios. His testibus: Philippo de couele: Rogero de la duue: Rogero filio philippi: Hugone de Herges: Radulfo filio Hamundi: Radulfo bruncoeste: Willelmo filio Hamund: et multis aliis.

¹ Patent Rolls, Henry III. (1216–1223), ed. 1901, p. 390.

² Martin de Pateshull: Radulfus Hareng: Stephanus de Sagraue: Thomas de Haidon: Radulfus de Lexinton.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 462.

Robert of Newbury¹ (de Novoburi) gave to the hospital in pure and perpetual alms grazing for fourteen oxen in the pasture of his lordship of Wolaston "where ever my oxen feed in that vill."

A gift of land and of men attached to it in a state of villenage was made to the master and brethren before four judges by the same Robert of Newbury:—

"Let those present and to come know that I, Robert of Newbury (Neibure), at the prompting of charity and for the welfare of my soul and for the welfare of the souls of my ancestors and successors, have given and granted and confirmed by this my present charter to God and the blessed Mary and to the brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield, in pure and perpetual alms towards the support of the feeble, poor, and sick there living, seven virgates of land and a half in the vill of Wolaston, namely: one virgate which Simon son of Alelm held, with the same Simon and all his following; and one virgate which Richard Wecheherme held, with the same Richard and all his following, and one virgate which Thomas of Dodintun held, with the same Thomas and all his following, and one virgate which Hugh the reeve (prepositus) held, with the same Hugh and all his following, and one virgate of land which Simon son of

¹ The witnesses were: Martin of Pateshull: Ralph Hareng: Simon de l'Isle: Stephen of Segrave: William de Raleia: John Bucuinte: Galien the clerk: Ralph of Throp: Richard of Pavelly: John the gardener: Robert de fluis: Simon hondon: and others.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 483.

Roger held, with the same Simon and all his following, and half a virgate which Simon son of Baldewin held, with the same Simon and all his following, and half a virgate which Ralph son of John held, with the same Ralph and all his following, and half a virgate which Nicholas Sprot held, with the same Nicholas and all his following, and half a virgate which Richard Childe held, with the same Richard and all his following, and half a virgate which Humphrey Sprot held: To have and to hold of me and my heirs for ever in free, pure, and perpetual alms freely, quietly, wholly, honourably, with all its appurtenances, in woods, in meadows, in fields, in banks, in ways, in waters, in mills, in all places. These lands, with all their appurtenances, I Robert of Newbury and my heirs will warrant to the aforesaid brethren against all men and women finally. And that my gift, grant, and confirmation of my present charter may remain acknowledged and stable for ever, I have now strengthened it by the apposition of my seal. These being witnesses: Martin of Pateshell: Ralph Hareng: Stephen of Segrave: Simon del'Ile, then Justices: Robert of Pinkem: Richard Gubun: Constantine son of Alulf: Ernald the red: young Constantine: Ralph of Wedun: Simon of Pinkem: John of Holchot: Geoffrey de l'Isle: Saher of Wolaston: Thomas of Picartesle: Philip of Bernes: Robert of Wodun: and others."

A final concord was made in the king's court at

Westminster in the second year of Henry III. (February 1218) between Hugh the master and Robert of Newbury as to these virgates of land, and its terms complete this view of villenage as it existed in the third year after Magna Carta.

“This is a final concord made in the court of our Lord the King at Westminster from the day of the Purification of the blessed Mary for three weeks in the second year of the reign of King Henry son of King John, before Martin of Pateshull, Ralph Hareng, Stephen of Segrave, Simon de l’Isle, Justices, and other faithful men of our Lord the King then there present: between Brother Hugh, master of the community of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, through Roger of Pavilly placed in his place to win or lose, and Robert of Newbury [de nouo Burgo], concerning seven virgates of land and a half with appurtenances in Wullaston. Whence a plea of warranty of charter was entered between them in the aforesaid court: namely, that the aforesaid Robert recognised and granted all the aforesaid land with its appurtenances to be the right of the hospital itself as that which the aforesaid master and brethren of the same house have from the gift of the same Robert: that is to say, one virgate of land which Simon son of Alelm held, with Simon himself and all his following &c. [each virgate being named with its holder as in Robert’s charter]: To have and to hold by the aforesaid hospital and the

brethren of the same house from Robert himself and his heirs in free and pure and perpetual alms, with all its appurtenances in woods and meadows and pastures and fields, in ways and paths and waters and mills, and in all other things. And for this recognition and final concord the same master gave to Robert himself ten marks of silver. And be it known that the aforesaid Robert and his heirs will warrant to the same brethren and their successors and to the aforesaid house for ever the whole of the aforesaid land with its appurtenances against all people as his free and pure alms. Be it also known that the aforesaid Simon son of Alelm and Richard Wecheharme and Thomas of Dodinton and Hugh the reeve and Simon son of Roger and Simon son of Baldwin and Ralph son of John and Nicholas Sprot and Richard Cchulde were present and admitted that they were villeins (et se villanos esse cognouerunt).

The farms of these villeins were of forty acres (one virgate) or of twenty acres (half a virgate).

A fifteenth century note in the Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital states that ten acres of land make one fardell, four fardells one virgate, four virgates one hide, and four hides one fee (feodum).¹

Robert son of Ralph² at Wolaston, in Northamp-

¹ f. 61b.

² Omnes ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Robertus filius Radulphi salutem in domino Noueritis omnes me pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum uendidiisse et quieteclamasse deo et sancte marie et magistro et fratribus hospitalis sancti

tonshire, sold to the master and brethren for three marks of silver Simon son of Nicholas of Pertenhale. An Abbot Richard seems to have had some right over this Symon son of Nicholas, and granted him with all his dependents to the master and brethren for ever for one mark of silver.¹

Nicholas of Normanvill,² with the consent of Margery

Bartholomei de Smethfulde ibidem deo seruiantibus Simonem filium Nicholai de Pertenhale Cum Omnibus catallis suis quisitis et conquerendis et cumserta sua pro tribus marcis argenti quas predicti magister et fratres michi dederunt tenendum et habendum illis in perpetuum quietum de me et de heredibus meis ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei in prefato Simone nec in catallis suis neque in sertis suis possimus calumpniam habere. Hiis testibus Domino Sehero de Wlaneston : Roberto de Floribus : Roberto Salnager : Willelmo filio Gilberti : Henrico filio suo : Simone filio Domini : Roberto filio suo : Rogero de Falcunberie : Simone filio suo : Waltero fratre domini Seheri : Johanne Gardenere : Johanne de Pudington : et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 483.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Richardus dictus Abbas de Limad. dedi et concessi et quieteclamaui magistro hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus eiusdem loci Dei seruiantibus Symonem filium Nicholai cum tota sertis sua in perpetuum propter unam marcam argenti quam dictus magister nobis dedit. Hiis testibus Sehero de Wolaneston : Henrico de Nainct : Willelmo filio Gileberti : Roberto de Flurs : Simone filio Domini Rolandi : et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 483.

Robert de Flurs is the Robert de Floribus of the previous grant, and Saher is a witness of both.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Nicholaus de Normanuilla de uoluntate et assensu Margere uxoris mee uendidi et quieteclamaui deo et hospitali sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus et sororibus ibidem deo seruiantibus Ricardum filium Thome de Cnoteston cum tota sequela sua pro viginti solidis quos predicti fratres et sorores dicti hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethfeld michi per manus dederunt. Ita tamen quod ego uel heredes mei nunquam aliquid juris uel aliquam calumpniam in dicto Ricardo aut sequela sua petere poterimus aut reclamare. Hec autem ut uendicio et quiete clamancia mea gaudeat in futurum presens scriptum sigilli mei testimonio curauimus premunire. Hiis testibus Sehero de Wlaneston : Willelmo filio eius : Ameralrico de Nowers : Radulpho Ridell : Ricardo de yrecestur : Willelmo de Knottiston : Ricardo filio eius : Roberto Saluagio : Johanne filio eius : Roberto de floribus : Roberto filio eius : Simone filio Willelmi de Wlaneston : Rollando : Rogero de Falcunberie : Willelmo filio Gilberti : Johanne Gardinario : Henrico de yrecestur clerico : Radulpho de Giuelden : et multis aliis.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 483.

his wife, sold to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, at about the same date, Richard son of Thomas of Cnoteston and all his following for twenty shillings paid down.

These five deeds give a curious view of some of the components of society in England in the first years of King Henry III.: the ten small farmers who admit that they are villeins; the freemen of the country, such as Saher of Wolaston and Philip of Bernes; the citizens, such as Constantine son of Alulf and Ernald the red; the four judges in the king's court at Westminster, with Roger of Pavilly¹ arguing before them; and the Abbot Richard and the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's representing the ecclesiastical and the charitable societies of the land. Young Constantine, grandson of a citizen of London, was son of one of the king's judges of the previous generation.

The sick poor in the hospital and the villeins are seen at one end of the social scale, and the feudal lord, Robert of Newbury, at the other. The king's court and the decisions of its judges were making property secure: while the Christian religion bound

¹ Roger of Pavilly made an agreement with the brethren that he should see that the chirographum made in the king's court as to the land of Wollaston which is in the land of the abbey of St. James of Northampton should pass through the hands of the said Roger into the keeping of the aforesaid brethren "simul cum assignato eiusdem Rogeri tradatur quosciens instabit necessitas." Roger agreed that the chirographum after his days should finally remain "solicitem et quietum" to the hospital.

The witnesses were Constantine son of Alulf: Robert of Gretton: Walter son of Algar: Richard his son: Hugh and William, then clerks of the said hospital: and others.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 484.

together those who had possessions with those who had none by the relations of faith and of charity.

Hugh the master died April 15, 1223. St. Bartholomew's Hospital had just completed the first century of its existence.

London had known six mayors. The first great statute of the realm had been issued. The right of the free election of a mayor in London had been confirmed beyond dispute by the charter of John of May 9, 1215. The liberties of the nation and of the city were both established, but were not secure from inroads. The state of unsettlement caused by the execution of Constantine son of Alulf, in direct contravention of the thirty-ninth clause of Magna Carta, was hardly quieted.

On the next day but one after Hugh's death the king committed to Brother MAURICE, chaplain of the house of the Temple in London, the care and keeping of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew till the king with his justiciar should come to London and arrange more fully as to the ruling of the same, and the brethren and sisters of the hospital were commanded meantime to be attentive and obedient to the aforesaid Brother Maurice as to their warden. The entry on the Patent Roll is dated April 17, in the seventh year of the king's reign. The justiciar was Hubert de Burgh, and he seems to have decided that the hospital should go on in accordance with its charters. The only record of the presidency of Maurice is the entry on the Patent Roll.

WILLIAM¹ was master of the hospital in 1224, and held office till 1246.

The first great event of William's mastership was a composition² or arrangement of the relations of the hospital and the priory issued by Eustace of Fauconberg, Bishop of London, on July 1, 1224. This document was known in the hospital as the Second Composition, the first being that of Richard of Ely, Bishop of London in the reign of Richard I.

The Composition of Bishop Eustace³ begins by

¹ In the list of masters in the Cartulary, f. 62, William is entered as the seventh master in the words "Willelmus Procurator Anno Domini MCCXII. A xiii. anno Regis Johannis usque xxiiii annum Regis Henrici tercii videlicet Anno Domini Millesimo cc xl." The error in date produced by the omission of the mastership of Hugh has been explained above.

² Facta fuit ista Compositio anno Domini millesimo cemo. xxiii^{to}. et anno Regis Henrici tercii iiii Willelmo procuratore dicti hospitalis Magistro tunc existente.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 54b.

Secunda compositio facta fuit Anno Domini Millesimo cxxiiii^{to} et Anno Henrici tercii viii^o.—*Id.* f. 62a.

³ Omnibus Sancte matris ecclesie filiis presens scriptum inspecturis Eustachius diuina miserracione Londoniensis ecclesie minister humilis Salutem eternam in Domino. Cum mota esset controuersia inter Priorem et Canonicos Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum ex una parte et magistrum et fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei ex altera coram uenerabili fratre benedicto Roffensi Episcopo et coniudicibus suis a summo pontifice delegatis super magistro eisdem fratribus preficiendo super fratribus recipiendis et aliis articulis quam plurimis tandem post multas altercaciones utraque pars spontanea uoluntate super omnibus articulis et questionibus motis et non motis tempore confectionis istius scripture mutuo ad inuicem competentibus se nostre subiecit remota appellacione ordinationi Nos igitur habito uirorum discretorum et iuris peritorum consilio utriusque partis utilitati, paci prouidere cupientes et tranquillitati ita duximus ordinandum. Videlicet quod cum creandus fuerit magister in hospitali sancti Bartholomei fratres eiusdem hospitalis ad priorem Sancti bartholomei accedant et petita ab ipso eligendi licencia: personam sibi in magistrum eligant ydoneam: sacerdotem videlicet uel talem qui ad ordinem sacerdotii in breui possit promoueri. Quo electo dicto presentetur priori. Et si ydoneus fuerit a priore domino Londoniensi Episcopo presentabitur. Qui post eleccionis sue confirmacionem in capitulo dictorum prioris et canonicorum iurabit priori obedienciam et tam priori quam conuentui fidelitatem. Et ne idem Magister a prefato priore uel conuentu super inobediencia posset redargui si pro sua uoluntate que sibi placeret in uirtute obediencie ualeret iniungere: Sciendum quod dictus magister non

mentioning the reference by the Holy See of various matters in dispute between the prior and canons of

tenebitur ad obedienciam memorato priori exhibendam nisi in articulis tantum in hac ordinacione nostra subsequenter contentis. Cum autem aliquis in fratrem fuerit recipiendus a priore petatur licencia et si ignotus fuerit priori recipiendus et magister et fratres hospitalis sancti bartholomei in obediencia et fidelitate qua ei tenentur asserant quod credunt eum esse idoneum et domui sue notum: Prior omni cessante cauillacione prebebit assensum. Si uero notus et ydoneus similiter. Si notus non tamen secundum opinionem prioris ydoneus: Magistro et fratribus credentibus et asserentibus ipsum idoneum hoc per Episcopum uel officialem eius uel si absentes fuerint et negocium instanciam desideret per Capitulum Sancti Pauli discutiatur et si ydoneus inueniatur admittatur non obstante prioris reclamacione. Et cum admissus fuerit accedat prior uel mittat ad capitulum fratrum hospitalis et habitum tradat admissio. Quo facto iurabit admissus ibidem presente priore et magistro hospitalis dictis priori et conuentui fidelitatem et magistro loci obedienciam. Si uero aliquis egrotans fraternitatem dictorum fratrum hospitalis desideret hoc priori insinuetur ut continenti ad egrotum accedat uel mittat et habitum ei si uoluerit tradat: alioquin ne mora dicto hospitali sit periculosa: liceat loci magistro eidem auctoritate sua habitum tradere. Similiter si extra ciuitatem egrotans habitum dictorum fratrum desideret. Qui si conualuerit infra octo dies post conualescenciam in fratrum capitulo sicut predictum est sacramentum fidelitatis faciet dictis Priori et conuentui et magistro loci obedienciam. Eadem forma obseruetur de sororibus recipiendis. Cum uero fratres hospitalis exierint ad predicandum uel ad elemosinas colligendas iurabunt quod nichil in tota uita sua petent nisi nomine expresso hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei nec recipient aliquid quod ad Canonicos Sancti bartholomei pertineat. Quod si fecerint cum redierint eisdem canonicis sine diminucione restituent. Idem uero canonicis cum exierint in uirtute obediencie priori suo promittent uidelicet quod nichil petent nisi expresso nomine canonicorum Sancti bartholomei: Et si aliquid receperint nomine hospitalis uel quod ad hospitale pertineat fratribus hospitalis bona fide et integre restituent. Et si conuersus fuerit illud idem iurabit nec aliquis eciam laicus ad elemosinas colligendas ab alterutra domo mutatur: nisi prius prefato prestito iuramento Magister uero hospitalis fratrum et sororum excessus per se si possit corrigat. Quod si non possit: ad instanciam magistri hospitalis Prior sancti bartholomei ad fratrum capitulum accedat ut corrigenda de ipsius consilio et magistri corrigantur. Quod si negligentes fuerint uel per ipsos corrigi nequuerint: per episcopum uel ejus officialem correctio adhibeatur. Magister uero hospitalis nulli in perpetuum uictum irrequisito prioris assensu dare poterit: nec alienaciones reddituum uel possessionum in perpetuum facere nisi ob necessitatem uel domus hospitalis utilitatem et secundum quod iustum fuerit. Sigillum hospitalis sub tribus clauibus custodiatur: Quarum unam habebit magister hospitalis et duas alias duo de fratribus eiusdem hospitalis per magistrum et fratres hospitalis de consilio dicti prioris ad hoc electi. Quos idem prior refutare uel mutare non poterit dum modo magister et fratres hospitalis ipsos credant idoneos. Magister et fratres omnes qui sani fuerint et presentes in Ciuitate exceptis pauperum obsequio deputatis die Pasche floridi et die ascencionis domini nisi racionabili causa fuerint prepediti ad processionem Sancti bartholomei uenient et eam sequentur: Die siquidem

St. Bartholomew's and the master and brethren of the hospital to Benedict, Bishop of Rochester, and cojudices ;

Sancti Bartholomei duo de Fratribus sepedicti hospitalis duos cereos de suo quatuor liberare nomine magistri et fratrum suorum ad processionem deferrent et explata processione illos ad maius altare Sancti Bartholomei offerent. Quo facto absque calumpniam cum uoluerint ad domum suam reuertentur. Altare siue ymago Sancti Bartholomei in prefato hospitali in dictorum canonicorum prejudicium non erigatur in perpetuum. Etiam campanas plures quam modo, duas uidelicet, nec maiores nec campanile solempnius dicti fratres habeant. Illud tamen perficiatur in uigilia Pasche non pulsabunt priusquam pulsetur ad Sanctum Bartholomeum. Cimiterium uero quod fratres ex indulgentia domini pape sibi concessum petebant benedici non habebunt nec aliud petent de cetero quam cimiterium apud [Cimiterium apud] dictos Canonicos sepulture pauperum deputatum. Siquis tamen de ciuitate london uel aliunde sepulturam pauperum hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei elegerit : corpore ipsius ad idem hospitale delato et missa pro ipsius et Fidelium animabus celebrata in dicto cimiterio sepulture pauperum deputato ac si inter pauperes in eodem hospitali decessisset tumulabitur. Beneficium uero quod fratres hospitalis a memoratis hactenus perciperunt canonicis scilicet totam panis sui decimacionem canonicorum et fratrum panis potus piscis et carniuum reliquias cum canonicorum anniuersariis maiori hilaritate et uberius si fieri potest quam hactenus consueuerunt percipient si huiusmodi anniuersaria alicui uel alicubi dentur et dictorum canonicorum ad ipsorum collacionem suppetant facultates : Hanc autem ordinacionem nostram et amicabilem compositionem utraque parciū firmiter et bona fide iuramento interposito se obseruatum promisit renunciatis appellacionem supplicacionem et integram restitutionem. Item omnibus questionibus tempore istius compositionis mutuo ad inuicem competentibus siue mote fuerint siue non et omnibus instrumentis impetratis et impetrandis. Ita quod si qua fuerint instrumenta alterutrius partis hanc compositionem tum modo contingencia pro cancellatis habebuntur. Si uero aliqua fuerint que non solum hanc compositionem contingant, sed et alios contineant articulos quantum ad hanc compositionem pro cancellatis habebuntur et quantum ad aliam suam optineat firmitatem. Si uero super premissis prior et conuentus ex una parte uel magister uel fratres ex altera difficiles se reddiderint uel super eisdem inter ipsos questionem oriri contingat ad episcopum uel eius officialem uel eis absentibus ad capitulum Sancti Pauli querimonia deferatur et ibidem omni appellacione et cauillatione remotis terminetur. Vt autem hec ordinacio rata et inconcussa futuris permaneat temporibus presenti scripto in modum cyrographi tripartite confecto Sigillum nostrum et capituli nostra vna cum sigillis parciū duximus apponendum. Cuius una pars penes dictum Priorem et Canonicos Sancti Bartholomei Altera penes magistrum et fratres memorati hospitalis et tertia in Thesauro Sancti Pauli remanebit. Et ne aliquid de contentis capitulis per obliuionem negligatur Prior cum aliquot de canonicis suis singulis annis in crastino Cinerum accedat ad Capitulum fratrum dicti hospitalis et ibi congregatis fratribus in communi audiencia cyrographum suum legi faciat Feria uero sexta sequenti Magister hospitalis cum aliquot de fratribus suis hora capitulo ad Capitulum Sancti Bartholomei accedat et ibi cyrographum suum legi faciat Actum London apud Sanctum Paulum kal. Jul. Pontificatus nostri Anno Tercio. Saluis in omnibus iurs et dignitate Londoniensis Ecclesie.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 53b.

and states that the parties concerned had agreed to refer to Bishop Eustace the decision of the whole controversy. He decides that when the mastership of the hospital is vacant the brethren shall proceed to the prior and obtain his licence to elect the most suitable person as master, a priest or one who may soon be promoted to priest's orders. When elected, they shall present him to the prior, and if found fit he is to be presented by the prior to the Bishop of London. Before the confirmation of his election, in the chapter of the prior and convent he shall swear fidelity to them and obedience to the prior, but this obedience is only to refer to certain matters.

When any one seeks to be received as a brother he must ask the prior's leave. If the recipiend is not known to the prior, and the master and brethren declare him to be fit, the prior shall assent. If known and fit, in the same way. If known, and in the opinion of the prior not fit, the master and brethren declaring him fit, the matter is to be discussed before the bishop or his official, or in their absence before the chapter of St. Paul's, and if found to be fit he is to be admitted. He shall swear fidelity, before the prior and the master, to the prior and convent, and obedience to the master of the hospital. If a sick man desires to be admitted to the fraternity of the hospital, the prior is to be informed, and is to go to the sick man or to send him the habit of a brother. The master may also send

the habit. The same procedure is to be followed if the sick man is outside the city. If he recover, eight days after he shall swear fidelity to the prior and convent, and obedience to the master and brethren. The same form is to be observed with regard to sisters. When any of the brethren go out preaching or collecting alms, they shall swear only to ask in the name of the hospital, and to take nothing which ought to belong to the canons. If they do receive any such thing, they are to render it to the canons. The canons likewise are to swear to receive benefaction only for their own convent, and are to restore in full anything intended to be given to the hospital. All differences arising on such accounts are to be arranged by the master or by the prior, or if they fail to do so, by the bishop or his official. The master shall admit no one as a permanent pensioner without leave of the prior, and shall not alienate rents or property unless because of urgent need or of usefulness to the hospital, and on reasonable terms. The seal of the hospital is to be kept under three keys, of which one is to be kept by the master of the hospital and the other two by two brethren nominated by the master and brethren on the advice of the prior, but the prior is not to have power to remove these key keepers. On Palm Sunday and Ascension Day the master and brethren, if well and in London, are to go to the procession at St. Bartholomew's Church and to follow it. On St. Bartholomew's Day

two of the brethren are to take two wax candles of four pounds weight, in the name of the master and brethren, to the procession, and after it are to place them as an offering on the high altar of St. Bartholomew's. After which they are to be allowed freely to return to the hospital. An altar or figure of St. Bartholomew is not to be set up in the hospital to the injury of the canons. The brethren are to have only two bells. On Easter eve these are not to be rung before those of the canons. The burial ground which the brethren asked to be granted to them by papal indulgence they shall not have, nor shall seek any other except the burial ground in the cemetery of the canons set apart to the burial of the poor. If any citizen of London or other person wishes to be buried in the burial ground of the poor of the hospital, his body shall be sent to the hospital, and mass having been celebrated for his soul and the souls of all the faithful he shall be buried in the aforesaid burial ground. The benefit which the brethren of the hospital received from the canons is to be continued, namely, the whole tenth of their bread and the remains of bread, drink, fish, and meat of anniversary feasts.

This ordinance both sides swear to observe. If further difficulties arise, they are to be referred to the bishop or his official, or the chapter of St. Paul's. The ordinance is to be written as a tripartite chirographum duly sealed; one part to remain with the

prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's, another with the master and brethren of the hospital, and a third in the treasury of St. Paul's. Every year the prior, with some of his canons, on the morrow of Ash Wednesday is to go to the chapter of the brethren, and is there to cause his chirograph to be read aloud. On the following Friday, the master of the hospital, with some of the brethren, is to attend at the hour of chapter at the chapter of St. Bartholomew's Priory, and is there to cause his part of the agreement to be read.

The Ordinance is followed by the forms of oath to be taken on his election by the master of the hospital, and of that to be taken by a brother in accordance with its terms.

The master¹ swears upon the holy Gospels that he will be obedient to the prior and his successors duly appointed in all proper and canonical commands, especially in all and every article contained in the ordinance made by Eustace of pious memory sometime Bishop of London. The brother² swears that he will be useful

¹ Ego frater N. magister hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smythfeld Londoniarum iuro ad hec Sancta Dei euangelia per me corporaliter tacta et uisa quod ero obediens Fratri N. de P. Priori Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei predicti et suis successoribus dicti monasterii canonicis intrantibus in licitis et canonicis mandatis. Precipue in omnibus et singulis articulis contentis in quadam ordinatione facta per bone memorie Dominum Eustachium quondam Londoniensem Episcopum. Sic me Deus adiuuet et sancta Dei euangelia.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 54b.

² Ego Frater N. Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smythfeld Londoniarum ero utilis et fidelis Priori et conuentui Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei predicti nec inferam eis dampnum iacturam uel grauamen nec ab aliis pro posse meo fieri permittam et bene et fideliter ipsis faciam et soluam seruicia eis debita et consueta de dicto hospitali cum pertinenciis suis quod clamo tenere de eis et de prioratu eorum : sic Deus me adiuuet et hec sancta Dei euangelia.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 54b.

and faithful to the prior and convent of the monastery of St. Bartholomew, and will in no way do them harm nor allow others to injure them, so far as lies in his power. He will discharge well and faithfully all services, debts, and customs due from the hospital, which are claimed to be held from them and from their priory.

Each sister on her admission took an oath of obedience in the same way as a brother. A charter of ISABELLA OF BRAY, who became a sister in the reign of Henry III., shows that she brought something into the hospital estate when admitted, and had a right to the enjoyment of home and sustenance within the hospital, and to take part in its work. Isabella was daughter of Edward of Braye and his wife Matillis, daughter¹ of ADAM SCOTT,² warden of the chest of the

¹ Grant by the chapter to Adam Scot. St. Paul's MSS., A : box 25, 1059, 1060.

² Adam Scot gives to Eadward of Braye and Matillis his wife his land in the parish of St. Gregory between the land of dominus William son of Robert, canon of St. Paul's, and some other land given before this by Adam Scot to Eadward and his wife on the east, and on the west between the land of William son of Robert and that "which Roger Albin fishmonger held of me." The land contains in breadth next the lane towards the east fourteen ells, and next the stone wall of Henry of Oxford the parmenter towards the west fifteen ells and a quarter of an ell ; in depth from the lane to the wall on the north twenty-four ells and a quarter, and on the south from the lane to the wall twenty-one ells and a half of the iron ells of King Henry measured without thumbs. They are to return for every service twelve shillings sterling a year : namely, "on the anniversary of my death five shillings to the canons of St. Paul's and five shillings to the vicars of that church and two shillings to the almoner of that church for the use of the poor, for my soul and the souls of all the faithful departed." Edward and Matillis gave him twelve shillings sterling "in gersummam" for his donation, apposition of seal and confirmation of charter. Witnesses : Robert son of John then alderman : Herue of Colune : Henry of Oxford : Robert of Coule : Boniface the merchant, Roger the fishmonger : Richard of Plesset : Adam of the bridge, clerk : Henry of claye : Ralph Phurtin : Adam son of Eadric : Hamo the dyer : William the baker : John of Braye : Lubert the Bedell.

Robert son of John is also a witness of ADAM SCOT's grant to St. Paul's made in 1241, and there preserved (A : box 11, 1072).

fabric of St. Paul's Cathedral. Her grandfather's portrait remains upon his seal, and shows him in the hood and short coat which he wore when ascending the scaffolding and walking about the works of the choir of St. Paul's, which was being rebuilt in his time, and the workmen's wages for which he paid out of the funds under his charge. He was a charitable man, and gave to St. Paul's a yearly rent of twelve shillings, two shillings of which were to be given to the poor. WILLIAM DE SANCTMERGLISE,¹ Dean of St. Paul's, in June

¹ Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum uisuris uel auditoris Willelmus de sancte Marie ecclesia, Decanus sancti pauli Londoniarum et eiusdem loci Capitulum salutem in domino. Nouerit universitas uestra nos ratam habere concessionem et dimissionem quam Adam scotus capellanus noster fecit Edwardo Le Bray et Matilde uxori eius de quadam terra quam idem A. habuit in parochia Sancti Gregorii iuxta terram Willelmi filii Roberti quondam canonici sancti pauli London de qua predicti Edwardus et Matilda et heredes siue assignati eorum nobis reddunt duodecim solidos per annum in quatuor terminis sicut in carta quam nobis dedit memoratus Adam plenius continetur. Ita tamen quod predicti E. et M. uel heredes uel assignati eorum predictum redditum duodecim solidorum non possunt iudeis siue uiris religiosis inuadiare uel obligare. Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem presentem cartam predicto Edwardo, Matilde heredibus siue assignatis eorum dedimus sigillo nostro signatam. Hiis testibus: Dominis Petro Londoniensi Archidiacono: Johanne Archidiacono Middlesex: Henrico cancellario: Alexandro thesaurario: Godefrido de Weseham: Johanne Belemeyns: Ricardo Folyot: Magistro Ricardo de Wendouere: Magistro Ricardo de Stanforde: et aliis. Datum anno domini M^oCC^o quadragesimo secundo mense Junii.

This list of the chapter of St. Paul's in 1242 supplies some dates absent in *Le Neve*.

The Archdeacon of London was Peter of Newport, and he was in office also in 1243, as is shown by a charter of the executors of Michael the bookseller. (See Chapter VI.)

The Archdeacon of Middlesex was John of Northampton. The chancellor was Henry of Cornhill, who seems to have held the office for a second time after William de Sancte Marie ecclesia became dean, which was probably only a few months before the issue of this deed. The treasurer was Alexander Swerford, who is shown to have held office longer than Le Neve supposed. Godefrid de Weseham is probably the holder of the prebend of Wildland called Roger in Le Neve's list. John Belemeyns was prebendary of Chiswick, and it seems likely, from Le Neve's dates, that he held the stall for twenty-seven years. Richard Folyot is probably the man who was Archdeacon of Middlesex in 1242. I should like to conjecture that he and not the Archdeacon of Colchester of 1192 held the prebend of Wenlakesbarn. Richard of Wendover held Neasdon, and Richard of Stanford (in *Le Neve* Sandford) held Brownswood.

1242 sanctioned his gift to Edward of Braye and Matilda his wife, Adam's daughter, of the land in the parish of St. Gregory, which their daughter afterwards granted to St. Bartholomew's. Isabella had a maternal aunt, Cecilia,¹ who had a son named STEPHEN.² Such are the particulars to be found about our sister Isabella of

¹ As is shown in a second charter of ADAM SCOTT beginning:—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Adam clericus Custos Ciste fabrice Ecclesie Sancti Pauli Lond. Dedi et Concessi et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui Cecilie filii mee in liberum maritagium quandam domum in parrochia Sancte Marie de Staningelane.

The house is in the corner of the lane on the west side of that church towards the wall of London. The house is six ells broad in front and in depth nine ells through the middle of the court. In breadth behind it is six ells and half a quarter of an ell; in depth in the outer part nine ells and a quarter and four thumbs of the iron ells of Henry King of England son of King John, measured. Adam is to receive half a pound of cymin or one penny every year on the feast of St. Michael for all dues. The witnesses were: Dominus John of Breinford and Dominus Adam Cornubiens' chaplains: Nicholas of the Brewhouse: Roger the fisher: Ralph the fisher: Edward of Braye: Simon son of Libert.

The circular seal bears a carbuncle or open flower of six petals and six stamens, with a six-pointed star terminating each stamen, and on a border the words: "S. Secretum Ade clerici sancti Pauli Lond.;" showing that the keeper of the chest had two seals.

² Stephen, son and heir of Cecilia, daughter of the late Adam the cleric, warden of the chest of the fabric of the church of St. Paul, confirms to Nicholas of St. Albans, goldsmith, citizen of London, the grant which her mother in free widowhood made to him of the house she had in the parish of St. Mary of Staningelane at a payment of half a pound of cymin or a penny a year. Nicholas gave Stephen for this confirmation half a mark of silver "ad magnum negocium meum." The witnesses were: John of Codres, then alderman; Cerin le Coruirer: Robert Pencheast: John the goldsmith: Reginald of Cretton: Robert Champeneis: Walter le plumer: Roger norman: Richard Bonaventure: Philip serjeant of the ward: Richard the cleric: and others. Stephen's circular seal bears a star of twelve points and on a border the words, "Sig. Stephani filii Cecilie."

Edward of Braye, Isabella's father, was dead in 1269, as is shown by a chirograph sealed by JORDAN OF ST. PAUL'S, whose seal is oval, and bears a flower on a stem with leaves. The deed states that the master and brethren have remitted to him all arrears of annual rent before the feast of St. Michael in the fifty-third year of King Henry son of King John, due on the holding of the late Edward of Braye in the parish of St. Gregory. Unless Jordan rebuilds the houses on that holding and keeps them in repair, so as to bring in nine shillings a year, thence due to the hospital, the master and brethren may distrain the said holding for ten shillings of the arrears due to them. The witnesses were: Master James, canon of the church of St. Paul: Dominus Walter Hereux: Roger Herem: John Juuenal: Roger of Staples, "et aliis."

Braye, who entered the hospital about six hundred and fifty years ago. Her oval seal bears a bird with a flower in its beak, and on a broad border the inscription "Si. Isabelle fil. Edwardi." The terms of her charter and its presence here with the others above mentioned, show that she was actually admitted a sister, and probably ended her days at St. Bartholomew's.

"To all Christians to whom the present writing shall have come, Isabella daughter of Edward of Bray hail. Be it known to you all that I in my full age and free power have given and granted, and by this my present charter confirmed, to the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London the whole of my holding with all its belongings altogether which I have in London in the parish of St. Gregory between the land and houses of Master Richard of Wendovre,¹ canon of the church of St. Paul, and the land and house of Roger Albyn fishmonger: To have and to hold by the aforesaid hospital and the brethren and sisters ministering to the sick lying there, freely, quietly, well and in peace for ever. Returning every year to the lord king two pence of soccage on Easter eve; and to the chapter of the church of St. Paul every year twelve shillings, and to the hospital of the church of St. Giles of the lepers every year four shillings, and to the aforesaid church of St. Gregory every year twelve pence, at the regular

¹ Of Neasdon. Died 1252. Probably identical with the holder of Rugmere (*v. Le Neve*, ii. 434, 435).

and accustomed terms for all services, as is contained better and more fully in the charters which I have thence from my ancestors through whom the aforesaid holding comes hereditarily to me : which charters indeed with the present charter and with plenary seisin I have rendered to the brethren of the aforesaid hospital. For this my gift, grant, and for the confirmation of the present charter, the master and brethren gave me a sister's gown, receiving me as sister, and giving to me the profession of a sister and the office about the sick and the emolument of the house for my whole life. These being witnesses : Richard of Hadestoke, then alderman of the same ward : Adam of Basing, then warden of the said Hospital (i.e. of St. Giles) : Henry Kingesson : Adam Bruning : Robert of Westmelne : Henry Wdemongere : Roger Albin : Alexander the clerk, and others."

Bishop Eustace of Fauconberg in the year 1224 was the first witness of a gift from the ABBOT OF COGGESHALL ¹

¹ Karissimis amicis suis Magistro W. custodi hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus eiusdem loci Frater G. dictus Abbas de Cogeshall et eiusdem loci conventus salutem et deuotionem. Pauperum et maxime decumbentium necessitati procurare solatium eterne retributionis apud dominum creditur meritorium. Ait enim salomon: feneratur domino qui miseretur pauperi et uicissitudinem reddet: et item in Iudicio dicturus est dominus: Infirmus fui et uisitastis me. Huic est quod nos, licet pie memorie Lucii, Alexandri, Innocentii, et Honorii priuilegiis muniti simus a prestatione decimarum de noualibus et nutrimentis animalium nostrorum, nichilominus tamen intuitu pietatis et misericordie omnes decimas prouentuum futurorum ab anno gracie Mccxxiiii. et deinceps in perpetuum de marisco nostro de Aya quod est in parochia de parua Wakeringia deo et beate Marie et Sancto Bartholomeo et hospitali eiusdem beati Bartholomei quod situm est foris muros Londoniarum: ad sustentationem pauperum et decumbentium in eodem loco concessimus et in puram et perpetuam elemosinam confirmamus, et ut hec concessio nostra futuris temporibus inconuulsa perseueret hanc sigilli nostri appositione corroborauimus. Hiis testibus: Domino Eustachio Lond. episcopo:

in Essex to Master William the warden and to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital of the tithes of the marsh of Aya in the parish of Little Wakering from the year of grace 1224 for ever.

The abbot justifies his act on the ground of the general merit of providing for the poor and the sick, adding that Solomon says, "he that hath mercy on the poor lendeth to the Lord, and he will repay him," and that in the Judgment the Lord will say, "I was sick and ye visited me."

Part of the oval seal of this abbot, well read in the scriptures and well practised in Christian virtues, remains; but, though his mitre and pastoral staff are clear, his features are no longer distinct.

It is to be noticed that after Robert the Dean of London (or St. Paul's), who follows the bishop in the list of witnesses, the prior of the canons of St. Bartholomew's is mentioned. His name is not given, but a blank is left for its insertion, which suggests that though expected when the deed was prepared he was not actually present when the seal was affixed. Roger, Archdeacon of Colchester, comes next, and William, Archdeacon of London, is the last.

Domino Roberto decano Lond. : Domino Priore Canonicorum Sancti Bartholomei : Domino Rogero Archidiacono Colecestrie : Domino W. Archidiacono Lond. : et multis aliis.

Robert, Dean of St. Paul's, in a document addressed to Roger, Archdeacon of Colchester, alludes to a claim of the abbot and convent of Coggeshall to some tithes belonging to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and confirms the right of the hospital to them, citing a bull of Honorius III.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 337a.

It is probably the possible right to these which the abbot concedes in his deed of gift.

The Archdeacon of Colchester was Roger Niger, who succeeded Eustace as Bishop of London in 1229. Of the great ecclesiastics who have known St. Bartholomew's, few more fully enjoyed the veneration of the men of their time than Roger Niger. One incident of his life after he became Bishop of London struck his contemporaries so much that they recorded it upon his tomb.¹ On the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul in 1230 he was celebrating mass in his cathedral when a great storm with intense darkness came on. Peal after peal of thunder broke just over the church, and the flashes of lightning were followed by heavy sulphureous exhalations. The congregation fled in terror. Roger Niger, with one deacon, remained unmoved at the high altar and went on with the mass; "clothed in the sacred vestments, attending the will of the Lord," says Matthew Paris.² The lesson which they taught all London that day of faith and of duty was long remembered. Pilgrimages were made to the bishop's tomb.

In 1225, the year after the ordinance of Bishop Eustace, Pope Honorius III,³ in a document dated

¹ It was copied by Dugdale: "The History of St. Paul's Cathedral," London, 1658, p. 87.

² Matthew Paris (ed. Luard), iii. p. 193.

³ Honorius episcopus Servus Servorum dei: Vniuersis Christi fidelibus per Londniensem Lincolniensem et Roffensem diocesis constitutis Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quoniam ut ait Apostolus Omnes stabimus ante tribunal Christi recepturi prout in corpore gessimus siue bonum fuerit siue malum, oportet nos diem messionis extreme misericordie operibus preuenire ac eternorum intuitu seminare in terris quod reddente domino cum multiplicato fructu recolligere debeamus in celis

from the Lateran, November 25, in the ninth year of his pontificate, recommended the hospital to the faithful in the dioceses of London, Lincoln, and Rochester. The tenor of the letter is that, as we must all one day stand before the judgment-seat of Christ to receive good or evil according to our deeds in the body, we ought to prepare for the last day by works of mercy and, remembering eternity, to sow on earth what on the coming of the Lord we may reap with manifold fruit in heaven. Who sows little shall reap little, and who sows in blessings shall of blessings reap eternal life. "Since therefore our beloved sons the brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of London ask your alms to aid in the recovery of the poor, we admonish and exhort you in the Lord and for the remission of your sins to make pious alms and gracious grants of charity to them, so that by your aid their want may be supplied and you, by these and other good deeds which, the Lord inspiring you, you may do, may be able to attain the joys of everlasting happiness."

Geoffrey de Luci was Archdeacon of London in the time of Bishop Eustace, and showed his regard for that

firmam spem fiduciamque tenentes. Quoniam qui parce seminat parce et metet et qui seminat in benedictionibus de benedictionibus et metet uitam eternam. Cum igitur dilecti filii fratres hospitalis Sancti bartholomei londoniarum ad refectionem pauperum uestris indigeant elemosinis adiuuari Vniuersitatem uestram monemus ac hortamur in domino atque in remissionem uobis impingimus peccatorum quatenus de bonis a deo uobis collatis pias elemosinas et grata eis caritatis subsidia erogetis, ut per subuencionem uestram eorum inopie consolatur ut uos per hec et alia bona que domino inspirante feceritis ad eterne possitis felicitatis gaudia peruenire. Datum Lateran' uii Kal. Decembris: Pontificatus nostri Anno nono.—Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, f. 50b.

prelate by founding a chantry in St. Paul's Cathedral with an endowment for a priest to say mass for his own soul and for those of two of the de Fauconbergs, Eustace the Bishop and Philip the Archdeacon of Huntingdon.

A charter witnessed by Geoffrey as archdeacon was deposited at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the care of William the master, with another on the same business.

ALAN OF CULING,¹ parson of the church of St. Mary of Warham, granted to John of Marsham, the chaplain, all the altar dues of his church with all the lesser tithes and profits and appurtenances and two acres of land which William of Hildetries held of him, and in default of these the same quantity of equally good land in the fields of Warham, to hold for John's life provided he serves the aforesaid church properly and pays the lawful dues from it.

This charter is written in a beautiful hand, probably that of the scriptorium of St. Paul's, and is attested by

¹ *Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis Alanus de Culinga Persona Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Warham salutem. Nouerit Vniuersitas uestra Me diuine pietatis intuitu Dedisse et Concessisse Johanni de Marsham Capellano meo totum altalgium ecclesie mee sancte Marie de Warham Cum omnibus minutis decimis et ouencionibus Et pertinenciis et duabus acris terre Quas Willelmus de Hildetries tenuit de me. Et si illas ei Warantizare non potero faciam ei Escambias in Campis de Warham de tam bona terra terre mee, Vbi uoluerit, Tenendas et Habendas quoad uixerit. Ita quod dictus Johannes capellanus per se uel per alium sufficientem iam dicte ecclesie mee honeste faciat deseruire Ita etiam quod Sinodalia debita et consueta Soluat dictus Johannes Capellanus. Et in huius rei testimonium huic scripto Sigillum meum apposui. Hiis Testibus: Magistro Galfrido de Luci archidiacono Londoniarum: Magistro Johanne officiali eius: Magistro Mauricio: Henrico diacono: Johanne diacono de Colecestrie: Hugone de Witheresfeld: et aliis.*

Geoffrey de Luci, the Archdeacon of London, by Master John his official, and by three other ecclesiastics and one layman.

JOHN OF MARSHAM'S charter, which is written in a good hand by some one who does not know Latin, shows why Alan of Culing's is at St. Bartholomew's. John having touched the Holy Gospels, swore that he would faithfully and effectively to the best of his ability carry through all the affairs of Alan of Culing in the Court of Rome which had been entrusted to him. If he could not do so he would on his return from Rome to England without delay hand over to Alan the charter of the collation to John of the vicarage of Alan's church of Warham "which is deposited with the master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield." If, however, John carries out the desired affairs, the charter shall be handed to him in the presence of Alan and other men of probity.

John's small oval seal consists of a classical gem bearing a female figure, with a raised margin for the letters of his name. The master of St. Bartholomew's is the first witness. Did John of Marsham die on the way or in Rome, or did he fail in his suit in the Curia? He never claimed the charter he had left with the master.¹

¹ Omnibus presens scriptum uisuris uel auditoris Johannes de Marsham Capellanus Salutem. Noueritis quod ego tactis sacro sanctis Eeuangeliis Juruai quod fideliter et Efficaciter pro posse meo effectui mancipabo Omnia Negocia Alani de Culinga in curia Romana qui michi ab eodem iniuncta sunt. Que si effectui mancipare non potero Volo et concedo ut in Reditu meo de Roma in angliam omni dilatione Cauillatione post-

In 1241 a controversy was settled between the hospital and Roger of Horsete,¹ precentor of St. Paul's, as to certain land at Alfrichesbury which Master Roger said belonged to his prebend of Portpoole. He quit-claimed it to the master and brethren at two marks a year, and the Archbishop of Canterbury confirmed the settlement.²

Many original records of the transactions of William as master and of the benefactions to the hospital in his time are extant. They show us the people by whom the hospital was surrounded, who felt sympathy for its patients or transacted business with its staff. The names of localities, the occupations of the witnesses, the sums of money paid for lands and houses, the frequently recorded presence of the mayor and sheriffs and in each ward of its alderman and bedell, enable us to realise the life of the Londoners to whom our hospital was known in the first half of the reign of Henry III.

positis tradatur eidem Alano carta confecta mea de collatione vicarii ecclesie sue de Warham que deposita est penes Magistrum hospitalis sancti Bartholomei apud smethefeld: si autem dicta negocia michi iniuncta mancipare effectui potero, in presentia dicti Alani et in presentia prohorum uirorum dicta carta michi tradetur. Et in huius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Magistro Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de smethefeld: Radulfo de Radenhithe: Hugone de Wirethesfeld: Johanne capellano: et aliis.

¹ Witnesses: Peter then Archdeacon of London: Henry the chancellor: Alexander the treasurer: William of St. Mereglise: Master R. of Standford, canon of St. Paul's: Reyner of Boungey then Mayor of London: Gerard Bat: Ralf Eswy: John of Gisors: John of Codres then Sheriff of Middlesex: Henry son of William.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 465b.

The naming of the Sheriff of Middlesex deserves note. This controversy is mentioned by Newcourt: *Repertorium*, i. 98.

² *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 465b.

One charter of WILLIAM¹ is preserved in the cathedral at Wells. It records the grant by the Master of St. Bartholomew's to Jocelin, Bishop of Bath, of ten shillings worth of quit-rent from a tenement in the parish of St. Clement Danes, on the south of the church towards the Thames. The Mayor of London, Andrew Bukerel, is the first witness, so that the charter belongs to the period 1232-1238. The name of another witness, Stephen of the Strand, shows that part of the present nomenclature of the district was already fixed early in the reign of Henry III. It was pleasant to find this original document in the charter room of the cathe-

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus capellanus procurator Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum fratres et sorores eiusdem Hospitalis concessimus et dimisimus et presenti carta nostra confirmauimus in perpetuam et finalem uendicionem extra nos et successores nostros decem solidatas quieti redditus domino Jocelino Bathoniensis episcopo et successoribus suis quas eciam idem dominus Jocelinus episcopus nobis reddere solebat annuatim de parte mesuagii sui in parochia sancti Clementis de Denissemanecheche in parte australi dicte ecclesie uersus Thamysiam. Habendas et tenendas dicto domino Jocelino Bathonensi episcopo et successoribus suis episcopis in perpetuam et finalem uendicionem. Reddendo inde annuatim Ricardo filio Edwardi et heredibus suis unam libram piperis ad festum sancti Michaelis pro omni demanda. Ita quod nec nos nec successores nostri in predictas decem solidatas quieti redditus possimus aliquid habere exigere uel clamare aliquo unquam tempore saluo tamen seruicio unius libre piperis dominis feodi sicut predictum est. Pro hac autem concessione dimissione et presentis carte nostre confirmacione dedit nobis predictus dominus Jocelinus episcopus nouem marcas argenti. Ut autem hec nostra concessio dimissio finalis uendicio et carte nostre confirmacio rata sit et stabilis in perpetuum presenti carte nostre sigillum capituli nostri apposuius. Hiis testibus: Andrea Bukerel maiore Londoniarum: Ricardo Renger: Rogero Le Duc: Terrico de Colon: Stephano de la Strande: Ricardo filio Edwardi: et multis aliis.

This charter is No. 38 in Mr. W. de Gray Birch's MS. catalogue of the charters at Wells. It is copied into the Liber Albus iii., and mentioned by Mr. J. A. Bennett in his report on the Manuscripts of Wells Cathedral (1885), p. 206, and by Mr. W. H. B. Bird in his Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells (1907), vol. i. p. 471. I have to thank the Dean, the Very Reverend T. W. Jex-Blake, for the courtesy with which he allowed me to examine the fine series of charters in the Cathedral library.

dral, where mine was probably the first hand from St. Bartholomew's Hospital which had touched it since it received the seal of William the master and the brethren, six hundred and seventy years ago.

In an early year of William's mastership, ALICE, widow of William of St. Michael, granted to the master and brethren all her land, with the quay and houses upon it, in the parish of St. Martin of Bermannescherche between the land of William Brito on the east and that of Henry of St. Alban's on the west. The land had been bequeathed to the hospital by Richard, son of Reiner,¹ and she was to retain it for her life, paying the brethren two shillings a year in witness of the legacy. They were to pay her while she lived thirteen marks and a half of silver a year. The circular seal of Alice shows her standing with a goshawk on her hand, and has the legend "S. Alis. uxoris Wil. de sco. michele." The first witness is Richard Renger, then Mayor of London. William son of Benedict, Serlo the mercer, and Andrew Bukerell, sheriffs of London, come next.² The sheriffs of 1224 and 1226 are not recorded in the Exchequer, while those of the other years of Richard Renger's mayoralty are known, and the three witnesses

¹ As to whom see p. 92.

² The other witnesses are: Roger Duc (who was sheriff in 1225): Thomas Bukerell (who was sheriff in 1217): Peter Blund: Henry of St. Albans (who was sheriff in 1206): William Hardell (who was sheriff in 1207 and mayor in 1215): John Walram (who was sheriff in 1204): Joce son of Peter (who was sheriff in 1211): Robert Justic.: Robert of Gretton: John Wodecoc: Warin son of Nicholas: Edmund the mercer.

are not among them, so that this charter must belong to 1224 or 1226.

WILLIAM in 1227 granted to Henry of Oxford a house in the parish of St. Gregory before the gate of the brew-house of St. Paul's, between the houses of Brand and John Wyttyng, canons of St. Paul's,¹ at half a mark of silver a year. Henry made oath to the master and brethren in full chapter with regard to the holding and its rent, and gave them twelve marks of silver "in gersumam." John Blund, then prior of the church of St. Bartholomew of Smedthefeld, is the first witness. This is one of the very few charters of the hospital in which a prior of St. Bartholomew's Church appears. Perhaps his presence as a witness was due to the composition of Bishop Eustace, then so recent. The prior is followed by Roger Duc, then Mayor of London; Robert son of John, then alderman; Stephen Bukerell and Henry of Cokeham, sheriffs of London.²

WILLIAM³ and the brethren granted to Roger Duc two marks' worth of annual rent which they had from the

¹ Brand may be the David Brand who held the prebend of Brownswood. Le Neve says nothing is known of him, so that he is not improbably placed too early in the list. John Wyttyng had the prebend of Rugmere.


² Other witnesses were: Henry de Castello and Hamo de Castello, Henry de la Claye, Henry son of William the parmenter, Hugh the tailor (cissor), Stephen son of Andrew, Thomas of Stanes. Henry of Oxford's seal bears a gryphon passant surrounded by a plain border with the words "Sig. Henrici de Oxonia."

³ *Hiis Testibus: Ricardo Rengery: Waltero Buße et Michaele de sancta Helena tunc Vicecomitibus Londoniarum: Josceo filio Petri: Johanne filio Vitalis: Andrea Bukerel: Stephano Bukerel: Thoma filio Ricardi: Roberto Justiciario.*

Josce son of Peter was by this time an old man, and soon after ceases to appear among the witnesses of charters. The murdered Constantine son of Alulf is no more mentioned after this at St. Bartholomew's in any charter.

land in the parish of All Saints of Bread Street (Bredstrat) which Joce the spicer held of them between the church of All Saints on the north and the land of Gervase the cordwainer on the south, and it extended from the king's street on the west to the land which had belonged to Constantine son of Alulf on the east. For this grant "Roger Duc gave towards carrying on the business of our house [ad negocium domus nostre expediendum] twenty marks." The large oval seal of Roger Duc is attached on a vellum tag. On a well-defined border it has the words "Sigillum Rogeri Ducis." The field within the border is divided into two parts by an almost semicircular arch with three mouldings. Above the arch are the Virgin and Child, below it is a standing figure of a bishop with pastoral staff blessing a man who is kneeling at his feet. Roger Duc was perhaps mayor at the time of the charter, and so did not witness a transaction in which he was one of the parties. The first witness is Richard Rengyer, Roger le Duc's predecessor for five years as mayor. He is followed by Walter Bufle and Michael of St. Helena, "then sheriffs of London." They became sheriffs at Michaelmas 1231, and Andrew Bukerel became mayor in that year on October 28, so that the days between Michaelmas and the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude belonged to the mayoralty of the previous mayor Roger le Duc, Duc, or Duk, and this charter for these reasons may be dated October 1-27, 1231. William in 1233

granted to Peter of Grymbald, clerk of the King of England, the house which the hospital had of the gift of William of Tonebridge beyond the Fleet bridge. Peter gave them two marks sterling.¹

In a carta cirographata cut in a wavy line, WILLIAM and the brethren granted to Warin the painter at an annual rent of six shillings a piece of land outside Newgate, opposite the graveyard of St. Sepulchre's Church.² The circular seal bears a curious rectangular mark as of a key or stencil  and in a linear border the words "Sigill. Warini. pictoris." Laurence of Frowik then alderman was the first witness, and Alexander the clerk the last. The charter is in his hand. Warin's half of the chirographum is also preserved.

In a carta cirographata cut straight, WILLIAM and the brethren granted to William the cordwainer, son of Roger of Sempingham, at an annual rent of five

¹ The witnesses are Andrew Bukerell then mayor: Roger Blund, and Simon son of Mary, then sheriffs: Joce son of Peter then alderman: Richard Rainger: Richard the clerk: Albin and John his son: William orpedman: Adam de Navarra: Serlo le Busther: Master Peter de Waldo: Philip Passen.: Ralf of Becton.: Richard of Wodecot: and others.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 130b.

² Inter terram et domos que fuerint Rogeri piscarii uersus orientem et aliam terram nostram et domos uersus occidentem. Et continet in latitudine secus vicum Regium quinque ulnas et unum quartarium unius ulne de ulnis ferreis domini Henrici Regis absque pollicibus mensuratis. Et in medio et in capite quinque ulnas et unum quartarium unius ulne et sex pollices de predictis ulnis. Et extendit se in longitudine a uico Regio usque ad terram Willelmi taillefer. (Lines 4 to 8.) Hiis testibus: Laur. de Frowik tunc aldermano: Thoma mercerio: Edmundo Otte: Johanne Noel: Willelmo taillefer: Ricardo rotario: Waltero Waterladen: Rogero bonsire: Roberto cordewanario: Willelmo de Camera: Gilberto de Cranforde bedello: Alexandro clerico: et Aliis. (Lines 17 to 18.) No *gersuma* is mentioned.

shillings, certain land with houses on it next Smithfield, between the land of Scotus bonseinur on the east and that of Robert of Faversham (Fawresham) on the west. It extended in length from the king's street to the land of William ferel on the south. The cordwainer took an oath to observe the agreement before the chapter of the hospital and gave four shillings "in gersumam." His oval seal bears a feathered star of eight points, and within a double border the words "Sig. Willelmi . filii . Rogeri." The first witness of its apposition was Dominus Laurence of Frowik, then alderman of the ward.¹ The bedell of the ward is the last but one, and the last is the scribe, in whose beautiful hand the charter is written.

In another carta cirographata, WILLIAM² and the brethren granted to John the tiler, at an annual rent of six pence payable at Michaelmas, a place of land in the street of Sholonde in the parish of St. Andrew, of Holborn (Holeburn), between the land of Thomas son of William le haftere towards the south, and John's own land towards the north, which place of land Helyas the clerk, called le Duc, left to the hospital. John

¹ The other witnesses are: William le fort: John Cole: Scot bonseinur: Thomas of Sempingham: Adam le puletur: John of Norhamton: William le muynne: Robert of Fawresham: Bartholomew the moneyer: John of Lausele: Gilbert the bedell: Alexander the clerk.

² The charter is in the hand of Alexander (who writes here without his usual epithets), the last witness. The remaining witnesses are: Adam of Westminster: William of St. Paul's: Stephen of Brumsote: Geoffrey Golde: Geoffrey delpunfrac: Roger Everard: Adam of Winton: Reginald long: Stephen the tiler: Thomas le haftere: Gilebert the bedell.

gave them half a mark of silver "in gersumam." John's circular seal bears a lion springing, encircled without border line by the inscription "S. JOHIS. LE THIULUR" in capitals.

"Laurence of Frowyk then alderman," the first witness, was probably the successor as alderman, between 1230 and 1240, of Joce son of Peter, who long presided over the wards now known by the name of Faringdon.

JOHN made an agreement with the master and brethren with regard to twenty shillings of arrears which he owed to them up to the feast of St. Andrew in the twentieth year of King Henry son of King John (1235) for a house in the parish of St. Audoen ad macellam. He is to pay eleven pence a quarter together with eleven pence which he is bound to render to them within three weeks of every quarter. And if he fail to pay this rent the sheriffs of London for the time being shall give possession to the aforesaid master and brethren. The charter was granted in full husting of London before Andrew Bukerell then mayor, Gerard Bat and Robert Hardell then sheriffs, Joce son of Peter then alderman, and nine other witnesses, of whom the last are Walter the clerk, and Thomas, then clerks of the sheriffs of London.¹

WILLIAM² granted to John of Woburn the land

¹ The others are: Stephen Cras: John Viel: Henry son of William: John of Woburne: Ralph Eswy: Peter Bacun.

² The witnesses were: Michael de sancta Helena then alderman: William Juuenal: Ilger the goldsmith: Henry of Edelmeton: Gerard Bat: Richard Abel: William son of

which the hospital had of the gift of Walter son of Algar in the parish of St. John Zachary between the land and garden of the Dean of St. Martin's on the south, and that of Abel the goldsmith on the north, at a rent of one mark of silver a year—that is, forty pence within fifteen days each of St. John the Baptist's Day, Michaelmas, Christmas, and Easter. John gave them twenty-two marks of silver “in gersumam.” John of Woburn was sheriff in 1230, and among the witnesses Michael of St. Helena was sheriff in 1231, and Henry of Edelmeton in 1232, with Gerard Bat.

WILLIAM in an indented chirograph granted to Ralph Eswy all the land, with the houses on it, in the parish of St. Michael Wood Street, of the gift of Thomas of Haverhull, at six pence a year, subject to two annual payments of three pence to the sokage of the king and a pound of cummin or two pence to the heirs of Thomas Cusin, and of five shillings a year to the canons of Meriton, and three shillings a year to the works of London Bridge. Ralph gave as a gersuma “ad emendationem Domus nostre” ten marks of silver. Perhaps the grant was not completed, as the attestation, for which there is space, is not added, nor is any seal attached. Ralph Eswy was sheriff in 1234, 1239, 1242.

Adam : Richard son of Ylger : Bartholomew his brother : Richard Derkin : Adam the goldsmith : William de Ripa : and “many more.”

Both halves of this carta cirographata remain. One has lost its seal: to the other, the early seal of the hospital with the classical gem on the reverse remains attached, so that it is John of Woburn's half.

Another "Carta cirographata" of WILLIAM grants to Peter son of James the alderman, formerly of Milk Street (Melcstrate), at a rent of four shillings a year, all the land which he had of the gift of Alice who was wife of Alexander the glover, which land the hospital had of the gift of Richard Picot, and Alexander formerly held it of them in the parish of St. Giles outside Cripple-gate (Crepelgate) in Chisel Street, which land lies between two pieces belonging to Thomas son of Thomas son of Richard, and extends from the king's street to the garden of the aforesaid Thomas. For this grant Peter gave them two shillings sterling.¹

In a finely written indented charter, WILLIAM² the chaplain, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, and the brethren granted to Eadmund the cleric, son of the late Walter of Plessez, a shop in the fish market which his father held of William Hardel and Katherine his wife—that shop, namely, which stood between the shop of John of Bekinham on the west and the shop of John Wisdom on the east, at a rent of six shillings a year, paid quarterly, saving a stallage due to the king of

¹ Hiis testibus : Henrico filio Willelmi : Petro tunc seruiente de finesbiri : Jordano de la More : Galfrido manichas : Johanne le pic : Thoma le Gaunter : Salomone de Suthberi : Ricardo le bedel : Roberto Blundo fructuario : et aliis.

Peter was the serjeant or bedel of Finsbury, and Jordan probably lived upon the moor of which Moorgate preserves the memory. The charter is in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield. Peter's seal has crumbled in a vellum bag.

² The witnesses named are : Thomas son of Richard Alderman : Henry Kingessone : Randulf the fishmonger : Adam Bruning : Adam of Plesset : Richard Babel : Geoffrey of Plesset : Stephen son of Richard : Robert his brother : William Drinkepani : Nicholas Smod : Peter of Haverhull. William Hardel is the mayor of 1215-1216, and Katherine his wife is the anchoritess already mentioned. Adam Bruning was sberiff in 1259.

two shillings a year which Eadmund is to pay. If he wishes to part with the shop, the brethren are to have the refusal for one besant less than any one else. Eadmund pledged his faith to them in full chapter and gave them five shillings "in gersumam." Eadmund's small oval seal remains attached on a vellum tag. Its centre is an indistinct impression of a figure on a classical gem, and in the border is "S. Eadmundi fil. Walteri."

WILLIAM and the brethren, in a closely written indented charter of about nine hundred words, granted to John the cheesemonger, son of John of Bread Street, (1) the land and houses which Libert the wool merchant held in the parish of St. Margaret Friday Street, (2) the house and land which Reginald Spendelove held in the same parish between the house of Robert the smith on the north and the great stone court which belonged to John le Burgoyne on the south, (3) a piece of land which the hospital held of Thomas Blund in the parish of St. Nicholas Fishmarket, which bit of land was between the land which Peter Carter held of the convent of Ankerwyk and some land belonging to the hospital.

The brethren are to have free way in and way out to their stone house. The footway was only one ell and a half and three thumbs broad next the king's street, and two ells and five thumbs in depth. John is not to obstruct the light and air of the great stone house. He is to receive the water dripping from

the gutter which is between the stone house which Libert holds and John Burgoyne's house. He is not to shut out the view of the upper room of the house on the east. He is not to sell or mortgage to Jews or to any religious house without consent of the hospital. If he wishes to sell, the hospital is to have the chance of buying at one besant less than any other purchaser. John is to pay a rent of forty shillings a year. He swore to the master and brethren in full chapter loyally to observe the agreement, and gave them ten pounds sterling for their grant.¹

In a shorter charter in a different hand WILLIAM and the brethren grant to John le furnager (cheesemonger), at a rent of eleven shillings a year, the land and houses in Friday Street which Robert le lung, fishmonger, held of them in the parish of St. Margaret, and which John had bought of Robert trophardi and Emma his wife, daughter and heiress of Robert le lung. John had promised them in full chapter to keep the agreement, and for the grant gave them three shillings sterling. The first witness is John son of Vitalis, then alderman. He had been sheriff in 1219.²

¹ The witnesses are: John viel then alderman: William Ilbod: John Young: William Gray: Laurence furnager: Thomas Blund: Robert long: Robert smith: Brother Robert of Windsor (Wyndlesore): Brother Richard cook: Brother Hereward: William de Ripa: Walter son of Reymund: Reginald Spendelove: Stephen Tiler: William of Ware: Simon then bedell: "and many others."

² The other witnesses are: Synon of Cokham: William the salter (salnarius): Thomas the cheesemonger (le furnager): Bartholomew the tailor (cissor): Richard le bacheler: Ralph le Colier: Robert le furnager: William Gray: Gilebert le furnager:

WILLIAM and the brethren granted to William of Cotham, at a rent of ten shillings a year, their land in the parish of St. Margaret Lothbury (de Lotheberi), which Peter son of Gilbert le cuerterer gave to the hospital in free alms. William of Cotham gave them a mark of silver "in gersumam." His circular seal bears a moorcock regardant and with open wings, and in a plain border the inscription "S. Willelmi de Cotham."

WILLIAM the master and the brethren granted to James son of Richard of Aldgate (Allegate), at an annual rent of twelve shillings sterling, the tenement which Richard of Compes held of them in the parish of St. Ethelburga at Bishopsgate. James gave them a mark of silver "in gersumam."²

In a charter in the same hand WILLIAM the master granted to Robert of Kingston (Kyngestune), at an annual rent of two shillings, the land in the parish of St. Botolph outside Bishopsgate which lay between the land of Robert Burgate towards the north and that

Robert of Ros : Hugh, bedell : Alexander of Smithfield, clerk : "and others." The charter is in the fine hand of the last witness.

¹ Witnesses : James blund then alderman : John his son : Anger delabare : Galfrid de la bare : Walter of Essex : Walter of Lotheberi : William kisere : Laurence tinekere : Hugh Spich : Henry of Berkinge : Simon le sargent : John the clerk : and many others. The charter is a wavy chirographum.

² Hiis testibus : Ada de Sancta helena : Jacobo blundo le cuerterer : Waltero de hely : Johannes thurkil : Hamone cysore : Johanne de herlingdone : Radulfo de colcestre : Normanno Wittowiere : Gileberto marescallo : Ricardo poul : Sauaro de Sancto albano : Gerardo pistore : Willelmo blundo bontannur : Stephano filio Willelmi le coliere : et multis aliis.

The charter is an indented chirographum, and is written in a hand characterised by (1) a peculiar way of writing "chirographum"; (2) thick long strokes to the letters; (3) a peculiar angle of slope to the letter *d*; (4) a capital I with a comma-like base.

of the prioress of Cheshunt (Cestrehunte) towards the south.¹ Robert gave them a pound of cummin "in gersumam."²

JOHN DECERIUS³ entered into an agreement with the master and brethren, as to twenty shillings arrears which he owed them for a house in the parish of St. Audoein up to the feast of St. Andrew in the twentieth year of Henry III.

THOMAS BLUND granted to William the chaplain, master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, land in the same parish of St. Nicholas between the land which Peter the carter held of the convent of Ankerwike and the land of the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. On the north it adjoined the land of William the salter. The rent was to be a penny a year paid at Michaelmas.

¹ Et continet in fronte secus vicum Regium in latitudine septem ulnas vnum quarterium minus de ulnis ferreis domini henrici Regis anglie et in medio nouem ulnas vnum quarterium minus et in capite retro versus orientem septem ulnas et dimidium et ex omni parte in longitudine a predicto vico usque ad capud orientale quadraginta quatuor vlnas de eisdem ulnis.

² Hiis testibus : Ricardo filio Benedicti tunc aldermanno : Adgarn tannatore : Henrico fik : Willelmo de Werchus : Willelmo Gudchep : Martino combere : Nicholao tannatore : Galfrido de Wdford : Johanne tannatore : Thome tannatore : Willelmo de vernun : Ricardo horde : Stephano ruffo : Waltero de helya : et Multis aliis.

The writing is the same as that of the grant to James son of Richard of Aldgate. Robert's seal is circular, and has on it a beast like a bear but with a long tail.

³ In full husteng of London before : Andrew Bukerell then Mayor of London : Gerard Bat and Robert Hardel, then sheriffs of London : Joce son of Peter (1211) then alderman : Richard Renger (1220-21) : Stephen crass (1210) : John Viel (1217) : Henry son of William : John of Woburne (1230) : Ralph Eswy (1234) : Peter Bacun : Walter the clerk, Thomas, then clerks of the sheriffs of London.

The xx year of Henry III. began Oct. 28, 1235.

The date of holding office as sheriff, which I have added in brackets, seems to have determined the order of witnesses, except that the alderman of the ward is mentioned next after the actual sheriffs. If Henry son of William is a copyist's error for Joce son of William (1220), or Martin so: of William (1225), the name is in its due order.

Roger Le Duc then mayor, John of Woburn, and Richard son of Walter, the sheriffs, are the first witnesses, and fourteen others follow. The year is 1230.

The same THOMAS BLUND fishmonger granted to William and the brethren land in the parish of St. Nicholas Fishmarket between their land on the east and his on the west, of the fee of Bermondsey (Bermondeseie), at an annual rent of a pound of cummin or one penny to be paid at Michaelmas. The measurements are given with great precision: "And it contains next the king's street in breadth, from the wall of the house of the aforesaid hospital, which is on the eastern part, with the whole of the entry which belonged to my house towards the west, seven ells and three quarters of the iron ells of King Henry the son of King John of England, and the breadth of the same entry throughout is one ell and ten thumbs and the length nine ells and a half, and in length from the corner of the wall of the stone house of the aforesaid brethren to the land of John the cheesemonger which is towards the north twenty and two ells and ten thumbs, and from the house of John the cheesemonger to the land which was Ralph Cardinal's in the north part eleven ells and

¹ Richard Reinger : Andrew Bukerell : John Viel then alderman : Joce son of Peter : Richard son of John : Philip of Wynton : Peter elyland : Walter bruning : William of cam : William the salter : John the salter : Reginald spendelnuue : Robert Long : Robert Smith : and many others.

four thumbs, and in breadth from the house of the aforesaid John to the land of the said Ralph next my land which is of the fee of Bermondsey sixteen ells and four thumbs, and from my land at the western end to the land of the aforesaid John next the land of Ralph fourteen ells and a half and twelve thumbs." The brethren gave him ten marks sterling "in gersumam." Andrew Bukerel, then Mayor of London, was the first witness, followed by Gerard Bat and Robert Hardel, then sheriffs, and John Viel, then alderman.¹ Thomas Blund's circular seal bears a hawk holding a lure, and round it, without a border, the words "Sigillum Thome Albus." The year was 1235.

In some gifts of alms it is difficult to estimate the margin of benefit outside the quit-rents or services recorded. GILBERT SON OF BALDWIN² granted to William

¹ The other witnesses are: Richard Renger: Stephen Cras: John cheesemonger: William Salter: William Orpedemann: Henry Kingesman: Walter of Plescis: Robert Long: William of Ware: Ralph Kenegrom: "et multis aliis."

² Witnesses: Joce son of Peter then alderman: Michael of St. Helena: John of Wburn: Reginald Lungejambe: William of Viteri: Reginald Baker: Warin Cormonger: John Cruche: John Cole: Edward the butler: Gilibert Le despensier.

LAURENCE SON OF EDMUND and MATILDA his wife granted to Baldwin the butcher certain land of theirs in the parish of St. Botulf Aldersgate, between the lands of Edward Pincerna and Symon son of Eustace. Its dimensions were those of the charter of Gilbert son of Baldwin, but measured in the iron ells of King John, and the payments were twelve pence a year to them and four shillings to the hospital of St. Giles. Baldwin gave them a mark of silver "in gersumam." This charter belongs to the reign of King John. Thomas alderman, the first witness, is the sheriff of 1208. The other witnesses are: William Kantinger: William Thruche: Simon of Gamelgay: William Ram: William Grubbe: Reginald Lungejambe: Ralfe Cute: Bartholomew prior: William pungi: Orgar of Holeburn: Reginald Cut: Robert Bitegos: Gerard Le huser: Galfrid of Watford: William Wilekin: Henry Pollard: Thomas Brokesonke: Fulc Le scaldur.

Both seals are circular, the husband's being the smaller. His seal bears an ear of barley with a curved leaf on each side, so that the whole resembles a fleur-de-lys in

and the brethren in free alms his land in the parish of St. Botulf without Aldersgate (Aldredesgate) which had belonged to his father, and which was situated between the land of Edward pincerna (the butler) and that of Simon son of Eustace. In breadth towards the street it measured twelve ells of the iron ells of King Henry the son of John King of England, and in breadth to the south fourteen ells, and in length thirty-three ells. They were to pay two pence a year, and five shillings to the capital lords of the fee, the sick of the hospital of St. Giles, namely two shillings at Michaelmas and two shillings at Easter, and twelve pence to Laurence son of Edmund. The master and brethren gave him twenty shillings sterling "in gersumam."

There were also transactions outside London.

WILLIAM granted to Martin of Hamsted and Aldith his wife three acres of land called Reyleger, in the parish of St. Pancras outside London, situated between the land of Richard son of Herebert and that of Gilebert son of Astin, at an annual rent of three shillings. On their death the land is to revert to the hospital, but their stock (*catalla et uestitura terre*) and crops are to belong without dispute to those to whom they have assigned them. For this charter Martin and Alditha gave the brethren ten shillings sterling.¹

arrangement. The legend is "S. Laurencii fil. Edmundi." Matilda's seal bears a fleur-de-lys with the words "Sigill. Matill. fil. Edmundi." Had her father the same baptismal name as her father-in-law, or is this an early example of a surname FitzEdmund?

Hiis testibus: Ada de Basing: Ricardo de Camberwell: Symone de Clifford:

In 1229 WILLIAM granted to Ralph of Chimbeham, at a rent of six shillings and eight pence a year, the land which the hospital had in Chimbeham in the parish of Freningeham of the gift of William son of Helte,¹ and which Reginald of London held of the hospital. Ralph gave them ten marks of silver. Roger Duc, then Mayor of London, Walter of Wynton and Robert son of John, then sheriffs, are the first witnesses, and eleven others follow.²

WILLIAM and the brethren, in a charter in the beautiful hand of Alexander of Smithfield, grant to Thomas Chapeleyn of London, parmenter, a shop in the market of St. Botulf (in nundinis Sancti Botulfi), which shop is in Bridge Street (Briggestrath), at the entrance of the Parmentary of the citizens of London, on the west side, at a rent of two shillings, in the aforesaid market. If Thomas wishes to sell, the brethren are to have the refusal at one besant of gold less than any one else. The rent is to be paid at the said market of St. Botulf. The oval seal of Thomas remains on a vellum tag, and bears a large eight-pointed star, with the inscription: "Sigillum Tome filii Ricard Chapl."³ This Parmentary

Roberto de purtepol : Jacobo ad nouum redditum : Petro ad duo hostia : Alexandro de Smethefeld clerico : et aliis.

The charter is a fine example of the handwriting of Alexander of Smithfield.

¹ As to whom see p. 181.

² Richard Reinger : William son of Benedict : Andrew Bokerell : Stephen Bokerell : Geoffrey Escholonde : Alan of Leges : William Gerarnun : William of Fauresham : William peinge : Richard son of Aluena : Edward the clerk.

³ Hiis testibus : Joceo filio Petri : Nicholao filio suo : Roberto filio Johannis : Hamone de Castello : Johanne de Lincolnia : Roberto de Eboraco : Johanne de Norhamtonia :

where the dealers in fur robes had their shops, seems to have been in the fair of Boston. The first witness is an alderman, but is not given his title, and a Lincoln man follows the four London witnesses.

WILLIAM¹ entered into an agreement with Robert Lulleman, goldsmith of Beverley, and Sibilla, daughter of Hugh of Craudene, wife of the aforesaid Robert, to grant to them and to the heirs of Sibilla, at a rent of ten shillings a year, a virgate of land in the vill of Craudene, which Roger the miller and John Letherswein held and which John of Craudene granted to the hospital in pure and perpetual alms, "cum secta et seruitiis" of Roger and John.

JOHN OF TRUMPINTHON (Trumpingdon) quit-claimed to William and to the brethren every action which he had towards them as regards money which he sought from them under a certain agreement between them concerning money and lands, and a certain boundary, up to the Sunday before the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross in the year of grace 1240, "for thirty shillings sterling, which they gave to me for good peace. So also that a certain agreement between us as to forty acres of land in Tykeham shall remain unaltered according to the terms of the chirographum

Willelmo de Oxonia: Johanne de sancto Edmundo: Alexandro de Smethefeld clerico: et Aliis.

¹ Hiis testibus: domino Baudewino de Sancto Georgio: domino Alano de winepol: Humfrido filio Ricardi: Radulfo filio Jocelini: Willelmo filio Radulfi de cloptune: Willelmo mansell: Gile filio Hngonis de fuigiers: Willelmo de Ripa: Fulkone de Seningeeye. A stain after *Quadragesimo* conceals another word.

between us," and if any dispute arises he binds himself in ten marks of silver to abide by the decision of the Bishop of London or his official. The deed was concluded at the hospital on the Sunday above mentioned before Sir Philip of Coveleh, knight, Sir Reginald of Bungeye, and Laurence of Frowike, William Lenveise, and Alexander the clerk.

MICHAEL OF ST. HELENA,¹ who was sheriff in 1231,

¹ *LITERE CYROGRAPHATE.* Omnibus Christe fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Michael de Sancta Elena Salutem in domino. Nouerit Vniuersitas uestra me quietumclamasse magistro et fratribus et sororibus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei quandam terram cum suis pertinentiis que fuit Edmundi mervyn in Nundinis de Hoylande quam terram Andreas mervyn frater et heres dicti Edmundi concesserat et dimiserat michi Michaeli de Sancta Elena per cartam suam quam cartam ego Michaelis de Sancta Elena liberaui et reddidi dicto magistro et fratribus et sororibus dicti hospitalis cum mea quietaclamacione facientes inde seruitium dominorum feodi. In Cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Ricardo Rengery: Josceo filio Petri: Ricardo Grasso: Johanne de Wuburn: Ricardo Abel: Galfrido de Suffokia: Hillario draperio: Johanne le fundur: Henrico de Brusell: Willelmo de frowyc: Ada de Benetle: Willelmo de Colecestria clerico: et multis aliis.—The seal has not been preserved.

A charter of MATILDA, widow of Hugh de Cortun, suggests that Michael of St. Helena was alderman of the ward now called Aldersgate, as the transaction took place in that district, and he is the first witness and is described as alderman. Matilda in her free widowhood granted to Stephen de Bermingeham all the land which he held of her husband and afterwards of her son Ralph in the parish of St. Botulph outside Aldersgate, between the land of Cristina Heyrun on the north and that of John le ferrun on the south: to be held on the free service of one penny a year to her son Ralf and his heirs and twenty pence a year to the Dean of St. Paul's. Stephen gave her good shoes of Cordewana (bonos soculares de Cordewana).

The witnesses were: Michael de Sancta Helena then alderman: Hamo of Pelham: Richard of Kingeston.

STEPHEN THE BUTCHER granted to Stephen of Bermingeham the Alman certain land which he held of Hugh of Curton in the parish of St. Botulf of the fee of the Dean of St. Paul's, paying one penny a year to Stephen the butcher, and five shillings to the capital lords of the fee, viz. twenty pence a year to the Dean of St. Paul's, and to Hugh de Curton forty pence a year. Stephen of Bermingeham paid thirteen marks of silver in gersumam. The circular seals of the two parties are placed one above the other on a single vellum tag. The upper seal bears a fleur-de-lys, the other a boar's head. The witnesses are Michael of St. Helena then alderman: John of Wuburn: Ralf of Stanmore: Gilbert de L'Egle: William Thruse: Richard Barun: Simon of Lichefend: Galfrid Le Mercer:

quit-claimed to the master, brethren, and sister certain land which had been held by Edmund Mervyn in the Markets of Holonde, which land Andrew Mervyn, brother and heir of Edmund, had granted to him by a charter, which charter Michael returned to the hospital.

A benefactress during William's mastership was **CECILIA OF SANFORD**,¹ who gave to William the master

Gilbert Blund shoemaker : John Le fundur : Godwin cormonger : Simon Draper : Richard Bontannur : Gilbert le Cuureur : Walter Le Concurer : Richard de Solio : Galfrid de Sancto Edmundo : William of Westmelle : Hamo of Pelham : Richard of Kingeston.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Cecilia de Sanford dedi et concessi et hac presenti Carta mea Confirmavi deo et beate Marie et Willelmo capellano procuratori Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis in Liberam Elemosinam pro anima Johannis Regis Anglie et pro animabus patris et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum Totam illam Terram quam Radulfus de Bineslee michi dedit pro homagio et serujicio meo et Carta sua Confirmavit. Scilicet totam illam terram que jacet inter fossatum quod factum fuit per Almaram de Babingeslee et inter Boscum de Lamburne et inter uiam que ducit versus Hyngestanesbache et Boscum de Wlfelmestune Cum Omnibus pertinenciis suis : et octo denarios redditus quos Walterus de Writele michi debuit : et quatuor denarios redditus quos cecilia que fuit uxor Giliberti Yoie michi debuit et decem denarios redditus quos Thomas de la hulle michi debuit et Totam illam terram quam Beatricia filia Brien aliquando de me tenuit cum omnibus suis pertinenciis. Habendam et Tenendam dictis Willelmo capellano et fratribus dicti hospitalis et successoribus suis Hereditarie in liberam Elemosinam Bene et in pace : libere et quiete : in viis : in semitis : in pasturis : in Bosco : in plano : in Communis et in omnibus Liberis Introitibus et Exitibus ad predictam terram pertinentibus. Reddendo Jnde annuatim dominis feodi duos solidos esterlingorum Scilicet ad pascha xii denarios et ad festum Sancti Michaelis xii denarios pro omnibus seruiciis : auxiliis : Consuetudinibus : Exactionibus et demandis et omnibus sectis et rebus cunctis secularibus Saluo seruicio forinseco domini Regis quantum pertinet ad tres acras libere terre in Lamburne. Hanc predictam terram et predictos redditus Cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et ut predictum est Ego cecilia de Sanford et heredes mei predictis Willelmo capellano fratribus et successoribus suis contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus. Vt autem hec mea donacio Concessio confirmacio Warantizacio rata sit et stabilis presentem Cartam sigilli mei appositione roborau. Testibus Istis : Domino Willelmo de Bosco : Galfrido de Roynges : Johanne Wigier : Henrico filio Heruici : Willelmo de Marci : Gregorio de Teidene : Alexandro Biulun : Johanne de Lamburne : Rogero pach. : Ricardo de Anesti : Petro de Haselingefeld : Helia del Erith : Johanne de Roinges : Benedicto parcario de stanstede : Thoma tyrell : Giliberto de odedelle.

The charter of RALF OF BINESLEE has also been preserved, and bears his circular seal on four narrow strips of vellum twisted together. It bears an eagle with partly expanded wings, and the words "Sigill. Radulfi de Binesl."

and the brethren of the hospital in free alms for the soul of King John, and for the souls of her father and mother, and of all her ancestors, the land which she had received from Ralph of Binislee. It lay between the ditch which was made by Almar of Babingeslee and the wood of Lamburne, and the way which leads towards Hyngestaneshache, and the wood of Wulfelmestune. She also gave several rents: eight pence which Walter of Writele owed to her, four pence which Cecilia who was wife of Gilbert Yoie owed her, ten pence which Thomas de la Hulle owed her, as well as all the land which Beatrice wife of Brien formerly held of her. Sanford and these lands are in Essex. Cecilia was perhaps inclined to ask prayers for the soul of King John because she had lived with his daughter Eleanor. After the death of Cecilia's husband, William of Gorham, she took a vow of perpetual widowhood and devotion to God before the altar of St. Edmund, and received a wedding ring and a russet gown. Joan, Countess of Pembroke, who took this vow at the same time and place, was afterwards permitted by papal

Seiant presentes et futuri quod Ego Radulfus de Binesle dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Cecilie de Sanford pro homagio et seruitio suo totam terram illam ad sartandam que iacet inter fossatum quod factum fuit per Almaro de Babbingelee et inter Boscum de Lamburne &c. [*as in Cecilia's charter*] ——— reddendo michi inde et heredibus meis annuatim duos Solidos. ———. Pro hac donatione &c dedit michi predicta Cecilia duas marcas argenti et dimidium in gersuman. Hiis testibus: Ada, Toma Capellanis; Laurentio diacono; Johanne de Lamburne; Toma peuerel; Ricardo Wastinel; Rogero Wastinel; Willelmo conuerso; Willelmo de Chigewelle; Johanne filio Gregorii: et pluribus aliis.

This charter is only a little earlier than Cecilia's. John of Lamburne witnesses both.

dispensation to recede from it and to marry the Earl of Leicester, but Cecilia persevered in her vow.

Her oval seal bears her figure with a hawk upon her left hand. Her right arm is bent, her hand holding the fastening of her girdle. She has a long straight dress with short sleeves and gloves, and a curious cap with short pendant strings on her head. On a plain border in capitals is the inscription "SIGILLUM CECILLE DE SANFORD." It is interesting to see even this rude portrait of our benefactress. She was, says Matthew Paris, a holy matron, well learned and pleasant and eloquent, and was chosen to be instructress of the sister of King Henry III.

When Cecilia was dying on July 23, 1251, Walter of St. Martin's, a Dominican, after giving her the last sacraments, noticed her ring, and, thinking it a vain decoration, said, "Take off that ring, lest she die so decked out." Cecilia roused herself, drew up her hand and bent her finger when her maids tried to remove the ring, and said, "Forbid, forbid, dear father, that any one take from me, living or dead, this ring, which before the judgment seat of God my betrothed, I will offer in proof of that inviolate chastity which to Him I promised by this ring, so that I shall receive the reward which I deserve. I know in whom I have believed, seeing that I have for Him refused the hands of nobles with splendid dowries." These were her last words. The Dominican commended her, and Matthew Paris

heard the story from him. She was buried with the ring on her finger, in a stone coffin, before the altar of Standon.

In another charter CECILIA grants to Jordan son of Richard three acres of land in Lamburne of the fee which she held of Ralf of Bineslee, and next to the land of Thomas son of Simon. The rent was to be twelve pence a year. Jordan gave her twelve shillings "in gersumam." The witnesses were Thomas Peuerell, Hugh the Janitor, Simon of Cranebroc, John of Lamburne, Richard Wastinel, John Wiger, William of Chigewell, Alexander Builun, Walter of Writele, Henry son of Herui, John son of Gregory, Laurence the clerk, "et Multis Aliis."

A third charter of CECILIA grants to the above mentioned Beatrice daughter of Brien for her life, at a rent of thirteen pence a year, three acres of land (next the land of Thomas son of Simon) which Jordan the smith held of her in the vill of Lamburne. Beatrice gave her twelve shillings "in gersumam." The witnesses were William dun, Thomas Peuerell, Ralf son of Stephen, John of Lamburne, Walter of Wfnelmeston, Henry of Lamburne, Richard Wastinel, Augustine the bedell (seruiente), Alexander Boilon, Bruning del Herith, Robert the clerk, "et pluribus aliis." The seal remains, but its impression is somewhat blurred.

These are the same three acres before granted to Jordan the smith, otherwise called Jordan son of

Richard. In the present charter the rent is raised a penny a year, so that land seems to have been increasing in value. The gersuma is the same.

A remission and quit-claim of THOMAS SON OF WALTER NIGER of Berkinge (Barking) and his wife Beatrice to Cecilia of Sanford of all the land which they held of her in the vill of Lamburne is interesting, because, though it ends with the words "Testibus Istis," and bears two seals of unequal size on vellum tags, no witnesses' names are written, and the space for them remains blank. The larger seal is circular, and bears a fleur-de-lys with the inscription "S. Thome nigri de Berking," showing that Black had already become a surname, since Walter the father and Thomas his son both bore it. The smaller seal is oval, and bears a slenderer fleur-de-lys and the words "S. Beatricis filie Briani," thus showing that the wife of Walter Black was the Beatrice to whom Cecilia of Sanford had let the land of Jordan the smith. For the quit-claim Cecilia gave two marks of silver.

WILLIAM OF BINESLEE¹ son of Ralph of Bineslee granted to God and to the Blessed Mary and to William

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Willelmus de Bineslee concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et Beate Marie et Willelmo capellano procuratori Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratribus eiusdem Hospitalis et pauperibus eiusdem domus ibidem commorantibus in liberam ——— elemosinam ——— totam illam terram quam cecilia de Sanford eis dedit in villa de Lamburne. ——— Hiis testibus : Willelmo de Lamburne : Reynero de Bungeye : Roberto Hardel : Willelmo Haket persona de Lamburne : Johanne de Hadfeld : Willelmo Vastinel : Cristoforo de Lamburne : Rogero page : Waltero de Writle : Thoma de fonte : Thoma de chaney : Et Multis Aliis.

Robert Hardel was sheriff in 1235 and Reyner de Bungeye is probably the sheriff of 1239, mentioned in the Record Office (1898) list as Reginald de Bungey.

the chaplain, proctor of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, to the brethren of the same, and to the poor of the same house there staying, in perpetual alms for the welfare of his own soul and the soul of his wife Felicia and the welfare of his ancestors, all the land which Cecilia of Sanford gave to them in the vill of Lamburne. Cecilia holds the land of him (its situation is described in her charter on p. 411). William the chaplain and the brethren are to pay to him two shillings sterling a year for all services, aids, customs, and demands, saving the service of the king, a scutage of twenty shillings and sixpence more or less, and William of Bineslee at the prompting of charity remits to the hospital all external services affecting the land, in order that he and his successors may be participators in the benefit of all good works done in the hospital for ever.

WILLIAM¹ let the land which Cecilia of Sanford had given to the hospital in Lamburne to William Trewe and Cecilia of Eltham his wife (except the parts held by Walter of Writele, John son of Thomas, and Cecilia Joeis) at a rent of thirteen shillings and four pence a year. They are not to let the land to religious houses nor to Jews. William and Cecilia gave six pounds sterling "in gersumam."

St. Bartholomew's has at the present day a valuable

¹ The witnesses were: Alexander Buluynne: Gilebert of Chigwell: Thomas Fayte: Roger Pacche: William Sirebaus: Walter of Writele: John son of Thomas: Roger son of Richard. A partly defaced oval seal bearing a fleur-de-lys remains attached. The charter is in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield, and is a carta chirographata.

estate at Enfield, and it had begun to acquire property there in the mastership of William. In a deed of about the year 1228 WILLIAM SON OF RALF OF ENEFELD transferred to the master and brethren a part of his piece of land there, nine perches long (each perch sixteen and a half feet in length) and six perches and eleven feet in breadth, next that late Edmund the merchant's; and an acre and a half of arable land to the north of Edmund's land; and four acres of arable land in Westbrodefeld which lie between the land once Edmund's and that of Robert son of Philip; and in Estbrodefeld two acres and a half of arable land between the land of Edmund and that of Robert; and in a piktel next the king's highway an acre and a half of arable land; and in Westfeld at Beche three acres and a half of arable land next that of Edmund; and an acre and a half of meadow (ad quareles) next the meadow of Absolon the clerk. The brethren are to pay two shillings sterling a year, and they gave William for this grant eight marks sterling. This was made in court, for Sir William Ralegh, then Justiciar of the king, is the first witness. Four other judges follow: Sir Ralph of Norwich, Sir Robert of Ralegh, Sir Gilbert of Hendon, and Sir Roger le Ducket.¹ There is a fine circular seal, bearing a lion passant guardant and the words "S. Willi. fil. Radulfi d'Enefeld."

¹ The other witnesses are: Reiner of Bungeye: Luke the clerk: William de Ripa: Richard smith: Geoffrey carter: Robert Le Scot: Henry son of William.

The hand resembles that of William de Ripa.

The same WILLIAM SON OF RALF¹ gave to the hospital in pure and perpetual alms for the good of his soul, three roods of his meadow in Enefeld which are situated "ad quareles" between the meadow of John de Marisco and of Absalon the clerk, returning to him a penny a year at Easter for every service. The same seal is appended.

JOHN MARESCAL² of Enefeld granted to the brethren of the hospital an acre of land in the vill of Enefeld which lay in the field called Brodeueld, between two acres which the brethren held of him on the east and the land of Benedict Chapman on the west, that of Adam Durant on the south, and of William of Feringes on the north, paying to him fourpence a year for every service, saving the king's service. The brethren gave him a mark of silver "in gersumam."

His oval seal bears a hind, and round it, without any border, the letters "S. Johis Marscal." The presence of Absalon the clerk shows that the charter is of the same period as that of William son of Ralf.

WILLIAM SON OF REGINALD DE LA WDEGATE³ gave to

¹ Testibus istis: Waltero capellano de Chauuereia: Martino capellano de Abintune: Luce de Abintune: Galfrido de Abintune: Willelmo de ripa; Fulk' de senegie: Eduardo seruiente.

² Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Feringes: Ada Durant: Ricardo de Plesseto: Johanne de Marisco: Johanne Herberd: Absalone clerico: Thoma de la forde: Philippo de la forde: Alexandro clerico: et aliis.

The writing is that of Alexander of Smithfield.

³ Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum ——— unam dimidiam acri in Henefeld ——— in Liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam. ——— Reddendo inde annuatim michi Willelmo et heredibus meis tres obulos die Sancti Johannis Baptiste pro omnibus rebus et exigenciis secularibus.

the hospital and to the brethren and sick there dwelling half an acre of meadow in Enefeld (Henefield) which he held of Ysabel Corhoth and which was next her demesne meadow at Blanchediche. They were to pay to him and his heirs three half-pence on St. John the Baptist's day for all things and secular payments. The witnesses were Robert dean of Middlesex; Henry chaplain of Holy Trinity; Thomas chaplain of Cestrehunte; Sir Henry Boquinte; Richard of Prestune; Richard de La Forde; Aldwin son of Geoffrey; Thomas de La Lee.

Probably Richard de la Forde is the same as the Richard forde of Richard of Prestune's¹ charter, and Richard of Prestune, the witness here, is the grantor of that charter, which also refers to land at Enfield. That charter is earlier than 1222, so that this may belong either to the mastership of Hugh or the beginning of that of William.

ADAM BERENGER² of Enfield, son of Simon of Beny-

¹ P. 268.

² Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Adam Berenger de Enefeld filius simonis de Benyton dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum magistro et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei London vnum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis in villa de Enefeld quod quidem messuagium situm est inter viam regiam ex parte vna et terram Albertis de Thornheye ex altera et extendit se in longitudine super messuagium Willelmi Beneyt uersus aquilonem ex parte una et messuagium Willelmi Billok ex altera uersus austrum sicut mete et fosse portant et condonant. Habendum et tenendum dictum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis dictis magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus libere quiete bene et in pace iure hereditario inperpetuum. Et ego vero dictus Adam et heredes mei et assignati dictum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis dictis magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus Warantizabimus et aquietabimus et defendemus inperpetuum. Pro hac autem donacione concessione et presentis carte mee confirmacione dederunt michi predicti magister et fratres duodecim solidos pre manibus. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum meum

ton, sold to the hospital a messuage in the vill of Enfield at about this period for twelve shillings.

In 1237 Cecilia of Salerne, relict of William le tyers,¹ gave to St. Bartholomew's the land formerly received from Stephen son of Sarra² and held of Hugh of the ditch and Alice of Salerno in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate.

Towards the end of William's mastership, in 1244, ISABELLA,³ daughter of Ralf Stepereng,⁴ in her widowhood, confirmed to the hospital her father's grant of

apposui. Hiis testibus : Michaele de ffochelere : Willelmo Benet : Thoma Orpede : Roberto Asse : Ricardo Benet : Ada ad crucem : Roberto de Horspole : et multis aliis.

The seal bears a six-pointed star and the inscription "S. Ade de Enefeld."

¹ Richard Renger then mayor : Gervase Little and John de Tulesan, sheriffs : Joce son of Peter Alderman.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 232a.

² Witnesses of Stephen's charter : William chaplain of the parish : Thomas son of Neel : Thomas Bukerell.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 236a.

³ Sciant presentes et futuri Quod ego Isabella filia Radulfi Stepereng in libera potestate viduitatis mee concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde et eorum successoribus totam terram cum domibus et pertinentiis extra barram Smethefelde iuxta faggesswelle in parrochia sancti Sepulchri. quam predictus Radulfus pater meus eisdem fratribus dedit concessit et carta sua confirmauit, sicut melius et plenius in eadem carta continetur, De qua uero terra domibus et pertinentiis ego implacitauit dictos fratres coram Justiciariis ultimo itinerantibus in Comitatu Middelsex anno regni Henrici filii Regis Johannis vicesimo octauo per breve domini Regis de recto. Quod uero breve cum mea remissione et quieta clamatione dictis fratribus sursum reddidi : Salua tamen michi et heredibus meis inde annuatim dimidia libra cymini ad festum sancti Michaelis per manus predictorum fratrum siue assignatorum eorum recipienda : Secundum tenorem carte predicti Radulfi patris mei : Habendam et tenendam predictis fratribus predicti Hospitalis et eorum successoribus libere quiete bene et in pace per predictum seruitium inperpetuum. Pro hac autem mea concessione et presentis carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi dicti fratres dimidiam marcam argenti. Et ut omnia predicta rata et inconcussa inperpetuum perseuerent presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roborauit. Hiis testibus : Reginaldo de Bungeia : Johanne de Gizortiis : Henrico filio Willelmi : Willelmo le fort : Johanne Cole : Nicholao de Lymesii : Roberto Gaythals : Scoto bouseinnur : Willelmo le Muynne : Bartholomeo monetario : Johanne de Lausele : Galfrido fabro : Johanne clerico : Radulfo Canun : Alexandro de Smethefelde clerico : et aliis.

⁴ p. 130.

land outside Smithfield bars next Faggeswell. Her oval seal bears her figure with a hawk on her left hand.

The last record of the mastership of WILLIAM is a carta cyrographata in which he grants to Girard of Mymmes, butcher, at a rent of thirteen shillings a year, a piece of land with the buildings upon it in Chamberleyenneslane in the parish of St. Sepulchre in the suburb of London, between the land held of the hospital by William Vitery and that formerly belonging to Robert Lengleys. Girard gave them eight marks of silver "in gersumam," his oval seal bears a lion rampant and the inscription "S. Gerardi de Mimmes."¹ The date of the charter is 1246.

William's mastership came to an end in the year 1246-7. The hospital had prospered in his time. It was in his first year that the Franciscans came to London, and before his death their convent and church had been built near St. Bartholomew's, but within the city wall. At Christ Church, Newgate Street, a curious tower built by Wren marks the site of the church of the friars, and till a few years ago some arches of their cloisters were still to be seen. In William's time a

¹ Hiis testibus: Domino Laurentio de frowike tunc vicecomite Londoniarum et aldermanno eiusdem Warde: Thoma de Neugate: Roberto cornmongere: Edmundo Otte: Willelmo taillefer: Rogero bonsire: Warino pictore: Galfrido Marescallo: Edmundo lengleys: Johanne cole: Nicholao de limins: Gileberto bedello: Alexandro clerico: et aliis.

Laurence of Frowik was sheriff in 1246 and 1251, but in the latter year Bartholomew was certainly master of the hospital.

broad ditch full of water, as well as the wall, separated St. Bartholomew's from the Franciscan buildings. Joce son of Peter¹ was alderman of the ward during the

¹ A charter of Joce son of Peter is printed on p. 114.

He appears as a witness of many charters at St. Bartholomew's and elsewhere in London. Michael of St. Helena seems to have been alderman of the next ward, that now called Aldersgate, in his time, as is shown by a charter in which NICHOLAS SON OF EVERARD, cutler, sells and quit-claims to Joce son of Peter all the land he has in the parish of St. Sepulchre outside Newgate (Newegate) next the royal way which leads to Holborn (Holleborn), to be held by Joce and his heirs well and in peace, &c., as the charter states, which Joce and his heirs have of Ralf of Frovic and his heirs, returning to the capital lord of the fee, viz. Ralf of Frovic, seven shillings sterling for all services. Joce gave him twenty shillings. *Hiis testibus: Michaele de sancta Helena tunc aldermanno proxime Warde Jocei filio Petri: Henrico tannario: Reginaldo fratre eius: et Luca parmentario: Ricardo crocston: Willelmo copere: Willelmo talifer: Alexandro de borc: Edwino fabro: Ricardo de cockeslane pistore: Henrico pikebon: Edwardo corri: Waltero pongi: et multis aliis.*

His circular seal bears a fine cinquefoil with, on a border, the words "Sigill. Nicolai fil Everardi." His charter and the next are by the same scribe.

DEONISIA, widow of Everard the cutler, confirmed the sale which Nicholas her first-born son had made to Joce son of Peter. Joce gave her a cloak of Burneta (unum pallium Burnete) and four shillings sterling. The witnesses are the same. Her oval seal bears a finely designed fleur-de-lys, and on a border the words "S. Deonisie relicte Everardi."

A charter of JOHN COSIN son of Reiner Cosin shows that Joce had a brother. John Cosin grants to Thomas of Haverell all his land in the parish of St. Michael in Wood Street (Wodestrate), a capital messuage which he has there, paying to him a pound of cumin for all services, saving the king's socage of three pence a year on Palm Sunday. Thomas gave him twenty pounds sterling "in gersumam."

Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Hauerell: Ricardo: Jacobo filio eius: Alano filio Petri: Gocio fratre eius: Petro duce: Rogero fratre eius: Thoma filio ricardi: Andrea bukerel: Willelmo longo aurifabro: Hugone cosin: Willelmo capellano: Et MULTIS ALIIS.

John Cosin's circular seal bears a lion.

The latest charter in which I have found the name of Joce son of Peter is one of the year 1235, in which BONEFILIA daughter of Everard the fisherman grants to Walter of Basing certain land with a house which belonged to her father in the parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate between Ritham and the land of William son of Robert of Fulham, paying half a pound of cimin or a penny every year within a fortnight of Easter for every service except that of the capital lords of the fee, namely the hospital of St. Bartholomew, to whom five shillings a year are due. Walter gave Bonefilia two marks and a half of silver "in gersumam." The witnesses are: Andrew Bokerell then Mayor of London: Gerard Bat and Robert Hardell then sheriffs of London: Joce son of Peter then alderman: John Noel: Henry Pikebon: Nicholas of Ailesbiri: Theobald the Cutler: Godefrid hendiman: Martin son of Rener: John the Carpenter: William tailefer: Thomas the draper: John the bedell: Galfrid of Basing: and many others.

first ten years of William's mastership: and Laurence of Frowyk was alderman during its last years. John Gisors was Mayor of London when the mastership of William terminated.

BARTHOLOMEW became master in 1246-7,¹ and held office till 1268-9. The Bishop of London, under the composition of Bishop Eustace, had the right of nomination to the mastership if no master were otherwise appointed. Fulk Basset, the Bishop of London who succeeded Roger Niger, exercised this right of devolution in the case of Bartholomew.

The charters of the time of this master of which the originals are extant, or of which there are copies in the Cartulary, show that he was active in the affairs of the hospital. Many of them relate to the purchase, the sale, or the letting of land and of houses.

¹ The entry in the Cartulary is:—

"Bartholomeus Capellanus Jure Devolutionis, Domini Episcopi Londoniensis Anno Domini millesimo cclxi. A xxv^o anno Regia Henrici tercii usque in liii Annum predicti Regis Henrici videlicet Anno Domini millesimo cclxx."

The entry shows that its writer, John Cok, in the reign of Henry VI. had transcribed from an older list, and had not constructed his list entirely from charters, since there is a charter of William as master witnessed by Laurence of Frowik as sheriff, and another of Bartholomew as master dated Easter 1247. Thus William was living after Michaelmas 1246, the date of Laurence of Frowik's appointment as sheriff, while Bartholomew was in office as master on March 31 (Easter Day) 1247. As his method of appointment implied some delay after his predecessor's death, it is safe to assume that William died or resigned in the last quarter of 1246. Considering the inaccurate reckoning of regnal years in the list, it may perhaps be assumed that Cok misplaced a *v* and omitted an *x* in his transcription, so that the original list read "Anno Domini millesimo cclxvi. A xxx anno Regia Henrici tercii." The thirtieth year of Henry III. ended within the shrievalty of Laurence of Frowik on October 27, 1246.

There are many charters of Bartholomew, but all in which the year can be precisely determined are later than 1246.

They throw much light on the general conditions of life, and some on the interior life of the hospital. Some convey the gifts of benefactors and ask that they and their relatives may be remembered in the prayers of the brethren.

The earliest recorded act of BARTHOLOMEW¹ is a grant to John Palmar and Alicia his wife, at a rent of twenty-two shillings a year, of a shop at the south end of Friday Street. It was opposite the fish market in the parish of St. Nicholas, and was once part of the holding of John Burguynun. An upper chamber (solarium) over the shop and extending over other shops was included, and the hospital undertook

¹ *VLVHVRHROHOC VLHVQ—Omnibus Christi fidelibus Ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Bartholomeus Capellanus procurator Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et eiusdem loci fratres Salutem. Noueritis nos concessisse dimisisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Johanni Palmario et Alicie uxori sue illam sopam nostram que est in capite australi de fridaystrate uersus piscariam in parochia sancti Nicholai de tenemento quod fuit quondam Johannis Burguynun cum toto solario desuper dictam sopam et super omnes alias sopas inferius de eodem tenemento quas penes nos retinemus. Habendam et tenendam dictis Johanni et Alicie ad totam uitam eorum libere quiete bene et in pace. Reddendo inde annuatim domui nostre viginti duos solidos ad quatuor terminos. Scilicet ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste quinque solidos et sex denarios. Et ad festum sancti Michaelis quinque solidos et sex denarios. Et ad Natale domini quinque solidos et sex denarios. Et ad Pascha quinque solidos et sex denarios pro omnibus rebus et sine occasione. Et nos et successores nostri Warantizabimus predictam sopam cum toto predicto solario predictis Johanni et Alicie quamdiu uixerint. Scilicet cuiusque eorum alterum superuixerit contra omnes gentes et per predictum seruitium defendemus et acquietabimus. Et etiam nostris propriis sumptibus quando necesse fuerit predictum solarium a uento et pluuiis faciemus defensibile. Pro hac autem nostra concessione dimissione warantisione defensione acquietatione et sigilli nostri appositione dederunt nobis predicti Johannes et Alicia octo solidos et pacauerunt nobis pre manibus redditum primi anni intrantis Ad Pascha anno gracie M^o CC^o Quadragesimo septimo. Hiis testibus: Domino Petro filio Alani tunc maiore Londoniarum: Symone filio Marie et Laurentio de Frowik tunc vicecomitibus: Johanne Vitale tunc Aldermanno eiusdem Warde: Thoma le furmager: Johanne ruffo: Johanne ad cornerium: Gileberto le furmager: Henrico blundo: Roberto le furmager: Johanne de Fuleham: Alexandro de Smetefeld clerico: et aliis.*

to keep it wind and rain tight. John and Alice gave eight shillings for the grant and apposition of the hospital seal, and paid the rent for the first year at Easter in the year of grace 1247.

The first witnesses are Peter son of Alan, the mayor; Simon son of Mary and Laurence of Frowyk the sheriffs. This Simon son of Mary deserves remembrance as the founder of Bethlem Hospital.

John and Alice appear to have prospered, for in 1252 BARTHOLOMEW and the brethren made another grant to them for their lives of four shops under the upper room (solarium) of the tenement which was held by John Burgoynum at the end of Friday Street near the fish market; "which upper room, with two shops in the corner, John and Alice already hold of us in fee." The annual rent is to be twenty shillings. The tenants are to keep the shops in repair. The hospital is to cover the solarium when and where necessary from the ground to the joists and planking as well as the joists and planking (gistas et planchitium) and the whole upper chamber. John and Alice gave the brethren ten shillings for this grant. The seal bears a crescent and star of six points, and the words "*Sigill. I Palmer.*"¹ Dominus John Tolosan Mayor of London,

¹ In this charter he is called John le Paumer. It is cut in a wavy line with the words "Carta Cyrographata." The other witnesses are: Henry Kingessone: Adam Brunning: Robert son of John the cheesemonger: Thomas the cheesemonger: John the ruddy: Robert the cheesemonger: Gilbert the cheesemonger: John at the corner: Alexander the clerk: "et aliis." It is in the hand of the last witness.

Thomas of Wymburne and William of Dunholme sheriffs, and William Vyel alderman of the ward, are the first witnesses.

In the next year a grant of BARTHOLOMEW¹ and the brethren to John Calf, fishmonger, of land in the fish market in the parish of St. Nicholas, at a rent of twenty-six shillings and fourpence a year, was witnessed by Michael Tovy, the next mayor, and by Nicholas Bat and William Vyel, the sheriffs of 1247-8.

BARTHOLOMEW in 1247 granted to Robert son of John the cheesemonger a place of land in the parish of St. Nicholas of the fishmarket between the land of Robert and that held by John Calf from the hospital in fee.²

¹ It is a carta cyrographata (words reversed) cut in a wavy line. "The land is between our property formerly held by Peter le burgynum on the east and the land which is of the fee of St. Paul's on the west. It contains in breadth along the king's street eight ells of the iron ells of King Henry measured without the thumbs; and in the middle eight ells: and eleven ells towards the north part between the capital messuage of Robert son of John the furmager and the land of St. Saviour's of Bermondsey. And it contains in length, from the king's street to the land of Robert son of John which he holds of us in fee, seventeen ells and three quarters of an ell:——To have and to hold by the aforesaid John and his heirs and assigns, religious men and Jews excepted, from us and our successors in fee and heredity for ever. Paying thence to us and our successors twenty-six shillings and fourpence a year——for all services and exactions and demands, —— John in our full chapter swore to us and our house to keep faith as regards the tenement and the payment of the rent." John gave them two marks of silver "in gersumam." His seal is oval and bears a fish lengthwise, and on a simple border the words "Sigil. Johannis Calf."

Hiis testibus: Domino Michaelae Tovy tunc maiore Londoniarum: Nicholas bat et Willelmo vyel tunc vicecomitibus: et eodem Willelmo tunc aldermanno eiusdem Warde: Symone de Cokham: Henrico kingessune: Willelmo Salnario: Ranulfo piscario: Willelmo de Bixle: Roberto filio Johannis: Gileberto le furmager: Johanne ruffo: Hugone bedello: Alexandro clerico: et aliis.

The charter was written by Alexander of Smithfield, the last witness.

² Its breadth on the east next the stone wall of the said Robert is four ells and seven thumbs of the iron ells of the lord King Henry measured without thumbs, and its breadth in the middle five ells and three thumbs, and its breadth on the west side six

Robert was to pay twelve pence a year for all services and gave half a mark of silver "in gersumam."

Bartholomew¹ warden of the hospital of St. Bartholomew granted to Thomas Dudeman the land which William the goldsmith and Roger son of Robert de turri held next the church of St. Audoen juxta mascellas. Thomas gave two shillings "in gersumam," and the brethren agreed that Thomas and his wife Edeline should be buried in the hospital and should be remembered in masses as if they had been a brother and sister of the hospital. The church, often called St. Ewen's, stood near the north end of Warwick Lane.

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Thomas called Hod, the butcher, land and houses in the parish of St. Sepulchre in the street called Viteries Lane, "between the land of John the moneyer, formerly that of Ralf of Hoyland, on the east, and the land which Roger of Folkestane holds

ells and a quarter of an ell and three thumbs: and in length it stretches eleven ells from the aforesaid stone wall to the land of Dionisia relict of Ralf cardinel.

A fragment of the seal remains.

The charter is headed "Carta cyrographata" (words reversed) cut in a wavy line, and consists of seventeen lines in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield.

The witnesses are: Dominus Michael Tovy then Mayor of London: Nicholas Bat and William Vyel then sheriffs, and the same William then alderman of that same ward: Symon of Cokham: Henry Kingessune: William the salter: Ralf the fishmonger: William of Bixle: Robert the cheesemonger: John calf: Gilbert the cheesemonger: John the ruddy: Alexander: "et aliis."

The mention at this period that a man was both sheriff and alderman is not frequent.

In all these charters the usual form is "master (or proctor or warden) of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the brethren of the same."

¹ Witnesses: Thomas alderman: Roger son of Robert de turri: Walter parent: Simon son of Eustace: Warin: Martin: Richard: Robert of Egerswerre: "et aliis multis."—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 244a.

in fee of the hospital on the west." On the north it extended "to the land of the lord King and our land," with also "a piece of land between our before mentioned land on the west and that of Girard the butcher on the east, with the whole of that external chamber which is on the ditch descending through the common ditch of our common chamber." The rent was to be twenty shillings a year, and if it were not paid the master and brethren might enter into possession at the end of the year.¹

CLARICIA, widow of John son of John le ferrun of Mymmes, remitted and quit-claimed to Alexander the goldbeater and Isabella his wife all her right and claim in the name of her dowry, free bench, or any other right in a messuage outside Aldersgate Street in the parish of St. Botulf which John her husband had granted to them. They gave her thirteen shillings sterling and a robe of the price of half a mark.²

¹ Witnesses : Richard of Ewell then alderman of the ward : Richard of Vernun : John the moneyer : Roger of Folkestone : Edmund the cordwainer : Fabian the cordwainer : Robert the cornmonger : William of Winton : Richard the bedell : Alexander the clerk : 'et aliis.'

Richard of Ewell was sheriff in 1256. The charter is in Alexander's hand.

² Her oval seal bears a fleur-de-lys and the words on a border : "S. Clairicie relic Johis. fil. Johs."

Witnesses : Dominus Ralf Hardel then Mayor of London : William Eswy and Robert of Linton then sheriffs : John le myneur then alderman of that ward : William of Colchester clerk : Walter le faoner : Walter Walensis : Thomas le chamberleng : John Sharp : William le Fundur : John Hanekin : Robert the bedell : Alexander of Smithfield clerk : and others.

The charter is written in thirteen lines by the last witness.

In the *Chronica Majorum* Ralf Hardel is given as the mayor of 1254 and William Eswy and Robert of Linton as the sheriffs. Stow's list gives the same mayor, and as sheriffs Ralph Ashwy and Robert of Lunon, which may probably be taken as misprints in agreement with the *Chronica*. The Record Office list of sheriffs gives Stephen of

BARTHOLOMEW confirmed to this Alexander the gold-beater a plat of land in the parish of St. Botulf outside Aldersgate in the great street as one goes from Smithfield towards the red cross between the land formerly Richard Atelofte's on the west and that of Henry of Frowike on the east, a length of twenty-four ells and a quarter of an ell of the iron ells of King Henry measured without thumbs. A rent of two shillings a year was to be paid for all services, exactions, and demands. If Alexander wishes to sell it, the master and brethren are to have the land at twelve pence less than any one else. They warrant the land to him, his heirs and assigns, religious men and Jews excepted, against all people. Alexander gave them half a mark of silver "in gersumam."¹ The red cross is that now commemorated in Red Cross Street in Cripplegate ward.

Ostregate and Henry Walemund. A prisoner had escaped from Newgate, and the king on January 7 called the mayor and citizens before him to answer for this. They said that the sheriffs only were responsible for the custody of the gaol. The king said: "But you make the sheriffs and must answer for them." "No," replied the citizens; "we nominate the sheriffs, and the barons of the exchequer appoint them, and we no way answer for them except as to the firma or annual payment of the viscounty if they do not make it up." Next day the sheriffs were sent to the Tower, and kept there a month and more. Then in February they were set free, but the king would not allow them to remain sheriffs; and on March 2 Stephen of Ostregate and Henry of Walemund were elected.

This charter was therefore witnessed before January 7, 1254-5; but as there had been disputes with the exchequer early in the mayoralty which had ended in the formal reappointment of the sheriffs on November 18, 1254, it is probable that its date may be placed between November 18 and January 7.

¹ The seal (stitched in vellum) has broken to pieces. The witnesses are: John le myneur then alderman of that ward: Walter Walensis: Salomon the tanner: John Atelofte: Lauronce turpyn: Roger huphelde: Walter le fiaoner: Alan of Pelham: Godwin cornmonger: William le fundur: Laurence orbatur: Robert childesho: Robert the bedell: Alexander of Smithfield clerk: "et aliis."

At the top are the words "Carta cyrographata" cut straight, and the rest of the

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Richard son of James of Ewere, at an annual payment of twelve pence, the whole land "which Sir Hangod Corp, knight, gave to

writing is in sixteen lines. John le Mynur was sheriff in 1255, and he was one of those summoned before the barons of the exchequer in 1257, to answer about the roll sealed with green wax found in the wardrobe at Windsor, which accused the mayor and aldermen of oppressing the commune or citizens at large.

JOHN, son of the late John of Mymmes, citizen of London, entered into an agreement with Alexander the goldbeater and Isabella his wife, by which he let to them for sixteen years, from Easter in the thirty-first year of King Henry the son of King John, certain land and houses in the parish of St. Botulf outside Aldersgate between the land of Alan the draper on the south and land of Alexander and Isabella on the north (the land extends in depth from the king's street to the land of Master Walter of Salerno) for forty shillings sterling, which Alexander and Isabella paid into his hands; rendering the services due for him to the lords of the fee, namely to the Dean of St. Paul's twenty-five pence a year, to John of Rouen and his heirs three shillings and eleven pence and maintaining a lamp in the church of St. Botulf on feast days and Sundays throughout the year. Alexander and Isabella are to keep the houses on the land in repair. If they wish to give it up before the end of the sixteen years, John is to have the refusal of purchase at two shillings less than any one else. The circular seal bears a lion passant and on a border the words "S' Johannis fil. Johannis d' Mimes." The witnesses are Dominus Peter son of Alan, then Mayor of London: Symon son of Mary and Laurence of Frowike then sheriffs: John of Coudres then alderman of the same ward: Alan of Pelham: Walter Walensis: Walter le faoner: Thomas chamberlain: William le fundur: Henry of Seperton: Nicholas cuarius: Godwin then bedell: William of Colchester: and Alexander of Smithfield clerk: "et aliis." The writing is Alexander's. John of Codres was sheriff in 1238. In 1246, the year of this charter, he is described as soknereeve of the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's, and as taking part with them to set up a separate weighing on the eve of St. Bartholomew for their fair. This was contrary to the liberties and customs of the city, so Peter son of Alan the mayor and a great crowd of citizens went to the priory next morning, and the prior, on their representation, immediately withdrew his attempt, and the mayor and sheriffs proclaimed that every man should sell, buy, and weigh in that fair as they had been before accustomed to do. *Chronica Maiorum*, p. 12.

In another charter in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield, RALF SON OF HUGH OF CURTUN sold to Alexander the goldbeater one pennyworth of annual and quit-rent from the holding which Stephen of Bermyngeham held in the parish of St. Botulf outside Aldersgate of the fee of the Dean of St. Paul's. For this final sale Alexander orbatur gave Ralf twelve pence. Ralf's circular seal bears a star of four large and four small points, and on a border the words "S. Radulfi de Curtun." The witnesses were: John de Coudres then alderman of the ward: William of Colchester clerk: Walter le faoner: Thomas the chamberlain: William le fundur: Alan of Pelham: Vincent the moneyer: Walter Walensis: Henry of Sheperton: Nicholas the cooper: Godwin the bedell: Alexander the clerk: "et aliis."

us" in pure and perpetual alms in the vill of Sutthune. Richard gave two shillings as a gersuma.¹

BARTHOLOMEW granted to William of Bercwey, butcher, a house in the parish of St. Sepulchre between the corner of the road as one goes from Smithfield towards Cowbridge (Cubregges) on the south and the house and land which John le preest le chaucer holds of the hospital on the north. William was to pay fourteen shillings a year. If he wished to sell, the hospital was to have the refusal at two bezants of gold less than any other purchaser. He gave three shillings as a pittance or grant towards the good table of the brethren.²

BARTHOLOMEW granted to William of Bercwey and Alice his wife land next Smithfield (Smethefend) in the parish of St. Sepulchre for a payment of twenty-three shillings a year. It adjoined the land for which he paid fourteen shillings a year."³

¹ Richard's oval seal bears a large fleur-de-lys. The words upon it are indistinct.

Witnesses: Richard daniel of Sutthun: Hugh monk of Ewere: James de forda: John his son: William daniel: John ernald: William son of Laurence: William marthegrei: William de la dune: William the clerk: "et aliis."

² A cyrographum in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield. The measurements of land are:—Between the corner and the land of John $11\frac{1}{2}$ ells and 8 thumbs of the iron ells of the lord King Henry measured without thumbs, and it extends from the aforesaid corner toward the east to our houses on the ditch towards the west $9\frac{1}{2}$ ells and 7 thumbs.

Witnesses: John Young capillar then in the place of alderman: William le fort: Roger of Folkestane: Richard del Eyt: Thomas hod: Bartholomew the moneyer: Reginald canun: Roger of Clare: Richard the smith: William trapun: Robert the bukillar: Richard the bedell: Alexander: and others.

³ The measurements in iron ells of King Henry measured with the thumbs are:—

In length in the south part 21 ells and 9 thumbs.

In breadth in the east part 11 ells and 5 thumbs.

In breadth in the west part 12 ells and 5 thumbs.

The same condition as to advantage in case of sale is made. Witnesses: Richard of

In another cyrograph BARTHOLOMEW grants to this William of Bercwey and Alice his wife a house in the parish of St. Sepulchre $13\frac{1}{2}$ ells and 5 thumbs long, and 6 ells and 5 thumbs broad at the south part, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ells and 2 thumbs at the north part. They were to pay four shillings a year.

In a short charter of about the same date THOMAS SPURIM, clerk, granted and quit-claimed to Bartholomew the master and the brethren, all that tenement with houses on it in the parish of St. Sepulchre which he held of them, and which was formerly held by Warin le Peyntur.

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Girard of Mymmes, butcher, land in the parish of the church of St. Sepulchre, "which William Vyteri formerly held of us next

Emwelle then alderman of the same ward : William le Fort : Roger of Folkestone : Richard del Eyt : Thomas Hod : Bartholomew le moneure : Reginald Canon : Roger of Clare : Richard the smith : William Turpin : Robert le bukelere : John le Caucer : Henry de Enefend : and many others.

¹ No gersuma is mentioned. The expression "solidos argenti" is somewhat uncommon in these charters of Henry III.'s reign.

William's oval seal bears an Agnus Dei. Witnesses (named) : Walter Hervy and William of Durewme then bailiffs of London : Martin Arbelaster : Thomas Hod : Michael of St. Edmund : Roger of Stopl' : John le Caucer : Ralf canon : Geoffrey the smith.

² His oval seal has upon it a fortified gate with two towers.

Witnesses : Walter Hervy and William of Durewme then bailiffs of London : Richard of Ewell : Richard of Enefend goldsmith : Roger of Stoples : Thomas hod : Michael of St. Edmund : Martin le arbelaster' : William of Bercwey : Geoffrey the smith : Ralf canon ; and many others. Walter Hervy and William of Duresme had been nominated sheriffs of London and Middlesex (*Chronica Maiorum*, p. 102) by the king from twenty sent up by the citizens. They went on holding office without formal appointment in 1269 till the beginning of Lent. The king then handed over the City of London and the Tower to his son Edward, who forthwith made Hugh son of Otho constable of the Tower and warden of the City. Walter Hervy and William of Duresme had been called bailiffs, and so were their successors Robert of Cornhill and Thomas of Basing, appointed on May 1, 1269.

the city ditch between the land of Edmund Otte and land which the same Girard holds of the hospital. It extends in depth from the king's street to the land of our cury." Girard was to pay four shillings a year for all services. He will build what is necessary on the land, and will keep up what he builds. If he wishes to sell, the hospital is to have the offer at one bezant of gold less than any one else. Girard gave them sixteen shillings "in gersumam" and four shillings towards a pittance "et acquietauit dictam terram de manibus judeorum."¹

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Gilbert of Braunton, chaplain, a parcel of land in the parish of St. Gregory, on which he undertook not to build a chamber. The land lay between some land belonging to the hospital and land belonging to the hospital of St. Giles of the lepers which Gilbert then held. It measured in breadth on the north and south three ells and five thumbs of the iron ells of King Henry son of King John, and in breadth towards the west one ell and a half and five thumbs, and in length on the east and west three ells and a half and one quarter and half a quarter of an ell. He may sell his right to any one except religious houses and

¹ Girard's seal is oval and bears a lion rampant, and on a border "S. Gerardi de Mymmes."

The witnesses are: Laurence of Frowik then alderman of the ward: Thomas the mercer: Edmund Otte: William taillefer: Robert the cornmonger: Robert the cordewainer: Edmund the cordewainer: John cole: William le fort: Ralf the carpenter: Adam of Taicuzun: Ralf Gippe: Gilbert the bedell: Alexander the clerk: and others.

The deed is headed "Carta cyrographata," and is written in fifteen lines in Alexander of Smithfield's hand.

Jews, and he is to pay the hospital every year at Michaelmas a quarter of a pound of cymin for every service. Gilbert gave them twenty shillings sterling "in gersumam." Nicholas Bat then mayor is the first witness, and is followed by the sheriffs, John of Northampton and Ralf Picard, and the alderman of the ward, Richard of Hadestok.¹

BARTHOLOMEW² granted to Symon of Benington a messuage with appurtenances and with a curtilage as far as it is included in Enefend except a certain grange, with free entrance and exit to the same with horses and carts as often as there is need. The messuage is situate between the king's way on one side and the hospital's land on the other; and a head extends to the south and another head abuts on the messuage of William Beneyt towards the north. The annual rent is two shillings of silver for all services. Symon gave a mark of silver "in gersumam."

¹ Adam of Basing, Thomas of Dunholm, and Laurence of Frowik are the others, sheriffs respectively in 1243, 1241, and 1246. Nicholas Bat on his election as mayor in 1253 was, in the absence of the king from London, presented to the barons of the exchequer in accordance with a royal permission granted the year before. (*Chronica Maiorum*, pp. 19, 20.)

² A cyrographum headed by a sentence of which the wavy line has cut away too much of the other words for them to be read. The charter begins: "Omnibus ad quorum noticiam presens carta peruenerit Bartholomeus magister Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum eiusdem loci fratres salutem in domino. Noueritis nos tocus capituli nostri assensu concessisse," &c.

The circular seal of each deed bears a star of eight points, and on a border "S. Simonis de Beniton," with a small six-pointed star at the end of the inscription in the first and a cross in the second. The first has a *v* in Beniton, the second an *o*.

The witnesses of I. are: John de Marscho: Adam his son: Richard of Barleffet: John Badewyne: Thoma de Forda: Adam Durant: Godefrid of Bestone: Seyer Hereberd: William Beneyt; and of II.: John de Marisco: Adam his son: Richard of Barleffet: Thomas de Forda: John Baldewine: Adam Durant: John his son: Walter Sumeri.

In another chirographum in a different hand BARTHOLOMEW grants to Symon of Benington their whole messuage except the grange. The situation of the land is described as in the other charter, with the addition that it joins the messuage of William Byloc on the south. The rent and the gersuma are the same.

BARTHOLOMEW granted to John son of Reginald of the Marsh a holding which had belonged to Richard Goding in the vill of Enfeld, at a rent of six shillings a year. If John should wish to sell, the brethren are to have the property at the price of one talent less than any one else.¹

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Nicholas of Suffolk, swine-driver, a place of land near Bishopsgate (Bissopesgate) in the parish of the church of St. Adelburga (Ethelburga) between the land of James the woolman on the south and the land of Peter son of Alan on the north.² Nicholas is to pay four shillings a year for all services,

¹ The deed is a chirographum.

John's circular seal bears a flower of eight large and eight small petals, and on border "S. Johannis fil. Reginaldi." Witnesses: Richard of Pleset: John of the Marsh: Adam son of John of the Marsh: Richard of the Marsh: Abselon the clerk: Robert of the Marsh: Robert neweman: John ace: John dau: Thomas de la forde: "et multis aliis."

² The measurements of the land are—Breadth along the royal street, 14 ells 5 thumbs; length from the royal street to the land of Robert of Bassishawe the baker, 27½ ells 6 thumbs—of the iron ells of King Henry measured without thumbs.

The witnesses are: Nicholas Bat then alderman of the ward: Robert of Cornhill (Cornhill): Gilbert marescall: James the woolman: Robert of Bassishawe: Robert lenveyse: Symon the woolman: Martin of Garscherch (Gracechurch): John marescall: Guarin of Garscherch: Augustine the baker: Stephen the bedell: Alexander the clerk: "et aliis."

At the top is "Carta cyrographata," cut in a wavy line, and there are eighteen lines of writing below in the hand of Alexander.

and is not to sell or mortgage the land to religious men or to Jews ; and the hospital is to have the opportunity of buying at twelve pence less than any other purchaser. He gave two marks of silver "in gersumam." The swine-driver's seal bears a finely executed fleur-de-lys and on a border the words "S. Nicholai de suffolk."

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Robert lenveysse the baker "all that place of land which we had within Bishopsgate in the corner of the great street opposite the wall of the city between the land of Nicholas the swine-driver and the street as one goes towards Broad Street (Bradestrade) ; and which extends from the great street to the land of the nuns of St. Helen." Robert is to pay two shillings a year for all services belonging to the hospital, half at Easter and half at Michaelmas, saving the services of the other lords. Robert gave half a mark of silver "in gersumam."¹

Both parts of a carta cyrographata of BARTHOLOMEW to Richard called Mytre, the tanner, and Margaret his wife, have been preserved, and the ancient seal of the hospital with the apostle's standing figure remains attached to one part, but the other part has lost Richard's seal. Both parts were written by Alexander

¹ The heading is "Carta cyrographata," cut in a wavy line. The rest is written in thirteen lines by Alexander of Smithfield. Robert's seal is oval, and bears a six-pointed star and the legend "S. Rodberti lenueysse." No measurements of the land are given.

The witnesses are : Nicholas Bat then alderman of the ward : Gilbert marescall : James the woolman : Robert of Bassishawe : John of Herlingedon : Symon of Brathingge : Alured le bracler : Walter pheyntel : Nicholas swindrivere : Thomas of Bercewey : Stephen the bedell : Alexander the clerk : "et aliis."

of Smithfield. The land granted was near the bridge of Holborn in the parish of St. Sepulchre, between the land of Richard of Enefelde the goldbeater to the south and the land formerly of Adam Scot cutter (scissor) to the north ; and it extends in length from the king's street towards the east to the land which was that of Giles of Cambridge to the west, "viz. whatever we have there from the gift of Nicholas son of Joce." The annual rent was to be fifteen shillings.¹

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Nicholas of Gotham, fruiterer, and Acelina his wife, a large house in Bread Street (Bredstrate) in the parish of All Saints between lands and houses of Roesia Travers on south and north and extending in length from the king's street to the lands and houses of John Elylond draper on the west. The house formerly belonged to Osbert le petit, and is all let to Nicholas except a shop in the south part of it held by William le flaoner. Nicholas is to pay forty shillings a year, and he gave twenty shillings sterling "in gersumam." His seal bears an Agnus Dei.²

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Walter of Chaureh, clerk,

¹ The witnesses were:—Richard of Enefeld : Martin copersmith : William of Schenefeld : Geoffrey of Edelmeton : Thomas puite : Richard little the tanner : Alexander and others.

² The document is a "Carta cyrographata," cut in a wavy line, and written in seventeen lines by Alexander of Smithfield. Witnesses : William Vyel then alderman of the ward : Gervas the cordwainer : Bartholomew speciarus : William of Dunholm : William marescall : James of Stanes : Richard of Amyens : Robert lathenan : Godefrid capellarius : Godefrid of Herioghes : William bunting : Hugh the cordwainer then bedell : Alexander of Smithfield clerk : and others.

Osbert le petit is the Osbertus parvus who received a grant from Brother Stephen the master.

for his service, "all our land which we have at the bar of Smithfield next the water of Faggesswell on the north in the parish of St. Sepulchre between that water and the holding of Richard the smith." The rent was to be six shillings a year, paid quarterly.¹

¹ No measurements are given. The "Carta cyrographata" is cut straight, and is a fine example of the hand of Alexander of Smithfield. Walter's seal has for its middle part a classical intaglio with a figure deeply cut, and bears "Sigill. Walteri de Chaure."

Witnesses: Dominus Adam of Basinge: Ralf canun: William le Moynne: Geoffrey the smith: Walter baret: Gervase the shoemaker: Symon of Aswelle: Joce the tiler: John le pauur: Thomas of Wilardebury: John the clerk: John of Kingestone: Richard the moneyer: Alexander of Smithfield clerk: and others.

RALF CANUN, the second witness, granted to John le fundur the land with houses which he held outside Smithfield bar from Reginald of Aula, between the land of John the clerk on the south and that of Reginald of Aula on the north, from the king's street to the land of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, at four shillings a year. John gave him sixteen shillings "in gersumam": and to his wife Cristina a pair of shoes (sotulares) of the price of twelve pence.

Ralf's circular seal, a good deal broken, bears a fleur-de-lys and "Sigill. Radulfi Canun." Witnesses: Walter the carpenter: Geoffrey the smith: Gervas the tanner: John the clerk: John le pauur: Robert son of Richard: Symon the shoemaker: Martin the tiler: Geoffrey the fruiterer: Richard the tiler: Peter the tiler: Ralf the shoemaker: Walter baret: Alexander of Smithfield clerk: and others.

The charter is a fine example of the hand of the last witness.

Two other charters throw light on this corner of Smithfield. Both are in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield.

ALICE, daughter of Keneward the linendraper (linedraper) remits and quit-claims to Reginald of Aula for three shillings sterling all her right in land outside Smithfield bar formerly belonging to Reginald of Mortemer and Geoffrey le Fraunceis, which land was part of the holding of Keneward her father, and was bought by Reginald and Geoffrey from Keneward aforesaid and Agnes her mother, and with her own assent, she being of full age.

Witnesses: William le fort: William le muynne; Ralf Canun: Hugh the carpenter: Geoffrey the smith: Walter the carpenter: John the clerk: Nicholas the parmenter: John le fundur: Gervase the shoemaker: John le Pauur: Symon the shoemaker: Hugh the Irishman (Hybernensis): Alexander of Smithfield clerk: and others.

ROGER KNIFSMITH and Alice his wife, daughter of Keneward the linendraper, granted to John le Fundur part of the garden "which we have outside Smithfield bar in the parish of St. Sepulchre between the land of Ralf Canun on the south and the land of Reginald of Woburn on the north. It is the west part of the garden with the gate and with the whole entrance and exit through the gate, paying a halfpenny at Michaelmas for all services." John gave them six shillings "in gersumam."

The seals are oval. Roger's bears a crescent and six-pointed star, and Alice's a fleur-

HENRY, son and heir of John le fundur, being of full age, granted to Walter of Chaure, clerk, all his lands with houses and a moiety of the garden and appurtenances which he had inherited from his father outside the bar of Smithfield, in the parish of St. Sepulchre, between the land and houses of John Clerk the crossbowman on the south and the land and houses of Nicholas Charles the spindlemaker on the north. And the land extends from the king's street to the land of St. Bartholomew's Hospital on the east. The moiety of the garden extends in length as far as the garden of John of Kingeston formerly that of Reginald de Aula towards the east. The grant includes a half-penny of rent due from Nicholas Charles for the other half of the garden. Walter is to pay Henry a half-penny a year at Michaelmas for all services, saving the annual payment to the capital lords of the fee of four shillings paid quarterly. Walter gave three marks of silver and a half "in gersumam."¹

de-lys within a border on which is "Sigill. Alicie: fil. Kenewardi." Witnesses: William of Westmelne clerk, then sheriff of Middlesex: H[ugh] the carpenter: Walter the carpenter: Gervase the tanner: John le pauur: Geoffrey the smith: Robert son of Richard: John the clerk: Ralf canun: William le muynne: Walter baret: Richard the tiler: Martin the tiler: Alexander of Smithfield clerk: and others.

¹ Henry's circular seal bears a flower of sixteen petals, alternately large and small, and the inscription on a border, "S. Henrici fil. Joh'is Pfundur."

The charter is written in eighteen lines of about twenty-two words each by Alexander of Smithfield, the last witness. Witnesses: Ralf canun: Thomas of Wilardsbiry: Gervas the tanner: Geoffrey the smith: John of Kingeston'; John the clerk: Nicholas Charles: Symon of Aswell': Richard the moneyer: Walter baret: Joce the tiler: John le paumer: Thomas melsop: Hugh the Irishman: Alexander the clerk: and others.

In another charter, which looks as if rapidly written by Alexander the clerk, HENRY son of the late John le fundur holds as fixed the concession which Mabilia his mother

CRISTINA, the relict of Walter of Chaure clerk, entered into an agreement with Bartholomew the master. Christina in legitimate widowhood, by the advice of her friends and neighbours, handed over the guardianship of Ralf and John her sons and heirs, with all the houses, gardens, and rents which she and her husband had in the suburb of London next Smethefend in the parish of St. Sepulchre, till the lawful age of Ralf and John or the survivor of them. The master and brethren are to bring up and provide them with reasonable sustenance in all things, that is to say in food, clothes, shoes, and all other bodily needs, and are to restore to Ralf and John the houses in good repair when they come of age. If the boys die, then the master and brethren are to have the houses in pure and perpetual alms for the welfare of the souls of Cristina and Walter, Ralf and John. Cristina's part of the writing is, at her request, to be kept by Geoffrey the smith, chief executor of Cristina.¹

BARTHOLOMEW and brethren granted in 1256 to Robert of Linton, draper, all their right in certain

made to Walter of Chaure clerk of houses which belonged to John his father in the parish of St. Sepulchre outside the bar of Smethefend (Smithfield). Witnesses: Robert the clerk son of Richard: William le mwayne: Geoffrey the smith: John the clerk: Nicholas charles: Hugh the Irishman (Hiberniensis): Geoffrey the fruiterer: Walter the miller: Gervase the tanner: Simon of Aswell': Thomas of Wilardeberi: John le paunr: Walter baret: Alexander the clerk: and others.

¹ Witnesses: Master Richard butler of the lord Earl of Gloucester (Glouernie): John of Shordith': Geoffrey the smith: Roger of Stoples: Bartholomew le moneor: John of Kingestone goldsmith: John the crossbowman: Hugh the Irishman (le yrreys): and many others. The charter is headed "Cyrographum."

land in Wood Street (Wodestrate), London, opposite the church of St. Alban on the west between the little lane going towards the church of St. Mary Staining Lane (Staningelane) towards the south and a holding of Robert himself towards the north. The land extended in length from the king's street as far as the land belonging to the church of St. Mary Staining. Robert was to pay every year one pound of cumin or one penny for every service. He gave them twenty shillings sterling "in gersumam."¹ The little lane is easily found at this day leading from Wood Street to a small churchyard, on a stone in the wall of which is cut "Before the dreadful fire 1666, here stood the church of St. Mary Staining."²

¹ Witnesses: Dominus Ralf hardel then Mayor of London: William Eswy draper and Richard of Ewell then sheriffs: Stephen son of Stephen Bukerell then alderman of the ward: Adam of Basing: Thomas of Wimburne: Thomas hareng: Robert of mundene: David of Enefelde: Peter of Frowike: Philip of Gloucester: Alexander the clerk: "et aliis."

The document is a "Carta cyrographata," cut in a wavy line, and is in the hand of the last witness. Stephen Bukerell the alderman is probably son of the Stephen Bukerell who was sheriff in 1227.

² A charter of THOMAS THE GOLDSMITH, son of Robert Walensis, mentions this church. He grants to Berenger the baker his uncle all his land in the parish of St. Mary of Staningelane and in the parish of St. Olave of Mukewellestrate, which land belonged to Robert his father. Berenger was to pay him for every service twelve pence a year, and gave two marks of silver "in gersumam."

The oval seal of Thomas bears an eagle with half-open wings, and on a border "Sigill. Thome fil. Roberti." Witnesses: Robert of Wuburne alderman of the ward (Aldermanuo custodie): Edward the cordewainer: Gilbert of Hakewelle: William Ladde: Edwin le tonar: Roger palmer the baker: Ace the baker: Folcmar the baker: Jeremiah the goldsmith: Geoffrey the goldsmith: Adam of Somce: Walter the chaplain: John Wetstoner: John the clerk.

At one end of Mukewellestrate, now Monkwell Street, is the churchyard in which before the fire stood the church called, on an inscription in the wall, St. Olave Silver Street. It was the church here called St. Olave of Mukewellestrate.

The parish was united to St. Michael Wood Street, and of late years their common church has been demolished, and is now replaced by a bank; but amidst all these changes the names of Wood Street and Staining Lane survive from the time of this charter and before. A church of St. Alban also remains on the site where it was originally built, perhaps by the great abbey of St. Alban, which had property in Wood Street.

In another charter of similar form and in the same hand, BARTHOLOMEW grants to Robert of Linton, the draper of London, certain land in Wood Street in the parish of St. Alban, between the land and houses once Alan the lorimer's on the south, and the land and houses of the new hospital outside Bishopsgate on the north. The rent is to be forty pence a year. If Robert wishes to part with the land the hospital is to have the refusal at one bezant of gold less than any other purchaser. Robert gave them forty shillings sterling "in gersumam."¹

In 1257 an agreement² was made between Bartho-

¹ His circular seal bears a very thick fleur-de-lys, and the words "S. Roberti de Lintona." The witnesses were: Stephen Bukerell then alderman of the ward: Adam of Basinge: John of Lincoln: John of Norwich: John le myneur: William of Berkinge: John of St. Edmund: William blancgernun: William of Clerkenwelle: Robert of Huntindone: Richard the baker then bedell: Alexander of Smithfield clerk: "et aliis."

The new hospital was that of St. Mary of Bethlen, founded in 1247 by Simon son of Mary (or Fitz Mary), and represented at the present day by Bethlem Hospital.

² William son of Richard then mayor, Thomas son of Thomas son of Richard and William Grapefige the sheriffs, were witnesses with Adam of Basing: Henry of Frowyk: Henry le Wympler: Walter Sokeling: William of Flete: Henry le Palmer: Richard Heymaunger: Robert Heymaunger: Robert of Bennebannde then Serjeant of Flete

Marty magister hospitiis p̄dā et omnes sua sui scilicet fuerunt + d-
 fac reddi per annū ut patet in carta sequente :- :- :-

Dicitur unius p̄sens septu. visum ut auctum q̄ her est conuoc-
 fra nre dñi Stephanū de longespye ex una pte + Bartholomē
 magistru hospitiū s̄a Barthol London ac eiusm loci fies ex alia videlicet
 p̄dā dñi Stephanū concessit + dimisit p se + heredi suis dñs ma-
 gistro + filiis ac eoz sua nuptiū viginti solidos annui redditi p̄
 capiendi p annū a Samuel filio Aasen blindi Iudei de quibusdā domibz
 in p̄chia s̄a lauerit in Indaisimo quas de eo tenit in civitate London
 p̄m quozibz maioritū qui dicit apud Smythall habendi + tenendi dicit
 magis et filius nuptiū salus israel dñs annū Regem vel alios
 si que contingat pro duabus magis annui redditi quas magister + fia-
 tres p̄dā eoz dñs stephō + heredi suis vel suis assignatis dimiserunt con-
 cesserunt + quiettama uerit nōre estambū quas quidā duas magis pa-
 pe solebant de quibusdā domibus suis v̄q̄a p̄ntē de flete quas de
 eoz tenit p̄ dñm redditi duaz magis Ita videlicet quod dicitur
 dñs Stephanū + heredes sui dicos viginti solidos annui redditi p̄
 duas magis + filibz cont omēs gentes v̄manuzabūt acquietabunt
 + defendent nuptiū. Et de ceo nichil in p̄dā redditi exigē clamare
 vel vendicare potūt qui magister + fies p̄dā dñi redditi dicit vende
 p̄ potunt cui voluerunt. Et in censu dicit magist + fies dicit du-
 as magis quas eoz dñs stephō dimiserunt concesserunt + quietta-
 manerunt nōre estambū ut p̄dā est p̄ illud estambū viginti so-
 lidū si nō dicit magis redditi cont p̄ouissam de Killepne + eiusm loca
 comitū + Socrim gayole de flete v̄manuzabūt acquietabūt +
 defendent nuptiū. Ita q̄ magist + fies in dñs duabz magis redditi
 nichil de ceo exigē clamare vel vendicare potunt nuptiū. Et ut her
 omia + singla p̄missa robuz + stabilitatem perpetuam in se obtineant
 partes affirmatiū hinc ex p̄to in modum Cypri m̄de nre eos cō-
 fecer. Sigilla sua apposuerunt hys testibus Willo fil K̄a tūc ma-
 ure London Thom fil K̄a + Willmo Crapofige tūc vic London A-
 dū de Casinge Hen de ffowike Hen le Wymple Waleo Co-
 seluz Willo de flete Hen le palmey Ricard heymanngey Ro-
 bert heymanngey Robert de benedamde tūc dñm de flete :-

STEPHEN LE LONGESPYE AND BARTHOLOMEW, THE MASTER, IN
 COK'S BOOK OF QUIT-RENTS.

lomew the master and Stephen le longespye. The hospital was to receive twenty shillings of annual rent from Samuel son of Aron Blund the Jew for houses in the parish of St. Laurence in the Jewry, next the gate of the Guildhall (Guyhalde). This part of London was the Jewish quarter in the time of Rahere,¹ and the Jews continued to reside in it till they were expelled from England in 1290. Traces of their residence remain to this day in the name of the street called Old Jewry and in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, rebuilt by Wren near the Guildhall, the weathercock of which, a gridiron, shows the passer by that it is the modern representative of the "ecclesia sancti Laurentii in Iudaismo" of Stephen the Longsword's charter.

BARTHOLOMEW² in 1258 granted to John of Braynford chaplain certain land with houses on it formerly held by Simon son of Lebert in the parish of St. Mary

(*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*). Robert of Catalonia had been made sheriff at Michaelmas 1258, but died soon after, and Matthew Bukerel was appointed on October 19. Matthew, with the mayor and the other sheriff, was deposed on February 1, 1258; the constable of the Tower was appointed warden of the city, Michael Tovy and John Adrian sheriffs. On February 13 the mayor and sheriffs mentioned in this charter were placed in office by the king. ("Chronica Majorum," pp. 29-36, and Stubbs, "Annales Londonienses," pp. 49-50.) This charter was witnessed on some day between February 13 and September 29 in 1258.

¹ See p. 19.

² The document is a chirographum, cut in a wavy line, and is in a fine hand quite different from that of Alexander of Smithfield, and is preserved at St. Paul's (A: box 17, 223). Witnesses: John of Gisorth then Mayor of London: John Adrian, Robert of Cornhill then sheriffs of London: Adam Bruning then alderman of the same ward: Reginald Wodemonger: William of Neddinges: Roger of Nasing': William le tapiter: John of Coleville: Geoffrey long: Adam Brother: Ralf of Bromlege: John of Chigwelle: and others many.

The half sealed by John has been preserved at St. Bartholomew's. His oval bears a man's head in profile, perhaps an intaglio, and on a border "S. Johannis de Braynford' capell."

Magdalen in the fish market. He may give, sell, or leave it or let it to any one excepting Jews or religious of other houses. He is to pay eight shillings sterling a year. John gave six marks sterling as a gersuma.

The fine old apostle seal of the hospital is perfect. It is a remarkable example of the steadfastness of affairs in England that while the half of this chirograph which John of Braynford took is at St. Paul's Cathedral, with the seal of St. Bartholomew's Hospital attached, the other half, with his seal, remains at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where it was left in 1258.

BARTHOLOMEW granted to Henry of Hortun, butcher, land and houses with the whole garden on the north side in the suburb of London in Aldersgate (Aldredegate) Street in the parish of St. Botulph between the land of Henry of the ditch, skinner, on the north and that of Martin Senches crossbowman of the King on the south, "which land and houses we have of the gift and will of Walter of Northampton, skinner." Henry is to pay twenty-six shillings a year, and is to keep the houses in repair.¹

¹ The device on Henry's circular seal looks like a club and an axe, and on a border the words "S' Henrici de Hortuno." The writing is that of Alexander of Smithfield. John de la Blakethorne then alderman of the same ward is the first witness. Among several others are Hubert the goldsmith and Robert the girdler. In front of the last lines of the charter is stitched a piece of vellum on which in a somewhat later hand is written in Latin:

"Henry of Hortun sold to Robert le Gerdlere. The same Robert sold to Nicholas of St. Walery: and the same Nicholas sold to Dominus James Little canon of St. Paul's of London: and the same James bequeathed to Robert of Wodchote, his brother." As the only James of this half century among the canons of St. Paul's was Jacobus de Hispania, who held the prebend of Totenhall shortly before 1303 and who had been a canon of Lusk in Ireland, Jacobus parvus was probably his usual designation in London.

BARTHOLOMEW in 1259 granted to John of Donchin, citizen of London, "all the land we have with the houses on it in the little street called Sarmoners Lane in the parish of St. Gregory." John is to pay them one penny at Michaelmas and to the chapter of St. Paul's twelve shillings a year, and to the King two pence at Easter of the socage for all services, customs, and secular demands and for all things.¹

There were several benefactors during this mastership. GEOFFREY son of John of the Temple granted to the hospital in free and perpetual alms all his land with houses on it in the suburb of London in the street of Sholond in the parish of the church of St. Brigid between the land of John Shyrich on the north and that of Richard son of Martin on the south (it extends from the king's street to the land of Ralf Heyrun on the west): "to have and to hold by the aforesaid hospital and the brethren and sisters ministering to the sick lying therein." They are to pay every year for him or his heirs to the hospital of St. Giles of the lepers outside London two shillings for all services and exactions and demands. The oval seal bears a bird with a flower in its beak, and on a border the words "Sigill. Galfridi fil. Johannis."

¹ Witnesses: Sir William son of Richard then Mayor of London: Henry of Coventry sheriff: Adam Bruning sheriff and alderman of that ward: Adam of Basinges: Roger son of Roger: John Adrian draper: William Aswy: Henry of Frouwike: William of Donolm: Geoffrey Godard: William le Chapiser: Reginald le Bucher: Thomas Euerard: Hugh le prude: Suard the skinner: John Laseur: Michael de la Barre: and others.

This is one of the earliest examples I have met with of a man being mentioned as "sheriff and alderman."

Sir Michael Tovy then mayor, Nicholas Bat and William Vitalis then sheriffs, and Laurence of Frowik then alderman of the ward are the first witnesses.¹

NICHOLAS son of Joce² in 1258 gave to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in pure and perpetual alms "certain land which I have in the suburb of London over against Holborn Bridge, in the parish of St. Sepulchre, between the land formerly of William de Camera on the east and the land of William of Ely on the west, extending from the king's street to the land which was William de Camera's on the south." The land is to pay to the hospital of St. James, outside London, six shillings a year for all services, exactions, and demands.³ The seal has for its centre part a classical intaglio of a man on horseback galloping, and on the surrounding border, "Nicol. Jocei F". fieri petit," and on the reverse, "Secretum Nicolai." The seal is an inch and a half broad and an inch and one-tenth long.

His father had been a benefactor of the hospital about fifty years before.⁴ Nicholas was sheriff in 1248,

¹ The others are: Stephen son of Robert: Ralf Heyrun: Jordan of Aula: William Serle: Ranulf le hornere: Reginald son of Richard: Alexander Gos: John Shyrich: Richard son of Martin: Gilbert of Cramford then bedell: Alexander the clerk: "et aliis."

The charter is in the hand of the last witness. Its year is 1247.

² His charter is in a most beautiful hand, probably that of Robert Hotheles.

³ Witnesses: Dominus John of Gisorth then Mayor of London: John son of Adrian, Robert of Cornhill then sheriffs: Richard of Ewell then alderman of the same ward: Richard of Enefend: Robert the tanner: Martin the coppersmith: Roger norman: Geoffrey of Edelmeton: William of Shenefend: Fabian the tanner: Ralf the goldsmith: German le Butoner: William of Ely: William son of Eadward: Richard the bedell: Robert Hotheles clerk: and others many.

⁴ See p. 114.

a year memorable because from St. Edward's Day (January 5) for fifteen days all the shops and stalls in London were closed by desire of the King, and the citizens took their goods to Westminster, where a great fair or market was held, many merchants coming to it from other cities.¹

Nicholas was summoned with Nicholas Bat and other men and aldermen before the King at Westminster, and informed that the King would pursue them for injuries done to the citizens in the matter of taxation; but after several attendances in Westminster Hall, and several addresses from John Mansel, the King's chancellor, and full investigation, it was proved that none of the eight men had in any way done ill as regards the money in question.

The hospital of St. James mentioned is that which formerly stood on the site of St. James's Palace, to which its dedication has been transferred.

William of Braye² of Wolaston gave to Master Bartholomew and the hospital two roods of arable land in the fields of Wolaston.

Nicholas Bat,³ on September 5, 1258, made his will, and after remembering Johanna his first wife, Isabella his second wife, and Nicholas his son, left four shillings of rent and the tenement yielding it to St. Bartholo-

¹ "Chronica Maiorum," p. 14.

² His testibus: Rogero de Novo Burgo: Willelmo Faucunbrigge: Reginaldo fratre meo.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.*

³ Sheriff in 1247.

mew's Hospital for the improvement of the poor sick in the infirmary.¹

WARIN EDE,² for the good of his soul, remitted and quit-claimed to the master and brethren all his right in four pennyworths of annual rent which he used to receive from them from a tenement which they held of him in West Ham (Westhammes), which tenement they had of the gift of Roger son of William the clerk of West Ham. He gives this in pure and perpetual alms to the hospital.

West Ham was then a small village, but is now the eighth largest town in England. Roger son of William, the benefactor mentioned in Warin's charter, seems to have acquired his land there from AGNES daughter of William Tath of Westhamme.³

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 254.

² His oval seal bears a head in profile coupéd at the neck, and on a border "S. Warini Bruuere."

Witnesses: Walter of Wyndleshore: Robert le Bret: Richard le Bret: Thomas le Bruwere: Nicholas hude: Warin Page: Robert Benedict: Michael of Gaysham: John Hamund: and many others.

³ As is shown by two charters, of which the first is in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield.

AGNES daughter of William Tath of West Ham, being of full age and free power, grants to Roger son of William the clerk of Stratford all her land with houses in the vill of West Hamm which were part of her inheritance from her father. He was to pay her a halfpenny a year at Michaelmas for all services except those of the capital lords of the fee and royal services. He is to pay to Gilbert son of William the clerk of Stratford sixteen pence a year for all services belonging to him. Roger gave her ten shillings sterling "in gersumam." The seal is imperfect, but is the same as in the next charter.

Witnesses: Robert son of Robert le Bret: Ralf Fitz Urse: Nicholas de la Wildelonde: Roger of Gaysham: Richard Ode: Hugh his brother: Nicholas Wygein: Geoffrey of Cranebrec: Geoffrey dun: John of St. Denis: William Ode: Alexander the clerk: and others.

The charter is in the hand of Alexander, the last witness.

One benefactor of the time of Bartholomew bore a name already famous, and destined, in the next generation but one, to become one of the best known in history.

ROBERT OF BRUS,¹ justiciar in England in 1249-1250,

In a second charter AGNES daughter of William Tath of West Ham grants to Roger son of William the clerk of Stratford all her part of the land in the vill of West Ham which had belonged to William Tath her father, paying to Gilbert son of William the clerk of Storteford four pence a year. For her charter, &c., "dedit michi predictus Rogerus quinque solidos bonorum sterlingorum per manibus in gersumam."

Her seal is oval, and bears a plant of five branches each ending in three buds, standing in a small vase, and on a border the words "S. Agnetis . fil . Willi."

Witnesses : Robert le Bret : Robert his son : Ralf Fitz Urse : Gilbert son of William the clerk : Nicholas de la Wildelande : Roger of Gaisham : Richard Ode : Hugh his brother : and many others.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri, quod Ego Robertus de Brus concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et fratribus hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum vnam acram terre cum omnibus pertinentiis in parua Wakeringa proximam acre ecclesie de Wakeringa que vocatur Geldeneaker in puram et perpetuam elemosinam sicut aliqua elemosina liberius et securius dari et confirmari potest a layco : Habendam et tenendam eisdem fratribus predicti Hospitalis ad sustentacionem infirmorum pauperum et peregrinorum cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus et aysiamenis et omnibus aliis pertinentiis sicut carta Henrici de Taydena quam de predicta acra habent testatur in perpetuum. Et ut hec mea concessio et presentis carte mee confirmacio rata sit et stabilis huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus : Domino Jeremia de Raxton tunc Justiciario : Willelmo filio Ricardi tunc seneschallo honoris de Reylega : Domino Johanne de Apelton : Domino Johanne de Bretton : Gileberto Walensi : Galfrido Samuel : Willelmo filio Baldewini : Willelmo del Erhtber' : et aliis.

Another example of an armorial seal of this period is appended to a charter of NICHOLAS son of John of Eastcheap (Estchep), skinner, granting to Walter of Norhamton, skinner and citizen of London, the land with houses on it in the parish of St. Botulf outside the gate of Aldredesgate which he had from Sir Thomas the chaplain, son of William of Estchep, then rector of the church of Chabbeham. The land lay between that of Henry of the ditch on the north and of Henry Pygun on the south, rendering a pound of cumin or two pence a year for every service, saving the service of the lords of the fee, which he is to pay. Walter gave Nicholas sixteen marks sterling as a gersuma.

The seal of Nicholas is shield-shaped, and upon a shield bears a lion rampant, and on a border as if of the shield, "Sig. Nicholai de Estchep."

Witnesses : John le Myneur then alderman : Ralf of Lincoln : John of Norhamton : John of St. Edmund : William of Richemund : Richard de Calle : John of Norwiz : Hamo of the Castle (de Castello) : Roger the clerk.

John le Myneur was sheriff in 1255.

the grandfather of the victor of Bannockburn, was lord of Little Wakering in Essex, where the gift to St. Bartholomew's of Henry of Theydon has already been recorded. The estate of the second Henry of Theydon had been granted to him. Robert of Brus confirmed the grant of the Geldeneaker towards the sustenance of the sick poor and sick strangers by the brethren in the hospital. His circular seal, of smaller size than those of the judges of Henry II.'s reign, is also of a different character. They were represented in armour on horseback ; his seal bears his coat of arms.

The shield occupies the whole middle, and bears a single lion passant. On a border which is somewhat injured in one part are the capital letters: ". . GILL. ROBERTI DE BRU. ."

The witnesses of its apposition were several of them high judicial authorities, Sir Jeremias of Raxton then justiciar: William son of Richard then seneschal of the honor of Reylega: Sir John of Apelton: Sir John of Gretton: Gilbert Wallens: Geoffrey Samuel: William son of Baldewin: William of Erhtber': and others.

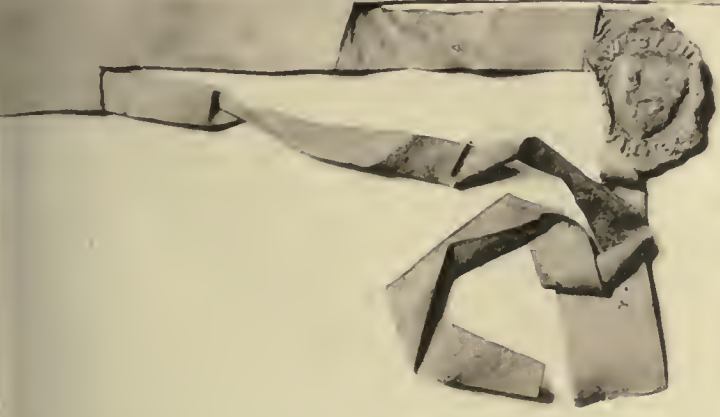
ROBERT OF BRUS,¹ whose name in a second charter

¹ Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint dominus Robertus de Brywes dominus de parua Wakeringa salutem in domino sempiternam. Nouerit Vniuersitas vestra me remisisse et omnino quietumclamasse pro me et heredibus meis Magistro et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum totum clamium meum et Jus presentandi si quod habui uel habere potui ad vicariam ecclesie de parua Wakeringa. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Magistro Godefrido tunc officiali Londoniensi: Domino Ricardo de Sutthere: Domino Symone Pertris: Willelmo Buss: Luca de Abyndon: Johanne de Thorp: Datum Londoniis die dominica post festum Epiphanie anno domini M^o. cc^o. lx^o nono.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Brus concessi et plenam ad ea mea confirmandi
 deo et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoni una carta tunc et omnibus principibus in p[ar]te
 Westm[onasterii] p[ro]xim[is] de re eor[um] de Westm[onasterii] que Walterus Gildemetter in p[ar]te et p[ar]te de
 mostna. sicut alia Glandina libris et securi et et confirmandi potest ad Wyco. Walter
 ante. lib[er]t[er] et lib[er]is consuetudinib[us] et assistenciis et omnib[us] alijs principibus. sicut et ad Don
 ra de eor[um] qm de p[ar]te sua habent certitudinem p[er]petuam. Et ut hec mea concessio et
 plenaria carta mea confirmatio rata sit et stabit hinc sepe sigillo meo apposui. Hys
 testib[us]. Anno secundo de regno tunc Justiciarii. Willo filii Ricardi tunc comeschallo honoris
 de Feilap. Anno tunc de Apaton. Anno tunc de Wyreton Waltero Valensi. Waltero samuel Willo
 filii Waldelemi. Willo del Et heret. et alii. 45



Omnibus fidei ad quos presentia littera pervenit Robertus de Brus de Brywes tunc de p[ar]te Walterus alii in d[omi]no
 tempore. Hinc Universitas sancti Bartholomei Londoni tota clamavit meum et hinc p[ro]ferendi si quod hinc ut hinc p[ro]feri ad
 Westm[onasterii] eor[um] de p[ar]te Walterus. In cuius rei testimonium presentia littera sigillum meum apposui. Hinc testi
 bus. Godefrido tunc officio Londoni. Dno. Ric[ardo] de Guiche. Dno. G[erardo] p[er]p[etuo]. Willo. G[erardo]. Ric[ardo] de Albini
 Ric[ardo] de Altop. Ric[ardo] Londoni. Dno. D[omi]no post festum Ep[iscop]i anni d[omi]ni m[ille] c[irca] lxxi nono.



ROBERT OF BRUS TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.
 ROBERT OF BRYWES TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

is spelled Brywes, also granted to the hospital his claim and right of presentation to the vicarage of Little Wakering on the Sunday after the Epiphany, A.D. 1269. His seal remains on its vellum tag.

A dispute about Little Wakering was settled at St. Paul's in 1253 on the Wednesday after the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross. Master WALTER CHAUCEHOSE, then official of the Venerable Father Fulk, Bishop of London, settled the matter in the chapter-house by a long composition written in a hand marked by very thick down-strokes and very fine up-strokes to all the long letters. The master of St. Bartholomew's appeared for himself and the brethren on one side, and the prior of Stokes for himself and his convent on the other. The master produced a parchment setting forth, on behalf of the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew in London against the convent of Stokes, that as the domain of Humfry son of Walter, both arable lands and marshes, is situate in the parish of their church of Little Wakering, therefore the tithes thence coming were of right theirs. The prior and convent, by the hand of Robert son of Hugh, who took possession of the said tithes in the name of the prior and convent, wrongfully receive the said tithes; whence the master and brethren sue that the tithes from the whole of the said domain within that parish, from which they receive no tithe, be adjudged to the said church, together with the arrears and fruits thence received, which they

reckon at one hundred marks of silver, besides damages and expenses, which they reckon at forty shillings. Finally a friendly agreement is come to that the master and brethren shall have the tithes for ever for the use of the hospital, paying for these tithes to the prior and convent and church of Stokes at that church every year thirty-two shillings sterling, half within a fortnight of Michaelmas and half within a fortnight of Easter, subject to a penalty of one mark if they fail to pay at the said times and place. A copy of the agreement is to be kept at each place. The seals of the Bishop of London, of his official, of the chapter of St. Paul's, and of Stokes Priory are affixed. The bishop's large oval seal shows Fulk with his mitre on his head and his pastoral staff in his hand. Next to it is the smaller seal of the official, with a figure of St. Paul; then the seal of the chapter, bearing an apostle with a book in his hand preaching to six men. The fourth is that of the priory of Stokes.¹ It is oval, with a broad border and finely moulded figure of St. John the Baptist seated on a throne holding a large Agnus Dei before him and a palm branch in his left hand.

The hospital garden is sometimes mentioned, and a

¹ Testes autem dicte compositionis tales sunt : Magister Walterus Chaucehose tunc Officialis domini Londoniensis : Magister Willelmus de Laudon : Magister Alanus de Stokwell : Magister Godefridus de London tunc Officialis Archidiaconi Londoniensis : Philippo de Flegge rector ecclesie de Waytonesham : Magister Robertus de Nouoforo : Magister Elyas Blundus : Willelmus de Feltham, capellanus : Johannes de Hocham : et aliis.

Walter Chaucehose held the stall of Mora in St. Paul's in 1253. The priory is probably that of Stoke by Clare in Suffolk.

grant of the year 1252 of LAURENCE TURPYN,¹ who lived in the parish of St. Botolf outside Aldersgate, to William of Dunolm, citizen of London, shows that it was then in the region now covered in part by the south side of the hospital square and between it and Little Britain. A few ells off, separated by this land belonging to Laurence Turpyn, was the garden of the canons.

The garden is also mentioned in a charter in which BARTHOLOMEW granted to Edith relict of Peter Smith land outside the bar of Smithfield in St. Sepulchre's parish between the land of Geoffrey the smith, formerly that of Thomas Baret, on the south, and that of Nicholas Clobber on the north, extending from the king's street to the hospital garden. Four shillings a year were to be paid for all services. Edith swore in full chapter of the hospital to observe the agreement loyally. If she wished to sell the tenement, the hospital was to have preference

¹ The land granted was opposite his house. The land extended from the king's street to the garden of the hospital. Its measurements were :—In front next the king's street on the east, thirty-two and a half ells and seven thumbs; in depth towards the west, sixty ells except four thumbs; in breadth at the back, twenty-eight ells and ten thumbs—all measured in the iron ells of Henry King of England son of King John. William is to pay Laurence one silver penny in each year at Michaelmas and to St. Bartholomew's Hospital eighteen pence a year for every service. Laurence further agrees not to sell the house in which he lives without the leave of William of Dunolm. William gave him twenty shillings sterling "in gersumam."

The circular seal bears a finely cut fleur-de-lys, which is surrounded by the letters of the inscription: "Sigil. Laurencii le lorimer," without any border.

The witnesses are: Dominus John Tholesan then Mayor of London: Thomas of Wymburne then sheriff: John le mynur then alderman of the ward: Roger son of Roger: Adam of Basing: Thomas of Dunolm: Laurence of Frowike: Robert le Bret: William le Flauner: Alexander the goldbeater: Walter le Waleys: Godwin le Blaeter: John Juenal: Walter and Roger clerks: "et multis aliis." Only one sheriff appears as a witness; William of Dunolm, the other sheriff in that year, was a party to the transaction.

by one bezant of gold. Edith's oval seal bears a fleur-de-lys. The inscription was "S. Edithe relicte Petri fabri," but only the two last words remain.¹

The diet of the patients in the reign of Henry II. included meat, for an agreement is extant between BARTHOLOMEW the master and Walter of Hendon, butcher, as to the payment of the meat bill. The document is also interesting from the light it throws upon the method of payment of what was a large bill for that time. The hospital owed eleven pounds for meat to the butcher, and the master and brethren agree to pay the bill by a rent charge on a house, of which John le bon, mercer, was the tenant, in Pentecost Lane in the parish of St. Nicholas shambles, beginning on June 25, 1249. The debt would be paid off in eight years and a quarter. The agreement is as follows :

"To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing happeneth to come, Bartholomew the chaplain, proctor of the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London, and the brethren of the same place health in the Lord. Be it known to you all that we owe Walter of Hendon, butcher, eleven pounds sterling for meat received by us

¹ The seal is placed with its base towards the charter. After "Carta cyrographata," cut in a wavy line, the charter follows in fifteen lines, in the hand of Alexander the clerk. No gersuma is mentioned.

Witnesses: Robert son of Richard the smith: Gervase the tanner: Geoffrey the smith: John the clerk: Walter the clerk: Hugh the Irishman: Geoffrey the fruiterer: Stephen the tanner: Walter baret: Symon of Askwell: Joco the tiler: Alexander the clerk: and others.

from him on loan for the use of our house and of the sick lying therein. Which money we by common agreement have assigned to the said Walter and his assigns to receive from the whole holding which John le bon, mercer, holds in the parish of St. Nicholas of the shambles in the east corner of the street of Pentecust': under the form here written, namely, each year twenty-six shillings and eight pence at the four principal terms of the year, at each term six shillings and eight pence as well, freely and quietly as we used to receive the aforesaid rent at the four chief terms of the year from the aforesaid holding. And the first term's receiving of the said Walter began on the feast of St. John the Baptist in the year of grace 1249. We and our successors the proctors of the said hospital and the brethren warrant the aforesaid rent from term to term and from year to year to the aforesaid Walter and his assigns and against all men will defend and acquit, until they have received fully and entirely from the aforesaid tenement the aforesaid eleven pounds, destroying at the end of each year his receipt by a certain tally made between one of our brethren, assigned to this function, and themselves. And it is to be known that if they are not able to receive the aforesaid rent from the aforesaid tenement, then the same shall be paid otherwise forthwith from our rents. And that this agreement may remain in force, one part shall remain with the before named Walter and his assigns sealed with our common seal, and the other part

with us to which the aforesaid Walter has affixed his seal. These being witnesses: Master Nicholas of St. Albans, clerk: Thomas of Newgate: Robert le cornmongere: Edmund le Engleys: Edmund otte: Robert the cordwainer: William Tayllefer: Warin the painter: Robert of Helesale: Alexander the clerk: and others.

The deed, which is beautifully written in sixteen lines, headed by the word "Cyrographum" cut across in a wavy line, is in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield; and in the method of payment prescribed, as well as in its general expressions, is characteristic of its time.

Pentecost Lane has disappeared. It was near the present Newgate Street, and in the time of Stow still contained several slaughter-houses.

The names of brethren are less often mentioned in the latter part of the reign of Henry III. than they were at the beginning and in the reign of John. One of them, Geoffrey the clerk, appears as witness in a charter of Warin, and Warin was afterwards janitor or porter—an office always discharged by one of the brethren.

WARIN OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S seems to have been a man of some means. He granted to Hugh the Irishman one messuage of his land outside the bar of Smithfield towards Islington (Hyseldon) which he held of the brethren, between his own messuage and that of Henry the cutter (incisor), at three shillings a year for all services saving the service of the King. Hugh was not to part with it to any religious, nor to a

Jew nor a Jewess, without Warin's consent; and if he wishes to part with it or to burden it, Warin or his heirs shall have it for twelve pence less than any one else. Hugh gave him ten shillings "in gersumam."¹

This Hugh the Irishman (Hugo Hyberniensis) of Warin's charter appears as a witness in several charters of the time of Bartholomew,² and was a man of some importance. In 1252-3 WALTER OF CHAURE³ and Hugh of Staundon called the Irishman, entered into an agreement about some land outside the bar of Smithfield

¹ Warin's circular seal bears a fleur-de-lys and on the border "Sigill. Warini de S. Bartholomeo."

Hiis testibus: Herueio de fonte: Henrico incisore: Reginaldo de aula: Roberto bissshop: Roberto parmentario: Willelmo fabro: Ricardo fabro: Galfrido de Hospitali clerico.

Geoffrey the clerk was one of the brethren of the time, and the handwriting of the charter, which is very beautiful, may be his. It was 35 ells in length, and in breadth next the great road (magnum cheminum) 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ells, and in the middle 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ells, and at the head towards the east 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ells and three finger-breadths: and besides that, half of the wall which is between that messuage and that of Henry the cutter.

² As in the following charter of WALTER OF CHAURE:—

Omnibus christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Walterus de Chaure clericus Salutem in domino. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra me Christine filie Stephani de la forde et Radulfo filio meo totam conuencionem inter me ex parte una et Mabilia relictam Johannis le fundur ex altera de quadam domo cum pertinenciis in parochia sancti sepulchri extra barram de Smepehēfend initam dedisse concessisse et demississe prout scriptura quam a dicta Mabilia habeo plenius et uberius testatur. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto signum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Roberto clerico filio Ricardi: Willelmo le moingne: Galfrido fabro: Johanne clerico: Nicholao charles: Hugone hyberniensi: Galfrido de le frute: Geruasio allutore: Simone de Eswelle: et aliis.

Besides the form Smepehēfend and Smethefelde, another form, Smethefend, frequently occurs for Smithfield in writings of the reigns of John and Henry III.

³ Anno Regni Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis Tricesimo septimo. Ita conuenit inter Walterum de Chaure clericum ex parte una et Hugonem de Staundon dictum Hyberniensem ex altera.

The witnesses are: Ralf Canun: Geoffrey the smith: John clerk: the Crossbowman: Nicholas Charles: John of Kingeston goldsmith: Joce the tiler: Thomas of Wylardesburi: John le paaur: Nicholas le clobbere: Elya le flecher: and others.

(Smephefend) situate between the land formerly of Warin of St. Bartholomew's and that of Geoffrey the mason. Hugh was to hold it for his life, and was to pay a halfpenny a year to Walter, and three shillings a year to the capital lords of the fee. Hugh is spoken of as father of Reginald le Bachelor, tanner.

REGINALD LE BACHELER,¹ son and heir of Hugh the Irishman, after his father's death granted to Walter de Chaure this same piece of land, which he says he holds of hereditary right. Walter gave him forty shillings sterling and a tunic of burnete "in gersumam." Hugh died in 1252 or 1253, since these two charters are in the same hand and have the same witnesses.

Religious feeling was active in London, and, encouraged by the Franciscans, whose convent was in the part of the city nearest St. Bartholomew's, it showed itself in many ways.

In 1252 WALTER OF CANTILUPE, Bishop of Worcester, made a grant of an indulgence² of ten days from penance

¹ His charter states that the land measures in breadth next the king's street, $8\frac{3}{4}$ ells; in the middle, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ells; at the head towards the east, $5\frac{3}{4}$ ells and three fingers; and in depth from the king's street to the land of St. John of Jerusalem of Clerkenwell, 35 ells, with half of a wall between the messuage and that formerly of Geoffrey the mason.

Witnesses: Ralf canun: Geoffrey the smith: John Clerk: the crossbowman: Nicholas Charles: John of Kingeston, goldsmith: Joce the tiler: Thomas of Wylardesburi: John le pauur: Nicholas le Clobber: Elya le flecher: and others.

These charters point to the difficulties of identification which may occur. Reginald le Bachelor is son of Hugh of Standon, also called Hugh the Irishman, and who, before he left Ireland, was known by some patronymic indicating descent and by the name Aedh. Thus may a Reginald Bachelor of later times be no Englishman, but the descendant of an Irish Aedh Ua Neill, or perhaps a Dane from Dublin with an Irish baptismal name. (Cf. *English Historical Review*, April 1908.)

² Omnibus Christi fidelibus Walterus miseracione divina Wigorniensis ecclesie minister humilis in domino Salutem. Vt ad laudem nominis dei ac deuotionem populi sanctorum

incurred by them, to those who contributed to keeping up the divine office at the altar erected in the church of St. Nicholas Fleshshambles in honour of St. Wulstan. The bishop's seal on two cords has lost its upper third, but shows part of the bishop's figure with a shield near his feet on his left, bearing three fleurs-de-lys, and under his feet a distorted quadruped or reptile. Part of the inscription ". . ntilupe. dei. gra. . . . wigorniensis ." remains.

Bartholomew and the brethren obtained on June 15, 1253, two important charters from the King, one confirming them in their possessions, the other in their rights and privileges. In the first, Henry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, confirmed to his beloved in Christ the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield of London, all the following gifts and grants :

By the gift of *Henry I., King of England*—the place in Smithfield in which the aforesaid hospital for the help of the poor is founded :

nominatanta maiori proferantur honore quanto longius ac diffusius salubriter agnoscuntur. Nos de dei misericordia et de beate marie Virginis sanctorumque omnium meritis confidentes, omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui in ecclesia beati Nicholai in macello Londoniarum deuota mente conuenerint et de bonis sibi a deo collatis ad sustentationem diuini obsequii circa Altare in honore beati Wolstani in ecclesia memorata constructum : ac operis eiusdem ecclesie aliqua impenderint subsidia caritatis : parochianis videlicet nostris et aliis quorum diocesani hanc nostram indulgenciam ratam habuerint : Decem dies de iniuncta sibi penitencia misericorditer relaxamus. Nolumus autem quod presentes littere per questuarios aliquatenus transmittantur. Datum Londoniis die beati Vincencii martiris. Anno domini Millesimo Ducentesimo Quinquagesimo Secundo.

- Of *William of Theydon*—the church of Little Wakeryng, with the marsh of Sharnwerde :
- Of *Robert of Barnavill*—the church of Heanton :
- Of *Ralph of Gutteford*—some tenements at Alrichesbury :
- Of *John son of Hugh*—a virgate of land at Cranden :
- Of *John son of Simon of Dunton*—a carucate of land with its appurtenances at Donton :
- Of *Robert of Newburgh*—seven virgates and a half of land at Wolaston :
- Of *Gilbert de Ver*—the land which he held in the vill of Reynham with its appurtenances :

together with the houses, appurtenances, and rents which they hold or may hold in London and without.

“All these they are to hold,” says the charter, “well and in peace, freely and quietly, with all liberties and free customs belonging to them.” “This hospital with all that belongs to it know ye that I have taken into my hand and protection and defence against all men as my own chapel, and I will that it should be as free from all earthly power and service as my crown.”

The King says that he makes all these grants “for the love of God and my own welfare and that of my heirs, for the stability of my kingdom and for the soul of King Henry my grandfather.”

The second charter confirms all the privileges which the brethren had obtained from kings or prelates or any others of the faithful, including the right of election of master. This charter of King Henry III. mentions without citing its words a charter of his grandfather

King Henry II., granted at Rouen, which confirmed to the hospital its site in Smithfield and its liberties, and Henry III. desired to confirm these "as is expressed in the charter of Henry my grandfather."

The charters were granted at Winchester, and the first witness of both is the King's half-brother, Aylmer of Lusignan, who had been elected by the King's influence to the see of Winchester. He is described as bishop elect, for he was not actually consecrated till May 1260. William of Kilkenny, archdeacon of Coventry, is the sixth witness.¹ He became Bishop of Ely in 1255, and his figure is to be seen upon his tomb in the choir of that cathedral. Henry of Wyngham, the seventh witness, held office as Chancellor of England, and was also Dean of St. Martin's le grand when he was made Bishop of London in 1259.

The lands enumerated seem few in proportion to the great number of extant charters purporting to grant lands, menagia, messuages, tenements, and houses, and charges upon them; but it must be remembered that, in the absence of any large quantity of money, annual charges on land were used to pay debts, and what we should call subscriptions, and that a large proportion of the hospital benefactions were of pieces of land, houses, and of rent charges in London and its suburb.

A considerable part of the income of the hospital

¹ Bertram of Crioll: John de Grey: John of Lesyngton: Peter of Chaceport, Archdeacon of Wells, are the intermediate witnesses; and the three after Henry of Wyngham are Bartholomew Pecche: William de Grey: and William of St. Ermin.

was made up of charges or other payments from land such as that mentioned in a charter of ROBERT OF ALDENHAM, man-at-arms (bukelarius) of London. He grants to William of Haveresham, tailor, all his land outside Smithfield bar in the parish of St. Sepulchre between the land of Stephen the moneyer on the south and that of Nicholas le clobbere on the north, reaching from the king's street on the west to the land of Geoffrey the smith on the east. This land paid four shillings to St. Bartholomew's Hospital every year, and to Mary, Joan, and Edith, daughters of Peter the smith, and their heirs three cloves at Christmas and "to me a penny at Easter for all services." William gave him forty shillings of silver "in gersummam." The witnesses show that it belongs to the mastership of Bartholomew.¹

Another such payment is mentioned in a charter of SIMON OF KEMESTON,² who grants to Michael of St. Edmunds a messuage in Clerkenewelle Street in the parish of St. Sepulchre with the houses on it, as contained by the wall and houses round it, between the messuage of Dionisia Lovecote towards the south and the lane which leads from St. Bartholomew's as far as

¹ Ralf canun : Geoffrey the smith : Stephen the moneyer : Nicholas Charles : William Slyke : Richard of Chigewelle : Walter le Rus : Robert le barbur : John le Hayward : Thomas the cook : Adam Mabon : John the crossbowman : Richard clerk : and others.

² Simon's seal is circular, and bears a figure of a man standing beside a tree.

Witnesses : Ralf Canun : Geoffrey son of the same Ralf : William Sliche : Roger of Stople : Geoffrey the smith : Peter of St. Laurence : Robert le Blayter : Reginald clerk : and others.

the field of the same place towards the north. It abuts on Clerkenwell Street on the west and the land of St. Bartholomew's on the east. Michael is to pay half a pound of cumin or a penny each year at Easter to Simon, and to St. Bartholomew's Hospital three shillings a year for all secular services, sextaria of the Court, customs, exactions and demands. Michael gave him eight marks "in gersumam."

The Barons' war took place towards the end of the mastership of Bartholomew, and a piece of land which was taken from members of the defeated side was ultimately given to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, though not till many years later.

Thomas Fitz Thomas the mayor, who sided with Simon de Montfort, and who after the battle of Evesham can be traced to a royal fortress, and then disappears from history, was well known to the master of St. Bartholomew's. He was an alderman in 1246, and was probably junior to Simon son of Mary, the founder of Bethlem Hospital, as is shown by a charter of ALAN BALUN and one of SIMON SON OF MARY, Alan's uncle, who was sheriff eleven years before Thomas Fitz Thomas, who held that office in 1257.

ALAN BALUN SON OF WILLIAM SON OF RICHARD ¹

¹ Nouerint uniuersi presens scriptum inspecturi Quod ego Alanus balun filius Willelmi filius Ricardi renisi et quietumclamaui de me et heredibus meis Willelmo clerico de Farnham et Matilde uxori sue relicte Petri de Kersinge et heredibus ipsius Matilde et eius assignatis totum Jus et clamium quod habui et habere debui uel potui iure hereditario siue aliquo alio iure in Octo solidis redditus annuis [sic] de quadam placia terre in parrochia sancti Michaelis de Ripa Regine que placia terre fuit quondam Roberti

granted to William of Farnham and Matilda his wife all his right in eight shillings of rent in the parish of St. Michael Queenhithe. His circular seal bears a large full-face head in prominent relief. The inscription is illegible. This charter is of the year 1246, when John de Gisors was mayor and Simon son of Mary and Laurence of Frowyk sheriffs, and Thomas Fitz Thomas was alderman of the ward now called Queenhithe.

SIMON SON OF MARY¹ granted to Alan Balun his

Herlizun. Et etiam totum Jus et clamium quod aliquo alio modo habere potero in omnibus terris et tenementis que tenent in dicta parrochia. Ita etiam quod ego Alanus predictus et heredes mei siue aliquis per nos uel pro nobis nullo modo poterimus nec debemus decetero habere ius uel clamium in predictis octo solidis redditus nec in terris et tenementis ipsorum in predicta parrochia. Pro hac autem mea remissione et quietum-clamatiōe dederunt michi predictus Willelmus et Matilda duas marcas argenti. Et ut predicta robur inperpetuum optineant, presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roborauī. Hiis testibus: Domino Johanne de Gisors tunc maiore Lond.: Symone filio Marie et Laurencio de Frowike tunc vicecomitibus: Thoma filio Thome tunc aldermanno eiusdem Warde: Augustino de Hadestoke: Baldewino le meyrerer: Willelmo de Cudinthona: Laurencio brother: Alexandro: et aliis.

William son of Richard was mayor in two successive years, 1259 and 1260. Thomas Fitz Thomas, who succeeded him, is sometimes called Thomas Fitz Thomas Fitz Richard.

¹ *Sciānt presentes et futuri quod ego Simon filius Marie dedi concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Alano Balun Nepoti meo Octo solidatis annui et quieti redditus quas recipere solebam de terris domibus redditibus cum pertinentiis que fuerunt Petri de Kersynga in parrochia sancti Michaelis uersus Ripam Regine: Que scilicet terre iacent a Cornerio vici de Bredstrate usque ad Cornerium venelle de Sporuneslane Et fuerunt quondam Ricardi le Cormonger et Walteri le Truant: Habendas et tenendas dicto Alano et eius assignatis et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete bene et in pace finabiliter. Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omni seruitiōe et exaccione et rebus cunctis: quasdam Cyrotecas albas uel vnum obolum ad pascha sine omni occasione. Et ego Simon et heredes mei warantizabimus dictum redditum octo solidorum dicto Alano et eius assignatis et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas et defendemus et acquietabimus in perpetuum per predictum seruitium Et ut igitur mea donatio concessio warantisiō defensio acquietatio et confirmatio perpetue firmitatis robur optineant, presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione roborauī. His testibus: Thoma filio Thome Aldermanno: Augustino de Hadestoke: Roberto Herlicun: Andrea filio Petri: Johanne carpentario: Stephano clerico: Rogero clerico: Clemente bedello: et aliis.*

Sancti p[ro]p[ri]etas. et filii q[ui] ego Simon filius syonie vel curia. et p[ro]p[ri]etas alia[m] mea[m] confirmavi
Hano Balan Ep[iscop]o meo Otto soldata[m] Gm[un]i et quatuor reddit[us] quas triage saleham de curia
Yomb[ur]g. redditib[us] cum pertinentiis que sunt p[ro]p[ri]etas de l[oc]o casu[m] in p[ro]ch[ia] s[an]c[t]i axel[is] uer[bi]t[us]
Ap[osto]lin[us] Regine. Que sate terre iacent admo[n]io s[an]c[t]i de Drethte usq[ue] ad curiam Venelle
de Spomeslan de fuit quendam l[oc]o s[an]c[t]i de Comond. et W[il]h[el]m[us] de St[an]t. Balan
et tenent[ur] deo Alano et ad assignat[ur] et heredit[us] suis de me et heredit[us] meis in Pado et heredi
tate l[ib]e[re] quiete b[on]a et in pace firmabil[is]. Et videndo male amuata in et heredit[us] meis p[ro]p[ri]etas
omi[n]i s[an]c[t]a ecclesie et redib[us] anath[em]a. quosdam Director[um] albig[us] id s[an]c[t]i. ob. ad passha s[an]c[t]i
omi[n]i occasione. Et ego Simon et heredit[us] mei heredit[us] b[on]a[m] dem reddita[m] Otto solub[us]
deo Alano et eius assignat[ur] et heredit[us] suis come[n]t[ur] om[n]es homines et feminas et defendem[us]
et acquiescem[us] in p[ro]p[ri]etate p[ro]p[ri]etate s[an]c[t]i. Et ut iure[m] mea[m] donato concessio Namasso
desensio de p[ro]p[ri]etate et com[un]i p[ro]p[ri]etate s[an]c[t]i m[un]das rebu[m] op[er]entur. p[ro]p[ri]etate et t[er]m[in]i s[an]c[t]i
gilli mei emp[ro]p[ri]etate Tobaduu. Eug[ene] testib[us]. Thom[as] filii Thome Albi. Augustino de Hadestaba. Patro
heredit[us] h[er]ed[us] filii p[ro]p[ri]etate. Ioh[ann]es cap[itu]l[um] p[ro]p[ri]etate. Steph[an]o clero. Hugo clero elence Bevell et al
us



nephew eight shillings' worth of rent from land in the parish of St. Michael Queenhithe extending from the corner of Bread Street to the corner of Spornes Lane, once the land of Richard the cornmonger and Walter le Truant. Alan is to pay him a rent of certain white gloves or one halfpenny at Easter. The first witness is Thomas Fitz Thomas the alderman and the last Clement the bedell.

In 1255 Thomas Fitz Thomas was still an alderman, for he witnesses as alderman of the ward (now Queenhythe) a charter of MARTHA,¹ daughter and heir of John Wysdom fishmonger, in which five shillings a year is secured to the hospital; Ralf Hardel being

The list of rents of the city published by Miss Bateson from the British Museum Manuscript, Additional 14,252 (*English Historical Review*, July 1902), mentions Alan Balun as paying two shillings a year for land in or close to Queenhythe. He is probably the earlier Alan, while the fact that the land of the second Alan Balun was also in that part of London suggests that the two Alans belonged to the same family. As to Alan of Baalon (1203-16), see p. 291.

¹ Martha, with the consent of her mother Amicia, granted and confirmed to Ralf of Bromley (de Brumlega), fishmonger, all the land and houses in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen of the Fishmarket which had belonged to her father, opposite the church, in the east corner of the street as one goes towards the Thames, between the same corner and the land of Hugh the spicer. It extends in length from the king's street to the land of Henry Kingesson. It is to return to her or her heirs half a pound of cumin or a penny on the feast of St. John Baptist, and to St. Bartholomew's Hospital five shillings a year, and to Hugh the spicer twelve pence a year. Ralph gave her and her mother twelve marks of silver "in gersumam." For this money Amicia remits to Ralf all her right in the name of dowry, of free hench or any other right in the said land.

Witnesses: Dominus Ralf Hardel then Mayor of London: Matthew Bukerell and John le Myneur then sheriffs: Thomas Fitz Thomas Fitz Richard then alderman of the same ward: Henry Kingesson: William of Basing: Adam Brunning: Roger the linen-drapeer: William of Bixle: William drinkepani: Hugh of Heston: Geoffrey of Windlesor: Alexander the clerk: and others.

Two oval seals remain on vellum tags: "S . Marthe . fil . Johis Wisdom," bearing a long-legged bird holding a snake in its bill; and "S . Amicie . relicte . Johis . Wisdom," bearing a formal fleur-de-lys.

mayor and Matthew Bukerell and John le mynur sheriffs.

Thomas Fitz Thomas was elected mayor in 1261, and in that year was witness of a charter of THOMAS, rector of the church of Schabbeam, granting in pure and perpetual alms to Bartholomew master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the brethren all his right in a mark of annual rent which they used to pay him from houses which were held by Walter of Norhameton in the parish of St. Botulf outside Aldersgate. The sheriffs were Philip le Taylor and Richard of Walebroc (Walbrook). John at Blakmorne was alderman of the ward.

In 1262 Thomas was again chosen mayor, and with Robert of Montpellier and Osbert of Suffolk witnessed a long charter in the hand of Alexander of Smithfield, in which RANULF son of Gerard of Mymmes, butcher, being of full age and with the leave of Alice his mother, granted to Martin called the Little, crossbowman of the lord King, and Margery his wife the land and houses which belonged to his father in Vyterieslane situate between the land of Edmund Otte and that of Robert Lengleys. The land was to pay him one clove at Easter and to St. Bartholomew's Hospital sixteen shillings and four pence a year. Martin and Margery gave him eighteen marks of silver "in gersumam."²

¹ The seal of Thomas the rector is oval and bears a fleur-de-lys. The other witnesses named are: William le fundur: Walter of Hungrye: Hubert the goldsmith: Henry of Ware: Ernulf le Cornmonger.

² Two oval seals are on vellum tags: "S. Ranulfi de Mimmes" and "S. Alicie relicte

Mabilla, eldest daughter of Warin the painter who has been mentioned, had married Sawas, who followed the same occupation as her father. She and her husband, and her sisters Alice and Matilda, granted to the hospital some land near the churchyard of St. Sepulchre, when Thomas Fitz Thomas was mayor and Robert of Montpellier and Osbert of Suffolk were sheriffs, in the same year, 1262.

In the next year Thomas Fitz Thomas was again elected by the people, but was not admitted by the Barons of the Exchequer. Later in the year came the battle of Lewes. Thomas acted as mayor all through the year, but no hustings were held. On the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude in 1264, he was again elected, and was admitted by the King the next day. He had become a leader of the populace, who called themselves the *communa* of the city and took little notice of the magnates. In this his last year of office he is the first witness of a charter in which BARTHOLOMEW grants to Thomas son of Adam of Singes two shops, next but two to the bridge in the market place in the fair of St. Botulph's of Hoyland (in *mercorium*

Gerardi." The former bears the skull of an ox and what seems to be a block; the latter a bird, both of rude design.

Witnesses: Dominus Thomas son of Thomas then Mayor of London: Robert of Muntpesl' and Osbert of Suffolk then sheriffs: Richard of Ewell then alderman of the same ward: Ralf canun: John of Shoreditch (Soresdich): William le fort: Roger of Folkestone: Richard of Vernun: Michael of St. Edmunds: Martin senches: Robert le cornmongere: Edmund the tanner: William of Winton, tanner: Walter achard: Richard the bedell: Alexander the clerk: and others.

in nundinis sancti Botulphi de Hoyland), at an annual rent of five shillings. The sheriffs, who follow the mayor as witnesses, were Edward Blund and Peter of Angers.¹

On Tuesday, August 4, 1265, the battle of Evesham was fought, Simon de Montfort slain, and his party left at the King's mercy. On October 26 the land of Thomas Fitz Thomas in London, and of his associates Richard Trissell and William Ardern, which had been confiscated, was granted by the King to John of Muscegros.

The royal charter has been preserved, with its great seal attached:—

HENRY, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, addresses all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, provosts, servants, and all bailiffs and his faithful subjects, and desires them to know that he has given, granted, and confirmed by this charter "to our chosen and faithful John of Muscegros for his faithful service all the lands and tenements of Richard Trissell and William of Ardern, and those houses in Cripplegate Street (Crepulgatstrat) and between Wood (Wode) Street and Monkwell (Mugwell) Street in the city of London, and a certain garden next Finsbury (Fynesbur'), which belonged to Thomas

¹ The other witnesses named are: Stephen Bukerell: William son of Richard: William of Dunelm': Thomas of Ford: John of Wylehall: Richard of Wylehall: William of Hadestoke, draper of London: Ralf koyse: Roger, curate of St. Botulph's.

Fitz Thomas late Mayor of London, one of our enemies and rebels who adhered to Symon de Montfort late Earl of Leicester our enemy and felon, in the time of the war which was lately carried on in our kingdom by Symon and his wicked men, to the disinheriting of our crown and in war carried on between us and the aforesaid our enemies and rebels: The lands and tenements of which rebels by their crime and with the common consent and advice of the great men and the faithful of our kingdom, belong to our ordinance and disposition, and we grant to the same John and his heirs to hold from the chief lords of this fee whether us or others. As however these lands are not of the domain of our crown, he is to make thence all due and accustomed services, so that by occasion of this our gift nothing shall be taken away from the capital lords aforesaid in wards, reliefs, or other things belonging to them for ever. If the lands and tenements of Richard and William reach a greater value than two hundred pounds, then what is thence over shall remain to us. No one shall claim for himself any hereditary right from the aforesaid Richard, William, and Thomas, or derive any right of action or claim from them, as regards these lands, tenements, houses, and gardens. And we and our heirs undertake to defend and preserve this our gift: just as our ancestors have been wont to defend and preserve other gifts, so we undertake to preserve and defend this. Given by our hand at

Canterbury the twenty-sixth day of October in the forty-ninth year of our reign.

“These being witnesses : The venerable father *Walter* Bishop of Bath and Wells : Hugh le bigod : Philip Basset : Roger of Clifford : Roger of Leyburn : Robert Walerand : William Belet : William of Aette : Geoffrey of Percy : Bartholomew le bigot : and others.”

The witnesses were many of them warriors who had fought on the royal side at Lewes or at Evesham. Hugh le bigot escaped capture at the end of the defeat of Lewes and fought at Evesham. Philip Basset fought at Lewes. Roger of Clifford and Roger of Leyburn, who were at one time opposed to the King, fought for him at Lewes. Robert Walerand tried to rescue the princes who were hostages at Wallingford after the battle of Lewes, and also fought at Evesham.

John of Muscegnos made over all that he had from the gift of Henry, father of lord Edward King of England, to Sir Bartholomew of Bryan the younger, formerly constable of the Tower of London, and to James of St. Victor, rector of the church of St. Clement.

This charter was enrolled in the husting of London on Monday the feast of St. Vincent in the second year of King Edward—that is January 22, 1274. Bartholomew of Bryan left the land to William of Gravele, who sold it in the fifteenth year of Edward I. (1286-7)

to William de Marisco,¹ and in the twenty-seventh year of Edward I. (1298-1299) he sold it to Theobald of Merk. In the ninth year of Edward II. (1315-1316) Theobald of Merk, who had married Hawisia of White Roding, sold the land to his wife and William of Herle their son. This Hawisia of Roding gave all her right in the land to William of Herle in the fourteenth year of Edward II. (1320-1321). Sir William of Herle sold all the land which he had received from Theobald of Merk to William of Pertenhale, citizen and corn merchant of London, and Joan his wife in the sixteenth of Edward II. (1322-1323). William of Pertenhale in his will left all the land which he had bought from Sir William of Herle to his wife Joan for her life and then to his son William and his daughter Joan, paying his son John forty shillings a year, and after them to the master, brethren, and sisters of St. Bartholomew's Hospital of Westsmithfield, London, paying John if surviving. When all his children are dead the hospital is out of it to pay one chaplain to pray for his soul and for those of all the faithful departed. This will was proved February 21, 1348. Joan his daughter survived her brothers, and then was professed a sister of the hospital.² Thus did St. Bartholomew's obtain the possession of this estate, and of the original grant under the great seal of Henry III. The land is on the

¹ Ralf de Mandewik, then warden (custos) of London, is the first witness.

² Henry le Waleys, mayor, witnesses this grant. *Cartulary of St. B. H.*, f. 218.

³ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 586b.

south side of Fell Street, a short street leading from Monkwell Street to Wood Street. Till a few years ago an old warehouse, with a doorway made of the jawbones of a Greenland whale, gave it a picturesque aspect, though there was no architectural feature to carry the mind back to the series of ancient owners or to the Barons' war, the defeat of Evesham or the ruin of Thomas Fitz Thomas, Mayor of London

The mastership of Bartholomew ended in the early part of the fifty-third year of King Henry III. (October 28, 1268 to October 27, 1269), and in February 1269 JOHN OF WALETON (also written Walton and Wantun) was in office as master, as is shown by a charter of his dated "in the month of February in the fifty-third year of the reign of King Henry the son of King John." It is a grant to Richard of Samford "pro seruicio suo" of a house outside the gate called Newgate called the cornerhouse (cornerhus), opposite the steps of St. Sepulchre's Church,¹ and he was to pay the hospital twenty-two shillings a year.

The hospital received a benefaction in Essex early in the time of John of Waleton, which is recorded

¹ Between the messuage of Richard Merlawe and the cemetery of the church. In length, $16\frac{1}{2}$ ells and half of a quarter of an ell on the one side, and on the other 8 ells and 6 thumbs, except a small room of 2 ells in length and 2 in breadth belonging to the aforesaid hospital. The house is 8 ells and 6 thumbs broad from Richard of Merlawe's messuage to the steps of the church, and 6 ells and 7 thumbs from the messuage of Richard of Merlawe to the houses belonging to the hospital.

Witnesses : Master Walter of Dorteferd, goldsmith : Peter the sealmaker : Richard of Merlawe, clerk : John Spurun : Roger bonsire.

The charter is an indented chirographum.

in two charters identical in words, but in quite different hands—one very ornate, the other much less so. Both bear the same seal, with a design of two beasts fighting.

The benefactor was GILBERT COLEMAN of Reylegh, who on September of 1269 granted John of Walton, master of St. Bartholomew's, and the brethren and sisters the homage and service of Margaret, daughter of Jordan le Brun, with eleven shillings sterling of annual rent which he used to receive from Margaret for a certain marsh called Suthwalesmers in the parish of Burnham in pure and perpetual alms for six pounds of silver which the said master paid down.¹

On September 14, 1269, MARGARET LA BRUNE of Hakewell, daughter of Jordan le Brun, military tenant, granted to John of Walton, master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and the brethren and sisters of the same in pure and perpetual alms the twenty shillings of annual rent which Juliana of Hakewell, in her widowhood, had granted to her from Suthwalesmers in the parish of Burnham, with homage, reliefs, and wards, escheats, &c. Her oval seal bears a figure of St. Margaret.

¹ Hiis testibus : Domino Ricardo de sucherche : Domino Symone Perdryz militibus : Huberto de Batingham : Willelmo Buys : Johanne de Torp : Willelmo Darnel : Willelmo Samuel : Luca de Abindon : et aliis.

Datum apud Pritewelle in pleno Hundredo in crastino Natiuitatis beate Marie Anno rengni regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis quinquagesimo tercio.

Perhaps the finer scribe came from the priory of Prittlewell ; the writing of the other resembles that of charters certainly written in London.

There are two copies of this charter, written in the same two hands as those of the grant of Gilbert Coleman.¹

On the same day, 1269, JULIANA OF HAKEWELL,² relict of Jordan le Brun, military tenant, granted to John of Walton all her right in thirty-one shillings of annual rent which Richard of Molesham her father gave to her in free marriage from the marsh called Suthwalesmers, and which she gave to Margaret her daughter, and which Margaret with her assent gave to the hospital in pure and perpetual alms.

For a short time in 1270 JOHN OF EYLEBERY³ is described as warden (*custos*), a term often synonymous with master, but perhaps in this case meant to indicate a temporary tenure of office during the absence or sus-

¹ *Hiis testibus: Dominus William de Ambly: Richard de Suthchirche: Symon Perdriz militibus: Huberto de Bottingham: Radulfo Andrerre: Huberto Walensi: Godefrido de Standon: et aliis. Datum apud Burnham in festo exaltationis sancte Crucis anno Rengni Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis quinquagesimo tercio.*

² Juliana's seal bears a six-pointed star. Witnesses: the same as in Margaret's charter, "Datum apud Hakewell"—the same day.

³ *Uniuersis presens scriptum inspecturis Johannes de Eylebery custos hospitalis sancti Bartholomei iuxta Smethefeld Londoniarum et fratres eiusdem hospitalis salutem in domino. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra quod nos in festo Pasche anno domini M^o. cc^o. septuagesimo assensu communi et consensu remisimus Magistro Jacobo de Abbingewrthe canonico ecclesie sancti Pauli Londoniarum et heredibus suis omnia arreragia annui redditus nobis debiti de tenementis que idem Magister Jacobus emit de Nicholao de Sancto Walerico et de Galfrido le Burser in parochia Sancti Botulphi extra Aldredesgate Londoniarum que tenementa sunt de feodo nostro. Ita videlicet quod siue domus dictorum tenementorum sint vacue siue non: redditum anuum terminis statutis debitum et consuetum nobis inde soluat. In cuius rei testimonium illi parti istius litere ad modum cyrographi confecte penes nos remanenti sigillum dicti Magister Jacobi est appensum. Alteri parti eiusdem litere que penes dictum magistrum remanet sigillum nostrum commune duximus apponendum. Datum in Hospitali nostro predicto die sabbati proxima ante festum Sancti Barnabe apostoli anno domini supradicto.*

The inscription on the large oval seal of the canon is imperfect. The centre is a classical intaglio of a lion.

pension of the existing master. I have found only one charter of his—a deed in which he remits to James of Abbingewrthe, a canon of St. Paul's, the arrears of rent due to the hospital from some tenements in the parish of St. Botolph, outside Aldersgate. The part of the chirographum sealed by the canon has remained, as the writing says it should, in the hospital since the Saturday before the feast of St. Barnabas (June 11) 1270, when it was sealed.

In the earliest charters of the next reign John of Walton appears as master, and he was probably in office at the end of the reign of Henry III.

An agreement between the PRIOR AND CONVENT¹ of St. Bartholomew's and the master and brethren is the latest record of the reign of Henry III. It relates to a rent of six shillings received yearly from a holding,

¹ CYROGRAPHUM.—Nouerint vniuersi presens scriptum visuri uel audituri quod cum mota esset contencio Inter Priorem et Conuentum Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum ex parte vna Et Magistrum et fratres Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei in Smethefeld ex altera de redditu sex solidorum quam dicti Prior et Conuentus percipere consueuerint annuatim de toto tenemento quod fuit quondam Warini Pictoris in Parochia Sancti Sepulchri extra Newegate ex opposito Cimiteri eiusdem ecclesie uersus austrum : Supradicti Magistri et fratres soluerunt predictis Priori et Conuentui Tresdecim solidos sterlingorum pro arrearagiis dicti redditus Et iisdem [sic] Prior et Conuentus remiserunt et quietumclamauerunt predictis Magistro et fratribus omnia arrearagia qua inde exigere potuerunt usque ad terminum Pasche : Anno gracie M° CC° lxx° secundo. Supradicti uero Magister et fratres pro se et successoribus suis confesserunt quod predicti Prior et Conuentus totum predictum tenementum quod quondam Warinus pictor tenuit pro predicto redditu sex solidorum quocienscumque aretro fuerit amodo libere et sine calumpnia seu contradictione distringere possint prout sibi melius viderint expedire. In cuius rei testimonium predicti Prior et Conuentus et Magister et fratres huic scripto cirographato sigilla sua communia alternatim apposuerunt. Hiis testibus : Domino Waltero Herui tunc maiore Londoniarum : Domino Elia de Hertford : Radulfo Canun : Reginaldo filio eius : Martino Balistario : Rogero de Stoples : Roberto Cornmongere : Willelmo Scissore : Thoma de Sumersete : et aliis.

The seal has not been preserved.

facing the graveyard of St. Sepulchre's Church on the south, formerly held by Warin the painter. The master and brethren had paid thirteen shillings to the prior and convent for arrears of this rent, and the prior and convent had remitted all arrears to Easter term, 1272, and the master and brethren admitted the right of the prior and convent to this rent from the whole land held by Warin the painter. Walter Hervi, then Mayor of London, is the first witness, but the sheriffs, contrary to the usual custom when the mayor was present, are not mentioned.

The long reign of King Henry III., during which the property of St. Bartholomew's Hospital had gradually increased, ended in the November following this agreement.

VI

ALEXANDER OF SMITHFIELD



MAELBRIGTE, who transcribed a copy of the Latin gospels at Armagh in the time of Rahere, wrote at the foot of a very small page of vellum in a minute and exquisite hand, "if it was my wish I could write the whole treatise like this,"¹ thus handing down to succeeding ages a scribe's pride in his art.

That such justifiable pride was felt by some writers of charters as well as of books in the thirteenth century is clear from the beauty which they often gave to instruments of legal business. The beauty is due not to elaborate ornament, but to the painstaking artistic formation of each letter, the uniform blackness of the ink, and the precise regularity of the lines.

It is sometimes possible to learn who was the actual scribe who drew up the document, and who saw the wax impressed by the seals of the parties

¹ "Diamad ail lem roscribaind in tractad uli amal so."—Harley, 1802, f. 50 (British Museum).

to the transaction and wrote down the names of the witnesses in due order.

The scribe now and then stated at the end of a charter that he was its writer or composer. Thus, in a charter copied into the Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital,¹ by which Robert son of David, with the assent of his wife Cecilia, granted to John the chaplain, son of Fulc, four acres of his land of Erdwanneslee, the tenth and last witness is "Master Simon who wrote this charter." In the same Cartulary,² William Reimberde's grant of land in Edwardescroft to John the chaplain, son of Fulc, has as its tenth and final witness, "William son of Rodland who wrote this charter."

At the end of a covenant between Henry the mason, of Berling, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital is the witness "little Robert who wrote this agreement."³

In a charter⁴ of the year 1250, by which Matilda daughter of Alexander le Albure grants to St. Bartholomew's Hospital a house in a lane leading towards the Thames, in the parish of St. Swithun, Candelwiche Street, subject to a yearly payment of a mark of silver,

¹ Fol. 461b.

² Fol. 462.

³ "Robertulo qui hanc conuencionem conscripsit et multis aliis."—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 485.

⁴ Roger son of Roger then mayor, William son of Richard and Humfry le fevre sheriffs, Alexander le feriner then alderman, Mathew Bukerell, William of Allyngber, Simon of Inrick, Ralph the bedell, Nicholas Cripe, Clement le Gulbure are the other witnesses. Matilda received twenty shillings "in gersumam."—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 268.

the last witness is "John Hanyn the clerk who wrote the present."

The grant to St. Bartholomew's of a load of corn by Hubert of Anesty¹ is witnessed by "Edmund the canon who wrote this charter," and a grant of William of Wrotham² to Roger of Sutton of land in Sutton, and an acre and a half in Alnesway and an acre and a half in Mora, is witnessed by "Thomas the clerk who wrote this charter."

Constantine son of Alulf's gift to St. Bartholomew's³ has as its last witness "Richard de Parmo who wrote this charter."

In a charter of William of Tikeham⁴ of December 6, 1199, "Stephen who wrote this charter" is one of the witnesses. A charter of William of Cornhill,⁵ of which the date is fixed by the fact that its first witness is William, Bishop of Coventry (1214-1225), has as its last witness "Louis who wrote this charter."

Henry Marlleward, son of Roger Marlleward of Woberthone in the market of St. Botulf's, granted to St. Bartholomew's Hospital⁶ all his right in 28 pence of

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.*

² Hiis testibus: Roberto de Wimbefeld: Ricardo de forda: Roberto monacho: Ada clerico: Ada carpentario: Huberto de Sutton: Matheo clerico de Londonia: Reginaldo le brunne: Thoma clerico qui hanc cartam scripsit: et Willelmo de Bukerell: et Johanne vetula. Roger gave William twelve pence "in gersumam."—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 436.

³ Fol. 312.

⁴ *Id.*, f. 465a.

⁵ *Id.*, f. 236a.

⁶ The witnesses are Ralph Heyrow: Richard Ibes: Thomas of Mora: Henry Bernard: William Strong: Thomas Sybily: Thomas Ecs: Thomas son of Eudo: John of Weymele: Walter Papebien: Richard his brother: Roger their brother: Robert Hocheles clerk, &c.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 469.

rent which John of Syston paid him in the vill of Woberthone. The last of thirteen witnesses is "Robert Hocheles clerk, writer of the present document" (cedula).

Similar examples are to be found in other cartularies, as in that of Castle Acre,¹ where a grant of land by Alan son of Godfrey of Swaffham to William of Mildeburn has as its ninth and last witness "William the clerk who wrote this charter."

These are all copies, and therefore do no more than prove that scribes sometimes recorded their own work. Similar statements in original charters make it possible to recognise the handwriting of the scribe when met with elsewhere. An agreement between RALPH OF BIDUN² and William of Ros, son of Sibilla of Ros

¹ Harley, 2110, f. 104 (British Museum).

² КЛНАДЧРОЦИ

Notum sit presentibus et futuris quod hec est conuentio Inter Radulfum de bidun et Willelmum de Ros filium sibille de Ros amite sue et | heredem suum. Scilicet quod ego Radulfus dedi et concessi Willelmo pro homagio suo et pro auxilio eius et quia heres meus est: medietatem | tocius quod poterimus perquirere de terra que fuit triani patris mei et Radulfus picot aui mei. preter terram de Freningeham quam partiri non debe- | -mus quia Willelmus eam tenere debet integre et in dominico cum omnibus pertinentiis. et tale rectvm quale in illa terra habeo dedi et concessi. Willelmo | et heredibus suis tenendum de me et de heredibus meis. per seruitivm vnius militis. nec plus ex eadem terra exigere debeo quam seruitivm | unius militis. pro ista conuentione et concessione Willelmus debet inuenire Radulfo totum auxilium suum et adiuuare illum | ad perquirendum hanc terram. ita quod si aliquis vellet loqui apud trianvm patrem Radulfi quicquam nisi bonvm uel quod ipse trianus terram suam fo- | -refecisset vnde Radulfus heres sit: Willelmus patruum suum defenderet omnibus modis quos curia iudicaret. ut ille qui est filius | sibille sororis sue et de sponsa. predictus uero Willelmus ad hanc hereditatem simul querendam: debet inuenire Radulfo quicquid opus fue- | -rit sibi et duobus hominibus suis et duobus equis suis et sicut sibi. donec Radulfus posuerit in loco suo Willelmum pro lucro uel pro amissione. | et quando Radulfus placitis interesse uoluerit: Willelmus ei predictam conuentionem tenebit. Si quis autem Willelmo et Radulfo hanc hereditatem | contradicere uoluerit: Willelmus impensa sua campiones inueniet ad hanc terram perquirendam. et si Willelmus uideat quod necesse | sit ut placitum fiat pro campione pro Radulfo pugnanti: Radulfus

his niece, and his heir, ends with the names of thirteen witnesses, of which the last is "Peter the clerk who wrote this." Peter's is a vertical hand, and he uses almost all possible abbreviations. The large circular seal of William of Ros remains on a vellum tag. It bears an open flower of eight petals, and in a plain border the inscription "Sigillum Willelmi de Ros."

The charter probably came into the possession of St. Bartholomew's in relation to its land at Freningham. The handwriting of Peter would be easy to recognise, but I have met with no other example of it.

consilium Willelmi ubique sequetur ne dedecus incurrant. et ubicunque Willelmus | et Radulfus pecuniam pro hereditate daturi fuerint: Willelmus dabit medietatem et Radulfus medietatem sine predicta conuentione | et ubicunque Willelmus et Radulfus pecuniam pro concordia uel pro hereditate sua accepturi fuerint: Willelmus accipiet medietatem et Radulfus | medietatem. et si ipsi hanc terram perquirere poterunt: Radulfus debet habere les chief masagios ut dominus. et Willelmus debet | habere tam bonos in eodem feudo ubi Willelmus et Radulfus melius prouidere poterunt: et si ita contingat quod ipsi finem faciant de pe- | -cunia danda pro hereditate Willelmus aquie- tabit Radulfum de medietate et Radulfus aliam dabit medietatem et si opus fuerit | Willelmus plegiabit Radulfo et Radulfus partem suam feudi in manu Willelmi ponet uel in manu alicuius amicorum Willelmi qui de hoc | plegio Willelmum fideliter aquietabit. et Radulfus de parte sua nihil capiet antequam Willelmus sit quietus. et pro auxilio prenominato de- | -hereditauit Willelmum de omnibus acquisitionibus quas Radulfus habuit in hominibus et in dominicis et quas habiturus est die qua fuerit ui- | -uus et mortuus. si Radulfus sine herede de uxore desponsata moriatur. et si Radulfus sine herede de uxore desponsata moriatur. [sic] | Willelmus de Ros capiet homagium Gaufridi picot de terra de Winitune: et Gaufridus idem seruitivm faciet Willelmo quod facie- | -bat Radulfo. pro ista donacione et concessione quam Radulfus fecit Willelmo: Willelmus dedit Radulfo vnum anulum aurevm. et | homo suus deuenit pro predicta hereditate. Huius conuentionis hii sunt testes: petrus de tale-wortha. Radulfus de chau- | -ree. Magistro Jordanus de Ros. Rogerus de oseuille. Gaufridus picot. Ricardus de berkinge: Johannes clericus: Willelmus de herlaye: | Robertus de hendune: Simone filius Walkelin: Gaufridus filius Ricardi: Simone Caluoz: et Petrus clerico qui hoc | scripsit.

The cases are rather mixed; abbreviating some, Peter forgot the form of the sentence.

The grant of BEATRIX OF THEYDON is witnessed by "Absolon the clerk, writer of this charter."¹

When a clerk is the last witness, and all the others are persons unlikely to be learned, and when the same hand occurs in several charters of which the clerk is a witness, it may be probable that the handwriting is his, but this cannot be certain unless a definite statement is discovered that he is the writer or composer.

William de Ripa is a scribe who may thus be identified. He was a chaplain of St. Bartholomew's—that is, one of the brethren who was in holy orders, as is shown by a charter of EGELINA,² widow of William of Viteri,

¹ See charter, p. 194.

² *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Egelina quondam vxor Willelmi de Viteri in libera potestate et viduitate mea consensu et assensu et consilio Radulfi filii et heredis nostri dedit et concessi et quietumclamaui et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Willelmo Capellano Magistro Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde et fratribus eiusdem hospitalis totam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis que fuit Willelmi predicti quondam uiri mei in parrochia Sancti Sepulcri que est inter terram predicti Hospitalis uersus aquilonem et terram Reginaldi Longeiambe uersus austrum quam uero terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis habent de dono predicti Radulfi filii et heredis nostri. Scilicet quicquid predictus Willelmus quondam uir meus et ego ibidem habuimus in terris lignis et lapidibus in longitudine et latitudine et in rebus cunctis sine aliquo retenemento: Habendum et tenendum predictis Magistro et fratribus uel ubicumque predicti Magister et fratres assignare uoluerint libere et quiete hereditarie inperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim predicto Radulfo filio et heredi nostro et heredibus suis unam libram cimini ad festum Sancti Michaelis uel duos denarios pro omni seruitio: saluo seruitio dominorum illius feodi. Ita etiam quod ego Egelina predicta siue aliquis per me uel pro me nullo modo poterimus neque debemus dictos magistrum et fratres uel eorum assignatos de dicta terra cum pertinentiis dehospitalari causa me uel aliquem hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi. Pro hac autem donatione concessione quietaclamatione et carte mee confirmatione dederunt michi dictus Willelmus Capellanus, Magister predicti Hospitalis, et eiusdem loci fratres Quinque Marcas esterlingorum. Et ut hec mea donacio concessio quietaclamatio et presentis carte mee confirmatio rata et inconcussa inperpetuum perseueret presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine roborauit. Hiis testibus: Domino Willelmo de Ripa Capellano Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei: Domino Joco filio Petri Aldermannno:*

of which he is the first witness but not the writer. Egelina, with the assent of her son Ralph, grants to William the master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and to the brethren a piece of land in the parish of St. Sepulchre which lay between the land of the hospital on the north and the land of Reginald Longejambe on the south. The hospital is to pay Ralph a pound of cumin or twopence every year on Michaelmas Day for every service due from the land except the service due to the lords of the fee. For this grant the master and brethren gave Egelina five marks sterling, and she confirmed it with her seal. The seal bears a bird with open wings and the inscription "S. Egeline de Viteri."

WILLIAM OF VITERI was living in 1228-9, as is shown by a convention between him and William the master, during the mayoralty of Roger le Duk, and when Richard son of Renger, Robert son of John, and Walter Adrian were sheriffs.¹

A charter of ALAN, Abbot of St. Mary de Pratis at Leicester, written by the same scribe as Egelina's, but perhaps a few years earlier, has as its first witness William de Ripa, vicar of the church of St. Sepulchre. The church of St. Sepulchre belonged to the priory of

Domino Ricardo Rengero : Hugone Blundo Aurifabro : Willelmo Horpedemanno : Roberto de Gipeswiz aurifabro : Johanne le Chapelain : Rogero le Palmere, Reginaldo Longejambe : Edmundo Otthe : Gileberto Spensero : Alexandro de Smethefelde clerico : et aliis.

¹ The other witnesses are: Andrew Bukerell : William Joiner : Joce son of Peter : Robert of Grettune : John of Woburn : Roger baker : Reginald lungejambe : Edmund mercer. *Cartulary of St. Bartholmew's Hospital*, f. 60.

No sheriffs are given for this year in the Record Office list.

St. Bartholomew, and William de Ripa may, like Hagno, have come from that vicarage into the hospital. The abbot's charter grants some land between the churchyard of St. Sepulchre and the land of Gubert the horse-monger to Cristina daughter of Ralph the smith, of Newgate (Neugathe), at a rent of twenty-one shillings a year.¹ The abbey afterwards had a more famous tenant on its estate in this parish. This was Sir Thomas Littleton, who lived on the Smithfield side of St. Sepulchre's Church, in a house which he rented from the Abbot of Leicester,² and where, perhaps, he wrote his treatise on "Tenures," which Sir Edward Coke, moved by his admiration for its lucid expressions and arrangement as well as for its legal judgment and information, describes as "the most perfect and absolute work that ever was written in any human science."

William de Ripa appears as a witness in several other charters, as in that of ANDREW son of John Meruin, who sold to Michael of St. Helena all his land with shops on it in the market-place of Hoyland³ (in Nundinis Hollandie).

¹ The abbey had received the land from Hugo franciscus the baker.

Cristina gave them four marks sterling "in gersuman." The other witnesses were: Joice son of Peter alderman: Nicholas his son: John of Woburn: Alwred the tanner: Thomas of Folkestane: Thomas Hareng: Edmund Otthe: John of Cestrehunte and Robert his brother: Geoffrey of Pontefract: Nicholas of Gillesbire: Roger de Parco: John the bedell: Alexander of Smithfield clerk: and others.

² Littleton's will in Wambaugh's "Littleton's Tenures"; Washington, 1903.

³ The land had belonged to John Meruin, Andrew's father. The annual rent to the lords of the fee was two shillings and sixpence, and to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital nine shillings on the feast of St. John the Baptist, for all services. Michael gave Andrew twenty shillings sterling for this final sale. The witnesses were Henry of

The seal bears a cockatrice, and on a border "Sigillum Andreas Meruin."

A charter of twenty lines, containing his own statement that he drew it up, makes it possible to recognise William de Ripa's hand elsewhere. It is a grant by STEPHEN OF GOSEWELLE¹ to Master Benedict of

St. Helens : Everard the goldsmith : Ilger the goldsmith : Abel the goldsmith : Ernold son of William : Geoffrey of Suffolk (Sutfolk) : Henry of Edmonton (Edelmeton) : Andrew Trentemars : John Gallicus : William de Ripa clerk.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Stephanus de Gosewelle dimisi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Magistro Benedicto de Dunstapele quandam terram meam extra Barram de Aldredesgate. Que scilicet terra iacet in parochia Sancti Botulphi in australi parte propinquier iuxta terram quam idem magister Benedictus tenuit de heredibus Warini Longi. Et continet prenominata terra in latitudine iuxta regiam viam que ducit de Aldredesgate versus Iseldon viginti et quinque vlnas de vlnis ferreis domini Regis mensuratis sine policibus. In latitudine vero retro in fine eiusdem terre viginti et sex vlnas de predictis vlnis. Et in profunditate iuxta terram que fuit dicti Warini Longi a regia via usque ad sepem meam triginta et tres vlnas de predictis vlnis. Et in medio continet in profunditate triginta et septem vlnas et dimidium quarterie de predictis vlnis. Et in australi parte iuxta terram meam in profunditate triginta et septem vlnas et dimidium quarteri de predictis vlnis. Scilicet quicquid ibidem habui in longitudine et latitudine in viis et semitis in sepibus et fossatis in arboribus et rebus cunctis. Habendum et tenendum eidem Magistro Benedicto et heredibus suis et cuicumque vel quibuscumque dare legare aut assignare voluerit et heredibus eorum de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete integre bene in pace inperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim mei et heredibus meis pro omni seruicio et exactione et rebus cunctis sex denarios esterlingorum ad duos terminos anni. Videlicet ad pascha tres denarios et ad festum Sancti Michaelis tres denarios sine omni occasione. Et sciendum est quod ego Stephanus et heredes mei vel aliquis alius per nos vel pro nobis nullatenus poterimus dehospitalari de predicta terra vel de suis pertinenciis eundem Benedictum vel heredes suos vel assignatos suos inperpetuum causa nos vel heredes nostros vel aliquem alium hominem vel feminam ibidem hospitandi, nec amplius inde poterimus habere exigere capere vel clamare inperpetuum Quam predictos sex denarios per annum statutis terminis. Hanc autem terram in longitudine et latitudine integre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ego Stephanus et heredes mei finabiliter warrantizabimus predicto Benedicto et heredibus suis vel assignatis suis contra omnes homines et feminas et adquietabimus versus capitales dominos feodi de omnibus seruiciis et demandis per predictum seruicium sex denariorum. Et ut hec mea dimissio concessio warrantizatio firma sit et stabilis et in perpetuum inconcussa permaneat eam fidei mei impositione et sigilli mei appositione corroboravi. Pro hac igitur dimissione concessione warrantizatione sigilli mei appositione et presentis carte mee confirmatione dedit mei prenominatus magister Benedictus tres marcas et dimidiam marcam esterlingorum in Gersummam. Hiis testibus : Radulfo de Frowic : Laurencio

Dunstable of land outside the bar of Aldersgate, on the king's way which leads from Aldersgate towards Islington. The rent was to be sixpence a year, and Benedict gave Stephen three marks and a half. Stephen's seal bears a lion passant. There were seventeen witnesses, of whom the two first were Ralph of Frowic and his son Laurence. The last witness wrote himself down as, "William de Ripa the compositor of this writing."

Besides its record of the hand that wrote it, this ancient document is full of human interest. Gosewelle is well known to every reader of literature at the present day from its mention in "Pickwick." I myself can remember hearing the genius who wrote it read the trial in "Pickwick," and in almost every part I can recall his emphasis and the tone of his voice—"Mrs. Bardell shrunk from the world, and courted the retirement and tranquillity of Goswell Street." "The plaintiff's house in Goswell Street" and its associations will never be forgotten, but very few know that that thoroughfare was the street of a hamlet, "extra barram de Aldredesgate," outside the bar of Aldersgate, on the way, "versus Iseldone," towards Islington. Granite pillars at the present day mark the site of the bar, and if you walk through the street of Goswell, where the Stephen of this charter lived, you come to Islington.

filio eius: Roberto de Fughlemer: Waltero de Cellare: Roberto de Pola: Alano de Fonte: Willelmo Inge: Waltero Carpentario: Goldinge Glouer: Johanne Blakechalf: Willelmo fratre suo: Sabrichet: Colsewein: Ricardo bedello: Willelmo de Grene: Daniel: Willelmo de Ripa compositore huius scripti: et pluribus aliis.

In much later times than those of Stephen of Goswelle Islington was a small village. Cowley compares its diminutive size to the vastness of London—

“Ev’n thou that dost thy Millions boast
A village less than Islington wilt grow
A solitude almost.”

The town has swallowed up both, but the name of Goswell is preserved in the street immortalised by Dickens, while the open space which was once the green of Islington is the sole trace of its rural quiet in the past.

Laurence of Frowic was sheriff in 1246 and 1251, so that, as his father Ralph is the first witness, the charter probably belongs to the earlier half of the reign of Henry III. The twelfth witness, Sabrichet, has a name which survives in Sabrichetstead or Sabstead, the native pronunciation of Sawbridgeworth. The intelligence of a particular patient in the out-patient room was being discussed in relation to his symptoms. “Where did he come from?” the assistant physician asked. “He said he came from Sawbridgeworth,” replied the clinical clerk. “Then, at any rate, he did not know the correct pronunciation of the name of his home,” said the assistant physician, who had been instructed on the point by Henry Bradshaw, the learned University librarian at Cambridge. “Oh!” interjected the patient. “I know it is Sabstead, but I thought the gentleman would not understand.”

Stephen of Gosewelle, with the artistic lion on his seal, and Benedict of Dunstable, with Ralph and Lawrence of Frowic, and Alan of the Spring and Sabrichet, and Richard the bedell, and the rest standing by while William de Ripa wrote their deed and added their names to it, seem to give a touch of poetry to the modern aspect of St. Botolph's and Aldersgate and Goswell Street, and the king's highway to Islington.

A charter of RALF OF FROWIC, goldsmith, is in the hand of William de Ripa. It is a grant to Everard the cutler of land in the parish of St. Sepulchre outside Newgate. The land lies, says the charter, next the king's way which goes to Holborn (Holleburne), between another piece of land belonging to Ralf of Frowic and the land which Luke the parmenter held of him. The measurement of its street front is twelve ells and three quarters of an ell of the iron ells of King Richard measured without thumbs ; but this is a measurement made many years before, as the charter belongs to the time of Henry III. The rent was to be seven shillings sterling a year, paid quarterly. Everard gave to Ralf a pound of pepper "in gersumam." The oval seal of Ralf of Frowic bears a fleur-de-lys, and the inscription upon a border, "Sigill. Radulfi de Frowyk." The witnesses are interesting from their occupations, without any official or great man among them, and the scribe names himself last :

Clement the smith, Luke the parmenter or dealer in fur robes, Ralf Childes, Stephen the fruiterer, Henry the tanner, William mazun, Edward the cornmunger, William Viteri, Henry Pikebone, Peter of Bracking, Ralf the swinedriver, Walter Limbaner, Roger the cornmonger, Everard the fisher, Richard the corde-wainer, John the turner, William de Ripa clerk.

A grant of HUGH the master to John of Estchep¹ is in William de Ripa's hand, showing that he was a writer of charters before 1223, and both parts of a chirograph between WILLIAM² the master and John of Woburn are in the hand of William de Ripa, who is the last witness. The charter of HUGH OF THE DITCH³ to the hospital is also in his hand.

When William de Ripa made a flourish at the end of a charter, he originated it from the last letter of *aliis* and never from the word *et*.

Alexander of Smithfield, the scribe of the charter of Egelina, and of that of Alan, Abbot of Leicester, had begun to write in the time of William de Ripa, but was a younger man. A charter at St. Paul's of John,⁴ son and heir of Thomas of Valecines, is in his hand. He is the last witness, and William de Ripa, chaplain and vicar of the church of St. Sepulchre, is the first.⁵ Alexander flourished from early in the master-

¹ P. 357.

² P. 398.

³ P. 355.

⁴ St. Paul's Cathedral (A: box 12, 1130).

⁵ His name is succeeded by that of Michael of St. Helena, alderman. John's seal bears an eight-pointed star.

ship of William till almost the end of the mastership of Bartholomew. There are at St. Bartholomew's fifty charters in his hand, written between 1226 and 1265, and several at St. Paul's. He lived in Smithfield, and it is not improbable that his bones rest in the churchyard, or within the church of St. Sepulchre. The sky over the open space of Smithfield was familiar to him. He admired the stars in that piece of the firmament by night, and in the morning he saw the sun rise behind the city wall, and gradually illuminate the dark outline of St. Paul's. The present gate of St. Bartholomew's Hospital is in a different style, but in the same position as that which he looked at every day. He knew our master and brethren, and several successive Mayors of London, and many sheriffs, and some aldermen. At least a hundred laymen of London and a few clerics had been identified by him, as he recorded their presence as witnesses. His writing is both distinct and beautiful, and each word seems formed with pleasure and not as a piece of drudgery. An examination of his many charters leaves the impression that he began with a taste for ornament, which in his prime he gave up for a simple style—one which suggests no wish but that of producing a document which should be absolutely clear owing to the perfection of form of the letters and the regularity of the lines and intervals—a regularity nevertheless free from any rigid formality. In the writings of his

old age perhaps rather more formality may be observed ; but these differences are slight, and throughout life Alexander's characteristics were perfect taste in form and arrangement and invariable, but not laboured, painstaking. That the character of a handwriting depended not merely on the period but on the writer might be illustrated by many examples. A grant of indulgence by Walter (de Cantilupe), Bishop of Worcester, is dated 1252, and therefore belongs to the period of Alexander of Smithfield, and was written in London, yet its script is easily distinguished from his.

A charter of WILLIAM SON OF RICHARD¹ the tanner is witnessed by Alexander the clerk, but is not in his hand. It was perhaps written by William of Feltham, clerk, its last witness.

A small charter of HENRY SON OF JOHN² le fundur, which looks as if it had been rapidly written, has as

¹ It is a grant in pure and perpetual alms to the master and brethren of one pound of cymyn of annual rent which he used to receive from them at Michaelmas, from a house in which Warin the painter was living in the parish of St. Sepulchre.

Witnesses: Thomas the mercer: William Taylefer: Roger Bonsire: Alexander the clerk: William le fort: Ralf Canun: Gilbert of Cramford: Gerard: Geoffrey the smith: William of Feltham, clerk: and others.

The circular seal bears a crescent and eight-pointed star, and on a border "S. Willi. fil. Ricardi."

² Nouerint Vniuersi hoc presens scriptum visuri vel audituri quod ego Henricus filius quondam Johannis le fundur ratam et stabilem habeo concessionem dimissionem et conuentionem quam mabilia mater mea fecit Waltero de chaure clerico de domibus que fuerunt Johannis quondam patris mei quas habuit in parochia sancti sepulchri extra barram de Smephefend prout in scripto inter dictam mabilia matrem meam et dictum W. confecto plenius continetur. In huius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Roberto clerico filio Ricardi: Willelmo le muyne: Galfrido fabro: Johanne clerico: Nicholao charles: Hugone hiberniense: Galfrido fructuario: Waltero molendinario: Geruasio allutore: Simone de Aswelle: Thoma de Wilerdebi: Johanne le paumer: Waltero baret: Allexandro clerico: et Aliis.

its last witness Alexander the clerk, and the hand has some resemblances to his, but two features show it to have been written by another scribe; the form *Smephefend* for Smithfield, and the writing of two *l*'s in Alexander. Neither is to be found in the many charters certainly written by Alexander of Smithfield.

Alexander, when the piece of vellum gave him sufficient space, named himself as the last witness in the form "Alexandro de Smethefelde clerico,"¹ with a flourish upon the *d* for the final *e* of Smethefelde, and with a horizontal line proceeding from the *l* of *clerico* over the letters *ico* and then ending in a regardant curve rejoining the horizontal line at a point between the *c* and the *o*, the whole line being his abbreviation for the syllable *er*. After the word "clerico" he wrote *et* with a long extended top to the *t*, thus filling any space vacant in the line and ending in a short upward curve followed by the word "aliis."

In a charter of which a copy exists in the Cartulary, he appears as "Alexander the writer (scriptor) of Smithfield," the first witness of a gift to the hospital by Walter Cardon² clerk, of land in St.

¹ As in the charter of EGELINA, widow of William de Viteri, and in that of ALAN, Abbot of Leicester (alanus dictus abbas ecclesie beate Marie de pratis Leicester.), and that of ISABELLA, daughter of Ralph Stepereng.

² The other witnesses named are: Ralf Canun: John of Schoresdich: Roger of Clare: Richard of Camerwell: William le fort: Geoffry the smith: Walter Baret: Jervy le Gorgerer: John the crossbowman: Adam Mabone: Thomas of Wyradesbiri: Fabian the tanner: Alexander the moneyer: Ralf de Cardino.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 7b.

Jervy the Gorgerer and Dionisia his wife quit-claimed to the hospital their land outside

Sepulchre's parish outside Smithfield bars, which Walter had obtained from William of Oxford and Mabel his wife.

Alexander describes himself in the last line of other charters as "*Alexandro clerico*"¹ or "*Alexandro de Smethefeld clerico*," or sometimes as "*Alexandro*"² only. In one charter certainly in his hand his name does not occur at all.

His parchment was carefully ruled with faint horizontal lines, and with a vertical line at each side. He probably bought it from a maker such as his contemporary Richard the parchment maker (*pergamentarius*), who witnessed a confirmation of a legacy of six pennyworths of annual rent to the hospital by John son of Peter son of Alan.³

the Smithfield bars, which they had recovered from Walter Gardiner "*per breue noue disseisine*" before the Justices of the bench (*de banco*). Witnesses: Ralf Canun, Master Walter of Smethfend clerk, Geoffrey the smith, John of Shordich, William fort, Hugh Eyrréis (*i.e.* the Irishman), John the crossbowman, Joce the tiler, John of Kyngeston goldsmith, William the tiler.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 8a.

¹ In the grants of WILLIAM the master to Warin the painter, of which both parts remain (p. 396) that to William the cordwainer son of Roger of Sempringham, and those to Gerard of Mymmes and to John of Trumpingdon: and those of JOHN MARESCAL of Enefeld, of ISABELLA daughter of Edward de Braye, and of GILBERT of Balesham, buriller.

² In the charter of RALF SON OF WILLIAM OF VITERI to William the master.

³ The rent was left to the hospital by Peter, and William de Reinn paid it to him from a manage which William held of Peter in Lothbury between the tenement of Reginald Poyntel on the west and that of Walter son of Walter of Essex on the east. The gift was for the souls of Peter and of the faithful. This John son of Peter and John son of Alan his uncle, canon of St. Bartholomew's of London, were executors of the will of Peter son of Alan. The date of the grant was September 1265. The witnesses were: William the chaplain and rector of the church of St. Margaret of Lothbury: Richard le Kisser: Reginald Poytell: William of Reinn: Adam of Beverle: Robert le Couerturer: William Gratefige: John le Gris: Richard the parchment maker: and many others.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 249a.

An earlier charter, that of ROBERT DE LALIEFLONDE, has as its last witness Warin le parchiminer, who with Walter le parchiminer witnesses² another charter of the same ROBERT granting to the master and brethren a piece of land between that of the Abbot of Cirencester and the river Fleet as far as Shoe Lane (usque ad vicum de scolande).

There were both booksellers and bookbinders in London at the time, as is shown by a deed of JORDAN son of Edwin selling to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's land³ and houses in the parish of St. Martin at Ludgathe, which is witnessed by "Michael who sells books" and "John who binds books."

¹ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Lalieflonde filius Nathanael de Lalieflonde concedo et ratam habeo concessionem et dimissionem et confirmationem super terra quam nathanael de Lalieflonde pater meus concessit Willelmo de thunebruge: deo et fratribus domus hospitalis sancti bartholomei de lundoniis. Scilicet terra que est opposita gaole de flete ex altera parte aque. In parochia sancte brigide. per seruicium duorum solidorum sterlingorum ad duos terminos. Scilicet infra octo dies sancti michaelis duodecim denarios et ad pascha xii denarios sine omni occasione. Preterea sciendum est quod ego predictus Robertus de Lalieflonde et heredes mei warrantizabimus predictis fratribus hanc confirmationem contra omnes homines et feminas et defendemus per predictum seruicium finabiliter. Pro hac autem confirmatione et dimissione predicti fratres dederunt michi unam marcam argenti In gersumam. Et ut dimissio et concessio et presentis carte confirmacio In perpetuum firma et stabilis permaneat eam sigilli mei appositione confirmaui. Hiis testibus (vide p. 247, note 2, for the other names).*

² Joce son of Peter, alderman, is the first witness, and the last of thirteen named is Fermin the clerk.

³ The land was between the land of St. Paul's on the west and that of Michael of St. Helena on the east, and the dean and chapter paid fifty marks sterling for it saving a payment to the monks of Hamme of half a mark of silver a year. The witnesses were: William de Hely treasurer of the King: William de Chastell: Joce son of Peter then alderman: Peter the goldsmith: Michael of St. Helen's: William Plumber: Osbert Plumber: John the painter: Richard of Storford: Robert of Westminster: Gervase le Calicer: Michael "qui vendit libros": John "qui ligat libros": Robert sergeant of the Ward: and many others. Jordan's seal bears an eagle and the inscription, "Sigill. Jordani fil. Edwini de Lundre."—*St. Paul's Cathedral* (A: box 15, 241).

One charter in Alexander of Smithfield's beautiful hand brings before us a bookshop on Ludgate Hill, adjoining the church of St. Martin. The mayor and sheriffs who are named show that the deed was sealed in 1243:—

To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing may come. Thomas the chaplain, rector of the church of St. Mary Sumersette, Thomas the chaplain vicar of the church of St. Nicholas Olaph, David the chaplain then holding office in the church of St. Martin of Luthgate, executors of the will of Michael the clerk seller of books, health in the Lord. Be it known to you all that we have sold to John le Fraunceys goldsmith all that tenement with all its appurtenances which belonged to the aforesaid Michael within Luthgate next the church of St. Martin. To have and to hold by the aforesaid John and his heirs or assigns freely quietly hereditarily well and in peace for ever: paying thence annually the due services to the Lord of the fee which are contained in the principal charter of that tenement which the aforesaid deceased Michael had thence, and which to the said John with plenary seisin we have delivered. For this our final sale moreover the aforesaid John paid to us ten marks of silver, of which we gave five marks to William son of the aforesaid Michael according to the wish and disposition of Michael himself in his will. With the other five marks we paid the debts of the said Michael, and so have

fulfilled his will. And that this our final sale may remain valid for ever, Dominus Peter of Neuport then Archdeacon of London at our instance and that of other worthy men placed his seal together with our seals to this present writing. These being witnesses: Sir Ralph Eswy then Mayor of London, Adam of Basing and Hugh Blund then sheriffs: Laurence of Frowyk then alderman of that ward: Henry son of William: Geoffrey peyure: John calicer: Alexander marescall: Ralph Pigbun': Thomas calicer: Robert plumber: Peter plumber: Hamo the bedell: Alexander: and others.

It is probable that this Michael the bookseller was the "Michael who sells books," witness of the earlier charter of Jordan son of Edwin.

Four seals were appended to this charter, of which those of the Archdeacon of London and of the rector of St. Mary Somerset have disappeared. The seal of the vicar of St. Nicholas Olaph bears an impression of a man's head, a classical intaglio. Such works of art were frequently used in the seals of that time. A few years ago, when a bank in St. Paul's Churchyard was being built, a gold ring, with a red gem, bearing a figure of Jupiter and a Gnostic sentence, indicated by four letters, was found lying with some human bones, the remains of a burial in the old church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's.¹ The fourth seal on the charter was that of David the chaplain of St. Martin's Ludgate, and bears a crescent and star.

¹ In the possession of the Reverend Lewis Gilbertson.

The bookshop of Michael the clerk was on the pathway of the learned going to and from the cathedral of St. Paul and the residences of the bishop, the dean, and the canons, and the large society of secular clergy who lived in the precincts. Some of the men who lived near it, and who perhaps looked in and turned over the books of Michael the clerk as they passed by, are mentioned in the chronicles.

The bishop, the chief person in that part of London, lived on the north side of St. Paul's, where London House Yard marks the site of his palace. He was Roger Niger, a man of letters, whose great moral qualities caused him to be venerated during his life and after his death.

The dean lived on the south side of the Churchyard, where the deanery still is. He was William of Saintmerglise (de Sancta Maria Ecclesia), a village in Normandy, and was a man of some literary attainments.

One of the canons at that time was Master Reginald Besac, who had been to the East, and knew at least the sound of Arabic. He was present when Saladin, exasperated by the vituperations of a Christian captive, cut off his head with one blow of his sword. Matthew Paris, the historian, who knew this canon, may have looked into the shop and turned over Michael's books on one of his visits to St. Paul's.

Alexander of Smithfield deserves to be remembered with these men of letters of the reign of Henry III.

Working printers at the present day sometimes take interest in the books they print, and working bookbinders now and then have a tincture of literature. Samuel Drew the cobbler, from using his awl and thread to mend the covers of books, came to be a reader and an author. Eugene O'Curry, who might have been no more than a perfect transcriber of mediæval manuscripts, became learned in their contents. Keepers of bookshops often come to have taste in literature. Such are the happy effects of taking part in the beneficent work of spreading abroad great thoughts. It is right to think of all workers upon manuscripts and books as part of the world of letters.

VII

THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD I



EDWARD I. confirmed the grants of his royal predecessors, in a charter dated July 10, 1290, at Westminster, and witnessed by Robert Burnel Bishop of Bath and Wells, John of Pontissara Bishop of Winchester, William de la Corner Bishop of Salisbury, Edmund the king's brother, William de Valence his uncle, Edward Earl of Cornwall his kinsman, Gilbert of Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, Robert Tibitot, William Latimer, G. of Thornton, Robert of Hertford, and Richard de Bosco. He must be included in the list of our benefactors, since he gave to the hospital a piece of land at the corner of Hosier Lane.¹ His Great Seal, somewhat broken, remains attached to letters patent,²

¹ Item pro tenementis cum pertinentiis in cornerio australi de Hosier lane que sunt de feodo hospitalis predicti ex donacione domini Edwardi primi regis anglie.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 30 (Parish of St. Sepulchre).

This clause occurs in the copy of a charter of John of Terefeld, master of the hospital, who grants this piece of land to Roger of Appelby, citizen of London, and Albreda his wife. The witnesses are : Nicholas of Farndon then Mayor of London, William of Basing and James le Botiller then sheriffs, Adam Bras, Roger Fleges, Peter of Wymburne, John Taverner, Simon of Pabenham, John of Boterton : and it was granted in London, June 11, 1315.

² Edwardus dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem. Licet de communi consilio regni nostri

issued on November 27, 1281, which state that for the good of his soul he grants to his chosen in Christ the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, his special grace, that they may hold a mark of rent which Geoffrey of Cadenham left to them in his last will from a certain house which William of Blythe held in Cripplegate Street.

The statute of mortmain which is mentioned in these letters patent¹ had been passed in 1279, and without this permission under the Great Seal the master and brethren could not have entered into possession of this mark of annual rent which Geoffrey

prouiderimus et statuerimus quod feoda laicalia ad mortuam manum non deueniant et volentes tamen intuitu dei et pro salute anime nostre dilectis nobis in Christo Magistro et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum gratiam facere specialem concessimus eis pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod unam marcatam redditus quam Galfridus de Cadenham defunctus eis in ultima voluntate sua legauit percipiendam annuatim de quadam domo quam Willelmus de Blythe tenet in vico de Crupelgate, libere percipiant et habeant sibi et successoribus suis iuxta tenorem testamenti predicti Galfridi. Ita quod ipsi occasione prouisionis et statuti predicti de eodem reddito non occasionentur aut contrauentur : saluo iure cuiuslibet. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xxvii die Nouembris anno regni nostri decimo. The initial is a small unadorned capital. The Great Seal is attached by a broad vellum tag. A copy of the will of Geoffrey of Catenham, painter, is tied by a piece of vellum to the letters patent. The mark is to come from the house of William of Blythe, also a painter.

¹ Two other copies of letters patent of Edward I. (March 20, 1289) are preserved in the hospital, with slightly broken but fine impressions of the Great Seal, attached by a twisted cord. The letters give leave to Nicholas Crane for a fine of four marks, that he may endow a chaplain, to say mass every day in the church of St. Nicholas Flesh-shambles, with two messuages in that parish which he had of the gift of Reginald Piggesflesh and John of Paris, and the chaplain has leave to receive the same. The letters are in duplicate, with slightly different lines and slight variations in the red and blue illuminated E with which they begin. The form differs from that of the letters of November 27, 1281, in which there is no mention of a fine.

Edwardus dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenierint salutem. Licet de communi consilio regni nostri statutum sit quod non liceat viris religiosis seu aliis ingredi feodum alicuius ita quod ad manum

of Cadenham, painter, of London, gave towards sustenance of the sick there lying.

These documents show the working of an act of a parliament of Edward I., the force of which has continued to our own times. Other records of St. Bartholomew's in Edward I.'s reign show its relation to more ancient legal conditions. Villenage had still an important place in country life in England, and the hospital was concerned in the setting free of two villeins in 1285.

Roger of Cnotstone and William his brother, when claimed as villeins and fugitives by Sir Ralf of Normanvill,¹ before J. de Wallis and his fellow judges in eyre, in the county of Northampton, on November 20, 1285, claimed that they were free by a certain writing of

mortuam deueniat sine licencia nostra et capitalis domini de quo res illa immediate tenetur, per finem tamen quem Nicholaus Crane fecit nobiscum concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est eidem Nicholao quod ipse duo mesuagia cum pertinenciis in Ciuitate Londoniarum videlicet in parochia Sancti Nicholai atte flesshameles que habuit de dono et feoffamento Reginaldi Piggesflesh et Johannis de Paris dare possit et assignare cuidam capellano diuina singulis diebus in ecclesia Sancti Nicholai atte flesshameles Londoniarum pro anima ipsius Nicholai et animabus antecessorum et successorum suorum celebraturo: Habenda et tenenda eidem capellano et successoribus suis capellanis diuina singulis diebus in ecclesia predicta pro animabus predictis celebraturis imperpetuum. Et eidem capellano quod ipse mesuagia predicta cum pertinenciis a prefato Nicholao recipere possit et tenere sibi et successoribus suis predictis sicut predictum est tenore presencium similiter licenciam dedimus specialem. Nolentes quod predictus Nicholaus aut heredes sui seu prefatus capellanus vel successores sui predicti racione statuti predicti per nos vel heredes nostros inde occasionentur in aliquo seu grauentur. Salvis tamen nobis et aliis capitalibus dominis feodi illius seruiciis inde debitis et consuetis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo die marci Anno regni nostri decimo septimo.

per finem quatuor marcarum.

EL. GRYM.

The other copy has at base the fine only, and in place of the signature: "dupp." (duplicate).

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 484a.

Nicholas of Normanvilla and his wife, grandfather and grandmother of Sir Ralf, made to the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital concerning Richard of Cnotstone, a villein, father of Roger and William. Ralf of Normanvill for himself and his heirs confirmed this writing on his own behalf and that of his heirs, and gave up every right and claim and every action of neyvity and villenage which he might have as regards Roger and William and their descendants, so that they may go and come where they please without obstacle on his part or that of his heirs.

The grant¹ was made at Northampton on the day of St. Edmund the king (November 20), and the way in which the year is mentioned "in the year of the

¹ Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel auditoria Radulfus de Normanuilla miles salutem in Domino sempiternam. Sciatis quod cum ego peterem per breue Domini regis Rogerum de Cnotstone et Willelmum fratrem suum vt natiuos et fugitiuos meos vna cum tota sequela sua et eorum catallis coram I. de Wallibus et sociis suis justiciariis Domini regis itinerantibus in Com. Norhampt' Anno regni regis Edwardi terciodecimo incipiente quartodecimo predictus Rogerus et Willelmus clamantes se esse liberos per quoddam scriptum Nicholai de Normanuilla aui mei et vxoris sue, quorum heres ego sum, factum magistro et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum de quodam Ricardo de Cnotston natiuo eorundem et eius sequela patre predictorum Rogeri et Willelmi quod quidem scriptum eorundem magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus ego pro me et heredibus meis in omnibus confirmo. Et insuper relaxo et quietumclamo pro me et heredibus meis eidem magistro et fratribus totum ius et clameum meum et omnimodam actionem neyuitatis et villenagii quod habui vel aliquo modo habere potui in predictis Rogero et Willelmo sequelis et catallis nec in eorum aliqua parte aliquid iure neyuitatis villenagii seu alterius cuiuscunque seruiantis exigere seu vindicare poterimus in perpetuum sed quod licenter eant et redeant ubicunque sine calumpnia mea seu heredum meorum in perpetuum. In testimonium premissorum presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Domino Willelmo de Bray Maero de Wollaston: Radulfo Fancombe: Hugone le Wolfe: Willelmo de Nowers: Roberto filio Reginaldi: Johanne le Manage: Henrico de Compton presentis scripti notario: et multis aliis. Datum apud Norhamptoniam die sancti Edmundi regis anno supradicto.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 484a.

Omibz pp^{ri} fidelibz presentem Cartam visuris uel auditis Radulfus de Ginges
filius Radulfi de Ginges salutem. Nouit me concessisse dedisse et om
nino p^{re} et heredibz meis quietum clamasse: symoni de Duntona et heredibz
suis petri q^{ui}an filiu Rob^{ti} q^{ui}an Hanciu meum cum tota sequela sua et oibz
catallis suis. Habend sibi et heredibz suis libere et solute Extra me et heredes meos
Ita q^{uod} nec ego nec heredes mei nec aliquis p^{ro} nos de certo poterit in p^{re}dicto petro
sequela sua ut catallis suis aliquid clamare ul^{ter} exigere. Phacur concess
sione donaco^{is} et quiete clamacone: decl^{ar}at in p^{re}dicto symon quadraginta so
lidos sterlingoz. Et ut omnia p^{re}dicta semp^{er} rata p^{er}maneat: hui^{us} carte sigil
lum meum apposui. Hui^{us} testibz. Wille de langedone. Valtero de Wintonia. Wal
tero clerico de horndone. Rob^{to} le cany^{us}. Rob^{to} arundel. Gal^o de lange
done. Thoma de esse. Rob^{to} Crauers. symone le q^{ui}nuar. Alexandro fud^{er}
Joh^e Belearbe. et multis alijs.

RALPH OF GINGES, SON OF RALPH OF GINGES, TO
SYMON OF DUNTON.

reign of King Edward: the thirteenth, the fourteenth beginning" is an illustration of the fact that the years of Edward I. began and ended on that day.

A most beautifully written charter, a few years earlier than the release of his villeins by Ralf of Normanvill, records the sale by RALF OF GINGES¹ son of Ralf of Ginges, knight, to Symon of Dunton, of Peter Man son of Robert Man, his villein, with all his family and all his chattels, for forty shillings sterling.

Another RALF, son of Gilbert of Ginges Muntenev, granted and quit-claimed to Symon of Dunton for ten marks of silver all the land he had in the parish of Dunton, the land namely which he had recovered before Sir Gilbert of Preston and his associates at Chelmsford, which descended hereditarily to him from Roger de La Woele his uncle. The first witness is Sir Ralf of Ginges. William Gifford, the second witness, is also a witness of two charters of the year 1279, so that Ralf is probably the later of the two knights of that name.²

¹ Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentem Cartam visuris uel audituris Radulfus de Ginges filius Radulfi de Ginges Militis salutem. Noueritis me Concessisse Dedissee et omnino pro me et heredibus meis quietum Clamasse: Symoni de Duntona et heredibus suis Petrum Man filium Roberti Man Natium meum Cum Tota sequela sua et omnibus Catallis suis. Habendum sibi et heredibus suis libere et solute extra me et heredes meos. Ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei nec aliquis per nos de Cetero poterimus In predicto petro sequela sua uel Catallis suis aliquid Clamare uel Exigere. Pro hac autem Concessione Donacione et quieta Clamacione: Dedit michi predictus symon quadraginta solidos sterlingorum. Et ut omnia predicta semper rata permaneant huic Carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Willelmo de langedone: Waltero de Wintonia: Waltero Clerico de Horndone: Roberto le Canteys: Roberto arundel: Galfrido de langedone: Thoma de Esse: Roberto Trauers: Symone le Minur: Alexandro fucher: Johanne Belebarbe: et multis aliis.

² The oval seal bears a cross surmounting an oval line.

The other witnesses are: Richard de Neutona: Gerard de Hotona: Geoffrey de

In the reign of Edward I., six masters successively presided over St. Bartholomew's. JOHN OF WALTON,¹ who had been appointed in the preceding reign, continued to be master till the end of 1280, and several transactions of his mastership are extant.

JOHN OF WALTON and the brethren and sisters bought

Langedo : Robert de fonte : Nicholas de bures cleric : William Mirabel : Symon de Herdona : William bedingfeld : William franceys : Stephen le bolde : "et Aliis."

Ginges is in Essex, and inhabitants of it are mentioned in two other charters.

WILLIAM SON OF GODFREY of Sirecheltrie grants and confirms to Roger son of David of Ginges for his homage and service a certain part of his land in the parish of Dunton, namely all that field which is called Bradefeld which is situate next the cross roads (comptum) in Dunton and extends towards the north of the iron road which goes towards London, namely between the iron road which goes towards Horningedun and between the field which is called Berghefeld. And further, a croft which lies at the head of the aforesaid field towards the south between the same field and the land of Godfrey the clerk of Dunton, as the fences and ditches enclose that field and croft : to be held of me by Roger in fee, paying to me and my heirs five shillings a year : at Easter two shillings and sixpence and at Michaelmas two shillings and sixpence and a penny of Ward a year, namely at Rogation time for all services and claims that concern me saving the service of the King, namely as much as is due (ad defensionem) for twenty acres of the same fee. For this grant Roger son of David gave me fifty six shillings and eight pence and to Alice my wife twelve pence. The witnesses were : Ralf of Dunton : John de Bellovallo : William son of Henry : Adam son of Laurence : Robert de bosco : Gilbert son of David : Philip le fraunceis : Thomas purte : Henry the clerk : and many others.

RICHARD OF MULESHAM granted to Robert of Cloville with his daughter Juliana in liberum maritagium all his holding in the Marsh of Crikese, and all the rights belonging to him therein, which Robert of Crikese held of him, to be held by Robert of Clouille and the heirs Juliana might bear to him, saving the service of the lord of the fee, namely eleven shillings sterling a year. The witnesses were : Gibert of Nuiers : William of Alna : William of Ginge : Richard Bataille : Nicholas peche : Henry son of William : Gilbert of Mulesham : Wido son of Hugh : Roger of Herlaue : and many others.

Richard's circular seal, which bears his figure in armour on horseback, and the writing of the charter show that it belongs to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

In the Cartulary of St. Mary of Clerkenwell (Faustina B 2, f. 33a), a charter of Reginald of Ginge and Euina his wife probably belongs to the reign of Henry II., since it is witnessed by William son of Ysabell : John Bocuinte : Brichtmar of Haverhill : Edward le blund : Henry the alderman : Ralph Flaell.

The alderman is most likely Henry Fitz Ailwin.

¹ The entry in John Cok's list is : "Johannes Walton : Anno Domini Millesimo cclxxxii^o : Anno Edwardi primi viii^o."

The true duration of this mastership is shown by the charters mentioned above.

from John son of Simon of Dunton all his lands in the vill of Dunton. The land was in part of the fee of the abbot and convent of Becc Hellouin.

Robert of Leon, proctor general of the abbot and convent of Bec in England, and John of Walton and the hospital agree that the hospital shall pay four shillings sterling a year for entry and peaceful possession, together with twenty-two shillings which John and Simon and their ancestors used to pay: namely, at the feast of St. Peter ad vincula six shillings and sixpence and the same sum at the feast of St. Martin in the winter, at the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, and in Rogation time. The oval seal of Robert of Leon, affixed on behalf of the convent of Bec, bears the Virgin and Child enthroned, with the proctor kneeling in his gown and hood below the throne.¹

The date of this purchase is indicated by a deed, existing in a fifteenth century paper copy, in which John of Walton and the brethren agree with the abbot and convent of Bec, who own the fee, on the Monday after the Epiphany 1277, to pay four shillings a year, and on the death or resignation of the master ten shillings, as a relief or heriot, both to be paid in the abbot's court at Hoton for land once held by Simon of Dunton—

¹ The witnesses named are: Sir Laurence of Plumberwe, Sir William of Wokyndon, knights: Henry of Plumberwe: John de fonte: John Peuerel.

There is also a fifteenth century paper copy of this deed.

A charter of Henry II. (Dugdale, iv. 1068) states that the abbey of Bec held this land at Dunton "de dono Nigelli de Albiniaco."

Simon is shown by other charters to have held a considerable estate in Dunton.¹

THOMAS OF HANCESTRE was vicar of Little Wakering at the beginning of Edward I.'s reign, and the question arose whether he or the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital ought to pay five shillings due

¹ (1) WILLIAM MIRABEL grants to Symon of Dunton for his homage and service "all my field called Postefeld in the parish of Dunton, with ditches and fences and all other appurtenances belonging to that field," and four acres of land in the field called Bergfeld, which stretch in breadth from the land which remains mine in the same field towards the south as far as the land of the same Symon which is called Westfield, and in length from the road which goes from the church of Dunton towards the house of the aforesaid William, towards the east, as far as the land of Symon which was formerly that of Roger de La Woulete: To have and to hold by Symon and his heirs for ever: paying thence annually to William Mirabel and his heirs two shillings, twelve pence at Michaelmas and twelve pence at Easter, for all services and secular demands. For this concession Symon gave William forty shillings sterling. The witnesses were: Thomas of Mockinge: Roger of Brunford: John of Thordon and Henry his brother: William of Langedone: Geoffrey of Landedone: Thomas of Asseg': John Eame: Walter roter: Robert of Thordon' clerk: Stephen of the wood: Robert trauers: and others.

The seal has not been preserved.

(2) RICHARD SON OF WILLIAM the vintner remits and quit-claims to Symon of Dunton and his heirs all the right and claim that he has in a messuage and the land next it which William his father held of the same Symon (de villenagio suo) in the parish of Hornindon. Symon gave him "pre manibus" for this fifty shillings sterling. Richard's large circular seal bears a plant with three flower heads and two short branches, and in coarsely formed capitals without enclosing border the words "S; RIC; FIL. WILLI. VINETARII." The witnesses are: Peter of Stanford: Thomas of Waleton: Bartholomew of Mockyng: Robert de fonte: Geoffrey of Wychefeld: Robert Canteys: Symon Maryn: William of Hocking: Walter of Wyntun: Laurence son of Martin: and others.

(3) HENRY LYWYNG of Donton grants to Roger le Twet of Donton a messuage, three acres and a half of land, and one virgate, formerly belonging to Symon of Donton situate between the land of Geoffrey Gikell on the east and the way which leads from the house of Thomas of the seven springs (de septem fontibus) towards the north, on the west: and one head abuts from the king's road (cheminum) which goes from London towards Reylegh upon the land of Richard of Donton which is called Crustescroft: To have and to hold by Roger of the capital lord of that fee by the services thence due by law and accustomed for ever. Roger gave him thirty shillings sterling "in gersumam." Henry's circular seal bears a plain cross with a dot in each angle, and at the periphery, in rude capitals irregularly placed and without a border, "S. HENR. LIVING." The witnesses were: John Malegress: Thomas Gobion: John of Newenton: Sawall of Waleton: John of the meadow: Elias of Laugedon: William Ames: and others.

to the procuration of the Archdeacon of Essex. Master G. of St. Dunstan's, formerly Official of London, had decided that this sum was due from the vicar. Thomas therefore made a formal acknowledgment of this, dated at London on the Sunday next after the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, A.D. 1272.¹ His small circular seal remains attached to this deed, and bears a lion and a dragon fighting.

JOHN OF WALTON granted at twelve shillings a year to Robert Prime and Sarra his wife a piece of land in the parish of St. Sepulchre in Holbournestrade between the houses and land of William of Barkwey butcher and William le Coteler, and in depth from the royal way to the lands of William of Hengham and Alexander Ruissel. If they wish to sell the land the hospital is to have two shillings preference over any one else. The seals of Robert and his wife are a dark-green wax. His bears a crescent and six-pointed star, and the words "S. Roberti Prime": hers a crescent between two dots and "S. Sarre de Norhamton."²

ROBERT PRIME³ and Sarra his wife, apparently for some legal purpose, granted to the master and brethren

¹ February 5, 1273, of modern reckoning.

² Witnesses: Gregory of Rokele then Mayor of London: John Horn, Ralf Blund then sheriffs: Anketin of Auern then alderman of the same ward: Martin the crossbowman: John le Bret: Master Richard of Mersawe: Geoffrey of Paris: William of Berkwei: William le Coteler: Joce de Fonte: Walter of Hengham: and others.

³ Their seals remain. The witnesses were: Gregory of Rokele then Mayor of London: Ralf le Blunt then sheriff: Anketin of Auern then alderman of the ward: Joce de fonte: William of Barkway: William le Cotiler.

the same holding in the same year, the fourth of Edward I. (1275-6).

The flesh shambles near the church of St. Nicholas in the market by Newgate made the sight of a butcher in the costume of his trade as common near St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the middle ages as it is in our own day from the proximity of the Smithfield meat market.

In the fourth year of Edward I. (1275-6), the master and brethren granted to Henry de la Grene butcher and his wife Sarra a tenement in the parish of St. Sepulchre which paid eight shillings a year to the hospital.¹

In 1275, JOHN OF WALTON (Walthon), with the unanimous consent of the chapter of the hospital, gave and quit-claimed to Sir Robert Fitz Walter of Bornham an acre called Zenlade, in the parish of Bornham, stretching north and south between the marsh of Robert and the hospital marsh called Suthwale.

Coat armour was becoming more used on private seals than in earlier times, and the seal of Robert Fitz Walter,² which is affixed on a vellum tag, has within

¹ Witnesses: Gregory of Rokesl then mayor: John Horn and Ralf le Blount sheriffs: Anketin of auverne then alderman of the ward: William the cutler: Alexander le ruse: William Hutebonde: Joce at fount: Richard Muchet: William of Berkwey: Richard the vintner serjeant of the ward.—*Cartulary of St. B. H.*, f. 21b.

² His testibus: Domino Willelmo de Aumbli, Domino Johanne de Monthensi, Domino Simone de Fornewes, Militibus: Stephano fratre predicti Roberti: Henrico de Suthmunstre clerico: Waltero clerico de Bornham: Huberto le Wayleys: Thoma Rolf: et aliis. Datum Londoniæ die mercurii proxima ante festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste: anno regni regis Edwardi tercio.

the border, on which is the inscription, a shield bearing a fess between two chevronels.

In the same year 1275, on the Friday before Ash Wednesday, JOHN OF WALTON¹ master and warden, with the unanimous consent of the brethren and sisters, granted to William, abbot of the church of St. Mary and St. Botulph at Thorney, and the monks there serving God, all the arable land they had in the vill of Enfield (Eynefelde): four acres and a half in a field called Bradefeld between the land of William Beneit on the north and that of Walter Man on the south, and three acres and a half in Estfeld with William Beneit's land to east and west, and five acres and a half at La Plottes between the land of William Beneit on the east and that of John David on the south, and an acre and a half and a rood in the field called Margretesfeld between the land of William Beneit on the north and that of John David on the south, and an acre and a half lying between the land of William of Feringe on the east and the King's highway on the west. The grant is in free and perpetual alms, and Thorney Abbey is to pay one clove a year at Easter for all services. The abbot gave the master and brethren "pre manibus" forty-two marks sterling for the grant.

¹ The charter is dated at London, and has on a vellum tag a small oval seal bearing an Agnus Dei. The named witnesses are: Richard de Plessetis: Thomas de la Forde: Alan de Castello: Hugh de Castello: John de Panetria: Saer son of Herebert: John Duraund: Godfrey of Beston: Henry of Beston: William Absolon: John son of John Baldewin: William David: Bartholomew the clerk: Robert son of Simon the clerk.

This charter gives a prospect of the open field at Enfield, with the strips of its several tillers.

JOHN OF WALTON and the brethren released John of Yvingho, fishmonger, of twenty-eight shillings of arrears of rent, for a shop formerly held by William Donecan and after him by William of Levesham, and then by William of Walton, in London, in Olde Fish Strate, up to Christmas of the fifth year of King Edward (1276), and afterwards John is to pay his rent according to the charter they possess. John's oval seal bears a fish, and on a border the words, "S. Johannis de Yvinco." No witnesses are mentioned.

Yvingho is the parish in Buckinghamshire known to the surrounding country by its lofty beacon, and in the world of letters as the place which suggested to Sir Walter Scott the name of his famous romance.

The Friars of the Penitence first settled in London in 1257 in Aldersgate Street, which they left in 1269-70 for a house in Lothbury, where they used an old Jewish synagogue as a chapel, and remained till the suppression of the order in 1305.

They are mentioned as no longer in Aldersgate Street in a charter of JOHN OF WALTON, the date of which is therefore between 1270 and the end of his mastership in 1280. He granted to William of Mimmes and Joan his wife, at a rent of 17s. 6d. a year, the house which Peter the gold-beater held in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, situate between the house of Salerna, relict of

Alexander the gold-beater on the north, and the former house of the brethren of the Penitence on the south. William and Joan gave the hospital a mark of silver "in gersumam."¹

Some charters record little more than the termination of tenancy. Thus William of Winchelsea and Eva his wife granted to John of Walton the master the land which they held of the hospital in Bretonstrete.²

The quarters of the city in which certain crafts were settled appear in some of JOHN OF WALTON'S charters. Thus he granted to Richard of Stamford and Agnes his wife and to William of Kelleshulle a shop in Westcheap in the Merceria or Mercers' quarter of London in the parish of St. Mary le Bow, between the shop of Robert of Arras on the east and that of Jordan Godchepe on the west and in length along Westchepe as far as the house of Henry le Waleis, which Henry of Walemont left to him. The whole rent was sixty shillings and seven marks.³ On July 25, 1275, John of Walton let to Andrew Bentleg a shop in the Aurifabria, or Goldsmiths' quarter of London.

In 1277, in a grant which leaves it uncertain whether

¹ The witnesses named are: John of Blakethorn: Walter of Hungrei; John of Enefend: Henry le Sauner: Thomas of Dunestaple: Nicholas of Niketon: Hubert the goldsmith: John Sharp: John le wyse.

² Witnesses: Henry le Waleis: John Juvenal: Martin le Arblastre: Roger of Stoples: Robert le Cornmongere: William the cleric: and others.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 172a.

³ 44s. to St. Bartholomew's; 5 marks to William of Dunolm; 16s. to the hospital of St. James; 1 mark to St. Mary of Suthwerk and one to the nuns of Haliwell.—Cok, *Copia Cartarum*, f. 175a.

he was making a gift to the hospital or merely securing a rent already due to it, WILLIAM OF HAVERING, tailor of London, granted to Stephen of Harewe, citizen of London, and Felicia his wife, his land and houses in the parish of All Saints of Bread Street (Bredstrate) between the holding of William Hadestoke on the north and that of Walter of Bread Street, dyer, on the south, the king's street called Bread Street on the east, and the holding which belonged to John of Elilond, late draper of London, on the west: to have and to hold for ever, returning thence in each year to Roger atte Strode of Staundon and his heirs a silver penny, and to the hospital of St. Bartholomew forty shillings a year, and to Anas-tachius Bonting and his heirs half a mark of silver a year for all services. Stephen gave ten pounds sterling "in gersumam."¹

JOHN OF WALTON² and the brethren granted some

¹ The witnesses were Gregory de Roquesle then Mayor of London: Walter Lengleys and John Adrian then sheriffs: William of Dunolm then alderman of that ward: Walter le Waleys: Anketin of Betteuile: Deodonatus the goldsmith: Robert of Bocking: William of Beur: William of Woubourn: Richard le Barbour: John the clerk: and many others.

William's small oval seal, imperfectly impressed on a thick lump of wax, bears a bird.

In the "List of Sheriffs" (Public Record Office, 1898), le Cornwaleis is given as the cognomen of the Walter who was John Adrian's colleague.

² ΚΑΝΔΑΥΡΟΥ

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes de Walton' Magister Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et nos fratres eiusdem domus unanimi assensu | capituli nostri dedimus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Roberto de Sancto Edmundo quasdam domos nostros quas habuimus in subur- | -bio Londoniarum in parochia sancti Sepulcri cum pertinentiis suis. Que iacent ex opposito cimiterii predictae ecclesie Sancti Sepulcri inter tenementum domini Elye de | Hertfordia clerici versus occidentem et domos eiusdem Roberti de Sancto Edmundo quas quondam dimisi- mus Ricardo de Samford versus orientem. Et con- | -tinent dictae domus in longitudine secus vicum Regium duodecim ulnas et dimidium de ulnis ferreis domini Regis Anglie

houses opposite the churchyard of St. Sepulchre to Robert of St. Edmund at a yearly rent of twenty-one shillings to the hospital and three shillings a year to the brethren of the new Temple, the chief lords of the fee. The year was the eighth of Edward I. (1279-1280): Gregory de Rokesle the mayor, Ralf de la More and Thomas Box the sheriffs, were witnesses, and William Farindon was alderman of the ward. Robert the writer of the charter is the last witness. He wrote a very neat vertical hand.

William Faringdon was sheriff in 1280. His son Nicholas became alderman of the ward in which the hospital stands about 1295, and their name has ever since been that of the ward without and within the wall.

On the Sunday next after the feast of St. Peter in

cum pollicibus mensuratis. Scilicet | quicquid in eisdem domibus cum suis pertinenciis habuimus in edificiis longitudine latitudine altitudine et profunditate et rebus cunctis sine aliqua dimi- | -nucione. Habendas et tenendas dicto Roberto et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris libere quiete plenarie et integre: bene et in pace et hereditarie imperpetuum | faciendo inde annuatim pro nobis et successoribus nostris dictus Robertus et heredes sui tanquam nostri atornati capitalibus dominis feodi illius seruicia inde debita | et consueta. Videlicet fratribus noui templi Londoniarum tres solidos ad quatuor terminos anni principales. Scilicet ad Pascha Nouem denarios: Et ad festum Na- | -tiuitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste Nouem denarios: Et ad festum Sancti Michaelis Nouem denarios: Et ad Natale domini Nouem denarios. Et reddendo preterea inde | annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris viginti et unum solidos bonorum et legalium sterlingorum ad eosdem quatuor terminos prenominatos. Videlicet ad quemlibet | terminum quinque solidos et tres denarios pro omnibus secularibus seruiciis consuetudinibus et demandis. Et ego Johannes Magister predicti Hospitalis et nos fratres | eiusdem loci et successores nostri warrantizabimus imperpetuum predictas domibus cum pertinenciis suis prefato Roberto et heredibus suis versus omnes homines tam | christianos quam Iudeos pro seruicio predicto et pro dimidia marca argenti quam dictus Robertus nobis dedit pre manibus. In cuius rei testimonium tam nos quam | predictus Robertus presenti carte cyrographate alternatim sigilla nostra apposuimus. Hiis testibus: Gregorio de Rokesle tunc maiore Londoniarum: Radulfo de la More: Thoma | Box vicecomitibus eiusdem ciuitatis: Willelmo de Farndonia Aldremanno Warde illius: Willelmo Hosebond: Willelmo le Taylur: Roberto scriptore: et aliis.

cathedra (January 22, 1279), SABINA,¹ widow of Robert Travers of Borwstede, remitted to John son of Robert her land and dowry in the vill of Borwstede; and JOHN TRAVERS son of Robert Travers, in a charter dated at Donton² in the same year, granted to the hospital, for the good of his soul, all the land which Sabina had remitted to him in Borwstede, receiving from John Gobiun for seven acres of land two shillings a year.

At Easter (April 21) 1280, MARGARET prioress of Chesthunt quit-claimed to John of Walton, the brethren, and sisters of the Hospital all arrears of rent due to the convent of Chesthunt, for the tenement and land which was once William of Colchester's in the parish of St. Botulph outside Aldersgate (Aldredesgate), and which was situate between the tenement of Thomas of Dunstaple and that of John of Enefeld. The prioress had received the rent up to Easter, in the eighth year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Henry (1280). No witnesses are named.

The priory of Our Lady at Chesthunt was of

¹ Witnesses: Sir Laurence of Plumberwye, Sir Reginald of Ginges, Sir William Giffard, knights: Peter of Stanford: Bartholomew of Mocking: Henry of Plumberwye: Adam Burre: Thomas Cheure: Geoffrey of Wycumbe clerk: and others. Her oval seal bears a star of eight points, with an indistinct inscription ending in the word "Travers."

² Given at Duntun on the Sunday after the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr in the seventh year of King Edward the son of King Henry.

As this charter is subsequent to Sabina's, but in the same year, the feast of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (July 7) is probably indicated.

John's oval seal of brown wax bears a fleur-de-lys with the surrounding inscription: "S. Johannis Travers." Laurence of Plumberwye, Reginald of Ginges, William Giffard, knights, are the witnesses.

Benedictine nuns, and this charter confirms Dugdale's remark that its foundation must have been before 1283. This prioress is earlier than any in the list in the "Monasticon." Her oval seal bears a figure of the Virgin and Child. Our Lady is crowned, and holds what seems a lily in a pot in her left hand, and a smaller object in her right.

GUNDREDA,¹ atte Weylete, in her widowhood demised on February 2, 1280, to John of Walton, a piece of meadow at Dunton for four years. He gave her four shillings.

On December 10, 1280, the Tuesday after the feast of St. Nicholas, ALICE, widow of Ralf de Bas of London, gave and quit-claimed to John Walton, the brethren, and sisters five shillings of rent which Ralf her husband used to receive from a tenement in the suburb of London in the parish of St. Botolph outside Aldersgate between the tenement of John of Enefeld and that of John of Dunstaple.² Soon after the date of this charter the mastership of JOHN OF WALTON³ ended.

¹ Her seal bears a plant with seven branches. The witnesses were: Gilbert of Standers: Henry Desbriche: John Desbriche: Thomas le herde: Ralph Living: Henry Living: and others.

² Witnesses: Gregory of Rokesle then Mayor of London: Nicholas of Winton, William of Farndon, sheriffs of that city: John of Blakethorn alderman of that ward: Henry of Ware: John of Enefeld: Thomas of Dunstapel: John of Waltham: William of Mimmes: Richard the clerk: and others.

³ A charter is probably JOHN OF WALTON'S which begins: "Notum sit omnibus hominibus hoc presens scriptum visuris uel audituris quod nos Johannes Magister Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei." It is a grant to John ate Plotte of Datchette of a message and an acre of land in the vill of Datchette in the field called Attormeshom, between

JOHN OF CAMBERWELL, the next master, came into office in the ninth year of Edward I. (1280-81).¹ His mastership lasted not quite a year. It began in mid-winter, when the Thames was frozen so that horses and carts could cross it.² Gregory of Rokesle was mayor, William of Faringdon and Nicholas of Winchester were sheriffs.

MATILDIS OF KERSING, in the will which she made on November 22, 1280, and which was proved in the parish church of Awelton on the Sunday (November 23), after the feast of St. Edmund the King (A.D. 1281), before Master R. de Lacy and A. de Estria, commissaries of the Archbishop of Canterbury, left "to the hospital and brethren of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield of London thirteen shillings and fourpence of annual rent, which the brethren of St. Thomas of Southwark paid me annually."

The official's "inseximus"³ was sealed at London on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul the Apostle 1281. The whole will throws light on the possessions of a woman of the middle class in the reign of Edward I.

"In the name of the Father and of the Son and of

the land of Adam of Franestrade and the messuages of Simon Amaunt, Gilbert le Gaunt, and William Girded. It has a headland abutting on the king's way towards the Thames, and another on the messuage of Robert Carter. The annual payment to the hospital is to be three shillings. John is not to sell without leave, and the master and brethren are to have four shillings advantage over any other purchaser. Witnesses: John Mayn of Suthle: John of Penna: William Algor: Simon Amaunt: Geoffrey Thos: John Weste: John Aylarne: Giles of Stanestrade: Simon Thol: and others.

¹ John Cok's entry in the list of masters is obviously erroneous: Johannes de Camerwell A.D. Millesimo cclxxxiii Anno Edwardi primi ix^o.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 62a.

² Chronicle of Edward I. (*ed.* Stubbs).

³ This copy, on vellum, with remains of the small circular seal of the official, is preserved.

the Holy Ghost: Amen. I Matildis of Kersing make my will on the day of the blessed Cecilia the Virgin in the year of the Lord 1280. First, I leave my soul to God and to the blessed Mary and to all the saints, and my body to be buried in the graveyard of St. Andrew at Farnham. I leave to the high altar six pence: To the vicar six pence: To the parochial chaplain four pence: To the chaplain of the blessed Mary four pence: To Nicholas the chaplain four pence: To two clerks four pence: To the lamp of the blessed Mary twelve pence: To the brethren of Guildford (Guldeford) five shillings and one black 'tapetum,' the best kerchief which I have, and a best towel: To the lepers of Awelton a little pall and a linencloth: to Alice daughter of Robert le Massun one chest: To Margaret wife of Robert le Massun one best gold brooch: To Beatrice wife of John of Heghe one tunic of russet, a best robe, and a pair of best shoes: To the daughter of the aforesaid Beatrice a kerchief (mappa) and a towel and a counterpane and a cushion: To Cecilia Pidekin a chemise: To Emma Botisse another chemise: To Cecilia Pidekin one pair of shoes: To the convent of Wynteneie a 'ciphum b. Edmundi.' For a distribution on the day of my burial eight shillings. To John of Heghe a brass pail and one bason: To Cecilia Pidekin a little brass pail: To the son of William Carde four pence: To Matilda daughter of Robert Humfraye one towel and one cushion.

"I leave to the hospital and brethren of St. Bartho-

lomew of Smithfield of London thirteen shillings and four pence of annual rent which the brethren of St. Thomas of Southwark paid me annually.

“To Beatrice wife of John of Heghe one hood of green. I make executors of my will Richard le Massun and Robert son of John the clerk. All my goods which in this writing are not named, I leave to be distributed for the good of my soul in the parish of Farnham, to be distributed as shall seem best to my executors.”

JOHN OF CAMBERWELL,¹ the master, and the brethren,

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos Johannes de Camerwell Magister Hospitalis Sci. Bartholomei Londoniarum et fratres eiusdem Hospitalis unanimi assensu et voluntate | tocius capituli nostri dimisimus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Ricardo de Heddefere quamdam terram nostram in suburbio Londoniarum in parochia Sancte | Brigide in vico de Solaunde cum omnibus pertinentiis suis quam recuperauimus uersus Johannem Herun in Hustengo Londoniarum per iudicium quod vocatur Sertford. Que scilicet | terra iacet inter terram quam Johannes Sirich tenuit aliquo tempore uersus aquilonem et terram que fuit Ricardi filii Martini uersus austrum Et continet in latitudine | secus vicum regium duodecim vlnas et tres quarteria de vlnis ferreis domini Regis et in medio duodecim vlnas et dimidiam vlnam de eisdem vlnis: et in latitudine retro | nouem vlnas et vnum quarterium vlnae de eisdem vlnis. Et se extendit a vico regio uersus orientem continens in longitudine triginta et sex vlnas et vnum quarterium vlnae de eisdem | vlnis vsque ad terram que fuit Martini parmentarii uersus occidentem: Scilicet quicquid ibidem habuimus in longitudine et latitudine et altitudine et profunditate: Ha- | -bendam et tenendam de nobis et successoribus nostris prefato Ricardo et heredibus suis et assignatis suis quibuscumque exceptis viris religiosis et Judeis: libere: plenarie et integre | hereditarie imperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris predictus Ricardus et heredes sui siue sui assignati octo solidos bonorum sterelingorum ad quatuor | terminos anni videlicet ad festum S. Michaelis duos solidos et ad Natale domini duos solidos et ad Pascha duos solidos et ad festum Natiuitatis S. Johannis Baptiste | duos solidos pro omnibus secularibus serviciis consuetudinibus et demandis. Et nos et successores nostri warrantizabimus aquietabimus et defendemus imperpetuum predictam | terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis quam scilicet recuperauimus uersus predictum Johannem Herun predicto Ricardo et heredibus suis et assignatis suis quibuscumque exceptis viris religiosis et Judeis | uersus omnes gentes pro seruiicio predicto. Et dictus Ricardus infra annum post dimissionem istam et tradicionem: terram illam bene edificabit cum liberis et opertis introiti- | -bus et exitibus scilicet

with the unanimous assent of their chapter, granted to Richard of Heddefere, certain land of theirs in the suburb of London, in the parish of St. Bridget, in the street of Solaunde, which they had recovered against John Herun in the husting of London, by means of the judgment called Sertford. The land was between that which John Sirich at one time held on the north, and that of Richard son of Martin on the south. It measured in breadth along the king's street $12\frac{3}{4}$ ells of the iron ells of the king, and in the middle $12\frac{1}{2}$ ells, and in breadth at the back $9\frac{1}{4}$ ells; and from the king's street eastwards it stretched in length for $36\frac{1}{4}$ ells, and as far as the land which belonged to Martin the parmenter on the west. It was to be held by Richard and his heirs and assigns, except religious and Jews, for ever, at a payment of eight shillings a year for all secular services. And within a year Richard was to build on the land, with entrance and exit, viz. doors opening on the king's

hostiis aperientibus et claudentibus versus predictum vicum regium. Ipsamque terram faciet nobis esse distringibilem. Ita quod nos et successores nostri illam terram | et edificia super ipsam edificata intrare possimus ad namandum et distringendum pro dicto redditu et ipsius areragiis quocienscumque et quandocumque contigerit predictum Ricardum | aut heredes vel assignatos suos dictum redditum ultra statutos terminos insolutum retinere. Et si contingat quod dictus Ricardus dictam terram non edificauerit vt pre- | -dictum est, tota eadem terra cum omnibus pertinentiis suis nobis et successoribus nostris salute reuertetur et quiet' remaneat iaeternum. Istaque dimissio pro nichilo habeatur et hoc feofa | mentum dicto Ricardo et heredibus suis siue assignatis suis sit minime valiturum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte in modum cirographi confecte sigillum nostrum appo- | -suimus commune cuius alteram partem penes nos remanentem dictus Ricardus sigillo suo roborauit. Hiis testibus: Gregorio de Rokesle tunc maiore Londoniarum: Willelmo | de Farndonia et Nicholao de Wintonia tunc vicecomitibus eiusdem ciuitatis: Willelmo de Dunelmia: Johanne de Oggele: Andrea le Bel: Ricardo de Newerk: Andrea atte Hallegate: et aliis.

street. The grant belongs to the year 1281. The street of the Solaunde leads from Fleet Street to the parish church of St. Andrew, and goes right through the solanda or prebend of Holborn. Its modern form of Shoe Lane shows a false etymology, and *lane* is really the *landa* of solanda.

The master and brethren brought an action on May 26, 1281, at Westminster before John of Sonetote, Roger of Leicester, and the other king's judges against Robert of Meldeborn with regard to a small piece of land outside the bar of Westsmithfield which he had occupied, and in Whitsun week an agreement was come to between them, by which he was permitted to leave his new-built chamber standing on the land.¹

Gondreda the smith's widow had made a grant to John of Walton, and under his successor a further grant of other land at Donton was made to the hospital.

JOHN SON OF WILLIAM SABARN of Suthwald, priest, granted for ever to Dominus John of Camerwell, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, and the brethren and sisters of the same, all the land which he held of their fee in the vill of Donton which he had of the gift of

¹ Witnesses: Reginald Canun: Robert of Sonetote: Geryn the linen draper: Martin Safowell of Iseldon: Walter le Pelet: John of Harwe: William le Pavor: William Slik: William atte hole: Richard de la Grene: Thomas of Belatre clerk: and others.

The present hospital arms are drawn by John Cok in the ornate but not coloured capital of the document copied, which begins: "Pateat uniuersis presentibus et futuris quod cum quedam controuersia mota fuisset aliquo tempore inter Johannem de Camerwell magistrum et fratres Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum ex parte una et Robertum de Meldeborn ciuem Londoniarum ex altera."—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 2b.

Gondreda atte Weylate of the same vill, who was wife of William son of Richard the smith, formerly of Leyndon, with his whole right and claim in that land. For this grant and quit-claim the master and brethren gave him five marks sterling down.¹ John's seal bears a fleur-de-lys.²

GEOFFREY OF EYSTAN, the next master, had been rector of the church of Eystan. He came into office in 1281, and in 1285 was deposed by Master Hugh of Colingham and Master Thomas of Bowstede, commissioners of Richard,³ Bishop of London.

During his mastership LETITIA ATE RE OF WYKAM⁴ in her widowhood granted to "Geoffrey rector of the church of Eystan, master of the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital," and to all the brethren, two pence of rent hitherto paid by them from a piece of land called Erdwaneleye in the parish of Farnham.

GEOFFREY GYKEL granted to Geoffrey of Eystan, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew of Smethefend, and to the brethren and sisters, a croft in the parish of Donton "which I have of the gift of John son of Symon

¹ Sterelingorum pre manibus in geresumam."

² Witnesses: Sir Reginald of Ginges, knight: Bartholomew of Mocking: Peter of Stanvord: Thomas of Rammesden: Gilbert of St. Audoen: Thomas Cheure: Bartholomew of Langedon: Adam Burre: Martin of Langedon: William atte Weylate: Geoffrey the clerk: and others.

³ Richard of Gravesend, Bishop of London 1280-1303.

⁴ Her oval seal bears a single lily, and on a border "Sigil. Leticie de Wykam." Witnesses: Peter of Haselingefeld: Thomas of Chalcer: Walter ate Watere: Stephen le Bedel: William Pikeman: William Rodlaund: William the smith: Saman the carter: Adam Plantin: William of Reydon: Robert de Angulo: and others.

of Donton, which stretches in length from the land of the monks of Bek to the royal way which goes from London towards Reile, as it is included by fences and ditches." For this the master and brethren gave him on the spot five and a half marks sterling "in gersumam." Geoffrey's circular seal bears a hare and the words "S. Galfridi Gykel."¹

GUNDREDA,² formerly wife of William son of Richard the smith of Leydon, granted and quit-claimed for ever to Geoffrey of Eystan, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew of Smethefend, a messuage which she held of their fee in the vill of Dunton which she had of the gift of Simon of Dunton, and which stands on the king's way which leads from Horndon towards Chelmsford (Chelmeford), with every right shown in the charter which she had from Simon of Dunton. The master and brethren gave Gundreda nineteen shillings down "in gersummam."

¹ Witnesses : Sir Reginald of Ginges, knight : Bartholomew of Langedon : William de Fonte : Bartholomew of Mockyng : Adam borre : and others.

A charter of RALPH DE SANCTO BRIAUVEL mentions the father of Symon of Donton. It grants to Simon son of Godfrey of Duntun for his homage and service all the land which Ralph held in the parish of Duntun at a mark of silver a year payable at Duntun at Michaelmas. Simon paid him twelve marks of silver "in gersumam." The witnesses were : John of Langedon : John de Sancto Claro : Ralph de Vernun : Ralph of Borham : Thomas of Muchin : Walter le Canteis : William son of Roger : Godfrey of Duntun : Geoffrey of Langedun : William son of Henry of Duntun : Henry the clerk : William son of Godfrey of Duntun : and many others.

Ralph's seal has an intaglio of a crayfish, and on a border "Sigill Radulfi de sco Briaovl." The seal is attached by plaited cords.

² Witnesses : Sir Reginald of Ginges, knight : Bartholomew of Mocking : Peter of Stanford : Thomas of Rammesden : Gilbert of St. Audoen's : Thomas Cheuere : Bartholomew of Langedon : Adam Burre : Martin of Langedon : William atte Weylate : John of Essewell : and others.

RALPH LE BOTYLER, rector of the church of Hinton St. George, in view of the good works of the brethren of the hospital, did away for his life with a payment due from them to his church, from June 6, 1280. His seal and that of the Dean of Arches were affixed. The same RALPH afterwards gave to Geoffrey of Eystan the master and to the brethren and sisters two shillings of quit-rent from a house of his in the parish of St. Mary le Strand.¹

It was in the time of this master that representatives of the city of London are for the first time known to have attended a parliament. They were Henry le Waleys (in Latin called Walensis), Gregory of Rokesle, Philip Cissor, Ralf Crepyn, Jocelyn Acatour, and John Gisors. The parliament was at Shrewsbury, and was chiefly concerned with Welsh affairs. The members brought back with them to London the head of David son of Griffin.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Radulfus le Botyler rector ecclesie de Hentona Dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Domino Galfrido de Eystan Magistro Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smetbefend Londoniarum et fratribus ac sororibus in dicto Hospitali deo seruientibus duos solidos annui liberi et quieti redditus : In puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam : Percipiendos de domo quam Laurencius sutor et Amicia uxor sua tenent in parochia Sancte Marie de la Stronde sicut michi reddere consueuit. Que quidem domus sita est inter mesuagium Roberto de Aldenham ex parte orientali et mesuagium Thome le Linchdrapar ex parte occidentali. Et extendit se super regalem viam qua itur de Londonia uersus Westmonasterium ex parte australi Habendum et tenendum dictum redditum duorum solidorum dictis Magistro, fratribus, sororibus et eorum successoribus quibuscunque libere quiete bene et in pace. Et ego et heredes mei warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus eum redditum ut predictum est contra omnes homines et feminas christianos et Judeos in perpetuum. Et ut hec mea donacio concessio et presentis carte mee confirmacio robur perpetue firmitatis optineant presentem cartam sigilli mei munimine roborau. His testibus : Nicholao cissore : Rogero de Arderne : Roberto de Norhamtonia : Patricio barbario : Roberto le Coupere : et aliis.

Out of the six citizens who represented London at this parliament in 1284,¹ Henry le Waleys² and Gregory of Rokesle appear in transactions relating to St. Bartholomew's, and of course knew it well.

The grounds for the deposition of Geoffrey of Eystan are not stated in the Cartulary.

THOMAS OF WHYTCHESTRE, previously rector of the church of Downham, became master in the last week of August 1285; and held office till his death in 1298.³

¹ "Annales Londoniensis de temp. Edwardi primi," p. 92 (Stubbs, Rolls Series), and Introduction, p. xxxiii.

² A charter of ADAM OF SHENEFELD, son and heir of William of Shenefeld, grants to Stephen of Honey lane (Honilane), skinner, and Alice his wife all his houses in St. Sepulchre's parish outside Newgate situate opposite the rents of Sempringham (Semplingham). The house along the king's street measured 13 ells of the king's ells without thumbs, and in breadth behind 12½ ells, and in the length of depth 31 ells: To have and to hold by Stephen and his wife and their assigns, or any one to whom they may sell excepting religious men and Jews, freely for ever; returning thence annually to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield five shillings and sixpence at the four terms of the year, namely at Easter 16½ pence, at the Nativity of St. John Baptist 16½ pence, at the feast of St. Michael 16½ pence, at Christmas 16½ pence, and to the work (operacionem) of the church of St. Sepulchre 6 pence a year at the same terms, namely three half-pence each term, and to Adam and his heirs one "clavum gariofli" at Easter for every secular service exaction and demand: and for this he warrants the holding to Stephen and his wife against all men, whether Christians or Jews. For this grant Stephen and Alice gave him four marks of silver "in gersumam." The witnesses were Henry Walens then Mayor of London: Walter Blund and Anketin of Beceville draper, then sheriffs: William of Farndone then alderman of the ward: William of Haueresham: William Husebonde: Joce de Fonte: Roger of Wymedone: William de la Haye: William le Kutiler: William le Muleward: Geoffrey of Furchingfeld: Geoffrey of Holebrigge: Walter of Hengham: William Russel then bedell: Robert the clerk: and others.

The oval seal of Adam of Shenefeld bears a lion with a dragon under his fore-paws. The writing is somewhat clumsy and with very few fine strokes. It is perhaps that of Robert the clerk. The year was 1282. The order of the sheriffs is the reverse of that in the Exchequer list (ed. 1898).

³ In the list in the Cartulary, Cok writes:—

"Thomas de Wytcestre alias dictus Enefelde, rector Ecclesie de Downham Die in Octavo Sancti Bartholomei Anno Domini M.C.C.lxxxvii. Et anno predicti Regii xiii Anno Regis Edwardi Primi qui obiit xuii Die Junii anno Edwardi predicti xxiii Et Anno Domini M.C.C.lxxxviii."

During the whole of his mastership London was ruled by a warden residing in the Tower, and was without a mayor.

Gregory of Rokesle had been mayor at the beginning of 1285; but at the end of June, being summoned before the king's judges, sitting in the Tower, he resigned his office at the church of All Hallows Barking, and went into the Tower not as mayor, but with the other aldermen as an alderman, and pleaded that he could not be required to enter the Tower to answer for his conduct, nor to receive judgment unless forty days' previous notice had been given him. John of Kirkeby, the king's treasurer, thereupon took the mayoralty and the liberties of London into the king's hands, and summoned the citizens to Westminster next day. Several of them were sent as prisoners to the Tower, and one to Windsor Castle, and the king appointed Sir Ralph of Sandwic warden of the city, to govern it according to its liberties and customs.

This Sir Ralph of Sandwic is a witness of several charters relating to the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's, and the sheriffs appointed in his presence follow in the attestation.

A chirographum of THOMAS OF WYTCESTRE and the brethren, belonging to the year 1286, grants to Thomas

It is clear that xxiii is a mistake for xxui, and on this assumption the record is correct, for June 1298 was in the xxui year of Edward I.

the stokwysmongere a tenement¹ in the old fishmarket in the parish of St. Nicholas, at twelve shillings a year. Thomas gave them half a mark as a pittance. The first witness of the transaction is Ralph of Sandewyke then warden of London. That the usages of the city were not all disturbed during this suspension of the mayoralty is shown by the presence of the sheriffs, Walter Hauteyn and Thomas Croys, and of Anketyll the draper, alderman of the ward.²

In the same year GEOFFREY called Hod, son and heir of Thomas called Hod, late butcher, quit-claimed to the master and brethren all his right in his land in the parish of St. Sepulchre in the little street called Viterieslane, between the land of John the moneyer on the east and that of Roger of Folkestane on the west. The land extended to the land of Roger and the hospital land on the north, "with a piece of land between the aforesaid land on the west and the land of Gerard the butcher on the east, with all the outside chamber which is upon the ditch descending through the common drain of the common chamber of the hospital, which land Thomas Hod my father held

¹ Agnes Huberd formerly held this land of the hospital, and it was situated between the tenement of Walter of Cheselwyk on the west, and a tenement which Thomas held of the hospital, and which formerly belonged to Walter the clerk on the east. It abutted on the tenement of Thomas of Basinge on the north, and the king's street on the south. The circular seal of Thomas the stokwysmongere, besides his name, bears a ram's head.

² The other witnesses are: Ralph of Bromlethe: Edmund of Stratforde: Walter of Cheselwyk: Richard of Hakeneye: John of Stratforde: Robert Prevost: William barbur.

in fee from the master and brethren for twenty shillings of annual rent."

In return for this the hospital forgave him twenty pounds of silver of arrears of rent. His circular seal bears the poleaxe of a butcher, and on a border the inscription in capitals "ST. GALFRIDI HOD. C." (the seal of Geoffrey Hod the butcher). Its apposition was witnessed by Sir Ralf of Sandewyz, then warden of the city of London, Thomas Croys and Walter Hauteyn sheriffs, William of Farndon alderman of the ward, and seven others named.¹

A deed of the following year of ROGER OF LEICESTER burgess of Canterbury,² affecting some land adjoining hospital property in the parish of St. Botolph Aldersgate, is witnessed by Sir Ralf of Sandewyc, warden of the city of London, and by William of Hereford and Thomas of Stanes then sheriffs of the aforesaid city, and by William of Mazeline then alderman of that ward.³

¹ Robert of Wyke: William of Faveresham: William Pavor: Thomas le Vernon: William Pichard: William Berkwey: John the clerk: and many others.

² He grants to Richard Mel, citizen of London, and Lena his wife, land with buildings on it which he had of the executors of Matilda Basset in the parish of St. Botolph outside Aldersgate between the land of Emma Trenchant on the south and that of William Sprot on the north, and the land of the hospital of St. Bartholomew on the west and the king's street on the east: rendering to him a half penny of silver at Easter, and to the canons of St. Bartholomew's thirty pence of silver payable at the usual four terms of the year. Richard and Lena gave him four marks of silver through his hands "in gersumam."

³ The other witnesses are: Hugh of Derby: Robert of Ayssindon: Henry of Keyles: Henry of Ware: John of Enefeld: William of Causton: Robert of Fulsam: John le Chandeler: William Milksoppe then serjeant of that ward: Robert the clerk: and many others.

It is worth note that two Norfolk men were standing together. Cawston was not then marked in the landscape by the noble stone tower which now looks so ancient,

An agreement was made¹ on April 12, 1289, between HUGH, prior of the church of St. Bartholomew and the convent of the same place on one part, and Thomas of Wyteestre, master of the hospital and the brethren of the same on the other. The prior and convent quit-claimed all arrears of rent up to Easter of the seventeenth year of King Edward from certain tenements in Aldersgate Street once held by William of Colchester, clerk. The master and brethren were bound to build on the holding, and to maintain the buildings and to make them worth eight shillings a year, and if the eight shillings a year is in arrear

nor had the present tower of Foulsham, adorned by antique flint work at base and crowned by a beautiful parapet, then been erected.

¹ CYROGRAPHUM

Pateat vniuersis presentes literas inspecturis quod ita conuenit inter Hugonem Priorem ecclesie sancti Bartholomei londoniarum et conuentum eiusdem loci ex parte vna et Thomam de Wyteestre Magistrum Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei londoniarum et fratres eiusdem Hospitalis ex altera. Videlicet quod predicti prior et conuentus remiserunt et omnino quiete clamauerunt pro eisdem et successoribus eorundem eisdem Magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus imperpetuum omnia arrearagia que eis debebantur: et que eisdem a retro fuerunt a principio mundi usque ad festum Pasche anno regni regis Edwardi septimodecimo de quibusdam tenementis in suburbio londoniarum in Aldersgate strete in parochia sancti Botulphi Que quidem tenementa fuerunt aliquando Willelmi de Collecestria clerici. Et que tenementa idem Willelmus aliquando habuit ex donacione et dimissione predecessorum eorundem. Ita videlicet quod predicti magistri et fratres predicta tenementa edificabunt et edificata sustinebunt et sufficienter facient distringibilia ad octo solidos annui redditus percipiendos ad quatuor terminos anni principales et usuales videlicet ad quemlibet terminum duos solidos. Ita quod predicti prior et conuentus nec successores eorundem de predictis tenementis ab eisdem magistro et fratribus uel successoribus eorundem aliqua ratione exigere vendicare aliquid poterunt imperpetuum: nisi predictos octo solidos ut predictum est percipiendos. Saluo tamen predictis priori et conuentui et successoribus eorundem omni iure impetrandi ius commune secundum legem et consuetudinem terre de predicto tenemento si prefatus redditus eisdem a retro fuerit. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus literis in modum cirographi confectis Hinc inde sigilla sua communia vtrequae domus apposuerunt. Datum London. Duodecimo die Aprilis Anno Regni Regis Edwardi prenominato et anno domini Millesimo Ducentesimo Octuagesimo Nono.

the prior and convent were entitled to enter into possession, but not otherwise.

The seal of the priory is on a vellum tag, made of a piece cut from a computus roll, and is a fine impression, showing the apostle holding a pastoral staff surmounted by a cross in his left hand, and with his right raised in benediction, and seated behind St. Bartholomew's Church. The church has two great carved doors hung in round-headed portals, and a large circular tower in four storeys at each angle of the front, while above a great median column in the middle of the front there is a pediment of three arches surmounted by a gable rather like the central structure in the west front of Wells Cathedral, and a base containing three small arches. When this picture of the church is compared with that on the charter of Rahere to Hagno, it is easily seen that the two western towers were parts of the church as originally built. On the priory seal of Rahere's charter the northern tower of the west front is seen in perspective over the ridge of the roof of the nave viewed from the south side. The inscription on the seal used by Prior Hugh is not quite perfect, but most of the words remain: "Sigill. conventus *ecclesie sancti Bartholomei* apl'i de London."

In 1290 SARRA, widow of Robert Pryme, quit-claimed to the master and brethren all her right in a tenement in the suburb of London outside the gate of Newgate

in the parish of St. Sepulchre towards the bridge of Holborn (Holeburne).¹ The master and brethren gave her a mark of silver down "in gersummam." Her oval seal bears an eight-pointed star, and was witnessed by Sir Ralph of Sandwyc then warden of the city of London, Thomas Romayn and William of Leyre, sheriffs of London, William of Farndon alderman of that ward, and seven others named.²

HENRY MARESCALL in the same year quit-claimed to the master and brethren all the tenement which he had outside Aldersgate Street (Alderresgatestrete) in the parish of St. Botolph of the gift to him of Joan of Mymmes, paying to the hospital seventeen shillings a year. For this concession they gave him twenty shillings of silver down. His seal shows that, as his name indicates, he was a shoeing smith, for it bears a horse's foot showing the frog and a shoe fastened with eight nails, and on each side of the shoe in the vacant space within the border a single nail placed lengthwise. On the circular border in capitals is "s' HENRICI MARSCALLI." The warden of the city of London is the first witness.³

¹ Geoffrey of Fyngyngfeld held the tenement from the master and brethren by the assignment of Henry of Grene butcher.

² William le Cutelir : Joce de Fonte : Roger of Wymedon : John Plot : William Huggel : Hugh le Candelir : Gerard le barbur.

³ Hiis Testibus: Domino Radulfo de Sandwyco Custode Ciuitatis Londoniarum : Thoma Romayn et Willelmo de Leyre tunc vicecomitibus Londoniarum : Willelmo le Mazerir aldermanno illius Warde : Henrico de Keles : Johanne de Enefeld : Hugone de Bedeford : Roberto de Hassyndon : Simone Trenchant : Willelmo Mulsoy : Johanne de Wandlesworthe : et Multis aliis.

William le Mazerir was sheriff in 1281.

In 1295 the city, still without a mayor, was governed by another warden, Sir John le Breton, who witnessed a grant and quit-claim of NICOLAS MAY and Katherine his wife, daughter of Thomas of Somerset clerk, to Thomas of Whytchestre master of the hospital, of all their rights in a tenement with garden in Viteri Lane, which had been held by Thomas of Somerset for two shillings a year and which he had left to Katherine in his will. The master and brethren for this gave them a certain sum of money down.¹

Some of the transactions of the time of Thomas of Whytchestre refer to property outside London.

ADAM BERENGER of Enfield, son of Simon of Benyton,²

A charter of CHRISTINA daughter of Richard Ateneyte belongs to the same year. It remits and quit-claims to Dominus Thomas of Beckeles vicar of the church of St. Sepulchre outside Newgate all her right in a tenement with houses on it in that parish which she and Joanna her sister recovered in the city of London and which she Christina had sold to Henry le Paumor, borelar of London. Her oval seal bears a fleur-de-lys.

Witnesses : Sir Ralph of Sandewyc then warden of the city of London : William of Leyre and Thomas Romain then sheriffs of London : William of Farnedon then alderman of that ward : Geoffrey of Paris : Joce at well (ad fontem) : William vggle : Ralph the goldsmith : David de la Lowe : and others.

¹ Hiis testibus : Domino Johanne le Breton milite tunc custode Cinitatis Londoniarum : Johanne de Dunstaple : Ada de Hallingbiri vicecomitibus Londoniarum : Nicholao de Farndon tunc aldermanno illius Warde : Thoma Vernun : Joco ad fontem : Gerardo barbatores : Johanne barbatores : Galfrido de Finchinkfend : Willelmo le Coteler : Johanne sprot : et aliis. The circular seal of Nicholas has a lion's head, and on a border "S. Nicholai May." His wife's is oval and bears a plant with three flowers, and on a border "S. Katherine fil. Thome Somerset." Both seals are on vellum tags which have been cut from cancelled or disused documents of the same period.

² Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Adam Berenger de Enefeld filius Simonis de Benyton dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum magistro et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei London vnum messuagium cum suis pertinenciis in villa de Enefeld quod quidem messuagium situm est inter viam regiam ex parte vna et terram Abbatis de Thornhaye ex altera et extendit se in longitudine super messuagium Willelmi Beneyt uersus aquilonem ex parte vna et messuagium Willelmi Billok ex altera uersus austrum sicut mere et fosse portant

granted to the hospital a messuage at Enfield which he had obtained from Cecilia of Clyne, a widow, on October 17, 1285.¹ The messuage was between the king's way and the land of the abbot of Thornhay, and in length extended to the north as far as the messuage of William Beneyt and to the south as far as that of William Billok.

On November 5, 1285, MATILDA,² widow of Peter Milicent, remitted to Thomas master of the hospital all rights she might have in the lands of her late husband in the vill of Lamburne, before the justices in eyre at Chelmsford.

An open watercourse at this time ran through the

et condonant. Habendum et tenendum dictum messuagium cum suis pertenenciis dictis magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus libere quiete bene et in pace iure hereditario in perpetuum. Et ego vero dictus Adam et heredes mei et assignati dictum messuagium cum suis pertinenciis dictis magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus Warantizabimus et aquietamibus et defendemus in perpetuum. Pro hac autem donacione concessione et presentis carte mee confirmacione dederunt michi predicti magister et fratres duodecim solidos pre manibus. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Michaele de ffochelere: Willelmo Benet: Thoma Orpede: Roberto asse: Ricardo Benet: Ade ad crucem: Roberto de Horspole: et multis aliis.

The circular seal bears a six-pointed star and the inscription "S. Ade de Enefeld."

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 471b.

² Vniuersis presentes literas inspecturis Matilda que fuit vxor Petri Milicent Salutem in domino. Noueritis me in ligia et legitima viduetate mea Remisisse et omnino quietumclamasse Thome magistro Hospitalis Sancti Bertholomei et fratribus eiusdem loci totum ius et clamium quod habui uel quod habere potui nomine dotis uel quocumquo (*sic*) modo in omnibus terris et tenementis que quondam fuerunt dicto petro marito meo in villa de Lamburne et alibi ita quod ego nec heredes mei nec aliquis nomine meo in dictis terris uel tenementis nec in parte aliquod ius nec clamium possimus habere inperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui.

Hiis testibus: Thoma de Chigewell: Johanne Alred: Willelmo driuere: Willelmo page: et aliis. Datum apud Chelemanford in itinere domini Salamonis Rofforis et Sociorum suo (*sic*) die lune proxima ante festum Sancti Martini anno regni regis Edwardi tercio-decimo.

hospital to Holborn bridge, and had evidently become a kind of sewer. On June 29, 1297, a direction was issued by the king to the master and brethren to cover this with wood and stone.¹ Thomas of Whytchestre died June 17, 1298.

HUGH OF ROTHWELL,² was the next master. He was in office in August 1300, but, if the regnal year in the Cartulary is correct, may have been elected in November 1299. He continued in office till 1305.

JOAN,³ daughter of Thomas of Baldok, on August 24, 1300, remitted to Hugh of Rothwelle all her right in her father's workshop in West Smithfield in the parish of St. Sepulchre, opposite the garden of the hospital.

This document is the earliest in which I have met with the name Westsmethfelde for the place in which the hospital stands.

¹ Patent Rolls: 25 Edward I.

² Cok's record is: Hugo de Rothwell, procurator anno domini m.cccii. Anno Regis Edwardi Primi xxiii. The xxviii. year of Edward I. began November 20, 1299, and ended November 20, 1300.

³ Pateat vniuersis per presentes quod Ego Johanna filia Thome de Baldok remisi et quietum clamaui Hugoni de Rothwelle magistro Ospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde et fratribus ibidem deo seruientibus totum ius meum quod habui uel aliquo modo habere potui nomine hereditatis mee seu cuiuscumque alterius iuris in toto tenemento illo cum pertinenciis quod quondam fuit patris mei Thome de Baldok videlicet illam fabricam que est situata in Westsmethfelde in parochia sancti Sepulcri ex opposito gardini Ospitalis sancti Bartholomei in Westsmethfelde. Ita quod nec Ego Johanna nec aliquis nomine meo aliquid iuris uel clamii in dicto tenemento cum pertinenciis de cetero exigere uel uendicere poterimus inperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Roberto Thorne: Johanne le tauerner: David Brace: et aliis. Datum apud Smethefeld die sancti Bartholomei Anno Regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo octauo.

Her oval seal bears a six-pointed star and a border with the words "Sig. Johanne de Baldoc."

BEATRIX ATTE HOLE,¹ in her widowhood, on October 21, 1300, quit-claimed to Hugh of Rothewell and the brethren all her tenement with buildings on it, and with all utensils wooden and leaden, in the Parish of St. Sepulchre outside Smithfield bar between the tenement of William of Meldeborn and that of Thomas le Peleter.

In Lent 1303, Robert of Winchilsea Archbishop of Canterbury visited the hospital, and issued injunctions as to its management.²

London again had a mayor in 1298, 1299, and 1300, and though John le Blound in 1301 and till 1307 is described by Stow as a warden (*custos*), he appears in charters as mayor³ as well as in the London annals.

¹ *Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Beatrix Atte Hole Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra me pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum in pura viduitate me remisisse et omnino de me et heredibus meis quietum clamasse Hugoni de Rothewell magistro et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefend totum tenementum meum cum omnibus edificiis superedificatis una cum utensilibus ligneis et plumbeis vniuersis sine aliquo retenemento in parochia sancti Sepulcri extra barram de Smethefend quod quidem tenementum situatur Inter tenementum Willelmi de Meldeborn ex parte una et tenementum Thome le Peleter ex altera. Ita quod nec ego nec aliquis nomine meo siue heredum meorum aliquid iuris uel clamii in dicto tenemento de cetero exigere uel vindicare poterimus. In Cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Meldeborn: Thoma de Meldeborn: Willelmo le Pauor: Ada Branz: Johanne le Tauerner: et Johanne le Marechal: et multis aliis. Datum apud Smethefend in suburbis Londoniarum die veneris proxima post festum Sancti Luce Ewangeliste: Anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici vicesimo octauo.*

Her oval seal bears a crescent and star.

² Bishop of London's Register, Baudake, f. 39 (copy kindly lent to me by Mr. E. A. Webb); Stubbs, "Annales Londonienses" (Rolls Series), vol. i. p. 129. The visitation began on Shrove Tuesday, February 19.

³ As in that in which LUKE OF WARE, butcher of London, and Joan his wife, formerly wife of John Le Kynge, grants to John of Paris called le Saltere, citizen of London, all that place of land and its appurtenances as built in the parish of St. Nicholas de Macellis of London, which is situate in length between the tenement of Dominus John of Wytham canon of the church of St. Martin le Grand on the east and the tenement of John of Paris on the west. And in breadth between their

He sat as a judge with two of the king's judges at the leaden hall, in Cornhill, on May 19, 1302, to try the bodily injury done to J. le Chaucer by certain citizens who were condemned to pay him one thousand pounds damages. This was on Saturday, and the following Friday, May 25, John le Chaucer died. He was buried at St. Paul's on May 30. His tomb has disappeared with the other monuments of the old cathedral, and perhaps the only extant memorial of this injured citizen, to whom the judges and the mayor did justice, is a charter of his of the year 1301, in which both the hospital and the priory of St. Bartholomew's are mentioned.

JOHN LE CHAUCER¹ son of the late John called

tenement, which was formerly that of John le Kyng, on the south, and the tenement of Thomas of Farndon goldsmith, of London, on the north. In length it contains $7\frac{1}{4}$ ells and 4 thumbs of the iron ells of the king of England. In breadth 5 ells and half an ell and a quarter of an ell and half a quarter of an ell of the same ells and two thumbs. To have and to hold for ever in fee and heredity from the capital lords of that fee. Returning thence to the same capital lords a rose at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist for all services. For this grant John of Paris gave us a certain sum of money down "in gersumam." Witnesses: John le Blound then mayor of the city of London: Symon of Paris and Hugh Pourte then sheriffs of the same city: Nicholas of Farndone then alderman of that ward: Thomas of Farndone: Roger Husebonde: John of Lyndes: Geoffrey of Hocham: William Torel: John of Harewe: Hugh le Plomer: Simon of Finchingfeld: John of Hortone: Nicholas of Grene: Walter del Belhous: Ralph the clerk: and others.

Two round seals are attached on vellum tags: "S. Lucas de Ware," with a boar's head, and the other with a six-pointed star and "Sigil. Johanne."

¹ The charter begins: *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes Le Chaucer filius quondam Johannis dicti Prest Chaucer concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Simoni de Pabenhame cementario et Amicie uxori sue unum mesuagium cum gardino in West Smetefeld.*

It ends: *Hiis testibus: Johanne Le Wyte tunc maiore Ciuitatis Lond.: Petro de Boseham, Roberto Callero tunc vicecomitibus Lond. Nicholao de Farendon tunc Aldermanno illius Warde: Ade Braz: Rogero de Apelly: Petro de Wyburn: Gerardo le Barber: John Hereward: et aliis.*

The names of the two sheriffs do not always appear in the same order in charters.

Prest Chaucer, grants to Simon of Pabenhām mason and Amicia his wife a messuage with garden in West Smithfield between the tenement in which John Morice resides on the south and the tenement of Luke son of Adam of Nedham of St. Albans on the east. It extends "towards the north on the royal way leading towards Holborn, and contains in breadth $9\frac{1}{2}$ ells and $13\frac{1}{2}$ thumbs of the iron ells of the king; and it heads towards the west upon a certain place which Roger of Acton holds. To have and to hold the aforesaid messuage and garden from the capital lords of the fee by Simon and Amicia, and the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten. Returning thence annually to the prior of St. Bartholomew's of West Smithfield two shillings of silver, that is to say twelve pence at Michaelmas and twelve pence at Easter, and to the hospital of St. Bartholomew of London in West Smithfield eighteen pence, that is four pence half penny at each of the four terms of the year, and one 'clavum gariophili' to me and my assigns at Christmas for all other services and secular demands. And if Simon and Amicia and their heirs die without lawful issue the survivor shall sell the messuage and garden, and the money shall be distributed for their souls. For this Simon and Amicia gave me a certain sum of money down

Richard appears as le Caller's name in the later charter. Robert is the name in the Record Office (1898) list. In that list Peter is "de Bosenho"; but in these charters Boseham is distinct and indicates the present pronunciation of the parish and hundred of Bosham in Sussex, the church of which is delineated in the Bayeux tapestry. Stow names the sheriff "de Besenho."

which completely paid me : and I confirmed this by the impression of my seal."

John's seal is circular, and bears a bird flying and the words "SI. JOHANNIS FIL JOHS."

A deed of JOHN LE CHAUCER¹ called Prest and Catherine his wife, quit-claiming to Simon of Pabenhams and Amice his wife any right which they may have in the messuage and garden, is witnessed by the same mayor and sheriffs, with the interesting difference that John le Wyte (White) is called John le Blund, showing that the interchange of Blund and White or Albus continued into the fourteenth century. The alderman, Roger of Appleby, and Gerard the barber are the only other witnesses.

The seal of John le Chaucer is much injured, but the fragment which remains shows that it probably bore the legend, "SI. JOHANNI LE CHAUCER PREST," but was of different design from that of the John le Chaucer of the former deed. Catherine's seal is oval, and bears a wheat

¹ Uniuersis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Johannes Le Chaucer dictus Prest et Caterina uxor mea Salutem in domino. Noueritis nos remisisse et omnino de nobis et heredibus nostris quietum clamasse Simoni de Pabenhams et Amicie uxori sue totum ius nostrum et clamium quod habuimus uel aliquo modo habere potuimus in uno mesuagio cum gardino in Westsmethefeld sicut continetur in carta feoffamenti dictorum Simonis et Amicie. Ita uidelicet quod nec ego predictus Johannes nec Caterina uxor mea heredes nec assignati nostri nec aliquis nomine nostro aliquod ius nec clamium in predicto mesuagio cum gardino de cetero exigere seu uendicare poterimus aut debemus imperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigilla nostra apposimus. Hiis testibus: Johanne Le Blund tunc maiore Ciuitatis Londoniarum: Ricardo le Callere: Petro de Boseham tunc vicecomitibus Londoniarum: Nicholao de Farendon tunc Aldermanno eiusdem Warde: Ade Braz: Rogero de Appelby: Gerardo Le Barber: et aliis. Datum London. die Martis proxima post festum Translacionis beati Thome martiris Anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici tricesimo.

sheaf. The charter was sealed on July 10, 1302, and was perhaps called for on the settlement of the affairs of the deceased John le Chaucer.¹

Two cloths adorned with golden peacocks and stags were offered at the high altar of St. Paul's for the soul of Alice, formerly wife of John le Chaucer in 1299.²

A trace of the occasional transactions between the hospital and the priory at this time remains. A chirograph memorandum of an agreement between the PRIOR AND CONVENT and the master and brethren, dated June 3, 1303, states that the latter hold some tenements in St. Sepulchre's parish outside Newgate, formerly occupied by Martin le Arblaster and by Le Engleys, which tenement they held from the prior and convent for two shillings and six pence a year, and that they have remitted to the master and brethren all arrears of the aforesaid rent from the beginning of the world to the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 1303. The rent is to be regularly paid in future, and if not paid the prior and convent may distrain enough to pay the rent in the whole of the hospital tenement between that in question and the tenement of Isabella

¹ The family tree may thus be constructed:—

John called Prest the Chaucer	(spoken of as "quondam" in charter of which the date is between Oct. 28, 1301 and May 1302.
John Le Chaucer called Prest	who died May 25, 1302.
John Le Chaucer called Prest	who married Catherine, who executed a grant July 10, 1302.

² Dugdale, "History of St. Paul's," ed. 1658, p. 225.

atte Staples. "Given at London on the morrow of the Holy Trinity 1303."

The affairs of Little Wakering were from time to time discussed in the hospital chapter, and on May 2, 1304, in the church of Rayleigh before the OFFICIAL OF THE ARCHDEACON OF ESSEX. Alexander, perpetual vicar of the church of Little Wakering, admitted that he ought to take care of and be responsible for all the books and ornaments of the church which the master and brethren the rectors shall provide or which are now there.¹

ADAM OF ROTHING² was the last master elected in the reign of Edward I. His period of office began in 1305, and extended into the year 1308, the second year of Edward II. On February 2, 1305, ADAM OF ROTHING made an agreement with John son of Henry Wyth of Havering. John was holding land of the master and brethren in the vill of Reynham by a service of twenty

¹ Memorandum quod coram nobis Officiali domini Archidiaconi Essexie die Sabbatj in Crastino apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi Anno Domini m.ccc quarto in Ecclesia de Rayleg' in jure comparens Alexander perpetuus vicarius ecclesie de parus Wakering' confessus fuit se debere omnia ornamenta ac libros ecclesie predictae quos et que magister et fratres hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum rector eiusdem ibidem inuenient infuturum seu que vel qui ibidem sunt in presenti integraliter custodire et inuiolabiliter conseruare et ornamenta predicta lauare facere quociens necessarium fuerit suis sumptibus et expensis ad quod ipsum sentencialiter condempnauimus Justiciis exigente per sententiam precepti iuxta confessionem eiusdem. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum officii nostri presentibus est appensum. Datum die loco et anno predictis.

The Official's seal is attached to a slip cut horizontally from the vellum. It bears in its upper half a bird with open wings and in its lower a full face. A thinner slip cut lower down was perhaps to bear the vicar's seal.

² Cok's statement is:—"Adam de Rothing Anno Domini Millesimo cccvto. Anno Regis Edwardi Primi xxxi." It is clear that there is some confusion in this part of his list.

eight quarters of corn and six carts of hay a year. Forty quarters of corn and six carts of hay were in arrear, whence difficulties had arisen. John for peace agrees that within a month of next Easter a day shall be assigned to him before the judges of the King's bench at Westminster to give up the land to the hospital: the hospital in return to give up all arrears. The deed was to be deposited with the prior of the new hospital of St. Mary outside Bishopsgate.

HUMFREY OF WALEDEN remitted and quit-claimed to Adam of Rothyngges and the brethren on July 15, 1306, all his right in twenty shillings worth of quit-rent from the marsh in Burnham called Suthwalemersh in the hundred of Danseye in Essex.¹ His circular seal has in the middle a shield bearing two bars and in chief three cinquefoils. This is placed in a fine moulding of four semicircles with angles between them and the whole surrounded by a border bearing the words, "s' HUMFRIDI DE WALEDEN."

ADAM OF ROTHING on September 22, 1306, granted to John of Flaundene, chaucer, and Margery his wife a place of land next Smithfield from the hospital place as far as the garden of St. Giles, sixty-six ells long and another place twenty-nine ells long from that garden to Cowbridge Street (Cubreggesstrete). They were to make a vault beyond the aforesaid places with founda-

¹ Witnesses: Sir Walter le Band knight: John Malegreffe: Richard Trauers: William le Waleys: John atte made: and others. Given at Donton the Friday next before the feast of St. Margaret in the thirty-fourth year of King Edward the son of King Henry.

tions and walls of stone, the vault to be high enough for a man to walk upright beneath it. The course of water now blocked was to be set free. The building was to be done within five years of the date of the document. They were to pay twenty-four shillings a year, and if they failed to do so the master and brethren might distrain on their tenements in Holborn and Cordewaner Street. Sir John le Blounde then mayor, Geoffrey ad conductum and Simon Bolet then sheriffs witnessed the grant, with four other witnesses.¹

ADAM OF ROTHINGGES² and the brethren on May 6, 1307, agreed with Stephen Windhell to let him for life a place of land in West Ham for twelve pence a year, payable at Michaelmas. It lay beside the ground of Thomas Stefne on the east and the land of John le Sinniter on the west. One end abutted on the garden of Robert Havelok and the other on "the king's way which leads to Chelmeresford."

There was one appeal to the Holy See during the mastership of Adam of Rothyng. The business is not stated in the brief of Pope CLEMENT V.³ further than

¹ Roger de Appelby : John Moris : John Herewarde : Gerard le Barber. The circular seal of John of Flaundene, in green wax, bears a beautifully cut fleur-de-lys.

² Witnesses: Warin Ede: Adam of Yarmouth (Iernemuth): John Ambreys: Richard of Sutton: Michael of West ham: and others. Given at London on the day of St. John before the Latin gate in the thirty fifth year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Henry.

³ Clemens episcopus Servus Servorum dei Dilecto filio, Abbati monasterii sancte Crucis de Waltham Londoniensis diocesis Salutem ac apostolicam benedicionem. Dilectorum filiorum magistri et fratrum hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniensis precibus inclinati presencium tibi auctoritate mandamus quatinus ea que de bonis ipsius hospitalis alienata inueneris illicite uel distracta ad ius et proprietatem eiusdem

that it refers to possessions of the hospital which had been alienated. The abbot of the monastery of the Holy Cross of Waltham in the diocese of London is authorised to investigate and decide the question. The brief is dated from Lyons, February 6, 1306. A notice by the abbot to whom the papal brief was addressed, is attached to it by a vellum tie, which is sealed with a large oval seal, on the upper and only remaining part of which is a plain cross with a sword on each side.

"John, by divine permission abbot of the monastery of the Holy Cross of Waltham," the judge delegated by the pope, addresses the Abbot of Bileigh (Byleya) and the Priors of St. Bartholomew of London and of St. Mary of Southwark, and desires them to act for him in deciding the causes and affairs of the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which by the apostolic mandate (of which he says a copy is appended) have been remitted to him; one or two of them to be a quorum. The document is dated at Waltham, April 24, 1306. The particular claims of the Abbot of Bileigh and of the Prior of Prittlewell in the parish of Great Wakering had been decided by a commission of two abbots and a prior appointed in a brief of Pope Innocent II.¹ in 1209. It seems probable

hospitalis legitime reuocare procures. Contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellacione postposita compescendo. Testes autem qui fuerint nominati si se gracia odio uel timore subtraxerint censura simili appellacione cessante compellas ueritati testimonium perhibere. Datum Lugduni viii id. Februarii. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

¹ Newcourt, "Repertorium," 1710, vol. ii, p. 619.

that the commissioners named by the Abbot of Waltham, one of whom was an Essex abbot, may have had to try some questions as to tithes or other ecclesiastical dues which the hospital claimed in some part of Essex. Bileigh was a Premonstratensian abbey. The prior of St. Bartholomew's Church was naturally named from his relation to the master and brethren, and the Prior of Southwark was head of another Augustinian foundation.

A requiem was no doubt sung for their benefactor King Edward the son of King Henry, in the chapel of the Holy Cross within the hospital by Adam of Rothing and the brethren when the news of that great king's death at Grange le Sands on July 7, 1307, reached London.

VIII

THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD II



ADAM OF ROTHING was still master when the reign of Edward II. began. On August 10, 1308, Adam and the brethren remitted to Robert of Thelnotham called le Callerer, citizen and mercer of London, all their right in a shop which Robert held of them in Soperes Lane¹ in the parish of St. Pancras for four marks and a half of silver a year. Robert gave them a certain sum of money down for this grant. His seal bears a lion, and on the border his name. The witnesses are Sir John le Blount, knight, then Mayor of London and alderman of that ward, Nicholas Pykot and Nigel Drury then sheriffs, and eight others who are named.²

¹ Later Soper's Lane and now Queen Street, Cheapside. A charter of ROBERT OF BASINGES which grants to Adam the bellfitter (cloctarius) all his land in the parish of St. Margaret, Lothbury (apud Lotheberi), at a rent of sixteen shillings a year, Adam paying forty shillings, has two sopers among its witnesses. The first witness is the second Mayor of London, who was in office 1212-1214. The seal of the grantor bears a fleur-de-lys. The list of witnesses is interesting:—

Hiis testibus : Rogero Alano filio maiore [*sic*] Londoniarum et tunc aldermanno : Salomon de Basinges : Waltero de Basinges : Willelmo de Basinges : Ernaldo sellario : Willelmo Bretun : Willelmo Wilekino : Laurentio aurifabro : Godardo steymbatur : Willelmo Ouver : Nicholao Bokelier : Roberto pistore : Benedicto Seynter : David le Sopper : Ricardo sopper : Willelmo Wastel : Adam pistore : Roberto de Mora : Josef clerico : Waltero Flemengo : Reinero clerico : et multis aliis.

² Richer of Bosham : Simon of Paris : Roger of Paris : Peter of Sparham : William

JOHN OF TEREFELED¹ was the first master elected in the reign of Edward II., and was in office near the end of the second year of the king. A grant of his to Roger of Appilby, citizen of London, and Albreda his wife is dated at London on the feast of St. Barnabas (June 11) in that year, and is witnessed by Nicholas of Farndon, then mayor, and by William of Basinges and James le Boteler, the sheriffs appointed at Michaelmas 1308. The grant is of a vacant place in the corner of Smithfield next Hosier Lane, given to the hospital by "Edward formerly King of England, father of Lord Edward now King of England," at a rent of twenty-four shillings a year.²

de Insula : John le Botoner : Geoffrey of Forsham : Robert of Cornedale the clerk : and others. Given at London on Saturday, the feast of St. Laurence the martyr, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Edward. The document is a chirograph cut in a wavy line.

¹ The record of John of Terefeld in the Cartulary is inexact :—"Johannes Terefelde Anno Domini M.CCCXI Anno Regia Edwardi Secundi tercio." The third year of Edward II. began July 8, 1309.

² Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel auditoria Johannes de Terefeld Magister Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Westsmethefeld Londoniarum et fratres eiusdem loci Salutem in Domino. Noueritis nos vnanimi assensu et voluntate tocius Capituli nostri dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Rogero de Appilby ciui Londoniarum et Albrede uxori eius quandam placeam nostram vacuam cum suis pertinenciis quam habuimus ex dono et concessione domini Edwardi nuper Regis Anglie patris domini Edwardi regis nunc Anglie iacentem in Cornerio de Smethefeld iuxta venellam vocatam Hosieres Lane ex parte aquilonari et tenementum Rogeri Fleges ex parte australi. Et extendit se in longitudine a vico Regio de Smethefeld uersus orientem vsque ad tenementum Johannis de Flaundene Hosyere versus occidentem. Habendam et tenendam dictam placeam cum omnibus suis pertinenciis prefato Rogero et Albrede vxori eius et heredibus et assignatis ipsius Albrede de nobis et successoribus nostris libere quiete bene et in pace imperpetuum : Reddendo inde nobis et successoribus nostris annuatim viginti et quatuor solidos Sterlyngorum ad quatuor anni terminos in Ciuitate Londoniarum principales et vsuales Et nos predicti Magister et fratres et successores nostri totam predictam placeam cum suis pertinenciis predicto Rogero et Albrede vxori eius et heredibus et assignatis ipsius Albrede contra omnes Warantzabimus imperpetuum : In cuius rei testimonium parti huius scripti penes sepedictos Rogerum et Albrede remanenti sigillum nostrum commune est

WILLIAM OF ACTON¹ became master in 1312, as is shown by two charters of his belonging to the first quarter of the sixth year of Edward II. In one dated July 26, 1312, WILLIAM OF ACTON entered into an agreement with John de la Chaumbre, clerk and citizen of London, who had a holding in Vitry Lane near the hospital. John had built houses on the hospital wall, with two drains in his private chambers and one in the kitchen of the houses he held opening into "the great drain of our hospital." He is allowed to keep these as they are, provided he maintains the hospital wall in repair, but is not to make any more holes or drains. The gutter from the kitchen is to have iron bars across it so that no big things may go down it. He is to build nothing on the wall, and is to pay twelve pence a year to the hospital.²

appensum. Et alteri parti huius scripti penes nos Magistrum et fratres remanenti sigilla ditorum Rogeri et Albrede sunt appensa. Hiis testibus: Nicholao de Farndon tunc maiore Londoniarum: Willelmo de Basynges et Jacobo le boteler tunc vicecomitibus eiusdem Ciuitatis: Ade Braz: Rogero Flegea: Petro de Wymburne: Johanne Tauerner: Simone de Pabenham: Johanne de Pabenham: et aliis. Datum Londoniæ in feato sancti Barnabe Apostoli Anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Edwardi secundo.

¹ The record in the Cartulary is: "Willelmus de Acton A.D. MCCCXIII^o Anno regni regis Edwardi secundi sexto qui reignavit A.D. MCCCXIII^o et obiit pridie Kal. Jul. A.D. MCCCXXX^o."

² The deed is dated at London the morrow of the feast of St. James the Apostle in the sixth year of King Edward the son of King Edward. Witnesses: Thomas of Meldeburne: Roger of Appelby: Simon of Pabenham: John Braz: Gerard le Barber: John of Flaunden. A later document shows that this John de la Chaumbre had a son John and a nephew named Edmond of Wymondham: and they sold the holding to John of Oxford in 1328.

The circular seal of John de la Chaumbre, in red wax, is of the size of a shilling. It has no inscription, but an outer border of ten arches with cusps enclosing a circular narrow border, within which is a cinquefoil, and inside it branches round a raised oval boss too much worn to distinguish, but which may have been a man's head.

In the other charter WILLIAM OF ACTON and the brethren, on September 30, 1312, entered into an agreement with Mr. Joce of Kenebantou, granting to him for his life all their lands at Ronewell, Dunham, Ramesden, Neuenden, and Wykford in the county of Essex, and to his assigns for two years after his death: the due services and customs are to be made to the capital lords of the fee. The first term is to begin at Christmas in the seventh year of King Edward son of King Edward. Joce is to keep all in as good a state as it is in at the time of the agreement, and to pay four marks a year. The deed is dated the morrow of St. Michael in the sixth year of the king.¹

On September 21, 1313, WILLIAM OF ACTON made an agreement with John of Orewelle, baker, and his wife Alice, by which he and the brethren granted to them for life a tenement with three shops built on it, between the tenement of the late John Steel and the gate of the great garden of the hospital, outside the Smithfield bar, with a solarium beyond that gate and the curtilage adjoining it; reserving the way and the entrance to their croft and garden which the master and brethren at present have. The rent is to be twenty-six shillings a year, and is to be paid quarterly "*sine vltiori dilacione secundum vsum villagiorum*"; and the houses are to be kept in good repair. And if John and Alice have son or

¹ The witnesses named are: Roger of Appelby: Thomas of Meldeburn: Adam Braz: Gerard le Barber: Simon of Pabenham.

daughter who may wish to continue the tenancy on the terms of this agreement they shall have the preference. After the statement that both parties to the agreement have affixed their seals the date immediately follows, and there are no names of witnesses. The seal of John of Orwell is round, and bears a classical head and on a border "S. Johannis de Orewelle," and that of Alice of Orewelle is oval and within the border has a long stellate pattern.

WILLIAM OF ACTON¹ granted on January 19, 1319, to Richard of Dorking an entrance in the parish of St. Margaret of Friday Street at the corner near the fishmarket. John of Wangrave, then mayor, and the sheriffs John Poyritel and John of Dalling witnessed the transaction. A fourth witness was Hamo² of Chig-

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos frater Willelmus de acton magister hospitalis sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld London et fratres loci eiusdem unanimi assensu et voluntate nostra et tocius capituli nostri dedimus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Ricardo de Dorkyngge Ciui London' quemdam introitum cum suis pertinenciis scitum in parochia beate Margarete de Fridaystrate London' inter magnam domum lapideam nostram in cornerio de Frydaystrate versus piscenarium ex parte australi et tenementum dicti Ricardi ex parte aquilonari uidelicet illa placea ubi introitus noster quondam fuit versus solarium nostrum pro ut continet in longitudine latitudine altitudine et profunditate. Habendum et tenendum predictum introitum cum suis pertinenciis predicto Ricardo et heredibus et assignatis suis de nobis et successoribus nostris libere integre iure et hereditarie in feodo imperpetuum. Et nos predicti magister et fratres et successores nostri totum predictum introitum cum suis pertinenciis predicto Ricardo et heredibus et assignatis suis warantizabimus et defendemus contra omnes gentes imperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte ad modum cyrographi confectepartes predicte sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Hiis testibus: Johanne de Wangraue tunc maiore Londoniarum: Johanne Poyritel et Johanne de Dallynge tunc vicecomitibus eiusdem Ciuitatis: Hamundo de Chigewelle: Willelmo Prodome: Ricardo Gubbe: Rogero de Bernes: et aliis. Datum London. die Jouis in festo Conuersionis Sancti Pauli Anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi duodecimo.

Richard of Dorking's seal has within a foiled border a shield party per pale and bearing a chevron with two cinquefoils in chief.

² As mayor he witnessed a charter which mentions a piece of the hospital property:—
WILLIAM BLAK IN THE MOUTHE, Torcher, citizen of London, grants to William of:

well, who had been sheriff in 1314 and was elected Mayor of London in October 1319. Later in life he became a popular hero in the city. In February 1329 he was tried for the receipt of stolen goods belonging to the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's. He was convicted, though he declared himself to be a clerk, and sent to

Newcastle under Lime (*de Nouo Castro subtus Limam*), clerk, all the place of land with houses which he had of the gift of Agnes Muchegros in the parish of St. Botulph Aldersgate (*extra Aldrichesgate*), in its breadth between the land of Emma Trenchant on the south and the tenement of William Sprot on the north: in its length from the king's way on the east to the tenement of St. Bartholomew's Hospital of Westsmithfield on the west, paying thence each year to the prior and convent of the church of St. Bartholomew of Westsmithfield two shillings and six pence of silver, seven pence and one halfpenny at each of the four usual terms for all services and secular demands. William of Newcastle for this concession gave him a sum of money down. These being witnesses: Hamo of Chigewell, then Mayor of the city of London: Reginald de Conductu and William Prodhomme, then sheriffs of the city: Henry of Seccheford, then alderman of that ward: Nigel of Whatelee: Peter of Hungrie: William of Schordych: Richard of Rothingge: Simon Trenchant: Geoffrey of Hestone: Stephen le Plomer: Ralph the clerk: and others. Given at London the eighth day of the month of July in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Edward son of King Edward.

If the hand is, as seems likely, that of Ralph the clerk, he wrote a very fine one.

The charter of AGNES MUCHEGROS is in the same handwriting. Agnes was a widow, and granted to William Blakinthemouth Torcher all the land with houses on it which she had from the gift of Love Meel, formerly wife of Richard Meel, citizen and mercer of London in the parish of St. Botulph outside Aldersgate, which land was between that of Emma Trenchant, mother of Simon Trenchant, on the south and the land of the late William Sprot on the north, and between the king's way on the east and the land of St. Bartholomew's Hospital on the west: rendering to the Prior and Canons of St. Bartholomew's in Westmethefeld two shillings and six pence of silver a year, seven pence halfpenny to be paid at each of the four usual terms. For this grant William gave her a certain sum of money. The witnesses were: John of Gysors then Mayor of the city of London: Hamo Godchape and William of Bodelee then sheriffs of the same city: Richard of Wylehale then alderman of that ward: Henry of Kele: Peter of Hungrie: Simon Trenchant: Nigel of Whatelee: Geoffrey of Boocham: William of Schordych: Geoffrey of Hestone: Richard le Erbrer: Ralph the clerk: and others. Given at London the twentieth day of the month of October in the ninth year of the reign of King Edward, the son of King Edward.

Another charter which was probably written by him is a chirograph of June 11, 1315, between WILLIAM OF ARUNDEL, citizen of London and horsemonger, and Emma Sprot, formerly wife of John Sprot. He grants to her for her life a shop in the parish of St. Sepulchre between the tenement of William himself on the east and that formerly held by Roger of Appelby on the west, and between the tenement of the Prior of Kenilworth on

the Tower. The following Friday he was liberated by the Bishop of London, and cleared himself before that prelate on January 27, 1330. The next day was Sunday, and entering the city he was met by a great crowd, including aldermen, who received him with honour and led him to his own house. It is clear that his accusation had some political complexion, for the chronicler¹ adds that the king and the queen mother were displeased by this popular display.

Gilbert of Segrave, Bishop of London,² visited the

the north and the royal street on the south. The witnesses were: Simon of Pabenharn : John of Bottertone : Thomas Hardy : Gerard le Barber : Hugh le Chaundeler : John of Flaundene : Ralph the clerk, and others. Given at London on Wednesday the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, in the eighth year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Edward.

William of Arundel is witness of a charter of 1317 of THOMAS OF VERNOUN, who remits and quit-claims to the master and brethren of the hospital all his right or claim in all lands and tenements in the city of London and the suburb. The witnesses named are : John of Wanegrave, then Mayor of London : John Pryour and William Forneys, then Sheriffs of London : Simon of Papeham : William of Aroundel : John of Flanden : Gerard le barber : Hugh le Chaundeler.

As sheriff, Hamo witnessed on March 29, 1315, a charter in which REGINALD PEROT, son of Sir Ralph Perot, knight, granted to Roger of Notyngham, citizen and skinner of London, a place of land with a house upon it in the parish of St. Andrew of Holborn, extending in breadth between the land of Robert Cok on the east and the tenement of William of Redyng and Isabel his wife, and the tenement of the late Richard Busse and the land of William Passemer on the west, and in length from the royal street towards the north to the land of William Passemer on the south. It measures in breadth 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ ells of the iron ells of the King of England measured without thumbs. Roger gave a certain sum of money "in gersumam." The witnesses named are : John of Gysors, then Mayor of the city of London : Stephen of Habyndon and Hamo of Chigwell, then sheriffs of the abovesaid city : Nicholas of Farndon, then alderman of that ward : William le schereman : Reginald the clerk : Symon of Pourtepole : Robert le Blonde Hende : Robert Gorterer : John the clerk : William le Braziur : Symon le kynges : Henry Bonmarch the clerk. Dated at London the Saturday next after Easter, the eighth year of the reign of King Edward son of King Edward.

¹ Stubbs: *Annales Lond.*, i. p. 246.

² Bishop of London's Registers (Baudake), f. 39. Copy kindly lent to me by Mr. A. E. Webb.

hospital during William of Acton's mastership, and his ordinance for the regulation of the hospital gives a picture of St. Bartholomew's in the reign of Edward II. It was issued from Fulham on May 4, 1316. He recommends unity and absence of differences, since every kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed, and goes on to details of management which show us the daily life and apparel of the brethren. Those of the brethren who were priests were to wear round cloaks of frieze or other cloth, the lay brethren shorter cloaks; and the sisters tunics and over-tunics of grey cloth, these not to be longer than to their ankles.

Each sister is every day to receive four white breads of the common bread of the brethren and three breads of the second kind of bread, and each sister is to have white loaves of the weight of 50 solidi and to have half a flagon of ale as the brothers have. The brethren are to have two dishes (*fercula*) at a meal, the sisters the better of the two dishes (*fercula*) at a light meal (*pitancia*). The brethren are not to eat or drink in the city without leave of the master. The canonical hours are to be kept day and night, and all are to hear mass every morning, and after it are to get about their work. The master is not to spend money with his own hand, but a brother is to go about with him who pays each time and gives an account on his return. The master is to have one groom only. Seven brethren, of whom five are priests, are necessary for the service of the

house. The bishop declares that there shall be eight brethren and four sisters, and not more. They are not to quarrel, and if any do, their penance is to be announced by the master in chapter, and they are to be reduced to the rule of bread and water only. The acts of the chapter are to be regarded as secret. The brethren and sisters are to attend all the sick in the hospital. If a brother is negligent, his bread and ale are to be withdrawn for the next day. A list of all important garments is to be kept in two rolls—one to be in the possession of the master, the other in the possession of a careful sister. The master is to visit the sick and to provide food and drink to each poor inmate. The brethren and sisters receiving the sick are always to have our blessed Lord before their eyes in choosing whom to admit. Those admitted are to be kept till they are sufficiently well. One brother is to be chosen as doorkeeper (*ostiarius*), who is modest and praiseworthy in conversation. Neither seculars nor religious are to be admitted to visit the sisters without leave of the master. Two rolls are to be drawn up, containing every rent and all casual possessions of the hospital; one roll is to be in the hands of the master and one in the keeping of one of the brothers. One brother, with a secular clerk, is to collect rents in the city. Whatever is received he is to deliver over by tally, and all receipts of rents are to be duly entered, and the collectors and steward are to come four times a year

and deliver an account before the master and brethren. No brother is to buy any garment or stores with money collected by him. If he needs a new garment the steward is to provide him with one, and he is to give back the old garment. No secular person is to be steward of any manor except by consent of the chapter. If any brother or sister is disobedient for one whole day, he or she is to be punished by fasting on bread and water for three days ; if disobedient for longer, then ecclesiastical censure and excommunication are to follow. These injunctions and commands, with those which Robert (of Winchilsea), Archbishop of Canterbury, issued to the hospital, "we will," says the bishop, "that you follow, and all are to be read aloud in the chapter four times in each year."

Richard of Newport, Gilbert's successor, who was consecrated Bishop of London on May 15, 1317, visited the hospital in the first year of his short episcopate, and on April 1, 1318, from Cofford, confirmed this ordinance and added to it. He was dissatisfied about some things. There were several officers for one office, where only one was needed, therefore he desired that such offices should be each filled by one officer only. Corrodies had been made diminishing the revenue of the house—they are not to be made unless unavoidable. There was irregularity about the patients' diet. One measure of fat of the weight given to a brother in each baking, and the allowance (pittance) of other things and of drink which

on Sundays and feast days were given to the sick, have of late usually been withheld. Order on all these points is to be restored. The infirmary and other buildings are out of repair for want of roofing, and all are to be repaired.

Just at this time a chantry was founded in the hospital. Letters patent of EDWARD II. issued at Westminster, dated May 20, 1321, state that William of Langelegh had in his will, subsequent to the passing of the statute of mortmain, left to the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's a messuage in the suburb of London, to find a chaplain to say mass every day for the souls of William himself and of all the faithful. Richard of Rodeneye, escheator on this side of Trent, has taken it into the king's hand. The king of special grace pardons the transgression, and gives leave to the master and brethren to found the chantry.

Early in 1321 William of Acton was induced to resign the mastership.

SIMON DOWELL, a priest, was presented as master to the Bishop of London by the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, was admitted, and canonically confirmed on May 4, 1321. It came out afterwards that his election was not all that it ought to have been, and Stephen of Gravesend, the bishop, appointed a commission consisting of Robert of Dounbregge, a canon, Richard of Brenchesle, the chancellor of St. Paul's, and Geoffrey of Eytone, a canon of St. Paul's, to reform or alter the election.

Brother Simon Dowell, by his own admission and by the evidence of the brethren, was proved to have had himself made master by illicit agreements and promises and simoniacally. It was also proved that brother William of Acton, the true master before this usurpation, had resigned owing to the deceitful importunity of the said Simon. Simon, the commission found, had no right to be in the mastership of the hospital. They therefore removed him from the mastership and put back William of Acton. The report is dated at Orseth, February 11, 1321 (as we should say, 1322).¹ William of Acton, thus reinstated in 1322, resigned the mastership in March 1324. He died June 30, 1330.

SIMON DOWELL remained a brother, and held the office of rentar in 1327, as is shown by an acknowledgment of his to William Godyngdon, chaplain of John, Bishop of Ely,² for eighteen shillings sterling in payment of arrears of an annual rent of six shillings for a tenement in Holborn held from the hospital by the bishop. The document is dated at London, on Wednesday the morrow of St. Michael, in the first year of Edward III. The small round seal of the chaplain remains attached on a slip cut from the lower edge of the vellum. The edge of the seal is broken, but the centre is perfect and

¹ Baudake, 50b. (Copy kindly lent to me by Mr. E. A. Webb.)

² John de Hotham, Bishop of Ely, 1316-1337. This was the messuage with nine cottages in Holborn which had been left by John of Kirkeby, Bishop of Ely, to St. Etheldreda and the bishops of Ely. Inquisition before the sheriffs, September 22, 1303, in Register of Ely (Lord Leconfield's), Hist. MSS. Commission, Sixth Report, p. 298.

is a classical head of a man. Simon Dowell died August 18, 1330.

WILLIAM LE ROUS, one of the brethren, was appointed master on March 22, 1324, by Stephen of Gravesend, Bishop of London, the mastership being vacant by the resignation of William of Acton. William, whose name tells us the colour of his hair,¹ was presented to the brethren and sisters of the hospital and to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew.² On June 10, 1324, he obtained from the king a charter³ which brother John Cok, who copied it into the Cartulary, describes as "the charter of confirmation of the liberties of the hospital of St. Bartholomew in Westsmythefeld, London, obtained in the seventeenth year of Edward II. by Master William Rows; on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen."

This charter of Edward II. contains an *inspeximus* of the charters of Edward I., including his *inspeximus* of the charters of Henry III. of June 15, 1253, and ends

¹ This form of *Rufus* was common at the time, and is probably to be regarded as personal, though formed surnames were coming into use, as may be noticed in the lists of witnesses to charters. Thus, on the Thursday next after the feast of St. Luke 1275, William le Ros of Honnelak, military tenant, granted to Robert Harewode, citizen of London, and Matilda his wife, at five shillings a year, a tenement in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, next the garden of William Passemer on the south, and on the north to the king's highway which lies opposite the manor of the Lord Bishop of Ely, and on the west to the tenement of Ralph Perot, and on the east to that of Robert of Lincoln, tailor of London. The witnesses were: John le Blounde then mayor: Reginald of Chaunderlye and William Cnsyn then sheriffs: Nicholas of Faringdon then alderman of the ward: William Passemer: William Edyman: Richard Busshy: Symon le Webbe: Thomas the clerk: William le Brewere.

² Baudake, 55b. (Copy kindly lent to me by Mr. E. A. Webb.)

³ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 80.

with a confirmation of all that had been granted to the master and brethren by Edward I., Henry III., and Henry I. The charter is dated at Westminster, June 10, in the seventeenth year of the king's reign, and is witnessed by Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury;¹ John, Bishop of Norwich; Stephen, Bishop of London; Aylmer,² Earl of Pembroke; Edmund,³ Earl of Arundel; Hugh le Despencer, Earl of Winchester; Hugh of Courteney, John of Claveryng, and Richard Dammory.

In the same year on the first of October a copy, compared word by word with the original at Wolaston in the hundred of Higham Ferrers, in the presence of Thomas of Berkeley, William le Lorde, Robert of Ponthorp, and John of London, was given to the master and brethren, who put their seals upon it.

On Friday, July 13, 1324, an inquiry was held in Smithfield before William of Weston, escheator of the king, in the city of London, as to whether the king without injury or prejudice to him might grant to his chosen in Christ the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital two vacant places in Smithfield next their house, that they might include those places and hold them for themselves and their successors to enlarge their house, paying a certain annual rent to the king and his heirs into his exchequer. A jury of twelve

¹ Walter Reynolds (1314-1327): John Salmon (1299-1325): Stephen of Gravesend, (1319-1338). Le Neve, "Fasti."

² De Valence.

³ Edmund Fitzalan.

declared that the grant would do the king no harm. They said that one of these places contained 11 perches 2 feet in length and 1 perch $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in breadth, and that it was worth three pence a year. And that the other place contained 6 perches 12 feet in length and at one end in breadth 1 perch $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot and at the other 3 feet, and was worth three pence a year.

The jurors were William of Arundel, Philip Dikeman, William le Clerk, John le Hosiere, Simon at the Gate, Robert of Langeleggh, William at the hole, John Hereward, William Forest, William of Hakeney, Roger of Edelmpton, and William of Walsham, and they affixed their seals in evidence of their decision. They were probably all residents in London, though the origin of one was Sussex, of one Hertfordshire, of one Norfolk, and of two, villages near London. The list shows that many men at that time came from the country to live in London, while the absence of any witness from a foreign place of origin shows how the population of London had changed since the reign of Richard I., when witnesses from Normandy and Brittany were common. After this "inquisitio ad quod dampnum" the master and brethren received leave to include the two vacant spaces, and paid ten shillings for the licence.¹ The licence recites the size of the land and its value, and grants it to the master and brethren for ever, the statute of mortmain notwithstanding, at a rent of twelve pence

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* f. 43a. The original copy is also preserved.

a year, one half to be paid to the exchequer and the other half to the exchequer of St. Michael by the hands of the sheriffs of London for the time being. It is dated at Norwich, January 20, in the nineteenth year of the king's reign, 1326.

In 1325, WILLIAM LE ROUS¹ granted to William of Arundel and his wife for life, on the Sunday (March 12) before the feast of St. Gregory, a tenement in the parish of St. Sepulchre next the tenement of Simon of Pabenhams. They were to pay the accustomed dues to the lord of the fee, and to the hospital one penny a year.

In the same year, on the Monday before the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle (December 16), LETICIA,² widow of Simon Gubbe, granted to William le Rous all her right in three shops in the old Fishmarket.

WILLIAM OF ARUNDEL, citizen and horse dealer, who has been already mentioned, on June 16, 1325, gave to William le Rous, the brethren and sisters, two shops³ in

¹ Witnesses: Simon of Pabenhams: Richard le Ussher: William of Hakeneye: John Herewarde: Richard atte Gate: John le Barber: William le Cordewaner.

² Witnesses: Hamo of Chiggewelle, then Mayor of London: John Caton and Gilbert of Mordon, then sheriffs: William Godsome: John of Denham: Richard Gubbe: Roger of Bernes: Hamo le Barber. Her seal bears a star of sixteen points.

³ They were between the tenement of Roger of Appleby on the south and that of the Prior of Kenilworth on the north. The witnesses were: Simon of Pabenhams: Richard le Ussher: John Hereward: Richard atte Gate: William of Hakeneye: John le Barber: William le Cordewaner. Given at London on the Sunday next before the feast of St. Botolph the Abbot in the eighteenth year of King Edward the son of King Edward. The seal bears a pelican and the words "S. Willelmi de Arundel."

A charter of 1323 of John le Musters, plasterer, and Emma le Plastrer refers to a tenement between the land of the Prior of Kenilworth and that of William of Arundel, and is witnessed by him. The witnesses named were Nicholas Farindon, mayor: John Grantham and Roger of Ely, sheriffs: William of Arundel: William called le Prest: Simon of Pabenhams: John of Serlington, clerk: Robert of Brikhill.

William of Arundel also appears as witness of a charter of 1324 of William Westhey,

the parish of St. Sepulchre to keep up a chaplain who should say mass for his soul every day in the chapel of St. Catharine, which he had rebuilt on the north side of the hospital. The chaplain was to pray for him and Christina his wife, for his ancestors and heirs, for Thomas of Sybethorp, clerk, and for all the faithful. He did not live long after, for on May 3, 1328, CHRISTINA, wife of the late William of Arundel, released to the master and brethren her claim in fourteen shops and two messuages in the parish of St. Sepulchre which they had of his gift. Her oval seal bears a boldly designed fleur-de-lys and the words "Sig. Christine de Arundel." The master and brethren obtained a licence in mortmain to hold this land.

One other considerable benefaction was made in this reign. Robert Newcomen, citizen and seal maker of London, by a chirograph made with John of Pekesden, Prior of St. Bartholomew's of Smithfield, and William le Rous, master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, granted out of devotion to God and the glorious Virgin Mary, St. Peter, St. Bartholomew, and St. Michael the Archangel, and for his own spiritual health, the welfare of

who married Emma, daughter of Emma Viaunde. The witnesses were: Hamo of Chigwell, mayor: Adam of Salisbury and John of Oxford, sheriffs: Nicholas of Farendon, alderman of the ward: William Arundell: Symon of Pabenhams: Philip Sygeman: William of Appelby: John Hereward: John le Hosiere: Ralph the clerk.

A charter of the same year of Emma Viaunde, the widow of Robert of Cobbehams, of the county of Kent, gives the name of a neighbouring alderman. Its witnesses are: Hamo of Chykelle, mayor: Helias of Southfolk, alderman of the ward of Crepulgate: Walter Pecok: John of Amyas: Roger le Espycer: John le Zuytler: Henry Cros: John Musters.
—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 32a.

his own soul and those of his father and mother and of his deceased wife Matilda, and his deceased wife Petronilla, and his children and his sister and of all the faithful departed, thirty-four acres to the master and brethren and sisters for the sustenance of the poor in the hospital. The grant is dated at Barbican, London, on the Wednesday next before the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin in the nineteenth year of King Edward the son of King Edward (July 17, 1325).¹

This land Robert Newcomen had acquired from Laurence de Frothewyk of Chick in the county of Essex on September 8, 1322. It consisted of thirty-four acres of land in the parishes of St. Botolph and St. Giles, and he obtained a licence in mortmain on July 10, 1325, to grant it to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in aid of the support of the poor and sick in the hospital. By an indenture of August 1, 1328, Robert Newcomen granted to William le Rous certain tenements of the prebend of Morà, which completed his endowment.

William le Rous was still in office in January 1327, when King Edward the son of King Edward ceased to reign. The grant of a royal charter, two episcopal visitations, the election of four masters, the deposition of one, and the foundation of the chantries of William of Langley, William of Arundel, and Robert Newcomen,

¹ Witnessed by Walter Pecok and six others. *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 196b.

these were the events of the reign of Edward II. which occupied the thoughts of the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in addition to their daily duties in the care of the sick and the commemoration of the dead.

IX

THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD III



EVEN masters in succession ruled over St. Bartholomew's during the fifty-one years of the reign of Edward III. WILLIAM LE ROUS, who had been elected in the last days of the previous reign, held office for eleven years and two months. In his time the staff of the hospital included four priests, of whom the master was one, and six brethren not in holy orders. Two others of the priests, William of Acton and Symon Dowell, had held the office of master, and the fourth, Thomas of Litlington, was subsequently master. The lay brethren were Henry Baldewyn, Roger of Forstow, Richard of Hadham, Symon of Westey, Richard of Waltham, and John of Albethorp. They were all present on Sunday, July 15, 1330, and swore on the holy gospels before the notary, John Amici of Heveryngland in the diocese of Norwich, to observe the conditions of a chantry in the church of St. Thomas-juxta-la-Riole in London, founded by John Boreford in 1329 by a composition addressed to William le Rous and the three other priests of the hospital.¹

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 247a.

Various transactions of this mastership are recorded. WILLIAM LE ROUS, on July 27, 1328,¹ remitted to Walter of Misham for six shillings, all arrears of rent due to the hospital for a holding in St. Sepulchre's parish. This was in the sixth mayoralty of Hamo of Chigwell, who, with Henry Darcy and John Hauteyne the sheriffs, and six others,² witnessed the deed.

WALTER SON OF JOHN OF RYNGWODE,³ citizen and upholder, on September 2, 1328, granted to William le Rous and the brethren in perpetuity all the right which he had in certain land and houses in Cowbregesstrete in the parish of St. Sepulchre, which place Alice of Honylane, once wife of Stephen of Honylane, gave to William of Arundel and Cristina his wife, and which they gave to the hospital.

On August 1 in this year an indenture testifies that Robert Newcomen, citizen, gave to William le Rous and the brethren the tenements which he held of the prebend of Mora; and by the same indenture the master and brethren conceded to WILLIAM OF MELEFORD, prebendary of Mora, and his successors eight pence of annual rent from this land, and they also agreed to pay him and his

¹ The Wednesday after the feast of St. James the Apostle, in the second year of King Edward III.

² Symon of Pabenham: John of Cambridge: Richard atte Gate: John Herowarde: Richard le Ussher: William le Cordewaner.

³ Walter's seal of red wax bears a harpy. The witnesses were: Simon of Pabenham: John Heyward: Nicholas le usher: William of Hakeneye: John Swyft: John le Barber: William Prest.

This list contains the earliest example I have met with of the surname of Swift, afterwards to become so famous.

successors one mark of annual rent. William of Meleford assented. His oval seal of red wax bears two heads issuing from a border.

WILLIAM LE ROUS, on June 23, 1329, granted to Roger of Clopton, citizen and ropemaker, and Joan his daughter to the end of sixty years ten shillings in silver of annual rent which the hospital used to receive from the lands of Sir William Tailleboys, knight, at Crauden in Cambridgeshire.¹

On April 24, 1329, the MASTER AND BRETHREN made an agreement by way of indenture with the abbot and convent of Leicester about a service of twenty shillings due from a tenement called the Irnedore (iron-door) on the north side of St. Sepulchre's Church. In the event of non-payment the abbot was to be entitled to levy the amount on some neighbouring property of the hospital.²

JOHN OF PULTENEY, a citizen and clothier, on July 11, 1330, the Wednesday after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, granted to the master and brethren all the new-built houses which he had

¹ John of Grantham, then mayor: Henry of Combemartin, Symon Franceis, then sheriffs.

Two seals of white wax remain, one bearing three animals' heads and the other two lions rampant regardant.

The witnesses were: John of Preston, William of Rokesle, John of Whadon, Nicholas of Donestaple, Osbern of Braye, citizens of London: John Franceis, John Brassi of Mordon, Hugh le mareschal of Royston, John of Oneye of Hattele, William of Linchelade of Crauden.

² The witnesses were: Simon of Swanlond, then mayor of London: Hugh of Waltham: Robert of Manefeld: William of Luhteburgh: and William Vikery. The circular seal bears the figure of the abbot seated and holding his pastoral staff.

bought of John de la Bataille in the parish of St. Nicholas Fleshambles, between Ivy Lane on the west and the tenements of Robert of Holand and William of Harwe on the east, and from King Street on the north to the tenements belonging to St. Paul's on the south. The master and brethren in return were to provide two chaplains, one to say mass for all time in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, the other in the hospital, for the souls of John of Burford and Roesia his wife, and for those of John of Pulteney and Margaret his wife, after they depart this life, and for the souls of all the faithful departed. John of Pulteney's seal¹ bears a shield of arms within a diamond surrounded by a chain pattern. The bearings are a fess dauncety with three leopards' heads in chief. It is of shilling size and in red wax. In the following October he became mayor, and his name is extant to this day in the city in the street called Laurence Pountney Hill. WILLIAM LE ROUS mentions this benefaction in a charter dated the Monday (December 2) after the feast of St. Katharine the Virgin, 1336, in which he grants the holding to Simon atte Gate,² butcher and citizen, at four pounds

¹ The witnesses were: Thomas of Swanlond, then mayor of the city of London: Henry Gysors and Richard Cater, then sheriffs of the same city: Nicholas Farendon, then alderman of that ward: John of Lyndeseye: Nicholas Crane: Roger ate Belhous: Simon ate gate: Richard le Brewere: Robert of Manefeld messenger. The charter is endorsed as enrolled in the Husting of London on the Monday after the Translation of St. Edward the King, in the fourth year of King Edward III., and the endorsement is signed: "Ileford."

² Simon atte Gate's seal has his name on a border, and within a foiled centre a small stag. It is of red wax and of the size of a sixpence. The witnesses were: William of Brikelasworth and John of Northalle (in the Record Office list called William Curteys of

a year. John of Pulteney, as mayor, was witness on July 4, 1331, of a grant by WILLIAM LE ROUS¹ of a tenement in the parish of St. Botolph outside Aldersgate to Nigel of Whetle and Cristina his wife at a rent of fifteen shillings a year. A fine impression of the latest and then new seal of the master and brethren is attached to the grant.

The PRIOR AND CONVENT OF KENILWORTH,² on September 8, 1331, granted and quit-claimed to the master and brethren all their rights in the tenements formerly held by John le Chauncer in the parish of St. Sepulchre situate between the tenement of Robert the wheelwright on the north and that of Roger of Appelby on the south.

On Wednesday, Michaelmas Day, 1333, in London, WILLIAM LE ROUS and the brethren entered into an agreement about a tenement and garden at Enfield in Middlesex with Robert of Hadham and Margery his

Brikelesworth and John le Clerke of North halle), sheriffs: Nicholas Farndon, alderman of the ward: Nicholas Crane: and eight others named.

A licence in mortmain of 1392 gives John Mirfeld (the author of the *Breviarium Bartholomei*) and Robert Brian leave to give to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew certain messuages next Ivy Lane in the parishes of St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. Nicholas ad Macellas, and mentions that the third part of these belongs to Joan, who was the wife of Simon atte Gate, as dower, and after her death will revert to John Mirfeld and Robert Brian. See *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

¹ Robert of Ely and Thomas Horwold, then sheriffs, are also witnesses, as well as Henry of Sercheforde, alderman of the ward: Ralph of Blyda: Robert Box: John Spray: Peter Hungry: Geoffrey of Heston: William of Schordiche: William of Rameseye: John of London: and others.

² The seal has not been preserved. "Datum apud Kenilleworth in Capitulo nostro die dominica in festo Natiuitatis beate Marie virginis Anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu quinto."

wife, leasing it to them for their lives at four shillings a year.¹

In this year also WILLIAM LE ROUS let four acres of land in Barling to John le Gardiner at four shillings a year.

The new seal of the hospital is affixed to a grant made on the vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, 1333, by WILLIAM LE ROUS to John of Horwood and Nicholas his son, of four shops outside "le Barbican de Aldredesgate-strete" at three shillings and four pence a year.²

WILLIAM LE ROUS in this year granted to John le Gyleis eight marks of annual rent from a tenement called John's in the parish of St. Martin in the Vintry, and John of Gyleis at the same time received from the master and brethren three shillings and six pence of annual rent from a tenement in the parish of St. Peter of Cornhill.

In the same year WILLIAM LE ROUS leased to Hugh Herward and Margerie his wife a shop in Cowbreggesstrate, which the hospital possessed by the gift of William of Arundel.

On April 22, 1336, WILLIAM LE ROUS entered into

¹ Witnesses named : Richard of Pouns, then Sheriff of Middlesex : John of Penetera : Bartholomew le Foubere : Nicholas Crane : William of Causton.

² John of Preston, mayor : John Hamond and Walter Harmsard are mentioned as in office, and then follow the words "His testibus" and the names Henry Cros : Robert of Fynchingfeld : William Pecok : John Dykeman : John Miles : William of Ramesdene : Peter atte Corner.

JOHN OF HORWOOD's half of this deed is also preserved, with his seal bearing an H surmounted by a cross within a handsome foiled border and the words "Sigillum Johannis de Horwod." The seal of his son Nicholas is also appended, but its bearings are blurred

an agreement with John of Oxenford, citizen and vintner, as to a payment of sixty pounds due from him to the master and brethren.

In 1337 WILLIAM LE ROUS granted to William of Pertenhale and Joan his wife the brewery at Stoples and the bakery at the corner of Vitry Lane and the three next shops in West Smithfield, on condition of paying five shillings a year to the hospital and five to the convent of St. Bartholomew and six shillings and eight pence to John at Pole.¹

A document in which WILLIAM OF BLAKEMOR² chaplain, and Thomas of Litlington, janitor of the hospital,

¹ Before Henry Darci then mayor; Nicholas Crane and Walter Neel sheriffs. Pertenhale's seal bears a shield on which is an Agnus Dei.

² Nouerint vniversi nos Willelmum de Blakemor capellanum et Thomam de Litlingtona Janitorem hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei in West Smethefelda Londoniarum unanimi assensu et voluntate remisisse relaxasse ac omnino pro nobis heredibus et nostris assignatis imperpetuum quietum clamasse fratri Willelmo le Rous magistro dicti Hospitalis et eiusdem loci fratribus ac eorum successoribus totum ius et clamium quod vnquam habuimus seu quocumque modo iure titulo vel facto habere potuimus in illo tenemento vocato bracinam atte Stoples cum Pistrina in Cornerio de Vyteryane simul cum tribus shopis ad idem tenementum spectantibus iacentes in West Smethefelda in parochia Sancti Sepulchri extra Neugate Londoniarum a dicto Cornerio de Vyteryane versus austrum et gardinum Jordani de Langele quod tenet de eistem magistro et fratribus ad terminum vite versus aquilonem et vicum regium versus occidentem et gardinum Willelmi Albon quod habuimus ex dono et feoffamento Johannis de Oxenford ciuis Londoniarum prout in quadam carta feoffamenti per eundem Johannem nobis inde confecta plenius continetur. Ita tamen quod nec nos predicti Willelmus et Thomas nec heredes nostri nec aliquis alius per nos pro nobis heredibus seu assignatis nostris aut nomine nostro aliquid iuris vel clamii in predicto tenemento bracine, pistrina, nec in illis tribus shopis eidem tenemento spectantibus cum suis pertinenciis de cetero exigere clamare vel vendicare poterimus nec debemus in futurum, set ab omni actione aliquid inde petendi nos heredes et assignati nostri per presentes imperpetuum sumus exclusi. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Henrico Darcy tunc maiore Londoniarum: Nicholao Crane et Waltero Neel tunc eiusdem ciuitatis vicecomitibus. Hiis testibus: Waltero de Harekedone: Johanne Miles: Philippo Dykeman: Roberto Pekkefele: Simone Nicolo: Willelmo le brewere: Johanne Clerico: et aliis. Datum apud Smethefeld xiiii die mensis Januarii Anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum vndecimo.

surrendered any right they might have in a tenement called the brewery at Stoples, with the bakery at the corner of Vitery Lane and three shops, mentions William le Rous as master. It is dated at Smithfield, January 18, in the eleventh year of King Edward III—that is, 1338, for the regnal year ended on January 24. The master died on March 30, 1338.

THOMAS OF LITLINGTON, sometimes called Thomas of London, became master in 1338.¹ He was a priest and had been janitor of the hospital, an important office corresponding in its duties to those of the many officials at present concerned in the admission of patients. He had the keys of the gates, and it is easy to imagine him looking out into Smithfield when it was white with the booths of the annual fair, and repeating the words of the Psalmist, “Elegi abjectus esse in domo Dei mei, majus quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum.”

THOMAS granted² to Stephen Page, cutler, citizen of London, a place of land in the parish of St. Margaret upon Lothbury, lying between the building of John of Kent on the east and the ditch of Walebrok on the west, at twelve pence a year. The agreement was sealed in the chapter on April 8, 1338. In this document the

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 247a.

² Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum cyrographatum peruenerit Thomas de London magister Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefelde et fratres eiusdem loci salutem in domino sempiternam.

Data apud Smethefeld in capitulo nostro die mercurii proxima post festum Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu duodecimo. Hiis testibus : Ricardo de Staundon, Coser : Johanne de Kent : Wodere : Johanne Horwode : Henrico de Ware : Ricardo Kyssere : et aliis.

master is called "of London." In another of August 10, 1338, he appears as THOMAS OF LITLINGTON.¹ He and the brethren granted to Nicholas Pungger, citizen and vintner, and Katerine his wife, for their lives, a holding called Stonhuys in the parish of St. Botulph outside Bishopsgate, which was situate between a tenement of the prior and convent of the hospital of the Blessed Mary outside Bishopsgate on the north and a tenement of Nicholas Pungger on the south, paying at Michaelmas each year to the master and brethren twelve pence of silver. The small seals of Nicholas and Katerine remain attached to the deed.

The master took pledges with Brother John Litlington, his rentar, on March 19, 1339, from the Abbot of Reading.² Another document belonging to Thomas of Litlington's mastership consists of five lines, written far off in Baumburgh on June 30, 1340, on a little slip of parchment, in which WILLIAM HEYRON and ROBERT OF TUGHALE, executors of the will of Thomas of Baumburgh, clerk, appoint William of Emeldon their co-executor to

¹ Hec est connencio facta inter fratrem Thomam de Litlington magistrum Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld Londoniarum et fratres eiusdem loci ex parte una Et Nicholaum Pungger ciuem et Vinetarium London. et Katerinam uxorem suam ex parte altera.

The mayor and sheriffs, though mentioned, were no longer actually present as witnesses, and the deed ends:—Henrico Darcy tunc maiore Londoniarum : Waltero Neal et Nicholas Crane tunc vicecomitibus eiusdem Ciuitatis : Ricardo de la Pole tunc illius Warde Aldremanno. Hiis testibus : Henrico de Northampton : Jacobo Scherman : Radulfo Heryhonn : Rogero Hubert : Thoma le Gardiner : Petro de Hakeneye : Ada de Hardyngham : Johanne de Foxton Clerico : et aliis. Data London. die veneris proxima ante festum sancti Laurencii martiris anno supradicto.

² *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 145b.

act for them to put them in possession, with the other executors of the will, the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's, of two tenements and five shops in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, which had once been held by Nicholas of Acton.¹

On October 4, 1340, THOMAS OF LITLINGTON² and the brethren and sisters received from John Syward, citizen and stockfishmonger, fourteen pounds and twelve shillings quit-rent for the next four years from his tenements in the parish of St. Nicholas Coldabbey and in Oldefisschstreet, which formerly belonged to Richard Gubbe, John Chesewyk, and Walter Turk, citizen of London, and had also received from him seventeen pounds six shillings and eight pence of annual rent for the said four years for five shops in the parish of St. Nicholas between the tenement once Richard de Corkyngger's in Friday Street and John Syward's own tenement, once Walter Turk's in Oldefisschstreet.

NICHOLAS ATTE YERD of Croukerne and John and Robert his sons gave up all their right in a messuage³

¹ Three thin slips are cut off for seals, and on the third from the left a fragment of wax bearing a figure of the Virgin and Child remains.

² There are no witnesses. The seal of John Syward, of sixpence size, in red wax, bears a cross with three roots and crossed above them by a St. Andrew's Cross.

³ The messuage was between the tenement of Hugh Hauel on the west and that of Thomas Gaylard on the east. One acre lay on la Sterte between the land of Richard le Deen and that of the rector there, and the other acre lay in the east part of Langelond. And the two acres of meadow lay in West Monsham next the meadow of Thomas Deneband. They held them from the tradition of Richard Hole.

Witnesses: John Bolde: Robert of R [*piece torn out*]: John of Croukerne: John of Abyngton: Richard Michel: Hugh Tory: Robert of Clapton: and others.

The seal of Nicholas at Yerd, of sixpence size, in red wax, bears on a shield a circle

at Hinton St. George, with a curtilage of two acres of arable land and an acre of meadow, to Brother Thomas of Litlington, the master, on June 17, the Sunday next after the feast of St. Barnaby the Apostle, 1341, the fifteenth year of Edward III. Thomas of Litlington died November 3, 1341.¹

THOMAS WILLY became master in the same year. The chief events of his mastership were the foundation of two chantries. WILLIAM OF STOWE OF ST. EDWARD'S, clerk, founded one in 1340. The negotiations about it began under Litlington. Two brethren being chaplains were to celebrate mass for his soul every day in the chapel of the hospital. For this purpose he gave to the hospital two messuages and six shops in the parish of St. Sepulchre.² After inquisition held in the mayoralty of

with a cross, the vertical part of which is produced upward above the shield into a second circle. The other seal bears a hawk catching a bird.

¹ Cok says: "iii nonas Septembris A. D. 1340," but this deed shows that he was wrong. It was easy from the list in the Martyrology to write *uūbris* for *uiiūbris*.

² On September 23, 1330, Stowe acquired all the land in Smithfield which belonged to the priory of Kenilworth by a grant from BROTHER THOMAS the prior, to which the great circular seal of the convent is affixed. It bears a figure of Our Lady, crowned, seated upon the roof of the church, just west of the tower and south transept. The charter is in a very clear but ornate hand, and is witnessed as follows: *Hūs testibus Symone de Swanlonde tunc maiore Ciuitatis Londoniarum: Johanne de Gysorz: Nicholao de Farndon: Thoma de Leyre tunc Aldremanno eiusdem Ciuitatis: Willelmo de Nouo Castro: Henrico le Hayward: Johanne Milys: et aliis. Datum in Capitulo nostro apud Kenilleworth die Dominica proxima post festum Sancti Mathei Apostoli et Ewangeliste Anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum Quarto.*

Part of this land William of Stowe had acquired from WILLIAM OF DUNSTABLE and Sarra his wife. It had belonged to Adam of Foston, candle maker, first husband of Sarra, and they had it of the gift of Beatrice, late wife of Robert of Guldeford, armourer, of London. It extended as far as the little street called Hosierlane on the south. The witnesses were: Henry Darcy, Mayor of London: Richard le Lacer, alderman of that ward: Hugh le Marberer, William Pounfreit, then sheriffs of London: Richard atte Gate: Philip Dikeman: Simone Nichole: Robert Peckeull: John Miles: and others. Given

Andrew Aubrey, Stowe received a licence in mortmain for this gift, with the condition that out of the rents paid to the hospital eighteen pence should in each year be given to the prior of St. Bartholomew's.

The licence of EDWARD by the grace of God King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland has been preserved with his great seal attached, and is dated at Langley on the twelfth day of March "in the fifteenth year of our reign in England and the second of our reign in France." Stowe paid a fine of five marks. William of Stowe's seal bears a lion asleep at the foot of a flowery shrub and the words "Sig. Willi de Stowe Sci Edwardi."

The other chantry was founded in 1341 by the will of Thomas of Bamburgh, clerk.¹ Up to that time there had always been four brethren of the hospital who were chaplains. He established two more chaplaincies among the brethren to pray every day for his soul and for the souls of William his father, Alice his mother, Alexander his brother, and Thomas of Sibethorp, and for all the faithful departed. The rents he left were to keep up

at Westsmethefeld in the suburb of London, Thursday next after the feast of Saint Alphege the Martyr in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Edward the Third from the conquest (April 22, 1339).

¹ The executors were: John of St. Paul's: Thomas of Sibethorp: William Heyron: William of Emeldon: Robert of Tughale: John of Pokelyngton. The witnesses of the will were: Andrew Aubrey, mayor: Roger of Forsham and William of Thorneye, sheriffs: and Richard le Lacer, alderman of the ward. It was dated the Sunday after the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (July 9, 1340), and the will was proved in the following year.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 205b.

The executors received a licence in mortmain under the great seal of EDWARD III., dated at Ipswich, June 9, 1340.

these two chaplains, and within a month of the death of either chaplain the master and brethren were to elect another and to present him to the prior or the subprior of St. Bartholomew's Church, and the hospital was to receive him into their fraternity.

If the master and brethren neglected to appoint, the prior was to nominate a chaplain. The chaplains were to celebrate every day, week about. If ill, another brother was to say the mass, and master and brethren were to celebrate a solemn mass on Thomas of Bamburgh's anniversary, and they were to take oath before the prior that they would keep up the injunctions of the benefactor.

Thomas Willy, the master, died on July 2, 1342.

LAURENCE CRANDEN was appointed master in the same year by Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, and died March 5, 1345.

WALTER OF BASINGBOURNE,¹ the next master, lived through the greatest epidemic of plague which the Western world had experienced since the time of Justinian. It is often called the Black Death by later writers, but at the time had no other designation than Pestis, the Plague. It was identical with the disease which terrified London in 1665, and with the epidemic which has destroyed nearly nine millions of people in India since 1894, cases of which have appeared in England and in the New World, and which is not yet at an end.

The earliest record of his mastership is an indented

¹ Also written Bassyngborne and Bassingbowne.

charter dated in the chapter of the hospital on Thursday, the feast of St. Gregory the Pope, in the twenty-third year of Edward III. (March 12, 1349). In it Brother WALTER OF BASSYNGBORNE, master of the hospital, and the brethren, with the common assent and will of the whole chapter, granted in perpetuity to John Boudok of Maldon a croft in the parish of Donton in the county of Essex between the land of the rector of Donton on the north and the land of John le Herde on the south, one end of which abutted on the land of Sir Humfry of Walden, knight, towards the east, and the other end to the west on the highway, at an annual rent of six shillings and eight pence, to be paid quarterly; "and also doing for us and our successors yearly four 'sectas curiae' at our manor of Donton with heriots, wards, reliefs, and escheats if perchance they befall." John's small circular seal has a pattern upon it of eight circles surrounding a central ring. The names of the witnesses have a comparatively modern appearance: Sir Humfry de Walden, knight; William Piket; Walter Turk; Robert Travers; William Lorchun; John Elys; Henry le Hayward.

On the Wednesday before Easter, 1349 (April 8), at Holborn, Christina, widow of Robert of Cherow,¹ sick in body but sound in mind and of good memory, after commending her soul to God and the Blessed Virgin and all the saints, desired her body to be buried in St.

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 127b.

Andrew's, Holborn, to which church she left six shillings and eight pence to the high altar and the same sum to the lamp of the Blessed Virgin; eighteen pence to one chaplain of the parish and six pence to the clerk; thirty shillings for her funeral, and twenty shillings to be distributed to the poor. To Alice her daughter she left twenty shillings and a silver dish and six silver spoons; to John Fraunceys, and Christian his wife ten shillings, two woollen cloths, and two smocks of linen; to William of Billyngborh ten shillings. To the hospital of St. Bartholomew she gave a tenement consisting of a brewery with four shops in Fleet Street, which she had bought from Robert Chaunticlere.

Richard of Holborn, Roger Costentyn, and Walter the brewer were her executors, and she left ten shillings between them and the rent of thirteen shillings a year for five years from a piece of land, and desired them to sell the residue of her property and give the proceeds to the poor for the good of her soul and that of Robert her husband.

In a deed dated June 25, 1349, WILLIAM VICAR OF ARMYTON, and others, surrendered to Walter of Basingbourne all right in certain lands at Crauden (Cambridgeshire) lately held by William Tailleboys at a rent of ten shillings.¹

¹ The others mentioned are: Edmund, vicar of Crauden: Walter, vicar of Schenegoye: John Kerbrok: John of Hontyngdon, chaplain: and John of Ware of Meldeborn. Their seven seals are of hard red wax, and bear in order, from left to right, a goat by a tree, an upright figure with corn, a blank shield, St. Catharine with wheel and

Walter of Basingbourne¹ as master let to Richard of Kislingburi a shop in St. Sepulchre's Parish on May 20, 1351, but Thomas of Sibbethorp was to have the solarium and the way to it.

Walter of Basingbourne obtained from King Edward III. on March 14, 1353, an exoneration from the imposts known as tenths and fifteenths. "Our chosen in Christ, the master, brethren, and sisters," says the royal brief in the Close Rolls,² "have shown to us, by their petition before us and our Council in our last Parliament held at Westminster, that their means are insufficient to do all that they have to do with their endowment, considering the sick poor coming into the hospital until well from their diseases, pregnant women coming in till able to get up after childbirth, the sustenance of the children thus born in the hospital till seven years of age should their mothers die, as well as various chantries and the maintenance of other alms-deeds and the sustenance of the master, brethren, and sisters." King Edward I. and King Edward II. had therefore relieved them from tenths, fifteenths, ninths, aids, and other burdens at his exchequer. Edward III. accordingly orders that they shall not be required to pay tenths and fifteenths,

palm branch, a bird pecking a chafer, a classical intaglio of a man's head, a four-sided figure.

The witnesses were : Sir Thomas de Chaleros, knight : William Tayllebois, knight : John le Rous : John Wanduvine : John Goseline : Thomas Humfrey. Dated at Crauden, Thursday next after the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the xxiii year of Edward III.

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i. 30b.

² Claus. 26 Edward III. m. 28 ; in Dugdale, "Monasticon" (1846), vol. vi.

and that collectors of his revenue shall not disturb them on these accounts.

On October 18, 1353, an indenture was drawn up in French between WALTER OF BASINGBOURNE and the brethren and William of Tudenham, citizen and mercer, and Cristina his wife.¹ They had held the manor of Dunton in Essex, and agreed to acquit the master and brethren of all arrears of rent in the said manor before the feast of St. Michael last passed, and the master and brethren empower William and Cristina to receive all rents and dues before the same day.

In 1354 WALTER OF BASINGBOURNE granted to Richard Siward, butcher, of London a lease for fifty years of land and houses in Vitry Lane at two shillings a year.

On May 8, 1354, WALTER OF BASINGBOURNE and the brethren granted to John atte Hope of West Billirica,

¹ Ceste endenture faite par entre frere Walter de Basingbourne maistre del Hospital seint Bartholom. de Smethefeld de Loundres et de mesme le lieuz les Confreres dune part et William de Tudenham citeinz et mercer de la dite Citee et Cristine sa femme dautrepart. Tesmoigne et porte record' comment les ditz William et Cristine sa femme ont tenuz auant la date de cestes des ditz maistre et Confreres leur manoir de Donton en la countee de Essex dont les ditz William et Cristine sa femme prometteut et sont tenuz par ceste endenture daquiter les ditz maistre et confreres de totes maners arrerages des rentes duwe en quiconque manere et as queuxconque persones du dit manoir de Donton deuant la feste de seint Michel derein-passe auant la date de cestes. Et les ditz maistre et confreres donnent et grantent par ceste endenture as ditz William et Cristine sa femme et a leur assignes pleyn et liberal poer de leur: coiller: et reseceyure de toz les tenantz aspectantz al dit manoir de Donton toute manere rente qui leur est de eux duwe, auant la dite feste de seint Michel derein passe et de eux distreindre et destresses detener si ouestre tanqe gre leur soit fait. En tesmoigne de quele chose a cestes endentures les parties susditz entre-changeablement ont mys leur seals. Done a Loundre la dis et huitisme iour del mois doctobre Lan du regne le roi Edward tierz puis le conqueste dengleterre vynt et septisme.

The seals of William and his wife are affixed.

and Johanna Flips of Leyndon his wife and their heirs, a croft of land with a house upon it in the vill of Danton in the county of Essex, between the land of Sir Humphry de Walden on the east and the way leading from West Billirica to Horndon on the west, and the land of Richard Thomelyn on the south and that of the rectory of Danton on the north, at a rent of six shillings and eight pence a year. John and his wife were also to do for the master and brethren at their manor of Danton four services of court, with heriots, reliefs, and escheats.¹

Walter of Basingbourne resigned the mastership on October 31, 1354, and died January 7, 1360.

STEPHEN OF MAYDENHYTHE² was elected master a fortnight after the resignation of his predecessor, on November 13, 1354, and held office for nearly nineteen years. The historical interest of receipts is often great after five centuries, and they bring before us not only the payments but the buildings and the men of their time. Two of the time of this master deserve notice. In one GILBERT OF LYNDESEY, warden of the possessions of the abbey of Battle, acknowledges on May 10, 1356, the receipt of fifty shillings sterling for all reliefs, heriots, and services of the court in arrear on the day of composing these presents for the lands held by Brother Stephen of Maydenhythe, master of St. Bartholomew's

¹ The small round seals of John and his wife are appended. The witnesses named are: Sir Humphry de Walden: Thomas Cook: Andrew Nyngge: Martin Toft: Richard Stekwell.

² Or Maydenheth.

Hospital, in the vill of Dunton in the county of Essex, of the abbot and convent of Battle. The warden was the Brother Gilbert of Lyndesey who drew up a rent roll of the possessions of Battle Abbey in 1358. In the other, Stephen of Maydenhythe,¹ on Saturday, September 30, 1363, acknowledges two quarters of corn received from Mary de St. Paul Countess of Pembroke, lady of the castle of Anesty, for the two years just passed, and coming, says the master, from an alms granted long ago. It was the grant in alms of Hubert of Anesty, of the reign of King John. The lady was the foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Stephen of Maydenhythe obtained in 1366 a bull from Pope Urban V. taking the master and brethren under the protection of the Holy See, and confirming all that had been granted by former pontiffs.²

¹ Pateat universis per presentes quod nos frater Stephanus de maydenhithe magister hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smythfelde London et fratres eiusdem loci recepimus de Domina Maria de sancto Paulo Comitissa de Pembroke et Domina Castelli de Anasty duo quarteria frumenti de una elemosina concessa inperpetuum de antiquis Dominis dicti castelli viz. pro duobus annis proxime preteritis ante Datam presentium. De quibus vero duobus quarteriis frumenti de elemosina predicta fatemur nos fore pacatos et predictam dominam Mariam heredes et executores suos inde per presentes fore quietos. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Datum in hospital' predicto die Sabbati in crastino Sancti Michaelis Anno regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu tricesimo septimo.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 443.

² Urbanus episcopus seruus seruorum dei dilectis filiis magistro et fratribus domus hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Westsmythfulde Londoniens' Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum a nobis petitur quod iustum est et honestum tam uigor equitatis quam ordo exigit rationis ut id per sollicitudinem officii nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum Ea propter dilecti in domino filii uestris iustis postulacionibus grato concurrans assensu personas uestras et locum in quo sub communi uita degitis cum omnibus bonis quo in presenciarum rationabiliter possidetis aut in futurum iustis modis prestante domino poteritis adipisci sub beati Petri proteccionem suscepimus atque nostra, omnes que

The plague which had begun in the previous mastership raged in the time of Stephen of Maydenhythe, and the vast number of deaths is shown in Sir Walter Manny's deed of foundation of the Carthusian House of the Salutation of the Mother of God.

Stephen of Maydenhythe in an indenture agreed that Sir Walter de Manny, knight, Nicholas of Evesham, clerk, and John Whitewell should have all that place of land containing thirteen acres and one rood, with a part formerly called the Spitelcroft and now called Newchirchewawe, next the bar of Westsmethefeld near the king's way from London to Novemannesland and the king's way from Westsmithfield to Clerkenwell, and two acres and a half outside the walls of the above place between the land of the Abbot of Westminster and that of the hospital of St. John at a rent of eight pounds sterling paid to the master and brethren, half at Easter and half at Michaelmas. The date of the indenture is November 15, 1370, John Chichester then Mayor of London, William Walworth and Robert Gayton being then sheriffs of the aforesaid city. The witnesses

libertates et immunitates a predecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus siue per priuilegia uel alias indulgencias uobis et domui uestre predicte concessas nec non libertates et exempciones secularium exactionum a regibus, principibus uel aliis Christi fidelibus racionabiliter uobis et domui predicte concessas sicut ea omnia iuste et pacifice obtinetis uobis et per uos eidem domui auctoritate apostolica confirmamus : et presentis scripti patrocinio communiuimus. Nulli ergo homini omnino liceat hanc paginam nostre protectionis et confirmacionis infringere uel ea ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursum. Datum Rome Apud Sanctum Petrum iiii Idus Iunii Pontificatus nostri Anno Quarto.

named are John Thornton, John Dathe, William Harweden, Walter Mayn, William Stowe.

The copy of this document in the Cartulary has stitched to it copies of two other charters relating to the Charterhouse: that of King Edward III. as to its foundation;¹ that of Walter, Lord of Manny, founding the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God;² and a third document³ as to various ecclesiastical details and the chantries there founded by William of Clithero, Robert Boteler, and others.

The deed of foundation begins:—"To all the faithful of Christ seeing or hearing the present writing, Walter, Lord of Manny, Knight, Greeting everlasting in the Lord"; and then relates that when the plague was of late so widespread and violent in the city of London that the parish graveyards were insufficient to contain those who died of it, in order that all might have duly consecrated burial he acquired thirteen acres and a rood of land outside the bar of West Smithfield in a place then called the Spytelcroft and afterwards the New Churchhaw, for the burial of the dead, and had it consecrated by the Bishop of London; and that more than fifty thousand persons dying of the plague were there buried; and that later, on account of his devotion to God and his most sweet Mother the Blessed Virgin Mary and towards the feast of the Annunciation

¹ Dated at Westminster, February 6: 45 Eng., 32 Fr. Ed. III.

² Dated at London March 28, 45 Ed. III.

³ 1453.

of the Blessed Mary Mother and Virgin, he founded the house. This Spytelcroft has been the scene of memorable incidents. The long train of funeral processions during the plague, the foundation of the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, and the burial of its founder in the presence of King Edward III. and his children were the earliest. These were followed by a long period in which the Carthusians meditated in their solitary cells and dug in their separate gardens till the white-robed brethren of Manny's foundation were expelled. Our hospital then saw the noble foundation of Thomas Sutton built, and became familiar with its brethren in their black cloaks and with the gown boys, and heard the bells which called them to prayers or to meals, and which a great writer who had often been called by them commemorates in an immortal passage of literature: "And just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face, and he lifted up his head a little, and quickly said 'Adsum,' and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called, and lo he, whose heart was as that of a little child, had answered to his name, and stood in the presence of the Master."

Since Colonel Newcome's time the school has come to belong to the Merchant Taylors, but Sutton's brethren remain in their old quarters.

The greatest event of the time of Stephen of Maidenhythe was the Composition, or agreement as

to the regulation of the hospital, made by Simon of Sudbury, then Bishop of London. After remarks on the importance of churchmen, and most of all religious, living in peace and good accord, the bishop states that there has been grave discord between the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew on one part and the master and brethren of the hospital on the other, on many articles in the Composition of Eustace, Bishop of London. Such discord might increase, and do harm to both foundations. At length to restore peace and make effectual concord, both sides of their own will have submitted all the articles and questions, whether raised hitherto or not raised, to him for settlement by his ordinance. He has therefore taken counsel with men discreet and learned in the law, and has received due information as well in the chapter of the canons as in the house of the hospital, and elsewhere : and has drawn up this Composition with both changes in the clauses of the old Composition and additions to its articles. He therefore ordains :—

I. That when a master shall be made in the hospital of St. Bartholomew the brethren shall go to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and, having obtained from him licence to elect, shall elect a fit person as master, namely a priest, or one who may shortly be in priest's orders. After the election the elect is to be presented to the prior and by him to the Bishop of London, and after

confirmation of his election is to swear obedience and fidelity to the prior and convent in their chapter. The master is, however, not to be required to give obedience to the prior except in the articles hereafter stated in this Ordinance.

II. The master may receive any one as a brother, and give him the habit, without obtaining the assent of the Prior of St. Bartholomew's: and whoever is admitted as a brother shall swear fidelity to the prior and convent in their chapter at the capitular hour within three days of receiving the habit.

III. The same form shall be observed as regards receiving sisters.

IV. When brethren of the hospital go out to preach or to collect alms, before their departure they shall swear to the master that they will seek nothing except in the expressed name of the hospital of St. Bartholomew and nothing that ought to belong to the canons of St. Bartholomew's, and if they do chance to receive anything properly due to the canons they shall hand it over without deduction to the canons.

V. The canons when they go out by virtue of obedience to their prior shall promise that they will ask nothing except in the expressed name of the canons of St. Bartholomew's, and will restore altogether and undiminished to the brethren whatever ought to belong to the hospital.

VI. The same regulation is to apply to novices or laymen collecting alms for either foundation.

VII. The master, if able, is to correct breaches of rule of the brethren and sisters, and if unable the prior at his request is to go to the chapter of the brethren that by his advice and that of the master they may be corrected; and if this fails they are to be corrected by the bishop or his official.

VIII. The master and brethren may grant permanent maintenance (*victum perpetuum*) to anybody as they see fit, and may at their discretion assign perpetual alienations of rents or goods without reference to the prior and canons.

IX. The prior, moreover, of St. Bartholomew's and his successors are not to have the custody of the seal of the hospital, which used to be kept under three keys.

X. The master and brethren shall not in future be required to go to the procession at the church of St. Bartholomew on Palm Sunday and Ascension Day, but on St. Bartholomew's Day two of the brethren of the hospital, in the name of the master and brethren, shall bring two wax candles of four pounds each to the procession, and after the procession shall offer these at the high altar of St. Bartholomew's Church, after which, without cavil, they shall return when they wish to their own house.

XI. An altar or figure of St. Bartholomew is not to be put up in the hospital to the prejudice of the canons.

XII. The master and brethren and their successors may obtain as many bells of whatever size they please and build as fine a bell-tower as pleases them, and on Easter eve ring their bells as soon as they like.

XIII. The master, brethren, and sisters and their successors may be buried in the hospital, with every other person dying within its bounds, and the burial-ground there may be canonically consecrated, and all who elect to be buried there may be admitted to burial, but the parishioners of St. Sepulchre and any dying within the bounds of the priory of St. Bartholomew are never to be admitted to burial.

XIV. The brethren are not to seek any right of burial for themselves or the poor within the priory in future.

XV. The master and brethren are not in future to have the tenth of the bread of the canons, nor their remains of bread, drink, fish, and meat, nor of the anniversary feast which they have used to have hitherto.

XVI. Lest the entertainment of the sick which has hitherto been honestly observed should by this ordinance be diminished, in future the bishop specially ordains that every master shall successively keep up this, and if possible do it more abundantly even than it has always been done time out of mind.

XVII. This Ordinance and friendly agreement each side agrees on oath to observe faithfully, giving up all appeal on every point which has been under discussion,

and setting aside all documents, royal, legal, or apostolic, which may have been drawn up, and holding as cancelled every document which runs contrary to this Ordinance.

XVIII. If any difficulty should reappear on the subjects of this Ordinance, it is to be referred to the Bishop of London or his official, or in their absence to the chapter of St. Paul's.

XIX. This writing is to be made as a tripartite chirograph, sealed with the bishop's seal and that of the chapter of St. Paul's, and with the seals of the prior and convent and of the master and brethren, and attested by a notary.

One part of the chirograph is to be kept by the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, the second by the master and brethren of the hospital, and the third is to remain in the treasury of St. Paul's.

XX. Lest any part of the contents be neglected through forgetfulness, the prior shall send one of the canons every year on the morrow of Ash Wednesday to the chapter of the brethren about the first hour, and there before the assembled brethren shall cause his chirograph to be read. On the following week-day (feria), the master of the hospital shall send one of his brethren at the hour of chapter to the chapter of St. Bartholomew's, and there in like manner shall cause his chirograph to be read.

The Ordinance concluded with the words:—"These

things were done as they are above written in our palace in London the eleventh day of the month of April, A.D. 1373, and of our consecration the twelfth year." The attestation of the notary follows,¹ concluding with his curious mark, which consists of two equilateral triangles interlaced, that with the apex downwards having its sides produced through a band and completed by a line below so as to form a third and somewhat smaller equilateral triangle, within which is written his name, "T. Baketon." The seals, as we learn from this, were affixed by Andrew of Halstede, sub-prior, and John Rangdiche, canon, on the part of the prior, and by Richard Orewelle and Richard Sutton on the part of the hospital.

The copy of the Ordinance placed among the muniments of St. Paul's Cathedral is still there, together with a preliminary draft. There is a copy of it in the Hospital Cartulary.

John of Tamworth on February 28, 1373, founded a

¹ Et ego Thomas de Baketon Clericus Norwicensis Diocesis publicus auctoritate apostolica Notarius dum sic ut premititur agerentur et fierent una cum discretis uiris fratribus Andrea de Halstede Supprie domus Sancti Bartholomei predicti Johanne Rangdiche canonico ejusdem loci Ricardo orewelle et Ricardo Sutton hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei predicti premissis que sigillacionibus ex parte Capituli prefati et magistri et fratrum predictorum in locis eorum prioratus et hospitalis predictorum Aliisque omnibus superscriptis in palacio domini Episcopi supradicti presens interfui ea que sic fieri uidi et audiui sub anno Domini et diei predictis Indictione undecima pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri Domini Gregorii divina providencia pape undecimi Anno tercio. Aliis arduis occupatus negotiis per alium scribi feci et de mandato Reverendi patris Episcopi predicti in hanc publicam formam redigi signo que meo consueto signaui requisitus et rogatus in fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum et singulorum inter limare in uerbis et die in subscripcione mea approbo ego Thomas Scitarus predictus et ideo me hic suscribo.

chantry in honour of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. Joachim and St. Anne, and desired that prayers should be offered for the king and his children, for Hugh, Earl of Stafford, and for himself and his wife Alice and his children, and for Isabel the king's mother and Philippa his wife, and for the souls of Ralph once Earl of Stafford, Ralph Basset, Robert of Kyldesly, Emeric Colet his own uncle, William of Harleston his cousin, his father and mother, and of Alice formerly his wife, and for all the faithful departed and for all who had helped him in life.

The master and brethren were to keep a chaplain for him in St. Sepulchre's Church at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Anne. Those who died in the hospital were also to be prayed for. The note of his foundation was to be read out of the Hospital Martyrology at his anniversary in each year, and a solemn mass said for his soul. Three copies of his deed were to be kept—one in the hospital, one at St. Paul's, and one in the priory.¹

Stephen of Maydenhythe died July 16, 1373.²

¹ The witnesses were: Adam of Bury, Mayor of London: John Aubry and John Fyvy, sheriffs: John Chichester, then alderman of the same city in the ward of Faryndon without, and Adam Gailer, Henry Cock, Stephen Maynarde, Symon Hostelere, John Squier, John Irenmonger, Henry Symnell, William Smyth, Edward Smyth, Thomas Brompton, Walter Mayn, William Harondon.

The agreement and all its dependent deeds are entered in the *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 56.

² Other original charters of STEPHEN OF MAYDENHYTHE are:—

(1) To Lucy of Berkyngre remitting arrears of a rent of 6s. from a tenement in St. Olave infra Crepulgate (Silver Street), formerly held by John of Lodegrashale. Witnesses: William of Berkyngre, goldsmith: Thomas of Hinggeston: Stephen atte Pye:

RICHARD OF SUTTON succeeded Stephen of Maydenhythe as master in 1373.

Several of the business transactions of his time may be traced. In 1373 RICHARD OF SUTTON let to John Grayling, citizen, six cottages with a garden in Hosier Lane, leading from Holborn towards Smithfield, from

William of Horwode: Hugh of Horwode. Dated in the hospital Monday after the Nativity of St. John Baptist, 1356. Her seal, of three penny piece size, bears a plant with three flowers.

(2) To Thomas atte Marsh, citizen and barber, and Matilda his wife, letting a shop with chambers above in Thames Street in the parish of All Saints, formerly held by Nicholas of Snyptone, at 26s. a year. Dated Friday next before St. Bartholomew's Day, 1360. Two seals in red wax are appended—one, much broken, bears a cock and hen; the other is "Sigillum Edwardi de Bretime," and has a shield with a cusped border. The bearings are a chevron with an escutcheon between three mullets of five points pierced. Was this borrowed for the occasion? Edward's name is not in the deed.

(3) An acknowledgment to John Botesham, citizen of London, of 5s. for arrears of an annual rent of 10½d. from a tenement next the Horse-pool in Smithfield in St. Sepulchre's Parish, formerly held by John Honilane. Dated in the Hospital: Saturday, Easter Eve, 1360. John's seal is circular, of sixpence size, and bears a four-leaved shamrock.

(4) To John Salusbury, citizen of London, and Isabel his wife, acknowledging 16s. rent from a tenement in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen in the Old Fishmarket, formerly held by Dionisius of Brokwode. Dated Monday after feast of St. Barnaby the Apostle, 1361. Situated between the church and the tenement of Master Thomas of Newinton.

(5) To Adam Castare and Alice his wife, for their lives and the longer, a garden outside the bars of Smithfield in the parish of St. Sepulchre, at a rent of 6s. a year. It was formerly held by John Wobedone. Dated Monday after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1364.

(6) JOHN SALTPREST of south mershe to Stephen of Maydenhythe surrenders a marsh in the county of Essex and hundred of Daneseie called le Southwale, which he had of Brother Thomas, formerly master of the hospital, for 160 years. Witnesses: Walter of Harwedon: Stephen atte Pye: John Flaunden: William of Horwode: Hugh of Horwode. Dated at Smithfield in the suburb of London Friday next after the feast of St. Martin the bishop, 1357. His seal bears two indistinct figures, suggesting Tobit and the Angel.

(7) HUGH OF HORWODE, citizen of London, on the Thursday after the Epiphany, 1349, remitted to the master and brethren all his right in a chamber in the hospital next the chapel of St. Andrew, and also in all his shops in Viteri Lane, as well as a garden which he had from Roger of Sallynges and William Lyppe, for his life and thirty years afterwards. His finely wrought seal represents him kneeling before an apparition of the Virgin and Child.

the next Michaelmas at twenty shillings a year. On the Monday next before the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle,¹ 1373, RICHARD OF SUTTON granted to John Grayling, gryndere, for forty years three of these cottages at a rent of ten shillings a year.²

On July 22, 1374, RICHARD OF SUTTON and the brethren entered into an agreement with William of Sleve, executor of the will of another Richard of Sutton, to let them off forty marks they owed him on condition that for the next thirty years they would send two of the brethren, or one with a cleric, to the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, to the obit of Richard of Sutton, there to take part in the services on the anniversary of his death, namely, Monday of the first week in Lent, as well at the vigil with placebo and dirige as on the day with solemn mass, and should distribute ten shillings to the poor, for the souls of Richard and Katherine his wife, and three shillings and four pence to the chaplains present for their trouble and for wax, and for ringing of the bells, &c.

WILLIAM OF SLEVE, clerk, executor of the will of Richard of Sutton, on the Thursday before the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, 1374, granted to the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital all his right and term in a tenement called the Irundore, with a garden and with an entrance by a gate in

¹ A broken green seal appended bears a gate.

² John's seal bears an Agnus Dei of poor design.

the little street of Cockeslane in the parish of St. Sepulchre.

On Monday, the vigil of St. James the Apostle, 1374, RICHARD OF SUTTON, the master, and brethren entered into an agreement with John Pather of Dunton, formerly the farmer of their manor at Dunton, as to its produce. John was to reap all the meadows there and to store all the hay in the manor, and to reap, measure, collect, and bind all the corn there, and store it in the grange of the manor. All this was to be done in the presence of one of the brethren with his attendant (garcone), whom the master would send. John is to be allowed for his expenses one quarter of wheat and one quarter of bras. John is to repair the roof and walls of the dovecot before St. Bartholomew's Day next. At Michaelmas he is to send one bull and twelve cows, which the master and brethren are to choose out of twenty-four cows which John has at Dunton now. He undertakes to do all this without delay. His seal, in green wax, bears a bird feeding its young in a nest.

In 1375 John of Appelby, Dean of St. Paul's, Roger Holme, Chancellor of St. Paul's, and Adam of Mottron¹ were appointed by the Bishop of London to visit St. Bartholomew's Hospital and inquire into the conduct of Richard of Sutton. The Commissary-General of the Court of Canterbury, Nicholas of Chaddesden, intervened, and Reginald of Spaldyng, rector of St. Benedict

¹ Ninth Report, p. 44, a.

of Greschurch in London, acting as proctor for the commissioners, on February 8, 1375, appealed to the Apostolic See. Sutton obtained licence from the king on January 17, 1376 (Patent Roll, 49 Edward III.), to defend himself at Rome. These circumstances caused the end of the reign of Edward III. to be clouded in the hospital as it was in the king's castle :

“Mighty victor, mighty lord!
Low on his funeral couch he lies!
No pitying heart, no eye, afford
A tear to grace his obsequies!”

X

THE REIGN OF KING RICHARD II



RICHARD OF SUTTON was master when the reign of King Richard II. began, and at that time, or in the next year, Nicholas¹ was rentar of the hospital. Richard Orwell and Thomas Lakenham were brethren and chaplains. In the second year of that king a chantry, to be served by two chaplains, was founded in the hospital by the executors of James of Thame, citizen of London, in accordance with his will. The terms of the foundation were formally accepted by "Brother RICHARD OF SUTTON, master or warden of the hospital of St. Bartholomew next Smithfield of London," in a long deed bearing the seals of both priory and hospital. The chaplains were to be priests and of the hospital staff. They were to celebrate in the chapel of St. Andrew, next and to the east of the house of the sick in the hospital, for the spiritual welfare of James of Thame, of Alice and Alice his wives, of John and James

¹ Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter Books*, 1907, Letter Book H, p. 115. Nicholas maintained a plaint of assize of nove disseisin between John Smythe, curreyour, and Margaret Symondham, tenants, and Roger Essex, cordwainer, the claimant.

his sons, of his father and mother, and of all the faithful departed, as well as for the welfare of the reigning King of England and of his ancestors and successors and of the whole realm, and also of John Philipot the mayor and for all his successors the Mayors of London, of the recorder, the sheriffs, the aldermen, the chamberlain, and all the other officials and of the whole city; of William Whetelee, Robert d'Oxford, and Richard Sprot, executors of James of Thame; of Geoffrey Sharnesfeld,¹ rector of the church of St. Margaret Moses (Moisy) in Friday Street, and for all the relatives and friends of James of Thame. Each chaplain was to receive fifteen shillings a year, and if on any two days in a week the mass was omitted, then twelve pence was to be distributed to the sick in the hospital from the fund by the hands of the sisters of the hospital. The master and brethren also promised placebo and dirige, and agreed to celebrate mass for the above-mentioned intentions in the church of St. Margaret Moisy on the anniversary of the death of James of Thame, February the eighth.

Philipot the mayor deserved to be remembered, for he cleared the neighbouring seas of pirates at his own cost, and left a charitable foundation for thirteen poor people when he died in 1384.² The street in which his

¹ This Geoffrey of Sharnesfeld may be identical with Geoffrey le Spencer, who was presented by King Edward III. to St. Margaret, Friday Street, on January 3, 1348, and whose successor held the living in 1380, the year after the date of this indenture. If so he is an example of a city clergyman who survived the great plague of Edward III.'s reign.

² Stow, "Survey of London" (ed. Kingsford), ii. 168.

house stood is called after him Philpot Lane¹ to this day. He was knighted by the king in Smithfield in front of the hospital on June 15, 1381.²

On Wednesday, June 12, Wat Tyler and his followers, proceeding from the sack of the Temple to the priory of St. John at Clerkenwell, and burning the gaols of Fleet and of Newgate on their way, must have startled the brethren and sisters of St. Bartholomew's by their shouts as they passed the hospital. On the following Saturday the meeting of the king and Tyler took place in front of the hospital. The king was on the east side of Smithfield, and on the west and north the rebels were arrayed. The brethren from their walls could see the blow dealt by Walworth the mayor, the fall of Tyler from his horse, and the courageous behaviour of King Richard. Wat Tyler was carried, says the Chronicle of St. Mary at York,³ to the hospital of poor people near St. Bartholomew's, and was laid in the chamber of the master of that hospital. The mayor went in and caused him to be brought out into Smithfield and there beheaded.

The day before Tyler's fall an incident of the rebellion took place which must have often been talked of afterwards in the hospital. Simon of Sudbury, under whose ordinance as Bishop of London the hospital life then

¹ Stow, "Survey of London" (ed. Kingsford), i. 203.

² Id. i. 107.

³ G. M. Trevelyan, "Chronicle of St. Mary at York": *English Historical Review*, vol. xiii. p. 520.

went on, had become Archbishop of Canterbury in 1375. On Friday, June 14, 1381, he was dragged from the chapel in the Tower to Tower Hill, and there beheaded by the rebels. A relic of his decollation was one day most unexpectedly mentioned in a ward of St. Bartholomew's. I had asked a patient whence she came. She replied, "from Sudbury in Suffolk." "A place to be remembered here," I said; and, as the students by the bedside did not know what the association was, I related the history of Simon of Sudbury's ordinance and of his decapitation. "His head," I added, "is said to be preserved to this day at Sudbury." The woman, who had listened with an eager expression, raised herself in bed, and said, "My father keeps it." He was the clerk of the parish church. Twenty years later I visited Sudbury, and there saw the head behind a grid in the vestry of the fine church of St. Gregory. Some remains of the scalp, part of an ear, and of the lips showed that it had been removed from the body with the flesh upon it. It was highly varnished. I asked the reason. "Oh, Sir George Humphry told the doctor here to varnish it, and he did so." Since Simon's time Sir George Humphry, whose lectures on Anatomy interested many generations of undergraduates at Cambridge, was one of the most famous natives of the little town. The inhabitants of Sudbury perhaps expected that, like St. Alphage and St. Thomas, his martyred predecessors at Canterbury, their Simon might

in time be canonised. His tomb at Canterbury has been opened, and was found to contain a headless body.

RICHARD OF SUTTON, on July 2, 1386, granted to John Grayling, grinder and citizen of London, to the end of eighty years, at ten shillings a year, three cottages of six belonging to the hospital in Hosier Lane, Smithfield, with a garden and dovecot formerly belonging to William of Stowe, esquire,¹ at a rent of ten shillings a year.

Richard of Sutton resigned the mastership on December 4, 1386, to Robert, Bishop of London, in the cloister of St. Martin's-le-grand. The eleven years of office which had elapsed since the Bishop of London's commission complained of his conduct in relation to Joan Pertenhale,² a sister of the hospital, in which cause an appeal was heard in Rome, seem to show that there were not just grounds for the scandal, and that the Roman curia decided in his favour.

The Bishop of London, Robert of Braybroke, issued a

¹ This is the William of Stowe whose obit was to be kept at St. Margaret's, Westminster. The grant is dated the Monday next before the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, which probably means the feast of his translation, July 3. As Sutton resigned on December 4 in that year, he was therefore not master on December 17, which was the Monday before the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle. There are no witnesses: John Grayling's seal is oval, and bears a rude Agnus Dei.

The deed is endorsed with a note of John White, master of the hospital, dated February 13, 1419, as to three of the six cottages, and says that they were to the east of the tenement known as "the Maide on the hoop." The note is witnessed by William Flote, esquire: Richard London, brewer: John Merston, bailiff of Smithfield: Henry Lymburn, brewer: John Ssile, brewer: John Hans, cook: John Durbrigg, Chopechich: David Raynold, tailor: Richard Hans, barber: John Sirston, mattress maker: Richard Olyver, pinner and bedell of that ward.

² Ninth Report, p. 44, a.

mandate to his official Thomas Stowe from Fulham on December 22, 1386, to require the brethren to elect another master. On December 29, 1386,¹ a meeting of the hospital chapter was held for the purpose of electing a new master. Richard Orwell the senior brother was in the chair. Richard Sutton was not present, so William Wakeryng and Thomas Wilton were sent to tell him that the election would be held on December 31 whether he was there or not. On that day he did not come, so, after singing the "Veni Creator Spiritus," Orwell, Wakeryng, Wilton, and four others proceeded to election, and unanimously chose William Wakeryng as master. On January 4, 1387, he was duly presented by the prior and convent to the Bishop of London, and by him instituted.²

Some of the business transactions by this master may be traced in the original records. On June 1, 1388, in London, WILLIAM OF WAKERYNG entered into an indenture with Thomas Chaddeleye and Cecilia his wife and Petronilla Bere as to a shop called Moresshop Mercer in Soper Lane,³ between the shop of Hugh Middelton and that of John Eterson, for seven years from the feast of St. John Baptist at an annual rent of forty-six shillings and eight pence.⁴

¹ Bishop of London's Register : Braybrook.

² Ibid.

³ Now Queen Street, Cheapside.

⁴ Nicholas Exton then mayor of the city of London, William Venour and Hugh Fastolf sheriffs, are mentioned as in office, but there are no witnesses.

JOHN HARMESTHORP,¹ master of the hospital of Saint Katharine next the Tower of London, and the brethren and sisters of the same received from William Wakeryng, master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and the brethren and sisters thereof, twenty shillings, in full payment of all arrears of an annual quit-rent of three shillings then due from certain tenements and five shops in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn. The indenture is dated January 14, 1391. The seal bears the figure of the patroness of the hospital by the Tower, bearing her wheel in her right hand.

A licence in mortmain was granted to William Wakeryng to receive from John of Scarle, cleric, and John Bett of Botulphesprie in Essex forty-six acres of

¹ Nouerit Vniuersi per presentes literas aquietancie indentatas nos Johannem Harmesthorp magistrum Hospitalis Sancte Katarine iuxta Turrim Londoniarum et eiusdem loci Confratres et Sorores recepisse et habuisse die confectionis presencium de Willelmo Wakeryng magistro Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei iuxta Smythfeld eiusdem Ciuitatis et Confratribus et Sororibus eiusdem loci viginti solidos sterlingorum in plenam solucionem omnium arreragiorum cuiusdam annui liberi et quieti redditus trium solidorum nobis prefatis magistro Confratribus et Sororibus ac Hospitali sancte Katarine predicti debitorum pro diuersis tenementis et quinque Schopis ipsorum magistri Confratrum et sororum Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei predicti situatis in parochia sancti Andree in Holborne in Suburbio Londoniarum inter tenementum Johannis Tany ex parte orientali et tenementum Alicie de Elsefeld ac tenementum quondam Johannis Horneby et tenementum Johannis de Blakewell ex parte occidentali et in longitudine a via regia ex parte Aquilonari vsque ad tenementum quondam Willelmi Passemerie ex parte Australi Que quidem tenementa cum Schopis supradictis quondam fuerunt Nicholai de Acton Clerici videlicet ab omni tempore preterito vsque ad festum Natiuitatis domini vltimo preteritum ante datum presencium De quibus quidem viginti solidis pro arreragiis vsque ad festum Natiuitatis domini predictum fatemur nos fore solutos. In cuius rei testimonium vni parti huius Aquietancie indentate penes prefatum magistrum Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei et suis Successoribus remanenti sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus. Alteri vero parti penes nos remanenti predicti magister Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Confratres et Sorores ibidem sigillum suum commune apposuerunt. Datum London' quartodecimo die mensis Januarii Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum quartodecimo.

arable land, one and a half of meadow, and one of wood in Downham and Ramesdenbelhous. It is dated at Oxford, September 20, 1392.

Six days later JOHN OF SCARLE¹ made the grant of these acres to the master and brethren and their successors, in aid of their sustenance, for ever, under the form of a certain charter of our lord the king thence drawn, saving always to the capital lords of the fee the due and accustomed services. In testimony of which they affixed their seals. The witnesses were: John Pykenham; John of Wakeryng, clerk; John Pykerell, and others, on the 26th day of September, in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Richard the Second.

It seems possible that the John of Wakeryng, clerk, who witnessed this deed in 1392, was the most famous man whom that village has produced, the Bishop of Norwich, whom it is pleasant thus to connect with the history of St. Bartholomew's. He was at the time of this deed rector of the church of St. Osyth, also called

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri nos Johannem de Scarle clericum et Johannem Bette de Botulphspirie de Comitatu Essexie virtute licencie regie nobis concessisse dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Willelmo de Wakeryng Magistro Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smythfelda Londoniarum et eiusdem Hospitalis fratribus quadraginta et sex acras terre unam acram prati et dimidium et unam acram bosci cum pertinentiis in Dounham et Ramesden Belhous Habendas et tenendas eisdem Magistro et fratribus et successoribussuis in auxilium sustentacionis sue imperpetuum infra formam cuiusdam carte domini nostri regis inde confecte saluis semper capitalibus dominis feodi serviciis inde debitis et consuetis. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigilla nostra apposuimus. His testibus: Johanne Pykenham: Johanne de Wakeryng clerico: Johanne Pykerell: et aliis. Datum vicesimo sexto die Septembris Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi sextodecimo.

St. Benet Sherehog, in the city of London, and was also a clerk in Chancery. In 1405 he was made Master of the Rolls, and in 1415 Keeper of the Privy Seal, and on St. Catharine's eve in the same year was chosen Bishop of Norwich. In the next year he was sent to represent England at the Council of Constance. He must have often seen the Papal Secretary, Poggio Bracciolini, who occupied his spare time during the Council in looking into ancient libraries in the surrounding country, and thus came upon the manuscript of Lucretius, and made the actual verses of the wonderful poem "De Rerum Natura" known in the Western world, which had for centuries only known Lucretius from a few words of St. Jerome.

It seems to give distinction to Wakering, when we may imagine that one of its inhabitants was shown this great monument of Latin literature by its discoverer before he sent it to his friend in Florence.

When Bishop John Wakeryng looked at the first page of the manuscript, and read as far as the lines—

"Te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila caeli
Adventumque tuum, tibi suavis daedala tellus
Summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum"—

did they bring to his mind the winds sweeping over the green sea marshes of Wakering, with the sea lavender growing upon them, and the sun shining on the winding course of Barling Creek or Wakering Haven, and the

clouds travelling in the sky above the far extending flats? This John Wakeryng returned from the Council in 1418, and the remainder of his life was spent in his diocese and in London. He built a cloister at Norwich and used well the fortune to which he had attained. He died in 1425, and his monument is still to be seen in the choir of Norwich Cathedral.

On September 23, 1394, WILLIAM WAKERYNG and the brethren granted to Geoffrey Husy, citizen and tailor, for sixty years a tenement with a garden and four shops adjoining in the parish of St. Sepulchre. He was to pay to the hospital thirty-three shillings and four pence a year, and to the abbot and convent of Leicester twenty shillings.

Documents had increased in size and in the number of words they contained. William of Wakeryng's grant measures eight inches by twelve, and has about 540 words, while a similar grant of his predecessor Bartholomew, of the reign of Henry III., measures four and a half inches by five and a half, and contains about 290 words.

On the next day GEOFFREY HUSY bound himself to pay twenty pounds to the master and brethren by a deed written on a long strip of vellum, sealed with a seal in red wax bearing a well-executed figure of the owner kneeling before the Virgin and Child, and with the words of the angelic salutation on the border.

WILLIAM WAKERYNG, on October 24, 1394, granted

to John Rysley and his wife Katharine for sixty years a mansion in which they then lived, with a garden, shop, and houses in the same parish, at twenty-six shillings and eight pence a year. The land was between the king's way on the east, the tenement of the Abbot of Leicester on the west, the vicarage of the church of St. Sepulchre on the south, and the house of Geoffrey Husy on the north.

On September 30, 1398, WILLIAM WAKERYNG and the brethren received from Henry Bamme, a citizen and goldsmith of London, and Alice his wife, in satisfaction of all arrears of a quit-rent from the beginning of the world, sixteen shillings from tenements formerly held by Dionisius of Brokwode, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen in the old Fishmarket. It was situate between the church and the tenement of Thomas of Neventon, clerk.

There had been a long dispute as to a stone wall extending from Cock Lane (Cokeslane) on the north to the churchyard of St. Sepulchre on the south, and between the land of the ABBOT AND CONVENT OF ST. MARY DE PRATIS OF LEICESTER on the west, and that of the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital on the east. By agreement of both parties, the matter was referred to I. de C. and R. de K., masters of the Carpenters¹ and to I. de F. and Q. de M.,

¹ In the finely printed book "An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters of the City of London," by Edward Basil Jupp, clerk of the Company

masters of the Latamers and superiors of the city ; and on their report it was decided that the wall stood wholly on the land of the abbot and convent of Leicester and ought to be maintained by them. This was in the presence of John Cockayne, Recorder of London, of Robert Maltby, and Richard Resnes, on July 17, 1397.

A few other documents relating to the letting of property carry on the record of William Wakeryng's mastership to its conclusion. On September 30, 1400, WILLIAM WAKERYNG¹ and the brethren let to John Wetynge half an acre of land which they had of the gift of Robert Newcomen, for Wetynge's life and twenty years after his death, at a rent of four pence a year payable at Michaelmas, he to perform also all services due to the lord of the fee. One end of the land was on the king's way from London to Islington (Yseldon) on the west, and the other was on the way leading from Holdestret (Old Street) to Wallockesburne on the east, and it was between the land of Henry Frowyk on the south and that of John Northampton on the north.

On December 10, 1400, WILLIAM WAKERYNG and the brethren granted to Richard Mayhewe thirteen acres of arable land situate between Oldestrete and Wallockesborne. He was to pay ten shillings a year to the hospital and fourteen to the dean and chapter of

(London, 1848), the earliest mention of a Carpenters' Guild is in 1421 (p. 8). This indenture, giving the initials of the masters in the phrase "coram I de C et R. de K. magistris Carpenteriariorum," proves that such a guild existed in 1397.

¹ Datum in crastino sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum secundo.

St. Paul's. The small seal attached bears the initials J. W. crowned and within a plain octagon. A slip, separately sealed and dated December 12, is attached, by which MAYHEWE binds himself to pay forty shillings to the master and brethren.

On a narrow piece of vellum WILLIAM WAKERYNG and the brethren acknowledge that they have received from William Brampton, citizen and alderman of London, six shillings and eight pence for arrears of annual rent due to them for a tenement called the "laumpe on the hoop," in the parish of St. Ethelburga within Bishopsgate. The receipt is dated the morrow of Easter (March 31), 1404. On another slip of vellum, dated May 14, 1405, HENRY EMERTON of Puttenham in Hertfordshire, and William Emerton of Ledbourne in Buckinghamshire, bind themselves to pay William Wakeryng and the brethren forty-six shillings and eight pence on the Saturday after Ascension Day next (May 28, 1405). A fine impression of the seal bearing the crowned initials J. W. is attached. This seal is thus shown to have been in the hospital from 1400 to 1405. It looks like an impression from a signet ring.

William Wakeryng died December 7, 1405.

It was during the masterships of Sutton and of Wakeryng that John Mirfeld flourished in the priory of St. Bartholomew's and wrote his *Breviarium Bartholomei*, which may fairly be regarded as the first book on medicine connected with St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

Some passages in the works of Mirfeld¹ and a few entries in public records supply all that is known of his life. His name suggests that he came from Yorkshire. He probably studied at Oxford, and there attended the lectures of Nicholas Tyngewich, who had been physician to Edward I. at the close of his reign. On May 9, 1362, Mirfeld was living in the priory of St. Bartholomew, and was granted a chamber on the south side of the church, near the great altar, as well as a yearly pension of £4, 8s., by Thomas of Watford, the prior. If the pension were not paid him, he was to be entitled to sufficient food from the prior and convent to satisfy its value. In 1390 this grant was confirmed.² Mirfeld's master, whom he often mentions but does not name, knew the canons of St. Bartholomew's Priory and perhaps introduced Mirfeld to them. This master treated one of the canons who, from an injury to the right side of his head, became paralysed on the left side of his body. His horse reared just as the canon was mounting, and threw him on to his head with such force that he became altogether unconscious. Mirfeld's master ordered the canon's head to be shaved, rubbed oil of roses and a quart of warm vinegar on to the scalp, powdered it, and bound it up with a cloth soaked in oil and vinegar and then thoroughly bandaged the head in linen, covering the whole with a lambskin.

¹ Accounts of Mirfeld and his works are to be found in J. L. G. Mowat's "Sinonoma Bartholomei," Oxford, 1882; Norman Moore, "The Progress of Medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital," London, 1889; and "The History of the Study of Medicine in the British Isles," Oxford, 1908.

² Calendar of Patent Rolls.

Twice a day he rubbed his neck and spine with ointment. Next day the patient opened his mouth, but the physician refused to give him food. The patient spoke imperfectly on the third day, and a little better on the fourth day, and he swallowed a little warm drink. He took some chicken broth on the sixth day, and thenceforward grew gradually stronger. Mirfeld's master advised him to eat the brains of fowls and kids so as to repair the damage to his own. It was only a pretty good recovery, for, says Mirfeld, the canon was never again of the same mental ability and good memory as he had been before the accident. This case is related in the *Breviarium Bartholomei*, a great medical treatise which Mirfeld wrote before the year 1387. The finest manuscript of this book now belongs to Pembroke College, Oxford, and was in earlier times the property of the hospital of St. John the Baptist, which stood at the gate of the abbey of Abingdon. Its date is shown by the calendar for the year 1387, with which it begins. There is another perfect copy in the British Museum, and both are handsome manuscripts. The table of contents of the Oxford manuscript states that John Mirfeld composed the book in the monastery of St. Bartholomew in London. The treatise consists of fifteen parts, comprising the whole of medicine and surgery, including pharmacology and the regimen of health. Several passages suggest that Mirfeld had pondered over patients and treatment in the hospital, and it is probable that a

Brother John Helme, whom he mentions as recommending aloes and myrrh in warm wine as a protective medicine against plague, was a member of the hospital foundation. One passage gives an interesting view of the brethren preparing their remedies. They had no watches, so measured the time for heating fluids or making decoctions by reciting certain psalms and prayers while the vessel was on the fire.

Mirfeld also wrote a treatise mainly theological which he called "Florarium Bartholomei." Like the Breviarium, it has never been printed, but there is one fine manuscript copy in the British Museum and another in the library of Gray's Inn. The Florarium shows that he enjoyed Horace, Virgil, and Ovid. He was versed in Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiæ, and knew some of his other writings. He was well read in the Scriptures, and was familiar with the Liber Etymologiarum of St. Isidore of Seville. St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. Anselm, and St. Thomas Aquinas were authors well known to him.

One chapter of the Florarium relates to medicine, and is entitled "On physicians and their medicines." He advises physicians not to meditate on fees, and tells the shocking case of one who thought so much of thirteen pounds which were due to him for treating a man for three years that, when dying and exhorted to receive the Holy Eucharist, this physician could not

turn his mind to sacred things, but went on repeating "Thirteen pounds in three years!"

The Breviarium and the Florarium show Mirfeld to have been a very well read man, and in him we may see what was the best sort of medical adviser whom the poor in the hospital or the rich outside it could have in the reign of King Richard II.

John Mirfeld had studied grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy—the seven liberal arts of whose position as the commencement of a university education we preserve the memory in the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. He had felt the influence of Oxford, and had received a medical training from a master engaged in the practice of medicine. He had read a good many medical treatises such as the *Lily of Medicine* of Bernard of Gordon, the *English Rose* of John of Gaddesden, and the *Compendium* of Gilbert the Englishman. He knew no Greek, but had read Latin books purporting to be versions of Hippocrates and of Galen, and Latin translations of several Arabic works such as the *Continent* of Rhazes, the *Canon* of Avicenna, the *Diets* of Isaac son of Solomon. He knew by heart the *Flower of Medicine*, in which were collected the precepts on diet and way of life of the School of Salernum, and he had studied Platearius and Nicholas, and other writers of that ancient and famous seat of mediæval medicine.

He was himself capable of judging whether a patient

had fever, and could recognise the plague and tertian ague. Of lung diseases he had the most distinct notion of pleurisy, but knew a little of other pulmonary disorders. He had got so far in the diagnosis of dysentery as to perceive that other intestinal diseases might resemble it. He could name a good many skin diseases.

He had noticed enlargement of the lymphatics. He describes epileptic fits well, and knew something of hemiplegia. He was acquainted with gout. He speaks of the bad effects of excessive potations and of over-eating. He knew how to use opium, and employed a great variety of drugs, the reputation of which did not rest on experiment. He was not inattentive to the details of nursing, and he understood the wisdom in practice of remembering the effect of the mind on the body. He was equal to the physicians of our own time in his consideration for the feelings of his patients, in his desire to alleviate suffering, and in his eagerness to master all the learning of his time. He was their inferior in method of observation as well as in every part of science. Like a large part of the public of our day, he was satisfied as to the value of a remedy when patients could be found who said they were better after employing it, and like such people he often omitted to consider whether the diagnosis had been accurate.

John Mirfeld was a well-read, industrious, and high-minded physician, and the *Breviarium Bartholomei* is a work worthy of its time. Since the priory in which he

lived is no more, it is our duty in the hospital from which he drew some of his medical knowledge to preserve his fame. He is the first of the long series of writers who have added by their books to the renown of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

END OF VOL. I.

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