

FURNISHING SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN'S
CHURCHES:
ANGLICAN IDENTITY IN LATE SEVENTEENTH-
CENTURY LONDON

MARK JONATHAN KIRBY

VOLUME II OF III
APPENDICES & BIBLIOGRAPHY

PHD

UNIVERSITY OF YORK
HISTORY OF ART
OCTOBER 2018

CONTENTS

VOLUME CONTENTS	210
APPENDICES	
Abbreviations used in the appendices	211
A Location of church furnishings	216
B London clergy, their patrons and affiliations	264
C United parishes and their vestries	273
D Benefactors	277
E Contract of St. Peter Cornhill with Thomas Poultney and Thomas Athew, 5 August 1680	294
F Joiners and carvers working in the City churches	298
G Summary of reredos features and communion table terminology	308
H Translation of William Beveridge, <i>Synodikon</i> , on Canon XI of the Canons of the First Nicene Council	312
BIBLIOGRAPHY	331
Unpublished primary sources	331
Published primary sources	338
Published secondary literature	344
Unpublished theses	361
Image collections	362

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE APPENDICES

Allen	Allen, Thomas. <i>The History and Antiquities of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Parts Adjacent</i> . 3 vols. London: George Virtue, 1827-33.
Baxter	Alan Baxter & Associates. "St. Andrew Holborn Conservation Statement." Unpublished report prepared for the parish of St. Andrew Holborn, 2017.
Beard	Beard, Geoffrey. <i>Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England, 1660-1820</i> . London: Bloomsbury Books, 1986.
Beatson	Beatson, Robert. <i>A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain & Ireland or, A Complete Register of the Hereditary Honours, Public Offices, and Persons in Office, from the Earliest Periods to the Present Time</i> . London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1806. Vol. I., 323-324.
Birch	Birch, G.H. <i>London Churches of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries</i> . London: Batsford, 1896.
Bodl.	The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
<i>Builder</i>	The newspaper <i>The Builder</i> , published 1843-1966.
Campbell	Campbell, James. "Building a Fortune: The Finances of the Stonemasons Working on the Rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral 1675-1720." In <i>Proceedings of the Third International Congress on Construction History</i> , Cottbus, May, 2009.
<i>City Press</i>	The newspaper <i>City Press</i> , published 1857-1976.
Clarke	Clarke, Basil Fulford Lowther. <i>Parish Churches of London</i> . London: Batsford, 1966.
Clergy	Clergy of the Church of England Database; online resource; http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/ .
Cobb	Cobb, Gerald. <i>The Old Churches of London</i> . London: Batsford, 1942.
Collage	The London Picture Archive of the Corporation of London. http://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/home?WINID=1470754048868 .
Colvin 1	Colvin, Howard. <i>A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840</i> . New York: Facts on File Inc., 1978 edition.
Colvin 2	Colvin, Howard. "The Church of St. Mary Aldermary." <i>Architectural History</i> 24 (1981): 24-31+145.
Daniell	Daniell, A.E. <i>London City Churches</i> . London: Archibald Constant, 1907.
Diocese	Records of the Diocese of London, Care of Churches Team, not yet catalogued or transferred to the London Metropolitan Archives as at the date of this thesis.

- Fuller Fuller, John. *The Church of King Charles the Martyr Tunbridge Wells*. Tunbridge Wells: The Friends of the Parish Church of King Charles the Martyr, 2000.
- Godwin Godwin, George. *The Churches of London: A History and Description of the Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Metropolis*. London: Tilt, 1838-39.
- Grimstone Grimstone, A.V. *Building Pembroke Chapel: Wren, Pearce and Scott*. Cambridge: Pembroke College, 2009.
- Guildhall Documents held at the Guildhall Library, London.
- Gunnis Gunnis, Rupert. *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851*. New rev. ed. London: Abbey Library, 1968.
- Harrison Harrison, Robert. "The Dispersion of Furniture and Fittings Formerly Belonging to the Churches in the City of London." *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 8 (1960): 53-74.
- Hatton Hatton, Edward, *A New View of London; or, an Ample Account of that City, In Two Volumes, or Eight Sections*. London: 1708.
- Hauer Hauer, Christian and William Young. *A Comprehensive History of the London Church and Parish of St. Mary, the Virgin, Aldermanbury: The Phoenix of Aldermanbury*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994.
- Hennessy Hennessy, George and W.E. Heathcote. *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense: Or, London Diocesan Clergy Succession from the Earliest Time to the Year 1898, with Copious Notes*. London: S. Sonnenschein & co., 1898.
- Hibbert Hibbert, Christopher. *The London Encyclopaedia*. Basingstoke: Pan MacMillan Ltd, 2008.
- Hotson Hotson, Anthony Charles. "Late-Stuart Moneyed Men and their Patronage of Sculpture and Architecture, circa 1660 to 1720." Ph.D. thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 2006.
- Huelin Huelin, Gordon. *Vanished Churches of the City of London*. London: Guildhall Library Publications, 1996.
- Hughes Hughes, Peter. *St. Michael's Cornhill*. London: privately published, 2007.
- Jeffery Jeffery, Paul. *The Church of St. Vedast-Alias-Foster, City of London*. London: The Ecclesiological Society, 1989.
- Kent Kent, William. *The Lost Treasures of London*. London: Phoenix House, 1947.
- Kenworthy-Browne Kenworthy-Browne, John. "The Rise and Demise of a Wren Church: the Reredos from St. Matthew Friday Street, at Polesden Lacey", *The National Trust Year Book*, 1977-78: 63-74.
- LAMAS The Bishopsgate Institute, London & Middlesex Archaeological Society glass slide collection.
<http://internetserver.bishopsgate.org.uk/search/advanced>

Leftwich	Leftwich, B.R. <i>A Short History & Guide to St. Switbin, London Stone</i> . London: 1934.
Lewer	Lewer, David and Robert Dark. <i>The Temple Church in London</i> . London: Historical Publications, 1997.
Litten	Litten, Julian. "Fixtures and Fittings from City of London Churches." <i>London Topographical Record</i> 30 (2010): 51-70.
LMA	The London Metropolitan Archives. In the appendices, the file and folio references have been omitted as being too numerous for inclusion here. Citations here are principally to confirm the identity of craftsmen and approximate dates of furnishing activity.
Love	Love, Dickon. <i>Love's Guide to the Church Bells of the City of London</i> , online edn., http://london.lovesguide.com/ .
Malcolm	Malcolm, James. <i>Londinium Redivivum</i> , 4 vols. London: Rivington, 1802-07.
Milbourn	Milbourn, Thomas. <i>The History of the Church of St. Mildred the Virgin, Poultry, in the City of London: with some particulars of the Church of St. Mary Colechurch (destroyed in the great fire, A.D. 1666)</i> . London: John Russell Smith, 1872.
Niven	Niven, William. <i>London City Churches Destroyed Since AD 1800, or now threatened</i> . London: William Niven, 1887.
Norman	Norman, Philip. "On the Destroyed Church of St. Michael Wood Street with Some Notes on St. Michael Bassishaw." <i>Archaeologia</i> 58 (1902): 189-216.
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online edn.
Parish records	Any of churchwardens' accounts, vestry minutes and other relevant parish records.
<i>Parliament</i>	<i>History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690</i> . Edited by B.D. Henning. London: Boydell and Brewer, 1983; online edn., http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research/members/members-1660-1690 .
Pevsner <i>CC</i>	Pevsner, Nikolaus and Simon Bradley. <i>The Buildings of England; London: The City Churches</i> . London: Yale University Press, 1998.
Pevsner <i>Hants</i>	Pevsner, Nikolaus, Michael Bullen, John Crook and Rodney Hubbuck. <i>The Buildings of England; Hampshire: Winchester and the North</i> . London: Yale University Press, 2010.
Pevsner <i>London North</i>	Pevsner, Nikolaus and Bridget Cherry. <i>The Buildings of England: London 4: North</i> . London: Yale University Press, 2002.
Pevsner <i>London North West</i>	Pevsner, Nikolaus and Bridget Cherry. <i>The Buildings of England; London 3: North West</i> . London: Yale University Press, 2002.

- Pevsner *London South* Pevsner, Nikolaus and Bridget Cherry. *The Buildings of England; London 2: South*. London: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Pevsner *Westminster* Pevsner, Nikolaus and Simon Bradley. *The Buildings of England; London 6: Westminster*. London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Places Historic England, “England’s Places”, online historic photograph collection: <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/englands-places/>
- RCHME Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, Vol. 4, The City of London*. London: HMSO, 1929.
- RCHME *Essex* Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, Vol. 4, South East*. London: HMSO, 1923.
- RCHME *West London* Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, Vol. 2, West London*. London: HMSO, 1925, online edition.
- Rogers Rogers, Mark. *Down Thames Street*. London: Robert Scott, 1921.
- Roscoe Roscoe, Ingrid, Emma Hardy and M G Sullivan, ed. *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851*. London: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Rulers* Woodhead, John Rogers. *The Rulers of London: The Composition of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, 1660 to 1689*. London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1961.
- Simpson Simpson, W. Sparrow. “Notes on the History and Antiquities of the united Parishes of S Matthew Friday Street and S Peter Cheap in the City of London.” *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, III (1870), 332-381.
- Smith Smith, Pete. “William Cleere, Master Joiner.” *The Georgian Group Journal* 18 (2010): 8-29.
- Styve Styve, John. *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster: containing the original, antiquity, increase, modern estate and government of those cities; By John Styve; Corrected, improved, and very much enlarged by John Styve*. London: 1720.
- Survey (Poplar)* Hobhouse, Hermione, ed. *Survey of London: Vols. 43 & 44: Poplar, Blackwall and the Isle of Dogs, the Parish of All Saints*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, 1994.
- Survey (Bride)* Godfrey, Walter. *Survey of London: Vol. 15: The Church of St. Bride, Fleet St., etc.* London: London Survey Committee, 1944.
- Survey (St. James)* Sheppard, F.W.H. *Survey of London, Vol 29: St. James Westminster*. London: London Survey Committee, 1960.
- Thurley Thurley, Simon. *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.

- Walker Walker, Gareth. "Politics, Religion and the 'London churchmen', 1662-89." PhD. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2009.
- Wren Office "Wren Office Accounts of Expenditure on Rebuilding of the City churches after the Great Fire." LMA/CLC/313/J/002/MS25539.
- Wren Society* Bolton, Arthur T. and H. Duncan Hendry. *The Wren Society*. Vol. X. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924.
- Young Young, Wayland and Elizabeth Young. *London Churches*. London: Grafton Books, 1986.

APPENDIX A: LOCATION OF CHURCH FURNISHINGS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Appendix A records the current locations of the original furnishings of the Wren churches. The furnishings of churches which were demolished, mainly during the nineteenth century, were often sent to new churches built in the London suburbs (sometimes with the same dedication as the demolished Wren church), or distributed to other surviving City churches. Recorded here are the font, font cover, pews, pulpit, sounding board, communion table, communion rails, reredos, and paintings of Moses and Aaron. Church plate, monuments, sword rests, and furnishings installed after the first phase of furnishing are not included here.

Two previous attempts have been made to compile such a list (Harrison and Litton) but both contain errors and omissions. In particular, though Harrison compiled his list in 1960, he frequently cites churches to which a particular item was transferred even if that church was itself destroyed in the Second World War. The tables in this appendix apply a colour-coding scheme based on levels of confidence as to whether a particular item survives or does not, as follows:

- Green text indicates a high degree of confidence in the current location of the specified furnishings based on documentary and photographic sources, mostly verified by personal inspection.
- Orange text indicates uncertainty as to the current location of the specified furnishings, mostly where they have been transferred more than once or where, for example, the church to which they were transferred was subsequently made redundant and the trail has gone cold.
- Red text indicates a high degree of confidence that the items specified have been destroyed or disposed of in such a manner as makes them untraceable.

Different types of craftsmen are indicated as follows:

C	Carver.
J	Joiner.
M	Mason (e.g. carver of font).

ALL HALLOWS BREAD STREET <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.1682-88. • Craftsmen unknown. • Demolished, 1877. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Creed & Lord's Prayer from reredos, acanthus scroll panels.	King Charles-the-Martyr, Tunbridge Wells (c.1882).	Fuller, 78-79. Personal inspection, 2012.
Pulpit.	St. Vedast Foster Lane (c.1962), via All Hallows, East India Dock Road, Poplar (1877).	Colvin 1, 928. <i>Survey (Poplar)</i> , 147-153. Places. Personal inspection, 2012.
Font cover.	St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, vestry.	Personal inspection, 2018.
"Materials".	St. Michael & All Angels, Bromley-by-Bow, via All Hallows East India Dock Road; made into a credence table. St. Michael's declared redundant, 1978. Current location of table unknown.	Colvin 1, 928. Places.
Carvings from communion table.	Incorporated in south aisle communion table at St. Vedast.	Clarke, 43. Note that Harrison, 73, and Pevsner CC, 132, attribute the fragments at St. Vedast to St. Matthew Friday Street, q.v.
Font.	A Mission Church in Plaistow. Possibly St. Peter's or All Hallows, East India Dock Road.	Colvin 1, 928. Harrison, 66. Unspecific and probably destroyed. <i>Survey (Poplar)</i> does not mention the font.
Central portion of reredos, scrollwork panels.	All Hallows, East India Dock Road, Poplar, installed c.1902; presumed destroyed, 1942.	Colvin 1, 928. <i>Survey (Poplar)</i> , 147-153. Photo of reredos at Bread Street in Places references Poplar on the reverse. Separate Places photo of Poplar confirms. Drawing in <i>Builder</i> 10.4.1914, 440.

ALL HALLOWS BREAD STREET / CONT.	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<p>Lot 1: Oak frame & deal seats of pews & reading desk. Lot 2: Oak paneled framing & capping with doors & frames as fixed round walls. Lot 3: Oak paneled front of organ gallery with entablature & column [singular], oak paneled & glazed partition & doors & oak paneled front of side gallery. Lot 4: Panelling, cupboards & doors of vestry, oak rails & balusters of altar & font enclosure. Lot 5: Oak staircase to gallery with rail & balusters, deal paneled frames & seats of gallery pews in both galleries. Lot 6: Deal flooring & joists under pews & in vestry.</p>	<p>Sold by tender by Messrs Fuller, Horsey, Son & Co, 1 May 1877.</p>	<p>Guildhall. Harrison, 73.</p>

ALL HALLOWS-THE-GREAT, UPPER THAMES STREET <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1682-88 • Thomas Powell (J); Francis Woodroffe & Thomas Thornton (Cs); William Hammond (M). • Demolished, 1876-94. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Sounding board, screen, Royal Arms, communion rails.	St. Margaret Lothbury (soon after 1894).	Clarke, 42. Harrison, 72. Litten, 54. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 100. Places. RCHME, 73. Personal inspection, 2017.
Reredos, prescribed texts & other items.	Fragments remain at Bung Chapel, Halstead, Essex (c.1900). ¹	Harrison, 61. Personal inspection, 2013.
Font, font cover.	Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Palace (via Bung Chapel).	Thurley, 369.
Statues of Moses & Aaron (probably by Hammond), chandelier, parts of font rails, bread shelves.	St. Michael Paternoster Royal (c.1968).	Clarke, 43. Harrison, 72, says bread shelves are in vestry. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 117-118. Personal inspection, 2017.
Pulpit, some balusters of pulpit stairs.	Churchill Memorial, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, USA, (2003); pulpit via St. Margaret Lothbury (c.1894) and then St. Paul's Hammersmith.	Birch, 131. Daniell, opposite 206. Diocese. Pevsner <i>London North West</i> , 205.
Marble communion table.	Top lost some time before 1871; kneeling angel in churchyard, 1871, subsequently lost.	<i>Builder</i> , 4.11.1871.

¹ The "Bung Chapel," built in 1883 and rebuilt in 1902, served the Adams Brewery in Halstead, Essex. I am grateful to the current owners for supplying me with photos of the chapel before it was converted into a private residence.

ALL HALLOWS-THE-GREAT, UPPER THAMES STREET / CONT.	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Site, pews, et al.	Sold by tender by Messrs Debenham, Tewson, Farmer & Bridgewater, 5 August 1894.	Harrison, 73. <i>City Press</i> , 6.8.1894.
Figure of Charity on gallery front.	Incorporated in lectern at St. Michael Paternoster Royal, stolen c.1990.	Pevsner CC, 118.

ALL HALLOWS LOMBARD STREET	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, 1693-95 William Grey & John Mitchell (Js); Richard Sanders (C, possibly for pews only). Demolished, 1938-9. 		
Reredos, pulpit, sounding board, doorcases, communion table, font, font cover, smaller sword rest (north side), wardens' pews with lion & unicorn, carved acanthus scrolls from original box pews, bread shelves, hat-rests, charity board, candelabra.	All Hallows Twickenham (1939-40).	Birch, 135. Litten, 53. Pevsner CC, 40. Personal inspection (2012).
JII Royal Arms (9' tall).	All Hallows Twickenham in bell chamber (1939-40).	Diocese.
Prescribed texts.	All Hallows Twickenham either side of reredos (1939-40).	Diocese.
Pews.	Removed before 1896.	Birch, 135.

CHRIST CHURCH NEWGATE	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, c.1687ff. Edward Pearce (C). Other craftsmen unknown. Gutted 1940, partial shell survives. 		
Font cover.	St. Sepulchre, Holborn (saved, 1940).	Pevsner CC, 125.
Original pulpit with relief panels.	Broken up & panels incorporated into choir stalls. Destroyed, 1940.	Cobb, 86.
Pulpit from Temple Church (c.1684).	Acquired 1840. Probably destroyed, 1940.	Cobb, 86. Disputed destruction: Kent, 72, says the pulpit survived but this seems unlikely.
All other furnishings.	Destroyed, 1940.	Jeffery, 194.

ST. ALBAN WOOD STREET	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, c.1684-86. Edward Marshall, John Mitchell (Js); John Baker, Peter Cheltenham, William Mildman (Cs). Gutted 1940, demolished, 1955, except for tower. 		
All furnishings.	Destroyed, 1940.	Kent, 61.

ST. ANDREW HOLBORN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1686-92. • Valentine Houseman (J); Edward Pearce (C). • Destroyed, 1941. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Pews.	Replaced c.1818.	Baxter, 15.
Decalogue, Creed and Lord's Prayer, reader's & clerk's desks, west gallery.	Removed by S.S. Teulon, 1870-72.	Baxter, 22-24.
All other furnishings.	Destroyed, 1941.	Kent, 78. Pevsner CC, 56.

ST. ANDREW-BY-THE-WARDROBE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished c.1692-94. • Roger Davies & Mr Smith (Js); Jonathan Maine (C). • Destroyed, 1940. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
All furnishings.	Destroyed, 1940.	Pevsner CC, 59.

ST. ANNE & ST. AGNES <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished 1680-82. • John Fuller, Thomas Page (Js); Peter Cheltenham (C); Thomas Hill (M). • Severely damaged, 1940. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Doorcase, reredos.	In situ.	Pevsner CC, 60-61. Personal inspection, 2012.
Font, font cover.	St. Vedast Foster Lane (c.1963).	Clarke, 43. Pevsner CC, 131-132. Personal inspection, 2012.
Pews, pulpit, west gallery.	Removed by Ewan Christian, 1888.	Places (pre-1888 photograph & pew plan).

ST. ANTHOLIN ²	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, c.1682-85. William Grey (J, pulpit), Thomas Cooper, Nathaniel Miles, Zachary Taylor (Js); Jonathan Maine & (probably) Thomas Cartwright (Cs). Demolished, 1875. 		
Pulpit.	St. Peter & St. Paul, Blandford Forum, Dorset (1879).	Harrison, 61. <i>Builder</i> 10.1.1880, 55.
Reredos.	S.S. Antony & Silas, Ivydale Road, Nunhead via St. Anthony's Nunhead (c.1878).	Clarke, 208. Harrison, 66. Personal inspection, 2012.
Wrought iron communion rails (1682-83).	Moved to St. Matthew Spring Gardens (demolished, 1903); presumed lost/destroyed.	Birch, 88.
Font and font cover.	Lost.	No mention found.
"Materials".	Sold by tender by Messrs Fuller, Horsey, Son & Co, 19 August 1874.	Harrison, 73.

² RCHME, 83, states that the west doorcase at St. Mary Aldermary is from St. Antholin but gives no source. The doorcase matches the description of the Aldermary doorcase in Hatton, vol. 2, 365 and, absent further information relating to St. Antholin, should be assumed to be original to Aldermary.

ST. AUGUSTINE WATLING STREET	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, c.1683-87. Jonathan Maine (C). Other craftsmen unknown. Destroyed, 1940. 		
Panels in pulpit.	St. Anne & St. Agnes.	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 61. Personal inspection, 2012.
Gallery staircase.	Room 6. Geffrye Museum (1914).	Architectural Review, 49, (1922), 59, 61.
All other furnishings.	Destroyed, 1941.	Jeffery, 211.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW-BY-THE-EXCHANGE	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, 1679-84. Thomas Poultney & Mr Massey (Js); John Baker, Richard Cleere & William Emmett (Cs). Demolished, 1840-1. 		
Font, font cover, pulpit.	St. Bartholomew, Craven Park Road, Tottenham via St. Bartholomew, Moor Lane (demolished, 1902).	Harrison, 69 (also mentions sounding board, not currently present). Pevsner <i>London North</i> , 571. Personal inspection, 2012.
Reredos, communion table, doorcases, panelling.	St. Giles Cripplegate (north aisle) destroyed, 1941 via St. Bartholomew, Moor Lane (demolished, 1902).	Harrison, 71. Places, RCHME, 98-100.
All other furnishings.	Lost.	

ST. BENET FINK <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1673-75. • William Grey (J); Edward Pearce (C); Thomas Cartwright (M). • Demolished, 1842. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Reredos, Moses & Aaron, separated into components.	Chapel, Emanuel [sic] School Wandsworth via Emanuel Hospital Chapel.	Pevsner <i>London South</i> , 703. Personal inspection, 2012. ³
Font, font cover, pulpit, communion table, other furnishings.	Some stored at Guildhall c.1893, probably now lost.	Harrison, 68, says the pulpit & communion table were stored at Guildhall upon demolition of Emanuel Hospital Chapel & later installed at Emanuel School. If so, they are not there now.

³ From personal inspection, 2012, while the panels (including Moses & Aaron) may be original, the surrounding joinery may not be.

ST. BENET GRACECHURCH STREET <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1684-86. • John Mitchell (J); unknown carver. • Demolished, 1867-8. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Pulpit.	St. Olave, Hart Street.	Clarke, 20. Harrison, 73. Kent, 96. Pevsner CC, 121. Personal inspection, 2016.
Doorcases.	Lytes Cary House, Somerset.	Harrison, 61.
Font cover.	Christ Church, Fulham.	Clarke, 62. Places. Personal inspection, 2012.
Font.	St. George in the East via St. Dionis Backchurch, destroyed, 1941.	Conflicting accounts. http://stgitehistory.org.uk/ says the St. Benet font went to St. George-in-the-East via St. Dionis Backchurch. Places 1941 photo matches 1827 description in Allen, vol. 3, 181. Harrison, 69, and Litten, 56, are probably incorrect in saying that it went to All Hallows Lombard Street in 1869 & thence to Twickenham.
Stone, brickwork, lead, oak carvings, floor-boards, turret clock.	Sold by tender by Messrs Fuller, Horsey, Son & Co, 1 May 1877, as a single lot for £600.	Harrison, 73, citing <i>City Press</i> 19.10.1867 & 26.10.1867.

ST. BENET PAUL'S WHARF <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.1681-85. • Unknown craftsmen. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Sounding board, font, font cover, Royal Arms, communion rails, communion table, pulpit, reredos.	<i>In situ (sounding board now attached to vestibule ceiling; its support now incorporated in a lectern).</i>	Pevsner CC, 70. Personal inspection, 2015.
Pews.	<i>Cut down, probably late nineteenth century.</i>	Original pews still extant in John Clayton drawing of 1848. Personal inspection, 2015.
Sanctuary chairs (gift of Sir Leoline Jenkins 1682).	<i>Stolen, 1972.</i>	http://www.stbenetwelshchurch.org.uk/pages/StBenet_Brief_History.pdf .

ST. BRIDE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1675-81. • William Grey (J, pulpit, sounding board, reredos, pews, N&S galleries) & Thomas Kennard, John Symes (Js, pews), William Emmett (C, reredos, pulpit sounding board). • Destroyed, 1940 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Reredos, sounding board.	Removed by John Deykes, 1822-23.	<i>Survey (Bride)</i> , 53-54.
Pews.	Reduced in height, probably by Basil Champneys, 1885-86 or 1892-93.	<i>Survey (Bride)</i> , 55.
Communion table and wrought iron communion rails.	Removed by H.M. Fletcher, 1932-34.	<i>Survey (Bride)</i> , 46.
All remaining furnishings, including font & pulpit.	Destroyed, 1940.	Neither Pevsner <i>CC</i> nor <i>Survey (Bride)</i> mention any survivals.

ST. CHRISTOPHER-LE-STOCKS	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1671-74. • William Grey & Mr Eden (Js); Stanbrough (M &/or C). • Demolished, 1782. 		
Reredos, communion rail.	St. Vedast Foster Lane via St. Mary Magdalen, Great Bursted, Essex.	Clarke, 43. Harrison, 61. RCHME <i>Essex</i> vol 4. Litten, 68. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 131-132. Personal inspection, 2011.
Moses & Aaron.	St. Margaret Lothbury.	Harrison, 72. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 101. Personal inspection, 2011.
Pulpit.	St. Nicholas, Canewdon, Essex.	Places.
All other furnishings.	Lost.	

ST. CLEMENT DANES <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1682-87. • Mr Syms (J); Edward Pearce (C). • Destroyed, 1941. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Pulpit.	<i>In situ.</i>	Pevsner <i>Westminster</i> , 291. Personal inspection, 2014.
Communion table with porphyry top.	Removed some time before 1925.	RCHME <i>West London</i> , online edition.
Pews.	Cut down some time before 1925.	RCHME <i>West London</i> , online edition.
All other furnishings.	Destroyed, 1941.	

ST. CLEMENT EASTCHEAP <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1685-89. • Thomas Poultney (J); Jonathan Maine (C). 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Four doorcases, font, font cover, Royal Arms, pulpit, sounding board, bread shelves, communion rails, communion table, reredos.	<i>In situ.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 79. Personal inspection, 2012.
Pews.	<i>Remodelled by Butterfield 1872. Sold 2013.</i>	Diocese. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 79.
South and west galleries.	<i>Removed by Butterfield 1872.</i>	Clarke, 40.

ST. DIONIS BACKCHURCH <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1673-c76. • William Grey & John Blunkett (Js); John Bullymore (C). • Demolished, 1878. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Font, pulpit.	St. Dionis, Parsons Green, Fulham.	Pevsner <i>London North West</i> , 232. Personal inspection, 2012.
Royal Arms.	St. Edmund King & Martyr, possibly via St. Dionis Hall.	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 84. Places. Personal inspection, 2012.
Outermost bays of reredos with columns, carved work, compass pediments.	Churchill Memorial, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, USA. Bays from reredos reworked as doorcases.	Hauer, 293, 384, 397, incorrectly termed “vestry screens”. Comparison with Places confirms they are from the St. Dionis reredos.
Panelling, two doorcases.	St. Paul’s Cathedral, south choir aisle vestry (1973) via St. Dionis Hall, Lime Street (demolished, 1967).	St. Paul’s Cathedral archive. http://spc.adlibhosting.com/detail.aspx . Record: SPCAA/D/11/17/(1-37).
Communion table.	Allegedly moved to St. Dionis, Parsons Green, Fulham but now lost.	Harrison, 64, says that the communion table “is said to be” at St. Dionis, Fulham, implying he was not convinced. Unaccounted for in 2012 (personal inspection).
All other furnishings.	Lost.	

ST. DUNSTAN-IN-THE-EAST <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.1669-73. • Craftsmen unknown. • Rebuilt 1817, destroyed, 1940. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Reredos, pulpit, sounding board, communion table, communion rails, pews.	Sold, 1817-19.	Rogers, 193.
Font.	Removed and sold, c.1817. Later recovered from a Warwickshire garden & returned to St. Dunstan. Destroyed, 1940.	Young, 89.

ST. EDMUND KING & MARTYR <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.1674-76. • Thomas Creecher (J). Other craftsmen unknown. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Four doorcases, font, font cover, churchwardens' pews, pulpit, reader's desk, finials from sounding board (now mounted on choir stalls), communion rails, communion table, reredos.	<i>In situ.</i>	Clarke, 29. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 83-84. Personal inspection, 2014.
Conical sounding board suspended from ceiling.	<i>Removed, probably between 1827 and 1838.</i>	Hatton, vol. 1, 239. Mentioned in Allen, III, 688 (1827) but not in Godwin (1838).
Pews.	<i>Cut down by Butterfield, 1864. Removed at time of conversion to London Centre for Spirituality, 2001.</i>	Diocese.
Royal Arms (Queen Anne, painted glass).	<i>Destroyed, 1941.</i>	Clarke, 29.

ST. GEORGE BOTOLPH LANE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1672-c75. • George Hathaway, Mr Holloway & Andrew Hazell (Js). Other craftsmen unknown. • Demolished, 1904. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Carved work from reredos.	St. Matthew, Wandsworth Bridge Road.	Clarke, 61. Places.
Royal arms, two sword rests.	St. Mary-at-Hill (but in storage since fire of 1988).	Harrison, 72.
Pulpit.	Christ Church, Lufkin, Texas (since 2010), via Christ Church, Fulham.	Diocese. Pevsner <i>London North West</i> , 231.
Reredos (centre panels without pediment), font, font cover, possibly panelling in vestry.	St. John, Algernon Road, West Hendon.	Harrison, 69. Pevsner <i>London North</i> , 157.
Communion rails.	Christ Church, Fulham, removed 1990 in reordering; in storage in the attic (2016).	Diocese (letter from David Faull, Diocesan Registrar, to Rev. C H May, Vicar, 17.4.1990). Email correspondence with Michael Lusty, Christ Church Site Manager, 10.8.2016.
Communion table.	Said to have been moved to St. Silas, Penton Street. Not present in 2016. Presumed lost.	Colvin 1, 929. Harrison, 66. Email correspondence with Father Reyner Wakeling, vicar of St. Silas, 9.8.2016.

ST. JAMES GARLICKHYTHE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, 1682-86. Jonathan Fuller & Robert Layton (Js); William Newman (C); Christopher Kempster (M). 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Font, font cover, churchwardens' pews, communion table.	In situ.	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 93. Personal inspection, 2010.
Pulpit.	Christ Church, Chelsea (1876).	Harrison, 64. Litten, 62. Pevsner <i>London North West</i> , 558. Personal inspection, 2012.
Reredos.	Probably removed, 1815.	Compare Hatton, vol. I, 296 & Malcolm, vol. IV, 7 with Allen, vol. III, 753, suggesting that a more elaborate reredos was replaced by the present simpler one between 1807 (Malcolm) and 1827 (Allen). RCHME, 191, calls the reredos "modern".
Pews.	Reduced in height, 1901.	Rogers, 55.

ST. JAMES PICCADILLY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.1684-86. • Grinling Gibbons (C & M, reredos & font). Other craftsmen unknown. • Largely destroyed, 1940. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Font, marble communion rails, communion table (altered), reredos.	<i>In situ.</i>	Pevsner <i>Westminster</i> , 586. <i>Survey (St. James)</i> , online edition. Personal inspection 2014.
Marble panels in communion rails.	<i>Removed as decayed, 1821. Replaced in bronze.</i>	Pevsner <i>Westminster</i> , 586. <i>Survey (St. James)</i> , online edition.
Pews, pulpit, sounding board.	<i>Presumed lost. Some or all possibly moved in 1822 to Berwick Street chapel (built c.1708 as chapel of ease to St. James. Chapel demolished c.1835 & replaced by St. Luke's which closed, 1935).</i>	<i>Survey (St. James)</i> , online edition.
Font cover.	<i>"Lost".</i>	Pevsner <i>Westminster</i> , 586.

ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, 1676-79. Edward Pearce (C); Richard Kedge (J). Destroyed, 1940. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Reredos.	Removed between 1828 & 1838.	Deduced by contrasting the descriptions in Allen (1828), vol. 3, 371, & Godwin (1838), n.p.
North gallery.	Removed by Butterfield, 1866-67.	Pevsner CC, 96.
All other furnishings.	Destroyed, 1940.	Pevsner CC, 95.

ST. MAGNUS-THE-MARTYR <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, 1675-82. William Grey & Mr Massey (Js); Mr Thomson (C/M, possibly font only). 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Doorcases (remodelled & repositioned), font, font cover, pulpit, sounding board, communion rails, communion table, reredos (adapted).	In situ.	Pevsner CC, 98-99. Personal inspection 2013.
Pews.	Moved to St. Mark's, Kennington, 1924-26; damaged, 1940; then discarded.	Correspondence in the possession of the parish. Photographs in the Lambeth Council archive.

ST. MARGARET LOTHBURY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1687ff. • Unknown craftsmen. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Font, pulpit, communion table, reredos.	In situ.	Pevsner CC, 100-101. ⁴ Personal inspection 2016.
Fronts of reader's desk & clerk's desk.	Probably incorporated in lectern and a chest in the vestibule respectively.	Personal inspection, 2016.
Sounding board.	Removed "some years back" before 1896, possibly converted into a table.	Birch, 132.
Pews.	Removed between 1835 and 1896.	1835 pew plan. Birch, 133.
Communion rails.	Removed c.1894; replaced by rails from All Hallows-the-Great.	Comparison of photographs in Places. ⁵
Royal Arms, Biblical texts in frames hung round the church.	Removed.	Mentioned in Hatton, 324; no longer present.
Font cover.	Stolen during the 1950s.	Conversation with Rev. Jeremy Crossley, rector of St. Margaret Lothbury, 2015.
South gallery (1691).	Removed, 1881.	Pevsner CC, 100.

⁴ Pevsner CC, 100, incorrectly attributes the font to St. Olave Jewry. The font matches the very precise description in Hatton, 324, and should be considered as original to Lothbury. The St. Olave font is now at St. Olave, Woodberry Down (St. Olave Jewry q.v.).

An illustration in Birch, 131, and photograph in Daniell, opposite 206, show that the pulpit from All Hallows-the-Great was installed at Lothbury for a period before being transferred to St. Paul, Hammersmith. The current pulpit matches the description in Hatton, 324, and must therefore have been stored in the intervening period.

⁵ Pevsner CC, 100-101, makes no overt attribution for the communion rails, thereby implying they are original to Lothbury. Comparison of photographs in Places demonstrates they are from All Hallows-the-Great. Their double spiral matches that of the screen.

ST. MARGARET PATTENS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished c.1684-86. • Craftsmen unknown. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Font, font cover, churchwardens' pews, Royal Arms, pulpit.	<i>In situ</i> (font cover not on display).	Pevsner CC, 102. Personal inspection, 2013.
Pews.	Reduced in height, 1879; timbers re-used for benches & choir stalls.	<i>Builder</i> , 15.11.1879, 1272. Clarke, 40. Pevsner CC, 102.
Sounding board, original reredos.	Removed, 1879.	<i>Builder</i> , 15.11.1879, 1272. <i>Wren Society</i> , X, Plate XXVIII (based on an 1848 drawing by John Clayton) shows original reredos. 1840 Thomas Shepherd drawing (Collage) shows pews, pulpit, sounding board, lion & unicorn.
Lion and unicorn.	Stolen, 1994.	http://www.stmargaretpattens.org/pages.php?pid=7 . Replicas now in place.

ST. MARTIN LUDGATE	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished 1680-84. William Grey, Thomas Athew, Mr Draper & Mr Poulden (Js); William Emmett, William Newman & Richard Cleere⁶ (Cs). 		
Four doorcases, font, font cover, pulpit, reader's & clerk's desks (adapted), communion rails, communion table, reredos. ⁷	In situ.	Pevsner CC, 103-104. Personal inspection 2016.
Back panel of pulpit.	Detached from pulpit when sounding board was removed but on display (upside down) as at May 2012. Currently stored.	Personal inspection, 2012. Not subsequently on display.
Pews.	Probably cut down by Ewan Christian, 1892-95.	Original pews visible in 1875 photograph in LAMAS. Pevsner CC, 103.
Sounding board.	Removed some time before 1875, possibly c.1824.	1875 photograph in LAMAS. Pevsner CC, 103.
Royal Arms.	Lost.	The present Royal Arms are Victorian.

⁶ Pevsner CC mentions a Mr. Cooper as carver alongside Newman though this is probably not the case. Cooper is recorded in the churchwardens' accounts as receiving monies owed to Richard Cleere (died c.1682) as his executor, between May 1683 and April 1684: see LMA/P69/MTN1/B/003/MS01313/001, fols. 212r., 214r., 215v.. A William Cooper also received monies owed to Richard Cleere at St Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange in the same period: see LMA/P69/BAT1/B/006/MS04383/001, n.p., Y/E March 1683.

⁷ The font is inscribed and was made for the parish tabernacle in 1673 while the church was still being built. Pevsner CC, 104.

ST. MARY ABCHURCH	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, c.1682-90. Thomas Creecher (pews), William Grey (pulpit) & Thomas Powell (Js); William Emmett (font cover, Royal Arms, N&S doorcases), Grinling Gibbons (reredos), Almandy Howart (communion rails & table), William Newman (pews) (Cs); William Kempster (font) (M). 		
Font, font cover, font rails, poor box, west gallery, Royal Arms, two doorcases, churchwardens' pews, pews against north & south walls, pulpit, sounding board, communion rails, communion table, reredos. ⁸	In situ.	Pevsner CC, 105. Personal inspection 2015.
Fronts of reader's desk and clerk's desk, scrollwork panels from pews.	Incorporated in choir stalls and pew-backs.	Personal inspection, 2015.
Pews.	Removed or adapted, 1878-9.	Clarke, 39. Pevsner CC, 105. RCHME, 43.

⁸ RCHME, Plate 87, shows that the communion rails were removed at one stage. Comparison with the earlier photograph in Birch, Plate XLII, suggests that the present communion rails are the original ones re-instated.

ST. MARY ALDERMANBURY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1673-76. • William Cleere, John Harris (doorcases) & Charles Williams (Js); Thomas Turnly (C). • Destroyed, 1940. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Pediment to reredos, double pews in middle aisle.	<i>Removed by John Wallin, 1844.</i>	Hauer, 293.
Reredos, pulpit, font, pews.	<i>Removed by Edmund Woodthorpe, 1881.</i>	Hauer, 309.
All remaining furnishings.	<i>Destroyed, 1940.</i>	Hauer, 354.

ST. MARY ALDERMARY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1681-c85. • Thomas Bayley & Thomas Powell (Js); Jonathan Maine (C). 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
West doorcase, font, pulpit, communion rails (probably re-used as font rails), communion table. ⁹	<i>In situ.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 107-108. But note Tress & Innes sale particulars include communion rails. Personal inspection 2017.
Reredos, communion rails, reading desk, clerk's desk, sounding board, west gallery, pews, panelling, marble paving, sanctuary steps.	Sold by Messrs Tress & Innes, 1 April 1876.	Clarke, 38. Harrison, 74.
Paintings in blocked windows on north aisle wall (William Thompson, c.1703).	Destroyed, 1823.	Wilson: "These paintings being thought in bad taste, were obliterated during the repair of 1823, and the blanks coloured like the rest of the wall." Opened up & glazed by Tress 1840.

⁹ RCHME, 83, states that the west doorcase at St. Mary Aldermary is from St. Antholin but gives no source. The doorcase matches Hatton, vol. II, 365 description of the Aldermary doorcase and, absent further information relating to St. Antholin, should be assumed to be original to Aldermary.

ST. MARY-LE-BOW <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1673-c77. • William Cleere & Thomas Whyting (Js). Carver unknown. • Destroyed, 1941. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Font.	Given to St. Alban's, Westcliffe-on-Sea, Essex 1899.	Harrison, 61. RCHME, 80.
Gilded volute from external clock.	In vestry.	Byrne & Bush, 107. Personal inspection, 2015.
Sounding board.	Removed some time between 1828 & 1852.	Compare Allen, vol. 3, 437 & <i>Builder</i> , 23.10.1852.
3-decker pulpit.	Components separated by James Pedley, 1867; destroyed, 1941.	<i>Builder</i> , 30.11.1867.
Pews, north, south & west galleries.	Removed by James Pedley, 1867.	Byrne & Bush, 105-6. <i>Builder</i> , 30.11.1867.
Reredos (mostly of 1706).	Remodelled, 1881; destroyed, 1941.	Byrne & Bush, 106. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 108.
All other furnishings.	Destroyed, 1941.	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 108.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.672-c78. • William Cleere (J). Other craftsmen unknown. • Extensive fire damage 1988. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Doorcase, west gallery, communion table, font.	<i>In situ.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 112. Personal inspection, 2015.
Other furnishings (much adapted, mainly by William Gibbs Rogers, 1848-9).	<i>In storage since fire of 1988.</i>	Diocese: extensive fire & water damage; approximately 1/5 pews lost; sounding board mostly burned. Personal inspection 2013.

ST. MARY MAGDALEN, OLD FISH STREET	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished c.1685-87. Richard Kedge (J); Jonathan Maine (C). Extensive fire damage 1886, demolished, 1893. 		
Font bowl.	All Hallows London Wall.	Pevsner CC, 52.
Wainscot, probably from south gallery.	St. Martin Ludgate, incorporated into new pews, c.1892-95.	Pevsner CC, 104. Places, 1886.
Sounding board.	St. Martin Ludgate (used as table in vestry).	Harrison, 72.
Pews, pulpit	Destroyed, 1886: pews by fire, pulpit by falling timbers.	<i>Builder</i> , 11.12.1886, 839-840.
All other furnishings.	A little damaged by fire, 1886, but left exposed to rot.	<i>Builder</i> , 11.12.1886, 839-840. 1886 photos in Places show organ case, pulpit stairs and reredos largely intact after the fire.

ST. MARY SOMERSET <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1695-98. • Samuel Port (J); Jonathan Maine (C). • Demolished, 1869, except tower. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Pulpit.	Holy Trinity Hoxton (possibly via St. Mary Hoxton).	Harrison, 66.
Half of font cover.	Holy Trinity Hoxton (possibly via St. Mary Hoxton); used as corbel for a statue of the Virgin Mary.	Diocese. Places.
Font, communion table, chest.	St. Mary Hoxton; destroyed, 1940/41.	Colvin 1, 930.
Communion table.	St. Nicholas Cole Abbey; presumed destroyed, 1941.	Harrison, 73. RCHME, 174.
All other furnishings.	Lost.	

ST. MATTHEW FRIDAY STREET <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1684-88. • Richard Kedge (J); Roger Humphries (pews only) & Edward Pearce (Cs). • Closed, 1883, demolished, 1886. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Reredos.	Polesden Lacey, Surrey (c.1906). Sold by Fuller, Horsey & Son (1883) to Sir Hubert von Herkomar.	Harrison, 70. Kenworthy-Browne. Personal inspection, 2012.
Font, font cover.	St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe via St. Clement's Fulham.	Pevsner CC, 59.
Pulpit.	St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe via St. Peter's, Reporton Road.	Harrison, 64. Pevsner CC, 59. Personal inspection, 2015.
Communion table (fragments).	St. Vedast Foster Lane.	Harrison, 73. Jeffery, 18. Pevsner CC, 132. However, Clarke, 43, attributes the fragments to All Hallows Bread Street, q.v.
Communion rails.	Installed at St. Vedast Foster Lane by Blomfield, 1885-86. Destroyed, 1940.	RCHME, 112-113. Jeffery, 18-19.
Pews.	Cut down and panels re-used, 1862; sold, 1883 (see immediately below).	Sparrow Sampson, 381.
Royal Arms, lion & unicorn.	Schoolhouse adjacent to St. Vedast Foster Lane, presumed destroyed 1940.	RCHME, 4. Harrison, 73 & Pevsner CC, 132 state that the present Royal Arms in the church are from St. Matthew; however, they are clearly post-War (personal inspection, 2014).

ST. MATTHEW FRIDAY STREET / CONT.	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<p>Lot 1: Wall panelling, 6 pairs of doors & 1 single (not outer doors), oak panelled front of organ gallery. Lot 2: “The Handsome Carved Oak Altar Piece with Corinthian Columns richly gilt, the borders and panels richly carved in fruit and flowers.” Lot 3: Gallery (not front) with staircase, rails & balusters, deal pew frames from gallery, gallery walls & vestry; deal staircase to side gallery; deal flooring & joists of church floor & vestry floor.</p>	<p>Sold by tender by Messrs Fuller, Horsey, Son & Co, 1883.</p>	<p>Guildhall.</p>

ST. MICHAEL BASSISHAW <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1678-80. • John Blinto, Robert Christmas & Francis Ragg (Js). Other craftsmen unknown. • Closed 1893, demolished, 1900. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Plaster Royal Arms & Corporation of London Arms.	Guildhall, London.	Personal inspection, 2012.
Part of reredos.	St. Mary, Old Basing, Hampshire.	Harrison, 61, (citing <i>Builder</i> , 28.4.1900) but no ref on St. Mary's website, Pevsner <i>Hants</i> or Listed Buildings database.
Font and font cover.	S.S. Andrew & Michael West Greenwich until c.1986. Current location unknown.	Harrison, 68. Places. SS Andrew & Michael demolished c.1986 & united with Christ Church, East Greenwich.
Wooden Stuart Royal Arms.	St. Lawrence Jewry, south wall of nave, presumed destroyed, 1940.	Harrison, 71. Litten, 60 & 69. RCHME 63.
Doorcases.	St. Mary's, Islington, presumed destroyed, 1940.	Harrison, 66.
All other furnishings.	Lost.	

ST. MICHAEL CORNHILL <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1671-73. • William Cleere & Mr Thwaite (Js); Mr Richardson & Richard Cleere (Cs). 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Font bowl, communion table, paintings of Moses & Aaron from original reredos retained in Scott's marble reredos, four cherub heads from organ case.	<i>In situ.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 116-117.
Communion rails.	<i>Removed by Butterfield, 1857-60; now at St. Lawrence, Great Waldingfield, Suffolk.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 116. Personal inspection, 2012.
Reredos, adapted as a bookcase.	<i>Removed by Butterfield, 1857-60; now at Old Rectory, Great Waldingfield, Suffolk.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 116. Personal inspection, 2012.
All other furnishings.	<i>Destroyed by Butterfield, 1857-60.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 116.

ST. MICHAEL CROOKED LANE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.1688-90. • Thomas Creecher & John Mitchell (Js); William Newman (C). • Demolished, 1831. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
All furnishings.	<i>Lost.</i>	Colvin 1, 930: "... were offered for sale to the Commissioners for Building New Churches in 1832 (Church Commissioners File 21744, 41/27 (Part 6). Their fate is unknown."

ST. MICHAEL PATERNOSTER ROYAL <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.1689ff. • Craftsmen unknown. • Extensive damage 1944. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Royal Arms, pulpit, sounding board, fragments of communion rails, reredos.	<i>In situ.</i>	Kent, 88. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 118. Personal inspection, 2012.
Pews.	<i>Reduced in height 1886 (Butterfield). Some destroyed, 1944.</i>	Rogers, 81. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 118. Places.
Font (given in 1700 by Abraham Jordan).	<i>Presumed discarded by Butterfield, 1865.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 118.
Pediment of reredos.	<i>Removed (probably in 1820 at the time of James Elmes' restoration).</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 118.

ST. MICHAEL QUEENHITHE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1679-c.81. • Robert Layton (J). Other craftsmen unknown. • Demolished, 1876. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Royal Arms, pews re-fashioned as choir stalls, pew-back screens, Lion/Unicorn, pulpit, sounding board, choir stalls & their backs, communion rails, communion table, 2 doorcases (re-fashioned as screens).	St. James Garlickhythe.	Clarke, 35 & 52. Harrison, 71. Niven, 41. Pevsner CC, 93. Personal inspection, 2010.
Font.	St. Michael Camden, then “disposed of” by Bodley, c.1900.	Harrison, 67 (citing <i>City Press</i> 31.3.1877, 5, col 3). Litten, 60.
Painted canvas reredos depicting Moses & Aaron supported by angels (allegedly repaired by Thornhill 1721).	Destroyed by workmen’s carelessness, 1823.	Hatton, 426. Godwin, n.p.
Lot 1: Oak frames & deal seats of pews in N side of centre aisle. Lot 2: Oak frames & deal seats of pews in S side of centre aisle. Lot 3: Oak panelled framing & capping with doors & frames fixed to N, S & E walls. Lot 4: Oak panelled & glazed partition & doors, panelling of W lobby. Lot 5: Deal flooring & joists under pews & lobby. Lot 6: Oak panelling of front of gallery, with entablature, panels from pews & walls, floor joists, oak staircase & rail, 4 wrought iron supports. Lot 7: Oak staircase in tower, deal panelling, painted & grained panelling in rom above vestry, vestry fittings inc veined marble chimney piece.	Sold by tender for £200 by Messrs Fuller, Horsey, Son & Co, 11 April 1876.	Guildhall; £200 figure is from Harrison, 74 - unclear if these were the proceeds of all lots or not.

ST. MICHAEL WOOD STREET <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, c.673-c80. • John Harris (J); Thomas Hill (M). • Demolished, 1897. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Moses & Aaron.	St. Anne & St. Agnes via St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark.	Harrison, 67. Pevsner CC, 61.
Royal Arms.	St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark.	Harrison, 67.
Communion table.	Moved to St. Alban Wood Street, presumed destroyed, 1940.	RCHME, 90. Harrison, 71.
Pews.	Removed in 1887-88 reordering.	Huelin, 51.
Font, font cover.	Lost.	No location identified.
Lectern, panels in the reredos.	St. Mark's, Kennington via St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark; presumed destroyed, 1940.	Harrison, 66.

ST. MILDRED BREAD STREET	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, c.683ff. Roger Davies & William Cleere (font cover) (Js). Other craftsmen unknown. Destroyed, 1940. 		
Font cover, carved figure of Time (1682-83) above vestry door, Lion & Unicorn on east columns.	St. Anne & St. Agnes.	Pevsner CC, 61. Personal inspection, 2013.
All other furnishings.	Destroyed, 1940.	

ST. MILDRED POULTRY	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, c.676-c82. Matthew Williams (J); Edward Pearce (C). Demolished, 1872. 		
Font, font cover, pulpit (with carving of a ship), possibly communion table.	St. Paul's, Finsbury, destroyed, 1940.	Colvin 1, 930. Harrison, 64-65. Huelin, 53. Places.
All other furnishings.	Lost.	

ST. NICHOLAS COLE ABBEY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished c.1675-78. • Richard Kedge (J).¹⁰ Other craftsmen unknown. • Gutted 1941. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Fragments of reredos incorporated in west screen, Royal Arms, font cover, pulpit, parts of communion rails, acanthus scrollwork from pews.	<i>In situ.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 119. Personal inspection, 2016.
Pews.	<i>Removed by W. Hudson, 1874.</i>	<i>Builder</i> , 30.5.1874.

¹⁰ Pevsner's source for the attribution of the joinery to Kedge is unclear. The parish records are lost.

ST. OLAVE JEWRY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1674-79. • Valentine Houseman (J); Edward Pearce & John Shorthose (Cs). • Demolished, 1891. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Royal Arms.	St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe.	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 59. Personal inspection, 2013.
Communion rails (reused as base of south aisle screen, communion table, centre part of reredos.	St. Margaret Lothbury, in south aisle.	Harrison, 72. Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 100-101. RCHME, 73-74. Personal inspection, 2016.
Font, font cover, pulpit. ¹¹	St. Olave's, Woodberry Down.	Pevsner <i>London North</i> , 535-536.
Sounding board.	Removed some time before 1883.	Collage, drawing by John Emslie, 1883.
Other furnishings.	Lost.	

¹¹ Pevsner *CC*, 100, incorrectly attributes the font at St. Margaret Lothbury to St. Olave Jewry. The font matches the very precise description in Hatton, 324, and should be considered as original to Lothbury. Moreover, Pevsner *London North*, 535-536 locates the St. Olave Jerry font at St. Olave Woodberry Down.

ST. PETER CORNHILL	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, 1680-84. Thomas Poultney & Thomas Athew (Js); William Emmett (C, only £20-worth); Thomas Humphries (M). 		
Doorcases, west gallery, bread shelves, churchwardens' pews, organ case, pulpit, sounding board, screen, font, font cover, communion rails (altered), communion table, reredos.	In situ. Extensive re-ordering, 1872.	Pevsner CC, 123-24. Personal inspection, 2015.
Pews, text boards in reredos.	Removed (probably by J.D. Wyatt, 1872).	Pevsner CC, 123-124.

ST. STEPHEN COLEMAN STREET	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, 1676-c78. Thomas Creecher (J); William Newman (C); Jonathan Maine (C 1698 west gallery only). Destroyed, 1940. 		
All furnishings.	Destroyed, 1940.	Heulin, 69.

ST. STEPHEN WALBROOK <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1677-83. • Roger Davies, Stephen College & Thomas Creecher (Js); William Newman & Jonathan Maine (Cs); Thomas Strong (M). 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Font, font cover, west gallery, Royal Arms, pulpit, sounding board, communion rails, communion table, reredos, Moses & Aaron.	<i>In situ.</i> Reredos altered by William Gibbs Rogers c.1850.	Pevsner CC, 129-130. Personal inspection, 2016.
“Nearly all of the original” statuettes on font cover.	Lost some time before 1851, when copies were added.	<i>BUILDER</i> , 4.1.1851.
Pediment to reredos.	Removed, c.1776.	Pevsner CC, 130. Current pediment is by William Gibbs Rogers, c.1850, based on one of the reject reredos designs of 1678-79; <i>BUILDER</i> , 4.1.1851.
Pews, ogee dome to sounding board.	Removed, probably 1886-87 by Alexander Peebles.	Both extant in 1885 drawing by Edmund Sedding in <i>BUILDER</i> , 3.1.1885. No longer extant in 1896 photographs in Birch, Plates XVII & XVIII. Current ogee dome to sounding board is a replica, 1987: Pevsner CC, 130.

ST. SWITHIN-LONDON-STONE	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Furnished, 1679-86. Roger Davies & Thomas Poultney (Js); Richard Cleere & Edward Pearce (Cs); Samuel Fulkes (M). Gutted 1941, demolished, 1957. 		
Pulpit.	All Hallows-by-the-Tower.	Harrison, 71. Pevsner CC, 50. Personal inspection, 2016.
Font cover.	St. Bride (in storage) via St. Ethelburga.	Diocese. Personal inspection, 2013.
Moses & Aaron c.1708.	Victoria & Albert Museum. Taken down & stored in the church, 1857. Transferred to V&A, 1938.	http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O136640/moses-dummy-board-unknown/ & http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O136641/aaron-dummy-board-unknown/ ¹²
Sounding board.	"Carted away as old timber," 1860.	Leftwich, 12.
Pediment of reredos.	Removed before 1875.	Leftwich, 12.
West gallery.	Removed, 1869.	Birch, 73. Leftwich, 12.

¹² These are not mentioned in Hatton (1708) but are dated to the same year by the V&A.

ST. VEDAST FOSTER LANE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furnished, 1698ff. • John Smallwell (J). Other craftsmen unknown. • Destroyed, 1940. 	CURRENT LOCATION	SOURCES
Gilded dove in a glory from over east window now at west end of south aisle.	<i>In situ.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 132. Personal inspection, 2016.
Pews.	<i>Cut down, 1885-86.</i>	Pevsner <i>CC</i> , 131, says by Ewan Christian. Jeffery, 18, says by Arthur Blomfield.
All other furnishings.	<i>Destroyed, 1940.</i>	

APPENDIX B: LONDON CLERGY, THEIR PATRONS AND AFFILIATIONS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Key and notes on patrons

- + a bishop.
- (+) a future bishop.
- ++ an archbishop.
- (++) a future archbishop.

Names in brackets after “Crown” indicate the Lord Keeper or Lord Chancellor in office at that time, likely to have had an influence on the nomination. Exercise of Crown patronage in this period was mostly managed by the Lord Chancellor or, when there was no Lord Chancellor, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Of these, Lord Clarendon, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Heneage Finch, Sir Francis North, and Lord Jeffreys were all Court party/Tory politicians with only one, Lord Shaftesbury, being a Country party/Whig (and he only held that office for under a year). For discussion of their political loyalties see the relevant entries in the *ODNB*. I.M. Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 53-57, 64-70, illustrates that the process could be chaotic and subject to much petitioning by supplicants, though it is less evident that this had an impact on London appointments than elsewhere.

Names in brackets after reference to a Dean and Chapter (“D/Ch”) of a cathedral indicate the Dean in office at that time, likely to have had more influence on the nomination than other members of the cathedral chapter.

Note that where benefices were united after the Fire, the patrons of the united parishes took turns to present a new incumbent.

Where Clergy and Hennessy conflict on their identification of the patron, the Clergy entry has been preferred, by reason of the underlying source being provided.

PARISH	PATRON	INCUMBENT	INCUMBENT'S CHURCHMANSHIP & OTHER AFFILIATIONS
All Hallows Bread Street	++Sheldon	(+) Edward Fowler, 1673-81	Complex, Cambridge Platonist, anti-Calvinist, anti-Roman Catholic, anti-Quaker, comprehensionist, Erastian (ODNB)
“	D/Ch of St. Paul's ((+) Stillingfleet)	Thomas Blomer, 1681-1723	
All Hallows-the-Great	++Sancroft	William Cave, 1679-89	High Church, Patristic scholar, author of <i>Primitive Christianity</i> and possibly editor of <i>A Collection of Cases</i> (ODNB)
All Hallows Lombard Street	D/Ch of Canterbury ((++) Tillotson)	Humphrey Zouch, 1685-1714	
Christ Church Newgate	D/Ch of Westminster ((++) Dolben)	Edmund Sheering, 1672-90	
St. Alban Wood Street	Provost & Fellows of Eton College	William Robinson, 1662-94	
St. Andrew Holborn	Thomas, Earl of Southampton	(+) Edward Stillingfleet, 1665-89	Latitudinarian, Erastian, controversialist, complex, prolific publisher of sermons, author of <i>The Unreasonableness of Separation</i> and numerous other works (ODNB)
“	Crown (Great Seal in Commission)	(+) John Moore, 1689-91	Low Church, Whig, scholar
“	Crown (Great Seal in Commission)	(+) Thomas Manningham, 1691-1713	High Church, active in the SPCK, “Hanoverian Tory”, regular preacher at Court (ODNB)

PARISH	PATRON	INCUMBENT	INCUMBENT'S CHURCHMANSHIP & OTHER AFFILIATIONS
St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe	Crown (Shaftesbury)	John Stoning, 1673-94	
St. Anne & St. Agnes	+Henchman	Samuel Freeman, 1670-89	
St. Antholin	Crown (Bridgeman)	(+) Benjamin Parry, 1671-73 or 74 ¹	
“	D/Ch of St. Paul's ((++) Sancroft)	William Assheton, 1674-77	Author of numerous tracts hostile to dissent and Roman Catholicism, active in the SPCK, author of devotional pamphlets
“	Crown (Finch)	George Thorp, 1677-78	
“	D/Ch of St. Paul's ((+) Stillingfleet)	Joshua Hodgkis/Hotchkis, 1679-96	
St. Augustine Watling Street	D/Ch of St. Paul's ((+) Stillingfleet)	William Sill, 1680-8	
“	D/Ch of St. Paul's ((+) Stillingfleet)	(+) John Moore, 1687-89	Low-church
St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange	Crown (Finch)	((++) John Sharp, 1675-76	High Church, comprehensionist, Anti-Roman Catholic (James II tried to suspend him), Tory but took oath in 1689 (<i>ODNB</i>)
“	Crown (Finch)	Dr. Benjamin Woodroffe, 1676-1711	Royalist who took the oath in 1689
St. Benet Fink	D/Ch of Windsor (Ryves)	George Evans, 1663-93	
St. Benet Gracechurch Street	D/Ch of Canterbury ((++) Tillotson)	Henry Halstead, 1675-1728	Absentee (Vestry Minutes)

¹ The date of Parry's resignation is uncertain. See entry in Clergy.

PARISH	PATRON	INCUMBENT	INCUMBENT'S CHURCHMANSHIP & OTHER AFFILIATIONS
St. Benet Paul's Wharf	St. Bartholomew's Hospital	Peter Lane, 1662-88	
St. Bride	D/Ch of Westminster ((++) Dolben)	George Stradling, 1672-74	Royalist, theologically Reformed, politically moderate (ODNB)
“	D/Ch of Westminster ((++) Dolben)	Henry Dove, 1674-95	Politically flexible, chaplain successively to Charles II, James II and William and Mary; Active persecutor of dissenters (ODNB) (Walker, 157)
“	D/Ch of Westminster ((+) Sprat)	Peter Birch, 1695-1710	Ardent convert from presbyterianism, High Church, Tory, possible Jacobite sympathies (ODNB)
St. Christopher-le-Stocks	+Henchman	John Hall, 1666-1708	Royalist who took the oath in 1689, author of <i>Grace Leading unto Glory</i> , <i>Jacob's Ladder</i> and other devotional works (ODNB)
St. Clement Danes	Sir Vere Fane	Gregory Hascard, 1678-1708	Royalist, Dean of Windsor 1684-1708
St. Clement Eastcheap	+Henchman	Clement Sankey, 1666-1707	
St. Dionis Backchurch	D/Ch of Canterbury (Turner)	George May, 1665-80	
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	++Juxon	George Gifford, 1661-86	Ex-presbyterian, moderate (Walker, 29, 32, 46, 159-161)

PARISH	PATRON	INCUMBENT	INCUMBENT'S CHURCHMANSHIP & OTHER AFFILIATIONS
St. Edmund-the-King	+Sheldon	John Bradford, 1669-85	
St. George Botolph Lane	Crown (Bridgeman)	William Sherlock, 1669-91	High Church, Royalist, Tory, anti-Roman Catholic, anti-comprehension, <u>briefly</u> non-juror, theological controversialist, author of <i>A Discourse about Church Unity</i> , <i>The Case of Resistance to the Supreme Powers</i> and <i>Protestant Resolution of Faith</i> (ODNB)
St. James Garlickhythe	+Sheldon	James Buck, 1661-85	
“	+Compton	Samuel Alderson, 1685-96	Attacked as “moderate” by L'Estrange (Walker, 161)
St. James Piccadilly	Thomas, Lord Jermyn ²	(++) Thomas Tenison, 1685-92	Latitudinarian, Erastian, anti-Roman Catholic, comprehensionist, Whig, author of <i>Popery not Founded on Scripture</i> and numerous other works (ODNB)
St. Lawrence Jewry	Crown (Bridgman)	Benjamin Whichcote, 1668-83	Cambridge Platonist, rational moralist, moderate, active in the SPCK (ODNB)
St. Magnus-the-Martyr	+Sheldon	Robert Ivory, 1662-1710	
St. Margaret Lothbury	Crown (Bridgeman)	Christopher Flower, 1670-98	

² *Survey (St. James)*, Chapter III, footnote 5.

PARISH	PATRON	INCUMBENT	INCUMBENT'S CHURCHMANSHIP & OTHER AFFILIATIONS
St. Margaret Pattens	Crown (Guilford)	Thomas Wagstaffe, 1684-90	Tory, non-juror, Jacobite, consecrated as a non-juring bishop (ODNB)
St. Martin Ludgate	+Henchman	Charles Smith, 1672-78	
“	+Compton	Edward Pelling, 1678-91	High Church, ceremonialist, Royalist, Tory prosecutor of Whig/dissenters who took oath in 1689, author of <i>The Apostate Protestant</i> (Walker, 150) (ODNB)
St. Mary Abchurch	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Thomas Whincup, 1681-1713	
St. Mary Aldermanbury	The parish	Simon Ford, 1670-76	Ex-presbyterian, moderate, friend of Baxter (Hauer & Young, 184-185) (ODNB)
St. Mary Aldermary	++Sheldon	Thomas Tomkins, 1665-69	Royalist, Sheldonian, pamphleteer, author of <i>The new distemper, or, The dissenter's usual pleas for comprehension, toleration and the renouncing of the covenant, consider'd and discuss'd</i> (ODNB)
“	++Sheldon	John Rudge, 1669-1679	

PARISH	PATRON	INCUMBENT	INCUMBENT'S CHURCHMANSHIP & OTHER AFFILIATIONS
St. Mary-le-Bow	++Juxon	George Smalwood, 1662-79	
“	++Sancroft	Timothy Puller, 1679-93	Anti-toleration/comprehension, pluralist, author of <i>The Moderation of the Church of England</i> (ODNB)
St. Mary-at-Hill	Parish (Sir Charles Alston et al)	Thomas White, 1647-82	
“	Parish (Sir Charles Alston et al)	Edward Lake, 1682-1704	Unclear. Theologically Reformed but loyal to James II but then took oath in 1689 and was hostile to non-jurors, author of <i>Officium eucharisticum</i> (ODNB)
St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street	D/Ch of St. Paul's ((+) Stillingfleet)	William Stanley, 1682-90	Royalist, anti-Catholic, chaplain to Princess Mary, author of <i>The Faith and Practice of a Church of England-Man</i> , Commissioner for 50 New Churches (ODNB)
St. Mary Somerset	+Croft of Hereford	John Rushbach, 1684-1706	
St. Matthew Friday Street	+Henchman	Francis Thompson, 1666-1715	
St. Michael Bassishaw	D/Ch of St. Paul's ((++) Sancroft)	Edward Smith, 1674-1701	
St. Michael Cornhill	Drapers Company	John Meriton, 1664-1704	Ex-presbyterian, comprehensionist (Walker, 32) (ODNB)
St. Michael Crooked Lane	++Sheldon	Richard Pearson, 1675-91	

PARISH	PATRON	INCUMBENT	INCUMBENT'S CHURCHMANSHIP & OTHER AFFILIATIONS
St. Michael-Paternoster-Royal	+Blandford of Worcester	Nathaniel Salter, 1672-84	Active persecutor of dissenters (Walker, 157)
“	D/Ch of Canterbury ((++) Tillotson)	Alexander Innes, 1684-1690	Non-juror
St. Michael Queenhithe	D/Ch of St. Paul's ((++) Sancroft)	John Horden, 1671-91	
St. Michael Wood Street	Parish (William Page et al)	Richard Martyn, 1664-91	Active persecutor of dissenters (Walker, 157)
St. Mildred Bread Street	Sir Nicholas Crisp (Royalist)	William Durham, 1664-84	Ex-presbyterian, friend of +Henchman (ODNB)
St. Mildred Poultry	Crown (Clarendon)	Richard Perrinchief, 1660-73	Royalist, vigorously anti-toleration/comprehension, author of <i>The Royal Martyr</i> and <i>Indulgence not Justified</i> (ODNB)
“	Crown (Shaftesbury)	(+) John Williams, 1673-96	Anti-Roman Catholic, probably Exclusionist, comprehensionist, controversialist, defended the veracity of the Popish Plot (ODNB)
St. Nicholas Cole Abbey	Crown (Clarendon)	Thomas Meriton, 1661-1705	Ex-presbyterian, attacked by L'Estrange as “moderate” (Walker, 29, 161, 185)

PARISH	PATRON	INCUMBENT	INCUMBENT'S CHURCHMANSHIP & OTHER AFFILIATIONS
St. Olave Jewry	Crown (Clarendon)	Henry Hibbert, 1662-78	Sequestered Royalist who became an Interregnum conformist, ejected in 1660 and then conformed, chaplain to Duke of York (ODNB)
“	Crown (Finch)	Thomas Green, 1678-[d.1720]	A moderate who worked with dissenters in his parish. (Green: <i>A Vindication of Thomas Greene</i> (1711).)
St. Peter Cornhill	Lord Mayor & Aldermen	(+) William Beveridge, 1672-1704	Reformed, Patristic scholar, active in the SPCK, author of <i>A Sermon Concerning the Excellency and Usefulness of the Common Prayer</i> (ODNB)
St. Stephen Coleman Street	Parish	Thomas Neast, 1671-78	
“	Parish	Richard Lucas, 1678-1715	Moderate, possibly comprehensionist, author of devotional works including <i>Practical Christianity</i> and <i>Enquiry after Happiness</i> (ODNB)
St. Stephen Walbrook	Grocers Company	Robert Marriot, 1662-89	
St. Swithin-London-Stone	Thomas Arthington	Richard Owen, 1638-43 & 60-83	Sequestered Royalist (ODNB)
“	Salters Company	William Basset, 1683-96	High Church, ceremonialist, fiercely anti-dissent (ODNB)
St. Vedast	++Sheldon	William Master, 1671-84	Interregnum conformist, Sheldonian loyalist (ODNB)

APPENDIX C: UNITED PARISHES AND THEIR VESTRIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The source for identifying whether a vestry was select or general and (in some instances) the composition of the vestry (e.g. the number of members) is the relevant entry in Hatton, *New View*, except where indicated in a footnote. These latter other sources are later in date than Hatton (1708) and should not be assumed to be 100% accurate for the late seventeenth century, given the option for the form of a vestry to be changed.

The fifteen parishes with select vestries are indicated in **bold**.

CHURCHES REBUILT	VESTRY	VESTRY	RELATED CHURCH NOT REBUILT
All Hallows Bread Street	General	General	St. John-the-Evangelist Friday Street ¹
All Hallows Lombard Street	General	-	-
All Hallows-the-Great	Select (31)	General	All Hallows-the-Less
Christ Church Newgate	General	Select (office holders & former office holders)	St. Leonard Foster Lane²
St. Alban Wood Street	General	General	St. Olave Silver Street ³

¹ John Entick, *A New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster and Southwark* (London: 1766), III, 418.

² *The London Magazine*, 36, 1767, 382.

³ Entick, *Survey*, IV, 125.

CHURCHES REBUILT	VESTRY	VESTRY	RELATED CHURCH NOT REBUILT
St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe	Select	General	St. Anne Blackfriars
St. Andrew Holborn	Select (“about 12”)	-	-
St. Anne & St. Agnes	General	General	St. John Zachary
St. Antholin	General	General	St. John-the-Baptist-upon-Walbrook ⁴
St. Augustine Watling Street	Select	General	St. Faith-under-St. Paul’s ⁵
St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange	General	-	-
St. Benet Fink	General	-	-
St. Benet Gracechurch Street	Select	Select	St. Leonard Eastcheap
St. Benet Paul’s Wharf	General	General	St. Peter Paul’s Wharf
St. Bride	General	-	-
St. Christopher le Stocks	General	-	-
St. Clement Danes	Select	-	-
St. Clement Eastcheap	General	General	St. Martin Orgar
St. Dionis Backchurch	General	-	-
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	Select (rector + 30)	-	-

⁴ *The London Magazine*, 35, 1766, 504.

⁵ *The London Magazine*, 36, 1767, 382.

CHURCHES REBUILT	VESTRY	VESTRY	RELATED CHURCH NOT REBUILT
St. Edmund King & Martyr	General	General	St. Nicholas Acons
St. George Botolph Lane	General	General	St. Botolph Billingsgate
St. James Garlickhythe	General	-	-
St. James Piccadilly	Select (rector, wardens + 34)	-	-
St. Lawrence Jewry	General	[unknown]	St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street
St. Magnus-the-Martyr	Select (32)	General	St. Margaret New Fish Street
St. Margaret Lothbury	General	-	-
St. Margaret Pattens	General	General	St. Gabriel Fenchurch Street
St. Martin Ludgate	General	-	-
St. Mary Abchurch	General	General	St. Laurence Pountney
St. Mary Aldermanbury	General	-	-
St. Mary Aldermary	General	General	St. Thomas-the-Apostle
St. Mary-le-Bow	General	General x 2	St. Pancras Soper Lane & All Hallows Honey Lane
St. Mary-at-Hill	Select (wardens + former wardens)	[unknown]	St. Andrew Hubbard
St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street	General	General	St. Gregory-by-St. Paul's
St. Mary Somerset	Select	General	St. Mary Mounthaw

CHURCHES REBUILT	VESTRY	VESTRY	RELATED CHURCH NOT REBUILT
St. Matthew Friday Street	General	General	St. Peter Westcheap
St. Michael Bassishaw	General	-	-
St. Micheal Cornhill	General	-	-
St. Michael Crooked Lane	General	-	-
St. Michael Paternoster Royal	General	General	St. Martin Vintry
St. Michael Queenhithe	Select (Constables & above)	General	Holy Trinity-the-Less
St. Michael Wood Street	General	General	St. Mary Staining
St. Mildred Bread Street	General	General	St. Margaret Moses
St. Mildred Poultry	Select	General	St. Mary Colechurch
St. Nicholas Cole Abbey	General	General	St. Nicholas Olave
St. Olave Jewry	General	General	St. Martin Pomary
St. Peter Cornhill	Select (30)	-	-
St. Stephen Coleman Street	General (select “in some cases”)	-	-
St. Stephen Walbrook	Select	General	St. Benet Sherehog
St. Swithin-London-Stone	General	General	St. Mary Bothaw
St. Vedast	General	General	St. Michael-le-Querne

APPENDIX D: BENEFACTORS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This table sets out high-level details of the 171 benefactors identified in parish records and other sources.

- The source for names of benefactors is parish records, save where indicated by footnote;
- Details of civic office holdings are taken from *Rulers*;
- Details of membership of Parliament, political allegiance, and having sympathies for presbyterians are taken from the relevant entry in *Rulers*, *Parliament* and/or *ODNB*; note that without specific evidence, Whig political allegiance is not automatically taken to imply presbyterian sympathies;
- * indicates that the name is recorded on a benefactors board but the actual benefaction is unknown;
- [A] Indicates that the person was elected as Alderman but paid a fine to be discharged of the responsibility;
- The light grey shading is used to help differentiate alternating parishes; and
- Note that other biographical information is available for many donors which is not susceptible to summary in tabular form but which has informed the discussion of benefactors in Chapter 1.
- Benefactions towards organs have been included in this table as they contribute to understanding patterns of giving, notwithstanding that organs are outwith the scope of this thesis.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
All Hallows-the-Great	Anne Elionora Challoner	Pulpit cloth											
“	Theodore Jacobsen	Pulpit & sounding board						M					
“	Richard Smart ¹	Branch											
All Hallows Lombard Street	Rev. Dr. John Aucher DD	*										T	
“	Edward Beard	*											
“	Mrs. Bridget Elson	*											
“	Thomas Fielder	*											
“	Thomas Jenney ²	£86											
“	Thomas Lowfield	*								P			
“	Robert Stokes	*											
“	Sir John Sweetapple	£86	CC			S					W		K
“	Rev. Humphrey Zouch	*											

¹ Hatton, 1, 107.

² Ibid., 109, though unclear if this is in the context of the rebuilding.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Alban Wood Street	Benjamin Harvey ³	Font											
St. Andrew Holborn	Sir Thomas Hodgson ⁴	Stained glass Royal Arms											K
St. Antholin	Mr. Howland	£12 10s towards the reredos											
“	William Potte	£50 towards pulpit & pewing	CC									T	
“	Sir Thomas Middleton	£50											K
St. Augustine Watling Street ⁵	Dame Margaret Ayloffé	£100 twds pews											
“	Rev. Dr. Thomas Holbech	£100 twds pews											
St. Benet Fink	Sarah Gregory	£100 towards organ ⁶											
“	George Holman	£1,000											
“	Robert & Rebeckah Stamper ⁷	Plate											
“	Michael & Rebekah Totty ⁸	Plate											

³ Malcolm, II, 311.

⁴ Ibid., 202.

⁵ Hatton, 1, 137.

⁶ Malcolm, II, 463.

⁷ Gents Mag 1836, 5, 258.

⁸ Ibid.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Benet Gracechurch Street	Thomas Carnall	Branch											
“	Roger Mingay	Font	CC									T	
St. Benet Paul's Wharf	Eleanor James ⁹	Plate & paving round font											
“	Sir Leoline Jenkins ¹⁰	Communion table, chairs											K
“	“CM” ¹¹	Pulpit											
“	Sir Robert Wyseman ¹²	N/A											K
St. Bride ¹³	Rev. Paul Boston	Church plate											
“	Sir Thomas Fitch Bt	3 branches worth £61 16s											K
“	Sir John King	£50										T	K
“	Sir Edward Lutwyche	Altar cloth worth £31 5s										T	K
“	Dr. Jasper Needham MD	Plate & books worth £46											

⁹ RCHME, 56.

¹⁰ Pevsner *CC*, 70.

¹¹ Inscription on pulpit “Donum CM 1683”.

¹² Hibbert, 747, describes Wyseman as a benefactor to St. Benet but gives no source and does not specify the nature of the benefaction.

¹³ Hatton, 1, 173. Strype, I, 783.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Bride / cont.	Sir Edward Rich	£10											K
“	Sir John Thorowgood	£100											K
“	Sir Thomas Trevor Bt KB	£50											K
“	John Turner	Poor box, plate worth £58											
“	Sir Jeremy Whichcote Bt	Velvet pulpit cloth & table worth £110											K
“	Sir Hugh Wyndham	£10											K
St. Clement Eastcheap	Dr. Baldwin Hamey MD ¹⁴	*								P			
St. Dionis Backchurch ¹⁵	Sir Thomas Cullum Bt	Marble paving for sanctuary			A	S					W		K
“	Sir Robert Geffery	Plate, carpet & cushion, £5	CC	D	A	S	LM	M				T	K
“	John Hall	£10 towards clock	CC								W		
“	Very Rev. Nathaniel Hardy	£50								P			
“	Elizabeth Hardy	£30 towards pulpit & desks											

¹⁴ ODNB.

¹⁵ Hatton, 1, 210.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Dionis Backchurch / cont.	Sir Arthur Ingram	Communion table & rails	CC		[A]								K
“	Philip Jackson	Reredos											
“	Elizabeth Jackson	Damask table cloth for comm. table.											
“	Daniel Rawlinson	Branch	CC					M					
“	Sir Henry Tulse	Font, pavement & steps	CC		A	S	LM					T	K
“	Thomas Turgis MP	West gallery			[A]				MP		W>	>T	
“	Mr. Williams	£25											
St. Dunstan-in-the-East ¹⁶	Sir Bernard Hyde	*											K
“	Sir John Moore MP	*	CC		[A]	S	LM	M	MP		W>	>T	K
“	Sir William Russell MP	*	CC		[A]			M	MP			T	K
“	Lady Dionysis Williamson	£4,000											

¹⁶ Daniell, 169.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. James Garlickhythe	John Coleman	£20	CC					M			W		
“	Thomas Eyre	£10	CC	D						P	W		
“	Peter Jones	£20	CC									T	
St. James Piccadilly ¹⁷	Earl of St. Albans	Building											K
“	Sir Robert Gayre	Reredos & church plate							MP				
“	Henry Murrell	£694 legacy											
St. Lawrence Jewry	Sir John Langham Bt	£250		D	A	S			MP	P			K
“	Rt. Rev. Edward Reynolds	£50								P			
St. Magnus-the-Martyr	Mr. Collier	£10 towards communion rails		D									
“	Sir Peter Daniel MP ¹⁸	Branch	CC	D	A	S		M	MP			T	K
“	Robert Dickins	Churchwardens' pew & books											
“	Sir Charles Duncombe MP	£184 for clock			A	S	LM	M	MP			T	K

¹⁷ *Survey (St. James).*

¹⁸ *Strype, I, 443.*

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Magnus-the-Martyr / cont.	Ann Frend	£100 legacy											
“	Henry Freeman	Font (jointly with 2 others)											
“	Sackford Gunson ¹⁹	Wainscot in vestry								P			
“	Thomas Passinger	Font (jointly with 2 others)										T	
“	Lady Philips	£100 legacy											
“	Edward Pitt	£25	CC										
“	Sir Thomas Player MP	£10	CC	D					MP	P	W		K
“	Thomas Powell	Bible	CC							P			
“	Capt. William Richardson	Font (jointly with 2 others)											
“	Sir John Shaw MP	£10							MP				K
“	Nicholas Smith	£10 towards communion rails	CC	D								T	
“	Robert Tainton ²⁰	Royal Arms											

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Margaret Lothbury	James Boddington ²¹	Wainscot in vestry	CC										
“	John Hanson ²²	£50											
“	Jeremy Elwey ²³	£10											
“	Sir Edward Foach ²⁴	£10											
“	Jane Hopegood ²⁵	£15											
“	John Jackson ²⁶	Bible & 3 prayer books											
“	Jane Rutter ²⁷	Font cover											
“	Elizabeth Tulse, Lady Onslow ²⁸	£15											
“	Robert Whittingham ²⁹	£10											

²¹ Hatton, 1, 324.

²² Ibid., 325.

²³ Strype, I, 564.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Martin Ludgate	Dr. Downes	2 gilt pattens											
“	Richard Hawkins	Pulpit & sounding board	CC		A						W		
“	Thomas Morley ³⁰	Font											
“	Rev. Edward Pelling	Bible & BCP										T	
“	William Symonds	½ share of reredos, table & rails											
“	William Warne	½ share of reredos, table & rails	CC									T	
St. Mary Abchurch	Richard Bowcher	Branch											
“	John Pemmell	2 silver flaggons	CC										
St. Mary Aldermanbury	Richard Chandler	Font			[A]								
“	Michael Lane	£40											
“	Sir John Langham Bt	£350		D	A	S			MP	P			K
“	Mr. Page	£10											
“	Walter Pell ³¹	£100			A					P			

³⁰ Godwin, n.p..

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Mary Aldermanbury / cont.	William Prinne	£10											
“	Mr. Smith’s family	£50 towards pulpit											
“	Mr. Walters	£100											
St. Mary Aldermary ³²	Henry Rogers	£5000 legacy											
“	Dutton Seaman ³³	Font											
“	Dame Jane Smith ³⁴	Reredos, comm. table frame & rails											
“	Edward Watts ³⁵	Marble top for communion table											
St. Mary-at-Hill ³⁶	John Cary	£40 towards organ											
“	Mr. Green	£30 towards organ											
“	J Jefferys	£20 towards organ											
“	Rev. Dr. Edward Lake	£10 towards organ											

³¹ LAMAS (1948), 9, 155 et al.

³² Hatton, 2, 366 records the east window as being given by Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. As the Mountjoy barony was extinct at this time this may memorialise the donor of the pre-Fire window.

³³ The font is inscribed “‘Dutton Seaman, generos’. natus in hac Parochia anno Salut 1627 ac in ejusdem ecclesia renatus, hoc baptisterion, Nov 1682, lubens dedit.”

³⁴ Hatton, 2, 365.

³⁵ The top of the table is inscribed “Edvardus Watts, Merc. Lond.”

³⁶ Hatton, 2, 375.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Mary-le-Bow	Lady Elizabeth Alington	£100											
“	Sir Robert Clayton	£10			A	S	LM	M	MP	P	W		K
“	Francis Dashwood	Font & £10											
“	Sir John Langham Bt	£100		D	A	S			MP	P			K
“	Mr. Lant	£10											
“	Mr. Lewis	£10											
“	Sir William Peake	£5			A	S	LM					T	K
“	Sir Joseph Sheldon	£20			A	S	LM	M					K
“	Sir Samuel Starling	£20			A	S	LM						
“	Sir Robert Vyner Bt	£100			A	S	LM						K
“	Lady Dionysis Williamson	£2,000											
St. Mary Somerset	John Tooley ³⁷	Font & vestry wainscot	CC	D							W		

³⁷ Hatton, 2, 405.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Matthew Friday Street	Sir Edward Clarke	Gallery front, Roy. Arms (with Sandford)	CC	D	A	S	LM	M		P	W		K
“	Miles Martin	2 branches (jointly with Shipton)	CC										
“	John Pratt	N/A											
“	Thomas Sandford	Gallery front, Royal Arms (with Clarke)											
“	Capt John Shipton	2 branches (jointly with Martin)											
“	James Smith	Reredos, comm. table & rails											
St. Michael Bassishaw	Sir Christopher Packe	£100		D	A		LM		MP	P			K
St. Michael Cornhill	Anne Bourne	£12											
“	James Clitherow	£50											
“	Sir John Langham Bt	£500		D	A	S			MP	P			K
“	Sir John Monson Bt MP	£20							MP	P	W		K
“	John Paul	Font	CC								W		
“	Sir Andrew Riccard MP	£50			A	S		M	MP	P			K
“	Mary Scottow	£20											

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Michael Queenhithe	Mr. & Mrs. John Oliver	Silver salver & linen for comm. table	CC										
St. Michael-Paternoster-Royal	Abraham Jordan ³⁸	Font											
St. Michael Wood Street	Elizabeth Browning	£10											
“	William Harvey ³⁹	£100			[A]								
“	John Mould	£10											
St. Mildred Bread Street	Major Robert Huntington	Bible, Prayer Book et al											
“	Nathaniell Lacey	2 carpets for communion table											
“	John Matthias Owen	Velvet cushion with fringe											
“	Benjamin Williams ⁴⁰	Figure of Time											

³⁸ Allen, 3, 756.

³⁹ LAMAS, (1), 1905, 263.

⁴⁰ Hatton, 2, 434.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Mildred Poultry	Lady Elizabeth Alington	£200											
“	Robert Brabant ⁴¹	Font, font cover and rails											
“	Sir Ralph Box	Wainscot in vestry	CC					M				T	K
“	Richard Dauling ⁴²	Churchyard wall & gate											
“	Henry Dixon ⁴³	£10 towards pulpit											
“	Francis Edmonds ⁴⁴	£10 towards pulpit											
“	Thomas Mallory ⁴⁵	£10 towards pulpit											
“	Lewis Newnham ⁴⁶	Branch worth £40											
“	Ambrose Nicholas	£6 10s twds bell											
“	Edward Shawler ⁴⁷	£20 towards clock											

⁴¹ Milbourn, 71.

⁴² Ibid., 72-73.

⁴³ Ibid., 71.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 73.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Mildred Poultry / cont.	John Turvin ⁴⁸	£20 towards clock											
St. Olave Jewry	Sir John Frederick	£12 for wainscot; £150 legacy in 1685 ⁴⁹			A	S	LM	M	MP	P	W		K
“	Mr. Hartleye	Branch worth £11											
“	Robert Harvey	£5											
“	Sir Joseph Herne MP	£10 towards font			[A]				MP			T	K
“	Augustine/Augustus Newbold	£10 15s towards commandment boards	CC	D									
St. Peter Cornhill	Richard Blackburne ⁵⁰	£150						MP					
“	Samuel Purchas ⁵¹	Font											
St. Stephen Coleman	Sir William Fazackerly	Gallery	CC	D								T	K

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Hotson, 77, (in relation to Frederick's legacy) though note that by 1685 the church was probably fully furnished.

⁵⁰ http://www.londonroll.org/event/?company=drp&event_id=DRHT4236 (though not recorded in *Rulers*).

⁵¹ Recorded as donor of the font on memorial to his wife.

PARISH CHURCH	BENEFACTOR	BENEFACTION	COMMON COUNCILMAN	DEPUTY	ALDERMAN	SHERIFF	LORD MAYOR	MASTER OF COMPANY	MP	PRESBYTERIAN SYMPATHIES	WHIG/COUNTRY PARTY	TORY/COURT PARTY	KNIGHT OR BARONET
St. Stephen Walbrook	Sir Thomas Chicheley MP ⁵²	£100						M	MP			T	K
“	Grocers Company	*											
“	William Hodges	£10											
St. Vedast	John Davenport ⁵³	Bell										T	
“	Peter Pickering ⁵⁴	Bell	CC									T	
TOTALS ⁵⁵	171 benefactors		31	12	24	16	12	16	16	16	15	24	39

⁵² *Parliament.*

⁵³ *Rulers* mentions two John Davenports of St. Vedast parish, father and son, both of whom were Tory. See also Love.

⁵⁴ Love.

⁵⁵ All totals have been adjusted to account for multiple benefactions, such as those of Sir John Langham.

APPENDIX E: CONTRACT OF ST. PETER CORNHILL WITH THOMAS POULTNEY AND THOMAS ATHEW, 5 AUGUST 1680

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The contract as written directly in the vestry minutes has no punctuation or paragraphs. It has been transcribed here with paragraphs for ease of reading.¹

THE TRANSCRIPTION

It was voted and ordered that Thomas Poultny and Thomas Athew Citizens and Joyners of London their Executors Administrators workemen servants and Assignees or some of them shall or some of their owne proper costs and Charges on or before the first day of Aprill now next coming (if not hindered by Carpenters plasterers or Masons worke) well strong substantiall handsome Convenient and workmanlike make build erect sett up and finish in the afore mentioned parish Church of St. Peter upon Cornhill London for the severall prices hereafter mentioned

All such pewes and seates and Screene and pulpitt according to the severall formes and fashions as are particularly described in the particular plotts and Schemes hereunto annexed and of the severall hights demencons and thicknesses herein after particularly mentioned and expressed (that is to say)

All the pewes that shall be made and sett up in the body of the said Church of St. Peter upon Cornhill shall be of the hight of three foot and Eight Inches above the floor and all the pewes in the Chancell shall be of the hight of three foot and nine Inches above the floor

And that the pillars and walls in the said Church shall be lined nyne foot high or their about above the floore and that the Screene which shall divide the body of the said Church from the

¹ LMA/P69/PET1/B/001/MS04165/001, fol. 489-492.

Chancell shall be thirteene foot high above the pavement and made according to the Modell hereinto annexed

And that all the fronts of the pewes shall be framed with Wainscott Inch and halfe thicke and mitered with an O G: on both sides and a [raile?] laid on the out side of the framing and the panells three quarters of an Inch thicke raised on both sides

All the porticons shall be framed with Wainscott Inch and halfe thick and mittered with an O G on both sides and the panells three quarters of an Inch thick raised on both sides under the benches excepted which shall be wrought as plaine worke the Wallworke and Casing the pillars shall be framed with Wainscott one Inch thick and mittered with an O G and the panells halfe Inch thick raised

All the Deske boards shall be of Wainscot three-quarters of an Inch thick and Eight Inches broad more or less (as shall be directed) with the Bracketts not to be measured in)

All the benches shall be made of well seasoned yellow Drame Deale without knotts or holes and shall be a foot broad more or less (as shall be directed) and Inch and halfe thick the foote for the benches not to be measured or paid for the Screene shall be framed with Wainscott three Inch thick and panells one Inch and a quarter thick raised on both sides

And that the fronts and particons is of the pewes the Wallworke and lining of the pillars as aforesaid shall be all measured straight measure in length and hight the skreene only as worke and halfe (the Kings Armes above the screene Excepted)

And shall and will also make an sett up the Kings Armes upon the Screene aforementioned raised faire on both sides which shall appeare on both sides the said Screene and shall be well and workemanlike wrought in Wainscott according to the best [] skill of the trade or mistery of a Carver

And shall and will make an sett up a Wainscott pulpitt with the Canopy staires rales and Carving worke belonging to it according to the forme of the Modell hereunto also annexed

And further that all the Wainscott that shall be used in and about the severall pewes Wallworke lining of the pillars Skreene Kings Armes and pulpitt shall be made of good cleane sound well coloured well dried well seasoned and well matched East Country Wainscott without white or red veins sap knotts or holes in the framing panelling or moulding worke

And shall and will also handsome and workemanlike sett on the hinges and locks that is to say A paire of hinges and a locke to each doore.

Item

that the fronts of all the aforesaid pewes shall be done after the rate of Eight shillings per yard measuring gone side the particons of all the pewes shall be done after the rate of six shillings per

yard measuring one side the Wallworke and Casing of the pillars shall be done after the rate of five shillings per yard

The Deske boards shall be done after the rate of fower pence per foot

The benches shall be done after the rate of five pence per foot

The Screene and Carveing worke about the same according to the Moddell aforesaid shall be done after the rate of Ten shillings per yard Except the Kings Armes which shall be done for the sume of Eight pounds

The pulpitt Canopy railes and staires belonging to itt according to the Moddell shall be done for the sum of Thirtie pounds

Item

all the benches shall be borne up with standards of Deale and is not to be measured but to goe into the benching at two pence a foote

And the said Thomas Poultny and Thomas Athew for themselves and either of them their and either of their Executors Administrators and assignees and for every of them doe and doth Covenant promise and grant to and with the said Thomas Seal and William Shippy and their Successors Churchwardens of the said parish of St. Peter upon Cornhill London for the tyme being and to and with every of them by these presents that they the said Thomas Poultny and Thomas Athew their Executors Administrators workemen servants or Assignes shall and will at their or some of their owne proper costs and charges on all before the said first day of Aprill now next coming for the severall rates and prices afore expressed well and sufficiently strong substantiall handsome Convenient and workman like make build direct sett up and finish in the aforementioned parish Church of St. Peter upon Cornhill London all the pewes and seates together with the Screene and pulpitt according to the severall formes and fashions hights demencons and thicknesses aforemenconed and Expressed and according to the good likeing or Judgement of two such persons who shall be able workmen as the Comitte Chosen for the same by the vestry men of the said parish shall appoint provided that noe person or persons shall be Ajudger of the said worke that weere any of the Joyners whoe putt in to doe the same

In Consideracon of all the said Worke to be done compleated and finished according to the severall particulars aforesaid and true meaning hereof It is voted and ordered by the said vestry that the monys which the said Worke shall amount unto after the severall rates and prices aforemenconed shall be paid to the said Thomas Poultny and Thomas Athew their Executors Administrators or Assignes in manner following that is to say the sume of one hundred pounds upon the said Thomas Poultny and Thomas Athew their Executors Administrators or Assignes bringing in of the said worke into the said parish Church of St. Peter upon Cornhill the sume of one hundred pounds more upon their fixeing and

setting up of the said pewes pulpitt and Screene in the said parish Church and the remainder of the mony as the said worke shall amount unto after the severall rates and prices aforesaid within two Months next after the Compleat finishing of the worke aforesaid in every respect accordinge to the true intent and meaneing hereof

In Witness whereof the said Thomas Poultney and Thomas Athew have hereunto sett their hands and seales the day and year first above written.

Bonded and desired
In the persone of

Tho: Poultney

Thomas Athew

Christo: Cole

Lancelott Skynner

APPENDIX F: JOINERS & CARVERS WORKING IN THE CITY CHURCHES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This appendix lists the joiners and carvers recorded and otherwise identified as having worked at the new City churches. Where records allow, particular items which they produced are mentioned, though the haphazard nature of parish records in particular means that these should not be taken as exhaustive. The sources – especially in parish records – are too numerous to give individual folio or page references.

TABLE F.1: JOINERS

Thomas Athew

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Martin Ludgate, St. Peter Cornhill.
- (Sources: parish records).

Thomas Bayley

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Mary Aldermary (pews).
- (Sources: Colvin 2, parish records).

John Blinto

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Michael Bassishaw (communion table, reredos).
- (Sources: parish records).

John Blunkett

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Dionis Backchurch.
- (Sources: parish records).

Robert Christmas

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Michael Bassishaw (pews).
- (Sources: parish records).

William Cleere (fl. 1662-1690; brother of Richard, the carver)

- City churches as building joiner: All Hallows Bread Street, All Hallows-the-Great, St. Alban Wood Street, St. Antholin, St. Benet Gracechurch Street, St. Benet Paul's Wharf, St. Benet Fink, St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, St. Bride, St. Dionis Backchurch, St. George Botolph Lane, St. James Garlickhythe, St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Magnus-the-Martyr, Lothbury, St. Margaret Pattens, St. Mary Abchurch, St. Mary-at-Hill, St. Mary Somerset, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Matthew Friday Street, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Mildred Bread Street, St. Mildred Poultry, St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, St. Peter Cornhill, St. Stephen Coleman, St. Swithin-London-Stone.
- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Mary-le-Bow (everything except galleries), St. James Piccadilly, St. Magnus-the-Martyr, St. Mary-at-Hill, St. Mary Aldermanbury (pews), St. Michael Cornhill, St. Swithin-London-Stone.
- Office of Works: Chelsea, Whitehall.
- Other work for Wren: Sheldonian Theatre, the Great Model of St. Paul's Cathedral.
- Aristocratic commissions: Badminton, Stowe House (as architect).
- Other: Divinity School Oxford.
- (Sources: parish records, Smith, Wren Society).

Stephen College (fl. 1670-81)

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Stephen Walbrook (panelling, pews).
- (Source: parish records).

Thomas Cooper

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Antholin (pews).
- (Sources: parish records).

Thomas Creecher

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Edmund the King, St. Mary Abchurch (two doorcases, Churchwardens' pews, pews, poor box), St. Mary Aldermary, St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Stephen Coleman, Street (doorcases, pews), Stephen Walbrook (communion table, rails, doorcases, pulpit, tester, reredos, west gallery), St. Swithin-London-Stone.
- (Sources: Colvin 2, parish records).

Roger Davies (fl. 1671-1709)

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, St. Mildred Bread Street (pews), St. Stephen Walbrook (panelling, pews), St. Swithin-London-Stone.
- Office of Works: Chelsea, Greenwich, Whitehall.
- Other work for Wren: St. Paul's Cathedral.
- Aristocratic commissions: Boughton, Burghley, Ragley Hall.
- Other: Apothecaries Hall, Canterbury Cathedral.
- (Sources: Beard, parish records, Wren Office, *Wren Society*).

Mr Draper

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Martin Ludgate (pews).
- (Source: parish records).

Mr Emery

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Mary Aldermanbury.
- (Source: parish records).

John/Jonathan Fuller

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Anne and St. Agnes, St. James Garlickhythe.
- (Source: parish records).

William Grey

- City churches as furnishing joiner: All Hallows Lombard Street, St. Antholin (pulpit), St. Benet Fink, St. Bride (pews including in galleries, pulpit, reredos), St. Christopher-le-Stocks, St. Dionis Backchurch, St. Magnus-the-Martyr (pulpit), St. Martin Ludgate (pulpit, south doorcases), St. Mary Abchurch (communion rails, pulpit, tester), St. Mary Aldermary (pulpit).
- (Source: parish records, Pevsner *CC*).

John Harris

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Mary Aldermanbury (two doorcases), [probably] St. Michael Wood Street (font cover).
- (Source: parish records).

George Hathaway

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. George Botolph Lane.
- (Source: parish records).

Andrew Hazell

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. George Botolph Lane.
- (Source: parish records).

Mr Holloway

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. George Botolph Lane.
- (Source: parish records).

Valentine Houseman

- City churches as building joiner: St. Olave Jewry.
- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Andrew Holborn, St. Olave Jewry.
- (Source: parish records, *Wren Society*).

Richard Kedge

- City churches as building joiner: St. Margaret Old Fish Street.
- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street (pews), St. Matthew Friday Street, St. Nicholas Cole Abbey (reredos, pulpit, font cover), St. Swithin-London-Stone (font cover).
- (Sources: parish records, Pevsner *CC*, *Wren Society*).

Thomas Kennard

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Bride (pews).
- (Sources: parish records).

Robert Layton

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. James Garlickhythe, St. Michael Queenhithe.
- (Source: parish records).

Mr Massey

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, St. Magnus-the-Martyr (north doorcase).
- (Source: parish records).

Edward Marshall

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Alban Wood Street.
- (Source: parish records).

Nathaniel Miles

- St. Antholin (pews).
- (Source: parish records).

John Mitchell

- City churches as furnishing joiner: All Hallows Lombard Street, St. Alban Wood Street, St. Benet Gracechurch Street, St. Michael Crooked Lane.
- Other: possibly the same John Mitchell listed as a carpenter in Beard for St. Peter's Bristol.
- (Source: Beard, parish records).

Thomas Page

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Anne and St. Agnes.
- (Source: parish records).

Samuel Port

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Mary Somerset (communion table and rails, pulpit, reredos).
- (Sources: Wren Office).

Mr Poulden

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Martin Ludgate.
- (Sources: parish records, Pevsner *CC*).

Thomas Poultney

- City churches as building joiner: St. Margaret Pattens.
- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Peter Cornhill, St. Swithin-London-Stone.
- (Sources: parish records, *Wren Society*).

Thomas Powell

- City churches as building joiner: All Hallows-the-Great.
- City churches as furnishing joiner: All Hallows-the-Great, St. Mary Abchurch, St. Mary Aldermary (pews).
- (Sources: Colvin 2, parish records, Pevsner *CC*, *Wren Society*).

Francis Ragg

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Michael Bassishaw (pews, pulpit).
- (Sources: parish records).

John Smallwell

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Vedast.
- (Source: Jeffery).

Mr Smith

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe (pews).
- (Sources: parish records).

John Symes

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Bride (pews), St. Vedast
- (Sources: parish records)

Zachary Taylor

- St. Antholin (pews).
- (Sources: parish records).

Mr Thwaite

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Michael Cornhill.
- (Sources: parish records).

Thomas Whyting

- City churches as building joiner: St. Edmund the King, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Olave Jewry.
- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Mary-le-Bow (galleries).
- (Sources: parish records, *Wren Society*).

Charles Williams

- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Mary Aldermanbury.
- (Sources: parish records).

Matthew Williams

- City churches as building joiner: Christ Church Newgate.
- City churches as furnishing joiner: St. Bride (alterations to galleries), St. Mildred Poultry.
- (Sources: parish records, *Wren Society*).

TABLE F.2	CARVERS
------------------	----------------

John Baker

- City churches as carver: St. Alban Wood Street, St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange.
- (Sources: parish records).

John Bullymore

- City churches as carver: St. Dionis Backchurch (four capitals).
- (Sources: parish records).

Thomas Cartwright (c. 1617-1702)

- City churches as mason: St. Antholin, St. Benet Fink, St. Mary-le-Bow.
- City churches as carver: St. Benet Fink (font).
- Other work: Drapers Hall, Mercers Hall, Tallow Chandlers Hall, Weavers Hall.
- (Sources: Gunnis, parish records, Roscoe, *Wren Society*).

Peter Cheltenham

- City churches as carver: St. Alban Wood Street, St. Anne & St. Agnes (font cover, reredos).
- (Sources: parish records, Pevsner *CC*).

Richard Cleere (fl. 1662-82; brother of William, the joiner)

- City churches as masonry carver: St. Olave Jewry, St. Stephen Walbrook, St. Swithin-London-Stone.
- City churches as carver: St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, St. Martin Ludgate, St. Michael Cornhill (probably the reredos), St. Mildred Bread Street (font cover).
- Other work for Wren: Sheldonian Theatre, the Great Model of St. Paul's Cathedral.
- Aristocratic commissions: Coleshill, Clarendon House.
- (Sources: Beard, parish records, Pevsner *CC*, *Wren Society*).

William Emmett (c. 1641-1700)

- City churches as masonry carver: St. Christopher-le-Stocks.
- City churches as carver: St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, St. Bride, St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Mary Abchurch (font cover, font rails, Royal Arms, north & south doorcases), St. Martin Ludgate (south doorcases), St. Peter Cornhill, Temple Church (pulpit & screen).
- Office of Works: Chelsea, Hampton Court, Kensington, Whitehall; Sculptor to the Crown before Gibbons.
- (Sources: Beard, Gunnis, Lewer & Dark, parish records, Pevsner *CC*, Roscoe, *Wren Society*).

Edward Freeman

- City churches as carver: St. Peter Cornhill.
- (Source: Beard).

Samuel Fulkes (?-1714)

- City churches as mason: All Hallows Bread Street, St. Alban Wood Street, St. Bride, St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Margaret Pattens, St. Mary Aldermary, St. Michael Queenhithe, St. Swithin-London-Stone.
- City churches as carver: All Hallows Bread Street, St. Augustine Watling Street, St. Bride, St. James Garlickhythe, St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Margaret Pattens, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Swithin-London-Stone (font).
- Office of Works: Winchester.
- Other work for Wren: St. Paul's Cathedral.
- (Sources: Campbell, Colvin 2, Gunnis, Pevsner *CC*, Roscoe, *Wren Society*).

Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721)

- City churches as carver: All Hallows-by-the-Tower (font cover, attrib.), St. James Piccadilly (reredos), St. Mary Abchurch (reredos).
- Office of Works: Hampton Court, Kensington, Whitehall, Windsor; Master Carver in Wood to the Crown.
- Other work for Wren: St. Paul's Cathedral, Trinity College Cambridge.
- Aristocratic commissions: Badminton, Blenheim, Burghley, Chatsworth, Petworth, Sudbury.
- Other: St. Alphege, Greenwich.
- (Sources: Beard, Gunnis, *ODNB*, parish records, Roscoe).

William Hammond (fl. 1670-90)

- City churches as mason: All Hallows-the-Great, St. Anne & St. Agnes, St. Michael Crooked Lane.
- City churches as mason-carver: All Hallows-the-Great (probably reredos and statues of Moses and Aaron).
- Aristocratic commissions: Montagu House.
- Other: Royal College of Physicians, Vintners Hall.
- (Sources: Gunnis, parish records, Roscoe).

Thomas Hill

- City churches as carver: St. Anne & St. Agnes (font), [probably] St. Michael Wood Street (font).
- (Source: parish records, Pevsner *CC*).

Almandy Howart

- City churches as carver: St. Mary Abchurch (communion table and rails).
- (Source: Pevsner *CC*).

Roger Humphries

- City churches as carver: St. Matthew Friday Street (pews).
- (Source: parish records).

Thomas Humphries

- City churches as carver: St. Peter Cornhill (probably font).
- (Source: parish records).

Christopher Kempster (1627-1715)

- City churches as mason: St. James Garlickhythe, St. Mary Abchurch, St. Mary Somerset, St. Stephen Walbrook.
- City churches as carver: St. Mary Abchurch (font), St. Mary Somerset.
- Other work for Wren: St. Paul's Cathedral, Christ Church Oxford.
- (Sources: Campbell, Gunnis, parish records, Roscoe, *Wren Society*).

Thomas Lowe

- City churches as carver: Christ Church Newgate, Temple Church (columns).
- (Sources: Beard, Lewer & Dark).

Jonathan Maine (fl. 1680-1709)

- City churches as masonry carver: St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, St. Augustine Watling Street, St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street.
- City churches as carver: St. Antholin (probably pulpit), St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe (pulpit), St. Augustine Watling Street (pulpit), St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Mary Aldermary (pulpit & desks), St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street, St. Mary Somerset (pulpit, tester, reredos), St. Stephen Walbrook (pews & scrollwork panels).
- Other work for Wren: St. Paul's Cathedral, Trinity College Oxford (but not reredos).
- Aristocratic commissions: Burghley, Kiveton.
- Other work: Christ's Hospital, Corpus Christi Oxford (screen), Eton College.
- (Sources: Colvin 2, Gunnis, parish records, Pevsner *CC*, Roscoe, Wren Office, *Wren Society*; Beard also links him with St. Clement Eastcheap & St. Stephen Walbrook).

William Mildman

- City churches as carver: St. Alban Wood Street.
- (Source: parish records).

William Newman (fl. 1676-94)

- City churches as carver: St. James Garlickhythe, St. Martin Ludgate, St. Mary Abchurch (pews), St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Michael Queenhithe, St. Stephen Coleman Street. (communion table, rails, doorcases, reredos), St. Stephen Walbrook (pulpit & tester, desks, reredos, communion table, rails, font cover, doorcases).
- (Sources: Beard, parish records, Pevsner *CC*).

Edward Pearce (c. 1635-95)

- City churches as mason and/or architectural carver: St. Andrew Holborn, St. Clement Danes, St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Matthew Friday Street.
- City churches as carver: St. Andrew Holborn (reredos, communion table, communion rails, pulpit, desks, Churchwardens' pews et al), St. Benet Fink, St. Clement Danes (pulpit, reredos), St. Lawrence Jewry (reredos, pulpit, tester, west screen), St. Matthew Friday Street. (reredos, pulpit, font), St. Michael Wood Street, St. Mildred Poultry, St. Olave Jewry, St. Swithin-London-Stone.
- Office of Works: Hampton Court, Whitehall.
- Other work for Wren: Emmanuel College Cambridge, Pembroke College Cambridge, St. Paul's Cathedral.
- Aristocratic commissions: Horseheath Hall, Lichfield Palace (as architect), Sudbury.
- Other: Clare College Cambridge, Coopers Hall, Grocers Hall, Guildhall, Painter-Stainers Hall, several busts & statues.
- (Sources: Beard, Campbell, Grimstone, Gunnis, *ODNB*, parish records, Pevsner *CC*, Roscoe, *Wren Society*).

Mr Richardson

- City churches as carver: St. Michael Cornhill.
- (Source: parish records).

Richard Saunders (fl. 1696-1715)

- City churches as carver: All Hallows Lombard Street.
- Other: Gog and Magog statues at Guildhall.
- (Source: Gunnis, parish records).

John Shorthose

- City churches as mason: Christ Church Newgate, St. Clement Danes, St. Olave Jewry.
- City churches as carver: St. Olave Jewry (font).
- Other: Coopers Hall, Guildhall.
- (Sources: Gunnis, parish records, *Wren Society*).

William Stanbrough (d. 1695)

- City churches as carver: St. Christopher-le-Stocks (font).
- (Sources: Gunnis, *Wren Society*).

Edward Strong Snr (1652-1724; brother of Thomas)

- City churches as mason: St. Augustine Watling Street (completed), St. Benet Paul's Wharf (completed), St. Clement Eastcheap, Mary Aldermary, St. Margaret Old Fish Street, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Mildred Bread Street, St. Vedast.
- City churches as carver: St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Margaret Old Fish Street, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Mildred Bread Street.
- Office of Works: Greenwich, Whitehall, Winchester Palace.
- Other work for Wren: St. Paul's Cathedral.
- Aristocratic commissions: Blenheim Palace, Canons, Marlborough House.
- (Sources: Campbell, Gunnis, parish records, Pevsner *CC*, Roscoe, *Wren Society* (which also mentions St. Stephen Walbrook, which Gunnis and Pevsner attributes to Thomas Strong)).

Thomas Strong (d. 1681)

- City churches as mason: St. Augustine Watling Street (begun), St. Benet Paul's Wharf (begun), St. James Garlickhythe, St. Stephen Walbrook.
- City churches as carver: St. Stephen Walbrook (font).
- Other work for Wren: St. Paul's Cathedral.
- (Source: Campbell, Gunnis, parish records).

Henry Swarbrick

- City churches as carver: St. Edmund the King.
- (Source: Pevsner *CC*).

(Thomas?) Thornton

- City churches as carver: All Hallows-the-Great (screen).
- (Sources: Pevsner *CC*).

Mr Thomson

- City churches as carver: St. Magnus-the-Martyr (font).
- (Source: parish records).

Thomas Turnly

- St. Mary Aldermanbury (Royal Arms).
- (Source: parish records).

William Woodruffe (fl. 1636-73)

- City churches as carver: All Hallows-the-Great (screen).
- Other: Brewers Hall.
- (Sources: Beard, parish records, Pevsner *CC*, Roscoe).

APPENDIX G: SUMMARY OF REREDOS FEATURES AND COMMUNION TABLE TERMINOLOGY

All sources are Hatton, except where indicated to the contrary. For the number of steps up to the communion table, the earliest dated source has been used.

	MOSES & AARON	NO. OF STEPS TO TABLE (& SOURCE)	LOCATION OF GLORY	LOCATION OF ROYAL ARMS	PELICAN IN HER PIETY	TERMINOLOGY USED IN PARISH RECORDS: ALTAR OR TABLE?
All Hallows Bread Street	-	1 (Places)	Tympanum	Reredos	Y	-
All Hallows-the-Great	Y	2 (Niven)	-	Screen	-	“Alter” x 1; table x 2
All Hallows Lombard Street	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	2nd storey	Reredos	-	-
Christ Church Newgate	-	2 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	Reredos	-	-
St. Alban Wood Street	-	?	-	Reredos	-	-
St. Andrew Holborn	-	2 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	East window	-	Table x 2
St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	-	-	Altar x 1; table x 1
St. Anne & St. Agnes	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	?	Reredos	-	Table x 1

PARISH CHURCH	MOSES & AARON	NO. OF STEPS TO TABLE (& SOURCE)	LOCATION OF GLORY	LOCATION OF ROYAL ARMS	PELICAN IN HER PIETY	TERMINOLOGY USED IN PARISH RECORDS: ALTAR OR TABLE?
St. Antholin	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-
St. Augustine Watling Street	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	Reredos	-	-
St. Bartholomew-by-the Exchange	Y	?	Tympanum	Reredos	-	Table x 1
St. Benet Fink	Y	2 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	Reredos	-	Table x 2
St. Benet Gracechurch Street	Y	2 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-
St. Benet Paul's Wharf	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	Reredos	-	-
St. Bride	Y	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	East wall	Reredos	-	-
St. Christopher-le-Stocks	-	3	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-
St. Clement Danes	Y (Malcolm)	3 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	Reredos	Y	-
St. Clement Eastcheap	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	North wall	-	Table x 1
St. Dionis Backchurch	-	1 (Places)	-	Reredos	-	-
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	Y	2 (Malcolm)	Above Dec	Organ case	-	-
St. Edmund the King	Y	3 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	East window	-	-
St. George Botolph Lane	Y (Malcolm)	2 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	Reredos	-	Table x 1
St. James Garlickhythe	-	3 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	Reredos	-	Altar x 1; Table x 1
St. James Piccadilly	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	-	Y	-
St. Lawrence Jewry	Y	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	-	-	Table x 2

PARISH CHURCH	MOSES & AARON	NO. OF STEPS TO TABLE (& SOURCE)	LOCATION OF GLORY	LOCATION OF ROYAL ARMS	PELICAN IN HER PIETY	TERMINOLOGY USED IN PARISH RECORDS: ALTAR OR TABLE?
St. Magnus Martyr	Y	1 > 0 > 1 (vestry mins)	2nd storey	-	Y	Table x 1
St. Margaret Lothbury	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-
St. Margaret Pattens	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	West door	-	-
St. Martin Ludgate	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	Reredos	-	Table x 1
St. Mary Abchurch	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	West gallery	Y	Table x 1
St. Mary Aldermanbury	-	2 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	Reredos	-	-
St. Mary Aldermary	-	1	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-
St. Mary-le-Bow	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	North gallery	-	Table x 1
St. Mary at Hill	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above window	Reredos	-	-
St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	N gallery	-	-
St. Mary Somerset	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	East window	-	Table x 1
St. Matthew Friday Street	-	1 (Collage 1882)	-	West gallery	-	“Alter peece table” x 1; table x 1
St. Michael Bassishaw	Y	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	West wall	-	Table x 1
St. Michael Cornhill	Y	1 (Collage 1833)	Ceiling	East window	-	Table x 1
St. Michael Crooked Lane	-	1 (Hatton)	-	West door	-	-
St. Michael Paternoster Royal	-	1 (Places)	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-

PARISH CHURCH	MOSES & AARON	NO. OF STEPS TO TABLE (& SOURCE)	LOCATION OF GLORY	LOCATION OF ROYAL ARMS	PELICAN IN HER PIETY	TERMINOLOGY USED IN PARISH RECORDS: ALTAR OR TABLE?
St. Michael Queenhithe	Y	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	-	-	-
St. Michael Wood Street	Y	?	Above reredos	Reredos	-	Table x 1
St. Mildred Bread Street	Y	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Tympanum	North wall	-	-
St. Mildred Poultry	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-
St. Nicholas Cole Abbey	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-
St. Olave Jewry	Y	?	Above Dec	Reredos	-	Table x 1
St. Peter Cornhill	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	Screen	-	Table x 2
St. Stephen Coleman Street	Y	1	Above Dec	Reredos	-	-
St. Stephen Walbrook	Y	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	-	Reredos	-	Table x 2
St. Swithin London Stone	-	1? (<i>Wren Society</i>)	Above Dec	Reredos	-	Table x 1
St. Vedast	-	1 (<i>Wren Society</i>)	2nd storey	North wall & east window	Y	-

APPENDIX H: TRANSLATION OF WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, *SYNODIKON*, “ON THE CANONS OF THE FIRST NICENE COUNCIL - ON CANON XI”

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

I am grateful to David Wyatt for translating this chapter from the original Greek and Latin text.

TRANSLATOR’S NOTE

Beveridge’s argument is based on consistent use of technical terms; the only exceptions are his use of “temple”, “church” and “nave”, and occasionally “oratory”, simply for variety, all meaning “church”; and of “sacerdos”, “pontifex” and “presbyter” all to mean “priest”. (I have used “temple” when Beveridge does, but otherwise standardised). Where Beveridge quotes in Greek he often translates into Latin – I have translated once only into English.¹ Wherever quotations have been checked back to the patristic texts, Beveridge’s care and accuracy in use of sources has been evident. All footnotes are my own explanatory notes not Beveridge’s, and [square brackets] generally indicate editorial clarifications, except a very few uses for clarification or addition by Beveridge himself.

THE TRANSLATION

Εν ακροώμενοις – [*En Akro-omenis*: among the hearers] Here first the holy fathers remind us of the three grades of penitents; remind us, I say, since they do not determine these but consider them determined beforehand, everywhere received, and known to everyone; and they instruct that those who have lapsed of their own accord should all pass through these before they can be received into the communion of the Church: that they should complete at least three years among the *ακροώμενοι* [*Akro-omeni*: hearers], and seven among the *υποπίπτοντες* [*epopoptontes*: those falling before]², and besides this they should participate

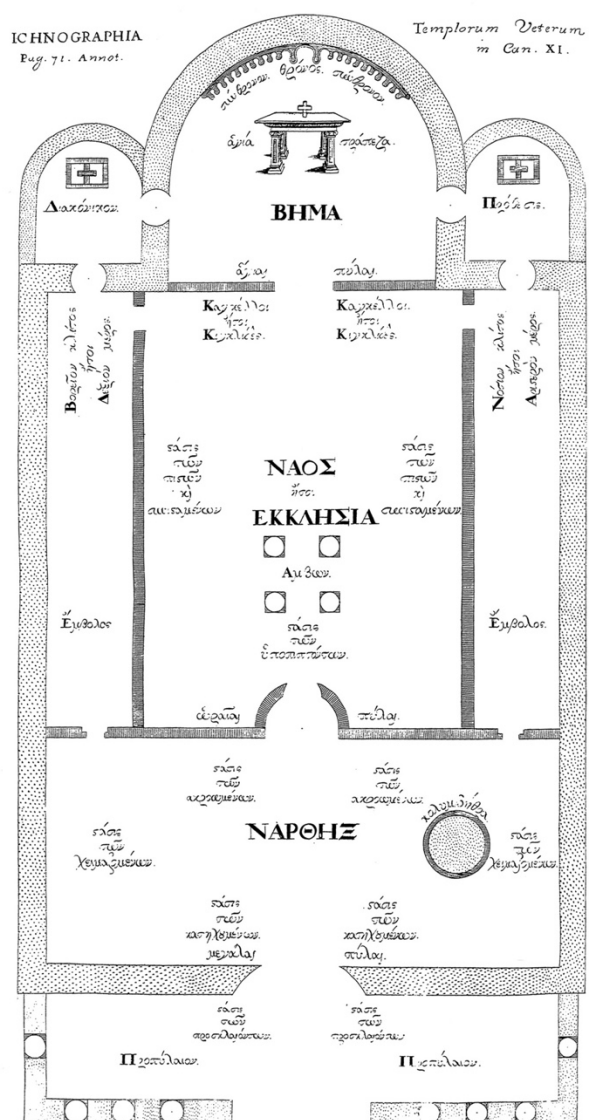
¹ Except on two occasions where text and translation appear to diverge.

² Beveridge offers two Latin terms, *subjacentes* or *substratos*; the former is the equivalent of *υποπίπτοντες*, the latter means “those lying before” or “those prostrated”. See VII below.

for two in the prayers with the faithful, but without any offering, that is they should be considered part of the *συνιστάμενοι* [*sinistameni*: those who stand with]. When, incidentally, we peruse the Nicene fathers, they recognise only three grades of penitents. But St. Basil in canons 24, 56 and several others seems to enumerate four grades of penitents, before those three mentioned here adding the *προσκλαίοντες* [*prosklaiontes*: those who weep or wail]. To us, these seem not properly to be penitents, but rather Candidates for penitence, that is to say, those who are not yet admitted among the penitents by the Church, but rather, standing at the entrance to the Church, beg as supplicants with wailing and tears those who are coming in that they should no longer be kept out of the sacred limits of the Church; but professing their penitence publicly, they are considered by the Church also as penitents; and thus placed in the number of those who may at least be permitted to enter those sacred doors. Seeing that it has come into usage that these should be considered among their number, I think I may enumerate four grades of penitents – *προσκλαίοντες, ακρωόμενοι, υποπίπτοντες, & συνιστάμενοι* [*the wailers, the bearers, those falling before, and those who stand with*]. It is necessary that we explain distinctly how all these show the earliest teaching of the Church embraced in them, in this work, even if [it exists] elsewhere. We shall however never [be able to] give effect to this with the clarity it deserves except by putting a description of the ancient temples first: which indeed is [needed] not just for this statute, but for other similar statutes in which the grades of penitents are considered; indeed, this will bring a clear light on many other places and statements in this work. Indeed no work was ever published from which the form of ancient Churches could be elicited more clearly and certainly than from this which we now publish: so much so, that it would almost be enough on its own for describing these things, if nothing else survived. What people see here, dispersed through the whole work and as they occur separately, would seem pretty obscure and not easily understood; but collected together in order they appear obvious, in wondrous fashion, and they elucidate each other. Therefore we shall collect here in one place, seeking it out from all those other places, the material which we consider necessary for explaining these matters: so that we explain many parts of this work here at the same time together in one go, which we can explain neither clearly nor easily if they are left separate from each other.

I The ancient Churches or temples built by Christians in antiquity, then, were divided into three main parts, of which the first from the entrance was called *Νάρθηξ* [*Narthex*: narthex], the middle *Ναός* [*Naos*: nave] or *Εκκλησία* [*Ekklesia*: church] proper, and the third, most sacred of all, *Βήμα* [*Bema*: sanctuary, lit: step] & *θυσιαστήριον* [*thysiasterion*: altar]. This was previously observed by Symeon of Thessalonica: “*In another Council, that the whole holy temple [ναός] should be considered divided threefold, into the places in front of the temple, into the temple itself, and into the bema or sanctuary*” (Sym. Thess. *On the Temple*). And this layout of each Church was not by chance or luck, but was thought out with the greatest prudence in the first place and introduced to common usage. Of those, then, to whom it falls to enter these holy shrines at stated times, there are three kinds. Some are initiates in holy matters and so they enter to administer with their gifts and to perform the holy rites: others are not consecrated but are still the faithful, and these

unite there to be present as the rites are celebrated and to earn the desired fruits from them: to others however the gathering of the faithful is forbidden, as they are not yet baptised or are excommunicate for some graver offence in which they were taken. For this reason, it is necessary – so that these three groups of people should not be confused, and thus confusion arise in the celebration of the holy rites itself – appropriate places be assigned to each group. The priests thus claim the sanctuary for themselves as the holiest place: the faithful are grouped in the Church itself. To the rest, who are either kept separate or not yet baptised, the lowest part of the Church is granted, called the narthex, so that they might hear the word of God read and thus eventually turn out worthy to be received into that gathering of the faithful. That we may delineate the true form of the ancient Church, we must separate it into the three parts. The “Ichnographia” (=ground-plan) shows these, and others which are relevant to a fuller description of the ancient Church.



II [Numbered III in error]. On this ground-plan of an ancient Church, so that they may be more obvious and clear, we have inscribed the names which the ancient Christians gave to each place. That we might explain the whole and the individual parts more distinctly, let us begin our journey from the common entrance. So, at the foot of the ground-plan there occurs first the προπυλαιον [*propylaion*: portico], by which name the portico of the Church is called (by Zonaras, *On the Carthaginian Synod* can. 46). Here, outside the initial entrance of the Church, stood the “wailers”, clad in poorer garments, and begging with wailing and weeping all the faithful who entered the Church that they would pour out prayers to God on their behalf, that they might at least be permitted to enter the Church. That they should stand weeping outside the doors not only of the Church proper, but of the whole *oratorium* [place of prayer³], teaches Gregory Thaumaturgus [the Miracle-Worker] who, describing the grades of penitents, says: “*There is wailing outside the door of the place of prayer, where the sinner must stand and beg the faithful as they go in, that they should pray for him.*” (Greg. Thaum. can. 11). Basil the Great attests the same, can. 56 & 57. Harmenopulus the Scholiast⁴ [writes]: “*Wailing is standing outside the Church begging those going in to pray for you*” (Harmenopulus, *Epitome of the Canons*, s.5, title 3). Hence Basil the Great says of those who swear Greek oaths, “*Let them be ejected for three years, that is, let them be “wailers”, who alone are ejected completely from the Church; whence he also calls them ἀδέκτους [adektous: un-received] – can.81; also Gregory Nyssenus, “outcasts from all prayer” (can.4), & “those driven out from the Church” (can.5). Tertullian himself appears to have written about this kind of penitent, when he says: “And do you also lead the penitent into the Church to beg the brotherhood’s forgiveness for adultery, prostrating him in their midst covered in ashes, arrayed in shame and horror, before the widows, before the elders, urging everyone’s tears, kissing everyone’s feet [or footprints], clinging to everyone’s knees?” (Tertullian, *On Modesty* c.13) and elsewhere “Concerning dress and food, too, it⁵ requires that [the penitent] lie in sackcloth and ashes, cover his body with filth, throw down his spirit with lamenting, to exchange harsh treatment for those things in which he has sinned; to know none other than simple food or drink, not for the stomach’s sake but for the soul’s: and mostly, indeed, to feed prayers with fasting, to groan and weep and moan day and night to the Lord God: to throw himself at the feet of the elders and to kneel to God’s dear ones, to enjoin all the brothers [to be] ambassadors [before God] for his prayers.” (idem, *On Repentance*, c.9). Thus then, as they wail, they enjoin all the brothers going into Church [to be] ambassadors for their prayers. Eusebius also passes down an example of this kind of weeping (*Ecclesiastical History*, book 5, c.28). So, these wailers stand outside the Church, and indeed outside the πρόναος [pronaos, forecourt], as [Theodore] Balsamon observes when he says they are “wailing outside the forecourt” (on can. 87 of [the Synod of] Trullo), and on can.2 of Dionysius of Alexandria; evidently in the portico, or sometimes in front of it, as is to be understood from the notes of Zonaras on the Carthaginian Synod, can. 46, where he says, “For this reason the Rule orders that hands be laid on them outside the Church and they should be put together in the ranks of the penitents, so that they stand together and wail outside the holy walls.” – that is, in*

³ I have used “place of prayer” throughout as a translation, rather than “oratory”.

⁴ Scholiast – one who makes marginal notes; a scholarly commentator.

⁵ It = (the act of) repentance, or *exomologesis*.

front of the apse, which is the same as in front of the portico. And where they are allowed to watch is called the “portico” or *αψίς* [*apsis*: apse], or sometimes the *προαύλιον* [*proaulion*: courtyard] or *πρόθυρον του ναου* [*prothiron tou naou*: vestibule of the nave], and sometimes even simply the *αύλη* [*avli*: courtyard]. Now, this place is not really sacred, but common to all: Balsamon, “*for are not the forecourts common, as if the courtyards of the churches?*” (Balsamon, on can.2 of Dionysius of Alexandria). There was therefore some kind of platform or vestibule into which the Catechumens and penitents sent out of the Church would come together, and where they were accustomed to await the departure of the faithful: and hence it was always roofed so that those taking refuge there could protect themselves whether from the heat of the sun, or from the rain.

III Now that we have covered the portico, next on the ground-plan occur the *μεγάλοι πύλαι* [*megalai pylai*: great doors], that is to say the largest doors of all, which lead to the first and lowest part of the place of prayer, which is called the Narthex and *πρόναος* [*pronaos*: fore-nave]: of this, there are very frequent mentions in *The Triodion*, *The Typikon*, *The Euchologion*, and other books of the same kind. This place is sometimes said to be located within, sometimes without, the Church, doubtless as the word “Church” is misused in one or another sense. Sometimes indeed “Church” signifies the whole place of prayer, and then indeed the Narthex is part of it: but sometimes “Church” is taken strictly as the place in which the Faithful gather, as we shall soon show; and in this sense the Narthex is rightly considered [to be] outside the Church. Here, nearest to the doors and therefore in the lowest place in the Narthex, was the *στάσις των κατηχομένων* [*stasis ton catechumenon*: station⁶ of the catechumens]. When these had heard the sacred Scriptures read, and a sermon prepared for teaching them, there would be a shout from a Deacon “Catechumens, leave!” And immediately they left the limits of the Church. With these, however, we shall deal in more detail in [the commentary concerning] the 14th Canon of this Synod.

IV Here in the Narthex, near the Catechumens, the *χειμαζόμενοι* [*chaimazomeni*:⁷] seem to have had their station in ancient times. The Synod at Ancyra [Ankara] ordered those who, devoid of sense, have had sex with animals, and those who are leprous, in place of punishment “to pray among the *Hybernantes* [over-wintering]” (*Syn. Ancyra*. can.17). From this no-one should doubt that these *χειμαζόμενοι* will have stood outside the Church properly so described, and accordingly in the Narthex. Why the *χειμαζόμενοι* there were so called is not as yet agreed among scholars. Balsamon contends that all who stand there in the Narthex are called *χειμαζόμενοι*, “*those who stand in the narthex are clearly called χειμαζόμενοι, and those who bear the holy writings have a place apart from the χειμαζόμενοι, and these are not licensed to enter the doors of the church for salvation*”. Yet perhaps here *χειμαζόμενοι* by exchange should signify the same as “hearers”. Some

⁶ I have used the old-fashioned “station” for this, to retain the sense of standing, though “position” would be a perfectly reasonable alternative. Beveridge too sometimes uses Latin “statio” as a translation.

⁷ The active verb = those who go into winter-quarters, find shelter for the winter or (by extension) from foul weather; literally, then, in the passive sense, these are those with or in whom someone “over-winters”: basically, the “possessed” as Beveridge goes on to explain. The Latin *hibernantes*, however, is active not passive; and the Greek could be a “middle” voice – intransitive or reflexive, again implying “wintering” or perhaps “storm-tossed,” rather than being possessed. Hence the uncertainties Beveridge explores. I have kept *χειμαζόμενοι* in Greek through this section, in order to avoid jumping one way or the other in the translation; but elsewhere use “possessed” as reflecting Beveridge’s own view.

however, as Balsamon & Zonaras in the same place observe, have asserted that the χειμαζόμενοι there are the same as the δαιμονωνται [*daimonontai*: possessed by demons]: although this opinion doesn't appeal to them, it does very much so to us; thus indeed Aristenus [says], “*the χειμαζόμενοι, according to the great Dionysius, are those who are possessed by an evil spirit*”. So too Maximus, in the notes to the book *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, often explains ενεργούμενοι [*energumeni*: acting rashly or violently] with χειμαζόμενοι. Also, Harmenopulus the Scholiast on the said Rule of the Ankaran Synod says, “*he calls those possessed by demons also χειμαζόμενοι, as some say*” (Harmenopulus, *Epitome of the Canons*, s5, c3). And so these are called Daemoniacs or Energumeni in *The Euchologion* itself, “*χειμαζόμενοι by unclean spirits*”. So it should not be surprising that sometimes they are called more briefly χειμαζόμενοι, with the remainder undoubtedly left understood; just as in the words ενεργούμενοι and *Arreptiti* [=raving].⁸ So indeed Dionysius Exiguus translates χειμαζόμενοι in the said Rule, “*those who are tested by an unclean spirit*”, and Isidore Mercator [pseudo-Isidore], “*those who are tossed by a storm, who are called by us Energumeni*”. And it is provided by Can. Apost. 79 that men of this kind should not pray with the faithful, saying “*if someone has a demon, let him not become a clergyman, nor let him associate with the faithful*”. As it is not permitted therefore for these people to pray together with the faithful, it is necessary that another place in the Church be assigned for them, where they are able to pray. The faithful pray in the Church proper: demoniacs therefore could have had a station nowhere else than in the Narthex. In the Narthex also stood the Catechumens, by the great doors, and the Hearers by the beautiful doors – of which more below. There is therefore no other place in the Narthex for the χειμαζόμενοι or demoniacs except that middle ground left between the Catechumens and the Hearers, where we have therefore rightly and deservedly placed the στάσις των χειμαζόμενων [*stasis ton chaimazomenon*: station of the possessed] on the ground-plan. Indeed this decision of ours on the station of the χειμαζόμενοι or “energumeni” in the Narthex is excellently confirmed by the author of the said book *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* – whoever he was. As it is certain that book was published either at the time of this Council or immediately afterwards, so it is equally certain that it was not written by Dionysius the Areopagite to whom it is no less falsely than commonly attributed. In it there are three kinds of people who are not admitted to participate in the sacred mysteries, and they are constantly listed in the same order – Catechumeni, Energumeni, and penitents: “*the custom of the holy hierarchy allows the catechumeni and energumeni, and those who are in penitence, to hear the sacred singing of the psalms, the divine recitation of the sacred scriptures, but brings together to behold the sacred works and mysteries which follow successively not them but the perfected eyes of those who are worthy*.” (*Ecc. Hierarch. c.3*) Also a little before when he said that, in the sacrament of the gathering or communion of the saints, the reading of the books is recited by the ministers, he adds “*After that, the catechumeni are ejected from the sacred precinct, and after them the Energumeni and those who are in penitence; those remain who are worthy of seeing and participating in holy matters*” (*ibid*). From these, we collect not only that these three categories of people were driven out to the narthex when the mysteries begin to be celebrated – the Catechumeni, Energumeni and penitents; but

⁸ Ενεργούμενοι simply means “acting energetically”, but carries the sense of acting angrily, madly or violently; “arreptiti” likewise means “seized” with the sense of being seized by madness.

also indeed in what order they left, that is, first the Catechumeni, then the energumeni, and last the penitents, and no doubt they left in the same order in which they had taken up position, thus the Catechumeni nearest to the doors went out first, and the Energumeni followed them, and the penitents followed these, as [they were] furthest from the doors. So when the Synod of Ankara orders lepers to pray among the χειμαζόμενοι, it places them in the middle of the Narthex between the penitents and Catechumeni. This place was near to the χειμαζόμενοι or ενεργουμένοι, and therefore is written with those on our ground-plan; and we call it the “station of the possessed” rather than of the ενεργουμένοι; since there is no mention of their station in the Church in this work as far as I recall except in the said Canon of Ankara where they are called χειμαζόμενοι; where, although it is not expressly recorded, it is clearly pointed to as being outside the Church proper that they remain and pray, otherwise there would have been no act of penitence: in which part of the Narthex it was, is clear from what was said above. Indeed, it had been usual to locate them nearly in the same place as the baptistery; which is represented there by us and called the κολυμβήθρα [*columbethra*: pool or font], because it is commonly called thus by the Greeks, and indeed by Zonaras himself on can. Apostol. 50, and also in ancient times by Cyril of Jerusalem, who says “*thereafter, you are led to the holy pool for godly baptism*” (Cyr. Jer. *Mystagogic Catecheses* 2) & elsewhere “*and just as for you having risen up from the pool of holy waters, an anointing is given, a copy of that with which Christ was anointed*” (*ibid.*, *Mystagogic Catecheses* 3). This name seems to have been allotted from that famous pool or *piscina* in which the blind man, at Christ’s command, washed and returned able to see⁹ (John 9.7), or from the pool of Solomon (*ibid.*, ch. 5.2).

V Farthest from the entrance, but therefore pre-eminent in the narthex, is the place assigned to the “hearers”; surely these are the penitents of whom the Nicene fathers speak in the first place in this present Canon¹⁰. Gregory Thaumaturgus teaches us that they indeed were located in the narthex, saying “*Hearing is [done] inside the gate in the narthex, where he who has sinned must stand, even while the Catechumens [do so], and go out from there. Indeed, after listening,*” he says, “*to the scriptures and teaching, he should be ejected and not considered worthy of the prayers.*” (Greg. Thaum., can.11). “While the Catechumens [do so]”, that is, while the Catechumens remain in the narthex, with whom these should leave - Matthew the Monk, or Blastarers, [says] “*The hearers, standing within the doors in the aforesaid narthex, after listening to the holy writings and the [time of?] teaching, then go out with the catechumens*” (Blast. in letter M [of the *Syntagma*¹¹], *Concerning the places of repentance*). Hence Zonaras regarding this Canon, “The hearers”, says “*they stand outside the church in the narthex*”. This is indeed outside the Church correctly described, insofar as it is distinguished from the narthex. And in the same way Balsamon on the present Canon also asserts, and precisely, that they “*stand outside the nave*”. Even if “nave” sometimes signifies the whole temple, when we speak strictly and accurately – as surely we must speak when we are dealing with these matters – it denotes just the middle part of it, assigned to the faithful, and separate from the narthex just as from the sanctuary. And in that same sense Balsamon uses

⁹ κολυμβήθρα [*columbethra*] or *piscina* means literally “(swimming) pool”.

¹⁰ See the opening paragraph above.

¹¹ Blastares’ *Syntagma* was a collection of ecclesiastical constitutions arranged in alphabetical order.

the word “nave” in discussing canon 14 of this Synod, and frequently elsewhere. Indeed he calls the narthex *πρόναον* [“fore-nave”], saying “*The fore-nave is the place of the second repentance, understood as that of the hearers*” (Bals. *On Dionysus of Alexandria*, Canon 2). And we learn that the hearers stood nearest to “the nave”, that is Church proper, from Aristenus’s interpretation of this Canon, where it is said the Hearers “*stand at the Royal gates*”. So indeed are called the doors (as we shall soon show) which lead from the narthex into the nave; so that the Hearers were allowed to stand in the very entrance to the Church, which was forbidden to the possessed and the Catechumens. Whence indeed the “station of the hearers” is obviously placed rightly by us next to the nave on the Ground Plan.

VI If we cross from the narthex into the nave, the way in is through the “beautiful gates” [or doors]. Whence Codinus [Kodinos] [says], “*Outside the gates called ‘beautiful’, that is in the fore-nave¹².*” (Codinus, *On the Offices¹³ of the Palace of Constantinople*, chapter 15). In *The Euchologion*, frequent mentions are made of these gates: e.g. “*the priest with the deacon stands inside the beautiful gates*” (*Concerning the order of the Holy Ministry*) and later “*he goes out into the narthex, and after censuring all those there, he returns in through the beautiful gates*” (ibid.). They are also called the royal doors, or gates, and also in the singular, the royal gate. In *The Typicon*, [it says] “*going out into the narthex, and after censuring the brothers within he retires, going inside of the royal gate.*” And Marcus Hieromonachus [“the holy monk”] [says], “*and censuring again, coming out from the holy doors, and returning within the royal gates*” (M. Hiero. *On Uncertainties in the Typicon¹⁴*, chapter 46). And so these two names of these gates are frequently interchanged, sometimes being called “beautiful” and sometimes “royal”. Aristenus calls these “royal portals”, as was observed earlier.

VII On entering the Church proper, or nave, first we meet the “station of those falling before” behind the lectern.¹⁵ That this, to recall some things earlier [said] about it, is in the middle of the Church between the beautiful and holy gates, and directly opposite the altar, just as is set out by us in the Ground-Plan, Symeon of Thessalonica offers us surety, saying, “*the lectern is placed in front of the doors of the sanctuary*”¹⁶, and later “*the most holy sanctuary is placed to the eastward, and the lectern placed opposite*” (Sym. *Thess. On the Sacrament*). And Codinus (Kodinos) [says], “*The Emperor descends from the lectern not on the side from which he went up to it, which is the side looking toward the beautiful gates, but on the other side opposite the thrones¹⁷ and holy sanctuary*” (Codinus, *On the Offices of the Palace of Constantinople*, chapter 17), where I might also observe that there are two stairways to the lectern, one looking towards the beautiful, and the other towards the holy, gates; and that the Emperor also sometimes goes up to the lectern, which is also allowed to the Canon-

¹² Beveridge translates the Greek “fore-nave” into “narthex” in his Latin.

¹³ In a typographical error, Beveridge’s text refers to the “eff[ecta?]” not “off[icial]”.

¹⁴ *The Typicum Monasterii S. Sabae Hierosolymitani* (the Ritual of the Monastery of St. Sabbas in Jerusalem).

¹⁵ On Beveridge’s Ground-plan, those “falling before” are only “behind” the lectern as seen from the sanctuary. Coming in from the narthex, the lectern is behind them, not the other way round. On the lectern, see also section X below.

¹⁶ Beveridge’s Latin translation of this says “the lectern is set up out of sight, in part of the sanctuary”.

¹⁷ *Solea* – see section X below.

singers by *Synod of Laodicea*, rule 15. Further, on the backward¹³ side of this lectern, that is between the lectern and the beautiful gates, there was the “station of those falling before”, as Balsamon observes in the notes on this Rule: “*Those falling before are to stand within the Church, behind the lectern, and to go out with the Catechumens*”. Zonaras and Aristenus [writing] on the present Rule also agree with him, also Matthew Blastares: “*Those falling before are those who stand within the church, behind the lectern and go out with the catechumens when the acclamation ‘Whoever is a catechumen...’ is made by the deacon*” (Blastares in letter M); Harmenopulus the Scholiast: “*The one ‘falling before’, standing within the church behind the lectern, goes out with the catechumens*” (Harmenopulus, *Epitome of the Canons*, section 5, title 3); and above all Gregory Thaumaturgus: “*Those ‘falling before’ are those who stand within the door of the nave, and go out with the catechumens*” (Greg. Thaum. canon 11). These indeed seem to be called “those who fall before”¹⁸ for this reason, that before they are dismissed, they would fall before the Bishop, who himself with the people falling down and immediately rising again would place his hands upon them. This indeed Sozomen too reports to have been observed formerly particularly in western Churches, saying “*There quite in the open is the place of the penitents in which they stand sadly, as if grieving. When the liturgy of God has been completed, they are excluded from the communion of the saints from which it is the custom to forbid the initiates, and they throw themselves prone on the ground with groans and laments; then the Bishop, coming up from opposite them in tears, equally himself falls to the ground howling, and the crowd in the whole Church confesses at the same time, with tears pouring down. After this, the Bishop is first to get up, and makes those who are prostrate stand up, and after making an appropriate prayer for those sinners performing penitence, he dismisses them.*” (Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 7, ch.16) No one argues that the penitent here discussed by Sozomen were indeed “those falling before”. Since this name “falling before [Greek]/lying before [Latin]” is attached to this third grade of penitents only, it clearly follows from this that only those penitents are indicated by Sozomen who are appointed to this third grade, and they are therefore called by this special name, “those falling before”, because they alone publicly “fall down before” the Bishop and Church. And this indeed seems [to be] the same grade of penitence which Master¹⁹ Cyprian often calls ἐξομολόγησις [exomologesis: confession]. He reports that, for any penitent to be received back into the communion of the Church, three things were required in his own time: penitence itself, “exomologesis”²⁰ (confession), and the laying-on of hands. “*When penitents do penitence for minor sins,*” he says, “*at the right time and according to the rule of discipline, let them come to ‘exomologesis’, and by the laying on of the Bishop’s and clergy’s hands they may receive the right of communicating; but in earlier times when persecution was still persisting²¹ and peace had not yet been restored to the Church, they were admitted to communion and their name put forward when they had no yet done penitence, not yet made ‘exomologesis’, not yet had the hands of Bishop and clergy laid on them; and the Eucharist was given to them.*” (Cyprian, letter 10 to the clergy). And elsewhere, “*That they – contrary to the rule of the Gospel, contrary also to your honourable request, before doing penitence, before making confession for their most grave and extreme fault, before the hand of*

¹⁸ The Greek word can also mean “lapsed”, but this doesn’t seem appropriate for those progressing closer to redemption.

¹⁹ Beveridge uses the title “D[ominus]”, which I have rendered as “Master”.

²⁰ Beveridge Latinises the Greek word, rather than translating it.

²¹ The ungainly “persecution ... persisting” is Beveridge’s.

the Bishop and clergy had been laid on them for their penitence – [that they] should dare to offer peace to those who had fallen and to give them the Eucharist, which is to profane the sacred body of the Lord!’ (*idem.*, letter 11²¹ to martyrs and confessors). And again, “For minor faults which were not committed against the Lord, let penitence be done at the right time, and confession made; yet even when the life of the one who does penitence has been inspected, no-one should be able to come to communion unless first hands are laid on him by the Bishop and the clergy” (*idem.*, letter 12²¹ to the brethren among the people). In all these places in Master Cyprian we may observe that what was formerly demanded of sinners by the Church was, first penitence, then confession, yet still when this was done they were not admitted to communion before the Bishop and clergy had laid their hands on them. There, by “penitence” it seems both the wailers and the hearers are to be understood; and by confession those falling before, since this confession, or public confession, of faults in the Church, was customarily performed by penitents prostrate on the ground before the Bishop and clergy and the whole Church; and also since in the words of Master Cyprian confession always follows penitence, no less than *υπόπτωσις* [*hypoopsis*: humbling] follows *ακρόασις* [*akroasis*: being heard]. So from this – that communion was not granted to them immediately, not before the laying on of hands by the Bishop and clergy had happened, which could be deferred by several days or even months – from this, I say, we gather that a fourth grade of penitence, namely *σύστασις* [*systasis*: standing with], was in those times in use: for immediately after “exomologesis” they were able to stand with the faithful in the Church, even if they were not yet allowed to communicate; and thus at that time then they truly were *συνιστάμενοι* [*synistamenoi*: those standing with].

VIII [Numbered VII in error] So, at the entrance to the Church or nave, namely behind²² the lectern until the exit of the catechumens, stood those falling before; in the remaining part of the Church proper stood the faithful praying, and together with them those who composed this fourth grade of penitents, who are therefore called “those standing with”, since they stood together with the faithful, nor did they leave with the catechumens like the rest of the penitents. Gregory Thaumaturgus: “*Standing with*’ is standing with the faithful, and not going out with the catechumens.” (Greg. Thaum., rule 11); Harmenopolus the Scholiast: “*Standing with*, is praying with the faithful, but also a position unworthy of the sacraments.” (Harm., *Epitome of the canons*, section 5, title 3); and Blastares: “*Those ‘standing with’ are those who pray together with the faithful and sing, but abstaining from participation in the sacraments with the holy until, when the prescribed time comes for them according to the laws, their perfection receives them into holy communion.*” (Blastares in the *Syntagma*, letter M) – the interpreters on the present Rule agree on these matters. Whence it is certain that even if those “standing with” are not named clearly in this Rule, they are obviously indicated in those last words, “*for two years without oblation let them accompany the crowd in the prayers*”. These words contain the complete definition of “those standing with”: just as, indeed, those of the Synod of Ancyra (Ankara), “*for two years they should pray without oblation*” (Synod of Ancyra, canon 24), and those of Hincinar [archbishop] of Rheims, “*Some are commanded to remain in the Church up until the sending-out of the catechumens; others however to join in the prayer of the faithful only within the Church, during the sacred celebration of the mysteries, but to be kept apart from the meal of the Lord’s table.*” (Hinc.,

²² See note 15.

Letter to Hincmar of Laon, chap. 24, cited by Justel. “Those standing with” thus stood together with the communicant faithful; but they were not allowed to communicate together with them.

IX On both sides of the Church, right and left, is shown on the ground-plan an ἐμβολος [*embolus*: rostrum; probably here “porch”]. It should not seem surprising to anyone that the “porches” have been thus situated by us, though all others have recorded the contrary. They are placed in these places²³ by us because of what we read in *The Euchologion*, that when the priest has washed the holy table, “*Once again going out on the right side of the sanctuary though the right-hand porch he betakes himself into the narthex:*” these words are considered [to describe] what happens in the normal rite for the fifth day²⁴ [Thursday] in the cleaning of the holy table: from which it is clearly represented that there were two “porches”, a right and a left, and that both were thus located so that the Priest could depart through them from the Sanctuary into the Narthex, and in fact from the right or left-hand door of the sanctuary (about which we shall soon speak); but then he did not wander through the Church itself, inasmuch as he used to go back into it not through the right or left one, but through the “holy doors”. Yet this could not have happened unless the “porches” had been set in those positions in which they are described by us. There is also mention of the right-hand “porch” in the Acts of the eighth general Synod where it says: “*the book containing in order the eighth synod was written down in [or, ... the eighth synod written down, (was) in] the right-hand porch of the great church*”. Indeed that very Synod seems to have been celebrated in one of these porches, and that the right-hand one. For in almost any Act the Emperor is said to have sat down before them in Synod “*in the right-hand part of the nave of the great church*”,²⁵ (where also incidentally it should be noted, the nave has been distinguished from the Church taken in its broad sense). Therefore it was not celebrated in the nave itself; but “*in the right-hand part of the nave*”, which could be nowhere else but where the right-hand “porch” is shown by us.

X Let us now cross from the Church to the Sanctuary. This latter is separated from the former by some wooden panels, which are generally called καγκελλοι [*cancelli*: screens] and κινκλίδες [*cinclides*: railings]; by Nicephorus Callistus “*the priestly railings*” (*Ecclesiastical History*, book 12, ch.41); by Cantacuzenus (Kantakouzenos) “*holy railings*”; by Cyril of Scythopolis in *The Life of St. Sabbas*, “*railings*”: and in the Life of St. Euthymius just once “*a screen*”. They are also called “*nets [made] from wood*”, Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History*, book 10, ch.4); by Germanus also in *The Mystagogia*, “*(small) columns*” and “*parapets*”. He says indeed “*the columns or parapets separating the sanctuary from the rest of the nave, and the screens are a kind of preventative from going through*”. They are also called καγκελωται [*cagelotai*: screens] or “*cancelli*”, and by Sozomen “*gates [δουρακτα] of the priesthood*”. And his words are most worthy of note. He says, “*It used to be the custom, that the Emperors would stand between the partitions of the altar in the Church, separated for dignity’s sake from the multitude of*

²³ The ungainly repetition is, again, Beveridge’s.

²⁴ “The great fifth day” – perhaps Holy (Maundy) Thursday?

²⁵ Beveridge’s Latin translation has “in the right-hand part of the Temple of the great Church”.

the people. Ambrosius notes that this happened from flattery or the corruption of teachings, and assigns to the Emperor a position in the Church in front of the altar-screens, so that just as the Emperor should have precedence over the people, so the Priests should have precedence over the Emperor in the Church. The Emperor Theodosius approved this remarkable directive, and his successors subsequently confirmed it; and from that time to this day we see it being observed.” (Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 7, ch. 25). So from these words an end, unless I am mistaken, can be made at last to the complex question which has hitherto exercised the minds of the learned: what, after all, was the “soleus” [“throne”] which was so often mentioned by more recent Greek writers, and what function would it have had in the Church? All of them agree that there was something, particularly in the more recent Churches of the Greeks, called *σωλειαν*, *σωλιαν*, *σωλειον* and even *σολέαν*, *σολιαν* or *σολειον* [all variant spellings of “*soleon*”, the Greek form of “*soleus*”], which was placed near the screens. They all agree, too, that this is a Latin word, and most that this was nothing else than the *solium*, but what this *solium* was they ingenuously say they don’t know, unless it was what Jacques Goar affirms was called by that name, the *solium Christi*, the “throne of Christ”. But I’m amazed that those words of Sozomen which are cited above did not come to mind for any of those working on this, in which Master Ambrosius is said to have assigned to the Emperor a place in the Church in front of the altar-screens. The place where the Emperor was accustomed [*solitus*] to sit would rightly and most deservedly be called the *Solium*. From the times of Ambrosius forward, as appears from the words quoted, the throne of the Emperor was in front of the screens where all with one voice are in accord that the *solium* was placed. So this therefore was without any doubt the throne or seat of the Emperor. That this form of throne had been erected Cedrenus (Kedrenos) offers proof, saying “*When the Holy Basin of God’s great Church collapsed, with its fall it crushed the lectern and thrones, which were made of Onyx stone, and turned them into dust?*”. So the throne together with the lectern was wrecked ahead of any other parts of the Church by the fall of the Basin at that time; which could not have happened unless it had been built next to the lectern. And it was made of onyx in order that it should better suit the majesty of the Emperor. There is indeed something else worth noting in those words of Cedrenus: it says there thrones in the plural, whence we conclude that there were not one but several thrones in that Church, at least two. Doubtless the throne of the Emperor was in front of the screens on the right side of the holy gates; it seems that another in imitation of it may have been placed at the left, and assigned to the Sub-deacons and Readers. That these indeed had their own “throne”, Symeon of Thessalonica is a witness, saying “*Sub-deacons and Readers should sit outside the sanctuary, around the throne which is also called the Readers’ platform*”²⁶ (Sym. Thess., *Concerning the Sacraments*); and The Euchologion, which says “*the two Deacons, leaving the holy sanctuary, receive the Deacon to be ordained standing at the throne*”. Doubtless when the Emperor’s seat, placed by Master Ambrosius in front of the screens between the holy and northern gates, had gained the right to be called a “throne”, so too the seat of the Readers on the other side of the screens, or between the holy and southern gates, came by common usage to be called a “throne” also,

²⁶ Beveridge differentiates in his Latin translation of Symeon, saying “outside the *bema* ... Readers’ *tribunal*” – though Symeon’s Greek uses *βημα* – meaning literally “platform” – for both: “outside the *βημα* ... Readers’ *βημα*”. Nevertheless, at the beginning of XII, Beveridge uses “tribunal” as the Latin form of “sanctuary”.

particularly as it was set up close to that one. So it seems that the Readers' thrones were nothing else than that place in the Church from which those men usually read out the sacred Scriptures to the people.

XI Moving on, in those screens or windowed partitions, preventing ingress but not seeing, entrances were left leading from nave to sanctuary which are called πύλαι [*pylai*: holy gates] or θύραι, and sometimes θύραι [*thyrai*/ *thyria*: holy doors]. *The Euchologion* in "Concerning the Order of the Holy Ministry" says "After censuring again the holy icons, he leaves through the holy doors and censes the holy table", and after a few other things, "the priest, after closing the holy doors, goes within the holy sanctuary". This entrance is not continuously open, but only at certain times which are listed in *The Euchologion*: "Be it known that the holy doors should never be open except at the beginning of the great vespers, when the Priest makes the incense give off its odour, at the introit of certain ceremonies, namely vespers and the liturgy for the holy Gospel; and similarly from the words "Draw near" right to the end of the liturgy, they stay open". And the ancient practice obtains, that on these doors in particular a veil should be hung, which in *The Euchologion* is called βημόθυρον [*bemothyron*: sanctuary door] where indeed it is said "the priest goes into the holy sanctuary, and putting on [off?] his stole opens only the 'sanctuary door'" (*Euchologion*, *ibid*). Thus too Manuel Malaxus in his *Ecclesiastical History* states that the Patriarch Jeremiah made, among other things in the temple of the Pammakaristos²⁷, "a great 'sanctuary door', exquisite and of great worth". It is more often, and indeed more correctly, written βηλόθυρον [*belothyron*: door-veil]: Codinus (Kodinos), "the golden door-veils covering the ramps(?)" (*Cod. On the offices of the Palace of Constantinople*, chapter 17). Gulielmus Bibliothecarius [William the Librarian] in [*Pope*] Stephen VI says, "And he made in the same Basilica of the famous doctor of the peoples four belothyra, of which one was woven of gold". Of course, more recent Greek writers have made the Latin word *velum* their own, writing it βηλον [*belon*]²⁸: Suidas, "The curtain, the drape, commonly called the βηλον". From adoption, then, of the word *velum*, with the correct θυρα [*door*], they form βηλόθυρον [*door-curtain*]. A scholiast of Aristophanes on *The Frogs*, mentions both, saying "the scenery was curtained with Persian veils or door-veils". The veil was of the kind which Epiphanius tore when he found it in the entrance of the church at Anabletha, because of what was painted on it, "it had an image as of Christ or some saint"; as he himself testifies in his *Letter to John, Bishop of Jerusalem*, which survives among the works of Master Jerome.

XII Farthest from the first entrance, and holiest of all in the whole Church is the place called Βημα, [*Bema*: sanctuary; Latin *tribunal*]. So it is called by Balsamon *On the Trullan Synod*. can. 69, saying "But even women (come) to the holy sanctuary"; so too in [Council of] Chalcedon, canon 15. It is also so called by the Laodicean Synod, rule 56, and in the notes of Balsamon and Aristenus relating to that canon, and often elsewhere through all of this work, and also in *The Euchologion*, "the priest closing the holy doors stands within the holy sanctuary" (*Euch.* "Concerning the Order of the Holy Ministry"). And so it is commonly called by the Greeks: it is called also θυσιαστηριον [*thysiasterion*: altar], doubtless so named from its largest part, e.g. by Syn. Laod. can. 44; by the *Trullan Synod* "the sacred altar" (can. 69); and elsewhere in this work, equally in the

²⁷ Beveridge writes it in Greek, πᾶμμακαριστός [*pammakaristos*: ever-blessed].

²⁸ Note the "post-classical" Greek softened *beta* --> *veta*.

canons and very frequently in the notes – more often indeed than [it is called] βημα [Bema]. But these two names of the most well-known part of the Church are frequently interchanged. Hence, Theodorus of Studium entitled his poem written about this place “*To the holy altar [θυσιαστήριον]*” but in that poem he uses the word “sanctuary” [βημα], elegantly declaiming:

*Terrible is this sanctuary and full of fear,
The nave of the luminous God, accessible to the pure.
Come there in holy fashion and take part worthily,
For the gift of fire will burn the unworthy.*²⁹

It is called the ιερατειον [*hierateion*: lit: priesthood, hence “priest’s place”?] in *The Euchologion*, & by Sozomen (*Ecclesiastical History*, bk. 7 c. 25); Nicephorus Callistus bk. 12 c. 41 [calls] it ιλαστήριον [*hilasterion*: mercy-seat], also the Typicon of Saba – “*you should cense crosswise over the holy table, and likewise the whole mercy-seat*” (Typ. Sab. c. 5). Finally, it is also called θειον αδυτον [*theion adyton*: holy sanctum] by Balsamon *On the Trullan Synod* rule 69, and simply τα αδυτα [*ta adyta*: the sanctuary] by Nicephorus Callistus in the place previously cited. Nor would you be in error, if you called it *sanctum sanctorum* [holy of holies]. It is not permitted for women to enter this most holy place (Laodicean Synod rule 44), nor any of the Laity, nor even the Emperor except when he intends to offer gifts to the Creator (*Trullan Synod* rule 69), but only to Priests or consecrated persons (Laodicean Synod rule 19). So we might reasonably say with Symeon of Thessalonica, that the Temple “*does not have everything accessible to everyone, but some parts for the priests and some for the laity*” (Sym. Thess. *On the Temple*). In our days – oh how sad! – in which heaven and earth seem to have got mixed up, everyone enters this holy sanctuary quite freely, contrary to what was established scrupulously by the primitive Church. But this pitiable αταξια³⁰ [*ataxia*: disorder] in divine matters Balsamon observed to have been accepted even in his own times, and says he himself does not know the reason for it, “*how then into the holy sanctum of the celebrated church of our Lord Jesus Christ which is in Chalce, anyone who wishes can go in unhindered, I do not know*” (Balsamon, *On the Trullan Synod* rule 69)

XIII As the Sanctuary is the most important part of all in the whole Church, so “the holy table” is in the sanctuary itself: since this is consecrated to carrying out the most sacred of all the mysteries in a specific way, and serves to do so. Clearly it is often called the altar in this work, as in Apostolic rule 3, Synod of Carthage rule 10. And so it is called by St. Basil, letter 72 to the Evaiseni. More often it is called by the Greeks the “sacred [ιερος; *hieros*] table”, as *Trullan Synod* rule 32, and “holy [αγιος; *hagios*] table”: *Euchologion* “*the deacon going inside the holy sanctuary censes the holy table*” (Euch., *Concerning the Order for Holy Ministry*); Marcus Hieromonachus “*and thus he leaves through the προθέσις (prothesis: preparation-space³¹) again making a cross on the holy table*” (Marc. Hiero., *On Uncertainties in the Typicon*, chap. 46); Symeon of Thessalonica “*going in, he censes the sacred table in a circle*” (Sym. Thess., *On the Temple*). Other examples occur

²⁹ Iambic no. 44, in the *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* edition.

³⁰ Beveridge uses the Greek word, which from Classical times implied impiety as well as disorder.

³¹ See section XVI.

everywhere, though Nicephorus Callistus calls it the “divine [θεῖος: *theios*] table” (*Ecclesiastical History*, book 12, chap. 41). St. Athanasius, or some other writer (clearly ancient, if not of the same period) who is the author of the debate held against Arius in the Nicene Council, explains “table” by “altar”, as if by a better-known word, saying “*preparing the table, that is the holy altar, and on it the heavenly and imperishable bread*”. Now, this sacred, holy, or divine table or altar, the ancients usually made from stone; Symeon of Thessalonica gives the reason for this, saying “*The altar is of stone, because it recalls Christ who is named the rock, and our foundation, and the keystone, and cornerstone: and because the rock which once gave Israel water was the depiction of this table*” (Sym. Thess., *On the Temple*). Formerly this “holy table” was supported frequently by an altar-stone³² placed underneath, either carved from a single stone, or built up from several: more often by one or several (generally four) columns, as we may gather from the office usually used for the dedication of a temple, in which we read the statement, “*Let columns hold up the table just like those prepared for a tomb, [set] on the ground, with the space between the columns pointing to the East. But if an altar-stone supports it, whether carved from a single stone³³ or put together from several in a casket made by an Artist, then [let it be] in the middle of the altar-stone, [pointing to] that part of it which looks straight at the ‘clergy seats’³⁴*”. And soon after, “*All these things happen, since the table is supported by several or by one single column.*” Germanus of Constantinople distinctly records four columns, saying, “*The holy Fathers made the vault, which is above the sacred table, like heaven: because the holy ground is enclosed and circumscribed by its four columns (this is called the “ciborium” [canopy]), as they define the bounds of the whole earth*” (Germ. *On the Mystagogues*). And that this holy table, which at all events was just behind that place where the present³⁵ Synod of Nicaea was held, was usually at the time supported by columns, Synesius too is a witness – who in *The Catastasis*³⁶ describes, in a speech no less elegant than melancholy, the terrible disaster of the “Five Cities” (the “Pentapolis”), saying “*I shall embrace the consecrated columns which hold the undefiled table up from the ground; there I shall sit while I live, and I shall lie when dead*” (Synes. *On the Catastasis*). Therefore these columns holding up the sacred table, using simple intelligence as they say and where alone it could be put on the picture, we represent on the ground-plan. And above it we have placed a cross; without which no altar is ever said, in nearly any Church, and particularly a Greek one, to have been erected for many ages past; even if I can recall no ancient Synod which determined this.

XIV Located at the back of the altar, in the curve of the sanctuary, is shown on the ground-plan the θρόνος [*thronos*: throne], viz. that of the ἀρχιερέως [*archiereus*: high-priest]. In this generally the Bishop sits, and he alone is allowed to sit. Concerning this we have said more in our annotations to Apostolic Canon 59 where in the notes on Balsamon it is said that “*seats for the bishops are set up in the sanctuary at the top [or, on*

³² I have translated *altare* as “altar”; *ara* (the classical word) or βωμός [*bomos*] as “altar-stone”.

³³ The Greek is μονόλιθος [*monolithos*], monolith. [Note: Beveridge seems unsure or indiscriminate about the gender of the word “*lapis*” (stone): “*vel una lapide excitatâ ... sive unico lapide excitata*”].

³⁴ See XIV below.

³⁵ This entire section of the *Synodikon* is embedded within Beveridge’s discussion of the first Nicene Synod.

³⁶ Or, the *Downfall of Cyrenaica*.

high]”. Please see the commentary that we have given on those words.³⁷ Here I would like it to be observed further that on each side of the Bishop’s throne is placed a σύνθρονον [*synthronon*: lit. with-the-throne, here rendered “clergy seats”³⁸] for the Priests; under this name can indeed be comprehended the throne itself and several others, so that “clergy-seats” can signify the seat of the Bishop itself as well as the seating of the Priests; and in this sense it is very often used in *The Euchologion*, as in the rite for ordaining a Bishop: “*then he who ordained embraces him who has been ordained, so do the other bishops, and when the common greeting has finished they ascend to the clergy-seats*”, where it can be seen that the whole Synod of Bishops gathered together for the ordination of the Bishop ascends to the clergy-seats. And that the Priests indeed are seated on the clergy-seats is clear from very many places in *The Euchologion*; Balsamon (*On the Apostolic Canons* 58) and Blastares (in letter D, chapter 7) support this, and – to pass over others in silence – Symeon of Thessalonica who says “*Sitting on the holy ‘clergy-seats’ the Bishop, imitating Christ, has his Co-bishops and Priests sitting with him, imitating the Apostles*”. (Symeon Thessalonicensis *On the Temple*). We should additionally understand canon 56 of the Synod of Laodicea to be about this sitting together, where it cautions that the Priests should not sit in the sanctuary before the entry of the Bishop. Hence this clarifies that the clergy-seats are there indicated, because they are said to be in the sanctuary: and they are therefore sometimes called the “holy clergy-seats” so that they can be distinguished from the other [places of] sitting together on the Church or nave. That all these things which we have described in the sanctuary up to this point (which are worth the closest observation) formerly existed in the Church of the “Five Cities” (Pentapolis), is abundantly evident from the words of Synesius himself, for he says “*First I shall go into the temple of God, then I shall go round the altar; I shall drench³⁹ the most precious pavement in tears. I shall not leave before I have kissed the door and the throne. O how often shall I call on the faith of God, and turn my face to him? O how often shall I throw my hands onto the screens?*” (Synesius, *On the Catastasis*). Remarkable words indeed, in which nearly everything related to the sanctuary is mentioned: the doors or holy gates leading from it, the screens, the altar, and also the Priest’s throne. Whence it is obvious that all those things there mentioned were also in public use and common acceptance in the days of Synesius.

XV Two other places remain, adjacent to the sanctuary, the Διακόνικον [*Diaconicon*: vestry] and the Προθήσις [*Prothesis*: preparation-space], which we must deal with briefly. The vestry is located at the right-hand side of the Priest sitting on his throne, looking westward, and the preparation-space at the left. Hence that part of the Church on which the vestry is positioned is called the right-hand part or the κλίτος [*kytytos*: north aisle]; and where the preparation-space is, is called the left-hand part or south aisle. Indeed mention of both north aisle and right-hand side occurs everywhere in *The Euchologion*: so, “*he leaves [the sanctuary] together with the Priest by the northern aisle*” in “The Order of Holy Ministry”. And in the liturgy of Chrysostom, “*The Priest and Deacon make three adorations [genuflections] before the holy table: then the Priest hands to*

³⁷ In Beveridge’s commentary on canon 58; not translated here.

³⁸ The Greek term is singular, but its use clearly shows the singular term embraces several seats “with the throne”.

³⁹ I have assumed Beveridge meant “perfundam”, though he prints “pertundam” = I shall perforate.

the Deacon the sacred Gospel he has received, and so leaving by the door on the northern side they come to their usual place.” From these it is at the same time made very clear that, on the said northern side, there was a door leading from the sanctuary, where the holy table [was]. Inasmuch as the Sanctuary is always built at the east end of the Church, and the Bishop sits in it looking back to the westward, the north must always be on the right, and the south on the left; and thus it happens that right-hand part signifies the same as north aisle, and left-hand part the same as south aisle. Following these [witnesses], the vestry is placed on the right-hand or northern part of the Sanctuary on the ground-plan, as we gather also from Symeon of Thessalonica who, providing information about connecting a Bishop, says “*He is led away from the vestry, and with the Deacon preceding him and two Priests leading, through the right-hand part of the temple and ‘solea’ [platform⁴⁰] up to the Sanctuary”* (Sym. Thess. *On the Sacraments*). From the vestry therefore he is led through the right-hand side of the Temple, and across the platform (which indeed is placed in the right-hand part of the Temple in front of the screens, as we have noted above), to the Sanctuary itself; surely from the vestry into the right-hand porch [εμβολος: *embolos*], as described by us, and thus immediately through the door placed there, into the temple itself, and thus then across the platform and through the holy doors into the Sanctuary itself. This is confirmed by *The Euchologion* itself, where in the order usually used for the purification of the altar it is said “*The most holy Patriarch descends into the ‘mesatorium’⁴¹, or vestry, and he goes out to the holy altar or sanctuary by the right-hand side, and the purification of the holy table is performed.”* In the words of Symeon of Thessalonica cited earlier, the Bishop descends from the vestry through the right-hand part of the temple into the sanctuary, and in these [words] he goes directly from that same vestry to the sanctuary, and this from the right-hand side of the sanctuary; where therefore the door is rightly shown on the ground-plan. From the words of *The Euchologion*, it is indeed clear that the vestry is sometimes called the “mesatorium”; thence it is also called by Cedrenus [Kedrenos] “mitatorium”; he says of Leo, son of Basil of Macedonia, “*Therefore for this reason the Patriarch forbade the Emperor entrance to the temple: for which reason he came into the ‘mitatorium’ by the right-hand side*”, and afterwards, “*The Emperor advanced publicly into the great Church, and came into the ‘mitatorium’ in which place he prayed*”. (Cedrenus *On Leo*). Even if the Emperor was not allowed to go into the Church or the sanctuary, yet he betook himself through the right-hand part of the temple (that is, through the right-hand porch) into the “mitatorium” or vestry, and prayed there. Hence it is clear that the vestry was separated off from the sanctuary itself just as much as from the Church proper, as indeed is described by us. But someone might say, for whose use then did this vestry serve? Here, I admit, the opinions of the learned diverge: yet I cannot but be amazed at this, since it is obvious from the name itself [“*diakonikon*”] that it was assigned to the Deacons; and to the Deacons for

⁴⁰ Defined in Stephanus thus: *Pars templi, quae Bemati obversatur, quae uno aut altero gradu aedis sacrae pavimento educior est: cuiusmodi est solea aedis Sophianae etiamnum binis gradibus inter utramque pilam orientalem elevatior ... Substructio, stylobatis, columnis, epistylis, ceteroque architectonicis elegantis specioso apparatu coronatam, quae in templis Graecorum magnificentius ornatis, vice ligneorum cancellorum ac velorum, aram maximam et presbyterium ab ingressu inspectuque populi tegebat, deinde spatium quoddam isti substructioni contiguum.* (A part of the temple which faces the Sanctuary, and which is one or two steps higher than the pavement of the sacred altar; the “solea” of the church of St. Sophia is of this type, higher by two steps between the two eastern pillars ... A structure, crowned with stylobates, columns, epistyles, and other beautiful fittings of elegant architecture, which in the more magnificently-decorated Greek temples [which have] wooden screens or veils, hides the high altar and the presbytery from the sight and ingress of the people; and hence, whatever space is adjacent to this structure). The solea (in a modern Orthodox church) is a part of the raised platform of the “sanctuary” which extends outside the iconostasis. Here, I have used the term “platform” to translate it, although the Greek “platform” is the “bema” or sanctuary. Beveridge continues to use the Greco-Latin “solea” without translation.

⁴¹ Often the “metatorium” in Greek usage.

what purpose, unless to perform their functions in it? Doubtless so that they could store there the sacred vestments which are needed in celebrating the mysteries. This can be adduced from the fact that in various editions of the Liturgies the vestry and the *σκευοφυλάκιον* [*skedophylakion*: store for utensils, sacristy] are widely used as synonyms. And we should understand beyond a doubt in this way concerning the vestry, whatever others produce to the contrary, canon 21 of the Laodicean Synod in which it is decreed, “*That the ministers should not have room in the vestry nor touch the sacred vessels.*” In these last words is given the principal reason: namely, they should not have room in the vestry, because they are not allowed to touch the sacred vessels stored there. Hence Dionysus Exiguus interprets this canon [as being] about the *secretarium* [hiding-place, secret recess], describing it thus, “*That the Sub-deacons might be remote from the vestry, that is the Secretarium*”. The Council of Agde, too, as if explaining and renewing that same canon, decreed “*Since unconsecrated ministers ought not to have the freedom to enter the Secretarium, which the Greeks call ‘Diaconion’, and to touch the vessels of the Lord.*” (Council of Agde, canon 66). These are the very same words in which Isidore the Merchant [=Pseudo-Isidore] translates into Latin the said canon of the Laodicean Synod; except that he rightly reads “Diaconicon”, in place of “Diaconion” here. The “secretarium” was indeed the same as what we have called the “Diaconicon” or vestry, where plainly the garments and sacred vessels were kept. It is thus used by Fortunatus (book 1 of the *Life of St. Radegund the Queen*), saying, “*Entering the Secretarium she put on her monkish garments*”. Also by Bede, where he says “*Gregory was indeed buried in the Church of the blessed Peter the Apostle, in front of the Secretarium, on the 12th of March*” (Bede, *History of the English-speaking Peoples*, book 2, chap. 1) where King Alfred interprets *Secretarium* as “hūsel portice” in Anglo-Saxon (meaning, the “Porch of the Eucharist”) – as the Saxons called the place where the Eucharistic vessels used to be kept: which in English we call the Vestry,⁴² from the Latin word “*vestiarium*”, which also Master Augustine uses, saying “*And as we eat from one cellar, so we put on our garments from one vestry*” (Augustine, Letter 109 *On Holiness*⁴³). By more recent Latins this is commonly called the *Sacristia* [Sacristy], in which those things are to be kept following the use of the Roman Church, as individually listed by the fourth Council of Milan.

XVI Finally, on the southern side of the Sanctuary, we have placed on the ground-plan the Προθεσις [*Prothesis*: preparation space].⁴⁴ That this, contrary to what others have thought, is a place distinct from the sanctuary, no less than the vestry, is clearly gathered from these words of the Liturgy of St. [John] Chrysostom, “*And blessing the people, he enters the sanctuary. After the dismissal, if there is no Deacon, the Priest enters the preparation-space and consumes what is left in the holy chalice with attention and devotion, and thrice washes the holy chalice, and makes sure that no particle remains, called ‘margarita’.*” The Priest therefore entered the preparation-space, and this from the sanctuary, from which it is clear not only that the preparation-space is separated from the sanctuary, but indeed that an entrance is open leading from the sanctuary to the preparation-

⁴² Beveridge uses an “old English” typeface for these words.

⁴³ From the Rule of Augustine (chap. 5, para. 30), rather than from his letters. Note that some translate this as “*from one cellarer ... from one keeper of garments*”, i.e. reading “*cellarius ... vestiarius*” (a person) rather than “*cellarium ... vestiarium*” (a place) as Beveridge clearly reads it.

⁴⁴ Since Beveridge treats the vestry as also the sacristy, I have had to fall back on “preparation space” for the *prothesis*.

space; just as it is described by us: in fact, quite often the route from the nave into the sanctuary went through the preparation-space. Marcus Hieromonachus confirms this, saying, “*And he censes one [side] beginning from the holy doors, and proceeding to the Royal doors doing the same on them as on the other [side]. Afterwards he leaves through the northern door censing everyone there, just like in the temple. When he has made an end of censing, and has entered the temple, he signs a cross in front of the royal doors, likewise in the navel⁴⁵ or middle of the temple, and likewise at the other doors. When he has entered the sanctuary, he censes the president again, and thus passes through the preparation-space again making a cross on the holy table.*” (Marc. Hiero. *On Uncertainties in the Typicon*, chapter 46). So from the temple he entered the Sanctuary through the preparation-space, certainly “by the left-hand side”, where the entrance is therefore placed by us on the ground-plan, first from the temple into the porch, and then from the porch into the preparation-space, and finally entry is made from the preparation-space into the sanctuary. Further, in this place the Priest or the Deacon drank what was left in the holy Chalice, after all the faithful had communicated; as is clear from the words of the Liturgy of St. [John] Chrysostom praised above: here indeed the Deacon puts down the holy disc [of bread] before it is distributed to the people; as we learn from the same Liturgy, which says “*Then receiving the holy disc he places it above the Deacon’s head, and the Deacon, taking it up with reverence, looking back outward towards the door and saying nothing, goes out into the preparation-space and eats it up.*” And indeed from Symeon of Thessalonica who says “*after this taking the holy gifts out into the preparation-space*” (Sym. Thess. *On the Temple*). Here too the Priests and Deacons wash their hands before the consecration of the Eucharist: Liturgy of St. [John] Chrysostom, “*Then going out into the preparation-space they wash their hands.*” And here finally they prepare the sacred rites, as is clear from the same Liturgy. This place the Latins call *Oblationarium* (offering-place); whence in the Roman Rite we read “*In it, the Archdeacon takes up the offerings for the Priest from the “oblationarium”, that is the Preparation-space, and gives it to the Priest.*” And indeed some place of this kind, formerly called preparation-space and “offering-place”, on one side of the sanctuary, no less than the sacristy or vestry on the other, is still now generally placed so in our Churches, especially the more famous ones: and it will be clear to anyone who compares them with those which we have heretofore sketched out, that they also have been built on the old design as here described and drawn by us.

⁴⁵ “Umbelicus”, navel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1 UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1 Parish records

Note: All parish records listed here are held at the LMA, except for the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Peter Cornhill, which are at the Bodleian Library. References are to the new LMA online reference codes and not to the redundant Guildhall manuscript references.

All Hallows Bread Street (with St. John-the-Evangelist Friday Street)

All Hallows Bread Street, Vestry Minutes, 1670-1737. P69/ALH2/B/001/MS05039/001.

All Hallows Bread Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1678-99.
P69/ALH2/B/005/MS05038/001.

All Hallows-the-Great (with All Hallows-the-Less)

All Hallows-the-Great, Vestry Minutes, 1574-1684. P69/ALH7/B/001/MS00819/001.

All Hallows-the-Great, Vestry Minutes, 1684-1784. P69/ALH7/B/001/MS00819/002.

All Hallows-the-Great, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1616-1708.
P69/ALH7/B/013/MS00818/001.

All Hallows-the-Great, Assessment Roll, 1681. P69/ALH7/C/003/MS02189.

All Hallows-the-Less, Vestry Minutes, 1644-1831. P69/ALH8/B/001/MS00824/001.

All Hallows-the-Less, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1651-86. P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/002.

All Hallows-the-Less, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1644-1831.
P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/003.

All Hallows Lombard Street

All Hallows Lombard Street, Vestry Minutes, 1667-1702. P69/ALH4/B/001/MS04049/002.

All Hallows Lombard Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1614-84.
P69/ALH4/B/010/MS04051/001.

All Hallows Lombard Street, Receipt signed by Josiah Povey for "the Tenn Comandements painted upon linen cloth", 1695. P69/ALH4/B/018/MS18997.

All Hallows Lombard Street, Papers (vestry orders, legal papers, articles of agreement and workmen's bills) relating to the work done to complete the rebuilding of the church after the

Great Fire, and to construct new pews, pulpit etc. in the church, 1692-94.
P69/ALH4/B/023/MS18989.

St. Alban Wood Street (with St. Olave Silver Street)

St. Olave Silver Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1682-1702.
P69/OLA3/B/002/MS01257/002.

St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe (with St. Anne Blackfriars)

St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1570-1688.
P69/AND1/B/009/MS02088/001.

St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1668-1704.
P69/AND1/B/009/MS02088/002.

Accounts of Expenditure on Rebuilding of the City churches after the Great Fire,
CLC/313/J/002/MS25539/004.

St. Andrew Holborn

St. Andrew Holborn, Vestry Minutes, 1624-1714. P82/AND/B/001/MS04251/001.

St. Andrew Holborn, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1679-91. P82/AND/B/012/MS04250A.

St. Andrew Holborn, Auditors' Minutes, Accounts and Report on the Church Repair and
Restoration, 1691-92. P82/AND/B/018/MS04256.

St. Anne & St. Agnes (with St. John Zachary)

St. Anne & St. Agnes, Vestry Minutes, 1679-1712. P69/ANA/B/001/MS01604/001.

St. Anne & St. Agnes, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1663-87. P69/ANA/B/010/MS00587/001A.

St. John Zachary, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1591-1682. P69/JNZ/B/014/MS00590/001.

St. Antholin (with St. John-the-Baptist-upon-Walbrook)

St. Antholin, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700. P69/ANL/B/001/MS01045/001.

St. Antholin, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1574-1708. P69/ANL/B/004/MS01046/001.

St. Antholin, Building Accounts, 1682-1715. P69/ANL/B/013/MS07622.

St. John-the-Baptist-upon-Walbrook, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1595-1679.
P69/JNB/B/006/MS00577/001.

St. John-the-Baptist-upon-Walbrook, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1679-1728
P69/JNB/B/006/MS00577/002.

St. Augustine Watling Street (with St. Faith under St. Paul's)

St. Augustine Watling Street, Vestry Minutes, 1640-1737. P69/AUG/B/001/MS00635/001.

St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange

St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, Vestry Minutes, 1567-1676.
P69/BAT1/B/001/MS04384/002.

St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, Vestry Minutes, 1676-1707.
P69/BAT1/B/001/MS04384/003.

St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1598-1698.
P69/BAT1/B/006/MS04383/001.

St. Benet Fink

St. Benet Fink, Vestry Minutes, 1670-1749. P69/BEN1/B/001/MS01304/001.

St. Benet Fink, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1610-99. P69/BEN1/B/005/MS01303/001.

St. Benet Gracechurch Street (with St. Leonard Eastcheap)

St. Benet Gracechurch Street, Vestry Minutes, 1607-1758. P69/BEN2/B/001/MS04214/001.

St. Benet Gracechurch Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1548-1724.
P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/003.

St. Bride Fleet Street

St. Bride Fleet Street, Vestry Minutes, 1681-1937. P69/BRI/B/001/MS06554/002.

St. Bride Fleet Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1639-78. P69/BRI/B/016/MS06552/001.

St. Christopher-le-Stocks

St. Christopher-le-Stocks, Vestry Minutes, 1593-1721. P69/CRI/B/001/MS04425/001.

St. Christopher-le-Stocks, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1661-1735.
P69/CRI/B/007/MS04423/002.

St. Clement Eastcheap (with St. Martin Orgar)

St. Clement Eastcheap, Vestry Minutes, 1640-1759. P69/CLE/B/001/MS00978/001.

St. Clement Eastcheap, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1636,1740.
P69/CLE/B/007/MS00977/001.

St. Martin Orgar, Vestry Minutes, 1644-1744. P69/MTN2/B/001/MS00959/001.

St. Dionis Backchurch

St. Dionis Backchurch, Vestry Minutes, 1647-1712. P69/DIO/B/001/MS04216/001-002.

St. Dionis Backchurch, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1625-1729.
P69/DIO/B/038/MS04215/001.

St. Edmund-the-King (with St. Nicholas Acons)

St. Nicholas Acons, Vestry Minutes, 1619-1738. P69/NIC1/B/001/MS04060/001.

St. George Botolph Lane (with St. Botolph Billingsgate)

St. George Botolph Lane, Vestry Minutes, 1600-85. P69/GEO/B/001/MS00952/001.

St. George Botolph Lane, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1590-1769.
P69/GEO/B/005/MS00951/001-002.

St. Botolph Billingsgate, Vestry Minutes, 1674-1756. P69/BOT3/B/001/MS00943/002.

St. Botolph Billingsgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1674-1854.
P69/BOT3/B/007/MS00942/002.

St. James Garlickhythe

St. James Garlickhythe, Vestry Minutes, 1615-93. P69/JS2/B/001/MS04813/001.

St. James Garlickhythe, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1627-99. P69/JS2/B/005/MS04810/002.

St. Lawrence Jewry (with St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street)

St. Lawrence Jewry, Vestry Minutes, 1669-1720. P69/LAW1/B/001/MS02590/002.

St. Lawrence Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1640-98. P69/LAW1/B/008/MS02593/002.

St. Magnus Martyr (with St. Margaret, New Fish Street)

St. Magnus Martyr, Vestry Minutes, 1667-1782. P69/MAG/B/001/MS02791/001.

St. Magnus Martyr, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1638-1734. P69/MAG/B/018/MS01179/001.

St. Magnus Martyr, Building Expenses, 1677. P69/MAG/B/028/MS02792.

St. Magnus Martyr, Joint Committee 1677-1744. P69/MAG/B/010/MS01183/001.

St. Margaret, New Fish Street, Vestry Minutes, 1578-1789. P69/MGT3/B/001/MS01175/001.

St. Margaret, New Fish Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1678-1754.
P69/MGT3/B/014/MS01176/002.

St. Margaret Lothbury

St. Margaret Lothbury, Vestry Minutes, 1677-1717. P69/MGT1/B/001/MS04352/002.

St. Margaret Pattens (with St. Gabriel Fenchurch Street)

St. Margaret Pattens, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1653-1760.
P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/003.

St. Martin Ludgate

St. Martin Ludgate, Vestry Minutes, 1649-1715. P69/MTN1/B/001/MS01311/001.

St. Martin Ludgate, Vestry Minutes, 1649-90. P69/MTN1/B/003/MS01313/001.

St. Martin Ludgate, Vestry Minutes, 1772-1826. P69/MTN1/B/003/MS01313/004.

St. Mary Abchurch (with St. Laurence Pountney)

St. Mary Abchurch, Vestry Minutes, 1667-1749. P69/MRY1/B/001/MS03892/001.

St. Mary Abchurch, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1629-92. P69/MRY1/B/006/MS03891/001.

St. Laurence Pountney, Vestry Minutes, 1673-1743. P69/LAW2/B/001/MS03908/002.

St. Laurence Pountney, Accounts, bills and receipts relating to work on church furniture, fittings etc of St. Mary Abchurch and half paid for by the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney (including work by Grinling Gibbons, William Emmett and Almandy Howart, carvers; Thomas Creecher, William Grey and Thomas Powell, joiners; Thomas Woodstock (carpenter), Henry Corbett (smith), March-December 1686. P69/LAW2/B/020/MS03925.

St. Mary Aldermanbury

St. Mary Aldermanbury, Vestry Minutes, 1610-1763. P69/MRY2/B/001/MS03570/002.

St. Mary Aldermanbury, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1631-1737.
P69/MRY2/B/005/MS03556/002-003.

St. Mary Aldermary (with St. Thomas-the-Apostle)

St. Mary Aldermary, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1630-1708. P69/MRY3/B/012/MS04863/001.

St. Thomas-the-Apostle, Vestry Minutes, 1639-1758. P69/TMS1/B/001/MS00663/001.

St. Thomas-the-Apostle, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1612-1729.
P69/TMS1/B/001/MS00662/001.

St. Mary-at-Hill (with St. Andrew Hubbard)

St. Mary-at-Hill, Vestry Minutes, 1609-1752. P69/MRY4/B/001/MS01240/001.

St. Andrew Hubbard, Vestry Minutes, 1600-1754. P69/AND3/B/001/MS01278/001-002.

St. Andrew Hubbard, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1621-1712.
P69/AND3/B/003/MS01279/003.

St. Mary-le-Bow (with St. Pancras Soper Lane and All Hallows Honey Lane)

St. Mary-le-Bow, Vestry Minutes, 1675-1767. P69/MRY7/B/001/MS05006/001.

St. Mary-le-Bow with St. Pancras Soper Lane & All Hallows Honey Lane, Contract with William Cleere, 14 January 1674. P69/MRY7/B/023/MS07810.

St. Mary-le-Bow with St. Pancras Soper Lane & All Hallows Honey Lane, Joint Vestry Minutes 1682-1805. P69/MRY7/B/002/MS05009/001.

St. Mary-le-Bow with St. Pancras Soper Lane & All Hallows Honey Lane, Vestry and Committee Minutes, 1702-27. P69/MRY7/B/002A/MS05137.

St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street (with St. Gregory-by-St. Paul's)

St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1648-1721.
P69/MRY10/B/005/MS01341/001.

St. Mary Somerset (with St. Mary Mounthaw)

St. Mary Somerset, Churchwardens' Accounts 1614-1701. P69/MRY12/B/002/MS05714/001.

Accounts of Expenditure on Rebuilding of the City churches after the Great Fire, LMA
CLC/313/J/002/MS25539/004, 006 and 010.

St. Matthew Friday Street (with St. Peter Westcheap)

- St. Matthew Friday Street, Vestry Minutes, 1576-1743. P69/MTW/B/001/MS03579.
- St. Matthew Friday Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1547-1678.
P69/MTW/B/005/MS01016/001.
- St. Matthew Friday Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1678-1744.
P69/MTW/B/005/MS01016/002.
- St. Matthew Friday Street, Contract with Richard Kedge. P69/MTW/B/013/MS07683.
- St. Peter Westcheap, Vestry Minutes, 1654-1787. P69/PET4/B/001/MS00642/002.
- St. Peter Westcheap, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1601-1702. P69/PET4/B/006/MS00645/002.

St. Michael Bassishaw

- St. Michael Bassishaw, Vestry Minutes, 1669-1715. P69/MIC1/B/001/MS02598/001.
- St. Michael Bassishaw, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1617-1716.
P69/MIC1/B/008/MS02601/001/001.
- St. Michael Bassishaw, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1608-1702. Churchwardens' Accounts, 1617-1716. P69/MIC1/B/008/MS02601/001/002.

St. Michael Cornhill

- St. Michael Cornhill, Vestry Minutes, 1563-1697. P69/MIC2/B/001/MS04072/001/002.
- St. Michael Cornhill, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1608-1702. P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/002.

St. Michael Crooked Lane

- St. Michael Crooked Lane, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1617-93.
P69/MIC3/B/009/MS01188/001.

St. Michael Queenhithe (with Holy Trinity-the-Less)

- St. Michael Queenhithe, Vestry Minutes, 1667-1808. P69/MIC6/B/001/MS04827/001A.
- St. Michael Queenhithe, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1625-1706.
P69/MIC6/B/005/MS04825/001.
- Holy Trinity-the-Less, Vestry Minutes, 1673-1725. P69/TRI3/B/001/MS04836/001.
- Holy Trinity-the-Less, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1662-1725.
P69/TRI3/B/004/MS04835/002.

St. Michael Wood Street (with St. Mary Staining)

- St. Michael Wood Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619-1718.
P69/MIC7/B/003/MS00524/001.
- St. Mary Staining, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1644-1718. P69/MRY13/B/001/MS01542/002.

St. Mildred Bread Street (with St. Margaret Moses)

St. Mildred Bread Street, Vestry Minutes, 1679-1748. P69/MIL1/B/001/MS03469/001.

St. Mildred Bread Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1648-93.
P69/MIL1/B/004/MS03470/001A.

St. Margaret Moses, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1689-1761. P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/002.

St. Mildred Poultry (with St. Mary Colechurch)

St. Mildred Poultry, Vestry Minutes, 1641-1713. P69/MIL2/B/001/MS00062/001.

St. Mary Colechurch, Vestry Minutes, 1612-1701. P69/MRY8/B/001/MS00064.

St. Mary Colechurch, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1612-1700. P69/MRY8/B/005/MS00066.

St. Olave Jewry (with St. Martin Pomeroy)

St. Olave Jewry, Vestry Minutes, 1574-1680. P69/OLA2/B/001/MS04415/001.

St. Olave Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1643-1705. P69/OLA2/B/004/MS04409/002.

Joint Vestry Minutes and Churchwardens' Accounts, 1675-1762.
P69/OLA2/B/002/MS04412/001.

St. Peter Cornhill

St. Peter Cornhill, Vestry Minutes, 1574-1717. P69/PET1/B/001/MS04165/001.

St. Peter Cornhill, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1664-90. Bodl. Rawlinson MS, D 897.

St. Stephen Coleman Street

St. Stephen Coleman Street, Vestry Minutes, 1622-1693.
P69/STE1/B/001/MS04458/001/001.

St. Stephen Coleman Street, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1656-1685.
P69/STE1/B/012/MS04457/003.

St. Stephen Coleman Street, Minutes of the Pew Committee, 1701-59.
P69/STE1/B/007/MS04460.

St. Stephen Walbrook (with St. Benet Sherehog)

St. Stephen Walbrook, Vestry Minutes, 1648-99. P69/STE2/B/001/MS00594/002.

St. Stephen Walbrook, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1637-1748.
P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/004.

St. Stephen Walbrook, Papers, bills & receipts 1671-87. P69/STE2/B/026/MS01056.

St. Stephen Walbrook, 17 pen and ink drawings. P69/STE2/B/025/MS07695.

St. Swithin London Stone (with St. Mary Bothaw)

St. Swithin London Stone, Vestry Minutes, 1647-1729. P69/SWI/B/001/MS00560/001.

St. Swithin London Stone, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1602-1725.
P69/SWI/B/004/MS00559/001.

Rebuilding Committee 1677-83. P69/SWI/B/010/MS00562.

St. Vedast (with St. Michael-le-Querne)

St. Michael-le-Querne, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1605-1717.
P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/002.

1.2 Other unpublished primary sources

- Compton, Henry. "Benefactions bestow'd upon the church of Harlow in the county of Essex, since the time that John Taylor came to be vicar there, 1679;" dated July 10, 1713. Bodl., Rawlinson MS 984 C, Fol. 39.
- . "Declaration signed by 13 clergy of the deanery of Witham, Essex, concerning the worshipping of saints and angels; 14 July, 1679. Bodl., Rawlinson MS 984 C, Fol. 21-22.
- . "Form of the appointment of Rural Deans, with 'Instructions for a rural dean.'" [1689]. Bodl., Rawlinson MS 984 C, Fol. 123.
- . "Orders made at the Bishop of London's parochial visitation of the archdeaconry of Middlesex in the year 1685." Bodl., Rawlinson MS, C 983, Folio 91.
- . "Petition from Ralph Blomer, prebendary of Canterbury, to Q. Anne, for the rectory of S. Andrew, Holborn, presentation to which has already been twice missed in his family through crown promotions." Bodl., Rawlinson MS 984 C, Fol. 284.
- Sancroft, William. "Draught of archbishop Sancroft's circular letter to the officiating ministers of the Peculiars in the city of London, to admonish the church-wardens to make due presentments; March 5th." Bodl., Tanner MS 34, Fol.278.
- Various. "The Humble Complaint of Divers Sober Christians of the Parish of St. Andrews, Holborn." Lambeth Palace Library, MS3152, fols. 72-73.
- . "Miscellaneous visitation returns." Lambeth Palace Library, VH/55/3.
- . "St. Dionis Backchurch: reordering without faculty." Lambeth Palace Library, V/H/77/18/1-2.

2 PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660. Edited by C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911; online edn., <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum>.

Anonymous. *Parish-churches no conventicles*. London: 1684.

- . *The Princely Pellican: Royal Resolves Presented in Sundry Choice Observations Extracted from His Majesty's Divine Meditations, with satisfactory reasons that his Sacred Person was the only Author of them*. London: 1649.

- . *Publick Devotion, And The Common Service Of The Church Of England Justified, And Recommended To All Honest And Well Meaning, (however prejudiced) Dissenters. By a Lover of his Country and the Protestant Religion.* London: 1675.
- Alsop, George. *An Orthodox Plea for the Sanctuary of God, Common Service, White Robe of the House.* London: 1669.
- Barbet, Jean. *A Booke of Archetecture Containing Seeling Peeces Chimny Peeces and Severall Sorts Usefull for Carpenters Joyners Carvers Painters Invented by I. Barbet.* Translated by Robert Pricke. London: 1670.
- . *Livre d'Architecture d'Autels et de Cheminées.* Paris: 1633. Reprinted Portland: Collegium Graphicum, 1972.
- Barlow, Thomas. "A Breviate of the Case concerning Setting up Images in the Parish-Church of Moulton, in the Diocess and County of Lincoln, Anno 1683/4," in Thomas Barlow, *Several Miscellaneous and Weighty Cases of Conscience, Learnedly and Judiciously Resolved By the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. Thomas Barlow, Late Lord-Bishop of Lincoln.* London: 1692. Section VI, unpaginated.
- de Beauvais, Pierre. *Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary: A Medieval Book of Beasts.* Translated by Guy R. Mermier. Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992.
- Beveridge, William. *The Excellency and Usefulness of Common Prayer.* London: 1681.
- . *Synodikon sive pandectae Canonum SS. Apostolorum, et Conciliorum ab Ecclesia Graeca receptorum.* London: 1672.
- Bingham, Joseph. *Origines Ecclesiasticae, or Antiquities of the Christian Church.* London: 1708.
- Bonham, Josias. *The Churches Glory, or, The becoming ornament being a seasonable word, tending to the provoking, encouraging, and perfecting of holiness in believers ... : whereunto is added, A glasse for the unconverted ... as also, several articles of faith briefly laid down for the further establishment and confirming of the faithful.* London: 1674.
- Burnet, Gilbert. *Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833 edition.
- Cave, William. *A Dissertation Concerning the Government of the Ancient Church by Bishops, Metropolitans and Patriarchs.* London: 1683.
- . *Primitive Christianity: or, the Religion of the Ancient Christians in the First Ages of the Gospel in two volumes.* London: 1673.
- The Church Records of St. Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c1450-c1570.* Edited by Clive Burgess. London: London Record Society, 1999; online edn., <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol34>.
- Clark, Samuel. *Of Scandal: Together with A Consideration of the Nature of Christian Liberty and Things Indifferent.* London: 1680.
- Comber, Thomas. *A Companion to the Temple, or, A help to Devotion in the daily use of the Common Prayer in two parts.* London: 1676.
- Compton, Henry. *Articles of Visitation and Enquiry Exhibited To the Ministers, Church-wardens, and Side-men of every Parish, in the Primary Episcopal Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God Henry By Divine Permission Lord Bishop of London.* London: 1677.

- . *Articles of Visitation and Enquiry Exhibited To the Ministers, Church-Wardens, and Side-men of every Parish, in the Fourth Episcopal Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God Henry By Divine Permission Lord Bishop of London.* London: 1697.
- . *Open letter concerning the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral.* London: 1678.
- Conold, Robert. *A Sermon preached before the Maior of the City of Norwich, January 31 1675.* London: 1675.
- Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall; treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, presidents of the convocations for the respective provinces of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergie of those provinces; and agreed upon with the Kings Majesties licence in their severall synods begun at London and York.* London: 1640.
- Delaune, Thomas. *The Present State of London.* London: 1681.
- Dietterlin, Wendel. *Architectura: Von Auftheilung, Symmetria und Proportion der Fünff Seulen.* Nürnberg, 1598.
- Dolben, John. *A sermon preached before the king on Tuesday, June 20th. 1665.* London, 1665.
- Dubreuil, Jean. *Perspective Practical, or, A Plain and Easie Method of True and Lively Representing all Things to the Eye at a Distance by the Exact Rules of Art ... / by a religious person of the Society of Jesus.* Translated by Robert Pricke. London: 1672.
- Dyke, Jeremiah. *Sermon dedicatory, Preached at the consecration of the chapell of Epping in Essex, October, 28. 1622.* London: 1623.
- Evelyn, John. *An Account of Architects and Architecture.* London:1706.
- . *The Diary of John Evelyn.* 6 vols., edited by E. S. de Beer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Fairfax, John. *Primitivæ Synagogæ: A Sermon Preached at Ipswich, April 26, 1700 at the Opening of a New Erected Meeting-House.* London: 1700.
- Francini, Alessandro. *A New Book of Architecture.* Translated by Robert Pricke. London: 1669.
- Fréart de Cambray, Roland. *A parallel of the antient architecture with the modern.* Translated by John Evelyn. London: 1664.
- Gerbier, Sir Balthasar. *The First and Second Part of Counsel and Advice to all Builders: for the choice of their Surveyors, Clerks of their Works, Bricklayers, Masons, Carpenters, and other Workmen therein concerned. As also in respect of their Works, Materials, and Rates thereof.* London: 1664.
- Green, Thomas. *A Vindication of Thomas Greene.* London: 1711.
- Hacket, John. *A Century of Sermons.* London: 1675.
- . *Scrinia reserata a memorial offer'd to the great deservings of John Williams, D.D.* London: 1693.
- Hart, Richard. *Parish churches turn'd into conventicles.* London: 1683.
- Hatton, Edward, *A New View of London; or, an Ample Account of that City, In Two Volumes, or Eight Sections.* London: 1708.
- Henchman, Humphrey. *Articles to be Enquired of in the Diocese of Salisbury, in the Visitation of the Right Reverence Father in God Humphrey Henchman Lord Bishop of Sarum.* London: 1662.

- Heylyn, Peter. *A Coale from the Altar. Or An answer to a letter not long since written to the Vicar of Gr. against the placing of the Communion table at the east end of the chancell; and now of late dispersed abroad to the disturbance of the Church. First sent by a iudicious and learned divine for the satisfaction of his private friend; and by him commended to the presse, for the benefit of others.* London: 1636.
- Hickeringill, Edmund. *The Ceremony Monger.* London: 1689.
- . *A vindication of the Naked Truth, the Second Part in Answer to a Libell called 'Leges Angliae', or the Lawfulness of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Church of England.* London: 1681.
- Hickes, George. *The Moral Schechinah, or, A discourse of God's glory in a sermon preached at the last Yorkshire-feast in Bow-church, London, June 11, 1682.* London: 1682.
- Humfrey, John. *The Peaceable Design; Being a Modest Account of the Non-conformist's Meetings, With some of their Reasons for Nonconformity: And the way of Accommodation in the matter of Religion.* London: 1675.
- Journal of the House of Lords, 1509-1764*, 30 vols. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830; online edn., <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol4/pp390-392>.
- Langley, William. *The Death of Charles the First lamented, with the restauration of Charles the Second congratulated delivered in a speech at the proclaiming of our gracious King.* London: 1660.
- Laud, William. *The History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God and Blessed Martyr, William Laud, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.* London: 1694 edition.
- Le Muet, Pierre. *The Art of Fair Building Represented in the Figures of Several Uprights of Houses, With their Ground-plots, Fitting for Persons of Several Qualities.* Translated by Robert Pricke. London: 1670.
- Le Pautre, Jean. *Nouveaux Dessins d'Autels à la Romaine.* Paris: c.1658-70.
- L'Estrange, Sir Roger. *The Assembly of Moderate Divines.* London: 1681.
- . *The Character of a Church-Trimmer.* London: 1683.
- Lingard, Richard. *A sermon preached before the King at White-Hall, July 26, 1668, in defence of the liturgy of our church.* London: 1668.
- Marot, Jean. *Recueil des Plans, Profils, et Elevations Des plusieurs Palais Chasteaux Eglises Sepultures Grottes et Hostels, Bâtis dans Paris, et aux environs, avec beaucoup de magnificence, par meilleurs Architectes du Royaume, desseignez, mesurés, et gravez par Jean Marot Architecte Parisien.* Paris: 1655-1659. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1969.
- Mede, Joseph. *Churches, that is, Appropriate Places for Christian Worship; both in, and ever since the Apostles Times.* London: 1638.
- . *The Key of the Revelation, Searched and Demonstrated out of the Natural and Proper Character of the Visions.* London: 1643.
- . *The Reverence of God's House. A sermon preached at St. Maries in Cambridge, before the Universitie on St. Matthies day, anno 1635/6.* London: 1638.
- Ogilby, John. *The Entertainment of Charles II.* London: 1662. Reprinted with an introduction by Ronald Knowles, Binghamton, New York: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1988.
- Paterson, James. *Pietas Londinensis: or, the present ecclesiastical state of London: containing an account of all the churches, and chapels of ease, in and about the cities of London and Westminster; of the set times of their publick*

prayers, sacraments, and sermons, both ordinary and extraordinary: with the names of the present dignitaries, ministers and lecturers, thereunto belonging; Together with historical observations of their foundation, scituation, ancient and present structure, dedication, and several other things worthy of remark; To which is added, a postscript, recommending the duty of publick prayer. London: 1714.

Pelling, Edward. *Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at St. Mary le Bow, 5 Nov 1683.* London: 1683.

Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary.* 11 vols., edited by Latham, Robert and William Matthews. London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1970.

Philips, John. *God and the King. Gods strength the Kings salvation A sermon preached at Aylesham in the county of Norfolk, upon the 29 day of May 1661, being the anniversary day of thanksgiving, for the thrice happy and glorious restauration of our most Gracious Sovereign King Charles the second, to the royal government of all his Majesties kingdoms and dominions.* London: 1661.

Pierretz, Antoine. *Livre d'Architecture.* Paris: 1633.

Pocklington, John. *Altare Christianum.* London: 1637.

Pricke, Robert. *A Booke of Architecture.* London: 1670.

———. *The Ornaments of Architecture.* London: 1674.

Prideaux, Humphrey. *Directions to Churchwardens for the Faithful Discharge of Their Office.* 2nd ed. Dublin: 1726.

Prynne, William. *Canterburies Doome, or the first part of a complete History of the Commitment, Trial, &c., of William Laud.* London: 1646.

Robarts, Foulke. *God's Holy House and Service, According to the Primitive and most Christian Forme thereof.* London: 1639.

R.T. *De Templis, a Treatise of Temples Wherein Is Discovered the Ancient Manner of Building, Consecrating, and Adorning of Churches.* London: 1638.

Salmasius, Claudius. *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I* (probably London: 1649).

Sancroft, William. *A sermon preached in S. Peter's Westminster, on the first Sunday in Advent, at the consecration of the Right Reverend Fathers in God, John Lord Bishop of Durbam, William Lord Bishop of S. David's, Benjamin L. Bishop of Peterborough, Hugh Lord Bishop of Landaff, Richard Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Brian Lord Bishop of Chester, and John Lord Bishop of Exceter.* London: 1660.

The Second Booke of Homilies. London: 1571.

Sedgwick, Obadiah. *Moses and Aaron, a sermon preached before the King at Saxham in the county of Suffolk, April 17, 1670.* Cambridge: 1670.

———. *The Parable of the Prodigal. Containing, The riotous prodigal, or The sinners aversion from God. Returning prodigal, or The penitents conversion to God. Prodigals acceptation, or Favourable entertainment with God. Delivered in divers sermons on Luke 15. from vers. 11. to vers. 24. By that faithfull servant of Jesus Christ Obadiah Sedgwick, B.D. Perfected by himself, and perused by those whom he intrusted with the publishing of his works.* London: 1660.

Serlio, Sebastiano. *The Seven Bookes of Architecture,* 1537. Translated by Robert Pricke. London: 1611.

- Sherman, Edmund. *The Second Part of the Birth and Burning of the Image Called St. Michael: Or A New Letter to Mr. Jonathan Saunders Lecturer of All-Saints-Barking*. London: 1681.
- Smart, Peter. *A sermon preached in the cathedrall church of Durham, July, 7. 1628*. London: 1640.
- Sparrow, Anthony. *A Rationale Upon the Booke of Common Prayer*. London: 1672 edition.
- Standish, John. *A sermon preached at the Temple, the Sunday after the church was opened*. London, 1683.
- Statutes of the Realm*. Edited by John Raithby. 7 vols. London: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819-20; online edn., <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5>.
- Stillingfleet, Edward. *The Mischief of Separation*. London: 1680.
- . *A sermon preached before the honourable House of Commons at St. Margarets Westminster, Octob. 10, 1666 being the fast-day appointed for the late dreadfull fire in the city of London*. London: 1666.
- . *A sermon preached before the King, January 30, 1668/9, being the day of the execrable murther of King Charles I*. London: 1669.
- . *Open letter concerning the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral*. London: 1678.
- Stowe, John. *A Survey of London Written in the Year 1598*. London: 1598.
- Strype, John. *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster: containing the original, antiquity, increase, modern estate and government of those cities; By John Stow; Corrected, improved, and very much enlarged by John Strype*. London: 1720.
- Taylor, Jeremy. *A sermon preached at the opening of the Parliament of Ireland, May 8. 1661. Before the right Honourable the Lords Justices, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons*. London: 1661.
- Tenison, Thomas. *Of Idolatry*. London: 1678.
- Tillotson, John. *The Protestant religion vindicated, from the charge of singularity & novelty in a sermon preached before the King at White-Hall, April the 2d 1680*. London: 1680.
- Udall, Ephraim. *Communion comlinessse. Wherein is discovered the conveniency of the peoples drawing neere to the table in the sight thereof when they receive the Lords Supper. With the great unfitness of receiving it in pewes in London, for the novelty of high and close pewes. The former way of receiving tending to edification by the sacrament, the latter to the destruction thereof*. London: 1641.
- Vitruvius. *A Treatise of Architecture*. Translated by Robert Pricke. London: 1669.
- Walton, Izaak. *The Life of Mr George Herbert*. London: 1670.
- Wheler, George. *An Account of the Churches and Places of Assembly of the Primitive Christians*. London: 1689.
- White, John. *The First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests*. London: 1643.
- Wotton, Sir Henry. *The Elements of Architecture, collected by Henry Wotton Knight, from the best authors and examples*. London: 1624.
- Wren, Matthew. *Articles of Enquiry for the Diocese of Ely: In the second Visitation of the R. Reverend Father in God, Matthew, Lord Bishop of that Diocese; Anno Dom. 1662*. London: 1662.

- . *Articles of Enquiry for the Diocese of Ely: In the third Visitation of the R. Reverend Father in God, Matthew, Lord Bishop of that Diocese; Anno Dom. 1662*. London: 1665.
- . *Articles to be enquired of in the Dioces of Norwich, at the Visitation, holden in the yeere of our Lord, 1636*. London: 1636.

3 PUBLISHED SECONDARY LITERATURE

- Addleshaw, G.W.O. and Frederick Etchells. *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship: An Inquiry into the Arrangements for Public Worship in the Church of England from the Reformation to the Present Day*. London: Faber and Faber, 1948.
- Airs, Malcolm. *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History*. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995.
- Allen, David. "The Role of the London Trained Bands in the Exclusion Crisis, 1678–1681." *English Historical Review* 87, no. 343 (April 1972): 287-303.
- Allen, Thomas. *The History and Antiquities of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Parts Adjacent*. 5 vols. London: George Virtue, 1827-33.
- Amery, Colin. *Wren's London*. Luton: Leonard Publishing, 1988.
- Appleby, David. *Black Bartholomew's Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Archer, Ian W. "The Arts and Acts of Memorialization in Early Modern London." In *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, edited by Julia Merritt, 89-116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . "The charity of early modern Londoners." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 223-44.
- Aston, Margaret. "Segregation in Church." *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990): 237-294.
- Badham, Sally. "A Painted Canvas Funerary Monument of 1615 in the Collections of the Society of Antiquaries of London and its Comparators." *Church Monuments* 24 (2009): 89-153.
- Baker, T.M.M. *London: Rebuilding the City after the Great Fire*. Chichester: Phillimore, 2000.
- Barron, Caroline M. *The Parish of St. Andrew Holborn*. London: Diamond Trading Co., 1979.
- Baxandall, Michael. *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Beale, Gregory K. "Eden, the Temple and the Church's Mission in the New Creation." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 48, no. 1 (March 2005): 5-31.
- Beard, Geoffrey. *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England, 1660-1820*. London: Bloomsbury Books, 1986.
- . "Some English Wood-carvers." *Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 991 (October 1985): 686+688-695.
- . *The Work of Grinling Gibbons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

- Beatson, Robert. *A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain & Ireland or, A Complete Register of the Hereditary Honours, Public Offices, and Persons in Office, from the Earliest Periods to the Present Time*, vol. I. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1806.
- Beaven, Alfred. *The Aldermen of the City of London temp.: Henry III.-1908*. London: E. Fisher, 1908-13.
- Beddard, Robert. "The Restoration Church." In *The Restored Monarchy, 1660-1688*, edited by J.R. Jones, 155-175. London: Macmillan, 1986, 2nd edn.
- . "Sheldon and Anglican Recovery." *The Historical Journal* 19, no. 4 (December 1976): 1005-1017.
- . "Vincent Alsop and the Emancipation of Restoration Dissent." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 24, no. 2 (April 1973): 161-184.
- . "Wren's Mausoleum for Charles I and the Cult of the Royal Martyr." *Architectural History* 27 (1984): 36-49.
- Begent, Peter and Hubert Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 Years*. London: Spink, 1999.
- Berger, Robert W. *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV*. New York: New York University Press, 1969.
- Berry, Herbert. "The Accuracy of Ogilby and Morgan's Map" in Herbert Berry, *The Boar's Head Playhouse*, 179-185. Washington D.C.: Folger Books, 1986.
- A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851* edited by Ingrid Roscoe, Emma Hardy, and M.G. Sullivan. London: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Birch, G.H. *London Churches of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*. London: Batsford, 1896.
- Bolton, Arthur T. and H. Duncan Hendry, ed. *The Wren Society*. 20 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924-43.
- Bosher, Robert S. *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians, 1649-1662*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Bowett, Adam. *English Furniture 1660-1714 From Charles II to Queen Anne*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2002.
- . "The Mahogany Reredos, Pulpit and Altar Table in the Church of St. George, Bloomsbury." *The Georgian Group Journal* IX (1999): 166-175.
- . *Woods in British Furniture-Making, 1400-1900: An Illustrated Historical Dictionary*. London: Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 2012.
- Bray, Gerald, ed. *The Anglican Canons 1529-1947*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998.
- Bristow, Ian C. *Architectural Colour in British Interiors, 1615-1840*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996.
- . "The Balcony Room at Dyrham." *National Trust Studies*, 1979 (1980): 140-146.
- . *Interior House-Painting Colours and Technology, 1615-1840*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Bumpus, T. Francis. *Ancient London Churches*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Press, 1908.

- Byrne, Michael and G.R. Bush, ed. *St. Mary-le-Bow, A History*. Barnsley: Wharncliffe Books, 2007.
- Campbell, James. "Building a Fortune: The Finances of the Stonemasons Working on the Rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral 1675-1720." In *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on Construction History, Cottbus, May, 2009*, edited by Karl-Eugen Kurrer, Werner Lorenz, and Volker Wetzck, 297-304. Berlin: Construction History Society, 2009.
- . *Building St. Paul's*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.
- . "The Carpentry Trade in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Georgian Group Journal* XII (2002): 215-237.
- Campbell, K.E. "Church of St. Michael Cornhill: the post-Great Fire reredos, erected 1672/3, dismantled c.1858." *London Topographical Record* 27 (1995): 135-147.
- Cardwell, Edward, ed. *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England, being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c. from the year 1546 to the year 1716*. Two volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1844.
- Carpenter, Edward. *The Protestant Bishop: Being the Life of Henry Compton, 1632-1713, Bishop of London*. London: Longmans Green, 1956.
- Cautley, Henry Munro. *Royal Arms and Commandments in Our Churches*. Ipswich: Boydell Press, 1974.
- Champion, J.A.I. *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660-1730*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Cherry, Bridget. "Edward Hatton's *New View of London*." *Architectural History* 44 (2001): 96-105.
- Clark, Willene B. *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-family Bestiary: Commentary, Art, Text and Translation*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006.
- Clarke, Basil. *The Building of the Eighteenth-Century Church*. London: S.P.C.K., 1963.
- . *Parish Churches of London*. London: Batsford, 1966.
- Clarke, John and Michael Wise. *The Church of St. John the Baptist, Stokesay*. Craven Arms: 1997 or later.
- Claydon, Tony. "The Sermon, the 'Public Sphere' and the Political Culture of Late Seventeenth-Century England." In *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* edited by Lori Ferrell and Peter McCulloch, 208-234. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Cobb, Gerald. *The Old Churches of London*. London: Batsford, 1942.
- Collins, Helen. *Edward Jerman, 1605-1668: The Metamorphosis of a Master-Craftsman*. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2004.
- Collins, Jeffrey R. "The Restoration Bishops and the Royal Supremacy." *Church History, Studies in Christianity & Culture* 68, no. 3 (September 1999): 549-580.
- Colvin, Howard. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*. New York: Facts on File Inc., 1978 edition.
- . *The Canterbury Quadrangle: St. John's College, Oxford*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- . "The Church of St. Mary Aldermary." *Architectural History* 24 (1981): 24-31+145.

- . *Essays in English Architectural History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.
- . ed. *The History of the King's Works, Vol. V, 1660-1782*. London: H.M.S.O., 1976.
- Coope, Rosalys. *Salomon de Brosse and the Development of the Classical Style in French Architecture from 1565 to 1630*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1972.
- Cooper, Tim. "Richard Baxter and the Savoy Conference (1661)." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 68, no. 2 (April 2017): 326-339.
- Cooper, Trevor. "The interior planning of the English parish church 1559–c.1640." In *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland, 1550-1688*, edited by Paul Barnwell. Donington: Paul Watkins Publishing, forthcoming.
- . ed. *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001.
- . "'Wise as serpents': The Form and Setting of Public Worship at Little Gidding in the 1630s." In *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, edited by Natalie Mears and Alec Rylie. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Corbett, Margery and R.W. Lightbown. *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660*. London and Boston: Routledge and K. Paul, 1979.
- Cousinié, Frédéric. *Le Saint des Saints: Maîtres-autels et retables parisiens du XVIIe siècle*. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2006. Kindle.
- Cox, J. Charles. *English Church Furniture*. London: Methuen, 1907.
- . *Pulpits, Lecterns, & Organs in English Churches*. London: Oxford University Press, 1915.
- Cox, Montagu H. and Philip Norman, ed. "Whitehall Palace: Buildings." In *Survey of London: Volume 13, St Margaret, Westminster, Part II: Whitehall I*. London: London County Council, 1930, 41-115; online edn., <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol13/pt2/pp41-115>.
- Crawford, Patricia. *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Croft-Murray, Edward. *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837*. 2 vols. London: Country Life, 1962.
- Cressy, David. *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England*. Stroud: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.
- . "Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730," *The Historical Journal* 20, no. 1 (March 1977): 1-23.
- Crook, J. Mordaunt. "The Restoration of the Temple Church – Ecclesiology & Recrimination." *Architectural History* 8 (1965): 39-51.
- Cummings, Brian. *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1662*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Cuming, G.J. *A History of the Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan, 1969.
- . "The Making of the Prayer Book of 1662." In *The English Prayer Book, 1549-1662* edited by Michael Ramsey, 82-110. London: S.P.C.K., 1963.

- Cummins, Neil, Morgan Kelly and Cormac Ó Gráda. "Living standards and plague in London, 1560-1665." *The Economic History Review* 69, no. 1 (February 2016), 3-34.
- Daniell, A.E. *London City Churches*. London: Archibald Constant, 1907.
- Davies, C.S.L. "The Youth and Education of Christopher Wren." *English Historical Review* 123, no. 501 (April 2008), 300-327.
- Davies, Horton. *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Baxter and Fox, 1534-1690*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Davies, Julian. *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- De Krey, Gary. *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Diprose, John. *Some Account of the Parish of St. Clement Danes (Westminster) Past and Present*. London: Diprose, Bateman & Co., 1876.
- Doll, Peter. *'After the Primitive Christians': The Eighteenth-Century Anglican Eucharist in its Architectural Setting*. Cambridge: Grove Books, 1997.
- . "The Architectural Expression of Primitive Christianity: William Beveridge and the Temple of Solomon." *Reformation & Renaissance Review: Journal of the Society for Reformation Studies* 13, no. 2 (August 2011): 275-306.
- Dorsey, Stephen. *Early English Churches in America, 1607-1807*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Douglas, Janet and Kenneth Powell. *St. John's Church, Leeds*. London: Redundant Churches Fund, 1993.
- Downes, Kerry. *The Architecture of Wren*. Reading: Redhedge, 1988.
- . "Sir Christopher Wren, Edward Woodroffe, J.H. Mansart and Architectural History." *Architectural History* 37 (1994): 37-67.
- Drury, John. *Music at Midnight: The Life and Poetry of George Herbert*. 2nd ed. London: Penguin Books, 2014.
- Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. 2nd ed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Dugdale, William. *History of Saint Paul's Cathedral, in London, from Its Foundation Etc; With a Continuation and Additions. ... by Henry Ellis*. London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor and Jones et al, 1818.
- Dumoulin, Aline, Alexandra Ardisson, Jérôme Maingard and Murielle Antonello. *Paris d'Église en Église*. Paris: Massin, 2008.
- Du Prey, Pierre de la Ruffinière. *Hawksmoor's London Churches: Architecture and Theology*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000.
- Durning, Louise and Clare Tilbury. "'Looking unto Jesus': Image and Belief in a Seventeenth-Century English Chancel." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60, no.3 (July 2009): 490-513.
- Eales, Jacqueline. "Iconoclasm, Iconography, and the Altar". In *The Church and the Arts: Papers read at the 1990 summer meeting and the 1991 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* edited by Henry Mayr-Harting et al, 313-328. Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1995.

- Edwards, Karen. "Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary." *Milton Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (December 2008): 257-263.
- Entick, John. *A New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster and Southwark*. Four volumes. London: 1766.
- Esterly, David. *Grinling Gibbons and the Art of Carving*. London: V&A Publications, 1998.
- The Faculty Jurisdiction Rules, 2015. <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2015/1568/contents/made>
- Fincham, Kenneth. "'According to Ancient Custom': The Return of Altars in the Restoration Church of England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003): 29-54.
- . "Material Evidence: The Religious Legacy of the Interregnum at St. George Tombland, Norwich." In *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, edited by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 224-240. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006.
- Fincham, Kenneth and Nicholas Tyacke. *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Fisher, John and Roger Cline. *The A to Z of Restoration London (The City of London, 1676)*. Lymyne Castle: Harry Margary, 1992.
- Fletcher, Anthony. "The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts, 1663-1679." *Studies in Church History* 21 (1984): 235-246.
- Freshfield, Edwin. *The Communion Plate of the Churches in the City of London*. London: Rixon & Arnold, 1895.
- Friedman, Terry. "Oratorical Machines for Furniture Historians." *Furniture History* XXXIII (1997): 84-103.
- Fuhring, Peter. "Jean Barbet's 'Livre d'architecture, d'autels et de cheminées': Drawing and Design in Seventeenth Century France." *Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1203 (June 2003): 421-430.
- Fuller, John. *The Church of King Charles the Martyr Tunbridge Wells*. Tunbridge Wells: The Friends of the Parish Church of King Charles the Martyr, 2000.
- Fuller, Thomas and John Nichols. *The History of the Worthies of England*. 2 vols. London: 1811.
- Galinou, Mireille, ed. *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*. Wetherby: Oblong for the Corporation of London, 2004.
- Gee, Henry and William John Hardy, ed. *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*. New York: Macmillan, 1896.
- George, Victoria. *Whitewash and the New Aesthetic of the Protestant Reformation*. London: Pindar Press, 2013.
- Geraghty, Anthony. *The Architectural Drawings of Sir Christopher Wren: At All Souls College, Oxford: A Complete Catalogue*. Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2007.
- . "Edward Woodroffe: Sir Christopher Wren's first draughtsman." *Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1181 (August 2001): 474-479.
- . "Nicholas Hawksmoor and the Wren City Church Steeples." *The Georgian Group Journal* X (2000): 1-14.
- . and Mark Kirby. "Rebuilding the City Churches after the Great Fire of London: the case of All

- Hallows the Great, Thames Street.” In *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland, 1550-1688*, edited by Paul Barnwell. Donington: Paul Watkins Publishing, forthcoming.
- . “Robert Hooke’s Collection of Architectural Books and Prints.” *Architectural History* 47 (2004): 113-125.
- . *The Sheldonian Theatre: Architecture and Learning in Seventeenth-Century Oxford*. London: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Gibson, William. “Dissenters, Anglicans and the Glorious Revolution: The Collection of Cases.” *The Seventeenth Century* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 168-184.
- Godfrey, Walter. *Survey of London: Vol. 15: The Church of St. Bride, Fleet St., etc.* London: London Survey Committee, 1946.
- Godwin, George. *The Churches of London: A History and Description of the Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Metropolis*. London: Tilt, 1838-39.
- Gold, Susan. “The Reredos which slipped through the net.” *Transactions of the Ancient Monument Society* 28 (1984): 92-113.
- Goldie, Mark. “The Hilton Gang: Terrorising Dissent in 1680s London.” *History Today* 47, no. 10 (October 1997): 26-32.
- Goldie, Mark and John Spurr. “Politics and the Restoration Parish: Edward Fowler and the Struggle for St. Giles Cripplegate.” *English Historical Review* 109, no. 432 (June 1994): 572-596.
- Goss, Charles W.F. “The History of the Parish of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Aldermanbury.” *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society* 9 (1948): 113-164.
- Graham, Claire. “Moses & Aaron: Two Figures from the Reredos of St. Swithin London Stone.” *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 31 (1987): 77-87.
- Grassby, Richard. “Personal Wealth of the Business Community in Seventeenth Century England.” *Economic History Review* 23 (1970): 220-234.
- Green, Adrian. *Building for England: John Cosin’s Architecture in Renaissance Durham and Cambridge*. Durham: Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, Durham University, 2016.
- Green, Ian M. “The Dissemination of the Decalogue in English and Lay Responses to its Promotion in Early Modern English Protestantism.” In *The Decalogue and its Cultural Influence* edited by Dominik Markl, 171-189. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013.
- . “The Persecution of ‘Scandalous’ and Malignant’ Parish Clergy during the English Civil War.” *English Historical Review* 94, no. 372 (July 1979): 507-531.
- . *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Griffith-Jones, Robin and David Park, ed. *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010.
- Grimstone, A.V. *Building Pembroke Chapel: Wren, Pearce and Scott*. Cambridge: Pembroke College, 2009.
- Guibory, Achsah. *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in 17th-Century England*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

- Guidobaldi, Paola. *The Roman Forum*. Translated by Caterina Guzzo. Milan: Electa, 1998.
- Guillery, Peter. "Suburban Models, or Calvinism and Continuity in London's Seventeenth-Century Church Architecture." *Architectural History* 48 (2005): 69-106.
- Guinn-Chipman, Susan. *Religious Space in Reformation England: Contesting the Past*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013.
- Gunnis, Rupert. *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851*. New rev. ed. London: Abbey Library, 1968.
- Haigh, Christopher. *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- Hamberg, Per Gustaf. *Temples for Protestants: Studies in the Architectural Milieu of the Early Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church*. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2002.
- Hamling, Tara. *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Hampton, Stephen. *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Hardy, W.J. "Remarks on the History of Seat-Reservation in Churches." *Archaeologia* 53 (1892): 95-106.
- Harris, Eileen. *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Harris, John. "Inigo Jones and his French Sources." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 19, no. 9 (May 1961): 253-264.
- Harris, John and Gordon Higgott. *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*. London: The Royal Academy of Arts, 1989.
- Harris, Tim. *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . "Was the Tory Reaction Popular? Attitudes of Londoners Towards the Persecution of Dissent, 1681-86." *London Journal* 13, (1987): 106-120.
- . Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie, ed. *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Harrison, Robert Haydon. *The Repair of St. Michael Bassisham, 1676*. London: 1900.
- . *St. Edmund King and Martyr*. London: Ecclesiological Society, 1960.
- . "The Dispersion of Furniture and Fittings Formerly Belonging to the Churches in the City of London." *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 8 (1960): 53-74.
- Hart, Vaughan. *Inigo Jones: The Architect of Kings*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Hauer, Christian and William Young. *A Comprehensive History of the London Church and Parish of St. Mary, the Virgin, Aldermanbury: the Phoenix of Aldermanbury*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994.
- Hautcoeur, Louis. *Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France*. Paris: Picard, 1948, vol. II.

- Haynes, Clare. "In the Shadow of the Idol: Religion in British Art Theory, 1600-1800." *Art History* 35, no. 1 (February 2012): 62-85.
- . *Pictures and Popery: Art and Religion in England, 1660-1760*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- . "The Politics of Religious Imagery in Late Seventeenth-Century England." In *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, edited by Jason McElligott, 49-66. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Heales, Alfred. *The History and Law of Church Seats or Pews*. London: Butterworths, 1872.
- Hennessy, George, and W. E. Heathcote. *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense: Or, London Diocesan Clergy Succession From The Earliest Time To The Year 1898, With Copious Notes*. London: S. Sonnenschein & co., 1898.
- Herbert, William. *The History and Antiquities of the Parish and Church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, London*. London: c.1833.
- Herd, Elvie. *Dionysis Williamson née Hale c1610-1685*. Loddon: Loddon and District Local History Group, 2010.
- Hetherington, P. "The Altarpiece for Wren's Church of St. Benet Fink - an addition to the oeuvre of Robert Streeter." *Apollo* 142, no. 401 (1995): 42-46.
- Hewlings, Richard. "The Architect of Weston Park." *The Georgian Group Journal* XX (2012): 22-32.
- Hibbert, Christopher. *The London Encyclopaedia*. Basingstoke: Pan MacMillan Ltd, 2008.
- Higgott, Gordon. "Wren's Galleried Churches and his First Model Design for St. Paul's Cathedral, 1669-70." In *L'Architecture Religieuse Européenne au Temps des Réformes* edited by Monique Chatenet and Claude Mignot, 185-199. Paris: Picard, 2009.
- Hirschberg, D.R. "The Government and Church Patronage in England, 1660-1760." *Journal of British Studies* 20 (1980): 109-139.
- History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*. Edited by B.D. Henning. London: Boydell and Brewer, 1983; online edn., <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research/members/members-1660-1690>.
- Hobhouse, Hermione, ed. *Survey of London: Vols. 43 & 44: Poplar, Blackwall and the Isle of Dogs, the Parish of All Saints*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, 1994.
- Huelin, Gordon. "St. Margaret Pattens: A City Parish in the Nineteenth Century." *Guildhall Miscellany* 3 (1971), 277-286.
- . *Vanished Churches of the City of London*. London: Guildhall Library Publications, 1996.
- Hughes, Luke. "Ecclesiastical Joinery of the First Half of the Seventeenth Century in South Wiltshire and Beyond: The Influence of Economic and Social Developments." *Ecclesiology Today* 52 (2015): 25-60.
- Hughes, Peter. *St. Michael's Cornhill*. London: privately published, 2007.
- Hunt, Arnold. *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- . “The Lord’s Supper in Early Modern England.” *Past and Present* 161 (1998): 39-83.
- Hunter, Michael. “The Making of Christopher Wren.” In *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy: Intellectual Change in Late Seventeenth-Century Britain*, 45-65. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.
- . ed. *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Jacob, W.M. *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Jarvis, Janet. *Christopher Wren’s Cotswold Masons*. Cheltenham: Thornhill Press, 1980.
- Jeffery, Paul. *The Church of St. Vedast-alias-Foster, City of London*. London: The Ecclesiological Society, 1989.
- . “The Great Screen of All Hallows the Great.” *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 37 (1993): 157-164.
- . “‘The Lost Grace’: Frederick Grace’s Plans, Elevations and Sections of the Churches of London.” *London Topographical Record* 27 (1995): 119-134.
- . “Originals or Apprentice Copies? A Postscript.” *Architectural History* 36 (1993): 46-48.
- . *The Parish Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*. London: Hambledon Press, 1996.
- . *The Parish Church of St. Mary at Hill*. London: Ecclesiological Society, 1996.
- Jenkinson, Matthew. *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-85*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010.
- Jervis, Simon. “A Seventeenth-Century Book of Engraved Ornament.” *Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 1005 (December 1986): 893-903.
- Jourdain, M. *English Interiors in Smaller Houses from the Restoration to the Regency, 1660-1830*. London: Batsford Press, 1923.
- Kadish, Sharman. “Constructing Identity: Anglo-Jewry and Synagogue Architecture.” *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 386-408.
- Kazerouni, Guillaume. *Les Couleurs du Ciel: Peintures des Églises de Paris au XVIIe Siècle*. Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 2013.
- Keeble, N.H., ed. *‘Settling the Peace of the Church’, 1662 Revisited*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Kemp, Martin. *The Chapel of Trinity College Oxford, 1691-94*. London: Scala Arts and Heritage Publishers Ltd., 2013.
- Kent, William. *The Lost Treasures of London*. London: Phoenix House, 1947.
- Kenworthy-Browne, John. “The Rise and Demise of a Wren Church: the Reredos from St. Matthew Friday Street, at Polesden Lacey.” *The National Trust Year Book* (1977-78): 63-74.
- Knights, Mark. “London’s ‘Monster’ Petition of 1680.” *Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (March 1993): 39-67.
- Knoop, Douglas and Gwilym Jones. *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935.
- Lacey, Andrew. *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003.

- Lake, Peter. "Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson." *Journal of British Studies* 27, no.2 (1988): 81-116.
- . "The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s." In *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* edited by Kenneth Fincham, 161-185. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993.
- LaPorte-Payne, R.M. *A Short History of St. Mary Abchurch*. London: Blades, East and Blades, 1946.
- Latham, Robert, ed. *The Illustrated Pepys*. London: Book Club Associates, 1978.
- Leftwich, B.R. *A Short History & Guide to St. Swithin, London Stone*. London: 1934.
- Legg, John Wickham. *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement, Considered in Some of Its Neglected or Forgotten Features*. London: Longmans, 1914.
- Lewer, David and Robert Dark. *The Temple Church in London*. London: Historical Publications, 1997.
- Litten, Julian. "Fixtures and Fittings from City of London Churches." *London Topographical Record* 30 (2010): 51-70.
- Little, Patrick and David Smith. *Parliaments and Politics during the Cromwellian Protectorate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Liu, Tai. *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986.
- Liversidge, Michael. "Prelude to the Baroque; Isaac Fuller at Oxford." *Oxoniensia* 57 (1992): 311-329.
- Louw, H.J. "Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange 1600-1660." *Architectural History* 24 (1981): 1-23+125-144.
- . "Dutch Influence on British Architecture in the Late-Stuart Period, c.1660-c.1714." *Dutch Crossing* 33, no. 2 (2009): 83-120.
- Love, Dickon. *Love's Guide to the Church Bells of the City of London*, online edn., <http://london.lovesguide.com>.
- Lucas, Anya. "Costly without, richer inlaid: London's Post-Fire Livery Halls," *The Georgian Group Journal* XXVI, (2018): 1-20.
- Malcolm, James. *Londinium Redivivum*, 4 vols. London: Rivington, 1802-07.
- Maltby, Judith D. *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Bucklow, Spike, Richard Marks, and Lucy Wrapson, ed. *The Art and Science of the Church Screen in Medieval Europe: Making, Meaning, Preserving*. Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2017.
- Marsh, Christopher. "'Common Prayer' in England 1560-1640: The View from the Pew." *Past & Present* no. 171 (May, 2001): 66-94.
- . "Order and Place in England, 1580-1640: The View from the Pew." *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 1 (January 2005): 3-26.
- . "Sacred Space in England 1560-1640: The View from the Pew." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53,

no.2 (April 2002): 286-311.

- Marshall, John. "The Ecclesiology of the Latitude Men, 1660-89: Stillingfleet, Tillotson and 'Hobbism'." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36, no. 3 (July 1985): 407-427.
- Matthews, A. G. *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.
- . *Walker revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy During the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948.
- Mauban, A. *Jean Marot, Architecte et Graveur Parisien*. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1944.
- Mawdesley, James and Christopher Spencer. "The Politics of the Chancel Screen: Samuel Moore, Slaidburn, and the parochial dynamics of Laudianism." *The Seventeenth Century* 29, no. 4 (2014), 359-380.
- McCulloch, Peter, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- McGee, J. Sears. *Godly Man in Stuart England: Anglicans, Puritans and the Two Tables, 1620-70*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- McGrath, Alister. In *The Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible, and How it Changed the Nation, a Language and a Culture*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2001.
- McKellar, Elizabeth. *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City, 1660-1720*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Meulen, Marcus van der. *The Brass Eagle Lecterns of England*. Stroud, Amberley Publishing, 2017.
- Merritt, Julia. "Contested Legitimacy and the Ambiguous Rise of Vestries in Early Modern London." *Historical Journal* 54, no. 1 (March 2011): 25-45.
- . "Puritans, Laudians and the Phenomenon of Church Building in Jacobean London." *Historical Journal* 41, no. 4 (December 1998): 935-60.
- . "The Reshaping of Stowe's 'Survey': Munday, Strype and the Protestant City." In *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* edited by Julia Merritt, 52-88. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Michael, M.A. *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*. London: Scala, 2004.
- Micklethwaite, J.T. *Alcuin Tracts, no. 1: The Ornaments of the Rubric*. London: Longman, Green & Co, 1897.
- Milbourn, Thomas. *The Church of St. Mary Somerset, Upper Thames Street, London*. London: London & Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1868. Reprinted from *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 3 pt. 9.
- . *The History of the Church of St. Mildred the Virgin, Poultry, in the City of London: with some particulars of the Church of St. Mary Colechurch (destroyed in the great fire, A.D. 1666)*. London: John Russell Smith, 1872.
- Millar, Oliver. "An Exile in Paris: The Notebooks of Richard Symonds." In *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th birthday* edited by Jeanne Courtauld, Michael Kitson, Benedict Nicolson, John Pope-Hennessy, Elisa Scheerer, John Shearman and George

- Zarnecki, 157-164. London: Phaidon Press, 1967.
- Miller, John. *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Milne, Gustav. "St. Vedast Church Rediscovered." *London Archaeologist* 7 (1993): 67-72.
- Mobus, Melody. "Surviving Late Payments: Strategies of Christopher Wren's masons from Burford." In *Proceedings of the First Conference of the Construction History Society*, edited by James Campbell, Nicholas Bill, Karey Draper, Patrick Fleming, Yiting Pan, and Wendy Andrews. Cambridge: Construction History Society, 2014.
- Montanari, Tomaso. "Creating an Eye for Models: The Role of Bernini." In *Bernini: Sculpting in Clay*, exh. cat., edited by C.D. Dickerson III, Anthony Sigel, and Ian Wardropper, 63-74. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed by Yale University Press, 2012.
- Montgolfier, Bernard de, and J.-P. Willemsme, *Saint-Paul - Saint-Louis, les Jésuites à Paris*. Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 1985.
- Morrissey, Mary. "Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53, no. 4 (October 2002): 686-706.
- Mowl, Timothy and Brian Earnshaw. *Architecture without Kings: The Rise of Puritan Classicism under Cromwell*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Nelson, Louis. *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Newman, John. "Fittings and Liturgy in Post-Fire St. Paul's." In *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, edited by Derek Keene, 220-232. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004.
- . "Laudian Literature and the Interpretation of Caroline Churches in London." In *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts: Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar*, edited by David Howarth, 168-188. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*. Edited by Paul Bradshaw. Norwich: SCM Press, 2005.
- Newsom, George Harold. *Faculty Jurisdiction in the Church of England* edited by Robert Runcie. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1988.
- Niven, William. *London City Churches Destroyed Since AD 1800, or now threatened*. London: William Niven, 1887.
- Norman, Philip. "On the Destroyed Church of St. Michael Wood Street with Some Notes on St. Michael Bassishaw." *Archeologia* 58 (1902): 189-216.
- Owen, David Edward: *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Ottenheim, Konrad. "Centralised Dutch Calvinist churches, Jewish Synagogues in Amsterdam and the Model of the Temple of Solomon." In *L'Architecture Religieuse Européenne au Temps des Réformes* edited by Monique Chatenet and Claude Mignot, 91-106. Paris: Picard, 2009.
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn.

- Parry, Graham. *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation, The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006.
- Parton, John. *Some Account of the Hospital and Parish of St. Giles in the Fields, Middlesex*. London: Hansard, 1822.
- Pearce, Charles W. *Notes on Old London City Churches, their Organs, Organists and Musical Associations*. London; Boston: The Vincent Music Co., Limited: T.J. Donlan, 1900.
- Pearl, Valerie. "Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London." *London Journal*, 5 (1979): 3-34.
- Pérouse de Montclos, Jean-Marie. *Histoire de l'Architecture Française de la Renaissance a la Révolution*. Paris: Mengès: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, 1989.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus and Simon Bradley. *The Buildings of England; Cambridgeshire*. London: Yale University Press, 2014.
- . and John Newman. *The Buildings of England; Dorset*. London: Yale University Press, 1972.
- . and Michael Bullen, John Crook and Rodney Hubbuck. *The Buildings of England; Hampshire: Winchester and the North*. London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- . and Simon Bradley. *The Buildings of England; London: The City Churches*. London: Yale University Press, 1998.
- . and Simon Bradley. *The Buildings of England; London 1: The City of London*. London: Yale University Press, 2002.
- . and Bridget Cherry. *The Buildings of England; London 2: South*. London: Yale University Press, 1984.
- . and Bridget Cherry. *The Buildings of England; London 3: North West*. London: Yale University Press, 2002.
- . and Bridget Cherry. *The Buildings of England; London 4: North*. London: Yale University Press, 2002.
- . and Simon Bradley. *The Buildings of England; London 6: Westminster*. London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- . *The Buildings of England; North Somerset and Bristol*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958.
- . and Bill Wilson. *The Buildings of England; Norfolk 2: North-West and South*. London: Yale University Press, 2002.
- . and John Newman. *The Buildings of England; Shropshire*. London: Yale University Press, 2006.
- . and James Bettley. *The Buildings of England; Suffolk East*. London: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Phillimore, Robert. *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1895.
- Plumley, Nicholas. *The Organs of the City of London*. Oxford: Positif Press, 1996.
- Préaud, Maxime. *Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du XVIIe siècle, Tome 12, Jean Lepautre*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1999.

- Quantin, Jean-Louis. *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Ramsbottom, John. "Presbyterianism and 'Partial Conformity' in the Restoration Church of England." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43, no. 2 (April 1992): 249-270.
- Richardson, Caroline Francis. *English Preachers and Preaching, 1640-1670*. New York: Macmillan, 1928.
- Ricketts, Annabel. *The English Country House Chapel: Building a Protestant Tradition*, edited by Simon Ricketts. Reading: Spire Books, 2007.
- Rose, Jacqueline. *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660-1688*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- . "John Locke, 'Matters Indifferent' and the Restoration of the Church of England." *Historical Journal* 48, no. 3 (September 2005): 601-621.
- Rosenau, Helen. "The Synagogue and Protestant Church Architecture." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4, no. 1/2 (October 1940 - January 1941): 80-84.
- Rosenberg, Jakob, and Engelbert Hendrik ter Kuile. *Dutch Art and Architecture, 1600 to 1800*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966.
- Rostenberg, Leona. *English Publishers in the Graphic Arts, 1599-1700: A Study of the Printsellers & Publishers of Engravings, Art & Architectural Manuals, Maps & Copy-books*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1963.
- Rothwell, Eric. *The Miseriords and Screen in Cartmel Priory*. Much Wenlock: R.J.L. Smith & Associates, 1997.
- Rouse, Edward Clive, and Peter Newbold. *Medieval Wall Paintings*. 4th ed. Princes Riseborough: Shire, 1991.
- Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, Vol. 2, West London*. London: H.M.S.O., 1925.
- . *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, London, Vol. 4, The City of London*. London: H.M.S.O., 1929.
- . *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, Vol. 4, South East*. London: H.M.S.O., 1923.
- Royal Institute of British Architects. *Sir Christopher Wren, A.D. 1632-1723; Bicentenary Memorial Volume*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923.
- Ryrie, Alec. *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- St. Benet Paul's Wharf, parish website. http://www.stbenetwelshchurch.org.uk/pages/StBenet_Brief_History.pdf.
- St. George-in-the-East, parish website. <http://stgitehistory.org.uk/>.
- Seaver, Paul S., and G.R. Elton. *The Puritan Lectureships; the Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970.
- Seaward, Paul. *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-1667*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- . *The Restoration, 1660-1688*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991.

- Sekler, Eduard F. *Wren and His Place in European Architecture*. London: Faber and Faber, 1956.
- Seymour, June. "Edward Pearce, Baroque Sculptor of London." *Guildhall Library Miscellany* (1952): 10-18.
- Sheppard, F.W.H. *St. James Westminster, Survey of London, vol. 29*. London: London Survey Committee, 1960.
- Simpson, W. Sparrow. "Notes on the History and Antiquities of the united Parishes of S. Matthew Friday Street and S. Peter Cheap in the City of London." *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, III (1870), 332-381.
- Smith, Eric. *The Church of St. Mary Abchurch, City of London*. London: The Ecclesiological Society, 1983.
- Smith, Peter. "William Cleere, Master Joiner." *The Georgian Group Journal* XVIII (2010): 8-29.
- Snodin, Michael and John Styles. *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900*. London: V&A Publications, 2001.
- Soo, Lydia M. *Wren's Tracts on Architecture, and Other Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Spaeth, Donald A. *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parson and Parishioners, 1660-1740*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Spicer, Andrew. *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe*. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.
- . ed. *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- Spinks, Bryan. *Liturgy in the Age of Reason: Worship and Sacraments in England and Scotland 1662 – c.1800*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Spraggon, Julie. *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003.
- Spurr, John. *English Puritanism 1603-89*. London: Macmillan, 1998.
- . "‘Latitudinarianism’ and the Restoration Church." *The Historical Journal* 31, no.1 (March 1988): 61-82.
- . *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Stierlin, Henri. *The Roman Empire: Volume 1: From the Etruscans to the Decline of the Roman Empire*. Translated by Suzanne Bosman. Cologne: Taschen, 1996.
- Stevenson, Christine. *The City and the King: Architecture and Politics in Restoration London*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.
- . "Occasional Architecture in Seventeenth Century London." *Architectural History* 49 (2006): 35-74.
- Stocks, John Ellis. *St. John's Church, Leeds*. Leeds: Whitehead & Miller Ltd, 1934.
- Summerson, John. "Drawings of London Churches in the Bute Collection." *Architectural History* 13 (1970): 30-42+93-118.
- . *Georgian London*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988.

- Surman, Charles Edward. *A.G. Matthews Walker Revised: Supplementary Index of Intruders and Others* edited by A.G. Matthews and Roger Thomas. Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1956.
- Sutch, Victor D. *Gilbert Sheldon, Architect of Anglican Survival, 1640-1675*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973.
- Tabor, Margaret. *The City Churches*. London: The Swarthmore Press, 1924.
- Tapsell, Grant, ed. *The Later Stuart Church*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012.
- Thomson, David. *Renaissance Paris: Architecture and Growth, 1475-1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Thornbury, Walter. *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People, and its Places*. 2 vols. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878.
- Thornton, Peter. *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Thurley, Simon. *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- . *Somerset House: The Palace of England's Queens, 1551-1692*. London: London Topographical Society, 2009.
- . "The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal, 1618-1685." *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 238-274.
- . *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1999.
- Tilbury, Clare. "The Heraldry of the Twelve Tribes of Israel: An English Reformation Subject for Church Decoration." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63, no. 2 (April 2012): 274-305.
- Till, Barry. "The Worcester House Declaration and the Restoration of the Church of England." *Historical Research* 70, no. 172 (1997): 203-230.
- Tipping, Henry Avray and Eric Milner-White. *Grinling Gibbons and the Woodwork of His Age, 1648-1720*. London: Country Life, 1914.
- Tucker, Tony. *Sword Rests of the City*. Stoke-on-Trent: Friends of the City Churches, 2015.
- Turner, G. Lyon. "The Religious Condition of London in 1672, as Reported to the King and Court by an Impartial Outsider." *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 3 (1907-8): 192-205.
- Usher, Robin. *Protestant Dublin, 1660-1760: Architecture and Iconography*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Walker, John. *The History of the Old Parish Church of All Saints, Wakefield, now the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Wakefield*. Wakefield: W.H. Milnes Radcliffe Printing, 1888.
- Walker, Matthew. *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Ward, Joseph P. *Culture, Faith, and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

- Webb, Sydney and Beatrice Webb. *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Parish and the County*. Part 1. London: Longman, Green & Co., 1906.
- Wing, Donald. *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1998.
- Whinney, Margaret Dickens. "Sir Christopher Wren's visit to Paris." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6 LI (April 1958), 229-242.
- . *Wren*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.
- Whinney, Margaret and Oliver Millar. *English Art, 1625-1714*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- White, James. G. *A History of the Ward of Walbrook*. London: 1904.
- Whiting, Robert. *The Reformation of the English Parish Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Wiffen, Marcus. *Stuart and Georgian Churches: The Architecture of the Church of England Outside London, 1603-1837*. London: Batsford, 1948.
- Willis, Jonathan. "Repurposing the Decalogue in Reformation England". In *The Decalogue and its Cultural Influence* edited by Dominik Markl, 190-204. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013.
- Wilson, Harry Bristow. *Brief Notices of the Fabric and Glebe of St. Mary Aldermary in the City of London*. London: Pickering, 1840.
- Winnett, A.R. *A History of St. Dionis Backchurch and St. Dionis Parson's Green: written to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of the latter church*. Oxford: Church Army Press, 1935.
- Woodhead, John Rogers. *The Rulers of London 1660-1689: A Biographical Record of the Aldermen and Common Councilmen of the City of London*. London: London & Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1966; online edn., <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-rulers/1660-89>.
- Yates, Nigel. *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900*. Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Young, Wayland and Elizabeth Young. *London Churches*. London: Grafton Books, 1986.

4 UNPUBLISHED SECONDARY SOURCES

- Bullett, Maggie. "Order, Authority and Space in Early Seventeenth Century Leeds: The Forging of John Harrison's Religious and Political Identity." Lecture, University of York, York, June 28, 2014.
- Dillow, Kevin. "The social and ecclesiastical significance of church seating arrangements and pew disputes, 1500-1740." DPhil thesis. University of Oxford, 1990.
- Geraghty, Anthony. "New Light on the Wren City Churches; The Evidence of the All Souls and Bute Drawings." PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1999.
- Hotson, Anthony Charles. "Late-Stuart Moneyed Men and their Patronage of Sculpture and Architecture, circa 1660 to 1720." PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 2006.

- Jago, James. "The Architecture of the Printed Frontispiece: Literary and Monumental Commemoration in Early Modern England." Conference paper. Society for Renaissance Studies: 4th Biennial Conference, York, 16-18 July 2010.
- . "The Dissemination and Reassessment of Private Religious Space in Early Modern England, 1600-1660." PhD thesis, University of York, 2012.
- Lockwood, S. "The Church of St. Mary Aldermary." Thesis, R.I.C.S. Diploma in Building Conservation. Assignment, no. G121, 1992.
- Walker, Gareth D. "Politics, Religion and the 'London churchmen', 1662-89." PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2009.
- Williams, Michael. "Medieval English Roodcreens, with special reference to Devon." PhD thesis. University of Exeter, 2008.
- Wright, Catherine. "The Spatial Ordering of Community in English Church Seating, c.1550-1700." PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2002.

5 IMAGE COLLECTIONS

Note: Unless otherwise stated, the following image collections are based in London, UK.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/?mode=desktop>

The Bishopsgate Institute, London & Middlesex Archaeological Society collection.
<http://internetserver.bishopsgate.org.uk/search/advanced>

The British Library. <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/index.html>

The British Museum. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx

Elektronische Bibliothek Schweiz, Geneva, Switzerland. <https://www.e-rara.ch/>

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., USA.
<https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/FOLGERCM1~6~6>

Historic England, "England's Places", online historic photograph collection:
<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/englands-places/>

The Internet Archive, San Francisco, USA. <https://archive.org/>

Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.
<https://www.diomedia.com/imageSearcher.do?keywords=charenton&isDiomedia=1&logKeywords=1>

The London Metropolitan Archives, "Collage" collection.
<https://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/home?WINID=1536658634092>

The National Gallery. <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/explore-the-paintings/artist-a-to-z>

The National Trust. <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/>

New York Public Library, New York, USA. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/>

Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Amersfoort, The Netherlands.
<http://beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl/>

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search>

The Royal Institute of British Architects. <https://www.architecture.com/image-library/>

St. Paul's Cathedral Archive. <https://www.stpauls.co.uk/history-collections/the-collections>

The Victoria & Albert Museum. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>

Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, USA. <https://britishart.yale.edu/collections>