

Lord of the Manor
The Lord Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens
of the
City of London
Since 1327

~
Borough founded by King Alfred
ca 880 AD

~
Southwark Jurors in Domesday Book
1086

~
Parliamentary Borough
1295

~
Preserved Legal Jurisdiction
Administration of Justice Act 1977



GVILDABLE MANOR
Colechurch House, London Bridge Walk, London
SE1 2SX
Registered Address
020 7394 1271

Senior Patrons

The High Steward of Southwark
HHJ Mark Lucraft QC
The Recorder of London

The High Bailiff of Southwark
Adam Rout
Head of Operations at MH and CCC

The Queen's Remembrancer
Senior Master Barbara Fontaine
The Curstitor Baron of the Exchequer

The Recorder of Southwark
HHJ Usha Karu
The Senior Resident The Sessions House

Foreman
Dr Ian Wingfield

clerk@guildablemanor.org
www.guildablemanor.org

The association of the Jurors of the Court Leet, Exchequer Court and Borough Court

COVID MEASURES: ASSUME THE COURT LEET AND LUNCHEON IS GOING AHEAD UNLESS YOU ARE DIRECTLY INFORMED BY THE CLERK OTHERWISE.

However, because of the Government measures this Annual Letter has little to report in the way of the last year's events.

Instead the Clerk has provided one of his historical essays for your entertainment.

There has been considerable dislocation in the succession of Officers in recent years and this continues, due to unexpected retirements and resignations. The Sworn Officer positions are open to all Jurors but there is an expectation of attendance and commitment for a period of years and progression to Foreman. The Tithing is the committee and consists of the Sworn Officers and Tithingmen.

Annual Letter 2021

15th October 2021

Dear Jurors,

As required under Rule 6.1 the following is provided for your information

Annual Letter

You have been notified of the High Steward's Precept and by now received your Summons for the November Court Leet. Please find my Letter, the formal Notices, the Agenda* and abstract of Audited Accounts for the Annual Meeting, which shall take place at that venue at 2.15pm that day, enclosed: This document shall be taken 'as read' at the meeting. On **25th August** the Tithing scrutinised applications for and attendances and suitability of the Sworn and Supernumerary Officers and elected the following to serve in the relevant positions as per the indicated Rules:-

**ie draft agenda; members may propose any business before the Meeting for inclusion, or use 'AOB' at the Meeting; however, if there are Questions Without Notice then a written reply will be given afterwards and published in the Minutes*

The Officers to be Sworn are:-

- 1: FOREMAN***
- 2: CONSTABLE‡**
- 3: AFEEROR***
- 4: FLESH TASTER***
- 5: ALETASTER***
- 6: ALESIZER †**

Supernumerary and appointed:-

**ALE CONNERS (St Saviour's and
St Olave's side)‡**

CLERK OF THE MANOR‡

ORATOR ~ CLERK‡

OUTROPER OR COMMON CRYER‡§

BEADLES † (Manor Beadle)

(St Olave's side) †

(St Saviour's side) †

TITHINGMEN ††

AND

SERVED FOREMEN

‡‡ Rule 3.

HON AUDITORS §§

§§ Notified to Annual Meeting under Rule 8.

HON TITHINGMEN

‡ Rule 7.9

HONORARY CHAPLAIN

‡ Rule 7.9

Tithing*#¹⁻⁶ Sworn Officers

by succession and service under Rule 7

Simon S Walsh

Steve Tamcken

Lawrence Day

Julie Fox

Daniel Heath

Vacant and appointment pro tem

***Rule 7.1 ‡ Rule 7.9 † Rule 7.10**

Keith Horsman, Royston Fox, Keith Schnaar

“ ” All other Officers and Tithingmen

‡ Rule 7.9 (^ Wine Steward)

Tony Sharp (F: 2001-2002)

Prof Freddie Trowman

§ Charter of Charles I 1638 ‡ Rule 7.9

Terence Mullins ‡ (J - 2015),

Keith Horsman, Royston Fox, Keith Schnaar; and All Officers and Tithingmen

Keith Horsman, Royston Fox, Keith Schnaar; and All Officers and Tithingmen

‡ Rule 7.9

Leslie Grout (F: 2013-2014) ††

Tony Sharp (F: 2001-2002) ††

Prof Frederick Trowman †† (F: 2007-08 & 2016)

David Boston (F: 2008-2009) ††

Ian Tough (F: 2010-2011) ††

Ron Leek (F: 2009-2010)

Ian Luder (F: 2014-2015)

Simon Walsh (F: 2021)

Prof Frederick Trowman (F: 2007-2008 & 2016)

Ian Luder (F: 2014-2015); Brian Barker QC (HS 2013 - 2014);

Hon Juror; Bryan Whalley.

Rt Rev Dr Karowei Dorgu, the Bishop of Woolwich.

Hon Assistant Chaplain Rev Jonathan Sedgwick, Rector of St George the Martyr.

The three Southwark Courts Leet retain the right to sit for their customary business including "... the appointment of traditional officers" as a limited jurisdiction under the 'Administration of Justice Act 1977; §23 (1)(a) and Sch 4 Pt III'.

General

Whenever representing the Manor at a City / Livery event the Foreman is often greeted with almost incredulity by new Masters of Livery (fortunately not by their Clerks nor by the senior dignitaries, the Aldermen, Sheriffs, Lord Mayor etc) and because of this we have produced a small leaflet to hand out explaining our relationship with the City and our history. The text and illustrations of this leaflet is reproduced at the back part of this Letter. This has led to further enquiries and even some recruitment as Jurors from that connection.

Membership and Tenancy

As the Manor membership expands, so does the cost of running it; nor are we quite big enough to benefit from an economy of scale. The costs of holding the Court Leet have risen and the necessity is now that we have to hire larger venues to hold this means our margins are squeezed. We admitted SIX new jurors and previously lapsed members as well as to remove members under Rule 5. The Tithing hopes that this trend in recruitment will continue and urges all members to introduce a guest to our events in the hope that they will wish to join themselves. Currently we have 82 Jurors Summoned a drop from 86 last year because of illnesses, death and formal resignations mainly due to age and location. These falls in memberships are common in the City guilds and there is a suspicion that it is due to underlying demographic changes.

PLEASE NOTE:- In compliance with the General Data Protection Regulations 2018, the Manor keeps its record of Jurors Names and Addresses in paper format and does not have any additional information, copies are sent to the three Courts Clerks for Summons and names are supplied to various publications. Communications are restricted to ordinary business of informing members of events. Communications via email are restricted to replies to enquiries from Jurors to the Clerk exclusively.

SUMMONS TO JUROR SERVICE AND MANOR FUNCTIONS

Both new and not so new Jurors often get confused by the formality of the procedures of the Courts and the social functions they receive information about. The Summonses are issued directly from the relevant Court (Old Bailey, Royal Courts and the Inner London Sessions House) and the invitation to the lunch or dinner comes from the Manor and not at the same time.

The Jurors Lists are formally entered at the Court and added to the Ministry of Justice's statistical returns for the composition of Juries nationally. (See also GDPR notice above)

Ceremonial Dress of Officers

A query was made as to why the Manor's colours are Red and Silver. The Lord of the Manor of Southwark is the Corporation of London and its heraldic tinctures are *Gules* and *Argent* - we therefore wear the City's 'livery'. However, as the Borough Court we wear blue shell gowns with green and 'gold' facings, which are the LBo Southwark heraldic colours.

Note by The Clerk

Remember that if new members are unlikely to become Liverymen but are attracted to the City's traditions, we offer the unique combination of the Southwark arrangements to propose them for the Freedom and to celebrate its receipt at View of Frankpledge and Quit Rents. Of course active Liverymen are very welcome. We have some very senior City representatives at these events, who have indicated that they are most impressed with the ceremonial aspects and conviviality. A general rise in costs for functions over the last two years may be reflected in the subscriptions for these events being revised. The Tithing is mindful that charges have to be levied at a rate that keeps them attractive for the members.

Why are Manor members 'Tenants' and 'Jurors'?

The qualification for 'Listing for Summons' to the Court Leet is being a Tenant in the Manor. In late July the High Bailiff confirms the date of the Court Leet and asks for a list of those qualified (bona fide Tenants) from the Clerk. The Clerk sends the members list of that date to the landlord with a note to say that all named are jointly and severally liable under the terms of our Lease at Colechurch House; that legal status is a 'tenancy'. The List is then as such sent to the Old Bailey.

However, in the interim period between members joining the Manor and the Court at which one becomes a 'Sworn Juror', they are referred to as just 'Tenants' and this slight difference is similar to the distinction in the City Livery Companies where one is firstly a 'Freeman' of the company and then are 'enclotted' in the Livery as a full member.

Note by The Clerk

Events and Functions of the last year

The continuing restrictions on public events, under Covid Lockdown and Social Distancing Rules, throughout most of the year meant that there has been only one function that was possible and this was the delayed ~

Annual Thanksgiving Service, Charter Day, Quit Rents Ceremony. This year was held at both a later date than usual on 23rd June rather than mid-March This also marked a change in venue from our Guild church, which is now unavailable to that of **St Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey Street SE1**. This has a different layout and the Officers managed to adapt the necessary changes in ceremonial to it. This also necessitated a different **venue for the Luncheon, the Oxford and Bermondsey Club** in nearby Webb Street. Presiding and receiving the Quits was the **Deputy Queen's Remembrancer HH Richard Hone** and we were fortunate to have a 'deputising' Attorney to the City of London in none other than the **City Remembrancer Paul Double CVO. Thirty Three Officers, Jurors and Guests attended** and were satisfied with the necessary reorganisation and transit between venues.

We earnestly hope that 2022 shall allow the cycle of events and function we organised to restart.

The Tithing would urge all of the members to try and come to these functions with friends, partners and paying guests. Those of you who are **Liverymen** who intend to sponsor persons for the Freedom by Redemption without the intervention of a Livery Company are urged to consider making use of the **View of Frankpledge and Thanksgiving Service and Quit Rents Ceremony** events to be proposed for and celebrate the receipt of the Freedom in a suitable commemorative and dignified way.

Finances and Audit of Accounts With this letter you will find a copy of the abstract of the Audited Accounts which are placed before the Annual Meeting. As you can see, above, the Tithing has chosen Freddie Trowman and Ian Wingfield to undertake these duties from next year. Authority over expenditure on goods and services is exercised by the Tithing and the Tithingmen.

The **Tenancy Fee Account** has to carry the costs of communications, the Tenancy Fee and sundry other items which the membership as a whole ought in fairness to carry, such as funding the costs associated with the **Court Days and** entertaining our official guests. However, at the last Tithingmen's meeting of the accounts and expenditures were reviewed and **it was considered unnecessary to change the Fee for the year ensuing.**

Merchandise & General Account. Originally this account generated major surpluses by sales to third parties and was our principal subsidy when the Manor was expanding its activities and before we could recruit a 'critical mass' of support to events and membership. These 'customers' have now declined due to the recession and now the account's activity was mainly of expenditure and stock purchase. The value of the stock is written down as nominal on purchase as it is acquired as a much larger order the cost of which is covered on the initial part sale. The value of the stock is realised as full profit at sales. The prices for Guildable Manor Merchandise for our own members are deliberately set at below High Street rates to encourage membership identity, in most cases they are priced at a little above cost. These items are of exceptional quality and value.

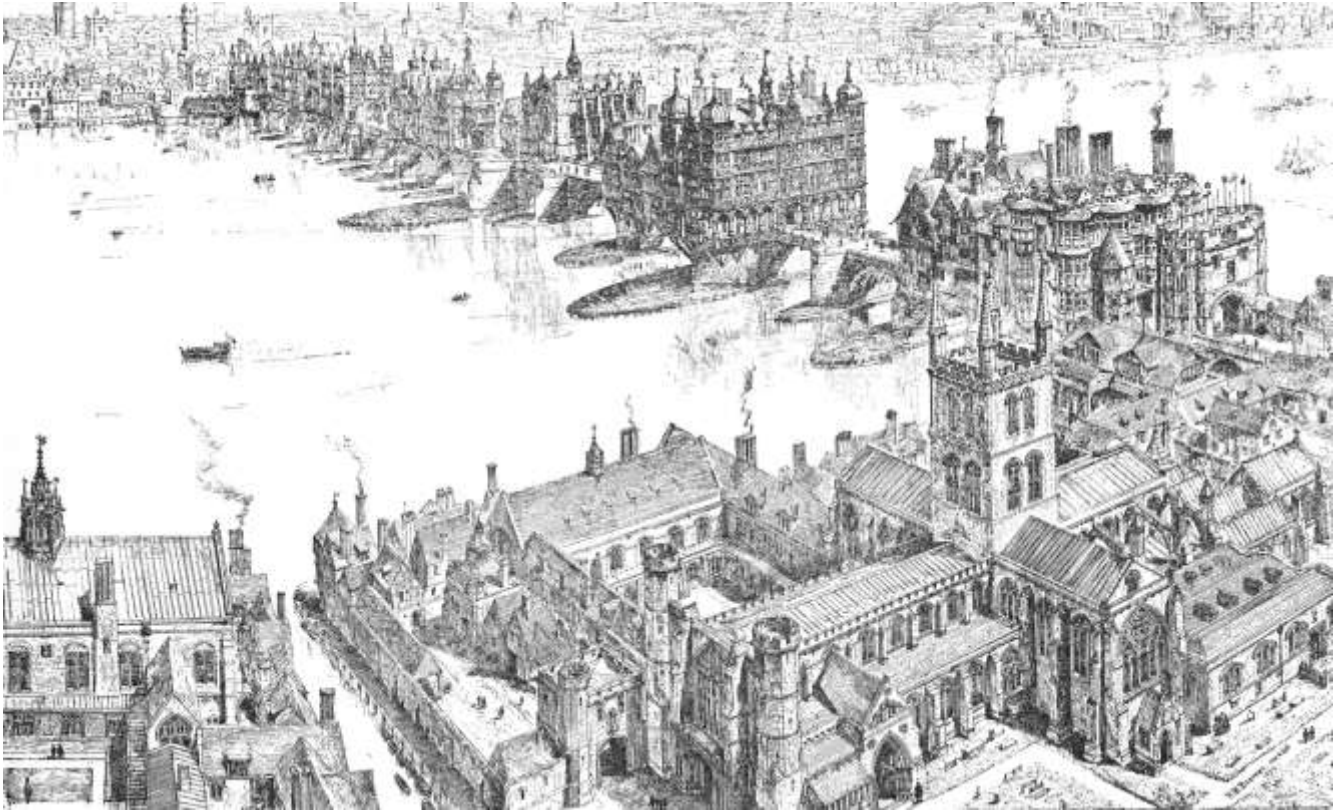
Banqueting Account. With the combination of attenders and reasonably priced caterers this account again realises modest surpluses, which are applied to charity. Event subscriptions are closely budgetted to attract support. All of our major functions follow a format of an Event, be it ceremonial or a talk or other entertainment, a good quality meal at excellent prices with drink, usually with excellent company and official guests. This is a sensible mixture of formal and informal. No Livery Company can offer this value and no City Ward Club has this level of civic status and pomp. I would ask all members to bring guests with a prospect of joining a unique institution as an introduction to the rich heritage of both the City of London and Southwark.

Charitable Donations (Banqueting Account) The Tithing, in accordance with last year's Annual Meeting made further contributions to charitable objects, many of these were laying in long-term 'goodwill' with various institutions to develop better relationships. Some payments for venue hire are treated as 'gifts' as that is the way the relevant institution prefers this to be regarded. In fact despite a certain decline in attendances to certain functions in the year we have largely maintained our charitable donations. The Tithing of Officers shall vary these amounts as to what is a prudent disbursement in regard to the balance of the Accounts.

Banking and Audit Procedure: - All Expenditure is approved by the Tithing under general administration or as special purchases; the Tithing also receives Banquet Budget Reports from the Clerk at their meetings to monitor. Cheques / Payments are raised by the Treasurer on request of the Clerk, backed by an Invoice/ Receipt. All Income Pro Formas for goods/ services/ banqueting are retained and payments banked by the Clerk. Receipts and Pro Formas are attached to a narrative Memo by the Clerk and are given to the Auditors at the next Tithing Meeting, along with Bank Statements, with any used Pay-In and Cheque Books, to check off. The full narrative is also given on the Income and Expenditure report. The Auditors receive all other Pay-In and Cheque Books at end of FY to complete the account, balances and Income and Expenditure report, with the Treasurer and Clerk. The abstract of the Accounts are approved by the Auditors as attached to the Annual Letter.

Note by the Auditors

The Seventh Century Conversion of Surrey and Southwark



A view of Southwark and London Bridge ca 1500.

(l to r) the Great Hall of Winchester Palace, St Mary's Dock, precincts and western end of Priory and London Bridge at the centre of which is the chapel of St Thomas Becket (suggested by HC Brewer)

For its celebrations in 2006, claiming to mark a trio of anniversaries, Southwark Cathedral circulated literature with an account of the purported establishment of the church on its site: “*In 606 a Convent was established ... at the place from which the ferry used to cross over to the City of London. In the ninth century the convent came under the authority of St Swithun.*” The assertion, repeated on certain monuments at the Cathedral, that it can trace its predecessor institutions back to the beginning of the seventh century is without any evidential authority. The area was not converted to Christianity at such an early date; no Convent / nunnery existed in England until a much later period; the ‘City of London’, ie the remains of *Londinium*, was deserted at this time; the Thames was then a politically hostile frontier so that there was no ferry; ‘St Swithun’, Bishop of Winchester was not directly associated with Surrey.

There is a general belief that the site of the present Southwark Cathedral is one of great antiquity as a place of worship. The earliest reference is that of the *monasterium* mentioned in the *Domesday* entry for Southwark, usually this is attached to this location, where the Augustinian Priory of St Mary Overie was later established, from 1539 the parish church of St Saviour. ‘Overie/ overy’ simply distinguishes this establishment from fifteen others of the same name in the City, ie the one ‘over the river’.

Earliest Evidence

The *Domesday* entry for Southwark seems to refer to the early minster: *Ipse episcopus habet in SUDWERCHE unum monasterium & unum aquae fluctum* (“*The bishop himself has in SOUTHWARK one minster & one tide-way*”). The ‘bishop’ referred to was Odo of Bayeaux, William the Conqueror’s half-brother. The technical language of the text (has/ *habet*) indicates that Odo had some kind of patronage over the institution rather than outright control. The ‘tide-way’ is probably the dock which still exists next to the Cathedral; that the two features are mentioned together may well indicate that it was some form of endowment for the minster. Certainly, after the Reformation the dock became the parish’s free dock. King Æthelred II enacted measures for the administration of tythes relating to minsters and churches and the Southwark church was probably a ‘median-minster’ ie one without a charter and not following a rule, it having been a ‘mother church’ to a larger area.

The Struggle of Christianity in the Southern English Kingdoms

The most generous interpretation for the date '606' is that an assumption has been made that there was some kind of successful evangelist 'domino effect' from the arrival of Augustine at Canterbury in 597, each English kingdom falling to the Cross in an orderly row, from the south-east to the western and northern areas of the island. A close analysis of Bede's statements and the relevant parts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* indicates that this gloss of a progress of successful conversions is not tenable. As Sir Frank Stenton commented on the Conversion "... *Bede and his successors, in treating the expansion of English Christianity as the gradual winning of kingdom after kingdom, have only told part of a complex story.*" (*Anglo Saxon England* p128). Augustine converted the king of Kent in 597 and ordained Mellitus and Justus in 604. Justus founded Rochester cathedral and diocese for west Kent. Mellitus was sent to the kingdom of the East Saxons where King Sæberht, who ruled over London and Middlesex, accepted baptism. Bede says Mellitus dedicated his church to St Paul in London yet according to all of the versions of the *Chronicle* it is stated that this was at *Lundenwic*, unusually this is the only use in those texts of that term; yet when used elsewhere this designates the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Covent Garden/ Aldwych rather than '*Lundenburh/ byrig*' the term used for the Roman *Londinium* of the present City area. The most common term used throughout the *Chronicles* is the ambiguous and neutral term '*Lundene*' (see Bately & Dumville *ASC* index). This usage at an early date makes that cathedral's claim to continuity of site dubious. Yet Bede writing in Latin referred to *Lundonia/ Lundonia ciuitas* but that would have been a convention; perhaps the Chroniclers had more accurate information as they knew that the intra-mural area was not a settlement at that early period and the *Chronicles* were compiled in the same period as Alfred's acquisition of the old Roman city (see discussion by G Waite *The Preface to the Old English Bede: Names for London* p78-82, 2013 <https://otago.academia.edu/GregWaite>; although he favours the Ludgate Hill settlement at the Conversion. Waite speculates largely on suggestions of a '*Paulsburh*' and '*Aldermanbury*' being co-eval with the Covent Garden/ Aldwych settlement, yet the archaeological and charter evidence regarding these sites doesn't support this dating). A proposal of St Paul's Cathedral continuity of location at Ludgate Hill back to the arrival of Mellitus and even perhaps that there was a structure occupied which had been previously the church of the *Londinium* Bishops of the Britons would involve the early Saxon Bishops residency of a ruin in a deserted City some distance from any communicants. There have been no early or middle Saxon period finds within the City, archaeological remains indicate a sharp step from Roman to late Saxon activities. There is no evidence of Christianity in Surrey until sixty years later.

As to any continuity among the faithful it must be remembered that the early Christian church was a 'top down' conversion process; the King and his family were baptised and possibly followed by the rest of the nobility but the evidence of 'apostasy' by these on the death of the original convert indicates that there may not have been that much enthusiasm by them and we can guess that the ordinary populace had little involvement or knowledge of the 'revelation'. Examples of these reverses are provided by Bede; relevant to this discussion of the southern English conversion is that according to him we know that Mellitus and his entourage were sent packing in 615/616 by the sons of Sæberht at his death. At the same time King Æthelbert of Kent, who had welcomed Augustine, also died and his son, Eadberht, was acting like a heathen. Therefore the Church's position in Kent was tenuous and Laurentius (who had succeeded Augustine 605-609) contemplated abandoning Kent for Gaul; Justus and Mellitus had already fled to there. The *Chronicle 'E'* clearly states that Mellitus' previous diocese had become heathen; he never returned, but remained titular bishop until his death *ca* 624. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 616 having been persuaded to return, according to Bede, by a vision that there was a future for the Church among the English. There may have been no resident episcopal in Kent between Laurentius demise and Mellitus' return. Nor in Essex and Middlesex/ 'London', nor in Surrey.

Neither Wessex nor Mercia had converted at this date. There are no grounds to suppose a Christian presence in the area of 'Southwark' at this time; the *burh* was not founded until the late ninth century. The mere proximity of 'Southwark' to Kent or London ignores the hostility of the Anglo Saxon kingdoms towards each other in the Augustinian period and that Surrey was disputed territory between its more powerful neighbours, Kent, Wessex and Mercia; Surrey's own conversion was related to the Christianisation of those kingdoms polities. London seems not to have had a bishop between Mellitus' expulsion and Bishop Wine, who bought the episcopacy from King Wulfhere of Mercia after he 'departed' from Winchester, in 665. Cedd became Bishop of the East Saxons in the same period, he died *ca* 664 but had returned to the north before then. Middlesex/'London' had by then been detached from the East Saxon kings by heathen Mercia under Penda. The tradition of St Paul's cathedral that Cedd had his diocesan seat in 'London' is therefore unsupported from contemporary sources. The cathedral's assumption is that 'Essex' and 'London' diocesan arrangements were connected then as they were to be in later

years. Bede does not mention 'London' as part of Cedd's See whom, we are told by Bede, spent as much time in East Anglia as among the East Saxons during his episcopacy. If we accept that somehow he was a Bishop in London then that means the vacancy had lasted almost four decades (616-653). If it was not 'filled' until Wine's arrival then almost half a century had elapsed since a mission had been active in the area.

The earliest known introduction of Christianity into Surrey, an Anglo Saxon sub-kingdom, would be related to whether it was controlled by Wessex in the first half of the seventh century or by Kent later. King Cynegils of Wessex invited Birinius to settle in Dorchester on Thames in 635 and was baptised, but this was short lived as this town fell to the pagan King Penda of Mercia's control in 645 and was detached from Wessex. A new attempt at the conversion of Wessex did not get underway until 660 with the establishment of the Old Minster at Winchester by King Coenwalh and Bishop Wine; by then Wessex had lost control of Surrey to Mercia. These dates fit neatly together to exclude an early conversion of Surrey.

A more stable beginning would be that of the period of Surrey's later control by Kent, under its sub-king Frithuwold, who is the only recorded 'king' of it yet he must have had forbears of such status otherwise he would have been a mere ealdorman if he held authority directly from a larger kingdom. King Egbert of Kent had founded Chertsey Abbey between 664 and 670, probably nearer the later date because of Archbishop Theodore's initiatives; Erkanwald was the first recorded Abbot, he became bishop of 'London' in 675. Bede says he also became Bishop of the East Saxons in 677 after Bishop Jaruman of Mercia had been sent by his king (an ally of Sebba one of the co-kings of 'Essex') to convert the heathen; note that this would be for the third time, ie after Mellitus and presumably also Cedd's failures. Erkanwald is not mentioned as being present at the Synod of Hertford in 673 (under Mercian protection), nor is any Bishop of London mentioned nor any for Essex at that gathering. Incidentally, this indicates that the 'Hertford' venue was that in Huntingdon rather than that on the Lee.

Sussex was not converted in the Augustinian period but had to wait until Bishop Wilfrid of Northumbria's evangelism in 681; the *Haestingas* (East Sussex) even later. This seems to be a result of Theodore's re-organisation of the English episcopacy at Hertford but Wilfrid's 'operations out of area' were probably because he was regarded as a neutral that far south whereas a Wessex, Kent or Mercian based Bishop would not have been acceptable.

No 'convent', ie nunnery, was founded in England until the mid-century, probably the first was at Barking under Erkanwald's 'sister' at the same time or shortly after the East Saxons acceptance of the Cross the second or third time. The early church had 'double monasteries', ie of a house of monks and a house of nuns, and these were always controlled by an Abbess. However, the earliest churches of the Augustinian period were evangelical centres and not monastic, which is to assume for Augustine the practice of the Celtic church among the Britons elsewhere in these islands. Note that the conversion of the southern English is being undertaken from the north of the island, Cedd and Wilfrid, by Anglians whom had themselves come from the Celtic tradition rather than the original Kentish Roman/Augustinian mission. Truly these northerners had already adopted the 'Roman' forms as from the Synod of Whitby of 664 but they can hardly be regarded as the junior partners in the progress of the Conversion if they are active among the Saxons in the southern part of the island. The political dynamic between which kingdoms had hegemony amongst the others and their alliances seems to be ignored in the Bedean commentary although the succession between kings, sons or nephews or cousins who then reverse the process by rejecting their predecessor's confession is obvious from Bede's account. The necessity for consecutive missions amongst the East Saxons and the South Saxons from either Mercia or much later Wessex shows that the suggested progress of the conversion being simple and linear, from east Kent, to west Kent, then to Essex-Middlesex/London and thence Surrey simply does not stand up to scrutiny.

Any cross-river evangelical connection at the earliest period can also be discounted as there is no proof of occupational continuity of the Roman city. Alfred the Great created a network of *burhs* across Wessex, ca 879/880, to defend his people against the Viking attacks from the occupied areas north of the Thames and then mounted a reconquest from them; one of these *burhs* was Southwark opposite a camp which had been set up by the enemy within the Roman remains of *Londinium* from 871. That appears to be the borough's foundation era as it too, like *Londinium*, would not have been populated before these military events. Alfred ordered the re-occupation of *Londinium* / *Lundenburh* in 886, the settlement at Aldwych/ Covent Garden *Lundenwic* was abandoned probably a decade earlier because of the Viking Conquest. This was the time of Mercian - Wessex alliance of the late ninth century; no ferry would have been required or would have been politically acceptable in the early seventh century.

Also, the attempt to push back the foundation of a 'St Paul's' at the *Londinium* Ludgate Hill site relies on the idea that Erkanwald was interred within this at his demise as there were shrine monuments recorded in the Norman Old St Paul's to him which were destroyed in the Reformation. However, that building itself was perhaps the fourth church on the site. The building of a new church by Erkanwald is part of the subject of the middle-English poem *St Erkanwald* which was not written until almost eight centuries after his demise. Erkanwald has two 'translation' feast days which were supposed to relate to the re-internment of his remains within the Old St Paul's and presumably its pre-Norman predecessor. Wren found no remains of a structure relating to this. It is possible that one of the feast days relates to the bishop's translation firstly from a *Lundenwic* church into the new Saxon cathedral within the intramural area rather than from one part of 'old' Old St Paul's to another.

The Foundation Myth of St Mary's Southwark as Reported by John Stow

What do we know of the early history of the church at Southwark and where did this completely inaccurate and erroneous story come from? The origins of the Cathedral's little tale stem from John Stow, relying on his *Survey of London* (1598). Stow tells the story twice over; firstly in the context of the beginnings of London Bridge and then again for the origins of the Priory of St Mary Overy, the predecessor of the Cathedral. Reproducing both here will allow a comparative analysis. The relevant parts are worth quoting in full:

"THE originall foundation of London bridge, by report of Bartholmew Linsted, alias Fowle, last Prior of S. Marie Oueries Church in Southwarke was this: a Ferrie being kept in place where now the Bridge is builded, at length the Ferriman & his wife deceasing, left the same Ferrie to their onely daughter, a maiden named Marie, which with the goodes left by her Parents, as also with the profites rising of the said Ferrie, builded a house of Sisters, in place where now standeth the east part of S. Marie Oueries Church aboute the Queere, where she was buried, vnto the which house she gaue the ouer-sight & profites of the Ferrie, but afterwards the said house of sisters being conuerted into a colledge of priests, the priests builded the Bridge (of Timber) as all other the great Bridges of this land were, and from time to time kept the same in good reparations, till at length considering the great charges of repaying the same, there was by ayd of the Citizens of London and others, a Bridge builded with Arches of stone, as shall be shewed." He then continues with *"But first of the Timber Bridge, the antiquitie thereof being great but vncertaine, I remember to haue read, that in the Yeare of Christ, 994 Sweyn king of Denmarke besieging the Citie of London ..."* (p21)

And:-

"East from the Bishop of Winchesters house directly ouer against it, standeth a fayre church called saint Mary ouer the Rie, or Ouerie, that is ouer the water. This Church or some other in place thereof was of old time long before the conquest an house of sisters founded by a mayden named Mary, vnto the which house and sisters she left (as was left to her by her parents) the ouersight and profites of a Crosse ferrie or trauerse ferrie ouer the Thames, there kept before that any bridge was builded. This house of sisters was after by Swithen, a noble Lady, conuerted vnto a colledge of Priests, who in place of the Ferrie builded a bridge of timber, and from time to time kept the same in good reparations, but lastlie the same bridge was builded of stone, and then in the yeare 1106 was this church againe founded for Channons Regular, by William Pont de le Arche and William Dauncy, Knights Normans." (p231)

In Stow's first report, he indicates his source as the last Prior, 'alias Fowle' who was living in comfortable retirement in the precincts after the priory's dissolution in 1538. Here we are told that 'Mary' was buried in the church. Now there never has been any tradition of a part of the church as being the founder/ess' tomb, (Stow/Fowle says under the 'Choir') nor of any monument to her which one would expect. Stow/ Fowle then say the 'house of sisters' was converted into a 'college of priests' who built the first London Bridge in timber. No date is supplied for any of this, Stow follows the passage with a date, ie 994, of Swein's seige of London (this was from William of Malmesbury's writings) so presumably he believes the date of the 'college of priests' and building of the timber bridge is before that but its *"... antiquitie thereof being great but uncertain"*.

In his second telling, Stow gives no date for the early church/ convent only the vague period of *"long before the Conquest"*. The Mary 'Audery' corrupted to 'Overie' element is not ascribed to Fowle; Stow gives the correct etymology. The term 'overie' in this connotation is not unique, other examples of this occur at Barton-Overy near Harborough in Leicestershire and Burnham-Overy Staithe in Norfolk. The 'Swithen' element is usually ascribed

to Prior Fowle, but Stow does not directly attribute this to him in the first report “... *the said house of sisters being conuerted into a colledge of priests ...*”. It appears in the second variation without a referenced source “... *This house of sisters was after by Swithen, a noble Lady, conuerted vnto a colledge of Priests ...*”. It may be an invention of Fowle, collected by Stow, but was Fowle so ignorant, even by the degraded standards of the pre-Reformation church, that he did not know that St Swithun was a male and a Bishop of Winchester? Indeed, there is a possibility that if perhaps Stow may have had it from the old Prior, rather than elsewhere, then we may need to scrutinise this ‘Lady Swithen’ more closely.

The whole Stow/ Linsted-Fowle story was dismissed by Stow’s friend William Lambarde as “... *without date of time or warrant of writing*”. I would venture to reject the story on other grounds. What is silently imported from the *Domesday* entry for Southwark is its reference to a *monasterium* or ‘minster’, this is taken to pre-date the Priory on its site and the assumption of continuity into the earlier past.

One simple reason to reject Stow’s account is that in the Saxon period ‘Mary’ was not a personal name; it should be noted that the Annals of the Priory show that it was simply named at its, claimed, foundation of 1106 as ‘*Sancte Marie de Suthwerca*’, and the seal impression at the British Museum says “SIGILLUM IBE MARIE SVDWERKENSIS ECCL’IE”; the post nominal ‘Overie’ was adopted much later informally. Another reason is that there is no other tradition, or mention, in any other source of a founder/ress of its two prototypes (‘house of sisters’ and ‘college of priests’) being commemorated by the Priory. If ‘Mary’ or ‘Lady Swithen’ or any one else was associated with the original *minster* then it is very unusual for this not to happen or for it not to be notified in some way by the Augustinian priory during its 436 years of existence. For the priory we have records, deeds and annals of far more mundane matters although Robert Briggs points out that only a remnant survives of its cartulary he suggests that perhaps Fowle (or Stow) might have dimly recollected a handful of details from a lost charter text entered into it. Any relics, even counterfeit ones, were big business for these institutions and the more ancient the better. The Stow reference to the ‘foundresses’ tomb is to ‘Mary’ not ‘Lady Swithen’. Now although, as Briggs points out, that an early Saxon foundress may well have become eclipsed with changing fashion, such as rededication in the Norman period ‘reformation’ and clearly the priory never adopted ‘Lady Swithen’ then how likely was it that the previous *minster* was aware of her? (Briggs *pers comm*).

A pointer towards this argument from a negative is that of the ‘successive’ foundations at this site in that there was in each phase physical continuity of the structures between the institutional changes; Saxon Minster, College of Priests, the 1106 ‘arrangements’, Augustinian foundation, St Saviour’s parish church and finally Southwark Cathedral.

The *minster* seems to have had an informal beginning without any known charter evidence, status or property and was ‘irregular’. Nothing in *Domesday* shows the *monasterium* to have a relation to any manorial interest apart from the dock, nor to the bridge, so that it is difficult to discern how it would be organisationally and financially capable of creating a bridge. As Lambarde noted, this would make no sense in relation to any ‘ferry’ it had a supposed interest in. If it did have a responsibility for it one wonders why the more substantial Priory did not inherit this charge, the dock certainly passed on to it and in turn this descended to the parish of St Saviour. One also has to wonder why an institution on the northern bank was not responsible, to title and of control of the bridge; there is no church or monastery in the City which has ever claimed such an involvement, although some had made more outlandish assertions of antiquity eg St Martin Ludgate, St Peter Cornhill or indeed St Paul’s itself.

Why 606 AD?

The date of ‘606 AD’ seems to have been first proposed by Canon TP Stevens, in the twentieth century, who convinced himself in stages. In his *The Story of Southwark Cathedral* (c.1922) p 11 he is content to state “... *When Christianity made its way to London at the beginning of the seventh century, churches were dedicated to St Mary in Southwark, St Peter in Westminster, and St Paul in what we now call the City.*” The statement is quite anachronistic. Stevens seems to believe that in this period there was a ‘London’ in the present area of the City, which is inclusive of locations called ‘Westminster’ and ‘Southwark’ which did not exist then. Canon Stevens went on to write other similar booklets. His argument develops in these as follows: “*There is a persistent tradition that about the year 606 a body of nuns founded a church on the south side of the Thames ... It was known as the Church of St Mary Overie from that year until 1540*” (in *Southwark Cathedral 606-1949* pII 1949). In the revised edition this becomes “*This old church has had a unique history. It was founded by a body of nuns*

in 606 ...” (*Southwark Cathedral 606-1965* p2 1965). The “persistent tradition” of 1949 which he does not bother to mention in 1922 becomes a fact by 1965.

John Clark, Curator of Medieval Collections, Museum of London, has also pointed out that Canon Stevens “... can dismiss the “old and discredited story of a girl named Mary Overy” but accept the reality of the 'house of sisters' she founded!” (*pers comm Sept '06*).

The date of 606 was not mentioned by the Revd W Thompson DD, Rector of St Saviour's, in his earlier work (*The History and Antiquities of ... S Saviour ...* 1892). He explains in some detail the etymology of 'overie' and points out the soubriquet has its first found use in a manuscript of no earlier than 1452. Canon Stevens should have known that the church was not called 'Overy' from its foundation by reading his predecessor's research; he obviously had not read Stow either.

‘Swithen’

However, Thompson seems to be responsible for the ‘Swithen, a noble Lady’/ ‘St Swithun’ confusion. He quotes directly only the first part of Stow's remarks and then adds his own gloss that the purported ‘convent of Mary's ferry’ “... was afterwards converted by S Swithun ... into a College of Priests [sometime between] 862-872 ...” which he claims as the dates of accession and death of the Bishop (first page un-numbered). Thompson's revised edition (renamed *Southwark Cathedral* not dated, but clearly after 1905) repeats this but corrects the episcopal dating to 852-862 (p10). Indeed, the attempt to link this obscure bishop with the establishment of the *minster* is to assume an anachronistic comparison with the relationship of the later Priory and illustrious Wintonians eg Peter de Roches, William Wykeham, Cardinal Beaufort and Lancelot Andrewes, who were resident here. The connection between the Southwark minster, the Augustinians and the See of Winchester is no earlier than 1106. The Bishops only acquired the Clink Manor and developed their palace there from only 1149. The career of the very obscure and minor Swithun never brought him into Surrey in this context, nor indeed would there be any ‘Southwark’ settlement for him to visit.

Fowle's ‘authority’ is therefore dubious; yet outright dismissal of the narrative may not be so wise. We must ignore Fowle's claim for the *minster's* role with the Saxon bridge and the obvious ‘retrospective’ ‘Mary’ foundress of a dedication which is later than her supposed benefaction, or of St Swithun of Winchester d 862, which some commentators claim but have only this text to rely on, which refers to a ‘noble lady – Swithen’. Nevertheless, we still have a story related which concerns the late Anglo-Saxon period, with the essential elements of a religious foundation, a ‘college of priests’, a ferry and later a bridge crossing.

That does not address the foundation of the pre-Conquest minster. If the foundation by a ‘Noble Lady - Swithen’ was attributed to Fowle then he surely was not referring to St Swithun at all. Briggs has made the helpful suggestion that ‘Swithen’ may be a garbled Anglo-Saxon female name ending ‘- swith’ and the Stow reference may be the remnant of a memory of the Saxon minster's foundress. The most obvious candidate would be Alfred's wife, ‘Ealhswith’, the epithet ‘Noble Lady’ (*Æthel* ‘noble’; *Hlæfdige* ‘Lady’) rather than ‘Queen’ is formally correct for the period as a translation of an Old English term into a mediaeval ‘Latin’ phrase.

The author suggests that this could mean a minster predates the bridge and may give continuity to the *burh* until its urban development from what had been simply a military base countervailing Viking occupied London, but why a minster without any other urbanisation is problematic and a yet later dating would seem more likely. Briggs finds a later possible candidate, Ælfswith, who was wife of Ealdorman Ælfheah active in the late 960s evidenced in their inheriting a property in Merton (King Edgar's charter to them of 967 S747: *Ignoble treatment of a noble lady? A provisional reassessment of the origin story of the Priory of St Mary Overy, Southwark*: talk delivered by Robert Briggs of Nottingham Uni & Surrey Arch Soc to the Leeds Monasticism Conference, May 2014, and *pers comm*).

This writer favours a later date for the minster's establishment in the period of the first urbanisation of the Saxon *burh* probably following Æthelstan's impetus for borough development in the Grately Codes. Certainly there is a gap between the Alfredian *burh* ca 880 and the likely creation of the first Saxon London Bridge in the reign of Æthelred II, ca 980, as indicated by the paucity of casual archaeological finds for the intervening period and Briggs has given a good argument for the origins of this *locus* of worship. The Southwark burh's strategic role was displaced when Alfred and Ealdorman Æthelred took over the intra mural London area in 886 (see the author's ‘*Chronicles, Treaties and Burhs*’ at academia.edu for Southwark's Saxon origins).

What of the Augustinian foundation by the Norman knights and the conflict of dating with the Priory's own annals which claim it was founded by Bishop Giffard in 1106. Stow agrees the date of the annals but does not mention Giffard. John Blair (*Early Medieval Surrey* 1991) attempts to make sense of this by proposing a 'double foundation' that Giffard made the Saxon minster a collegiate church in '1106', so explaining that 'organisational element', and that later L'Arche and Dauncey created the endowment arrangements for the Augustinian foundation as they had done so at Portchester and Taunton in the second quarter of the century. The problem for that argument is that the Southwark Priory *Annales* clearly claim its institution as under the Augustinian Rule at the earlier date. However, the attribution to 'Giffard' is a Fifteenth Century interpolation and it may be a backdating of the later Wintonian patronage based on the date '1106'.

TS Jan 2015

Therefore, the assertion on certain monuments at the Cathedral that it can trace its predecessor institutions back to the beginning of the seventh century is without any evidential authority. This would predate both the Christian conversion of Wessex/ Surrey and the foundation of the *burh*. If the 'defensive trench' discovered in excavations at Hibernia Wharf, next to Glaziers Hall, is indeed the *burh*'s original boundary then it is notable that the projected line bisects west-east the present cathedral site. This is tantalising because although archaeological investigations have discovered the earlier Norman foundations and Roman artefacts, nothing of the Saxon period has been found. If the Saxon minster was timber then the later stone structure with its deeper crypts and broader ground-plan would have obliterated its site. This is a pity, for if we could show the minster is outside of the defence perimeter, when a small adjustment of line could have included it, then that would indicate that the church post-dates the foundation of the *burh*, ie *taq* 879 AD.

As to any early Christian place of worship in the borough area we have to look to the period after the foundation of the Alfredian settlement there and probably not until after the creation of a bridge crossing. The present writer argues that the *Burghal Hidage* reference indicated a fort which was opposite Viking occupied 'Lundenbyrig' between 879-886 when Alfred settled the present City area. The Southwark fort was no longer required and declined until growing urbanisation in the late Tenth Century along with the need for a fixed bridge. Many early bridges were associated with a chapel or church near or on them, the famous old London bridge had one dedicated to Becket (perhaps the pilgrimages commenced with prayers there) and this bridge was originally administered by a special religious order until secularised in 1282. So that Fowle/ Stow's attempted to link the early *minster*'s foundation with the Bridge in some way would not be too wide of the mark but as explained above it was not one of precedence. There is no archaeological evidence for an Anglo-Saxon bridge until the reign of Æthelred II, 978-1016 ie coincident with the probable foundation of the minster within the *burh*.

Like so many other early institutions of Southwark there is reason to regard the *fons et origino* of the *monasterium* as the bridge. This is not to say it had a formal role in organising the bridge or its revenues. The usual explanation of non-regular monastic houses is that they were 'minsters', ie a pre-parish 'college of priests', servicing a large area, a *parochia*. Nor need we regard any ferry operation as competitive to a bridge; ferries travel along rivers as well as merely across them and these were especially favoured methods of internal transport before the development of robust road systems. It is notable that Stow/ Fowle use the term "... a Crosse ferrie or trauerse ferrie ouer the Thames" and although the term 'traverse ferry' is ambiguous it could be indicating a more substantial activity of water transport. The 'minster' is attached to the 'dock' from the *Domesday* period, or landing place we call after the Priory church's patroness and which survives to this day. This developed from a natural feature which formed part of the boundary of the *burh* and therefore it is not impossible that ferry movements from here predate a bridge. We ought, also, not to overlook the fact that many of the great Anglo-Saxon monasteries were associated with harbours.

What else in the area could have been an earlier established Christian centre?

Some Probable Origins

The earliest known claimed datable foundation for a religious institution in the Southwark area with some textual evidence was at Bermondsey. The problem with this is that the text was produced by the post-Viking late mediaeval Peterborough Abbey as a Twelfth Century copy of an alleged earlier document of a Papal Bull of authority, being extant *ca* 707-718, the dates coincident with Pope Constantine the alleged issuer. Yet neither Peterborough or rather its predecessor house '*Medeshamstede*' are named in it; it seems the later abbey is attempting to prove some kind of previous proprietorial connection retrospectively with the Cluniac priory. Sir Frank Stenton was convinced by this but the present writer is not so, partly because the use of the cod-Latin '*Vermundesei*' betrays an unlikely 'b-v' transform elision for such an early date and etymologically would also

have to look much closer to *Beornmund-sei* than the, again much later, contracted form *Bermundeseia* used in the Benedictine's own annals.

Furthermore, the Bull is addressed to a suspiciously named 'Abbot Hædda' ('*Medeshamstede and its Colonies*', in Stenton DM ed '*Preparatory ...*' 1970. For 'Hedda' see below). The author's view that in relation to the geopolitics of the era the likelihood of its foundation is under the kings of Wessex consolidating their authority in Surrey in the late 8th Century.

The Peterborough scriptorium is notorious amongst scholars for 'improving' its assets this way and even introducing into variants of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* various claims of territorial and additional royal privileges. '*Medeshamstede*' was utterly destroyed in the Viking Conquest of the 860s, its abbot 'Hedda' and monks murdered and its treasures pillaged (*ASC sa 864*). We are asked to accept that this particular item in its library somehow survived into the refoundation as Peterborough almost a century later (the present writer rejects the argument for continuity proffered by SE Kelly in *Charters of Peterborough Abbey* OUP 2009). There is also the problem of location of Bermondsey in the early Eighth Century of such an institution., as there was no Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Southwark area then. So this 'house' would have been rather isolated; whom would the inmates be evangelising? Nevertheless, putting that aside was there evidence of any such settlement at Bermondsey preceding the Benedictine Abbey?

Previous to the Benedictine foundation, the Abbey status was of 1199, there was a smaller priory from which it developed. This originated as a '*new and beautiful church*' which had been created on the site and this was endowed by a London merchant, Ælwin Cild, which is referenced in the *Domesday* entry for Bermondsey ie 1086. The records show that he had done so in 1082 and then he arranged for it to become a Priory of the Cluniac order for which a community arrived from abroad in 1089. Archaeological investigations at the Bermondsey site, from 2005 to 2012, have provided us with some more evidence. Stripping back the layers under Bermondsey Square and adjacent Stevens Street the first and therefore most recent elements of the pre-Dissolution walls were of the Benedictine Abbey of St Saviour's from 1199. The core of this was the Cluniac's building, as expected. However, prior to this there was found an earlier 'apsidal' plan structure which has been characterised as a Saxon minster.



One of the skulls carbon dated between AD 690/ 762-882 showing the physical assault and probable cause of death: – a monastic victim of Guthrum's invasion of 871?

Masonry remains from nearby the 'Polar Bear' site off Tower Bridge Road; note at the top half of the picture the 'apsidal' remnant.



What supported this discovery and assisted in its dating was the skeletal deposits in Stevens Street. It is suggested that the Cluniacs had translated human remains from the close-cloister area as a form of 'ritual cleansing' because the 'Norman Reformation' preferred that burial did not occur in the cloister but outside of it. Some 185 individuals remains were uncovered, a substantial quantity compared to any other site in such a small area.

On carbon dating of these it was found that a sub group of the the bones were ranged as living between AD 690/ 762-882. Some of them show signs of extreme cranial trauma as in the picture. The end period of this range coincides with the depredations of the Viking Great Army and those elements active in Wessex between 864 and

878. The Saxon establishment may have limped on after these attacks, if not indeed it had already done so from the more casual raids along the Thames in the century and a half before. If it did so it was almost certainly ‘dissolved’ by Alfred or one of his predecessors to help his treasury to fight these wars. There is an ‘evidence gap’ between these remains and the creation of the Cluniac foundation, of at least 200 years.

Return to the record

One tantalising reference to Southwark, indeed the first after the notice in the *Burghal Hidage*, is the report in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*. The first contemporary mention of a directly religious activity in Southwark was in 1023. Ælfheah was the Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1006, who was captured by Danish forces in 1011; the following Easter, they tried to ransom him, to Æthelred ‘the Unready’, over and above a ‘Danegeld’ they had already been promised. Ælfheah refused to allow this and was then murdered by Thorkill ‘the Tall’s’ associates at Greenwich, the *Chronicle ‘E’* says by being pelted with cattle skulls, on 19th April 1012. Thorkill then became an ally of Æthelred. The ancient parish church of Greenwich named after Ælfheah (St Alphege) is traditionally proposed as the site of his martyrdom. His body was taken to St Paul’s soon after. When Cnut ascended the throne, he decided to pay honour to Ælfheah, whose martyrdom he had culpability for as the Greenwich Vikings were his allies. By now associated with miracles at his tomb and regarded as a saint, his body was to be returned to his cathedral by his successor. The *Chronicle ‘D’* tells us this was with great ceremony in 1023: “King Cnut granted full leave to Archbishop Æthelnoth ... that they might take up ... St Ælfheah from the burial place ... on the 8th June. And the illustrious king, and the archbishop and diocesan bishops, and earls, and very many ... conveyed his holy body by ship over the Thames to Southwark, and there entrusted the holy martyr to the archbishop and his companions ...” they took the remains to Rochester and then on the 11th June “... with great pomp and rejoicing and hymns of praise they all conveyed the holy archbishop into Canterbury”. The ‘translation of the relics’ was undertaken in stages, and not interred until 15th June. This is the earliest reference to ‘Southwark’/ *Suðgeweorc* in the *Chronicle*.

The first question arising from this narrative is why were the remains taken “by ship over the Thames to Southwark” from St Paul’s? It would surely have been more straightforward to process them by land across the bridge. This raises the possibility that the bridge was out of service. The second question, is where did the bier rest during the progress? At Rochester it is hard to conjecture that this was anywhere other than at the Cathedral, the second Christian diocese of the English. Previous to arriving there, on the 9th of June, it had stayed at least one night at Southwark. However, that it was ‘received’ by Archbishop Æthelnoth in Southwark (as we can see he had accompanied the body from St Paul’s, yet the annal says the body was “entrusted” to him there) would mean it stayed somewhere. The immediate candidate would surely be the Saxon ‘minster’ – forerunner of the Priory/ Cathedral.

Tony Sharp, October 2007

The earliest Church foundations in Southwark:



St Mary Magdalen



St George the Martyr



St Margaret's



St Olave's



St Mary Newington



St Thomas