

THE LONDON DEANERY OF THE ARCHES

BY B. W. KISSAN.

ENGLISH official titles display a pleasing variety in which much history is enshrined. The highest court of the ecclesiastical province of York is called the Chancery Court of York, and its presiding judge the Official Principal or Auditor. The corresponding office in the province of Canterbury is that of Official Principal of the Arches Court of Canterbury, ordinarily known as Dean of the Arches. He is a dean without a local deanery. His office is no more a deanery, in any ordinary sense of that word, than is the corresponding office at York. Why then is he called a dean? The reason is that there was formerly a local Deanery of the Arches, somewhat akin to a rural deanery, comprising thirteen parishes in the City of London. It became in course of time the practice to appoint the same person to be both the dean of this deanery and to be also the presiding officer of the highest court of the province of Canterbury. The court has survived but the local London deanery from which the presiding officer of the court derives his title is extinct.

It is this extinct local deanery of thirteen parishes, and not the ecclesiastical court, that is the subject of this article. It will be confined, for the most part, to the early history of this deanery of the Arches, which in the *Victoria County History* of London, and apparently nowhere else, is called the Deanery of Bow. The history of the Deanery as a whole will first be discussed (A). Then an attempt will be made to trace the early history of the individual churches (B). Next, something will

need to be said on the subject of peculiars (C), because this deanery was a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury's in that, though lying within the diocese of London, it was virtually part of the diocese of Canterbury. Then we shall need to consider, for reasons which will appear, the deanery of Bocking (D), and, finally, the reason for the exempt jurisdiction of the deanery of the Arches (E).

A. THE DEANERY.

By the thirteenth century the whole of England had been divided ecclesiastically into named archdeaconries, and, within these, into named deaneries (*decanatus*) which, generally speaking, correspond with the modern rural deaneries and which very likely originated in the Conqueror's reign. Among these medieval *decanatus* there were eight, in the south-eastern part of England, which were peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury, viz., the deaneries of Croydon, Shoreham (Kent), Monks Risborough, Bocking, Pagham, South Malling, West Tarring, and the deanery of the Arches.¹ Each of these peculiar deaneries consists, generally speaking, of a group of scattered parishes. They are also called deaneries of the exempt, or immediate, jurisdiction, in that each of them was exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop or bishops within whose diocese or dioceses it lay, and was immediately under the archbishop of the province. These exempt jurisdictions were practically abolished about the middle of the nineteenth century,² except that there is still a rural deanery of Croydon belonging to the diocese of Canterbury, though it is now smaller than it was and it no longer contains the Middlesex parishes of Harrow and Hayes.

The earliest specific list of the thirteen parishes of the deanery of the Arches occurs in 1292, in a document which will be referred to in due course below. They appear there in the following order, and are here given the names by which they are now known.

1. St. Vedast.
2. St. Dunstan in the East.
3. St. Leonard Eastcheap.
4. St. Dionis Backchurch.
5. All Hallows Lombard Street.
6. St. Michael Crooked Lane.
7. St. Mary Bothaw.
8. St. Mary Aldermary.
9. St. Pancras Soper Lane.
10. St. Mary le Bow.
11. All Hallows Bread Street.
12. St. John the Evangelist (so re-dedicated in the fourteenth century, having been previously St. Werburgh).
13. St. Michael Paternoster Royal.

Churches survive in five of the thirteen parishes, viz., Nos. 1, 2, 8, 10, 13.

The deanery derives its name from the most important of the churches, St. Mary le Bow, called *Beate Marie de Arcubus* in medieval records. The arches are the heavy Norman arches which survive in the crypt of the present church.

The earliest date at which we find, or rather can infer, a list of the thirteen parishes is about 1262. In a MS. at St. Paul's (Register W D 9) there is a list of the churches in the diocese of London. This list has been variously dated.³ It has been printed by Dr. W. E. Lunt in *The Valuation of Norwich* (1926), and he has given his detailed reasons for concluding (p. 181) that it "may confidently be assigned to the decade between 1258 and 1268 and probably to the years 1262 or 1263." We shall refer to it as the 1262 St. Paul's list. The churches are arranged by archdeaconries and deaneries. Under the head *In Archidiaconatu Londonie* there are, exceptionally, no deaneries. The churches of the City of London are recorded there, with the exception of our thirteen. (This statement depends on a consideration of much detail, which is given in a note⁴; the other notes contain nothing but references to sources.) In other words, we find that in making a list of the churches of the archdeaconry of London in the diocese of London

about 1262 the thirteen of the archbishop's peculiar are not included. Hence we are able to infer the deanery of the Arches formed by that time.

For 1292 we have a specific list of the thirteen parishes in a Cotton MS., Galba E. IV, the great memorandum book of Henry Eastry, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, compiled in 1322 (f. 183). We find there (f. 8v) a valuation of all the churches of the Canterbury diocese according to the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, which is there said to have been made in 1292. The peculiars come at the end, and last of all is *Decanatus de Arcubus London,*' where the thirteen churches occur in the order given above.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (I. 370) the Rectories in London under Canterbury jurisdiction are Nos. 1 to 12 of our list. St. Michael Paternoster Royal is omitted, and this is evidently in connection with the establishment of Richard Whittington's college of priests there in the fifteenth century. St. Pancras Soper Lane is uniquely called *Omnium Sanctorum in Soper Lane*. In an official return made in 1563 all thirteen churches are given as the archbishop's peculiars,⁵ the college having been dissolved in 1547. In the first edition of John Ecton's *Liber Valorum et Decimarum* (1711), which is a list of the valuations of the ecclesiastical benefices of England and Wales by deaneries, the thirteen churches are given as in the Canterbury diocese, and the list of them is headed *London Civil*'. In Ecton's third edition, of 1728, the thirteen churches are differently shown. They are not in the Canterbury diocesan list, but appear in alphabetical order among the other City churches under a heading "Archdeaconry of London," and each of them is described as a peculiar of Canterbury. In the Preface to that edition it is explained (p. xi) that this is the way peculiars in general have been treated and that "the actual jurisdiction is known to very few except those who are nearly concerned in point of authority and duty." An official return of peculiars was made in 1810

and is printed with the Record Commission's edition of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The return signed by the bishop of London for his diocese contains the thirteen churches and assigns them to the Archbishop of Canterbury (I. 460).

In the nineteenth century there was one dean for the deaneries of the Arches, Shoreham and Croydon,⁶ a combination of appointments which is first found in Elizabeth's reign.⁷

The deanery of the Arches was abolished by an Order in Council of 1845,⁸ and the parishes passed to the diocese of London. It has been stated that Archbishop Howley in 1847 held his last confirmation in Bow Church for the children of the thirteen parishes.⁹

In 1864 the deaneries of the East and West City were formed. In the deanery of East City are Nos. 2 to 6 of our list, and in the deanery of West City are Nos. 1, and 7 to 13. It is interesting that the order of arrangement in 1292 has some connection with topography. The parishes are fairly widely scattered over the City. Neither No. 1 nor 2 touches any of the others. Nos. 7 and 13 march together for some 25 yards, Nos. 3 and 6 for some 40 yards, and Nos. 4 and 5 for more than that. The remaining five parishes, viz., Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, form one block.

Although 1262 is the earliest date at which we can infer the constituent churches of the deanery, we have earlier references to a dean of the Arches. Archbishop Parker actually tells us that Alexander III addressed the dean of the Arches in the reign of Henry II. Dr. Churchill, however, in her *Canterbury Administration*, that invaluable work, says (I. 426) that repeated searches have failed to identify this bull, and that Parker may have made a mistake and may have had in mind a mandate of Alexander IV's in 1257. The earliest reference we have to a dean of the Arches is in John's reign. In an Ancient Deed of that time (A. 1957) we find among the thirteen witnesses *Magistro Heruico*

decano de Arcubus. Twelve of the thirteen, including Hervicus, are witnesses of another deed which is in a cartulary in a Cotton MS., and the same attestation by Hervicus occurs in another deed in the same cartulary.¹⁰ The continuity of the office from that time is indicated by the fact that we find mention of a dean of St. Mary le Bow in 1231,¹¹ and of a dean of the Arches in 1235¹²; one or both of these may be the Osbert who was dean of the Arches some time in the second quarter of the century (Anct. Deed A. 1854). An entry in the Close Roll in 1249 tells us that through the death of the dean of the Arches the *conversi* of London, *i.e.*, the inmates of the house for Jews who had been converted to Christianity, were without a Warden.¹³ We know this dean's name, for in the Royal Rolls there are entries, ranging from 1242 to 1249, referring to Robert, who in each case is described as warden of the House of Converts, or warden of the King's converts, and as rector of St. Werburgh's (our No. 12).¹⁴ We find again that, shortly before 1267, the dean of the Arches was master of this House of Converts.¹⁵

Dr. Churchill has a list of deans of the Arches from 1261 in her book mentioned above (II. 238). To this list may be added Magister Stephanus, who when dean of the Arches in 1272 gave an *inspeximus* of a papal letter,¹⁶ possibly Magister P. in 1279,¹⁷ Dominus Osbert, rector of St. Mary Bothaw (our No. 7), who as dean of the Arches witnessed a document about 1284,¹⁸ and William de Sarden, who was dean in 1286 and 1287.¹⁹

Master Walter de Thorp, who was dean at the beginning of the fourteenth century, was a canon of St. Paul's.²⁰ The frequency of the title *Magister* among these early deans is noteworthy.

The powers and functions of the deans of the exempt jurisdiction have been fully described by Dr. Churchill in her book mentioned above. Many of the commissions of their appointment by the archbishop have

been printed by her (II. 17-26). Speaking generally, the powers conveyed were those of archidiaconal jurisdiction (I. 64). They included jurisdiction in testamentary matters (I. 65, 67, 68), and we find that a London citizen who made a will in 1348 directed therein that a copy of it should be entered in the Registry of the Dean of the Arches.²¹ Each dean had to take an oath to the archbishop that he would answer for the profits of his office, and it seems most probable that some arrangement was reached by which the archbishop was content with a certain sum (I. 78). The profits from these deaneries could be to the archbishop a source from which to make grants to individuals. The archbishops from time to time issued to the deans special mandates to deal with a particular point, *e.g.*, for the conveying of some special instructions such as the publication of a sentence of excommunication. These deans had seals (I. 79).

The archbishop had a provincial court called the Court of Canterbury, and the presiding judge was known as the Official of that Court. The place where the sessions were usually held was the church of St. Mary le Bow (I. 431), and in the thirteenth century the court has been found described by the archbishop as *curia nostra Cantuariensis de Arcubus* (I. 432). The Official was frequently prevented by other duties from presiding, and in his absence his place was normally, though not invariably, taken by the dean of the Arches as his commissary general (I. 442). In 1333 we find a dean of the Arches holding, under a separate commission, the actual office of Official, and this double appointment became, from Archbishop Warham's time, the usual practice (I. 446). Coke's Fourth Institute actually describes the Officialty as having the jurisdiction of the thirteen parishes annexed to it.

There is one piece of evidence that the dean of the Arches had a chapter. This is in an original charter, extant at Canterbury, of about the year 1380 (Ch. Ant.

L. 38). Among the witnesses is *Magistro Nicholao et toto Capitulo de arches*. (The privilege of access to the MSS. in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury is hereby acknowledged.) Perhaps this was a variety of the rural chapter described by Dansey²² and consisting of the incumbents of the thirteen churches. It will have been separate from the chapter of the clergy of the archdeaconry of London which is found in existence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²³ The exempt deanery of Shoreham had a chapter in 1295.²⁴

In some thirteenth-century references to the dean he is styled dean of St. Mary le Bow,²⁵ and this appears to be always his title in the papal registers. In the fourteenth century he is sometimes referred to as dean of the church of St. Mary le Bow.²⁶

The dean of the Arches was not required to be resident.²⁷ In 1324 we find him living in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury.²⁸ About 1326 the dean was rector of Charing in Kent,²⁹ a living in the gift of the archbishop. The dean about 1385 lived in the parish of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey.³⁰

The deanery was in the gift of the archbishop. It seems to have been first granted for life in 1595.³¹

B. CANTERBURY CHURCHES IN LONDON.

An important early source of information about the churches is a list, belonging to a date between 1098 and 1108, of the London properties of the Cathedral Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury. It includes churches, *i.e.*, their advowsons, and mentions pensions paid by the churches. It records the donors of the churches. It was published in an article in Part I. of the current volume of the *Transactions* at pp. 57-69, to which reference is invited. We shall refer to this document as the 1100 list, and to the article as *Early List*.

In 1179 papal bulls³² confirmed to Christ Church all its property, including churches. There were three separate

bulls, for the *cellarium*, the *camera* and the sacristy. Among the latter two are London churches, viz., twelve of our thirteen (all but No. 11), and also two others which will be mentioned in due course. We shall refer to these bulls as the 1179 papal list. Their contents were repeated in practically the same terms in bulls of 1187, 1191 and 1219.³³ The threefold division among the departments of the Priory disappears after 1179.

Among the MSS. at Canterbury there is an account of London *redditus* of Christ Church in 1200.³⁴ This is a lengthy list of rents from lands, and it includes pensions which London churches paid. We shall call this the 1200 list of rents.

We shall have occasion to mention the pensions paid by the churches in 1292. These are recorded in Prior Eastry's book already mentioned, on f. 34.

The churches of the deanery were in general rectories. An early use of the word rector is found in 1192 under No. 8 below. The incumbents of seven of the churches (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13) happen to be described as rectors in entries in Archbishop Pecham's Register. In that formal list of the thirteen which was made in 1292 there is no mention of vicars. Nevertheless we shall find suggestions of vicars at three of the churches (Nos. 2, 7, 8) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The advowsons of six of the churches were obtained by the archbishop from the Priory by exchange, viz., Nos. 2, 9 and 11 in 1365, Nos. 1 and 6 in 1397, and No. 8 in 1400.¹ Although it was arranged in 1240 that during a vacancy in the archbishopric "collations of benefices in their own gift were reserved for the Prior and Chapter" of Christ Church,³⁵ the Patent Roll, both in 1234 and in 1271, mentions No. 8 as in the King's gift by reason of the voidance of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and also records the King's presentation to No. 1 in 1396 on a date when the see was vacant. In addition it records a presentation by the King to No. 1 in 1365 when the see was not vacant.

The advowson of No. 10 came to the archbishop earlier than the above six, as will be found in the course of the discussion of the individual churches, to which we will now proceed.

1. *St. Vedast.*

This church is not in the 1100 list.

The parish of St. Vedast is mentioned in one of the *Chartae Antiquae* at Canterbury (L. 118), which is granted by Archbishop T. If, as is presumed in Bunce's index at Canterbury, T stands for Theobald (1139-62), this is an earlier reference to the church than any hitherto published.

The church paid Christ Church a pension of 6s. 8d. at Michaelmas, both in the 1200 list of rents and in 1292. We do not know how Christ Church obtained the church in the twelfth century.

There are references to this church, not earlier than the fourteenth century, as the church of Sts. Vedast and Amand.³⁶ St. Vedast lived in the sixth century and was forty years bishop of Cambrai and Arras. St. Amand, who was commemorated on the same day of the year as St. Vedast, lived in the seventh century and has been styled apostle of the Flemings. There are a few dedications of churches to each of these saints in Belgium. In England none to St. Amand alone is known, and only three to St. Vedast occur, viz., one at Tathwell in Lincolnshire, one in Norwich, and this London church.³⁷

2. *St. Dunstan in the East.*

According to the 1100 list, this church and the church of St. Alphege, with lands and houses belonging to them, were given to Christ Church by Andrew *clericus* on his being made a monk at Canterbury, and paid 35s. a year.

A charter of Archbishop Richard's concerning this church which can be dated between 1177 and 1180 is recorded in one of the cartularies at Canterbury.

(Reg. A. f. 187.) It states that an annual pension of 10s. was paid by a certain incumbent. When he died a dispute arose. The archbishop restored the church to his monks, who, it is stated, had been the parsons for a long time. A certain Magister Radulpus was made perpetual vicar and a pension of 12s. was fixed. Evidently the term "vicar" is not used here in the technical sense of later years.

In the 1200 list of rents 12s. is the pension shown, payable at Pentecost.

About 1225, Archbishop Stephen Langton appropriated the church to Christ Church (*in proprios usus concessisse*) for the repair of the Cathedral fabric, providing that £4 a year should be paid to a vicar.³⁸ In the *compositio* of 1259 between Archbishop Boniface and the Priory³⁹ it is stated that the church is appropriated to the Priory and that perpetual vicars are to be presented to the archbishop. Archbishop Kilwardby (1273-1299) cancelled this arrangement, for he ordered that £5 a year should be paid from the income of this church towards the maintenance of the Cathedral fabric.⁴⁰ This is the amount of the pension recorded in 1292 as payable at Midsummer. Presumably the incumbent would then receive the balance of the income of the benefice in excess of £5.

This church was one of the places where Canterbury ordinations were held.⁴¹

3. *St. Leonard Eastcheap.*

This church is not in the 1100 list. It appears in the 1179 papal list as *Sancti Leonardi que vocatur Melccherke*. In 1200 it (*Melchchirche*) paid a pension of 2s. at Pentecost. In 1292 this pension was paid at Midsummer.

The mention of the church in 1179 is earlier than any hitherto noticed. There are several variations of the spelling of the name *Melccherke* in documents. Stow says the church was called after "one William Melker an especiall builder thereof," and Kingsford says

this is presumably the William Melker of Eastcheap whose will was proved in 1273. Our early references rule out this explanation. It is not known how this church came to Christ Church in the twelfth century.

4. *St. Dionis Backchurch.*

We know from the 1100 list that this church was given to Christ Church by Godwin *clericus* named Bac, on being made a monk there. It paid a pension of 7s. on St. Alphege's Day (April 19). It is called in the 1179 papal list *Baccherche*. Both in 1200 (*Bachchirche*) and in 1292 (*Sancti Dyonisij*) it paid a pension of 16s. at Michaelmas. Mention of the dedication to St. Denis occurs as early as John's reign.⁴²

Godwin, a monk of Christ Church, is commemorated in an early thirteenth century obituary of theirs on February 10.⁴³ Perhaps this is the Godwin who gave this church.

5. *All Hallows Lombard Street.*

The 1100 list tells us that Brihtmer, alderman of London, made a gift of this church to Christ Church, to take effect after the death of himself and his wife and sons. His son paid 2s. a year. The deed of gift is in two Christ Church cartularies at Canterbury, and is there dated 1053. See *Early List*, p. 64. In 1200 and 1292 the church was still paying a pension of 2s., at Christmas.

Miss E. Jeffries Davis has written a most interesting history of this recently demolished church in the *Journal of The London Society* for January, 1936.

6. *St. Michael Crooked Lane.*

According to the 1100 list, Edward the priest gave the church of St. Michael to Christ Church, and it paid 5s. It is impossible to say whether this is St. Michael Crooked Lane or St. Michael Paternoster Royal (our No. 13). Each of those churches was paying a pension

of 5s., both in 1200 and in 1292. The former church paid in 1200 at Pentecost and in 1292 at Midsummer, and the latter, in each of the years, 2s. 6d. at Christmas and 2s. 6d. at Easter.

This is the parish in which Sir William Walworth lived.⁴⁴ He founded a college to replace chantries in the church, but this never absorbed into itself the organisation of the parish church.⁴⁵

7. *St. Mary Bothaw.*

This church is not in the 1100 list. It is mentioned in a deed of 1152,⁴⁶ and a charter of Archbishop Theobald's addressed to the bishop of London and others announces that the church (*Sanctae Mariae de Bothahe*) had been given to Christ Church, and especially to the Prior, by Peter *sacerdos de Bothahe* who was its proprietor (*sui patrimonii*). The church was to pay the Prior yearly 2s. 6d. at Easter and the same at Michaelmas.³⁸ About 1185, the perpetual vicarage was given by the Priory to John, son of Rohesia, sister of St. Thomas the Martyr, and a condition was made that the pension of 5s. should be paid to the Priory on St. Andrew's Day.³⁸ Archbishop Baldwin confirmed the gift of the church to John to hold "in perpetual alms" saving the payment of the said pension to the monks.⁴⁷

Clearly we must have this church in the 1179 papal list. Yet it contains no church named St. Mary Bothaw, or anything like that. The church is called there in *Laffullestrete Laffullecherche*, names unnoticed in the history of London topography. The church is in the bull relating to the *camera* of Christ Church. In the 1200 list of rents the name appears as *Laffulchirche*. It would appear that the street, being an unusually dirty one, got called Foul Street, and that then the church was, awkwardly enough, called, at any rate for a time, after the street. The redundant phrase in *Laffullestrete Laffullecherche* may be regarded as a kind of apology for giving a church such a name. A Fulelane

west occurs towards the end of the thirteenth century near the Tower,⁴⁸ and there was also a Fowle Lane, previously called Stinking Lane (and subsequently Chicken Lane!) beside the church of St. Nicholas Shambles, which was near Newgate,⁴⁹ St. Mary Bothaw being on land now occupied by Cannon Street Station. The same opprobrious street-name is found at Cambridge. On the site of the Great Court of Trinity College there was in the sixteenth century a Le Foule Lane.⁵⁰

In 1200 the pension of 5s. was payable at the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8). In 1292 the same pension was payable on St. Andrew's Day, and *ad cameram prioris*. St. Mary Aldermary (our No. 8) provides another instance of a change from the Nativity of the Virgin in 1200 to a different day in 1292.

About 1300 the advowson of this church was temporarily in other hands than the Priory's. Its holders were successively Stephen de Cornhull, Hugh de Cressingham, the King and Henry de Bluntesdon, king's chaplain.⁵¹ The advowson was then associated with a messuage in the parish. There is also in 1286 an instance of the association of advowsons with a messuage in the City,⁵² and in 1268 of advowsons belonging to houses there.^{52a}

8. *St. Mary Aldermary.*

The 1100 list informs us that St. Mary le Bow was given to Christ Church with lands and houses and churches belonging to the church. Which can those churches be?

We have remarked above that, scattered as the thirteen parishes are, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 form one block. Nos. 9 and 12 are small outliers, and are mentioned by name in the 1100 list. Nos. 8, 10 and 11 are remarkably interlocked. We will try to give an approximate idea of their relative positions. If a circle is divided by three radii into three equal parts, then

these three parishes are those parts. No. 10 is St. Mary le Bow and No. 11 is All Hallows Bread Street.

Unfortunately, the happy conclusion that St. Mary Aldermary and All Hallows Bread Street are the unnamed churches is frustrated by the fact that, as we shall see (No. 11 below), All Hallows Bread Street did not come to Christ Church until the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, it is possible that St. Mary Aldermary was one of the unnamed churches. If it was, then the St. Mary's than which St. Mary Aldermary was older would naturally be St. Mary le Bow. Apart from this possible reference, the earliest known mention of St. Mary Aldermary is in the 1179 papal list (*ecclesiam sancte Marie veterem*).

In 1192, "R" the rector of this church having complained to Rome that the rectors of neighbouring churches had seized part of his parish, the Pope appointed Ralph de Diceto and two others to enquire into the complaint. It was adjudged that the place where the woman called Chana lived, and the house next the house of Peter Bukerel, belonged to the parish of St. Mary Aldermary.⁵³

In the 1200 list of rents the church is found paying 8s. 4d. at the Nativity of the Virgin. Archbishop Edmund Rich (1234-40) sanctioned the payment of an annual grant of £4 from the church to the sacrist of Christ Church for the maintenance of the Cathedral, in addition to 8s. 4d. payable to the Treasury, and gave the advowson to the sacrist.⁵⁴ The Pope's confirmation in 1237 states that the archbishop had appropriated the church to the Priory and that the vicar should have a suitable portion,⁵⁵ and the appropriation and vicarage are mentioned again in the *compositio* of 1259 between Archbishop Boniface and the Priory.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, in 1292 a pension of £4 8s. 4d. is shown payable, at Michaelmas.

In 1277 this church had for rector an Italian who was living in Italy as a married layman. He was deprived.⁵⁶

9. *St. Pancras Sofer Lane.*

From the 1100 list we learn that this church was given to Christ Church by Lifric the priest on being made a monk there, and paid an ounce of gold at Pentecost. (See *Early List*, p. 63.) In 1200 it paid 7s. at Pentecost, and in 1292 the same, but at Midsummer.

In 1313 Henry, rector of this church, was appointed by Christ Church *sede vacante* to be penitentiary for all persons living in the Deanery of the Arches, and a few months later the archbishop himself repeated the appointment.⁵⁷

10. *St. Mary le Bow.*

This church was given to Christ Church, not later than the reign of William I., by Livingus the priest and his wife when Livingus became a monk there. The early history of the church was dealt with in an article in the last Volume of the *Transactions*, to which reference is invited (Vol. VII, Part III, p. 436). There is something unusual about this church. It figures as a manor in a list of the Priory's, as distinct from the archbishop's, manors in Lanfranc's time, and is the only church which appears there. (Lambeth church also is described as a manor, in *Domesday Book*.) In that list it has the high annual value of £30. In the 1100 list the church, with lands and houses and churches belonging to it, is valued at £40, whereas the income from the other churches in that list are, as we have been seeing, quite modest sums. The fact that the Priory derived revenue from this church is mentioned in a papal document of 1178 and in another of 1182⁵⁸; in the former this revenue is described as *census*, and in the latter both as *pensio* and *census*. It is then surprising to find that the church is not in the 1200 list of rents. Also in 1292 no pension is recorded.

As has been already said, the sessions of the Court of Canterbury were held in this church. How soon they

came to be held there it is not possible to say, but by Archbishop Peckham's time the association seems already of long standing. Archbishop Stratford in 1342 remarked that Bow Church was from of old a suitable place for the Court, "being in a known place, apt and secure, where the services of many learned people could be had."⁵⁹ No rector of St. Mary le Bow has been found described as being also dean of the Arches. In 1327 the rector was an Italian.⁶⁰

In the 1179 papal list the church is confirmed to the *camera* of the Priory. The papal confirmation to Christ Church, it will be remembered, was repeated by succeeding Popes up to 1219. All this indicates that the Priory had the advowson up to that year. In the papal documents of 1178 and 1182 the church is distinctly described as belonging to the Priory. But by 1232 the advowson had passed permanently to the archbishop,⁶¹ probably in connection with his holding his court at the church.

11. *All Hallows Bread Street.*

This church was the last of the thirteen to come to Christ Church. It is neither in the 1100 list nor in the 1179 papal list nor in the 1200 list of rents. The earliest known mention of the church is in a cartulary of St. Mary's, Clerkenwell, and some time before 1221.⁶²

In Register J at Canterbury there is an account of the pensions received from churches by Christ Church (p. 339). It contains all the thirteen churches, except St. Mary le Bow. This list is intermediate in date between the 1200 list of rents and 1292. All Hallows Bread Street is there called *Ecclesia omnium sanctorum que dicitur leshuscherche*, another name which is new to history, and one of which no explanation can be offered. In a similar, different but contemporary list at Canterbury the church is called *Ecclesia omnium sanctorum leshuscherche*. (Reg. B. f. 260.) The pension is 5s. payable at Michaelmas, and the same pension was still

payable at the same term by the church (*Omnium sanctorum in Bredstrete*) in 1292.

It is not known how the church came to Christ Church. The canonist William Lyndwood was the rector from 1418 to 1433.

12. *St. John the Evangelist.*

The 1100 list contains the church of St. Werburgh which Gumbertus had, with the adjoining house, and which paid an ounce of gold. Presumably Gumbertus is the donor. The church is in the 1179 papal list as *Wereburgecherke*. In 1200 and 1292 the pension was 1s. at Christmas.

During the time of Archbishop Stratford (1333-48), the church being old and in bad condition, the parishioners pulled it down and built a new church. This was dedicated at their request to St. John the Evangelist, although the Priory desired that the old dedication should be preserved in addition to the new.⁶³ In a will about 1349 the church is described as having the double dedication.⁶⁴

In 1535, this church was paying a pension of 13s. 4d. to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem in England.⁶⁵

13. *St. Michael Paternoster Royal.*

This church has been already dealt with under No. 6 above.

About 1225 the abbot and canons of Lesnes Abbey, who had, for their use on visits to London, a house with a chapel in this parish, undertook that the income of the parish church in the gift of Christ Church should not suffer on account of the chapel.⁶⁶

This was the parish of Richard Whittington, who rebuilt the church and whose executors founded there a college of priests. In 1425 it was arranged with Christ Church that the rector should thenceforth be master of the college, retaining his parochial duties but merging the title of rector in that of master of the college,

that the Mercers' Company should, when the benefice fell vacant, present to Christ Church a chaplain whom the Priory would then present for institution, and that the Priory should continue to receive their pension of 5s. from the church.⁶⁷ In 1432 a quit rent was left by will to Christ Church by way of compensation for their surrender of the patronage of the church to the Mercers' Company⁶⁸; presumably this surrender means that the Priory agreed to present the Company's nominee. After the suppression of the college in 1547 the Canterbury Dean and Chapter remained patrons.⁶⁹

Canterbury had associations with other London churches in addition to the thirteen. These will now be dealt with.

14. *St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street.*

This is not in the 1100 list. In the papal lists of 1179 to 1219 a church of St. Mary Magdalen is confirmed to Christ Church. In the 1200 list of rents a pension of 10s. is paid by a church of St. Mary Magdalen. There were two churches of St. Mary Magdalen in London. This one must be St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, for (a) a St. Paul's document of 1162 tells us that 10s. was paid to Christ Church for land on which that church (*Sancte Marie Magdalene in foro Londoniarum*) stood,⁷⁰ and (b) in 1292 Christ Church was receiving a pension of 10s. *de ecclesia sancte Marie Magdalene in Milkstrete*. In 1535 the Christ Church pension was £1.⁷¹

According to Newcourt this church "hath been all along in the Collation of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's." In a writ of Henry I's the church is described as that of Geoffrey the canon.⁷² (This is the earliest mention of the church.) The canons of St. Paul's appear as patrons in the 1162 document just mentioned and in the 1262 St. Paul's list, and are found so recorded in 1303.⁷³ Yet in 1247 we find in the Charter Roll a grant of the gift of the advowson of the church by one named layman to another, and Hennessey (*Novum*

Repertorium) gives names of two individuals as patrons in and not long before 1281. From the Patent Roll we learn of another named individual as patron in 1345, three others are known to have been givers and receiver of the advowson in 1350, and in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, in lawsuits both in England and in the Roman Court about the patronage of this church, there were among the parties a London goldsmith and his wife, other lay persons, and the rectors of St. Mary le Bow and St. Mary Aldermary.⁷⁴ To add to the confusion, the church appears in two lists, of the fourteenth and perhaps the fifteenth centuries, of London churches *de antiquo patronatu* of Christ Church, Canterbury.⁷⁵

The claim of Christ Church to the advowson seems, however, to be weak. At any rate, no names of any of their presentees have been found. The inclusion of the church in the papal lists of 1179 to 1219 may perhaps be due rather to the pension which the Priory received than to advowson.

15. *All Hallows Barking.*

In the 1100 list we find that the Priory's half share in the church of All Hallows Barking was held by Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, *ad debitum censum*, no amount of payment being stated. Barking Abbey had the other half. (See *Early List*, pp. 58, 65.) Yet by Stephen's reign the church had been given by one Raculf and his wife to Rochester Cathedral, and about 1181 Henry II confirmed the church to Rochester.⁷⁶ It is not in the 1200 list of rents. From the 1262 St. Paul's list we learn that it was then paying no pension to Christ Church and that the nuns of Barking were the patronesses. In 1292 the church was paying an annual 6d. to Christ Church. In 1303 the Abbess is found to have the advowson of the church.⁷³ In 1535 Christ Church was receiving no pension from the church but was paying money to the nuns.⁷⁷

It would appear from all this that at the time of the

papal lists of 1179 to 1219 Christ Church had neither advowson nor pension. Yet in those lists the church is confirmed to the Priory—to the *camera* in 1179. No explanation of the contradiction can be offered.

16. “*St. Alphege.*”

This is in the 1100 list but not in those of 1179 or 1200. It cannot be the church of St. Alphege London Wall, which is the only other church of St. Alphege in London. (See *Early List*, p. 64.) In the 1100 list the churches of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege are coupled in the same gift to Christ Church. The nearest church to St. Dunstan’s in the East among the churches of the deanery which is not otherwise accounted for from that list is St. Leonard Eastcheap. Can St. Alphege be St. Leonard Eastcheap?

C. PECULIARS.

Exemption is, according to the definition in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, the whole or partial release of an ecclesiastical person, corporation or institution from the authority of the ecclesiastical superior next higher in rank, and the placing of the person or body thus released under the authority next above the former superior, or under a still higher one, or the Pope.

The use of the word “peculiar” for this ecclesiastical exempt jurisdiction is confined to England. At any rate, reference to the dictionaries of six Continental languages shows that the word, when it appears there at all, is not used in this ecclesiastical sense. In the *New English Dictionary* the earliest instances of the use of the word in this sense are in the sixteenth century. Neither Ducange nor the *Medieval Word List* has the word in this sense, but Archbishop Parker, writing in Latin, uses it so.⁷⁸

The history of peculiars is as yet unwritten. There was an article on the subject by C. B. Mount in *Notes and Queries* in June, 1901. He found peculiars to be

wrapped in a general oblivion, and said that "an ancient prescription" gave the Archbishop of Canterbury "exclusive right in every place where the see held property." The article has a good deal about parishes where the incumbent is his own ordinary. In *Notes and Queries* in 1903 and 1928 there were enquiries for books on the subject. In reply, nothing nearer a history of peculiars was suggested than an article which appeared in 1905 in the *Journal* of the Chester and North Wales Archaeological and Historical Society. This article deals with the peculiar of Hawarden and is inadequate on the general question.

In Ollard and Crosse's *Dictionary of English Church History* six classes of peculiars are distinguished. They include monastic peculiars (St. Francis was exceptional in disclaiming all desire for any exemption, preferring to obey everyone and to hold himself the servant of all⁷⁹) and royal peculiars such as Westminster Abbey. The deanery of the Arches falls within the class which is named "Archbishop's peculiars." It has not been found possible to discover anything written about this class of peculiar in French or German. Can it be that its existence on the Continent was less prevalent than here, in extension or in time?

That it existed in the Dark Ages is indicated by Professor E. W. Watson. He says that, after the German invasion, land in the Roman Empire had fallen into few hands, that some of the great estates had been bestowed on the bishops, and in places outside their dioceses, and that the question as to the jurisdiction over the churches which they built arose in the fifth century. Although this jurisdiction was claimed by the bishop in whose diocese the churches lay, he had really contributed nothing to the building or to the ministry. The bishop who owned the land maintained his rights as a possessor, although there was no definite solution of the problem. The ultimate result, says Professor Watson, was the existence everywhere of a multitude of peculiars "such

as those which belonged to the archbishop of Canterbury."⁸⁰

Coming to England, we find on the other hand that at the synod of Hertford in 670 Archbishop Theodore, according to Bede, produced a book of canons and indicated ten chapters as specially important, and that one of the ten was "That no bishop intrude into the diocese of another, but be satisfied with the government of the people committed to him."

A letter written by Lanfranc to the bishop of Chichester⁸¹ bears on our subject. It states that the clergy (*clerici*) of the archbishop's vills which lay within the Chichester diocese had complained that the bishop's archdeacons had fined them. The bishop is reminded that, contrary to the custom of his and the archbishop's predecessors, Lanfranc had ordered that these clergy should attend the bishop's synods, though without taking part in the discussions, but that any disciplinary action to be taken against them should be reserved for the archbishop as had always been the custom. Now the archbishop orders that the fines shall be refunded and that the archbishop's priests outside Kent shall not in future attend the synod of the bishop of Chichester or of any other bishop. The archbishop adds that the clergy may still accept the chrism from the bishop and for it make the payment prescribed in old times, and he concludes by saying that it is his wish to preserve what his ancestors have possessed from old times to his own day.

The next episode for our purpose is a correspondence between Archbishop Anselm and Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester. The archbishop had gone to Harrow, which was one of his manors lying within the area of the diocese of London, and dedicated the church which Lanfranc built there. The bishop of London sent two canons of St. Paul's to object to this, claiming that though the church was on the archbishop's land it was for the bishop to dedicate it. Anselm refused to desist,

and proceeded to seek the advice of the aged Bishop Wulfstan, the only surviving prelate of English birth.⁸² Anselm in his letter urged that by general testimony the Archbishop of Canterbury had always possessed the authority, within whatever diocese the church of Canterbury had a vill or a church belonging to him (*archiepiscopi proprii iuris*), to perform a bishop's office there, whether dedication or anything else. Anselm added that numerous people still living had seen Lanfranc dedicate the churches of his vills within the dioceses of other bishops without dispute, and that in fact churches were still standing which were dedicated by St. Dunstan. Of this authority the suffragan bishop of London now wished to deprive his archbishop.⁸³

Wulfstan, in his reply, showed complete agreement with Anselm. He said no one living wished to take away this power from the bishop of Canterbury or to forbid him to dedicate his own churches. He added that altars and churches in vills which Archbishop Stigand possessed, not by ecclesiastical succession but by secular power, in the diocese of Worcester were dedicated by him in the time of Wulfstan and his predecessor without even consulting them. Wulfstan thought that what could be freely done in his own diocese could be done in other dioceses also.⁸⁴

A Royal Commission reported on ecclesiastical courts in 1832 and found that the peculiar jurisdictions in England and Wales numbered nearly 300. It was found to be extremely difficult to ascertain over what description of causes the *jurisdiction of any particular court* operated. This uncertainty led to much inconvenience. Also, the majority of peculiar courts lacked efficient judges and staff, and failed to command confidence. The public inconvenience was perhaps greatest in testamentary cases. Safe places of custody for wills were lacking, searches were difficult, and titles were endangered. The Report recounts various proposals for remedies, from Henry VIII's time to a Bill of 1812, and

recommends that all peculiars should be abolished. About the middle of the century the abolition was virtually effected.

The Pope has been blamed for exempt jurisdiction. Bishop Croft of Hereford, writing in the seventeenth century, called it an abuse of church government, a thing altogether unknown to antiquity and brought in by papal tyranny. The poor clergy, he said, get poor while the several officers grow fat by fees extracted from them. But this bishop was not a learned divine.⁸⁵ In Hook's *Church Dictionary* (1887), *s.v.* Peculiars, exempt jurisdiction is said to have been a remnant of popery. The Pope, by a usurped authority, exempted peculiars from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese. At the Reformation, by an oversight, it is stated, they were not restored to him. The authority for these statements implicating the Pope is not given. It is significant that neither Wulfstan nor Lanfranc nor Anselm relied on papal support for their contentions.

It must be remarked that the disadvantages charged to peculiar jurisdiction can hardly have all applied to the deanery of the Arches. There would have been no uncertainty there. The dean, in view of the provincial duties on which it was the practice to employ him, must have been a comparatively competent person.

Thus the archbishop's exempt jurisdiction has a long history. As to the reason for it, all that our material enables us to say is that the archbishop, by virtue of his superior position, succeeded in displacing the local episcopal jurisdiction wherever he had churches outside his Kentish diocese of Canterbury.

D. THE DEANERY OF BOCKING.

The deanery of the Arches is not typical of the Canterbury exempt deaneries. While it consisted of thirteen tiny parishes in London, the other seven deaneries were in rural areas. In order to obtain an idea of the setting in which the deanery of the Arches

lay, we will now attempt to describe the deanery of Bocking as typical of the rural seven.

Just as we found in 1292 the first specific list of the parishes of the deanery of the Arches, we have also for that year, in the same memorandum book of Prior Eastry's, a list of the parishes of the deanery of Bocking.⁸⁵ They appear in the following order:

1. Bocking.
2. Stisted.
3. Hadleigh.
4. Monks Eleigh.
5. Latchingdon.
6. Southchurch.
7. Moulton.

Nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6 are in Essex, which then lay in the diocese of London. Nos. 3, 4 and 7 are in Suffolk, then in the Norwich diocese. The parishes are widely scattered, *the distance from Moulton to Southchurch* being about 50 miles.

Just as we found the churches of the deanery of the Arches absent from the 1262 St. Paul's list of churches in the diocese of London, so also the above four Essex churches are absent, which indicates that the parishes were then excluded from the London diocese. The value of each church is recorded in that list, and these values are in all probability those established at the Valuation of Norwich,⁸⁷ which is so called because, though it applied to the whole of England, it was made by three English prelates among whom the bishop of Norwich was regarded as the most important. The Valuation was made in 1254. That part of it which relates to the diocese of Norwich has been preserved. There we disconcertingly find that Hadleigh and Monks Eleigh (our Nos. 3 and 4) are shown as in the deanery of Sudbury, with no mention of any Canterbury connection.⁸⁸ However, whereas the 49 churches of the deanery of Sudbury are arranged, roughly, from east to west, *Hadleigh and Monks Eleigh are in the eastern*

part of the deanery and yet occur as the last two of the 49. There must be some significance in this manner of recording the two churches, and the Canterbury connection supplies the explanation. The seventh church of the deanery of Bocking, Moulton, does not appear in the diocese of Norwich in the *Valuation of Norwich*.

In Lambeth MS. 1212 there is a list of the churches of the patronage of the archbishop in 1272 (p. 367). These are arranged by deaneries, and one of these is *Decanatus de Bocking' Lond' et Norwic' dioc'*. Under this head the seven churches are given, with a remark that the deanery is in the gift of the archbishop.

Sometimes an extra church is found added to the deanery, viz., that of Ash Bocking in Suffolk, where the advowson, with one acre of land, was given to Christ Church in 1259.⁸⁹ In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the Canterbury jurisdiction is recorded at the seven churches except, strange to say, Moulton, where procurations go to the archdeacon of Sudbury (III. 474). In 1563, the Privy Council called upon each diocese for a return of its peculiars. The bishop of Norwich reported that three towns in Suffolk belonged to the archbishop's jurisdiction. He named Hadleigh and Monks Eleigh and added, "the third I know not, nor cannot learn at this present."⁹⁰ The elusive parish was, of course, Moulton, and Ecton's *Thesaurus* (1763 edition) duly calls Moulton a peculiar of the archbishop's. In the returns of peculiars made in 1810 it is the seven churches that are given,⁹¹ although by the eighteenth century the patronage of Moulton had passed to Christ's College, Cambridge.

Like the dean of the Arches, the dean of Bocking is known from surviving records earlier than the contents of his deanery. He is mentioned, though unnamed, in 1207.⁹² Dr. Churchill has printed a list of the deans of Bocking from 1313, and this shows that in the fourteenth century the deanery was held at various times by the respective rectors of Bocking, Monks Eleigh

(our No. 4), Stisted (No. 2) and Latchingdon (No. 5). In the sixteenth century it began to be the practice to issue a double commission to the deanery, viz., to the rectors of Bocking and Hadleigh.⁹³ These two rectors are still styled Very Reverend Deans. Some records of presentments in the Dean's court in the seventeenth century have survived.⁹⁴

We need to ascertain the reason for the connection of Canterbury with these seven parishes. Dr. Churchill states that "in all cases there seems little doubt that the claim to be exempt from the bishop in whose diocese the territories lay and to be of the immediate jurisdiction of the archbishop was based on the fact that the lands, it might almost be said, from time immemorial, had been in the possession of the church of Canterbury."⁹⁵ Let us see what Domesday Book has to say. There we find manors at the four Essex places under a head "Lands of the Holy Trinity of Canterbury for the support of the monks" and manors at the three Suffolk places under a head "Lands of Archbishop Lanfranc for the monks' food." Holy Trinity is of course an earlier name of Christ Church Priory. In Domesday Book the archbishop's lands are, generally speaking, shown separately from those of his monks. In Essex and Suffolk the archbishop himself has nothing in Domesday.

These seven are not the only Essex and Suffolk possessions of Christ Church which occur in Domesday. There are also—

- (a) Belonging to the manor of Bocking, 2 hides in Mersey, Essex, which was 18 miles away and was held by Swenus.
- (b) Three virgates in Coggeshall, Essex, a manor held by Earl Eustace.
- (c) The manor of Lawling, which adjoins Latchingdon.
- (d) The manor of Milton Hall (*Mildentuna*), Essex.
- (e) The manor of *Niwelant*, Essex.
- (f) The manor of Little Stambridge, Essex.

(g) Half a carucate in Topesfield, Hadleigh, Suffolk, is recorded as given to Holy Trinity by Leveva, the gift to take effect after her death.

(h) The soke of a carucate in Loose, Suffolk.⁹⁶

The grants of some of these Essex and Suffolk possessions of Christ Church in Saxon times are known. Also there is some evidence that they had before the Conquest land at yet other places in this part of England. But there is no need now to go farther back than Domesday.

Canterbury is never found to have had any connection with the churches at the places at which there were only inferior holdings (viz., (a), (b), (h)) as distinct from manors. No more need be said about these holdings.

When we come to the 1179 papal list we find Christ Church accredited, apart from inferior holdings, with seven of the Domesday manors, viz., Bocking, Stisted, Hadleigh, Monks Eleigh, Southchurch (all five in the deanery of Bocking) and Milton Hall and Lawling. We must now account for the other two Domesday manors of the deanery, viz., Latchingdon and Moulton, and the four manors (c) to (f) above.

Latchingdon and (c) Lawling.—The Priory's holding at Latchingdon was one of several Domesday manors at that place,⁹⁷ but is not found described as a manor after Domesday. Not mentioned by name in the 1179 papal list, it may be considered to be included there in the *quosdam alios redditus* from Essex,⁹⁸ for in 1292 the Priory is getting revenue from *Lallinge cum lachyndon*.⁹⁸ In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the Priory's combined income from Latchingdon and Newland, which are not there described as manors, is recorded. (I. 14.)

In the 1179 papal list the tithes of the demesne of Lawling are confirmed to the Priory.⁹⁹ In 1367 we find the archbishop settling a dispute about a chapel at Lawling which had to be served by the rector of Latchingdon, and on that occasion there is mention of

an annual payment of 40s. made by the Priory to the rector of Latchingdon,¹⁰⁰ and this would appear to have been the equivalent of the demesne tithes.¹⁰¹ What is important for us now is that there was no parish church at Lawling and that it was in the parish of Latchingdon.

Moulton.—Moulton is an interesting case of a manor passing from the Priory to the archbishop after Domesday. In 1210–12 we find it was held of the archbishop as two knights' fees.¹⁰² It would appear that the archbishop soon afterwards parted with the manor, for no later connection between it and Canterbury has been found. In 1284 he ordained a vicarage there.¹⁰³

(*d*) *Milton Hall*.—This manor continued to belong to Christ Church in 1292.⁸⁶ It had no church of its own. It was in the parish of Prittlewell (of which Southend was the southern end). The founder of Prittlewell Priory in Henry II's reign gave it the tithes of Milton Hall, and this was confirmed by St. Thomas. Newcourt states that it was in spiritual matters subject to the dean of Bocking, and his authority for this statement is Ouseley's collections.¹⁰⁴ Southchurch (our No. 6), described in 1191 as an *appendicium* of Milton Hall,¹⁰⁵ was the adjoining parish.

(*e*) *Newland*.—Domesday Book for Essex is edited in the *Victoria County History* by Round, and he describes this as "a manor in St. Lawrence" (I. 437). The Christ Church holding seems not to have been an ordinary manor. In the 1179 papal list it is described as *De Newelonde xx. sol.*, though values for other holdings are not generally given there. In Prior Eastry's book, among the temporalities of the Priory in 1292 this £1 from *Newelonde* is given (f. 4v), but in a list of the Priory's manors in Essex (f. 33) the name does not occur. We have already seen that in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* it is coupled with Latchingdon, neither of them being called a manor. The church of St. Lawrence was given to Beeleigh Abbey by its founder, Robert Mantell, in the twelfth century.¹⁰⁶

(f) *Little Stambridge*.—No connection between this manor and Canterbury has been found after Domesday. The Priory must have parted with it before 1179. There is a record of the sale of it with the advowson, not by Christ Church, in 1231–32.¹⁰⁷

Canterbury had interests in other places also in Essex and Suffolk. For instance, the Priory obtained the manor of Borley, Essex, from the King in exchange in 1301¹⁰⁸; the Priory's claim, made in an extent of the manor in 1308,¹⁰⁹ to be *verus patronus* of the church there is incomprehensible, seeing that the Patent Roll shows the King regularly presenting, viz., in 1295, 1298, 1313, 1335, etc. Christ Church also had, from time to time after the Conquest, rents in Purleigh, Essex,⁸⁶ and in Boxford⁹⁹ and Kettlebaston,¹¹⁰ Suffolk, and elsewhere in these counties. Newcourt, again on the strength of Ouseley's collections, says that in Purleigh there was a hamlet subject to the jurisdiction of the dean of Bocking. Latchingdon and Lawling were close by. There is one solitary mention of Tillingham by Latchingdon; it is in an account of Christ Church rents about 1200,¹¹¹ and no amount is stated.

Christ Church had post-Conquest interests in Norfolk also. Not only had they two *mansurae* in Norwich,⁹⁹ but the manor of Deepham and its advowson came to them in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹²

What seems to emerge from all this is that the deanery of Bocking consisted of those seven parishes in Essex and Suffolk of which the archbishop had the advowson in the thirteenth century. At Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 the church would appear to have been appendant to the Priory's manor throughout. At No. 5 (Latchingdon) the Priory had only an inferior holding in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and at No. 7 (Moulton) the manor was conveyed away by the archbishop, to whom it had passed from the Priory, in the thirteenth century. Inclusion in the deanery appears to have depended on advowson rather than on the holding of land. Presumably the

archbishop held the seven advowsons from the respective times when the manors, before Domesday, came to the church of Canterbury, although it is just possible that at one time the Priory held them.¹¹³

E. THE ORIGIN OF THE DEANERY OF THE ARCHES.

Let us now see to what extent the history of the deanery of Bocking repeats itself in London. Although we have found in that deanery that the peculiar jurisdiction was associated with the Priory's holding of land, we find among others of the exempt deaneries that that jurisdiction was associated with the holding of land by the archbishop as distinct from the Priory. Let us see what is known about the archbishop's possessions in London in the early centuries.

The archbishop would certainly need a house in or near London. But we need not expect to find it in the City, because, from the time of Anselm, the archbishops transacted business at the manor house of Lambeth.¹¹⁴

From Domesday Book for Surrey we know that the archbishop had 17 *mansurae* in London belonging to his manor of Mortlake and rendering 52 pence. About 1176, according to Stow, he subscribed towards the building of London Bridge.¹¹⁵ Archbishop Stephen Langton derived an annual rent of 50s. from property in the parish of St. Matthew Friday Street.¹¹⁶ About the end of the twelfth century we find mention of the parish of St. Dunstan in the East as being in a soke of the archbishop's and of the parish of St. Mary Somerset as adjoining a soke of his.¹¹⁷ We are not told the situation of the soke which Gisulf, a royal scribe under Henry I, held of the archbishop,¹¹⁸ or of his soke which is mentioned in Edward I's reign in the Liber Albus (f. 196 v.). About 1275 the archbishop was one of 26 possessors of mills in London.¹¹⁹ About the same time he is found mentioned as having land at Castle Baynard, although perhaps this may be part of what he

purchased for the House of Black Friars which he founded at that time.

At the time of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, the archbishop's holding of land in London (p. 13) was extremely small. All he received was £1 15s. od. from land in the parish of All Hallows Bread Street, and 3d. from land in the parish of St. Michael Crooked Lane.

It would seem to be fairly clear that the formation of the deanery of the Arches with its thirteen parishes did not depend on the archbishop's holding of land.

About the Priory's holdings in London there is a good deal more to be said. Kemble prints a grant (Vol. V., No. 1074), dated 899, by King Alfred of land in the place called Etheredshithe. The boundaries of the land are precisely described, and it included wharves (*navium stationes*) extending along the whole width of the land. The eastern part was given to the bishop of Worcester *ad aecclesiam sanctae Mariae* and the western part to Archbishop Plegmund *ad opus ecclesie Christi et monachorum*. This implies that the community of Christ Church, as distinct from the archbishop, had the land, for the community had in the early ninth century been established on a footing of comparative independence of the archbishop.¹²⁰ Although King Alfred is recorded in a thirteenth century list of benefactors of Christ Church as having given *unum agrum apud London' ad athredeshede*,¹²¹ this charter is spurious. Kemble's source is the Christ Church cartulary in Lambeth MS. 1212, and the claim that there were monks at Christ Church in 899 is highly suspicious¹²⁰; there was no church of St. Mary at Worcester before the latter part of the tenth century¹²²; and Heming's reliable twelfth-century cartulary of the church of Worcester does not contain Alfred's alleged grant. Etheredshithe is Queenhithe, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it belonged neither to Canterbury nor to Worcester.¹²³

In the 1100 list the Priory has a wharf on the Thames from which the large income of £10 was derived, and

this is there stated to have been given by Ælfwinus *laicus*, who was also commemorated at Canterbury for his gift. (See *Early List*, p. 68.) In the 1179 papal list a wharf in London is confirmed to the *camera*. In the 1200 list of rents there is £4 from an undescribed wharf. That this was in the neighbourhood of Queenhithe is suggested by the fact that early in the thirteenth century we find a quit-rent granted from land in the parish of St. Michael Queenhithe which is said to be in the soke of the monks of Canterbury.¹²⁴ Also in an account of London rents of Christ Church in the thirteenth century there is income shown from wharves in the parishes of St. Michael Queenhithe and the adjoining parish of St. Mary Somerset,¹²⁵ and small amounts were received from *redditus* in those parishes in 1292.⁸⁶ A soke of the Priory in London is found mentioned in 1304 and 1311,¹²⁶ with no statement as to its position.

In addition to the wharf, the 1100 list contains some 15 lands, houses and *mansurae*. The donors are all named and, in nearly every case, the income obtained is given. It is not stated in what parish any of these properties is situated, and in only about three instances have we any kind of clue to their position. The 1200 list of rents contains, in addition to the pensions from churches, receipts from some 61 properties. For no property is it stated in what parish it is situated. In only four instances is there any clue to the position of a property, viz., in Southwark, in Westcheap, a stone house by the river and the undescribed wharf. In some instances the bare name of the payer is given, in others only the name of the land, in others both of these.

In Register J at Canterbury there is (pp. 330-339) an elaborate account, in tabular form, of the *redditus* of Christ Church in London and Southwark. This list pertains to about the middle of the thirteenth century. Very full details of all the properties, and of the income from them, are given. Here, for the first time, the

arrangement is by parishes, twenty of them. Of the sixteen parishes whose churches we have dealt with in detail above there occur, among the twenty, Nos. 3, 7, 8, 10, 13, 15 and, doubtfully, No. 5. There are other descriptive accounts of London rents among the MSS. at Canterbury. A study of them all would increase our knowledge of the topography of medieval London.

By 1292 there had been considerable changes in the Priory's holdings in London. For that year we have a bare list⁸⁶ of the total *redditus* by parishes, 13 of them, among which are our Nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13 and the two above-named riverside parishes of St. Michael Queenhithe and St. Mary Somerset.

The rural scheme of manors with advowsons appendant did not obtain in London. In Norman London a separate piece of London property would probably possess on the average something between thirty and forty feet of street frontage.¹²⁷ In about half of the exempt parishes we are unable to say that Canterbury had any land at all, and in their other parishes they had only a few individual properties, with the exception of St. Mary le Bow, which in the eleventh century was classed among manors and whose parish in 1292 provided a very large amount of *redditus*. In fact, inclusion in the deanery of the Arches did not depend on land holding.

The numerous churches of the City were, in general, proprietary churches, each founded on the initiative of some individual. "Since there was no system of ecclesiastical control over these churches so long as they remained in lay hands, great efforts were made to obtain the churches for bishops or ecclesiastical bodies."¹²⁸ The mother church of Canterbury would quite naturally secure its share of the London churches.

The final conclusion is that the deanery of the Arches consisted of those parishes in London of which Christ Church early in the thirteenth century had the patronage. As in the case of the deanery of Bocking, inclusion

depends on advowson, there the archbishop's, here the Priory's.

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NOTES.

1. Irene J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, I. 63.
2. Ollard and Crosse, *Dictionary of English Church History*, p. 157b.
3. Cf. *Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society*, XVIII (Part I, published 1925), p. 15; also *Victoria County History of London*, p. 190.
4. What Lunt prints is not an exact transcript. He has rearranged the material in a tabular form. He has printed the patrons for some churches and has omitted them for others. Some of his identifications of churches are incorrect. He gives 97 churches. However, one of the 97 is *Sancti Petri in* with no further details whatever. This must be the mistake of the scribe which he did not trouble to erase. Thus there are 96 churches. At the end of the list, on f. 53, is *Numerus ecclesiarum prescriptarum. iiii^{xx}.ix*. This is a mistake, as the total is more than 89.

But this is not quite the whole story. In the margin at the bottom of f. 50v (facilities for inspecting the MS. were courteously given) there is written in a faint medieval cursive hand, very different from the large book hand of the text, *Ecclesia . . . apostoli canonici sancti pauli sunt patroni*, and the pension and the valuation are added. The dots represent practically illegible words. But the only London church which had *apostoli* in its title was that of St. Thomas the Apostle, of which the Canons of St. Paul's are recorded as patrons in 1303 (*Munimenta Gildhallae* (Rolls Ser.), Vol. II, Pt. I. 234). We must therefore have here the church of St. Thomas the Apostle. Also, at the bottom of f. 53 there is, in the same faint hand, *ecclesia sancti botulphi de ponte*, and the patronage, pension and valuation are added. This is St. Botolph Billingsgate. These two additions at the bottom of folios are clearly meant to supply omissions, and they bring up the total number of churches in the MS. from 96 to 98.

According to the *Victoria County History of London* (p. 190) the churches of St. Thomas and St. Botolph Bishopsgate (which is a mistake for Billingsgate) are omitted from this St. Paul's list. Evidently the faint additions were overlooked, as they were by Lunt. The *History* is also in error in stating that St. Olave Broad Street is omitted, for this church appears on f. 49v, with Barking Abbey for patron.

In Map II. in the *Victoria County History* (p. 245) showing the ecclesiastical aspect of the City before the Reformation there are 104 parish churches, if we include St. Augustine Pappay which, though in the map as a parish church, is not in the numbered list of 103 parish churches which is printed at the side of the map. We need to explain the discrepancy between 98 and 104. Among the 98 are 4 which are outside the area of the map (*e.g.* St. Andrew's Holborn), St. Mary Aylward (with the Rouncivall Hospital for patron (Lunt, p. 330)) which has not been located, and *Capella Episcopi Londoniensis* (p. 326) which is not a parish church. If

we deduct these 6, the discrepancy is between 92 and 104. St. Olave Jewry, which according to Newcourt had the Priory of Butley for patron regularly throughout the fourteenth century' is not in the St. Paul's list; it is also omitted from the 1303 list with patrons which is mentioned above, although it is in an accompanying list, of the same date, of bare names of City churches (*loc. cit.*, p. 230.) St. Olave Broad Street and St. Michael before the gate of Holy Trinity, which was appropriated to Holy Trinity (Lunt, p. 328), are not in the map. This brings the comparable figures to 93 and 106. This final discrepancy of 13 is exactly accounted for by the 13 churches of the deanery of the Arches.

5. W. H. Frere, *Visitation Articles*, p. 180.
6. P. O. *London Directory*, 1844, p. 1368.
7. I. J. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 608.
8. *Victoria County History* of London, p. 401; *Lond. Gaz.*, 20 Aug. 1845, p. 2541.
9. Arthur W. Hutton, *Bow Church, Cheapside*, (1908) p. 3.
10. Faustina B. II. ff. 72, 96.
11. *Cal. Pap. Letters*, I. 125.
12. *Close Rolls*, 1234-37, p. 80.
13. *Close Rolls*, 1247-51, p. 238.
14. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, III. 453. *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, I. 328, 339. *Cal. Liberate Rolls*, 1240-5, p. 128.
15. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266-72, p. 70.
16. P.R.O., E. 135, 21/16.
17. *Register* of Archbishop Pecham (Rolls Ser.), I. 71. Cp. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 79, note 6.
18. *Anct. Deed A.* 1074.
19. *Register* of Bishop Giffard (Worc. Hist. Soc.), II. 303, 306.
20. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 443.
21. *Cal. Wills Ct. Husting*, I. 658.
22. *Horae Decanicae Rurales*, Vol. II. Pt. V.
23. *Victoria County History* of London, pp. 187, 203.
24. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 83.
25. E.g. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1254-56, p. 198.
26. E.g. *Register* of Hamo de Hethe, Bishop of Rochester (Canterbury and York Society), pp. 151, 152.
27. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 77.
28. *Register* of Hamo de Hethe, Bishop of Rochester (Canterbury and York Society), p. 151.
29. *Cal. Wills Ct. Husting*, I. 320.
30. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 398.
31. *Ibid.*, 608.
32. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, 2, ii. 371-8.
33. *Ibid.*, 440, 456. Canterbury Reg. A. f. 53.
34. MS. B. 7, f. 15 v.
35. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 551.
36. *Ibid.*, 398. Cant. Reg. B, f. 263 v. *Mon. Angl.* I. 88.
37. Frances Arnold-Forster, *Church Dedications*, I. 467. Gertrude and W. Sparrow Simpson, *The Life and Legend of St. Vedast*, p. 92.
38. *Litt. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.) III. 357.
39. B.M. Addl. MS. 6159, f. 14.
40. Cant. Ch. Ant. L. 9.
41. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 99.
42. *Cat. of Anct. Deeds*, A. 2977.
43. Nero C. ix. f. 5. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, L, 293-6.
44. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 398.

45. *Victoria County History* of London, p. 578.
46. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, p. 323a.
47. Cant. Ch. Ant. L. 39.
48. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, p. 247.
49. *London Topographical Record*, XVI. 27.
50. Robert Willis, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, etc., II. 391 (1886).
51. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 507.
52. *Cal. Letter Book A*, p. 163.
- 52a. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266-72, p. 303.
53. Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, 2. ii. 462.
54. Cant. Ch. Ant. L. 7.
55. Cant. Reg. B. f. 276.
56. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, p. 323. Cant. Reg. B. f. 247.
57. Camb. Univ. MS. Ee. v. 31, f. 131. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 124.
58. Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, 2. ii. 365, 416.
59. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 431, 433.
60. Cant. Reg. B. f. 241 v.
61. *Pat. Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 505.
62. C. L. Kingsford's edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, Addl. Notes, p. 23.
63. Cant. Reg. B. f. 261.
64. *Cal. Wills Ct. Husting*, I. 596.
65. *Val. Eccl.*, I. 370.
66. B. M. Stowe MS. 924, f. 176 v, Carta 1758. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, p. 447b.
67. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1422-29, p. 273.
68. *Cal. Wills Ct. Husting*, II. 458.
69. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, I. 490.
70. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 9th Report, p. 19a.
71. *Val. Eccl.*, I. 372.
72. M. Gibbs, *Early Charters of St. Paul's* (Camden Society, 1939), p. 171.
73. *Munimenta Gildhallae* (Rolls Ser.), Vol. II. Pt. I. 233.
74. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 9th Report, pp. 21a, 18b.
75. *Mon. Angl.* I. 88. Cant. Reg. B. f. 263 v.
76. *L.C.C. Survey of London*, XII. 1.
77. *Val. Eccl.* I. 14, 379.
78. *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ* (1572), p. 39.
79. Wetzter und Weste's *Kirchenlexicon*, IV. 1124.
80. *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI. 529, 530.
81. *Beati Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, I. 50.
82. Eadmer, *Historia Novorum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 46.
83. Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. 159, col. 44.
84. *Ibid.*, col. 202. Eadmer, *Historia Novorum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 46.
85. Herbert Croft, *The Naked Truth* (1675), ed. by Bishop Hensley Henson, pp. vi, 117, 118.
86. Galba E. IV. f. 4 v.
87. W. E. Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich*, p. 180.
88. *Ibid.*, 438.
89. B.M. Addl. MS. 6159, f. 287 v.
90. W. H. Frere, *Visitation Articles*, p. 185.
91. *Val Eccl.*, I. 460, III. 513.
92. *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 59b.
93. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 73.
94. Hugh Pigot, *Hadleigh* (1860), p. 71.
95. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 62.
96. *Victoria County History* of Suffolk, I. 552.

97. *Victoria County History of Essex*, I. 565a, note 6.
 98. Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, 2. ii. 374.
 99. *Ibid.* 377.
 100. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, II. 354.
 101. J. F. Nichols, *Custodia Essexae* (thesis), p. 291.
 102. H. Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls Ser.), p. 471.
 103. Churchill, *op. cit.*, I. 119.
 104. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, II. 472.
 105. *Gervase of Canterbury* (Rolls Ser.), I. 504.
 106. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, II. 371.
 107. B.M. Harley Ch. 49D. 46.
 108. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 604.
 109. B.M. Addl. MS. 6159, f. 21.
 110. Galba E. IV. f. 5v.
 111. Cant. MS. D. 4. f. 6.
 112. J. F. Nichols, *Custodia Essexae* (thesis), p. 28. Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, 2. ii. 376.
 113. *Epp. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), p. xxxi.
 114. S. Denne, *Lambeth Parish and Lambeth Palace* (1795), p. 176. Cant. Ch. Ant. L. 70.
 115. *Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, I. 23.
 116. Cant. Ch. Ant. L. 32, L. 33.
 117. Guildhall MS. 122, f. 174. *Cal. Anct. Deeds*, A. 1803.
 118. F. M. Stenton, *Norman London*, p. 14.
 119. *Cal. Letter Book A*, pp. 2, 222. *Ibid.*, C, p. 71.
 120. *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1926, pp. 236, 238.
 121. Galba E. III. f. 33.
 122. Joseph Armitage Robinson, *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, p. 7. *Antiquaries Journal*, XVI (1937), 374.
 123. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, p. 493.
 124. Faustina B. II. f. 75.
 125. Cant. Reg. J. p. 339.
 126. Camb. Univ. Ee. v. 31, ff. 101v, 117.
 127. F. M. Stenton, *Norman London*, p. 24.
 128. E. W. Watson in Ollard and Crosse, *Dictionary of English Church History*, p. 443.