The death knell of an Order in 16th century England

Charles Savona-Ventura

Abstract

The Hundred Years War had distanced the English branch of the Order of St Lazarus from the French motherhouse. This distancing enabled the English house to survive and retain the protection of the English Crown. However, the Protestant Reformation led by King Henry VIII was to bring the English House land holdings to the attention of the Crown and opportunistic Royal officers leading to the confiscation of all properties belonging to the Order in England.

Keywords

Order of St Lazarus, Act of Supremacy, dissolution

Introduction

The Order of Saint Lazarus, established as a monastic Hospitaller Order in Jerusalem, had throughout the thirteenth century acquired several land holdings in Christian Europe, including England. The holdings in England were progressively augmented sufficiently to require organization into a regional institution managed from Burton Lazars that was answerable to the motherhouse in Boigny in France. The political turmoil brought about by the Hundred Years War fought between France and England required the Order to set about distancing itself from the French motherhouse and become, towards the end of fifteenth century, a separate distinct organization functioning under the direct protection of the English King and the Holy See. These initiatives ensured that the Order in England avoided being viewed as having Francophile tendencies and thus avoid losing its holdings. They also ensured that it survived the planned amalgamation of the

French Order with the Order of St John envisaged by the 1489 Papal Bull *Cum solerti*.[1] The *status quo* was again to be upset with the political turmoil brought about by the Protestant Reformation in England when the Order was depicted as having 'Papist' sympathies.

Political alliances

During the fifteenth century reorganization of the Order of Saint Lazarus in England, the political orientation of the active leaders leaned towards the Yorkist Court. The House of York, a younger House of the Plantagenet family, dominated the English Throne throughout the fifteenth century providing three subsequent kings – Edward IV (reign 1461-1483), Edward V (reign April-June 1483), and Richard III (reign 1483-1485). The complete independence of Burton Lazars from Boigny was achieved by a process driven by a series of Burton Lazars' Masters, the most noteworthy being Sir William Sutton (Master 1450-1485; †1491) who belonged to a strongly Yorkist family which had provided men to fight in the Yorkist cause. After 1461, Sir William himself supported the Yorkist cause in Leicestershire and became involved in various governmental commissions. In contrast to previous Burton Lazars Masters, Sir William was married with issue that, at least, included two sons: Sir John Sutton of Disley (* <1450, †1473); and Sir Richard Sutton (*~1460, †1524).[2] During his tenure, he attempted to establish the Burton Lazars' Mastership as a family holding, obtaining a Papal brief in 1473 to enable a Robert Sutton, then 26 years of age, to assume the governorship of any English Lazarite house. Sir William was thwarted in his attempt to pass on the Burton Lazars' Mastership to Robert, but in 1483 resigned his

[1] C. Savona-Ventura. A Fifteenth Century 'Brexit': The Case of the English Branch of the Order of St Lazarus. *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 12 (2023), 199-222.

[2] G. Robert. *The visitation of Cheshire in the year 1580*. London: John Paul Rylands, 1882, 220.

post in favour of Sir George Sutton.[3] Sir Richard Sutton reports in his will that he had bedding and household goods at St Giles Hospital, while he bequeathed £2 to support the repair of the highways around the hospital.[4]

Sir Richard Sutton showing the family coat-of-arms [5] on his tunic (Brasenose College, University of Oxford)

After the death of Richard III during the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485, the Throne was assumed by the Tudor Henry VII

[3] D. Marcombe. *Leper Knights: The Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, 1150-1544*. England: Boydell Press, 2003, 215-217.

[4] Will of Sir Richard Sutton (7.xi.1524). *Public Registry Office, PROB 11/21*, fol.209-210, National Archives, Kew, https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/D975798

[5] Quartered: Sutton: *Argent, a chevron between three bugle-horns stringed Sable* and Davenport: *Argent, a chevron between three crosses crosslet fitchee Sable.* See: D. King. *The Vale Royal of England or the County Palatine of Chester illustrated*. London: John Streater, 1656 available http://cheshire-heraldry.org.uk/vale%5Froyal/.

(reign 1485-1509). Individuals with past Yorkist sympathies thus became suspect. The Sutton family, with ambivalent political sympathies, quickly strove to gain the trust of the Tudors. Sir George was appointed by Henry VII to serve on the commission for peace in Leicestershire in 1500/1501. Sir Richard Sutton also served as lawyer and privy councillor to the Tudors. Despite these new alliances, the king regarded the Order as harbouring Yorkist sympathies and set about curtailing its privileges. Sir George Sutton was replaced as Master of Burton Lazars in ~1505 by Sir Thomas Norton (Master ~1505-1526) and subsequently by Sir Thomas Ratcliffe (Master 1526-1537).[6] In spite of the demonstration of Tudor sympathies by the leaders of the Order and the moderate views of Henry VIII towards the Yorkist claimants, the previously privileged position of the Order continued to be eroded in line with the Protestant Reformation and the move to suppress the minor Religious Houses in England.[7]

Winds of Change

In 1527, Henry VIII (reign 1509-1547) petitioned Pope Clement VII to have his marriage with Catherine of Aragon annulled. The hesitancy of the Holy See in delivering judgement, engendered by pressure from Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, nephew of Catherine of Aragon, forced Henry VIII to initiate the process leading to the breach from Rome. On the 5 November 1529, the Convocation of Canterbury was summoned to discuss, among other

[6] Land transactions of the period suggest a continuing interrelationship between the Sutton, Norton and Ratcliffe families. A contemporary Th. Ratcliffe, holding rights to manors and tenements in Leicestershire (deceased by July 1539), was married to Isabella (daughter of Lawrence of Ashton) and had one daughter, Anne, and one son, William. Considering that the Duke of Norfolk uses the argument of Thomas Leigh's marital situation making him non-eligible for the post of Master of Burton Lazars *(vide infra)*, this was a different Thomas Ratcliffe than the serving Master. J. Gairdner, RH Brodie (editors). *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*. London: HMSO, vol. 14, 1894, 588. Accessed from *British History Online* https://www.british-history.ac.uk/.

[7] D. Marcombe, *op. cit*., 217-218.

issues, the impending divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon. The Burton Lazars' Master, Sir Thomas Ratcliffe, was among those summoned to the convocation. The convocation gave its ruling on Henry VIII's marriage on 5 April, 1533, wherein it decided that the Pope had no power dispensing in case of a marriage where the brother's widow has been *cognita*. It also confirmed that Catherine of Aragon's marriage to Arthur, Prince of Wales, had been *cognita*, i.e., had been consummated. On the 23 May, 1533, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, sitting in judgment at a special court convened at Dunstable Priory, declared the marriage of Henry and Catherine null and void. In 1534, Parliament passed the *Acts of Supremacy* whereby the King was recognised as the Supreme Head of the Church in England. These developments were followed by a close investigation of the Religious Houses to determine their wealth and standards of morality within them. The first inquiry of 1535, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, included a resume of the valuation of Burton Lazars along with the St Giles and Holy Innocents holdings. The valuation of the Order was estimated at £265 10^{s} $2½^{d}$, while a total of £47 2^{s} 11^{d} were being distributed to various paupers.[8] The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was presented to the English Parliament on 4 February, 1535, leading to the enactment of the *Suppression of Religious Houses Act 1535*. The main effect of the Act was to expropriate the lesser Religious Houses "which have not in lands, tenements, rents, tithes, portions, and other hereditaments, above the clear yearly value of two hundred pounds", attacking such Houses as dens of iniquity and proposing that those in them should be "committed to great and honourable monasteries of religion" and "compelled to live religiously" passing on the benefices to the King.[9]

[8] One pauper was being supported by Burton Lazars; while 14 paupers were being supported by Saint Giles. J. Caley, J. Hunter (editors). *Valor ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII.: Auctoritate regia institutus.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1821, 4, 152-153.

[9] W.J. Hardy. *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*. London: Macmillan, 1910, 257

Attacks on Burton Lazar holdings

Burton Lazars did not fall under the remit of the *Suppression of Religious Houses Act*. However, the valuation reawakened the interest of the crown and opportunist agents in what appeared to be lucrative properties. In 1535, the Burton Lazars' Master, Sir Thomas Ratcliffe, was summoned to London by Richard Layton at the bequest of Thomas Cromwell, then serving as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to negotiate a scheme of property exchange whereby the crown was to receive property in the London region including the manors of Feltham and Heston, and land in the parishes of St Martin, Westminster and St Giles including three inns. The Order was in turn to have Burton Grange and Vaudey Convent passed on to it.[10] The exchange was quickly agreed to, and the arrangement was finalised early in 1536. It is likely that opportunistic pressure was put on Sir Ratcliffe to accede to the agreement.

The Order had during the fifteenth century introduced the selling of indulgences aiming to speed one's passage through the suffering of Purgatory. The income derived from this endeavour was a significant boost to the overall income of the Order. However, after the break from Rome, any activity considered 'Papist', such as selling indulgences, was deemed treasonous. While Ratcliffe was negotiating the property exchange, the pardoner of the Order was apprehended selling the customary indulgences at Caernavon. The documents were seized as 'Papistic muniments' by Richard Gibbons, Registrar to Bishop John of Bangor, and the case was referred to the Henry Norris, Chamberlain of North Wales, on the 1 May 1535.[11] This event probably was used to pressure

[10] *The title of the m^r Of th' hospital of the lepers and p^r curator in the hospital of Saynt Gyles, to the vij houses w^t^hout y^e barrs Holbou^r^ne*. In: J. Parton. *Some account of the Hospital and Parish of St-Giles-in-the-fields, Middlesex*. London: Luke Hansard, 1822, 29-32.

[11] J. Gairdner (editor). *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*. London: HMSO, vol. 8, 1885, 242-243. Accessed from *British History Online* https://www.british-history.ac.uk/.

Ratcliffe to reach an early agreement. The licence transferring the Vaudey Court lands issued in January, 1536, included a clause pardoning the Order of all violations of *praemunire* enacted in 1529 (i.e. offence of asserting or maintaining Papal jurisdiction in England), probably referring to this event.

> *'26. Thos. Ratclif, the Master, and the brethren of Burton Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, Leic. Licence to hold to farm the grange or manor called Burtoune Graunge, Leic., by lease of the abbot and convent of the monastery of St Mary de Valle Dei (Vaudy), co. Linc.* ***Also pardon to the said Master and brethren of all violations of Statute 21 Hen. VIII****.'* [12]

During 1535-36, Richard Layton, Sir Thomas Leigh and John Price carried out a visitation of the monasteries in the Leicestershire area drawing up the *Compendium Compertorum* aiming to list the clerical abuses committed by the Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales, thus giving Henry VIII of England religious justification to dissolve the monasteries. While this report does not feature the Burton Lazars establishment, it seems likely that the Burton Lazars holdings came to the attention of Sir Thomas Leigh. On the 11 August, 1536, Sir Leigh wrote to Cromwell reminding him that 'as touching Burton Lazar, whereof he desires nothing but possession'.[13] The request was aimed at securing tenure of Burton Lazars thus replacing Sir Thomas Ratcliffe who

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Henry Norris (*~1482 – †17.v.1536) was an English courtier who was appointed Chamberlain of North Wales in 1531. He also served as Groom of the Stool in the Privy Chamber of King Henry VIII. While a close servant of the King, he also supported the faction in Court led by Queen Anne Boleyn, and when Anne fell out of favour, he was among those accused of treason and adultery with her. He was found guilty and executed.

[12] J. Gairdner (ed.). *op. cit.,* vol. 11, 1890, 81.

[13] J. Gairdner (ed.), *op. cit*., vol. 11, 1890,114. An identical note sent by Leigh is registered on 11 August 1537. See: J. Gairdner (ed.), *op. cit*., vol. 12, pt.2, 1891, 192. The published register carries a note stating, '*erroneously printed in Vol. XI, No. 273*'.

allegedly had Papist sympathies and hence was potentially hostile to government policies.

In March, 1537, Cromwell requested Ratcliffe to proceed to London to discuss his resignation as Master to Burton Lazars. Assuming a *fait accompli*, a reversion of Mastership of Burton Lazars was granted to Sir Leigh on the 10 March, 1537.[14] It seems that while Ratcliffe's initial thought was to agree to the resignation even though this would result in a loss of revenue, he sought advice from the Order's Bailiff, William Faunt, who urged Ratcliffe to *'stick to it and do not resign, we doubt not but this world will turn and not ever continue at this point'* [Appendix 2].[15] Faunt appealed to Sir Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk and a patron of Burton Lazars, to intervene with Cromwell. Sir Howard sent a missive to Cromwell on the 11 March, 1537, arguing against the reversion basing his arguments on the unsuitability of Sir Leigh as Master of Burton Lazars based on his 'viciousness' and the fact that he was married [*vide infra*]. Sir Leigh was kept fully informed of the situation by his spy within Ratcliffe's advisory group. John Port Jnr had infiltrated the group and was reporting to Sir Leigh the plans being made by Sir Howard and Ratcliffe. In a letter to Sir Leigh dated 8 March, 1537, Port advised that if Ratcliffe did not resign, he could be induced to do so by threatening to expose him as a Papist [Appendix 2].[16] Towards the end of 1537 (or early 1538), Ratcliffe agreed to resign his position as Master of Burton Lazars, thus surrendering the Order's holdings to the Crown, and allowing Sir Thomas Leigh to assume the position on the basis of the March 1537 reversion. Sir Ratcliffe retained the income from the 1536 personal grant of Vaudey Grange and other properties.

[14] J. Gairdner (ed.), *op. cit*., vol. 12, pt.1, 1890, 351.

[15] J.H. Baker (editor). *The Notebook of Sir John Port* (Selden Society: London, 1986), lii-liii.

[16] J.H. Baker, *op. cit*., lii-liii.

The Dissolution of the Order

The machinations of Sir Thomas Leigh with the support of other agents and the Chancellor of the Exchequer using a combination of threats and promises eroded the resistance of the regularly elected Master, Sir Thomas Ratcliff, causing him in his old age to formally resign and abandon the leadership of the Order of St Lazarus in England. This was the beginning of the end of the Order. Sir Leigh was only interested in furthering his wealth and position. He did however respond with legal actions to retain any threatened Lazarite holdings, though not necessarily for the benefit of the Order and hospital he was now responsible for.

Sir Leigh was the younger son of John Leigh, Lord of the manor of Frizington, Cumberland. Born around 1511, he was educated at Eton College and subsequently trained in Law at King's College, Cambridge qualifying as LL.B. (1527), and LL.D. (1531). He was described as *'of a very bulky and gross habit of body*.' In December 1532, he was appointed ambassador to the King of Denmark and was considered a *'doctor of low quality*' by the Imperial Ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, representing Charles V of Spain at King Henry VIII's Court. He returned to England in March, 1533, and joined his cousin's service, Ronald Leigh, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. During 1535-36, Sir Leigh, together with Sir John Price and Richard Layton, was involved in the visitations to the various northern religious houses probably going to Burton Lazars in 1536.[17] Leigh made a large profit out of the visitations, and complaints of his conduct were numerous. His style was flamboyant, and Sir Price thought his treatment of the monks needlessly severe, describing him as being '*very insolent and pompatique*', '*excessive in taking*' and of a '*satrapic countenance*'.

> *'Now it is come I dare boldly say what I think is amiss in him.*
> *1. He is too insolent and pompous; but as this was in London*

[17] RW. Dixon. *History of the Church of England, from the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction*. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1895, ii,11-17

I thought you knew it. 2. Wherever he comes he handles the fathers very roughly, many times for small causes, as for not meeting him at the door, where they had warning of his coming. More modesty, gravity, and affability would purchase him more reverence than his "satrapike countenance." He is young and of intolerable elation. He is also excessive in taking. At the election of the Prior of Coventry, he took 15l.; at Bevall, the Charterhouse, 20l., besides 6l. costs; at Vale Royal, 15l., besides 6l. costs and a reward; at Tarrent, 20l., and 4l. costs; and as I knew there by one Fisher, solicitor in that matter, that you wished him to have no less for Tarrent, I thought he took the other according to your pleasure. At every election he demands 20l., which is more than ever was taken. At his visitation he refuses his reward, though competent, because he thinks it too little, and he makes them send after him such rewards as please him. Religious men were never so much afraid of Dr Alen as they are of him, he uses such rough fashion. He has twelve men waiting on him in livery, besides his own brother, all of whom must be rewarded. This is too great a train for visiting small houses. What he obtains for licences I do not know. He does not follow your instructions; for whereas you ordered that all of both sexes between 22 and 24 might go abroad, he only allows that liberty to religious men. He has inserted a clause in his injunctions that all of any age may go abroad.' [18]

Sir Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, on the 11 March, 1537, described him to Cromwell as '*malicious'* and a '*vicious man*'.

'Hears that Dr Lee tries to get the Master of the house of Burton Lasour, of Norfolk's foundation, to resign the Mastership to him (Lee), which would be against the foundation, as Lee is a wedded man. Being absent on the King's service, begs Cromwell will prevent his malicious purpose, which touches Norfolk's inheritance as much as if

[18] J. Gairdner (ed.). *op. cit*., vol. 9, 1886, 210-211.

Framlyngham Castle were plucked from him. "Alas! What a pity it were that such a vicious man should have the governance of that honest house."' [19]

Together with his collaborators, he used his position of influence to enrich himself with grants of monastic lands acquiring the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital in Durham (14.ix.1535), the advowson of Birmingham from Gisborough Priory (iii.1536), Burton Lazars with its St Giles holdings (10.iii.1537), Calder Abbey in Cumberland (1539), and Nostell Priory in Yorkshire with its cell at Stowkirke (1539–40). Sir Leigh also actively participated in the tumultuous political events of the time. In 1533, he cited Catherine of Aragon to appear before Thomas Cranmer to hear the final divorce sentence; and in 1536, he assisted at the trial of Anne Boleyn. He served as a Member of the English Parliament representing Hindon (1536) and Wilton (1545). Following the Catholic insurgents' rebellion of 1536, he took an active part in the legal proceedings against the prisoners. In 1536, he married Joanna (née Cotton, †11.i.1557). Their only child, Katherine, married James Blount, 6th Baron Mountjoy. [20] Sir Leigh was knighted at Leith by the Earl of Hertford, 11 May, 1544.[21] He died on 25 November 1545, and was buried at St Leonard's, Shoreditch, London, where a brass plate effigy was erected in his memory with the inscription:

'Hereunder lie the ashes and bones of Sir Thomas Leigh that good and worthy Knight, whose hasty death, alas, the godly still bemoans though his soul always rejoice in God's eight. Great was

[19] J. Gairdner (ed.). *op. cit.*, vol. 12, pt.1, 1890, 282

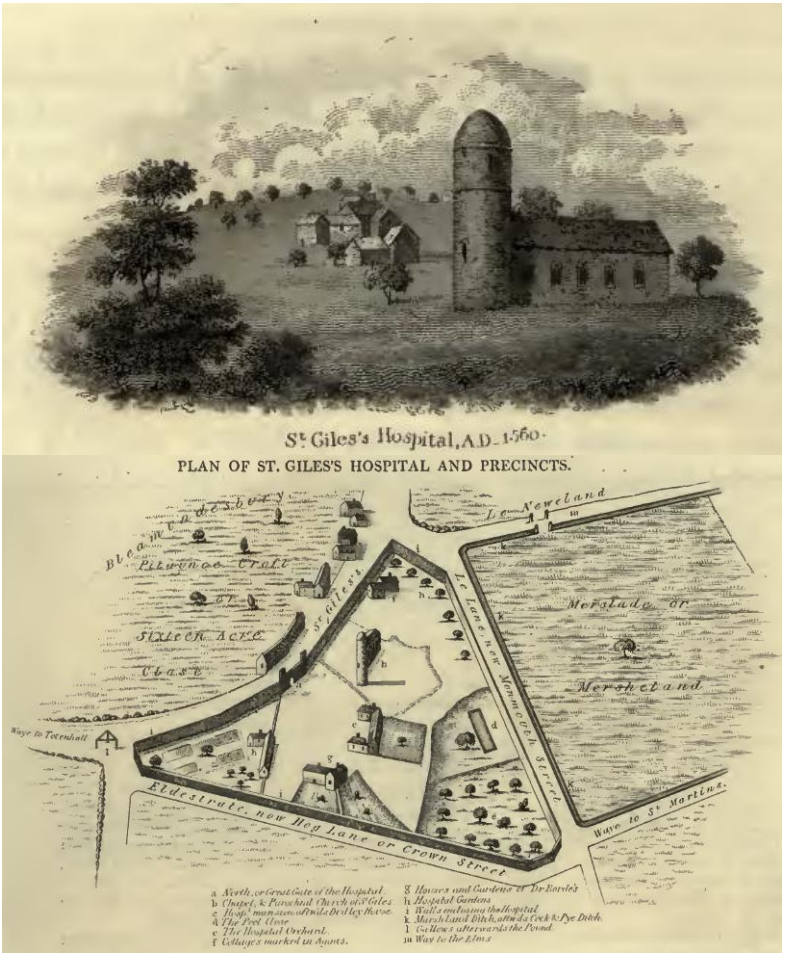
[20] Thomas Leigh (lawyer). *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopaedia*. U.S.A.: Wikimedia Foundation, Inc, 5.xii.2024 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Leigh_(lawyer), accessed 18.i.2025]; TFT. Baker. LEE (LEIGH, LEIGH), Thomas I (by 1511-45), of London. In: S.T. Bindoff (editor). *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558*. London: Boydell and Brewer, 1982. [https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/lee-(Leigh-leigh)-thomas-i-1511-45; accessed 18.i.2025]

[21] J. Gairdner, RH Brodie (eds.). *op. cit.*, vol. 19, pt.1, 1903, 328.

his wisdom, and greater was his wit, his visage comely with no sad change dismayed. A man in all affairs, a King to serve most fit had not death so soon his mortal life betrayed. He died the 25th day of November, anno Domini 1545'. [22]

Monument of Sir Thomas Leigh

[22] H. Ellis. *The history and antiquities of the parish of St Leonard Shoreditch, and liberty of Norton Folgate, in the suburbs of London*. London: J. Nichols, 1798, 53-54, pl. IV. Retrieved: https://archive.org/details/cu31924028066789



St Giles Hospital and its precincts, 16th century

In line with his pro-Reformation and anti-Papist beliefs, Sir Leigh ordered all references to the Pope to be expunged from the Order's Charter of Confirmation in the Bull *Licet Universorum Fidelium* given to it by Pope Innocent III. Leigh's tenure was however very quickly threatened. On 28 June, 1539, the English Parliament passed the *Suppression of Religious Houses Act 1539*

which provided for the dissolution of the 552 monasteries and Houses remaining after the *Suppression of Religious Houses Act 1535*. This dissolution included Burton Lazars. On 1 January, 1544, Leigh met with the surviving five brethren in the chapter house at Burton Lazars probably to wind down the workings of the Order. The surviving brethren included: William Frankis, Thomas Bitchfield, Robert Coke, William Smith, and John Capper.[23]

The Court certainly considered that the *1539 Suppression Act* had terminated any pretensions of the Order of St Lazarus in England and that all holdings devolved to it or to the individuals it appointed to manage.[24] On the 16 July, 1539, the Court of Augmentations granted George Sutton and Ralph Martin a substantial lease of some of the St Giles properties.[25] The property of the Hospital of Burton Lazars was apparently later passed on to William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, sometime before his death in December, 1542.[26] It has been suggested that this grant was based on a verbal promise to pass on the holdings to Fitzwilliam after Leigh's death.[27] On the 3 May, 1544, the entire properties of Burton Lazars and St Giles were granted to John

[23] Lincolnshire Archives Office, *PD 1545/42* as reported by D. Marcombe, *op. cit*., 233-234. The recorded Master of St Giles in 1542 was Robert Barker. Vide: E. Williams. *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London*. London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1927, vol. 2, no. 1622 as reported by D. Marcombe, *op. cit*., 255.

[24] J. Parton, *op. cit.*, 32.

[25] *54b. Geo. Sutton and Ralph Martyn, of London, fishmonger. Lands in St. Margaret's parish beside St. James's in the Fields, near London: Purchased from the monastery of Abingdon. Also lands in St. Giles' in the Fields: Burton Lazars. 16 July* (1539). See: James Gairdner, R H Brodie (eds.), *op. cit*, vol. 14, pt.1, 1894, 605.

[26] William Fitzwilliam's grant was recognized by the Inquisition made at Market Harborough on the 7 August, 1544, four months after the grant made in favour of John Dudley. Cole's Inquisitions, Harl. MSS. 760, 5. As reported in J. Nichols. *The history and antiquities of the county of Leicester*. London: J. Nichols, 1795, vol. 2, pt.1, 267.

[27] D. Malcombe, *op. cit*., 230

Dudley, Viscount Lisle, for his services as Commander of the English forces at the Siege of Boulogne [see Appendix].[28]

Leigh had thus been deprived of his holdings. He referred the issue to the arbitration of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, who gave his decision on the 8 September, 1544. Leigh was to receive the St Giles property, now rather depleted, and the outlying estates in Norfolk, Yorkshire, Northumberland and Northamptonshire. Dudley was awarded the Leicestershire estates including 'the manor and grange of Burton Lazars', the properties in Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Rutland and Suffolk, and the Rectory of Feltham.[29] It is unclear as to whether Leigh's interest was absolute or whether it was merely to be held until his death with the property reverting to Dudley. The likelihood is that the latter option was understood. In 1547, after Leigh's death, Henry III granted his licence to Dudley to convey 'the Hospital mansion, or manor-house of St Giles, with other adjoining buildings and land' to Wymond Carewe.[30]

John Dudley (*1504 †22.viii.1553), 1st Duke of Northumberland, was an English general, admiral, and politician, who served Henry VIII and subsequently led the government of the young King Edward VI from 1550 until 1553. After Edward VI's premature death on 6 July 1553, Dudley unsuccessfully tried to install Lady Jane Grey on the English Throne, thus conflicting with the hereditary rights of Mary Tudor. Mary Tudor soon assumed the crown. She had Lady Grey's supporters, including Dudley and his

[28] James Gairdner, R H Brodie (eds.). *op. cit.*, vol. 19, pt.1, 1903, 371 (see Appendix).

[29] Public Records Office. *Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature, Chancery Division: Six Clerks Office and successors: Decree Rolls*, C 78/1/1 (8.ix.1544).

[30] *Lady Shrewsbury to the Marquess of Winchester: To allow her servant, Richard French, for repairs as tenant in Hackney of Lady Carewe whose lands have been extended for a Crown debt of her late husband, Sir Wymond Carewe*. *Baynerdes Castell*. See: National Archives. *State Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, SP 46/27/f.1 (20.i.1559). Sir Wymond Carew (*1498) died in August 1549.

sons, arrested and tried. In August, 1553, Dudley was found guilty of treason and executed. Dudley's fall from grace resulted in the Burton Lazars and St Giles Hospital's holdings reverting to the Crown[31].

John Dudley, 1st Duke of Northumberland

Queen Mary I, a staunch Roman Catholic, quickly re-established relations between England and the Holy See. It appears that during Mary's reign (1553-1558), there was a short period of revival of the Order in England, centred around St Giles Hospital in London. The revived British branch apparently resumed formal links with the French branch at Boigny since the British Preceptor is

[31] *Attainder of Duke of Northumberland and others Act 1553*. 1 Mar. Sess. 2. c. 16 (5.xii.1553).

reported to have attended the Chapter General convoked by Boigny Master Jean de Lévis in 1558. That meeting was reportedly attended by '*Commandeurs of S. Eloy de Londres, de Bandarre en Hogrie, d'Aigreseuile en Savoye, & plusieurs autres …*'.[32] Following the death of Mary I on 17 November, 1558, the English Crown was assumed by Elizabeth I, who like her father, Henry VIII, believed strongly in the Protestant Movement. The diplomatic relations between England and the Holy See were broken again due, especially after the Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* of 1570. Thereafter, English law prohibited any official relations with the Papal States. It appears that the renascent English branch of the Order of St Lazarus did not survive this renewed religio-political turmoil, and no further reference to it is made. Under Elizabeth I, the Dudley family was again rehabilitated, and its previous holdings, including probably the manor of St Giles, were restored to Ambrose Dudley, son and heir of the Duke of Northumberland. In 1565, the possession of the manor of St Giles was held by the Lord Mountjoy, in right of his wife Katherine, daughter of Thomas Leigh.[33]

Conclusion

The relationship of the Order of St Lazarus in England with the Crown opened it to threats resulting from the political turmoil of the time. During the 14th century, by showing Yorkist sympathies and distancing itself from its French motherhouse, the Order in England managed to survive the political overtures generated by the Hundred Years War, thus surviving as a distinct Order into the 16th century. During the Protestant Revolution, the Order was unsuccessful in shedding off its Papist heritage and tendencies. This brought it to the attention of land-hungry royal agents who, by threats and false promises, forced the Master, Thomas Radcliffe, to resign and surrender the Order's holdings to the Crown. The

[32] P. de Beloy. *De l'origine et institution de divers Ordre de Chevalerie tant ecclesiastiques que prophanes*. Montavban: Denis Haultin, 1604, 36.
[33] J. Parton, *op. cit.*, 330.

holdings were thus made available to be granted to loyal servants of the Crown. The *1539 Suppression Act* was the final nail to terminating the activity of the Order in England. The revival during the reign of Mary I was only a short interlude before the Order disappeared completely from England. The English jurisdiction within the International Order of St Lazarus was re-established as the Grand Priory of England and Wales four centuries later, in 1960, under the direction of Lord Mowbray, initiating a progressive process of Anglicization of the international Order.

Appendix 1 : Grant made out to Sir John Dudley in May 1544

J. Gairdner, RH Brodie (editors). *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*. London: HMSO, vol. 19, pt.1, 1903, 371. Accessed from *British History Online* https://www.british-history.ac.uk/.[34]

610. Grants in May, 1544.

8. Sir John Dudley. K.G., Viscount Lisle and Great Admiral. Grant, in fee, for his services, of the late Hospital of Burton St Lazarus, alias of St Lazarus of Burton, Leic.; the late Hospital of St Giles in the Fields without the Bars of London; the Lordship and manor of Burton St Lazarus alias Burton Lazars, Melton alias Melton Mowbrey, and Newton Burdett, and the Rectory and Advowson of the Vicarage of Lowesbye,—Burton St Lazarus; lands in Burton Lazars and Leysthorpe Leic., which belonged to Valdey mon., Linc., and which were granted to Burton St Lazarus Hospital; the Lordships and manors of Spondon, Borowyashe and Lokkowe and Rectory of Spondon, Derb.; the Lordships and manors of Wyndeham and Chosell, Norf.; the Lordships and manors of Nettylham, Ayshby, Charleton, and Threkingham, and Rectory and Advowson of the Vicarage of Threkingham Linc., rents out of Galby and Braysborowe Rectories, Leic., and the Rectory and Advowson of the Vicarage of Feltham, Midd.,—Burton St. Lazarus; and all possessions of that Hospital and the said Hospital of St Giles in Burton Lazars, Lowesbye, Galby, Braysborowe, Melton Mowbrey, Kyrkeby Bellars. Thorpe Sigwell, Twyford, Talby Magna. Talby Parva, Stapleford, Bukmynster, Kylmycote. Stonesby, Edmundethorp, Newton Burdett. Quenyborowe, Pykwell, Leysthorp,

[34] The text of the grant in Latin and English is also available in: J. Parton, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

Leycestre, Wykeham, and Statherne, Leic.; in Belton, Whitewell and Aswell, Rutl.; in Spondon, Borowyash, Chaddesden and Lokkowe, Derb.; in Wyndham, Lynne Episcopi, Briston, Hunworth, Borowe, Stody, Brynnyngham, Brynton, Holkeham, Burneham Sutton and Chosell, Norf.; in the city and "malandria" of Lincoln; in Netylham, Steneby, Custon Axholme, Gunby, Ayshby, Eddenham, Foldby, Woodeborowe, Oxcom, Wamysgarowe, Kettesby, Brynkyll, Bagen Warley, Somerby, Tetford, Kyrkby, Langton. Braunston, Carleton, Greteford, Wytham and Threkingham, Linc.; in Kedington and Stanbourne, Suff.; in Lupton, Hunts; in Northampton, Fentford, Steplemoston and Stepington, Ntht.; in Pountfrete and Muskam, Yorks.; in Harropp. Nthld.; in Goldenwyke, Wytteres and Shekwell, Essex; in the Parish of St. Giles in the Fields without London; in Holbourne, Feltham and Edelmeton Midd., and in the city of London. Westm., 3 May, 36 Hen. VIII. Del. 4 May.

—P.S. Pat. p. 9, m. 29.

Appendix 2 : Letter from John Porte to Dr Thomas Leigh, 8.iii.1537[35]

Public Record Office. State Papers (Domestic) series 1.127, fol.180. Transcribed in: J.H. Baker (editor). *The Notebook of Sir John Port* (Selden Society: London, 1986), lii-liii.

To the righte worshipfull Mr Doctour Leight be this delyvered with spede, at Austen Frerez in London.

Right worshipfull Mr Doctour, after my herte maner I commende me unto your Maistershippe, ascertyninge you that the same day your servante delyveryd my lord prive seale letter to the Maister of Burton, ymmediatly after his departyng, he sende to Maister Ratliff to have his advyse, whiche I thynke advertysed hym to foloue the contentes of the same lettre: for the Maister was fully mynded to commyn uppe towarde London one Thurysday laste, but the evynnynge afore came one Faunte servaunte to my lorde prive seale whiche the Maister had sende unto to

[35] J.H. Baker (1986) attributes the letter as being sent to Dr Rowland Leigh, but as Marcombe (2003) *op. cit.* correctly comments, the subject matter of the letter makes it more likely that it was sent to Dr Thomas Leigh. Ms Amanda Bevan, of the Public Record Office, had suggested that the letter was written by John Port Junior [†1557] and not by Sir John Port Senior [†1540].

have his councelle, and as I am enformed he wylled hym in noo wyse to appere, and comforted hym that he colde make meanes and fryndes for the dyscharge of his apparance, and one the mornynge after by tyme he came upp to London or ellz he his ryden to my lorde of Norfulke to opteyne his lettres (as I thynke) aswell to the kynge's grace as to other personz to accomplysse their desires. If thei myghte have their purpose, then they bretherne will thynke in tradde of tyme to have free election agayne. For this councelle is geven by theym and other personz, which doo say to the Maister by theis words, "Stycke to it and doo not resigne, we doubte not but this worlde will torne and not ever contynue at this poynte." For I my self commyned with the Maister concernyng his resignation, and to feyle his mynde tolde hym if you had it geven unto as he sayd you <had, and> I advertysed hym to be content and to resigne if you made any such request, for doubte of causes of deprivation wyche your Maistershipe had knowledge of in your tyme of visitation (whiche I thynke you well remember), and he answered me that he caredde not thowe he dyd resigne if the House myghte doo well and he to have a pour liffynge, for he was but olde. But now this Faunte and other hath geven suche counselle that he is of a nother mynde. Wherfore I thynke he will not appere at this time. And if he doo not, there is noo remedie but that your Maistership must make speciall request to my lorde prive seale to have a nother quycke and sharpe lettre in all spede haste to hym, that he doo appere ymmediatly apon the seighte of the same.

And if he will not be orderedde by my lorde at his commynge uppe, your Maistershippe may lay theis maters to his charge afore my lord : that he kepith one Webster wyffe and mayntenyth her husbonde to pyke quarellz agaynste gentilmen and other, and to knowe wherfore he did poplisse a transompte of a bull of the bysshoppe of Rome in town chapelle out of his parisse and jurysdiction, against [the] statute of premunire, and what mater it did conteyne and agaynst whome, and of his occasion that he had to do suche acte. And if my lorde prive seale did knowe what a Papist he is I thynke he wold soo enforme the kynge's grace, that he sholde not be moo haddle of any such howse as knowis Jesu, whowe ever have you in his blessed tuycion. Wryten this present after noune the viii day of Marche by yours to his power.

John Porte