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THE CHAPEL, LINCOLN'S INN

Historic Building Assessment

March 2012

THE CHAPEL

CONTENTS

i. INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND TO THE DOCUMENT

This Historic Building Assessment (HBA) was prepared by Donald Insall Associates for the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn.

The survey was carried out in March – May 2009 by Francis Maude of Donald Insall Associates; and the research by Carrie Maude, Katrina Royall and Ayla Lepine, also of Donald Insall Associates.

A draft of this document was issued in July 2009, and this forms the basis of the present document, which includes no further research.

The intention of this document is to inform the Society of Lincoln's Inn by providing:

- an analysis of the history and construction of the building.
- an assessment of the significance of the building and of its various component elements.
- a conservation briefing for the future usage of the building.

ii. HISTORIC BUILDING ASSESSMENT – HOW THE DOCUMENT WORKS

The Historic Building Assessment seeks to guide proposals for the future usage of the buildings, and is divided into six parts:

1. The Buildings

This section gives a basic introduction to the Chapel and the site, including chronology of development and use.

2. Assessment of Significance

This section addresses the aspects of the Chapel which contribute to its significance, and the hierarchy of the significance of its different parts and areas. A key part of this analysis is the Gazetteer, which is included in Section 4.

3. Vulnerability

This section addresses the various issues which make the building and particularly its most significant elements vulnerable, highlighting global issues such as the need to maintain the use of the building in the light of changing patterns of worship and developing musical traditions and particular matters such as fire safety and access requirements.

4. Gazetteer

This section provides a description of the buildings part by part, room by room, giving an assessment of the construction, finishes, date of execution and significance in relation to the whole building.

5. Bibliography

This section gives a list of the key secondary sources consulted in the preparation of the Historic Building Assessment.

6. The Plate List and Plates

This section contain illustrations key to an understanding of the site and buildings.

iii. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are indebted to Peter Spooner of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn for sharing with us his knowledge of the building and archival material, and are grateful for the kind assistance of Guy Holborn, Librarian, and his colleagues. This Historic Building Assessment draws heavily on the work of Morgan Lear from 2004, which was kindly made available to us by the Honourable Society.

Sources Consulted

The research used in this Historic Building Assessment draws mainly on material held by the Society of Lincoln's Inn; other sources consulted were:

- The R.I.B.A Library, and Drawings Collection.
- The London Library
- The London Metropolitan Archive
- The Guildhall Library and Department of Maps and Prints
- The Victoria and Albert Museum Department of Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics and Glass.
- The National Art Library
- The National Monuments Record; English Heritage
- The Courtauld Institute

1.0 THE BUILDINGS

1.1 Introduction

The present Chapel at Lincoln's Inn was built in 1619-23 to replace an earlier chapel, which had served as the chapel to the London residence of the Bishops of Chichester, and which stood near to the present building. No trace survives of this earlier structure, except a piece of alabaster now displayed by the steps up to the pulpit.

The present Chapel was built specifically to meet the needs of the Society of Lincoln's Inn (perhaps with advice from Inigo Jones, though it now appears unlikely that he had any responsibility for the overall designs). It lies to the north of the Old Hall (then the only hall), raised to first floor level over an open-sided vaulted undercroft. Other buildings to the south and east of the Old Hall form a quadrangle with a gateway onto Chancery Lane, and this area, now known as Old Buildings, forms the ancient heart of Lincoln's Inn.

The pews, which date from the original construction, and some of the stained glass are of exceptional historic interest.

The setting of the Chapel to the north and west sides has changed with the continuing development of the buildings of Lincoln's Inn. The Chapel itself underwent significant alteration in the nineteenth century, first when Hardwick re-planned the entrance in the 1840s, and more substantially when Stephen Salter increased the length of the Chapel by one bay to the west, in matching style to the 1620s building, renewed the roof and added the present entrance stair with preacher's and choir vestry rooms.

This report covers in detail the history and development of the Lincoln's Inn Chapel.

1.2 The Basis of the Research

Desk-top research has been undertaken into the history of the Chapel and its architectural and cultural significances, using secondary sources in the main. The history of Lincoln's Inn is recorded in the published (and manuscript) Black Books which are an invaluable tool in such an exercise. Research has been undertaken in a variety of public repositories as listed on page ---, and supplemented on occasion by research into primary sources held in the Lincoln's Inn Library and the RIBA Library.

1.3 An Outline History of the Chapel

The private chapel to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn was constructed c1619-1623. The mason responsible is now believed to be John Clarke from Oxford. The poet John Donne preached the consecration sermon on Ascension Day, 1623. The Chapel was built to replace an earlier building on a slightly different site which was too small and had fallen into decay. Originally of three bays, the Chapel was two storeys accessed by a spiral staircase on the west side. It was a condition of the commission that the Chapel be above ground; at one stage the Inn wanted sets of chambers below, but it was soon decided to have an open space. The building was constructed with a handsome Undercroft, and burials were permitted here until 1851.

It was necessary to undertake repairs to the walls, buttresses, battlements and roof as soon as the 1680s, work, it is believed, which was supervised by Sir Christopher Wren.

At some time in the 18th century, a wider staircase was installed leading up out of the Undercroft. James Wyatt renewed the east window and roof c1795, and the wooden ceiling to the main body of the Chapel was replaced by a domed stucco ceiling. An organ and gallery were introduced c1820.

In the mid 19th century Hardwick was asked to design a new entrance, but a grander approach was constrained by the buildings in Old Square which ran directly in front of the Chapel. Re-modelling in this area later in the 19th century facilitated the sweeping away of Hardwick's alterations when major renewal of the Chapel at last became possible.

The building was extended by one bay to its present length and the double staircase and vestries were built c1881-82, under the direction of Stephen Salter.

The 20th century saw repair rather than replacement to the Chapel and Undercroft.

Air raid damage to the fine glass in 1915 necessitated restoration and major re-decoration was undertaken in the 1930s, with the opinion of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott sought on the matter. The Chapel again sustained war damage (to the roof and plain glass) in the 1940s and most recently c1990-200 renovation has included the installation of a disabled lavatory and a lift, the stripping of stonework and removal of decayed lime plaster, and re-slating of the roof.

A new organ has been installed since the time of writing.

The Chapel was listed Grade I in 1951.

1.4 A Building Chronology

Abbreviations Used in Building Chronology

BB..	The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books
CL and WPB	Country Life, December 16th 1922
JDW	J Douglas Walker "Short Notes on Lincoln's Inn", 1906
ML92	Morgan Lear Notes Prepared for a Strategy for the Chapel
MO	Mark Ockelton "The Chapel" in "A Portrait of Lincoln's Inn" A (ed), 2007
RB	Roger Bowdler (London Division of English Heritage) "Notes on the Undercroft of Lincoln's Inn Chapel", February 1991.
RL94	Richard Lea "Lincoln's Inn Chapel: A Survey of the South Façade" English Heritage Historic Buildings Recording Unit, Jan 1994
SB	Stella Baker "The Chapel of Lincoln's Inn 1422-1972", 2008 proof text supplied to Donald Insall Associates
WP13	W Paley Baildon "Lincoln's Inn Chapel" Trans St Paul's Eccles Society vol IV, 1900

1422
The first Black Book was written in 1422, included a Chapel which may have been made of stone…

[BBV5]

17th century
The Lincoln's Inn Chapel was used for council meetings until a separate Council Chamber was built in the early 18th century [elsewhere]. The Undercroft thus provided a communal covered place for legal discussions. There is a reference in Samuel Butler's "Hudibras" (third part 1678). It may thus be assumed that the Undercroft was a place of assignment and conference and a comparison may loosely be drawn with the arcade of the Royal Exchange (1607-1611). Perhaps the most important meeting was held in May 1659 when 80 were invited by William Prynne to discuss the restoration of the Stuart monarchy.

[RB]

c1608-1618
In the early 17th century the Chapel was in poor condition and too small for a growing institution whose members all had to demonstrate their allegiance to the Crown by attending the worship of the Church of England. The Inn sought advice from Inigo Jones, but there is no reason to suppose he even produced a design and of course the building is not by that English pioneer of the Palladian style. The benchers chose conservatively, they apparently handed over both design and execution to an Oxford stonemason, John Clarke. He was proposed by a shadowy character called Otho Nicholson, a lawyer but not a member of the Inn. Clarke's management of the work does not seem to have been very satisfactory; he tried to claim payment from the Inn without vouchers and massively overspent…

The Chapel cost over £2,800 in all. This may be compared with the neighbouring church of St Giles-in-the-Fields, a substantial structure completely re-built in 1623-31 for £2,068.

In addition, the Chapel was not soundly built, and was *"decayed"* within some sixty years.

[MO]

1608-1618
The Benchers of Lincoln's Inn set up a committee in May 1608 to re-consider the re-building of their Chapel. The old chapel was in a poor state of repair (despite having been overhauled in the 1570s) and there was a considerable increase in numbers belonging to Lincoln's Inn so a more spacious one was required and it was initially hoped that the money from their subscriptions would pay for the Chapel.

In 1610 it was decided to build a new chapel. There was a delay in pursuing the project due to funding problems; a general levy was imposed on all members of the Inn in 1619.

At a full meeting of the Benchers in 1618 it was resolved that *"the consideration of a filling model for the Chapel is commended to Mr Indicho Jones (sic)…*

This is the first and last reference to Inigo Jones contained in the "Black Books" and the traditional attribution of the Chapel to him is now rejected".

[RB]

1608-1623

We know very little of the old chapel of the Inn ; the fragments already mentioned show that it was of Early English architecture, and was, therefore, part of Ralph Neville's original house. The existence of a "Chapell steyre" suggests that it was not on the ground level but the mention of a "quere dore" in 1552 and a "priest's door" in 1556 seems to negative the notion. It is referred to sometimes as the Chapel of Our Lady, and sometimes as of St. Richard, that is, Richard de la Wych, Bishop of Chichester, successor to Ralph de Neville.

The old chapel was not on the site of the present building, but stood a little further south. It was presumably used for service while the new chapel was being built; a month after the consecration of the latter, on May 22nd, 1623, Mr. William Noy, afterwards Attorney-General, was ordered to see the Archbishop in order to get a faculty or dispensation for pulling it down ; in the meantime no one was to work there and the door was to be kept locked. On November 11th following it was ordered that the pulling down should be "proceeded one with all convenient expedicion".

The question of a new chapel was first mooted in 1608. But not till January 27th, 1618, was it ordered that "the consideracion of a fitt modull for the Chappell is commended to Mr. Indicho Jones, and Mr. Brooke, one of the Masters of the Bench, is requested to move him conserninge the same ; and consideration is to be had of the recompence that shall be given to the said Mr. Indicho Jones for his paynes therein."

Inigo Jones had done work for the Inn on a previous occasion. He designed some, perhaps all, of the accessories used in a very elaborate masque, given at Whitehall in 1613 by Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple, to celebrate the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine Frederic.

The "modull of the Chappell" was finally approved on November 12th, 1618, and "the platforme of the same modull is appointed to be drawne by Clarcke, who hath undertaken the buildinge of the said Chappell". This was John Clarke, freemason, who would nowadays be called the contractor. The surveyor of the building, the clerk of the works, was Thomas Baldwin, who at that time was Comptroller of the Office of Works under Inigo Jones, the Surveyor. There is no record of what Jones was paid for his "modull".

It is somewhat remarkable that there is no record of the actual commencement of the building, but it was some time before June 20th, 1621. On that day the Treasurer was ordered to pay £78 to Clarke, the mason, "for present provision of stone for the Chapell, viz. to goe forward with the battlements & pynacles, and to make all fit for the leading of the rooffe & gutters, & for some stone for the vault." From this it would appear that the building was well advanced. The foundation stone had been laid by Dr. John Donne, the poet, who was then the Divinity Reader or Preacher. He had entered the Inn as a student in 1592, and served the usual student's offices of Steward of Christmas in 1594 and Master of the Revels in 1598 ; he afterwards abandoned the law and entered the Church, being ordained in 1615 ; he was chosen Preacher to the Inn in 1616. He was installed as Dean of St. Paul's on November 27th, 1621, and resigned his office of Preacher. The minute recording this contains perhaps the only pun in the sober records of the society : "Mr. Doctor Donne, being lately advaunced by the King's Majesty to the Deanry of Poule's, by reason whereof he cannot conveniently supply the place of a public Preacher of God's Word in this House, as formerly he hath Donne." To show "the continuance of his love to this Society," the dean presented a Bible and commentaries in six volumes. The Bible contains a long Latin

inscription, in which the donor, referring to himself, says : post multos annos, agente Spiritu Sancto, suadente Rege, ad Ordines Sacros evectus, munere suo frequenter et strenue hoc loco concionandi per quinque annos functus, novi sacelli primis saxis sua manu positis, et ultimis fere paratis, ad Decanatum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli London : a Rege (cui benedicat Dominus) migrare jussus est, anno L ætatis suæ, et sui JESV MDCXXI. The usual course was taken of ordering that the dean was to have his present chamber in the Inn, as a bencher and with the usual privileges of a bencher.

The new chapel was at length finished, and the consecration was fixed for Ascension Day, 1623. John Chamberlain, that most useful letter-writer, records that "Lincoln's Inn new Chapel was consecrated with much solemnity by the Bishop of London (George Mountain) on Ascension Day, where there was a great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof two or three were endangered, and taken up dead for the time, with the extreme press and thronging. The Dean of St. Paul's made an excellent sermon, they say, about dedications."

The cost of the new chapel cannot be stated exactly ; a separate set of accounts was kept for it, most of which have, fortunately, been preserved. John Clarke, the builder, was paid £2,794 1s. 9d., and there were certain items in dispute. Price, the joiner, was paid £220 for the woodwork ; the pulpit cost £10, the doors and carved heads in the middle pews £19, those in the side pews £28 6s. 6d., the upper screen £22 12s., the lower screen £16 8s., the carved panels in the benchers' pews 3s. 4d. each."

[CL]

1609

The first mention of the new Chapel was in 1609 when the old Chapel was described as being *"ruinous and too small"*. It was decided to build a new large Chapel with three sets of double chambers below. The next few years were given over to collecting money.

[SB]

1609-1623

"In 1609, the Bench resolve "that a fair large chapel with three double Chambers under the same shall be builded in a place more convenient, that now standing being ruinous and not sufficient for the number of this House." The site is fixed in the next year to be "in the Court where the old Chapel stands..."

… steps were taken to collect money, and in 1616 a committee considered the materials to be provided for the building of the Chapel. The Committee, in doubt as to the merits of Oxford freestone, consulted Mr. Otho Nicholson, who had bestowed £800 on repairing the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, had erected the Carfax Conduit, which bears his initials in its parapet, and was one of the Masters in Chancery. The Society in return for his advice gave him a pew in the Chapel. Mr. "Indicho" Jones was in 1617 entrusted with the consideration of a fit model for the Chapel.

An announcement was made that the Society contemplated erecting a fair Chapel of the value of £2,000, and Rolls were open "wherein the benevolence of every one of this House which shall be given to the building of the Chapel shall be enrolled." These Rolls were to be written into a book of parchment "which shall continue for ever". The Masters of the Bench were to set down unknown to each other their own benevolences, which are not to be shown until all had subscribed. The Bar rolls were to be open. Letters were to be written to the gentlemen that were "continuers" of every county to excite and stir them to contribute ; and,

if their gifts were liberal, their pensions were to be remitted. Appeal was made to strangers who resorted to the Chapel. The answer to this appeal being only £116, recourse was had to other methods. The Chief Butler was directed to certify what fines inflicted during the last ten years remained unpaid, and stimulated by a promise of 5 per cent. on all he should get in. A like inducement was held out to the Treasurer and Pensioner. Still more money was required, and a general Tax was imposed at the end of 1619 on the fellowship. From each Bencher was levied £20, from each Barrister of more than seven years standing 20 nobles (£6 13s. 4d.), from Barristers under that standing £5, and from gentlemen under the Bar 40s. The order continues, "it being left to each one to enlarge himself in the way of free benevolence towards the good work, as he shall be moved and inclined by his heart and affection, ability also concurring, which to all is not alike."

By this time Mr. Nicholson had advised on the manner of windows fit for the Chapel : and Mr. Inigo Jones had submitted a plan which commended itself to the Bench. A "Platform of the Model" had been drawn by Mr. Clarke, who had undertaken the building of the Chapel, and Mr. Baldwin, the Comptroller of Works under Mr. Inigo Jones, had estimated the mason's and bricklayer's work at £2,231 6s. 8d. In February, 1620, Mr. Jasper Selwin, Mr. Christopher Brooke, and Mr. Thomas Sanderson (two to be a quorum) were appointed to stand and be "Committees" for the Chapel, and to proceed therein as to them seemed fit. The building was begun, and the need for money became more pressing. Peremptory orders were made for the immediate payment of arrears of the Tax. Divers Barristers, who had Chambers in the House, but lived "at Ordinaries abroad in the Lane and elsewhere and came not into Commons, and gave no obedience to the Orders of the House in paying and contributing to the building of the new Chapel," were summoned to appear at the next Counsel and "answer the premises." Every person lately made Associate or called to the Bar was ordered to contribute according to his new position : and the numbers of those made Associates or called to the Bar were very much increased. To secure payments by the newly called Barristers, the publication of their Calls was deferred until the Tax had been paid. Some of the Benchers became personally bound for the borrowing of £1000, the rest of the Bench agreeing to share any ultimate liability.

At last in May 1623 the Chapel was finished, and the consecration was performed on May 23rd by the Bishop of London. The crush of people was very great, two or three being taken up for dead by reason of the press. The Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Donne, late Preacher to the Society, preached a much admired discourse, which may be read in the copy of his sermons preserved in the Library ; and in order that rejoicing might be universal in the Inn, the exceedings and charges throughout all the Hall were ordered to be "as bountiful as had been accustomed on All Hallow Day."

More money had still to be found, and a step was taken which seems very remote from modern ideas. Writs had been issued for arrears of pensions due by those who had not compounded : lists of the names of those sued were made out for the several Counties, and were delivered to the Justices of Assize for the summer circuits of 1623, with a request "in the name of the Society to deliver the lists to the several sheriffs in their several circuits, and to move and wish the sheriffs to give notice to the parties," that unless settlement was made before Michaelmas, the suits would be actively prosecuted.

In the next year came the settlement with Mr. John Clarke, the builder : he had been paid £2,794 1s. 9d. and certain items were in dispute, which, if admitted by the Society, would entitle him, as the Committee reported, to a further sum of £60. One of the disputed items is

"Nicholson's Stone" (no doubt the Oxford freestone) which had been estimated of the value of £150, but was only worth to Clarke, as he said, £20 at the most. In the end Clarke drove the Society into arbitration, but on his death shortly after, the Society gave his widow £30 and the proceedings came to an end.

The bill of Price, the joiner, for the woodwork of the Chapel amounted to £220 : the items invite attention, as they include the greater part of the carved work now in the Chapel. Price too died before receiving payment and his widow acknowledges the receipt of the balance due.

It will have been noticed that the original plan of a Chapel with three chambers under it was departed from in favor of one with a cloister below ; this was in view of the use of the Cloister as a place of burial, which the Bishop of London in due course authorised.

The directions for the allotment of seats are very detailed ; providing for the wants of Noblemen, Judges, Serjeants, other eminent persons, Nobleman's Sons, Knights, and finally strangers of good fashion and quality. In contrast to this, an order in 1636 directs the Porter "to take special care in this time of contagion and infection not to permit women or children to come into the Chapel." Two years after "persons of mean quality" were placed on the excluded list. One of the directions, which presumably would not have been made if experience had not made it necessary, gives a strange idea of the customs of church goers at that period : no persons in or out of the time of Divine Service "shall sit, lean, or rest with their hands or arms or any other parts of their bodies upon or against the Communion Table, or lay their Hats or Books upon the same."

The gifts of the windows in the Chapel are not mentioned in the Black Book : but there are entries of payments for coats of arms in stained glass…"

[BBV2]

1615

The bell originally hung in a turret surmounted by a weather vane and housed a clock beneath, placed immediately southwest of the Chapel on the roof of the Chambers. The accounts record that £98 was paid of a new clock and bell in 1615. There is a popular belief that the Chapel bell came from Cadiz, but this is apocryphal.

[SB]

1617-1680

The original pews in the Chapel can be recognized as they have doors with locks, whereas the later pews of the nineteenth century extension have no doors. Originally it seems that the butlers had keys so that the pew was only opened to the person of correct rank. On occasions this must have led to difficulties. The solution, which we can see today whenever we enter a pew, was to fit a small bolt or catch inside the door so that a pew 'be not locked when any person is therein'. The pews were built by Pryce the joiner but he forgot the hooks for the benchers' caps, which were added in 1630 and are still there.

Matters of precedence were of immense importance in the seating arrangements. There is evidence that this was so in the original Chapel and it continued right up until the late nineteenth century, as can be seen from the fact that in 1867 one of the jobs of the Chapel Keeper was to officiate as Pew Opener. The first recorded incidence was in 1617, when Council decided that Otho Nicholson should be allocated a pew in the Chapel. He was a rich

attorney and Treasurer to King James I, but not a member of the Inn. However, he obviously had close connections with the Inn. When the new Chapel was being built he was consulted about the most suitable windows and the builder, Mr Clarke, was the same builder who built the Carfax Conduit in Oxford, a gift of Mr Nicholson to Oxford. Even so the allocation of a pew to a non-member was so unusual and important that it took two meetings of Council before it was arranged that his pew should be 'over against Pulpitt on the North side att the heigher end of the Chapell'.

Before the new Chapel was consecrated there was a definite and absolute allocation of seats as can be seen from the following detailed and pompous extract from the Black Books:

> *At this Counsel it is concluded and ordered concerning seats in the new Chapel, as follows:*
>
> *That the divided middle rows of seats there, from the Choir downward, shall be disposed as follows. The two first middle seats next the choir to be set apart and allotted to such Noblemen, Judges, Serjeants at Law, and Other persons of eminent quality, as shall at any time resort to the Chapel.*
> *The six next middle seats there to be for the Masters of the Bench and the Associates, and they to place themselves by three and three in every of them, according to their antiquity…*
> *The Associates of the Bench to be last placed, except they be such persons of rank and quality as Noblemen's sons and Knights; and they to take their places as they do at the Bench table.*
> *The two lowest of those double seats are likewise allotted for strangers of good fashion and quality, or, in case of necessity for such of the House as shall not be able to get to their own seats.*
> *The ten seats on the south side of the Chapel from the choir downward are allotted and appointed for the Masters of the Bar; and they to take their places in their antiquities from the highest seat downwards, by four or five in a seat, as they shall think meet.*
> *The seats on the north side of the Chapel, with the seats in the choir (except only the Preacher's seat and the Chaplain's seat), are allotted and appointed for the gentlemen and fellows of this Society under the Bar; and none of them or any other person, in time of divine service and sermon, or at any time before or after, shall sit, lean, or rest with their hands or arms or any other part of their bodies upon or against the Communion Table, or lay their hats or books upon the same.*
> *The lower part of the Chapel is appointed for the clerks and ordinary servants of the Masters of the Bench and of the Barr, and of the servants of the House.*
> *And this disposition of seats aforesaid to be firmly held and observed, without any confused intrusion.*

By 1656 there were complaints that the barristers and --- junior barristers were not sitting in the correct seats. It was ordered that the Butler and Porter were to keep the benchers' seats free and to keep the aisles clear, but five years later there was trouble again and this time a notice was posted in Hall. By 1673 the trouble was so bad that a special committee was appointed. However worse was to follow – in 1680 women and strangers got into the benchers' seats! This led to a major crisis as the following extract from the Black Books show:

Whereas by the auntient Rules and Orders of this Society no woman ought to come into or have a seate in the Chapple of this Societye, yet the Chappell hath of late bin much frequented by them, to the disturbance of this Societye; And whereas the third Butler hath, contrary to his dutye, latelye admitted many women and strangers into the pewes in the middle of the said Chappell, whereby the gentlemen that are members of the Societye have bin disappointed of convenient seates ; All which hath by gentlemen on the behalf of themselves and others, members of the Societye, bin represented and complayned of to the Masters of the Bench of this Societye in Councell. It is now by the said Masters ordered that the key formerly ussed by the said third Butler, Joseph Stannenough, in the said Chappell be delivered to Charles Bellamy, another Butler of this Societye, to be by him there used during the pleasure of the Masters of the Bench; and that the said Charles Bellamy, and all other officers of this Societye officiateing in the said Chapple, take care that no woman be admitted to sitt in any of the said middle pewes; and that hereafter in the said pewes, and all other parts of the said Chappil, convenient seates be preserved for the use of the members of this Societye.

The only thing that we know that was sympathetic to the ladies is that when hooped skirts were fashionable, a bencher, Mr Horsman, complained that the pews were not suitable for the wives.

[SB]

1618

It had been resolved in May 1618 that a chapel to the cost of £2,000 be erected and at the same time a lawyer named Otho Nicholson who had just had Carfax Conduit erected in Oxford was asked to advise in the manner of the windows and choice of stone. The decision to site the Chapel in the east court rather than on the site of the old was taken in June 1618 and in November, John Clarke was appointed. Clarke was a Yorkshire-born mason who had known Nicholson through his involvement with the Conduit in 1616-17.

[RB]

1618

In January 1618 Mr Brooke, a Bencher who was a friend of Inigo Jones, was instructed to approach him with a view to designing a model; a fortnight later Council studied a model which might have been an outline plan rather than an actual model. This suggests that Inigo Jones produced it, but after this there is no further mention of him. The Benchers wanted a chapel "*answerable to the rest of the structure of the Howse"*. The 17th century Gothic style is not in keeping with Jones' other work, which is in the Italian style. There is, though, a design by him in the Chatsworth archives of a prism for a masque with Tuscan style pillars, which is very similar to the Undercroft that was to replace the original idea of chambers below the Chapel. It seems possible that if the Benchers wanted a more Gothic style, Jones left the changes to John Clarke, who was to be both the designer and builder, and who had previously been involved in building Carfax in Oxford.

There was a continued link with Inigo Jones, however, in that it was the Comptroller of Works in the Office of the Surveyor General, Thomas Baldwyn, who drew up the final accounts.

[SB]

1618-1621
In June 1618 there was a meeting of all the Benchers and those who did not attend were fined £2, at which it was decided to build the new Chapel in the east court, adjoining Chapel Row on the west side. The site must have met with opposition, because in November there was a further consideration of the site, but by June 1619 it was at least decided that the buildings on the north side of the old Chapel should be pulled own and the material kept for the new Chapel. In February 1620 it was decided that the committees were being too slow and should be reduced to not more than three members. Progress was made and the foundation stone was laid by John Donne, the Preacher, in 1621.

[SB]

1618-1624
When the Chapel was built there were three windows on each side. Soon after the building was finished, they were glazed with figures of the Twelve Apostles on the south side and twelve other New and Old Testament characters on the north. After the enlargement of the Chapel in the 19th century, some of the glass was moved.

The two windows on the south side are in their original position.

[MO]

1618-1624
The scheme required that the Chapel be above ground; at one stage the Inn had intended to build three sets of chambers beneath but it was soon decided to have an open space… One suggestion why this form was used is to perpetuate a feature of the earlier chapel.

Chapels in large private medieval houses and particularly bishops' palaces seem to have been raised. The Chapel of Lambeth Palace is on an Undercroft, as is that of the medieval Bishop of Ely's London house in Ely Place, close to the Inn.

It may perhaps be assumed that the Bishop of Chichester had a Chapel similarly placed in his London house and the Inn wanted to preserve the arrangement. Access to the Chapel was up a spiral staircase for which 1,000 bricks were supplied in 1624 and through a large door on the west side of the building at first floor level.

[MO]

1618-1624
The new Chapel was not in the sparse and sinuous style of gothic then being developed in Oxford… the side windows are close copies of late 15th century work and although the rosette in the tracery of the east and west windows has an air of novelty there was a precedent in the east window of old St Paul's. The classical style that Inigo Jones would have recommended, and which he used at St Paul's Covent Garden in the 1630s, is here represented only by the Tuscan half columns set against the piers of the Undercroft and the pilasters of the arches under the buttresses.

[MO]

1619/20
The date of the laying of the foundation stone cannot… be placed earlier than the end of 1619 or the beginning of 1620 thus giving a period of three years and a half for the completion of the building.

[WPB]

1619-1623
Work began in 1619, the first stone being laid by Sir John Donne (Preacher to Lincoln's Inn in 1616-21, prior to becoming Dean of St Paul's). The Chapel was completed in 1623 and consecrated by George Montaine, Bishop of London. Donne preached on the occasion. The overall cost (according to a 1637 manuscript) was around £3,500. Clarke's bill totalled £2,853.7.6 which was only settled after some dispute.

[RB]

1619-23
The [original] Chapel is shown as part of the background, in the painted window to St Simon by B van Linge in the Chapel probably from 1623-6.

It is shown again, apparently unaltered in Hollar's Great Map of c1658.

The original chapel walls were of brick and chalk, faced externally with a skin of coursed ashlar. The bricks, roughly coursed, were coloured red, orange and purple and measured 220 x 110 x (55-60) mm. The chalk fragments did not appear larger than the lumps of lime. The facing stone was a course grained limestone (from the Oxford area or is it Bath stone?). The same stone was used for the window jambs and outermost orders of the ground floor arches. The original dressed surface of the ashlar no longer survives. The ashlar skin was uniformly thin so there was no strong bond between the core and facing material. The subsequent history of repair to this wall face demonstrates that this was an original failing in the construction of the Chapel.

The course heights in the ashlar facing were not consistent from one day to the next, nor were they generally consistent in each bay either side of the windows and ground floor arches. They were, however, approximately consistent at the springing points for both sets of arches. Here, a narrow course c120 mm in height suggests that the hood moulds for both the windows and the ground floor arches originally returned to form horizontal string courses interrupted by the buttresses. This cannot, however, be demonstrated conclusively, since it is also possible that the course height relates only to stopped returns.

[RL]

1619-23
At ground floor level the original four centred arches were concealed by an application of Parker's Roman cement [which was considered sound enough to be left intact in the course of the 1990s works].

[RL]

1619-23
The buttresses were clearly integral to the original building.

[RL]

1619-1623
The chapel was originally of three bays, each being separated by a buttress pierced at ground level by an arched opening with Doric pilasters within. These buttresses terminated in crocketted pinnacles and the end gables terminated in crosses. The body of the chapel stood above an undercroft two bays wide; the piers were rectangular, with engaged Doric columns, and the roof was vaulted and studded with bosses. These bosses epitomise the

mixed idiom of the chapel: some are based on traditional Gothic foliated examples, while others sport Tudor roses or armorial cartouches set within modish auricular seyyings. The ribs sprang from the Doric columns and from rounded corbels set between these columns, which terminate in small acorn finials. Those parts of the exterior not of stone appear to have always been rendered. The traceried windows on each side and at each end of the chapel are Perpendicular in inspiration and contained contemporary painted glass. Access to the chapel was by means of a double stair at the west end.

[RB91]

1619-23
Originally there were three windows of four lights on each side of the Chapel, to show the twelve apostles and the prophets with St Paul. The glass painters were Richard Butler, Abraham van Linge and his brother Bernard from Germany.

[SB]

1619-23 (and 1707)
There is no record of what was in the east window when the new Chapel was built… the first thing known for certain is that in 1707 it was decided that as the Treasurers' arms were scattered, they should be put in order in the east window, and at the same time the royal arms of William III and the arms of the Inn were added.

[SB]

1619-1623
When the Chapel was built, the west wall abutted the rear wall of Chapel Row so the window must have been placed high enough to clear the roofs of Chapel Row and as there was no organ loft, the whole of the west wall would be an integral part of the Chapel.

[SB]

1619-23 (and 1755)
It was built on pillars, in view of using the cloister below as a place of burial. Stow's Survey of London [ed 1755] thus criticises the cloister:

The raising this Chapel on pillars affords a pleasing melancholy walk underneath and by right, particularly when illuminated by lamps, it has an effect that may be felt but not described.

[JDW]

1619-1630
The pews were built by Pryce the joiner, but he forgot the hooks for the benchers' caps which were added in 1630.

[SB]

c1620 [Undercroft]
[The Undercroft] was similar to St Stephen's Westminster but in the Inn it was intended to use it as a burial ground. The ceiling is decorated with bosses mainly in the form of flowers, but at the east end many of the bosses contained shields. Sadly most are now indistinguishable.

[SB]

c1621
Certain chambers had to be cleared before the building was commenced.

[SB]

pre 1623 (and 1822)
Very little is known of the previous Chapel except that it stood a little southward, extending west into Gatehouse Court. Nothing of it appears to survive save a broken alabaster sculpture discovered in 1822 and now mounted next to the pulpit stairs.

[MO]

1623
A meeting of Benchers in May 1623 resolved to seek the consent of the Bishop of London for leave to use the Undercroft as a place of burial, which was accordingly granted.

[RB]

1623
The benches and pews are largely those supplied by Hugh Pryce in 1623. His detailed accounts show that at that time there was also a screen, marking off at the east end as a separate Chancel. There were two pulpits, one no doubt for use as a lectern, the other possibly transferred from the old chapel and newly carved to bring it up to date.

[MO]

1623
On 6 May when the Chapel was almost complete (some of the windows are dated 1626) it was decided that the Chapel would be consecrated on Ascension Day and that the Hall was to be decorated.

Dr George Montaine, Bishop of London, consecrated the Chapel and the sermon was delivered by Dr John Donne. After the service, the Bishop went down and dedicated the Undercroft as a burial ground. (In November 1623 there was a dispute with Mr Clarke and the widow of Price the joiner over payments.)

[SB]

1623-1638
On May 6th, 1623, "it is ordered that the Chappell shall be consecrated upon Ascention Day next, and the exceedings and charge throughout all the Hall to be as bountifull as hath beene accustomed upon Alhallow Day" (ii, 241). There is no account of the consecration in the Black Books, but we get some information from outside sources. The Bishop of London, Dr. George Mountaine, officiated, and Dr. Donne, the Dean, preached the sermon, taking for his text, "And it was at Jerusalem, the feast of the Dedication, and it was winter." John X, 22. John Chamberlain, writing to Dudley Carleton, says that there was a great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof two or three were endangered, and taken up for dead for the time, with the extreme press and throngings ; the Dean of St. Paul's made and excellent sermon, they say, about dedications (Court and Times of James I, ii, 402). There was formerly a stone under the Chapel with this inscription :-

"Georgius London. Episcopus consecravit in Festo Ascensionis Domini, anno 1623."

Although the greater part of the accounts for the building of the Chapel have not been preserved, there are a few documents of interest connected therewith. Thomas Baldwyn's

estimate for the brick and stone work comes to £2,231 6s. 8d., and from it we learn that the eight buttresses were finished off with pinnacles and that the gables had crosses (ii, 449). The joiner's estimate has some noteworthy items. The doors of the "meedle pewes" with their carved heads, cost 10s. per yard, and came to £19 ; the same for the side pews, at the same rate, came to £28 6s. 6d. There was formerly a small low screen raised on the end of the easternmost pew, which was not removed until some time after 1850 (Spilsbury, Lincoln's Inn and its Library). This was carved on both sides, and charged for at the rate 20s. the yard, amounting to £14 10s.

The carved panels in the Benchers' pews cost 3s. 4d. the pew ; the Chapel door and the Communion Table cost £7 10s. (ii, 450).

Hugh Price, the joiner, sends in his bill, including the above items, and amounting to £220. At the foot he writes : "For the dores and carved heades, because I gave you an estimacion of them at 10s. the yard, I sett down no mor in mesure ; but they stand me in 12s. the yard at lest, by reason of the varietie of the carving ; which comes to £9 8s. more than I have sett down for them in my reconing. The which I defer to your Worshipps' consideracions" (ii, 450).

The mason's bill, over which there was a dispute, was fixed by certain arbitrators at £------ 6d.

There was a curious dispute also with a joiner named John Browne, who claimed to have been engaged to do some of the work. He mentions in his petition to the Privy Council in the matter that he had been recommended by Lord Hobart on account of the work done by him at the Charterhouse (ii, 446).

The windows are filled with stained glass, the subjects being Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles. It is commonly said that these were executed by the brothers Abraham and Bernard van Linge, two Flemish workers in stained glass, who are known to have executed windows for University, Balliol, and Wadham Colleges at Oxford. I believe that there is no authority for the statement, which rests, so far as I can trace it, on a suggestion of Vertue's, printed by Walpole in his Anecdotes of Painting.

The records of the Inn throw no light on the question, for all the windows were presented, as the inscriptions on them show ; so that they do not come into the Treasurer's accounts. I believe that the sole basis for Vertue's guess is the fact that the name "Bernard" occurs in one or two places. Of course this may stand for Bernard van Linge. But it is worthy of note that several other lights have the initials R. B., which certainly does not stand for van Linge, and to my mind strongly suggests an unknown R. Bernard as the artist. In the 4th light of the middle window of the south side is a monogram in which the letters R.B. are again conspicuous. Most of the windows on the south side are dated 1623 ; the middle window on the north, 1624 ; and the westernmost window on the same side, 1626.

The westernmost window on the south side has a curious and highly interesting view of the new Chapel itself and the old Hall. The buildings are drawn with wonderful accuracy, but the landscape in the background must surely be imaginary.

The east window has a fine series of the arms of those Benchers who have filled the office of Treasurer, beginning with Luke Astry in 1680, and continuing down to the present time.

Above these are the arms of the Inn, put up in 1703. The arms of William III, of the same date, have been removed from the east to the west window, where are also a number of shields, some of which were probably removed from the old Chapel.

The regulations about the pews are worth recording.

"Att this Counsell (May 13th, 1623) itt is concluded and ordered concerning seates in the new Chappell, as followeth :-

"That the middle rowe and double particion of seates ther, from the Quire downeward, shall be disposed as followeth :-

"The two first double seates next the Quire to be set apart and allotted to such Noblemen, Judges, Serjeants-at-Law, and other persons of eminent quality, as shall att any tyme resort and repaire to the Chappell.

"The six next double seates there to be for the Mrs of the Bench and the Associates, and they to place themselves by three and three in every of them, accordinge to their antiquity.

"The single seate there on the south side to be accounted the first and principall of those seates ; and that on the north side, equall with it, to be the next principall seate ;and soe throughout the said other double seates there.

"The Associates of the Bench to be last placed, except they be such persons of ranke and quality as Noblemen's sonnes and Knightes ; and they to take their places as they doe att the Bench table.

"The two lowest of those double seates are likewise allotted for strangers of good fashion and quality, or, in case of necessity, for such of the Howse as shall not be able to get to their owne seates.

"The tenn seates on the south side of the Chappell from the Quire downward are allotted and appointed for the Mrs of the Barr ; and they to take their places in their antiquities from the highest seat downwardes, by fower or five in a seate, as they shall thinke meet.

"The seates on the north side of the Chappell, with the seates in the Quire, (except only the Preacher's seate and the Chapleyn's seate,) are allottwed and appointed for the gentlemen and Fellowes of this Society under the Barr ; and none of them, or any other person, in time of divine service and sermon, or at any time before or after, shall sitt, leane, or rest with their handes or armes or any other parte of their bodies upon or against the Communion Table, or lay their hates or bookes upon the same.

"The lower part of the Chappell from the seates downward, with the seat about the same, is appointed for the clarkes and ordinary servants of the Masters of the Bench and of the Barr, and of the servants of the Howse.

"And this disposition of seates aforesaid to be firmely holden and observed, without any confused intrusion one upon another" (ii, 242).

The Worshipful Masters of the Bench were not very complimentary to the fair sex ; for in

1636 they made an Order that the Porter should take "special care in this time of contagion and infeccion not to permit woemen or children to come into the Chapell" (ii, 339). Two years later (1638) the Porter, Under-Butlers and Pannierman are enjoined to enforce the former Order excluding women, children, and persons of mean quality (ii, 346). This was not polite, to put it mildly ; I can only say by way of extenuation, if, indeed, it amounts to that, that this Order is a shade less rude than one made in 1596, by the then Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering (also a member of Lincoln's Inn), to the effect that a certain room adjoining the Court of Star Chamber at Westminster was to be reserved for men of good account in the country and for gentlemen "towards the lawe," and was not to be plagued with "base fellowes" and women, or other suitors, as it had been (Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, 1593-1609, p. 39)."

[WPB]

1624
The old Chapel was demolished.

[RB]

1630 [Undercroft]
A register was brought in, in which the Dean of Chapel and three benchers were to keep a record of the burials.

[SB]

1637
A buttress had to be extensively repaired.

[RB]

1637
From documentary evidence we know that problems with the structure developed at a fairly early stage because, in 1637, a buttress was extensively repaired.

[RL]

1640s
Lamps first purchased for the Undercroft in the early 1640s.

[RB]

1641 [Undercroft]
Five lanterns were bought to light the Undercroft.

[SB]

1646
A cross forming part of the Chapel was taken down.

[BBV3]

1660-1694
The pulpit was always ornamented with velvet trimmings, an embroidered set was bought in 1660, but replaced with a gift from the Treasurer, Henry Long. In 1694, upon his death, his widow gave a velvet cloth and two cushions for the communion table and a cover for the Reader's desk, trimmed with gold.

[SB]

1663 [Undercroft]
The Undercroft was also used by members for meeting their clients in conference, as mentioned in a diary entry of Samuel Pepys of June 1663.

[SB]

1666
Curtains costing £485 were bought and in 1685 they were thoroughly cleaned.

[SB]

1667-1669
The first person to be buried in the Undercroft was John Thurloe, Secretary of State under Cromwell. William Prynne followed in 1669.

1671-1680s
The pinnacles of the Chapel were inspected, these being urns issuing flames which decorated the tops of the buttresses. By 1676 repair was still needed, and remained so whilst funds were sought. In 1680 a carpenter and freemason were needed to consider repairs necessary *"to prevent all danger"* and calls for money continued for another four years.

Eventually the Society allocated 3500 and borrowed a further £600. A report was renewed by Sir Christopher Wren (who was a member of the Inn); repairs were needed to the walls, buttresses, battlements and roof and services were moved to the Hall whilst they were undertaken.

[SB]

1676-1685
Mention in the Black Books of a great necessity to repair the Chapel and a committee was set up in 1677 to effect the repairs but in 1680 the Chapel was still *"ruinous and decayed"*. It was not until 1684 that order was issued that *"the walls, buttresses and battlements, together with the roofe"* be repaired. Christopher Wren, a member of Lincoln's Inn, was engaged in drawing up the articles for the mason. The 1685 accounts show £600 paid to John Thompson, mason, and £460 to William Edge, bricklayer.

[RB]

1680
Substantially repaired at a cost of £1000 to include a new roof.

[BBV4]

1680
The Chapel was *"ruinous and decayed and in the judgement of judicious workmen, architects and others in a dangerous condition…"*.

[BBV3]

1680s
Sir Christopher Wren had been made a member of the Inn in 1676 and after his advice had been taken, work was done in the east end costing over £1,000 (this compares with the cost of the churches that Wren was re-building in the City after the fire, which were costing between £4,000 and £6,000 in total).

It is not known exactly what the repairs were, but in the Undercroft it can be seen that in almost the whole of the eastern bay the bosses are of the style of the 1686s rather than matching the gothic vault which in fact, together with the large cost, suggests that the whole of the east end may have been taken down and re-built.

[MO]

1684-85

The walls and windows ordered to be repaired. In the next year Mr Christopher Wren (then a member of the Society) was invited to peruse draughts of articles with the freemason and the bricklayer and in June the Chapel was shored up at a cost of £10. The Society borrowed in that year to pay £600 to the mason and £460 to the bricklayer.

[BBV3]

c1685

The likelihood is that the arrangements at the east end were greatly changed at this date. Certainly the altar rails are about that date and it was probably then that a bench for communicants going round three sides of the Chancel was removed.

[MO]

early 18th century
The pulpit is in the style of the early 18th century yet there is no definite record of a new pulpit at that time, though Pryce the joiner had been paid for turning and carving a pulpit.

[SB]

18th century
Sometime in the 18th century a wider staircase was installed, leading up out of the southwest opening of the Undercroft and returning the Chapel door. A grander approach was inhibited by the buildings in Old Square, which ran directly in front of the Chapel.

[MO]

1707 (and 1619-23)
There is no record of what was in the east window when the new Chapel was built… the first thing known for certain is that in 1707 it was decided that as the Treasurers' arms were scattered, they should be put in order in the east window, and at the same time the royal arms of William III and the arms of the Inn were added.

[SB]

c1730
Between the earliest view of the Chapel and Vertue's 1751 engraving, there has been alteration to the roof, the pinnacles and crosses have been replaced by flaming urns, of gadroons set on acanthus bowls, standing on fish scale plinths. They suggest a date of perhaps 1730 and were possibly installed at the same time as the interior was *"adorned and beautified in 1730"*.

[RB]

1730
The pulpit is replaced following a legacy.

[MO]

1730
The windows were taken down, cleaned, new leaded and re-nailed. The Creed, Commandments and Lord's Prayer were put up on the east wall.

[BBV3]

1730-1765
Ladies were to sit in the next pew below the pulpit, but by 1765 wives and families of benchers were to have the uppermost seats on the right and left side of the communion table, while the three other seats above the step on each side were for ladies of the barristers and gentlemen of the Society.

[SB]

1730-1776
The exterior of the Chapel was stuccoed in 1730, this was re-painted in 1737.

[RB]

1731
The arches under the Chapel *"became the resort after sunset of bad characters of both sexes who gave much trouble to the Society. Women left children whom they could not support. The entry in the Treasurer's Roll of 1731-32 '2s 6d to a woman that keept a child that was dropped under the chapel' is the first of many of the like effect.."*.

[BBV3]

1731-1732
Payments are recorded for the care of a foundling child who had been abandoned in the Undercroft and was subsequently named George Lincoln.

[RB]

1737
From documentary sources we know that in 1717 some stucco was re-painted. The Vertue drawing of 1751 shows the Chapel viewed from the south, with an arched lead roof and urns replacing the pinnacles at the tops of the buttresses (seen in an earlier view). There are no hood moulds shown for the windows and ground floor arches. This suggests that they had already been cut back and presumably rendered over.

[RL]

1737
There was a passage from the front of the Chapel Row through to the Undercroft. We know from a very old photograph which was taken just before the row was demolished that a stately doorway bearing the Treasurer's initials M.A. (Marmaduke Alington) was added in 1737. This arch is now in the garden of 25 Prospect Road, St Albans.

[SB]

1737
The entrance to the Chapel was through an archway made in 1737 and up the Chapel stairs.

[BBV5]

1747
A legacy of £200 was left by Lord Wyndham, which was used to commission the painting by William Hogarth "Paul before Felix" which hangs in the Old Hall but was originally intended to be hung at the west end of the Chapel, hence its biblical theme. When it was finished, at Hogarth's suggestion, it was decided to hang it on the north wall of the Old Hall because it proved to be too big for the Chapel, though Hogarth's note also refers to considerations of the lighting.

[SB]

1749
5 guineas was given to Mr Vertue for a print of the Chapel.

[SB]

1755 (and 1619-23)
It was built on pillars, in view of using the cloister below as a place of burial. Stow's Survey of London [ed 1755] thus criticises the cloister:

The raising this Chapel on pillars affords a pleasing melancholy walk underneath and by

right, particularly when illuminated by lamps, it has an effect that may be felt but not described.

[JDW]

1755
The windows were taken down and repaired and the Chapel "beautified".

[BBV3]

1757
The Chapel was closed from July to November while the original lead roof was replaced with a copper roof and the original wooden vaulted ceiling was given a domed stucco ceiling designed by Bernasconi.

[SB]

1758
The roof was covered with copper at a cost of £213 11s.

[BBV3]

1759
The trimmings to the pulpit were replaced with ones similar to those of the 17th century.

[SB]

1760
The staircase was ornamented with a Tuscan block "Cornish".

[BBV3]

1762
The Benchers' seats had to be made broader and wider.

[SB]

1770
A report was made showing that the east window required repairs and that a stove should be introduced.

[SB]

1776
It was ordered that the stucco on the outside and underneath the Chapel be repaired in the manner mentioned and according to the estimate thereof made by Walter Scott (plasterer to the Society) for £87 1s.

[BBV4]

1780s-1790s
The architect James Wyatt reported that the roof was about to fall in; the covering was too heavy for the timbers to support, and the walls were too thin to buttress it properly. The necessary works cost over £7,000.

[MO]

1787
Ordered that it be recommended to the Dean of the Chapel to see that the dates of the several treasurers' arms be made visible at the bottom of their arms in the Chapel window.

[BBV4]

1790
Thomas Clark the builder gave long report on the state of the Chapel, *"the razes, necks and bases in several parts want repairing and securing"*. The stonework of the east window is very much decayed.

[BBV4]

1790-1797
A report on the condition of the Chapel was prepared in 1790 and in that year some repairs were evidently undertaken as the hoppers bear this date.

The first major alterations occurred in 1795-96 under the supervision of James Wyatt (1746-1813). Wyatt was responsible for the replacement of the original roof [which was executed by a member of the Bernasconi family] and the renewal of the east window. *"Other repairs"* were also undertaken (according to Thomas Lane's "Student's Guide to Lincoln's Inn" 2nd ed 1805). These may have included alterations to the buttresses; instead of urns, they were capped with three small battlements.

The 1797 accounts reveal that these repairs cost £7,073 in total.

[RB]

1790s
A committee appointed to inspect the Chapel report that they found it in a very uncomfortable state from cold and damp and recommend a substantial stove.

[BBV4]

1791
It was decided that only benchers could be buried in the Undercroft.

[SB]

1791
Burials under the Chapel or in the grounds of the Society, except of such as had been Masters of the Bench, were discontinued by order after this date.

[BBV4]

1792
Mr Wyatt reports that
"…he has examined the east window of the Chapel, and is of opinion if it was properly repaired wou'ld last many years, for though the outward face of the stone has been perish'd by the weather, yet he don't apprehend that it's strength is very materially affected, therefore recommends that all the loose and crumbled surface of the stone-work should be clear'd away (and not more of it than is absolutely necessary) and where it has been repaired with plaister in large pieces it should be now done with stone. That it would be better likewise if the glass was taken out, and put into iron frames, and fixt to the stone in a different way to what it is at present, and don't imagine the expence of repairing the window, exclusive of the

iron frames for the glass above mentioned, can amount to £50." Ordered that this be done under Mr Wyatt's direction, and that he also provide proper means for ventilating and warming the Chapel."

[BBV4]

1793
£50 on account of building a stove for the purpose of warming the Chapel.

[BBV4]

1794
Wyatt reported that the roof, which was found to be in danger of collapsing, and such was the lack of strength in the walls that the whole Chapel might follow.

All the glass was removed from the windows and work, including the facing of the exterior with stucco, was carried out. The total cost of these repairs was £7,073.

[SB]

1794
Repairs occurring in the Chapel. Enquiries made whether the Temple and Gray's Inn closed their chapels during repairs.

[BBV4]

1794
Painted glass belonging to the east window of the Chapel has been carefully taken out and deposited in boxes under the direction of Mr Wyatt the surveyor; there had not hitherto been any orders given from the Masters of the Bench relative to repairing outside or inside the Chapel (except the east window…).

[BBV4]

1794
Mr James Wyatt, surveyor's report on the Chapel:-

"Mr Wyatt reports that part of the roof of the Chapel near the east end is much decayed, and requires immediate repair. Ordered accordingly.

Council held on July 28th, 1794.
Five Benchers present.
The Report of Mr James Wyatt, the Surveyor :--
"On Saturday last I examined very carefully the state of the roof of Lincoln's Inn Chapel, and found all the principal timbers of it so much decayed and in such parts that I do not hesitate in pronouncing it unsafe, and that the whole fabrick would very materially suffer, if not be totally demolished, by the falling of the roof, and it is impossible to form any sort of conjecture when such an event might be likely to take place : the danger is certainly very great ; though the roof is in itself a very light one, yet the weight of iron, copper, and timber together, must be very considerable, pressing upon the side walls of the building without any beams or ties of any kind to keep the walls together. The effect of the insufficiency of the walls to support such a roof (notwithstanding the immense buttresses) is very visible, they have already yielded to the pressure of it, and I am satisfied would not resist the force which would be occasioned if it was to fall.

JAMES WYATT"

A new roof is ordered to be constructed with all possible dispatch under the direction of Mr Wyatt.
Ordered that the painted glass in the Chapel be carefully taken out and deposited in packing cases in the Library during the repairs of the Chapel.
Ordered that the dial in the Hall be cleaned and repaired.
Ordered that the sun-dial at the west end of Garden Row be painted.

Council held on November 6th, 1794.
Five Benchers present.
On the advice of Mr Wyatt, the painted glass in the Chapel was boarded up on each side, instead of being taken out.

Mr Wyatt's estimate for the Chapel roof:-

"To take off the old roof, and taken down the parrapet walls as low as the springing of the groins, and rebuilt ditto, and build eight gothic pinnacles with crockets on the buttresses, and put on a new gothic cornice – to put on a new roof, framed as the drawing, with new oak plates and new whole deal gutter and bearers, and put up 1 ½ inch deal bracketing for groin ceiling, and brackets on the ribs for the mouldings, and inclose the windows with boarding on the inside, and cover the pews ; to cover the roof with copper and lay lead in the gutters, and put up copper rain-water pipes and proper cistern heads ; to lath and plaister the groind ceiling and with rib mouldings, and put flowers at the angles, and stucco the walls ; to have eight stone corbells at the springing of the groins, with heads carved on ditto ; will altogether amount to the sum of £2,325, exclusive of the old materials, the value of which, when ascertained, will be to be deducted from the above sum.""

[BBV4]

1795
Enclosure of the Undercroft with railings, seemingly at the suggestion of Wyatt's. The railings are depicted on early 19th century engravings and evidently survived into the 20th century.

[RB]

1795
The area of the Undercroft was railed off and no longer open to the public.

[SB]

1795
Mr Wyatt's estimate to cover the Chapel with composition instead of new stone and to re-work and make good with good stone where necessary…

Mr Wyatt is desired to enclose the under part of the Chapel with iron railings as proposed…

[BBV4]

1795-96
The replacement of the Chapel roof by James Wyatt.

James Wyatt replaced the roof, renewed the east window and replaced the urns above the battlements with small battlements in 1795-96.

The exterior of the building following these changes is shown in a view reproduced in Samuel Ireland's "Picturesque Views with an Historical Account of the Inns of Court" 1800. Hood moulds to the windows are shown, but not for the ground floor arches.

The interior is shown in the view reproduced in W Herbert's "Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery" 1804. It appears to be a quadripartite vault, presumably timber, with longitudinal and transverse ribs and rather flat in appearance.

[RL]

1797

The repairs to the Chapel cost £7073 15s allowing for £263 2s 6d received for old materials.

[BBV4]

1804-1805
W Herbert's "Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery" states that the Crypt was little used as a place of internment for the benchers only, though Thomas Lane wrote in 1805 that it was *"much admired"*.

[RB]

1805
A committee appointed to inspect the Chapel report that they found it in a very uncomfortable state from cold and damp and recommend a substantial stove.

[BBV4]

1812
Addition of a vestry.

[SB]

1812
Mr Wigg's report:-
"… that he had surveyed the Chapel, and submitted to the consideration of the Bench a sketch for adding some additional seats, and also for making a small vestry room, in two ways, one was to make the vestry on the landing of the stairs, and the other the north-west end ; but he was fearful any enclosure at the north-west end would destroy the uniformity of the Chapel, except it was to correspond with the entrance enclosure on the opposite side. Adjourned."

[BBV4]

1815
Mr Wigg the surveyor reported that the stucco of the Hall and Chapel was in very bad condition and that the gothic ceiling under the Chapel is very dirty and that some of the shields and roses at the intersection of the mouldings are destroyed.

[BBV4]

1816
Mr Egginton of Birmingham's suggested painted the upper part of [the east] window in oil colours and between the spandrels of the window.

[BBV4]

1818
In 1818 it was ordered that the Chapel be stuccoed with Parker's cement and the gothic ceiling be cleaned and repaired.

[RB]

1818
The shields of the eastern bosses of the Undercroft were re-painted with the arms of several Treasurers beginning with those in the east window of the Chapel.

[SB]

1818
Mr Egginton of Birmingham was allowed to enrich the upper part of the east window with Gothic ornaments in stained glass *"which would add much to the brilliancy and effect of the other parts of the window"*.

[BBV4]

1818
Ordered that the shields in the Cloister under the Chapel be painted with the arms of several treasurers beginning with those in west window of the Chapel.

[BBV4]

1818
The Chapel to be stuccoed with Parker's cement and the gothic ceiling under the same to be cleaned and repaired.

[BBV4]

c1818
In 1818 it was recorded that the Chapel is to be stuccoed with Parker's Roman cement and the gothic ceiling under same to be cleaned and repaired.

The render was apparently to conceal the movement which had occurred in the third bay. The original jambs beneath the render leant westwards. Perhaps before the addition of the present west bay, the original west gable wall had an outward lean.

[RL]

1820
An organ and gallery were installed at the west end, at a cost of £1,700.

[SB]

1820
An organ was placed in the gallery at the west end of the Chapel.

[BBV4]

1822 (and pre 1623)
Very little is known of the previous Chapel except that it stood a little southward, extending west into Gatehouse Court. Nothing of it appears to survive save a broken alabaster sculpture discovered in 1822 and now mounted next to the pulpit stairs.

[MO]

1823 (contemporary description)
"THE CHAPEL
This edifice was built by Inigo Jones, completed in five years, and consecrated in 1623 by George Mountain bishop of London.

It is internally decorated with painted windows, representing the prophets and apostles, the arms of a few noblemen, and the treasurers' successively from 1680 to the present year.

In the east window are the arms of the society, which were placed there conformably to an order of council in 1702. For some time previous to 1700 the arms of the earl of Lincoln had been used on all occasions instead of those of the inn ; but at a meeting of the benchers, in

December of that year, sir Richard Holford exposed the impropriety, and obtained an order for the re-introduction of the ancient armorial bearing. The following extracts from the orders of council respecting these affairs, will be found not uninteresting.-

At a council held on the 27th of January, anno 1700, "sir Richard Holford, knight, acquainted the masters of the bench that the coate of armes now used, being a lion rampant purpure in a field or, is not (as he is informed) the proper coate of armes of this society, but belongs to the family of Lacy earle of Lincolne ; and by an ancient manuscript in the library it appears that in 1516 the coate of armes of this society is azure seme de fer de Moline or, on a dexter canton or a lion rampant purpure ; and, comparing it with books in the Herald's office, this seems to bee the proper coate of armes of this society : whereupon it was on the 22d day of November last ordered in councill, That the said sir Richard Holford be desired to gett an authentick certificate from the Herald's office of the armes of this society. And the said sir Richard Holford now reporting to the councill that he had applyed himself to the Herald's office, and had obtained an authentick certificate, by a table wherein the said coate is handsomely depainted; attested by Mr. Gregory King, Lancaster herald, and placed in a frame ; whereupon it is ordered, That the coate of armes above mentioned be hung up in the councell chamber for one year, and then hung up in the library, and there preserved."

And at a council held on the 28th of January, 1702, the following order was made-viz.

"Whereas the placing or setting up of the armes or names of the treasurers of this society hath occasioned a considerable charge in the former treasurerships, which will be much reduced in the succeeding treasurership by the following method-

"It is ordered, That the coats of armes, names, and yeares of every bencher, since the last reader, that have officiated or shall for the future officiate the place of treasurer of this honourable society, bee put up in the east window of the chappell, over the communion table : and that the armes of the house, as blazoned in Gwilliam's Heraldry, be placed in the middle window, above them all ; and that coate only to be used hereafter in all matters concerning the house ; and that for the future no treasurers' armes nor names be put up in any other place."

The bell was brought from Cadiz, in the year 1596, by the young earl of Essex, the favourite of queen Elizabeth, and formed part of the spoils acquired by the English under that gallant nobleman and lord Effingham in the capture of Cadiz.

The cloisters underneath are much admired, and have of late years been railed in : the ground, which is the burial place of the society, is reserved for the interment of the benchers only, by an order made in July 1791, the space being too small for a general burial ground. Here Thurloe, the secretary of state to Oliver Cromwell, lies buried, as appears by an inscription on a flat stone, which is here copied verbatim.-

Here lyes the Body
of IOHN THVRLEO
Esq. Secretary of State
to the Protector OLIVER
CROMWELL and a Member
of this Honble Society ; He
Died Febry 27. 1667.

Hereby also lyeth the Body
of FRANCIS BRACE Esq.
a Member of this Society
He was the son of Francis
Brace late of the Town of
Bedford by Ann one of the
Daughters and Coheirs
of the said John Thurleo
He died on the 6th day
of April 1724 in the 34th
year of his Age.

The roof, and the Gothic window at the east end of the chapel, were completely renewed about eighteen years since, and other repairs made, under the direction of that able architect the late Mr. James Wyatt.

In 1658, Henry Colfer, esq., of this inn, devised twelve pounds per annum for ever, for a sermon to be preached in Lincoln's Inn chapel the first Wednesday in every month (which is regularly performed) and eight pounds per annum for certain charitable purposes.

In 1768 a course of lectures, in the form of sermons, was founded by the bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Warburton), late preacher to this society, for proving the truth of the Christian religion from the completion of the prophecies in the Old and New Testament. These lectures continue to be regularly delivered, pursuant to the directions of the founder, on the first Sunday after Michaelmas term and the Sunday immediately before and after Hilary term. [The first person who preached the Warburton lectures was Bishop Hurd, who was succeeded in this duty by Halifax bishop of Exeter, Bagot bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Apthorpe, Dr. Nicholson, Dr. Layard, the rev. Richard Nares, Dr. Pearson, the rev. Philip Allwood, rev. John Davison, and the present lecturer, the rev. Thomas Reynell.]

A preacher and chaplain are appointed by the society ; and divine service is regularly performed here on Sundays, as well as on the usual days appointed by the church.

It had long been a subject of great regret, among those who frequented the chapel, that the psalmody had become so extremely defective that very few persons could be induced to join in the performance of that most interesting portion of our church service. To remedy this evil, it was unanimously ordered, at a council holden February 24, 1820, that the chapel should be supplied with an organ ; and Mr. Raine, then being dean of the chapel, was requested to undertake to give the necessary orders for that purpose. Accordingly Messrs. Flight and Robson, of St. Martin's Lane, were employed to construct the best instrument that could be built upon a scale accommodated to the size of the chapel. The organ is a very fine instrument, possessing great power and extraordinary sweetness of tone ; and it is fitted up in a style of superior neatness and elegance. This experiment for improving the psalmody has been attended with the happiest effects. Books of the psalm-tunes are dispersed about the chapel ; and those tunes are so well played by Mr. James Flight, the organist, that the congregation now very generally join in singing ; and it may truly be said, that in very few places of public worship is the plain psalmody of the Church of England more satisfactorily performed. In addito this great improvement, a considerable number of seats (occasionally very much wanted) has been procured for the chapel, to the amount of about six-and-thirty in

the galleries, on each side of the organ, and as many underneath ; which latter are usually appropriated to the accommodation of the servants of the benchers, and of those who are or have been members of the society, or of others who may occasionally resort to the chapel."

[TL]

1836

The skeleton of a man found by workmen excavating under the steps of 9 New Square. An inquest was held in the Council Room, but his identity was not discovered. He was buried in the Undercroft.

[SB]

1839

Lord Brougham was given permission to bury his daughter, Eleanor Louisa, who had died aged 18, in the Undercroft. She is the only woman to have had this privilege.

[SB]

1841

Ordered that consideration of painting the west window of the Chapel be adjourned to the next Council, with so much of Mr White's plan as relates to the new entrance to the Chapel and opening the west window.

[BBV4]

1841

Ordered that consideration of painting the west window of the Chapel be adjourned to the next Council, with so much of Mr White's plan as relates to the new entrance to the Chapel and opening the west window.

[BBV4]

1842

Mr Hardwick was asked to design a new entrance. A drawing shows this to have been an ornate porch at the top of the stairs, which involved knocking in the vestry which had been added in 1812.

[SB]

1842

Mr Hardwick's improved plan for the proposed alterations in the Chapel is approved of and the Dean of the Chapel is requested to carry the same into execution.

Ordered that the Dean of the Chapel be authorised to have stained glass placed in the oval of the west window of the Chapel.

[BBV4]

1842-1843

In June 1842 Philip Hardwick (1792-1870) was given approval for his proposed alterations to the west end of the Chapel. The old vestry was dismantled in 1843 and a new one erected along with a new staircase and porch.

According to W H Spilsbury's "Lincoln's Inn Its Ancient and Modern Buildings 2nd ed 1873" the ascent to the Chapel is by a flight of steps under the archway – leading to a porch erected by Mr Hardwick in 1843.

[RB]

1843

Philip Hardwick constructed a new staircase one bay west of the old one, that is west of the Chapel itself. His stair rose to a landing in one flight and returned in two to a lobby at the west end of the Chapel which by then had a gallery housing the organ.

[MO]

1843

Payment to William Cubitt, Builder, for repairing and new framing the organ gallery and pews in the Chapel of £374 3s 9d.

[BBV4]

1843

"Ordered, on the recommendation of the Chapel Committee, that the Monument to the memory of the Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval be removed from its present position in the Chapel to the landing at the entrance of the Chapel, according to Mr. Hardwick's plan.

That the old vestry be removed and thrown into the height of the Chapel Staircase.

That the Chapel be cleaned under the direction of Mr. Hardwick, and that the ventilation be improved by perforation of the roof."

[BBV4]

1849

Permission granted for the placing of a mural tablet in the Chapel staircase to the memorial of Sir Henry Wilmot Seton…

[BBV5]

1850

A description by William Spilsbury (the then Librarian of the Inn) states that "*there is a small screen raised on the end of the last pew near the altar"*. This could have been part of the screen of the ladies' pew.

[SB]

1850

"THIS edifice, independently of the sacred purposes to which it is dedicated, possesses features of peculiar interest to the architect and antiquary. Erected at a period when architecture of a mixed character prevailed in most of our ecclesiastical structures, it has been the subject of much criticism, and has called forth various opinions both as regards its merits and its antiquity.

Horace Walpole has remarked that Inigo Jones, the reputed architect of the building, " was by no means successful when he attempted Gothic. The Chapel of Lincoln's Inn has none of the characters of that architecture. The cloister seems oppressed by the weight of the building above."

The late Mr. John Carter, an architect of reputation, who claims an early date for the foundation of the chapel, states his opinion that in the lines of the edifice, after its many alterations, an unprejudiced mind may discover that the first work was a beautiful design of the reign of Edward III. or Richard II.

Mr. Carter founds his arguments for the antiquity of the edifice mainly on the affinity of the crypt to that of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster ; the form of the buttresses ; the tracery of the windows ; and the vestiges of groins with elaborate tracery on the ascent to the chapel Conceiving that Inigo Jones, on being applied to for the necessary repairs of the chapel, introduced what he regarded as improvements, Mr. Carter gives a detailed view of the alterations which he supposes that eminent architect to have effected, more particularly in the crypt.

An antiquarian friend, who has devoted much time and attention to an examination of the edifice, following out the views of Mr. Carter, conjectures that the chapel owed its foundation to the Bishops of Chichester as an essential part of their princely residence in London, and was probably built by William Rede, who held that see from 1369 to 1385, and was distinguished by his skill in architecture. This prelate designed the library of Merton College, Oxford, and in the eastern window of the Chapel of that College may be observed the circular form sometimes termed the Catherine wheel, the same as in the great eastern window of Lincoln's Inn Chapel. This opinion is advanced in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December 1849, and the circumstance of the chapel being built on a crypt is regarded as strong presumptive proof of the antiquity of the edifice.

An eminent living architect, however, in support of the assertion respecting the prevalence of a mixed architecture in the seventeenth century, the time when Lincoln's Inn Chapel is stated to have been built, has kindly furnished me with several examples of the imitation of mediaeval architecture at this period. Among the more remarkable are the following, which are to be found at Oxford : The Chapel of Brasen Nose College, built in 1656, and the Library of the same College, in 1663, where maybe observed, in the head of the eastern window, the radiated circle as at Lincoln's Inn ; the Chapel of Exeter College, 1624 ; the buildings of Oriel College, all after 1620 ; most of the buildings of Jesus College, between 1616 and 1640 ; and the Chapel of Lincoln College, by Dr. John Williams, Archbishop of York, which was consecrated in 1631. Examples might be easily multiplied, but these may be sufficient for the purpose.

" All these," observes this gentleman, " are genuine original designs i.e., not restorations of any previously existing fabric ; but, as far as their art goes, imitations of a style used in a previous century. They all possess the same characteristics informs of the various parts of the building, such as the windows, doors, buttresses, and roof being imitations, not copies of mediaeval art. The details of the various parts, the profiles of the mouldings, &c., are in like manner imitations of older forms, but are not usually so closely or so skilfully imitated as the general forms and larger masses. The Chapel at Lincoln's Inn is a vary interesting instance of this sort of architecture a ' renaissance' not paralleled by any architecture of any other time or country unless, indeed, we except the present practice of the art in England and France."

Having thus placed in juxtaposition the opinions of professional men respecting this interesting edifice, I may now add further that the existing records of the Society completely disprove the opinions advanced on the antiquity of the building, however, extraordinary it

may appear that Inigo Jones should have erected a building in this style, at the very time when he was directing the national taste in the adoption of the Italian models.

The records referred to clearly prove that the chapel was not restored or repaired, as has been supposed, but that a new edifice was erected in the reign of James I., and that the old chapel, the ruinous condition of which had rendered a new one necessary, was standing when the new building was finished and consecrated in 1623. The instrument of consecration, preserved among these records, gives the same evidence, particularly by the occurrence of the words : " noviter jam erigi, edificari et construer There is also, in the first volume of a work presented to the Library in 1621 by Dr. John Donne, an inscription in his own hand-writing, declaring that the first stone of the edifice was laid by his hand.

Although it does not appear quite certain from the records that Inigo Jones was the architect employed, there can be little doubt that such was the case. In the year 1617, the Society having determined upon the erection of a new chapel, it is stated that " the consideration of a fit model for the chapel is commended to Mr. Inditho Jones ;" and in another entry it is said that the estimate was upwards of ^2000, but there is no further mention of Inigo Jones as the architect in any printed notice of the edifice appears in the engraving by Vertue in 1751 ; and afterwards in the fourth edition of Ralph's View of the Public Buildings of London, printed in 1783. The name does not occur in the first edition of that work in 1734. But in one of the Harleian MSS. No. 5900, written about the year 1700, it is stated that Inigo Jones built the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, " after the Gothick manner, in imitation of that of St. Stephen's at Westminster."

With respect to the elevation of the chapel on a crypt, of which it is said there are very few examples remaining in this country, it may be observed that this mode of arrangement, connected with certain ritual observances, is sometimes found in towns, or wherever space was to be economised. Whatever may have been the original object in the case of Lincoln's Inn Chapel, whether the design were copied or not from the earlier edifice, or from that of St. Stephen's, it is evident that about the period of erection it was used an ambulatory, or place for lawyers " to walk in, to talk and confer their learning," from the allusions to this custom by Butler and Pepys cited by Mr Cunningham in his Handbook for London :
" Retain all sorts of witnesses
That ply i' th' TEMPLES under trees,
Or walk the ROUND with Knights o' th' Posts
About their cross-legged knights their hosts,
Or wait for customers between
The pillar-rows in LINCOLN'S INN."

(HUDIBRAS, part iii. canto 3.)

" To Lincoln's Inn, to see the new garden which they are making, which will be very pretty, and so to –walk under the chapel \>y agreement."' PEPYS' Diary

It may be proper to mention, before leaving this subject, that in the year 1 822, in digging below the foundations of the chapel, a sculpture was found, of which an engraving is given in Mr. Lane's Guide. It apparently represents the Annunciation, is about one foot square, and, at the time of its discovery, the colours and gilding with which it was decorated were well preserved. It probably formed one of the ornaments of the old chapel.

A perfect view of this religious edifice is, owing to the contiguity of the surrounding buildings, somewhat difficult of attainment. That usually important feature, the western front with its large window, is in this chapel entirely concealed from view by chambers erected immediately before it ; and the entrance is to be sought under an archway over which is carved the Lion of the Earl of Lincoln, with the initials of Marmaduke Alington, Esq., Treasurer of the Society in 1737. A turret with cupola, surmounted by a weather-vane, rises at the south-western angle of the chapel, and contains an ancient bell, which is said by tradition to have been brought from Spain about 1596, forming part of the spoils acquired by the gallant Earl of Essex at the capture of Cadiz. [In this expedition the Earl was accompanied by Dr. Donne, formerly one of the students of Lincoln's Inn, who laid the first stone of the chapel, and preached the sermon at the consecration.] An inspection of the bell, however, reveals the inscription, "Anthony Bond made mee, 1615," with the initials of Thomas Hitchcock, who was Treasurer of the Society in that year ; and how far this fact refutes, or may be made to accord with the tradition, may be left for the inquiries of the curious.

The open crypt or ambulatory, on which the chapel is elevated, consists of three obtusely-pointed arches, in the longest sides, and two massive piers in the centre. It is now inclosed with iron railings, and is used as a place of interment for the Benchers.

On each of the sides of the chapel, are three large windows, the mullions and tracery of which, as well as the form of the massive buttresses between them, resemble the style of architecture which prevailed in the time of king Edward III. The buttresses are graduated, and are now terminated with small battlements, an improvement on the mode in which they were previously terminated by huge vases with flames issuing from them, as represented in the print published by Vertue in 1751. The large and very fine eastern window is divided by mullions into seven lights, with one transom, and in the beautiful tracery in the arched head is a circle divided into twelve tre-foiled lights by mullions radiating from the centre. The ascent to the chapel is by a flight of steps under the archway before mentioned, leading to a porch erected by Mr. Hardwick in 1843.

The appearance of the chapel on entering is remarkably impressive, an effected produced –by the chastened light transmitted by the stained glass in the very fine windows, the beautiful colours of which far surpass the generality of works in this style of art. The carved oaken seats merit attention for their design and very superior execution, as specimens of the taste of the reign of James I. The altar, which is raised, is inclosed by balustrades, and to it belong two large silver flagons and salvers, presented by Nicholas Franklyn, Esq., in 1700, and two silver gilt chalices, given to the chapel by Sir James Allan Park in 1806. There was a small screen (which has been lately removed) raised on the end of the last pew near the altar, not an uncommon arrangement in the seventeenth century, and very frequently found in the churches built by Sir Christopher Wren in the eighteenth century. This is a restoration of the ancient division of churches by the rood-screen into nave and chancel. The length of the chapel is sixty-seven feet, the breadth forty-one feet, and its height about forty-four feet. The interior underwent great alterations in 1794-6 under the direction of Mr. James Wyatt, when the ceiling of timber was removed, and one of stucco by Bernasconi substituted, in presumed accordance with the decorated style of architecture.

The Organ, in a gallery at the western end, was erected by Messrs. W. Hill and Son, in 1856, taking the place of one which had been previously built by Messrs. Flight and Robson in 1 820. It has much sweetness of tone, combined with great power, but this power is so

modulated by the skill of the organist, Dr. Steggall, that the volume of sound is not disproportioned to the moderate size of the building. The choral service, to which much care and attention is devoted, is very impressive, ex-emplifying the assertion of Hooker, [It may be interesting to remember that Hooker was Master of the Temple Church, where ecclesiastical music has been so effectively revived.] that church music is " the ornament of God's service, and a help to our own devotion."

The windows on the north and south sides are filled with a series of figures of Prophets and Apostles in brilliant stained glass, executed by Bernard and Abraham Van Linge, Flemish artists, whose works are among the most celebrated of their period. The windows in the Chapels of University and Balliol Colleges at Oxford, by Abraham, and those at Wadham College, by Bernard, are remarkably fine. In this chapel, the windows are not all equally rich in their effect, nor of equal merit in the drawing and composition. The colours are generally well preserved, and increased in brilliancy by the strong contrast –of bright lights and opaque shadows a characteristic of the work of the Van Linges. Each window has four lights, and the subjects represented are arranged as follows, each figure bearing its appropriate attribute.

South Side. First Window. i. St. Peter, with a key in his right hand. 2. St. Andrew, with a book open in his left hand, turning the leaves with his right ; behind him, his cross. 3. St. James the Great, habited as a pilgrim, with staff, and holding a closed book. 4. St. John, the Apostle and Evangelist, bearing in his left hand a cup, from which a serpent is issuing.

These figures are on pedestals, and under very elaborate and curiously formed canopies ; the head of each is encircled by a nimbus, and beneath is the name in Latin. Above, in the arched heading of the window, are figures of angels holding tablets, on which are the crests of the arms depicted beneath. In the third light of this window, at the left corner of the pedestal, is the date 1623 ; and in the fourth light, at the base of the pedestal, on the left side, is inscribed Jo. Donne, Dec. Paul. F. F. ; and just above this inscription is a cipher composed of the letters R. B. This cipher is also in the second light, at the right corner of the pedestal. The front of the pedestals is covered by figures of angels, bearing the arms of i. Henrici Comitis Southampton. 2. Gulielmi Comitis Pembrochiae. 3. Johannis Comitis Bridgewater. 4. Jacobi Comitis Caerlile.

South Side. Second Window. I. St. Philip, bearing in his right hand a cross, and in his left a closed book. 2. St. Thomas, with a carpenter's square in his right hand, and a closed book in his left. 3. St. Bartholomew, holding in his right hand a large knife, the instrument of his martyrdom. 4. St. Matthew, holding a lance.

These figures are on hexagonal pedestals, under rich canopies, and the head of each is encircled by the nimbus. In the spaces of the arched heading of the window are here also figures of angels holding tablets with the crest of the arms depicted beneath. In the second light, on the upper corner of the pedestal, are the letters R. B. In the fourth light, in the same position, is a monogram.

Under the pedestals are the following inscriptions : i. Georgius, Baro de Abergaveny et Maria Filia Edwardi Due. Buckingh. ; with the arms on the pedestal between the symbolical figures of Faith and Hope. 2. Fra : Fane, unus Socioru hujus hospitii, Eques Balnei, Com. Westmorland, Baro de Despencer et Burghersh, cujus impenis &c. hsec quator lumina vitrseis adornantur depictis, et Mariae filise et heredis Antho. Mildmay, Militis. Ano. Dni.

1623. Arms between the figures of Temperance and Justice. 3. Henric 5 . Baro d' Abergaveny ; et Francisca, fil. Tho. Com. Rutland. Arms between the figures of Charity and Prudence. 4. Thos. Fane, Eques Auratus, et Maria, Uxor ejus, Baronissa Le Despencer. Arms between the figures of Wisdom and Fortitude. The date of 1623 is on all these pedestals.

South Side. Third Window. I. St. James the Less, holding a fuller's club in the left hand, and an open book in the right. 2. St. Simon, bearing a saw in his right hand, and a closed book in the left. 3. St. Jude, holding in his right hand a closed book. 4. St. Matthias, bearing in his right hand an axe, and a closed book in his left hand.

This window differs in some respects from the two just described. There are no canopies, but a continued landscape forms the back-ground, with the representation of a city in the distance, and near the centre is a building, bearing much resemblance to Lincoln's Inn Chapel, with its ambulatory, and the buttresses terminating in pinnacles. The figures are finely relieved against the sky and clear water of the landscape, and the attitudes of each are studiously varied, as is the case indeed with the figures in the other windows. The pedestals differ from the others, being square, and the front covered by the arms. In the tracery above are angels holding the armorial bearings of the Spencer and Compton families. In this window the figures of the angels are nude ; in the others, draped. Beneath the figures are coats of arms thus inscribed : I. Robert, Lord Spencer of Wormleighton. 2. Sir Henry Compton, Knight. 3. Thomas Spencer, of Claverdon, Esq. 4. John Spencer, of Offley, Esq.

North Side. First Window. i. King David, crowned, playing on the harp ; over his other drapery, a scarlet robe lined with ermine. 2. The prophet Daniel, with a golden verge or rod in his left hand. 3. Elias, with a sword resting on the ground. 4. Esaias, holding a book in his right hand ; with his left, a saw.

These figures are on hexagonal pedestals, and under rich canopies. Above, in the arch of the window, are kings in robes, crowned. Beneath the figures, in front of the pedestals, are coats of arms, with the following inscriptions : I. Jacobus Ley, Miles et Baronettus, Capitalis Justiciarius Domini Regis ad Placita coram ipso Rege tenenda assignatus et quondam Capitalis Justiciarius Capitalis Band in Hibernia. 2. Humphridus Winch, Miles, unus Justiciariorum Domini Regis de Banco, ac quondam Capitalis Baro Scaccarii in Hiberina, et postea Capitalis Justiciarius Capitalis Banci in Hibernia. 3. Johnannes Denham, Miles, unus Baronum Curiae Scaccarii in Anglia, et quondam Capitalis Baro Scaccarii in Hibernia', et unus Dominorum Justiciariorum in Hibernia. 4. Willielmus Jones, Miles, unus Justiciariorum Dni Regis de Banco, ac nuperime Capitalis Justiciarius Capitalis Banci in Hibernia.

North Side. Second Window. I. The prophet Jeremias, with a staff in the right hand, and ewer in the left. 2. Ezekiel, in the vestments of a priest, mitred, with the model of the church in his left hand. 3. Amos, clothed as a shepherd, with a crook and wallet. 4. Zacharias, the prophet.

These figures, also, are on hexagonal pedestals, under canopies of different form from the first window. In the tracery above are kings in robes, crowned, in beautiful colours. On the first and third pedestals is the date 1624. Beneath the figures, in front of the pedestals, are coats of arms with the following inscriptions : -I. Ranulphus Crew, Miles, Serenissimi Dni Jacobi Regis Serviens ad Legem. 2. Thomas Harrys, Baronettus, et Serviens ad Legem. 3.

Tho. Richardson, Miles, Serviens ad Legem et Conventionis Parliament! Inchoat. Et tent, tricesimo di Januarii Ano Dni 1620, et ibm. Continuat. Usque octavum diem Februarii Ano Dni 1621, et tune dissolut. Prolocutor. 4. Johannes Darcie, Serviens ad Legem.

North Side. Third Window. i. Abraham, with a sword in his right hand, his left resting on the head of his son Isaac ; the intended sacrifice above, in the background. 2. Moses, with his rod, and the Two Tables of the Decalogue in his hands ; above, Moses receiving the tables on the Mount. 3. St. John the Baptist, habited in a camel's skin, with a staff in his right hand ; and at his feet a lamb. In the upper part the baptism of Christ is shown. 4. St. Paul, holding a sword. Above is the conversion of Paul.

These figures are on pedestals, on which the names are thus inscribed: ST S ABRAHAM, PATER FIDELIUM; S!; s MOSES, LEGISLATOR ; S 1 ? Jo : BAFT. PRECURSOR DOMINI ; ST S PAULUS, DOCTOR GENTIUM. In the tracery above are the figures of Temperance, Prudence, Charity, Hope, Faith, Justice. Beneath the figures are coats of arms borne by angels in front of the pedestals, with these inscriptions: I. Xpr s . Brooke et Thomas Saunderson, Magri de Banco, quorum fidei hujus sacrse Fabricse cura credita fuit fieri fecerunt, 1626, 2. Rolandus Wandesford, Ebora. Ar. et unus Magrom de Banco sumptu proprio fieri fecit 1626. 3. Gulielmus Noye de St. Buriens, Com. Cornub. Armiger, unus Magru de Banco fieri fecit 1626. Teg yw heddwch. 4. Johannes Took, Armiger, hujus hospicii ad Bancum associates ; et Curiae Regi Curioe sure pupillorum a rationibus fieri fecit, 1626.

The latter part of some of the inscriptions is not now. visible, the glazing of the windows having been removed during the repairs of the chapel, and these parts having been either lost or obscured in replacing the glass.

The great eastern and western windows, viewed in comparison with those on the sides, are very inferior in point of decoration. The large and beautiful eastern window is chiefly interesting from its admirable proportions, the disposition of the mullions and tracery, and the circular form with radiating divisions which occupies the centre of the head. It contains a finely executed heraldic embellishment,! the arms of King William III., the same as previously used by King James II., with an escutcheon of pretence bearing the arms of Nassau, with the supporters borne by the house of Stuart, and the motto, Je meintiendray. This armorial bearing occupies the three central lights below the transom. In the upper part of the central light above the transom are the arms of the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn. Both these embellishments were put up in 1703. The remainder of the window is filled with the arms of the Benchers who have been Treasurers of Lincoln's Inn from the year 1680, the time of the discontinuance off the Readers. There are sixteen of these in each light, excepting the central, making one hundred and seventy in the whole number, besides eleven coats of arms in the upper tracery of the window, ending with those of Kenyon Stevens Parker, Esq., Treasurer in 1862. The glazing of the great circle above is composed of pieces of stained glass, inserted without any regard to design or arrangement of colour. It must be admitted that the glazing of this window is far from satisfactory, and that it forms a remarkable contrast to the side lights.

In the great western window the circle is of uncoloured glass, and the other portions contain the arms of eminent members of the Society who have been Readers. To these have been lately added the arms of the Treasurers from 1863 to 1872, inclusive.

In the porch is placed a cenotaph to the memory of the Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval, with a mural tablet of marble, which was originally affixed to the wall of the chapel, bearing the following inscription :

M. S. viri honoratissimi SPENCER PERCEVAL, socii nostri desideratissimi, hanc tabulam Hospitii Lincoliiiens Thesaurarius eg Magistri de Banco P. P. Quis et quails fuerit, qua gravitate, fide, constantia, quo acumine, et facundise impetu, mitem illam sapientiam, et suavissimam naturae indolem, ad officia publica strenue obeunda, erexerit et firmaverit ; quanto denique suomm, et patrire et bonorum omnium luctu, vitam innocuam, probam, piam, unius scelus intercluserit, annales public! mandabunt posteris ; nos id tantum agimus, ut quern privata necessitudine nobis conjunctum habuerimus, privata pietate prosequamur.

On the ascent to the chapel is also a marble tablet to the memory of Eleanor Louisa, daughter of the late Lord Brougham, a Bencher of this Society, with an inscription by the late Marquis Wellesley, written in his Sist year :

Memoriae Sacrum ELEANORS Louisa BROUGHAM,
Henrici Baronis de Brougham et Vaux, summi Angliae
nuper Cancellarii, et Marise Anna?, Uxoris eius, Filise
unicse et dilectissimae. Decessit pridie Kal. Dec. anno
sacro M CDDD XXXIX ; setatis sux XVIII.
Blanda anima ! e cunis heu ! longo exercita morbo,
Inter maternas heu ! lacrymasque patris,
Quas risu lenire tuo jucunda solebas ;
Et levis, et proprii vix memor ipsa mali :
I, pete crelestes, ubi nulla est cura, recessus !
Et tibi sit nullo mista dolore quies ! " WELLESLEY.

Near this tablet has recently been erected another to the memory of the late Sir Henry Wilmot Seton, Kt. Judge in the Supreme Court of Bengal, who died in July, 1848, on his passage from Calcutta to England, with this inscription :

In memoriam HENRICI WILMOT SETON, Equitis Aurati, qui Londini natus, Schola Westmonasteriensi postea Coll. Trin. Apud Cantabrigienses bonis literis baud mediocriter imbutus, mox hujusce Societatis edicto in patronorum ordinem cooptatus, tandem ad Judicis locum in suprema Bengalensi curia evectus, postquam munere judicial! fere per decennium summa cum laude ac reverentia strenue functus esset, coeli intemperie et fori laboriubus confectus, domum sero revertens, medio in itinere mortem obit A. D. 1848. setatis sus 64. Viro solerti, simplici, verecundo, erga Deum pietate, erga amicos comitate, studio, constantia, erga omnes homines benignitate insigni, tabulam amoris ac desiderii monumentum, sodales aliquot superstates poni curaverunt.

By the side of this tablet is another in memory of Sir Francis Simpkinson, who was Treasurer of the Society at the time of the inauguration of the New Hall and Library, and died in July 1851. The inscription is as follows:

Memorise Sacrum JOHANNIS AUGUSTI FRANCISCI SIMPKINSON, Equitis Aurati, Jurisconsult! Regii, hujusc. Societatis e Prasfectis Consessoribus quo Thesaurarius anno M DCCC XLV creatus, Reginam Victoriam Jedes Collegii magnificentius extructas inaugurare dignantem publico hospitio prasses excepit, annuo, qui apud suosest, magistratu singulari

cum honore functus. Vir legum peritissimus plurimis literis ornatus, benignus, fidelis, verax, summa probitate, simulatione virtutum nulla, ita ad majora se in Deum officio paratius accessurum credebat, si suos pietate, bonos omnes observantia, inopes misericorida prosequeretur. Genevae natus matre Helvetica prid. Kal. Dec. MDCCLXXX, obiit Londini octav. Id. Jul. M DCC LI. anno oetat. Ixxi. Subter hoc sacellum sepultus jacet ; monumentum hoc uxor et filii moerentes posuerunt."

Among the remarkable persons buried in the cloister under the chapel are John Thurloe, Secretary of State to Oliver Cromwell ; the indefatigable William Prynne, to whom English history is indebted for the preservation of many of the public records ; William Melmoth, author of the "Great Importance <3f a Religious Life;" John Coxe, a great benefactor to the Society ; Sir John Anstruther, Chief Justice of the Court of Judicature in Bengal, who was one of the managers in the impeachment of Warren Hastings ; Francis Hargrave, the learned author of Notes on Coke's Commentary upon Littleton and many other valuable juridical works.

The time occupied in the erection of the chapel was five years, and the edifice was consecrated on the feast of the Ascension, 1623, by Dr. George Montaine, Bishop of London. A sermon was delivered by Dr. Donne, formerly Preacher to the Society, but at that time Dean of St. Paul's, from the text : "And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the dedication, and it was winter."…"

[WHS]

1850
When the east window was becoming full, there was a re-arrangement and the royal arms moved to the west window.

[SB]

1851
The last burial took place in the Crypt.

[RB]

1851
Report on Memorial Tablets:-

"The following Report of the Committee appointed to consider the question of allowing a Tablet to be erected on the Chapel Staircase to the late Sir Francis Simpkinson was taken into consideration:

"We have only found three precedents for such a proceeding ; the first, when a Table was put up to Mr. Perceval with a Latin inscription by Dr. William Jackson, Bishop of Oxford. This appears to have been the spontaneous act of the Society, and from the peculiar circumstances under which it took place, requires no further observation.
"The second is that of the Tablet to Miss Brougham, on which also a Latin inscription is engraved. We have not been able to find in the documents laid before us any trace of any Order connected with this transaction.
"The third is that of the Tablet put up to Sir Henry Seton, also with an epitaph in Latin : in this case, a regular application was made to the Bench for its permission, which was granted, apparently without dissent or hesitation.
"Sir Henry Seton was not a Bencher of this Society, and your Committee is of opinion,

independently of other reasons, that it would not be gracious for the Bench to refuse that permission in the case of a deceased Bencher, which it had granted in the case of one who had not so strong a claim upon its liberality.
"We therefore recommend that the Petition preferred by the relations of the late Sir Francis Simpkinson be complied with. The only suggestion which your Committee has to offer concerning the inscription is that it should be so worded as to shew that it emanates from the family of the deceased, and not from the members of the Society."

The Report was confirmed and adopted with the restrictions suggested."

[BBV5]

1852
Last burial in the Undercroft when Lebbeus Humfrey was buried.

[SB]

1852-1857
Perhaps for reasons of space, it was decided in 1791 that only benchers could be buried there, and it may have been partly for that reason that the last burial was to be in 1852, when Lebbeus Humfrey QC was buried on 15 May. Another consideration might have been new legislation regulating burial grounds in the metropolis for reasons of public health, and indeed in 1857… subject to an inspection. The following is the report of Mr Grainger, Inspector of Burial Grounds:

> *22 June 1857* *24 Old Palace Yard*
>
> *I have the honor to state that I have inspected the Burial Ground of Lincoln's Inn, on which I beg to report as follows:*
> *This Ground consists of the area beneath the Chapel, from which it is separated however by a considerable space open on all sides to the Air, the Chapel being raised on Columns. The Area is about 400 square yards of which, it is stated, a small portion is still un-occupied. The Burials are very limited, as they are confined to the Benchers, whose sanction is, in each case, required – in the last 7 years there have been 3 Interments. Leaden Coffins are generally, but not necessarily used – from its position this ground is necessarily surrounded by the Chambers of the Inn; there is however some open space immediately around the Area.*
> *This is an exceptional case – otherwise it would appear desirable that these burials should be discontinued. As leaden Coffins afford no real security against the escape of effluvia, I would beg respectfully to recommend, in the event of this Ground remaining open, that each Coffin should be imbedded in a layer of powdered Charcoal, and be separately entombed in an air-tight manner.*

The benchers agreed, in the event of any future interment, that the recommendations contained in the report of Mr Grainger would be adopted, but that in fact never proved to be necessary. Thus the burial registers closed having recorded 146 burials since 1695.

[SB]

1855-56
The Chapel Choir Committee reported that the defects of the organ in tone and construction were great and in the following year the Society paid Messrs Hill & Son £935 for a new organ, an alteration of the gallery and a stool for the organist.

[BBV5]

1856
The pulpit trimmings were replaced and the curtains to the ladies pews were repaired.

[SB]

1856
"Report of the Chambers Committee on the cleaning and repairs in the Chapel confirmed:

Extract from the Report:
"The attention of your Committee was called to the condition of the cover of the Communion Table and the Cushions pertaining to it, and also to the covering and Cushions of the Reading Desks, and the Pulpit. These were all of Velvet, and from the date worked in the Table Cover, are supposed to have been in use since the year 1760. They were all very much worn. Your Committee desired the Steward to obtain from Mr. Caldecott, the Society's Upholsterer, an estimate of the cost of new Velvet coverings, which was procured accordingly; and the Committee authorised new covers to be made for the Communion Table, the Reading Desks, the Pulpit, and the Cushions, in Utrecht Velvet, with proper trimming, at a cost of about £40. This work has been satisfactorily done by Mr. Caldecott. The curtains of Ladies' Pews, the Cushions outside the Communion Rails, and the Cushions in some of the Pews have also been repaired."…"

[BBV5]

1857 [Undercroft]
Inspection by a Mr Grainger, Inspector of Burial Grounds.

[SB]

1857
Home Office Report by Mr Grainger, Inspector of Burial Grounds states that:-

1857
Report on the Burial Ground:-

" *"Whitehall,*
30th June 1857.

Sir,
I am directed by Secretary Sir George Grey to transmit to you the enclosed Copy of a Report which has been made to him by Mr. Grainger, Inspector of Burial Grounds, upon the Burial Ground of Lincoln's Inn; And I am to request that you will lay the same before the Benchers, and express to them Sir George Grey's hope that they will adopt the precautions recommended by the Inspector, in the event of any future Interment."

"4 Old Palace Yard
22 June 1857.
"I have the honor to state that I have inspected the Burial Ground of Lincoln's Inn, on which I beg to report as follows:

"This Ground consists of the area beneath the Chapel, from which it is separated however by a considerable space open on all sides to the Air, the Chapel being raised on Columns. The Area is about 400 square yards of which, it is stated, a small portion is still un-occupied. The Burials are very limited, as they are confined to the Benchers, whose sanction is, in each case, required – in the last 7 years there have been 3 Interments. Leaden Coffins are generally, but not necessarily used – from its position this ground is necessarily surrounded by the Chambers of the Inn, there is however some open space immediately around the Area.
"This is an exceptional case – otherwise it would appear desirable that these burials should be discontinued. As leaden Coffins afford no real security against the escape of effluvia, I would beg respectfully to recommend, in the event of this Ground remaining open, that each Coffin should be imbedded in a layer of powdered Charcoal, and be separately entombed in an air-tight manner."

Ordered that a Letter be written by the Steward, informing Sir George Grey that he is directed by the Bench to state that a Minute has been made of his communication and that the Benchers are prepared, in the event of any future interment, to adopt the recommendations contained in the Report of Mr. Grainger."

[BBV5]

1866
The screen (to the ladies' pew) was removed and given to the Rev Mr Earl, Vicar of West Alvington, Devon, at the request of Lord Justice Turner.

[SB]

1866
Removal of the screens, which seem to have been lined with curtains, and this was probably the formal end of the ladies pews, though ladies still had separate pews as late as the Edwardian era.

[SB]

1866
Ordered that the carved woodwork forming the screen lately removed from the east end of pews in the Chapel be given to the Rev Mr Earl, Victor of West Alvington, Devon.

[BBV5]

1871
The Bell Carriage and the wheel of the Chapel Bell having been examined by Mr Wigg the Surveyor showed that new timbers and a new wheel were required and the tender from Messrs Patman & Fotheringham of £47.10.0 was accepted.

[BBV5]

1873
"… The chapel was built by Inigo Jones, "after the Gothick manner, in imitation of that of St. Stephen's, Westminster," in the reign of James I. when the ruinous condition of the old chapel had rendered a new one necessary. The crypt beneath the chapel, with its open arches, was used as an ambulatory or place for lawyers and students "to walk in, to talk and confer their learning"; and Pepys describes himself as having gone "to walk under the chapel by agreement." It is now railed in, and used as a place of interment for the benchers. The first stone of the chapel was laid by Dr. John Donne, and the completed building was consecrated on Ascension Day, 1623, by Dr. George Montaine, Bishop of London, the

sermon on the occasion being preached by Dr. Donne. The building is more curious than admirable; but the stained-glass windows, by the Flemish artists, Abraham and Bernard Van Linge, are worthy of some attention. Mr. Winston says of them, "in point of colour they are as rich as the richest decorated glass I have ever seen." Alexander Brome, the Cavalier song-writer; John Thurloe, Secretary of State to Oliver Cromwell; the indefatigable William Prynne; Sir John Anstruther, one of the managers in the impeachment of Warren Hastings; and Francis Hargrave, the author of "Notes on Coke upon Littleton," were all buried under the chapel. Some of the most distinguished and eloquent divines of the Church of England have filled the office of preacher to the Society, and amongst these the names of Dr. Donne, Archbishops Usher and Tillotson, Bishops Warburton, Hurd, and Heber, are perhaps the most conspicuous. Dr. Langhorne, the translator of Plutarch, was assistant-preacher for several years. The Warburtonian Lectures, founded by Bishop Warburton, in 1768, are delivered in this chapel…"

[The Builder]

1877

Portions of a doorway were unearthed, which are thought to have belonged to the (early) Chapel…

[BBV5]

1881

It was decided to enlarge the Chapel.

Chapel Row was still standing in May 1881 when the plan for enlargement was produced by Mr Salter the architect, and it was finally decided to include the demolition of 13, 14 and 15 Chapel Row.

An extra bay was added to the Chapel and the west window was taken out and replaced in the new west wall. The Undercroft was also continued one bay westward n the same style and a two storey lobby added. The entrance was adorned with two small heads of the Bishop of Chichester and Queen Victoria respectively.

1881

"LINCOLN'S INN CHAPEL.

THE Chapel of Lincoln's Inn is a work by Inigo Jones, - a dated work, too, for it was consecrated on Ascension Day, 1623, - and is an example of the latest phase of Gothic architecture. Without asserting that the old is in no case to give place to the new, we may sure, in this case, seriously ask under whose advice, and for what justifying purpose, have parts of this interesting building been demolished, and whether or not more is to follow ? The well-known groined staircase has been knocked down, and the "pieces" are deposited in the groined open way beneath the chapel, where lawyers were wont to walk "and confer their learnings." One of the masons engaged in the work was somewhat indignant when we termed this "destruction," and asserted that all the pieces were numbered, and that he intended to make a drawing so that the staircase might be put back again twenty years hence if desired ! We endeavoured to learn who was the architect who took the responsibility of this regrettable act, but failed, - none of the workmen about knew anything of him. It is sincerely to be hoped, this matter having already been publicly commented on, that proper pressure has been brought to bear on the Benchers.

[The Builder]

1881

"Lincoln's-Inn Chapel.-We are informed that in extending Lincoln's-inn Chapel westward, with a new staircase and vestries, in general accordance with the late Sir Gilbert Scott's design, made in contemplation of the removal of the old and almost ruinous chambers which enclose the end of the chapel, and contains its staircase, Mr. Salter, who designed the last alterations at King's College, London, and at St. George's Hospital, is employed as architect. Messrs. Longmire & Burge's tender has been accepted to complete the work in fifteen months."

[The Builder]

1881

Mr Stephen Salter architect's report:-

" "In the plans submitted for the proposed extension of the Chapel, it is intended to remove the block of old Chambers – No. 13 – and to extend the Chapel and Crypt beneath it one bay to the West, with an Entrance and Staircases in front. The present West Window with its stained Glass will be taken down and re-erected in the new West Wall, the two new side Windows will be made to correspond with the present ones, the Organ Gallery will be removed to the West and the Seats will be continued Westward so as to give an increase of accommodation for 100 persons. The Entrance to the Chapel will be by two Doors from a Lobby at the top of the two Staircases before named, and opposite will be the Clergy Vestry and the Choir Vestry. From the Landing on the South Staircase will be formed a temporary Entrance to the Chambers still remaining on the South side of the Chapel. On the Ground Floor, under the Staircase Landing, it is proposed to put the Heating Apparatus, as the present one will have to be removed in extending the Chapel. The Crypt with similar Groining Arches, etc. will be continued one Bay westward, having two Arches through the new West Wall to the Staircase Lobby and West Entrance Archway.

"I approximately Estimate the Cost of doing these Works at about Six Thousand Pounds."

"My Professional Charges for measuring the old Building, preparing Working and Detail Drawings and Specifications and Superintending the Work will be Three Hundred and Fifty Pounds."

[BBV5]

1881-1882

Hardwick's arrangements were swept away when the Chapel was extended by one bay to its present length and the double staircase and vestries were built.

[MO]

c1882

Lord Grimthorpe thought it appropriate to replace the original altar table with a new one made from medieval oak beams taken from the roof of St Albans Abbey, another restoration with which he was involved.

[SB]

1882

When the Chapel was extended, the new side windows were filled with plain glass.

[SB]

1882

The contract for the new roof for the Chapel at a cost of £3200 was confirmed.

[BBV5]

1882-1883
Major alterations were made to the Chapel in 1882-83, following a report by Stephen Salter (1825-1896) on a proposed enlargement of the Chapel. The old block of chambers attached to the west end was demolished and the Chapel lengthened by a bay; a new vestry was provided. The west window was re-installed in the west and the stairs leading up to the Chapel were re-built. They led up to an entrance lobby with a single storey extension which contained the choir vestry.

General restoration including the reinstatement of the pinnacles was undertaken. The new work is different from the old in that it was executed in warm yellow stone. The difference is also evident in the bosses, the 19th century examples being foliated without the diversity of idiom found in the earlier examples. The work was executed by Messrs Longmire & Burge for £9,035 and the enlarged Chapel was re-opened in April 1883.

[RB]

1882-83
The construction of the western bay and reinstatement of the pinnacles by Stephen Salter.

The construction of the fourth bay at the west end of the Chapel, the parapet, pinnacles and re-surfacing of the buttress was carried out in a pale limestone (Portland?).

The repairs to the buttresses incorporated iron staple which rusting had caused splitting of some of the stonework.

The form of the roof does not appear compatible with Wyatt's roof shown in Herbert's view, so although it may not have been documented, the present roof appears to date from Salter's restorations. A lime slurry was applied to the tracery, undercroft piers and arches. Presumably this was intended to unify the appearance of the stonework with the Roman cement [it is seen in photographs of 1915].

[RL]

1883
"LINCOLN'S INN CHAPEL
THE works connected with this chapel, which have been in progress since August, 1881, are now approaching completion, and the re-opening for Divine Service is announced to take place on Sunday, the 8th inst., when the sermon will be preached by the Archbishop of York.

Although replete with interesting associations, it formerly presented but few architectural attractions ; and externally, even these were all but concealed by the adjoining buildings. The demolition of the old chambers at the west end, through which access was obtained to the chapel, preceded the important alterations which have since been made and which comprise the addition of 27 ft. to the length of the building, besides 19 more of antechapel ; an entirely new roof, of higher pitch than the former, and the erection of vestries for the clergy and the choir in the anti-chapel, with double staircases beneath. Externally, the buttresses have been surmounted by pinnacles ; the gables by crosses, and turrets added to the corners of the west end. The chief attraction to the connoisseur in architecture will doubtless be the stone groining of the large crypt, which certainly excels the work of the older builders ; this, indeed, having never been finished in stone. The interior will strike all who were familiar with the former building as little less than a transformation. The new roof

(already referred to) is panelled in moulded frames, the "principals" being supported by massive stone blocks in the form of angels bearing shields, on which are carved the arms of the prelates who have been, during the past two or three centuries, Preachers to the Honourable Society.

Some fears were naturally entertained lest the acoustical properties of the old chapel might be affected by the altered roof and changed proportions ; this, however, has not been the case, save in the direction of improvement.

Surprise has often been expressed that the services of this chapel should have failed to attract a larger attendance. The causes may have been two-fold :-1. Very few were acquainted with its exact locality, hemmed in as it was by buildings of anything but ecclesiastical character ; and 2, there seems to have been a general impression that admission was only to be obtained by Benchers' orders. With respect to the latter, we understand that the new portion of the building, containing about a hundred seats, is intended to be open to the public ; and as to the former, no one once in the precincts of the Inn can now fail to discover the whereabouts of the chapel.

The hours of service are 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. on Sundays."

[The Builder]

1899

Mr Barry reported:-

" "The Roof, having been reconstructed at the time of the West end extensions some 17 years ago, is in good repair.

"The older portion of the building, especially the windows and buttresses, is in a serious state. The exterior is very patchy, partly Portland and other stone and partly Medina and Portland cement.

"With regard to the windows, the stonework to mullions and traceries of three North and three South windows has completely perished, and no course can be suggested except their re-instatement, including to jambs, heads, cills, and labels. The East window is in good condition, but requires a new cill.

"The new stonework commenced at the top of the buttresses should be carried down to the bases, with all making good in Portland cement.

"The vaulting under Chapel is stone groined, but with plaster bosses. The whole has been (some 17 years ago) distempered. This is now flaking off, and has a very dilapidated appearance, and I cannot suggest any other course except scraping and painting the whole, which will be a costly matter…"

[BBV5]

1899

Report to the Sub Committee of Finance and Building Committees states that:-

"The windows of the Chapel, with the exception of the East window which is in good repair, are very much decayed, so much so as to be practically past repair, but if left untouched, they will most probably last for some years. When anything is done to these windows, it will be necessary to have entirely new stonework. The buttresses are in a very unsightly state ; but could be made sightly, and as good or better in appearance, for very many years to come, if the present cement plaster were entirely removed, and the whole replaced by Portland cement and washed sand, which in a comparatively short time would not be distinguishable

from stone except by close inspection. This would not be an expensive work, and it would be advisable to have it carried out either in the coming Autumn or the Autumn following. The vaulting underneath Chapel, although in some parts unsightly, may without danger remain untouched…"

[BBV]

1903
A new carved oak framing was ordered to replace the plain oak panels at the back of the pulpit.

[SB]

1905
Report on the organ:-

"Read a Report of the Chapel Committee upon the Organ which incorporated the following communication from Dr. Steggall and Report by Messrs. Norman and Beard to him.

"10th April 1905.

Dear Lord Alverstone,
"The enclosed is the result of a thorough examination of the organ by Norman & Beard and a long discussion with a representative of the Firm in which I took part.
"If the whole of the scheme could be carried out, the Organ would be a magnificent instrument, of which the Society would have reason to be proud."

"Re Organ at Lincoln's Inn Chapel

"As promised, we have pleasure in enclosing herewith revised specification for the reconstruction of the organ as arranged at your interview with our Mr. Simon.
"You will notice that we have included tubular-pneumatic action throughout, and this we strongly recommend, as it would cost considerably more to add pneumatic action to the Choir and Pedal Organs afterwards, and we think the opportunity should be taken of bringing the instrument quite up to date in all respects.
"We also consider it essential to a good result that the swell box should be new, and it would add greatly to the tonal effect and balance, if the whole of the pipe-work were placed on a slightly heavier pressure, the treble portion of the stops being increased in power.
"There is one item in our specification which was not mentioned at your interview with our Mr. Simon, but we thought it well to include it, namely, the placing of the lower portion of the Great Burdon on a separate soundboard to allow of its being borrowed on to the Pedal. This would undoubtedly be of considerable advantage to the organ : in fact there is very little in the whole scheme that could be omitted if the best result is to be obtained."

The Finance Committee recommended that all the alterations suggested in this Report be carried out at an outlay of £1108, and the Council ordered accordingly."

[BBV5]

1905-1911
The organ was examined by Messrs Norman & Beard who recommended re-construction of £1108 which was carried out. The restoration was completed in 1911.

[BBV5]

1907
The arms of the Notable Members of the Inn other than the Treasurers' remained in the west window until 1907, when the enlargement of the Chapel and the presence of the organ loft made them now practically unseen. The arms were moved and divided between the southeast and northeast windows and then all were later placed in the southeast.

[SB]

1907
Recommendation was adopted that Mr Simpson's report on the contemplated structural restoration of the windows.

[BBV5]

1907-1915
In order to make room for heraldry which was moved from the west window, the new windows were filled with the stained glass from the easterly side windows.

When the bomb fell in 1915, the two most westerly windows on the north side were lost. Later, one window was moved from the south side in order to restore the symmetry.

[SB]

1908
Permission was granted to Lord Davey to place a tablet in memory of Lord Davy in the Vestibule.

[BBV5]

1914
Ordered that 24 panels of old glass be removed from the north window at the east end of the Chapel and placed in the south window at that end, so as to complete 36 panels of old glass in the south window: that the remaining four panels of old glass in the north window be placed in the top row of that window in the centre: that the five Coats of Arms of Treasurers in the south window be removed and placed in the north window, commencing at the top left corner and running horizontally and that sequence of the Coats of Arms of the present Treasurer and future Treasurers be contained in that window; referred to the Building Committee to carry the above into effect.

[BBV5]

1915
A bomb landed a few feet to the north of the Chapel. This affected the glazing severely but had little impact on the structure.

[RB]

1915
A photograph of 1915 indicates that the Undercroft was used for the storage of barrows, hoses and the like, a pointer to the declining esteem in which it was held.

[RB]

1915
Photographs from 1915 show glazed timber shutters protecting the 17th century glass.

[RL]

1915
When a bomb dropped in Old Square, the west window was too badly damaged to be repaired and was made weatherproof with plain glass.

[SB]

1915
Severe damage to all the windows then existing.

[BB6]

1915-1922
All the windows in the chapel were damaged by a German bomb which, fortunately just missing the building, fell a few feet from the north-west corner, on October 13th, 1915. The effects of the explosion were remarkable. One current of gases passed through the chapel from north to south ; another apparently cannoned off the buildings on the east of the chapel and passed through it from east to west. The result was that the windows on the north and east were blown in, while those on the south and west were blown out. Two of the windows on the north side are, it is feared, broken beyond repair. The third one has been most skilfully restored by Messrs. C. E. Kempe and Co., who have also repaired the damage done to the east window and those on the south side. The large achievement of the arms of King William III, formerly in the east window but removed to the west window, was badly mutilated, and has not yet been replaced. One of the southern windows has been moved to the north side to replace one of those not yet repaired."

[CL]

1917
The heating boilers burned out and they were replaced by gas heating.

[BB6]

1924
The curtain to the west end was removed and the Buildings Committee requested to make the west window more airtight.

[SB]

1925 (contemporary description)
"… The Chapel finished in 1623, stands on the N. side of Old Square. The walls are covered with cement ; the modern parapet and some of the dressings are of Portland stone ; the roof is covered with slates.

Architectural Description – The Chapel (90½ ft. by 40½ ft.) is now of four bays, but before 1882 was of three only. The bays are divided by plain buttresses of six stages finished with plain square pinnacles, but all the stonework now showing is modern. The parapet is also plain. The E. window is of two tiers of seven cinquefoiled lights with tracery in a two-centred head ; it was renewed in 1791, but probably reproduces the old lines. The N. and S. walls have both four windows, each of four cinquefoiled lights with tracery under a two-centred head ; the jambs, splays and mullions are all moulded. The windows in the westernmost bay are modern. The reset window in the W. wall is uniform with the E. window.

The Crypt (90¼ ft. by 40 ft.) under the chapel is of four bays in length and two in width ; the westernmost bay and W. wall are modern. The buttresses of the chapel are pierced at the base with four-centred arched openings of two plain orders, the outer continuous, the inner springing from flat Doric pilasters. The walls and buttresses have a moulded plinth. In each bay of the E., N. and S. walls is an archway with a four-centred arch of two orders, the outer moulded continuously and stopped, the inner chamfered and springing from attached, semicircular Doric shafts with moulded capitals and bases. Down the centre of the crypt, supporting the vaulted roof, is a row of three rectangular piers. The bays of the roof from E.

to W. are divided by two bands of flat cusped panelling ; a single band of similar panelling divides the bays from N. to S. The vault itself has moulded ridge, diagonal, wall and numerous intermediate and lierne ribs with bosses at the intersections carved with leaf-rosettes, blank shields, and shields of the arms of England, a chevron ermine between three cinquefoils, and the present arms of the Inn. The main ribs spring from semicircular attached Doric shafts with moulded capitals and bases ; two of these shafts are set against each face of the rectangular piers, two against the side walls between each opening. The intermediate ribs between the panelled bands spring from moulded corbels, and there are similar corbels at the angles of the piers. Similar vaulting is reproduced in the modern W. bay.

Fittings – Communion rails : with turned and twisted balusters, moulded rails and panelled standards, late 17th-century. Glass : in E. window, in cartouches of decorative scroll-work with plain panels bearing inscriptions below, small shields of the following arms with names and dates – first light, Luke Astry, 1680 ; William Coward, 1689 ; Henry Long, 1690 ; Nicholas Martyn, 1691 ; Patrick Crawford, 1707 ; Sir James Montague, Solicitor General, 1708 ; Robert Eyre, 1709 ; in second light, William Guidott, 1682 ; John Green, 1692 ; Edward Byde, 1693 ; Sir John Hawles, 1694 ; Fleetwood Dormer, 1710 ; Charles Coxe, 1711 ; Sir Robert Raymond, Solicitor General, 1712 ; in third light, Thomas Jones, 1684 ; Sir Richard Holford, 1695 ; William Dobyns, 1696 ; James Wittewrong, 1697 ; John Hungerford, 1713 ; William Rogers, 1714 ; in centre light, modern shield within old cartouche ; within large cartouche, large shield with the arms of Lincoln's Inn with cherub below, inscription and date, 1703 ; in fifth light, John Eldred, 1685 ; Edwin Griffin, 1698 ; Henry Penton, 1699 ; Eld. Lanc. Lee, 1700 ; in sixth light, Thomas Powys, 1686 ; Robert Dormer, 1701 ; John Weddell, 1702 ; Sir James Butler, 1703 ; in seventh light, Sir Samuel Eyre, 1687 ; Peter Warburton, 1704 ; Henry Poley, 1705 ; Edmund Bridges, 1706. In N. wall, in each of the main lights of the second and third windows, is a figure of a prophet with canopy above and name below ; figures stand on pedestals with shields-of-arms, Latin inscription and name, and are as follows – in second window, (a) St. Peter with keys ; a quartered shield of Henry Wriothesley, K.G., Earl of Southampton ; (b) St. Andrew with books and cross ; a quartered shield of William Herbert, K.G., 3rd Earl of Pembroke ; (c) St. James the Great with staff and book ; quartered shield of John Egerton, 1st Earl of Bridgewater, and date 1623 ; (d) St. John with chalice ; shield-of-arms of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle ; by apostle's foot the artist's cipher R.B. The shields are held by angels and surmounted by coronets ; in tracery, in six principal panels, angels holding medallions, four lower ones bearing crests ; four spandrels with cherubs playing musical instruments ; central spandrel, sun between two grotesque winged heads. In third window, (a) Zachariah, dated 16[24], below, arms of John Darcie ; (b) Amos with shepherd's crook and pouch, dated 16[2]4, below, arms of Sir Thomas Richardson ; (c) Ezekiel, robed as priest with mitre, etc., holding in left hand model of temple, below, arms of Sir Thomas Harrys (of Tong), Bart. ; (d) Jeremiah, in robes and long mantle, in right hand a staff and in left an ewer, dated 1624 ; below, the arms of Sir Randal Crewe ; in tracery above, six figures of kings, a crest of a griffon, a sun and strapwork ornament. The glass now in these two windows was inserted in 1921 and is mainly modern, although such fragments of the original 17th-century glass as could be recovered from the ruin caused by the air-raid of October, 1915, and were usable, have been incorporated in the modern work. A considerable quantity of the old fragments so used were, before the air-raid, in the westernmost window on the S. side and they constitute the larger pieces among those fragments. In each of the main lights of the two middle windows in the S. wall is a figure of an apostle and a shield-of-arms similar to those in the N. windows and are as follows – in second window, (a) St. Philip with cross and book, below,

quartered shield-of-arms of George Nevill, 5th Lord Abergavenny, impaling Stafford, for Lady Mary Stafford, his third wife, with date 1623 ; (b) St. Thomas with carpenter's square and book, below, quartered shield of Francis Fane, 1st Earl of Westmorland, impaling Mildmay, for Mary Mildmay, his wife, with date 1626 ; by name of apostle, initials R.B. of artist R. Bernard ; (c) St. Bartholomew with knife ; by apostle's name, artist's cipher R.B. ; below, quartered shield of Henry Neville, 6th Lord Abergavenny, impaling Manners, for Lady Frances Manners, his first wife, below, the date 1623 ; (d) St. Matthew with spear ; by name of saint, monogram probably representing R. Bernard Van Ling fecit ; below, shield-of-arms of Sir Thomas Fane impaling those of his wife Mary, Lady Le Despenser ; in six principal panels of tracery, angels, five with medallions bearing respective crests of the families with shields in bottom of window and one with a blank medallion ; in side spandrels, angels with musical instruments and in middle one HIS ; the shields in the bottom of the window are flanked by small figures representing the Virtues. In third window – (a) St. James the Less with book and fuller's club ; below, quartered shield of Robert, 1st Lord Spencer of Wormleighton with supporters ; landscape background ; (b) St. Simon with saw, background of chapel, hall and old buildings of Lincoln's Inn ; quartered shield of Sir Henry Compton ; (c) St. Jude with book, background of parts of London and Westminster from the river ; the quartered shields-f-arms of Thomas Spencer of Claredon ; (d) St. Matthias with axe and book, landscape background with ruins of Oseney Abbey, at foot of figure, artist's name "Bernard Van Ling" ; quartered shield of John Spencer of Offly ; in four principal panels of tracery, nude winged figures holding shields of the families mentioned ; in spandrels, small figures playing musical instruments and, in two top lights, draped figures of angels. In the W. window is the following old glass, which, though protected from the weather has been left in the much damaged condition occasioned by the hostile air-raid of October, 1915. In the middle three lights, much damaged large achievement of royal arms of William and Mary ; in head of first light, shield with the name of William Hackwell ; in head of second light, shield with the name of Sir Peter Mutton ; in sixth light, broken shield and name of Thomas Thornton ; in seventh light, fragment only of shield and name of Richard Tayler ; in tracery above much of the old glass has completely gone, but fragments remain of the foliated designs and of the shields or names of the following : Thomas Spenser (complete), Anthony Irby, Thomas Wentworth (complete), Christopher Brooke (complete), William Ayloffe (complete), Hugh Pyne (complete), Jasper Salwyn (complete), Roland Wandesford, Robert Eyre, Nicholas Duckett(?), Edward Hadd, Hugh Cressie, Anthony Hevenden, Thomas Sanderson, Richard Digges, Giles Tooker, John Darcey (complete), John Briscoe, Thomas Woodward, William Noye (complete), and William Ravenscroft. Monuments and Floor-slabs : Monuments : In crypt, on N. wall – (1) to Mark Hilsby, 1693, stone tablet with inscribed Latin verse ; (2) inscribed stone tablet with two lines of English and two of Latin verse and date 1692, both tablets taken from a window at back of No. 13 Old Square, destroyed in 1881. Floor-slabs : In crypt – (1) to ----enus Wynne, Sergeant-at-law, 16-- ; (2) to John Thurloe, Secretary of State to the Protector Oliver, 1667. Panelling : of oak, as dado to side walls of chapel extending as far as third window on each side, 17th-century ; behind altar, early 18th-century. Plate : includes two cups, two flagons, and two patens, all of 1708. Pulpit : hexagonal, each side with an enriched and inlaid panel, enriched and moulded cornice and base mould, panelled stem ; stairs with carved brackets, turned and twisted balusters and moulded rail ; carved, panelled and inlaid upright to sounding-board (against wall) ; sounding-board with cornice and inlaid soffit, all oak, early 18th-century. Royal Arms : See glass. Seating : In chapel, pews, of oak, mainly original with carved and shaped heads to bench-ends and doors as follows : to both ends of ten eastern pews of middle block (except easternmost) ; to both ends of bench in front of middle block ; to seven eastern pews of N. block ; to eleven eastern pews of S. block ; to all the quire-stalls and four stalls at W. end of

modern screen. Below moulded pew rails, panels of arabesque fork. Tiles and Paving : paving to E. half of chapel, of black and white marble squares, set diagonally, 17th-century. Miscellanea : In crypt, part of reconstructed arch of wall-arcade, moulded and with dog-tooth ornament, moulded capitals to former side-shafts, 13th-century ; moulded fragments of various dates. In case, in lobby of New Library, fragment of alabaster 'table' found under chapel."

[RCHME]

1926
Public access to the Undercroft once more possible.

[SB]

1926
The organ was repaired; possibly adversely affected by the introduction of gas heating nine years earlier.

[BB6]

1927
A floor plan of the Undercroft records some 78 slabs including some blanks.

[RB]

1928
Adoption of the Report of the Finance and Buildings Committee to adopt a scheme submitted by Sir John Simpson to re-build rooms with a carriageway underneath between the Old Hall and the Chapel at an estimated cost of £1,800 and to have linen fold panelling placed in the Old Hall.

[BBV6]

1928
A first floor link was created between the north wall of the Hall and the south wall of the 1883 extension to the Chapel. This was accessed from the Chapel staircase and the two rooms it contained were used as arbitration rooms for many years.

[ML]

1937
Recommendation that the Chapel Committee authorise the purchase of a table at £120 to take the place of the existing altar table.

[BBV6]

1937
Report of the Chapel Committee:-
"… Upon considering improvements to the Chapel Altar the Committee recommend to Council to authorise raising of the Altar Table in accordance with Sir Giles Scott's sketch, the work to be done by our own staff under direction of Mr. Cornford and supervision of Sir Giles Scott; also to authorise this committee to search with Sir Giles Scott's assistance for a Jacobean table to replace present table; and to authorise the Committee to arrange for two figures to be made in accordance with Sir Giles Scott's sketch by such artist as Sir Giles Scott shall advise…"

[BBV6]

1938
A 17th century communion table was introduced.

[MO]

1939
A new altar table was purchased in place of the existing one. The wives of Benchers subscribed to provide a new altar cloth, cushions and carpet.

[BB6]

1939
Report of the Air Raid Precautions Committee:-
Allocation of shelters including the undercroft of the chapel to be protected by sandbags where there will be room for an auxiliary fire engine to be supplied by the LCC.

[BBV6]

1939
Appeal underway to the wives of Benchers for funds to provide a new altar cloth, cushions and carpet for the Chapel.

[BBV6]

1939
Report from the Chapel Committee includes statement that:-

"… The total number attending the services this term was 12. The Preacher has offered to take the entire responsibility for the services and so release the Chaplain, thus on a yearly basis saving £150.

Notwithstanding the small congregations attending the Chapel services the Committee recommend their continuance, though again experimentally, to the end of Trinity Term dispensing as from Christmas with the services of the Chaplain, thus diminishing the expenses by £150. Their main reasons are as follows.

(a) Unless financial or war conditions make it absolutely necessary, it seems inconsistent with the quasi public position and long established principles of the Society to close the Chapel.
(b) Such closing would indicate a position inferior to the other Inns who are all keeping on their services.
(c) This year's budget expenses for the Chapel (£950) were not excessive when compared with other items such as wine at £1324, garden £900 or library £2104, and a reduction to £800 is a substantial reduction.
(d) The Chapel services have gained greatly in attraction since the coming of the present Organist, and the evacuation of the choir boys leaves the Chapel in a very advantageous musical position, as compared for instance with the Temple Church. If once dispersed it might be difficult to collect so good a combination of organist and choir.
(e) As the War progresses and casualties increase the religious urge will almost certainly become greater and a time when its services may be most valued does not seem the right time to close the Chapel unless experience definitely shows that the services are quite unneeded…"

[BBV6]

1939
Recommendation that chains of the same pattern as those in the Archway under Old Hall be placed round the ten openings on the north, south and east sides of the Undercroft of the Chapel to prevent people from walking on the tombstones.

[BBV6]

1940
"(a) Unless financial or war conditions make it absolutely necessary, it seems inconsistent with the quasi public position and long established principles of the Society to close the Chapel.
(b) Such closing would indicate a position inferior to the other Inns who are still maintaining their services.
(c) The Chapel services have gained greatly in attraction since the coming of the present Organist; and the admirable choir he has trained has placed the Chapel in a very advantageous musical position even as compared with the Temple Church. A stoppage would presumably mean dispensing with the services of the Preacher and the Organist, and certainly the dispersal of the choir; circumstances which would gravely affect the re-opening of the Chapel.
(d) The spiritual no less than the material issues of this War affect the nation at large and it would seem to be a time rather for opening than closing a place of worship.
(e) Even though in itself a circumstance of minor importance the existence of the after Chapel lunches gives individual Benchers and their ladies an opportunity of meeting in friendly intercourse from which they would in present circumstances otherwise be disbarred.
(f) It should be noted that even if closed some expenditure on the Chapel would still be necessary such as organ maintenance estimated at £24 per annum and the general maintenance and at least occasional heating of the building. Memorial services if held would be reduced to the severest simplicity…"

[BBV6]

1940s
At the outbreak of the Second World War much of the stained glass had been stored in the wine cellars but what was left went in the Blitz.

[MO]

1941
The arches of the Undercroft were filled with sandbags, converting it into an enclosed space. Three sisters who had been bombed out of their house in Battersea took up residence. Their milk was delivered to their front door of sandbags.

[SB]

1944-47
The stained glass was damaged and the clear glass broken by a blast from a flying bomb and the windows were repaired in 1947.

[BB6]

c1945
The organ and heating system needed attention again.

[BB6]

post World War Two

"The Chapel, consecrated on Ascension Day 1623 by the Bishop of London, has been described by Walker down to the end of the 18th century in his Prefaces to volumes II and III. His description however may be supplemented by a Memorandum on the Windows by the Keeper of the Black Book in 1926. As originally built, the Chapel consisted of three bays only, and the six windows on the North and South sides were filled with stained glass by Bernard van Ling between 1623 and 1626. They contained figures, with shields of arms beneath them, and in the tracery lights were angels and other ornaments. Photographs of these windows are contained in the "Inventory of the Historical Monuments in West London". Pursuant to an Order of the Council made on January 28th, 1703, the name, arms and year of office of every Treasurer since 1680 were put up in the East window over the Communion Table (with the arms of the Society in the middle window), and every Treasurer was afterwards thus recorded until 1909, when the East window was full. Since then the series has been continued in two other windows.

Walker pointed out that the Chapel "was considered, in a building age, to be the great glory of the Society", and this point is reinforced by a contemporary record of its foundation. The anonymous author calls it "the only laudable and most beautiful and most renowned model for ecclesiastical use and the divine worship of Almighty God within the Academy".

But the building did not wear well. By 1685 the walls and roof were in need of extensive repair, and the windows were taken down and cleaned in 1730, and again in 1755. The roof was covered with copper shortly afterwards. In 1818 the exterior was stuccoed with Parker's cement, and the "gothic ceiling" beneath was cleaned and repaired. An organ and organ loft were installed in 1820. In 1843 the old vestry was taken away, and "thrown into the height" of a new Chapel Staircase, which was built according to a plan of Hardwick.

A plan for the enlargement of the Chapel and crypt, prepared by Stephen Salter, Architect, was considered by the Council in May 1881. It involved demolition of No. 13 Old Buildings on the North side, Nos. 14 and 15 to the South and West, and also the destruction of Hardwick's elegant stair-case. It was to extend the Chapel Westward by one bay (with matching windows), and to build a new entrance in front, and two new stair-cases. A new West wall was to be erected, up to which the organ and organ gallery were to be moved, and in which the old West window with its stained glass was to be re-established, thereby affording 100 additional seats. The interior entrance to the Chapel was to be through two doors in the new wall from a lobby at the top of the two new stair-cases, with the Clergy and Choir vestries opposite. The crypt was also to be extended by one bay, with two arches in the West wall. A temporary entrance was to be made from a landing on the South stairs into the old chambers, which were still then standing.

At first the Council decided to defer the scheme until the old buildings on the North and West side of the Chapel had been removed : but in June the plan was ordered to be put into execution, and a contract was signed on August 10th, 1881, with Longmire and Burge to carry out the building work for £9035, and with Messrs. Hill to move the organ. In 1882 a contract was made for reroofing the Chapel. An inscription near the foot of the stairs records that the Chapel was reopened after being enlarged on April 8th, 1883. The turret above the roof, in which the bell made by Anthony Bond in 1615 had previously been housed, had been taken away, and some of the pews had been dismantled and reassembled.

In 1899 the Surveyor, Mr. Barry, reported that the stonework to the mullions and traceries of

three North and three South windows had completely perished, but work on them was postponed until 1907, when their structural restoration was put in hand under the direction of the Architect, Mr. Simpson.

In 1909 the stained glass in the two easternmost side windows was transferred to the two westernmost side windows, and the Eastern window on the North side was allocated to Treasurers' arms. On October 13th, 1915, a German aeroplane dropped a bomb in Old Square about 4 or 5 feet from the North side of the Chapel between the two Western windows on that side, and all the windows were seriously damaged. At the end of that war the West window and the two Western windows on the North side were beyond restoration, and war damage made a rearrangement of much of the original glass inevitable. During the Second World War, however, the glass was taken out, kept in safety, and put back afterwards…"

[BBV5]

1945-49

The Inns of Court Regiment was given permission to regard the Chapel as their official Chapel and as a result of this two war memorials were erected.

[SB]

1947

Great Hall, Old Hall, Chapel, Stone Buildings and New Square were scheduled as being of special architectural or historical interest.

[BBV6]

1947

As a consequence of the severe weather, the heating apparatus burst and it was resolved that due to the need for fuel economy the electric heaters should not be turned on until Sunday morning.

[BBV6]

1953

Major repairs were carried out and large areas of the walls repaired and re-rendered. (This render was judged in 1992 to be becoming live.)

[ML92]

1954

Recommendation of the Finance Committee that the boiler be renewed at a cost of £148.10 and recommendation of estimate for repairs to organ by William --- & Son and Norman & Beard.

[BBV6]

1958

A substantial programme of re-decoration was carried out.

[BB6]

1959

The family of Viscount Maugham re-glazed the west window with his coat of arms in the centre.

[SB]

1959
The west window re-glazed by the family of Viscount Maugham to a special design.

[BB6]

1963
The colours presented to the Regiment of the Inns of Court by the Queen Mother were laid up at the back of the Chapel.

[SB]

1966
The front pews originally abutted the first step up to the altar, but the front two rows of pews were removed, giving a space between the pews and the altar steps. (These pews, much modified, are in use as service shelves in the north end of the Great Hall.)

[SB]

1970s
The stucco was replaced by a lime render.

[RL]

1971
Render stripped off revealing a sequence of earlier repairs and re-rendering.

[ML92]

1975
The exterior of the Chapel was thoroughly overhauled when the old part was cased in a reconstituted stone render.

[RB]

1987/89 [Undercroft]
Restoration of the painted bosses in the eastern part of the Undercroft.

[ML92]

1988
Repair and reinforcement of one set of painted windows.

[ML92]

1988
New ducting for the bellows of the Chapel organ.

[ML92]

1988-2000
Considerable work was put into re-moulding the masonry round the windows, and a programme of restoration of the lights of the Butler and van Linge painted windows, which was almost complete in 2008.

[SB]

1991
Re-laying of a reinforced bed incorporating ducting for the pavings and memorials in the Undercroft.

[ML92]

1991
Restoration of the pews and panelling excluding the gallery, organ casing and pulpit.

[ML92]

1991-92
Memorial stones and paving to the Undercroft were lifted under the supervision of the Museum of London and a reinforced concrete slab laid to provide a firm bed for the re-laid stones.

[ML92]

1992
Repair and reinforcement of one light of painted glass.

[ML92]

1992
Provision of humidifiers to conserve the organ and the woodwork.

[ML92]

2007
Sir Donald Rattee donated a new altar cloth to mark his year as Treasurer.

[SB]

2.0 ASSESSMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

2.1 Overview of Significance

The assessment of the significance of the Chapel has been grouped around assessment of the importance of the overall site, the importance of the extant architecture, fixtures and fittings, the importance of the role of the Chapel in the life of the Inn and the notable figures (from architecture, design and preaching) associated with its history. These statements draw on recent scholarship and where appropriate direct the reader to further specialist accounts of particular aspects of the Chapel's history.

2.2 The Significance of the Site

This section seeks to place Lincoln's Inn in the wider context of its geographical location and to elucidate its institutional identity through a discussion of the development of the site. As such, it is organized chronologically and focused on the architectural changes which took place from the Inn's arrival on the site in the middle ages through to its most recent projects in the twenty-first century. As Jill Allibone points out, at the Inns of Court *'It is possible to follow the history of architecture in England, extending from the Romanesque fragment in Lincoln's Inn to the neo-Georgian reconstructions occasioned by bomb damage in the Second World War.'*[1] What follows should be seen as part of a larger exploration of the historical significance of Lincoln's Inn and therefore is ultimately a summary guide which, in conjunction with a close reading of the buildings, biographical material on their architects, and a broader socio-historical view of the Inn's history, creates a thorough picture of Lincoln's Inn unique, complex and invaluable corporate identity with a global reputation. Readers are directed to the other historic buildings assessments drawn up by Donald Insall Associates of 2012.

Geographical Context: Holborn's History

Holborn's name may be derived from the Middle English words 'hol' meaning 'hollow' and 'bourne' meaning 'brook', in reference to the River Fleet's path through a nearby valley. As Walter Besant explained in 1903,

There were Bridewell Bridge, Fleet Bridge, Fleet Lane Bridge, and Holborn Bridge across the Fleet River. Holborn Bridge was the most northerly of the four. It was a bridge of stone, serving for passengers from the west to the City by way of Newgate. The whole thoroughfare of Oxford Street and Holborn is the result of the diversion of the north highway into the City from the route by Westminster Marshes.[2]

The area has been associated with the legal profession since its earliest conception. The now defunct numerous Inns of Chancery, Gray's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn itself all lie within this small region. The foundations of St Andrew's, the oldest church in the parish, stretch back more than a millennium. William Camden described the area's

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1 Jill Allibone, '"These Hostells Being Nurseries or Seminaries of the Court"', in *The Inns of Court*, 1996, p. 8

2 Walter Besant and G. E. Mitton, *The Fascination of London: Holborn and Bloomsbury* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903), p. 5

geography in terms of its most important occupants, describing Holborn's place between the City and Westminster:

At the West end of the Citie other Suburbs runne a great way in length, with goodley rowes of houses orderly ranged, as namely Holborne or rather more truly Oldborne, wherein stood anciently the first house of the Templers onely in the place now called Southampton House. But now there stand certaine Innes or Colleges of students in the Comon law, and a Citie-habitation of the Bishops of Ely…[3]

In 1697 Celia Fiennes published her travel writing from a journey between London and Yorkshire. In it she uses Holborn as a comparison for central Nottingham, with *'Large and Long Streetes'*, the difference being that unlike Holborn, *'the buildings [are] ffine'*.[4] It is unlikely that Fiennes was referring to the area immediately surrounding the Inns of Court, as recent building schemes by Inigo Jones and others, such as the development of the perimeter of Lincoln's Inn Fields, were of a very high quality, if partially achieved. This square, based on the size of the Great Pyramid at Giza, is the largest in London. The Fields were in danger of being urbanized similarly to nearby Drury Lane, and a letter was sent to a number of Justices of the Peace by the Lords of King James' Privy Council, stating,

You shall understand that complaint hath been made unto us by the students of Lincoln's Inn, that some do goe about to erect new buildings in a field near unto them, called Lincoln's Inn Fields, with an intent to convert the whole field into buildings, contrary to His Majesty's proclamation…[5]

Pearce claims that this action was instrumental in forming a Commission that eventually resulted in the landscaping of Lincoln's Inn Fields *'both for sweetness, conformity, comeliness, into such walks, partitions, or other plots, and in such sort, manner, and form both for public health and pleasure…'*[6] The boundaries of the Inn have been historically debated. Its early delineations show that it was situated at the junction of three parishes:

The Inn, though extra-parochial, was situate in three parishes – St Andrew in Holborn, St Dunstan in Fleet Street and St Giles in the fields. Only a small portion of the Garden was in the parish of St Giles. The line separating the parishes of St Andrew and St Dunstan ran through the middle of the Old Hall to the Chancery Lane Gatehouse. The buildings North of this line, "and the new fair garden plot towards Holborn" belonged to St Andrew's.[7]

What was a mixture of arable land and stately Inns or palaces eventually through London's Georgian and Victorian expansion became highly populous. The area contains several surviving architectural examples from every major period of building history in Britain, and buildings replete with historical interest are Lincoln's Inn on

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3 Vision of Britain, William Camden, Middlesex and London, nd. http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_page.jsp?t_id=Camden&c_id=15&p_id=492#pn_37

4 Vision of Britain, Celia Fiennes 1697 Tour. http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_page.jsp?t_id=Fiennes&c_id=12&p_id=492#pn_37

5 Robert Pearce, *A Guide to the Inns of Court and Chancery*, 1855, p. 47

6 Quoted in Robert Pearce op cit, pp. 48-9

7 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xlv

every side. David Evans notes that *'If the Strand and Fleet Street are two threads, then the Inns of Court…define the "space" in which the knot that joins the two had been tied.'*[8] Still predominantly a legal centre, Holborn also became known for its entertainments in the nineteenth century. There were twenty-two taverns in the 1860s, and in 1914 the first full-length feature film was shown at the Holborn Empire.[9] Many of Holborn's buildings sustained significant bomb damage in the Second World War. Like much of central London, Holborn contains numerous sites with distinct heritage importance. In 1801 the total population of the area was 96, 795. In 1901 it was 362, 581. In 2001 – reflecting the growth of businesses in the area and the effects of suburbanization – the population had decreased to 198, 027.[10]

The Inn's Early History & Foundations

From 1292 onwards, when an Ordinance placed lawyers under judges' control, thirty Inns began to evolve around the western boundary of the City. Lincoln's Inn has occupied the same site for over six hundred years. Much has changed as the Inn expanded and developed. It is situated in the Borough of Camden, and is relatively close to the other three Inns of Court: Gray's Inn, Inner Temple, and Middle Temple. Holborn and Gray's Inn lie to the north. Chancery Lane is the Inn's eastern boundary, the Strand and the Temple are situated to the south towards the Thames, and Lincoln's Inn Fields lie to the west. The area is now home to numerous legal and educational institutions such as the Royal Courts of Justice, King's College, and the London School of Economics, but until as recently as the nineteenth century, the Inns of Court were the dominant educational institutions in central London. The founding of the Inn was a gradual process, and the term 'inn' in the medieval period referred to both a hostelry and a more formal set of buildings including a hall which were occupied by an important magnate. The practice of law students lodging informally in the area between the City and Westminster gradually developed into a more structured incorporated formation. William Richardson confirms that, *'The traditional theory that the Inns were once residential halls, or hospitia, rented by groups of students for their communal use remains a reasonable hypothesis.'*[11] While the Inns were known as the third university and a range of comparisons can be made between the Inns of Court and Oxbridge, the initial process of conscious foundation was entirely different. However, it is useful to point out that William Dugdale referred to the Inns as *'Hostells being Nurseries or Seminaries of the Court, taking their denomination of the end wherefore they were so instituted'*.[12] The Inns provided accommodation, education, and were the site of the courts of justice themselves – particularly in the case of Lincoln's Inn and the later use of its Hall – and as such can be compared with earlier monastic architectural models of corporate living and semi-enclosure.

The Inn's earliest building scheme and architectural organization is visible today in the nucleus of buildings which comprise Gatehouse Court, now known as Old Square. The first of the Inn's buildings on this site were known as the Long Gallery, eleven

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8 David Evans, 'The Very Peculiar Inns of Court', in *The Inns of Court*, 1996, p. 153

9 'Holborn', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holborn

10 Vision of Britain, 'A Vision of Camden'. http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit_page.jsp?u_id=10099651&x=530435&y=181744

11 W. C. Richardson, *A History of the Inns of Court*, 1976, p. 3

12 Quoted in Jill Allibone op cit, p.15

chambers completed c.1455.[13] In about 1471 additional chambers were built '*next to the lane leading from Fletstrete to Holborne'*.[14] The Gatehouse to the east, Old Buildings to the south, Old Hall to the west and Chapel on the northern side form a traditional plan that relates to the earlier occupancy of the Bishop of Chichester. Nearby Bishop's Court and Chichester's Rents testify to the ancient site's history. The palace was built by Chancellor Ralph de Neville, who was granted the property by Henry III in 1227. The Bishop's medieval palace was used by the Society of Lincoln's Inn for some time before 1422, the date of the first surviving Black Book records. The remains of a Romanesque dog-tooth pointed arch from the palace were discovered in the nineteenth century. This arch was later set into the Old Hall's exterior on the north wall. The presence of the Bishop of Chichester on this site affirms historical accounts that this area between Old Bourne and the Thames was popular with the nobility.

Prior to arriving at the Bishop of Chichester's palace as tenants, the Society were most likely lodged in Thomas de Lincoln's property on the south side of Holborn, referred to as Lyncolnesynne. This is the most compelling and reliable possible origin of the name Lincoln's Inn, rather than the hypothesis of association with the Earls of Lincoln.[15] However, Henry de Lacy's arms of the lion rampant are used by the Inn their medieval association cannot be dismissed as de Lacy was Earl of Lincoln and King's Justice from 1289-92. The nature of the site of Lincoln's Inn is inseparable from its medieval origins, and David Evans believes that the sites where it has been produced, tested and maintained are physical manifestations of the Law itself:

The origin of the Inns in medieval times leads us to interpret its boundaries, not as simple conceptual conveniences, but as divisions marking a special expression of space and time: the world of the Law, a significant link between sacred and secular. The Inns represented a theatrum mundi, whose images are preserved in the precedents, creating by means of Law the ground as stage. Hence its architecture must inscribe on a specific and significant site…the possibility for Law to exist by vesting it with a material expression.[16]

The Chapel is one of the older buildings which make up Lincoln's Inn and is a key part of the magnificent variety of architecture which the Society has commissioned and/or occupied. Summarised below is a chronology of these structures, of which the Chapel is one of the most enjoyed.

The Sixteenth Century

Old Hall

All four inns inherited halls…All were rebuilt during the Tudor period to the standard design developed during the middle ages, with a dais at the upper end lit by a bay-window, a central heath with a louver above to let out the smoke. There was a screens passage at the end, into which opened the principal entrances and the three doors

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13 W. Paley Baildon, 'The Quincentenary of Lincoln's Inn', *Country Life*, 16 December 1922, p. 818

14 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xxii

15 Jill Allibone op cit, p.9

16 David Evans op cit, p.158

which led to the pantry, buttery and the kitchen, the latter was usually a free-standing structure, detached as a precaution against fire.[17]

The Old Hall is the first of its kind amongst the four Inns of Court and the earliest surviving building from the Inn's first major building scheme. It replaced an earlier hall and was opened in 1491, though not completed until 1507.[18] It is a typical example of late fifteenth-century secular halls in England, and its most impressive feature is its timber roof which displays excellent examples of collar beams, wind braces, and arch braces. In 1582 the Hall was extended and expanded, and the southern bay windows were added.

Gatehouse & Old Buildings

The Gatehouse was finished in 1518. It is an H-plan structure with square angle towers on both facades. W. J. Loftie points out that *'it ranks with the stone gateway of the Hospitallers in Clerkenwell, with the tower of St. James's Palace, and with the gate of Lambeth Palace…'*[19] There are three shields over the arch: those of Henry VIII, Sir Thomas Lovell, a bencher who contributed a third of the cost for the rebuilding, and Henry Lacy, the third Earl of Lincoln. Establishing to what extent the Inn was connected with the Lacys and their patronage has been a historically contested issue. Edwin Chancellor comments that,

There are not many other structures in London, not even in the Temple, that still possess such an attractive and picturesque appearance as the old gateway of Lincoln's Inn and Old Square or Old Buildings, as it is alternately called, into which you come out of the crowded turmoil of Chancery Lane. The place is altogether cloistral, and is perhaps more akin to some ancient corner in an Oxford or Cambridge college, than anything to be seen elsewhere in the metropolis.[20]

The Gatehouse and Nos. 20-24 Old Buildings were rebuilt in the sixteenth century. Nos. 8-15 Old Square were also built in this period; they were finished by 1566.[21] Although they've been significantly altered numerous times, Nos. 12 and 13 New Square and Nos. 16, 18, 19, and 20 Old Buildings were all completed by c.1535, *'with a skyline chaotic with chimney stacks and octagonal staircase towers, and with much surviving warm red brickwork of the period.'*[22] Ranges were also constructed to the north and west of Gatehouse Court, but these were demolished to make way for new buildings in the nineteenth century. Old Buildings are almost entirely sixteenth century foundations.

Other Structures of Note & Landscaping

The flowering of building in Lincoln's Inn corresponds to its growth and solidity of its incorporation. In 1537 Richard Sampson, the Bishop of Chichester, granted his estate to a bencher of the Inn named William Suliard. In 1580 his son Edward granted it to the Inn entirely, making Lincoln's Inn the owners of the site. The

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17 Jill Allibone op cit, p.10

18 Andrew Goodman, *The Walking Guide to Lawyers' London*, 2000, p. 171

19 W. J. Loftie, 'Lincoln's Inn' in *The Fascination of London*, 1903, p. 36

20 E. Beresford Chancellor, *The Romance of Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 1932, p. 251

21 Andrew Goodman op cit, p.176

22 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington, 'The Buildings: Long History and Picturesque Variety', in *A Portrait of Lincoln's Inn*, 2006, p. 27

extensive gardens to the north were known as the Coneygarth or rabbit warren, and clay for numerous building projects from this period was dug from here.[23] In the early sixteenth century the walk under elms mentioned by Samuel Pepys and Ben Jonson was landscaped. This is now referred to as the North Garden or the Walks, though 'Coneygarth' also appears as the old name for what came to be surrounded by the buildings of New Square. In 1557 plans for a new kitchen were drawn up, and a further range was added to this structure in 1580.[24]

The Seventeenth Century

Old Hall

The Jacobean screen in the Old Hall dates from 1624. The structure was renovated again in 1657.[25] Notes from the Black Books suggest that further alterations were made to the Hall when the buttery was moved and the Chapel was built.[26]

Chapel

In 1609 the Bench resolved *'that a fair large chapel with three double Chambers under the same shall be builded in a place more convenient, that now standing being ruinous and not sufficient for the number of this House.'*[27] The Chapel dates from 1619-23 and was once considered to have been designed by Inigo Jones, but more likely the work was by mason John Clarke. Walter Godfrey suggested that it is *'a curious mingling of the Gothic form with Classic detail.'*[28] This new building replaced an earlier chapel – of which almost nothing remains – dedicated to St Richard and almost certainly erected by the Bishops of Chichester.[29] The building has an unusual open undercroft, and Loftie cites Butler's *Hudibras* referring to lawyers waiting for customers *'between the pillar-rows of Lincoln's Inn'*.[30] Christopher Wren carried out repairs to the walls and roof c1685.[31]

Gatehouse & Old Buildings

There is little mention of the Gatehouse corresponding to this period, and summary information in the Black Books note that there is little minuted information about the style and erection of additional buildings generally.[32] Old Buildings continued to expand. Nos. 8-15 Old Square were rebuilt in 1607. Nos. 21-24 were completed by 1609, and No. 25 was finished eight years earlier.[33] A map published in 1682 shows that while the gardens to the north and what would become New Square had been carefully planted in a classical symmetrical style, contrasting the diagonal walks crossing Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Inn remained compact, concentrated in the southeast quadrant of its grounds.

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23 Robert Pearce, *A Guide to the Inns of Court and Chancery*, 1855, p. 137
24 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xxx
25 Andrew Goodman op cit, p.172
26 *The Black Books, Vol. 2, 1586-1660*, 1898, p. vi
27 Quoted in *The Black Books, Vol. 2, 1586-1660*, 1898, p. vi
28 Quoted in E. Beresford Chancellor op cit, p.261
29 W. J. Loftie op cit, p.37
30 W. J. Loftie op cit, p.39
31 Andrew Goodman op cit, p.175
32 *The Black Books, Vol. 2, 1586-1660*, 1898, p. xiv
33 Andrew Goodman op cit, p.171, 176

New Square

In 1679 Henry Serle, a barrister but not a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, purchased much of the land known as Fickett's Field or Little Lincoln's Inn Fields adjacent to the Inn's gardens. In the end, Nicholas Barbon, who had been responsible for erecting New Court in Middle Temple in 1667, was the project's primary exponent.[34] What eventually became known as New Square was developed c1691 following earlier agreement of 1682, and was initially referred to as Serle's Court. Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington explain that,

The combination of fragmentation of ownership and the 1682 agreement have preserved New Square from redevelopment, and it is probably the most complete late seventeenth-century London square to survive. It has little in common with the medieval courtyard layout of Gatehouse Court, something implicitly acknowledged by the name changing from Serle Court to New Square.[35]

When building began, it was not, strictly speaking, a Lincoln's Inn project. Rather, the Inn leant its name to the venture in an agreement with the private builder; Serle also agreed – through an extensive litigious process – that entrance to the chambers would be from within the square, and that use of chambers would be exclusively for members of Lincoln's Inn. Unusually, a system of 'flying freeholds' was instigated, meaning that lease agreements can be inherited and that obligations of repair and upkeep are regulated by a private Act of Parliament.[36] This increase in the Inn's numbers of available chambers at no real cost to the Inn was timely, as Lincoln's Inn had relatively few resources to put towards building projects until the late eighteenth century. New Square is described in Strype's 1720 *Survey* as:

Consisting of three very good Rows, all taken up by Gentlemen of the Society, having fair and commodious Apartments; the said three Rows encompassing three Sides of the Court: Which is spacious and neatly kept, and covered with Gravel, raised towards the middle, to cast off the Rain Water, when it falls.[37]

Other Structures of Note & Landscaping

In 1696, Serle Court having been recently completed, Cavendish Weedon erected a central column and clock on the grounds, surrounded by a fountain with four water jets described in 1823 by Charles Lamb: 'Four little winged marble boys used to play their virgin fancies, spouting out ever fresh streams form their innocent-wanton lips…'[38] The first known map to show this central fountain was published by Rocque in 1746. It is also useful to mention that the open courtyard between 16-20 Old Buildings was known as Kitchen Garden Court, indicating its original use. The Coneygarth gardens or Walks were walled and given rectangular beddings by 1650.[39] Soon afterwards,

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34 Jill Allibone op cit, p.12

35 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.30

36 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.28

37 John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 1720, IV, p. 73

38 Quoted in Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.44

39 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xlvi

The wall dividing the garden from the walks was taken down, and a new wall was built from the garden gate at the corner of Garden Row…to the wall next to Lincoln's Inn Fields. That wall was repaired or rebuilt, and the platform, or terrace walk was "perfected" beside it in 1663 [the date which Pepys refers to it] from its junction with the new wall to the Inn Boundary near the Turnstile. The enclosure so created became the Great Garden, divided into four plots by two intersecting paths or walks, surrounded on three sides by walks and trees, and bounded on the South by a path which led by steps to Lincoln's Inn Fields. This path and the new wall separated the Great Garden from the Bencher's Garden to the South.[40]

The Black Books and other sources explain that the earliest boundaries of the Inn were marked with reed and clay walls or narrow mounds. *'By 1650 the Society had replaced or supplemented these…The ditches were interrupted by a postern gate adjoining (what is now) No. 13, New Square, and a gate leading into Chancery Lane, on a different site from the present Great Gate.'*[41]

The Eighteenth Century

Stone Buildings

Other than Stone Buildings, relatively little site work was done at the Inn in the eighteenth century, owing to numerous social factors. However, Stone Buildings represented a major shift towards expansion and regeneration. In 1771 four architects were invited to submit plans to rebuild and replace the majority of Lincoln's Inn. In its original conception, the scheme would have eliminated all older structures save for the Chapel and Nos. 1-11 Old Buildings. Robert Adam, James Paine, Mathew Brettingham, and Robert Taylor all proposed designs. Taylor's were chosen in 1774. His son, Michael Angelo Taylor, had been a member of Lincoln's Inn since 1770, and this may have been a strategic family connection to the Inn.[42]

Construction began at what is now numbered 3-6 Stone Buildings. Occupancy began in 1778. Nos. 8-11 were originally built as the Court offices for the Six Clerks, though this was subsumed into the Inn's exclusive usage after the Royal Courts of Justice opened in 1882. Construction of the north range, Nos. 1 and 2, was finally completed in 1785. With the exception of the library installed in No. 2 in 1787 – having been previously kept at Nos. 14 and 15 Old Buildings – Stone Buildings were exclusively occupied as chambers.[43] Allibone explains that, *'The law offices back onto Chancery Lane and are divided into three parts: a stone-fronted central section for the Six Clerks, flanked by the Inrollment Office of the north and the Registrar's Office on the south, brick-fronted as appropriate to the lesser importance of their occupants.'*[44] Horwood's map of 1792 shows Stone Buildings stretching north towards High Holborn, their somewhat asymmetrical plan as built still making a striking contrast to the adjacent older nucleus of the Inn.

Fookes and Wallington summarize the overall effect of the exterior as a pulling together of several classical associations: *'Viewed from between the two ranges of*

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40 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xlvii
41 *The Black Books, Vol. 4, 1776-1845*, 1902, p. xv
42 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p. 33
43 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xxvi
44 Jill Allibone op cit, p.14

Stone Buildings it is a London street, but viewed from the garden it is somewhere between a Palladian country house and a government building such as Somerset House.'[45] In the Stone Buildings project, even as fragmentary as the eventual execution was by comparison to the initial wide-ranging plan, the central planning of buildings around a medieval-style quadrangle was truly put to rest. The classical statement made by these buildings and their importance in the Georgian identity of the Inns of Court cannot be underestimated.

Other Structures of Note and Landscaping

Little was freshly built in the early part of the eighteenth century, and there is little discernable change in the Inn's plan between Morgan's 1682 map and the parish map of 1720). In 1752 Nos. 10 and 11 New Square were destroyed by a fire and subsequently rebuilt. In 1782 a similar situation befell Nos. 3 and 4.[46] In keeping with the fashion of the time, a plaster ceiling was inserted beneath the exposed beams of the Old Hall in 1720. Later in the century the structure's exterior brickwork was covered by a layer of cement rendering. Goodman notes that between 1428 and 1739 a buttery provided a connection from the Hall to the Chapel.[47] The turret and roof were repaired in 1770.[48] Bernasconi, who is mentioned below, applied stucco to the Hall at the close of the century.[49]

In the later part of the 1790s James Wyatt was invited to restore the Chapel. He was known at the height of the Victorian Gothic Revival as 'The Destroyer' for his alterations to numerous medieval buildings. In the early twentieth century John Simpson lamented the eighteenth century treatment of both the Old Hall and the Chapel:

Who was responsible for those criminal doings of the XVIII century? Official records are discreetly silent as to his name; but we may guess it to have been James Wyatt who, 'restoring' more suo in 1790-96, removed the timber roof from the Chapel and, there too, substituted a plaster ceiling. On this work he is known to have employed one Bernasconi, doubtless an expert at the dreadful business of string and stucco…He was, at any rate, but an accessory of Wyatt, whose handiwork at certain cathedrals has left such a reputation as even his misdeeds at Lincoln's Inn cannot smirch.[50]

The Black Books summary illuminates the additional changes seen in this period:

Beginning on the West, the raised Terrace in the Upper Garden was with its wall continued through the Benchers' Garden to the site of the North Wall of No. 11, New Square. It was made out of the earth dug out of Fickett's Fields, to make room for the foundations of New Square. The Terrace was separated by a 'palisado pale' [a type of fence] from the rest of the Benchers' Garden; a footway 'under an arch' between Nos. 9 and 10 New Square gave access to Serle Street. The Brick Wall making the partition between the Benchers' Garden and the new Serle Court…was pulled down and replaced by palisado pales…on the south side a 'convenient handsome

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45 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.34

46 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xxxii

47 Andrew Goodman op cit, p.174

48 *The Black Books, Vol. 3, 1660-1775*, 1899, p. xxvi

49 *The Black Books, Vol. 4, 1776-1845*, 1902, p. xi

50 Quoted in Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.42

proportionable gate' was made in the eastern end to go out under an arch into Carey Street. This was the only carriage way in and out of Serle's Court.[51]

The Nineteenth Century

Old Hall

The decorative gothic vaulting behind the Jacobean screen in the Old Hall dates from 1819. This may have been the period when the screen was moved southward towards the wall and its gallery was removed.[52] It should also be noted that as the Old Hall was in use for many years as a court of law, there were partitions screening the main space into smaller sections, such as the screen inserted in 1841 to convert the eastern end into a court for the Lord Justices of Appeal.[53]

Gatehouse & Old Buildings

Following his successful design for the library, George Gilbert Scott was asked to furnish designs for what is now Nos. 8-10 Old Square. This was the first stage of a complex and important period of alterations carried out on the Old Buildings, developing them largely for the first time since 1623.[54] Nos. 11 and 12 Old Square were completed by 1879, and Nos. 13-15 Old Buildings was also rebuilt between 1879 and 1887. After George Gilbert Scott died in 1878, his son John Oldrid Scott was commissioned to carry on the work.

The rebuilding scheme's somewhat fragmented nature was reflected in confusing numbering running in opposite directions:

Nos. 1-7 are missing from the Old Square sequence and Nos. 2-15 from the Old Buildings sequence. The new buildings were given numbers in a completely new sequence in a clockwise direction, on the assumption that the sequence would continue past the Gatehouse and replace what are now No. 1 (on the north side of the Gatehouse) and 16-24 Old Buildings (west to east) with 1-7 Old Square (east to west).[55]

Chapel

Philip Hardwick restored and altered the Chapel in the 1840s. The late nineteenth century building projects at Lincoln's Inn prominently feature E. B. Denison, Lord Grimthorpe. The restoration and extension of the Chapel in 1881-83 was under his supervision. This involved the addition of a bay to the west, moving the entrance, and adding two staircases. Wyatt's plaster ceiling was also removed at this time.[56]

New Square

In 1867 a temporary building was erected in New Square to exhibit the competition drawings for the Royal Courts of Justice to be erected on the Strand, the back of which is adjacent to Lincoln's Inn. George Edmund Street won the competition with an eclectic Gothic Revival design.

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51 *The Black Books, Vol. 4, 1776-1845*, 1902, p. xvii
52 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.27
53 Andrew Goodman op cit, p.174
54 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.41
55 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington ibid, p.41
56 Jill Allibone op cit, p.12

Stone Buildings

After a hiatus in building since the 1790s, Stone Buildings were resumed – this time with Philip Hardwick as architect – in 1843. No. 7, the southernmost reach of Stone Buildings, was complete by 1845. He arranged the structure around a central courtyard, which has since been roofed over. As Fookes and Wallington explain,

Hardwick chose to carry on the giant order as pilasters on the south wall, and to repeat on the east face Taylor's giant order of attached columns but without a pediment above. The result is that the east façade of No. 7 give some idea of what Taylor's hall would have looked like from the outside.[57]

Stanford's 1862 map shows Stone Buildings as developed by Hardwick and the Great Hall Complex as it was before Scott's 1870s library addition.

Great Hall Complex

In the 1830s it became apparent that the Inn's expansion required further building. In 1839 John White furnished a scheme to enlarge the Old Hall. The Inn sought Philip Hardwick's opinions on the scheme and he was so thoroughly and incisively negative that the Inn encouraged him to provide alternative plans. He was at this time the Vice President of the RIBA and had already proven himself to be a versatile and accomplished architect in his work at the Goldsmiths Hall and Euston propylaeum.

A departure from Hardwick's typically classical oeuvre, he designed the Great Hall Complex – a plan including a hall, library, benchers' rooms, kitchens, and associated rooms for administration and storage – in a Tudor Gothic idiom. He was assisted by his son, Philip Charles Hardwick, and by J. L. Pearson. The materials are predominantly brick, oak, and a mixture of Ancaster and Caen stone. It may well be the first Victorian London building *'in which the piquant possibilities of articulated Gothic composition were made strikingly evident.'*[58] However, this project must be seen in the context of Westminster and Middle Temple's Great Hall, as well as numerous country houses which had employed Gothic and neo-Tudor tropes since the Georgian era. It also may have referenced the Old Hall in the inclusion of an oriel window at either end of the library, as the insertion of a bay window at either end of the Old Hall is a unique feature.[59] Loftie suggests that Hardwick's Tudor style was largely the result of influence by Charles Barry and A. W. N. Pugin's rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament.[60] However, the choice of brick may have been informed by another source, such as Lambeth Palace or St. James's. Hardwick suggested that as the complex would stand alone,

It is unnecessary to adapt its style of architecture to any already in the Inn, but as the building is for a purpose to which the collegiate style of architecture is most appropriate, Mr. Hardwick selected that for the design he has now the honour to submit, and of the period towards the end of the sixteenth century before the admixture of Italian architecture.[61]

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57 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.34

58 Quoted in Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington ibid, p.36

59 W. Paley Baildon op cit, p.820

60 W. J. Loftie, 'Lincoln's Inn' op cit, p.41

61 Quoted in Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.36

That the architect allied Gothic with collegiate further confirms the traditional role of the Inns of Court as England's third university, but this style of architecture also connects to the Inn's earliest buildings – particularly the Old Hall and Gatehouse – and further stylistically reinforces the Inn's relationship to its architectural and institutional relatives. It was opened by Queen Victoria on the 30th of October, 1845.

As early as 1863 the whole structure needed repair, particularly the roof and exterior walls.[62] In 1871-72 the library was expanded three bays eastwards by George Gilbert Scott, assisted by E. B. Denison. It features armorial chimney stacks and an octagonal tower at the southeast corner. Loftie's opinion of Scott's library extension is low, as he explains, *'the delicate proportions of Hardwick suffered in the process, the younger architect having evidently thought more of the details, as was the fashion of his school. The additions…shut out a large part of the view northward through the gardens.'*[63] Scott's work is distinctive but – through use of materials and the continuation of decorative forms – sympathetic to Hardwick's earlier work.

Other Structures of Note & Landscaping

The Gateway and Porter's Lodge facing onto Lincoln's Inn Fields mark the division between New Square and the Great Hall Complex. Designed by Hardwick in 1845, they are in keeping with the Gothic Revival style of the Great Hall scheme and also reference the Tudor Gateway entrance from Chancery Lane. The Black Books also note that, *'The passage from the South-west corner of New Square to the Law Courts, known as "More's Passage", was constructed between 1887 and 1889.*[64]

The North Garden was restored *'in the Collegiate character…in which it was originally planned'* in the 1860s.[65] The fountain feature in the centre of New Square was stagnant by the early nineteenth century. In 1817 the original pillar was shortened and replaced by a gas light. The seventeenth-century dial clock had been replaced sometime earlier in the century. It was described in 1844 as a feature which *'disfigures the place it was intended to adorn'*.[66] In 1845 lawns replaced the gravel, iron railings were erected, and a hexagonal reservoir intended for a fountain was inserted.[67] Additionally, *'the number and size of the beds were reduced, the shrubberies were banished to the angles and exterior of the quadrangle within the railings, and the turf lawn was extended to cover the whole enclosure.'*[68]

The Twentieth Century & Recent History

John Simpson carefully and methodically restored the Old Hall in the 1920s. The Black Books note that, *'By 1914 the Old Hall was little used and in a dilapidated condition.'*[69] Its neo-classical additions and exterior rendering were eliminated in an attempt to return it to its fifteenth-century character as faithfully as possible, harmonizing this with the Jacobean screen. Following serious war damage, Nos. 2

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62 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xxxviii
63 W. J. Loftie op cit, p.42
64 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xxxv
65 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xlviii
66 'Some Account of the Origin, History and Antiquities of the Inns of Court', *The Saturday Magazine*, No. 791, October 1844, p. 166
67 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.44
68 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xlviii
69 *The Black Books, Vol. 6, 1914-65*, 2001, p. 20

and 6 Stone Buildings were partially rebuilt and entirely modernized.[70] The Gatehouse towers were reconstructed in the 1950s.[71] Nos. 21-26 Old Buildings were rebuilt in 1966-69 using modern bricks, though maintaining their external sixteenth century characteristics reasonably adequately. The interior original features were preserved in Nos. 22-23.[72] The original 1518 oak door of the Gatehouse was preserved. The Inn has acquired approximately seventy percent of the flying freeholds and has a policy of gaining control of them when possible to regulate what has historically been an irregular and awkward system. The Chapel was redecorated in 1958.[73] The Great Hall was restored by Donald Insall Associates in 1986. Numerous maps from this period testify to the slow-down of major building projects and site development, as the Inn has tended to focus its energies on conserving and restoring its ancient historically important structures.

Between 1917 and 1919 numerous upper floors of chambers were converted into residential accommodation.[74] In 1921 the War Memorial, designed by John Simpson, was erected on the site of the former Vice-Chancellor's Court. It was extended following the Second World War and restored in 2006. In 1934 New Square was paved and made into a one-way road.[75] In the 1960s the Hardwicke building was erected on the site of the old Chancery Lane post office near Old Buildings. Its Portland stone cladding and formal sensitivity to its surrounding structures makes a post-modern visual connection between Old Buildings and Stone Buildings. Repairs to the roof and glass in the Great Hall were also undertaken in the 1960s. The North Garden was chosen as a site for prospective development in the 1970s. After exploring numerous possibilities, a building designed by Casson and Conder was finally erected in 1986. Externally, its classical style draws a visual parallel with John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, acknowledging the architectural heritage of the area surrounding the Inn. The most recent addition to the Inn is the fountain in New Square redesigned by William Pye in 2002 to mark Queen Elizabeth's Golden Jubilee.

The place of the Chapel throughout the architectural changes and developments undertaken by the Inn has nameless remained protected and respected; it is central to the life of the Inn.

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70 *The Black Books, Vol. 5, 1845-1914*, 1968, p. xxxvii
71 Jill Allibone op cit, p.10
72 Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington op cit, p.44
73 *The Black Books, Vol. 6, 1914-65*, 2001, p. 22
74 *The Black Books*, ibid, p. 37
75 *The Black Books*, ibid, p. 41

2.3 The Significance of the Fabric

2.3.1 The Significance of the Architecture

Lincoln's Inn Chapel is important because of its role at the heart of Lincoln's Inn, and the Inn in its entirety comprises one of the most important groups of historic buildings in London. Examined next below is the importance of its architecture.

The Chapel (and its Undercroft) have a great significance in English architectural history, an importance reflected in Grade I listing (only some 10% of buildings are listed Grade II* and only some 2% of buildings are listed Grade I).

Pevsner in the eponymous series Buildings of England describes the Chapel thus:

"The Chapel, rebuilt 1619-23. The benchers opted for a building in the traditional style "answerable" to other buildings of the Inn."[1]

The main architectural significances of the Chapel may be summarised in the following way:

1. It is an important survival of ecclesiastical architecture from the early 17th century; a period during which there was comparatively little church building and what survives today is often significantly altered.

2. The Chapel is interesting stylistically in that it is built in the gothic idiom, but with the classical elements. The use of the gothic here is viewed as either very late use of this style or an early example of the gothic revival. The mason responsible for the Chapel is now believed to be John Clarke (d 1624), who had worked in the Schools quadrangle in Oxford. It is now believed that the Lincoln's Inn Chapel is an example of the Oxford style influencing London work.

3. The use of classical motifs (the Doric element of the Undercroft) has been viewed by English Heritage as perhaps reflecting contemporary strands in English legal practice.

4. Scholarly examination of the internal form and fitting out of the Chapel has linked it with specific theological strands of the early 17th century.

These significances are outlined below.

1. Lincoln's Inn Chapel in the Context of Church Survivals Pre-Dating 1666

The impact of the Reformation in London was savage and long-lasting; many of the monastic buildings were destroyed and parish churches damaged. The reformed Church of England built comparatively little in the next century; the Great Fire of 1666 destroyed much of the City but did not touch Lincoln's Inn. Churches dating from pre 1670 in inner London are therefore very rare; Lincoln's Inn Chapel belongs

[1] N Pevsner, B Cherry "The Buildings of England: London North West", 1999, p286.

to a small group including the Temple Church, St Eltheldreda's Ely Place, St Ethelburga the Virgin, Bishopsgate, Great St Helen's, Bishopsgate, and St Katherine's Cree, Leadenhall Street.

2. The Stylistic Significance of the Architecture of Lincoln's Inn Chapel and its Undercroft

The London Encyclopaedia describes the architecture of Lincoln's Inn Chapel as being *"an early example of 17th century gothic"*[2], and this is certainly the dominant idiom, although with the introduction of the classical in the use of Tuscan pilasters in the buttress arches English Heritage assessed the stylistic strands of the Chapel building in this way:

"… The Lincoln's Inn Chapel, by contrast, looks to mediaeval English precedents, especially to the collegiate chapels of Oxford, for instance the chapel of New College, built in 1380-86 by William Wynford, where the design of the Perpendicular Gothic windows provides a possible model for the side windows at Lincoln's Inn chapel. Perpendicular Gothic was still a living tradition in Oxford and Cambridge in the seventeenth century; it is not easy to say quite where survival becomes revival, and Gothic has never been totally ousted from the English architectural scene.

The clues to the seventeenth rather than late-fourteenth century date of the chapel are to be found partly in the nature of the contemporary furnishings and the painted glass windows and in the size of the windows, which are openings punched in masonry walls rather than being major elements of a much more dynamic structural system characteristic of the most adventurous gothic buildings, and partly in the inclusion of classical details in the undercroft, namely the use of attached Tuscan columns rather than gothic shafts on the piers that support the vaulting and the use of Tuscan pilasters in the buttress arches…"[3]

The Oxford connection, through Clarke, is surely important to the idiom of the Lincoln's Inn Chapel, and whilst the Chapel is not generally as well known as several Oxford examples of 17th century gothic, it surely forms an interesting comparison. The current Pevsner guide to Oxford makes the telling point that *"… Gothic Revival of the 17th century is more frequent in England in general than anywhere on the Continent, but it is also more frequent in Oxford than in any other one place in England. It stands for antiquarian leanings, but it also stands for dislike of radical changes…"*[4] The author focuses on the importance in Oxford of the new schools building (begun 1613); John Clarke the mason who worked at Lincoln's Inn was almost certainly married to Prudence Ackroyd, daughter of one of the master masons for this Oxford work.

The strength of the gothic tradition in Oxford is unavoidable but its use here in London is interesting, particularly coming as it does just before the gothic style was to be swept away in the capital city by Inigo Jones' new church of St Paul's in Covent Garden of the 1630s.

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2 B Weinreb and C Hibbert (eds) The London Encyclopaedia 1983 p471.

3 C Sumner (English Heritage) Draft Proof of Evidence on the Chapel of the Holy & Undivided Trinity Lincoln's Inn Diocese of London Consistory Court Evidence, August 1991.

4 Pevsner Architectural Guides "Buildings of England: Oxfordshire", 1974, p35.

The significance in architectural history of the Undercroft is deemed now by English Heritage as being of particular interest. In 1991, during complicated discussions around an application for Listed Building Consent to enclose the space, English Heritage made the following statement of its importance:

"… So medieval is the immediate impresion created by the undercroft that certain antiquaries early in the 19th century sought to claim it as a genuine product of the 14th century; as late as 1849, an article appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine to this effect. As early as 1700, however, an anonymous writer (in B.L., Harleian MS 5900) observed that Inigo Jones had designed the chapel "after the Gothick manner, in imitation of that of St Stephen's at Westminster". St Stephen's chapel, destroyed in the fire of 1834, provided the closest parallel to the Lincoln's Inn chapel. Begun in 1292 in emulation of the Sainte Chapelle, the chapel stood above a vaulted undercroft which was, and still is, used as the chapel of St Mary-in-the-Vaults. The St Stephen's undercroft was enclosed, unlike the Lincoln's Inn example. Undercroft chapels were a French development: their rationale was feudal, with the upper chapel serving the lord and the lower, his dependents.

A second London example was that of Old St Paul's (destroyed 1666): the mid-13th century crypt contained the chapels of St Faith and Jesus, with vaults springing similarly from large piers encrusted with clustered columns. There is a ready comparison to be made between the cylindrical shafts of this Early English work and the Classical forms of the Lincoln's Inn piers.

The Lincoln's Inn undercroft is a cross between a cloister and an undercroft chapel and as such appears to be unique. An indication of its originality, and the problem of describing such a novelty, is sensed in the number of terms used to describe it: A 1623 record of the proposal to use the space for burial described the undercroft as the "cloyster", having crossed out the word "walkes". Other terms employed were ambulatory and "the Pillar Rows".

As a cloister, the Lincoln's Inn undercroft is unique in being open on both sides. The former Greyfriars in Newgate Street, subsequently transformed into Christ's Hospital, formerly had a cloister with low arches and a raised floor above similar to St Stephen's Chapel (the same masons were very likely employed) which, like Lincoln's Inn chapel, was used for burials. Lacock Abbey, Wilts., altered 1540-43 for William Harington, is one instance of monastic cloisters being kept for secular use as an ambulatory.

The obvious influence behind the provision of a covered space was that of Oxford and Cambridge colleges. Membership of the inns of court was drawn exclusively from their alumni, who for the most part attended more to acquire a general grounding in law than to train as lawyers, and the inns and colleges thus had a more similar pedagogic function than is now the case. Cloisters were built at Neville's Court, Trinity College, Cambridge (1605-12), at Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (begun 1628) and in the Canterbury Quad of Queen's College Oxford (1631-36 by John Jackson). Perhaps the closest equivalent to the undercroft is the open ground floor of Wren's library at Trinity College, Cambridge (begun in 1676), with its ranks of Tuscan columns; the river front is screened with a wall, however.

A collegiate comparison is helpful stylistically too. The Gothic never died out at Cambridge or more particularly Oxford (compare the stair leading to the hall at Christ Church of c.1640 for another contemporary instance of the use of Gothic vaulting), while the particular combination of Gothic and classical elements is also encountered at Peterhouse chapel (consecrated 1632), Wadham and Brasenose. John Clarke, the mason responsible, was deeply immersed in this tradition which presumably explains why Lincoln's Inn sought a provincial mason. More church building went on in the early 17th century than is generally realised, and a number of churches combined Tuscan or Doric columns with Gothic tracery in a similar manner to Lincoln's Inn: St Katherine Cree, of 1628-31 is the best known example but others include the north chapel of St Mary, Watford (1597), the north chancel of St Etheldreda, Hatfield (1618) and St Nicholas, Rochester (rebuilt 1624).

The Doric element within the undercroft invites comparisons with loggias, an early example of which is the detached one at Horton Court, Avon, built for William Knight following his trip to Rome in 1527. Examples of loggias attached to large houses are legion, but the collegiate context of an inn of court makes the cloister as place of contemplation, rather than the loggia as place of resort, more applicable to the case of Lincoln's Inn…"[5]

The alteration of the Chapel in the 1880s by Stephen Salter is broadly sympathetic to the 17th century fabric, and brought with it an improvement in the planning and layout of this area of the Inn.

Later alterations can, on occasion, be considered to diminish the significance of a Grade I listed building but in this instance it may be argued that the Victorian work is respectful of the older structure. It is of less significance than the 17th century fabric, but does not mar its rarity or stylistic interest.

3.

The evidence given to the Enquiry in 1991 into the possibility of glazing the Undercroft by English Heritage included the following assertion:

"… The chapel was built during one of the most important periods for English law. Constitutional innovations championed by the early Stuart monarchs led to a spirited exploration by John Selden and others of the nature of common law and the impact of Roman jurisprudence upon it. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to see the mixed idiom of the chapel's undercroft as a reflexion of the mixing of these two strains in English legal thinking…"[6]

This is perhaps a suggestion that might be debated further best by the Benchers themselves.

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5 Roger Bowder (English Heritage) note on the significance of the Undercroft, February 1991.

6 Ibid.

The glazing and fittings of the Chapel are examined below, but it should be noted here that there has been recent scholarly attention paid to whether the original form and internal detailing of the new chapel relate to particular themes in Anglicanism. Readers wishing to explore full accounts of these propositions are directed to the work of John Wall, Peter Guillery and Emma Rhatigan.

Studies of churches in London, (of which the Lincoln's Inn Chapel is atypical in that it is not a parish church but a private chapel), and regarded as a primary source for the study of Anglicanism. It should be noted that there has rarely been consensus about what a place of Anglican worship should look like; the division in planning terms generally being between places of worship with an altar and pulpit or the orientated and square model of box.

Peter Guillery has noted of the period in which the Lincoln's Inn Chapel was constructed that:

"The early seventeenth-century Calvinist or conformist consensus emphasized preaching from centralized pulpits, located, where possible, in a unified – that is, undivided – space. Communion-tables were probably movable, placed table-wise (that is, with their long sides facing north and south), and positioned in the centre of the chancel or the nave. Chancel seating, perhaps for elders, might have been arrayed around these tables in communion-rooms. For most, communion was a once-a-year rite (although Calvin had encouraged weekly celebration), while kneeling was widely held to be popish. Internal imagery was avoided and whitewashed walls were preferred. Classical motifs were probably blended with traditional Gothic forms, as can be seen at two otherwise atypical private chapels. At the Charterhouse in Clerkenwell, an early fifteenth-century chapter house was enlarged in 1613-14, incorporating a three-bay Tuscan arcade designed by Francis Carter. At Lincoln's Inn, the otherwise Perpendicular chapel of 1619-23 has Tuscan half columns in its undercroft…"[7]

Current scholarly opinion places the Lincoln's Inn Chapel in a broader context, however, and John N Wall has concluded that:

"… the central location of the pulpit in Trinity Chapel – like the inclusion of stained-glass windows – is part of a fashion for church design broadly represented in new church construction in the early seventeenth century and far too general to represent the wishes of any narrowly partisan party within the Church of England. This is not to say that the members of Lincoln's Inn did not have strong theological opinions or party allegiances within the church but that the architectural features of the chapel they built reflect far more the perpetuation of a received practice, lightly updated by the fashions of the day among church designers and builders. This is very different from planning a building to manifest a particular early seventeenth-century theological agenda; if Trinity Chapel does embody such an agenda it is the agenda of the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion, established long before Calvin had much if any impact on English religious practice…"[8]

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7 P Guillery "Suburban models of Calvinism and Continuity in London's 17th Century Church Architecture" Architectural History vol 48 (2005) p70.

8 J N Wall "Situating Donne's Dedication Sermon at Lincoln's Inn 22 May 1623", John Donne Journal vol 26 (2007) p210.

2.3.2 **The Significance of the Fixtures and Fittings of the Chapel**

The architecture of the Chapel is significant as an important survival of 17th century fabric; and this importance is strengthened by the survival of certain internal fittings to the Chapel, most notably the pews and some of the stained glass in the windows. The importance of the organ is addressed further on in this section.

The benches and pews are largely as supplied by the joiner Hugh Pryce in 1623. Pryce's accounts for his work for the Inn survive, showing that he also worked on a screen which marked off an area as a chancel at the east. The positioning of the pews has been described by Mark Ockelton in this way:

"The arrangement of pews in a central block appears to have been a deliberate and original decision, although the benchers were advised that a middle aisle was more fitting; evidently the usual plan of inward-facing seating did not attract them either. There were complex rules for the allocation of seats amongst members of the congregation from 'noble men, judges, serjeants at law and other persons of eminent quality down to clerks and other ordinary servants'."[1]

The appearance of the pews has not always attracted favourable comment; in 1934 Sir Giles Gilbert Scott wrote that:

"The woodwork in the Chapel is too dark. Both the roof and the pews give too violent and harsh a contrast with the walls. The colour should be more of a bleached grey shade rather than the present dark brown. Experiments could be made to decide upon the best method of obtaining this; the pews could no doubt be pickled…" [2]

Nonetheless, it is now generally considered that the pews are important survivals.

The glazing of the Chapel is of perhaps even greater importance in that the windows contain important work by three important 17th century glass painters and also a unique collection of heraldry of arms of Readers and notable Members from the 16th century onwards. The heraldic windows include work from some two dozen glass painters, including in the 19th century William Collins, Ward & Hughes and Clayton & Bell and in the 20th century Kempe & Co, Lowndes & Drury and Carl Edwards and his daughter Caroline Benyon, whose work taken together represents the living tradition of glass painting in London.

Some of the glazing was damaged in both World Wars, particularly grievous was the loss of the 1624 west window in a bomb attack of 1915 and yet overall the survival of such a quantity of glass from such a span of age is heartening.

The glazing scheme is as follows:

"… When the Chapel was built there were three windows on each side. Soon after the building was finished they were glazed with figures of the Twelve Apostles on the south (right) side, and twelve other New and Old Testament characters on the north.

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1 M Ockelton "The Chapel" in "A Portrait of Lincoln's Inn" A Holdsworth (ed) 2007 p114.

2 Sir G Gilbert Scott correspondence held in Lincoln's Inn Library.

After the enlargement of the Chapel in the nineteenth century some of the glass was moved, and all the windows were seriously damaged in a German air-raid in 1915. (Pock-marks from the explosion can still be seen on the outside of the building, where they are marked by a brass plaque.) The two windows on the south side are in their original position. One (St Simon) has a picture of Lincoln's Inn in the background, including the Chapel itself and Gatehouse Court. It is so accurate that we can probably trust the other backgrounds, including that to St Jude, apparently showing Westminster Abbey and Hall on the left, and the city of London with Old St Paul's Cathedral seen beyond Baynard's Castle on the right.

Richard Butler, a London glass-painter who was at the time based in Chancery Lane, was paid for two of the apostle windows; the third apostle window is by Bernard van Linge, and the other windows by Abraham van Linge. The project may, however, have been a real collaboration, because the windows with the London backgrounds are amongst those signed 'Bernard', whilst those with the initials 'RB' have backgrounds of imaginary churches in the Netherlandish gothic style of the van Linge brothers' homeland. The shields of benefactors beneath the figures, sometimes continued by crests in the tracery, include those of the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, and the Earl of Pembroke, to whom the First Folio was dedicated. A tiny inscription at the foot of the figure of St John reveals that John Donne gave this light.

The other windows have the coats of arms of Treasurers since 1680, continuing a tradition that may have started in the glass of the old chapel. The east window alone represents 228 years of the Inn's history in this way. In the tracery at the top of that window are some of the 'gothic ornaments' inserted by William Egington of Birmingham in 1818. The old glass in the west window, including some coats of arms painted 'by a Dutchman' (presumably one of the van Linges) in 1624 was largely destroyed by the bomb in 1915. At the outbreak of the Second War much of the stained glass had been stored in the wine cellars, but what was left went in the Blitz…"[3]

Geoffrey Lane gave the Glaziers' Company Lecture for 2008 on the Lincoln's Inn glazing and speculated that there was a guiding hand behind the scheme. He argued that:

"… How did two foreign artists come to be working in the same building as a member of the London Glaziers' Company? Weren't they supposed to be traditional enemies? Here if anything they seem to have worked in close collaboration – possibly even sharing work on a single panel. It's clear Bernard van Linge liked painting landscapes behind his figures, but did he really paint the delightful local London scenes we see behind the heads of the two middle Apostles – Westminster and Old St Paul's in one, Lincoln's Inn itself in another? They don't seem to match the domestic buildings depicted in the outer pair of lights. How did Butler and Abraham come to paint such similar backgrounds, which look more like the interiors of churches in the Netherlands than England?

No-one really knows, but this unique combination of talents can hardly have been

[3] M Ockelton op cit p112-113.

accidental. The glazing of Lincoln's Inn chapel must have taken considerable organisation, and I think I have a strong candidate for this role. To explain why, I need first to go into a little more detail about the building itself. When the Benchers decided to build the chapel they did what busy men generally do – they appointed committees to undertake the detailed work, take soundings, draw up plans and report back. The Black Books of Lincoln's Inn record just a few decisions taken by the management on the basis of those inquiries, so we can only follow the chapel's progress in broad outline. In January 1618 approaches were made to the well-known architect Inigo Jones – "The consideracion of a fitt modull for the Chappell is commended to Mr Indicho Jones.." [they had trouble with his name even then]. But it quickly became clear that Jones was not the man they were after. He had travelled abroad, and had returned with his head full of the Classical architecture he would later employ at the Banqueting House at Whitehall, which would then reappear in Christopher Wren's churches and the new St Paul's Cathedral. What the Benchers thought of his ideas is not on record, but in May they indicated that they wanted their chapel to fit in with the existing buildings – "there shalbe a proposition to the gent[lemen] of the Howse (they determined) that the Chappell… shalbe a faire Chappell, answerable to the rest of the structure of the Howse…"

A week later they were discussing the shape of the windows, and had decided to approach someone named only as Mr Nicholson; he has been identified as a wealthy lawyer, Otho Nicholson, with strong Oxford connections, and it was evidently Nicholson who recommended John Clarke – a traditional stonemason turned builder and architect. In November 1618 the Benchers made up their minds: they approved a model agreed by the chapel committees, and gave Clarke the go-ahead. Clarke was one of a group of Yorkshire craftsmen from who had originally been summoned to Oxford to build a new quadrangle at Merton College, and had stayed on there to work on other projects. Nicholson himself employed Clarke to build and decorate an elaborate water-conduit at Carfax in the middle of Oxford. More to the purpose, Nicholson had also, at his own expense, reconstructed and refurnished the Old Library at Christ Church. This was a few years before the Conduit, and an Oxford historian has assembled some very strong circumstantial evidence that Nicholson employed Clarke there as well. The library was housed in a fifteenth-century Refectory building which had become dilapidated and needed partly rebuilding. Old prints show a structure looking very much like a smaller version of this chapel. I don't want to push the comparison too far, but I think it shows at least that Clark had experience of the kind of building the Benchers were after. In the end, Clarke did not prove an ideal choice – the project was not efficiently managed and ran to nearly double its £2,000 budget. But that's another story.

There is nothing to show how the Benchers found their glass-painters, but I think it is reasonable to suppose they would have followed the same sort of procedure. They would have been looking for someone like Otho Nicholson – a person of their own social standing, or near enough, who had employed such men in the past, and knew what was involved. If they made inquiries either in London or Oxford, they would almost certainly have found themselves consulting Thomas Langton, who has emerged as a key figure in the Jacobean revival of painted glass. Even if they didn't, Langton would almost certainly have approached them, and there are documents linking him with all three of our glass-painters. Langton seems to have come from an old-established Lincolnshire family; his father had settled in London and his uncle in

Bristol. One of his cousins became mayor of Bristol.

Thomas himself was a City linen-merchant who had evidently developed a passion for painted glass. It was Langton who took command of Bernard van Linge the moment he first arrived in Britain in July 1621, dispatching him to Oxford with a strong letter of recommendation to the Warden of Wadham College. Langton signs himself "your worship's loving friend", and refers back to an earlier meeting they had had in London, so it appears Langton was well enough known for the college to have sought his advice.

With his letter Langton offers the college a draft contract he has already drawn up, and the use of a consignment of coloured glass which, he says he has imported at his own venture, originally intending to use it in St. Paul's Cathedral. Langton warns the Warden that if he doesn't take up this offer, he will have to set Bernard to work in St Paul's, and Wadham won't be able to get him afterwards for the same money. He advises the Warden to house Bernard inside the college so the English glaziers can't get at him – he is sure they will try to, as they want him to depart the land. He also complains bitterly of their devious behaviour, in particular their habit of demanding money in advance and then dragging their feet:
I know none of our workmen but will have a great part before they begin to work – myself entertained one workman for Paul's that hath £40 beforehand which will be lost, such is their subtilty.

All this strongly suggests that Thomas Langton had somehow been involved in the commissioning of the three great windows in Old St Paul's that were shown to King James when he visited the Cathedral in 1620. But even this was not Langton's first venture. Back in 1613, he was churchwarden at the important City church of St Stephen's Walbrook. There he supervised the installation of a martyrdom of St Stephen by the little known glasspainter Thomas Heypole, plus another eight windows depicting unspecified personages. But Langton seems to have fallen out with Heypole, specifically over payments in advance. As I have already mentioned, Heypole offered to paint two of the windows here at Lincoln's Inn, but was apparently turned down.

Bernard completed his work at Wadham, and was duly paid the balance of the £100 fee that Langton had negotiated on his behalf. The care Langton took to micro-manage Bernard's first assignment on English soil is so striking that I find it impossible to believe he then simply left him make his own way. Having sent Bernard to Oxford, it seems far more likely that Langton also brought him back to London, setting him to work, not in St Paul's, where funding had in any case dried up, but here at Lincoln's Inn. In point of fact, the letter Langton sent to Wadham College could have been written to the Benchers of Lincoln's with only a few changes.

But if the Benchers were set on Ascension Day 1623 for the grand opening, then time was probably getting short. Bernard's final payment from Wadham is dated March 1623, and even if that had been delayed for some reason, it must have been obvious that Bernard could not deliver all six windows single-handed in the time available. Richard Butler was an obvious choice, an experienced man who had worked alongside another foreign artist at Hatfield, and had done some minor work for Langton at Walbrook. If Langton was involved, as I suspect, he could easily have

roped Butler in. That took care of the Apostles. Exactly when Abraham van Linge arrived in Britain is uncertain, but it would not be surprising if Thomas Langton took charge of him as he had of Bernard a couple of years earlier, and proposed him as a suitable painter for the Lincoln's Inn Prophets…"[4]

The careers of the three glass painters Bernard and Abraham van Linge and Richard Butler have been considered by Michael Archer of the Victoria & Albert Museum. He has written of the former that:

"In the latter part of the sixteenth century the opportunities open to painters of stained glass in England were limited. By banning religious subject-matter, the Reformation and subsequent royal instructions removed commissions for churches. Ecclesiastical work had always formed the main source of glaziers' livelihood and they were obliged, therefore, to turn to secular work and, in particular, heraldry to make good their loss. The situation began to change at about the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 and the installation of new windows painted with religious subjects became possible once again. It was assisted by the revival of liturgy and church decoration associated with Archbishop Laud.

This movement, however, was brought to an artificial halt by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. For a brief period, therefore, in the first half of the seventeenth century pictorial stained glass was again produced in England in some quantity. The names of a few glass-painters are known, but very little effort has been made to associate them with extant windows.

Exceptions are the brothers Bernard and Abraham van Linge, to whom almost everything has hitherto been attributed. Bernard, the elder and a native of Emden, is recorded as coming to England in 1621 after two years spent in France. He was at one time regarded as the more prolific of the two but he seems to have returned permanently to Emden by 1628 and only two commissions can be firmly given to him on documentary grounds: the east window of Wadham College, Oxford (1622), and one of the side windows in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn (c. 1623-26).

Abraham, on the other hand, remained for a much longer period in England. The year of his arrival is uncertain, but he obtained English citizenship and almost certainly worked in England until his death. Although probably responsible for far more glass than is actually documented, as well as for many windows hitherto loosely attributed to his brother, he can be shown on documentary evidence to have painted glass for the chapel of Hampton Court, Herefordshire (1629) – now in the Victoria and Albert Museum – and for the chapels of four Oxford colleges – Queen's (1635), Christ Church (c. 1635), Balliol (1637) and University (1641)…"[5]

Dr Archer places Richard Butler's commission at Lincoln's Inn in the context of work executed at Hatfield House in 1610 and at a private chapel for Sir Henry Slingsby at Monkton in York 1621-1622, but notes that Puritanism increasingly impinged on the work of the glass painter; by 1644 Archbishop Laud (for whom Butler had worked) was on trial and challenged for his religious practice including the use of stained

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4 G Lane "The Glazing of Lincoln's Inn Chapel", The Glaziers' Company Lecture, 3 June 2008.

5 M Archer "English Painted Glass in the 17th Century: The Early Work of Abraham van Linge", Apollo, Jan 1975.

glass.

Dr Archer concludes that Butler's career drew to a close against this troubled background. He writes that:

"Butler died in December 1638. He lived just long enough to see the charter, granted by Charles I on 6th November that year, whereby the Glaziers' Guild became a City Company. Butler's name appears as one of the twenty-four original assistants. His eminent position had been recognised as early as 1624, when he had been appointed Glazier to the City of London in succession to William Holly. Unlike most of his fellow members of the Livery – who accompanied his corpse to the church at his funeral – he was a glass painter rather than a glazier. The painters were the aristocrats of the newly-formed company, but the anti-Laudian reaction, the Civil War and the Commonwealth allowed few opportunities for the exercise of their skills. They had to wait until 1660 before they were once again in demand. Perhaps it was fortunate for Richard Butler that he died while commissions were still reasonably plentiful…"[6]

[6] M Archer "Richard Butler: Glass Painter" Burlington vol 132 (1990) p315.

2.4 The Significance of the Chapel in the Life of Lincoln's Inn

The Chapel at Lincoln's Inn has functioned as a centre for the corporate life of the Inn, continuing in the role of the original Chapel, which the lawyers had leased from the Bishop of Chichester in the 13th century.

Religious observance at the Inn changed through the following centuries; the current Chapel was consecrated in 1630, an interesting juncture in English history and the attitudes of the preachers throughout the subsequent centuries reflect varying religious observance, but the central role of the Chapel within the Inn has not diminished.

The first priest associated with the Chapel, called at this date the Chaplin, is mentioned in 1441. An additional clergyman called the Preacher was recruited in the 16th century and this arrangement continued until 1917, when the then Chaplin joined up. The decision was taken to merge the appointment of Chaplin and Preacher. A Chaplin was appointed again in 1935, but by the beginning of the Second World War it was decided that the office was redundant and no further Chaplin has since been appointed.

Boards listing the Preachers since 1581 are found in the foyer. Currently a morning service is held at 11.30am on all the (thirty two) Sundays of law term. These services are now open to the public and are usually choral matins sung by the Inn's professional choir.

Services also mark important dates in the church calendar and the Chapel is available for the weddings of Members and their families and the memorial services of Benchers. Burials of Benchers in the Undercroft ceased, however, in the 19th century.

The nature of the first Chapel which served the Members of the Inn is touched on by R M Fisher in his account of the Reformation at the Inns of Court.

This Chapel was part of the 13th century residence of the Bishop of Chichester which was leased to the lawyers. It is believed that the ornamentation of this chapel led to it being known as "the Chapel of Our Lady" and "the Chapel of St Richard". Fisher observes though that *"… in addition of these Chapels* [of Lincoln's Inn and other Inns] *nearby parish churches catered for lawyers and gentlemen. Since the Inns of Chancery did not have private chapels, special provision was made for their members, many of whom had connections with the more senior Inns of Court… the church which had the closest connection with the Inns was St Andrew Holborn. According to the summary of lost parish accounts compiled by Thomas Bentley, an assiduous Elizabethan Churchwarden, Barnard's, Furnival Staple and Thavies Inn not only had their own pews but customarily paid a mark every year 'for the mayntenans of a chantry priest that sang masse at the iij altars before, the seats or pues of every house'. Furthermore Gray's and Lincoln's Inn seem to have used private chapels at St Andrews', while members of both the Inns of Court and Chancery contributed regularly as individuals and societies to the upkeep of the church… For members of the Inns of Court, the London churches supplemented their own services. Since the Chapels at Gray's and Lincoln's Inns were small and could not provide the same rich tradition of medieval ritual and ceremony as the Temple*

Church, those Societies looked to their parish church of St Andrew…"[1]

Lincoln's Inn's first Chapel was not an appendage to the life of the Inn, after all it is believed that mass was said daily and Members made financial contributions to services, and until the Hall was built it was a place of general meeting.

The current Chapel was erected to replace the original which was in poor condition; in addition it was too small to accommodate the Members who were all required to swear allegiance to the Crown.

The role of the Chapel in the communal life of the Inn may be presumed to have been strengthened.

The Chapel of the Inns had involved with a special legal position which helped underpin the central position in the communal life. Fisher concludes that:

"Since the Inns evolved as voluntary and self-governing societies whose property was originally owned by ecclesiastical lords with special liberties, they were recognised as privileged places. In criminal proceedings, whether civil or ecclesiastical, the authorities had no right of entry, though members who committed serious offences could be surrendered by the benchers. In ecclesiastical matters, the Inns were exempt from episcopal visitation. In fact there seems to have been little attempt to bring them within the ordinary ecclesiastical structure until 1645 when Parliament ordained that the four Inns, the Chapel of the Rolls and the two Serjeants' Inns would constitute two classes within a single ---- …"[2]

This exemption from episcopal visitation is of ongoing interest, particularly in relation to complicated listed building consents. Faculties are now sort for material alterations to the Chapel and Undercroft.

Whilst the Chapel has since its construction had a key and important visual role within the Inn, there has, at time, existed a backdrop of pressure to increase attendance at services; a quest which has been dated back to as early as 1633.

The reader is directed to chapter 6 of Stella Baker's recent work "The Chapels Lincoln's Inn 1422-1972" for a full account of the changing nature of the services, which contains this postscript which summarises the situation for the Chapel in recent twenty to thirty years. This states that:-

"… throughout this period there were worries about the attendances. Various plans, which varied from luncheons after every service, to pamphlets that were left in the local prestigious hotels, were tried to improve the numbers but mostly without avail. It was also decided that the barrier of the main gate should be raised on Sunday mornings and there should be a board inviting the public to attend the service. In 1988 Benchers were asked to put their name on a rota so that there would always be a nucleus of senior members while 3 years later Students were allowed to bring guests to lunch after Chapel.

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1 R M Fisher "The Reformation of Church and Chapel at the Inns of Court 1530-1580" Guildhall Studies in London History vol III no 3, 1978, p226.

2 Ibid p228-229.

It was thought that it might give a feeling of cohesion to the Services if the congregation were more compact. Suitable ropes were therefore purchased and mounted to restrict access to the 6 most westerly pews. These are still there but not used.

The reading of the lessons has been reviewed on several occasions. In 1990 it was confirmed that normally the first lesson should be read by the Dean of the Chapel and the Second by the Treasurer. If either was absent the first lesson could be read by any Bencher. Now the junior Bencher present has been asked to read the first lesson.

In 1994 it was suggested (by Judge Hubert Dunn, then chairman of the Chapel Committee) that there might occasionally be a sermon, preached by a Bishop, on matters of mutual concern to the Church and the Legal Profession. Bishop Michael Marshall preached the first of these, on 30th.Oct.1994, who suggested the title, "Wigs and Mitres." It is now an annual event, which always attracts a good attendance…

In 1973 the Bar Liaison Committee suggested that there should be an Evening Carol Service (on a weekday) followed by Sherry in the Old Hall as well as the usual Carol Service. This idea was adopted so a Carol Service is held in early December.

Because it is difficult to combine Christmas carols with an advent theme, there is now an Advent Service as well. The Family Carol Service, followed by a splendid lunch, continues on the last Sunday of the Michaelmas Term, and is very popular.

While Canon Norman has been Preacher, the Sunday morning services have continued normally to be Matins according to the Book of Common Prayer, with Holy Communion three times a year. There are occasionally midweek services, sometimes with an amateur choir conducted by Mr. Sam Laughton. They have varied in their success; however a service before Call is now an established occasion, as is an informal bible class held in lunch hour once a week in term-time. Also since 1994 in the hope of encouraging families to attend Chapel, a Family Picnic which follows a rather less formal morning service has been held…"[3]

Music in the Chapel

Music plays an important role in the Chapel and the life of the Inn, reflected perhaps in the 2006 decision to purchase a new organ, the installation of which is ongoing at the time of writing.

Intriguingly though there wasn't an organ in the Chapel until the early 19th century, Nicholas Shaw has summarised the developing role of music away from the use of the "Psalm Raiser" of old in this way:-

"This situation [with singing lead by an individual] *was obviously of some concern to the Inn, as an organ was offered as a gift to the Chapel on more than one occasion. Finally in 1820 an organ was purchased from the firm of Flight & Robson and a relation of one of the owners of the firm was appointed as the first organist. The*

[3] S Baker "The Chapels Lincoln's Inn 1422-1972"

musical team now consisted of an organist and two singers but this was increased to six (including three boy choristers) in 1841. It appears that the standard of music-making was poor because in 1852, the music publisher J. Alfred Novello was employed to provide music for the Chapel. Not an organist himself, he was obliged to employ someone to play for him whilst he conducted the choir. Novello had originally approached one of the virtuosi of the day, W.T. Best, but illness prevented Best from accepting the position and Josiah Pittman was employed in his place. By 1855 it is clear that not all was harmonious between the choirmaster and the organist. Novello dismissed Pittman for his 'intention of playing in a different time from that which I, as the choirmaster, directed'. W.T. Best finally replaced Pittman in the spring of 1855, but his appointment lasted a matter of months before he was appointed organist to St George's Hall in Liverpool that summer.

Once again the Inn sought to revitalise its music. Novello's contract was not renewed and Pittman was reappointed. A school was set up jointly with the Inner Temple for the education of the choristers and a new organ purchased. Pittman remained until Advent Sunday 1863 when he disagreed with the Chaplain's choice of the tune Helmsley due to its secular origins and so played it 'in what he deemed to be the original tempo for dancing purposes… till the whole exercise ended in confusion'. He was dismissed by the Inn the next day. Under Pittman's successor, Charles Steggall, standards improved greatly, The Times describing a memorial services for the death of Queen Victoria as containing 'solemn, inspiring music'.

The twentieth century saw the gradual phasing out of boy choristers. They had evidently become a cause of concern as by 1907, the organist was being instructed to 'do his best to better the class of boys in the choir'. By 1937 they had been entirely replaced by a professional adult choir by C.H. Trevor, laying the foundations for the current musical tradition..."[4]

The current choir is understood to comprise four men and four women and undertake the Chapel concert, an established annual event since Trinity Term of 1969, when it was followed by dinner in Hall.

[4] N Shaw "Music" in "A Portrait of Lincoln's Inn" A Holdsworth (ed) 2007, p115.

2.5 The Significance of Notable Figures in the Life of the Chapel

Two main groups of individuals associated with the Chapel may now be considered to be significant. They are:

i) architects, designers and craftsmen associated with the fabric of the building
ii) clerics associated with the function of the Chapel and its spiritual life.

These are examined in turn.

2.5.1 The Architects and Designers associated with the Chapel

An account of the prominent architects and designers associated with the Chapel must begin with the paradox of the fact that a larger amount of information survives relating to the craftsmen such as Hugh Pryce (the joiner who supplied the pews) than the original designer of the building itself. The Chapel was for some time held to be a highly unusual work in the Gothic idiom by Inigo Jones, but this is now understood to be highly improbable and the work is more likely attributed to the mason John Clarke (d1624).

The Inigo Jones debate was succinctly dismissed by [Sir] John Summerson in 1953 when the account of the Ecclesiastical Society's visit to the Chapel was published in its transactions. The account includes Summerson's note in the traditional attribution which details that:-

"Every book of reference states that Lincoln's Inn Chapel was designed by Inigo Jones. This is absolutely untrue. There is no evidence that he had anything to do with it and there is detailed evidence as to the real authorship of the design. If the attribution to Jones were recent and tentative it could be dismissed at once by reference to the appropriate texts in the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn, which have been in print since 1898. But as the error is of some antiquity and has been universally accepted, it is perhaps worth stating how it came to be perpetrated. Let us begin with the firm evidence of the Black Books. Here, first, is the entry in the records of a Council Meeting of the Benchers of January 27th, 1618:

> *The consideracion of a fitt modull for the Chappell is commended to Mr. Indicho Jones, and Mr. Brooke, one of the Mrs of the Bench, is requested to move him concerning the same; and consideracion is to be had of the recompensation that shall be given to the said Mr. Indicho Jones for his paynes therein.*

That, of course is the text which has been the cause of the trouble. Nobody is going to deny that the Council asked Christopher Brooke to "move" Inigo Jones as to a design. But did he "move" him? And if he did, what was the result? We shall never know; for the minutes contain not one single further reference to the matter. What actually happened was this. A meeting on February 4 deferred the consideration of "the modull" and on February 7 it was deferred again. Meetings on February 4, February 10 and May 5 were concerned only with levying money for the chapel. Then, on May 10, a proposal was formulated in these terms: "that the Chapell to be built shalbe a faire Chappell answerable to the rest of the structure of the Howse and

that the same wilbe costly and chargeable o the value of two thousand pounds". Not a word as to any sort of model having been obtained. The only reference to previous events that can possibly be read into the proposal is the firm statement that the new chapel should be "answerable to the rest of the structure of the Howse", in other words that any talk there may have been of an Italian style chapel should be ended and that the Inn should take the conservative course of building a Gothic (the Benchers would have said "modern") chapel in harmony with the hall and other existing buildings.

After that, events proceded very normally. In May, 1618, Mr. Nicholson, apparently a mason, was called in to advise on what kind of windows would be appropriate for the chapel. In June the site was (somewhat belatedly) chosen and in November another mason, John Clarke, was ordered to draw "the platforme of the modull". In June, 1619, the actual erection of the building was considered and exactly 2 years later Clarke had reached the battlements and pinnacles. The Chapel was dedicated on Ascension Day, 1623, by the Bishop of London.

Nothing surely could be clearer than this. The Benchers decided on a Gothic chapel. They took preliminary advice on the form of window and then had their mason, Clarke, draw the plans. How can anybody have come to believe that a design by Inigo Jones was ever adopted – or even made? The blame, alas! must be fixed on no less an antiquary than Sir William Dugdale. His was the first fatal jump to the wrong conclusion from the evidence of the Black Books, for in his Origines Juridiciales, 1666, he … states that the chapel at Lincoln's Inn was designed by Jones. Later antiquaries, who could not readily lay hands on the Black Books, resorted to Dugdale and so the mischief spread…[1]

The other key figures to have been associated with subsequent alterations to the Chapel are: Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723); James Wyatt (1746-1813), with stuccoist Bernasconi; Philip Hardwick (1792-1870); and Stephen Salter (c1826-1896) working with/under Lord Grimthorpe (c1816-1905) (Treasurer from 1876 and amateur architect). Sir Giles Gilbert Scott (1880-1960) offered advice in the first part of the 20th century. DTZ Debenham Thorpe led repairs for the Inn in the 1980s and 1990s.

The most controversial figures in the history of alterations to the Chapel are probably James Wyatt, who has long been decried for his "restorations" of ancient structures and Lord Grimthorpe, a pugnacious figure whose zeal did not always meet with approval. Indeed, it has been suggested that the verb "to grimthorpe" entered popular mind as meaning to carry out unsympathetic restorations. Wyatt's work was often so unpopular in the Victorian period that the Architect magazine's account of the 1880s work describes his earlier alteration as being by *"the fashionable church-destroyer of that time"*[2]

Prominent craftsmen are discussed in section 2.3.2 and 2.4 and transcripts of the original accounts submitted by the joiners are found in appendix 3.

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1 Note by J Summerson in Translations of the Ecclesiological Society 1953, p39-41.

2 The Architect, April 7 1883, p238.

2.5.2 **Notable Clergymen Associated with the Chapel**

Several notable clergymen have of course been associated with the Chapel since its consecration. The most significant of these figures is probably John Donne (1571-1631).

Donne, arguably one of England's greatest poets, took Holy Orders in 1615 and became Preacher of the Inn in 1617. He had risen to be Dean of St Paul's in 1621 and preaching at the dedication of the new Chapel on Ascension Day, 1623. Donne's connections with the Inn have been widely and recently explored by scholars; the reader is directed to the work of Emma Rhatigan and John N Wall. In the popular mind, the Chapel is linked to Donne by the passage

"no man is an island, entire of it self,
each piece is part of a continent
a part of the main … for whom the bell tolls,
it tolls for thee."

The bell referred to is the Chapel bell which tolls still to mark the death of a Bencher.

Subsequent prominent clerics who have preached at Lincoln's Inn are Archbishop Ussher, Archbishop Tillotson, Archbishop Juxon, Bishop Warburton, Bishop Heber and Frederick Denison Maurice.

The importance of strong preaching to the Inn is reflected in the existence of the Warburton Lecture which has been delivered by "*notable divines*"[3] since 1768. It was suspended briefly during the Second World War, but the regular appointment of a new lecturer continues today at the time of writing.

[3] S Baker op cit.

3.0 VULNERABILITY

3.1 Vulnerability Overview

3.1.1 Statutory Framework

The Chapel is listed Grade I; this includes all of the built fabric, inside and out. The Listing description is included in Appendix 1. Any alterations to the exterior fabric will require Planning Consent, irrespective of whether the alteration is to modern or historic fabric, and should be made to Camden Council, who are the Planning Authority. Listed Building Consent will also be required, and should be made to Camden Council of London for all works to the fabric, internal or external. They will notify English Heritage and with buildings of this importance, it would be prudent to have discussed proposals with them in advance.

Listed Building Consent procedures are subject to the advice set out in Planning Policy Statement 5, 2010 – Planning in the Historic Environment (PPS5). The entire site lies within the Bloomsbury Conservation Area. A Conservation Area Appraisal was published in 1995, and is available from Camden Council, priced £5.00.

3.1.2 Vulnerability Overview

The Chapel is well maintained, and in a use which is generally unthreatening. The purposes to which the rooms are put in general correspond with those for which the various spaces were designed.

There are some potential problems in adapting the buildings to give improved disabled access, and in ensuring that the buildings can continue to be read as separate entities.

3.2 Vulnerability and Issues

3.2.1 The Setting of the Buildings

The present arrangement of the buildings with the 1880s staircase and entrance facing West resolves the earlier difficulties of the invisibility of the Chapel as compared with the Inn's other main public buildings – the Hall, Library and Old Hall.

The East elevation is close to the buildings of Old Square, and must be maintained in a pale colour to avoid undue loss in the quantity of light reaching the rooms within the buildings opposite.

The South elevation is slightly compromised by the adjoining Kitchens to the Old Hall (rebuilt 1926), but there exists an opportunity to make more of the link between the Old Hall and the Chapel Undercroft. The principal difficulty here is the presence of the roadway running under an archway between the two buildings, and the consequent presence of kerbs, bollards and associated road fittings. There seems no reason in principle why all traffic should not be made to circulate along the East side of the Chapel, into Old Square, and then round to the West.

The North elevation is the most open of the elevations and presents good views from the South end of Stone Buildings. In the past, some have attempted to park cars in the Undercroft, due to an insufficiency of parking space within Old Square, but this is now prevented by chains across the arches.

It must be said that whilst it is no doubt convenient for car owners to be able to drive to Lincoln's Inn and to park there, the setting of the buildings is considerably diminished by their presence. They also decrease the attractiveness of the Undercroft as a place to assemble or meet by impeding access (a consequence of the chains needed to keep them out) and reducing the amount of light reflected in off the ground.

Historic illustrations do not clearly show whether ground levels around the Chapel have changed since it was built. It is, however, highly likely that they have risen: if the paved floor within the Undercroft were some 2 or 3 steps above the level of the surrounding ground, this too would increase its attractiveness as a place to gather.

3.2.2 **Legibility of the Building**

The parts of a building as simple as this can clearly be understood without the need for signage or descriptions.

The 1880's extension and construction of the access stairs are clearly differentiated through being faced in stone whilst the rest of the building is rendered. This differentiation is not clearly visible inside, where all the walls have been refaced in a self-coloured lime plaster, though closer observation will reveal newer floor paving to the Western bay as well as the later pews and organ loft, which all feel typically late Victorian as does the entrance stair.

3.2.3 **Understanding the Buildings**

The history of the building construction, later repairs and enlargement are fully recorded in the Inn's "Black Books". Detailed drawings showing the historic fabric revealed during the external (1984) and internal (2008-09) re-rendering/plastering have not been made available to us, but would be valuable in helping understand the re-building of the East wall and part of the East bay by Sir Christopher Wren.

Likewise, we have not seen records of any discoveries made when the memorial slabs and ledger stones in the Undercroft were relaid in the 1990's.

It would also be worth examining historic drawings more closely, and examining the ground itself to see what the original surrounding ground level was.

3.2.4 **Uses of the Buildings**

a) The Chapel: This remains in use for the purpose for which it was constructed. Heavy investment in internal restoration and a new organ signifies a commitment to continue this.

b) The Undercroft seems now to be barely used. Reasons for this have been touched on above and include:

i) No lighting (though conduits have been laid in the new concrete slab which supports the memorial stones and paving to allow lighting to be installed.
ii) No heating (ditto).
iii) The intrusiveness of the parked cars in Old Square and Old Buildings.
iv) No connection to Old Hall.
v) A scheme for enclosing the Undercroft by glazing the perimeter arches was rejected by English Heritage, following extensive enquiries, and a revival of such a proposal would not be likely to succeed. This of course makes any attempt to heat the space unworkable.

Any attempt to increase the use of the Undercroft will, therefore, depend upon making it more attractive as an outdoor space, so lighting, connections to Old Hall (via the open space in Old Buildings, or the present roadway arch), and ensuring full separation from car parking in Old Square will need to be re-considered.

3.2.5 **Presentation Issues**

Not all of the spaces are presented to their best advantage and they are adversely affected by the following in particular:-

- Services: the lighting is ingenious in conception but compromised by the exposed wiring and conduits visible in so many places. The emergency lighting, fire and intruder alarms are more conspicuous.

- Heating: the modern boilers provide effective heating, though the pipes are often conspicuous.

- The Undercroft "slurry coating" is prone to flaking off, while the remaining painted colour to the bosses at the East end is insufficiently legible to create a sense of occasion. An absence of lighting and intrusive parked cars prevent the Undercroft from being much used.

3.2.6 **Refurbishment**

a) At the time of writing, the Chapel is closed for refurbishment and the installation of a new organ, which will be the third organ in the Chapel. The opportunity is being taken to realign the associated air ducts and to repair the West windows.

3.2.7 **Conservation, Repair and Presentation**

3.2.7.1 <u>Generally</u>

All finishes, including robust fabric, are subject to wear and tear and will require repair and conservation, as indeed has already taken place in many areas. All such operations will involve risk to the fabric of the building and need to be properly managed by employing good conservation practice.

3.2.7.2 Stonework and Render Externally – Plain and Carved

The stonework and render is subject to weathering, impact damage at ground level, poor quality repairs in inappropriate materials and over-enthusiastic restoration.

3.2.7.3 Roofing Materials

The slates are subject to weather and impact damage.
The lead roofs, flashings and dressings are subject to decay, weather and impact damage, as well as thermal movement.

3.2.7.4 External Render to Eastern 3 Bays (Original Chapel)

These are generally in modern lime-based renders which are soft and may be considered sacrificial to the ancient brick and stone structure behind.

3.2.7.5 External Paving Materials

The paving within the Undercroft incorporates numerous ledger stones and memorial slabs of great historic interest. If the Undercroft becomes more heavily used, these will be prone to surface wear.

The adjoining external "street" paving is reasonable.

3.2.7.6 Non-Joinery Internal Wall and Ceiling Finishes

The most interesting finishes at the Gate are the exposed masonry inside the Undercroft, including the vaults. There is no high quality plasterwork, though the ceiling to the 1880s access stair is attractive enough.

3.2.6.7 Decorations

Little visible today dates from earlier than the late 19th century and the majority of the surfaces are self coloured. Nevertheless, some of the rooms are of interest in that their general decoration and furnishings are contemporaneous. The scars caused by the 1915 bomb damage are preserved as a historic feature, the supporting Coats of Arms on the Chapel walls have been recently redecorated. The painted bosses to the Eastern most bay of the Undercroft have decayed to near illegibility.

3.2.7.8 Historic Metalwork – Painted and Polished

Some wrought iron door and window furniture, as well as window casements survive from the 1880s, which compliments the high quality door joinery to which it is attached, and is of handsome appearance in its own right.

There are metal lamp-holders fitted to the Vestry and Preacher's rooms.

All the high quality fittings are worth looking after; hinges and locks should be oiled regularly.

3.2.7.9 Stone Floors and Terrazzo

There is a modern stone floor at the East end of the Chapel, the middle part of the Chapel is paved in historic stone paving which is now quite worn; perhaps the East end was like this too. The 1880s Western bay and top landing to the stairs are paved in black marble and Portland stone.

3.2.7.10 Other Floors

The other floors including those under the pews are described in the Gazetteer.

3.2.7.11 Windows

a) The Chapel: The stained glass is justly famous, and is described in the Gazetteer. It has a well catalogued history of re-arrangement and this also applies to the tracery within which it is set which must be considered vulnerable to further losses. The stained glass is protected from the weather in the main lights within the tracery by external secondary glazing, and it is surprising that this has not been extended to all panels within the tracery.

The leaded lights to the access stair block are beginning to suffer from leadwork failure, and it will become necessary to renew the cames.

Cast iron casements require regular redecoration to avoid rusting. Leaded lights with iron casements are vulnerable to lead decay and rust and should, therefore, be inspected regularly.

3.2.7.12 Door Furniture

a) The Church: Almost all the items both in the Chapel and the access stair are good examples of their type. To preserve the visual consistency of the building, every effort should be made to avoid the insertion of piecemeal replacements.

3.2.7.13 Historic Wooden Joinery

The pews within the Chapel, particularly those dating from the original 1620s construction are of considerable historic interest and must be protected against piecemeal renewal of worn elements.

The 1680s Altar rail and 1730 Pulpit are also of interest and deserving of protection. The late 19th Century joinery in the Preacher's and Changing Rooms is generally of good quality, and should be protected against "death by a thousand cuts" from the constant attachment and renewal of wires, pipes, cables, alarms, fire safety fittings, notices, as well as from the un-necessary attempts to reposition it.

Care must be taken to protect the joinery from impact damage.

3.2.8 **Security**

A key factor in preventing more open access to the Chapel is the lack of continuous occupancy of the building; it may be possible to remedy this if more intensive use can be made of the space. The Undercroft is always open.

The buildings do not present an obvious terrorist target, except (possibly) on the occasions when royalty may be present. However, there are many valuable fittings which make access control desirable. The design of this should not compromise the architecture of the building.

3.2.9 **Lighting**

Key issues in determining a better lighting strategy for the buildings are:-

- The appropriate temperature for the fittings: most modern 'low energy' fittings need shading to look bearable.
- Lighting in the back of house areas should not require intrusive fittings and wiring.

3.2.10 **Fire Precautions**

Whilst fire precautions have an impact on the building, they are clearly of the utmost importance in the minimising the risk of losing the building in part or in whole.

3.2.11 **Accessibility**

A lift provides access to the Chapel at First Floor level. This is some 15 years old and may require renewal.

3.2.12 **Mechanical and Electrical Services**

In general, the installation of services can threaten the appearance and fabric of an historic building through:

- Inappropriate choice of fittings (colour, design, finish); simple, robust fittings will, in general, suit the character of many of the spaces.

- Cabling and pipework may require chasing of or removal of finishes, threatening historic joinery, plaster and stonework.

- Raised temperatures (and, often, a corresponding drop in the humidity of the air), can threaten historic carpentry and joinery, fabrics and other finishes.

- Increased light levels can also hasten the degradation of paintings, photographs, fabrics, leather and other finishes.

3.2.13 **Environmental Issues**

Over recent years there have been increasing calls for and legislation to ensure

reduced energy consumption. So far, these pressures do not seem to have reached the Chapel.

Pressure may be expected for implementation (or increasing the provision) in respect of the following:-

- Roof insulation.
- Secondary glazing / double glazing.
- Energy efficient lighting.
- Energy efficient heating.
- Insulated wall linings.

These measures will affect both the historic fabric and present – day appearance of rooms and indeed, the appearance of the buildings from the outside.

Simultaneously, there will be pressure to provide environmental conditions attuned to the preservation of the historic fittings such as the pews, altar rail and pulpit rather than the comfort of the human occupants.

3.2.14 **Incremental Degradation**

Historic buildings suffer from degradation under the principles of 'Death by a thousand cuts' and 'Chinese whispers'. These changes are often the result of a lack of continuous memory of a building, due to poor documentation and/or rapid staff turnover, the demands of aggressive individuals that the buildings should be altered to suit them, and the willingness of others to accommodate them.

3.2.15 **Carpets and Soft Furnishings**

Carpets within the Preacher's Room and Vestry are mediocre, and the designs of the rooms within which they are placed would be enhanced by boarded floors and loose rugs, if any form of carpeting is required.

3.2.16 **Disaster Planning**

Fire, flood and physical attack can all result in catastrophic destruction of the buildings, as witnessed at Hampton Court and Windsor Castle. A disaster plan for the Chapel should be prepared to enable recovery following any cataclysm.

3.3 Area by Area

To avoid constant repetition, the general vulnerabilities described in section 3.2, above will not be repeated; this section will concentrate on the specific vulnerabilities of particular areas.

3.3.1 **The Chapel Exterior - Masonry**

Whilst the external walls are at present well maintained, lack of knowledge of the stone used in the 1880s work will make future repairs, when they become necessary, difficult to achieve successfully. The Dissonance between the Portland stone pinnacles to the main body of the Chapel and the coarse grained limestone used in the Western bay and entrance stair is unfortunate, and the pinnacles are both non-original and awkwardly proportioned.

3.3.2 **The Chapel Exterior - Windows**

Any additional exterior secondary glazing should be designed to minimise its impact on the tracery. This also applies to the future renewal of the timber framed secondary glazing to the West Window.

3.3.3 **The Chapel Exterior – Undercroft**

The buttresses around the North and South sides of the Chapel, as well as the arched openings to it are vulnerable to impact damage from inexpertly driven cars, and from additional fixings for railings and chains to prevent them from being driven into the main Undercroft space.

3.3.4 **Chapel Interior – Ceiling**

Any attempts to improve the acoustics of the Chapel should not compromise the appearance of the ceiling.

3.3.5 **Undercroft – Ceiling Vault**

The ribs and bosses are vulnerable to impact damage, and from attempts to remove the slurry coating.

3.3.6 **Undercroft – Future Services**

Notwithstanding the insertion of service conduits into the 1990s floor slab structure under the paving, the present “naked” appearance of the Undercroft is vulnerable to the future insertion of wired services, including lighting and power.

4.0 LINCOLN'S INN GAZETTEER

Section: THE CHAPEL

Introduction and Brief History: The chapel was built in 1621-23, reputedly to the design of Inigo Jones (this attribution is now generally accepted to be unlikely); it was 3 bays long over a raised, open-sided undercroft.
The main volume of the chapel is now some 88 ft long and 40ft wide, having had a fourth bay added to the west of the original three in the 1880's work by Salter. For ease of reference, the gazetteer is structured as follows:

Section references

A. Exterior:
1. Roof
2-5. North, East, South and West elevations
6. Access steps and vestry

B. Interiors:
Chapel:
1. Ceiling
2. Main walling
3. East window
4. South side windows
5. North side windows
6. West window
7. Organ loft/Gallery
8. Pews
9. Pulpit
10. Altar and enclosing rail
11. Floor
12. Stairs and landing
13. Preacher's Room
14. Changing Room
15. Boiler Room
16. WCs

Vaulted Undercroft:
17. Eastern 3 bays
18. Western bay

Abbreviations used in references: LIL Lincoln's Inn Library

A1. ROOF

Description/observation: The present chapel roof was built in 1881-3 to replace the earlier (non-original late C18th, heavily repaired) roof. It comprises a double pitched gabled roof, facing north and south, with parapet gutters. Coverings are Westmorland slate, laid geometrically, with a lead ridge, flashings, gutter linings and lead coverings to 7 no. small timber framed vents and 1 no. larger access dormer in each slope. Boiler flues are built into the west gable wall. The east gable is in Portland stone, surmounted by a cross, whilst the west gable wall is in a course grained limestone, possibly Cotswold or Oxfordshire. Plain square section pinnacles surmount each wall buttress position above parapet level. At the western end, there are two turrets, one containing an access stair to the roof (north side). The western bay pinnacle, turret and parapet are built in Cotswold/Oxfordshire stone, the three eastern bays being Portland. The staircase and vestry have a lead covered flat roof behind a Cotswold/Oxfordshire stone parapet.
Rainwater goods – eastern 3 bays served by 2 no. lead hoppers dated 1790 per side. These drain into rectangular section lead downpipes. The western chapel bay has a hopper and downpipe of similar pattern, dated 1882. The flat roofed stair block drains at its northeast corner and south side via similar hoppers and pipes again.

Condition: Sound, as far as can be seen. No access was provided to the roof space.

History:

1621-3:	Construction of original roof – details not known; but the pinnacles at the top of the buttresses were in the form of urns issuing flames.
1684-5:	Repairs to roof, buttresses and battlements under the supervision of Sir Christopher Wren.
c1730:	Alterations to the roof.
1751:	Depiction of arched lead covered roof with urns on top of the buttresses.
1757:	Lead roof coverings repaired in copper.
1780s-90s:	James Wyatt reported that the roof was about to fall in as the coverings were too heavy for the timbers, and the walls too thin to buttress it; the lead hoppers were renewed and remain to this day (dated 1790).
1795-6:	Original roof replaced (James Wyatt); buttress urns removed, now capped with battlements – See Samuel Ireland's 1800 engraving.
1881-3:	Chapel extended by one bay to the west, roof entirely renewed, with new parapet, and pinnacles in Portland stone. The new roof was of higher pitch than the previous one. The new stairs were given a lead covered flat roof incorporating skylights above the top landing.
1995:	Re-roofing works.

Significance: Highly significant to the chapel, significant to the access stairs.

Comment: In the writer's opinion the pinnacles are ill proportioned, and could be improved.

References:

1950:	Correspondence notes defects to the roof, some of which due to war damage. (LIL)
1994:	Report on the roof by DTZ Debenham Thorpe. (LIL)
1994:	Supplementary report on additional opening up DTZ Debenham Thorpe. (LIL)
1995:	Recovering of the roof by DTZ Debenham Thorpe. Contract photographs (LIL).

A2. NORTH ELEVATION

Description/observation: Four bays long, divided by buttresses, all fitted with 4–light traceried windows (NB glass described in section B) at first floor level, and 4-centred open arches leading to the undercroft at ground level. Pinnacles and parapets are considered under roof, and sit above a heavy moulded string course. The three eastern bays are finished in a lime-based render lined out to resemble stone, a heavy shelter/coat slurry being applied to the window tracery and mouldings, as well as to the ground floor arches. Natural Portland stone is visible at the wall plinth, around the arches cutting through the bases of the buttresses, and at high level on the buttresses. The western bay, including the turret and westernmost buttresses are entirely faced in a course grained limestone, possibly Cotswold. The glass to the four main lights in each window is protected by frameless perspex sheets fixed to the structure behind, leaving an air gap.

Condition: Main walling good following recent renovations; the front faces of the buttresses are stained. Plinth stonework is a little worn in places. Some surface shrapnel damage to the stonework in western bay following 1915 WW1 bomb. Vertical cracks have appeared in the render between the ground and first floor openings.

History:

1621-3:	Eastern 3 bays built in brick and chalk, faced in coursed ashlar (probably Oxford stone), of 50-150mm thickness; projecting hood mouldings to openings.
1637:	Repairs to a buttress.
1685:	Repairs to walls, buttresses and battlements; east wall (and perhaps part of the east bays to north and south elevations) rebuilt.
C1730:	First stucco coat, some mouldings renewed.
1737:	Stucco repainted.
(by)1751:	Hood moulds to windows and ground floor arches removed.
1776:	Stucco repaired, some new bricks to wall.
C1818:	Roman cement applied to mouldings of the windows and ground floor arches, presumably as a repair to decayed stonework.
1882-3:	Fourth bay at west end of chapel added by Stephen Salter, in a coarse grained limestone. To the other three bays, the parapet, pinnacles and buttresses were renewed/refaced (buttresses) in Portland stone. The parapet and pinnacles were faced with brick where not visible from ground level on the roof side. Above the springing of the roof, the walls were rebuilt. A lime slurry was applied to the window tracery, undercroft piers and arches.
1920s:	Wooden framed secondary glazing said to have been introduced.
1970s:	The stucco was removed and renewed with a lime render, to the eastern three bays.
1993-4:	1970s stucco stripped, loose facing material removed, ashlar blocks tied back to the wall core, the surface re-stuccoed, to the three eastern bays; the western bay stonework appears to have been cleaned at the same time.

Significance: Highly significant, except modern render coating, which may be regarded as sacrificial.

Comment: It would be interesting to know more about Salter's choice of stone. Does it in any respect match the original stone now covered under later finishes?

References:

1621-25:	Documents relating to the original construction of the chapel A1d1/1-7. (LIL) A1d1/2 Surveyor's estimate, stonemasonry and joinery. (LIL) A1d1/4 Chapel expenditure including stonemasonry (LIL).
1685:	Agreement to take down battlements, replace water table and raise battlements 3 ft high and 9 inches thick, restore stonework with Portland stone, take down pinnacles of buttresses. E4b (LIL Cooper Room plan chest).
1915:	Report by Messrs Kemp and Co. following war damage. (LIL)
1941:	Note of damage to pinnacles during explosion (LIL).
1972:	Summary of condition of elevations prepared by Peter Cox Ltd. (LIL)
1994:	Specification of works for external repair and restoration of north and east elevations. DTZ Debenham Thorpe (LIL).
1994:	Correspondence with DAC on protection of windows. (LIL)
June 1995:	Notes prepared by English Heritage Civil Engineer on hairline cracks on the crown of the arises supporting the north and south walls.
Nov. 1995:	Correspondence between the Estates Manager and DTZ Debenham Thorpe detailing that render to the buttress is to be removed and cracks to be cut out and made good. (LIL)

A3. EAST ELEVATION

Description/observation: Gable parapet surmounted by apex cross and square section pinnacles to north and west sides, all above a sloping moulding; all in Portland stone. Below this, the whole of the main wall surface is rendered.
First floor - large chapel east window, 7 lights, bottom two rows of tracery fitted with protective perspex as A2 above. Narrow string course (horizontal) a little above window springing level. Tracery and window surround appears to be Portland stone.
Ground floor – 2 large 4-centred openings in slurry coated stone, the central moulding of which is supported by Tuscan pillars, open into the undercroft. To each side, small 4-centred arches cut through the base of the buttresses, all in render. Base of the wall has modern re-faced plinth, again Portland stone.

Condition: Good following recent re-rendering.

History: See A2. Note that this wall was almost certainly rebuilt in 1685-86.

Significance: Highly significant.

References:

1915: Report by Messrs Kemp and Co. following war damage. (LIL)
1950: Correspondence notes that it was customary to paint the exposed eastern wall to give more light to the Chambers in Old Square, though this had not been carried out for some time. (LIL)
1972: Summary of condition of the elevation prepared by Peter Cox Ltd. (LIL)
1973: Minutes of meeting held regarding repairs to the stonework of the east window. (LIL)
1994: Specification of works for external repair and restoration of north and east elevations by DTZ Debenham Thorpe. (LIL)

A4. SOUTH ELEVATION

Description/observation: This mirrors the north elevation, except that the bottom two thirds of the western bay (added in 1882-83) is concealed by the Old Hall kitchen. A stone marked 'T Sir C.S. 1994' is placed centrally to the three visible bays, recording the external repairs.

Condition: As north side, A2.

History: See A2.

Significance: Highly significant.

References:

1915: Report by Messrs Kemp and Co. following war damage. (LIL)

1956: Correspondence notes that rendering/stone was falling from the south east buttress. (LIL)

1958: Correspondence relating to the rendering of the eastern buttress. (LIL)

1972: Summary of the condition of the elevations prepared by Peter Cox Ltd. (LIL)

1993/4: Memorandum noting forthcoming expenditure on rainwater disposal and rendering works. (LIL)

1994: "Lincoln's Inn Chapel: A survey of the south façade." R. Lea, Historic Buildings Recording Unit, English Heritage, London Region. (LIL)

1994: - Rendering undertaken by David Ball. Restoration referred to in correspondence with Jardine Insurance Brokers Ltd. (LIL)

Damage occurred to the window during the works. Report on the damage by Carl Edwards Studio. (LIL)

- Correspondence with DTZ Debenham Thorpe relating to the external repairs. (LIL)

A5. WEST ELEVATION

Description/observation: The bottom half of this wall is concealed by the entrance stairs. Above this we see a gable parapet over a sloping moulding, with a cross at the apex and flanking turrets containing access stairs and the chapel bell. All in course grained limestone.
The main west window is traceried in 7 bays, and is in Portland stone, having been carried over from the earlier west elevation wall one bay further east. Protective external secondary glazing in painted wooden frames is fitted.

Condition: Good, following recent refurbishment.

History: See A2. NB this entire wall was built in 1882-83 when the chapel was extended one bay westwards; the west window tracery appears to date from Wyatt's work in 1790s.

Significance: Significant.

References:

1915: Report by Messrs Kemp and Co. following war damage. (LIL)
1972: Summary of the condition of the elevations by Peter Cox Ltd. (LIL)

A6. EXTRANCE STAIR ELEVATIONS

Description/observation:

Two storeys high, under a parapet. Moulding under parapet has carved figures at intervals. Principal elevation to west is divided into 3 by vertical buttresses. End bays contain small window illumination, stair half landings and small rooms under. Central bay has arch to stairs and undercroft, pointed in a square frame with quatrefoil corner spandrels, corbels to hood mould in form of faces. Single light windows to each side. First floor windows are a little taller, of 3, 2 and 3 lights; the middle 2 light window has the Lincoln's Inn and Royal Coat of Arms on each side.

South elevation – short return against Old Hall kitchen has matching details to end bay. This continues at ground level within the archway, and has been extended slightly to the east to contain the disabled lift.

North elevation likewise continues the west elevation end bay details, though with smaller ground floor windows and returns to join the chapel west bay with a small ¾ engaged stair turret in the corner.

Condition:

Sound, except where it has sustained minor damage from a WW1 bomb in 1915. A bronze plaque on the north wall commemorates this. Some of the leaded light casements are beginning to fail, particularly at north elevation ground floor level.

History:

1882-3:	Built to design of Stephen Salter.
1915:	Damage by WW1 bomb.
1926-8:	Old Hall Gateway and kitchen rebuilt against south side.
1990s:	Disabled lift and WC inserted under south side.
2008-9:	Boilers renewed and flues rearranged on roof.

References:

B1. CHAPEL CEILING

Description/observation:

Barrel vaulted in stained and painted timber, this is entirely a construction designed by Salter in the 1880s. The structural part of the roof is largely invisible from the inside. The ceiling is divided into 8 bays by curved trusses, which follow the curve of the roof and project some two feet downwards into the room. These trusses are supported by carved corbels, which bear the arms of various preachers; alternate corbels, aligning with the external buttresses, are set lower, while the others over the centre of each window are set higher. The corbels date from the 1880s work. Each bay of the ceiling contains, from the bottom upwards, a crenallated frieze set above the stone cornice which defines the top of the walls, and then eight panels (2 wide x 4 high up to the ridge), which are divided by carved ribs, with gilded timber bosses at the intersections. Various parts of the mouldings are picked out in gold leaf.

Condition:

The ceiling is in good condition following the 1990s roof repairs. Some of the decorations to the moudlings in the ceiling and trusses are tired, especially the gilding. The corbels are in pristine condition as they have been redecorated lately.

History:

1882-3: Built by Salter, architect.
20th C: Acoustic panels fitted and later removed.
1990s: Refurbishment and redecoration.
2009: Corbels redecorated.

Significance:

Significant

Comment:

It would be hard to argue against an aesthetically sensitive acoustic finish being applied to the panels in the ceiling, should a satisfactory acoustic material be found.

References:

1934: Report on interior treatment by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott. (LIL)
1948: Correspondence detailing re-fixing felt acoustic panels (believed to date from C1933). (LIL)
1958: Specification for cleaning and redecoration moulding application of Treeperac Tiles. (LIL)
Gilding of rings and haloes of the angels and redecorations of the shields. (LIL)
1973: Minutes of meeting from the surveyor at which alteration of the acoustic panels was discussed as there had been some displacement. (LIL)

B2. CHAPEL MAIN WALLING

Description/observation:

The walls are finished in a self-coloured lime plaster, the original (heavily repaired) plaster having been removed during the 1990s, when it was found to be 'live'. At the time of writing (June 2009), this finish is being extended to the westernmost part of the chapel, taking advantage of the opportunity offered by the renewal of the organ.

There are four high level quatrefoil vents in square stone surrounds set at high level between the ceiling trusses, and a stone cornice. Lower down the walls are the painted coats of arms of six preachers to the chapel.

The lowest parts of the walls are panelled; this forms part of the pews installation (see below).

The windows have painted moulded stone surrounds; these appear to be 1880s. Fittings include PAS system speakers, various electrical conduit covers and, by the pulpit, a mounted fragment of the 14th Century alabaster altar reredos from the chapel demolished in 1620.

Condition:

All will be excellent when the present programme of repair is completed. The walls are at present damp – stained where a new lime wash coat is drying out.

History:

1623:	Walls to east and eastern 3 bays to north and south, built (Inigo Jones?).
1680s:	Work required to east end, possibly rebuilt – Sir Christopher Wren.
1795:	Further repairs – James Wyatt.
1882-3:	Chapel extended one bay to west; west end and west bay of north and south walls built (Salter).
1990s:	Wall plaster renewed throughout in lime plaster, except by organ.
2009:	Wall plaster renewed around organ at west end.

Significance:

Highly significant, except the surface finish which whilst historically sensitive, is modern and may be regarded as sacrificial.

References:

1934: Report on interior treatment by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott. (LIL)

B3. EAST WINDOW

Description/observation:

The window is traceried, 7 bays wide in two tiers under two elaborately traceried lancets and a central rose at the apex. The window is largely glazed with the painted coats of arms of the Treasurers of the Inn from 1680 to 1908; the glass at the top of the lancets is 'gothic ornaments' inserted by William Egington of Birmingham in 1818. The glass (like the other windows) is protected externally by secondary glazing set in oak frames.

History:

Tracery:	First built 1620s, with subsequent repairs. Original glass not known.
1685-6:	Rebuilt, with whole of east chapel wall.
Late C18th :	Extensive repairs.
Glass:	From 1680 onwards to 1908/09. Treasurers' arms first placed in East window from 1707. Removed for safe keeping prior to WW2. Numerous cracked panes have been repaired using lead.

Significance:

Highly significant; the collection of heraldry is unique.

References:

1818:	F1/9 Contract with William Raphael Egington for stained glass. (LIL)
1915:	Report by Messrs Kemp and Co. following war damage. (LIL)

B4. SOUTH SIDE WINDOWS

Description/observation: The four windows are filled with stone tracery to form four bays. The eastern three are original (1620s); the western bay was made to match when the chapel was extended in 1883. The glass, however, is more significant than the tracery. Secondary external glazing.

First window from the East: This contains the arms of notable members of the Inn, which were originally in the west window – this window was originally glazed en-suite with the next two windows, prior to the redistribution and subsequent partial loss of the surviving historic glass due to enemy bombing and other misfortunes.

Second window: Painted glass approximately 1624 by Richard Butler depicts SS Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, together with various angels and the coats of arms of the donors.

Third window: Painted glass approximately 1624 by Bernard van Linge, depicts St James the Less, Simon the Zealot, Jude and Matthias, together with angels etc as above. The background to St. Simon the Zealot is particularly interesting for showing the Chapel (then new), Hall and Old Buildings of Lincoln's Inn.

Fourth (westernmost) window: Concealed due to building works at the time of the inspection, contains crests of the Treasurers from 1963 to date.

Condition: Excellent.

History: The glass has been much moved around, but the following is most likely:

1624:	First, second and third windows, one by Abraham van Linge, the other two by Richard Butler.
1882:	No. 4, plain glass.
1907:	No. 1, heraldry from west windows fitted; Richard Butler glass moved to no. 4.
After 1915:	Following bomb damage to north side, the painted glass at no. 4 was moved to the third window from east on north side, and subsequently (from 1960s) progressively re-glazed with Treasurer's crests.
1990s:	Phased repair of the stained glass.
1994:	Addition of secondary glazing externally.

Significance: Second and third from east – highly significant, being original 1620s glass; First from east also highly significant. Fourth (westernmost) window is of limited significance in itself, but significant as part of a continuing tradition of recording each Treasurer of the Inn in stained glass.

Comment: The windows were well known even in the 17th century.

References:

1915:	Report by Messrs Kemp and Co. following war damage. (LIL)
1994:	Correspondence regarding damage to van Linge windows during repairs to tracery. (LIL)
1994:	Correspondence with DTZ Debenham Thorpe includes reference to fixing of polycarbonate sheeting. (LIL)

B5. NORTH SIDE WINDOWS

Description/observation: The tracery matches that on the south side.

First window from the east: Contains the Treasurer's crests from 1909 to 1962.

Second window: Painted glass approximately 1624 by Richard Butler, depicting SS Peter, Andrew, James, and John together with angels in the tracery and the coats of arms of the donors below, supported by angels, which is most unusual. Note also the tiny memorial to John Donne, perhaps salvaged from a larger memorial lost in the 1915 bombing.

Third window: Painted glass by Abraham van Linge, depicting the prophets Zachariah, Amos, Ezechial and Jeremiah, with kings in the tracery and the coats of arms of the donors below. The glass here is the only surviving one from the set of three windows showing the twelve prophets.

Fourth window: Contains plain glass and will be filled with the Treasurers coats of arms in due course.

Condition: Excellent.

History:

1624:	First, second and third windows glazed with painted glass by Bernard van Linge.
1882:	Fourth window added, plain glass.
1907:	First, fitted with plain glass, progressively replaced by Treasurers coats of arms; original 1624 glass moved to the 4th position.
1915:	German bomb destroyed glass to third and fourth windows, and damaged others. Subsequently, the Richard Butler glass from the south side fourth window is moved to the second window from the east, and the much repaired Bernard van Linge glass previously there is relocated to the third window. The fourth window is re-glazed in plain glass.
1920s:	Secondary glazing installed.
1940s/ WW2:	Glass removed for safekeeping and subsequently re-instated.
1990s:	Phased repair of the stained glass. Date for addition of secondary glazing not known.
1994:	Addition of secondary glazing; 1920s secondary glazing presumably removed at this time.

Significance: Second and third from east – highly significant, being original 1620s glass, though not in its original position. First from east is significant largely for its group value with the east window, and the westernmost windows on the south side. The glass in the fourth window is not significant yet.

Comment: Regardless of its present lack of significance, the fourth window should not be fitted with anything which would prejudice the eventual installation of further Treasurer's coats of arms.

References:

1915:	Report by Messrs Kempt and Co. following war damage. (LIL)
1994:	Correspondence between Lincoln's Inn and the DAC states that then current secondary glazing dates from the 1920s.
1994:	Correspondence with DTZ Debenham Thorpe includes reference to fixing polycarbonate sheeting.

B6. THE WEST WINDOW

Description/observation: The tracery is a simplified version of that in the east window; the lowest row of bays is truncated to clear the access steps and vestry; the window was originally shorter, having been dismantled and rebuilt when the chapel was extended in 1882. The window is now glazed in plain glass, with the coat of arms of Viscount Maugham in the centre.

Condition: Excellent.

History:

1624: Built one bay to the east of its present location, and glazed with the coats of arms of various subscribers by an un-named Dutchman. The coats of arms of various Treasurers and other notable members of the Inn were later added.
1707: Treasurer's arms moved to east window.
1795: Tracery rebuilt in Portland stone – James Wyatt.
1882: Window dismantled and rebuilt deeper in new location one bay to the west when the chapel was enlarged. Whether the glass was re-arranged at this time has not been confirmed.
1907: Coats of arms of other notable members of the Inn moved to the easternmost windows on the south side.
1915: Window damaged by German bomb – repairs in plain glass.
1959: Windows re-glazed in plain glass leaded lights by Viscount Maugham whose coat of arms is in the centre.

Significance: Significant.

Comment: The opportunity offered by the renewal of the organ should be taken to allow the present ducts passing through the windows glazed area to be removed.

References:

1915: Report by Messrs Kemp and Co. following war damage. (LIL)

B7. ORGAN LOFT AND GALLERY

Description/observation: The present organ loft/gallery extends some 8 feet from the western wall of the chapel; the floor is raised some 10 feet above the main floor. The structure is of heavy softwood beams spanning between posts along the front edge of the gallery, (which projects at the centre). These support joists running back to the west wall. The structure is encased in oak panelling intended to complement the pews. There is a small access stair at the south side. The oak casing has been removed during repairs, which will include the installation of a new organ during 2009.

Condition: N/A due to continuing building work.

History: The organ loft is in the westernmost bay of the church, and dates from the 1880s Salter extension. The previous organ, now removed, appears to date from 1856; an electric blower was added in 1906, the duct work for which marred the west window. The history of previous organs, dating back to 1820 in the un-extended chapel is beyond the scope of this report.

Significance: Limited significance for the new organ, however splendid it might be. The panelling to the stairs and cupboard under the gallery is designed to harmonise with the pews.

References: 1934: Report by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott on interior treatment. (LIL)

B8. PEWS

Description/observation:

High box pews supplied by Hugh Price in 1623 for the chapel, then newly built, with 1880s additions at the west end. Pews are laid out in the chapel to form two aisles. The pews are box pews with doors, the tops of which have carved finials, as do the ends of the seat backs dividing the pews. The seat backs and the central dividers to the central block, as well as the associated wall panelling, are also panelled, with strapwork enrichment to the central block. The doors and pew ends are of flat boards (except the finials previously mentioned). The doors are fitted with original (?) locks, which appear only to be openable from the outside, and many original H-pattern hinges, enriched to the central block, remain. Thumb turns have been added within the pews, making the locks redundant and removing the risk of locking oneself in.

The 1880s pews are of similar design, but lack doors and the strapwork enrichments. Behind the westernmost pew, the pew back has been extended upwards to form an openwork screen.

Two sets of choir pews have been inserted, one in each outer block of pews under the third window from the east. They face each other across the chapel and appear to be 1880s work.

On the south side, easternmost bay, the pew seating is re-arranged to face north, across the altar, behind retained 1620s doors; this modification has not been made at the north-east corner, where the seats face west.

A few of the pews have lifting seats, which open to reveal a shallow box for storing books or, perhaps, cushions. They do not appear original. The two front pews to the central block have been removed, and have now been made into a buffet in the Hall. A raised bench is now fitted here.

All the pews are raised up a few inches above aisle floor level, and have deal floors. Central heating pipes run around the perimeter of the chapel and the spine of the central block. Antique bronze finished electric standard lamps are fitted in numerous locations to all pews.

Condition:

The pews are largely in good condition, having been painstakingly repaired during the 1990s.

History:

1623/4:	Pews included in the original construction of the chapel; there was an elaborate system of precedence as to who sat where, and a screen marking off the east end of the chapel as a separate chancel. This was later removed – see section B10.
1685:	Bench for communicants going around three sides of the chancel was removed.
1882:	Additional pews added at the west of the chapel in the extension.
1966:	Two front pews from central block removed – now used as service shelves in the Great Hall.

Significance:

Highly significant.

Comment:

The blocks fixed to the pews which support the standard lamps are rather clumsily fitted in places.

References:

1622-23:	A1d1/3 papers from John Browne the Joiner. (LIL)
1934:	Report by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott on interior treatment. (LIL)

B9. PULPIT

Description/observation:

The pulpit is not original and is the result of a legacy in 1730. Like the pews it is constructed in oak but is of quite different detailing, and is enriched within its raised panels by inlaid marquetry of precious woods. It is hexagonal in plan and is reached by 6 steps, the hand rail to which has elaborately carved barley sugar twist balusters. A single column supports the pulpit. A large panel en-suite with the sides of the pulpit, and with a heavily moulded frame matching those to the sides of the pulpit, covers the wall up to the underside of the hexagonal sounding board, which is somewhat larger than the pulpit on plan. The sounding board has a large cornice, and marquetry veneer to the underside; it was removed in 1839 and replaced in 1903.

The pulpit has been modified by the fitting of a seat, the addition of a sloping book shelf (which raises the sides) on four sides (i.e. not the door, or the wall sides), the addition of a higher lectern to the south west face, with electric light, and a PA system. The floor is now carpeted.

Condition:

The floor creaks and the underside of the sounding board has split.

History:

1624:	Two pulpits, opposite each other; one presumably used as a lectern.
1730:	Present pulpit.
1839-1903:	Sounding board removed and later reinstated.
C20th:	Shelves, lectern and PA system.

Significance:

Highly significant.

References:

1934:	Report by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott on interior treatment. (LIL)
1996:	File note from Estates Manager to the Chapel Committee notes that investigation has taken place to establish what the pulpit looked like when first installed. (LIL)

B10. ALTAR AND ENCLOSING RAIL

Description/observation:

The altar is an early 17th Century table, brought into the Chapel in 1938. The enclosing rail on three sides is of oak, with barley sugar twist balusters on a heavy plinth and under a heavy rail, which spans between heavier piers. The corners are now curved. The rail is raised up on two steps, and the altar table on a further step. The rail has all been coated with a heavy dark varnish.

Condition:

The varnish is unfortunate; various exposed corners are chipped and split.

History:

1623:	A screen marked off the east end of the chapel as a separate chancel.
1633:	Reference to 25s being paid for "ironwork about the Lords Table in the chapel," appears not to relate to the present rails.
1685?	Enclosing rail added at the time of Sir Christopher Wren's repairs to the east end of the chapel; previous screen probably removed at this time.
Late C19th:	Altar table made from timber taken from old roof of St Alban's abbey.
1937-38:	Altar raised on additional step, Jacobean table purchased; old table moved to west end.

Significance:

Enclosing rails, highly significant.
Altar table, limited significance.

B11. FLOOR

Description/observation: The aisles are floored in Portland stone/Belgian black marble 16" squares, laid diagonally within a border. This paving appears to be of some age. The raised area near the altar is paved similarly, using a very shelly stone, in some places close in appearance to Purbeck marble. This appears almost new and is presumably 1990s work. The western area under the gallery is currently invisible due to building works. The pews are floored in deal boards, including the area at the east end of the central block, where a carpet has been laid over. The organ loft is also finished in deal boards.

Condition: The Portland stones are becoming worn to the main aisles; those at the west end are concealed by protective coverings during the present works; those near the altar are new.

History: Renewal in the sanctuary in 1984.

Significance: Significant.

References:

1984: Correspondence relating to renewal of stone by Landon Stone Ltd in 1984. (LIL)
Correspondence from Riley and Glanfield architects notes that wear and tear to the floor is greatest in the sanctuary and east ends of the aisles.

B12. STAIRS AND LANDING

A. Landing:

Description/observation: The landing has a coffered ceiling in plaster with two large roof lights, fitted with obscured glass. Walls are all in dressed limestone, and consist largely of openings: two are pointed with hood mouldings and carved label stops give entry to the chapel to the east; north and south sides have plain pointed openings of the same size, serving the two symmetrical stair flights. The west wall has square headed openings to the Preacher's room and vestry. The floor is paved in black marble and Portland stone, like the west end of the chapel, with which it is contemporary. All joinery is 1880s oak. Fittings include 2 cast iron radiators set into recesses on the east wall, and 3 memorial plaques (one to Spencer Perceval), two inserted after the construction, the other re-used from the earlier chapel entrance.

Condition: Generally sound – water stains on the walls indicate previous roof leaks; plumbing to radiators has also given trouble. The insertion of 'invisible' switches and power sockets has not been entirely successful. There is a crack in the east wall stonework at high level.

History: Built in 1882-3 to the designs of Salter.

Significance: Significant.

Comment: This space would work better if the masonry were cleaned to remove water stains.

B12. STAIRS AND LANDING

B. Stairs:

Description/observation:

From a bottom landing which opens to the undercroft via paired arches at the east, and to the paved road to Old Court on the west, symmetrical dog-leg flights rise north and south up the western wall and return up the eastern wall to reach the doors which open into the top landing described in B12 A.

The ceiling to the bottom landing and above the flights, both where sloping and flat are of coffered plaster like the top landing. The walls generally are ashlar limestone throughout, still bearing tooling marks (drags): a source is not identified, but the stone is oolitic in type, perhaps from the Cotswolds. The stair treads and paving to the bottom landing are York stone. Fittings include a heavy varnished oak handrail to both sides of the stair, fixed to the wall with bronze brackets, pendant light fittings, a few memorial tablets fixed to the wall above the lower flights, and loops for carpet rods. Leaded light trefoil headed windows, with diamond obscured glass quarries are fitted to all walls save the east. Square headed oak doors under the half landings serve the boiler room and WC/disabled lift respectively to north and south. An electrical cupboard is located at the south half landing, with a cast iron access panel to the under floor heating void adjacent. An inscription set within a blind traceried panel on the central pillar on the east side of the space at ground floor level bears the inscription: T Sir J de G – This chapel was reopened after being enlarged 8 April 1883 TJ.D.

Condition:

The ceiling paintwork is peeling slightly, and there is minor erosion to the surface of both the bottom landing paving and to the treads. This does not yet require attention.

History:

As B12 A.

Significance:

As B12 A.

Comment:

As B12 A.

B13. PREACHER'S ROOM

Description/observation: White painted plaster ceiling, flat with simple cornice; painted plaster walls and carpeted floor (timber under?).
North wall – an oak bench with cupboards being built over the sloping ceiling to the lower north flight of the chapel stairs.
East wall has a large but shallow oak cupboard, which has come away from the wall, and the square headed panelled oak door to the landing.
South wall fully taken by a panelled oak screen with heavy iron fittings, the lower three quarters of which can be opened through to the changing room.
The west wall has a 3-light diamond headed glazed window, with obscured glass except for 4 quarries in the southern light, which is fitted with an iron framed opening casement. Immediately south of this, an iron lighting bracket of Gothic design remains. Modern lighting, power and heating services.

Condition: Sound at present, albeit tired.

History: Built in 1882-3 to the design of Salter.

Significance: Significant; except modern services (neutral).

Comment: The room feels under-used.

B14. CHANGING ROOM (CHOIR VESTRY)

Description/observation:	Ceiling, wall plaster, floor and services as B13 Preacher's Room above. Walls have fittings thus: north wall – reverse side of B13 south wall panelling; east wall - square headed panelled oak door, either side of which are oak framed hanging rails for choir vestments, with shelves above; south wall - seat with cupboards behind, this time full height (containing printed music); west wall - centrally another vestment hanging rail, with a 3-light window to the south (matching that in B13), and a 2-light window to the north of similar design, which would be central to the external elevation.
Condition:	Reasonable – the ceiling finishes are disturbed by damp penetration; the carpet is stained.
History:	As B13.
Significance:	As B13.
Comment:	As B13.

B15. BOILER ROOM

Description/observation: This is reached through the disabled WC under the south side chapel stair; and is situated within a basement under this stair's lower flight and the ground floor landing. It is divided into two by the brick supporting structure to the stair spine wall.
Ceiling: painted soffit to stair above/painted brick vault.
Walls: painted brick, painted concrete incorporating some old York stone flags.
New boilers, flues, plumbing, air supply and electrical fittings. The stairs down from the WC is probably 1990s date.

Condition: Excellent.

History: The main structure forms part of the 1882-83 Salter work in extending the chapel and providing new access. 1990s work installing the disabled WC and lift above resulted in alterations to the southwest corner of the space and presumably the construction of the present access stair though this may date from the 1970s. During 2008-09, refurbishment of the chapel included the installation of a new boiler system.

Comment:

References:

1974: Correspondence relating to the improvement of lavatories under chapel staircase and new staircase to the basement boiler room.

B16. DISABLED WC AND LIFT

Description/observation: This area is built under the south stair half landing, and is entered from the ground floor via a 1880s oak door. The western part of the space has been partitioned off (plastered brickwork, flush door), to form a disabled WC, and an opening has been knocked through to the east to reach the lift, which is within a 1990s enclosure. Surfaces are painted plaster walls and ceiling (walls part tiled in WC), with a red quarry tile floor. Two 1880s diamond paned leaded single light windows with opening hopper vents in iron frames are built into the south wall. All services and sanitaryware look 1990s.

Condition: The whole area needs redecorating. Door furniture and light fittings in particular look tired.

History:

1882-3: Main structure – Salter.
1990s: Conversion to disabled WC and lift, including knocking through to the east.

Significance: Structure: significant; later alterations and services neutral.

Comment: The finishes are perhaps unnecessarily cold, hard and gloomy. There is a matching space under the north side stair half landing to which I have not been able to gain access.

References:

1940: Description of undercroft requisitioned for use as an air raid shelter, details temporary allocation for ladies' use. (LIL)
1964: Collapse of ceiling and poor condition of plaster to walls noted in correspondence. (LIL)

B17. UNDERCROFT – EASTERN THREE BAYS

Description/observation:

The space extends three bays east to west, and is two bays wide north to south. The ceiling is vaulted in stone, with carved bosses at the rib intersections. Whilst the vaulted bays are square, because the supporting piers are rectangular (approx 3' N-S by 9' E-W), there are short sections of straight vaulting running E-W; the panels between the ribs here are filled with blind C15th style tracery; a very narrow bay about 12" wide has the same treatment between the north and south rows of arches. With the exception of the ribs sub-dividing the traceried sections of the tunnel vault, which are supported by corbels, all the ribs are supported by Tuscan columns which are engaged to the wall surface of the piers.

Around the perimeter of the undercroft, the vault is closed by walls, the major part of which are occupied by 4-centred arches, again on Tuscan columns, giving an open character to the space. All of this stone vault and walling has been coated with a mortar slurry, with the exception of rib bosses to the eastern bay (which retain traces of historic painted colour) and the central pier at the west end of the space, which was re-faced (if not rebuilt) in limestone when the chapel was extended in 1882-3. The undercroft was long used as a burial ground for benchers, and as a consequence much of the paving consists of large ledger slabs in a variety of types of stone, with gaps filled by smaller pieces of Portland stone or York stone. All appear to have been lifted and re-laid quite recently to give an even paved surface. The edge of the internal paved area is defined by bronze strips set into the paving, on the north and south sides, and by a step to the east. Brackets between the perimeter arches allow the space to be closed off by chains. There is no lighting or heating.

Condition:

The slurry coating over the wall and vault masonry is flaking a little, and it is a pity that the paving was repointed in hard cement. Otherwise sound.

History:

1619-23:	Undercroft built as it was required that the main body of the chapel be at first floor level; in Gothic style with Tuscan half columns to support the main ribs. Spiral staircase in brick to chapel west door.
1623:	Leave granted for use of undercroft as place of burial.
1685-86:	Eastern bay rebuilt – bosses in different style.
C18th:	Wider stair built from southwest opening of undercroft, returning to chapel west door.
1795:	Undercroft enclosed by railings, which evidently survived into the early C20th.
1804-05:	Crypt still in use for burials of benchers only – by order of 1791.
1842-43:	Chapel entrance rearranged to west of chapel by Philip Hardwick.
1851:	Last burial in the undercroft.
1881-83:	Undercroft expanded one bay westwards in the same style, a new two storey lobby forming a new entrance added – Stephen Salter; Hardwick's work removed.
1915:	WW1 bomb damage to western bay; undercroft used for storing barrows, hoses and the like.
1927:	Floor plan records 78 burial slabs.
1987-88:	Restoration of carved bosses to undercroft.
1991:	Pavings and memorial slabs re-laid over ducting for an (unexecuted) heating and lighting scheme, on a concrete slab to prevent further movement.

Significance:

Highly significant.

Comment: Although English Heritage have previously rejected proposals for the enclosure of the undercroft, it would nevertheless be worth looking at some other ways of making better use of the space – in 1795-early C20th , the undercroft was enclosed by railings.

References:

1939: Sandbagging of the undercroft. (LIL)

1940: Description of the undercroft as requisitioned for use as an air raid shelter. (LIL)

1946: Note that sandbagging had damaged the stonework. (LIL)

Undated: Presumed 1960s – File note includes statement describing cleaning by Szerelmey Ltd, with water spray and "Neolith" fine acid. (LIL)

1963: Suggestion that the facing of the gravestones be re-cut rejected. (LIL)

1964: Damage to some grave stones when they are driven over by a car noted in correspondence from the surveyor. (LIL)

1987: Correspondence from the Council for the Care of Churches regarding the nature and treatment of the bosses. (LIL)

1996: Correspondence relating to installation of new electrical services. (LIL)

B18. UNDERCROFT – WESTERN BAY

Description/observation:

The design of the western bay added in 1882-3, matches that of the preceding three bays already described, except that:
a) The bosses at the rib intersections are all foilage.
b) The stone has not been given a slurry coating.
c) The floor is all riven York stone (no burials).
d) The south-facing perimeter arch is partially blocked by an oak framed structure with brick infill, which forms part of the Old Hall kitchen. Immediately behind this, on the west side is the stone faced disabled lift enclosure.

Condition:

All good condition, but note minor damage to the vaulting and more extensive injury to the central pier caused by WW1 bomb damage in 1915.

History:

1882-3:	Built to design of Salter.
1915:	Bomb damage.
1920s:	Old Hall and kitchen rebuilt – infill to south side arch.
1990s:	Disabled lift, floor lifted and re-laid.

Significance:

Significant.

Comment:

The 1920s Old Hall kitchen is actually an eyesore in this context. The timber framing/brick infill would look better rendered over.

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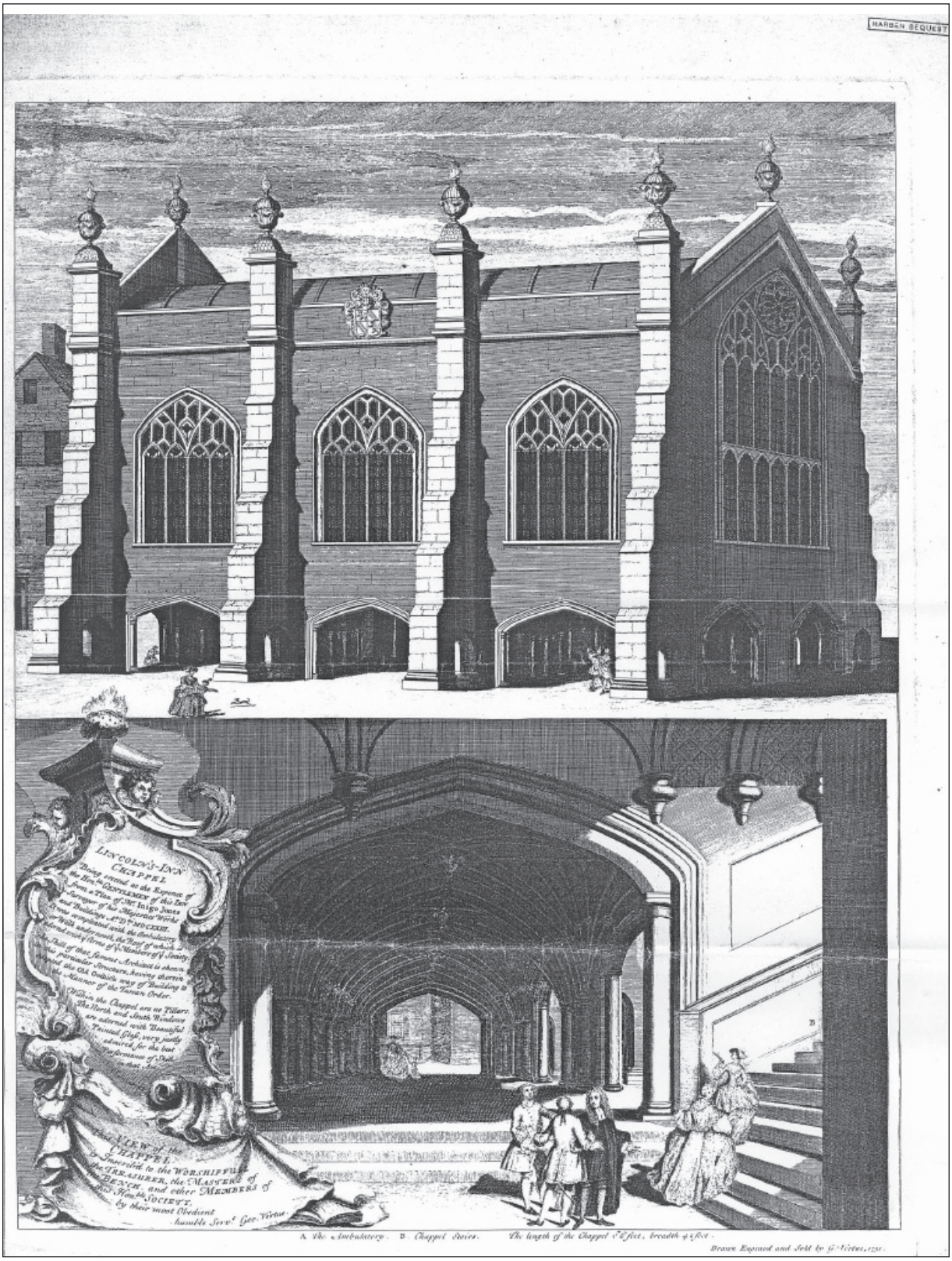
6.0 THE PLATE LIST AND PLATES

1. G. Vertue’s pen and wash drawing before 1751.

2. A view of the Hall and Chapel c1804 by kind permission of the London Metropolitan Archive, City of London.

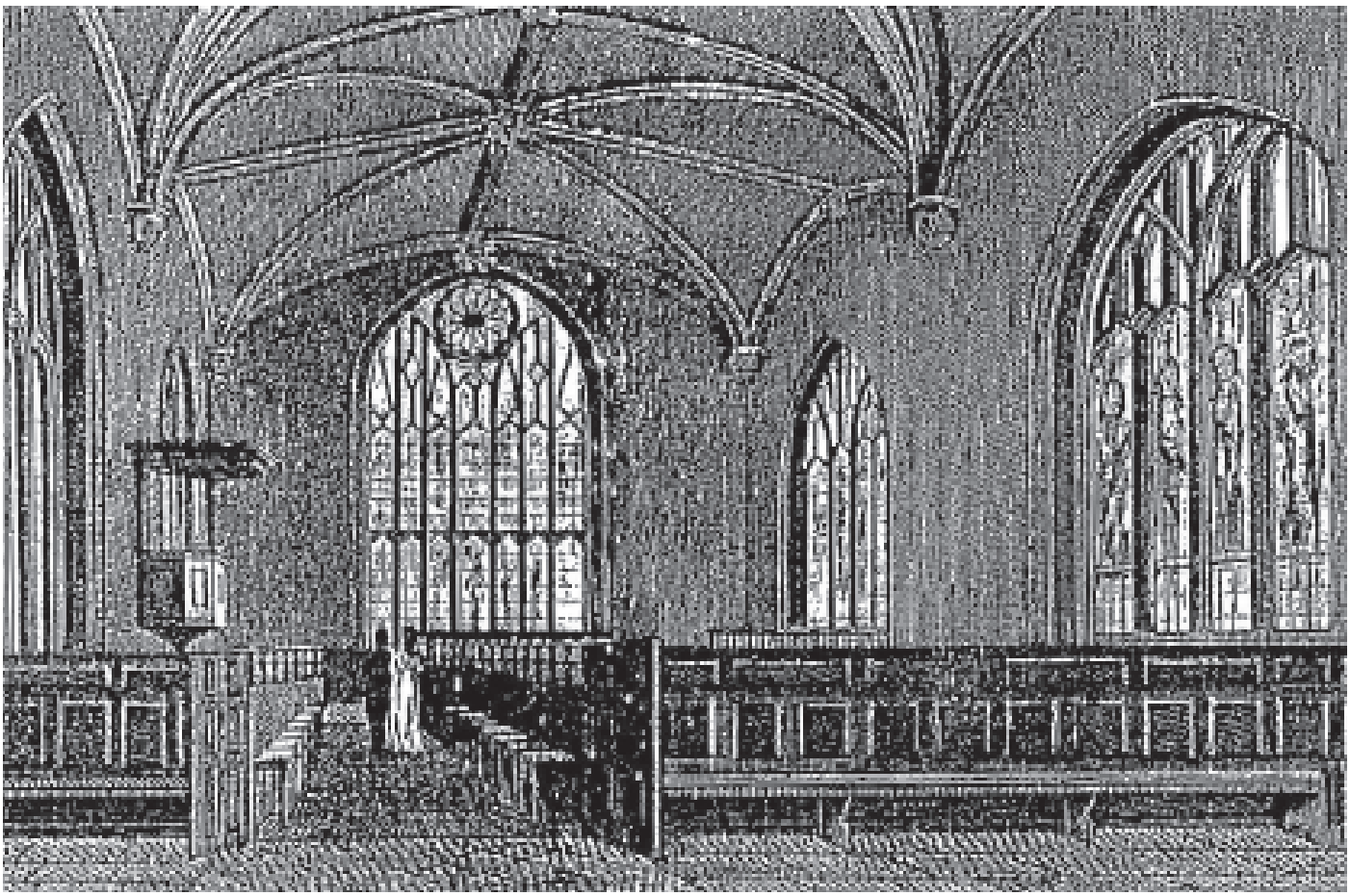
3. The interior of the Chapel c1804.

4. A detail from the painted glass window in the south wall of the Chapel, Bernard van Linge, c1623, with Lincoln’s Inn Chapel in the background.



1. G. Vertue's pen and wash drawing, before 1751.

2. A view of the Hall and Chapel c1804 by kind permission of the London Metropolitan Archive, City of London.



3. The interior of the Chapel c1804.

4. Detail from painted glass window in south wall of Chapel, Bernard van Linge, c1623, with Lincoln's Inn Chapel in the background.

Appendix I

Listing Description

	CAMDEN
TQ3181SW	LINCOLN'S INN
798-1/107/1046	(North side)
24/10/51	The Chapel, Old Square
GV	I

Chapel over open undercroft. 1619-23 by John Clark to replace a ruined chapel on a different site; with later alterations. Stone and rendered brickwork; green slate roof.
EXTERIOR: 2 storeys. Originally of 3 bays, the 4th western bay and forebuilding 1882-3 by Stephen Salter, who also re-roofed the chapel. Western façade with central Tudor style entrance of pointed moulded arch having hoodmould with label stops and quatrefoil enrichment in spandrels; flanked by single light traceried windows and full height buttresses. At 1st floor level, central 2-light traceried window flanked by armorial shields and then 3-light traceried windows. Above the corbel table a 7-light traceried window with rose. East window similar, renewed by James Wyatt, 1795-6. North and south elevations buttressed (flying at ground storey) at bays with four 4-light Perpendicular windows each. Parapet and buttress pinnacles added by Stephen Salter. Undercroft with Gothic 4-centred arches, lierne-vaults and Tuscan demi-columns attached to the piers.
INTERIOR: features of interest include original carved pew ends, early C18 pulpit with tester, late C17 communion rail with twisted balusters and original stained glass depicting Apostles by Bernard van Linge and Richard Butler. The south windows are much restored, the north largely reconstructed after an air-raid in 1915.
HISTORICAL NOTE: the foundation stone was laid in 1620 by John Donne, who was Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn from 1616 to 1622.

Appendix II

Biographical details for:

1. **Architects and Designers**

   John Clarke
   Sir Christopher Wren
   James Wyatt
   Philip Hardwick
   Stephen Salter
   Lord Grimthorpe
   Sir Giles Gilbert Scott

2. **Notable Clergymen**

   John Donne
   Archbishop Ussher
   Archbishop Tillotson
   Archbishop Juxon
   Bishop Warburton
   Bishop Heber
   Frederick Denison Maurice

3. **Notable Musicians**

   Charles Steggall
   William Reginald Steggall

Architects and Designers

Stephen Salter (1825-1896)
RIBA:
"Stephen Salter, who died on the 7th ult., at the age of seventy-one years, was the elder son of Mr. Stephen Salter, of Hammersmith. He was articled to the late Thomas Henry Wyatt, with whom he remained for many years as assistant. He commenced independent practice about the year 1866, subsequently establishing his office in Woburn Place, Russell Square. He had a large hospital connection, and carried out important works for St. George's Hospital, Westminster Hospital, King's College Hospital, and the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons. For the latter Body he built the Examination Hall on the Victoria Embankment. Among his other works were Lady Augusta Stanley's Nursing Home, The Mary Wardell Fever Hospital, East Moulsey Church ; Christchurch, Hendon ; St. George's Shelter for Girls, Berkeley Square ; alterations to the Bristol Royal Infirmary, Malvern College, &c. For the last nine years Mr. H. Percy Adams had been associated with him in partnership. Mr. Salter was elected an Associate of the Institute in 1853, and a Fellow in 1866. He served for some years on the Practice Standing Committee."

Lord Grimthorpe (1816-1905)
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography entry:
"Beckett, Edmund [*formerly* Edmund Beckett Denison], first Baron Grimthorpe (1816-1905), ecclesiastical controversialist, architect, and horologist, was born at Carlton Hall, near Newark, on 12 May 1816, the eldest son of Sir Edmund Beckett, fourth baronet (1787-1874), later MP for the West Riding, and his wife, Maria (*d.* 27 March 1874), daughter of William Beverley and great-niece and heir of Anne Denison, widow of Sir Thomas Denison. His father had assumed the additional surname of Denison in 1816 but reverted to his original surname on succeeding to the baronetcy in 1872. His brothers included the banker William Beckett [see under Beckett, Rupert Evelyn].

Beckett Denison was educated at Doncaster grammar school, Eton College, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1834 and graduated BA in 1838 (MA 1841, LLD 1863). He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1841, became a QC in 1854, a bencher of his inn in the same year, and its treasurer in 1876. On 7 October 1845 he married Fanny Catherine Lonsdale (*d.* 1901), daughter of John Lonsdale, bishop of Lichfield, of whom he wrote a biography (1868). He soon acquired a large practice chiefly in connection with railway bills. Advancing rapidly in his profession, by 1860 he was recognized as the leader of the parliamentary bar, as a result more of his assertive manner than of his knowledge of law. He accumulated a large fortune and ceased to practise regularly after 1880. On his father's death in 1874, he succeeded to the baronetcy and followed his father's example in discarding the second surname. As Sir Edmund Beckett he was appointed chancellor and vicar-general of the province of York in 1877, an office which he held until 1900. In recognition of his activity in ecclesiastical matters, as well as his architectural and mechanical contributions, Beckett was created a peer by the title of Baron Grimthorpe of Grimthorpe, Yorkshire, on 17 February 1886.

Beckett had many interests outside the law and was a vigorous and acrimonious controversialist on ecclesiastical, architectural, scientific, and other topics. Among his earliest causes was a measure of relaxation in the law surrounding marriage with a deceased wife's sister. He was a strong advocate of reform in church discipline, giving evidence before the royal commission on ecclesiastical courts of 1883 and drafting a disciplinary bill of his own with racy notes which he sent to the commissioners. He took exception to the revised version of the New Testament, publishing in 1882 *Should the Revised New Testament be Authorized?* Alarmed by the spread of ritualism in the Church of England, he became president of the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance, which held its inaugural meeting in Exeter Hall in 1889. Archbishop Benson's judgment in 1890 in the trial of the bishop of Lincoln for ritual offences stirred him to write what Benson called a 'furious letter', entitled 'A review of the Lambeth judgment in *Read v. Bishop of Lincoln*'. On occasions his involvement in ecclesiastical affairs was helpful: his assistance with the Church Patronages Bill of 1893, for example, was welcomed. But at other times he was spiteful and vituperative: he made a startling attack on the archbishop of York in 1895 while opposing in the Lords a divorce bill amending the act by which the clergy were compelled to lend their churches for the remarriage of those guiltily divorced. His standpoint through all his disputes was strongly Erastian and orthodox, as he understood orthodoxy. In 1883, for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, he published *A Review of Hume and Huxley on Miracles*, which Bishop Harold Browne considered one of the best books in defence of Christianity.

Architecture, especially on its ecclesiastical side, was another of Beckett's interests, and he published widely on this subject between 1855 and 1876. One of the projects with which he

was involved, the rebuilding of St George's Church at Doncaster, led the architect Sir Giles Gilbert Scott to acknowledge Beckett's generosity but also to remark upon his 'unpleasant way of doing things' (G. G. Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, 1877, 173). Beckett claimed to have 'substantially designed' many buildings, including the church of St James, Doncaster; St Chad's Church, Headingley; Cliffe parish church in the East Riding; St Paul's, Burton upon Trent; the tower top of Worcester Cathedral; Doncaster grammar school; and the extension of Lincoln's Inn Library. His influence is also to be traced in the poorly received restoration of Lincoln's Inn chapel in 1882, but his contemplated demolition of Sir Thomas Lovell's gatehouse in Chancery Lane was happily frustrated.

Living in a house at Batch Wood, St Albans, Hertfordshire, designed by himself ('the only architect with whom I have never quarrelled'), he was interested in the unsound condition of St Albans Abbey, and the attempts of the St Albans reparation committee to fit it for cathedral and parochial service. He subscribed generously to the funds, contributing, from first to last, some £30,000, and interfered freely with Scott, the architect. 'The leader among those who wish me to do what I ought not to do is Sir Edmund Beckett', Scott wrote in 1877 (G. G. Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, 1877, 357). In 1880 various parts of the building were in danger of falling down, and the committee was £3000 in debt. Beckett obtained permission to restore the church at his own expense. He set to work with characteristic zeal, and by 1885 the nave was finished. But his arbitrary architectural decisions excited fierce criticism, and he entered into arguments with both George Edmund Street, architect, and Henry Hucks Gibbs who had obtained concurrent permission to restore the high altar screen. This conflict of authority came before Sir Francis Jeune, chancellor of the diocese, in 1889, Beckett conducting his own case. Neither side was completely successful. Beckett described his part in the St Albans controversies in *St Albans Cathedral and its Restoration* (1885), which, though purporting to be a guidebook, is also a somewhat vehement review of the old arguments.

Through his long life Beckett worked on mechanical inventions and was a keen horologist. In 1850 he published *A Rudimentary Treatise on Clock and Watchmaking* which passed through eight editions, in the preface to the last of which he claimed to have designed over forty clocks, in churches, cathedrals, railway stations, and town halls, including some in the colonies. He contributed articles on clocks, watches, and bells to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He designed the great clock for the Great Exhibition of 1851, made by Edward John Dent, which was later installed at King's Cross railway station. In the same year he undertook, in conjunction with George Biddell Airy and Dent, the construction of the great clock for the clock tower in the Houses of Parliament, Westminster. The design was Beckett's, as an inscription records, and it included a new gravity escapement designed by him. Beckett also prepared the specifications for the bell commonly called Big Ben, after Sir Benjamin Hall, commissioner of public works. The clock and Big Ben, like most of Beckett's undertakings, involved him in fierce controversies. He antagonized the respected horologist B. L. Vuillamy by ridiculing his design for the clock. Vuillamy was effectively ousted by Beckett from involvement in the project. Airy, too, felt forced to withdraw. And Barry suffered sixteen years of disputes. Beckett was elected president of the Horological Institute in 1868, on condition that he should not attend dinners, and was annually re-elected, though not always without opposition.

Although a man of arrogance and bile, Beckett was capable of generosity, strong friendships, and kindness towards people in need of help. He was tall and stern looking and remained faithful to early Victorian dress. He died at Batch Wood, St Albans, on 29 April 1905, after a

short illness, aggravated by a fall, and was buried by his wife's side in the burial-ground of St Albans Cathedral. His personal estate was valued at £1,562,500, and he left a complicated will with many codicils which was the cause of prolonged litigation. Having no children, he was succeeded in his titles by a nephew, Ernest William Beckett."

Sir Giles Gilbert Scott (d1960)
RIBA Obituary:
"Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, O.M., R.A., D.C.L. (Oxon), LL.D. (Liverpool), LL.D. (Cantab.) [*Past President*], died on 8 February 1960, aged 79.

The JOURNAL is indebted to Sir Hubert Worthington, O.B.E., R.A. [*F*] for the appreciation of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott which appears on page 193. The following are additional details of Sir Giles Scott's career and principal works.

Sir Giles Gilbert Scott was educated at Beaumont College. He commenced practice in London in 1902. From 1920 to 1921 he was President of the Architectural Association. In 1922 he was made a Knight of the 1st Class of the Order of St. Olav (Norway). He was awarded the R.I.B.A. London Architecture Bronze Medal in 1927, for Chester House. Among his honorary degrees was that of LL.D. of Cambridge. Sir Giles was made an Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Toronto, and was an Honorary Fellow of the American Institute of Architects. He was President of the Council of The Building Centre.

Sir Giles served on many committees: he was a past member of the R.I.B.A. Council, Executive Committee, Art Standing Committee and Registration Committee; the Franco-British Union of Architects, the London Architecture Bronze Medal Jury, the Royal Gold Medal Committee, the Official Architectural Committee, the Board of Architectural Education, the R.I.B.A. Reconstruction Committee and the British Section of the Comité Permanent International des Architectes.

His church design work was widespread and among his principal works additional to those mentioned by Sir Hubert Worthington are St. Columba's Cathedral, Oban; St. Anthony's, Preston; All Saints, New Brighton, Cheshire; Our Lady and St. Alphege, Bath; Our Lady Star of the Sea, Broadstairs; St. Joseph's (and Presbytery), Sheringham, Norfolk; St. Ninian's, Restalrig, Edinburgh; Church of the Annunciation, Bournemouth; and that of the Carmelite Convent, North Kensington. Sir Giles worked on the restoration of St. George's Chapel, Windsor; Chester Cathedral; Burnby Church, Yorkshire; St. George's Church, Kidderminster; and Westminster Abbey.

He designed fittings for churches in: Douglas, Isle of Man (reredos, etc.); Windsor (Holy Trinity, reredos); Gospel Oak, North St. Pancras (All Hallows); Kilburn (St. Augustine's); Newfoundland (St. John's Cathedral, new reredos); Kensington (St. Mary Abbots, memorial reredos); and a screen for Exeter Cathedral.

Sir Giles was responsible for several chapels. They included St. George's Chapel (Cheshire Regiment Memorial) and SS. Nicholas and Leonard in Chester Cathedral; a war memorial chapel in St. Michael's, Chester Square; a chapel in Kidderminster Parish Church; and chapels in Whitelands Women's Training College, Putney; the Convent of the Visitation, Harrow; and Bromsgrove School. He also designed a vicarage for St. Francis Terriers, High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire.

He built school houses and school buildings for Ampleforth College, Yorkshire; a chemistry wing and dormitory wing for Downside School; and a school house for Beaumont College. He worked (with Messrs. Gutteridge and Gutteridge [*F*]) on the Turner Sims Library, Southampton University.

Sir Giles's numerous memorial works include that to King George V in Old Palace Yard, S.W.; the chancel of All Hallows Church, Gospel Oak, North St. Pancras; and war memorials at Beaumont College (in collaboration with Adrian Gilbert Scott, C.B.E. [*F*]), Ditton (Kent), Bridport (Dorset), Oswestry (Shropshire), Penshurst (Kent), Coxton, Preston and Wigan (Lancashire), Bangor (Wales), and St. Mary's Clapham.

Among the large office buildings for which Sir Giles was jointly responsible are: Vincent House, Vincent Square (in collaboration with A. G. Scott and F. P. M. Woodhouse [*A*]); City Gate House, Finsbury Square, London (with F. R. Gould Wills [*F*]); and Friends' Provident and Century Life Office, Bristol (with A. W. Roques [*F*]). Sir Giles was responsible for Electricity House, Bristol.

Other London buildings include Cropthorne Court (flats) in Maida Vale; 129 Grosvenor Road, S.W.; 22 Weymouth Street, W.1; an additional block to County Hall (with E. P. Wheeler [*F*] and F. R. Hiorns [*F*]); and the Phoenix Theatre, Charing Cross Road with B. Crewe and C. Masey [*F*]).

In addition to Battersea Power Station (in collaboration with F. D. Halliday [*F*]) and Bankside, Sir Giles designed the Berkeley atomic power station on the Severn estuary; and Rye House power station.

Sir Giles was architect for Waterloo Bridge in collaboration with Messrs. Rendel, Palmer and Tritton and Sir Peirson Frank, L.C.C. Engineer.

Clergymen

John Donne (1572-1631)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:

"Donne, John (1572-1631), poet and Church of England clergyman, was born between 24 January and 19 June 1572 at his father's house in Bread Street, London, the third of six known children of John Donne (*c.*1535-1576), warden of the Ironmongers' Company, and Elizabeth Heywood (*c.*1543-1631), youngest daughter of John Heywood the epigrammatist and playwright. Donne claimed kinship through his father with the Dwn family of Kidwelly in Carmarthenshire, using its arms on his earliest portrait, painted in 1591, as well as on one of his seals and on his monument (the arms are azure, a wolf salient, with a crest of snakes bound in a sheaf), but there is no evidence extant concerning his father's family to support this claim. Donne's ancestors on his mother's side included John Rastell (his maternal great-grandfather), who was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John More and sister of Sir Thomas More. Through his connection with the More and the Heywood families Donne was thus associated with many men and women who had remained true to the Roman Catholic faith and had suffered as a result – a fact that he was at pains to emphasize in his early work *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610). Two of his uncles, Ellis and Jasper Heywood (the translator of Seneca), ended their days as Jesuits (Jasper was the head of the Jesuit mission in England from 1581 to 1583), and Donne and his siblings were brought up as Roman Catholics. In 1576, when Donne was four, his father died; by July his mother had married John Syminges, a prominent physician who had trained at Oxford and Bologna and had several times been president of the Royal College of Physicians. Some time after the marriage Donne's family moved to Syminge's house in Trinity Lane, moving again in 1583 to a house in the parish of St Bartholomew-the-Less.

Oxford and the inns of Court

Donne was educated privately, although there is no evidence to support the popular claim that he was taught by Jesuits. On 23 October 1584, at the age of twelve, he matriculated with his brother Henry, who was a year younger than him, from Hart Hall, Oxford. It seems that the boys entered the university relatively young (and gave their ages as a year younger than they actually were) in order to avoid subscribing to the queen's religious supremacy and to the Thirty-Nine Articles – a subscription demanded of all students over sixteen. Little is known of Donne's time at Oxford, though Izaak Walton claims that he was a distinguished student, and that it was there that his long friendship with Sir Henry Wotton began (Walton, 23, 106). After Donne left Oxford without taking a degree, Walton claims that he spent some time at Cambridge; there is no evidence for this in the university records, but as R. C. Bald points out, these are imperfect for this period (Walton, 24; Bald, 46). It has recently been argued that Donne left Oxford in October 1584 for a period of exile and education among fellow Catholics on the continent (Flynn, 131-46); even if Donne did attend Cambridge after Oxford, it would have to have been for less than three years, and uncertainty remains over his movements between 1589 and 1591. It seems most likely that he travelled abroad during this period, and it is quite possible that Walton's description of his travels in the late 1590s should be redated to the earlier period (Walton, 26). If Donne was travelling on the continent at this time, he probably followed the typical itinerary for a contemporary tour, visiting France, the Low Countries, and Germany *en route* for Italy (see Bald, 52, on Donne's likely visit to Germany). During this time, Donne's stepfather John Syminges died in 1588 (he was buried in the church of St Bartholomew-the-Less on 15 July), and his mother married Richard Rainsford, probably in 1590 and certainly before 7 February 1591. In 1591 the earliest known portrait of Donne was produced: it was a miniature, possibly by Nicholas Hilliard, but

now the image survives only in William Marshall's engraving of it for the frontispiece of the 1633 *Poems*. It shows him in a dark doublet, with head bared, wearing an earring in the shape of a cross and with his hand on the hilt of a sword, and bears the motto *Antes muerto que mudado* ('Sooner dead than changed') as well as the Dwn crest described above.

The next clear sight of Donne from the official records is on his admission to Lincoln's Inn on 6 May 1592, after at least a year's preliminary study at Thavies Inn. Edward Loftus and Christopher Brooke, who was to remain a close friend of Donne's, stood surety for him on his admission. It was at Lincoln's Inn that Donne also met Christopher Brooke's younger brother Samuel, their cousin John, and Rowland Woodward. Although Donne was never called to the bar, nor practised the law professionally, its language and modes of thought remained crucial to him throughout his life, and lend much of his writing its distinctive character. His *Satires* and the poems later collected as *Songs and Sonets* are not just immersed in the social world of the inns, but use the words and the distinctions of the law to conduct their business of social comment and love. Later writings, including the *Holy Sonnets*, are equally dependent upon Donne's thorough knowledge of common and canon law, and it should not be forgotten that Donne certainly used his legal knowledge in his professional life. It was in demand while he was secretary to the lord keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton; in 1603-4 he prepared a legal opinion for Sir Robert Cotton on Valdesius's *De dignitate regum regnorumque Hispaniae*; his first major published work, *Pseudo-Martyr*, is a highly professional legal exposition and defence of the oath of allegiance, and he engages in tangled questions of civil and canon law in several other works, notably *Ignatius his Conclave* and the *Essays in Divinity*. It may have been during his time at Lincoln's Inn that, as Walton claims, Donne began 'serious to survey, and consider the Body of Divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the *Reformed* and the *Roman Church*' (Walton, 25-6), and to undertake a systematic reading and annotation of Cardinal Bellarmine's *Disputationes*; certainly his later work shows that he was well acquainted with the Roman Catholic controversialist's works.

When Donne moved from Thavies Inn to Lincoln's Inn he probably left behind him his younger brother Henry. In May 1593 a priest, William Harrington, was found in Henry Donne' chambers by the pursuivant Richard Young. Both were arrested and committed to the Clink, then moved to Newgate, where Henry died of the plague. Harrington was hanged, drawn, and quartered in February 1594. In the same year as Henry's death, Donne attained his majority, and in June 1593 he had received his inheritance from the chamber of the city of London.

It is difficult to date Donne's poems, most of which remained in manuscript until after his death, but it seems clear that while at Lincoln's Inn he composed verse letters to friends – such as Christopher and Samuel Brooke, Rowland and Thomas Woodward (the Westmoreland MS, one of the principal manuscripts of Donne's poems, is in Rowland's hand), Everard Guilpin, Beaupré Bell, and an unidentified Mr. I. (or J.) L. – the first two *Satires*, nearly all of the *Elegies*, the *Epithalamion Made at Lincoln's Inn*, and some of the *Songs and Sonets*. The verse letters especially show Donne experimenting with tone and form as he exchanges compliments in the world of humanist friendship, but the *Elegies* and *Satires* are remarkably assured. The speakers of the *Elegies* are rakish young men-about-town, addressing mistresses in tones of amorous and adulterous complicity (and revealing the widespread influence of Marlowe's translations of Ovid's *Amores*). They assume a tone of almost arrogant disregard for social mores and conventions, and yet here, as in much of his writing, Donne's voice, and his speakers, are as vulnerable as they are powerful. *Elegy 2* is a

persuasion to his mistress to undress that deploys the languages of religion as well as exploration and conquest in its travels over her clothing and body, but its conclusion shows that it is the poet who is naked, waiting.

The *Satires*, like the *Elegies*, are the product of, and shot through with, the social life of late sixteenth-century London; their attitudes, though, are rather different. Their speakers are urbane observers, outsiders, watching with anxious disapproval the hunt for place and promotion at court and in the courts, drawn in despite themselves (like the personae of Horace's satires, to which they are heavily indebted) to the corrupting conversation of the bore or malcontent, and finding themselves tainted by it. In the first two *Satires* there is also found a scepticism towards both learning and public life, the contemplative and the active paths, that is characteristic of the period and that informs much of Donne's work in both verse and prose. In these early poems the immediacy of voice that is so typical of Donne's writing is fully present. *Satires 1* and *2* begin with a brusque imperative ('Away thou fondling motley humourist') and a weary epistolary salutation ('Sir, (though I thank God for it) I do hate / Perfectly all this town…') respectively; and this creation of a vital, speaking voice is one of the most striking features of Donne's poetic oeuvre, sustained by lengthy qualifying parentheses, interruption, colloquialism, and the careful disruption of metrical order. This last quality earned Donne the disapproval of the more formally orthodox Ben Jonson, who declared in his conversations with William Drummond that 'Donne, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging' (I. Donaldson, ed., *Ben Jonson*, 1985, 596).

Soldier, secretary, and husband: 1596-1609

The last mention of Donne in the Lincoln's Inn records occurs at the end of 1594. He would certainly have ended his association with the inn by early 1596, when he was among the mass of young gentlemen who offered their services to the earl of Essex for his and Lord Howard of Effingham's expedition against Spain. The fleet set sail for Cadiz on 3 June, launching its successful attack on the harbour on the 21st; returning in triumph, the leaders of the expedition soon planned another assault, and Donne also joined this expedition, which set out in July 1597. Within a week, however, the fleet had returned in disarray after the events recorded in Donne's poem "The Storm"; embarking again a little later, the fleets were once more separated by bad weather, and Essex's squadron set off for the Azores, where they waited for Ralegh's (in which Donne was probably sailing) – Donne described the postponement of the rendezvous by a period of calm weather in "The Calm". The voyage was dogged by disorganization and ultimately achieved little: the Spanish fleet got safely into port at Angra, and only a few late ships were taken; finally, the English returned home in yet another bout of bad weather, reaching port by the end of October.

On his return to England, Donne sought civil employment, and with help from Thomas and John Egerton, whom he may have known at Lincoln's Inn and who sailed with him on the islands expedition of 1597, he was appointed secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper of the great seal since 1596. On his appointment Donne would have joined Egerton's substantial household at York House in the Strand and assisted his employer in the wide range of business that occupied him, from the courts of chancery, high commission, and Star Chamber to the privy council. Egerton was determined to reform legal procedures from a state of confusion and over-complexity; Donne's *Satire 5* describes this morass and praises Egerton's attempts 'to know and weed out this enormous sin'. Donne would have spent time at court as well as in the courts during this time, where political discussion was dominated by the debates over the campaign in Ireland. When the earl of Essex was sent there in April 1599, two of Donne's friends accompanied him: Sir Henry Wotton, who was Essex's

secretary, and Sir Thomas Egerton the younger. To the former Donne sent a verse letter asking why he had heard nothing from him ('H.W. in Hiber. belligeranti'); the latter was wounded in a skirmish and died on 23 August aged twenty-five. At the solemn funeral held in Chester Cathedral, Donne had the honour of bearing the dead man's sword before his coffin.

As a student at Oxford and the inns, Donne was a Roman Catholic. By 1597, however, he had sailed on an expedition against Catholic Spain and was employed by Egerton, a major public figure, if one with a recusant past. By 1601 he was a member of parliament. All of these would have been extremely difficult had he still been attached to the Roman Catholic church (although Flynn suggests that he retained important links with recusant families for a considerable time). The date of Donne's 'conversion' to the Church of England has been the subject of much scholarly debate, but is impossible precisely to determine (Bald, 69, argues that he may have received some form of instruction from Anthony Rudd, dean of Gloucester, after Henry Donne's death. Indeed, it is probably unhelpful to conceive of it as an event, rather than as a long process. The best that can be said is that by 1600 or so Donne considered it possible that he could successfully seek advancement in areas that would be closed to a known Catholic, and that in 1601 he was married in a Church of England ceremony (if an unorthodox one). Seven years later he was writing anti-Catholic polemic, and using his own upbringing in the Roman Catholic church to lend greater force to his criticisms of that church.

In the aftermath of the Essex rebellion in February 1601 Donne may have helped the lord keeper in the long business of examining witnesses and preparing for the trial; in the autumn of the same year he was returned as one of the members of parliament for Brackley, Northamptonshire, a seat in Egerton's gift. Parliament sat from 27 October to 19 December, and there is no evidence that Donne sat on any committees or took part in any debates. During the period of his employment by Egerton, Donne's friendship with Henry Wotton was sustained by correspondence in verse and prose (the verse epistle 'Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle souls' can be tentatively dated to 1597 or 1598), and among his other friends were Sir Henry Goodyer, Robert Cotton, and the essayist Sir William Cornwallis. In 1601 Donne began his Menippean epic 'The Progress of the Soul', or 'Metempsychosis' (the preface is dated 16 August 1601). This ambitious poem aimed to trace the migration of the soul of the apple eaten by Eve 'to this time when she is he, whose life you shall find in the end of this book', but only a portion of the first canto was completed. Jonson claimed that the soul was intended to end up 'in the body of Calvin' (I. Donaldson, ed., *Ben Jonson*, 1985, 598), but Donne indicates in stanzas six and seven that the soul is now 'amongst us' in England,

> and moves that hand, and tongue and brow,
> Which, as the Moone the sea, moves us.

Faced with this problem, critics have suggested Queen Elizabeth and Robert Cecil as final homes for the soul. At about this time Donne was also writing his prose *Paradoxes*.

During his time as Egerton's secretary, Donne met Anne More (1584-1617), the niece of Lady Egerton and the daughter of Sir George More of Loseley Park, near Guildford in Surrey. She was brought up for some time at York House (Sir George More had for his part undertaken the education of Lady Egerton's son, Francis Wolley), and while she was there she and Donne were secretly engaged. In December 1601, when Ann was about seventeen

and Donne twenty-nine, they were married in a clandestine service: Donne's friends Christopher and Samuel Brooke were in attendance, Christopher giving the bride away and Samuel, now ordained, performing the ceremony. Soon Ann returned to Loseley, and it was almost two months before Donn broke the news of their marriage to her father, using Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, as the messenger for his letter of 2 February. Sir George was horrified, and immediately demanded Donne's dismissal from Egerton's service and arrest: along with the Brooke brothers he was committed to prison, and the lord keeper gave in to More's request. But soon Donne was released from the Fleet, and it was clear that the marriage would be proved valid (indeed, Donne himself initiated a suit in the court of audience of Canterbury to test its validity): Sir George released his daughter to Donne, but refused to support her financially, while Egerton refused to give his secretary his job back, even when the injured and reluctant father-in-law joined in the request. Without employment or a home (during the latter part of his employment by Egerton he had lived in lodgings in the Savoy), Donne and his wife had to depend on help from friends and sympathetic relatives. Ann's cousin Francis Wolley offered the most substantial help, giving the Donnes room in his house at Pyrford, near her former home at Loseley. It was there that their first children, Constance and John, were born, at the beginning of 1603 and in the spring of 1604 respectively. In August 1603 the new king, James I, and his court spent the first night of their progress at Pyrford.

Early in 1605 Donne set off to travel on the continent with Sir Walter Chute, their licence being granted on 16 February. They visited Paris, and possibly Venice, where Wotton was now ambassador, before returning to England in April 1606. While Donne was abroad, his wife, who had been staying with her sister Lady Grymes at Peckham, gave birth to their third child, George; on his return the family probably spent a short time back at the Wolley house in Pyrford until they moved, before the end of the year, to a cottage in Mitcham, Surrey. While living in Pyrford, Donne had continued his studies and his writing: it was during this time that he sent his learned opinion on Valdesius to Robert Cotton, and internal evidence suggests that he wrote at least two of the *Songs and Sonets* ('The Sunne Rising' and 'The Canonization') at about the same time.

Donne lived with his wife in Mitcham for five years, and while they were there four more children were born: Francis in 1607, Lucy in 1608 (her godmother was Lucy Harington, countess of Bedford), Bridget in 1609, and Mary in 1611. From 1607 to 1611 Donne also kept lodgings in London, in the Strand, and he spent a large amount of his time in the city, devoting his energies to making the best of his connections and seeking out some kind of public employment for himself. These attempts to resurrect what had been a promising career failed without exception: in June 1607 he sought to fill a place that had fallen vacant in the queen's household; in November 1608 he applied for a secretaryship in Ireland, through the mediation of the king's favourite, Lord Hay; in February 1609 John Chamberlain wrote to Carleton that Donne 'seekes to be preferred to be secretarie of Virginia' (*Letters of John Chamberlain*, 1.284) – and these were, most likely, only a fraction of the positions he applied for.

Among the friendships that Donne established or consolidated about this time was that with Ben Jonson (for whose *Volpone* he wrote Latin commendatory verses in 1607). From 1607 he also began his correspondence with Lady Bedford, and at about the same time he made or renewed his friendship with Mrs Magdalene Herbert (George Herbert's mother, to whom, in July 1611, he sent what was probably the sonnet sequence 'La corona'). During winter 1608-9 he was ill with chronic neuritis, and wrote 'A Litanie', which, in a letter to Sir Henry

Goodyer, he referred to as a 'meditation in verse' (Donne, *Letters*, 32). Most of the *Holy Sonnets* were probably also written at about this time. There has been much debate over how far these last form any kind of sequence, and if so in what order they should be arranged; certainly, though, the group of twelve as they appear in the Group I and II manuscripts in the 1633 edition of the *Poems* seem to have some internal coherence, and are far from being individual utterances. The *Holy Sonnets* are exhortatory, despairing, and demanding by turns, and they make use of virtually the full range of Donne's intellectual pursuits, the twelfth in particular ('Father, part of this double interest') skilfully pleading the legal case for inheritance of the kingdom of heaven to God figured as a divine judge.

Professional authorship, travels with the Drurys, and entry into the church: 1609-1615

The period during which Donne was at Mitcham was one of the most productive for his writing and research, and Bald rightly states that at this time he was 'nearer to being a professional author than at any other time during his life' (Bald, 200). Donne had been engaged for some time, it is clear, in a course of reading in canon and civil law, and in casuistry: the works that he composed from 1607 to 1610 are steeped in this learning, determined at once to display their mastery of a vast number of authorities and to cast a sceptical eye on the very use of authoritative textual testimony. The first substantial work that Donne wrote at this time, *Biathanatos* (composed in 1607-8, though work on it may have started at Pyrford), is a perfect example of his ambiguous relationship with humanism. It is a cousin to the more frivolous *Paradoxes* and *Problems* (the latter probably composed at roughly the same time) in its defence of a seeming paradox – its subtitle is 'A declaration of that paradoxe or thesis, that self-homicide is not so naturally sinne, that it may never be otherwise' – yet it is formidably researched, and its fashionably sceptical attitude can be more properly traced to a frame of mind inculcated by the study of cases of conscience that occupied Donne throughout his life. According to Walton, in Donne's study after his death were found 'divers… cases of Conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them' (Walton, 68), and Donne refers to his book of cases of conscience in two of his surviving letters. *Biathanatos* was – by contrast with Donne's other prose writings from this period – intended to be a fairly private work: it was printed in 1647, sixteen years after Donne's death, and only two manuscripts survive from Donne's lifetime. Statements made by Donne to those entrusted with a copy of the work reinforce the sense that he intended it for a restricted circle of readers: in a presentation letter to Sir Edward Herbert he suggests that the best (though he never says only) place for it is Herbert's library, and when sending a copy to Sir Robert Ker in 1619 he declared 'I forbid it only the Presse, and the Fire: publish it not, but yet burn it no; and between those, do what you will with it' (Donne, *Letters*, 22). The book was, he noted to Ker, 'upon a misinterpretable subject' (ibid., 21).

Shortly after Donne completed *Biathanatos*, he published what was to be his most substantial prose work, *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610; the book runs to 430 pages). *Pseudo-Martyr* is not merely a work more public than *Biathanatos*: it is in its own right an extremely public and deliberate intervention into a current controversy, and it announces unambiguously Donne's allegiance to the religious policies of James I, to whom it is dedicated. After the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 James had approved an act of parliament that instituted a new oath of allegiance; this oath forced Roman Catholics to deny the deposing power claimed by the pope over monarchs who opposed Catholicism, or to face imprisonment and the seizure of their property. A war of words flared up over whether English Catholics were obliged to swear the oath, the king entering the fray with his *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus, or, An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* (1607). The Jesuit Robert Persons soon responded to James's book in satiric vein,

and William Barlow was commissioned to answer Persons. Barlow's *Answer to a Catholike English-Man* (1609) proved to be a rather feeble contribution, and Donne spoke harshly of it in a letter to Goodyer. He had been following the controversy from its beginning, and may even have been acting as an assistant to the practised controversialist Thomas Morton, chaplain to the earl of Rutland and, from 1607, dean of Gloucester – certainly Donne had read portions of the manuscript of Morton's *A Catholike Appeale for Protestants* (1609) eighteen months before its publication. *Pseudo-Martyr* is as learned a work as *Biathanatos*, and in writing it Donne turned the scepticism evinced towards human authorities in the earlier work to local ends: he was aware of the importance to the controversy of judicious and accurate quotation (Barlow's prime failing, in Donne's opinion), and went to some trouble to assert his own reliability and to expose the distortions of Catholic writers.

Pseudo-Martyr is divided into two sections, which treat in turn two arguments: first, that Catholics may take the oath of allegiance with clear consciences, and second, that therefore those who do not and who suffer as a result are not entitled to be called martyrs. In the preface Donne draws attention to the fact that he is especially well placed to pronounce on martyrdom true and false, asserting that:

> as I am a Christian, I have been ever kept awake in a meditation of Martyrdome, by being derived from such a stocke and race, as, I beleeve, no family, (which is not of farre larger extent, and greater branches,) hath endured and suffered more in their persons and fortunes, for obeying the Teachers of Romane Doctrine, then it hath done. (Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr*, 1610, sig.)

In pursuing his thesis Donne argues that the temporal jurisdiction claimed by the pope is false, while the ecclesiastical jurisdiction claimed by various monarchs is legitimate. Arguing that those who suffer for obeying this false papal authority are not true martyrs, he distinguishes between essential points of faith and things indifferent, or adiaphora: he strikes a pose of toleration and moderation, yet in claiming the authority to make this distinction he confronts and provokes his Catholic opponents. *Pseudo-Martyr* is a work that marshals profound learning in the service of the king's religious policy, yet it appears to have received little notice from other participants in the heated and drawn-out controversy over the oath of allegiance (J. P. Sommerville, 'Jacobean political thought and the controversy over the oath of allegiance', PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1981). It may, however, have advertised Donne's skills as a controversial theologian to the king as well as to contemporaries in the church. Walton states that James at this point first suggested that Donne should enter the church, but this suggestion was clearly not received with great enthusiasm: Donne continued to pursue his civil ambitions.

In April 1610 Donne was made an honorary MA of Oxford. It was probably later that year that he wrote his next controversial work, *Conclave Ignati*, or *Ignatius his Conclave*. While *Pseudo-Martyr* tends to conceal its confrontational position behind eirenic language, *Ignatius* is a brief and biting satire against Roman Catholics in general, Jesuits in particular, and all kinds of innovators, couched in the form of a dream-vision, a Menippean journey to hell where Ignatius holds court. The book was published anonymously, first in Latin and then in Donne's own English translation. It makes much play with this anonymity, a preface 'from the Printer to the Reader' describing the author's supposed reluctance to publish while very deliberately setting the book as a companion-piece to *Pseudo-Martyr*. Once again Donne displays a studied ambivalence to learning, exposing the distortions of Roman Catholic reading practices while displaying his own erudition. He mocks the procedures of

controversy (side-notes support tiny points in Donne's argument by reference to enormous volumes) while at the same time demonstrating his competence in them.

It is unclear when Donne first made the acquaintance of Sir Robert Drury and his family, but in the year following the death of their younger daughter Elizabeth in 1610, he wrote two elegies for her, 'A Funerall Elegie' and 'An Anatomy of the World', and was invited by Sir Robert to join the family on a journey to the continent. Both poems were printed, anonymously, in 1611. The party left England about November 1611, and Donne's wife and children went to stay with her younger sister Frances and her husband, John Oglander, on the Isle of Wight. Donne and the Drurys went first to Amiens, where they stayed from December until roughly the beginning of March, and where Donne wrote the next of his elegies for Elizabeth Drury, 'The Progres of the Soule'; this was published in 1612 with 'An Anatomy of the World', as the 'First' and 'Second' *Anniversaries*. Early in 1612 the Drurys moved to Paris, where Donne fell ill. He none the less witnessed the double marriage of Louis XIII and his sister, and attempted to make contact with the Sorbonnist Edmond Richer, a critic of the pope's temporal claims; he also saw the exiled Toby Matthew The next stage of the journey, after Easter, was to Heidelberg and Frankfurt (where the party witnessed the imperial election); from there they went on to Spa, and returned to England via the Low Countries, visiting Maastricht, Louvain, and Brussels (and possibly Antwerp).

On his return to England, Donne moved, with his family, into a house belonging to Sir Robert Drury and near to the Drurys' own substantial house on Drury Lane. He stayed here until 1621. A number of public and personal events provided the occasions for poems during the period after his travels abroad. Donne contributed an elegy for the third edition of Joshua Sylvester's *Lachrymae lachrymarum*, a memorial volume to Prince Henry, who had died in November 1612; he also wrote an epithalamion for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, the elector palatine ('Hail Bishop Valentine, whose day this is') – the latter a piece that deftly unites attention to the significance of the day upon which the marriage fell (St Valentine's day) with decorous celebration of the couple's equality and mutuality in love. A visit to his friend Sir Henry Goodyer in the spring of 1613 was probably commemorated in Donne's 'Goodfriday, 1613: Riding Westward'; Donne was probably on his way from Goodyer's house at Polesworth to Sir Edward Herbert at Montgomery Castle.

Donne was still in search of an office, and sought the patronage of those who seemed most likely to be able to help; it was during 1613 that he offered his services to Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester (later earl of Somerset). Carr was engaged in the attempt to make Frances Howard (then married to the earl of Essex) his wife, and it was at this time that Donne was presented to him by another of James's Scottish favourites, James Hay. Donne later offered to write a defence of the nullity pronounced on Howard's previous marriage, and he produced an epithalamion for her wedding to Carr, which took place in December 1613. The epithalamion is a notoriously complicated response to a marriage that was regarded with some misgivings even before the bride and groom were accused of complicity in the murder of Carr's former secretary, Sir Thomas Overbury. Donne frames his poem with an eclogue, explaining that the epithalamion was written in his absence from the court and is being delivered late, and offering to burn it. Seemingly, he removes from himself responsibility for the poem or its reception while still delivering it – an extreme example of the modesty topos, which might point to the anxieties surrounding the event being celebrated.

Also in 1613-14 the young Lord Harington, brother of Lucy, countess of Bedford, died of smallpox, occasioning Donne's long 'Obsequies to the Lord Harrington', at the end of which

he announces that his muse has 'spoken her last'. Donne himself had been ill during the winter of 1613-14, as had all of his family, and in May 1614 his daughter Mary died. As well as writing to and for his powerful friends and patrons, Donne was involved once more in the daily business of politics and public life, being returned as MP for Taunton in the short-lived Addled Parliament of April-June 1614. He served on several committees, but there is no evidence of his speaking during the session's debates. It was the search for employment that must have greatly occupied Donne during this period, as it had for some years. Before parliament assembled, he wrote to Carr (now earl of Somerset) asking him to put him forward to the ambassadorship to Venice (recently vacated by Sir Dudley Carleton), and later in the year he made more than one attempt to gain a place directly from the king. These were, however, all unsuccessful, and Donne once again was advised to enter the church, as he had been on the publication of *Pseudo-Martyr* four years earlier. He had certainly not neglected his studies: according to Walton, at this time Donne was studying Greek and Hebrew (Walton, 46); Donne himself mentions in a letter that he was employed 'in the search of the eastern tongues' (Gosse, 2.16), and he may well have made use of the visits of the scholars Isaac Casaubon and Hugo Grotius in 1613-14. As it became increasingly clear that his path to advancement lay in divine and not secular employment, Donne chose to gather his poems for publication, finding that he needed to call in manuscripts that he had sent to friends: 'by this occasion', he wrote, 'I am made a Rhapsoder of mine own rags, and that cost me more diligence, to seek them, then it did to make them' (Donne, *Letters*, 197). However, this edition appears never to have been printed.

It is impossible to tell exactly when Donne wrote his *Essays in Divinity*. When the book was published posthumously in 1651, his son John Donne the younger wrote that it was 'writ when the Author was obliged in Civill business, and had no ingagement with that of the Church', and that the essays were 'the voluntary sacrifices of severall hours, when he had many debates betwixt God and himself, whether he were worthy, and competently learned to enter Holy Orders' (*Essays in Divinity*, 3, 4), but this suggestion that the work should be dated to the years immediately preceding Donne's ordination has no other support, internal or external. Certainly at times the *Essays* read like self-conscious apprentice-work – Donne is performing a very careful kind of exegetical meditation on the beginning of Genesis and on Exodus – and their tone stands at a curious mid-point between the private and the public; at one point Donne refers to them as 'sermons' with 'no Auditory' (*Essays in Divinity*, 41). While it is likely that they were finished by 1615, however (there are no references to books published after this date), they may have been begun much earlier and added to over a long period. It may be significant that Donne uses the Geneva Bible throughout, rather than (as might be expected were he writing after 1611) the King James Version – but he can also be found using the Geneva and a range of other versions after his ordination in his sermons. The *Essays*, when they have received critical attention, have been praised for the prayers with which they conclude; but there is much more of interest to them than these short devotional pieces. The *Essays* show Donne's sceptical attitude to human authorities and testimonies engaging with Reformation arguments about the relative status of tradition and authority in doctrine.

Priest and preacher

Donne was ordained deacon and priest on 23 January 1615, in St Paul's, with John King, the bishop of London, officiating. He wrote a series of letters to friends and patrons announcing his ordination, and adopted a new seal, exchanging the sheaf of snakes for an image of Christ crucified on an anchor. Appointed soon after his ordination to a royal chaplaincy, Donne attended the king on James's visit to Cambridge in March, where he was, despite apparent

reluctance on the part of the vice-chancellor, awarded an honorary doctorate of divinity. His first sermon was, according to Walton, preached at Paddington (Walton, 48); but the first to survive bears the heading 'Preached at Greenwich, Aprill 30. 1615'. Recent research supports Jessop's contention (challenged by Bald) that the sermon was preached to the court at Greenwich, not in the parish church there. For the rest of his career Donne would combine preaching in parish churches with addressing more elevated authorities, at court, at Lincoln's Inn, and at St Paul's Cathedral, among other places.

Donne received his first benefices in the year following his ordination, being granted Keyston in Huntingdon in January 1616 and Sevenoaks in Kent in July 1616. In October 1616 he was appointed as reader in divinity at his old inn of court, Lincoln's Inn. This, along with his duties at court as chaplain-in-ordinary (he seems to have mainly preached there during Lent), was his main occupation as a preacher in the first years of his ministry. In 1617 he preached his first sermon at the outdoor pulpit at Paul's Cross, on 24 March – the anniversary of the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of King James – just after James had set off on a journey to Scotland. In July of the same year he preached at his living in Sevenoaks, with Lady Anne Clifford in the congregation. Another sermon from this year was on a more private and melancholy occasion: on 10 August Ann Donne gave birth to a stillborn child, and five days later she died. Donne preached the funeral sermon at St Clement Danes (the incumbent had himself died recently, and it was Donne's parish church) and he commissioned a monument from Nicholas Stone to commemorate his wife. Walton gives an affecting account of the sermon, and of Donne's ability to move his auditory:

> And indeed his very looks and words testified him to be truly such a man [one who had 'seen affliction']; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, exprest in his Sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness. (Walton, 52)

Donne and diplomacy: travel in Germany, 1619-1620

Having sought some form of diplomatic employment during the years before his ordination, Donne was finally sent in 1619 on an embassy in the capacity of chaplain to Viscount Doncaster. James, always determined to live up to his motto *Beati pacifici* ('Blessed are the peacemakers'), believed that he could mediate between the holy Roman emperor and the Bohemian protestants and put a halt to the conflict that would become the Thirty Years' War. Doncaster was appointed ambassador in February, but the party did not set out until May. Donne must have been chosen at least in part because of his understanding of the continental situation – indeed, about 1615 he had been entrusted with a cipher, and was set another by Wotton in 1623. He was, through his controversial works and his wide reading, well placed to undertake such a mission. Donne appears to have been concerned for his safety on his journey, and before he departed he made preparations in case he should not return, sending his manuscript of *Biathanatos* to Sir Robert Ker. He preached a farewell sermon at Lincoln's Inn, and about this time he composed the 'Hymne to Christ, at the Authors Last Going into Germany'.

The embassy travelled from Calais to Antwerp, Brussels, and then Mariemont, where they met the archduke. After this they went on to Heidelberg to meet Frederick, the elector palatine, and Princess Elizabeth (James I's son-in-law and daughter), before whom Donne preached a sermon. Doncaster then proceeded to meetings with allies of the emperor, travelling to Ulm, Augsburg, and Munich, where he met the duke of Bavaria. In Saltzburg he met Ferdinand himself, and attempted to put the case for treating with the Bohemians, but to

little avail. The imperial elections took place at Frankfurt, and Doncaster and many of his party were present, though when he saw that his diplomacy was having no effect he moved on to the Spa, with Donne in attendance. Meanwhile, Frederick was chosen as king of Bohemia and Ferdinand as emperor. In the final stages of his mission, Doncaster pursued the new emperor to Graz, where he was granted an audience, and then set off on his return journey, again having failed to sway Ferdinand towards peace. The embassy travelled to The Hague, where Donne preached, and was given a medal commemorating the Synod of Dort: this gift could be seen as acknowledging his status as a moderate and sympathetic member of the European protestant movement. Finally, the party reached London on 1 January 1620: James's ambitions as peacebroker had been disappointed, and Donne and his companions had experienced the frustration of seeing their embassy exploited as a delaying tactic by the emperor while the protestant forces suffered and remained unassisted by the English.

Donne's ecclesiastical career, 1620-1631

On his return from the continent Donne resumed his duties at Lincoln's Inn; he also celebrated the wedding of Sir Francis Nethersole to Lucy Goodyer, daughter of his friend Sir Henry. He was actively seeking promotion, however, and it is known that twice in 1620-21 his hopes were frustrated. Late in August 1621, though, the bishop of Exeter died, and was succeeded by Valentine Cary, dean of St Paul's: it was decided that Donne would take Cary's place, and he was formally elected and installed on 22 November. Donne resigned from his living at Keyston in October 1621, and also from his readership at Lincoln's Inn (though it is first recorded only in early 1622). As a parting gift to the inn he donated the six-volume edition of the Vulgate with Nicholas de Lyre's commentary. Information on Donne's deanship is scarce; the act-books of the chapter for his incumbency do not survive and recent researches have failed to uncover more material. On being appointed Donne moved his residency to the deanery of St Paul's and, according to Walton, 'immediately after he came to his Deanry, he employed work-men to repair and beautify the Chapel' (Walton, 55).

As dean, Donne's preaching duties were not onerous: he was obliged only to preach on Christmas day, Easter day, and Whit Sunday. But he certainly did more than this bare minimum, and a number of sermons on other occasions survive. Nor did he preach only in the cathedral. In February 1622 Donne was appointed to the living of Blunham in Bedfordshire, in the gift of the earl of Kent, and it seems that he spent time there each summer, as had been his custom with his other livings. Moreover, he continued to preach at court, and elsewhere. In August 1622 he preached before Doncaster, the earl of Northumberland (Doncaster's father-in-law), and the duke of Buckingham at Hanworth, and later that year he was chosen to deliver a sermon on a highly sensitive political occasion. During 1622 the protestant forces had been suffering defeats in Germany, and at the same time the negotiations for a Spanish marriage for Prince Charles were progressing; there was a degree of popular unrest, and James's policies were being criticized from the pulpits. On 4 August the king issued directions to preachers, severely restricting the subjects, political and doctrinal, that could be treated by ordinary clergy, and ordered Donne to justify the directions in a sermon at Paul's Cross on 15 September. The sermon is a consummate example of orderly preaching which also has the ability to offer implicit counsel, but it received mixed reactions when it was delivered: Chamberlain suspected that Donne was not committed to his task (*Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2.451), but James was impressed, and ordered the sermon to be printed. It was quickly published with a dedication to Buckingham, the first of Donne's sermons to appear in print. This was the first of several important public sermons Donne delivered in autumn 1622. He preached the annual Gunpowder Plot sermon at St Paul's on 5 November, and James demanded to see it – though this time it was not printed. Just over a

week later, on 13 November, he preached to the Virginia Company (of which he had been made an honorary member on 22 May and an honorary member of the council on 3 July), at St Michael Cornhill. This sermon was printed, and was dedicated to the company.

The next of Donne's sermons to be printed was preached and published in 1623, on the occasion of the consecration of the new chapel at Lincoln's Inn. Delivered on Ascension day, it was printed with the title *Encaenia*. As in his defence of the directions to preachers, in this sermon Donne characteristically engages with discretion in a highly controversial subject. Not only the issue of outward displays of worship (addressed by Donne in his dedicatory epistle to the masters of the bench), but also the more specific question of what the function of consecration was in a reformed church, are discussed with a polemical force that derives precisely from Donne's choice of a moderate and moderating voice. In October 1623 Donne preached at the law serjeants' feast, although this sermon does not survive. However, the occasion is a reminder that during his time as dean Donne also had occasion to use his legal training. He served as a justice of the peace in Kent and Bedford, and he was appointed thirteen times to hear appeals from lower ecclesiastical courts and sit in the court of delegates.

During 1623 Donne was engaged in negotiations for the marriage of his daughter Constance to the former actor and founder of Dulwich College, Edward Alleyn; the wedding took place on 3 December. During this winter, however, Donne was seriously ill with what seems to have been a combination of 'relapsing fever' with the less grave 'rewme' (Donne, *Devotions*, xiii-xvii). This illness he used as the foundation of the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, printed in early 1624 (it was entered in the Stationers' register on 9 January) and dedicated to Prince Charles. The book, organized into a series of twenty-three meditations, expostulations, and prayers, follows the progress of the illness through Donne's body as he observes himself and considered himself as a type of mankind. It is striking in its dogged pursuit of the possible meanings, spiritual and physical, of the symptoms Donne observes as he works away at the questions of the relation between internal and external, the corporeal and the intellectual, the human and the divine. In March 1624 Donne was appointed to the living of St Dunstan-in-the-West, whose incumbent had recently died and which was in the gift of the earl of Dorset. The parish was in the centre of the legal district as well as being surrounded by stationers' shops, and Donne's congregation there must have contained many lawyers, judges, and printers as well as other citizens. As with his personal chapel at the deanery of St Paul's, Donne initiated renovations at St Dunstan's soon after his appointment.

In 1625 Donne composed the only poem that can be dated with certainty from this period of his life – and it may well have been his last. 'An Hymne to the Saints, and to Marquesse Hamylton' was written at the request of Sir Robert Ker (Hamilton died on 2 March). The same year saw the death of James I (on 27 March) and the accession of Charles I: Donne preached the first sermon before the new king, on 3 April, and a sermon before the body of James on 26 April. He was ill once more, and was forced to leave London because of the plague that swept the city from the summer; staying in Chelsea with Sir John and Lady Danvers until December, he made use of his temporary exile by writing out many of his sermons – he refers to having completed eighty in a letter to Sir Thomas Roe of 25 November (Bald, 479). There was some familial disturbance in Donne's life, however, as he and his son-in-law Edward Alleyn quarrelled over £500 that Alleyn claimed Donne had promised to lend him and then refused to deliver.

After the plague was over, Charles was crowned in 1626 and called his first parliament.

Convocation also met, and Donne was chosen prolocutor. He preached the annual Lent sermon at court, and at Charles's suggestion it was printed, with a dedication to the king. Donne clearly retained the royal favour he had enjoyed under James. 1626 was a busy year for him in the pulpit, and he was also appointed a governor of the Charterhouse. The following year his royal favour slipped briefly, as the king – via William Laud – demanded to see a copy of the sermon Donne had preached at court on 1 April. It appears that they suspected him of joining with Archbishop Abbot's criticism of James Montagu and Robert Sibthorpe, who had recently preached sermons in support of Laud's ceremonial innovations. Donne would thus, by extension, be criticizing Laud himself. The sermon was scrutinized, and Donne was cleared.

In 1627 Donne's daughter Lucy died, as well as several of his old friends: Goodyer died on 18 March; Lady Bedford on 31 May; and Lady Danvers in early June. He preached the latter's funeral sermon, and it was subsequently printed. On 19 November he preached at the wedding of Lady Mary Egerton, daughter of the earl of Bridgewater, to the son and heir of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Little detailed information is available about Donne's activities during the final years of his life, aside from his attendance at various meetings (for instance, the vestry meetings at St Dunstan's and the meetings of the governors of the Charterhouse), his presence as judge or signatory in legal cases, and his preaching of several datable sermons at Paul's Cross, St Paul's, and the court. It is known that he continued to suffer from ill health: from August 1629 he was unwell with a quinsy, and he seems to have been frequently ill with fever during 1630 – possibly a symptom of the stomach cancer that eventually killed him. Had he lived, Donne would almost certainly have been appointed to a bishopric: by summer 1630 he was listed as a candidate for a see whenever a vacancy should open. However, his health was failing, and when his daughter Constance remarried in June 1630 (Alleyn had died in 1626), he went to stay with her at Aldborough Hatch in Essex and remained there until early 1631. His mother, who had been living with him at the deanery, and who had accompanied him to Aldborough Hatch, died in January 1631. Donne had already made his will, on 13 December 1630, and he would only live for another three months.

Donne returned to London, scotching rumours of his death, and on 25 February he preached his final sermon, at Whitehall. This is an extended meditation on mortality and resurrection, later printed as *Deaths Duell* (it was entered in the Stationers' register on 30 September 1631); according to Walton many of his auditors at the time said 'that Dr. Donne *had preach't his own Funeral Sermon*' (Walton, 75). Donne spent the time remaining to him preparing for death, practically and spiritually. He dealt with the final remaining cathedral business, he posed in his shroud for a monument (the sculpture by Nicholas Stone, funded by Donne's doctor Simeon Fox, remains in St Paul's today, and the sketch for this was also the model for the engraving by Martin Droeshout on the frontispiece of *Deaths Duell*), and he bade farewell to his friends. He died at the deanery on 31 March, and Walton gives an affecting portrayal of his end (Walton, 81-2). He was buried, on 3 April, in St Paul's, and the Latin epitaph on his monument may well have been written by Donne himself. Among those who survived him was his son John Donne the younger, author and literary executor.

Donne left his sermons to Henry King, and they later, by a rather murky process, went via Walton to John Donne the younger, who published those in his possession in three folio volumes (*LXXX Sermons* appeared in 1640, *Fifty Sermons* in 1649, and *XXVI Sermons* in 1661). One hundred and sixty of Donne's sermons survive, and they demand reading and study not just as the major productions of his maturity but also as intricate and beautiful

pieces of prose. Donne's religious stance has been much debated from his lifetime on, and the sermons demonstrate that while he continued the controversial interests of his early polemical works, his concern during his ministry was most often to seek edification – of his auditors and of the English church – and, while criticizing those whom he regarded as sectarians, both puritan and Roman Catholic, to find some form of accommodation with elements of both. As Donne preaches to congregations ranging from the inhabitants of Blunham to the members of the courts of James I and Charles I, he can be seen to be mapping out a middle way that offers at the same time a strong vision of a church still seeking identity and a voice with which its ministers can speak both with and to authority.

Donne's afterlife

Immediately after his death Donne's greatness was celebrated by a host of poets, especially in the collection of 'Elegies upon the Author' contained in the two first editions of the posthumously published *Poems* (1633; 1635). Writers such as John Marston, Jonson, Henry King, Richard Corbet, Thomas Carew, Lucius Carey, Jasper Mayne, Sidney Godolphin, and, of course, Izaak Walton joined in praising Donne's skill as poet, divine, and versatile intellectual. Although Carew's elegy (probably now the most famous) singled out for praise Donne's poetic inventiveness, many of the others are notable for their concentration on Donne as a preacher – perhaps surprising in a volume of his poetry. In fact, Donne's verse was not widely known during his life. The poems were initially circulated among a small coterie of readers and, although they soon moved beyond that circle to be copied and recopied in manuscript collections, the paucity of early manuscript witnesses suggests that they travelled somewhat slowly. By the 1620s Donne's secular poetry was appearing regularly in manuscript miscellanies, but by this time he had been ordained for five years and the time of many of the poems' composition was long past.

It was in the decades immediately following Donne's death that his fame as a poet reached its height. The publication of the *Poems* in 1633 made them available to a wide readership, and the printer's address to the reader emphasized that already it was taken for granted by 'the best judgements' that Donne's poetry was 'the best in this kinde, that ever this Kingdome that yet seene'. If this was a puff, it worked: there were six editions in the twenty-three years after Donne's death. Through the middle decades of the seventeenth century he was read, admired, and imitated, with further works being printed. Although several of the elegy writers of the 1633 volume had recourse to the paradoxical topos that after Donne's death it is impossible to write, his successors in fact seized the challenge enthusiastically, finding in Donne a model of a new literary style.

However, Donne's fortunes underwent a sudden reversal in the late 1660s. In place of imitation and celebration, there is a firm rejection of his styles of thought and writing. The challenge that Carew found in Donne's prosodic inventiveness, his 'masculine expression', was considered by critics of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to be one not worth taking up. The 'roughness' of his metre condemned him as old-fashioned, and while his conceits and his wit were praised, they were alleged to overpower the poems and the reader. Dryden criticized Donne for putting wit above feeling in his love poems, and his most critical comments were taken up with enthusiasm in the eighteenth century. This line of attack was pursued most violently by Samuel Johnson in his *Life of Cowley* (1781), during the course of a general assault on the 'metaphysical poets'. Putting ingenuity above poetry, wrote Johnson, 'their thoughts were often new, but seldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they just; and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found' (Smith, 1.218). Donne

was deemed indecorous, decadent, and an incompetent versifier (Pope had produced 'versions' of *Satires 2* and *4* in an attempt to regularize them); old editions of his writings became hard to find and new ones were few and very badly produced, riddled with errors. Dissenting voices were rarely heard and the force of their arguments was necessarily reduced by the difficulty of appealing to widely known texts: the feeling against Donne was often based on, at best, a half-knowledge of the works being dismissed.

Writers of the early nineteenth century, by contrast, saw Donne as offering a mirror of some of their own most pressing concerns. Coleridge in particular stands out not only for the range and acuity of his readings of Donne but also in his treatment of the poems as arguments rather than (as Johnson did) a series of discrete and disjointed conceits. As the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a surge of interest in the complex relationship between language, thought, and feeling, innovative writers like Coleridge and Godwin celebrated Donne for the individuality of his poetic voice, the force of his unusual images, and his exploration of the boundaries of genre. Coleridge made copious marginal notes in Charles Lamb's copy of the poems – notes that, among other things, show just how carefully Coleridge understood Donne's metrical inventiveness; he states that 'in poems where the writer *thinks*, and expects the reader to do so, the sense must be understood in order to ascertain the metre' (Smith, 1.266). But beyond the group of writers and intellectuals who were developing an interest in Donne in the nineteenth century (a group that included Charles Lamb, Thomas De Quincey, James Henry Leigh Hunt, Elizabeth Barrett, Robert Browning, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry David Thoreau), his works were reaching a wider readership once more. The need for new editions was repeatedly asserted and, to some extent, met by Henry Alford's *Works of John Donne* (1839). The first modern edition of the poems, on bibliographical principles, was produced by Grosart in 1872 for the Fuller's Worthies Library – a milestone in the study and reception of Donne, despite its thoroughly unreliable text. Donne still remained something of an acquired taste, however, and it was the work of scholars and critics at the very end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries that saw a wholesale rehabilitation.

Edmund Gosse's magisterial *Life and Letters of John Donne* (1899) established a context for the understanding of his works, and the editorial labours of J. R. Lowell and C. E. Norton (1895) and E. K. Chambers (1896) went some way to providing a widely available text for the poems. It was with H. J. C. Grierson's two-volume edition of the *Poems* (1912) that modern bibliographical techniques were properly applied to Donne. Grierson's edition, along with his anthology *Metaphysical Poetry: Donne to Butler* (1921) also initiated a new interpretative framework for Donne. T. S. Eliot's review of that anthology (1921) celebrated Donne as a precursor of the modernist poet. From the early years of the twentieth century, and with the emergence and consolidation of English literature as a university subject, Donne's place in the canon was assured. Scholars using diverse critical approaches have found Donne an engaging and rewarding subject for commentary. One of the most important aspects of many of these responses to Donne has been their increasing tendency to follow Coleridge in taking Donne's argumentation seriously – a path followed especially brilliantly by the various essays of William Empson. An equally significant aspect of Donne's reputation in the twentieth century has been his popularity as a poet of love. Several of the *Songs and Sonets* in particular have been celebrated as masterpieces of the genre, and as a result feature frequently in popular and scholarly anthologies. Audio recordings of the poems (most notably an intense performance by the actor Richard Burton) also focus on the erotic affect of Donne's individuality of voice.

Both romantics and critics alike have tended to concentrate on a fairly narrow selection of Donne's works. None the less, with the appearance of the critical editions (most recently the multi-volume variorum edition of the poems), the increasing interest in manuscript studies, and the developing links between literary criticism and history, readers have the tools at hand to produce richer and more firmly grounded contributions to the ongoing debate about the meanings of Donne's life and writings. At present, his reputation is secure as one of the most significant writers of the English Renaissance."

James Ussher (1581-1656)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:

"Ussher, James (1581-1656), Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh and scholar, was born in Nicholas Street, Dublin, on 4 January 1581, the fifth of ten children of Arland Ussher (*d.* 1598), one of the clerks of chancery, and his wife, Margaret (*d.* 1626), daughter of James Stanyhurst, gentleman, of Corduff, co. Dublin, and Anna Fitzsimons; Ambrose Ussher (*c.*1582-1629) was his only surviving brother. Both his parents came from prominent Anglo-Irish families, and James was brought up in a prosperous Dublin household. Though some branches of the family had opted for Catholicism by the end of the sixteenth century, James's side (with the notable exception of his mother) were protestant, and his uncle Henry Ussher was Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh from 1595 to 1613.

Early education and Trinity College, Dublin, 1594-1618

According to Nicholas Bernard, his first biographer, who provides many unique (and, of course, unverifiable) details of his early life, Ussher was taught to read, rather incongruously, by two aunts blind from infancy. As an eight-year-old he was sent to the nearby Dublin Free School kept by two firmly protestant Scottish graduates, James Hamilton and James Fullerton. When the new Irish university, Trinity College, Dublin, was opened in 1594, Ussher entered as one of the first scholars, and was joined by Hamilton and Fullerton as two of its first fellows. This was a crucial choice: although it was founded to educate the youth of Ireland, Trinity's commitment to the Reformation ultimately ensured that it had a much narrower remit – to train the protestant élite for the church and state in a largely Catholic country. More than that, Trinity's protestantism was of an uncompromising type: its first real provost was the English presbyterian leader Walter Travers, who entertained in Trinity his fellow presbyterian Humphrey Fenn, and it was, not surprisingly, dogged in its early decades by accusations that it harboured puritans. The young Ussher therefore encountered at Trinity a firmly Calvinist outlook which shaped his theology and may also have influenced his later tolerance towards nonconformity.

Ussher had gained his BA by 1598, and in the same year his father (who had wanted him to become a lawyer) died, leaving him free to pursue a career in the ministry. In 1599 he impressed the earl of Essex at a public disputation in Trinity, and he proceeded MA on 6 February 1601. Generally, both through his own efforts, and through those of his teachers, he received a thorough academic grounding, learning Greek and Hebrew (and subsequently several other ancient languages), being taught divinity by Travers and being introduced to Ramist logic, and commencing his lifelong fascination with biblical chronology. He also, again according to Bernard, launched himself at the age of twenty on the immense and eighteen-year-long task of reading through the entire corpus of the Latin and Greek church fathers. In 1600 he made the transition from student to fellow, and was awarded the degrees of BD in 1607 and DD in 1612. He was ordained in December 1601, having obtained a dispensation allowing him to be made priest before the canonical age.

As a fellow, Ussher was active both outside and within the university as a preacher and teacher. He was one of a trio of Trinity fellows who provided three weekly public lectures in Christ Church, Dublin. In 1602 he also preached to Catholic congregations during a brief campaign to force recusants to attend protestant services. The suspension of this campaign on the order of the lord deputy, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, led him to attack official toleration of Catholicism in a sermon on Ezekial 4: 6, in which he predicted a judgement after forty years. He was presented by Archbishop Adam Loftus of Dublin to the chancellorship of St Patrick's Cathedral in 1605 (illegally, as it turned out; the mistake was rectified by a royal

appointment to the post on 12 July 1611), and served the prebend of Finglas, where he preached every Sunday. Inside the college he acted as catechist, and from 1607 as professor of theological controversies. He was chosen vice-chancellor on 2 March 1615, and became vice-provost on 13 May 1616. Together with Luke Challoner, the vice-provost of Trinity until his death in 1613, Ussher made expeditions to London in 1602, 1606, and 1609 to buy books for the college, and make contact with English literati, including Henry Briggs, John Davenant, Sir Henry Savile, and William Camden. The last-mentioned asked him to contribute material about Ireland for the 1607 edition of *Britannia*.

The main focus of Ussher's early academic career was anti-Catholic theology and history. While still a student, he had challenged his Catholic relative the Jesuit Henry Fitzsimon, then imprisoned in Dublin Castle, to a public disputation on the identification of the pope with Antichrist. Fitzsimon declined to take on the callow youth, but the thrust of Ussher's scholarly interest was confirmed by his lectures as professor, which consisted of a detailed refutation of the theological works of Robert Bellarmine, the great Jesuit controversialist. In 1613 he married Phoebe, daughter of Luke Challoner and Rose Ball, and published his first work, *Gravissimae quaestionis, de Christianarum ecclesiarum… continua successione et statu, historica explication*. This demonstrated what became the hallmarks of Ussher's published work: thorough and impartial scholarship which demonstrated a rare gift for discovering and printing crucial primary sources; often, however, allied to a rather more partial and polemic subtext. The main substance of the work was a meticulous and path-breaking account of many medieval heretical groups, based upon extensive and often original manuscript research. But it also had an underlying polemical purpose: this was to trace the rise of Antichrist in the Roman Catholic church, especially from the eleventh century, and to demonstrate how the purity of the Christian gospel was preserved in the later middle ages by groups such as the Cathars and Waldensians. Hence Ussher sought to emphasize the proto-protestant elements of the heretics, and discard as Catholic distortions evidence which contradicted this. According to the table of contents, the work was to extend up to the Reformation, but the latter part was never completed; Ussher abandoned the narrative in the early twelfth century, thus leaving it unclear just how radical he was prepared to be in tracing a non-episcopal descent for the protestant churches through an at times bizarre collection of heretics.

Ussher was also involved in drawing up the Church of Ireland's first full confession of faith – the articles passed by convocation in 1615. Bernard claimed that Ussher as a member of the lower house was appointed as 'a principal person' to draw them up (N. Bernard, *Judgement of the Archbishop of Armagh*, 1657, 67). Ussher's grandson later argued that this simply meant that he acted as a kind of clerk or editor, later argued that this simply meant that he acted as a kind of clerk or editor, collating the results of the discussions of the two houses of convocation. Modern scholars have tended to interpret his role differently, seeing him as the primary drafter of the Irish articles, a view supported by the overlap between one of his catechisms and some of the articles. Given the complete absence of sources about the working of the convocation, it is impossible to decide with any precision how far he wrote or merely edited the articles. Three things are clear, however: first, the Irish articles were a considerable advance upon the Thirty-Nine Articles, on which they were based – they were fuller, more hostile to Roman Catholicism, much more explicitly Calvinist, incorporating the Lambeth articles – indeed, they acted as a fascinating link between the Elizabethan settlement and the Westminster confession; second, and as a result, they allowed the Irish church to accommodate a far wider range of opinions on the puritan wing than was possible in the Church of England – they were, for instance, more flexible on the issue of episcopacy, and,

crucially, they did not require subscription; and third, Ussher was closely associated, and, as is apparent from his later career, fully supported the theological stance of the Irish articles.

Bishop and politician, 1619-1624

The five years after 1619 dramatically altered Ussher's status and reputation, transforming him from an Irish university professor to a public figure known in England as well as Ireland for his erudition and judiciousness. The key to his new prominence seems to have been his meeting (precise date unknown) with James I. He arrived in England in 1619 (for what turned out to be a two-year stay) with a recommendation from the Irish privy council stressing that, despite rumours to the contrary, he was not puritan, but rather 'an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness, and his life and doctrine so agreeable, as those who agree not with him are yet constrained to love and admire him' (Parr, 15-16). His only child, Elizabeth, was born in London and baptized on 19 September that year at St Dunstan-in-the-East. Always partial to a scholar-cleric, James on 16 January 1621 nominated him to succeed George Montgomery as bishop of Meath, an appointment welcomed at the highest level in Ireland – the Irish lord deputy, Oliver St John, Lord Grandison, wrote to him: 'there is none here but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto, even some Papists themselves have testified their gladness of it' (*Works*, 1.52). Ussher's rapid rise was confirmed when he was invited to preach before the two houses of the English parliament on 18 February 1621 during a joint communion service. The invitation placed him in an interesting position. The king wanted him to use the occasion to urge parliament to grant supply as quickly as possible. But the invitation seems to have come from the firmly protestant circle around the earl of Pembroke, concerned about James's reluctance to support the protestant cause in Europe, and impressed with the strongly anti-Catholic tone of Ussher's sermons since his arrival in London. Typically, Ussher sought to please both parties, reminding the assembled company that 'God loves a giver', before going on to urge firm measures against idolatrous, anti-Christian papists.

Ussher remained in England until the summer, and as a result was not consecrated bishop of Meath until 2 December 1621. Even at this stage the competing demands on his time – episcopal, political, and scholarly – were evident. He had, obviously, many responsibilities in his diocese. As early as July he had been engaged in a dispute with Archbishop Christopher Hampton of Armagh over whether or not he could exercise episcopal jurisdiction before consecration. His first major administrative task was to compile what was, in effect if not in name, a detailed visitation, reporting on the condition of his large diocese to the commissioners sent over from England in 1622. His reply, one of the most detailed, demonstrates that the ministry in Meath, while one of the best equipped in Ireland with preaching ministers, nevertheless was not without its problems, suffering from lay appropriation of benefices, financial difficulties, and decaying church fabric, not to mention the irrefragable determination of the local Irish population to resist all the blandishments and bullying of the protestant church, state, and clergy. Ussher had also to deal with the legally complex and politically sensitive issue of tithing.

Yet Ussher could spend little time in his diocese because of his political and academic commitments. He was now a national figure, a member of the Irish privy council, chosen to preach at the swearing-in on 8 September of the new lord deputy, Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland. Nor was he content with clerical platitudes: at the inauguration he used the pulpit to deliver a clear anti-Catholic and politically loaded message, basing his sermon on Romans 13: 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers', taking as his particular text 'for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon

him that doeth evil'. Ussher's call for the new lord deputy firmly to enforce the laws against recusancy caused considerable and understandable concern among the Irish Catholics, who were hoping that James's pursuit of a Spanish marriage for his son might lead him to be more tolerant in his treatment of his Catholic subjects. The subsequent furore, in which Catholics claimed that Ussher had stated that 'the sword had rusted too long in the sheath' (*Works*, 15.181), led to a reprimand for Ussher from Hampton, who called on him to withdraw his offensive remarks and suggested that in future he spend more time in his diocese. But his views were not all that dissimilar to those of the Dublin administration, and in November 1622 the authorities chose him to address a gathering in Dublin of recusant officials who had refused the oath of supremacy: his speech was subsequently published and earned him a commendatory letter from the king.

In addition to his new role as ecclesiastical politician Ussher was determined to maintain his former commitment to academic research and writing. Though he had resigned his professorship on being appointed bishop in 1621, he still used his regular and often lengthy trips to England both to exploit English libraries and also to maintain his extensive contacts with leading scholars such as John Selden, Henry Spelman, and Robert Cotton. One significant result of his researches was a small treatise entitled (in its 1631 edition) *A Discourse of the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and British*, first printed in 1622 as an appendix to a work published by Ussher's friend the Irish judge Christopher Sibthorpe. This set out to examine the early history of the Irish church, and, through a typically Ussherian combination of meticulous scholarship and the anachronistic imposition of later religious concepts and divisions, showed to his satisfaction that the Celtic church in Ireland had been, essentially, protestant. Ussher thus provided the Church of Ireland with its classic origin myth, legitimizing both its descent from the early Irish church and its possession of that church's cathedrals, churches, and livings. This claim formed the basis for countless histories of the Church of Ireland, right down to the twentieth century.

In late summer 1623 Ussher returned to England, where he researched for his major work on 'the antiquities of the British church before and since the Christian faith was received by the English nation' (Parr, 24). This time he remained away until March 1626, delayed in England by a serious fever which laid him low for a considerable period. His priorities were indicated clearly by the letter he secured from James which excused him from his episcopal duties so that he could pursue his project. Certainly the king saw him as a major scholarly and ecclesiastical figure. On 20 June 1624 he preached before James at Wanstead on the universality of the church of Christ, and towards the end of 1624 came his second major scholarly publication, a lengthy work of controversial anti-Catholic theology dedicated to King James, *An Answer to a Challenge Made by a Jesuit in Ireland*. The challenge was to prove that the doctrines held by the Roman Catholic church were not in all respects those of the early Christian church. Ussher unleashed his many years of patristic and historical scholarship to prove that the medieval and modern papacy had strayed from early purity in the familiar controversial areas of real presence, confession, purgatory, prayer for the dead, prayer to saints, images, free will, and merits. In November 1625 he was invited by Lord and Lady Mordaunt (later earl and countess of Peterborough) to visit their home at Drayton in Northamptonshire to engage in a debate with a Catholic priest. The rigour of his arguments routed the priest, and confirmed the wavering Mordaunts in the protestant faith.

Archbishop and politician, 1625-1635

On 3 January 1625 Archbishop Hampton died. With James favourably disposed, and his patron, the puritan Mary, Lady Vere, lobbying secretary of state Edward Conway, Lord

Conway, Ussher was nominated to the primacy on 29 January 1625. When he returned to Ireland in 1626 for his consecration, he found that political tensions were rising. As England moved to war with Spain, King Charles sought to secure his Irish flank against Spanish attack by negotiating with the Irish Catholics, hitherto excluded from political and legal office in Ireland, for a financial contribution to the upkeep of the army. In return Charles offered them a series of concessions (including, initially, religious toleration), which became known as the Graces.

The prospect of sharing power with what he viewed as anti-Christian papists greatly alarmed Ussher, and he called a secret meeting of the Irish bishops at his house in Drogheda in November 1626, which drew up a classic statement of early modern intolerance:

> The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine, erroneous and heretical; their church in respect of both apostatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they might freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin. (Parr, 28)

Conscious that talks between the Irish Catholics and Charles might break down, Ussher initially refrained from publicizing the statement. But by April 1627, with negotiations seemingly moving to a successful conclusion, his doubts were made public in a series of sermons preached in Dublin by Ussher, Archbishop Archibald Hamilton of Cashel, and Bishop George Downham of Derry, with the last-mentioned leading the way on 23 April in Christ Church Cathedral, where he read out the bishops' statement and asked: 'Are not many among us for gain and outward respects, willing and ready to consent to a toleration of false religion?' (Bodl. Oxf., MS Carte 1, fol. 86*r*). That the Irish authorities at least were sympathetic to Ussher's position is suggested by the invitation to the primate to address the assembly called to discuss the Graces on 30 April, so that he could urge all those present to make a contribution to the defence of the country, an occasion which he also used to defend the bishops' outspokenness. In the end the Graces were never officially confirmed by parliament.

After the departure of Lord Falkland in 1629, the two Irish lords justices, Adam Loftus, Viscount Loftus, and Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, filled a long interregnum before the arrival of Thomas Wentworth as lord deputy in 1633. They were finally able to give vent to the innate anti-Catholicism of Irish protestants, and set about closing down Catholic religious houses and imposing conformity. Amid hopes that the new lord deputy would continue this crusade, Ussher made contact with a rising star in the English ecclesiastical scene, William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, seeking to exploit his growing influence over patronage and policy to the benefit of the Irish church. It was to Laud that he explained his own preferred solution to the government's financial problems: since the Irish Catholics were the main source of the state's insecurity, it was only just that they should be made to pay for the support of an army through the imposition of fines for their recusancy. When Wentworth finally arrived in Ireland in 1633, however, it gradually became apparent that both secular and ecclesiastical policy was to be markedly different.

Soon after his arrival Wentworth won over Ussher to the idea of postponing enforcement of the penal laws against Catholics by telling him that only when the Church of Ireland was properly resourced and provided with suitable clergy could the enforcement of conformity begin. And, indeed, one of the signal achievements of Wentworth in Ireland was the generous re-endowment of the established church as possessions and benefices detained by

laymen were confiscated and returned to their rightful clerical owners, a development greatly welcomed by Ussher. On 26 June 1634 the long-pending dispute between the sees of Armagh and Dublin for the primacy of all Ireland was decided by Wentworth in favour of Armagh, and on 14 July Ussher preached the sermon at the opening of the Irish parliament. But the other ecclesiastical policies of Laud and his allies in England and Ireland were less welcome to him. His firm Calvinism could not stomach the rise of Arminianizing clerics, nor could he accept the underlying thrust of Wentworth's and Laud's drive to harmonize the Irish and English churches, part of Charles's and Laud's wider interest in establishing greater conformity among the protestant churches in these islands.

The turning point came in 1634, when Wentworth called parliament and, with it, convocation. With the help of their chief agent in Ireland, John Bramhall, bishop of Derry, Laud and Wentworth set about replacing the Irish articles of 1615 with the thirty-nine English articles, and imposing the English canons of 1604 on the Church of Ireland. The instinctively independent and Calvinist Irish church was horrified at what was seen as a threat to its distinctive character, and Ussher was to the forefront in seeking to oppose the designs of Wentworth and Bramhall. After a series of battles in the lower house, Wentworth accepted a compromise over the articles: the thirty-nine were adopted, but the Irish articles were not thereby annulled, and Ussher, for one, subsequently insisted that clergy assent to both sets. The canons were equally contentious: Wentworth found out, rather belatedly, that convocation had gone through the English canons one by one marking those which they were unwilling to adopt. They were, for instance, deeply hostile to any references to subscription, as likely to restrict the considerable latitude afforded to puritans by the Church of Ireland. Ussher's attitude on this issue can be judged by his response to Wentworth's request to draft an Irish version of the fourth English canon, which provided for subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Ussher's draft read:

> we do approve the book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the … Convocation holden at London in … 1562 … So that if hereafter any minister shall presume to teach anything contrary to the doctrine delivered therein; upon refusal of the correction of his error, he shall be deprived of all … ecclesiastical benefices … (Sheffield City Libraries, Wentworth Woodhouse muniments, vol. 20/172)

The limp 'approval' required by this draft was, from the point of view of Wentworth, wholly useless. Wentworth had as a result to draft his own version, which he bullied convocation into accepting:

> we do receive and approve the book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the … Convocation holden at London in … 1562 … if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of these articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated…
> (*Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, Dublin, 1783, canon 1)

The depth of feeling on Ussher's side was a surprise to Wentworth, who reported to Laud that Ussher had refused to accept the English canons verbatim 'lest Ireland might become subject to the Church of England, as the Province of York is to that of Canterbury. Needs forsooth, we must be a church of ourselves' (Radcliffe, 1.381). As a result, a new set of Irish canons had to be drafted, on the basis of their English counterpart.

A further indication of the change in theological emphasis in the Church of Ireland came with

the appointment in August 1634 of William Chappell as provost of Trinity College. As Ussher was well aware, Chappell, formerly John Milton's tutor at Christ's College, Cambridge, was an Arminian, in the strict theological sense of the term, and his appointment marked a major effort on the part of Laud and Wentworth to reform the Calvinist college by replacing both its statutes and its fellows. The subsequent clash between Chappell and the old guard led Ussher to side with the latter. With the firm support of Wentworth and Laud, Chappell triumphed, however, and Ussher was by the mid-1630s deeply disillusioned about what he saw as the rise of Arminianism in Ireland.

By the end of 1635 it was apparent that there had been a significant shift in power within the church of Ireland; Ussher, though still formally primate of all Ireland, had lost *de facto* responsibility for the everyday running of the Irish church to Bramhall; while power to formulate policy was now in the hands of Laud. Ussher was sensitive to this shift: though he remained on friendly terms with Wentworth, dedicating his 1638 work *Immanuel* to the lord lieutenant, and, indeed, Wentworth retained a guarded respect for the scholar-archbishop, nevertheless, Ussher increasingly withdrew from public life. His correspondence with Laud petered out (Laud in August 1637 complained that he had not heard from Ussher for two years), his trips to England ceased, and he beat a symbolic retreat from Dublin, choosing to live instead in Drogheda, where he had not only his episcopal residence but also his library, and was able to concentrate upon his archdiocese and his research.

As archbishop Ussher was undoubtedly a thorough administrator, but more reactive than active, generally opting for conciliation rather than confrontation. Some historians have claimed that he had a serious disagreement with William Bedell (bishop of Kilmore, 1629-42) over the latter's determination to use the Irish language to evangelize the native population, but this is to misinterpret the evidence. Bedell's efforts to root out abuses among his clergy and corruption in his ecclesiastical courts received a sympathetic hearing from Ussher, but he could do little to help his fellow prelate. Ussher's behaviour when faced with complaints in the early 1630s about the nonconformity of some Church of Ireland clergy in the dioceses of Down and Connor was typical of his approach: he sought to have proceedings against them stayed in the hope that they could continue in their livings. Not surprisingly the nonconformist clergy thought that Ussher was sufficiently sympathetic to tolerate their continued presence in the Church of Ireland.

The studious archbishop, 1631-1639

Ussher had already in 1631 published a history of the controversies surrounding the ninth-century monk Gotteschalc of Orbais. Though apparently obscure, these possessed an acute contemporary relevance, for Gottschalc's primary concern had been to defend a strict doctrine of double predestination. Ussher's account of the medieval arguments was, naturally, scholarly and original, but it could also be read as a coded attack upon Arminian doctrines from an Augustinian perspective. Indeed, the book opened with an account of the rise of the Pelagian heresy, often used by Calvinist scholars in the 1630s – as, for example, by Ussher's friend Samuel Ward – as one of the few means left which they could use to attack Arminianism in print. In the following year, 1632, he turned his attention to Irish history again, producing *Veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum sylloge*, a path-breaking scholarly edition of letters and texts relating to the medieval Irish church which brought together for the first time a remarkable range of essential primary sources. Again, his work was not without contemporary significance, for among the documents were those that showed the early Irish church differing with Rome over Easter, and the papacy establishing its control over the church in Ireland, marking the end, as Ussher saw it, of its early freedom from

Roman domination.

In 1639 came the culmination of Ussher's researches into the early history of Britain and Ireland, with the publication of his *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates*, a monumental work that set out to trace the development of Christianity in these islands from its misty origins to the end of the seventh century. Though it is true that Ussher still believed the mythical story of King Lucius, and even accepted the missionary activities of Joseph of Arimathea in Britain, the *Antiquitates* nevertheless represented 'the most scholarly, extensive and coherent account of the origin and spread of Christianity in Britain that had yet appeared' (Parry, 139). During the 1630s, as his historical interests matured, it became evident that the fiercely anti-Catholic and apocalyptic tone of his earlier writings was much less prominent. But one contemporary concern remained evident in *Antiquitates* – Ussher's anti-Arminianism: the work contained yet another treatment of the efforts to stamp out Pelagianism in Britain.

Between king and parliament, 1640-1649

The dramatic change in political circumstances in 1640, when Charles's growing difficulties in England, Scotland, and Ireland finally forced him to recall parliament, ended Ussher's isolation. In March 1640 Ussher preached the sermon at the opening of the Irish parliament, and in the following month he set out once more for England – never, as it turned out, to return to Ireland. In England, though he settled down again to his usual pattern of scholarly research and preaching, just as in the early 1620s he also became involved in national ecclesiastical politics. But this time he was a much more significant figure. With his firm but moderate Calvinism and his international reputation for scholarship, his opinion was sought and his support courted by both king and parliament. He moved easily in both circles. Over the period 1641-2 he was linked to three leading parliamentary figures, the earl of Warwick, John Pym, and the earl of Bedford. He stayed in London at Warwick's house, reportedly meeting with Pym, and preached regularly from 14 February 1641 to 6 November 1642 at Covent Garden, whose vestry was controlled by Bedford. And he was prepared to criticize the excesses of the Laudian regime, joining with other newly rehabilitated clergy such as Bishop John Williams and William Twisse in a House of Lords committee established on 1 March 1641, which drew up a list of innovations in doctrine, discipline, and liturgy (though again it should be noted that the ever cautious Ussher dissociated himself from an unauthorized published account of their conclusions). Most significant of all, during this period he toyed with the idea of a compromise between episcopacy and presbyterianism. Though not published until after his death, his *Reduction of Episcopacy* probably circulated in London during this period (though its precise history in manuscript is far from clear), offering an alternative to the puritan demand for the elimination of bishops root and branch.

Not surprisingly, therefore, after Ussher was deprived of his home and his income by the Irish rising of October 1641, parliament was prepared to grant him a pension of £400. However, in a neat illustration of his value to both sides, the king also sought to provide for him, granting him in February 1642 the temporarilities of the vacant see of Carlisle. And indeed for all his Calvinism, he was, it must always be remembered, a bishop and a firm royalist. It was Ussher who advised Charles in May 1641 that he need not sign the earl of Strafford's bill of attainder (at least, that is the most credible of various conflicting accounts of Charles's consultation with his bishops over this delicate matter of conscience), it was to Ussher that Charles entrusted his last message to Strafford before his execution on 12 May, and it was Ussher who attended Strafford on the scaffold, and gave a laudatory account of Strafford's bravery when facing death. Equally, though prepared to modify episcopacy,

Ussher was still a stout defender of the institution. Throughout the period 1641-4 he used all his historical skills to demonstrate that episcopacy had been instituted in the early days of the church, producing a series of five works: *The judgement of Doctor Rainolds touching the original of episcopacy. More largely enlarged out of antiquity by James Ussher* (1641); *A Geographical and Historical Disquisition, Touching Asia* and *The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans* (both published as part of *Certain Brief Treatises*, 1641); and two treatises on the Ignatian epistles, both published in 1644. The first of these stimulated John Milton to a reply which was exactly the opposite to Ussher's flat prose style and cautious conclusions. The last two represent one of Ussher's great scholarly achievements: through alert textual detective work he sorted the true from the false letters of the early church father Ignatius, and showed conclusively that those of his letters which contained some of the earliest information about the superior role of bishops in the church were genuine. Though, as Milton aggressively indicated, such historical acuteness was not always acceptable to the hotter sort of protestants, modern scholarship has made only minor adjustments to Ussher's conclusions.

As king and parliament moved closer to war, in late 1642, Ussher moved to Oxford. The purpose was to pursue his studies, and this is perfectly believable, but it also placed him in one of the key royalist centres of power, close to the king. Cautious as ever, he did, it is true, seek and gain parliamentary permission to move with his family to Oxford. But as divisions hardened, it was no longer possible to straddle both camps, and in Oxford he firmly committed himself to the king. On several occasions in 1643-4 he preached before Charles. He also offered him advice on Irish affairs, though here the king's desperate desire for accommodation with the confederate Irish – in particular his willingness to grant a formal toleration of Catholicism – ran directly counter to the primate's instinctive anti-popery. In July 1643 parliament made one last attempt to gain Ussher's support, inviting him to attend the Westminster assembly. His peremptory refusal to take up his position or even to recognize the assembly ended parliamentary hopes that his Calvinism and anti-Catholicism might outweigh his royalism.

Now identified with the royal cause, Ussher inevitably suffered as its position worsened. In March 1645 he left Oxford in the entourage of Prince Charles, to make for Bristol, and thence moved to Cardiff, where his son-in-law Sir Timothy Tyrrell was the royalist governor. There he remained for nearly a year, continuing his studies, and preaching before Charles when the king arrived in Cardiff following the battle of Naseby. As the royalist position deteriorated, Ussher considered emigrating to France, but instead opted to remain in Wales, removing himself and his family to stay with Lady Stradling in her castle at St Donats in Glamorgan. After a dangerous encounter with what he termed 'the rude Welsh', which led to the loss of many of his papers, he arrived safely at St Donats, where he immediately began ransacking the considerable library. In June 1646 he had to leave Wales and made for London, where he came under the protection of his friend the countess of Peterborough, who put him up at her various houses for the remainder of his life. The return of such a noted royal supporter did not go unnoticed, especially since he took up a preaching position at Lincoln's Inn early in 1647, and later in the same year he was summoned to appear before parliamentary commissioners. Though they insisted that he take the negative oath, his friends in parliament ensured that this was never pressed, and he returned unmolested to his preaching.

Ussher's prominence on the national stage was not, however, completely over. In 1648 Charles, imprisoned on the Isle of Wight, sought the advice of leading clerics, and Ussher was allowed to travel to see him on 7 November. Hopes on the parliamentary side that Ussher might persuade the king to moderate his religious principles proved unavailing, as the

primate seized the opportunity of a sermon before the king on his birthday on 19 November to reassert the divine source of royal authority and insist that 'If any professor of religion do rebel against the king, that is a scandal to religion' (*Works*, 13.261). When, on 30 January 1649, the king was executed, Ussher watched and wept from the roof of the countess of Peterborough's house in London.

Ussher the scholar, 1647-1655

Apart from his preaching, Ussher's focus now was his research and writing. Just as he had begun his academic career with chronology and the church fathers, so too he returned to the same subjects during his last years, abandoning his interest in polemical theology and Irish history. In 1647 he published *De Romanae ecclesiae symbolo vetere … diatribe*, which provided a learned and distinctive answer to that classic patristic problem: the origin of the creeds. In the following year a treatise on the calendar appeared: *De Macedonum et Asianorum anno solari dissertation: cum Graecorum astronomorum parapegmate, ad Macedonici et Juliani anni rationes accommodato*. This was a technical preamble to his last great published works, *Annales veteris testamenti* (1650) and its continuation, *Annalium pars posterior* (1654). Of all Ussher's works this was the one that gained most international recognition; this was hardly surprising, since it provided a convincing answer to the great theological and cosmological question of the day – the date of the foundation of the world. What Ussher did was to exploit his vast knowledge of ancient languages, calendars, and history and match it to his biblical scholarship to construct a comprehensive chronology which linked together biblical and ancient history. Then, once the Bible was firmly anchored in history, he could count backwards from known biblical dates, through the internal chronology of the Bible, back to Adam. To modern writers, for whom the premiss is ridiculous, Ussher's work seems both fanciful and pedantic in the extreme. But once one grants the premises, the edifice which he erected on it can be recognized for what it is: a highly impressive piece of scholarship. He was of course building upon the work of earlier writers such as Joseph Justus Scaliger, and his precise dating of the foundation of the world to 23 October 4004 BC was, inevitably, challenged by subsequent scholars who disputed details of his interpretation, but the idea that the world was created roughly 4000 years before Christ became fixed in popular consciousness in the English-speaking world largely thanks to Ussher's labours. The popularity of his work was attested both by its rapid translation into English and by the many subsequent editions until well into the eighteenth century. His final work, published in 1655, dealt with the controversy between Buxtorf and Arnold Boate on the one hand, and Capellanus on the other, over the accuracy of the Hebrew and Septuagint texts of the Old Testament.

Though for the most part Ussher lived in semi-retirement in the 1650s, focusing upon his studies, he was still viewed by both sides as a man of influence. In November 1654, when the protectorate parliament sought the advice of ten divines about how to draw up a fundamental statement of the Christian faith which might unite the feuding religious groups in England, he was one of those invited. According to the royalist Robert Waring, he dismissed the offer out of hand, 'as if he should … set up a new religion with them who had destroyed the old religion and episcopacy' (McNeill, 389). According to the somewhat less reliable Richard Baxter, he turned down the offer for himself but co-operated with the efforts of his replacement, Baxter. Ussher's continued loyalty to his episcopal friends was confirmed when restrictions on Anglican clergy and laity were tightened following Penruddock's rising in 1655. It was Ussher who was chosen to petition Cromwell to seek redress. He saw the protector twice, but failed to persuade him to change his policy.

Death and afterlife

In February 1656 Ussher left London for the countess of Peterborough's house in Reigate, where he continued his studies. On 20 March he complained of a violent pain in his side at supper. He took to his bed in great pain, and having prayed with the countess's chaplain, took leave of the countess, thanking her for her long hospitality. He died of an internal haemorrhage about one o'clock in the afternoon of 21 March, his last words being 'O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission' (*Works*, 1.277). His friends intended to bury him privately at Reigate, but Cromwell intervened, offering to pay for a state funeral. Ussher's former chaplain Nicholas Bernard organized the service, and Ussher was buried before a large congregation in St Erasmus's Chapel in Westminster Abbey on 17 April 1656, with Bernard himself preaching the sermon, subsequently published as *The Life and Death of … Dr James Ussher* (1656).

Indeed, Bernard continued to work for Ussher almost as hard after his death as he had before it, carefully guarding and shrewdly shaping and reshaping the primate's reputation in response to the rapidly changing political situation in the latter days of the Commonwealth. In a series of books published between 1656 and 1659 Bernard released previously unpublished works which showed Ussher as a moderate but tolerant episcopalian, providing through his *Reduction of Episcopacy* and his flexible attitude towards extempore prayers a basis on which to construct a more comprehensive protestant church. After the Restoration, however, Bernard changed tack, emphasizing instead Ussher's orthodox adherence to the forms and formularies of the Church of England. The publication in 1661 by Bishop Robert Sanderson of Ussher's posthumous *The Power Communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience Required of the Subject*, a round assertion of the illegality of resistance to a divinely appointed monarch, helped to fix an alternative vision of Ussher as a firm royalist and stout defender of the status quo. But his sympathy for and friendship with puritans ensured that he was revered in the nonconformist tradition too – he was the only prelate included in Samuel Clarke's classic *Lives* of the puritan saints, where he received the remarkable encomium: 'he was then so far from a prelatical spirit, that on the contrary he was an advocate for, and patron of godly and conscientious nonconformists' (Clarke, 286).

Ussher's posthumous reputation underwent a further shift in the 1680s as it was adapted to meet the threat of Catholic rule. One of his other chaplains, Richard Parr, published in 1686 a second life of Ussher, together with a large collection of many of his letters. Parr also emphasized Ussher's Anglican moderation, eliminating many of the puritan associations and friendships which had featured in Bernard's *Life*. But, making an obvious contemporary point, he retained, and emphasized, Ussher's fierce anti-Catholicism. The relevance of this to James II's rule was not lost, and Parr only managed to get the book past the censors by removing several unacceptable passages. At the same time Ussher's afterlife had a more popular dimension. Towards the end of his life he had uttered several gloomy prognostications of the future travails of Protestantism at the hands of the Catholic enemy; these, together with a sermon early in the 1600s, which seemingly forecast the 1641 rising, gave him the status of prophet. *Strange and remarkable prophecies and predictions of the holy, learned and excellent James Ussher* was published first in 1678, and reprinted in England and abroad in the 1680s; it went through numerous subsequent editions at times of religious crisis, being last published as a broadside against the popish threat posed to the Church of England by the Oxford Movement in 1846.

Even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Ussher managed to divide historians. His high-church biographer, and editor of the somewhat unsatisfactory edition of his complete

works, Charles Elrington, clashed in 1849 with the noted presbyterian historian James Seaton Reid about where Ussher was to be placed on the protestant ecclesiological spectrum. The biography of Ussher by R. B. Knox (1967), though written by a Presbyterian, strives to show that Ussher, somewhat anachronistically, was an orthodox 'Anglican'. In fact he was typical of the moderate Calvinism of the Jacobean church, opposed to Laudianism and all that entailed, seeing himself as part of the wider continental reformed traditions. Theologically he was a Calvinist who along with Bishop John Davenant popularized (among academics at least) the idea of hypothetical universalism as a way round the bleaker implications of double predestination. Although, after he was safely dead, a high-church polemicist, Thomas Pierce, claimed that Ussher had towards the end of his life privately renounced the excesses of Calvinism and became a good Arminian, this is about as believable a claim as those made by Catholic opponents that he had considered converting to Catholicism after the disasters of the civil war.

The difficulty in pinning down the real Ussher, and his consequent exploitation by both high- and low-church protestant traditions as 'one of their own', was partly a product of his scholarly method and partly a result of his character. As has been seen, he was a cautious scholar, happiest surrounded by manuscripts in a library. Though he did indeed write polemical works, his style was neither aggressive nor outspoken, but rather consisted in the slow building up of citations, sources, and references. Where he did try to make a contemporary point in print, it was rarely overt and never outspoken. This style was matched by his personality. The surviving portraits of Ussher are remarkably consistent in the portrayal of an archetypal clerical scholar – pure, calm, judicious, and somewhat subfusc. Contemporary accounts of the primate emphasize his disinterested, mild manner, his dedication to learning, and his lack of interest in worldly power. However, though noble, these virtues do not necessarily sit easily with the responsibilities of a seventeenth-century bishop. And, indeed, one distinguished historian, Gilbert Burnet, identified his major fault as his inability to lead: 'he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses' (Burnet, 86). The history of the relations in the 1630s between Ussher and Bedell, though somewhat misinterpreted by some historians, nevertheless suggests a clear contrast between the vigorous and determined Bedell, tackling the abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and the ministry in his diocese and seeking to preach in Irish, and Ussher, sympathetic but less active and far less optimistic about the possibility of actually changing the status quo, and interested in the Irish language as a research tool, but not able himself to preach in it. Richard Parr sought to defend Ussher from Burnet's charge, arguing that trust which several lords deputies exhibited in him proved his 'abilities in matters of govt, when ever he would give his mind to them' (Parr, 35). But the parting caveat is crucial. Though indeed a highly efficient administrator, Ussher did not always give his mind to his episcopal duties: a simple analysis of the time spent in Meath when bishop of Meath confirms this. And in the 1630s he made a clear choice – or, arguably, he had the choice made for him by Wentworth and Bramhall – to leave to one side the role of the primate as leader of the church and to concentrate instead upon his scholarly research.

Whatever the disputes over Ussher's administrative abilities as a bishop, there is no argument over his standing as a scholar and churchman. His long-term legacy includes the first detailed academic treatment of the early Irish church, the creation of an identity myth for Irish Protestantism, the identification of the genuine Ignatian epistles, and even, in extreme fundamentalist circles, the defence of creationism. In terms of his contemporaries he was also noted for his pastoral and spiritual skills. Deeply prayerful, he was repeatedly approached for spiritual advice, comfort, and assistance during his career. His expertise as a

controversialist made him the natural choice to rescue Roman Catholics for the protestant faith – this was, after all, the foundation of his friendship with the countess of Peterborough. His spiritual sensitivity similarly recommended him as counsellor for those who were dying. Thus in 1655, when Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Hugh Cholmley, was asked whom she wished to attend her on her deathbed, she chose Ussher.

But it is on his scholarship that Ussher's reputation ultimately rests. Here the range of his achievements was extraordinary – spanning the Bible, theology, patristics, Irish history, ancient history, ancient languages, chronology, and the calendar. When Selden called his friend 'learned to miracle' (Bernard, 9), he was, of course, exaggerating: but only slightly. He was not a flamboyant scholar, but the depth and breadth of his knowledge rightly earned him the admiration and respect not just of his contemporaries in the republic of letters across Europe, but also of politicians and ecclesiastical leaders of all persuasions."

John Tillotson (1630-1694)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:

"Tillotson, John (1630-1694), archbishop of Canterbury, was born at the end of September or beginning of October 1630 at Haugh End, Sowerby, Halifax, Yorkshire, the eldest of the three sons of Robert Tillotson (*d.*1683), clothier, and his wife, Mary (*d.*1667), daughter of Thomas Dobson of Sowerby. He was baptized on 10 October 1630 at the church of St John the Baptist, Halifax; his godfather was Joshua Witton (*d.*1674), one of the ministers ejected in 1662. His brothers were named Joshua and Israel. Robert Tillotson later was a member of the congregational church in Sowerby gathered by Henry Root, and a friend of the presbyterian Oliver Heywood. In his prayers before his consecration in 1691 the archbishop thanked God that he was 'born of honest and religious parents, tho' of a low and obscure condition', that he was born in a time and place where 'true religion was preached and professed', and that out of his small estate his father had given him a liberal education. He was also grateful that he had not inherited the loss of understanding from which his mother had suffered for so many years (*Works*, 12.5510-12).

Cambridge, 1647-1656

Tillotson's reaction to his puritan upbringing was of enormous importance in shaping his subsequent views of theology and church discipline. Although he abandoned his father's beliefs he kept to the end of his life a deep sympathy with nonconformists for which his high-church enemies never forgave him. He belonged, crucially, to the generation of young men who were educated at Cambridge in the civil war and Commonwealth period and who turned against Calvinist theology, a generation so memorably described by Gilbert Burnet in his *History of my Own Time (Bishop Burnet's History*, 1.186-9. After a grammar school education Tillotson was admitted a pensioner at Clare College, Cambridge, on 23 April 1647 and matriculated on 1 July. His tutor was David Clarkson, subsequently ejected in 1662 from the living of Mortlake, Surrey, and described by Richard Baxter as 'a Divine of extraordinary worth' (*Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 3.97); his fellow students Francis Holcroft, John Denton, and James Calvert themselves became nonconformist ministers, though Denton later conformed. Clarkson's fellowship had previously been held by the royalist Peter Gunning. Tillotson supported the Independents; he wrote to Root that he felt no scruple about taking the engagement (the 1650 declaration of loyalty to the Commonwealth) and referred to the college's receding hopes of obtaining as master the Independent Thomas Goodwin (who went to Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1650; Ralph Cudworth, the somewhat reluctant master of Clare since 1645, moved to Christ's in 1654). Tillotson graduated BA in 1650, proceeded MA in 1654, and was admitted to a probationary fellowship on 14 November 1650; his first pupil, John Beardmore, was put under him on 7 April 1651. About 27 November 1651 he was elected fellow in succession to Clarkson. Tillotson's conduct in college during the interregnum was much criticized for some years after his death by the nonjurors George Hickes, Charles Leslie, Bevil Higgons, and George Smith; this should not be entirely discounted, despite the indignation of Burnet, Tillotson's biographer Thomas Birch, and other supporters. Apart from unverifiable accusations, for example that Tillotson had introduced thanks for the victory over Charles Stuart at Worcester into the college grace, the principal charge was that he had illegally held the fellowship of which Gunning had been deprived, even though his immediate predecessor was Clarkson, a charge borne out of the fact that the college on Gunning's request ejected him from the fellowship after the Restoration. Tillotson thought himself unfairly treated. In answer to Hickes's accusation in *Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson* (1695) that during the interregnum the fellows had not dared oppose him because of his interest with his great masters, Denton wrote that Tillotson 'was much respected by the senior fellows'; this was confirmed by the sole surviving senior fellow

from that time, James Mountain, who had himself fought for Charles I (Whiston, 1.26; Birch, *Life*, 12-14). Beardmore is explicit about the feud between the old and new fellows, but says that he 'never heard … any particular reflections upon [Tillotson] from the other party' (Beardmore, 385).

According to Beardmore's sketch of Tillotson's methods as a tutor and his religious leanings he was 'an acute logician and philosopher [and] a quick disputant' (Beardmore, 382-5). He taught in Latin, which he spoke very well; on Sundays he examined his students in English on the sermons they had heard. He had a great faculty for '*conceived* [extempore] *prayers*' (ibid.) and was 'a very attentive hearer of sermons' (ibid.), attending four every Sunday and the Wednesday lecture at Trinity Church, given in rotation by the best preachers in the university. Beardmore observes that most of the preachers were contraremonstrants, that is, Calvinists, and that Tillotson regularly heard Thomas Hill, master of Trinity, who preached at St Michael's Church on Sunday mornings and at Trinity Church in the afternoons. Among young preachers 'of a freer temper and genius' (ibid.) Beardmore notes Simon Patrick, with whom Tillotson was later closely associated. It is very likely that he also heard the most influential of the anti-Calvinists, Benjamin Whichcote, then provost of King's College: in his funeral sermon for Whichcote (24 May 1683), Tillotson pointed out that Whichcote preached in Trinity Church every Sunday afternoon for almost twenty years (until his ejection at the Restoration), and 'contributed more to the forming of [Cambridge] students … to a sober sense of religion than any man in that age' (*Works*, 2.154).

Early career, 1657-1663

It is not clear at what date Tillotson gave up his sympathy for the Calvinist doctrine and congregational discipline of his youth. Beardmore said he 'got out of the prejudices of his education, when but a very young man in *Cambridge*, divers years before the restoration in 1660, or any prospect of it' (Beardmore, 398). According to Burnet 'he happily fell on' William Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*, 'which gave his mind the ply it held ever after, and put him on a true scent' (Burnet, *Sermon*, 11), but the timing is unknown. In 1656 or 1657 (though still a fellow of Clare) he left Cambridge for London in order to act as chaplain to Edmund Prideaux, Oliver Cromwell's attorney-general, and as tutor to his son. There is no evidence that Tillotson was ordained at this stage. Through Prideaux he ensured that the college was financially compensated for materials seized by parliament during the civil war. He was present at the fast held in Whitehall a week after the protector's death on 3 September 1658, and in later years told Burnet of his revulsion at the blasphemous language used on that occasion by Thomas Goodwin and Peter Sterry, 'enough', Burnet said, 'to disgust a man for ever of that enthusiastick boldness' (*Bishop Burnet's History*, 1.82-3).

From the last years of the interregnum to the Act of Uniformity of 1662 Tillotson maintained close links with the groups who were to become nonconformists, but moved towards the episcopal church. In London he met Ralph Brownrigg, the deprived bishop of Exeter, who was preacher at the Temple in 1659, and John Hacket, later bishop of Lichfield. After the Restoration he was present for part of the abortive Savoy conference (April to July 1661) between Episcopalians and so-called presbyterians on the reform of the liturgy; Baxter, principal spokesman for the latter, describes him as one of 'two or three Scholars and Lay-men, that as Auditors came in with us' (*Reliquiae Baxerianae*, 2.337). About this time he was ordained. The exact date is unknown: Beardmore and Birch suggest 1660 or early 1661, but if Baxter's description is accurate it must have been after the Savoy conference. However, Tillotson is said to have been recommended for a prebend at Ripon in 1660, where John Wilkins was the new dean. This implies an ordination date in 1660, and is difficult to

square with Baxter's statement. (Neither Beardmore nor Birch refers to this episode.) Tillotson obtained episcopal ordination from Thomas Sydserf, bishop of Galloway, the only surviving Scottish bishop, who, according to *Bishop Burnet's History*, did not require oaths or subscriptions. The nonjuror George Smith suggested that Tillotson chose him for that reason. Charles II was initially keen to promote prominent puritan divines to high office in the church: Tillotson told Beardmore in 1661 that if Edmund Calamy had accepted the king's offer of the bishopric of Lichfield, William Bates would have been made dean and he would have been a canon. Tillotson preached his first sermon (date unknown) for his Cambridge friend Denton, at Oswaldkirk, Yorkshire. His first published sermon was a lecture delivered at short notice at St Giles Cripplegate in September 1661 on behalf of Bates, vicar of St Dunstan-in-the-West, which was subsequently included in *The Morning-Exercise at Cripple-Gate* (1661), edited by Samuel Annesley, rector of St Giles. Denton, Bates, and Annesley were soon ejected from their livings; Tillotson, however, chose to conform to the established church. His first office, in 1661-2, was as curate to Thomas Hacket, vicar of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. After Calamy was ejected from St Mary Aldermanbury, Tillotson was eleclted to fill his place by the parishioners in December 1662, but refused their offer. He did, however, accept the presentation of the rectory of Ketton, or Kedington, Suffolk, worth £200 a year, from Sir Thomas Barnardiston in June 1663, after the ejection of Samuel Fairclough. According to the historian Edmund Calamy, grandson of the ejected Calamy, 'it was no small Ease to Mr. *Fairclough* that a man of that Worth did succeed him' (Calamy, 2.638). Hickes regarded this as another example of Tillotson taking another man's property to which he was not entitled. Fairclough's former parishioners were displeased for a different reason: they 'universally complain'd, that Jesus Christ had not been preach'd amongst them, since Mr. TILLOTSON had been settled in the parish' (Birch, *Life*, 18). Tillotson soon abandoned this unfortunate if lucrative rural experiment for far more prominent urban pulpits.

Mid-career, 1663-1688

After the ejection of the nonconformist ministers (24 August 1662) Tillotson became a popular and extremely influential preacher in London. He was an occasional Tuesday lecturer at St Lawrence Jewry (a sermon he published in 1694, *Of the Advantages of an Early Piety*, was preached at St Lawrence in 1662); on one such occasion when he was acting as a replacement preacher he was heard by Edward Atkyns, later baron of the exchequer, who used his influence to have Tillotson elected preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn (26 November 1663). The salary was £100 a year, paid at the end of each term, together with a chamber, commons (meals) for himself and his servant, and £24 for commons during the vacations. He thereupon resigned his Suffolk living. The post at Lincoln's Inn provided him with an audience both intellectually receptive and socially and politically important. In the following year he was elected to the Tuesday lectureship at St Lawrence. His sermons in these pulpits attracted 'crouds of auditors', including lawyers, city merchants, and especially members of the clergy: 'many, that heard him on *Sunday* at *Lincoln's-Inn*, went joyfully to *St. Laurence* on *Tuesday*, hoping they might hear the same sermon again' (Beardmore, 408). Tillotson steadily accumulated other pulpits and preferments which he held together with these two (St Lawrence was burnt down in the great fire of 1666 and rebuilt by Christopher Wren, 1670-86). He was invited to preach at St Paul's before the lord mayor in March 1664, and expanded the sermon the same year into his first major publication, *The Wisdom of being Religious*. He proceeded DD in 1666. His talents were recognized by the court as well as the city: he was appointed one of Charles II's chaplains, and preached from time to time before the king at Whitehall (his first such sermon seems to have been preached on 30 June 1667) and to the House of Commons. The king gave him a prebend at Canterbury (14 March 1670; his predecessor, somewhat ironically, was Gunning, now made bishop of Chichester), and

promoted him dean of Canterbury (October 1672), the latter on the separate recommendations of Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon, the duke of Buckingham, and Lord Berkeley. The king also made him a prebendary and residentiary canon of St Paul's (18 December 1675, 14 February 1678), the second of these on the recommendation of John Sharp (later archbishop of York) through the influence of Heneage Finch (later earl of Nottingham). Tillotson held the preferments at Canterbury and St Paul's jointly 'in compliance with the times, and because he would not decline what was so frankly offered him' by the king (ibid., 395).

The vicar of St Lawrence from 1662 to 1668 was John Wilkins, the most important single influence on Tillotson's intellectual development: 'that which gave him his last finishing', said Burnet, 'was his close and long Friendship with Bishop Wilkins' (Burnet, *Sermon*, 12). Tillotson said in his edition of Wilskins's *Sermons* (1682, sig. A3) that he did not know Wilkins before the Restoration (Wilkins moved from Oxford to Cambridge as master of Trinity in 1659, when Tillotson was in London), but they had a great deal in common. Both were firmly convinced of the rational basis of Christianity; both were conformists whose links with nonconformists were close; both regarded ecclesiastical organization and ceremonies as 'things indifferent' – things not prescribed in scripture, that the state had the right to determine; both opposed persecution as the way to bring nonconformists into the established church, but neither really understood the reasons for nonconformity; both thought with all the doctrinal and political conflict that implied, should be made instead the means of propagating a moderate, reasonable, reconciling religion with a stronger emphasis on morality than on doctrine (but without devaluing the latter). Their nonconformist and high-church critics derisively labelled them and their associates 'latitude men' or 'latitudinarians'. Tillotson preached at Wilkins's consecration as bishop of Chester at Ely House on 15 November 1668 (John Evelyn was in the congregation) and subsequently spent some time helping him in his diocese in 1671 and 1672. Wilkins was succeeded at St Lawrence by another of Tillotson's formative influences, Whichcote. Tillotson helped Wilkins with his *Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (publication was delayed until 1668 because of the great fire). On the nomination of Wilkins's friend Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury and Wilkins's predecessor at St Lawrence, Tillotson was elected on 25 January 1672 a fellow of the Royal Society, of which Wilkins was the guiding spirit. Wilkins died at Tillotson's house in Chancery Lane on 19 November 1672. He made Tillotson executor of his will – on 9 October 1673 the Royal Society decided it was time to call on Tillotson for Wilkins's legacy – and left him his papers to publish at his discretion. Tillotson thus became the guardian of Wilkins's posthumous reputation.

The two men also had a familial relationship. On 23 February 1664 Wilkins officiated in St Lawrence at the marriage between Tillotson and Wilkins's stepdaughter Elizabeth French (*d.*1702). (Wilkins was the second husband of Robina French, widow of Peter French and sister of Oliver Cromwell.) The Tillotsons had two daughters, who predeceased them: Elizabeth, the younger, died in 1681; Mary, the elder, married James Chadwick and left two sons and a daughter at her death in November 1687. The fact that Tillotson was related my marriage to the Cromwell family was not lost on his nonjuring critics.

Tillotson's relations with nonconformists in the reigns of Charles II and James II remained cordial and encouraging but also cautious. He advised Beardmore in 1661 not to be sharp on them in sermons, but to win them to the church by good preaching and good living. (In this respect Tillotson was much closer to Wilkins than to his colleagues Simon Patrick and Edward Stillingfleet, who offended the nonconformists by attacking them in print and pulpit.)

Beardmore was sure that Tillotson brought in great numbers of nonconformists and was the chief agent for preserving the majority of the citizens of London 'from running into extravagancies' against the government of the church (Beardmore, 400). With the apparent encouragement of Ward and George Morley, bishop of Winchester, and through the medium of Bates, in 1674 Tillotson and Stillingfleet met Baxter and drew up a draft proposal for the comprehension of nonconformists within the established church (a similar attempt made in 1668 by Wilkins and Baxter had come to nothing). But the bishops backtracked, just as Baxter had expected. Tillotson wrote to Baxter on 11 April 1675, 'I am unwilling my Name should be used in this Matter; not but that I do most heartily desire an Accommodation, and shall always endeavour it', explaining that the Comprehension Bill would not pass either house without the agreement of the king and a considerable part of the bishops (*Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 3.157). Tillotson tried in other ways to break down the barrier between conformity and nonconformity. In 1674 he became a member of the trust (which included Whichcote, Stillingfleet, and the Unitarian Thomas Firmin) formed to oversee the scheme for distributing Welsh bibles set up by the ejected minister and philanthropist Thomas Gouge; in his funeral sermon for Gouge (4 November 1681) he emphasized the contributions Gouge obtained from bishops and clergy. In his sermon preached at the Yorkshire feast in London on 3 December 1678 he urged that there should be no differences between adherents of the protestant reformed religion. Only an established national religion could be a sufficient bulwark against popery; 'little sects and separate congregations' could never do it. At the same time as arguing that the continuance of nonconformity weakened the protestant cause, he gave great offence to high-churchmen by suggesting that the governors of the church in order to achieve union would give up some 'little things … to the infirmity or importunity, or, perhaps in some very few things, to the plausible exceptions' of the nonconformists (*Works*, 2.24-5).

Tillotson's Erastian view of the established church involved him in some difficulty from both the high-church and nonconformist perspectives when he preached before the king at Whitehall on 2 April 1680. The sermon was subsequently entitled 'The protestant religion vindicated from the charge of singularity and novelty'. Hickes seized with glee on this episode. At one point Tillotson claimed that conscience did not warrant any man without an extraordinary commission confirmed by miracles, such as the apostles had, to affront the established religion of a nation, even if it were false, and to draw men off from it, in contempt of the law. All that persons of a different religion could do was enjoy the private liberty and exercise of their own conscience and religion (*Works*, 2.253). This was regarded as Hobbism by a lord who heard it and told the dozing king, who immediately commanded its publication. When the nonconformist John Howe read it he expostulated with Tillotson that he had used a sermon against popery to please the popish cause, and he reduced him to tears. Tillotson's old antagonist Gunning made the same complaint in the Lords. Evelyn thought the whole discourse incomparable.

Despite his many London commitments Tillotson was active throughout these years in the archdiocese of Canterbury. As prebendary (1670-72) and dean (1672-89) of Canterbury he was required by statute to spend at least ninety days a year in residence, twenty-one of them continuous; according to Burnet he more than fulfilled this requirement. In 1683 he was responsible for introducing the weekly celebration of the eucharist in the cathedral. However, in some quarters it was felt that London drew him away: George Thorp, another prebendary and chaplain to William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, suggested unsuccessfully to Sancroft in 1684 that Tillotson be given a living in the diocese so that he could leave Lincoln's Inn.

Tillotson's advice to Lord Russell before his execution in 1683 for his part in the Rye House plot was to be thrown in his face after the revolution. He and Burnet, who both attended Russell in the Tower and on the scaffold, took pains 'to persuade him of the unlawfulness of taking arms against the king in any case' (*Supplement to Burnet's History*, 130), even if, as Russell put it, 'our religion and rights should be invaded'. Russell was unconvinced, so Tillotson wrote a letter to the condemned man (on 20 July 1683), soon published against the writer's wishes. Here he argued that the Christian religion forbade resistance to authority; that the same law which established the Church of England also declared that it was unlawful to take up arms against authority on any pretence; and that Russell's opinion was contrary to the doctrine of all the protestant churches. Burnet tried to defend Tillotson against Hickes's accusation that at the revolution of 1688 he had apostatized from the doctrine of non-resistance with the argument that he 'was restrained by some particular considerations from mentioning … the case of a total subversion of the constitution, which he thought would justify resistance' (Birch, *Life*, 114-15).

There was no restraint in Tillotson's repeatedly expressed hostility to Catholicism in this period. Beardmore commented 'that he scarcely ever preach'd a sermon, without some very home-blow against' popery (Beardmore, 393). He believed that Catholics had burnt the city on purpose in 1666. When Charles II complained to Sheldon in 1672 about the orchestrated preaching of the London clergy against Catholicism Tillotson suggested as an answer that 'it would be a thing without a precedent, that he should forbid his Clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himself said he was of it' (*Bishop Burnet's History*, 1.308-9). The Catholic duke of York was so offended by his sermon 'The hazard of being saved in the church of Rome' (April 1672; privately printed, 1673) that he cased attending the Chapel Royal. When the duke became King James II, Tillotson was one of several clergy, including Stillingfleet, Patrick, and Thomas Tenison, his successor as archbishop, who directed a 'controversial war' against Catholicism in 1686 (ibid., 1.674), and the king complained to Sancroft specifically about Tillotson, Patrick, and Stillingfleet for preaching so much on the subject. When in the following year James II forced Laurence Hyde, earl of Rochester, to have a conference about his religion in his presence with two Catholic priests and two Church of England clergy, with the object of converting Rochester to Rome, Burnet considered that 'The king did in this matter great honour to my two friends Tillotson and Stillingfleet, for he excepted against them', so Rochester chose William Jane and Patrick instead (*Supplement to Burnet's History*, 224). Tillotson was a member of the conference held at Lambeth by Sancroft on 18 May 1688, which led to the decision to disobey James's order that his declaration of indulgence, aimed at Catholics as much as nonconformists, should be read in all churches.

Tillotson had lost the favour of Charles II towards the end of his reign, and never won that of James II. He bought a house at Edmonton, Middlesex, where he could retire during this difficult period. Nevertheless he continued preaching at Lincoln's inn and St Lawrence 'with his usual freedom, or rather with greater zeal and fervency' against Catholicism (Beardmore, 394). He had many visitors, and his conversation was much valued. Despite the loss of his remaining daughter he had the consolation of friendships kept up by letters with Robert Nelson, soon to be a nonjuror, and Lady Rachel Russell, widow of the executed whig, many of which are included in Thomas Birch's *Life*. In the final, most public stage of his life he was to be far more isolated.

Writer, controversialist, and editor

Tillotson published six collections of his writings: four designed as a sequence, his *Sermons Preach'd upon Several Occasions* (1671), *Sermons Preach'd upon Several Occasions … the Second Volume* (1678), *Sermons and Discourses … the Third Volume* (1686), and *Sermons Preach'd upon Several Occasions … the Fourth Volume* (1694); and two other important collections, *Sermons Concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour* (1693) and *Six Sermons* (1694). He also published a large number of sermons separately, and his first three volumes in revised editions. He always wrote out his sermons before delivery in the pulpit (some autograph shorthand examples survive at the Bodleian as MS Rawlinson E. 125), and he revised them meticulously for publication and between editions. His object was evidently through artful rewriting to give the reader the illusion of fluent speech. Joseph Spence noted that 'Some of the sermons of Archbishop Tillotson which seem easiest to be wrote and the least laboured, were found several of them wrote over the eighth or ninth time in his study' (Spence 1.323, no. 794). He deliberately avoided pedantry, in the form of Latin quotations and references to authorities, and rhetorical tropes and ornaments; he set out to differentiate his practice from that of witty high-church preachers of the earlier part of the century and more recent enthusiastic puritans and nonconformists who worked on their readers' emotions. He strongly supported the theories of Wilkins and the Royal Society on the reform of prose style, which included a pronounced distrust of metaphor. Like Wilkins he thought the misuse of metaphor responsible for doctrinal error. According to Burnet he prepared himself by studying the scriptures, 'all the antient Philosophers and Books of Morality', and the works of Basil and Chrysostom. His work with Wilkins on the *Essay towards a Real Character* 'let him to consider exactly the Truth of Language and Stile, in which no Man was happier, and he knew better the Art of preserving the Majesty of things under a Simplicity of Words' (Burnet, *Sermon*, 13). Beardmore said 'his endeavour was to make all things clear, to bring truth into open light; and his arguments of persuasion were strong and nervous, and tended to gain the affections by the understanding' (Beardmore, 409). He defined his religious position in relation to four main groups: the two intellectual targets to whom he was unremittingly hostile, atheists and Catholics, and the two groups from whom he carefully dissociated himself but with whom he retained ties of friendship, the nonconformists and the Socinians or Unitarians. To atheists and Catholics he stressed the rational grounds of faith and the close connection between natural and revealed religion; to nonconformists that justification included obedience and faith included works; and to Socinians that Christianity required the acceptance of mysteries incomprehensible to reason. His collections were carefully structured to lead the reader through arguments for natural religion and the advantages, both worldly and otherworldly, of practising the precepts of revealed religion, culminating in a carefully restrained exposition of its mysteries. He gave the greatest weight to Christian practice. Burnet summed up his position very fairly as follows:

> He indeed judged that the great design of Christianity was the reforming Mens Natures, and governing their Actions, the restraining their Appetites, and Passions, the softning their Tempers, and sweetning their Humours, the composing their Affections, and the raising their minds above the Interests and Follies of this present World, to the hope and pursuit of endless Blessedness: And he considered the whole Christian Doctrine as a System of Principles, all tending to this. (Burnet, *Sermon*, 31-2)

In the course of the 1660s Tillotson shifted his attack from atheism and infidelity (his target in *The Wisdom of being Religious*) to Catholicism. According to Burnet he did this because 'he saw that Popery was at the root of this, and that the Design seemed to be laid, to make us

first Atheists, that we might be the more easily made Papists' (Burnet, *Sermon*, 15). In 1666 he published *The Rule of Faith*, an attack on *Sure-Footing in Christianity, or, Rational Discourses on the Rule of Faith* (1665) by the Catholic apologist John Sergeant, who had attacked Stillingfleet's *Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion* (1664) in his third appendix. Tillotson dedicated his book to Stillingfleet, and included as an appendix a reply by Stillingfleet to Sergeant; he went on to make a lengthy attack on Sergeant's ironically titled *Letter of Thanks* (1666) in the preface to his first collection of sermons (1671). *The Rule of Faith* was a contribution to a long-running debate going back to the anti-Catholic writing of William Laud and William Chillingworth in the 1630s; its philosophical importance lies in its attempt to define the basis of certainty, the relation between reason and faith, and the grounds of assent to Christian doctrine. Tillotson further developed part of his argument in *A Discourse Against Transubstantiation* (1684, included in the third volume of 1686).

Later in his career Tillotson turned his attention to a completely different target, Socinianism or Unitarianism (which denied the doctrine of the Trinity on scriptural grounds), but his tone here was much more accommodating. He had long been a friend of the Socinian philanthropist Firmin, who, according to Stephen Nye, knew all the London divines and had provided preachers for St Lawrence when Tillotson was busy as dean at Canterbury. In 1679-80 Tillotson preached a group of four sermons on the divinity of Christ; he published these in 1693 partly to counter the malicious accusations of nonjuring critics that he was himself a Socinian, and partly for Firmin's benefit. He thought the Socinians (unlike the Catholics, whom he held in contempt) 'a pattern of the fair way of disputing', but they had one great defect: truth was not on their side (*Works*, 3.244-5). The unpersuaded Firmin engaged Nye to write an answer, *Considerations on the … Doctrine of the Trinity* (1694); after reading it Tillotson told Firmin, *'My Lord of* Sarum [Burnet] *shall humble your Writers'*, but he continued their friendship unaltered (Nye, 17).

Tillotson served an extremely valuable function as an editor, scrutinizer, and promoter of other men's writings. In 1675 he published what proved the most influential and popular of Wilkins's works, *Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion*, with a preface explaining his contribution (Wilkins had left twelve chapters prepared for the press, and Tillotson edited fourteen more) and summarizing the book's argument. In 1682 he brought out the second collection of Wilkins's sermons; his prefatory essay, 'The publisher to the reader', contains an interesting account of their author, whom he defended energetically from the attack in Anthony Wood's *Historia et antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis* (1674). He also acted as literary executor to Isaac Barrow. In 1680 he published Barrow's anti-Catholic *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, for which Barrow gave him permission on his deathbed. He worked for ten years on Barrow's sermons, only one of which had appeared in print in his lifetime: he published a number of separate collections, and the *Works* in a three-volume folio edition (1683-7). (The accusation by Barrow's nineteenth-century editor Alexander Napier that Tillotson extensively altered the sermons has been conclusively refuted by Irène Simon.) He also edited Hezekiah Burton's posthumous *Discourses* (1684-5).

In addition to acting as literary executor Tillotson read and commented on his friends' work in progress and gave them valuable advice. He was probably the 'judicious and learned Friend, a Man indefatigably zealous in the service of the Church and State' referred to by John Dryden in the preface to *Religio laici* (1682), the friend who advised the poet to omit his bold criticism of Athanasius (Brown, 'Dryden's *Religio laici*'). He helped the nonconformist Samuel Cradock with writing his *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1668), and another

nonconformist, Matthew Poole, with the subscriptions for his *Synopsis criticorum* (1669-76). The person to whom he gave most help of this kind was Burnet. Tillotson, William Lloyd (later bishop of Worcester), and Stillingfleet were asked by Burnet to read the manuscript of his *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, a work that proved central to anti-Catholic polemic in the 1680s; Burnet thanked them effusively in his preface to the first volume (1679). Tillotson may have had a hand in Burnet's life of John Wilmot, earl of Rochester (1680). When he became archbishop he enlisted Burnet in his and Mary II's campaign for church reform. Burnet's *Discourse of the Pastoral Care* (1692) was written at the suggestion of Tillotson and the queen; Tillotson read it in manuscript and told Burnet, 'The work is as perfect in its kind, as I hope to see any thing' (Birch, *Life*, 266). Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* (1699) was written as a result of a similar request; Tillotson read it in manuscript, made some alterations, and congratulated Burnet on his treatment of some very difficult theological questions. He also asked Burnet to contribute to his proposed new book of homilies, a scheme which came to nothing; Burnet, however, was to publish his contribution in 1713. A work with which Tillotson became associated in a rather different way is the *Historia Inquisitionis* (1692) by the Dutch remonstrant theologian Philip van Limborch. Limborch wrote to their mutual friend John Locke on 17 June 1692, saying that he wanted to dedicate the *Historia* to Tillotson. Tillotson agreed, subject to checking the text of the dedication, and a copy of the book duly reached him in November. In the dedication approved by Tillotson, Limborch praised him as chosen by providence so that under his influence the reformed churches might lay aside their disputes and unite in support of the gospel against the cruelty of Rome; it illustrates both his growing international reputation and the way in which he wanted his career to be understood.

The final stage, 1689-1694

Tillotson felt unqualified admiration for the new monarchs, William III and Mary II. He believed that God 'in great mercy to a most sinful and perverse people' had set them on the throne of the three kingdoms 'to be our deliverers and benefactors for many generations yet to come' (prayers before his consecration, *Works*, 12.5510). They embodied his two main aims: William was to unite his protestant subjects and deliver them from popery, and Mary was to effect their religious and moral reformation by her example. He saw these hopes only partly fulfilled. Among other London clergy Tillotson was recommended for preferment to the prince of Orange by Burnet in December 1688 (he may have met the prince and princess at Canterbury in 1677, but he was not involved in the invitation extended to William). He preached before the prince at St James's on 6 January 1689, and gave 'A thanksgiving sermon for our deliverance' at Lincoln's Inn on 31 January, the official thanksgiving day. When Patrick published his own sermon delivered on the same occasion he met with such obloquy that Tillotson published his, so Patrick said, 'that I might not stand single, but they might have somebody else to rail at as well as me' (*Auto-biography*, 142-3). Tillotson was soon promoted: the new king on his accession made him one of his chaplains, and on 27 April his clerk of the closet. At this time Tillotson let it be known that he did not wish to be a bishop. However, in August the chapter of Canterbury Cathedral gave him archiepiscopal jurisdiction, following Archbishop Sancroft's suspension for refusing to recognize the new monarchs, and in September William agreed to move him from the deanery of Canterbury to that of St Paul's (he was installed on 21 November), following Stillingfleet's promotion as bishop of Worcester. This was the limit of Tillotson's ambition, but William indicated that he intended in due course to make him archbishop of Canterbury. The dismayed Tillotson blamed Burnet for this arrangement (letter to Lady Russell, 19 Sept 1689; Birch, *Life*, 205-6).

The year 1689 saw the lasting failure of Tillotson's hope for the comprehension of the

nonconformists within the established church. In 1688 Sancroft had made conciliatory moves towards them as a way of making them allies against James II's attempt to tolerate Catholics, and had formed a committee, of which Tillotson was a member, with the intention of making alterations to the liturgy in order to bring the nonconformists in. According to Patrick, on 14 January 1689 Tillotson, Patrick, and others met at Stillingfleet's house to discuss the preparation of a comprehension bill, apparently with Sancroft's permission. But under William comprehension was less important to nonconformists than toleration, and it was deeply unappealing to most churchmen. After the withdrawal of the Comprehension Bill and the passing of the Toleration Act (24 May), William agreed that the question of comprehension should be considered by convocation (the assembly of the clergy) before it went to parliament again, and on 13 September he set up an ecclesiastical commission to prepare matters. This procedure, which Tillotson recommended to the king, proved disastrous, but Tillotson optimistically sent a list of 'Concessions, which will probably be made by the church of *England* for the union of Protestants' to Lord Portland on the same day. The members of the commission, ,initially consisting of ten bishops and twenty other divines, including Tillotson, were to make recommendations concerning the liturgy and canons, the ecclesiastical courts, and clerical conduct to convocation, parliament, and king. They met regularly in October and November (Tillotson attended fourteen sessions), but many high-church members either failed to appear or dropped out. The hard core, who included Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Burnet, Tenison, Richard Kidder, and John Williams (later bishop of Chichester), produced a revised liturgy in the form of an interleaved folio prayer book (Lambeth MS 2173, text in Fawcett), in which there were many concessions to nonconformist sensibilities. But this liturgy was never discussed by convocation, which met first in late November, and never reached parliament. Tillotson was the comprehenders' nominee for prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, but the high-church candidate, William Jane, easily defeated him. After fruitless exchanges between the two houses of bishops and clergy convocation was prorogued and dissolved (January 1690). Comprehension was now a lost cause.

William pressured Tillotson into accepting the archbishopric partly by telling him that if he refused he would not fill any of the bishoprics held by nonjurors. Tillotson capitulated in October 1690, but succeeded in delaying his appointment until the following year. The nonjuror Henry Dodwell wrote to warn him on 12 May 1691 that by accepting he would 'make it impossible for the Catholick [which is to say, universal] Church to subsist, as distinct & independent on the State; which will fundamentally overthrow the very Being of a Church as a Society' (G. Every, *The High Church Party, 1688-1718*, 1956, 66). Tillotson was nominated on 23 April 1691 and consecrated on 31 May at St Mary-le-Bow by, among others, bishops Burnet and Stillingfleet; the sermon was preached by Ralph Barker, later his chaplain and editor. Sancroft was still living at Lambeth Palace until his ejection on 23 June. Tillotson was granted the emoluments of the see, backdated to the previous autumn; he moved into Lambeth on 26 November, having made many repairs and improvements, including the building of a new apartment for his wife. Evelyn, who was shown the house, furniture, and garden by Tillotson's successor Tenison, described them as 'all very fine, & far beyond the usual ABshops' (6 July 1695; Evelyn, 5.213).

Tillotson told Lady Russell on 23 June 1691 that 'The Queen's extraordinary favour to me, to a degree much beyond my expectation, is no small support to me' (Birch, *Life*, 249). In his three and a half years as archbishop, with Burnet's assistance he worked closely with Mary on a programme to reform the manners of the people in general and the clergy in particular. His position gave him more privacy than before, and the opportunity to revise his sermons:

though he thought 'the reformation of this corrupt and degenerate age in which we live is almost utterly to be despaired of', he published his *Six Sermons* (1694) on family religion and education in order to help 'recover the decayed piety and virtue of the present age' (*Works*, 3.395-6). Mary and he organized an elaborate series of national fasts and thanksgivings in connection with William's military campaigns. Large numbers of sermons preached at court were published, at least nine of them by Tillotson. In 1692, after meeting his bishops at Lambeth, he instructed them by letter to exercise control of clerical ordinations and residence and remove scandalous clergy, and to enforce the moral discipline of their congregations, a programme that had already been set out in a letter from the king to the bishop of London, Henry Compton, in 1690, and that was embodied in the clerical handbook Tillotson admired so much, Burnet's *Discourse of the Pastoral Care*. In August 1694, after another such meeting with his bishops, he decided to follow Burnet's suggestion that the injunctions he had drafted should be issued by the king and queen, partly 'that their Majesties care and concernment for our religion might more manifestly appear to the general satisfaction of the nation' (Birch, *Life*, 310). The injunctions required the bishops among other things to ensure that the clergy led exemplary lives, regularly held public prayers and celebrated communion frequently, and fulfilled their pastoral duties. This scheme had the queen's approval. However, the deaths of both archbishop and queen later that year meant that the injunctions were not issued by King William until the following February.

Tillotson presided over a divided church. Though dearly loved by his latitudinarian colleagues and many nonconformists, he was hated by some of the nonjurors (a bundle of their libels was found among his papers after his death), and distrusted by many of the clergy. Burnet was convinced that he 'was persecuted by Malice to his grave' (G. Burnet, *Discourse of the Pastoral Care*, preface to 3rd edn, 1713, sig. A9). One of Tillotson's last letters to Burnet (23 October 1694), on the latter's *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, indicates why he was so controversial: he wrote dismissively of the Athanasian creed (which required acceptance of the doctrine of the Trinity and anathematized anti-Trinitarians), 'I wish we were well rid of it' (Birch, *Life*, 315). Yet the manner of his death shows his capacity for transcending party rancour. A few days after suffering a stroke in the chapel at Whitehall he died on 22 November 1694 in the arms of his nonjuring friend Nelson. He was buried on 30 November in St Lawrence Jewry, the church with which he had been associated for thirty years, as recorded in the monument erected by his wife. Burnet's laudatory funeral sermon was judged by Calamy not to exceed the truth (Calamy, 1.537). The king told Tillotson's son-in-law James Chadwick, 'He was the best man, that I ever knew, and the best Friend, that I ever had' (Birch, *Life*, 424).

Tillotson spent all his income on charity and the expenses of his position. According to *The Tatler*, no. 101 (1 December 1709), after her husband's death Elizabeth Tillotson would have been left 'in a narrow Condition' (Bond, *Tatler*, 2.122) had not the copyright of his sermons brought in £2500 (Birch gives the figure in guineas). Probably no thought had been given to providing for the first widow of an archbishop of Canterbury since the Reformation. The king granted her an annuity of £400 on 2 May 1695, increased by £200 on 18 August 1698, following her son-in-law's death and representations made on her behalf by William Sherlock and Nelson. She was responsible for educating Tillotson's nephew Robert – his brother Joshua's son, who, like his uncle, became a fellow of Clare College – and her three Chadwick grandchildren. Birch obtained some information from Tillotson's great-nephew Joshua, his brother Israel's grandson, surmaster of St Paul's School; Sir Philip Nichols, author of the article on Tillotson in the *Biographia Britannica*, knew Robert Tillotson in Cambridge between 1722 and 1728.

Reputation and influence

At the time of his death Tillotson seemed to his supporters to have saved the church, and to his detractors to have reduced it to an instrument of the state. His two elegists, Nahum Tate and Samuel Wesley, celebrated his triumphs over 'Gigantick *Atheism*', '*Rome*'s Dragon', and 'the *Polish Monster*' Socinianism (N. Tate, *An Elegy on … John, Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1695, 6; S. Wesley, *Elegies on the Queen and Archbishop*, 1695, 20-22). George Hickes, repudiating Burnet's saintly portrait, called him 'a Person of great and dangerous Example, both to present Times and Posterity' and 'a Man of all Times, and all Governments, Right or Wrong' (Hickes, sig. b*v*, 52). In the century following his death Tillotson was widely read and admired, and sometimes berated, misused and argued with; he exercised a continuing influence in many fields, the pulpit, literature, lexicography, education, philosophy, and theology.

Burnet's account of Tillotson as preacher remained true for many years: 'His Sermons were so well heard and liked, and so much read, that all the Nation proposed him as a Pattern, and studied to copy after him' (*Bishop Burnet's History*, 2.135). By the time of his death fifty-four sermons and *The Rule of Faith* had appeared, but he left 200 unpublished; these were edited by Ralph Barker in fourteen volumes from 1695 to 1704, with a dedication to the king by Elizabeth Tillotson. According to Birch a sermon attacking the nonjurors was suppressed at this time and probably lost. Up to 1735 there were ten collected editions of the fifty-four sermons and *The Rule of Faith*; between 1712 and 1735 there were five editions of Barker's posthumous collection of the 200 sermons; in 1728 the two collections were brought together, totalling 254 sermons and *The Rule of Faith*. In 1752 Birch in his new edition increased the number to 255 by including Tillotson's sermon in Annesley's *Morning-Exercise at Cripple-Gate*. Tillotson's contribution to this last collection was flagged in the second edition of *Athenae Oxonienses* by Anthony Wood, with the ironic description of Tillotson as 'then a Nonconformist, since gainer of considerable Preferments' (Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, 2nd edn, 2 vols., 1721, 2.968). Twenty years after Birch's edition of 1752 a collection of the works was published in Edinburgh. There was no nineteenth-century collected edition.

Country clerics found these readily available editions invaluable. In *The Spectator*, no. 106 (2 July 1711), Sir Roger de Coverley informs Mr Spectator that together with the living he presented the village parson with 'all the good Sermons which have been printed in *English*, and only begged of him that every *Sunday* he would pronounced one of them in the Pulpit' Steele and Addison, 1.441). The list for the year is headed by Tillotson. Other users were more subtle. The mid-century sermons of Laurence Sterne and James Woodforde, like those of so many of their colleagues, are full of echoes and borrowings from Tillotson.

Reliance on Tillotson's works was by no means limited to the clergy. Congreve's telling comment on Dryden, first published in his dedication of Dryden's *Dramatick Works* (1717), was regularly repeated in the biographical dictionaries: 'I have heard him frequently own with pleasure, that if he had any talent for English Prose, it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop *Tillotson*' (Bayle and others, 4.685, n. EE). Locke championed Tillotson as a model for clearness and propriety of language in 'some thoughts concerning reading and study for a gentleman', first published in 1720. Nelson advised his godson George Hanger, who was going to Smyrna as a merchant, to study his works not only to learn 'true notions of religion, but also the way and manner of writing English correctly and purely; his style I take to be the best standard of the English language' (C. F. Secretan, *Memoirs of … Robert Nelson*, 1860, 199-200). This view was shared by eighteenth-century

lexicographers: Joseph Addison marked phrases in the sermons Tillotson published in his lifetime for a projected dictionary, Alexander Pope included Tillotson in a list for a similar venture (Spence, 1.170 [no. 389]), and Samuel Johnson cited him over 1000 times in his *Dictionary* (1755), far more often than Stillingfleet, Burnet, or Wilkins.

Tillotson's presence can also be traced in guides for students published right through the century. In a letter to Richard King of 25 August 1703 (first published in 1714) Locke wrote in answer to a request for advice:

> if you desire a larger View of the Parts of Morality, I know not where you will find them so well and distinctly explain'd, and so strongly inforc'd, as in the Practical Divines of the Church of England. The Sermons of Dr. Barrow, Archbishop Tillotson, and Dr. Whitchcot, are Masterpieces in this kind. (*Correspondence of John Locke*, 8.57)

Wilkins's handbook *Ecclesiastes*, as revised by John Williams on Tillotson's instructions for the seventh edition of 1693 and dedicated to him, and further revised in the eighth edition of 1704, adds the names of the major latitudinarian authors of the previous thirty years to Wilkins's reading lists, including of course Tillotson himself. The Cambridge Calvinist John Edwards objected strongly to this procedure in his own handbook *The Preacher* (1705): complaining of the great degeneracy from Reformation doctrines in some churchmen in late times he emphasized that Wilkins's original lists consisted of orthodox Calvinist writers, and that the recent editors of *Ecclesiastes* had 'filled it with a great deal of Trash' (J. Edwards, *The Preacher*, 2nd edn, 1705, xxii). Tillotson's name is pointedly omitted from Edwards's own 'Catalogue of some authors who may be beneficial to young preachers and students in divinity'. A much more positive view of Tillotson was taken by the high-churchman Daniel Waterland in his *Advice to a Young Student* (first published in 1730 but written twenty-five years earlier for the use of his students at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and reissued in a revised edition in 1755). The four-year course for the divinity student is divided into three categories, philosophical, classical, and religious. In the table of religious books for the second yea, only one author is recommended: Tillotson. Waterland does, however, warn the student, 'There is one or two Points of Doctrine, particularly that of Hell-Torments, justly exceptionable' (1730, 22, 24). (The reference here is to Tillotson's sermon of 7 March 1690, which caused great offence through the suggestion that hell torments might not be eternal. There is a long note on this topic in Birch's article on Tillotson in *A General Dictionary*, 9.575-6, n. N.) As a young man the dissenting educationist Philip Doddridge was unsympathetic to the mid-seventeenth-century Calvinist tradition; in a letter of 1722 he wrote, 'In practical divinity, Tillotson is my principal favourite' (*Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge*, ed. G. F. Nuttall, 1979, 2, no. 8). In his *Lectures on Preaching* (containing lectures delivered in the 1730s and 1740s, but not published until 1804), Doddridge included an account of the writers of the established church and explained his admiration for Tillotson:

> There is such an easiness in his style, and beautiful simplicity of expression, as seems easy to be imitated; yet nothing more difficult … in controversy no man found such lucky arguments, nor represented the sentiments of his adversaries more fully, artfully, and advantageously for confutation. (1821 edn, lecture 4, 25)

A late example of the educational use of Tillotson is to be found in *A Collection of Theological Tracts* (1785) by Richard Watson, regius professor of divinity at Cambridge.

Although no work by Tillotson is included among the tracts, in the lengthy 'Catalogue of books in divinity' (appended to volume 6) Tillotson's works are recommended several times, together with Birch's *Life*, and Watson's admiration for Tillotson and his latitudinarian contemporaries is frequently stressed.

Throughout the century many writers of different persuasions made use of or responded to specific aspects of Tillotson's arguments. Early eighteenth-century freethinkers often associated themselves with Tillotson and drew on his assumed sympathy for their views about the role of reason to bolster their positions. The third earl of Shaftesbury quotes at length from *The Rule of Faith* in the final chapter of *Characteristicks* in support of freethinking, nominating Tillotson together with Jeremy Taylor 'Free-*thinking Divines*' (2nd edn, 1714, 3.329-34, 297). Anthony Collins in *A Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713) notoriously praised Tillotson as one 'whom all *English Free-Thinkers* own as their head, and whom even the Enemys of *Free-Thinking* will allow to be a proper Instance to my purpose' (p.171). Jonathan Swift's parody, *Mr. C-ns's Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713), has been wrongly interpreted by some modern readers as supporting the same view. '[N]one better understood Human Nature' than Tillotson, claimed Matthew Tindal in *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730, 64). David Hume developed the argument that Tillotson had used against transubstantiation and in defence of miracles (in 'The hazard of being saved in the church of Rome' and elsewhere) as the basis for his attack on miracles in his *Philosophical Essays* (1748). Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, who defended Tillotson and his colleagues in his *Second Pastoral Letter* (1730), was anxious to prevent them being misread as nationalists; Gibson emphasized in reply to Tindal that the arguments of Wilkins and Tillotson about reason and morality should be understood historically, as responses to the tradition of puritan preaching.

Just as Tillotson's name was invoked on both sides in the debate about freethinking and the sufficiency of natural religion without revealed, so it figured in the Methodist debate about formal or nominal versus inward Christianity. In *Three Letters from the Reverend Mr. G. Whitefield* (1740), published in Philadelphia, Whitefield defended an earlier statement '*That Archbishop* Tillotson *knew no more about* true *Christianity that* Mahomet' on the grounds that Tillotson 'knew of no other than a bare historical Faith: And as to … our Justification by Faith alone (which is the doctrine of Scripture and of the Church of England), he certainly was as ignorant thereof as Mahomet himself'. He claimed that he had heard this view first from John Wesley (pp. 2-3). In an early unpreached sermon, 'Hypocrisy in Oxford' (written in 1741, published in 1797), Wesley did attack Tillotson for teaching that good works were necessary to justification. However, Wesley came to take a more lenient view: in volume 45 of *A Christian Library* (1755) he extracted two of Tillotson's sermons with the comment that he had done it for those who were unreasonably prejudiced for and those unreasonably prejudiced against Tillotson. Readers would be able to judge impartially 'that the Archbishop was as far from being the *worst*, as from being the *best* of the English writers' (*A Christian Library*, 2nd edn, ed. T. Jackson, 30 vols., 1819-27, 27.3).

Tillotson as rationalist and moralist had his eighteenth-century supporters and detractors, and so did Tillotson the Socinian sympathizer. Locke lamented to Limborch after Tillotson's death that there was now scarcely anyone whom he could consult freely about theological uncertainties (11 Dec 1694; *Correspondence of John Locke*, 5.238). The Huguenot Jean Le Clerc published a lengthy adulatory account in volume 7, article 8, of his *Bibliothèque choisie* (1705), with a long analysis of the hell torments sermon, and a general defence of Tillotson against the charge of Socinianism that was to be much quoted: 'accusation qu'on n'a Presque

jamais manqué de fair contre ceux qui ont mieux raisonné, que le Vulgaire, & qui ont préferé les expressions de l'Ecriture Sainte au langage des Scholastiques' (p.290): an accusation almost always made against those who have used their reason better than the vulgar, and who have preferred the expressions of Holy Scripture to the language of the scholastics'. In the later eighteenth century a prominent Unitarian came forward to claim Tillotson as a forebear. In *Vindiciae Priestleianae* (1788), a defence of Joseph Priestly against the high-churchman George Horne, the Anglican turned Unitarian Theophilus Lindsey provided a particular reading of the latitudinarian tradition of Whichcote, Tillotson, and Burnet through Locke, Samuel Clarke, and Benjamin Hoadly to Francis Blackburne, Edmund Law, and William Paley, which saw it as leading inevitably to Unitarianism. On the evidence partly of Tillotson's funeral sermon for Whichcote, Lindsey singled out Tillotson as a theologian like Priestly who believed that Christianity was a perpetual enquiry after truth and that the creed of a Christian could not be fixed.

The modern reader who goes through Tillotson's works sympathetically in the light of the contemporary controversies in which he was engaged – about the function of reason in religion, the relation between faith and works, the comprehension and/or toleration of nonconformists, the reform of the liturgy, the role of Jesus as sacrifice and example – becomes aware that he was performing with considerable success a delicate balancing act. That this balance worked for most eighteenth-century Anglicans (and for some dissenters) is clear from Tillotson's stature as measured by the editions of his works and his literary and educational roles. To others who did not appreciate it Tillotson provided an example, depending on the interpreter's point of view, of the rationalist who did not dare to see where his rationalism led, or the moralist who had contributed to the undoing of Reformation protestantism."

William Juxon (d 1663)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:

"Juxon, William (*bap*. 1582, *d*. 1663), archbishop of Canterbury, was baptized in the church of St Peter the Great, Chichester, on 18 October 1582, the second son of Richard Juxon, registrar and receiver-general of the bishops of Chichester. His grandfather, John Juxon, was a Londoner, and the family had long been settled in the city of London, with close associations with the Merchant Taylors' Company. After attending the prebendal school in Chichester, Juxon joined his cousins Arthur and Rowland Juxon at the Merchant Taylors' School in London, entering on 30 June 1595; his uncle Thomas Juxon was then warden of the company.

The Oxford years

On 11 June 1598 Juxon was elected to St John's College, Oxford, having been awarded one of Sir Thomas White's scholarships, and he matriculated on 7 May 1602. Unlike John Buckeridge, William Laud, and Matthew Wren – other future bishops, who all graduated BA from St John's – Juxon proceeded to the degree of BCL on 5 July 1603 and very probably entered Gray's Inn soon afterwards, as a comment he made in the House of Lords in 1641 suggests. He stayed there only briefly, however, preferring an academic career within Oxford University even though he already held the reversion of his father's offices of bishop's registrar and dean's registrar at Chichester and must have been aware of parental expectations. He was elected a fellow of his college and lost little time in fulfilling the requirement of its statutes that within ten years of starting the study of law he should be ordained deacon (as he was in September 1606), and within fourteen become priest (as he did in September 1607). On 20 January 1610 he was appointed vicar of St Giles's, Oxford, a living in his college's gift; he resigned it in January 1616 on his presentation by Benedict Hatton to Somerton, Oxfordshire, where he served as rector for nearly six years. He eventually took his DCL in 1622.

During 1611 Juxon played a useful, but not decisive, part in securing the election of William Laud, as president of St John's in succession to Buckeridge, after a hotly disputed contest with John Rawlinson. Juxon was one of a group of five senior fellows of the college who decided to vote as a block in accordance with the will of the majority among them; although their role was investigated on James I's orders by the college visitor, Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester, and was further considered by the king, the election was allowed to stand. John Towse's floating vote had been crucial. Immediately after Laud's appointment, Juxon served a year as vice-president of St John's, but he may well have had an obligation to do so, in keeping with the college's requirement that a civil lawyer had to fill the office once in every three years. Ten years later, Laud was reticent about his part in Juxon's own election to the presidency of St John's on 10 December 1621. In his diary Laud simply recorded his resignation from the presidency on 17 November 1621, and in a letter to Sir Robert Cotton in November 1623, which acknowledged that the college had still not recovered from the contest, he suggested that his role was less than Juxon's opponents supposed: 'the heat that was then struck is not yet quenched in the losing party', yet arose merely 'out of an opinion that I had some hand in the business' (*Works*, 6.242). He did not elaborate on his part in proceedings, but Juxon, meanwhile, may have reflected on the hazards of close identification, real or imagined, with Laud. Lancelot Andrewes, visiting the college as Bilson's successor in June 1624, referred to the detrimental effects of its continuing 'unhappy disagreement at home' (Mason, 33). Perhaps to bolster the new president Andrewes may, as dean of the chapels royal, already have had some part in the invitation from the clerk of the closet, Richard Neile, to Juxon to contribute to the series of Lenten sermons at court in both 1623

and 1624, as one of the few preachers who was not yet a royal chaplain. Laud, increasingly active at court as Andrewes's health declined, may also have helped.

Juxon, however, came more frequently to royal notice during the two academic years he served as vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, in 1626/7 and 1627/8. In this role he received Charles I at Woodstock in August 1627, greeting him with a Latin oration (TNA: PRO, SP 16/73/2, Laud's copy), and by the end of the year had become a royal chaplain and received nomination as dean of Worcester (instituted 7 January 1628); as dean he repaired the cathedral and, at court, gave Lenten sermons each year between 1628 and 1631. His enthusiasm for hunting, although he was by now less often in the saddle, and knowledge of local woodlands, also commended him to the king. A letter of October 1627 from Charles to the chancellor of Oxford, Pembroke, asking him to instruct his vice-chancellor to order the heads of colleges to control their students' activities in the forest around Woodstock, may have been suggested by Juxon. A year later, Juxon was named among commissioners appointed to survey Shotover Forest, east of Oxford, on the king's behalf. As vice-chancellor, however, he proved quite unable to counter the Calvinist emphasis of the acts, and his difficulties may have prompted the final paragraph of the king's declaration on the articles of religion of November 1628, just after his term of office had ended, which specifically banned doctrinal disputations within the two universities.

At Charles I's court

When Richard Neile was translated to York in March 1632 and resigned from the clerkship of the closet which he had held since 1603, Juxon succeeded him, on 10 July, and Laud for the first time mentioned Juxon by name in his diary (the only previous entry, in July 1625, had simply referred impersonally to the president of St John's). Laud, who seemed to see the clerkship as about Juxon's mark, did however claim that it was 'at my suit' that he was chosen, 'That I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grow weak or infirm; as I must have a time' (*Works*, 3.216). There is at least a hint here of a more immediate concern about losing Charles's ear, for Laud was aware he must soon succeed Archbishop George Abbot across the river at Lambeth. Juxon, at almost fifty, was only nine years Laud's junior, and the decision was surely the king's. Charles may have thought it appropriate for a past president of St John's to make a formal request on behalf of his successor, but it is inherently unlikely, given the king's concern over church appointments, that he had not made up his own mind first, especially as the clerk's privy closet was placed between the presence chamber and the privy chamber, bringing him as physically close to the king as a servant not of the privy chamber or bedchamber could be. Juxon's resignation from the presidency of St John's on 5 January 1633, when still dean of Worcester and with no preferment within the church immediately in view, indicated his confidence in the continued flow of royal favour.

In the event Juxon did not have long to wait. The deaths of Francis Godwin, bishop of Hereford, in April 1633 and archbishop Abbot on 4 August 1633 prompted his swift elevation. The king initially intended him for Hereford, where his election was confirmed late in July 1633, but before his consecration could take place Laud's translation to Canterbury brought Juxon the succession both to the deanship of the chapels royal (an office previously held under the Stuarts only by James Montagu, Lancelot Andrewes, and Laud) on 12 August 1633 and to the see of London, to which he was nominated on 22 September and confirmed eight days later. In the space of a few months Juxon had acquired two of the most coveted offices in the English church, and done so with a discreet certainty which, as the privy seal office warrants and signet office docquet books confirm, indicated the exercise of the king's will. A normally well-informed London newsletter writer, John Flower, in

reporting on 21 September that Laud would hold on to the see of London until Michaelmas (29 September), was still unaware who the new bishop might be. More notably, neither Laud's diary nor his surviving correspondence records Juxon's rapid rise or reflects on the potential which the deanship of the chapels royal gave for further advancement. Within five years of becoming a royal chaplain Juxon had, as much by his accommodating personality as by any demonstration of competence, confirmed his place close to the king at court just as Laud was moving across the water to Lambeth. As clerk of the closet in succession to Juxon, Charles had chosen Matthew Wren, his chaplain since 1622 and an old friend of Francis, Lord Cottington.

In March 1636 Juxon became lord treasurer of England, the first bishop in an office of state since John Williams held the lord keepership between 1621 and 1626, and the first churchman in the treasury since 1470. After the death of Portland in March 1635, the treasury had been placed in commission while Charles considered his options; friction between its two principal members, Laud and the chancellor of the exchequer, Cottington, soon undermined its effectiveness. The differences between them ran much deeper than a clash of personalities. Laud became obsessed with the need to root out impurities within the system of financial management, which the sometimes self-serving and aggrandizing Portland had come to epitomize and which his associate Cottington threatened to perpetuate. It was here, if anywhere in England, that 'Thorough' joined issue with what it took to be corruption, and Laud had high hopes that his ally, Thomas Wentworth, lord deputy of Ireland, would show an active interest in the succession to Portland. Wentworth, however, recognized from the outset that this would be politically unwise, and by the autumn of 1635 Laud, regarding himself as isolated at court by his abhorrence of what he saw as graft and corruption on all sides, was left to press his own case upon the king. His failure was a severe blow. Charles's preference for Juxon as lord treasurer compromised his own position, as primate, within the state. Yet Laud seems to have had no inkling that Juxon was in the running, and ignored him in correspondence with Wentworth at this time. It was as though the treasury was regarded as business beyond his compass. Juxon himself may have thought so. Charles afterwards remarked that he had spent most of the year in which the treasury was in commission trying to persuade Juxon to take it on and there is some evidence that the bishop was being encouraged to think of redefining his responsibilities. Laud himself implied in September 1635 that Matthew Wren was by then standing in for Juxon as dean of the chapels royal and that same month George Garrard, whose friendship with Cottington sharpened his perceptions of court activity, reported a rumour that Juxon was about to be made a privy councillor. A few days earlier the queen had informally consulted Cottington at Hanworth, no doubt confirming the identity of the prospective treasurer, and found him ready to remain in the less onerous post of chancellor of the exchequer. She knew that what Charles wanted was an amenable treasurer with some appreciation of financial priorities, who would work smoothly with Cottington, whose services he was anxious to retain. That November, in the Star Chamber case of *Pell v. Bagg*, which the queen attended in support of the wily and hard-dealing Bagg, Juxon duly aligned himself with Cottington among a narrow majority of judges who found in Bagg's favour, in contrast to Laud who trustingly supposed that the king would, like him, see the force of Pell's arguments. Juxon proved adept at grasping the ways of the court and his amiable disposition, and evident royal favour, were already bringing him a range of contacts more varied than Laud's own. As bishop of London he was well placed to strengthen his contacts with his kinsmen, some of them working in the church courts, and others associated with City companies.

As lord treasurer Juxon soon demonstrated his readiness to fall in with established practices.

He saw no reason why customs farms, which allowed the crown to draw extra concessions from the bidders, should be abandoned and the customs returned to direct management by the crown as Laud and a disgruntled London merchant, John Harrison, maintained. Harrison never regarded Juxon as a financial innocent, later recalling Juxon's practice of referring to his brother John of St Gregory by Paul, a proctor in the London church courts:

> all business of profitt, as offices in his disposall and what else; unto all which he gave despatch when his brother and the party were agreed; by which course (although he seemed never to meddle in those things) he made a greater benefit than any of the former treasurer upon like occasions had made. (BL, Stowe MS 326, fol. 62*r*)

Among Juxon's cousins was Nicholas Crisp, the rising Guinea merchant, who was brought into Sir Paul Pindar's syndicate for the great farm of customs in July 1637. Another who joined the farm was the queen's master of horse, George, Lord Goring, who had hopes of extending his interests in the tobacco trade, and who had lost no time in securing the appointment of his kinsman Philip Warwick as the new lord treasurer's secretary. As early as December 1637 Henry Percy assured Wentworth that Warwick 'governs his master as he pleases' (Strafford MS 17/259), seeming to fulfil the prediction of the earl of Clare that it would be left to Cottington to do the business of the treasury. But Juxon had also shown that he was not entirely unfamiliar with the practices of high finance – Percy indeed thought him 'the best for them [projectors] we ever had' (Strafford MS 17/263).

In most respects Juxon proved a tidy and effective peacetime administrator, under whom the king's finances continued to increase in yield: he and Cottington ultimately secured a substantial improvement in the value of the customs farms (the great farm up to £172,000 per annum, the petty to £72,500 per annum), and by using the 1635 book of rates they increased revenue from trade to an average of £425,000 per annum, during the later 1630s, almost half the crown's ordinary revenue. They encouraged the effective management of both the court of wards and the soap monopoly and curbed the tendency for treasury officials to employ the king's revenues for their own purposes by promptly examining the declared accounts; in 1639-40 they reduced pensions and annuities. Yet the king's decision to take military action against the Scottish covenanters quickly demonstrated the limits to these financial improvements. In neither bishops' war was the king's campaign securely or promptly funded, in part because support from the peers and gentry was not as readily forthcoming as Juxon supposed it would be. Unlike Cottington and Wentworth, he did not relish the urgency and uncertainty of war financing. As early as December 1638 Laud had ruffled the king by remarking that Juxon 'would use providence enough were he left alone … were I in his place, they should command the [white] staff when they would, but not a penny of money till these difficulties were over' (*Works*, 7.511). Juxon's resignation from the treasury on 17 May 1641, shortly after Wentworth's attainder (which he had advised against) and execution, must have come as a relief. Cottington resigned from the exchequer the same day.

On his appointment as lord treasurer on 6 March 1636 Juxon had been made a privy councillor and found himself involved in the king's government across a broad front. As treasurer he was *ex officio* a member of all the council's standing committees as well as the commission for the admiralty, and was also likely to serve on the council's *ad hoc* committees. On 9 May 1637 he was among those nominated to the new council of war. The extant evidence does not allow for an accurate estimate of his overall commitment, but attendance lists for the administrative meetings of the council (in TNA: PRO, ,PC 2, and in the council clerks' papers in SP 16) indicate that he was very seldom absent from its board,

and between March 1636, when he gave his last Lenten sermon at court (TNA: PRO, LC 5/134, fol. 1*v*), and his final pre-war appearance at the board on 27 April 1641, his presence was noted at well over 500 of these routine meetings, more than any other councillor. There was much other business besides, and it was not long before diocesan responsibilities began to lose ground to ship money and then the Scottish troubles.

This may not have entirely displeased Juxon. His preoccupation with council and treasury matters meant that he could, more legitimately than his fellow bishops, place responsibility for carrying out church policy on his officials. To be at a remove from the enforcement of policy suited his cautious nature. He took a liberal view of reading the reissued Book of Sports in the parishes, and merely wanted assurance that it had been published, and did not enquire when and by whom it had been read. His attitude to altar rails was circumspect – perhaps like Laud he was aware that the practice did not entirely have canonical sanction. He did not stand in the way of firm action by local officials but, as his commissary, Dr Robert Aylett, once complained, left them without adequate backing. Juxon visited his diocese in 1634, 1637, and 1640 but his annual diocesan returns, as summarized by Laud as part of his provincial reports to the king, read feebly, and point to a lack of firm direction, in much the same way as visitors' reports on St John's, Oxford, under his presidency had done. In 1634 he acknowledged some inconformity in the diocese of London, 'but proofs came home only against four: three curates and a vicar'. In the next year 'three of his [four] archdeacons have made no return at all to him, so that he can certify nothing but what hath come to his knowledge without their help'. In 1637 Laud again reported that 'my lord treasurer complains that he hath little assistance of his archdeacons', and may have taken satisfaction in adding 'I believe it to be true, and shall therefore, if your Majesty think fit [as Charles did], cause letters to be written to them to awake them to their duties' (*Works*, 5.327, 332, 348).

In his own dealings, Juxon took a pragmatic line. He sparingly granted licences to preach, but was on occasion accommodating to existing lecturers. He viewed Richard Mountague's enthusiasm for closer relations with Rome with caution, but from 1635 expected clergy new to his diocese, at least, to subscribe on institution to a set of eleven Arminian articles, the last of which stated bluntly that the 'Church of Rome is a true Church and truly so called' (Fincham, *Visitation Articles*, 2.126). He also knew how to make himself inconspicuous. He sought in February 1636 to allay Scottish fears over the changing character of the new Scottish prayer book but, pleading treasury commitments, left Laud and Wren to scrutinize James Wedderburn's notes which, for the first time, dealt with the interpretation of the eucharist. Juxon was among the five bishops absent from the Lords on the day the canons of 1640 were due to be signed, and thus was not named in the impeachment proceedings of 4 August 1641.

Retirement and restoration

Given the sensitivity of the two posts he held, as lord treasurer and bishop of London, Juxon attracted remarkably little attention from either MPs or constituencies during the parliamentary reckoning against Charles I's personal rule. As Lord Falkland conceded early in the Long Parliament, Juxon 'in an unexpected and mighty place and power … [had] expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the crozier's staff or white staff' (Rushworth, 3/1.185). Because during the civil war Juxon did not take up arms against parliament or voluntarily assist the king's army he was allowed to remain at Fulham with his secretary, Philip Warwick, until the sale of the bishop's palace, after which he lived for much of his time as a discreet country cleric at either Aldbourne in Sussex or Little Compton in Gloucestershire with his brother John who, an

informer told the committee for the advance of money in 1647, had ‘all or the most part of the bishop’s plate and goods, for all things are in common between them’ (Mason, 143). Juxon nevertheless defended Laud at his trial in 1644 against the charge that he had been treasonably close to the Church of Rome, and attending the king, at his request, at successive peace negotiations, the last at Newport in September 1648. He was present at the king’s trial and was with him on the scaffold. Later he supervised his interment at St George’s Chapel, Windsor, having been refused permission to bury the body in Henry VII’s chapel or to read the burial service.

During the 1650s Juxon hunted frequently despite his advancing years, and on one occasion was allegedly defended by Cromwell after his normally well-ordered hounds had disturbed worshippers at Chipping Norton by excitedly chasing a hare into the churchyard. Nearby, at Little Compton, he continued with impunity to conduct services according to the Anglican rite.

When Juxon returned to London in August 1660 he was in his late seventies and out of touch with current politics and Anglican thinking. Appointed primate by Charles II that September, he was overshadowed in church affairs by Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of London, and had little influence on the religious settlement. His attitude to nonconformity never became clear. He was restored to the privy council only in April 1663, an indication perhaps of the new king’s coolness towards him. He did what he could to revive the material condition of the church, spending freely on clergy incomes, furniture, and, especially, fabric: over £10,000 was spent on the great hall at Lambeth Palace alone. He also, characteristically, appointed his kinsmen to administrative posts within the diocese of Canterbury. His metropolitan visitation of the southern province in 1663, carefully carried out by his vicar-general, Sir Richard Chaworth, was to be the last of its kind.

Juxon died, unmarried, at Lambeth on 4 June 1663, and was buried at Oxford on 9 July with more pomp than he had asked for in St John’s College chapel, next to the college’s founder, Sir Thomas White. Laud’s body was brought from Barking to lie with them. Juxon’s will showed how far he had outlived his generation. Personal bequests, such as that to Philip Warwick, were few, and apart from £6000 to members of his family the bulk of his estate went to institutions with which he had been associated: St John’s College received £7000 to purchase lands ‘for the increase of the yearly stipends of the fellows and scholars’, St Paul’s £2000 for repairs, and Canterbury Cathedral, by way of a codicil, £500. His nephew Sir William Juxon, as executor, was charged with overseeing the completion of the hall at Lambeth, if need be (TNA: PRO, PROB 11/311/89).

Juxon, according to Philip Warwick, was ‘of a meek spirit and of a solid and steady judgement’ (Warwick, 100),very different from his supposed mentor, Laud, whose shortcomings as a courtly cleric his own advance does much to point up. Where Laud consoled himself with being a principled but lonely and thwarted reformer, Juxon, true to his training as a civilian, preferred to work quietly within the system. Even though Wentworth in Ireland almost always dealt directly with Cottington, Juxon was an inspired choice for lord treasurer in the context of reducing friction at court. He was on good terms with both the fractious senior treasury commissioners, Laud and Cottington, and he was someone the king and queen felt comfortable with. But despite the distinction visited on the church, Laud was less than happy with the outcome, and in the later 1630s continued to snipe at the management of the king’s finances, suggesting that Juxon lacked the firmness to assert himself when it mattered. Charles acknowledged that he found it difficult to elicit Juxon’s

own views from him, despite making it plain that he valued them; political confidences between them must have been few. Juxon's reserve brought him durability in high office but left his beliefs less clearly visible than they might have been. His theology is defined largely by the Arminian circles within which he moved. He does not seem to have been asked to make declarations on the king's behalf from the pulpit. None of his sermons was ever ordered to be printed by either James or Charles, unlike those of Andrewes and Laud, and none appear to have been otherwise published. Juxon had become the king's man but, for all his apparent authority, his role remained circumscribed. With that he prudently rested content."

William Warburton (1698-1779)

Dictionary of National Biography:

"William Warburton (1698-1779), attrib. William Hoare, *c*. 1750-55

Warburton, William (1698-1779), bishop of Gloucester and religious controversialist, was born in Newark, Nottinghamshire, on 24 December 1698, the second and only surviving son of George Warburton (*d*. 1706), attorney and town clerk of Newark, and his wife, Elizabeth (*d.* 1749), daughter of William Holman, an alderman of the town. The Warburton family originated in Cheshire, and Warburton's grandfather had been involved in Booth's attempted royalist rising at Chester in 1659. He himself wrote out some biographical and genealogical memoranda, which can be found in the British Library (Add. MS 4320, fols. 206-9). He attended school at Newark; one of his masters there was later rather surprised by the appearance of Warburton's major work, The Divine Legation of Moses, because 'when at school, he had always considered young Warburton to be the dullest of all dull scholars' (GM, 1st ser., 50, 1780, 474). He briefly moved to Oakham School before returning to Newark, where he was taught by a cousin, also named William Warburton. His father died in 1706, so it was important that the young Warburton, who was responsible for his sisters and his mother (to whom he was devoted), should secure a career relatively early in life, and he was therefore articled for five years to an attorney, John Kirke, at East Markham, Nottinghamshire, on 23 April 1714. On completion of his articles he practised law in Newark from 1719 to 1723.

Literary-cum-ecclesiastic vocation

Warburton had a pronounced appetite for reading, in which he was encouraged by his schoolmaster cousin, and it was this literacy bent that led him to consider a change in vocation: he decided to take orders in the church. He was ordained deacon on 23 December 1723 by Archbishop William Dawes, of York. In that year his first publication appeared: Miscellaneous Translations in Prose and Verse, a small volume which he addressed to his patron, Sir Robert Sutton, MP for Nottinghamshire, who in 1727 presented him to his first small living, Greaseley, in Nottinghamshire. He was ordained priest by Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, at St Paul's on 1 March 1727, and in June 1728 Sutton presented him to the rich living of Brant Broughton, in Lincolnshire, which he continued to hold until 1746. In taking the living of Brant Broughton he resigned Greaseley, but in 1730 he was given the additional living of Firsby, in Leicestershire, by the duke of Newcastle (with whom he corresponded), which he held as a non-resident, with Steeping Magna, until 1756.

Warburton became close to William Stukeley, the antiquary, who lived nearby at Stamford, and from 1722 until the eve of Stukeley's death in 1765 they exchanged letters, many of which were published in the second volume of J. Nichols's Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century. Francis Peck and John Towne, both antiquaries, were also close to Warburton at this time, as was the philosopher David Hartley, then practising as a physician at Newark. Warburton was granted an MA at Cambridge, at the recommendation of Sutton, on the occasion of the king's visit in 1728. His literary ambitions had been further encouraged by a meeting in London at Christmas 1726 with Lewis Theobald, which had been organized by Matthew Concanen. Theobald used some of his new acquaintance's notes in his edition of Shakespeare; he corresponded with Warburton, chiefly about variant readings, for seven years. Warburton concurred with Concanen and Theobald in their severe criticisms of Pope, remarking in a letter to Concanen of 7 January 1727 that 'Dryden borrowed for want of leisure, and Pope for want of genius' (Nichols, Illustrations, 2. 195). It was fortunate for Warburton that Pope remained unaware of this letter, which was first published by Mark Akenside in a note to his 'Ode to Thomas Edwards' in 1751.

Concanen also arranged the publication of Warburton's first substantial work, A critical and philosophical enquiry into the causes of prodigies and miracles, as related by historians (1727), in which the fledgeling author attacked, *inter alia*, Hobbes, Shaftesbury, and Mandeville (for their antipathy to religion), as well as a whole mass of ancient and medieval historians and chroniclers (for their credulousness). Aside from Ralegh and Clarendon, Warburton was equally critical of modern historians as supposedly lacking any real knowledge of human nature, and he was especially censorious when condemning the antiquarian tastes promoted by the followers of Stow and Holinshed, which he denounced as 'a deprav'd Appetite for *Trash* and *Cinders*' (W. Warburton, A Critical and Philosophical Enquiry, 65). He was concerned to demonstrate the role of providence in human affairs, particularly as evinced through the miracles of the Old and New testaments, in contradistinction to a superstitious reverence for portents and signs, which he associated with heathenism. The assured tone of this work would prove typical of his later writings, although this was a text that he quickly decided to suppress. When his disciple Richard Hurd came to edit Warburton's works he too chose not to republish it. Though the work appeared anonymously Warburton sent out presentation copies. He also published a less contentious work in 1727, The Legal Judicature in Chancery Stated, which drew on his legal training in stating the relationship between the chancery and the rolls court. This was an early instance of his marked interest in the law and the English constitution, subjects which retained his attention for the rest of his career. He would also long prove all too happy either to praise or defame prominent characters in print, and an early instance of this occurred just before he himself acquired a public reputation in the 1730s. Sir Robert Sutton was expelled from the House of Commons in 1732 as a result of corruption relating to the Charitable Corporation for the Relief of the Industrious Poor, of which he was a director; the following year Warburton provided An Apology for Sir Robert Sutton, in which he absolved him of the charges laid against him, concluding that his patron was a victim of malice, cavil, and hearsay. He later requested that Pope remove slighting references to Sutton in this connection from both Of the Use of Riches and his Epilogue to the Satires.

Warburton's years at Brant Broughton were productive ones, and he spent a great deal of his time there in retired study. As Hurd wrote in his introduction to his edition of Warburton's works:

> living by himself, and not having the fashionable opinions of a great society to bias his own, he might acquire an enlarged turn of mind, and strike out for himself, as he clearly did, an original cast both of thought and composition. (Hurd, Discourse, 6)

The first major result of this independence of mind was his controversial defence of the established church and the Test Acts, The Alliance between Church and State (1736). Warburton argued that religion alone can supply the rewards necessary to ensure that individual virtue continues to underpin the proper function of civil government. The magistrate was to oversee the government of the body, the church that of the soul. Fundamental to the alliance so formed was the influence that the church could give to the service of the state, and the support and protection that the state could in turn give to the church. Above all the church was to oversee that popular measure of the early and mid-eighteenth-century Church of England, the 'reformation of manners'. Warburton argued that an established denomination provided moral security for the state, and that it should therefore be composed by the majority confession of the nation, thereby standing clear of any multiplication and fragmentation into sectarianism. Sectarianism he identified as the source

of contention and internal wars. Reflection on the legacy of the civil war, a subject on which he had planned to write a history, comprised a major part of his thinking on such matters. He read most of the political pamphlets produced between 1640 and 1660, and his very full annotations to Clarendon's History were finally published by the Clarendon Press in 1826. While he argued that the civil magistrate could not coerce opinions he also declared that such opinions should always give way to civil peace. Utility was absolutely central to his argument, but it was a utility that led to knowledge of divine truth through the proper, tolerant practice of Christianity as a revealed religion. Hobbes and Roman Catholicism represented the two extremes to be avoided; Hooker and Locke were lauded as the defenders of a tolerant church. Neither high- nor low-church apologists were ready to accept what seemed to many to be an overly legalistic and compromisingly Erastian understanding of the church. Warburton's Erastianism was decidedly atypical of established apologetic in the eighteenth century, as was his explicit appeal to Lockean contract theory. None the less the work won him the admiration of Bishop Francis Hare of Chichester, who had been more critical of an edition of Velleius Paterculus that Warburton had addressed to him and which he published in the Bibliothèque Britannique in 1736. Hare recommended Warburton, on the altogether securer strength of the Alliance, to the theologically sophisticated Queen Caroline, long noted for taking a close personal interest in church affairs. Unfortunately for Warburton the queen died in November 1737, and the preferment that he might otherwise have expected did not come his way.

Friendship with Pope

Bishop Hare died in 1740, leaving Warburton without an important supporter, but a friendship which was to prove extremely beneficial to him began in the same year. Although he had attacked Pope when a member of the Theobald circle, even contributing anonymous articles against him in the Daily Journal in March and April 1728, he defended the theology of Pope's Essay on Man in a series of letters in the History of the Works of the Learned in December 1738. These letters were a reply to a work by a Swiss divine, Jean Pierre de Crousaz, who, in his Examen de l'essai de Monsieur Pope sur l'homme (1737), had identified the argument of the poem with Leibnizianism; Warburton's able, if suitably combative, defence appeared as Vindication, in 1740. As a result of this unexpected defence, in which Pope's essay was read as an exercise in Newtonian natural theology, Warburton spent a week with him at Twickenham in 1740, having been introduced to him through the good offices of William Murray, later Lord Mansfield. Pope thus gained an increasingly influential theologian as his philosophical apologist, and Warburton gained the friendship of an extremely well-connected writer. Warburton seems to have brought Pope back to Christian orthodoxy, gradually supplanting the religiously suspect Bolingbroke in his affections. Pope attributed to Warburton the creation of the fourth book of the Dunciad, in its 1743 version; Warburton's notes to the poem are as concerned with theology as they are with literary questions, as are his detailed and expansive annotations to the Essay on Criticism and the Essay on Man. Such was the close nature of the friendship that when in 1741 an offer of an Oxford DD was made to Warburton, only to be rapidly withdrawn, Pope declined the simultaneous offer of an LLD that the university had made to him. At the poet's death Warburton became his executor, from which position he made rather a lot of money, and an interesting exchange of letters between him and his publisher Knapton on this and allied matters has been published as Pope's Literacy Legacy.

It was through Pope that Warburton met Ralph Allen, the postal entrepreneur and Bath philanthropist, who had invited both men to his house, Prior Park, in November 1741. This was to prove Warburton's fortune, since he married Allen's favourite niece, Gertrude Tucker

(*d*. 1796), on 5 September 1745. When Allen died in 1764 Warburton was the beneficiary of a generous bequest, and it had also been arranged that Mrs Warburton was to be left Prior Park at the death of her uncle's widow. Warburton spent the greater part of the year at Prior Park from the date of his marriage, and it was largely for this reason that he resigned the living of Brant Broughton in 1746, the year in which Murray, as solicitor-general, secured him the lucrative and influential preachership at Lincoln's Inn. His lectures on religion at Lincoln's Inn were published in two volumes in 1753 as The Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion Occasionally Opened and Explained. His links with Lincoln's Inn were affirmed in 1769, when he founded the Warburtonian lectures on the proof of Christianity through prophecies (a favoured proof in eighteenth-century Christian apologetics).

Warburton had long been deeply interested in literature, and his friendship with Pope consolidated this interest. He was also close to Samuel Richardson, for whom he wrote a preface to Clarissa, and he likewise provided a dissertation on chivalry for Thomas Jarvis's translation of Don Quixote (1742). Henry Fielding knew him through a mutual friendship with Allen, and a mock encomium to his learning is to be found in Tom Jones (bk 3, chap. 1). Laurence Sterne, whom he met through a friendship with David Garrick, had offered to make him Tristram's tutor in The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman but Warburton allegedly prevented this by presenting Sterne with a small present of a bag of gold. Warburton had long been fascinated by Shakespeare, contributing much to Sir Thomas Hanmer's edition of the works. The question of how much he actually contributed to this edition later provoked a furious quarrel, as can be seen in Philip Nichols's pamphlet The Castrated Letter of Sir T. Hanmer (1763). Warburton had produced his own edition of Shakespeare in 1747. This quickly proved controversial, not least as many of his emendations are nothing if not absurd, and he was attacked by Thomas Edwards of Lincoln's Inn (where Warburton was the recently installed preacher) in his Canons of Criticism (1748). Edwards's criticisms were reaffirmed by John Upton in Critical Observations on Shakespeare (1748) and by Benjamin Heath in Revisal of Shakespeare's Text (1766). Warburton's contributions to the developing art of the editor were, however, considerable, if markedly uneven in quality. Much attention to these matters is apparent in Warburton's lengthy correspondence with Thomas Birch, to whom he had declared on 24 November 1737 that 'the most agreeable subject in the world … is literary history' (BL, Add. MS 4320, fol. 119*r*). In a much later letter to Birch, of 25 October 1763, Warburton characteristically emphasized an allied commitment in a manner otherwise surprising in a bishop: 'You must know I am a great Antiquarian, tho' I make no word of it; as half-ashamed of my taste; like a man who has taken an odd fancy to an ugly mistress' (ibid., fol. 199*r*). It was this union of assumed piety and frank worldliness that gave Warburton so ambiguous a contemporary reputation. This applied to all his public dealings, and especially in regard to his literary labours, where he acquired a reputation for graceless irascibility. Edwards's well-received, deeply humours critique of Warburton's Shakespeare edition had delighted Akenside, a declared enemy of Warburton, who similarly lampooned Warburton's work on editions of Milton and of Pope's poetry in his 'Ode to Thomas Edwards' (1751), declaring that no poet required the assistance of 'such a militant divine':

> [a] sophist vain,
> Who durst approach his hallow'd strain
> With unwash'd hands and lips profane.
> (ll. 40-42)

Nevertheless whatever their actual opinions of Warburton all writers owed him a debt for his

work on literary property. His Letter from an Author to a Member of Parliament Concerning Literary Property (1747) was the first theoretical examination of the subject, a treatment not unrelated to his own interest in his role as Pope's literary executor. His edition of Pope's works appeared in 1751; he wrote a large part of the life of Pope – attributed to Owen Ruffhead – that appeared in the 1769 edition of the works.

Pope had been concerned to introduce his new friend to his old confidant Bolingbroke. He wrote to Allen on 6 March 1744 how he wished to introduced Warburton to 'the One Great Man in Europe, who knows as much as He' (Correspondence of Alexander Pope, 4.504-5). The introduction heralded a poisonous rivalry, and Warburton responded testily, in A Letter to the Lord Viscount B – (1749), to Bolingbroke's equivocal remarks concerning Pope in his Idea of a Patriot King, which led to a war of words in which Bolingbroke made some telling points in his Familiar Letter to the most Impudent Man Living (1749). This was an encounter which led to the most tedious and unnecessary of Warburton's writings, A View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy (1754-5), a work which Montesquieu admired. Pope himself had seen a dark side of Warburton's character, which he noted in a letter of August 1743 to Martha Blount, who had felt slighted by Warburton and the Allens: 'W. is a sneaking Parson, & I told him he flattered' (Correspondence of Alexander Pope, 4.463-4).

Theological and literary controversies: The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated

Warburton's friendship with Pope had begun in the short interval between the appearance of the first and second volumes of his major work, The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated (1738-41), an audacious demonstration of sometimes prodigious and always combative learning that guaranteed him his reputation as the would-be literary dictator of mid-eighteenth-century England, a role which his work as Pope's executor only served to emphasize. Pope's reading of the first volume left him rhapsodic, as he wrote to Warburton on 24 June 1740:

> I am not really Learned enough to be a judge in Works of the nature & Depth of yours, but I travel thro your book, as thro an Amazing Scene of ancient Egypt or Greece, struck with Veneration & Wonder, but at every step wanting an Instructor to tell me all I wish to know. Such you prove to me in the Walks of Antiquity & such you will prove to all Mankind. (Correspondence of Alexander Pope, 4.251)

Hurd's comparable praise for the work is not without foundation, especially his claim that 'in the whole compass of modern or antient theology, there is nothing equal or similar to this extraordinary performance' (Hurd, Discourse, 36). The central argument of this work is built on a daring paradox, the pivotal need for which is apparent in the subtitle to the Divine Legation, in which the truth of Christianity is to be shown on the principles of a 'religious deist'. Deists had dismissed all priestly religions as providing false comfort to humanity through the fallacious doctrines of a future life, which were merely an 'engine' of 'priestcraft' by which the clergy gained false authority and illegitimate status in society. According to Warburton, however, Moses did not even mention such a doctrine, thereby proving that his was the true revealed faith, since God chose not to reveal such a doctrine immediately but hid it until the time was right for its proper promulgation. In defence of this paradox Warburton argued that God had intervened directly in the ancient world of the Hebrews through extraordinary providences, and there was thus no need for comforting doctrines of futurity; not one of the characters in the Old Testament acted according to the doctrine of a future state, living only with respect to his present life. This proved a contentious proposition, and it was one which Warburton had quickly to defend from a host

of critics, both freethinkers and Christians. Replies to the central paradox of the work appeared in rapid succession throughout the 1740s and 1750s; enmity to Warburton's ideas frequently united otherwise disparate groups of clergy. His arguments were challenged by Cambridge Newtonians such as Arthur Ashley Sykes and John Jackson, in 1744 and 1745 respectively; by Hutchinsonians such as Julius Bate, in a tract of 1741; by William Law, the nonjuror and mystical Behmenist, as late as 1756; and, very effectively, by the ultra-latitudinarian Francis Blackburne, in 1757. It is a tribute to the polemical ire of Warburton's writings that opposition to them could encompass such an unprecedently wide arc of clerical opinion. Benjamin Newton, writing in 1758, suggested that the work actually provided ammunition for the very freethinkers that it was designed to refute, while John Tillard, in a tract published in 1742, defended the ancient religions against Warburton's criticisms. Bishop Potter of London, who distrusted Warburton, encouraged the clergy of his diocese to publish critiques of The Divine Legation. Most controversially Warburton subsequently became embroiled in a very public dispute in 1756 over the nature of the book of Job with Robert Lowth, professor of Hebrew at Oxford, an encounter in which he came out much worse than the learned Lowth, who had originally been offended by a slighting remark that Warburton had made regarding his father (Warburton was both envious and suspicious of clerical dynasties). As a result of this encounter, Warburton once more argued, in a 1765 addition to the work, that Job had had no knowledge of futurity and that the work was a political allegory; Lowth again contested this, in Letter to the Author of 'The Divine Legation', and he was not above pointing to Warburton's poor command of Hebrew in making his case.

Quite aside from its paradoxical kernel The Divine Legation proved controversial because, in Hurd's words, it 'took in all that was most curious in Gentile, Jewish, and Christian antiquity' (Hurd, Discourse, 20). His theories regarding the origins of writing were to prove particularly influential: Condillac translated sections of the work on the nature of hieroglyphs, guaranteeing Warburton a high status in linguistic speculation throughout late eighteenth-century Europe. This standing was questioned by others in France: Voltaire wrote a short refutation of the bishop's work, A Warburton, and Rousseau criticized his notions of church and state relations in his Contrat Social. A German translation of The Divine Legation was produced at Leipzig and Frankfurt between 1751 and 1753; it was to influence a number of German theologians and classical scholars. Praise for the work was also received from Virginia, where the book was much discussed. Warburton's readings of classical sources were, however, often as unhappily received as were his readings of sacred literature. A long-standing friendship with Conyers Middleton, with whom he shared marked hatreds of more consciously orthodox divines, was brought to an abrupt end when Middleton, the biographer of Cicero, questioned Warburton's interpretation of Cicero's religion in the fifth edition of his Letter from Rome (1742). Warburton distanced himself from Middleton when writing against other critics of his work; his notes to later editions of The Divine Legation further allowed him to finish off his critics in a brutal manner, a characteristic that his contemporaries found increasingly distasteful. Nevertheless this public distancing from an erstwhile friend also served to reinforce Warburton's otherwise contentious reputation for orthodoxy, as Middleton's reputation for heterodoxy had grown markedly over the preceding decade and a half. Similarly Warburton's friendship with John Jortin, who, like Middleton, was a Cambridge divine of advanced theological opinions, ended when Jortin mildly censured his reading of the sixth book of the Aeneid in Six Dissertations (1755). Jortin was savagely attacked by Richard Hurd, Warburton's young acolyte, who was to prove a long-standing epistolary confidant, in a vituperative pamphlet, The Delicacy of Friendship, Edward Gibbon's first venture into print in English, Critical Observations on the Sixth Book

of the Aeneid (1770), was also largely concerned with Warburton's alleged misreading of the text, and his engagements with Warburton were of great significance for him at the outset of his intellectual life, as is clear in his account in the Autobiographies.

Middleton had produced a critique of the miracles of the early church which appeared in 1749; it initiated a major debate among churchmen and other interested parties. Warburton seized the opportunity to affirm his orthodoxy by arguing for the truth of what was one of the latest possible miracles, according to the standards of protestantism: that which faced the emperor Julian at the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. His Julian (1751) proved a controversial work; Montesquieu greatly admired it, while Voltaire loathed it. The nonconformist divine Philip Doddridge, a friend and frequent correspondent of Warburton, was also impressed by the work. The Doddridge-Warburton correspondence – eighteen letters from Warburton are reproduced in G. F. Nuttall's Calendar of Doddridge's correspondence (1979) – reveals Warburton's more professedly pious commitments; he was also a great admirer of Doddridge's expositions of the New Testament and a manifest follower of his recommendations for family prayer and devotions. Doddridge was interested too in Warburton's feelings on being attacked by John Byrom in Enthusiasm: a Poetical Essay. Warburton's relations with 'enthusiasm' were not happy. His dislike of Methodism was deep, and he condemned both the soteriology and the practical enthusiasm of John Wesley and George Whitefield in The Doctrine of Grace (1763), a work which drew hurt replies from both men. Both Wesley and Whitefield believed that his notion of grace revealed Warburton to be less than orthodox, leading Whitefield to expostulate, 'Alas! What could a Middleton say more?' (G. Whitefield, Observations on some Fatal Mistakes, in a Book Lately Published, and Intitled, 'The Doctrine of Grace', 1764, 7). The work also drew eloquent criticisms from John Andrews, a clergyman of Warburton's diocese, and Thomas Leland, of Trinity College, Dublin, both of whom felt it too vituperative a work and one which potentially exposed the Church of England to doctrinal assault concerning the nature of grace from more orthodox protestants. Thomas Hartley condemned Warburton's views in an appendix to his Paradise Restored (1764). Samuel Chandler defended Warburton against Wesley but there was otherwise little support for The Doctrine of Grace. Warburton's work on the doctrine of the sacraments, A Rational Account of the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper (1761), was, surprisingly perhaps, quietly received. The 1760s proved the zenith of Warburton's controversial career, climaxing in the quarrel with Lowth, and this was at least as much a consequence of his political as of his theological opinions. Lowth's words in his 1765 Letter to Warburton had done their work: 'I am a staunch Republican and a zealous Protestant in Literature, nor will ever bear with a Perpetual Dictator, or an Infallible Pope, whose Decrees are to be submitted to without appeal, and to be received with implicit assent' (p.133).

Warburton the whig

Warburton had always profited from his strict adherence to the interests of the whig party. His dedication of the second volume of The Divine Legation to Lord Chesterfield had resulted in the offer of an Irish chaplaincy in 1745, when Chesterfield was made lord lieutenant, an offer which subsequently fell through when family duties made it impossible for Warburton to leave England, a decision which Chesterfield much respected. A new edition of The Alliance was also dedicated to Chesterfield, in 1747. Warburton was, however, no mere place-seeker: he was a staunchly loyal whig and he published two strongly anti-Jacobite sermons when Charles Edward Stuart's forces were in England. The politico-theology of these sermons was challenged as extreme by Henry Stebbing, a critic of The Divine Legation, and Warburton replied to him in equally strong terms in An Apologetical

Dedication to the Reverend Dr Henry Stebbing (1746), virtually accusing him of crypto-Jacobitism. Warburton's dual standing as Pope's editor and whig churchman was satirized in an anonymous work, Proposals for printing, by subscription, in one volume in quarto, a commentary critical and theological upon the learned Mr William Warburton's apologetical dedication to the Reverend Dr Henry Stebbing (1746), the tone of which reveals just how unpopular Warburton had become with many of his critics. This is also apparent in William Dodd's satire, A New Dunciad. Warburton's denunciations of freethinkers also gained him enemies in the sceptical camp, most notably David Hume. Warburton had originally thought Hume too low a specimen of the sceptical breed to notice but he felt obliged to respond to Hume's Natural History of Religion with Remarks (1757). Even then he felt it proper to publish the Remarks anonymously, completing the work with Hurd's assistance. Hume was unimpressed by the performance. In a letter to William Strahan of 25 June 1771 he made an observation that would have been shared by many other writers:

> It is petulance, and Insolence and abuse, that distinguish the Warburtonian School, even above all other Parsons and Theologians … I remember Lord Mansfield said to me that Warburton was a very opposite man in company to what he was in his Books; then, replyd I, he must be the most agreeable Companion in Europe, for surely he is the most odious Writer. (Letters, 2.244)

A consistent whig in his politics, Warburton had been notably loyal to Newcastle and then to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who rewarded him with a prebend at Gloucester in 1754. Warburton profitably exchanged this for one at Durham, in whose chapter library he read widely. It was at Durham that he critically annotated a copy of Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans in preparation for his assault on Methodism, an early manuscript preparation of which, 'The true Methodist, or, Christian in earnest', revised in July 1755, is in the John Rylands Library at Manchester (MS 253 AB). In 1754 he became a chaplain to the king and was granted a Canterbury DD by Archbishop Herring. He regularly exchanged letters with Charles Yorke, the future attorney-general, a correspondence (published in 1812) in which his wife occasionally joined in successfully seeking a naval command for her brother (BL, Egerton 1952, fols. 223-4, 226, 228, 230). In 1757 Warburton was made dean of Bristol, and through the local interest of Allen and of William Pitt, an admirer and frequent correspondent, he was made bishop of Gloucester in 1760 (holding his Durham prebend *in commendam*). This did not win universal approval and Horace Walpole later observed that Pitt had promoted him 'to the opposition of the whole episcopal bench', as Warburton's 'doubtful Christianity … writings and turbulent arrogance made him generally obnoxious' (Walpole, 85). Warburton's principled whiggery was expressed in his sermon to the House of Lords on 31 January 1760 and in a sermon condemning slavery which he delivered in 1766 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Warburton's political associations, combined with his monopoly on Pope's writings, served to expose him to the ire of John Wilkes, who grotesquely parodied the bishop's minute and pugnacious style of annotation in the notes to his notorious Essay on Woman (1763), a clandestine work that Warburton, the earl of Sandwich and Lord Mansfield sought out and suppressed. The notes, attributed to Warburton, were as obscene as the poem itself. This attack on Wilkes, widely perceived as a 'patriot', gained Warburton further notoriety, and he was condemned for it at some length by the clerical poet Charles Churchill, in The Duellist (1764) and in the dedication to his posthumously published Sermons (1765). In The Duellist Warburton's pride, meanness, ambition, gracelessness, and hypocrisy were blended with allusions to his writings, leading Churchill to a curt dismissal with which many

contemporaries would have concurred:

> A great Divine, as Lords agree,
> Without the least Divinity;
> To crown all, in a declining age,
> Enflam'd with Church and Party-rage,
> Behold him, full and perfect quite,
> A false Saint, and true Hypocrite.
> (bk 3, ll. 806-10)

Churchill also libelled Warburton and his wife in this poem, claiming that their only child (who was to predecease both) was not Warburton's at all; he was rumoured by some to be the son of his chaplain, and by others to be the son of the wit Thomas Potter (1673/4-1747). His widow subsequently married another chaplain, Martin Stafford Smith, in 1781. Walpole greatly enjoyed Warburton's apparent discomfiture during the Lords' debate on Wilkes in 1763, and he claimed that Warburton had subsequently used his connections to try to gain the bishopric of London for himself as a recompense for the abuse that he had suffered from Wilkes and his allies. Warburton certainly believed that he deserved better than the see of Gloucester, and his letters to Hurd reveal the suspicions and envies of a disappointed man.

Decline, death, and posthumous reputation

Warburton fell into a rapid decline in the wake of the controversies of the 1760s. He left Prior Park to reside in Gloucester in 1769, where he had a serious fall in his library in 1770, from the effects of which he never recovered. The loss of his young son (*b*. 1756) in 1775 exacerbated his illness, and he fell into senility, dying in the bishop's palace at Gloucester on 7 June 1779. He was buried in the cathedral, where his widow erected a monument to him bearing an inscription by Hurd. Hurd continued to correspond with her after she remarried, especially regarding the edition of Warburton's works, about which Hurd was very careful. He wrote to her on 23 March 1784, noting:

> We have reduced the expense as low as possible by printing only 200 copies, & by agreeing for a Head to be engraved from the picture at Gloucester at 20£, & for examining the Greek & Latin quotations, which must be done with care, 20£ more. (BL, Egerton 1958, fol. 98*v*)

Hurd and Mrs Stafford Smith were Warburton's closest posthumous allies. The Warburtonian party had never been large, encompassing John Towne, Thomas Balguy, Jonathan Toup, and (though they later fell out) John Brown, whose Estimate Warburton had much enjoyed. He especially favoured Brown's critique of Shaftesbury's moral doctrine in his Essays on the Characteristics; Warburton had always detested Shaftesbury and frequently bemoaned his influence on what he derided as fashionable opinion. Warburton had written a preface to Catharine Cockburn's Remarks, on Thomas Rutherforth, in 1747 but otherwise wrote sparingly on moral theory. He had neither the aptitude nor the inclination to write in a philosophical manner, devoting himself instead to historical and literary defences of Christianity. His reputation in the mid-eighteenth century was high but the changing nature of apologetic, which would favour such divines as Joseph Butler, meant that it fell into obsolescence with remarkable speed.

As early as 1785 John Disney observed that 'Few learned theological books have been more universally read in their day, than Mr. Warburton's Divine legation, and still fewer of those

which have been so much noticed, have been so soon neglected, disregarded and forgotten' (Disney, 269). Disney believed that the engagement with Lowth had proved decisive in Warburton's decline. When in conversation with 'three very learned and respectable dignitaries of the established church' Disney noted that all wondered whether Warburton's writings had better served the cause of infidelity than they had Christianity (ibid., 270). The seven-volume edition of his works financed by his widow under the editorship of Hurd, which appeared in 1788, signally failed to make an impact; it contained some hitherto unpublished material, notably parts of the uncompleted ninth book of The Divine Legation, Directions for the Study of Theology, and Warburton's notes on Neal's History of the Puritans. His reputation was further harmed when Samuel Parr, an opponent of what he identified as the small Warburtonian party in the church, published the long-disowned Enquiry into the Causes of Prodigies and Miracles in Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian (1789). Not all of his readers were so dismissive, however: George Grote, in making manuscript notes from his writings, had been convinced by the argument of Warburton's Julian (BL, Add. MS 29524, fols. 80-86), an admiration in which the secular historian had been unpredictably joined by Joseph Milner, the pre-eminent evangelical church historian. The publication in 1809 of the letters between Hurd and Warburton added to this sense of a re-evaluation of the bishop and his works. In 1828 a prominent evangelical, James Garbett, published an Oxford fellowship dissertation, An Essay on Warburton's 'Divine Legation' (1828), which contained judicious praise as well as a level of predictable censure. Gladstone strongly condemned the teaching of the Alliance in The State in its Relations with the Church (1838), although Macaulay was a little more accommodating of the Warburtonian thesis in his Edinburgh Review account of Gladstone's book. Francis Kilvert published an edition of the previously unpublished papers in 1841 and John Selby Watson produced a notably unsympathetic biography in 1863. Mark Pattison wrote excellently about Warburton, both as a subject in himself and as an editor of Pope's poetry, while essays concerning him by both Leslie and James Fitzjames Stephen appeared in the 1870s; he is also interestingly examined in Leslie Stephen's History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century (1878). A. W. Evans produced a well-balanced and sympathetic biography in 1932. Warburton's significance has been increasingly recognized by literary historians and by such intellectual historians as J. G. A. Pocock, as well as by Jacques Derrida, in Of Grammatology, an instance of his continuing relevance to European, as much as to British, intellectual history."

Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872)
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:
"Maurice, (John) Frederick Denison (1805-1872), Church of England clergyman and theologian, was born at Normanton, near Lowestoft, on 29 August 1805, the fifth child and only son of Michael Maurice and his wife, Priscilla, *née* Hurry, daughter of a Yarmouth merchant. Michael Maurice was preparing for the dissenting ministry at an academy at Hackney, Middlesex, when a shift in his opinions led him to Unitarianism, a decision which cost him the inheritance of an estate. In 1792 he was elected evening preacher at the Unitarian chapel in Hackney where Joseph Priestly preached in the mornings. Two years later he married, residing at Normanton until 1812, when he moved first to Clifton, and then, in the following year, to Frenchay, near Bristol. Besides Frederick, the family now consisted of seven sisters, three older and four younger than he, as well as a nephew and a niece of Mrs Maurice. The deaths of the two latter, on 18 October 1814 and 3 January 1815 respectively, greatly affected the elder sisters, to the extent indeed of bringing about a change in their religious convictions from Unitarianism to Calvinism. The eldest, Elizabeth (*b*. 1795), joined the Church of England, whereas the third, Anne (*b*. 1799), became a Baptist. Eventually their mother also embraced the Calvinistic doctrine. Unfortunately the religious persuasions which thus divided the family gave rise to vehement disagreement. That the young Frederick was confused and distressed by these disputes is of little wonder, and as he came to understand how matters stood he began to sense that need for religious unity which was to be a guiding principle of all his subsequent thinking. It likewise left him with the impression that, as he afterwards put it, 'a society merely united in opinion has no real cohesion' (*Life*, 2.276).

Education
Maurice's education and upbringing by his father were on puritanical lines: reading novels was not, in the main, allowed; Bible study was insisted upon. He appears to have been an exemplary child, responsive to teaching and always dutiful. He read a good deal on his own account, but had little inclination for games. Serious and precocious, he even at this time harboured ambitions for a life of public service.

In 1821 Maurice's mother finally left the Unitarian body, her son also having found its tenets and its narrowly sectarian outlook on life unappealing (*Life*, 1.175). No longer the dissenting ministry but the legal profession was his preferred option now. But in order to enhance his general education he judged a course at a university to be necessary, and chose Cambridge, where no religious test was imposed on entrance. Accordingly, in the October term of 1823, he took up residence at Trinity College, attending Julius Hare's lectures on the Greek drama and on Plato. Hare had little personal contact with Maurice, but sufficient to recognize in him an aptitude for philosophy. Maurice's official tutor was Frederick Field. He joined eagerly in university activities, spoke at the union, and was among the founders of the Apostles, another original member being Alfred Tennyson, whose lifelong friend he became. He also formed a close companionship with John Sterling (1806-1844), a favourite pupil of Hare's and a great admirer of Coleridge, whose talk at Hampstead had fascinated him. With Sterling he transferred in October 1825 to Trinity Hall, where fellowships were tenable by barristers and awarded for a good degree in law. Here he read for the LLB course. He moved to London to study for the bar in the long vacation of 1826, returning to Cambridge the following term for his final examination, gaining a first class in civil law. On the strength of this he stood an excellent chance of a college fellowship, but felt himself unable to subscribe to the Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles, then still requisite for proceeding to a degree. He would not, he said, 'hang a bribe round his neck to lead his conscience', and removed his name from the college books.

While still at Cambridge, Maurice revealed a capacity for intellectual leadership, although by nature he was far from self-assertive. With the help of a friend he started the *Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine*, which ran for four issues, he himself contributing a fair proportion of the articles, including appreciative pieces on contemporary authors. Highly critical of Jeremy Bentham's views, his readiest praise was reserved for Coleridge, whose influence upon his thinking was already marked. In 1827 and 1828, and now living in London, he contributed to the *Westminster Review* and made the acquaintance of J. S. Mill. With Sterling he also edited the lately founded *Athenaeum*, to which he gave a clearly reformist tone. Unfortunately it did not pay, and he was disturbed by troubles at home. His father had lost money through unsound investments and was no longer able to take in pupils. The family moved to Southampton and to a smaller house, where Frederick joined them. In the meantime his religious beliefs had undergone change; the Unitarianism of his upbringing was rejected and he resolved on ordination in the Church of England. Preparation for this meant a return to university life, and he now chose Oxford, entering Exeter College in 1830, where a friend of Sterling's, as college tutor, was able to arrange for his Cambridge terms to count as residence. But his funds were severely limited, and although he hoped to meet his expenses by means of a novel he was trying to get published, his position proved difficult. In the end he was saved by a small legacy that happened to come his way.

At Oxford, Maurice joined an essay society in which he came to know William Ewart Gladstone and James Bruce, afterwards eighth earl of Elgin. It was the latter who introduced him to the writings of the theologically minded Scottish laird Thomas Erskine (1788-1870) of Linlathen, whose ideas, like those of Coleridge, were to prove a guiding influence on his though, and who became a firm friend. He admitted that one of Erskine's books – *The Brazen Serpent* – was of 'unspeakable comfort' to him (*Life*, 1.108, 121). Many years later he dedicated one of his own volumes, *The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament* (1853), to Erskine. He was also interested, as Erskine was, in the activities of Edward Irving and his congregation at the Regent Square Chapel in London. On 29 March 1831 he was baptized, thus becoming formally a member of the Church of England. In November of the same year he graduated, with a second class. The death in July 1832 of his favourite sister, Emma, at whose bedside he had attended for months, caused him much sadness.

Ordination and ministry

Maurice's ordination by the bishop of Lichfield took place on 26 January 1834, to an assistant curacy at Bubbenhall, near Leamington. Shortly afterwards his novel, *Eustace Conway, or, The Brother and Sister*, at last saw print, but although it won Coleridge's esteem it was not a commercial success. His first theological publication was his pamphlet *Subscription No Bondage* (1835), appearing under the pseudonym Rusticus, in which, somewhat paradoxically in view of his own experience, he undertook to defend the obligation of subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles on matriculating at the University of Oxford. His contention was that such subscription was no more than a declaration of the terms on which the institution professed to teach its students and they in turn agreed to learn. It was, he considered, fairer to state those terms openly than to conceal them. Later (1853) he changed his mind and advocated the abolition of tests. It was while a curate at Bubbenhall that he set to work on composing an article, 'Moral and metaphysical philosophy', for the *Enclyclopaedia metropolitana*, a task which, with its successive revisions for later editions, was to occupy him on and off for the rest of his life.

In January 1836 Maurice accepted the chaplaincy of Guy's Hospital in London, where in

addition to his ordinary pastoral duties he lectured the students twice weekly on moral philosophy. His sister Priscilla kept house for him, and he also received a pupil, Edward Strachey (1812-1901), whose friendship he retained over the years. He saw much of Sterling and came to know Thomas Carlyle, with whom, however, he found a good deal to disagree on, especially his alleged pantheism (*Life*, 1.276-82). If the Scottish sage judged, even then, that Maurice's ideas were 'mainly moonshine and *Spitzfindigkeit*', Maurice could be equally caustic on Carlyle's own 'silly rant about the great bosom of nature' (ibid., 282). In 1836 the master of Downing College, Cambridge, offered him a lectureship there, but he declined the post. Soon afterwards he allowed himself to be named as a candidate for the chair of political economy at Oxford, a move supported by Newman and Pusey, who approved of his opinions on subscription. Maurice, on the other hand, was not drawn to the Tractarian theology – at least as represented by Pusey's doctrine of baptism as an instantaneously transforming act, instead of, as he himself saw it, a witness to the truth of the continuing presence of Christ in the life of humanity. On perceiving how Maurice really stood on this matter the two decided to vote against him, and his name was withdrawn.

In June 1837, when staying with Julius Hare at his Herstmonceaux rectory, Maurice met not only Sterling, who for a short time was Hare's curate, but Sterling's sister-in-law Anna Barton, whose acquaintance he had already made. He became engaged to her, and the couple were married at Clifton on 7 October 1837, Sterling himself officiating at the ceremony.

It was in this year that Maurice published certain letters addressed to his friend Samuel Clark, at that time a member of the Society of Friends but afterwards an Anglican clergyman. They subsequently appeared as *The Kingdom of Christ* (1838), one of his most significant works. A second edition, considerably revised, with a dedication to the Revd Derwent Coleridge, was published in 1842. The subtitle of *The Kingdom of Christ* was *Hints on the principles, ordinances, and constitution of the Catholic church*, and like the contemporary Oxford Tracts it expounds a firmly ecclesiastical theology grounded in scripture and tradition, while seeking to avoid what its author regarded as the dogmatic rigidity and party spirit of the Tractarians. It examines in turn the beliefs of a Quaker, an orthodox protestant, a Unitarian, and a rationalist philosopher, revealing notable insight and understanding in each case. Maurice's aim is to affirm the positive principle in the position criticized, but to show also how its overemphasis and systematic development generate error. He then looks for those signs of 'a spiritual and universal Kingdom' by which one-sidedness could be transcended. Indeed Christ's kingdom, he claims, already exists, since it is constituted by the whole body of those who witness to Christ. The signs of this spiritual society are the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, to which must be added the creeds, the liturgy, the episcopate, and the scriptures – in fact, all the marks of catholicity as exemplified in the Church of England. However, the book was not well received by the religious press, and was to prove the ground of a sustained criticism that lasted throughout Maurice's career; to his great regret, he felt misunderstood and misrepresented, both personally and as a writer. Unfortunately his views were not easily grasped by the average reader, who was apt to find him obscure and confusing.

In September 1839 Maurice assumed part editorship of a new periodical, the *Educational Magazine*, his concern for national education having been heightened by the growing social unrest of the time, spearheaded, in the next decade, by Chartism. The following year he became sole editor, continuing to press the argument that the responsibility for schools should remain the church's, through agreement by the government with the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor. But the magazine was short-lived, ceasing publication

in 1841. In June 1840 Maurice was elected to a professorship in English literature and history at King's College, London. The work appealed to him strongly, and his manner of lecturing was undoubtedly impressive from all accounts, but the effect of his discourses, it seems, was to elevate more than inform. Some of his students perhaps were able to understand him, though for the most part his lofty generalizations were inaccessible. That he was a man of distinction none would have questioned.

Maurice was fully alive to the ecclesiastical issues of the day. The joint Anglican-Lutheran bishopric in Jerusalem, a proposal which greatly offended Newman and his associates, he found good reason to support, as he explained in his *Three Letters to the Rev. William Palmer* (1842). He saw it as a token of the true catholicity of the church, a wider conception than that of strict institutional unity. On the other hand, when E. B. Pusey was suspended by the vice-chancellor's court from preaching in Oxford because of his sermon at Christ Church extolling a high eucharistic doctrine, which his critics deemed heterodox, he protested vigorously in a letter to the evangelical leader Lord Ashley (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury), who had presided over a meeting to denounce the Tractarian teachings. And again, in 1844, after W. G. Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church* had caused such a stir in Oxford, he likewise protested, in *Two Letters to a Non-Resident Member of Convocation*, against a statute which permitted the author to be deprived of his degree.

John Sterling's wife died on 18 April 1843, and Sterling himself, whose health had been failing, on 18 September 1844. Anna Maurice's own death was to follow on 25 March 1845, leaving two sons, one of whom, John Frederick Maurice, was to compose, many years later, his father's biography. This succession of bereavements affected Maurice deeply. He also blamed himself for having been, as he thought, unsympathetic to Sterling in the loss of his religious faith.

At the end of 1843, when both the principalship of King's College, London, and the preachership of Lincoln's Inn were rendered vacant by the appointment of their existing holder, Dr John Lonsdale, to the see of Lichfield, Julius Hare was hopeful that Maurice would succeed him. Maurice himself was less sanguine. Ecclesiastically he was no party man, and he was regarded with suspicion by both evangelicals and Tractarians; he feared too that the other professors would by no means welcome him as their head and might even resign. He did not, in fact, desire any sort of prominence in the church, nor was he academically ambitious. The post therefore went to R. W. Jelf. In July 1845 he was nominated Boyle lecturer by the archbishop of York, and in August Warburton lecturer by the archbishop of Canterbury. The lectures he delivered at Lincoln's Inn on the latter foundation contained the substance of his book on the epistle to the Hebrews; when this was published in 1846 it carried a preface in which Newman's theory of doctrinal development came under very critical review. The Boyle addresses appeared in 1847 as *The Religions of the World in their Relation to Christianity*, and in his lifetime were to be the most popular of his works. The choice of Maurice for these lectureships by the two archbishops seemed, in spite of what he himself might have apprehended, to indicate ecclesiastical favour, and when, in 1846, a theological department was established at King's, Jelf made him one of its professors.

In June of the same year Maurice was elected chaplain of Lincoln's Inn with a stipend of £300 a year, thus affording him an opportunity to resign from his Guy's Hospital duties, which some felt to be putting a strain on his health (*Life*, 1.361). His new responsibilities comprised the reading of morning prayers at the Inn, with a full service on Sunday

afternoons. His sermons at once proved a draw and were consistently well attended, especially by the younger barristers. Among his hearers were Thomas Hughes and J. M. Ludlow, soon to be associated with him in the Christian socialist movement. He had already in 1844 made Charles Kingsley's acquaintance, and the two men were by now on very friendly terms. In 1846 he and other members of the staff at King's founded Queen's College for the higher education of women, particularly of intending governesses, in whose needs his sister Mary, herself a teacher, was interested.

On 12 November 1844 Julius Hare had married Maurice's younger sister Esther. Some five years later, on 4 July 1849, Maurice himself remarried, taking as his wife Georgina Hare-Naylor, Julius Hare's half-sister.

Christian socialism

The year 1848 brought repeated news of revolutionary movements on the European continent and of Chartist agitation in England, the latter reaching its climax on 10 April with the much feared, but in the event abortive, march on parliament. Maurice's thoughts turned more and more to what he beheld as the 'spiritual destitution' of the times, and to the need, as he perceived it, of moral and social regeneration. Indeed, until the twentieth-century revival of interest in Maurice as a theologian he was chiefly remembered as the protagonist of Christian socialism, supported by his friends Charles Kingsley, parson, novelist, and publicist, and John Malcolm Ludlow (1821-1911), a barrister he had come to know at Lincoln's Inn and who, through his upbringing in France, had acquired first-hand knowledge of socialist and revolutionary groups in Paris. Moreover Ludlow possessed what Maurice lacked, an understanding of the requirements of effective political action. Others who joined them with a view to some kind of reformatory effort were Edward Vansittart Neale (1810-1892), who devoted a considerable part of his personal fortune to the cause, and Thomas Hughes, the future author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. Maurice was from the first recognized as the spiritual leader of this group of Christian socialists, as they came to be called, and was looked to even for its necessary practical direction. With Ludlow, he edited a newspaper, *Politics for the People*, which managed to survive for some months despite financial loss. It began publication on 6 May 1848 and rose to a circulation of about 2000 copies. The contributors included Kingsley who, choosing the pen-name of Parsons Lot, assumed the role of fire-eating journalist, happy to proclaim himself a Chartist too (*Life*, 2.101). But the articles were most effective when Ludlow, radical and clear-headed, was their author. He cared nothing for the susceptibilities of the established political parties, believed in a large extension of the franchise – although he was opposed to universal suffrage – and favoured big increases in direct taxation.

In 1850 Maurice publicly accepted the designation Christian socialist for his movement. It committed him, he declared, 'to the conflict we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists' (*Life*, 2.35). The same year (12 November) saw the publication of another periodical, carrying the name *Christian Socialist*, Ludlow being both founder and editor. Maurice was somewhat dubious about it, however, and left Ludlow with a free hand. Its aim was to present a view of society at once Christian and socialist, since Christianity, it was claimed, had by its very nature a social mission, and as things were, the alternative to a Christian socialism was a godless one. But whereas by socialism Ludlow meant socialism as he understood it – collective control of the economy – Maurice's ideal was vaguer and more utopian. He himself was no democrat in the populist sense, and certainly no egalitarian: hierarchy he thought essential to society – a token, it could be said, of his instinctive Platonism. He disliked competition as fundamentally

unchristian, and wished to see it, at the social level, replaced by co-operation, as expressive of Christian brotherhood. But politically he was a long way from radicalism, and his attitude more nearly approximated to a mild tory paternalism. He was, by disposition, impractical, and he disliked organizational activity. Basic principles were his terrain. As he once wrote to Ludlow: 'Let people call me merely a philosopher, or merely anything else… my business, because I am a theologian, and have no vocation except for theology, is not to build, but to dig, to show that economics and politics … must have a ground beneath themselves, and that society was not to be made by any arrangements of ours, but is to be regenerated by finding the law and ground of its order and harmony, the only secret of its existence, in God' (*Life*, 2.137). Ludlow shared Maurice's high moral aspirations, but doubted whether the existing churches were capable of promoting them.

Maurice held Bible classes and addressed meetings attended by working men who, although his words carried less of social and political guidance than moral edification, were invariably impressed by the speaker. But the actual means by which the competitiveness of the prevailing economic system was to be mitigated was judged to be the creation of co-operative societies, a conviction reinforced by what Ludlow had learned of French *associations ouvrières* from a recent visit to Paris. Maurice saw in them a modern application of primitive Christian communism. Twelve workshops were to be set up in London for builders, tailors, shoemakers, and other artisan trades, liberally subsidized by Vansittart Neale and helped by the subscriptions of middle-class sympathizers. The workers' own efforts were also salted by teaching on the duties of citizenship and the responsibility of the franchise. For a time the societies thrived and gained the widespread approval of working-class sentiment. Regrettably, market profitability did not match social idealism, with the inevitable result, and personal friction brought discord to the fraternal harmony. In any case, Maurice's own interest really lay in education rather than economics. Kingsley's ebullient Chartist rhetoric, moreover, did not strengthen confidence in Christian socialist objectives among his fellow churchmen, as witness the public denunciation of his views on 22 June 1851 by the incumbent of St John's, Charlotte Street, G. S. Drew (1819-1880), immediately following the sermon delivered there by Kingsley as guest preacher. This event caused a sensation and compromised Maurice's own reputation. The principal of King's College wrote to him hoping that he would disown Kingsley's utterances, which he deplored as 'reckless and dangerous'. Indeed Maurice's leadership of the movement was no insignificant factor in his eventual dismissal from King's. But by then the movement itself was in decline, those who had created it feeling an increasing divergence in their personal concerns and goals. Maurice, for all his high-mindedness and attractiveness of character, was hardly fitted to head a venture dependent above all on practicability of aim. By 1854 its course was run.

Theological controversy: eternal punishment

Christian socialism did not, however, deflect Maurice from his vocation and tasks as a 'pure' theologian. In 1853 he published his *Theological Essays*, a work which, it has to be said, even his admirers have found less than satisfactory. Not well written – R. W. Church complained of its 'tormenting indistinctness' – it none the less is of first importance as a statement of Maurice's views, and in particular of his convictions on the doctrine of the eternal punishment of impenitent sinners, one which theological orthodoxy, protestant as well as Catholic, held to be indispensable for belief. Maurice denied it; at least he denied that 'eternal' and 'everlasting' are synonymous terms. His own conception, he explained, was founded on John 17: 3, 'This is life eternal, that they should know thee, the one true God, and him who thou hast sent, even Jesus Christ'. Eternal life is therefore a quality of life attainable in this world. Not to know God is to forfeit that quality, to suffer the alienation from him

which is spiritual death. The notion of duration in time is irrelevant. 'I cannot', he said, 'apply the idea of time to the word eternal. I must see eternity as something altogether out of time'. Not that Maurice was a universalist, holding that in the end all would be saved: 'I dare not pronounce what are the possibilities of resistance in a human will to the loving will of God'. 'But', he added, 'I know that there is something which must be infinite in the abyss of love beyond the abyss of death' (F. D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, 1853, 406; cf. *Life*, 2.15). He could not bring himself to believe that impenitence at death necessarily meant the soul's damnation and consignment to everlasting torments.

These scruples and hesitations failed to satisfy the many, especially among evangelicals, who, further offended by Maurice's ideas on the atonement, feared that tampering with the former doctrine would have grave practical implications in weakening the sanctions of personal morality. Jelf was perturbed. A lengthy correspondence ensued between himself and Maurice, from which he could only conclude that if his professor of theology did not believe in eternal punishment then it was unsuitable that the future training of clergymen should remain in his hands. He confronted him therefore with the choice of either resignation or dismissal. At a meeting of the college council on 27 October 1853 the bishop of London, C.J. Blomfield, had to consider a motion duly thanking Maurice for his past services but requiring his departure. Gladstone moved an amendment that 'competent theologians' should be asked to examine the *Essays*, but he lost it, and on 11 November the council, poorly attended, declared Maurice's offices vacant. It grieved him that he was not even allowed to finish his lecture courses. But he received many and warm expressions of sympathy, and Alfred Tennyson marked the occasion with a poem addressed to him in January 1854. Even if to the majority of the public who had at all considered the matter his teachings remained unclear, it was widely felt that he had not been well used. The benchers of Lincoln's Inn declined to accept his offer to resign his chaplaincy, and although he did resign his chairmanship of the committee of Queen's College, he resumed it in 1856 at the unanimous request of its members.

Disappointed as he was at this abrupt termination of his own academic career, Maurice's concern for the education of the artisan class was nevertheless undiminished. In February 1854 he drew up a scheme for a working men's college, to some extent on the model of a 'people's college' established in Sheffield back in 1842. It opened on 31 October 1854 in Red Lion Square, London, with some 120 students and with Maurice as its principal. Later it moved, first to Great Ormond Street and then to Crowndale Road. Beside Maurice's friends Vansittart Neale and Tom Hughes, the Tudor historian J. S. Brewer helped with the teaching, as too did John Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelite painter and poet Dante Gabriel Rossetti. It was a product of Christian socialism and an expression of its ideals.

Theological controversy: divine revelation

Maurice himself deemed the most important controversy of his life to be his clash with Henry Longueville Mansel (1820-1871), Waynflete professor of moral and metaphysical philosophy at Oxford and later dean of St Paul's. At issue was the fundamental theological question of the nature of man's knowledge of God. In 1858 Mansel delivered the Bampton lectures on 'The limits of religious thought examined', in which, with incisive clarity, he sought to defend the idea of divine revelation by means of a philosophical agnosticism. The finite mind, he contended, cannot comprehend the infinite. The revelation embodied in the dogmas of orthodox Christianity affords no knowledge of God as he is in himself, such being inaccessible to the speculative reason, but a knowledge which is 'regulative' only, as adapted to the limitations and needs of the human condition. Revelation must therefore be accepted

by believers simply as it is, on the substantiating evidence of miracle and prophecy, and attempts to rationalize its content on philosophical grounds are as vain as the claim to know God directly. To not a few of Mansel's hearers his arguments sounded like a final answer to all rationalist assaults on Christianity. But it stung Maurice into quite violent rejoinder, published as *What is Revelation?* (1859). To him revelation was not oblique talk about God but a disclosure of God himself, in his love and mercy. He believed Mansel's procedure was a total misrepresentation of the real nature of both revelation and faith. To describe God's personal action merely as an imparting of propositions that can be used but never properly understood was, he objected, a travesty of the divine purpose. Unfortunately Maurice weakened his case by blustering indignation. Even his friends were disconcerted. Mansel countered Maurice's strictures in a characteristically skilful *Examination* of them, which Maurice in turn answered with his *Sequel to the Inquiry, What is Revelation?* This restates his position in more moderate language but without showing any clear conception of what Mansel was about. The truth is that he failed to grasp the metaphysical problems inevitably raised by the claim to know God by immediate apprehension. Maurice may have had a deeper mystical sense, but Mansel was the better philosopher.

In July 1860 Maurice was presented to the living of St Peter's, Vere Street, which he was to occupy over the ensuing decade. But the appointment displeased the evangelical organ *The Record*, and an address signed by twenty-two clergymen was sent to the bishop of London, A. C. Tait, protesting against his institution. This move, however, was countered by another address, promoted by J. M. Ludlow, W. F. Hook, dean of Chichester, and others, bearing 332 clerical and 487 lay signatures, congratulating him on this 'tardy recognition' of his services to the church. Among the signatories were Gladstone, Tennyson, and Connop Thirlwall, the learned and liberal-minded bishop of St David's.

Nevertheless a new difficulty soon beset Maurice. William Colenso, bishop of Natal, and a friend of Maurice's, consulted him when working on his book on the Pentateuch. Maurice was much disturbed by the bishop's radical conclusions and suggested that people could even deem it right, in view of them, that he should resign his bishopric – to which Colenso retorted that they might well think a like course to be appropriate for Maurice himself. The latter, alarmed by the outcome of the *Essays and Reviews* (1860) furore, sensed that his own position could indeed become untenable, and judged that resignation, despite the protests of his sympathizers, would be preferable to deprivation. Although Tait would have been reluctant to accept the resignation, Maurice himself came to feel that his own insistence on it might be unfair to Colenso, whose personal confidence he had received. He therefore decided to hold on to his benefice, even though some members of his congregation were critical of what seemed to them a fussy scrupulosity (*Life*, 2.553) and took themselves elsewhere. In 1863 he replied to Colenso's newly published work, in which the bishop, in his own rather idiosyncratic way, not only denied the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Bible but also their compositional unity and, in some respects, their historical authenticity in a series of open letters published as *The Claims of the Bible and of Science*, an act which led to some estrangement between the two men (*Life*, 2.485).

Last years

On 25 October 1866 Maurice was elected to the Knightbridge professorship of casuistry, moral theology, and moral philosophy at Cambridge, on the vacancy caused by the death of John Grote. The electors, who were all but unanimous in their decision, had evidently as much assurance of Maurice's theological orthodoxy as of his competence as a philosopher. He remained principal of the Working Men's College, though he attended there less often, as

he likewise retained the Vere Street cure. But the journey to London each week for the conduct of the services proved too taxing and in October 1869 he resigned his charge on medical advice. All the same, he accepted the offer of St Edward's, Cambridge, in the gift of Trinity Hall. No stipend was attached to it and pastoral work was minimal, but it provided an opportunity for preaching to an intelligent audience. He was assiduous in his academic duties, and notwithstanding his natural shyness did his best to get to know the undergraduates personally. Besides completing his *Metaphysical and Moral Philosophy* (2 vols., 1871-2), he published his university lectures as *The Conscience: Lectures on Casuistry* (1868) and *Social Morality* (1869). His health, however, was visibly declining. Even so, he did not refuse the bishop of London's offer of the Cambridge preachership at Whitehall, delivering sermons there in the winter months of 1871-2, as well as two university sermons in Cambridge. On 30 March he resigned from St Edward's, being very weak and mentally depressed. Two days later he lost consciousness, regaining it sufficiently to murmur a blessing before he died, on 1 April 1872 at 6 Bolton Row, Piccadilly.

A proposal was made that Maurice should be buried in Westminster Abbey, but it was the unanimous view of his family that he would not have wished it. He was, accordingly, interred at Highgate cemetery, in the vault where the remains of his parents and sisters lay.

Maurice and his intellectual legacy

Maurice was a man whose presence impressed all who met him. Of slightly less than medium height and somewhat reserved in manner – if always markedly courteous – his bearing was not only dignified but, by all accounts, expressive of the spiritual and moral integrity which was felt by his friends and acquaintances to be the defining quality of his character. Kingsley thought him 'the most beautiful human soul' he had known. Others did not hesitate to describe him as 'saintlike'. Yet he was certainly a controversial figure. He would not retreat before an issue that stirred his convictions, as in his famous but mainly unfortunate dispute with Mansel. In the last decade of his life, however, his public esteem was high, especially among laymen. Thus Sir Thomas Acland wrote to him: 'For more than a quarter of a century you have been helping Englishmen to see through the theories and systems which have been invented to prop up, restore, develop or narrow the ancient edifice of their national Church' (*Life*, 2.541). He was also prescient, with little of the complacent Victorian optimist about him: 'Are we to live', he asked, 'in an age in which every mechanical facility for communication between man and man is multiplied ten-thousandfold, only that the inward isolation, the separation of those who meet continually, may be increased in a far greater measure?' (F. D. Maurice, *The Lord's Prayer: Nine Sermons*, 5.24).

As a theological thinker Maurice had depth and unquestionable originality. By his own admission his aim was 'to dig', to penetrate to the spiritual roots of human life. He had no time for mere eclecticism, but he distrusted and disliked system building. As he described it, 'dexterity is shown, not in detecting facts, but in cutting them square' (*Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries*, 1854, 222). His cast of mind was naturally Platonist. In addition to the influence of Plato's dialogues, that of the seventeenth-century Cambridge Platonists, and of Coleridge, is obvious. His Platonizing view that 'Christ is in every man' as the head of redeemed humanity, and that salvation is essentially the recognition of this, together with its corollary that a theology whose starting point is the fall and sin, rather than grace and redemption, is misdirected, offended evangelical belief – one of his sharpest critics was the Wesleyan Methodist divine Dr J. H. Rigg – just as it distanced him also from the Tractarians, whose exclusivist doctrine of episcopacy likewise he would have wished to qualify. Yet he firmly declined to regard himself as broad church, a position

which, in its attempt to commend religious faith to contemporary thought, he considered to involve a dilution of the church's formularies, on adherence to which he, as a committed Anglican, would not compromise. He believed firmly in the role of the Church of England as a national church, at once Catholic and protestant, which he did not see as incompatible principles but as complementary aspects of the faith, with their respective truths as constitutive elements in a vital unity. What he might have learned from the broad-churchmen was a keener appreciation of the significance of historical criticism for biblical exegesis, while the possible implications of Darwinism for religious belief, which much concerned them, seemed scarcely to interest him.

Although the eminent Unitarian thinker James Martineau held that Maurice had no superior among contemporary theologians in consistency of thought and precision of language, many of his readers found his ideas somewhat mystifying, with distinctions urged where they themselves could discern no differences, or unity 'revealed' where they saw only contrariety. Lucidity, it has to be conceded, was not the prime virtue of his literary style. It may well be judged that he published too much, and with insufficient discrimination. Again, despite the fact that he was the author of a copious work entitled *Metaphysical and Moral Philosophy* (1871-2), he was not a philosopher in the sense that connotes rigorous intellectual analysis. Even as a theological thinker it was less the elucidation of principles that interested him than their application to the needs and opportunities of life. Yet his influence on later nineteenth-century Anglican thought, as the instances of F. J. A. Hort and his Cambridge associates testify, was pervasive. Even the post-Tractarians did not escape it, as the publication in 1889 of *Lux mundi, or* the foundation in the same year of the Christian Social Union, also demonstrate. He was indeed a seminal figure in this respect. After some decline in his reputation in the first half of the twentieth century, revival of interest accelerated, thanks to the studies of A. R. Vidler, Bishop Michael Ramsey, and others, as the centenary of his death approached. He is now recalled as one of the outstanding contributors to the English, and especially the Anglican, theological tradition."

Notable Musicians

Charles Steggall (1826-1905)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:

"Steggall, Charles (1826-1905), organist and composer, the son of Robert William Steggall, was born in London on 3 June 1826. From 1847 he was educated at the Royal Academy of Music, principally under William Sterndale Bennett. In 1848, while still a student, he was appointed organist of Christ Chapel, Maida Vale. The following year he was consulted by Bennett about the inauguration of the Bach Society, of which he was honorary secretary until its dissolution in 1870. In 1851 he was appointed a professor of the organ at the Royal Academy of Music, where his pupils included Henry Wood (1869-1944). In 1852 he graduated MusB and MusD at Cambridge. He was chosen as the first organist of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, in 1855, and at the same time was organist of Clapham grammar school. In 1864 he became organist of Lincoln's Inn chapel, where he remained until his death, though in later years his son William Reginald Steggall *[see below]* usually discharged the duties. Between 1850 and 1870 Steggall frequently lectured on musical subjects in London and the provinces. He was one of the founders of the Royal College of Organists in 1864, gave the inaugural lecture, and, with John Hullah and Edward John Hopkins, conducted the first examination, in July 1866. He was also an examiner for the MusD degree at Cambridge in 1882 and 1883. In 1884 he joined the board of directors of the Royal Academy of Music, and when the principal, George Macfarren, died in 1887, he took his place until the election of a successor. He resigned his professorship at the academy in 1903, after fifty-two years' service. He married twice, his first wife being Maria Mendham, the daughter of William Kempton, a lay clerk at Ely Cathedral, and his second Henrietta Kenwrick, the daughter of George T. Kenwrick MD, of Halesowen.

As a composer Steggall was best known for his church music – hymn tunes, anthems, services, carols, chants, and organ compositions and arrangements. He wrote an *Instruction Book for the Organ* (1875), edited *Church Psalmody* (1848) and the six motets of Bach, and succeeded W. H. Monk as musical editor of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1889). He died in St Thomas's Home, at St Thomas's Hospital, London, on 7 June 1905 and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery on 13 June."

William Reginald Steggall (1867-1938)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:

"William Reginald Steggall (1867-1938), the youngest son of Charles Steggall, was born in London on 17 April 1867 and followed in his father's footsteps by attending the Royal Academy of Music (where he gained the Balfe scholarship in 1887). He became organist at St Anne's Chapel, Soho, in 1886, while still a student, assisted his father at the Lincoln's Inn chapel, and finally succeeded him as organist there in 1905. He also became a fellow of the Royal Academy of Music and was appointed organ professor in 1895. As a composer, too, he had much success – his scena *Alcestis* was performed at the Crystal Palace in 1896, and his *Variations on an Original Theme* for orchestra was played at Bournemouth in February 1903. His later works included a fantasy overture, a symphony, a festival evening service, and a mass, as well as many anthems and organ pieces. He died in London on 16 November 1938."

Appendix III

Transcription of Lincoln's Inn ms. A1d 1/2/3/ in the Saunderson Papers

The Building of Lincolns Inn Chappell

Price the Joyners woorke in the newe Chappell at Linc: Inne & his rates required.
20. iune. 1623

	£ s d
For 21 yards of setteinge at 3s 4d the yard Comes to	3—10—0
for the worke Called french panel round the chappell 39 yards in mesure Comes at 7s the yard to	13—15—4
for the playne worke round about the Chappell Called sypher and square Comes to 120 yards 2 foote at 3s 4d the yard	20—0—0
The lower skrine in mesure 27 yards 3 foote at 12s the yard Comes to	16—8—0
The nine long perticions in mesure 84 yardes at 5s the yard Comes to	21—0—0
The perticions that parte the meedle pewes 16 yaryd [sic] at 5s the yard Comes to	4—0—0
The soyle boards in the windowes 10 yards at 2s 6d the yarde Comes to	1—10—0
The dores and Carued heads in the meedle pewes on both sides in mesure 38 yards at 10s the yard Comes to	19—0—0
The dores and Carued heads for the sid pewes in mesure 56 yards and a halfe and a foote and a halfe Comes to	28—6—6
For the vpper skrine in mesure 13 yards and a halfe at 12s the yard comes to	8—2—0
For the vpper part of the vpper skrine being doble Carued worke comes to 14 yards in mesure and a halfe at 20s the yard	14—10—0

The long Pew in the Chancell being put Close to the wall in mesure 16 yardes and 6 foote at 8s the yarde Comes to	6—13—4
Halfe a foote of worke Cutt to wast round the Chappell amoynteth to 109 foote makes 12 yards and a foot at 3s 4d the yard Comes to	2—0—0
For allering the upper Pew in worke man shipp 13 dayes comes to	1—6—0
For new laying the bords vnder the Communion table for stuffe and workmanshipp	1—7—0
For stuffe workemanshippe turning and Coorving the Pulpitt	2—6—6
For Raysing the reders pew the Coobord and and [sic] the new flower Comes to	0—16—0
For 8 dayes worke in cutting downe the worke round about the Chappell Comes to	0—16—0
For 160 deales for the flower	9—0—0
For 6 loade of Tymber 28s the loade	8—8—0
For sawing the timber and Carraige	1—10—0
For playning the bords and laying the groundplates Ioysts	7—0—0
For tymber spikes and worke manship To fitt the pauements	1—10—0
For nayles for the same worke	2—0—0
For the seates kneeling boards bracketts nayels and workemanshipp in the 30 side Pewes at 6s a peece	9—0—0
For the seates kneeling boards bracketts nayles and workemanshipp in the 20 meedle pewes at 5s a peece	5—0—0
For stuff and work lost in all the perticions in Cutting them 2 inches lower amoynteth to 6 yards and 6 foote at 5s the yarde Comes to	1—13—4

Payd for Cutting of them to a worke man
for 6 dayes worke 0—12—0

Payd for Caruing of the pannells
in euery bencher's Pew 3s 4d the Pew 1—10—0

For the Chappell dore and the
Communion table 7—10—0

The totall sume is 220—0—0

For the dores and Carued heades because I
gaue you an estsimacion of them at 10s the yeard
I sett down no mor in mesure but they stooud
me in 12s the yard at the lest by reson of the varietie of
the Carving wch comes to £9 8s
more than I haue sett down for them in
my Reconinge the wch I defer to your
Worshipps Concideracions

230£

besides are payd him for the litle pulpit that
standes in the midst of the chappell in the
vpper part of the Chappell } 10£

1623