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Situating Donne's Dedication Sermon at Lincoln's Inn, 22 May 1623[1]

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As the ten volumes of Potter and Simpson's edition of his sermons demonstrate,[2] John Donne's writings from the final fifteen years of his life are overwhelmingly products of his professional practice as a priest of the Church of England. To be a professional involves mastery of a body of knowledge; presumably, in the case of a priest, this would include knowledge of the Bible as well as of theology and church history. But it also involves mastery of a set of practices, in Donne's case involving the leading of public worship and the preparation and delivery of sermons as well as ministering to the pastoral needs of his congregation.

A sermon is, of course, in part, an exposition of ideas set within a structure of rhetorical organization. We expect to find in a sermon by Donne a choice of texts, the employment of interpretive strategies and

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[1]This essay contains the first part of a much larger project. This first part seeks to locate Donne physically in his performance of this sermon by reconstructing the interior of Trinity Chapel as it was on 22 May 1623 through a review of the available evidence for the physical appearance of the original Trinity Chapel and for the types and arrangements of its furnishings. The second part will locate Donne's sermon for this occasion in the context of the Consecration liturgy. Thus, my goal is to situate Donne pragmatically, organizationally, and theologically in Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, on 22 May 1623.

[2]All quotations from Donne's sermons are from the edition of Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, 10 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953–1962) and are cited by volume and page numbers. His *Encaenia* sermon, preached on the occasion of the consecration of Trinity Chapel, is found in volume 4, pp. 362–379.

structures of thought, the organization of ideas into points and sections, the movement from an opening to a conclusion. But preaching also involves delivery, which includes setting, context, timing, and elocution; it involves a speaker and an audience, each with expectations about what will happen, how people will dress and behave, and what constitutes success. A sermon, therefore—even if the version we have of it is one revised knowingly for publication[3]—is, conceptually and practically, like a play, a script intended for performance, intended to be interpreted in performance, whether that performance takes place in a cathedral, a chapel, a church, or Paul's Cross, or in the theater of the mind.

We tend not to think of religious practices in terms of the theatrical, yet we should—the church building is a set, the liturgy of the Church of England is a script that provides the context for the particular speech represented by the sermon, vestments are costumes that identify roles, and if all the world's a stage, then the clergy, too, are merely players.[4] We know how to interpret the rubrics of surviving Books of Common Prayer; thus, we can reconstruct the structure of liturgies and establish what passages from the Bible were read on this or that specific occasion. Yet this knowledge, though often helpful,[5] still leaves open questions as

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[3]What we have, mostly, from Donne are sermon texts that reflect second thoughts as well as revisions, perhaps with publication in mind. On this issue, see Jeanne Shami, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1996), and Arnold Hunt, "The Books, Manuscripts, and Literary Patronage of Mrs. Anne Sadlier," in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, ed. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 205–236. Nevertheless, the original audience for a printed version of a sermon had clear notions of what to expect when one bought a volume with the word "sermon" in the title. They expected something that they would interpret in terms of their memories and understandings of the conditions and contexts of delivery for a sermon, the way we imagine a play's performance when we read a script.

[4]On the use of vestments in the post-Reformation Church of England and their relationship to vestments in other European churches, see Pauline Johnstone, *High Fashion in the Church: The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Leeds: Maney, 2002).

[5]For a discussion of the influence of reciting the Prayer Book lectionary on English devotional poetry of the early modern period, see my *Transformations of the Word: Spenser, Herbert, Vaughan* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

to what kinds of vestments were worn or what music was performed and by whom and in what place inside the church building clergy and laity stood, kneeled, or sat at various points in the service.[6]

In the case of the actual settings of sermons by Donne and others active in the pulpit in the early modern period, many of these have, like Shakespeare's Globe Theater, been destroyed, either by fire (in the case of St. Paul's Cathedral, by the Great Fire of London) or by the general ravages of time. These include, for Donne, the major sites of his preaching career—the ancient structures of St. Clement Danes parish church, St. Paul's Cathedral and Paul's Cross in London, and the Chapel Royal at Whitehall.[7] The interior arrangements of those that have survived, including the parish churches he served occasionally—St. Nicholas, Sevenoaks; St. John the Baptist, Keyston; and St. Edmund's, Blunham—have, like other ancient buildings, been changed internally and externally by passing architectural fashions or personal whims of those responsible for them in the intervening 400 years.

One church building associated with Donne's preaching career survives in London; this building is Trinity Chapel in Lincoln's Inn, where Donne was the Reader, or Preacher, from 1616–1621. While Trinity Chapel dates from 1623 and thus is not the building in which Donne preached and functioned as a priest during his time as the Inn's Reader, he was there while the Chapel was in the planning stages. We can also conjecture from his activities on behalf of its construction that Donne actively supported the Inn's plan to build Trinity Chapel.

Among these activities was a sermon he preached at Lincoln's Inn, perhaps in 1618 or 1619, specifically to support the residents of the Inn in "preparing . . . to build their Chapel."[8] He also, according to his own

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[6]For a discussion of what is known about Donne's preaching style, see Ramie Targoff, *John Donne, Body and Soul* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), esp. pp. 154–183.

[7]For a discussion of worship in St. Paul's Cathedral in the early seventeenth century, see my essay, "'That Holy roome': John Donne and the Conduct of Worship at St. Paul's Cathedral," *Renaissance Papers 2005* (2005): 61–84.

[8]According to its heading in *Fifty Sermons*. See Potter and Simpson on the dating of this sermon in volume 2 of their edition of Donne's sermons, pp. 29–30, where this sermon is printed as no. 10.

Fig. 1. Detail of window, Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, London. Image © John N. Wall.

testimony, laid the first stone of the Chapel "with [his] own hands."[9] In addition, he contributed to the cost of one of the stained-glass windows, a fact which to this day is recorded in the window itself (fig. 1). Here, below an image of St. John, Donne has had inscribed this message, "Io Donne Dec: St. Paul: F : F" (for "Johannes Donne Decanus Sancti Pauli Fieri Fecit," i.e., "John Donne Dean of St. Paul's caused [this] to be made"), a reminder of his own personal contribution to the building fund.[10] The Inn's leadership, perhaps in appreciation for his active role in

[9]In an inscription Donne wrote in the first volume of a six-volume edition of the Vulgate that he gave to the Inn in February of 1624, Donne says that he laid the first stone "*sua manu*" (*The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn* [*Black Books*], ed. W. P. Baildon, R. Roxburgh, and P. V. Baker, 6 vols. [London: Lincoln's Inn, 1897-1968], 2:229–230).

[10]I am deeply grateful to Diarmaid MacCulloch for interpreting and translating for me the window's inscription (private communication, 10 January 2007). His conclusions support those of Mark Ockelton in his account of Trinity Chapel in *A Portrait of Lincoln's Inn*, ed. Angela Holdsworth (London: Third Millennium, 2007), pp. 108–115. Ockelton interprets the appearance of

the construction of Trinity Chapel, invited Donne back from his work as Dean of St. Paul's to preach the sermon at the service of dedication and consecration for this building on 22 May 1623.[11]

Attending to specifics of the architectural design and interior arrangement of Trinity Chapel in 1623 is worthwhile because Donne calls attention to the significance of the building and its furnishings in his sermon preached at its consecration; indeed, quoting St. Bernard, he asserts, "*Nostra festivitas haec est, quia de Ecclesia nostra*," or, literally, "This is our festival because this is our Church." But Donne then translates this phrase in a way that makes clear the intimate connection between the structure that surrounds him, the congregation whom he is addressing, and the occasion in which they are participating: "This Festivall belongs to us, because it is the consecration of that place, which is ours" (4:364). "These walles are holy," says Donne, "a house of Prayer . . . the Common Prayer of the *Church*" (4:374–375).

Given Donne's close involvement in the planning and construction of Trinity Chapel, it is tempting to imagine that this building tells us at least something about Donne's ideas about church design and liturgical practice. Further, as some have argued, features of this building may also provide evidence for understanding Donne's particular theological stance

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Donne's name in this window as a record of Donne's personal contribution to the building of Trinity Chapel. R. C. Bald in his *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) also concludes that this text records Donne's gift, though he does not get the inscription quite right (p. 385); he concludes, plausibly, that this inscription also links Donne to four other donors, members of the Inn, who were friends of Donne: Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton; Philip Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke; John Edgerton, the Earl of Bridgewater; and James Hay, the Earl of Carlisle. Their coats of arms appear in the window as, in effect, their signatures.

[11]I am grateful to the research of Peter Foden and Jo Hutchings, Archivists at Lincoln's Inn, for information on Donne's continued association with Lincoln's Inn after he became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral. They point out, in notes supplied privately, that, although Donne was appointed Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1621, he retained the title of Preacher at Lincoln's Inn until 1622, when he was "expressly permitted to keep his chamber" (*Black Books*, 2:229–230). In November 1624, however, Donne gave up his chamber, which was then assigned to Eusebious Andrewes, Master of the Bench (*Black Books*, 2:255). The Archivists indicate that, regrettably, the location of Donne's chamber in the Inn has not been determined.

and his affiliation with one or another of the various theological parties within the Church of England in the early seventeenth century.[12] Happily for such goals, Trinity Chapel—even though it has gone through a number of renovations since 1623—is still in many ways similar to, though far from being exactly, the building that Donne knew. Further light is shed on Trinity Chapel by discussions of the building's construction held by the governing board, or Council, of Lincoln's Inn, and recorded in *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, better known as the *Black Books* of the Inn.

In addition, the recent transcriptions of a number of manuscript documents from the Archives at Lincoln's Inn also contribute significantly to an understanding of the physical and liturgical setting of Donne's sermon. These manuscripts include bills from the Oxford stonemason John Clarke for construction of the Chapel[13] and from Hugh Price[14] the Joyner for furnishing the building. The Bill of Price the Joyner is especially helpful because it lists the woodwork and furniture installed in Trinity Chapel and occasionally says in what part of the building the furniture was located.[15]

Additional manuscript sources from the Lincoln's Inn Archives include two documents chiefly in Latin, one of which contains a detailed narrative of the Consecration service itself and includes prayers in English that were used on that occasion to augment the Liturgies of Morning Prayer and Holy Communion from the Book of Common

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[12]For a helpful summary of debates about Donne's theological position, see Jeffrey Johnson, *The Theology of John Donne* (Woodbridge, England, and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1999). On Donne and architecture, especially in regard to Trinity Chapel, see Emma Rhatigan, "John Donne's Lincoln's Inn Sermons" (diss., Oxford University, 2006). See also Rhatigan's essay, "Knees and Elephants: Donne Preaches on Ceremonial Conformity," *John Donne Journal* 23 (2004): 185–213.

[13]Lincoln's Inn Archives document A1d 1/2/2, "Accounts for 'stone and masons worke,'" which shows that the Chapel cost the Inn over £2,800, substantially more than the original budget of £2,000.

[14]Lincoln's Inn Archives document A1d 1/2/3, "Accounts for Hugh Price's joinery work.'"

[15]Appendix I of this essay (pp. 220–223) is a full transcription of this document, prepared with the assistance of Steven May, Adjunct Professor of English at Emory University.

Prayer.[16] This document seems to have been a source for—or to share a common source with—the second, the "Episcopal Letters Patent," the official record and account of the event from the perspective of George Montaine, Bishop of London, notarized by Robert Kemp, the Bishop's attorney, and signed on behalf of Bishop Montaigne by Sir Henry Marten, Chancellor of the Diocese of London, on 26 May 1623.[17] These two Latin documents together constitute one of the fullest surviving descriptions of a worship service conducted by clergy of the Church of England prior to the Civil War.[18]

Trinity Chapel still stands on the grounds of Lincoln's Inn where it continues to serve its original function as the focus for the religious life of the Inn's residents (fig. 2).[19] The furnishings in Trinity Chapel today, including the pews, pulpit, and altar, are organized according to a configuration familiar from countless examples of English church buildings. The furnishings in the worship space are arranged to function as a single room intended to facilitate performance of the rites and ceremonies scripted by the Book of Common Prayer, a two-fold process of worship, relating Word, table, and congregation within a single space. In this configuration, the congregation gathers in the pews to hear and to participate in the reading of the liturgy for the day, including Biblical texts appointed from the appropriate lectionaries; in the context

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[16]Lincoln's Inn Archives document ref J1 A2, "Latin Liturgy and English Prayers." Appendix II of this essay (pp. 224–239) consists of an annotated English translation of the Latin and a transcription of the English sections of this document prepared by my colleague, Zola Packman, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, North Carolina State University. All quotations from this document included in this essay are from this translation.

[17]Lincoln's Inn Archives ref J1A1. Quotations from this document in this essay are from a paraphrase and abstract of this document done by J. H. Baker, Professor of English Legal History, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge University, supplied to me by Guy Holborn, Librarian, Lincoln's Inn.

[18]In fact, other than William Harrison's description of English parish worship in his *Description of England*, this is the fullest description of Prayer Book worship I know.

[19]The following discussion is greatly indebted to Ockelton's history of Trinity Chapel's construction and renovation; see his chapter, "The Chapel," in *A Portrait of Lincoln's Inn*, pp. 108–115.

Fig. 2. Interior, Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, London. Image © John N. Wall.

of this liturgy, a sermon is delivered. While the congregation remains in the pews, a priest then celebrates the rite of Holy Communion standing at the altar within the altar rails, facing eastward, with his back toward the congregation. The congregation then comes forward in turn to receive the consecrated bread and wine before returning to their original seats.

Of course, before we can discuss meaningfully the implications, theological or otherwise, of the design of Trinity Chapel as Donne saw it on 22 May 1623, we need to be clear about the arrangement of furniture and people as it was then, rather than how it is now. For purposes of clarity, the interior of Trinity Chapel today may be translated into a floorplan, supplied me by Guy Holborn, Librarian at Lincoln's Inn and adapted for the purposes of this essay by Eugene W. Brown, AIA (fig. 3). Clarity here is important because, as is the case with so many buildings from the early modern period that have been well-maintained, observers can easily imagine that one is seeing the space as it was at an

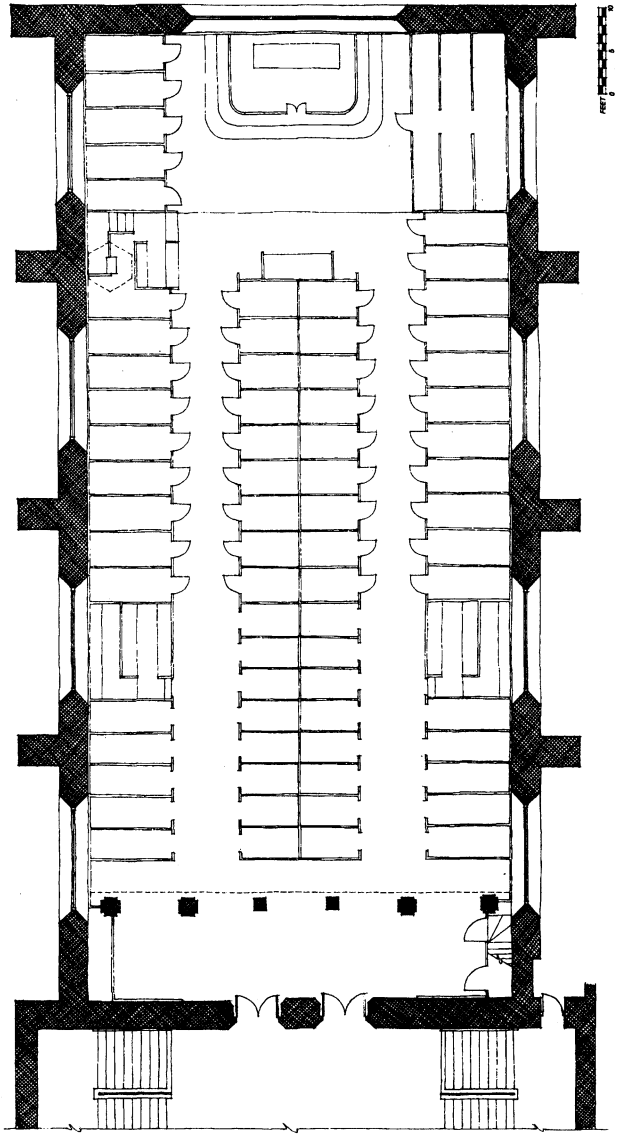

Fig. 3. Interior Floorplan, Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, 2003. Drawing by Eugene W. Brown, AIA, reproduced with his permission, based on a drawing provided by Guy Holborn, Librarian, Lincoln's Inn, and used with permission of the Inn.

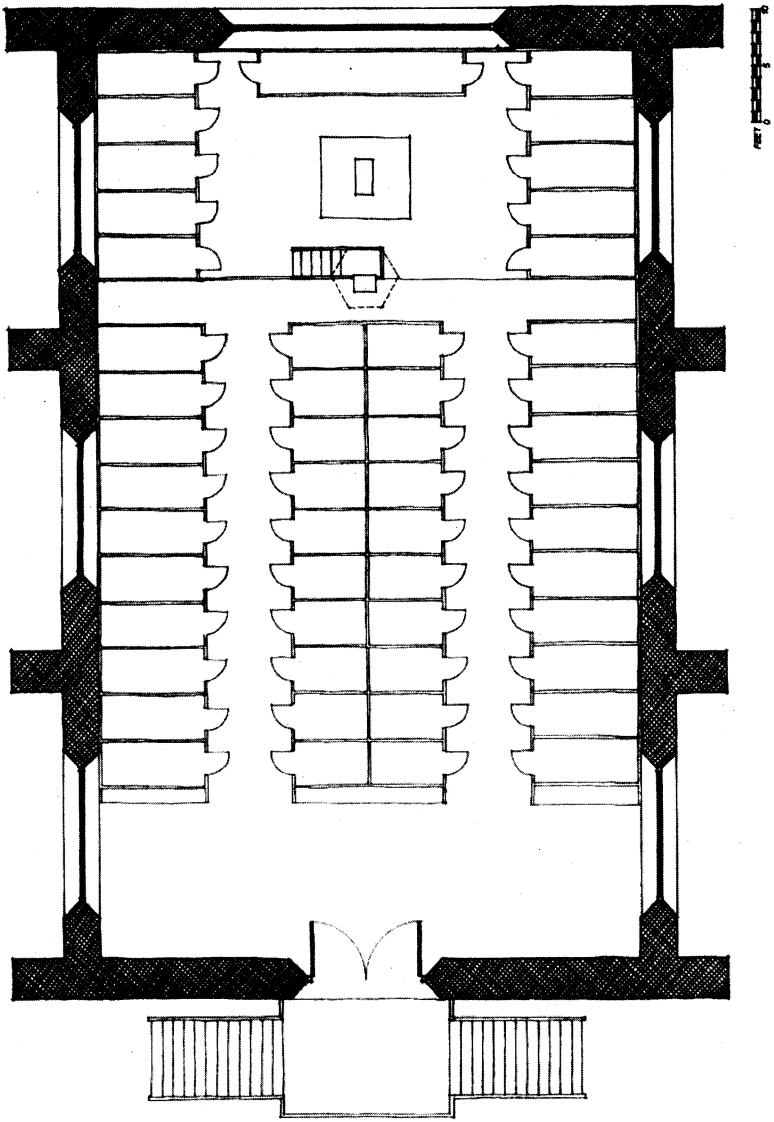

Fig. 4. Reconstruction of Interior Floorplan, Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, 1623. Drawing by Eugene W. Brown, AIA, reproduced with his permission.

earlier time.[20] Architectural records and surveys of the current furnishings demonstrate, for example, that the current set of furnishings and their arrangement in the Chapel are clearly post-seventeenth century. While some features of the Chapel's furnishings have remained essentially the same since 1623, others have not. For example, the altar rails date from the late seventeenth century while the current pulpit dates from the early eighteenth century, and the altar, while it is a seventeenth-century piece of furniture, was not acquired by Lincoln's Inn until 1938, when it replaced another altar of so far undetermined origin.[21] In addition, a lack of clarity about what specifically was done to the building during several major renovations to both the interior and exterior, including a late-nineteenth-century extension to the west end, complicate any effort to recreate how the building looked in 1623 because we do not know specifically how the arrangements of furniture in the current space either retain old arrangements or depart from them. This task is made more difficult because modifications to older English church buildings that reflect changes in architectural and liturgical fashion have reduced to a precious few the number of buildings that might be regarded as models for understanding this building's original arrangements.

Nevertheless, the bodies of evidence mentioned earlier provide glimpses of the original building; when taken together, they enable us to arrive at a limited and provisional reconstruction (fig. 4).[22] This

[20]A clear case of this emerges in Donne studies through volume 2 of Potter and Simpson's edition of Donne's sermons. The frontispiece to that volume is a photograph of the pulpit that stands today against the north wall of Trinity Chapel. We are assured by the editors that this is "quite certainly that from which Donne delivered the address at the dedication of the Chapel" (p. ii). Unfortunately for this claim, however, we are told by Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner in *London North* in the classic Buildings of England series, 4 (London: Penguin, 1998; rpt with corrections, 1999), the pulpit in the current building is "Charming early 18th century work," not work of the early seventeenth century (p. 286).

[21]Dates for furniture as given in Cherry and Pevsner, p. 286, and confirmed by Ockelton in his history of Trinity Chapel, p. 114.

[22]Especially helpful here is the work of Ockelton and Rhatigan. Ockelton provides exceptionally helpful accounts of the construction, features, and subsequent renovations of Trinity Chapel. Ockelton offers no theological interpretation of the building but does conclude that there were two pulpits and

reconstruction, prepared in consultation with Brown, who rendered the drawing of the reconstructed floorplan, accounts for the items we know were made for the building so that on 22 May 1623 it was "fittingly and handsomely fitted out."[23] This exercise in reconstruction has drawn on surviving visual evidence as well as the written record; in describing and accounting for its features, I will also refer to what is known of historic patterns in church construction. This reconstruction inevitably involves varying degrees of speculation; I will indicate as we proceed the extent to which we can be confident of the nature and location of particular items of furniture and the extent to which we rely on inference and current practice. The one requirement, of course, will be that even speculation must provide answers that do not contradict the evidence available from the written record for Trinity Chapel.[24]

Central to my argument is information provided by the manuscripts describing the Consecration ceremony for Trinity Chapel; these documents not only record the words spoken on 22 May 1623 but also locate them specifically in time and space. We are told that at 8:00 on the morning of 22 May, George Montaigne, Bishop of London, "the reverend father in Christ aforesaid, accompanied by many reverend and worshipful men [including John Donne], approached the doorway of the

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a screen separating the main area, or nave, of the building from the "Quire" or "Chancell" area. Rhatigan reviews some of these materials and argues for one pulpit, though she does not address the question of a screen. She concludes that the design of Trinity Chapel embodies a specifically partisan "Calvinist conformist" agenda among the range of theological opinions manifest in the Jacobean Church of England, that the chapel was designed as "an evangelical theatre for preaching," with "the placing of the pulpit in the centre of the chapel, in front of the communion table," putting "the main focus on the word preached, rather than liturgical ceremonies" ("John Donne's Lincoln's Inn Sermons," p. 44). My approach will take a bit wider view of Trinity Chapel and come to somewhat different conclusions; I will, for example, agree with Ockelton about the screen and with Rhatigan about the pulpit. Nonetheless, I am grateful to Ockelton and to Rhatigan for their gracious willingness to share their work with me prior to publication.

[23]With one exception: the "Coobord"; see below, pp. 205–206.

[24]In the reconstruction of the original arrangements in Trinity Chapel, I am especially indebted to Holborn for his unfailing efforts to answer my endless questions about the Chapel, and to Brown, who has patiently helped me through the records and provided the detailed floorplans that grace this essay.

chapel to be consecrated."[25] If customary practice was observed,[26] they gathered to the sound of the Inn's bell calling the members of the Inn to worship.[27] The Bishop met there "worshipful men . . . of the aforementioned Inn, indicated that they had, for the everlasting honor and service of God almighty, and the use of those staying in the aforesaid Inn, seen to the erection and equipment of the said chapel, on their own private grounds and with their own private funds."[28]

The first goal is to determine where they stood and what that space looked like. The external appearance of Trinity Chapel in 1623 is, as we will see, much easier to approximate than the interior because there is an extensive visual record of the building from 1623 to the present, evidence exceptionally helpful in ascertaining not only how it looked in 1623 but how much of that structure can be seen today.[29] Images of Trinity

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[25]Appendix II, p. 225.

[26]Actions of the Council of Lincoln's Inn direct that the "great bell shalbe towled by . . . one of the Butlers, before sermons and service . . . and not in any other manner" (*Black Books*, 2:199).

[27]Donne refers to the "ringing of the Bell" in his *Encaenia* sermon (4:370). The Chapel Bell is the focus of two Donne-related legends. One is that it was part of the spoils of the Cadiz expedition led by the Earl of Essex in 1596, an adventure in which Donne participated. The second is that the Inn's practice of ringing the bell to inform members of the Inn that a Bencher has died inspired Donne to make reference to the tolling of a bell as the sign of mortality in *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624). The validity of the former is contested by the bell itself, which bears the inscription "ANTHONY BOND MADE MEE 1615 T.T.H.," affirming that this bell was made in 1615 when the Treasurer of the Inn was Thomas Hitchcock. The validity of the latter claim is at least informed, if not undermined, by the fact that in the *Devotions* Donne is referring to the sound of a bell tolling outside his bedroom window at the Deanery of St. Paul's Cathedral, presumably either a bell at the cathedral itself or at St. Gregory's Church, which stood next to St. Paul's and also just across the Cathedral Close from the Deanery.

[28]Appendix II, pp. 225–226.

[29]There is an ancient rumor that Trinity Chapel was designed by Inigo Jones (see James Lees-Milne, *The Age of Inigo Jones* [London: Batsford, 1953], pp. 109–111, for a study of Jones's work that takes this rumor seriously). On the other hand, Ockelton points out that "there is no reason to suppose [Jones] even produced a design" so "of course the building is not by that English pioneer of

Fig. 5. Undercroft, Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, London. Image © John N. Wall.

Chapel from 1623 to 1805 support the conclusion that all the major construction projects at Trinity Chapel since 1623 have had—as far as the exterior of the building is concerned—the character far more of restoration and addition than fundamental transformation. The original structure of Trinity Chapel was a rectangular building approximately 40x60 feet in size. The space occupied by the Chapel actually is one flight up from the ground and is supported by a number of pillars; this undercroft space was originally intended to provide space for chambers, but that plan was abandoned at some point in the design process and the

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the Palladian style." Ockelton identifies the designer and builder as one John Clarke, "an Oxford stonemason" (p. 109). The *Black Books* do note that Christopher Brooke in 1618 was authorized to commend "a fit model for the chapel" to "Mr. Indicho Jones" and "consideration is to be had of the recompense that shall be given" to Jones "for his pains therein" (2:199). That is, Jones, who was then the King's surveyor-general, is being asked to approve the construction based on this model, which is not the same thing as designing the building.

space was left open, to serve as a graveyard (fig. 5).[30] The original building had large east and west windows and three smaller windows on the north and south sides, for a total of eight windows.[31]

The earliest surviving image of Trinity Chapel (fig. 6) dates from 1623 and is actually part of the Chapel itself, taken from one of the original windows. This image shows the Chapel; it also shows two men standing in front of the Chapel, with the man on the right giving a key to the man on the left, who holds a staff in his right hand. The two figures act out the scene described by the Consecration document during which George Montaigne, Bishop of London, received the keys to Trinity Chapel from the "many reverend and worshipful men" of Lincoln's Inn at 8:00 on the morning of 23 May 1623,[32] in which case the man on the left would be Bishop Montaigne and his staff the Episcopal staff, the sign of his office in the Church of England. The second image (fig. 7) dates from 1751; the third (fig. 8)[33] dates from 1805

[30]Indeed, Bishop Montaigne spent a good bit of time on 22 May 1623 consecrating this space as a graveyard; see the account of this event in the text translated as Appendix II, p. 236.

[31]Here, I follow ancient conventions for describing churches, which begin with the principle that the altar end of the building is called the east end regardless of whether or not it is on the eastward side of the building. As a result, the end opposite the east end is the west end; if we place a floor plan of the building with the east end to our right, the side of the building at the top of the drawing is the north side and the side at the bottom of the drawing is the south side.

[32]Appendix II, pp. 225–226.

[33]The location of the bell presumably ringing in Donne's ears at 8:00 on the morning of 22 May 1623 is itself something of a conundrum. By 1850, according to William Holden Spilsbury (*Lincoln's Inn: Its Ancient and Modern Buildings* [London: W. Pickering, 1850), the bell was housed as part of Trinity Chapel, in a "turret with cupola, surmounted by a weather-vane," which "rises at the southwestern angle of the chapel" (p. 55). This happens to be the corner of the chapel that one can see on the left side of the image in all three of the images of the Chapel from 1623 (see fig. 6), 1751 (see fig. 7), or 1805 (see fig. 8), and none of them shows a "turret with cupola" on the "southwestern angle of the chapel." The 1805 image does show such a structure, but it is on the roof of a building to the west of Trinity Chapel, not on the Chapel itself. Given that, in 1623, the old chapel of Lincoln's Inn still stood adjacent to the site of Trinity Chapel, it is likely that the bell would on that occasion still be mounted as part

and shows the Chapel in relationship to other buildings on the Lincoln's Inn site. The three images all show the Chapel from the east end, indicating that the work done on that part of the building at the end of the seventeenth century was essentially restorative, rather than transformational, in nature. The one major item that differs from one image to the other is the design element on the roof, atop the buttresses and at the peaks of the east and west fronts. The original design, as specified in volume 2 of the Inn's *Black Books*,[34] calls for pinnacles atop the buttresses and crosses on pedestals at the peaks of the east and west fronts, as shown in fig. 6; these seem to have been replaced, sometime before 1751, by "huge vases with flames issuing from them" (fig. 7), and then replaced by "small battlements" by 1805 (fig. 8).[35]

The first of these major reconstruction projects took place beginning in 1685, under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren, and chiefly involved reconstruction of the building's east end.[36] Further renovations included repair to the stonework and the addition of a new roof in the 1780s. The only major changes in the exterior of Trinity Chapel date from the 1880s; even though they involved significant new construction, this was confined chiefly to the west end of the building, where the building was extended by one bay of windows and a new west front was added which includes staircases and a narthex where one arrives after climbing one of the staircases, for a total addition of approximately 25 feet, or 40%, to the length of the building. None of these renovations changed the basic design of the original building; thus, it has been relatively easy to reconstruct the original footprint of the building from a current floor plan. The current structure incorporates the north, east, and south walls, as well as the floor and undercroft, of the original structure; in terms of the walls, floor, and other basic architectural features, much

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of the structure of the old chapel, to be moved to a structure incorporated into Trinity Chapel only at a later date. On this grand occasion, surely, it would have rung to announce the worship service, as it was rung to announce every worship service, as well as to proclaim the deaths of members of Lincoln's Inn.

[34]*Black Books*, 2:449.

[35]Description from Spilsbury, p. 56.

[36]Ockelton points out that Trinity Chapel was shoddily constructed, even though it cost the Inn over £2,800. By 1680, it was deemed to be "ruinous, decayed and dangerous" (p. 110).

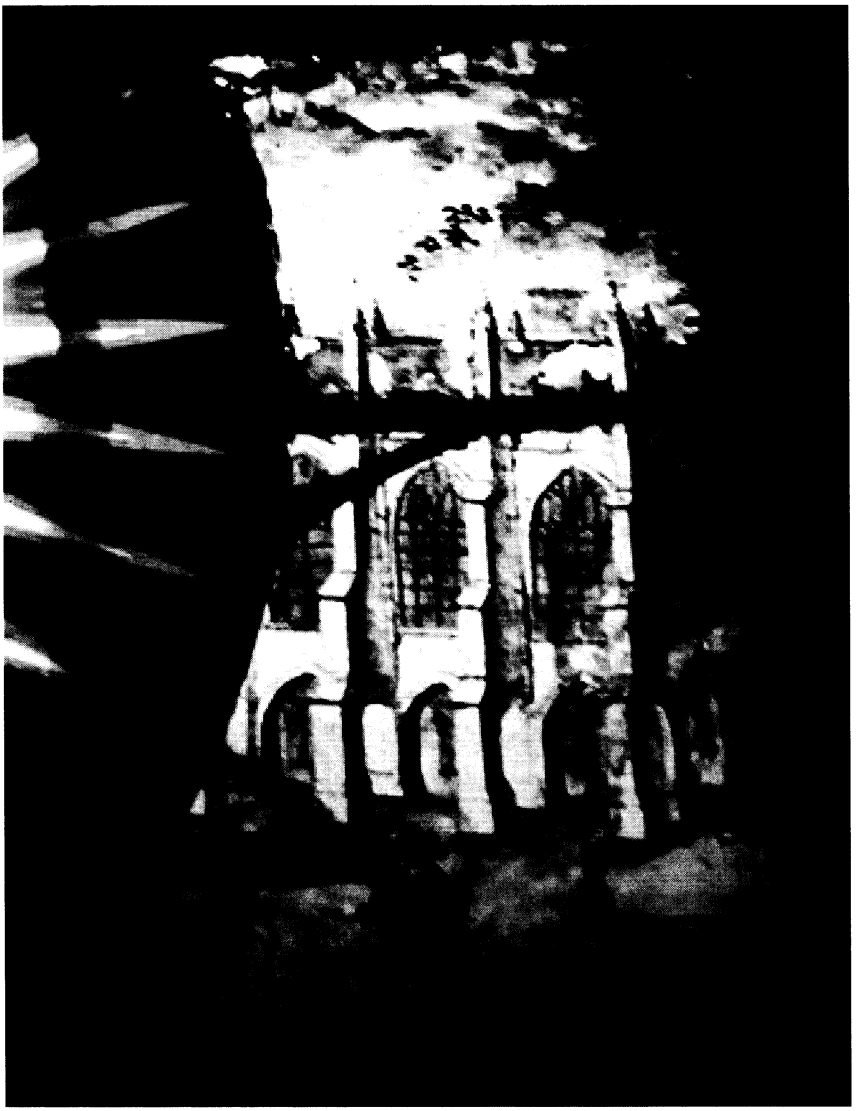

Fig. 6. Trinity Chapel in 1623. Detail of window, Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, London. Image © Lincoln's Inn and reprinted by permission of the Inn.

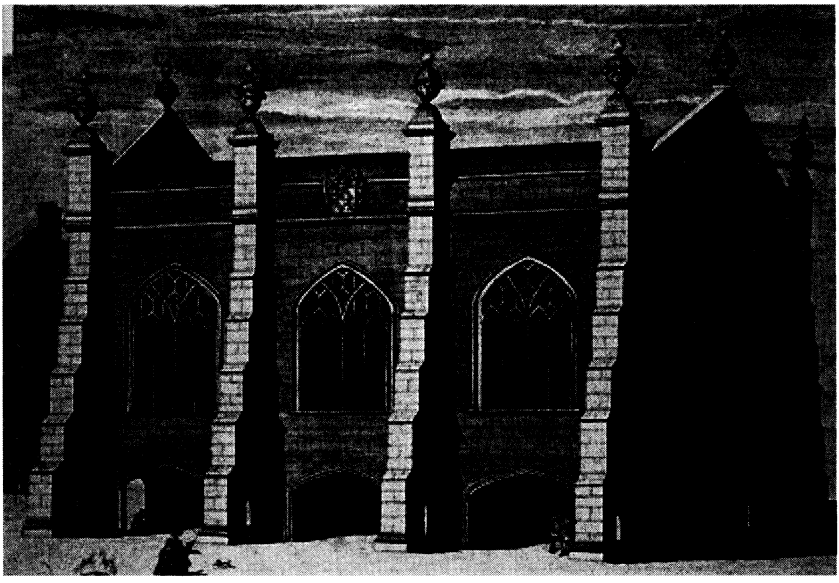

Fig. 7. Trinity Chapel Exterior, 1751. Engraving by George Vertue. Reproduced courtesy the Guildhall Library, City of London.

Fig. 8. Trinity Chapel Exterior, 1805. Engraving by Samuel Rawle. Reproduced courtesy the Guildhall Library, City of London.

of the building today is therefore as it was in 1623, with the original north and south walls, together with the rebuilt east wall from 1685, constituting approximately the eastern 2/3rds of the current structure.

What all the images of Trinity Chapel in 1623 confirm is the essentially conservative nature of its architectural design. The fundamental style of Trinity Chapel is Gothic;[37] that is to say, with its ribbed vaults, pointed arches, and stone tracery in the Perpendicular style, it looks backward to the fifteenth century rather than to contemporary fashions for architecture influenced by Palladio and the Italian Renaissance that were beginning to make their appearance in English church design in the early seventeenth century,[38] and that would become more visible in such projects as Inigo Jones's design for St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden (1631) or his additions to St. Paul's Cathedral constructed in the years following Donne's death.

This architectural conservatism among the leadership of Lincoln's Inn is not surprising. Church design—especially in the absence of a visionary architect[39]—usually tends to be conservative; in addition, the architectural models for the Inns of Court were the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which in 1623 were still almost uniformly Gothic in style.[40]

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[37]Some architectural historians have identified a touch of Tuscan influence in the half-columns supporting the fan vaulting in the undercroft. See Peter Guillery, "Suburban Models, or Calvinism and Continuity in London's Seventeenth-Century Church Architecture," *Journal of Architectural History* 48 (2005): 69–106.

[38]Guillery describes the growing incorporation of Palladian, or "Tuscan" architectural features in ecclesiastical architecture in the seventeenth century, beginning with the appearance of "a three-bay Tuscan arcade" in the remodeling of a chapter house of the Charterhouse in Clerkenwell in 1613–1614 ("Suburban Models," p. 70).

[39]Ockelton argues that the designer of Trinity Chapel was also its builder, "an Oxford stonemason, John Clarke. He was proposed by a shadowy character called Otho Nicholson, a lawyer but not a member of the Inn, who had employed him to build the new Carfax Conduit at Oxford: but he does not seem to have been a very good choice. His management of the work was less than satisfactory: first, he tried to claim payment from the Inn without vouchers, and then massively overspent the original budget of £2,000." See Ockelton, pp. 109–110.

[40]For a helpful discussion of the survival of Gothic as a living architectural style in England, see Michael Hall, ed., *Gothic Architecture and its Meanings*

Nevertheless, that touch of the Tuscan style in the undercroft, at least according to Peter Guillery, is an indication that the designer of Trinity Chapel was not totally immune to new fashions in church design.

The Bishop of London and his entourage moved toward this building on the morning of 23 May and met the "worshipful men" of Lincoln's Inn in front of a doorway at 8:00. To enter the Chapel today, one proceeds to the west front of the building where one sees a two-story structure with the West Window rising above it. When one moves through the archway in the middle of this structure, one has the choice of two staircases, one proceeding up to the right; the other, to the left. If one continues up either of these flights of steps, one arrives at a landing and another flight of steps that takes the visitor to an exterior door and then into the building's narthex, or foyer. One then turns eastward and can go into the Chapel proper through one of two interior doors built into a wooden structure that supports the organ loft and divides the narthex from the Chapel.

In other words, the stairs to the current version of Trinity Chapel are indoors, inside a structure that extends westward from the west face of the building. This entrance way dates from the renovation project of 1881–1882, but it replaced a similar structure, three stories high, visible in a photograph from about 1850. According to Mark Ockelton, this structure dates only from 1843; prior to its construction, he describes, access to the Chapel was through what he calls a "large door on the west side of the building" which originally opened onto the outside, not into an enclosed space, as has been the case since 1843. He also documents construction of a brick stairway in 1624, made of 1,000 bricks, and

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1550–1830 (London: David Brown, 2002). Rhatigan points out that while the exterior of Trinity Chapel may perhaps be described as in a collegiate style, the interior of the building, with its banks of pews facing east-west rather than north-south, choir-style, as in college chapels at Oxford and Cambridge, is more evocative of the parish church ("John Donne's Lincoln's Inn Sermons," p. 44). This would seem appropriate, since a higher percentage of the residents of Lincoln's Inn were adult lawyers than would be the case in a collegiate setting, where the number of students would have significantly exceeded the number of faculty.

Fig. 9. Doorway, Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, London, *c.* 1800. Watercolor, artist unknown. Reproduced courtesy the Guildhall Library, City of London.

another stairway constructed "sometime in the eighteenth century," presumably shown in an engraving of 1751, but all running, outdoors, up the one flight from the ground to the "large door" for access to the Chapel.[41]

On the access in 1623, not 1624, however, Ockelton's account is silent. Nevertheless, his description of a "large door" in the west wall certainly accords with the visual image of the Chapel door provided by fig. 9, which shows an image dating from 1800 of what is described as "Lincoln's Inn Chapel Doorway." The style of the doorway depicted in this image is very much in keeping with other institutional doorways surviving from the late medieval and early modern periods, lending credence to the idea that it depicts the doorway in front of which Donne and the Bishop of London met the leaders of Lincoln's Inn.

[41]Ockleton, p. 112.

Here, some additional information may clarify the matter. Guillery has examined the undercroft of Trinity Chapel and informed me that "a section of the vault about 3 feet deep and 12 feet wide at the centre of what was the west end of the building before its extension was rebuilt with the extension."[42] This presumably was where the "large door" was located in the original building, and provides a sense of scale for this feature of the original building. If the doorway shown in fig. 9 is the "large door" described by Ockelton, which in this image seems to stand behind a platform; then this platform must have been big enough to support the Bishop, Donne, and "many reverend and worshipful men" when they met at least four Benchers of Lincoln's Inn at the beginning of the Consecration service. On 23 May 1623, this would have been a temporary platform, since it was replaced a year later by the structure of 1,000 bricks described by Ockelton; the door, however, would survive as the main entranceway to Trinity Chapel for another 200 years.

As they stood on this platform, Bishop Montaigne received the key to Trinity Chapel from the "worshipful men" of Lincoln's Inn; he then

> entered the empty (but suitably fitted out) chapel alone, while the assembly of those present stood outside and looked on. And he himself, on the very doorstep to the entrance, spoke and blessed the place. . . .[43]

When one enters Trinity Chapel today, and moves forward into the original space of the building and away from the nineteenth-century west-end addition, one still has some general sense of the space Bishop Montaigne beheld in 1623 (see fig. 2),[44] a space which has been described, not inappropriately, by a former Librarian of the Inn as "remarkably impressive—an effect produced by the chastened light transmitted by the stained glass in the very fine windows" with their

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[42]Private correspondence, 4 September 2006.

[43]Appendix II, p. 226

[44]Eamon Duffy once said that he came to write his *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992) because he visited Holy Trinity, Long Melford, and decided that the answer to his question about the state of the pre-Reformation English church was right in front of him, if he only knew how to look for it.

"beautiful colors."[45] The large east window in 1623 was filled with clear glass that has since 1703 been enriched by the arms of Benchers who have served as Treasurers of Lincoln's Inn from 1680–1908; the west window in 1623 contained in addition to clear glass the arms of twenty-six of the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn who contributed to the building's construction. Most of this glass was destroyed by a German bomb in 1915.[46]

The six windows on the north and south sides of the Chapel were on 23 May probably of clear glass or just beginning to show the results of a program of staining that began in 1623 and continued until sometime in 1626, when the rich coloration of the side windows, still so much a part of the experience of Trinity Chapel, was in its full display (fig. 10). Each of these windows has four panels; when the glazing program was complete, the windows on the south side of the Chapel contained images of the Twelve Apostles while the windows on the north side contained linages of ten Old Testament and two New Testament figures. The clearest account of the design for this stained glass is that of Robert Frederick Norton, a member of Lincoln's Inn, who reported to the Inn in 1926 that

> On the north side the window in the eastern bay contained figures of Daniel, Elisha, Isaiah and David; in the centre bay, figures of Zachariah, Amos, Ezekiel and Jeremiah; and in the western bay figures of S. Paul, S. John Baptist, Moses and Abraham. On the south side, the window in the eastern bay contained figures of S. Peter, S. Andrew, S. James the Great and S. John Evangelist; in the centre bay, figures of S. Philip, S. Thomas, S. Bartholomew and S. Matthew; and in the western bay, figures of S. James the Less, S. Simon, S. Jude and S. Matthias.[47]

[45]Spilsbury, p. 57.

[46]Of whom, a year after the consecration of the Chapel, only twelve had paid the fee of 22 shillings for this recognition of their family's links to Lincoln's Inn, according to the *Black Books*, 2:450. See also Ockelton, pp. 112–113.

[47]*Black Books*, 6:256.

Fig. 10. Side Window in Trinity Chapel, one of six. Image © Lincoln's Inn and reprinted by permission of the Inn.

Ockelton's account of Trinity Chapel adds some helpful details:

> 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 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.[48]

This last window, of course, is also the one in which the record of Donne's contribution to the construction of Trinity Chapel is to be found.[49]

The plan to include a program of stained-glass windows themselves in this space reflects a dramatic change in English attitudes toward decoration in church buildings. The Reformation brought much smashing of stained glass; now, a half-century later, at least in chapels in private houses and academic settings, the use of stained glass was becoming more frequent. Robert Cecil's sponsorship of a program of stained glass in his renovation of the chapel at Hatfield House (consecrated 1614) is often credited with starting this fashion; now, less than ten years later, the van Linge brothers from Holland completed windows in four Oxford colleges as well as windows in Trinity Chapel during their time in England.[50] Thus, the use of stained glass in the

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[48]See Ockelton, pp. 112–113. He also notes, "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."

[49]See above, p. 162.

[50]On Robert Cecil's chapel at Hatfield House, see Annabel Ricketts, "Designing for Protestant Worship: the Private Chapels of the Cecil Family," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed.

design of Trinity Chapel seems neither a radical nor a ground-breaking design element, but rather a reflection of emerging contemporary practice in English church architecture.[51]

Light streaming through these windows illuminated the interior of Trinity Chapel into which, as the author of the Consecration document says, "the whole congregation was called together" when Bishop Montaigne had completed his blessing of the space. To clarify what Bishop Montaigne and the rest of the crowd gathered for this occasion saw—and what they did—inside Trinity Chapel, I have found it helpful to bring together the evidence provided by the Consecration service with the list of items constructed for this space as specified in the Bill for carpentry submitted by Hugh Price the Joyner to the Councils of Lincoln's Inn in 1623.

When one subtracts the late-nineteenth-century addition and restores, imaginatively, the original west wall, what one has is a rectangular stone space approximately 40x60 feet in size with a ceiling approximately 40 feet above the floor. The Inn's records indicate that the original ceiling was a timber ceiling, which was replaced at the end of the eighteenth century by a stucco ceiling, which was subsequently removed and replaced by yet another ceiling.[52] The structure of the building's interior is further subdivided by the physical structure of the floor into

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Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 115–138. On the van Linge brothers at Oxford, see John Newman, "The Architectural Setting," in *The History of the University of Oxford, IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 135–178. See also the very helpful discussion by Andrew Spicer, "'God Will Have a House': Defining Sacred Spaces and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 207–230.

[51]The practice of glass-smashing as a form of ecclesiatical protest would, however, reemerge; Henry Sherfield, who in 1623 was a member of Lincoln's Inn and a subscriber of support for Trinity Chapel who had his coat of arms included in the Chapel's west window (*Black Books*, 2:450) and who might well have been present in the Chapel on 23 May, would in 1630 smash a stained-glass window of St. Edmund's parish church in Salisbury. See Sidney Gottlieb, "Herbert's Case of 'Conscience': Public or Private Poem?" *SEL* 25 (1985): 123.

[52]Spilsbury, p. 57.

two sections, a division that is reflected in and reinforced by the arrangement of its furnishings. This division is an east-west division, with the eastward section occupying approximately 1/3rd of the original building and the westward section occupying the remaining 2/3rds. This division between the eastward and westward sections is marked by a small but significant 4-inch alteration in the level of the floor, so that the eastward section is 4 inches higher than the westward section. This change in the level of the floor comes approximately 20 feet into the building if one is measuring from the east end; this change in floor level is referred to as the "step" in Inn records.[53] While there is no evidence from the early records to prove that this "step" was there in 1623, it is so minor a feature of the interior space and yet so integral to the arrangement of the furniture in 1623 that it is unlikely to be a later addition.

The stone space, with its "step" about 40 feet from the westward wall, was surrounded by paneling, most of which was plain wood but some of which was fancier carved paneling. We know this because Price the Joyner included charges in his Bill for 57 feet of carved, or "french," panel and 360 feet of "playne worke."[54] This paneling ran around the walls of Trinity Chapel, chiefly to give a finished look to the stone space and to provide a backdrop for the seating and other furnishings. The carved, or "french panell" probably ran around the east end of the building, since the length of the paneling (57 feet) easily fits the dimensions of that part of the building. Price also provided wooden sills for the windows.

In addition, Price also names the following items of furniture he constructed:

1. seating, specifically "meedle pewes," "sid pewes," and "The long Pew in the Chancell."

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[53] *Black Books*, 3:385, when seating "above the step" was allocated to various groups of "Ladies."

[54] Hugh Price the Joyner billed Lincoln's Inn for, among other things, 39 yards of "worke Called french panell round the chappell," as well as 120 yards of "playne worke round about the Chappell, Called sypher and square." See *Black Books*, 2:449.

2. a communion table, with "bords vnder the Communion table."[55]
3. one or two pulpits, depending on how one interprets evidence provided by the Joyner's Bill. The Bill itself refers to a "Pulpitt," while a comment appended to the Bill refers to "the litle pulpit." These words may be construed to be referring either to a single pulpit or to two different pulpits; more evidence is required to clarify their meaning.[56]
4. a "skrine," or "screen," in three parts—the lower part, the upper part, and the "vpper part of the vpper skrine."
5. a "Coobord," perhaps a cupboard.

Locating these items of furniture within the interior space of Trinity Chapel will make it possible to establish where the various actors in the 22 May Consecration ceremony were located when they performed their roles. This discussion will locate the pews in which the congregation sat; the Chaplain's bench from which The Rev. Thomas Wilson, one of Bishop Montaigne's chaplains, led Divine Service; the Reader's pew where Donne sat and from which he moved to the pulpit to preach his *Encaenia* sermon; and the altar/table at which Bishop Montaigne later celebrated Holy Communion. These locations can, I believe, either be determined or inferred, with a significant degree of certainty, from evidence provided by the current building and from the records surviving in the Archives of Lincoln's Inn.

These items were located within the two distinct areas into which the "step" divides the interior space of Trinity Chapel. Anyone familiar with the arrangement of interior space in medieval and early modern churches will recognize a rough division here into a "nave," the westward end of the church, and a "Chancell" or "Quire" space toward the east end.[57] The

[55]Presumably a platform under the communion table, making it possible for people to follow the Prayer Book's directions to kneel to receive the bread and wine of communion.

[56]Hugh Price the Joyner's Bill charges "£2 6s. 6d." for "stuffe workemanshippe turning and Coorving the Pulpitt"; a handwritten note on the bill says, "besides are payd him for the litle pulpit that standes in the midst of the chappell in the vpper part of the Chappell, £10."

[57]In fact, the Council of Lincoln's Inn refers to the eastward end of Trinity Chapel as the "Quire" in its directions for the allocation of seating, even though

organization of the pews into two sections, with those in the nave pointing eastward and those in the chancel pointing westward reinforces this division. The separation of the "nave" from the "Quire" is further emphasized by the presence of a "skrine" or screen, described by William Holden Spilsbury as "raised on the end of the last pew near the altar," a "restoration of the ancient division of churches by the rood-screen into nave and chancel." Part of this screen survived inside Trinity Chapel at least until 1866.[58]

In this arrangement, it would appear, the nave is intended to house the congregation for services provided for by the Book of Common Prayer, including daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer and for recitation of the Great Litany and the first part of the service of Holy Communion on Sundays and Holy Days, along with the delivery of sermons as called for by the Book of Common Prayer. The chancel is intended to house the congregation for the celebration of Holy Communion, with the altar located "in the midst" of the chancel space into which those members of the congregation who wished to receive the consecrated bread and wine would gather for that part of the service.

While the division of the Chapel into two rooms, with a screen helping to separate the two spaces, together with the use of Gothic style for the overall design of the building, suggests a strong traditional orientation for Trinity Chapel, other elements reflect an awareness of more recent developments in church design. The use of a centrally located pulpit (we are told that it stands "in the midst of the chappell in the vpper part of the Chappell"), represents one significant departure from earlier arrangements (apparently, the building that Trinity Chapel replaced had a pulpit against the north wall), but this innovation—like the use of stained-glass windows—reflects a recent trend in English

there is no evidence from this period that there was actually a choir. See *Black Books*, 1:242–243.

[58]Spilsbury, p. 57. According to volume 5 of the *Black Books*, this screen was taken down in early 1866 and given away. The entry for the Council meeting of 8 May 1866 reads, "On consideration of the applications made for the carved woodwork forming the screen lately removed from the East end of the pews in the Chapel, ordered: that it be given to the Rev. Mr Earl, Vicar of West Alvington, near Kingsbridge, Devon" (p. 137). This account suggests, of course, that the screen was moved between 1850 and 1866 from the west end of the pews near the altar to the east end of the pews in the nave.

parish church design, as a result of which, according to Guillery, "central-ish locations for pulpits had become usual by the 1620s."[59]

More innovative than the centrally located pulpit is the way in which the seating plan for the Chapel makes use of the pews in the chancel area for overflow seating from the nave rather than leaving that part of the building completely unused except for those occasions when Holy Communion was celebrated. This feature points toward the future of seating in English churches, fulfilled in the post-Restoration period by the full integration of chancel or "Quire" spaces with the nave into a single space for worship.

As the members of the congregation moved into the interior of Trinity Chapel on that May morning in 1623, they found themselves in a space with a strongly symmetrical arrangement that mirrored the symmetries of the external design. The seating was arranged in 1623, as it is still arranged today, into several banks of pews; two banks of pews run along the north and south walls, facing eastward,[60] with a wide bank of pews—also facing eastward—running down the middle of the room. These centrally located pews are separated by aisles to the left and right from the narrower banks of pews that run down the north and south walls. Further seating occupies the area east of the "step," where we find a narrow bank of pews on each side of the "Quire." Today, the bank of pews on the north side face westward, while the pews on the south side of the "Quire" face northward, a recent departure from the original arrangements.

In examining the arrangements of this seating, it may again be helpful to work backwards, if for no other reason than to establish what has changed since 1623 in Trinity Chapel and what has not. The earliest extant visual evidence for the appearance of the Chapel's interior dates from about 1804, a full century and a half after the building's dedication (fig. 11). This image confirms that the post-Restoration renovations

[59]Private communication, 17 July 2006.

[60]In the current configuration of the Chapel, the bank of pews along the south wall is oriented to face north; this represents a later modification to these pews which originally faced west like their counterparts on the other side of the Chapel.

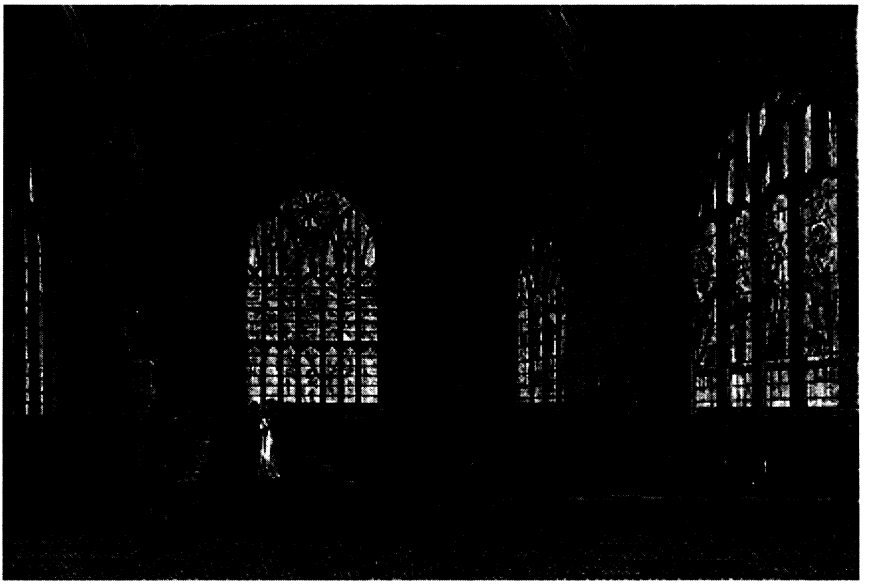

Fig. 11. Interior, Trinity Chapel, 1804. Engraving printed in W. Herbert, *Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery* (London, 1804). Image provided by and reprinted by permission of Lincoln's Inn, London.

of the interior, done in conjunction with the rebuilding of the east end of the building carried out in the 1680s under the supervision of Christopher Wren, had by 1804 been completed.[61] The same conclusion is supported by another image of the interior of Trinity Chapel in the holdings of the Guildhall Library in London that dates from 1812;[62] in fact, when compared with the photograph of Trinity Chapel today (see fig. 2), these two images show that the essential arrangement of furniture established by the 1804 image has been maintained for the past 350

[61]On the reordering of English churches after the Restoration, see Kenneth Fincham, "'According to Ancient Custom': The Return of Altars in the Restoration Church of England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003): 29–46. See also Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: the Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600–1900* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[62]This image is viewable online as item no. 8161 in the Collage collection on the Guildhall website at http://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/.

years, persisting through several replacements of the ceiling and the before-mentioned extension of the building in the late nineteenth century, and in spite of a number of changes in liturgical fashion: the Reader's pew and pulpit on the left wall, the pulpit standing under a large canopy or sounding board, and the altar against the east wall on a raised platform and surrounded by an altar rail. A comment in the *Black Books* of Lincoln's Inn from early in the seventeenth century suggests that in the old chapel, replaced by Trinity Chapel in 1623, the pulpit was on the north wall,[63] so the renovations of the early eighteenth century in a sense represent a return to an earlier arrangement for liturgical furniture.

While the Chapel as depicted in this image does not replicate the arrangements of 1623 in some particulars, the image does, however, clarify one reference in the *Black Books*, in the assignment of seating in the Chapel that took place at a meeting of the Council on 13 May 1623, where we are told that in "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." Indeed, if one looks carefully at the 1804 image, one sees that the outside surfaces of the banks of pews on each side and down the middle of the building extend rearward from the most westward pew, to create shallow alcoves behind the pews that enclose long benches to provide extra seating behind the assigned pews. This kind of seating for servants was a common feature in churches of this period; engravings survive from the early eighteenth century depicting church interiors that show people occupying just this kind of seating, even sitting facing rearward while the sermon is being delivered behind them.[64] Of course, neither the pulpit shown in the engraving nor the altar in use at that time was in use in Trinity Chapel in 1623, but this pulpit is still in use, as are the altar rails, which records of the Inn show date from the late seventeenth century. The current altar, though it dates

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[63] *Black Books*, 2:197.

[64] For example, see the print of an "auditory" church among the series of prints illustrating worship in the Church of England before and after Victorian reforms, printed in *The Deformation and the Reformation* (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray, 1868; rpt. in Edwin Smith, Graham Hutton, and Olive Cook, *English Parish Churches* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1976], p. 180).

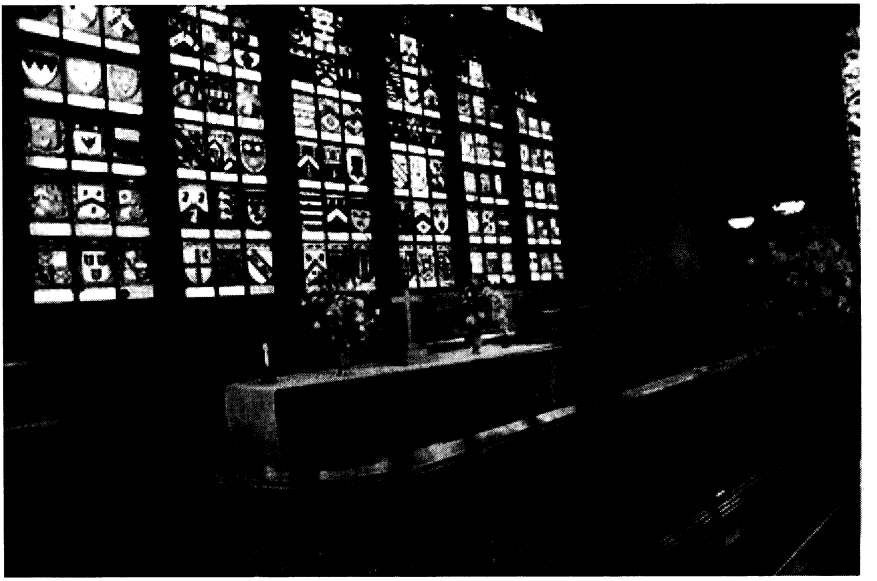

Fig. 12. Altar area, Trinity Chapel, 2003. Image © John N. Wall.

from the seventeenth century, was not acquired by Lincoln's Inn until 1938,[65] when, presumably, it replaced another altar behind the same rails. Fig. 12 shows the altar area in its current configuration, identical in essential arrangements to the configuration shown in fig. 11. In fact, the altar in Trinity Chapel in 1804 may have been the original altar; if so, its continued use, albeit in a new location, would be in keeping with the practice in other English churches as the fashions for location of the altar changed over time.[66] The dates of the pulpit and altar rails locate this arrangement of furniture in the context of renovations that took place in Trinity Chapel in the 1680s, again appropriate because the locations of the Reader's pew and pulpit together on the north wall and the altar against the east wall, railed in, are typical for post-Restoration churches.

[65]Cherry and Pevsner, p. 286.

[66]For example, in the parish church in Blunham, where Donne was the (absentee) rector in 1623, the post-Reformation altar is still in use, but in a side chapel.

Thus, even as the pulpit and altar have moved within Trinity Chapel, the configuration of seating has remained essentially the same.[67] The assignment of seating specified by the governing body of Lincoln's Inn, meeting on 13 May 1623, clarifies how this configuration of pews was intended to be used. The members of the Council decreed 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 allottetd to such Nooblemen, Judges, Serjeants at Law, and other persons of eminent quality, as shall att any tyme resort and repaire to the Chappelle.
>
> The six next double seates there to be for the Masters of the Bench and the Associates, and they to p[lace themselves by three and three in every one 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 shal 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 Kinghtes; and they to take their places as they doe att the Bench table.
>
> The two lowest of those double seates are likewise allotted fore 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.

[67]Holborn points out (private email, 5 February 2007) that the number of rows of seating in the older part of the Chapel has varied over the years; at one point seating was added in the middle and south sides so that pews ran up to the "step" both in the center section and on the south side, as it does now on the north and south sides. Two rows of pews in the middle section were removed in 1966 to make room for a radiator; the wood from these pews was later used to form a serving shelf and cupboards on the dais of the Great Hall at the Inn.

> The tenn seates on the south side of the Chappell from the Quire downward are allotted and appointed for the Masters of the Barr; and they to take their places in their antiquities from the highest seat downwards, 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 allotted and appointed for the gentlemen and Fellowes of this Society under the Barr.

This account supports the conclusion that the area "from the Quire downward" contained ten rows of pews with the double row down the center of the building and the single rows of pews on each side wall. In the current building, in regard to seating, the eastern end of the building, within the space preserved from the original, older area has pews in exactly this arrangement; older pews can be distinguished from pews in the additions to the building by the fact that the older pews have doors while the newer ones do not. One complication is that there are only nine rows of pews down the middle with doors and eleven rows of pews on the south side with doors. The row of pews on the north side has eight pews with doors.

The reconstruction of the 1623 arrangement (see fig. 4) shows the 1623 assignment of seats, adding one pew in the middle and taking one away from the south side row of pews in the current configuration to restore the original, symmetrical arrangement of pews with ten rows of pews on each side and down the middle. In the area of the Chapel "above the step," current seating on the north side also seems to reflect the original design, with a row of five pews that face westward. Seating on the south side faces northward, across the choir area, in an orientation more familiar from collegiate chapels, but Holborn points out that this seating originally also consisted of five pews facing westward. Support for this claim comes from the *Black Books*, which record that in 1765 the Council of Lincoln's Inn assigned various groups of "Ladies" to five seats on either side of the communion table. By this time, clergy seating had been moved from the "Quire" to the pew on the north side at the base of the pulpit, freeing up for "Ladies" the pews originally occupied by the Preacher and the Chaplain.

According to the Bill from Price the Joyner, the original building had a "long Pew in the Chancell, being put Close to the wall." Given the confirmed sites of the five rows of pews on the north and south sides of the "Chancell," or "Quire," the only place remaining for a "long Pew" to be "put Close to the wall" is along the east wall, where I have placed a pew equal in length to the pews that run down the middle of the Chapel. This is as "long" as a pew can be in this space and still permit use of the doors that provide access to each pew.

Combining the images of the space with the directions for seating provided by the *Black Books* helps clarify the specifics of the seating arrangements. Beginning with the ten rows of pews that ran down the center of the nave, we note that the first two rows were for "Nooblemen, Judges, Serjeants at Law, and other persons of eminent quality." The next six rows were reserved for "Masters of the Bench and the Associates." The remaining two rows of pews were reserved 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." People were to sit "by three and three" in each double row, for a total seating capacity of 66 persons. Behind the westwardmost pews was, as we have seen, a bench on which the "clarkes" and servants were permitted to sit.

The "tenn seates on the south side of the Chappell from the Quire downward" were assigned to "the Masters of the Barr," sitting "by fower or five in a seate, as they shall thinke meet," allowing for a seating capacity of 40 to 50 additional people. The seats "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 allotted and appointed for the gentlemen and Fellowes of this Society under the Barr." The ten pews on the north side of the nave provide seating for 40 to 50 additional persons; the seating in the "Quire" provided for an additional ten pews less the two assigned to the Preacher and the Chaplain, making eight pews of a 4- to 5-person capacity plus the 6 persons who could occupy the "long Pew," for a total seating capacity of 40 to 48 in the "Quire." Thus, the regular seating capacity of Trinity Chapel was 186 to 214 persons, plus the seating—perhaps sufficient for another 10 to 15 people—provided for "the clarkes and ordinary servants . . . and of the servants of the Howse" by the benches kept at the back of the pews in the nave.

In other words, on a typical Sunday or Holy Day, when a sermon was preached, the preacher faced a congregation of perhaps as many as 225–

230 people if everyone was present who could be accommodated in Trinity Chapel. On 22 May 1623, however, the occasion was of sufficient significance and interest to draw, according to John Chamberlain, "great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen wherof two or three were indaungered and taken up dead for the time with the extreme presse and thronging."[68] So the Chapel on this day was packed with people; whether the members of the Inn were able to take their appropriate and assigned seats amidst the crowd of visitors is uncertain. But it is certain that Donne had a full house to hear his sermon, occupying all the seats both in the nave and the "Quire," and presumably standing perhaps several persons deep along the back wall.

The Inn's account of the Consecration next says that on 22 May 1623, the Great Litany "was followed by Psalm 23" and "an address by the reverend and venerable man Master John Donne, Professor of sacred Theology, Dean of St Paul's." He stood to deliver this sermon in a pulpit, surely, in the "litle pulpit" for which the Society paid Price the Joyner £10, the one "that standes in the midst of the chappell in the vpper part of the Chappell." Support for this conclusion is, however, shakier than for features of the building we have previously discussed, both in regard to the number of pulpits and where a pulpit stood in this space. Price's Bill specifies a charge of £2 6s. 6d. for "stuffe workemanshippe turning and Coorving the Pulpitt"; a note appended to the Bill specifies, "besides" (in addition to) these other business dealings, the payment of £10 for "the litle pulpit that standes in the midst of the chappell in the vpper part of the Chappell." It is not at all clear whether this note refers to a second pulpit or constitutes simply a fuller description of the first. Thus, there is the possibility that there were two pulpits in Trinity Chapel.

Contemporary precedent for a church with two pulpit-like structures—one used for preaching and one for reading from the Bible—is to be found in George Herbert's remodeling of the parish church at

[68]Letter to Carleton, 30 May 1623, in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), 2:500.

Fig. 13. Interior, St. Mary's, Leighton Bromswold, 2003. Image © John N. Wall.

Leighton Bromswold (fig. 13), completed between 1626 and 1630.[69] In addition, the specificity of the description of the "litle pulpit" in terms of where it stands strongly implies a second pulpit, with the full description of the "litle pulpit" intended to distinguish this pulpit from the other one. Indeed, based on his reading of this evidence, Ockelton has concluded that 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."[70]

Ockelton's hypothesis that there were two pulpits unfortunately requires the further hypothesis that one of the two was "transferred from the old chapel" presumably because the cost of the two pulpits (if we interpret the evidence to mean there were two pulpits) is so dramatically

[69]The applicability of this model is compromised by the fact that in the Leighton Bromswold church the two structures are identical in size, while the use of the world "litle" in the comment on the Joyner's Bill suggests that if there were two pulpits in Trinity Chapel one was "litle" and the other was not.

[70]Ockelton, p. 113.

different, with the figure of £2 6s. 6d. listed by Price the Joyner for "stuffe workemanshippe turning and Coorving the Pulpitt" coming in at significantly less than the figure of £10 for "the litle pulpit that standes in the midst of the chappell in the vpper part of the Chappell." In addition, to conclude that the two references to pulpits means that there were originally two pulpits in Trinity Chapel necessitates deciding where in the space available those two pulpits were located. The position of the pulpits should complement rather than disrupt the strong sense of symmetry created inside Trinity Chapel by the location of the pews and the "step" dividing the building into two parts, one literally "upper" and one lower than the other. A possible symmetrical arrangement would place one pulpit above the step at the end of each side aisle; this arrangement would both replicate the Leighton Bromswold pattern and fit the description provided by the comment on the £10 pulpit, that it was "in the vpper part of the Chappell." Unfortunately, that arrangement would place the pulpits in violation of the other clear bit of evidence we have, that the £10 pulpit was "in the midst of the chappell." Therefore, I concur with Emma Rhatigan's reading of the evidence on this point, that there was one pulpit, the "litle pulpit," "placed in the chancel, in front of the communion table."[71] This conclusion is supported by trends in English church building practice in the early seventeenth century, as Guillery has demonstrated, to provide a single pulpit in new church construction and to locate that pulpit "in the midst" of the building.[72] The distinctiveness of Leighton Bromswold's arrangements was commented upon at the time; the absence of any such comment on the arrangements in Trinity Chapel argues against its constituting another counter-example to the general practice.

Thus, the evidence of the building itself strongly urges the interpretation that the note added to the Joyner's Bill constitutes a fuller description of the single pulpit rather than an indication that there were two pulpits set up in this relatively small chapel. The word "litle" here, however, does detract from any notion that this pulpit was in the tradition of "three-decker" pulpits that in the early seventeenth century were beginning to appear and by the late seventeenth century would become common items of furniture in English churches. Instead, a likely

[71]Rhatigan, "John Donne's Lincoln's Inn Sermons," p. 43.
[72]Guillery, "Suburban Models," p. 70.

model for this pulpit is the seventeenth-century pulpit in the parish church in Blunham, one of the parishes where Donne was (mostly absentee) rector and which he is likely to have used when he visited this church annually in the summer (fig. 14). Compared to some pulpits, this one is modest in size and only slightly raised above the floor, thus perhaps appropriately described as "litle."

Rejecting the idea that the pulpit in Trinity Chapel was a three-decker also takes into account that according to the Bill of Price the Joyner there is a charge for "Raysing" the "reder's pew" in the Chapel separate from his charge for the pulpit and that the seating instructions in the *Black Books* identify a "Preacher's seate" and a "Chapleyn's seate" as part of the "seates in the Quire." This distribution of seating is counter to the evolution of furniture in churches in England during this period which was in the direction of placing seating for the person "reading" the service, or leading it from the Book of Common Prayer, close to the pulpit. By 1620 in some churches in England this clustering of pulpit and Reader's pew had evolved into the three-decker pulpit, making the clerk's seat and desk part of a single large piece of furniture by joining it with the seat and desk for the priest reading (i.e., leading) the service, together with the pulpit into a piece of furniture that could become rather grand and imposing.

The oldest surviving example of such a pulpit seems to date from about 1619.[73] Nevertheless, the separate designations of the "reder's pew" and the pulpit on the Joyner's Bill for woodwork suggests that in Trinity Chapel they were still separate pieces of furniture. The reference to the pulpit as a "litle pulpit" argues against its being a grand three- or even two-decker. Nor do we have any warrant, as we have for the pulpit, for locating the Reader's pew "in the midst of the chappell." However, there is certainly the possibility that the item of furniture referred to as the Reader's pew was located in some proximity to the pulpit, perhaps in front of it though not a part of the same piece of furniture. The chief problem with this idea is that the space "above the step" is limited and must also provide space for the altar/communion table; there simply is not enough room to provide for all these various pieces of furniture and leave room for the people who would use them.

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[73]Yates calls the three-decker pulpit the "major Anglican contribution to post-Reformation furnishing" (p. 33).

Fig. 14. Pulpit, St. Edmund's, Blunham, 2003. Image © John N. Wall.

Perhaps the simplest way of interpreting the Joyner's Bill regarding the Reader's Pew is to remember that the terms "Reader" and "Preacher" are interchangeable in this period, and that there is clearly designated in the directions for seating provided by the Inn's Council a provision for a "Preacher's seate" on the north side of the "Quire," perhaps even the first pew on the north side, above the step, in the "Quire" area. In light of this clear identification, and given the fact that the Joyner charged only 16s.

to raise "the reders pew,"[74] while he charged over £6 to build another, albeit larger, pew, the one that seems to have run across the east wall of the "Quire," it is plausible that the charge for "Raysing" the "reders pew"—perhaps too small an amount for actually building a separate piece of furniture—is, literally, a charge for raising this pew (making it higher than the other pews). Given the fact, as we will discuss in a moment, that this pew was behind a low choir screen at that point in the life of the building, it is possible that such "Raysing" was deemed necessary to permit the Preacher/Reader to see and be seen by the congregation. While this conclusion is highly speculative, it does account for the Joyner's charge and does not violate any of the evidence we have for the arrangement of furniture in the building.

It seems most likely, therefore, that Donne, when he moved with the rest of the congregation into Trinity Chapel, took his place in the Preacher's pew or Reader's pew in the "Quire," which was perhaps raised up, so that he could see the congregation above the screen. When the time came for his sermon, he moved from this pew across the "Quire" area to the pulpit, the only pulpit in 1623, a "litle pulpit," located "in the midst of the chappell in the vpper part of the Chappell," that is, "above the step," in the chancel section of Trinity Chapel. From this pew, "litle" though it may have been, Donne would have looked out over his congregation from a position centrally located so that he would have support from the furniture and its placement in focusing the attention of this large and unruly congregation in its "extreme presse and thronging." On that occasion, although not as a regular practice (as I will argue below), Donne was truly surrounded by his congregation.

Several other items on the Joyner's Bill of furnishings also challenge efforts to determine their appearance and location. The first of these is the reference in the Joyner's Bill to the "skrine," or screen, specifically:

	£ s d
The lower skrine in mesure 27 yards 3 foote at 12s the yard Comes to	16—8—0
For the vpper skrine in mesure 13 yards and a halfe at 12s the yard comes to	8—2—0

[74]And also the "Coobord" and the "flower," truly a bargain.

For the vpper part of the vpper skrine
being doble Carued worke comes to 14
yards in mesure and a halfe at 20s the yrd 14—10—0

There is no indication in the Joyner's Bill as to where this screen was located; happily, Spilsbury's description of Trinity Chapel indicates that the screen, or at least portions of it, were still visible in Trinity Chapel as late as 1850, when it was described by Spilsbury as "raised on the end of the last pew near the altar," and recognized by him as a "restoration of the ancient division of churches by the rood-screen into nave and chancel."[75] Spilbury's language here evokes images of medieval choir screens, or rood screens, large structures that create a strong visual barrier between the nave and the choir. In the medieval period these screens held aloft images of the passion, depicting Jesus on the cross, flanked often by the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John. At the time of the Reformation, some of these were taken down; others remained but had the crucifixion imagery replaced by the royal coat of arms.

What complicates matters here is that the image of the interior of Trinity Chapel from 1804, nearly fifty years earlier than Spilsbury's description (see fig. 11), shows no sign of the kind of structure that would constitute a "rood screen" in a medieval church building. To what are Price the Joyner and Spilsbury referring? Here, the example of Herbert's renovation of the church at Leighton Bromswold may provide a model. Olive Cook, in her description of St. Mary's, Leighton Bromswold, claims that Herbert "divided the nave and chancel by a partition about five feet high which is a compromise between the traditional screen and the rails which Laudian churchmen liked to set across the chancel."[76] Fig. 13 shows the interior of St. Mary's, including the 5-foot partition to which Cook refers, as it clearly divides the interior space of the church into nave and chancel.

This is not the place to explore any possible relationship between this 5-foot partition and Laudian desires to rail in the altar, but the claim that there is a relationship between this partition and "the traditional screen" takes us back to that 1804 image of Trinity Chapel and to a row of

[75]Spilsbury, p. 57.
[76]*English Parish Churches*, p. 172.

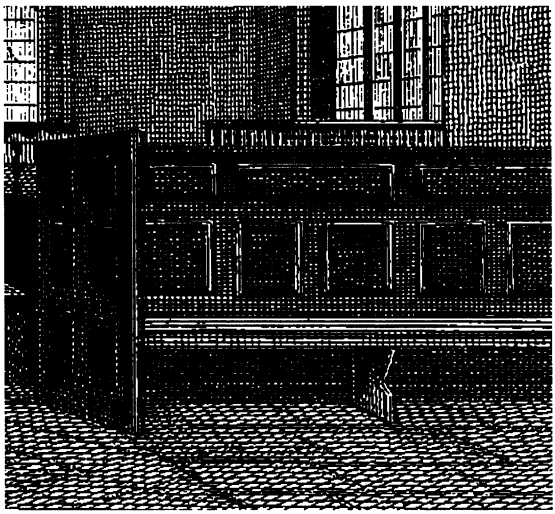

Fig. 15. Detail from Interior, Trinity Chapel, 1804. Engraving printed in W. Herbert, *Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery* (London, 1804). Image provided by and reprinted by permission of Lincoln's Inn, London.

projections visible over the pews on the right side, running from right to left across the image from the eastward-most side window toward the middle of the room (fig. 15). There is no such comparable feature on the other side of the room, but had there been such a feature it would have been removed when the pulpit was moved at the turn of the eighteenth century to the space it currently occupies. If this is a trace of the top of the screen, presumably "the vpper part of the vpper skrine, being doble Carued worke," it would have been removed when an additional pew was added to the front of the right bank of pews in the nave after the seats in the right bank of pews in the chancel were reoriented to face northward, across the chancel.

In any case, the presence of the "skrine," whether a tall screen on the medieval model, or a shorter screen on the model of St. Mary's, Leighton Bromswold, served in Trinity Chapel in 1623—along with the 4-inch "step" and the differently oriented pews in the chancel—to separate the nave from the "Quire," or chancel; to establish the chancel as a distinct space in its own right apart from the nave; and to clarify the role of the chancel as a space set apart primarily for a liturgical function different from the nave. As we have seen, this space also was asked to function in

relationship to the nave as overflow space when attendance was large, but the chancel in this design had its own purpose, not as an afterthought or a secondary space, but as a space distinct, for the housing of the altar/communion table.

Regarding this table, the Consecration manuscript specifies that after Donne's sermon, Bishop Montaigne, "the said reverend father, prepared himself[77] for celebrating the Eucharist, with the reverend and venerable lords summoned together along with some other counselors of the aforesaid Inn then present in the same place before the altar." Bishop Montaigne stood "by the northern part of the table" to lead the congregation in the Communion service. Price the Joyner's Bill describes this altar as a "Communion table," which stood on an arrangement of boards, presumably a platform that enabled worshippers to kneel to take communion.[78]

This communion table was situated close to the seats in the "Quire," or "Chancell," in the "vpper part of the Chappell," a detail made clear by the Minutes of the Council meeting of 13 May 1623, which specify that "the seates on the north side of the Chappell, with the seates in the

[77]Preparation for celebrating Holy Communion for Bishop Montaigne would include: (1) making sure that the altar had a "fair linen" cloth on it; (2) putting the communion cup and a plate upon the altar together with sufficient wine and bread for the communion; and (3) putting on a cope, as was customary practice in St. Paul's Cathedral. The text refers to preparation here at the beginning of the rite and also later, after the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, where we are told he "girded himself for the Lord's supper." One would of course like to know what he did and when, though the reference to "girding" may suggest that this refers to his putting on his cope before reciting the prayer over the elements.

[78]That is, of course, if the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer were followed regarding posture for receiving communion. This, Yates reminds us (pp. 31–32), would from about 1620 become a major point of contention between conforming churchmen and the Puritan party which wished to receive communion seated. Yates believes that the move toward railing in altars and situating them against the east wall was part of the establishment's plan to force everyone out of their seats and up to the altar rail. Happily, Trinity Chapel was designed and built before this development in English Church life amounted to much, though the post-Restoration rearrangement of the furniture would reflect the ultimate triumph of the established Church.

Fig. 16. Priest administering communion after celebrating at a free-standing altar/table. From Richard Day, *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (London, 1578), sig. M1v.

Quire, (except only the Preacher's seate and the Chapelyn's seate) are allotted and appointed for the gentlemen and Fellowes of this Society under the Barr":

> 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 hattes or bookes upon the same.

For these regulations to make any sense, the "Communion Table" needs to have been in close proximity to the seats in the "Quire," presumably on its platform but without rails and therefore accessible to "their handes or armes or any other partes of their bodies," not to mention their "hattes or bookes." Nevertheless, the altar with its platform must have been small enough to allow people to come from their pews, gather around the altar, kneel on the platform to receive the bread and wine of communion(according to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer), and then return to their seats without impeding the movements of others.

Fortunately, precisely this arrangement of furniture and people is well-documented in this period. Fig. 16, for example, shows people

Fig. 17. Communion at St. Mary Overie. Engraving, 1624.

kneeling on a platform to receive communion—without altar rails—surrounding an altar/table where the celebrant has stood during the reading of the Prayer of Consecration from the Book of Common Prayer. This table, if scale is to be trusted, is a bit larger than the typical communion table of the early modern period, which was usually about 2x3 feet in size, based on the examples of the few such tables that survive. Fig. 17 also shows the use of a free-standing altar or communion table; in this case, the priest and an assistant stand at the table while members of the congregation kneel in anticipation of reception. Both images show the congregation complying with the (sometimes contested) rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer directing that people kneel to receive.[79]

From these examples, it seems likely that the communion table in Trinity Chapel stood on a small platform behind the pulpit and in proximity to the seating in the "Quire" area, an arrangement that also makes it clear that the "Quire" area had a distinctive character to it, with its pews clustered around the communion table, divided from the nave by the 4-inch "step" that marks the division of the room into two separate sections and further separated from the nave by the "skrine," or screen that was attached to the ends of the pews in the "vpper part of the Chappell." There is a strong additional element of separation provided by the presence of the pulpit itself.

The only remaining item of furniture constructed by Price the Joyner for Trinity Chapel left to be considered is the "Coobord," presumably a

[79]Donne's references to kneeling in his *Encaenia* sermon have been helpfully discussed by Rhatigan in "Knees and Elephants," pp. 185–213.

"cupboard," built perhaps for storing in the Chapel items required for the conduct of worship according to the Book of Common Prayer. These would include the communion cup and bread plate and perhaps also the service books and the fair linen cloth for the altar/communion table. Again, presumably, such an item would have been mounted on a wall, perhaps near the altar.

Clustering the pulpit, the altar with its platform, and the U-shaped arrangement of pews in the space "above the step" means all this furniture occupied a space approximately 40 feet long but about 20 feet wide. Nevertheless, in this hypothetical reconstruction, things do fall into place, making clear that the interior of Trinity Chapel in 1623 was organized into two essentially separate spaces, not one, as it was after the renovations of the 1680s and remains today. This two-room model for church organization realizes architecturally distinctions among the worship services of the Book of Common Prayer, locating within the nave the services of Morning Prayer and the Great Litany, including the sermon, and locating within the "Quire"—the space created behind the pulpit, "above the step" and behind the screen, with the pews forming a U-shaped configuration around the altar—the service of Holy Communion. The Service of Consecration on the morning of 22 May 1623 took full advantage of this physical division of space with the movement of Bishop Montaigne into the nave for "Divine Service" and then moving to the "place before the altar" to celebrate Holy Communion.

This distinction between the nave area of Trinity Chapel and the communion room area "above the step" is also marked and defined by the "skrine" referred to in Price the Joyner's Bill in its conventional location for a choir, or rood, screen, that is, at the top of the nave separating the "Chancell" or "Quire" from the body of the church. This screen (or at least portions of it) was still visible in Trinity Chapel as late as 1850, when it was described by Spilsbury as "raised on the end of the last pew near the altar," and recognized by him as a "restoration of the ancient division of churches by the rood-screen into nave and chancel."[80]

The Benchers of Lincoln's Inn must have been chiefly interested in a building that would fit within its architectural surroundings and continue the prevailing model of institutional design than to embrace innovative

[80]Spilsbury, p. 57.

architectural trends. Internally, as we will see, the Chapel's worship space at first reflects a similar conservatism, embodying the pattern of arrangements made by the reformed English Church's adaptation of medieval configurations in church design and the use to which they were put in the latter half of the sixteenth century. In other words, the space inside Trinity Chapel on 22 May 1623 was organized to facilitate worship according to early seventeenth century received and evolving practices for performing the Book of Common Prayer, not to promote a narrow theological agenda that sought the abolition of set prayers and official liturgies, nor was it the one-room, altar-focused worship space to which we have since become accustomed in English churches since the eighteenth century.[81]

In a couple of instances, especially the inclusion of stained-glass windows and a centrally located pulpit, Trinity Chapel incorporates features of church design becoming popular in the early seventeenth century, but its division into two rooms, accentuated by its use of a screen separating the "Chancell" or "Quire" section of the building from the main seating area, confirms the traditional configuration of space and use within its basic design. Perhaps most interestingly, it envisions the seating in the chancel area functioning in a flexible and multi-purpose fashion, serving as overflow seating for Divine Service, for sermons, and for the Great Litany, as well as for primary seating for celebrations of the Holy Communion.

Recent discussion of Trinity Chapel, especially by Rhatigan, has suggested that the arrangement of furniture in the Chapel reflects a specific theological agenda, that the central location of this pulpit especially points to the conclusion that "[i]n perfect accordance with the Calvinist conformist sympathies of the benchers, it was clearly designed as an evangelical theatre for preaching."[82] Her view would seem to be supported by the work of Guillery, who argues that the "early seventeenth-century Calvinist or conformist consensus emphasized preaching from centralized pulpits, located . . . in a unified—that is,

[81]The arrangement into which Trinity Chapel was in fact reconfigured in the early eighteenth century.

[82]Rhatigan, "John Donne's Lincoln's Inn Sermons," p. 44. See also "Knees and Elephants," pp. 185–213.

undivided—space."[83] In this point of view, the part of the Chapel where the altar is located shrinks in value, appears a casual afterthought; in short, it hides behind the pulpit, even disappears from view.

The argument that the physical configuration of Trinity Chapel embodies a specific Calvinist theological emphasis depends both on how the word "Calvinist" is used and on how the configuration of space itself is interpreted. As Guillery's choice of words—"Calvinist or conformist"—indicates, he is using "Calvinist" as interchangeable with the word "conformist," that is, as a term to refer to those in the Church of England who were comfortable using the Book of Common Prayer for worship and working within the established Church's system of polity. They would be distinguishable from others who wished to "purify" the English Church by abandoning the use of set prayers and by replacing a hierarchic church organization continuing the medieval church's three-fold orders of ministry with the Presbyterian form of polity adopted in Calvin's Geneva and Knox's Scotland. Yet, as Diarmaid McCulloch has argued, use of the term "Calvinist" for the theological beliefs of English church leaders who supported the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion is inappropriate because it reduces the broad Reformed tradition to a single voice within it, and at that a voice that came to prominence among European Protestant leaders only after the chief official documents of the English Reformation were already in their final forms.[84]

The application of Calvinist thought to church architecture resulted in churches that were in fact "evangelical theaters for preaching"; that is, they consisted, as in the case of the Old Meeting House in Norwich (1693), with its seating on three sides of the room and its pulpit raised up several feet above the floor of the building and against the east wall of the

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[83]Guillery, "Suburban Models," p. 70.

[84]See *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603* (London: Palgrave, 2001). MacCulloch argues, convincingly, I believe, that the major influences after Luther on Cranmer and on his successors among the first and second generation of Elizabethan bishops were not Calvin but Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and Heinrich Bullinger. Calvin's influence began to grow among English Protestants from the 1560s, and by the 1590s had become a major voice among theologians at Cambridge and a dominant one at Oxford. By 1600, however, one begins to see the emergence among English church leaders of other perspectives on the Reformed tradition that by the 1630s would polarize even further the established church from its dissenting voices.

building. Here, the communion table sits at the foot of the massive pulpit, almost lost in its shadow, with a minimal amount of space allocated to its very occasional use.[85] At Lincoln's Inn, however, the features of the architecture and the record of proceedings do not support the idea that inside Trinity Chapel the altar was an afterthought or a trivial part of the furnishings. As Jeffrey Johnson points out in his discussion of the Trinity Chapel ceremony as an example of early seventeenth-century liturgical development, the regulations for seating approved by the Masters of the Bench the week before the consecration ceremony prohibiting casual use of the communion table for sitting or resting personal items sounds more like appropriate respect for and appreciation of the special status of this piece of liturgical furniture—as well as the space that houses it—than an attitude of treating the altar as an afterthought.[86] Indeed, asking that the altar/communion table not be treated as a place to deposit items of clothing or as an additional space to lean or sit surely reflects a real sense that this piece of furniture is a thing set apart, a holy thing, an object to be regarded respectfully at all times rather than just another item of furniture in the building.

Much turns here on how space is organized in relationship to the activities to be conducted in the space. There is no question that Trinity Chapel in its *current configuration* is a "unified—that is, undivided—space" but this arrangement is typical of churches in England in the post-Reformation period, with the pulpit to one side and the altar behind a rail up against the east wall. Here, the relationship between pulpit and altar is clear; the pulpit becomes the focus of attention during sermons, but the congregation's attention always regards the pulpit in relationship to the altar which is clearly visible at all times; the congregation's

[85]This author remembers attending an eighteenth-century Presbyterian Church in his youth that was configured almost exactly like Norfolk's Old Meeting House; even on the rare occasions when communion was celebrated, the grand pulpit rising up behind him dwarfed the minister at the communion table, making clear the tradition's sense of priority regarding the relationship between Word and table. See Keith L. Springer, "Puritan Church Architecture and Worship," *Church History* 66 (1997): 36–53.

[86]Johnson, "Consecrating Lincoln's Inn Chapel," pp. 158–159. Johnson is citing James Cannon's discussion of this issue in "Reverent Donne: The Double Quickening of Lincoln's Inn Chapel," in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. David Colclough (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), esp. p. 214.

attention shifts fully to the altar when the Holy Communion is celebrated.

The arrangement of furniture in Trinity Chapel in 1623, as figured in this essay, creates a very different kind of space. Trinity Chapel in 1623 was organized not into a single space dominated by a pulpit, but a room divided into two spaces, one intended for Divine Service and the sermon, and the other intended for the celebration of Holy Communion. This arrangement of space, physically created by the location of the pulpit and the 4-inch step and inscribed in the Joyner's Bill and in the minutes of the Society of Lincoln's Inn by the use of terms like "lower" and "upper" to describe parts of the Chapel and terms like "Quire" and "chancel" for the upper part of the Chapel represents a continuation of an older pattern of reformed English church organization in which the interior space of a church is regarded as being divided into two significant spaces, not one.

Thus, 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.[87]

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[87]Interestingly, also missing from the Joyner's list of furnishings for the Chapel is any mention of another item common in post-Reformation English churches, nor is there room for them below the great east window. This item is a set of boards traditionally mounted on the east wall and painted with basic liturgical texts, especially the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Presumably intended to facilitate congregational participation in the Daily Offices, these texts became markers of "low-church," perhaps even Calvinist, even Puritan flavors of Anglicanism. Whether their absence here in

At the time of the Reformation, as Nigel Yates suggests,[88] older English churches saw their nave and choir altars taken out and communion tables set up in the choirs to facilitate the reformed liturgy by in effect creating a two-room liturgical space. On Sundays and holy days, congregations gathered in the nave for Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the sermon; the nave thus served as a room for services of the Word. When Holy Communion was celebrated, parishioners who were communicating would move from the nave to the choir, or chancel, where the communion table had been set up in the aisle between the choir stalls or at the east end of that aisle; parishioners not communicating would leave the building. So the choir area became a "communion room," a room focused on the communion table or altar even as the nave is focused on the pulpit.

Just as Yates suggests, on 22 May 1623, at the consecration of Trinity Chapel, the space in the chapel was used in just this way. The sequence of events on that morning was Morning Prayer, then the Great Litany, then Donne's sermon, followed by the Service of Holy Communion. As the order of events moved from the services of the Word to the service of Holy Communion, the shifting of people marked a transition which involved the movement of people out of the building, thus opening up space close to the altar for those remaining to move into. As Bishop Montaigne

> girded himself for the Lord's supper; those departed who were not to participate, while with the Bishop and the chaplains, the Governors of the Inn, and some others remained, counselors etc. who were to participate.

Those who were to receive communion, "to participate," gathered "with the Bishop and the chaplains" at the communion table, to which Bishop Montaigne had moved after he had "girded himself" for his role as celebrant of "the Lord's supper."

A number of church buildings in England still reflect in the arrangement of their furniture in the east end of the building this

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Trinity Chapel indicates anything about the theological or liturgical leanings of the Lincoln's Inn congregation is beyond the scope of this discussion.

[88]My account here follows Yates, esp. pp. 30–43.

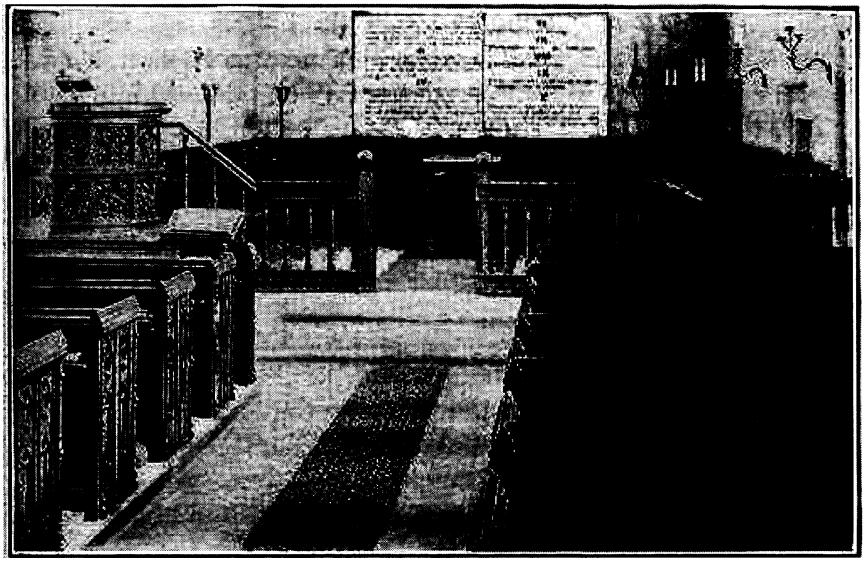

Fig. 18. Communion Room, St. Mary's, Deerhurst. Anonymous photograph from the mid-nineteenth century.

arrangement of space into a room for the Word and a communion room with the communion table situated in the center of the space and with seats on the north, east, and south sides; fig. 18 shows the arrangement of the communion room at St. Mary's Church in Deerhurst as it looked until renovations in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Langley Chapel in Shropshire has preserved the communion room arrangement with seating on three sides in the east end to the present day. These buildings give images of how such space was arranged; they help us visualize the most likely arrangement and use of the space around the altar in Trinity Chapel in 1623.

As to the particular significance of the centrally located pulpit from which Donne preached, one can of course embrace Guillery's argument that new church construction in London in the early seventeenth century reflects a "Calvinist or conformist consensus." Guillery points specifically to "centralized pulpits" as signs of Calvinist influence. But he also documents a very widespread use of centralized pulpits in these churches, which surely argues against their serving as touchstones of a particular theological orientation. They were more the reflection of current fashion

in church building and church design.[89] In the same way that wide use undercuts the notion that Trinity Chapel's stained-glass windows reflect a proto-Laudian agenda, so too does it undermine the argument that there is anything particularly Calvinistic about a centrally located pulpit.

Support of this argument lies in the peculiar case of one church built in London in the late 1620s, the parish church of St. Katherine Cree, in Leadenhall Street. Consecrated by William Laud in 1631, after he had succeeded George Montaigne as Bishop of London, St. Katherine Cree is for Guillery a building defining Laud's influence on the Church of England. Here he agrees with Peter Lake, who earlier concluded that St. Katherine Cree represents "the epitome of a new model Laudian church."[90] One therefore turns with interest to the design and arrangement of furniture in St. Katherine Cree to see how an "epitome" of Laudian spirituality would differ from its presumably "Calvinist" predecessors.

St. Katherine Cree today looks exactly like what one would expect: a long, narrow building with strong Gothic elements in its design, a full program of stained glass, and a pulpit on the north side of the main aisle. But the earliest extant interior image of St. Katherine Cree (an engraving done in 1838)[91] shows it with box pews and a centrally situated pulpit (fig. 19). Either this image shows the original interior layout of the church or it shows a church that in the post-Restoration period went through a remodeling totally contrary to the direction of architectural development for church design in the age of Wren and Hawkesworth.

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[89]In fact, Guillery's own wording ("Calvinist or conformist") suggests that he is using "Calvinist" here not as a term to identify a particular theological party within the Church of England but as an alternative term for "conformist," for all Englishfolk who embraced the institutional structures and liturgical practices of the Church of England regardless of their theological understanding of them.

[90]Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: "Orthodoxy," "Heterodoxy" and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 298–311, quoted from Guillery, "Suburban Models," p. 71.

[91]London: C. Tilt, 1838. Engraved by James Carter (1798–1855) from an original study by the painter and architect Robert William Billings (1815–1874).

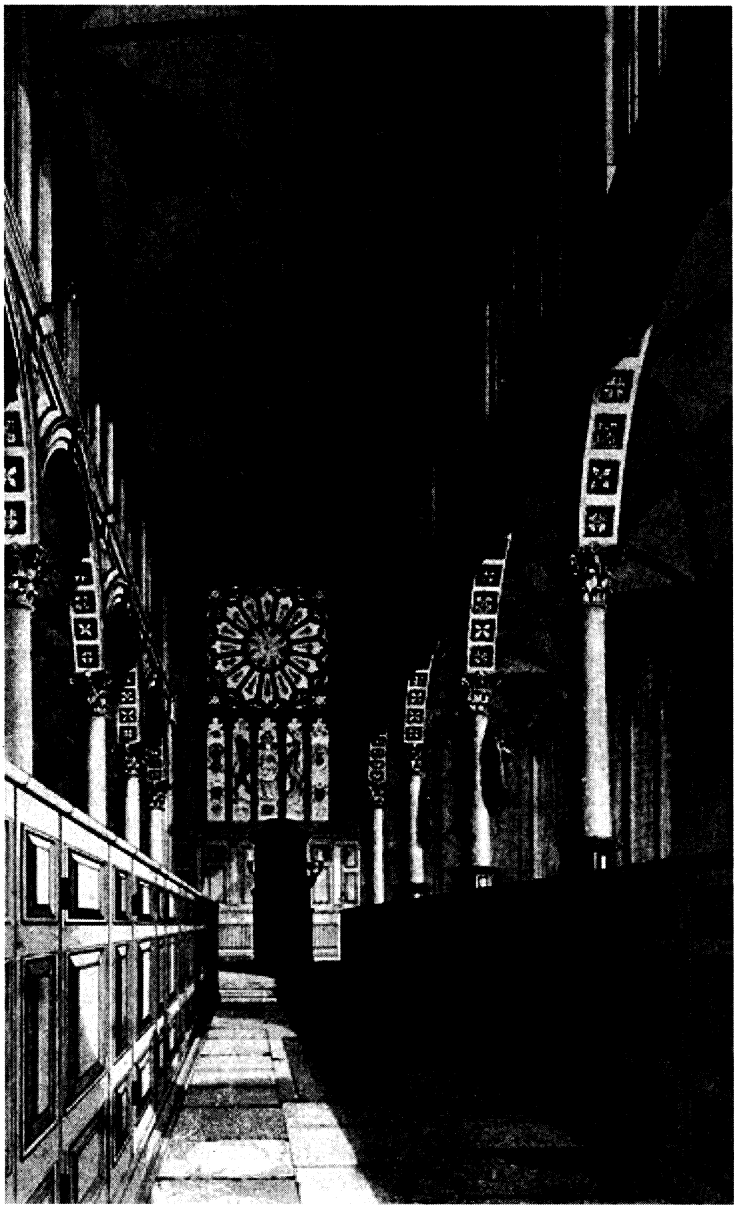

Fig. 19. Pulpit, St. Katherine Cree, Leadenhall Street, London, 1838. Engraving by Robert William Billings. Reproduced courtesy the Guildhall Library, City of London.

Yet it remains difficult, given the chronic tendency of church buildings to persist in their arrangements,[92] to imagine the worshippers in St. Katherine Cree accepting a major interior renovation that would move the pulpit off the north side and locate it in the center of the room at just the point at which churches in London all around it were giving up centrally located pulpits in favor of pulpits on the north side.

It is more likely that this image does represent the original arrangement of furniture inside St. Katherine Cree, an arrangement in an overtly Laudian building that reflects the same customs of church design that resulted in the centrally located pulpit in Trinity Chapel.[93] Given the prominent centrally located pulpit in this building that is universally regarded as embodying the very essence of Laudianism, it is clear that such a pulpit location was acceptable to its builders, who clearly did have a strong theological position to express. The location of the pulpit in St. Katherine Cree thus supports the conclusion that the pulpit location in Trinity Chapel reflects current design and building fashions rather than a specific theological agenda.

One objection that might be raised to the conclusion that the space inside Trinity Chapel was organized, at least functionally, into two worship spaces, is that the pews around the altar/communion table were used for seating during Morning Prayer, and thus that at times the space functioned as a one-room space. This presumably was not the case in parishes where the communion room is organized as a space completely apart from the rest of the church. Two bits of data address this concern.

First, the directions for seating in the new chapel from the meeting on 13 May 1623, as recorded in the *Black Books*, describe the assignment of seating in the "Quire" as follows:

> 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 allotted and appointed for the gentlemen and Fellowes of this Society under the Barr. . . .

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[92]A tendency exemplified by the fact that Trinity Chapel has retained essentially the same arrangement of furniture since the 1860s.

[93]I am of course prepared to revise my conclusions about the original arrangement of furniture inside St. Katherine Cree when someone turns up images of St. Katherine Cree prior to 1838 which show a different arrangement of pulpit, altar, and seating.

Such wording at least raises the possibility that the primary seating for "gentlemen and Fellowes of this Society under the Barr"—that is to say, those studying to become lawyers in the Inn—was the "seates on the north side of the Chappell," and the "seates in the Quire" served primarily as overflow space when seating on the north side was filled. In other words, the different functions of the two spaces inside Trinity Chapel were distinct most of the time, and were blurred only on those occasions when the number of students attending overflowed the seats on the north side.

This conclusion is further supported by records in the *Black Books* from the Council meeting on 6 November 1765, concerned with the assigning of seats for women, whose presence at worship services had just been approved:

> Ordered that the two uppermost seats, one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of the Communion Table in the Chappel, be reserved for the Ladies of the Benchers of this Society and their Familys; and also ordered that the three other seats above the step on each side be reserved for the Ladies of Barristers and Gentlemen belonging to this Society[.][94]

In other words, when it was time for the Chapel to accommodate women at worship services, the seats in the "Quire" were available to them, a situation which would not apply if these seats were regularly used by other worshippers. When Donne stood in the pulpit on the morning of 22 May 1623, as we have noted, he was surrounded by worshippers, but this was presumably a rare occurrence, brought about by the crowds, the "extreme presse and thronging" reported by Chamberlain. On most Sundays and Holy Days, the preacher standing in the pulpit would have found most of his audience in front of him.

So, even as Donne in his sermon seeks to relate different concepts of ownership, organization, and identity, so Trinity Chapel looks both forward and backward, and thus represents a building for a time of transition. Trinity Chapel in its original configuration serves as a reminder that more than one possible arrangement of liturgical space works effectively with the Book of Common Prayer. Integrating the

[94] *Black Books*, 3:385.

organization of traditional English post-Reformation worship space with features of church design then becoming popular in new church construction, it also makes that organization of space more flexible and multipurpose to accommodate the various worship needs of the Inn's residents who were building on a limited budget.

What it might have represented to the members of Lincoln's Inn in 1623 is another matter. An occasion for satisfaction and relief, certainly; Donne comments in his sermon on the difficulty of raising the funds and celebrates this achievement: "strangers shall know to God's glory, that you have perfected a work of full three times as much charge, as you proposed for it at the beginning" (4:372). Yet Donne also invests most of his, and his hearers' time in the sermon not in celebration but in challenge. Starting with affirmation, with the proclamation that "your Soules are holy; by the inhabitation of God's holy spirit, who dwells in them . . . your Bodies are holy," Donne affirms that by "your presence, these "walles are holy, because the Saints of God meet here within these walls to glorifie him." Donne then quickly makes a key transition from an individualistic and community-based sense of holiness to a corporate and hierarchic sense of holiness: "But yet these places are not onely consecrated and sanctified by your coming; but to be sanctified also for your coming; that so, as the Congregation sanctifies the place, the place may sanctifie the Congregation too. They must accompany one another; holy persons and holy places" (4:364).

In Donne's develping argument, the holiness of the place derives both from the gathering of the Saints and from that which is done to the place *for* the gathering of the Saints, an imparted "sanctitie, which is this day to be derived upon it and to bee imprinted in it," a sanctity that, because it is not just a consequence of housing the Saints but derives from authority outside the congregation, can give back to the congregation, "sanctifie the Congregation too." Thus consecration comes from without, from God, through God's agent, the Bishop of London, and comes as a challenge, as a moment of accountability, as an occasion to bring the congregation into touch with terms like "sanctitie" and "sanctification." What Donne seeks for his congregation is not merely recognition of what they have accomplished, but what they may yet become.[95]

[95]If Donne's congregation on this day had had strong Calvinist leanings, its members surely would not have responded favorably to Donne's persistent effort

If Trinity Chapel was "clearly designed as an evangelical theatre for preaching . . . in perfect accordance with the Calvinist conformist sympathies of the benchers," then the members of the congregation would presumably experience, on this day of their vision's realization, feelings of comfort, ease, delight in seeing their theological predilections happily manifested in the building surrounding them. Yet that does not seem to be the congregation Donne imagined before him. Donne, who knew them well, spends in this sermon a great deal of time negotiating between different ideas of spirituality, different understandings of the meaning of buildings, of the various ministries of layfolk and of priests and of bishops, of the role of holy spaces, even of worship itself, in the conduct of a Christian life. There is much here to do with sorting out, and with interrelating, "walles" and "soules," the physical and spiritual, things as things and things as signs, "the Churche" as Trinity Chapel and the church as (symbolically) Bishop Montaigne and the church as the Body of Christ.

If, on the other hand, Donne's congregation combined with its pride in the construction of Trinity Chapel some anxiety, some tension about the act of building itself, and especially the nature of this building, affirming as it does traditional liturgical arrangements while at the same time doing new things with the location of the pulpit and the use of stained glass, a place to be regarded as holy both because it houses a holy people and also because it is consecrated, because it evokes a sense of the divine presence, then perhaps we may locate this event in a more complex way within some broader trends and developments in early modern spirituality.

In spite of Donne's claim in his sermon that the residents of Lincoln's Inn "gave more then the widow, who gave all, for you gave more then all . . . to God's glory" (4:371), it is still the case that months afterward the Council of Lincoln's Inn was still trying to collect on pledges made in support of the Chapel's construction. Donne's sermon, tracing this ambivalent desire both to embrace and to avoid investment in the

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to distance the events of this Consecration from Calvinist practices, observing that "there is no such *Liturgie* in the *Calvinists Churches*" (4:373) just over two-thirds of the way through a three-hour service that, as the Latin account of the Consecration so thoroughly documents, was taken almost entirely from the Book of Common Prayer and conducted according to its rubrics.

material manifestations of faith, speaks to the difficulty, if one takes this middle ground, of being at ease or secure with any particular example of a church building. Holding this position, one is always vulnerable to one's own second thoughts, not to mention to being second-guessed, to being charged with violating one's own precepts. Added to this, in the presence of the Bishop of London, is the whole matter of accountability beyond oneself not only to God but to very real diocesan and governmental authorities. As the crowd gathered to watch Bishop Montaigne receive the key to Trinity Chapel from the leaders of Lincoln's Inn, one suspects that amidst the excitement of the occasion there was profound ambivalence as well.

North Carolina State University

Appendix I

Transcription of Lincoln's Inn ms. A1d 1/2/3 in the Saunderson Papers[1]

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 panell 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[2] in the windowes 10 yards at 2s 6d the yarde Comes to	1—10—0

[1]I am grateful to Steven May, Adjunct Professor of English at Emory University and Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the University of Sheffield, for his help with this transcription.

[2]sills, i.e., window sills.

The dores and Carued[3] 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 yrd	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[4] round the Chappell amoynteth[5] to 109 foote makes 12 yards and a foot at 3s 4d the yard Comes to	2— 0—0
For allering[6] 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[7] the Pulpitt	2— 6—6

[3] carved
[4] waste
[5] amounteth
[6] (?) altering
[7] carving

For Raysing the reders pew the Coobord[8] and and [sic] the new flower[9] 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[10] for the flower	9— 0—0
For 6 loade of Tymber[11] 28s the loade	8— 8—0
For sawing the timber and Carraige[12]	1—10—0
For playning the bords and laying the groundplates[13] Ioysts[14]	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

[8](?) cupboard

[9]floor

[10]"In the timber trade, in Great Britain, a *deal* is [a board] understood to be 9 inches wide, not more than 3 inches thick, and at least 6 feet long" (*OED*, s.v. "deal," n.[3] 1).

[11]timber

[12]carrying

[13]Literally a groundplate is, according to *OED*, the "lowest horizontal timber in a framing; a ground-sill" (s.v. "ground-plate," 1).

[14]Joists. The architectural historian Peter Guillery suggests that the "groundplate joists" should be understood as a "term used loosely to refer to the framing of [the chapel] floor" (private communication, 20 June 2007).

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 estimacion 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 then 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[15] } 10£

1623

[15]This item is in a different hand from the rest of the document.

Appendix II

The Consecration of Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn[1]

On Thursday, the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord, it being the twenty-second day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1623, between the eighth and eleventh hours[2] in the morning of the same day the reverend father Lord George,[3] by divine permission Bishop of London, blessed and prepared for use a chapel within the inn commonly called Lincoln's Inn, along the street commonly referred to as Chancery

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[1]This document consists of a translation into modern English prose of Latin portions of Ms. Archives ref J1 A2, found in the Archives of Lincoln's Inn, London, as well as transcriptions of portions of the document that were written in English. The transcription of the seventeenth-century document has been checked against a nineteenth-century transcription of the document, also to be found in Lincoln's Inn (Archives ref J1 A2/1). The transcription and translation are the work of Zola Packman, Assistant Professor of Classical Languages at North Carolina State University, and is based on her transcription of the seventeenth- and nineteenth-century documents. The annotations are mine. We are deeply grateful to Guy Holborn, Librarian at Lincoln's Inn, for his gracious advice and generous council, especially regarding the administrative structure of Lincoln's Inn in the seventeenth century. We are also grateful to Diarmaid MacCulloch, Professor of Theology at Oxford University, for invaluable aid concerning the translation.

[2]The time span referred to here (3 hours) corresponds with generally received estimates as to the length of time needed for the conduct of morning services in the Church of England in the early seventeenth century. These services included the full performance of Morning Prayer, Great Litany, sermon, and Holy Communion; we conclude that this line should be interpreted to mean that the Service of Consecration began at 8:00, ran for about 3 hours, and ended about 11:00.

[3]George Montaigne (1569–1628), also sometimes spelled "Mountain" and other variations, was Bishop of London from 1621–1628, when he first became the Bishop of Durham, then the Archbishop of York, and then died before the year was out. Montaigne attended Cambridge University (Queen's College, MA 1593), became a chaplain to James I in 1608, then Dean of Westminster Abbey (1610) and Bishop of Lincoln (1617) before becoming Bishop of London in 1621, the same year Donne became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Lane in the suburbs of the City of London, of his own London diocese and jurisdiction, and dedicated it—newly erected, and fittingly and handsomely fitted out—to the everlasting honor and service of God almighty.

On this occasion, the method of procedure in this undertaking was as follows:

The reverend father in Christ aforesaid, accompanied by many reverend and worshipful men, approached the doorway of the chapel to be consecrated, and to him the worshipful men[4] Thomas Spenser, Richard Digges, and Egidius Tooker, esquires, owners (together with others) of the aforesaid inn, and William Ravenscroft, one of the worshipful[5] counselors[6] of the aforementioned inn, indicated that they had, for the everlasting honor and service of God almighty, and the use of those staying in the aforesaid inn, seen to the erection and equipment of the

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[4]The men listed here were the four most senior Benchers of Lincoln's Inn in 1623. As such, they not only shared responsibility with the other Benchers for the administration of Lincoln's Inn but, in the case of Tucker, Spencer, and Digges, also served as the legal owners of the land and buildings of Lincoln's Inn which in the seventeenth century functioned as an unincorporated association. Ravenscroft had been one of this group at an earlier point in his career, though not in 1623, and may have been included in this group because of his overall seniority. These mens' role is important because they are technically, in this ceremony, conveying ownership of Trinity Chapel to the Church of England in the person of Bishop Montaigne, who is in turn setting it apart for a holy purpose. Thomas Spenser, or Spencer (1547–1630) was also Dean of the Chapel while Donne was the Chaplain and Trinity Chapel was being planned and built. For biographical sketches of Ravenscroft, Tucker, Spencer, and Digges, see Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Rise of the Barristers: A Social History of the English Bar 1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986) and *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590–1640* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1972).

[5]"Worshipful" in the sense of "venerable" or "honored," not in the sense of "ordained," as it is used above to refer to Bishop Montaigne and his chaplains.

[6]"jurisconsult." While *OED* gives "lawyer" for "jurisconsult," we have concluded that the best translation is "counselor," since there were several different kinds of lawyers in the English legal system, including attorneys, barristers, and counselors, and these men are in the counselor category.

said chapel, on their own private grounds and with their own private funds.

And they yielded their rights in the same, and so in their own names as also in the names of all others having an interest in this area, unanimous in agreement and consent, they granted, gave, and donated the aforesaid chapel to God almighty and to the highest, holy, and indivisible Trinity, and in token of a free donation of this sort, they presented and handed over the keys[7] of the aforesaid chapel to the same reverend, humbly beseeching the said reverend father to declare and consecrate the aforesaid chapel to the everlasting honor and service of God almighty, and the use of those staying in the aforesaid inn.

When these things had been done, the reverend father aforesaid entered the empty (but suitably fitted out) chapel alone, while the assembly of those present stood outside and looked on. And he himself, on the very doorstep to the entrance, spoke and blessed the place in this fashion, to wit:

> *I was glad when they said unto mee: we will goe in the house of the Lord.*
> *Peace be within theis walls and prosperetie within theis dores.*
> *Because thou art a house for the Lord our God we will seeke to doe thee good.*[8]
> *I have chosen and sanctified this place that my name may be there for ever, and myne eyes and myne heart shall be there perpetuallie.*[9]

Then, moving forward a little, the reverend father, on bent knees and with hands lifted to the sky towards the east, spoke, alone, the following prayer, to wit:

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[7]Symbolically transferring ownership of the Chapel to the Church of England by transfer of the means of access to the building to its official representative in London.

[8]Paraphrase of Psalm 122:1, 7, and 9.

[9]2 Chronicles 7:16.

O eternall God mightie in power and of incomprehensible Majesty who fillest both heaven and earth with thy glorious presence, and therefore canst not be contained within anie the largest circuite, much lesse within this narrowe roome, for the consecracion whereof we are nowe assembled.

Notwithstandinge because it hath pleased thee to promise thine speciall presence in that place where two or three shall be gathered togither in thy name and for thine honour: We doe heare in all humility and with readiness of heart, wholly devote and dedicate this place this day for ever unto thee (utterly seperatinge it henceforth from all prophane and domesticall uses or affaires) and are bold to consecrate it to thy service onely, for hearing thy word, celebratinge the sacrament of the Lords Supper, and offering up the sacrifices both of prayer and thankesgivinge.

And although (miserable wretches as we are) We be altogether unworthy to appoint aine earthlie thinge to so greate a Maiesty, and the most unfitt of all thy Ministers to appeare before thee in so honorable a service, Yet we most humbly beseech thee to forgete and forgive our manifold sinnes, and to be present amongst us in this religious action : vouchsafe to accept it gratiouslie at our hands, blesse it with happie successe,[10] *and because thy holy word is heere to be preached, and thy holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper here to be administered, Lord give a blessing to thy holy word and Sacrament so ofte as thy servantes shall be here partakers of them.*

And we beseech thee O Lord receive the prayers and supplications of us here assembled at this present, and of all others, who hereafter (entering into theis hallowed place) shall call uppon thee, and give both them and us grace whensoever we come into this thy place and house of residence, to bring hither cleane thoughts, pure heartes, bodies undefiled and minds sanctified, to wash our handes in innocency (good Lord) and then to come to thine Altar, that so we may present unto thee both our soules and bodies as holy temples of thy spirit, within this little temple, to the glory of thy holy name, and

[10]See Book of Common Prayer texts, especially the General Confession, the Prayer of Humble Access, and the post-communion prayer.

accomplishment of our desires, through Jesus Christe, to whom with the Father &c.[11]

Then the reverend father aforesaid, turning himself towards the congregation still standing at the doors of the chapel, and himself standing in view of the congregation, consecrated the aforesaid chapel by reading in public a schedule of dedication and consecration, a pronouncement put in writing and at that time extended and handed over to him by his vicar general[12] in spiritual matters, containing the following words, to wit:

> In the name of God, Amen. Since the reverend and worshipful men—counselors and students—in the inn commonly called Lincoln's Inn, sited and located, as is well known, beside the lane commonly called Chancery Lane in the suburbs of the city of London, of our London diocese and jurisdiction, induced by pious and religious devotion, have now newly erected, built and constructed this chapel in the aforesaid inn, containing between the walls of the same, in longitude from east to west, sixty-eight feet or thereabouts, and in latitude, from north to south, forty-one feet or thereabouts, and a certain construction with steps or stairs for access or entrance to the same, upon their own lands and at their own expense for the honor of God and the use of counselors, students, and those staying now and in the future in the same; and have sufficiently and suitably decorated and fitted out the same chapel with altar, pulpit, suitable seats, a bell, and other things necessary to divine worship; and have begged us that we, by our ordained and episcopal authority, on our own behalf and that of our successors, should separate said chapel and

[11]Contraction of "through Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glory, world without end. Amen."

[12]Sir Henry Marten (1562–1641), Chancellor to Diocese of London (1617–1641), and judge of High Court Admiralty (1617–1641). The vicar general of the Diocese of London was a counselor retained by the Diocese to advise the Bishop on legal matters and conduct business in the civil courts on behalf of the Diocese. In the general good spirit of this occasion, Sir Henry and Bishop Montaigne were both made honorary members of Lincoln's Inn on 21 May 1623, the day before the ceremony of Consecration.

other premises from all previous uses, common and profane, whatsoever, and dedicate and consecrate it to sacred and divine uses:

In response to the religious desire of said reverend and venerable men in this matter: We therefore, George, by divine permission Bishop of London, favorably assenting to the consecration of this chapel erected anew (as reported before), built, constructed and adorned by the expenditures of the aforesaid reverend and venerable men, proceeding by our ordained and episcopal authority: We have separated from every common and profane use this chapel, the whole building and the entrance of the same, and steps or stairs of the said chapel, as they exist constructed at present, and other premises connected with the said chapel, and we bear witness through those present that it has been so separated.

And as well, by our same ordained and episcopal authority, we grant license and right in the Lord, on our own behalf and that of our successors, for divine service to be conducted in the aforesaid chapel, to wit: recitation of public prayers and the holy liturgy of the Anglican church; the faithful propagation and preaching of the word of God, and the administration of the sacrament of the holy Eucharist, or supper of the Lord, in the same chapel. And just as to the priest ordained according to the custom and ritual of the Anglican Church, who will serve in the same chapel, we grant full power in the Lord to say divine prayers and do (the other) things aforementioned; so also to the said reverend and venerable men—counselors and students—and those staying in the aforesaid inn, (we grant full power) to hear divine prayers in the said chapel and sermons made in the same place, and to participate in other aforementioned observances.

And the same chapel, so far as is in us, and we are able by the law, legislation, statutes, and canons of this kingdom of England, and so far as is permitted us, we consecrate to the honor of God and the sacred uses of the said reverend and venerable men and others staying in the aforesaid inn, now and in the future, with

the name, for the chapel, of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity in the Inn of Lincoln's Inn, and we so call and name it and openly and publicly announce, decree, and declare that it has been so assigned, dedicated, consecrated, called and named, and should remain so in future times everlasting. In addition, we wish this chapel to be fortified to every effect of the law with privileges, all and sundry, in that area customary and requisite as applying by law to consecrated chapels.

And so far as is in us and by law we are able, we so fortify and establish it through those present—without however any prejudice, and always reserving the right and interest of the parish churches of St Dunstan in the West of London and St Andrew in Holborn of London;[13] and reserving the right and interest also of rectors, vicars, curates and wardens of the aforesaid churches, and of other ministers of the same, as they exist at this time and of all other churches whatsoever in whose parishes the aforesaid inn or the boundaries of the same or any part thereof are located and situated, reserving their interest, that is in all or any ecclesiastical offerings, donations, payments, fees, revenues, privileges, rights and emoluments, ordinary and extraordinary, owed to the same or customary, respectively, and arising and forthcoming within the precinct or boundaries of the aforesaid inn to the said churches by law or custom, belonging and pertaining in any way to rectors, vicars, curates, wardens, and other ministers of the same churches, in as ample a manner and form as was owed before this our consecration of this chapel.

Which aforementioned things, all and sundry, as much as is in us and so far as we are able by law, on our own behalf and that of our successors we so decree and establish through those present.

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[13]Parish churches had "rights and interests," including financial interests, regarding people living within the geographical boundaries of their parishes. By consecrating a new worship space for people living in the buildings of Lincoln's Inn, Bishop Montaigne is in effect creating competition for members with St. Dunstan's and St. Andrew's Churches and is here trying to assure them that Trinity Chapel will not deprive them of any rights, especially financial.

When these things were done, the whole congregation was called together into the chapel, and immediately by the bidding and direction of said reverend father, regular prayers[14] were celebrated in the same place by Master Thomas Wilson,[15] bachelor of sacred Theology, one of the domestic chaplains of the said reverend father. In the place however of the Psalms[16] there were chosen Psalms 24, 27, and 84 to be read. And for the first reading:[17] 2 Chron: 6;[18] for the second reading John 10, verses 22 to the end.

After that collect in the Litany for Bishops and Curates,[19] the following prayer was delivered, to wit:

> *Almightie God which dwellest not in Temples made with hands as saith the prophet, and yet vouchsafes to accept the devout services of thy poore creatures, allotting speciall places for divine Offices, promisinge even there to heare and graunt their requests, We humbly beseech thee to accept this our dayes duty and service of dedicating this Chappell to thy great and dreadfull name, and fullfill, we pray thee, thy gratious promises that whatsoever prayers in this sacred place shall be made according to thy will, may be favourably accepted and*

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[14]Morning Prayer and the Great Litany which preceded Donne's sermon, and Holy Communion, which followed it.

[15]The Rev. Thomas Wilson (1591?–1660), Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral and Prebend of Nesden (from 1623).

[16]The Psalm appointed for Morning Prayer on the 22nd day of the month is Psalm 107, but since this was the Feast of the Ascension, Book of Common Prayer appoints Psalms 8, 15, and 21 to be read instead.

[17]The lessons appointed on the Daily Office calendar for 22 May would have been 4 Kings 11 (2 Kings 11 in modern nomenclature) and Matthew 20. Since this was the Feast of the Ascension, however, the First Lesson should have been Deuteronomy 10.

[18]2 Chronicles 6.

[19]"That collect in the Litany for Bishops and Curates" refers to the prayer from the Great Litany that begins "Almighty and everlasting God, which only workest great marvels, send down upon our bishops and curates. . . ." The text here actually reads "in Latinia," not "in Litania," and may better be translated "in Latin," but we have followed the suggestion of MacCulloch in reading "in Litania."

> *returned with their desired successe, to thyne eternall glory and our especiall comforte in Jesus Christ, to whom, etc.*[20]

That prayer was followed by Psalm 23, which was sung.[21] After the Psalm, an address by the reverend and venerable man Master John Donne, Professor of sacred Theology, Dean of St Paul's, who for his theme read from chapter 10 of the Gospel according to John, verses 22 and 23—in these words:

> *And it was at Jerusalem the feast of Dedication, And it was winter. And Jesus was walking in the Temple in Solomon's porch.*

When the address was finished, the said reverend father prepared himself[22] for celebrating the Eucharist, with the reverend and venerable lords summoned together along with some other counselors of the aforesaid inn then present in the same place before the altar, The same reverend father standing by the northern part of the table, recited the Decalogue,[23] and for the collect read as follows:

> *Most mercifull Saviour, which by thy bodily presence at the feast of Dedication didst approve and honour such devout and religious*

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[20]Contraction of "to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be honor and glory world without end. Amen." Presumably, on this occasion, this prayer ended the Great Litany, either taking the place of the collect that customarily ends the Litany (which begins, "Almighty God, which hast given us grace at this time. . .") or, alternatively, the final Collect of the Litany was added but since its use was invariable the narrator did not feel it was worth mentioning.

[21]The Psalm was presumably sung in English, either to Anglican Chant (in the Great Bible translation) or in the translation of Sternhold and Hopkins, sung to the tune provided in such editions as STC 2073.

[22]Preparation for celebrating Holy Communion for Bishop Montaigne would include: 1. making sure that the altar had a "fair linen" cloth on it; 2. putting the communion cup and a plate upon the altar together with sufficient wine and bread for the communion; and 3. putting on a cope, as was customary practice in St. Paul's Cathedral. The text refers to preparation here at the beginning of the rite and also later, after the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, where we are told he "girded himself for the Lord's supper."

[23]See Book of Common Prayer (1604).

services as this we have now performed, present thyself also unto us by thy holy spirit, And because that Holynes becometh thy house for ever, Consecrate us, we pray thee, as an holy temple unto thine owne selfe, that thou dwelling in our hearts by faith, we may be clensed from all carnal and prophane affections, and devoutly given to all good workes for the glory of thy most holy name, To whom, etc.[24]

The aforesaid chaplain read for Epistle: 1st Corinthians verse 10; For Gospel: John 2 verses 13 to the end.[25]

Then the said reverend father girded himself for the Lord's supper; those departed[26] **who were not to participate, while with the Bishop and the chaplains, the Governors of the inn, and some others remained, counselors etc.**[27] **who were to participate etc.**[28]

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[24]Contraction of "to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be honor and glory, world without end. Amen." The Collect given here presumably substituted for the Collect appointed for Holy Communion on the Feast of the Ascension, which reads, "GRANT we beseech thee, Almighty God, that like as we do believe thy only-begotten son our Lord to have ascended into the heavens; so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with him continually dwell, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God world without end. Amen."

[25]The Lessons appointed by the Book of Common Prayer (1604) for the Feast of the Ascension are, for the Epistle, Acts 1:1–11, and for the Gospel, Mark 16.

[26]Common practice was for those not intending to receive communion to leave the church after the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church," which follows the readings of the Lessons appointed for the day in the Book of Common Prayer. For more information, see most conveniently, *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book*, ed. John Booty (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976), pp. 247–268.

[27]Presumably the "etc." here refers to "students," as in previous accounts in this document of those on hand; it could also include members of Bishop Montaigne's staff as well as other interested parties on hand for the Consecration.

[28]Presumably, a reference to behavior of those who remain for the Bishop's prayer over the bread and wine and the reception of these Communion elements.

When the communion was completed, however, the said Lord Bishop added this thanksgiving for finale, and in a deep voice pronounced, to wit:

> *Blessed be thy name, O Lord our God for that it pleaseth thee to have thyne habitation among men, and to dwell in the assembly of the righteous. Blesse wee beseech thee this dayes action unto us, prosper thou the work of our hands uppon us, Lord prosper those our handy worke, blesse this house [and family] and the owners thereof into whose mindes thou diddest putt it to have this place consecrated unto thee, Be with them and theires in their going out and coming in and make them truly thankfull unto thy glorious name, who being soe great a God and the Lord of the whole earth, vouchsafeth to accept these poore offerings from sinfull men which are themselves but earth and ashes And graunt that they and their successors may faithfully serve thee in this place to the comforte of their own soules and the everlasting praise of thy glorious Majestie, through Jesus Christe our Lord and onely Saviour.* [*Amen.*]

When these things were done, with the above named reverend and venerable lords and some others, counselors of the aforesaid inn, placed facing the altar, the reverend father Lord Bishop of London aforesaid addressed them in these or similar words, to wit:

> *It was your most earnest desire to have this place consecrated which request you have obtained and therein a double favour both from God that it will please him to accepte from simple men such meane offers and to tye his presence by promise to such places as this. And also from the Church which hath appointed the means for performing thereof, and this request is by me already satisfied and that duty performed.*
>
> *Now then you must know that this place is become an Anathema, and that in every anathema is both a consecration and an execration, a blessing and curse. If you shall use it rightly, and to that purpose only for which it is sanctified, it will be an anathema, a blessing to you and to your house and families. If it be otherwise that you prophane it, it will be an Anathema, a curse to you and your house, and posterity.*

Therefore I doe here charge you in the name of Allmighty God, in whose presence you nowe appeare, and to whose great and glorious name this place is now dedicated that neyther Yee by yourselves, or by anie permission of others, do or suffer to be done anie thing contrary to that is now intended and performed, If ye shall, I doe call the great God of heaven, before whose Altar ye nowe stand, and this congregation here present, wittnesses against the soules of you and Yours at the dreadfull day of Judgment. But my hope is you will not and yet for more assurance, I doe require you to passe me your promises before God and the company not to do or suffer it anie way to be prophaned.

Then, when the pledge was given by the said reverend and venerable lords and some others of the aforesaid inn, to the effect aforesaid, the reverend father aforesaid dismissed the whole congregation with that Apostolic benediction, to wit:

The Peace of God which passeth all understanding, etc.[29]

After the chapel was consecrated and all things there were done, the reverend father Lord Bishop of London descended to consecrate the ground assigned for burial.

First, before the entrance, action and petition concerning the ground to be consecrated were performed by the lords of the inn in the same way as the action and petition earlier at the door of the chapel, and to their petitions the reverend father Lord Bishop of London decreed that the said ground would be consecrated, and then he took possession.

Then the said reverend father along with his vicar general in spiritual matters and the lords of the ground and many other persons accompanying him circled the ground to be consecrated, and then he

[29]Contraction of "The Peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesu Christ our Lord: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen."

betook himself to a seat prepared for him and fittingly decked out, and in the same place rested himself for a little while.

When the noise had settled down the reverend father Lord Bishop of London aforesaid made a prayer before the attending congregation, and then Master Thomas Worrall,[30] bachelor of sacred theology, domestic chaplain of the said reverend father, read aloud Chapter 23 of Genesis.

Then the venerable man, Lord Henry Marten, vicar general in spiritual matters of the said reverend father, to the same reverend father presented a schedule or pronouncement of dedication or consecration put in writing, humbly begging on the part of the lords of the aforesaid ground, that it be read and promulgated. And in response to his petition the same reverend father consecrated the aforesaid ground by reading aloud the aforesaid schedule or pronouncement of dedication and consecration, handed over to him (as stated before) and received through him, with the following words, to wit:

> In the Name of God Amen. Since the reverend and worshipful men—counselors and students—in the inn commonly called Lincoln's Inn beside the lane commonly called Chancery Lane in the suburbs of the city of London, of our London diocese and jurisdiction, led by pious and religious devotion, have offered and donated this place or ground, recently belonging to the said reverend and worshipful men by best right, and the passage or access to the eastern boundary of the same, from consideration of piety, and for the burying of the dead, which very place or ground, for the greater part of the same, located under the arch or vault of the same chapel, and through the outsides of the supports of the same building, bounded by it on both sides, contains from the east part of the same towards the west, seventy six feet, and from the north part of the same towards the south, sixty seven feet, or thereabout, and the passage or access to the western boundary of the same contains in longitude twenty one feet, and in latitude seven feet, or thereabout, and (since they)

[30]The Rev. Thomas Worrall (1589?–1639), Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral (1624).

have begged us that we, with our ordained and episcopal authority, see fit to separate said place or ground and the entrance or access to the western boundary of the same, from all former uses common and profane whatsoever, and convert them to sacred uses:

We therefore, George, by divine permission Bishop of London, and agreeing with pleasure to their religious desire in this direction, decree that the place and ground of this sort, and the entrance or access to the western boundary of the same, containing quantities specified above, are to be separated from former and other uses whatsoever, common and profane, for the uses following.

And to the same counselors and students in the aforesaid inn and those staying in the precinct of the aforesaid inn, and to their successors, we assign for a cemetery or place of burial of dead bodies in and for the aforesaid inn, so far as is in us, and we are able by the laws, statutes and canons of this kingdom of England, and by our episcopal authority we dedicate and consecrate and attest to have been thus assigned and consecrated, through those present. And we openly and publicly pronounce, decree, and declare that the same should remain thus dedicated and consecrated for future times everlasting.

We want the cemetery, or places of burial, to be fortified with the privileges, all and sundry, customary and requisite for cemeteries or consecrated places of this sort, eligible by law, to the full effect of the law, and so far as is in us and we are able by law, we so fortify and stabilize (it) according to the intention of those present. Without however any prejudice, and saving always the right and interest of the parish churches of Saint Dunstan in the west of London and Saint Andrew in Holborn of London, and of the rectors, vicars, curates, and wardens of the aforesaid churches, and of other ministers of the same existing at the time, and of all other churches whatsoever, and of rectors, vicars, curates, and wardens and other ministers of the same existing at the time, in the parishes of which the aforesaid inn, or the

boundaries of the same, or any part therefrom are sited and situated, in all and sundry payments, fees, incomes, privileges, rights and emoluments whatsoever for burials, owed or customary to the same churches respectively, and by the reckoning of the aforesaid arising and forthcoming from the precinct or boundaries of the aforesaid inn, and belonging to the said churches by right or custom in any way, and pertaining to the rectors, vicars, curates, wardens and other ministers of the same churches in so ample a mode and form as was owed to the same, or accustomed to be paid before this our consecration of this chapel and cemetery, or place or ground of this sort now assigned for burial. Which aforementioned (rights and reservations), all and sundry, so far as is in us and by right we are able, we so decree and establish on our behalf and that of our successors through those present.

When this was done the same reverend father made prayers for the blessing of the aforesaid work, praying as follows, to wit:

Most mercifull Father thou hast bin pleased to teach us in thy Holy words, that the verie bodyes of thy faythfull servantes are not made in vaine, but that living and dying they have their speciall uses appointed by thy selfe. Thou hast framed them here on earth to be the workmanship of thy handes, and to sounde out thy glory, thou hast fashioned them unto the shape of thy owne sonne, that by a spirituall union, they should be as bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. Thou hast made them the Temples of the Holy Ghoste, that thy sacred spirit may move and worke in them those thinges which by thy mercy are acceptable in thy sight, And when they are to rest with their fathers and to returne unto the earth from whence they were taken, thou hast appointed them not for ever to remaine there in corruption, but at the day of the generall resurrection to come forth of the graves, to be possessed with eternity and to be crowned with immortality.

Wee cannot therefore but take Knowledge by the examples of thy Patriarchs and holy men in all ages, and by that which thy blessed word hath revealed unto us, that it is thy gracious pleasure that when thy servants shall by thee be called out of this miserable world, their

bodies should be seemly and decently committed unto Christian buryall, that in the bowells of the earth they may remaine in hope of a joyfull resurrection. And having for that purpose made choice of this place where we now are, that it may be a receptable for the bodies of such of our brethren as thou dost ordaine hither.

Wee beseech Thee to accept this worke of ours, and mercifully to graunt that we who be here presente may never forgett our dissolution from the Tabernacle of this flesh, but that living we may thincke on death, and dying we may apprehend life, to the everlasting comfort of our soules. And for those whose bodies are hereafter to be committed to this earth so guide them with thy grace while they are here in this world, that setting Thee evermore before their eyes, and accomptinge all thinges vaine in comprison of their enjoying of Thee their onely God and Saviour, they may live in Thy feare and dye in thy fayth, and soe be made heyres of thy everlasting Kingdome through Jesus Christ our Lord and blessed redeemer. Amen.

And so the reverend father aforesaid dismissed the whole congregation, with that Apostolic benediction, to wit:

The peace of God which passeth all understandinge etc.[31]—

[31]Contraction of "The Peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesu Christ our Lord: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen."