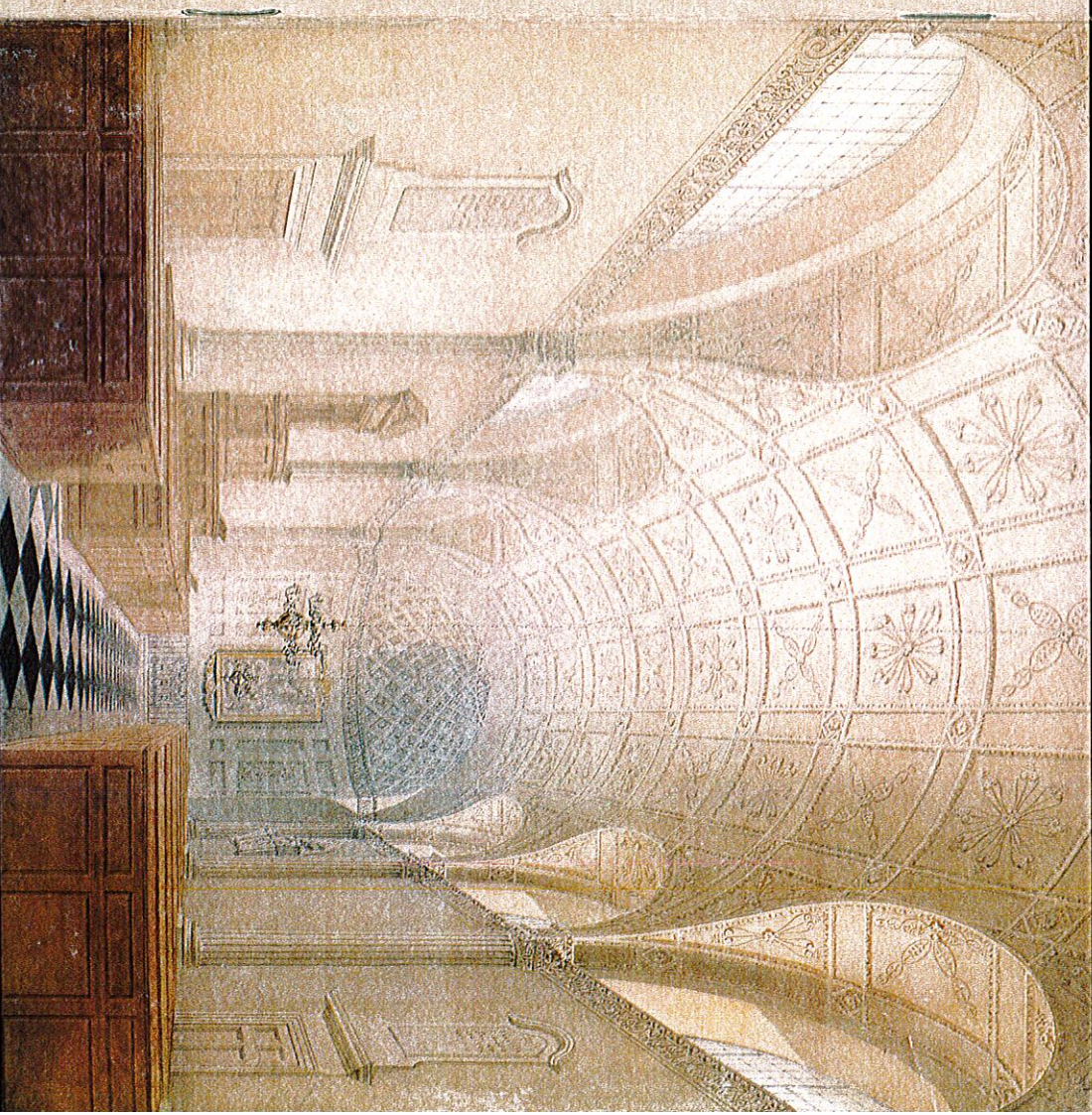
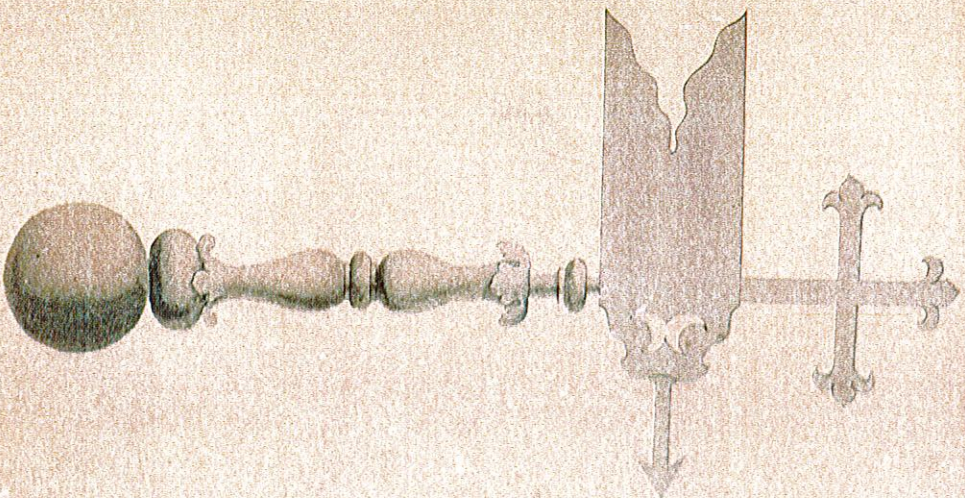


ALL HALLOWS LONDON WALL



A History and Description

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LONDON
Printed for the Guild Church Council
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FRONT COVER

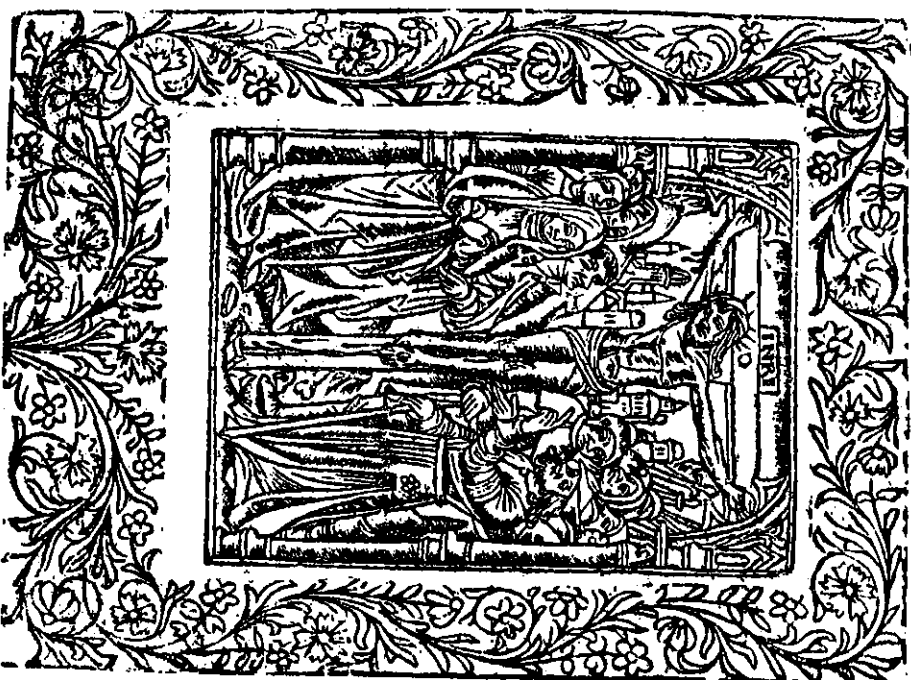
A watercolour drawing of the interior of the church in c.1800. The graceful proportions of Dance's design are clearly shown. Note the black and white paving, the fluted pillars and the delicate plasterwork.

The principal furnishings are the painted altarpiece, wrought iron communion rails, pulpit, reading desk and clerk's desk, and the box pews which provide a base line for the pillars.

Minor changes have already occurred during the three decades since the completion of the church. Benefaction boards appeared above the doors in 1772. The red curtain painted above the arch of the apse has been obliterated and the door to the pulpit is grained to look like mahogany instead of being painted to resemble stone. The size of the brass chandeliers has been underestimated and the candlesticks on the pulpit and desks are not shown.

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¶ the troyte of redempcyon.



Frontispiece

The woodcut depicting The Crucifixion which formed the frontispiece of Simon the Anchor's devotional treatise The Fyuyte of Redempcyon, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1514. The work was illustrated with a number of small woodcuts, of which this is the largest, showing scenes from the life of Christ. See Appendix II.

ALL HALLOWS LONDON WALL A History and Description

INTRODUCTION

All Hallows London Wall is one of thirty-seven Anglican churches surviving within the boundaries of the City of London. Like a dozen others it has been deprived of its parish and holds no Sunday services, but it is still consecrated and enjoys the status of a Guild Church, entrusted with a special function as the headquarters of the Council for the Care of Churches and Cathedrals Advisory Commission, kindred bodies which advise the Church of England on all aspects of the care and maintenance of the fabrics and contents of English parish churches and cathedrals.

This north-east corner of the City escaped the Great Fire of 1666, and All Hallows and its neighbours, unlike the majority of City churches, were therefore not rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. Some mediaeval buildings (All Hallows by the Tower, St. Andrew Undershaft, St. Ethelburga and St. Helen Bishopsgate) remain nearby, but a handful such as All Hallows London Wall, St. Botolph Aldgate and St. Botolph Bishopsgate were rebuilt in the eighteenth century.

The small white stone tower and gaunt brick walls of the church, thrown into unexpected prominence when the dual carriageway was created in the 1960s, hardly encourage the crowds who daily pass it on foot, in buses or in cars, to pause for a second glance. But, like a sea-shell, the stem outer walls enclose an interior of rare and delicate beauty. The long history of the present church, the building which stood here before it and the people who throughout the generations have loved and cared for them is a remarkable record of the changes which events in our national history brought about in the life of a small, relatively humble City parish.

The church life of the Middle Ages, the radical changes caused by the Reformation, the decay of the old church and its replacement by the younger George Dance's new church in the eighteenth century and its changing ministry over the past hundred years are all well documented, and this booklet offers a detailed account of the mediaeval church, the building and subsequent history of the Georgian church which succeeded it, and a description of the church as it appears today. Six appendices cover matters of related interest together with a Bibliography.

THE OLD CHURCH

The densely packed buildings of mediaeval London, crowded within the Square Mile enclosed by the City wall, left little room for magnificent parish churches. There was the great cathedral of St. Paul's, and several monastic houses such as Greyfriars had enormous churches, but the parishes generally had to be content with relatively small buildings on cramped and awkward sites which, by comparison with continental examples were humble indeed. On the other hand, they were numerous, and at the time of the Great Fire which destroyed much of the City in 1666 they numbered a hundred and seven. Of eight dedicated to All Hallows (or All Saints) two survive today.

The Great Fire burned for three days but was eventually extinguished before it reached the finges of the City. Although the Cathedral and eighty-six parish

churches had been destroyed, about twenty, including All Hallows, survived unscathed. On old maps it is immediately recognisable because of its unique position wedged between the City wall (see Appendix I) and the thoroughfare also called London Wall which ran alongside it. To the north, outside the wall, lay Moorfields, an area of rather marshy ground traversed by streams including the Walbrook, provided with three windmills and used for extra-mural activities such as archery or drying laundry.

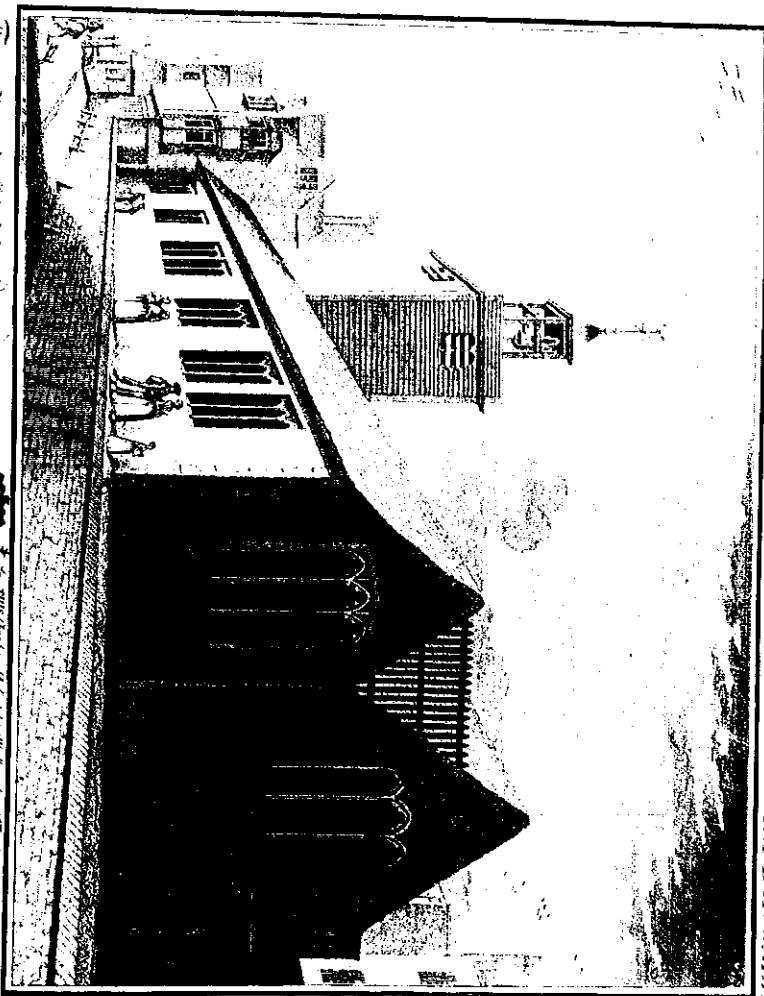
Early records are scarce, but the church is first mentioned in 1120, when the patronage which belonged to the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, was confirmed by a deed of Henry I. A century later a dramatic event is recorded when in 1321 Isabelle de Bury murdered the clerk of the church and, hoping for sanctuary, shut herself within the church for five days. We are not told why she killed him, but when the Bishop of London eventually sent a letter to say that the Church would not save her because she had doubly sinned in that the murder had taken place within a consecrated building, she was taken to Newgate and hanged there three days later.

The church concerned, probably not the first building to occupy this site, was built in about 1300 and seems to have been relatively small and plain, for this was always a poor part of the City. It contained amongst other things a rood loft which was rebuilt in 1457, when the cross was gilded. In the same year a latten branch (brass chandelier) was purchased for 14/- to hang in the chapel of All Saints. As a result of the increasing fashion for preaching in the later fifteenth century a pulpit was erected in 1475, and three years later the altar was painted and gilded and adorned with two alabaster statues. In addition to the high altar there were a principal chapel of All Saints, a minor one of the Holy Trinity and altars of Our Lady and St. Laurence. In 1481 the steeple was rebuilt, and accounts for lead, solder, boards and nails suggest its likely appearance. It was during this period that All Hallows became famous for its anchorites or recluses (see Appendix II).

An inventory of 1501 records the possession of three crosses (one of silver parcel gilt weighing 73 ounces worth £16-8-4, a small one of 10½ ounces for carrying the sacrament and a tiny gold cross); three chalices; an incense "schyppe"; a chismatory (phiale for holy oils); two paxes (small wooden or metal plates for conveying the kiss of peace from the priest to the people during mass), the greater with three images, given by the anchorite; a "treystyll" (unidentified) of silver; a clasp of copper gilt for the statue of St. Nicholas; and a pontifical (or book of episcopal services) of St. Thomas of Canterbury bound in silver. There was also one relic, a bone of St. David encased in silver, but it was a modest collection compared with the wealth of treasures possessed by more affluent City churches. Twelve torches (large wax candles for carrying in processions and holding aloft at the elevation of the consecrated Host) were augmented by two more torches left to the parish by Henry VII in 1509, but the parish had to fetch them from Westminster and the boat hire and breakfast cost the churchwardens 4d. In the same year a new organ was provided in place of the old one.

In 1528 a new aisle was built on the south side of the church. Twelve oak trees were purchased for the purpose from a park near Colchester belonging to the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate and a number of donors gave offerings; a play performed in the church raised £5-8-9½; money was given by the anchorite; and in the custom of the time the ladies of the parish, led by the wives of the churchwardens, went from door to door seeking contributions. But the clouds of the Reformation were gathering, and over the next thirty years every church in the land was to be drastically affected by the reforms instituted by Henry VIII and carried on with redoubled vigour during the reign of his son, Edward VI.

III. 501 THE EAST PROSPECT OF THE CHURCH OF ALLHALLOWS LONDON WALL



Go to the North Door of Philip Street and you will find the church of All Hallows, London Wall. The church is a long narrow building with a steeple on the right side. The church is situated on a slight rise, and the foreground shows a street with some figures and a fence. The engraving is detailed, showing the texture of the stone and the surrounding environment.

Fig. 1

The mediæval church as it appeared in West and Tomes' engraving of 1736, thirty years before its demolition. Its long narrow shape can be clearly seen, as can the south aisle added in 1528, the weather-boarded tower containing four bells with a fifth hung high in the gable and the small north-east door which allowed processions into the churchyard. The paining between the gables must have been erected to prevent thieves stealing lead from the roof. The house at the far end was probably the rectory.

(Photograph by Godfrey New from an engraving in Guildhall Library)

THE REFORMATION

The first churches to suffer from the effects of Henry VIII's break with the Church of Rome were the monasteries, which were dissolved and dismantled between 1536 and 1545. Among them was the Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate which had held the patronage of All Hallows for at least four hundred years; in common with many others the patronage passed to the Crown, on whose behalf it has ever since been exercised by the Lord Chancellor. With the succession of the young Edward VI in 1547 the rapacity increased considerably at the instigation of his uncle, the Lord Protector Somerset, who saw in the wealth of the Church a way of filling the depleted Royal coffers while at the same time accomplishing the conversion of England to Protestantism.

But the physical changes consequent on replacing the Mass with the new Communion Services of the 1549 Prayer Book were introduced first. Thus in 1550, it was ordered that all stone altars should be destroyed and replaced by wooden trestle tables set lengthwise in the body of the church. Accordingly in this year All Hallows dismantled the high altar and sold the altarstone of freestone, "certain alabaster" (perhaps the statues added in 1478), two standard candlesticks of latten (brass) which stood before the high altar, and the priest's seat in the choir. The destruction of roods (carved representations of the Crucifixion accompanied by St. Mary and St. John normally set high above the chancel screen) had begun in 1538, but it was not formally authorised until 1548 and only in 1551 did All Hallows sell the timber of the rood loft, some stones which remained of the altars and the two pairs of doors from the chancel screen and the chapel screen. Expenditure on the necessary liturgical changes was normally met by selling materials no longer required, and in the same year 30 pounds of brass from monuments was sold as scrap.

Even the humbler City churches like All Hallows possessed a fair number of vestments and books. While thirteen vestments (chasubles and their appurtenances) were sold, including one of white silk with stars of Spanish gold, one of blue fustian of Naples and one of red fustian of Naples, the church kept only three (one of blue damask with the deacon's dalmatic and sub-deacon's tunicle, one of blue satin and one of green damask). Three copes were sold and three retained (one of blue damask, one of green and one of changeable silk) together with five surplices. Three robes for deacons, one of black silk, were also kept. Altar cloths, curtains and banners were sold, leaving only two altar cloths of tawny and white damask, a canopy cloth (for the hanging pyx in which the sacrament was reserved) and five linen towels.

The "old mass book" and "other old books" were sold and by 1552 the church only possessed a Bible (required by the Royal Injunctions of 1538 and 1541), a "book of the services of the church" (probably Archbishop Cranmer's first Prayer Book of 1549, which still permitted the use of vestments), two psalter books and "two books of Erasmus" (paraphrases from the epistles and gospels ordered by Royal Injunction of 1547 to be used in churches throughout the land). Although one cracked bell was sold, the four large bells and one small bell in the steeple, the organ and the plate (consisting at this time of two silver-gilt chalices with covers and a pax of wood decorated with three images and seventeen roses of silver) were kept. The goods which were sold brought in £6-16-3.

Such transactions are recorded in great detail in the papers of a Commission established by the Privy Council in May 1552 at the behest of Lord Protector Somerset, to which each parish had to submit a list of the contents of their church in 1548, details of items sold over the subsequent five years and a list of the contents

remaining in the church in 1552. All Hallows may be thought to have escaped relatively lightly, but any relief would have been short-lived for, although Somerset was excused for treason in 1553, the Commission had a final purge throughout the country in that year which resulted in the seizure of almost all the remaining church goods. Unfortunately no records survive to show what exactly disappeared in this year, but it seems likely that the remaining vestments (forbidden by the second Prayer Book of 1552) and communion plate would have been sold, and although in the brief reign of Edward's Roman Catholic sister Mary (1553-8) attempts were made to reverse the trend, and Elizabeth's new Prayer Book of 1559 reverted to the rubric of 1549 which permitted the use of vestments, the City churches seem generally to have adopted a Protestant attitude towards the furnishing of their buildings so that, for example, by the date of the next known inventory in 1572 All Hallows had only pewter communion vessels.

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (1558-1603) AND THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

We can therefore picture fairly clearly the appearance of the interior of the church in 1558 when Elizabeth ascended the throne. It must have been very like our surviving neighbour, St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, with a weatherboarded tower over the west end and the body of the church divided from the 1528 aisle by an arcade of stone arches. Since the chancel screen and rood and other furnishings had mostly been sold, the interior was doubtless rather bare, with a floor of stone flags, whitewashed walls, large clear-glazed windows and open timber roofs. There was presumably a wooden communion table, and the pulpit erected in 1475 probably also remained. With the slight relaxation of Protestant severity which followed the 1559 Prayer Book, All Hallows obtained one or two new ornaments, most notable of which was a silver-gilt cup in 1574.

Of the church in the seventeenth century little is recorded, but at some point the church acquired a peculiar memento of Elizabeth's reign in the form of "a very large Piece of Painting on Cloth in a strong Frame" representing "the effigies on her tomb in Westminster Abbey with the Ensigns of Royalty and two gold Lions at her Head and Feet". This was still in the church in 1803 when Malcolm* saw it and studied the inscription comparing her to Old Testament heroines which he found "excessively panegyric". Also about this time the church was provided with "Commandments done in an old character with glass before them in a triangular frame nearly five feet high" which were set up in the chancel. In 1613 the church was repaired and in 1622 it was described as being "of the Gothic and Tuscan orders, with a small gallery at the west end". At some point, possibly in 1627 when the large sum of £220 was spent on the fabric, the timber tower was rebuilt in the form which appears in later views and maps.

*Full titles and dates of sources and other relevant books are given in Appendix VI.

THE OLD CHURCH IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As depicted in West and Toms' engraving of 1736 (Fig i) the body of the church comprised nave and chancel under one roof about eighty feet long flanked on the south side by an aisle with square-headed windows under a similar long gabled roof. The walls were mostly of brick and each part had a Perpendicular east window of rather debased form. The weather-boarded tower rising above the west end of the

nave had a tiled roof capped by a square bell-cote reaching to a height of about fifty feet, and at the north-east corner was a secondary doorway into the churchyard, originally intended for use during processions, some of which encompassed the churchyard as well as the church. A house abutting the south-west corner was left to the parish by Martin Alleyn in 1432 for the purpose of housing the rector.

No illustrations of the interior are known, but we can assemble a fairly complete idea of it from contemporary descriptions. In 1733 Seymour recorded that:

This church is a *Godrick Building*, and, having escaped the Fire of LONDON, is not so beautiful as those which were wholly new erected; it is well wainscoted and pewed; it is remarkable for having the Pulpit built into the Wall; at the East (? west) End of this Church is a small Gallery, the Front of which is adorned with Shields and their Compartments, elevated on small Columns of the *Tuscan Order*, which was beautified in the year 1699 at the Charge of the Parish. At the Altar the 10 Commandments, Lord's Prayer and Creed are done in Black with *Mosses* on the North and *Aaron* on the South Side of the Decalogue, finely painted, all under a Canopy, in the Middle whereof are the King's Arms.

The last item seems to have been a repainting of the arms of Queen Anne which Toms records as having been "carved and put up" in this position "at the charge of the Parishioners and the whole new beautified in 1703". Slightly to the south of the altar-piece was the "Piece of Antiquity, being the *Commandments* done in an old Character upon Glass which, hanging against a Window, are transparent; they are in a Sort of a Triangular Frame, near five Feet high", with the picture of Queen Elizabeth's tomb on the north wall and "a case for the Lord Mayor's sword, gilt, fixed to a pillar".

More detailed information can be gleaned from inventories drawn up in 1685 and 1729. The communion table was enclosed by a frame and rails and there were eight rushy leather chairs and one cane chair with a caffaw (or silk taffeta) cushion. Two framed panels listed the gifts of benefactors, and other furnishings included a stone font with a cover, the pulpit and desk, and pews in the church and gallery. A brass branch with twelve sockets hung from an iron rod which was painted blue in 1745. But no organ is recorded.

In the steeple there were, as there had been since the Middle Ages, four bells to be rung as a peal and one small bell in the cote to call the parishioners to services, as well as a clock and dial. For more mundane purposes there was "one long brush to sweep down dust and cobwebs in the church". In case of fire there were twenty-four leather buckets, three ladders great and small and one long hook of wood and iron. For burials there were two shovels, a spade, a pick-axe and a small number of planks. In 1689 there were two church coffins, but these were deleted after 1703.

The vestry, probably built, like the present one, on the bastion of the City wall on the north side of the nave, contained two tables with green carpets, three forms (moveable benches), a cupboard and two chests all full of parish papers and an oak box with a lock for the vestments and communion table linen (two holland surplices, one diaper tablecloth and a damask napkin, to which was added the gift of a fine purple broadcloth carpet with a silk fringe, probably intended for the communion table, from the Revd. Joshua Richardson. The silver in another chest consisted of the 1574 cup augmented by two flagons (one of 55 ounces given by Abraham Walker, lecturer, in 1684 and the other, of 54 ounces, given by Isaac and Abraham Houlton in 1701), two patens and a plate. These pieces all survived until they were stolen in 1833.

Also kept in the vestry were a number of green cushions, two black cloths for burials, a crimson velvet cushion for the pulpit, three or four brass candlesticks and a pair of snuffers together with a shovel, pair of tongs, pair of bellows and fire-irons with brass tops. Books included one or two large Bibles, one covered with calfskin with silk straps, several Books of Common Prayer, a homily book, and two divinity books (Erasmus' *Paraphrases* and Jewell's *Apology*). Two register books of baptisms, marriages and burials were bound in vellum and kept with a third "old register book", as well as three books for parish accounts and two books of vestry minutes bound in parchment.

Additions after 1730 include a third table of benefactor's gifts, a new register book bound in the finest vellum in a wainscot box lined with green baize, a beadle's staff with a silver head given in 1734 by Mr. Richard Beckington and Mr. Robert Imyns, four folio Books of Common Prayer dated 1744 and new books for the churchwardens' accounts and parish rates.

DECAY OF THE OLD CHURCH

A statement in 1703 that the church was "much decayed in the outer work thro' antiquity" is borne out by considerable payments for repairs in 1685 (£180), 1698 (£112), and 1691 (£140), and when in December 1705 Mr. Richardson reported to the vestry that several neighbouring parishes intended to petition Parliament for the rebuilding of their churches it was agreed to join them. But nothing came of this and various repairs were done over the next decade, including repairs to pews and widening the west door in 1708 to accommodate the larger of the two fire engines bought in that year (see Appendix IV). In the next year an iron chest was bought for the parish plate and in December 1710 a defect in the south-east corner of the church was inspected by Mr. Stanton and Mr. Andrews.

In 1711 Parliament passed an Act which established a Commission for Building Fifty New Churches in the Cities of London and Westminster, and All Hallows was amongst the parishes which rushed in with petitions to be considered for a new church, claiming that "our church and steeple are in such decay that we have equal right to public help". The petition, drafted by the Rector, pointed out that the parish was poor and that the church, being small, could be rebuilt at much less expense than many others. But this was the wrong argument to use before a commission with grandiose political intentions, unlikely to be interested in decaying churches on cramped sites in poor parishes. Like many others, the vestry was disappointed and therefore had to continue with intermittent repairs. In 1724 the parish spent over £300 on repainting the steeple, repairing the tiling on the church and doing minor repairs to the churchyard and its wall, partly raised on the City wall.

In January 1733, after all but fifty years as rector, Mr. Richardson died aged 83. His successor, Thomas Woodford, arrived from Exeter College Oxford at about the age of twenty-eight. Although he only stayed for two years before moving on to St. Botolph with St. George Billingsgate, he added a "handsome apartment" to the rectory. He was succeeded by Samuel Smith, a Bachelor of Laws from Cambridge during whose time (1736-58) three iron bars had to be fixed across the church to stabilise the walls in 1740; further work in 1745 cost about £45.

In 1758 Mr. Smith died and Benjamin Mence was appointed Rector. Mence took his degree at King's College Cambridge and in 1750 had been appointed to St. Pancras parish church. In the same year he was admitted Senior Cardinal of the

College of Minor Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral, and from 1758 he held All Hallows with St. Pancras. He was also Chaplain to the Duke of St. Albans. In 1759 the west gable was taken down as low as the top of the door and rebuilt in grey stock brick, the top of the vestry chimney was repaired, a new engine house was built in the churchyard and the steeple was again repaired and repainted. An "umbrello" was also bought to shelter the parson from rain at funerals.

By this time the church was becoming seriously decrepit. In the autumn of 1764 several members of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters (see Appendix III), a few days after attending their annual Election Day service in the church, made representations to the vestry about the need for a survey of the fabric. On 6 September the vestry accordingly heard a report from Mr. Strickland Holden, surveyor, in which he stated that the church was indeed in a very bad condition and that he thought it "most advisable to rebuild than repair the same". Cautiously the vestry agreed to seek a second opinion from Mr. Isaac Ware, Secretary to the Board of Works and Past Master of the Carpenters Company. On 2 October he reported that he agreed entirely with Mr. Holden:

The middle wall from east to west formed in arches and supporting a weighry old roof, which roof has no ties to hold it together, has thrust the said wall fifteen inches out of an upright in its height of fourteen feet, which is more than half its thickness.

The spandrels of the arches are greatly shattered and have several cracks in them that shew that they must have given way very lately and certainly since the last repairs. From the same cause, added to bad materials made use of from time to time in repairing the church, the south front wall is drove out of an upright six inches, several of the piers much bulged and the wall its whole length very unsound.

The east wall is in the same state and the great window in it is in imminent danger of falling.

The north front wall is also considerably out of an upright and all the windows gone quite to decay by length of time, as the whole building which is in as ruinous a condition as can be to stand.

We are therefore of the opinion that if it could be repaired (which is by no means advisable) that half the premises must be taken down and a new roof put on, new windows made and stone buttresses built against the outside walls to support them in their place and such repairs would amount to so considerable a sum that it would be better economy to rebuild the said church (as the old materials would turn to some account) than to repair so crippled a fabric.

It was unanimously agreed to have a new church, and a committee was set up on the spot. It would also take into account the rector's house, which had been left to the parish in 1432 and had now become "old and ruinous" so that it was necessary to pull it down for safety.

THE COMMITTEE FOR REBUILDING THE CHURCH AND RECTOR'S HOUSE

Thus it came about that, a hundred years later than most of the City churches, the old church of All Hallows London Wall was to be replaced by a new building. On 10 January 1765 the necessary Act of Parliament was passed; it set up a body of over fifty

trustees and stipulated that their first meeting should take place on 1 May 1765.

Although many of the trustees were appointed *ex officio* and never attended, the business was diligently transacted by those who as parishioners had a natural interest in the matter. Despite the fact that on many occasions the only business was the ratification of decisions recorded in previous minutes after which the meeting adjourned to the less formal surroundings of a local alehouse, the minutes were meticulously kept and the recorded business fills two large volumes now kept at Guildhall Library. Since the trustees had to raise funds for the work they continued to meet long after the church was completed and only finally wound up their affairs thirty-one years later on 18 July 1796. So small was the parish (about 300 houses) that it was easy to call people together at short notice and, from the start to the completion of the church alone, a period of two years and four months, 77 meetings were held. One benefit of assembling in a tavern was that very often the craftsmen would be in another room and could be summoned instantly, as Lukyn Betts was when the trustees suddenly decided on a second chandelier.

At the meeting on 1 May plans and estimates for the new church were produced by five architects:

1. The late Mr. Holden	£3,000
2. Mr. Robinson	£3,150
3. Mr. Thomas Cox for Mr. Gibson	£2,500
4. Mr. Dance	£3,000
5. Mr. Dublican	£3,000

The candidates were an unequal field. Strickland Holden, who had surveyed the old church in the previous year, was a carpenter and building surveyor rather than an architect, and had unfortunately died a few days before the meeting. Mr. Robinson may have been William Robinson who succeeded Isaac Ware in the following year as Secretary to the Board of Works and built the Excise Office in Old Broad Street in 1769-75; Mr. Thomas Cox was one of the trustees and the Mr. Gibson whose plans he presented may have been George Gibson, an obscure architect who "had good connections among the wealthy City merchants", for one of whom he is known to have designed offices in Broad Street a few years later; Mr. Dance, the twenty-four-year old son of George Dance the City Surveyor, had just returned from six formative years studying architecture in Rome; and Mr. Dublican was Samuel Dowbiggin, one of a family of London joiners and surveyors.

A week later the contenders appeared again with their plans and revised estimates to be interviewed separately by the trustees. Mr. Holden was not represented; Mr. Robinson had reduced his price to £2,962; Mr. Gibson was called but nobody attended to produce his designs; Mr. Dance held his estimate at £3,000 but Mr. Dowbiggin undercut him at £2,980. No account of the discussion was recorded, but Mr. Dance was appointed and the failed candidates were paid off with five guineas each.

THE ARCHITECT*

It would be fascinating to know why the trustees, doubtless a conservative body of City merchants, did not (for once) choose the lowest estimate but, in the face of competition from people of an older generation who were probably well known to

*For a full account of Dance's life and work, see Stroud, *George Dance, Architect, 1741-1825* (1971) from which the following information is taken.

them, selected a young man who had been abroad for six years and had returned with his head full of new-fangled foreign ideas.

Of course many of them must have known Dance's father, at least by reputation. George Dance I (1695-1768) had spent his whole life in and about the City, becoming Clerk of Works to the City of London in 1735. Almost all his architectural works are within a mile of the City boundary and include the neighbouring churches of St. Botolph Bishopsgate (with his father-in-law, James Gould, 1736-9), St. Leonard Shorechurch (1736-40) and St. Botolph Aldgate (1741-4) in addition to Mansion House, the official residence of the Lord Mayor (1739-40), a contract which Dowbiggin's father had done his best to prevent Dance from obtaining.

Aware, perhaps, of his own limited experience, and wishing to give his two artistic sons the most fashionable training available, he sent Nathaniel (a painter) and his younger brother George to Rome in 1758 when the latter was only 17. There young George studied at the Academy of St. Luke and became a member of the Society of Arcadia, a sophisticated body of Italian intellectuals. He measured a number of ruins in the Forum and the dome of St. Peter's, and while engaged on the former made the acquaintance of the influential writer and illustrator G.B. Piranesi. During a convalescence at Porto d'Anzio in 1762 he was taken up by Cardinal Corsini and his two nephews, one also a cardinal and the other a prince, representatives of one of the most illustrious Roman families. But he assured his father that time was not being wasted: "I work very hard", he wrote in June "in order to bring home as many drawings as I can". The next year his work was rewarded with the Gold Medal at Parma for drawings of "A Public Gallery for Statues, Pictures, etc", and the following autumn he started back to England, arriving in London in time for his sister's wedding on 4 December. A fragment of a letter in St. Pancras Public Library suggests a factor in young Dance's favour, for it shows that the Revd. Benjamin Mence had visited Rome. Is it possible that he met George Dance there?

THE NEW CHURCH IS BUILT

The following day, 9 May 1765, Dance was instructed to leave the plans, sections and elevations at his father's house in Chiswell Street "for the inspection of any person who shall be willing to contract for the building of the said church", and advertisements were to be put in the papers giving notice of a meeting of the trustees on 23 May to receive proposals. The old church was to be shut up on the Thursday in Whitsun week (30 May). Two amendments to the plans were agreed: there should be no tester over the pulpit and only one staircase to the gallery. Dance was asked to produce a plan, elevation and estimate for the rector's house.

On 23 May the proposals from contractors were read "and that of Mr. Joseph" (actually James) "Taylor was to be taken into consideration as the lowest"; it was for £2,941. On being interviewed he said that he could not reduce it further, but he was engaged and promised £2,000 security against the completion of the contract. He was to be allowed sixteen months for building the church.

On 13 June it was reported that the foundations were being dug and that the ground was very bad. In order to overcome this, piling and planking would be necessary. This would be carried out by Mr. Taylor by 29 August at a cost of £166-18-10¼ in addition to bricklayer's work of £350 and mason's work of £151. On 28 June it was reported that the City Lands Committee had objected to the rector's house being rebuilt at the west end of the church, and it was agreed that it should be placed east of the church

with the front towards the south. A week later Dance produced plans accordingly. Meanwhile, on 10 July 1765, the foundation stone was laid at the north-west corner by Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Alderman of Broad Street Ward; to the stone, which is no longer visible, was fixed a brass plate with the inscription:

D. O. M
HAEC ECCLESIA
VETUSTATE COLLABEFACTA
ANNO SALVTIS
MDCCLXV
DENUO AEDIFICATA EST

On 22 July the City Lands Committee demanded a footpath along the south side of the church, so that Dance had to omit a doorway approached by a flight of steps in the eastern bay of this wall. On 2 December Dance estimated that to repair the old vestry room would cost £115. He also produced plans costing £500 for the rector's house, towards which Mr. Mence offered £100. On 19 December James Taylor said that he would build the rectory for £749 and Clayton Hand estimated £530. The former could not reduce his price, but the latter came down to £500 and was of course accepted. The contract was executed on 5 March 1766.

More trouble occurred with the substructure during the spring. On 2 April it was reported that the arches of the vaults had been "greatly damaged by the workmen having removed their centres too soon or otherwise by their mismanagement". The vestry foundations, it was discovered a fortnight later, would need to be piled and planked, and on 7 May it was agreed that the old vestry should be pulled down and that Dance should provide plans for a new one. On 16 May he did so; it would only cost £118. The plans were approved and tenders ordered to be sought. Mr. Hand put in his bill for £52-17-6 for piling and planking at the rector's house and on Dance's certificate this was paid.

On 3 June Clayton Hand and James Taylor produced estimates for the new vestry, the former for £115-10-0 and the latter for £99. Although Hand reduced his figure to £105-10-0 that from Taylor was accepted. Dance was asked to produce estimates for railings, fencing and paving the churchyard, which he did on 2 July. He brought alternative designs, one for posts and chains and the other for railings, and the latter was accepted. Mr. Thomas Charles and Mr. Woodall were to tender and Mr. Hunter was to deliver up proposals for the paving and for coping to pedestals for the railings.

Nine days later it was agreed that "the pavement of the church should be executed in Portland stone and black marble squares of equal size set in the diamond fashion". On 24 July Mr. George Hunter and Mr. John Hockley estimated £177-10-0 and £153 respectively for paving and mason's work. On being questioned Hunter would do it for £160 but Hockley could not reduce his estimate. Being the lesser, however, it was chosen. For the ironwork Thomas Charles estimated £135-16-0 and Mr. Woodall £136. The latter was accepted.

By 4 August the shell of the building seems to have been complete, for the trustees turned their attention to the furnishings. Mr. John Tyrher (at whose house, The Crown in Little Moorgate, a number of their meetings had been held) offered the gift of a branch (or brass chandelier) which Lukyn Berts, a brazier in the parish, was making. Berts, being in the house, was called up and asked to make a pair to it, which he agreed to do for 30 guineas with a chain at one shilling a foot. The churchyard at the west end was to be dug up and made proper for a burying ground and a brick wall was to be erected along the south side. A further gift on 22 August was a large picture

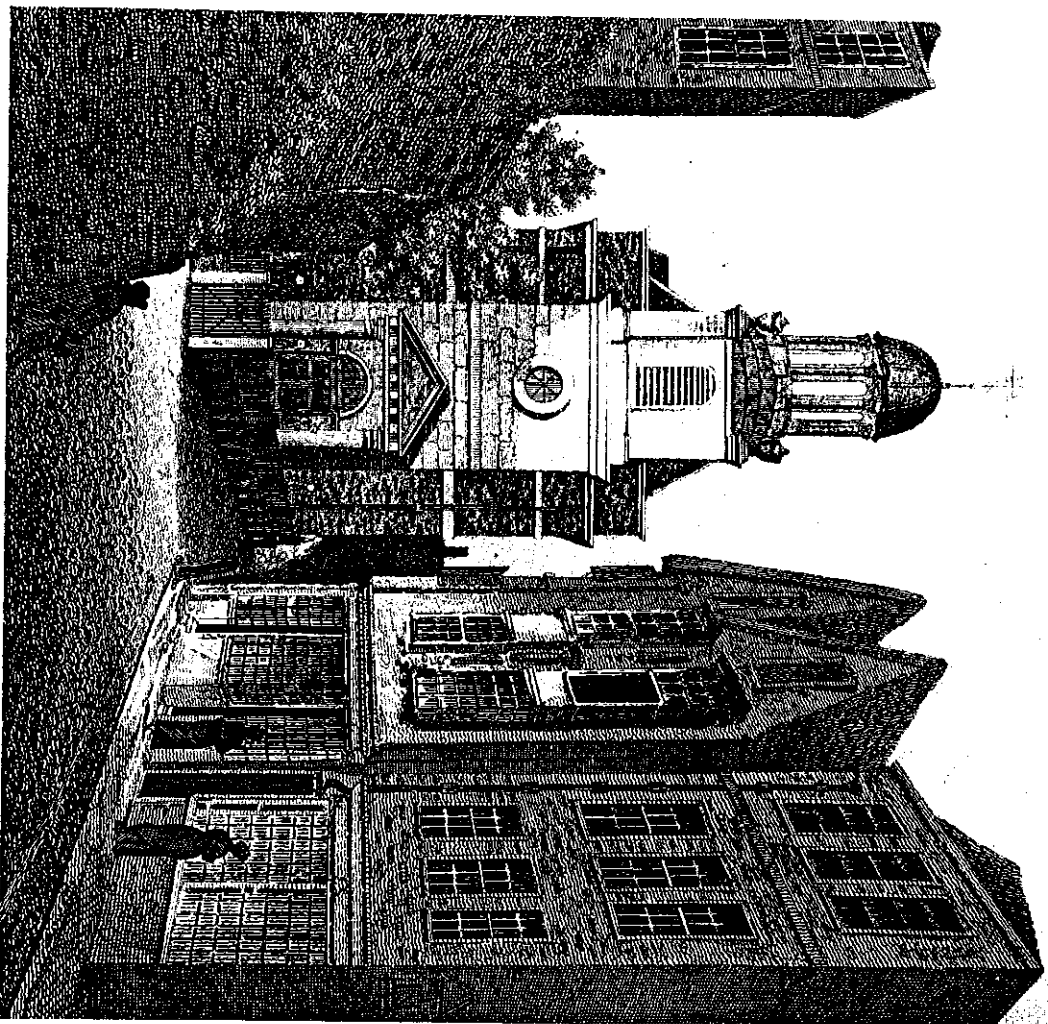


Fig. ii

Engraving of George Dance's church as it appeared in 1814, showing its position at the termination of a view along London Wall, with the narrow street of houses on the south side and the wedge-shaped churchyard enclosed by iron railings surmounted by lamps. On the left is a massive fragment of the City wall, over which rises one of the houses of Petty France. The five engine house can just be seen in the dark corner to the left of the tower.
(Photograph in Guild Church Council collection)

depicting "Ananias Restoring Sight to St. Paul Upon his Conversion" which was offered by Mr. Dance and accepted. It was to be placed over the communion table, and it was agreed that "there be likewise placed at the altarpiece tables of the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in such manner and in such frames and such ornaments in plaster as Mr. Dance shall think fit".

On 3 October Hand was to be paid £100 on the house and on 21 October Taylor was to be paid £600 on the church. A week later Betts was ordered to deliver the branch to the house of Mr. Clifton, churchwarden, and to be paid £25. The vane and other parts of the iron and copper work above the dome of the steeple were to be altered according to the new drawing by Mr. Dance (see back cover). On 14 January 1767 Mr. Hockley (mason) was to be paid £100, Mr. Hand (builder) £150 and Mr. Taylor (bricklayer) £50 for work in the churchyard. A fortnight later it was ordered that the church, already four months overdue, must be finished by Easter Sunday (19 April). Mr. Woodall was to be paid £24-17-0 for extra ironwork and, Mr. John Taylor having died, the churchwardens were empowered to appoint someone in his place for the bricklayer's work in the churchyard.

On 16 February it was agreed that the communion table should be enclosed with a straight iron railing of square bars with a twist in the middle of each, with an iron wicket or door. Thomas Charles would do it for 7 guineas and this was accepted. On 26 February the churchwardens were instructed to purchase the Bible and other books necessary for the new church. On 2 March Mr. Woodall was paid £136 for ironwork. On 31 March it was agreed that the stone pavement up to the west end of the church and from the east end to Mr. Mence's house, in which he was probably now living, should be widened by 18 inches.

Easter Day came and went. On 27 April Mr. Woodall's estimate of £55 for a revised design for plain churchyard railings with paired uprights capped by balls every 20 feet or so was accepted. On 29 June the first meeting was held in the new vestry room, and a month later Mr. James Taylor was paid £300 and the executors of Mr. John Taylor were paid the balance owing to them. Mr. Charles was paid £9-7-0 for the railings at the communion table.

The new church was consecrated by Dr. Richard Terrick, Lord Bishop of London, on 8 September 1767. A week later Mr. Taylor (carpenter) was paid the balance of £210, Mr. Woodall (smith) £25 and Mr. Hand (carpenter) £50 for his work on the house. Four years later, on 27 May 1771, five trustees reported that they had seen Mr. Dance and settled the tradesmen's final bill at a total of £214. Thereafter the accounts, which continue until Monday 18 July 1796, are concerned entirely with the raising of funds by rates, annuities, fines and so forth.

THE GEORGIAN CHURCH

Even by mid-eighteenth-century standards the sum of £3,000 or so which the trustees spent on rebuilding All Hallows was remarkably parsimonious (the equivalent, for example, of the cheapest of Wren's churches three generations earlier). But by a happy chance the predominant characteristic of the neo-classical style which the young Dance brought back from Rome was its simplicity. Sir John Summerson has pointed to the publications of Piranesi and the Abbé Laugier as the principal influences on the development of the neo-classical style, the former recommending the study of archaeological evidence and the latter insisting on a rational simplicity. We know that Dance met Piranesi among the ruins of the Roman Forum, and All

Hallows suggests that he had thoroughly studied Laugier's *Essai Sur L'Architecture* published in Paris in 1753.

His church was indeed something quite new amongst the City churches, having, as Elizabeth and Wayland Young put it, "a light, thoroughbred look". Wren's designs for London churches blended plasters, columns, entablatures and other elements derived from Italian theorists such as Vitruvius and Serlio with native wit to form thoroughly English buildings. In the next generation while Hawksmoor and Archer produced weighty and idiosyncratic Baroque edifices, James Gibbs introduced a much further in that direction. It embodies the cool elegance which was to become most familiarly associated with the names of Robert Adam and his rival James Wyatt. This simple airy building (see front cover) relies for its effect on the perfection of its proportions, and decoration is limited to the fluted Ionic columns which mark the bays, a frieze decorated with honeysuckle, and delicate scrolls on the plaster vault recedes of Wren are replaced by a painting on canvas framed in gold and hung on the wall like a picture in a fashionable drawing room and his dominant free-standing pulpits are superseded by a discreet structure forming a subordinate part of the fabric.

When the church was built, and indeed until about 1965, London Wall at this point was a narrow lane less than half the width of the present roadway and Dance therefore concentrated the architectural interest of the exterior on the tower, seen as the Portland stone contrasting with the brick wall from which it projects, and at the head of a flight of steps the doorway is framed by Tuscan columns and a pediment. The middle stage has a circular window in each face, the western one now occupied by a Victorian clock face. Above a cornice which encircles the whole building is a smaller stage housing the bell-chamber and provided with round-headed louvred openings in the three exposed sides. At the angles are pilasters and above the cornice are garlanded urns at the corners. This stage is crowned by a sophisticated circular cupola with a ring of eight unfluted Corinthian columns separating round arches within which originally hung the smaller bell. A cornice enlivens the outline by breaking forward over each column, and the little dome is strongly ribbed. A gilded cross copied from St. Paul's Cathedral is a late Victorian replacement of Dance's weathervane, an arrow surmounted by a cross above a ball and baluster (see back cover).

The body of the church, a rectangular room with a windowless apse at the east end, is raised on vaults and built of London stock brick (Fig. iii). The western bay, which contains the gallery and staircase, is quite plain with a blind recessed arch in the south wall and one large and two small windows in the north. Then follow three uniform bays, each with only a semi-circular window at clearstorey level even though there are no aisles but only blank walls below. A long narrow strip of ground extending to west and east formed the churchyard; the former, bounded on the north by a wall standing over the ancient City wall, survives but of the latter, originally reaching to Dance's rectory on the site of the offices at the corner of Old Broad Street, only two plane trees survive since the construction of the Men's Hall in 1902.

The west door originally formed the only entrance to the church. It leads into a square porch in the base of the tower with a circular bell-way in the vault through which the two bells cast in 1766 by Lester and Pack of Whitechapel were hauled up, one to the bell-chamber and the other to the cupola. By 1810 the porch was also used as a store for twenty-one leather fire buckets, trestles, steps, two braziers and covers,

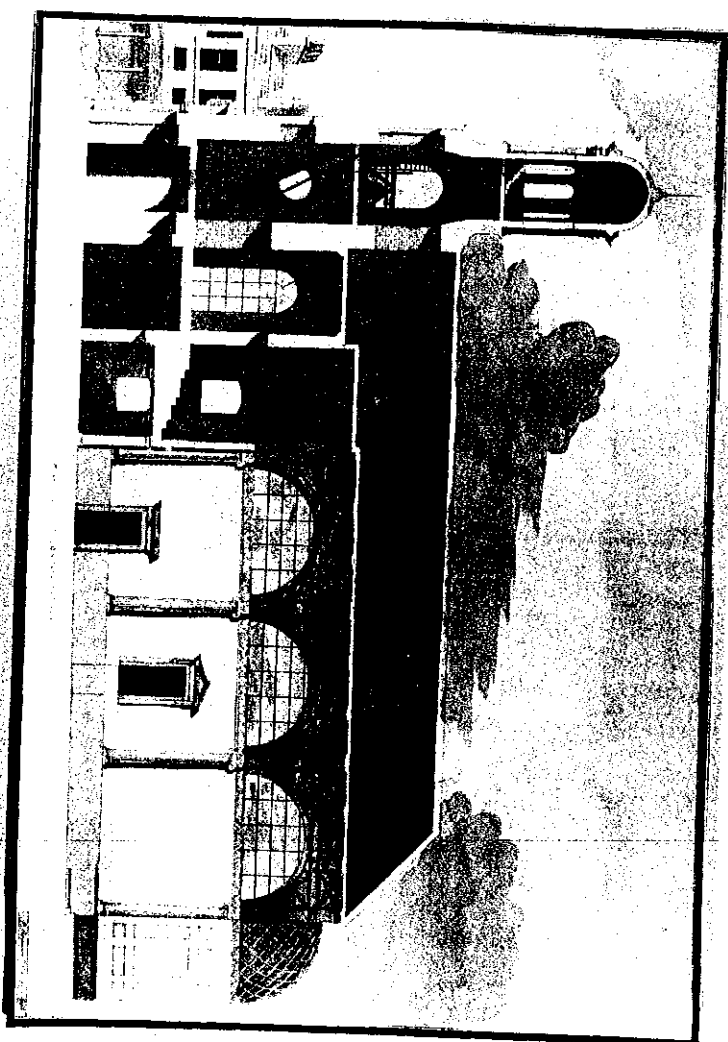


Fig. iii

Cross-section of the church drawn by B. Storaas dated 1 October 1806, showing the church as it was built. Reading from the west it shows the churchyard with a shelter for the fire engine in which hung two ladders and fire-hooks, with the houses of Petty France beyond. Then comes the tower, its four stages (porch, ringing chamber, belfry and cupola) clearly shown, followed by the ante-chamber with the gallery stair (not shown), and the church itself, of five bays. The middle three are of equal size with shallower bays for the gallery at the west and the apse at the east. The box pews and pulpit are only shown in outline, but the vestry door and the pulpit door appear. Dance originally intended the former to be matched by a blind door in the east bay, with symmetrical doors in the south wall, together with roundels of plaster above each and a shallow recess round the pulpit door. (Photograph by Godfrey New from a drawing in Guildhall Library)

and a "Tunk's head and staff" (a round long-handled broom). It now contains the only surviving wainscot bench of those provided for the chancel.

Double doors lead to the chamber formed within the west end of the church behind the gallery. Here a staircase rises to a spacious landing (partly divided in 1962 to form an office) with a large window once overlooking the gardens of Pery France. One door leads to the gallery, the other to the ringing chamber in the tower.

A second pair of glazed doors, once provided with two silk curtains against draughts, open into the space under the gallery. To one side was the enclosed christening pew containing the font, a simple marble bowl on a pedestal. The view into the church from this point, framed by the Tuscan pillars of the gallery, is best recorded by the watercolour drawing of about 1800 reproduced on the cover. Information about the furnishings which are not visible in the drawing can be derived from the vestry minutes and from an inventory drawn up in 1775.

Following Laugier's principle that "one should not put anything in a building for bare essentials to form "a work of pleasing exactitude and grace" (Young). To the three equal bays marked by slender fluted Ionic columns standing on plinths the height of the box pews are added a narrower west bay for the gallery and an exedra, or windowless apse, for the communion table at the east end. The frieze which encircles the whole interior has no cornice – of what purpose is a cornice within a building where there is no water to throw off the walls? Above it is the longitudinal barrel vault of semi-circular section (not the Baroque ellipse) pierced in each bay by cross-vaults for the windows set high in the walls. Their position, admitting light above the roofs of neighbouring buildings and reducing the noise of traffic from the busy street outside was dictated by practical considerations, but their architectural treatment was inspired by the basilicas and baths of ancient Rome with which Dance must have been very familiar. He may have recalled particularly, perhaps, the Basilica of Constantius in the Forum from which Wren had derived St. Mary le Bow and the Baths of Diocletian which Michelangelo had converted into the immense church of Santa Maria degli Angeli.

Within this space were set up two liturgical focal points, the communion table and the pulpit, at right-angles to each other. The former stood at the east end framed, together with the painted altarpiece, by the curved walls of the apse. This, with its intersecting ribs forming lozenges containing florets on the semi-dome, is a motif derived from the Temple of Venus and Rome overlooking the Forum, and repeated in marble inlay in the Corsini Chapel added to St. John Lateran by Alessandro Galilei in 1731. It was one to which Dance was to return several times during his long life. The communion table was of mahogany, normally covered with purple baize which was replaced by a richer crimson velvet cover and linen tablecloth for communion services. It was enclosed by straight iron railings with a central gate. The inventory also mentions two cushions which were probably used as book-rests and various stools and cushions which may have been kneeling benches. In the chancel were also four wainscot forms (moveable benches), and three more deal forms stood in the central alley. The curved area between the edge of the half-dome and the nave vault was painted in slightly theatrical fashion with a reddish looped curtain.

The altarpiece, still in place, was Nathaniel Dance's painting of *Ananias Restoring Sight to St. Paul*, copied from a picture by Pietro Bertini da Cortona of c. 1631 in the church of Santa Maria della Concezione in Rome. An engraving of this influential picture was published by Chateau and a smaller replica is in the National Gallery in Vienna. A print of it together with the Latin text of the incident portrayed appeared in

1740, and it is therefore difficult to tell whether Dance painted the picture in Rome or after his return to England. Cortona's style, somewhat modified by Dance, has been described by Wittkower as "a saturation of Raphaelesque reminiscences with Venetian colourism". In 1806 Hughson, saying that he did not wish to criticize Dance's picture, pointed out that the presence of a Benedictine monk holding a taper "does not credit to the consistency of the original". It retains its original gilded frame with moulded border and wreaths above and below giving the text from which the subject is taken. In 1790 "a handsome curtain of green silk" was provided to protect it from injury. In the large panels at each side were painted, in gold letters on a black ground, the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer and Creed.

In the centre of the middle bay on the north side, in front of a pedimented doorway originally coloured to resemble stone, stands the pulpit, with enriched panels. This, together with the reading desk and clerk's desk removed in 1890, formed the "three-decker" arrangement typical of the period. The pulpit was provided with a velvet valance and a large cushion covered in crimson velvet and the reading desk and clerk's desk with only a valance. In the bay on the left a door gives access to the semi-circular vestry built on a bastion of the City wall, from which a staircase in a turret leads to the pulpit, a most unusual arrangement which forced the preacher to leave his reading desk and pass from the body of the church into the vestry where he would remove his surplice before re-appearing in a black gown in the pulpit to preach his sermon, reversing the whole process at the end.

In the eighteenth century communion services were relatively rare, and Sunday services usually consisted of morning prayer, concluding with ante-communion, and evening prayer, both with sermons. Weekday services were limited to Christmas Day, Good Friday and Holy Thursday (Ascension Day), on the last of which the parishioners also perambulated the boundaries (see Appendix V) and held an annual dinner. The Rector would have taken most of the services from his desk, the middle tier of the three-decker, with the parish clerk below him to lead the responses and the singing of the metrical psalms.

The form of the services also influenced the design of most other furnishings of the church. As far as the people were concerned, they entered their pews at the beginning of the service and left them at the end, hardly moving between times. The box pew of Georgian England was the best enclosure that could be devised to ensure warmth, comfort and privacy. At All Hallows the box pews, of oak with fielded panels, filled much of the church except the central alley with its paving of "Portland stone and black marble squares of equal size set in the diamond fashion", which the trustees had prescribed. A narrower alley at right-angles led to the vestry door on the north side, while on the south side, simply for the sake of symmetry, the upper part of a blank identical doorway appeared above the pews. Above each door in 1772 was fixed a board recording those who had given benefactions to the church. Although the vestry had agreed, on the completion of the church, that no person should obtain a freehold pew by faculty, pews were rented by those who could afford them, and in addition to the churchwardens' pew at the west end at least three were furnished with brass pillars and rods with crimson cloth curtains ostensibly for warmth but also for privacy. "The great pew" had a stove and three chairs in addition to benches. The churchwardens' pew was provided with silk damask curtains, two prayer books, two 'singing psalm books', two velvet cushions and two staves of office.

Strong sunlight was excluded by three crimson festoon curtains hung in the south windows in 1768 and 1774; after dark, lighting was provided by Mr. Betts' two large brass branches, each for 24 candles, hanging as low as possible, and supplemented on

the pews by 24 brass sconces generally kept in the vestry. The pulpit had two swinging brass candlesticks capped by crown and mitre, and the reading desk another similar pair, but the clerk's desk only a single fixed candlestick.

Although the vestry is not spacious, being restricted by the semi-circular shape of the ancient bastion on which it is built, it was crowded with furniture. In the centre was a mahogany table covered with a green carpet and surrounded by seven mahogany chairs with hair seats, one provided with arms. On it stood brass candlesticks, three with square feet and one "flat" one without a stem. Beside them was a pair of snuffers on a tray and a handbell. A wainscot ballot box was used for voting. The other principal furnishings included a deal desk, two wooden chests (one of wainscot and one of deal) both used for books, records and papers, and an iron chest for the plate. At this period the plate still included the 1574 silver-gilt chalice with cover, the two late seventeenth-century flagons, two salvers and a plate, now supplemented by a strainer and three pewter dishes. The books in the wooden chests included two Bibles, several Books of Common Prayer, a large and small service book for the altar, the *Ninety-Six Sermons* of Bishop Andrewes, a *Book of Homilies* published in 1726 and a four-volume edition of Burn's *Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* which provides encyclopaedic guidance for the administration of parochial affairs. There were also the parish records – those concerned with the church such as the minute books of the trustees for building the new church, the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials and the churchwardens' accounts; and the books for secular administration such as the ledgers, scavengers' rate books (1695–1742) and the poor rate books (from 1740).

On the walls hung paintings on wood of Moses and Aaron, probably brought from the old church; a plan of an estate at Barking, Essex, which, although left to the parish by Sabine King in 1637 to provide income, seems to have provided nothing but expense and anxiety for the parish officers; a looking glass in a gilt-edged frame, and a table of dues. Should the vestry be chilly there was an iron stove with poker, tongs, fender, fireguard, coal box, iron coal scoop and a pair of bellows. Should anyone be thirsty there were at least a pair of decanters and stands (the number varies) with a number of glasses and one or two tumblers. Vestments consisted of only two holland surplices for the rector and the clerk's gown, together with a linen damask tablecloth dated 1767 to cover the altar table on communion Sundays and a damask napkin dated 1758.

The organ which stood on the west gallery was bought secondhand in 1783 from the French Chapel in St. John's Street, Spitalfields on the advice of Mr. Soaper of the King's Chapel organist, and Mr. England, organbuilder. It cost £42 and Mr. England charged £23 for rebuilding it with the addition of another Diapason stop. The money was raised by public subscription. It had a single manual with six speaking stops, one an enclosed Hautboy, and though small it was highly regarded. The case was of mahogany with gilded front pipes, and the gallery was enclosed by brass pillars and rods carrying four silk damask curtains which, at £22-2-0, cost the parish almost as much as Mr. England charged for moving and rebuilding the organ. Over the organ were the King's Arms, carved and gilded, and the frieze of the gallery front which was painted to resemble mahogany bore an inscription stating when the church was rebuilt. Somewhere, probably on the gallery front, was a clock.

With the installation of the organ, the church was effectively complete, although it is surprising to read of repairs carried out in 1783–4 under Mr. Patience's supervision at a cost of £324. Mr. Mence enjoyed it for a dozen years more until shortly before Christmas 1796 he died in his home town of Worcester in his 74th year. A short

obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* records that "in him the musical world have lost a scientific genius, whose vocal powers (as an English singer) remain unrivalled".

NINETEENTH-CENTURY TORPOR

Benjamin Mence was succeeded by William Beloe, a 40-year old classical scholar who had translated the works of Aulus Gellius (3 volumes, 1795) Alciphron, Herodotus and Colutus into English. Three years earlier, with Robert Nares, he had established *The British Critic*, and in 1803 Malcolm called him "the elegant poet". But in 1800 and of St. Paul's in 1804, together with the fact that his name appears seldom in the preacher's book (and not at all between 1804 and 1814) suggests that he had little time for the church. He became, moreover, Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum in 1803 but was dismissed in 1806 after the discovery of theft by a man called Dighton who had appeared plausible to the easygoing Beloe. He died somewhat embittered by ill health shortly after the publication of his *Recollections* in 1817. His contemporaries thought him a fair scholar but one devoid of mental vigour or originality of thought and therefore well suited to his work as a translator and annotator.

He was succeeded at All Hallows in 1818 by his lifelong friend and collaborator Robert Nares, a son of the famous organist of York Minster, who was already 65. Nares was a philologist who had interspersed country livings with schoolmastering and tutoring the sons of the gentry. In 1795 he had become an Assistant Librarian in the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum and from 1799 to 1807 he was Keeper of Manuscripts. Fellow of several learned societies, he was President of the Royal Society of Literature in 1823, the year after publishing his *Glossary of Shakespearean Terms* which remains the standard book in its field. From 1798 he was a Canon Residentiary of Lichfield and Prebendary of St. Paul's and from 1801 Archdeacon of Stafford. His friend Beloe described him as a sound and widely read scholar and a witty and cheerful companion to his intimates. His publications include works on philology, history and theology. In spite of marrying three times he produced no children. He held All Hallows until his death in 1829 and seems to have preached here most Sundays except during three months in the summer when he was presumably in residence at Lichfield.

Robert Nares was succeeded by George Davys, a Leicestershire man who took a first class degree in Mathematics at Christ's College Cambridge in 1803. After curacies in Essex he was Vicar of Willoughby-le-Wolds until taking up All Hallows. About 1824 the Duchess of Kent appointed him tutor to the five-year-old Princess Victoria and between 1827 and 1837 he resided principally at Kensington Palace, apparently unmoved by his appointment to All Hallows in 1829 or as Dean of Chester two years later. In the latter year he was awarded a Doctorate of Divinity by the University of Cambridge. In the same year All Hallows was closed from May to September for repairs costing £300.

In 1833 Mary Chappell, sextoness, was reprimanded for "her negligence in not taking proper care of the communion plate entrusted to her which has lately been stolen from the church". The new plate, a pair of cups, a pair of salvers and a plate, was bought from Judah Hart of Bevis Marks and a Flagon followed in 1835. In 1834 a

"portable stage and covering" was bought for the use of the clergyman and mourners at funerals. In 1837 the beadle was provided with "a gold laced coat and hat with gilt band as heretofore". Later in this year there was further expenditure on "fittings for the church rendered necessary" by the death of William IV; they consisted of "good black cloth to furnish the pulpit (with tassels and fringe for the cushion), reading desk, clerk's desk, curtains to organ loft, churchwardens and chisening pews and altar table and two cushions". The cost was to be not more than £15.

When in 1839 at the instigation of the Queen Davys was appointed Bishop of Peterborough he resigned All Hallows and the parish raised over £50 to purchase a silver salver weighing 95oz. (it actually cost £44-3-6) "engraved with an inscription and the arms and crest of his lordship". It was also bought from Judah Hart and was presented to the Bishop in Pall Mall in February 1840. Davys died in 1864 with a reputation as a liberal and fair-minded evangelical; he published various educational works.

Although the parish petitioned Lord Melbourne to present the Revd. George Andrews, a former curate who had left in 1832, to the living, the successful candidate was one Charles Lacy who, although already 44 years old, eventually exceeded by one year the fifty-year record tenure of the incumbency set by Mr. Richardson. Nevertheless he seems to have contributed little to the Church at large or to All Hallows. In 1845 the slate roof was stripped and relaid using the best of the old slates, and the church was closed for further repairs for about four weeks in 1857, 1875 and 1878. The appearance of the interior at this time is shown in Fig. iv. After a particularly virulent cholera epidemic all burials in City churchyards and vaults were discontinued by Act of Parliament in 1853. In 1861 a committee was appointed to consider uniting the benefice with St. Peter le Poer but nothing came of this.

During Lacy's time the site of Dance's rectory on the corner of Old Broad Street was sold for £14,000 and such was the increase of income to the benefice that in 1886 it was shared between All Hallows and three new churches in the Diocese of St. Albans (now Chelmsford): St. Gabriel, Canning Town; Holy Trinity, Barking Road; and St. Luke, Victoria Docks. After decades of preaching with scarcely an absence, Lacy's name disappears from the preacher's book after 1884 but he held the parish until his death at the age of 95 in 1890. The *City Press*, commenting on the improvements instituted by his successor, stated that "prior to the appointment of Revd. S.J. Stone to the living the church of All Hallows London Wall was a standing disgrace in every respect to the City; neglected in appearance and crumbling, as it were, to pieces, there it stood, a melancholy example of do nothing-ness".

A NEW LEASE OF LIFE

As author of the hymn "The Church's one foundation" Samuel John Stone is perhaps the most widely known of all our rectors. He immediately set about restoring the church, initially employing Carpenter and Ingelow to supervise the work but later turning to Sir Arthur Blomfield who, as a young man, had designed the church for Stone's previous parish in Haggerston. Since no structural alterations were carried out the work was not at the time considered to be radical, but rather "the details were preserved and accentuated in a genuine restoration". The box pews were cut down to form lower benches and the eastern bay was raised on one step as a chancel where the Georgian benches served as choir stalls. The reading desk and clerk's desk were removed from the front of the pulpit and the altarpiece was relung about two feet

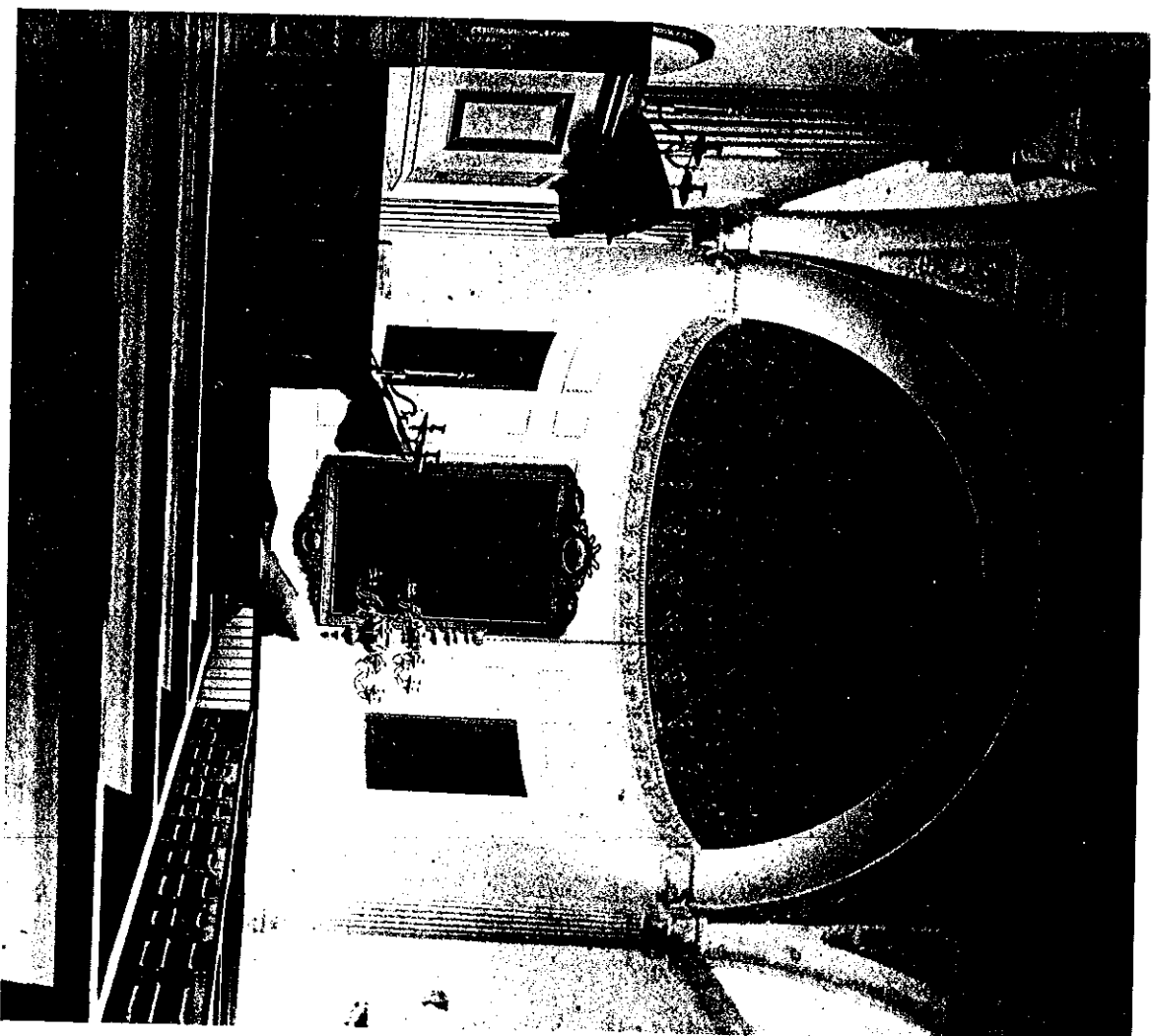


Fig. iv

The church as it appeared shortly before the restoration of 1890. The only known photograph of the interior in its unrestored state, showing box pews in the nave, and the three decker arrangement of pulpit, reading desk and clerk's desk with their pairs of double brass candle arms and velvet hangings. In the apse are the original iron communion rails, the altarpiece so darkened as to be indistinguishable and the Ten Commandments painted in gold on black in arched panels at each side. The brass chandelier is hung as low as possible to gain maximum advantage from the candles. Indeed, little has changed from Dance's conception (see cover) but everything seems rather fussy.

(Photograph in Guild Church Council collection)

higher so that the altar could be set on steps, which disrupted the lines of the apse. The original communion table was replaced by one of mahogany given by Stone's former parishioners at St. Paul Haggerston and a brass eagle lectern was provided. The walls were coloured pale green picked out in gold and the ceiling was tinted ivory. The text "O Praise the Lord All Ye His Saints" was painted in large letters on the curved wall above the apse. The original font, Bumpus wrote, "a very unpretending affair, was placed against the north wall and superseded by another, the marble bowl of which, enriched with cherub's heads, was discovered some years ago in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral". It is carved with a lozenge of arms of the Parkhurst family and was given to All Hallows by Bishop Creighton. It was set up on a temporary wooden base in the christening pew at the west end of the church.

The whole restoration cost £1,400, more than half of which, almost the equivalent of his annual income, Stone met from his own pocket. The church was re-opened by Dr. Temple, Bishop of London, on 14 July 1891. Before Stone arrived there had been no weekday services and congregations on Sundays had averaged about 10. In 1891 there were usually about 23 people at lunchtime communion services each Wednesday and Friday, and the two Sunday services drew congregations of about 70 apiece.

But the church began to run into debt, so on 5 May 1896, Stone held a bazaar, described as "a novelty in the City". If it was successful, he announced, he would provide new lighting for the church, the only one in the City still lit by lamps, and renovate the tower which he wanted to make "as beautiful as St. Paul's with a small cross at the top". The bazaar, which relied on the congregation of St. Paul's Haggerston for a number of stallholders, was opened by the Lord Chancellor, patron of the living, and ran for three days. It raised £250 and a further £102 was received in donations. This not only paid off the debt but left £60 for the further improvements. In due course the brass chandeliers were converted for electric light, and the unveiling on 2nd February 1898 of a cross designed by Sir Arthur Blomfield on the top of the cupola marked the completion of the restoration.

Having prepared the building, Stone turned his attention to the people. He had noted the huge numbers of working girls who came in daily from the northern and eastern suburbs to Liverpool Street and Broad Street Stations by very early trains in order to qualify for cheap tickets (a 10d return cost only 2d before 6.30 am and gradually more as the morning progressed), and therefore had to wait 2 or 3 hours before their places of work opened. One day early in January 1899 Stone handed out cards at the stations offering the use of the church for shelter, and on 9th January for the first time the doors were opened at 6.30 am. The success of the venture was immediate but sadly Stone died at the age of 71 less than two years later on 19th November 1900.

His life and work were commemorated in three ways. Dr Haig Brown, Master of the Chateaufort, composed an inscription recording the devoted labour of "an accomplished scholar, an elegant poet, an earnest Christian and a faithful priest in Windsor, Haggerston and this parish" for a tablet which was erected in the church; the font bowl given by Bishop Creighton was set on a new marble baluster carved in harmony with its style in place of the wooden pedestal (the old font was later given to the Vicar of Minster in Sheppey); and the balance of £125 formed the substantial basis of a fund for a new organ on the grounds that the old one "was nearly 200 years old and completely worn out". For Stone's memorial service on 3rd November 1901 the church was decorated solely with white flowers and palms, and during the course of it the tablet was dedicated by Bishop Barry. The new organ was built by William Noble

and Son at a cost of £130 and dedicated on 23rd March 1902 by Canon Benham, rector of St. Edmund the King. The congregation sang a hymn written by Mrs. Fowler and the dedication was followed by a recital given by the organist, H.G. Mead, which included *The March of St. Polycarp*, *The War March in Athlone* and Rubinstein's *Melodie*.

The appointment of the Revd. Montague Fowler, a worthy successor to Stone, in December 1900 was the last in the City to be conferred by Queen Victoria and approved by Bishop Creighton and it proved to be the saving of All Hallows, for in the previous year a commission had reported to the bishop that ten City churches including All Hallows should be demolished. Although only three were eventually pulled down, it was much to Fowler's credit that All Hallows was not one of them. During 1901, his first full year, the church was open every week-day except Bank Holidays from 6.30 until 9.00 for the accommodation of women and girls, and again from 10.00 until 4.00 in the afternoon for private prayer. The building was heated and lighted, sewing was permitted and books were provided. A voluntary organist presided in the west gallery and there was a short daily service at 8.00. At the end of the year Fowler estimated that he had conducted 600 services and preached 400 sermons. The total attendances had been 60,522. The work was initiated elsewhere but with less success because other churches were not so near railway stations. From August onwards a tent was erected on the eastern churchyard to provide similar facilities for men. It too was open from 6.30 until 9.00 and there was a service at 7.30. In these 4½ months attendances reached 7,629. The tent lasted until 10th May 1902 when it was taken down to make way for the foundations of a permanent room for the men.

The new room was designed by H.I. Newton of Thornton Heath and the foundation stone was laid on 28th May 1902 by the Lady Mayoress, Lady Dinsdale. In less than five months the building was complete and it was dedicated by the Bishop of London on 11th October 1902 (see Fig. v). So the work flourished, but remarkably in July 1905 both church and hall were again threatened with demolition so that the Corporation could widen the road and give the proposed new offices in New Broad Street a London Wall frontage. But Fowler was able to argue convincingly for their preservation, and the good work which went on in them gave the lie to any suggestion of redundancy. Later in the year the church was redecorated at a cost of £140. In the following year the position was consolidated when, after the demolition of St. Peter le Poer, Broad Street, the larger part of its parish was united with All Hallows even though the parish title was transferred with the smaller part to St. Michael Cornhill. During 1906 the clearance of the site north of the church for the purposes of building offices in New Broad Street (see Fig. vi) provided an opportunity to explore the archaeological evidence of the City wall (see Appendix I). As a result the building became insecure and had to be strengthened at a cost of £130.

In March 1908, a year in which attendances reached 122,145 in the church and 91,460 in the hall, *Home Words* paid tribute to Mr. Fowler's achievement, describing one of his daily addresses and the attentiveness of his listeners. Each day the organist accompanied a hymn and gave a short recital. Meanwhile in the hall the men would be sitting reading newspapers provided free of charge. Mr. Fowler would then come over to hold a similar short service for their benefit, playing the harmonium and leading the singing himself. The article emphasises the good effect which the All Hallows services had on the girls, giving the example of one who worked in crochet a white frontal depicting The Lamb and Flag which she gave to the church. It also mentions the All Hallows Working Party which, under the patronage of the Princess of Wales, made garments from materials supplied by the Princess to give to the



Fig V

The arrival of the Bishop of London at the west door of the church on 11 October 1902 to dedicate the new Men's Hall. From left to right are Mrs Dent (daughter of the Lord Mayor), Dr A.F. Winnington Ingram (Lord Bishop of London), Lady Dimsdale, the Revd Montague Fowler (Rector), Sir Joseph Dimsdale (Lord Mayor of London), the Revd H.P. Crossman (Bishop's Chaplain) and Mrs Fowler.

(Photograph by Godfrey New from original in Guildhall Library)

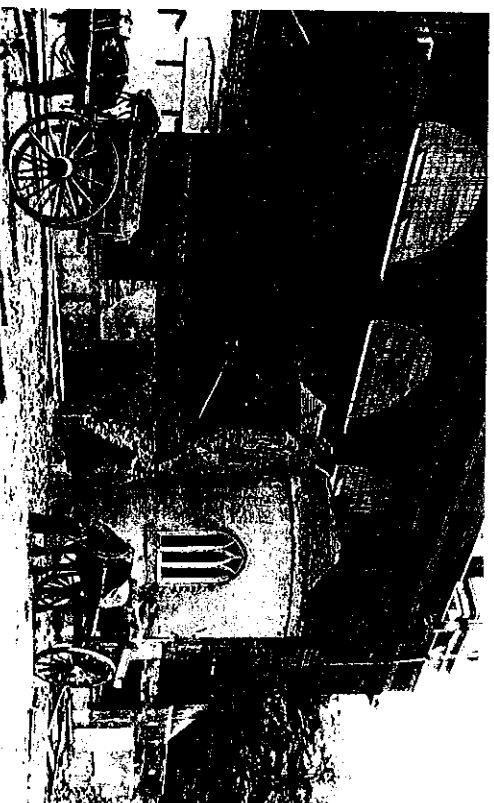


Fig vi

The north side of the church revealed after the demolition of Georgian houses in New Broad Street in 1905 for the purpose of building offices, showing the severely undecorated north wall with the semi-circular vestry built on the Roman bastion. Its window in the gothic taste originally formed a feature of the gardens of these houses, and the adjoining pulpit stair was also given very lancet lights to make it look like a hermitage. But the gardens had long since been covered with cellars, being demolished when the photograph was taken. An account of the subsequent archaeological excavation will be found in Appendix IV.

(Photograph by Godfrey New from original in Guildhall Library)

poorest people of the metropolis. In the depth of the severe winter of 1906-7 daily attendances rose from about 250 to over 290. "It cannot be said", Bumpus concluded, "that the old City churches are useless after this". The appearance of the church in 1911 is shown in Fig. vii. But with the onset of war the work declined and with the subsequent withdrawal of concessionary fares for workers trains it fell into abeyance.

A TIME OF UNCERTAINTY

In 1920 another commission reported to the Bishop of London on the problem of the City churches. It recommended that the City should be divided into four parishes and that 19 of the 49 surviving churches should be demolished. Once more All Hallows, still unfashionable in style, was scheduled for demolition but public outcry saved almost every church, and again All Hallows survived.

Within the next two decades, however, loomed more immediate threats. In 1923 the south wall was condemned as a dangerous structure and had to be strengthened at a cost of £638-15-9. The church was re-opened on 1st February 1925. In 1933 the Revd. Sir Montague Fowler, who had inherited a Baronetcy in 1916, died after 32 years as rector. He was succeeded in the following year by Prebendary H. Maryn Sanders during whose time the church came yet closer to destruction than ever before. On 3rd September 1940 All Hallows had the undeniable distinction of being the first church to be burnt by German incendiary bombs, and in October it was again damaged. Restored and re-opened on Ash Wednesday 1941, it was again severely burnt on 8th March and in another raid on 19th April. The hall was licensed for services and the body of the church was left roofless. Nevertheless in 1949 the garden was laid out in its present design by Alfred White of Victoria Street, SW1, at a cost of £442-15-0.

Another major event during Prebendary Sanders' incumbency was the passing of the Guild Church Act on 1st August 1952, as a result of which All Hallows became one of the new Guild Churches. Its parish was united with that of St. Borlolph Bishopsgate and henceforth the church, even in its roofless state, had to be assigned a special task. At first this was achieved by the appointment as Guild Vicar in 1954 of Roger L. Roberts, Secretary of the Church of England Men's Society.

In March of the next year a Dangerous Structure Notice was served on the fabric and there was some pressure for demolition, especially after the Diocesan Surveyor reported at the end of the year that there was serious weakness in the foundations and that the cost of reinstating the church would be about £40,000. But in 1957 the Guild Church Council protested strongly to the Bishop against proposals to sell the church site to raise funds, and in the next spring the Bishop replied that "on architectural grounds we shall do our best to retain and restore the fabric, but we cannot say yet what ecclesiastical use, if any, will be assigned to the church when its restoration has been completed". Mr. Roberts remained priest-in-charge but transferred his office to St. Borlolph Aldersgate.

January 1959 saw the first glimmer of hope of a suitable use for the church when Miss Judith Scott, Secretary of the Council for the Care of Churches, attended the Guild Church Council to explain a proposal that the Council, then housed at Fulham Palace, might adopt the church as its headquarters. The scheme was gladly approved in principle, and towards the end of the year Mr. David Nye reported on the state of the fabric. He noted that tie-bars had been inserted across the nave at the turn of the century, that Mr. A.R. Powys had reported in 1924 that little or no movement had

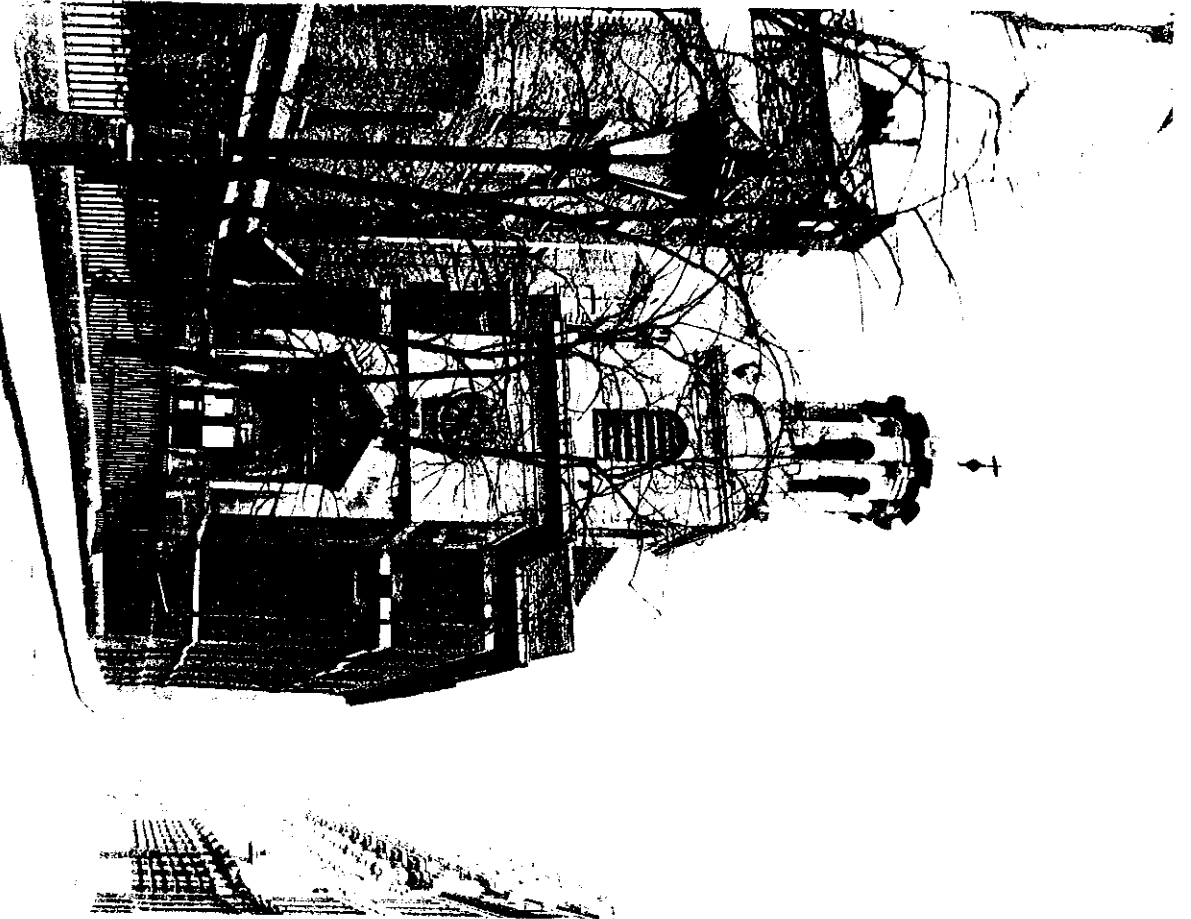


Fig. vii

The church from the west, photographed on 17 April 1911 (compare Fig. ii), showing the narrowness of London Wall as it was throughout the history of the church until Winchester House was demolished and New Winchester House was built further south in c. 1965. Note the crumpled churchyard bounded by railings and by the City wall on the left. The south wall of the church leans outwards over the street.
(Photograph by Godfrey New from original in Guildhall Library)

taken place since the rebuilding of the parapet some years before and that the tower was straight-pointed with the nave, suggesting that Dance had foreseen problems with settlement.

THE CHURCH RESTORED

Early in 1960 the Diocesan Advisory Committee approved Mr. Nye's plans for rebuilding the church, and work was put in hand soon afterwards by Dove Brothers. The cost of rebuilding, about \$47,000, was met by the Diocese of London with help from the War Damage Commission, and the cost of restoration (to an enlarged design) of the church rooms as offices, about \$8,200, was met by the Central Board of Finance of the Church of England on behalf of the Council for the Care of Churches. During work it was found that the south wall of the church must be demolished and rebuilt, but the restoration was completed in time for the rededication by the Bishop of London on 10th July 1962. The interior of the restored church is shown in Fig. viii.

During 1961 Mr. Roberts had been appointed editor of the *Church Times* and Chaplain to the Queen's Chapel of the Savoy. He was succeeded as Guild Vicar by The Revd. E. C. E. Bourne who had served parishes in Lancashire and Buckinghamshire. Mr. Bourne was followed in 1967 by The Revd. David H. Bishop, a qualified architect who like him combined his Guild Church responsibilities with work for the Council for the Care of Churches. After the departure of Mr. Bishop in 1980 to take up a Residential Canonry in Norwich the church was joined with St. Botolph Bishopsgate and St. Ethelburga under the pastoral care of the Revd. A. J. Tanner, who is also Preacher to the Charterhouse.

THE CHURCH TODAY

The architectural features of the church described on pages 17-22 were carefully preserved in the 1962 restoration of the bomb-damaged building. The Worshipful Company of Carpenters (see Appendix III) continue to hold their annual Election Day service in the church each July as they have done since the Middle Ages, and the chancel is arranged as a chapel where regular, though infrequent, services still take place. Since 1975 the nave has been occupied by the library of the Council for the Care of Churches.

One of the late Georgian *benefaction boards* has been set up opposite the foot of the gallery stairs, and reinscribed to record the gratitude of the Guild Church Council to those who contributed towards the cost of the restoration, and on the walls of the stairs leading down to the crypt are gathered *memorial tablets* commemorating Mr. Beloe, his daughter Anna Maria who died at the age of three years (with a tender Latin inscription), Dr. Davys' curate Mr. Davies and Sir Montague Fowler's wife. There is little of interest in the brick-vaulted crypt, which now contains a meeting room, kitchen and storeroom, save for the mahogany *communion table* of 1891, several minor *memorial tablets* let into the floor of the middle chamber and one *burial vault* which remains sealed at the east end of the furthest chamber.

The west gallery contains an *organ* brought from Islington Parish Hall in 1962. Originally built by Hill and Son in about 1885, it is a small two-manual instrument with eleven speaking stops, rebuilt here by N. P. Mander who removed the shutters

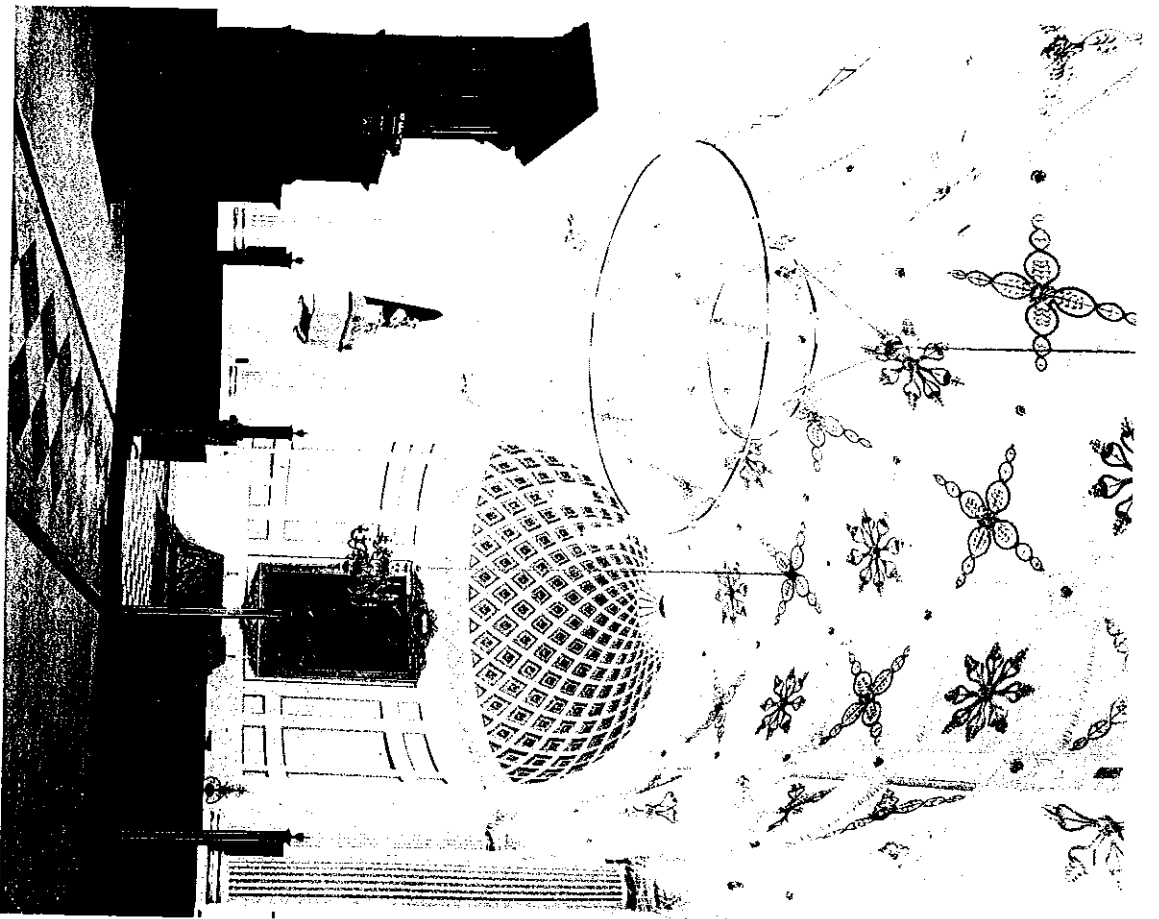


Fig. viii

The interior of the church in 1962 after restoration by David Nye for use as a chapel and exhibition hall by the Council for the Care of Churches (compare with front cover). The walls and vault are painted white with blue and gold enrichments and some red in the coffering of the apse vault. The altar dates from 1962; above it is Nathaniel Dance's altarpiece and to the right the sword-rest. From the vault hangs Lukyn Betts' chandelier and on the north wall is Joseph Patience's monument. The chapel is enclosed by a screen of 1962. In the nave is the original chequered paving and the pulpit, shorn of its desk.

(Photograph by Edward Hyman in Guild Church Council collection)

from the Swell and recast it as an unenclosed secondary department. The Italianate case was slightly altered, and lightened with a little gilding to suit its new surroundings. On the gallery front is fixed the elaborately carved *Royal Arms* which, although now over-painted with the arms of George III between 1801 and 1816, is probably the Arms set up in the old church shortly after Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702. Below the gallery is the seventeenth-century *font bowl* from St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street on its baluster of 1902. The cover dates from 1962. The nearby *iron railings* are adapted from the communion rails and gate made by Mr. Goodall in 1766.

The original *paving* of black marble and white Portland stone survives in the central alley of the nave and the dado *panelling* of oak made from the box pews helps the mind's eye to recreate them, since they were essential to the proportions of Dance's design. In the centre of the north wall stands the raised *pulpit*, though shorn of the reading desk and clerk's desk which stood in front of it until 1891. The *hour-glass* beside the preacher's left elbow was to encourage him to preach long sermons, not to keep his discourses short.

Dividing the nave from the chancel are ingenious panelled oak *screens* devised by David Nye in 1962, with sliding sections weighted like sash-windows which can be raised to double their height. The chancel *seating* is made from the Victorian benches, themselves constructed from the panelling of the original box pews. In the south-east corner is the *sword-rest* of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Alderman of Broad Street Ward 1746-9, Sheriff in 1748-9 and Lord Mayor of London in 1753-4. His arms impaling those of the Grocers Company appear together with those of the City of London in heraldic colours on two metal plates. The sword-rest stood originally in All Hallows Staining but, saved when that church was demolished in 1870, it was bought in 1891 by Edwin Freshfield, the London historian and antiquary, who presented it to All Hallows.

The present *altar* was designed by David Nye in 1962 and is of oak, covered on all sides by a rich carpet. The *cross* and *candlesticks*, designed by L. C. Everts, were given by a member of the Carpenters Company in 1963. Above hangs Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland's *altar piece* of *Ananias Restoring Sight to St. Paul*, in its original frame. The panels at each side have lost their inscriptions of the Creed, Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer, and the proportions of the apse would be improved if the moulded frieze at dado level could be re-instated. The small door communicates with the offices of the Council for the Care of Churches in the former men's hall to the east of the church. In the centre of the chancel hangs a magnificent brass *chandelier* created from the surviving parts of the pair made by Lukyn Betts in 1766 which were severely damaged in the War. The body is engraved "All Hallows London Wall 1766, The Revd. Ben. Mence Rector; Milson Clifton & James Harris, Churchwardens". This inscription also appears on the single *bell* hung in the tower and on the smaller *bell* which is not at present hung. The *tower clock*, paid for by public subscription, was made in 1854 by J. H. Borley of London Wall, a clock and watch maker who served as parish clerk from 1849 until his death in 1910 at the age of 90.

Several of the *monuments* on the walls were carefully remounted from the old church in 1766 and again repaired and re-arranged in 1962. They include that near the vestry door to Mrs. Joan Bence (d. 1684), extravagantly decorated with three cherubs' heads, drapery, scrolls, a bat-winged skull and a cartouche of arms. On the south wall of the chancel is a marble tablet in the form of a strapwork cartouche with a shield of arms to Edmond Hammond, a generous benefactor who died in 1642. Amongst his hundred and fifty legacies he left £500 for repairs at St. Paul's Cathedral, then being carried out

by Inigo Jones, and the vast sum of £1,000 to the Haberdashers Company for the purpose of acquiring the patronage of "as many rectories and parsonages as may be, freehold". But to All Hallows he left only £10 per annum. On the west wall of the gallery a tablet commemorates Thomas Norman who died in 1731 at Fort St. George in the East Indies "where he had resided fifteen years and acquired a good reputation both for Probity and Knowledge in Commerce". Elsewhere are a curved tablet to Stephen Montague (d.1687) and a floor slab to John Webb (d.1702). (One wife Wilhelmína (d.1605) was taken to Castle Hedingham, Essex, by Peter Muliman, a descendant, in 1766).

The large monument on the north chancel wall commemorates Joseph Patience, architect, who died in 1797 at the age of 58. Nothing is known from his hand except the design for a gallery and organ case for St. Michael Bassishaw, but he was entrusted with the care of All Hallows for the first quarter of a century after its rebuilding. His son, another Joseph who also lived for 58 years, designed and erected the monument relief of Architecture, depicted as a female classical figure beside a fallen Cornithian capital, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1798. Both practised from Wormwood Street in the parish but the son, who designed several domestic buildings in the Home Counties, was declared bankrupt in 1800. The monument is signed by T. Patience who was presumably his brother. Beside the pulpit is a small tablet to Yvon Thomas, a director of the London Assurance Company, who died of apoplexy at his bankers at the age of 61 in 1793.

Other possessions of the church, which are not usually visible, include the mahogany vestry table and set of seven fine chairs, one with arms, in a simple style reminiscent of the work of Thomas Chippendale, which were probably made for the new vestry room in 1766 and first appear in the inventory of 1775. In the gallery room are two paintings on wooden panels in simple gilded frames depicting Moses and Aaron, probably from the reredos in the old church. The communion plate provided in 1833 to replace that stolen in that year consists of a set of two cups, two patens and a dish all decorated with chased garlands enclosing the names of the Revd. George Davys DD, Rector, and Reuben Williamson and Francis Phene, Churchwardens, with the date 1833. Two years later, when Thomas Adey and Robert Shepherd were churchwardens, the church bought an electro-plated flagon of elegantly tapered and fluted shape with a finial on the lid. In 1962 the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths gave the Council for the Care of Churches a silver chalice, paten and two flasks which were made in the church by Neil Harding during the inaugural exhibition of church art. The church also possesses four pewter plates inscribed with the names of the Revd. William Beloe, Rector, and Nathaniel Chater and John Phillips, Churchwardens, 1803.

Although All Hallows seems never to have owned a parochial library, Roger Goodday, a churchwarden whose daughter was baptised in the old church in 1655 and who was Clerk to the Carpenters Company from 1652 to 1674, gave to the church in 1672 a large leatherbound volume of Bishop Lancelot Andrews' *Niney-Six Sermons*, published in 1661 by Bedell and Collins. It was repaired in 1982 and is kept in the church together with the *service book* printed by Mark Baskett in 1766 which is bound in reversed calf and labelled in red morocco with the date 1767 and the same names as the chandeller and the bells. The parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, beginning in 1559, are deposited at Guildhall Library together with vestry minute books, churchwardens accounts and other parish records.

CONCLUSION

Unlike Wren's City churches, All Hallows has not always elicited praise from the critics. The first denigration came, as might be expected, about forty years after its completion when, in 1806, Hughson said that "the exterior has all the appearance of a riding school", but admitted that he had a better opinion of the interior. In about 1814 Sir John Soane, a pupil of Dance, remembered that in his student days the omission of a cornice from the internal entablature had shocked him, although he acknowledged that he grew to see the rationality which caused its omission and indeed took such logical simplification much further in his own buildings. By 1830, on the threshold of the serious Gothic Revival, E. I. Carlos, a great protagonist for Gothic, contributed a withering account of the church to the *History and Antiquities of London*. He repeated the easy jibe that the exterior resembled a riding school and added that the interior had Ionic columns which "sustain a fascia ornamented with leaves and honeysuckle filled with plasterer's imitations of the flowers of honeysuckle, the whole composition being only remarkable as one of the worst specimens of modern Greek architecture". In sum, there was "not one sound emblem to denote the purpose for which the building was erected" (this was later rectified by the cross set up on the cupola), but then, he felt, "the works of Mr. Dance are scarcely legitimate subject for criticism".

Nine years later Godwin thought the interior of the church "a monument of bad taste, being not merely inappropriate, but of itself ill designed and very ugly". He derided the use of a frieze instead of a full entablature and despised the ceiling leaves and flowers by way of ornament. Joseph Patience's marble bust, he thought, "wears an expression of surprise - excited without doubt by the strange architecture which he sees around him". As for the outside, "the tower is dumpy and ill-proportioned, further disfigured above the doorway by a high pediment which, with the two columns and entablature, takes the pleasing (?) form of a sentry box". Early Victorian sarcasm might be more telling if it had relied less on superfluous punctuation and more on scholarship, but it is hardly surprising that by the end of the century the church came perilously close to demolition on several occasions.

It is really not until the present generation that the church has been properly appreciated as a forerunner of late eighteenth-century neo-classicism; such recognition is principally the result of Sir John Summerson's evaluation of its quality. In *Georgian London* he wrote that "its exterior is nothing much, but internally the barrel vault, pierced by semi-circular lunettes and supported by an Ionic order with the cornice suppressed, has the austere feeling for simple geometrical form which is the hallmark of what we now call neo-classicism. There is a sharpness of detail which probably derives from Piranesi". Elsewhere he mentions "the small but very remarkable church of All Hallows, London Wall", pointing out that the absence of a cornice "may be supposed to be a mere whim of Dance's, but it is, on the whole, more likely to be a deliberate application of the rationalism proposed by the Abbe Laugier" (whose *Essai Sur L'Architecture* was published in Paris in 1753 and in London in 1756). "The exquisite detail owes something to Adam" and the ceiling "introduces Etruscan motifs adapted from Bartoli"; altogether Summerson reminds us forcefully that it is "a marvellous performance for a man of twenty-four, which must have been recognised by Sir William Chambers, for Dance became one of the first Royal Academicians in 1768".

APPENDICES

I. The City Wall

All Hallows takes its descriptive sub-title from the wall built in c.200 which encircled the City of London from Roman times until the late Middle Ages. Indeed, the north side of the church is built over the City wall itself and the shape of the vestry is determined by the semi-circular bastion which forms its foundation. Excavations carried out in 1906 by Dr. Philip Norman and Mr. Francis Reader revealed several items of interest and confirmed the evidence afforded by old maps and views.

Roman remains were comparatively scanty, but the Roman wall rose from a considerable depth through 11 feet to terminate at the modern ground level. Through it a Roman drain runs just west of the church and, although much ancient masonry was removed when the church was built, the original bastion, constructed of large well-dressed blocks of stone of a later Roman date, remains under the vestry. Nothing of Roman date can be seen above ground today, and all that appears in the churchyard is mediaeval and later.

The Walbrook, long covered in, runs under Blomfield Street and Throckmorton Avenue not far west of the church, and the marshy ground outside the wall to the north was made into the City Ditch, a broad moat, in about 1210. This had a branch running northwards from the church between the original site of Bethlehem (Bedlam) Hospital to the east and Moorfields to the west. Two further ditches came in from the north and passed under the wall to form sewers over the old bed of the Walbrook. Writing in 1603 Stow says that houses had reduced the Ditch to a narrow channel "almost filled up with unsavoury things to the danger of poisoning the whole city", and the amount of rubbish – animal bones, broken pots, old shoes, tobacco pipes and all sorts of refuse – found in 1906 proves him right.

When the Ditch was full the ground was taken into the gardens belonging to the row of houses just north of the church, known from the nationality of their inhabitants as Pety France. In 1675 Bethlehem Hospital moved westwards to a new site over the filled-in Ditch on the north side of London Wall between Moorgate and Blomfield Street, and its old site became a burying ground. The demolition in 1906 of the nine Georgian houses in Pety France revealed the north flank of the church and the curious gothic details added to the pulpit stair turret in the later part of the eighteenth century to transform it into a grotto at the end of one of the gardens (Fig. vi). But this veneer has been removed and the ground north of the church, occupied in turn by the City Ditch and the houses of Pety France, is now covered by offices along the western arm of New Broad Street.

II. The Anchorites

During the later Middle Ages most of the great religious houses and many of the parish churches in London had cells attached to them for anchorites (or recluses). These people with permission from their bishop set themselves apart from the world after a service of dedication which included the extreme unction. Although their existence, governed by rules rather than vows, was one of solitude and prayer, confined in a cell and supported solely by the alms, gifts and legacies of the faithful, some went out into the world when they felt so inclined. They seem generally to have lived in moderate comfort, some so much so that they developed a reputation as contemptible rather than venerable.

But All Hallows was famous for the sanctity of its anchorites whose cell, probably simply furnished and provided with a fireplace, seems to have stood on the bastion of the City wall which now supports the vestry. The chamber opened to the church by a window through which the recluse could receive the eucharist and his ration of food. Between 1458 and the Reformation there are references in the parish records and elsewhere to the anchorites. In the former year the Bishop of London gave the anchorite four marks (a considerable sum of money), and between 1460 and 1480 the anchorite gave many gifts to the church from his own income – sometimes specific objects like new bows for the lights on the rood beam in 1474, or contributions towards general running expenses (20/- in 1478, nearly a quarter of the total for the year). He seems to have been a priest and not strictly enclosed for in 1480 Anne Duchess of Buckingham left him 6/8 to say 20 masses and 20 diriges for her soul, which must have been performed by a priest at an altar in the church.

The first name appears in 1486, when William Lucas died. After one or two anonymous successors he was followed in 1513 by Simon the Anker (anchorite), a scholarly priest with a reputation for holiness which brought him many gifts from which he in turn was a generous benefactor to the church. In 1511 his servant plastered the walls of the church, in 1522 he gave a chalice weighing eight ounces, and in 1528 he gave 8s for scaffolding for the new aisle and 32s generally for the same work. His piety can still be judged by his treatise *The Fryre of Redempcyon*, compiled in English "for your ghostly comfort that understand no laryn" and published in 1514, the year after his enclosure. The printer was Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's foreman and successor, and reprints appeared in 1517, 1530 and 1532. Only two copies of the first edition survive. They open with a woodcut of the Crucifixion on the title page (see Frontispiece), followed by the text consisting of the Life of Christ from the Nativity to Pentecost divided into 31 short sections and interspersed with prayers and meditations decorated with seventeen woodcuts and ending with a commendation from Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London. The date of Simon's death is not known but the anchorage was finally suppressed in 1538 and given to the City Swordbearer.

III. The Worshipful Company of Carpenters

A short distance west of the church, on the south side of London Wall, stands the hall of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters which after the twelve major companies takes precedence among the minor companies of the City of London. Their hall has always stood on this site in the parish and their records go back to the fourteenth century. From the start the brotherhood, which women could also join, had a charitable purpose, and it was governed by rules under the patronage of Our Lady, herself a carpenter's wife.

Their first hall, built in about 1457, was a timber-framed building with plastered walls whose spacious garden, extending southwards to meet the yet larger garden of the Drapers Company, was partly responsible for halting the Great Fire of 1666 before it reached the north-east boundary of the City. But post-Fire London was largely rebuilt in brick and the Company's influence began to decline. Its official duties decreased and were finally abolished by an act of 1774 which transferred the work of the Company's Viewers to the District Surveyors. The decline was balanced by a considerable increase in value of the parcels of ground left to the Company by its members, and a programme of charitable and educational work was instituted which continues to the present day.

The old hall was eventually pulled down in 1876 and a new one designed by William Willmer Pocock, a leading member of the Company, housing numerous fittings from the previous building, was erected in its place. Burnt out on 10th May 1941, the hall was again rebuilt in 1956-60 to designs by Austen Hall which retained the 1876 facade and incorporated new lettable office space. The builders were Dove Brothers who restored the church two years later.

IV. The Parish Fire Engines

Like all the City parishes, following the Great Fire of 1666 All Hallows had a statutory duty to keep engines for extinguishing fires within the parish boundaries. An Act of Parliament in 1708 obliged every City parish to buy two engines which had to be provided by 1st May. A meeting of the vestry that day noted that their time had elapsed but that it had been too short for the engines to be provided. It was therefore agreed that the matter should be deferred until the churchwardens had seen "some engines made by some founder for the purpose" and that the parish would indemnify the churchwardens against the penalty of the £10 fine. In June it was agreed to raise money for the engines and in October the west doorway had to be widened to accommodate the larger engine (apparently kept in the church). In the inventory of the old church drafted in 1729 are listed one large and one small engine.

In December 1745 it was agreed that two new engines should be purchased from Mr. Thomas Cook, engine maker. The larger, of the fourth size, with 40 feet of hose and six feet of sucking pipe, cost £39-10-0 and the small one of the first size cost £12; the parish received £7 for the old engine and Cook was to be paid 40s per annum for keeping them both in repair. Six months later the engine of the fourth size was found to be unsatisfactory and one of the fifth size was tried and found satisfactory; it cost £45. In 1758 it was agreed to purchase one of the fourth size of English oak with two sucking pipes each of six feet at a total cost of £42-4-0 with an allowance of £8 for the old engine. The new engine was built by Rags and Company and in August 1759 an engine house was built for it in the churchyard.

Rags was a cousin and successor of Richard Newsham (d. 1743) of Cloth Fair who contributed much to the development of fire engines in the first half of the eighteenth century. One of the few surviving examples, at Worlingworth in Suffolk, was made by Rags two years later than the one for All Hallows. Such engines consisted of narrow rectangular lead-lined boxes on wood block wheels with iron rims, their shape being dictated by the numerous narrow courts into which they often had to be dragged. In Newsham's more refined versions the water was drawn up through the sucking pipe from the source, often a well in the back garden, by two pumps giving a continuous flow into a copper cylinder to which the long hose and a copper nozzle were attached. The water could also be bucketted into the box if necessary. The great benefit of Newsham's engines was that a pressurised cylinder caused the water to spout continuously, not in spurts as from previous engines. In April 1726 Newsham had played a jet of water from one of his engines on the grasshopper weathervane of the Royal Exchange which so impressed the King that he bought one for St. James' Palace, and for a century Newsham's engines were unsurpassed.

At All Hallows in 1775 the engine house was repaired after repeated thefts of lead from the roof. A small hand-held engine was purchased for four guineas in 1784, and in 1838 the churchyard gate was enlarged because it was being damaged in getting the engine out. In 1866, after the parish's duties in this respect had been taken over by

the Metropolitan Board of Works, there was pressure to sell the engines and, although at first this was resisted, in August that year it was agreed that the sale should proceed.

V. Parish Boundary Marks

In the days when vestries had wide powers and duties concerned with the welfare of parishioners (such as care of the poor and orphans) it was important to know exactly the bounds of the parish and thus the extent of their responsibility. This is the reason for the custom of "beating the bounds", generally carried out on Ascension Day at All Hallows, when the congregation marched round the perimeter of the parish to reach the ignorant and remind the forgetful where the boundaries were. There were some advantages in having a large parish, and some in having a small one. For example, since the vestry could levy a church rate on householders for the upkeep of the fabric of the parish church (which was how some of the money was raised for rebuilding All Hallows) it would be a benefit to have as many houses in the parish as possible; but since parishes became responsible for the poor within their bounds and, in particular, for all orphans found in the parish, pious parishes could find that it served their purpose to encompass as small an area as possible. The surviving papers relating to a lengthy dispute with the neighbouring parish of St. Peter-le-Poer, Broad Street, in 1796 serve to show how deeply such matters concerned the vestry since the case was fought long and hard in the courts yet it only concerned an area the size of one room.

During the eighteenth century the custom grew up of marking parish boundaries with lead and, later, cast iron, plaques which can still be seen on many buildings in the City, with their cryptic groups of letters and usually a date, referring to the name of the parish and the date of erection of the plate. There are six of these on or near All Hallows church, but since four are on the north wall they are usually invisible to the public. They mark the boundaries of All Hallows with St. Botolph Bishopsgate to the east and St. Stephen Coleman (the plate made of lead and dated 1785) to the west. On the wall at the west end of the churchyard are the two visible marks, one for All Hallows dated 1888 in a rectangular frame and the other for St. Stephen Coleman dated 1886 in a cartouche.

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BACK COVER

The back cover shows Dance's drawing for the weatherstone.
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