

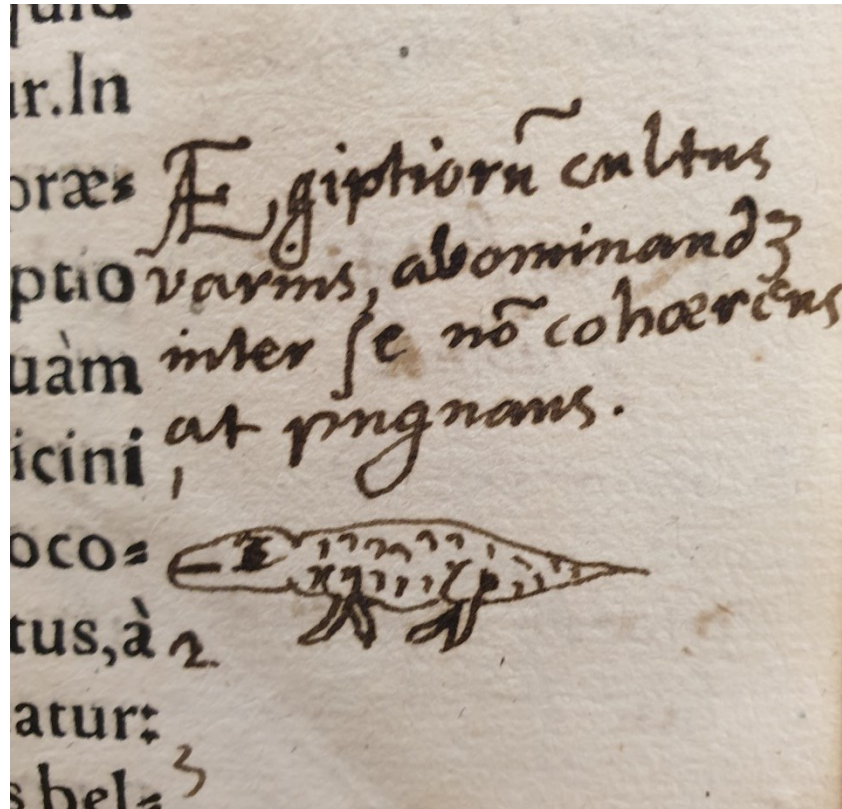
Parish Libraries and their Readers in
Early Modern England, 1558-1709

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Abstract

This thesis explores the foundation and use of post-Reformation parish libraries in early modern England from the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 to the passing of the Parochial Libraries Act by Parliament in 1709. This work examines the circumstances of foundation for four early modern parish libraries established in England: the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham, Lincolnshire (1598); Ripon Minster parish library in Yorkshire (1624); the Gorton Chest parish library in Manchester, Lancashire (1653); and Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Dorset (1686). It demonstrates that post-Reformation parish libraries in England brought together collections of religious and secular books for the purpose of educating their clerical and lay readers, and that they developed from and built on the collections of service books and liturgical texts housed in pre-Reformation parish churches. A small percentage of libraries also included works printed on the Continent, demonstrating the success of the international and domestic English trade networks. The number of parish library foundations in England increased gradually for much of the period until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when there was an exponential increase in the number of repositories as a result of co-ordinated efforts to improve religious educational provision in England's rural localities.

This research demonstrates that the topical interests of early modern Protestant readers of parish library books remained relatively unchanged throughout the period between 1558 and 1709. They remained focussed on four key themes. The first area of interest for early modern readers was authors' anti-Catholic sentiments, which centred on the changes, errors and corruptions of the Catholic Church. The second topic that interested readers was the importance of Scripture as the Word of God and everything necessary for faith, whilst the third pattern of focus was the interlinked concepts of sin, repentance and salvation. The fourth and final topic that particularly interested readers was instructions pertaining to a godly life and good death, in order to achieve everlasting life.

This work provides scholars with an insight into the provision and reception of religious education at a parish level by people and in areas of early modern England that are otherwise commonly overlooked. In order to do so, this research uses a combination of sources including wills, inventories, purchase invoices, churchwardens' account books, probate records and library catalogues to examine how early modern parish libraries were established and maintained for continued use in England in the period between 1558 and 1709.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	vi
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Introduction.....	xi
Part One	
Chapter One: An Overview of Parish Libraries in Early Modern England	
Introduction.....	2
The Evolution of the Parish Library.....	4
The Spread of Parish Libraries in Post-Reformation England.....	19
The Composition of Post-Reformation Parish Libraries in England.....	28
Conclusion.....	36
Chapter Two: The Francis Trigge Chained Library, Grantham	
Introduction.....	38
The Life of Francis Trigge.....	39
Signatories to the Indenture.....	42
The Intended Users of the Parish Library.....	46
Situating the Library within the Church.....	47
The Selection and Supply of Books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library.....	48
Content Analysis.....	56
Conclusion.....	68
Chapter Three: Ripon Minster Parish Library, Ripon	
Introduction.....	71
The Life of Anthony Higgin.....	71
Ripon Minster and its Refoundation as a Collegiate Church in 1604.....	73
Library Placement, Users and Usability.....	76
The Nature of the Collection.....	77
Anthony Higgin’s Theological Works in the Collection of Ripon Minster Parish Library.....	82
Conclusion.....	95

Chapter Four: The Gorton Chest Parish Library, Manchester

Introduction.....	97
The Life of Humphrey Chetham.....	99
The Intended Users of the Parish Libraries.....	105
The Selection and Supply of Books in the Chetham Parish Libraries.....	106
Content Analysis.....	113
Conclusion.....	124

Chapter Five: Wimborne Minster Chained Library, Dorset

Introduction.....	126
The Founders and their Donations.....	127
The Library Space in the Church and its Implications for Users and Accessibility.....	134
The Nature of the Collection.....	136
The Library Contents.....	140
Conclusion.....	153

Part Two

Introduction to Part Two.....	156
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Chapter Six: Anti-Catholicism

Introduction.....	160
The Errors, Changes and Corruptions of the Catholic Church.....	162
False Worship, Images and Idolatry in the Catholic Church.....	169
Guidance for Identifying the True and Uncorrupted Church.....	173
Conclusion.....	173

Chapter Seven: The Importance of Scripture

Introduction.....	175
Scripture as the Word of God.....	177
Interpreting and Understanding Scripture.....	181
The Accessibility of Scripture.....	184
Conclusion.....	186

Chapter Eight: Sin, Repentance and Salvation	
Introduction.....	187
Sin.....	188
Repentance and Salvation.....	192
Conclusion.....	201
Chapter Nine: Godly Living and Preparation for Death	
Introduction.....	202
Godly Living in Early Modern Protestantism.....	204
Godly Dying and Suicide in Early Modern Protestantism.....	215
Conclusion.....	219
Conclusion.....	221
Appendix One: List of Books in the Gorton Chest Parish Library.....	226
Appendix Two: List of Books in the Turton and Walmsley Parish Libraries.....	231
Appendix Three: List of Books in the Stone and Gillingham Donations to Wimborne Minster Chained Library.....	233
Bibliography.....	245

List of Figures

Figure I.1a: Parish Libraries Founded in England between 1558 and 1679	xxii
Figure I.1b: Parish Libraries Founded in England between 1558 and 1699	xxiii
Figure I.2: Locations of the Four Case Study Parish Libraries	xxx
Figure 1.1: The Founders of Post-Reformation Libraries, 1558-1709	14
Figure 1.2: Number of Parish Libraries Founded by Decade, 1558-1709	20
Figure 1.3: Parish Libraries Founded between 1558 and 1709	22
Figure 1.4a: The Number and Distribution of Parish Libraries Founded between 1558 and 1679 according to Location Category	26
Figure 1.4b: The Number and Distribution of Parish Libraries Founded between 1680 and 1709 according to Location Category	27
Figure 1.5: Size of Surviving Library Collections of Books Donated between 1558 and 1709	30
Figure 1.6: Surviving Parish Libraries Possessing Continental Books	33
Figure 2.1: Indenture Document Establishing the Francis Trigge Chained Library	43
Figure 2.2: The Francis Trigge Chained Library as it appears today in the room over the South Porch	48
Figure 2.3: The Catalogus Librorum of 1608	53
Figure 2.4: Confessional Identities of the Authors in the Francis Trigge Chained Library	58
Figure 2.5: Publication Locations of the Books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library by City	60
Figure 2.6: Publication Locations of the Books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library by Country	61

Figure 2.7: Publication Dates of Books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library.....	62
Figure 2.8: The Genres of the Books in the Original Collection of the Francis Trigge Chained Library.....	65
Figure 3.1: The Title Page of Volume X of Saint Augustine’s Works, showing Anthony Higgin’s Signature and the Purchase Price of all Ten Volumes.....	81
Figure 3.2: Confessional Identities of Surviving Authors in Ripon Minster Parish Library.....	83
Figure 3.3: The Languages of the Surviving Books in Ripon Minster Parish Library’s Theology Collection.....	85
Figure 3.4: Cities of Publication for the Surviving Titles in Ripon Minster Parish Library’s Theology Collection.....	88
Figure 3.5: Publication Dates of the Surviving Titles in Ripon Minster Parish Library’s Theology Collection.....	91
Figure 3.6: Anthony Higgin's Classifications of his Theological Works.....	94
Figure 4.1: The Parish Libraries and Residences of Humphrey Chetham.....	101
Figure 4.2: The List of Books sent to Gorton Chapel for the Parish Library.....	112
Figure 4.3a: The Gorton Chest Parish Library.....	115
Figure 4.3b: The Gorton Chest Parish Library.....	115
Figure 4.4: Religious Affiliations of Authors included in the Gorton Chest Parish Library.....	117
Figure 4.5: A Breakdown of Titles in the Gorton Chest Parish Library.....	118
Figure 4.6: The Publication Dates of Titles in the Gorton Chest Library by Decade.....	123
Figure 5.1: Wimborne Minster Chained Library as it appears today in the old Treasury.....	135

Figure 5.2: The Donors to Wimborne Minster Chained Library and the Number of Books Given.....	138
Figure 5.3: The Confessional Identities of Authors whose works were Donated to Wimborne Minster Chained Library by William Stone and Roger Gillingham.....	141
Figure 5.4: The Genres of Surviving Books in the Donations of William Stone and Roger Gillingham to Wimborne Minster Chained Library.....	144
Figure 5.5: Language of the Books in Wimborne Minster Chained Library Donated by William Stone and Roger Gillingham.....	147
Figure 5.6: City of Publication of the Books Donated by William Stone and Roger Gillingham.....	149
Figure 5.7: Publication Dates by Decade of the Books Donated by William Stone and Roger Gillingham.....	151

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Introduction

Parish libraries were a significant part of the intellectual and religious landscape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. They were important as repositories of religious edification and theological and secular education, which were accessible to both the clergy and the laity. In order to demonstrate this, this work will ask – and answer – four research questions:

1. How did post-Reformation parish libraries come to be?
2. Who were the intended users of post-Reformation parish libraries?
3. What was the purpose of post-Reformation parish libraries?
4. How did readers use post-Reformation parish libraries?

This thesis takes a case study approach to analyse four parish libraries established across the period between 1558 and 1709 in order to argue that the significance of early modern parish libraries lay in their roles as educational repositories. The first case study considers the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham in Lincolnshire, which was founded by Francis Trigge, a Church of England clergyman, in 1598. The second case study considers Ripon Minster parish library in Yorkshire, founded by a testamentary bequest from Anthony Higgin, dean of Ripon, in 1624. The third case study considers the Gorton Chest parish library in Manchester in Lancashire, which was one of five parish libraries founded by the merchant and financier Humphrey Chetham in his will of 1653. The final case study considers Wimborne Minster Chained Library in the town of Wimborne Minster in Dorset, which was founded in 1686 by a donation from Church of England clergyman William Stone and significantly enlarged by a donation from Roger Gillingham, a local gentleman, in 1695. The first four chapters of this thesis explore each library in turn, examining the circumstances of the foundation of these parish libraries and providing biographical information about their founders, before moving on to analyse the contents of each library. The final four chapters in this thesis take a unique approach to the study of the history of reading. They constitute a thematic exploration of annotated volumes from each of the four case study parish libraries, analysing the surviving marks of readership made by anonymous early modern readers that demonstrate the religious and reading interests and experiences of early modern people at a parish level.

The Historiography of Parish Libraries, Early Modern Literacy Rates, and Early Modern Reading Practices

The general study of early modern parish libraries began in 1959 with a special report entitled *The Parochial Libraries of the Church of England* that was prepared for the Central Council for the Care of Churches. The report provided a list of parish libraries in England along with a brief overview of their contents.¹ The report was significantly enhanced in 2004, when Michael Perkin published his *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales*.² This volume revised and expanded the scope of the 1959 study to lengthen the chronological period covered and to include brief details about all of the parish libraries established in England and Wales up to 1900, including those established by the Church of England clergyman, Thomas Bray, and his associates in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). In addition, the volume also detailed a broad sample of desk libraries that were omitted from the 1959 report and a selection of libraries ‘with less than a dozen books printed before 1800’.³ Perkin’s *Directory* is a particularly useful starting point for scholars wishing to begin research on early modern parish libraries due to the breadth of its scope and the bibliographical details it provides about each library’s contents.

Much of the earliest indepth research on early modern parish libraries, conducted in the 1970s and the 1980s, focussed on case studies of individual parish libraries, providing detailed information about the chosen library, and sometimes about its founder as well. One of the first such case studies was Angela Roberts’ 1971 article on the chained library at Grantham. In this study, Roberts provided an overview of the chained library founded by Francis Trigge in St Wulfram’s church in Grantham, Lincolnshire, which was a useful starting point for research into the Francis Trigge Chained Library conducted for this thesis. Roberts outlined the conditions of the library’s establishment and argued that even though the Latin nature of many of the books in the collection may have deterred general reading, the ‘utilitarian rather than imaginative literature... may well have attracted many of the educated people of Grantham’.⁴ This research demonstrates in Chapter Two that the books may have been more accessible to a wider range of people than previously thought. In 1982, Anne L. Herbert undertook similar

¹ Central Council for the Care of Churches, *The Parochial Libraries of the Church of England* (London: Faith Press, 1959).

² Michael Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2004).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

⁴ Angela Roberts, ‘The Chained Library, Grantham’, *Library History*, 2 (1971), pp. 75-90.

research into Oakham parish library in Rutland. Herbert outlined the circumstances of Oakham parish library's foundation and provided a catalogue of the books donated by the library's founder, Lady Anne Harington, in 1616.⁵ In 1983, William Smith published his article on the parish library at Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire – one of the first post-Reformation parish libraries to be founded – in 1568, and provided a select bibliography of surviving works from before 1828.⁶ Also in 1983, Nigel Yates published his research on the parish library of All Saints in Maidstone, Kent and other Kentish parish libraries, before Conal Condren produced his research on More parish library and its founder, Sir Richard More, in 1987.⁷ Each of these studies provided a comprehensive insight into the foundation of these specific early modern parish libraries and argued that they were important parts of the intellectual landscape of their local areas.

The increasing level of interest in early modern parish libraries amongst scholars in the last decades of the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first century led to a growing number of more general studies into these institutions. Sometimes, these studies focussed on a small number of parish libraries in a specific area or county, such as Yates's research on Kentish libraries or David Shaw's more recent research into the same area.⁸ Shaw provided an overview of five parochial libraries in Kent, noting details about their founders as well as the surviving number of books in each collection.⁹ However, these notes were not particularly detailed. Other studies examined parish libraries more generally, without referring to a specific geographical area. Prominent amongst these early general studies of parish libraries are those by David Williams in the late-1970s. In his research, Williams noted broad patterns and trends in parish library foundation and development, arguing that parish libraries were subject to various access restrictions and that libraries were originally established in the urban areas of England until the late seventeenth century, after which founders' attention moved to the country's more rural locales.¹⁰ The research conducted in this thesis demonstrates some of

⁵ Anne L. Herbert, 'Oakham Parish Library', *Library History*, 6:1 (1982), pp. 1-11.

⁶ William Smith, 'The Parochial Library of Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire', *Library History*, 6:4 (1983), pp. 97-113.

⁷ Nigel Yates, 'The Parochial Library of All Saints, Maidstone, and Other Kentish Parochial Libraries', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 99 (1983), pp. 159-173; Conal Condren, 'More Parish Library, Salop', *Library History*, 7:5 (1987), pp. 141-162.

⁸ David Shaw, 'Parochial Libraries in Kent', *Library & Information History*, 27:4 (2011), pp. 239-245.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-245.

¹⁰ David Williams, 'English Parochial Libraries: A History of Changing Attitudes', *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review*, 5:4 (1978), pp. 138-147; David Williams, 'The Use and Abuse of a Pious Intention: Changing Attitudes to Parochial Libraries', *The Library Association and Study School and National Conference Proceedings*, Nottingham, 1979, pp. 21-28.

those trends and patterns, including the issues surrounding accessibility and the shift in focus from urban establishments to rural foundations in the late seventeenth century.

In 1998, Michael Perkin argued that it is difficult to define what a parish library was in the post-Reformation period because they were subject to great degrees of variation in their 'size, scope, location, origin and character'.¹¹ Such variations are evident in the four case studies discussed in detail in this thesis. This has led to difficulties in defining precisely what an early modern parish library was, as stated by historians Sarah Gray and Chris Baggs in 2000, and W. M. Jacob in 2006.¹² Indeed, the term 'parish library' was itself not coined until the late seventeenth century, and the lack of a contemporary definition has further added to the difficulties in providing a modern one.¹³ The lack of a definition for the parish library as an institution has given rise to debates regarding the nature of post-Reformation parish libraries in comparison to the pre-Reformation collections of books housed in parish churches, though most historians agree that post-Reformation parish libraries evolved out of their pre-Reformation counterparts. In the 1970s, both David Williams and C. B. L. Barr briefly acknowledged the existence of religious texts, liturgical works and service books in the parish churches of the pre-Reformation period.¹⁴ Barr, in particular, suggested that there was little sense of continuity between pre- and post-Reformation parish libraries, because all of the books in the pre-Reformation churches were cast out at the time of the Reformation.¹⁵

Some of the first indepth studies into the book collections of pre-Reformation parish churches were those of John Shinnars and Stacey Gee in 1997 and 2003 respectively.¹⁶ Gee argued that the donations of books to parish churches in the pre-Reformation period pre-empted and influenced the foundation of parish libraries in post-Reformation parish churches. Gee demonstrated similarities between the contents of pre-Reformation book collections of service

¹¹ Michael Perkin, 'Parochial Libraries: Founders and Readers' in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (eds), *The Reach of Print: Making, Selling and Using Books* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), p. 191.

¹² W. M. Jacob, 'Libraries for the Parish: Individual Donors and Charitable Societies' in Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume II: 1640-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 65; Sarah Gray and Chris Baggs, 'The English Parish Library: a Celebration of Diversity', *Libraries & Culture*, 35 (2000), p. 414.

¹³ Perkin, 'Parochial Libraries: Founders and Readers', p. 191; Gray and Baggs, 'The English Parish Library', pp. 417-418; Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 33.

¹⁴ Williams, 'English Parochial Libraries', p. 138; C. B. L. Barr, 'Parish Libraries in a Region: the Case of Yorkshire', *Proceedings of the Library Association Study School and National Conference, Nottingham, 1979*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁵ Barr, 'Parish Libraries in a Region', p. 33.

¹⁶ John Shinnars, 'Parish Libraries in Medieval England' in Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (eds), *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 207-230; Stacey Gee, 'Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England' in Sarah Rees Jones (ed.), *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 199-222.

books, commentaries and glosses on the Bible, pastoral manuals, grammar books and devotional texts that were housed in the parish church, and the collections of post-Reformation parish churches, which featured many of the same sorts of books.¹⁷ Similarly, in 2008, Arnold Hunt argued in favour of a sense of continuity between pre-Reformation libraries in parish churches and their post-Reformation counterparts. Hunt saw this continuity as manifesting in the continued ownership of religious texts and theological works by parish churches, which Hunt viewed as forming a bridge between medieval and early modern religious cultures.¹⁸ This sense of continuity was also briefly hinted at by Anne Herbert in her 1982 analysis of Oakham parish library, in which collection, Herbert demonstrated, ‘the medieval schoolmen, the Protestant reformers and pre-Reformation theology and law are also represented’.¹⁹ Similar combinations of works by pre- and post-Reformation theologians are evident in the Grantham, Ripon, and Wimborne Minster libraries, which are discussed in more detail later in this thesis. Building on the arguments of Gee and Hunt in favour of similarities, this thesis argues that the continuity between pre- and post-Reformation libraries extended beyond mere book ownership to the prevailing religious nature of the collections and their sustained purpose as educational repositories.

Post-Reformation parish libraries were a significant element of the intellectual and religious landscape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Their importance lay in their role as bodies of religious and spiritual education that were accessible to both the clergy and the laity. In 2011, W. M. Jacob became one of many historians to recognise that ‘books were an essential tool to promote a learned and godly clergy and godly laity for the reformed Church of England’.²⁰ This statement is borne out by the foundation documents for the four libraries discussed here, and for numerous other parish libraries founded in England between 1558 and 1709. Jacob’s argument supported that of Hunt who, in 2008, asserted that ‘the significance of these modest collections is that they gave parishioners access to the writings of some of the leading English and continental Reformed divines’, thus spreading the Protestantism of the English Reformation. The presence of these texts in the reasonably accessible parish libraries of England ‘helped to disseminate the fruits’ of Calvinism and Protestantism more generally

¹⁷ Gee, ‘Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England’, p. 220.

¹⁸ Arnold Hunt, ‘Clerical and Parish Libraries’ in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries, Volume I, to 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 401.

¹⁹ Herbert, ‘Oakham Parish Library’, p. 2.

²⁰ W. M. Jacob, ‘Parochial Libraries and their Users’, *Library and Information History*, 27:4 (2011), p. 211; Williams, ‘The Use and Abuse of a Pious Intention’, p. 21.

‘to a wider readership’.²¹ Michael Perkin demonstrated in his *Directory* that the importance of parish libraries as repositories of religious and spiritual education further extended into the eighteenth century, when bishops began to directly question whether the parishes in their diocese owned a library, as happened in both Norwich and Canterbury in 1716, Oxford in 1722 and 1759, and Bristol in 1735.²² The analysis of the four case study parish libraries examined in this thesis builds on this argument by demonstrating the continued educational motivations for establishing parish libraries throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This research demonstrates that post-Reformation parish libraries included books on a range of religious and secular subjects, which supports W. M. Jacob’s 2006 assessment of parish library collections as having been ‘mostly strong on theology, history and the classics’ that also included ‘books on agricultural topics... and law, as well as... travel, entomology, maths, science, theatre, poetry, and foreign languages’.²³ All four parish libraries studied in this thesis were predominated by theological works. For the most part, the theological texts in sixteenth and seventeenth century parish libraries primarily discussed Protestant theology and included texts by key Protestant divines such as John Calvin, William Perkins and Peter Martyr. Some theological works in parish library collections also included Early Christian or patristic texts by the Church Fathers, or else were written by either medieval theologians or post-Reformation Catholics. The inclusion of medieval and post-Reformation Catholics supports David Pearson’s argument from the early-1990s that the clergy needed to be knowledgeable of opposing religions so that they were better equipped to refute their claims.²⁴ The importance of parish libraries as cornerstones of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious and intellectual landscape was reinforced by the broadening nature of their collections and the expanding readership that meant that the messages of the texts in those collections were disseminated on a much wider scale.

Three of the case study parish libraries in this work demonstrate the strength of the European book trade in the early modern period, as large portions of their collections were comprised of books printed on the Continent. Of the 165 parish libraries established in England between 1558 and 1709, at least twenty-seven surviving collections included Continental books.²⁵ This

²¹ Hunt, ‘Clerical and Parish Libraries’, p. 416.

²² Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 34, n. 18.

²³ Jacob, ‘Libraries for the Parish’, p. 69.

²⁴ David Pearson, ‘The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600-1640’, *The Library*, 14 (1992), p. 229.

²⁵ In his *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales*, Michael Perkin listed twenty-four parish libraries that were founded between 1558 and 1709 and that still possess surviving Continental books. Research for this thesis has, however, revealed that the parish libraries of

figure has the potential to be much higher if further research is undertaken into individual collections, and the collections that no longer survive are taken into account. Such research would reinforce the strength and reach of the European book trade in the early modern period. Numerous historians – Andrew Pettegree, John Hinks and Joad Raymond perhaps foremost amongst them – have studied the early modern book trade and commented upon the nature of the relationship between centre and periphery within it. All three scholars have argued that England’s printing industry was under-developed in comparison to much of Europe in the early modern period, and that England continued to be reliant on the European book market, particularly for Latin texts, into the seventeenth century. In 1996, David Pearson argued that the ownership of Continental books was made possible in large part by ‘the existence of a flourishing book trade, which organised the selling of new and second-hand books, [and] the importing of newly published books from London and abroad’.²⁶ In 2008, Andrew Pettegree’s research into the relationship between centre and periphery in the early modern book trade placed England very much on the periphery of the European book market. Pettegree described England in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries as a ‘secondary market’ that ‘relied for most scholarly and more expensive editions on imports, supplied through the long-established trade connections with the major centres of production elsewhere in Europe’.²⁷ In 2012, John Hinks argued that even at the end of the seventeenth century, ‘the growth of the book trade in Britain lagged behind many parts of Europe’, though in 2011 Joad Raymond had asserted that the English printing industry was gradually expanding during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.²⁸ In the case studies examined in this thesis, over ninety percent of the books in Grantham’s Francis Trigge Chained Library (founded in 1598) were printed on the Continent and almost ninety percent of titles in Ripon Minster parish library (founded in 1624) with identifiable locations of publication were printed in Europe. However, in Wimborne Minster Chained Library (founded in 1686), just thirty-seven percent of titles in

Grantham, Ripon and Gorton also still possess Continental books (to provide the total of twenty-seven noted in the text). This calls into question how many other parish libraries listed by Perkin contain surviving Continental books not recorded in the *Directory*, hence the use of ‘at least’ in the text above.

²⁶ David Pearson, ‘Scholars and bibliophiles: book collectors in Oxford, 1550-1650’ in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Antiquaries, Book Collectors and the Circles of Learning* (Winchester: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1996), p. 4.

²⁷ Andrew Pettegree, ‘Centre and Periphery in the European Book World’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), p. 106.

²⁸ Joad Raymond, ‘The Development of the Book Trade in Britain’ in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 61; John Hinks, ‘The Book Trade in Early Modern Britain: Centres, Peripheries and Networks’ in Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 114.

the collection were printed on the Continent, which suggests support for Raymond's argument that the increasing rate of domestic book production 'gradually displaced' imported texts.²⁹

This thesis demonstrates that parish libraries continued to be founded throughout the period from 1558 to 1709, despite historians including C. B. L. Barr arguing in the late-1970s that there was a gap in the foundation of parish libraries during the Civil War and Interregnum years. Barr was building on similar arguments previously made by Thomas Kelly in 1966.³⁰ Research undertaken for this thesis actually demonstrates the opposite. In so doing, this work supports the later arguments made by Michael Perkin and W. M. Jacob, in 2004 and 2006 respectively, that 'at the end of the seventeenth century libraries were to be found in the parish churches of a score of towns',³¹ and that 'by 1760, 267 libraries are recorded in England'.³² This work shows that the Interregnum was witness to the establishment of ten libraries, the highest number of parish library foundations to date within a single decade, and further, that the number of parish library foundations increased rapidly after the Restoration. Fourteen libraries were founded in the 1660s and 1670s; twenty-two foundations occurred in the 1680s; and fifty-two parish libraries were founded in the 1690s. The Church of England clergyman, Thomas Bray, and his clerical associates in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), established many of those libraries founded in the 1690s.³³

Alongside the rising number of parish libraries being established came a widening geographical scope that led to more collections being founded in an increasing number of places throughout England. This meant that the messages of the English Reformation and of the Protestant religion contained within the texts of those libraries would be distributed to a wider range of people, which reinforced the significance of parish libraries within the intellectual and religious landscape of early modern England as repositories of religious education. Since the mid-1960s, numerous historians including Thomas Kelly, David Williams, Sarah Gray and Chris Baggs, and W. M. Jacob, have argued that from 1680 onwards, there was a distinct shift in the preferred sites for establishing parish libraries from urban areas to rural locations.³⁴ Several of these historians implied that the change of emphasis in favour of rural foundations after 1680 came

²⁹ Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain', p. 61.

³⁰ Barr, 'Parish Libraries in a Region', p. 34; Thomas Kelly, *Early Public Libraries: a History of the Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850* (London: Library Association, 1966), p. 76.

³¹ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 33.

³² Jacob, 'Libraries for the Parish', p. 65.

³³ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 36.

³⁴ Jacob, 'Libraries for the Parish', pp. 67-68; Williams, 'The Use and Abuse of a Pious Intention', p. 22; Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p. 69; Gray and Baggs, 'The English Parish Library', p. 418.

at the expense of their urban counterparts but this thesis demonstrates that this was not, in fact, the case. W. M. Jacob argued that urban areas were the original focus for founding parish libraries because they were economic and social hubs: ‘libraries located in market towns were available to the clergy from the surrounding area, and members of the local urban elites, and country gentry’.³⁵ It is certainly true that between 1558 and 1680, a disproportionate number of parish libraries were established in urban areas when compared to rural locations: there were almost twice as many urban foundations (thirty-eight) as there were rural (twenty). Coincidentally, three of the four case study parish libraries analysed in this thesis were located in market towns, the exception being the Gorton Chest parish library in Lancashire. After 1680, thanks largely to the attentions of Bray and the SPCK, ‘a large number of libraries were founded, principally in remote rural areas, for the benefit of those clergymen who were least likely to possess their own books’.³⁶ Urban foundations also continued unaffected: fifty parish libraries were established in urban areas after the 1680 watershed and before 1709, which is comparable with the fifty-four that were founded in rural areas in the same period. These fifty-four rural foundations established in the forty years between 1680 and 1709 represented an almost three-fold increase in the number of rural parish libraries founded in the 120-year period from 1558 to 1679, demonstrating the continued and increasing significance of parish libraries to early modern people.

In 1964, Lawrence Stone published a seminal article on educational provision in early modern England that sought to examine ‘the scale of growth and the shifts in social distribution of education in England between 1560 and 1640’.³⁷ Stone followed this research five years later in 1969 with another examination of levels of literacy and education in early modern England, which took a three-pronged approach in order to first ‘identify the various factors which have influenced the growth, stagnation or decay of education’. Secondly, Stone attempted to expand the chronological range of his earlier article to examine educational provision to 1840, before finally attempting ‘to summarize the trends of English education’ between 1640 and 1900.³⁸ In neither of these articles did Stone consider parish libraries and their role in educating their readers, despite their increasing numbers and distribution across the whole of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In his 1969 article, Stone argued that there were five different levels of literacy that ranged from the ability to ‘read a little and to sign one’s name’

³⁵ Jacob, ‘Libraries for the Parish’, pp. 67-68.

³⁶ Williams, ‘The Use and Abuse of a Pious Intention’, p. 22.

³⁷ Lawrence Stone, ‘The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640’, *Past & Present*, 28 (1964), p. 41.

³⁸ Lawrence Stone, ‘Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900’, *Past & Present*, 42 (1969), p. 69.

as the lowest level to attendance at university and at the Inns of Court, and other elite positions as the highest level.³⁹ Stone also argued that Christianity was a religion of the book that centred around the Bible, and that ‘once this book ceased to be a closely guarded secret fit only to be read by the priests, it generated pressure for the creation of a literate society’.⁴⁰ Protestantism specifically, Stone argued, ‘was a culture of the book, of a literate society’.⁴¹ This was arguably one of the first studies to consider the relationship between book availability and widespread literacy. David Cressy developed this argument in the 1980s. He stated that ‘greater circulation of books may [have] create[d] more opportunities for people to learn to read them’, which suggests that parish libraries provided their users with just such opportunities and may have positively affected literacy rates.⁴²

Rates of literacy increased gradually over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the start of the sixteenth century, Adam Fox argued in 2004, ‘literacy was predictably highest among the gentry and professional groups, while merchants and craftsmen were proven to be more skilled in this respect than husbandmen and labourers’.⁴³ Ian Green has demonstrated that literacy rates amongst the middling sorts increased over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: literacy rates in the south of England increased by as much as ten or fifteen percent in the century after 1530, and by the same amount by the end of the seventeenth century in the north of England.⁴⁴ Stone argued that ‘the average male literacy rate on the eve of the Civil War was probably not less than thirty percent’, though there remained a north-south divide.⁴⁵ Stone again demonstrated the link between literacy and book availability by arguing that ‘the increase of literacy made possible the intensive Bible reading which helped generate extreme religious enthusiasm [and] the flood of pamphleteering which had such important effects in mobilising opinion’.⁴⁶ The majority of these increases in literacy rates came from amongst the ranks below the gentry, including yeomen, merchants, and tradesmen. Such people, Green argued in 2000, were learning to read and write in growing numbers by

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴² David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 46.

⁴³ Adam Fox, ‘Religion and Popular Literature Culture in England’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte-Archive for Reformation History*, 95 (2004), p. 266.

⁴⁴ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 26.

⁴⁵ Stone, ‘Literacy and Education in England’, p. 101.

⁴⁶ Stone, ‘The Educational Revolution in England’, p. 78.

using part of their disposable income to buy books and pay for their children to be educated, again demonstrating the link between book availability and literacy.⁴⁷

Historians such as Anna Bayman have argued that increasing levels of literacy did not mean that everyone could read everything. In 2011, Bayman asserted that ‘learned works in Latin especially, but also in the Continental languages, remained beyond the scope of most non-elite readers’.⁴⁸ However, recent scholarship by Jennifer Richards has demonstrated that a higher proportion of literate people of middling social status may also have had a higher degree of competency in Latin and some Continental languages than previously thought. The language of a book naturally dictated its readership, but men with a grammar school education or better would have had some ability to read Latin. That is not to say, though, that a large portion of readers easily comprehended the complex subject matter of many of the theological texts available in parish libraries and elsewhere. Similarly, whilst middling and gentry women were not often taught to read Latin, they received a ‘parallel language-education’, most commonly in French, meaning that the ‘learned works’ referred to by Bayman may not have been as inaccessible as once thought.⁴⁹ Richards’ research has interesting implications for broadening the prospective readership of parish library books, many of which were in Latin as well as English and other vernacular languages, meaning that they may have been more accessible to a wider range of people than previously thought.

As Lawrence Stone noted in 1969, there was a disparity in literacy rates between north and south, urban and rural areas, even by the mid-seventeenth century.⁵⁰ If, as Cressy suggested, wider book availability meant more opportunities to learn to read them, the increasing literacy rates in northern and rural areas of England towards the end of the seventeenth century may in part be attributable to the increasing number of northern and rural parish library foundations after 1680, though there is currently no evidence to support this. Figure I.1a below demonstrates the distribution of parish libraries across England between 1558 and 1679, whilst Figure I.1b shows the distribution of early modern English parish libraries by 1699 and evidences a considerably higher number of northern libraries.

⁴⁷ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 26, 34.

⁴⁸ Anna Bayman, ‘Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned’ in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 81.

⁴⁹ Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 76-79, 114-116.

⁵⁰ Stone, ‘Literacy and Education in England’, p. 101.

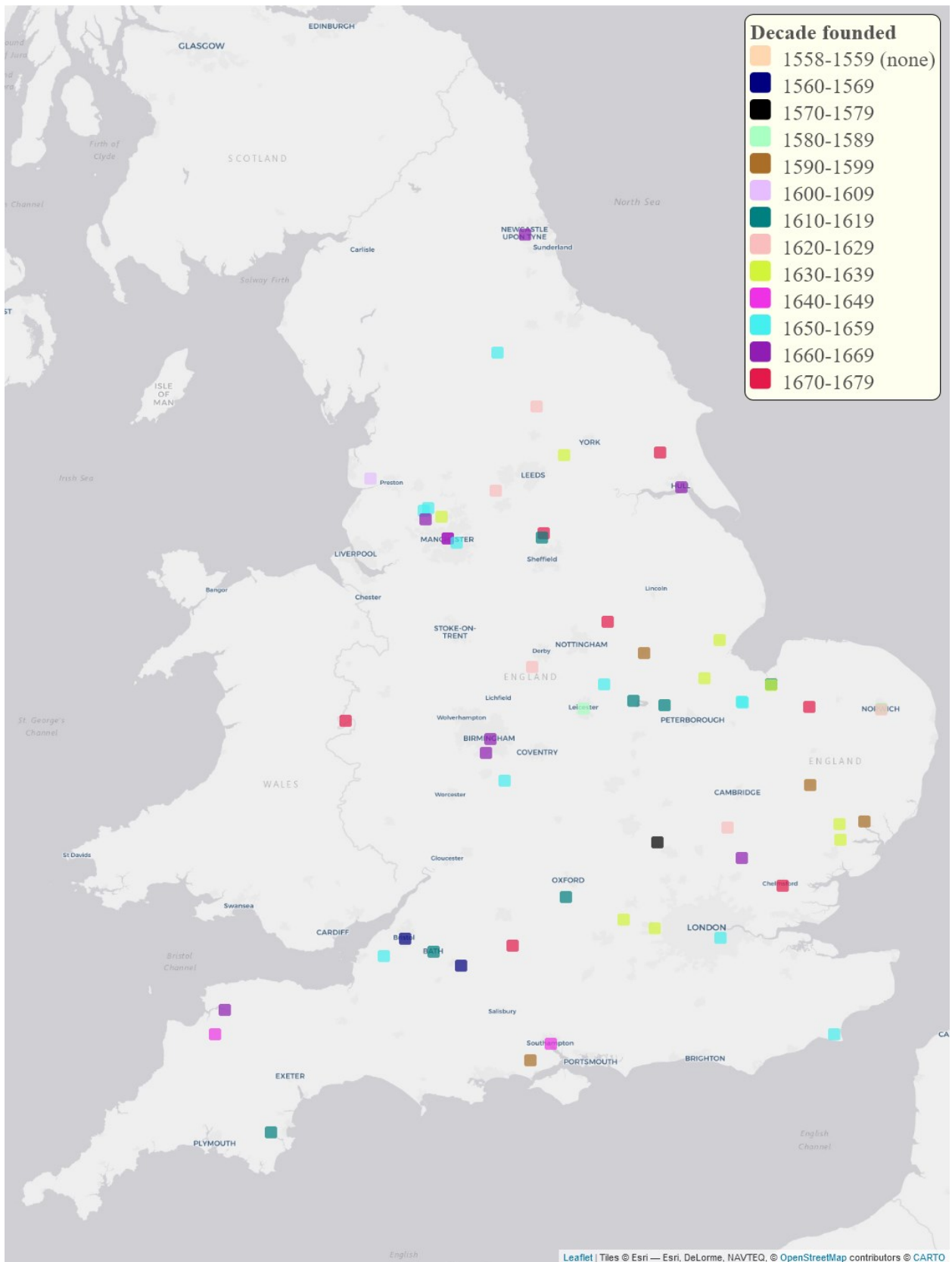


Figure 1.1a: Parish Libraries founded in England between 1558 and 1679

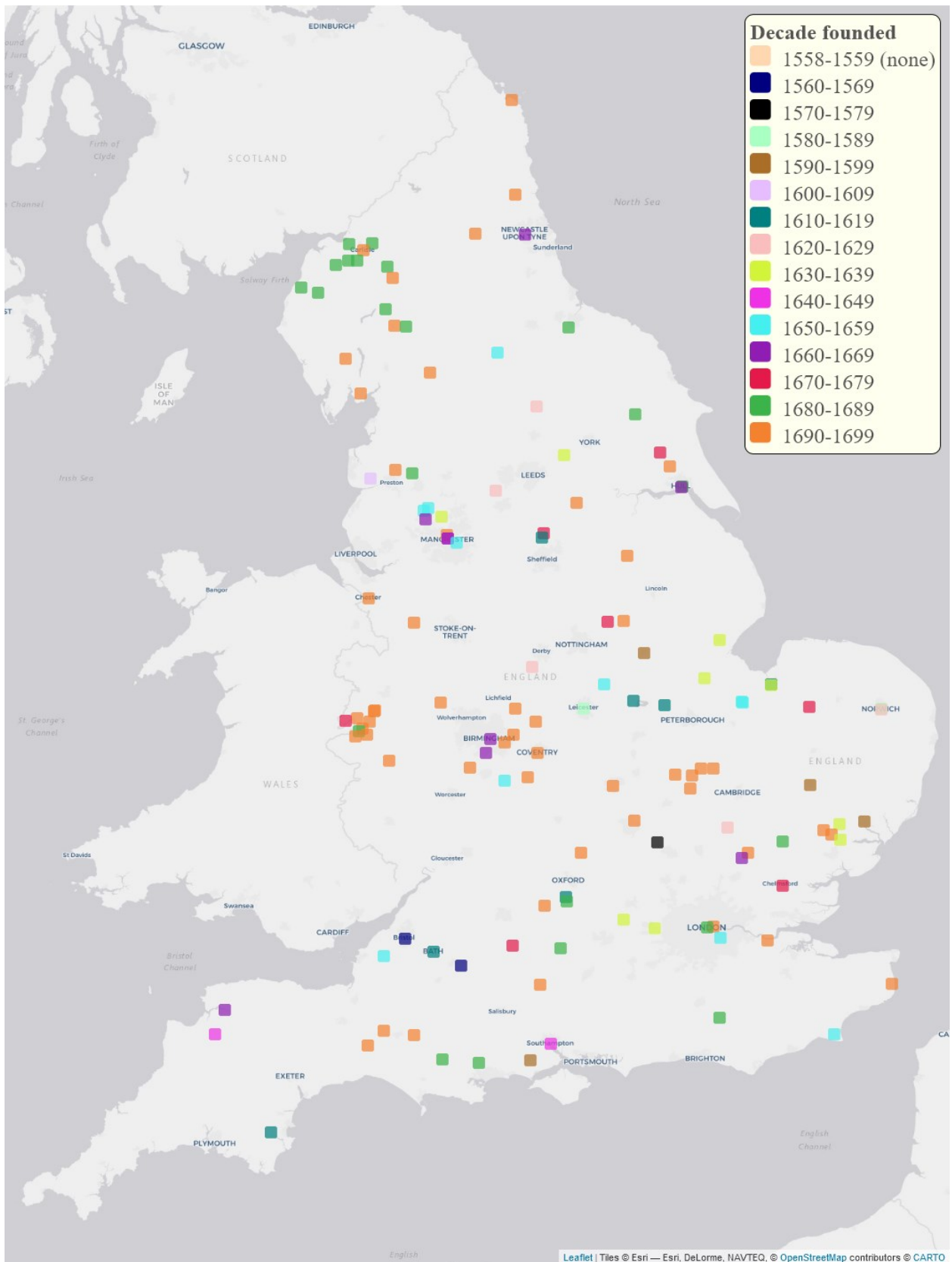


Figure I.1b: Parish Libraries founded in England between 1558 and 1699

Whilst there is no direct evidence of causality between the establishment of parish libraries and the increasing rates of literacy throughout the early modern period, the increased number of parish libraries evidenced by these maps suggests that these institutions may have played a part in providing the clergy and the laity with the opportunity to improve their literacy. This, in turn, supports Ian Green's argument that literacy rates in 'country areas were slowly catching up with urban ones', encouraging a 'much broader, more national pool of readers'.⁵¹

In the early 1980s, Robert Darnton became one of the first scholars of the history of reading to consider readers themselves, as opposed to book printing, production and distribution processes. He designated readers as a crucial element in his 'communications circuit' model, arguing that readers completed the circuit because they 'influence[d] the author both before and after the act of composition'.⁵² In 1986, Darnton asserted that studies of early modern reading practices fell 'into two main types, the macro- and the microanalytical'.⁵³ This thesis adopts the former approach, considering four different parish libraries founded across England at different times throughout the period between 1558 and 1709 and analysing a large quantity of annotated books in order to understand the reading and religious experiences of readers at a parish level. In the mid-1990s, Roger Chartier became one of the first historians to acknowledge the notes made by readers in books as the key to gaining an insight into how early modern works were received and understood. He argued that the reading processes by which texts took on different meanings for the individual reader were one of the most important elements of the history of the book.⁵⁴ This work was arguably the catalyst for a deluge of studies into the reading practices of individual early modern readers, as well as several large-scale studies of early modern reading practices more generally.

In 1994, Elaine Whittaker identified three different categories of readers' annotations:

- I. Editing
 - a. Censorship
 - b. Affirmation
- II. Interaction
 - a. Devotional Use
 - b. Social Critique

⁵¹ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 26.

⁵² Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111 (1982), p. 67.

⁵³ Robert Darnton, 'First Steps toward a History of Reading', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23 (1986), p. 7.

⁵⁴ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 7-8.

III. Avoidance

- a. Doodling
- b. Daydreaming.⁵⁵

Whittaker further explained that ‘readers edited their texts by either (a) censoring with bisking or (b) emphasising with underlining, overlining, or nota bene sign’; interacted with the text by ‘(a) accepting it and applying it to their own lives or by (b) appropriating it as a criticism or condemnation of someone else’; or else avoided directly interacting with a text, choosing instead to either ‘(a) practice their penmanship or (b) record thoughts not relevant to the text’.⁵⁶ All of the readers’ marks analysed in this thesis reflect Whittaker’s comments on the ways in which readers edited their texts. The surviving marks in parish library books are significant because they indicate the subjects, topics or parts of texts in which early modern readers were interested. As will be demonstrated, early modern readers of the parish library books analysed in this work made notes in their books that were intended either to affirm or summarise the printed text, to voice agreement with the printed text, or else to apply its messages to their everyday lives. Similarly, readers’ marks in early modern parish library books also reflect elements of H. J. Jackson’s 2001 definition of marginalia, which she described as ‘a responsive kind of writing anchored to pre-existing written words’ that took the forms of ‘copying out, inserting glosses, selecting heads, adding bits from other books, and writing one’s own observations’.⁵⁷ Some of these practices can be seen in surviving annotations in parish library books.

This thesis takes an unusual approach in contributing to the history of reading by studying the largely anonymous marks of readership in publically accessible volumes in order to understand how the middling sorts of people used the books in parish libraries, and to analyse the topics and subjects in which they were most interested. Due to the second-hand nature of many of the books now in parish libraries at the time of their purchase by the donor, unknown readers were responsible for the vast majority of annotations in the volumes discussed in this work. A lack of ownership marks in many of the volumes means their readers and annotators are often unidentifiable, but this does not make it impossible to analyse the marginalia and determine what the anonymous readers were interested in, and how they responded to and interacted with

⁵⁵ Elaine Whittaker, ‘A Collaboration of Readers: Categorisation of the Annotations in Copies of Caxton’s Royal Book’, *Text*, 7 (1994), p. 235.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁵⁷ H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 81, 87.

the texts they read. Numerous historians have conducted detailed examinations of the marks made by specific readers in their books, which constitute interesting and important contributions to scholarship.⁵⁸ Focussing on the reading practices of an individual reader, however, brings with it its own limitations; reading is an inherently internal process that does not lend itself to generalisations. Thus, scholars should exercise caution in attempting to identify general patterns of early modern readership using only the evidence of the reading practices of individual, notable, often elite and highly-educated, members of society.

Early modern readers of the parish library books analysed in this work often copied out or paraphrased sections of the printed text in the adjacent margin, occasionally added headings to pages in order to summarise their main arguments, or else more generally marked sections of texts that seem to have been significant to them, or which they found particularly interesting or worthy of remembrance. In marking their books thus, these early modern readers demonstrate that reading was an interactive and physical activity that was characterised by active engagement with the texts; it was not simply a passive exercise. The annotations in early modern parish library books support the arguments made by many historians, including William H. Sherman in 1995, that a reader's relationship with their texts was a reciprocal one. An individual's life experiences influenced the construction of different meanings by different readers, but likewise a text could inform a reader's worldview and sometimes even influence their 'specific responses to particular contemporary issues and events'.⁵⁹ Kevin Sharpe made this argument convincingly in his analysis of the reading practices of Sir William Drake in 2000.⁶⁰ Sharpe argued that Drake's various readings of a small number of texts reflected 'a process by which the reader appropriates, consumes and reconstitutes the text'.⁶¹ Mark Towsey, who, in 2010, explored 'how far readers brought pre-existing values, beliefs and professional obligations to bear in appropriating books for their own ends' in his analysis of books and their readers in Scotland during the Enlightenment, developed this argument.⁶² Early modern

⁵⁸ Some examples include Julie Crawford, 'Reconsidering Early Modern Women's Reading, or, How Margaret Hoby Read her de Mornay', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73:2 (2010), pp. 193-223; Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 30-78; Fred Schurink, "'Like a Hand in the Margine of a Booke": William Blount's Marginalia and the Politics of Sidney's "Arcadia"', *The Review of English Studies*, 59:238 (2008), pp. 1-24.

⁵⁹ William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. 59; Blair, 'An Early Modernist's Perspective', pp. 420, 423-424; Jardine and Grafton, 'Gabriel Harvey', p. 30; Jackson, *Marginalia*, pp. 82, 97.

⁶⁰ Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 74.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁶² Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and the Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 18.

reading was usually undertaken for a specific reason: sometimes it was undertaken for political, social or career advancement, or else for something more personal, as Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton demonstrated in their 1990 study of Gabriel Harvey's numerous rereadings of his copy of *Livy*.⁶³ The act of reading a book in the early modern period was often executed topically, rather than sequentially. The reading practices of Sir William Drake provide evidence of topical reading in the first half of the seventeenth century, during which readings he 'frequently organised what he read under topic headings' in commonplace books.⁶⁴ There are numerous volumes in the four case study libraries analysed in this thesis that have only been annotated in part (and thus, presumably, only read in part, though this is not guaranteed). This suggests topical readings in which a predetermined goal dictated the reading and annotating of specific sections or subjects of a book.

Marginalia and other annotations in texts acted primarily as aids to memory for early modern readers. In 2002, William H. Sherman observed that 'marginal annotations played a central role in pedagogical theory and practice' in the early modern period, and grammar school students were taught to make notes in their books as a way of 'making them more useful for their present and future needs'.⁶⁵ John Dee is a notable example of an early modern reader whose education heavily influenced his adult reading practices.⁶⁶ Making notes in the margin had the advantage of taking 'less time than turning aside to a notebook and poses less of a threat to the reader's concentration', as Jackson previously argued in 2000.⁶⁷ It also enabled the reader (and any later readers) to draw a direct link between the printed text and the written marginalia, making more explicit the connection between the two. This is certainly the case for the vast majority of marginalia and other marks of readership analysed in this thesis; the association between the printed text and the written word is often evident. Usually, the marginalia discussed in this thesis take the form of summaries of the printed text in which a reader has attempted to simplify or summarise the text's message, aiding understanding and making identification easier when searching for a specific passage at a later date. Where the marginalia under scrutiny is a symbol rather than words, Sherman argued that the reader usually

⁶³ Jardine and Grafton, 'Gabriel Harvey', p. 30, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, p. 180.

⁶⁵ William H. Sherman, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?', in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 121.

⁶⁶ Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing*, p. 60.

⁶⁷ Jackson, *Marginalia*, p. 88.

used these marks to denote a passage of importance, to signify that it was worthy of remembrance, and to make it easier to find in the future.⁶⁸

Methodology

This thesis adopts a case study approach, opting to examine in detail four post-Reformation parish libraries that were founded in different counties across England and at various points in time between 1558 and 1709. The four post-Reformation parish libraries examined in this work are the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham, Lincolnshire (1598); Ripon Minster parish library in Ripon, Yorkshire (1624); the Gorton Chest parish library in Manchester, Lancashire (1653); and Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Wimborne Minster, Dorset (1686). These libraries were chosen for several reasons. Firstly, the varying sizes of their collections between fifty and 750 volumes enabled analysis into the ranges of texts and subjects found in each collection. Secondly, they were all founded in different counties, which allowed this research to examine whether similarities and differences of belief could be found in different geographical areas. Thirdly, all four parish libraries were established at different points in time between 1558 and 1709. Two libraries were founded before the Civil War, one was founded during the Interregnum, and the fourth library was founded after the Restoration. This time span of parish library foundation enabled an analysis of whether these events were reflected in or affected the religious beliefs of people at a parish level throughout this period.

In 1598, Francis Trigge, a Church of England clergyman with godly leanings, founded a library in St Wulfram's church in Grantham to provide the people of the surrounding area with an education in divinity and the liberal sciences.⁶⁹ Ripon Minster parish library was founded in 1624 by Anthony Higgin, whose will stipulated that his collection of some 2,000 volumes was to be used by two of his relatives before being donated to the Minster for a library.⁷⁰ Manchester-based merchant and philanthropist, Humphrey Chetham, established the Gorton Chest parish library in 1653. Chetham's will stated that this and four other parish libraries were for the religious education of the 'common' people of the surrounding areas.⁷¹ Wimborne

⁶⁸ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 25-29.

⁶⁹ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

⁷⁰ Borthwick Institute of Archives (BIA), University of York, (Archbishop Register 31, f. 238v-239r), Will of Anthony Higgin, 12 November 1624.

⁷¹ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

Minster Chained Library was established in 1686 after the Church of England clergyman, William Stone, sent his collection of patristic and theological works to Wimborne Minster church. Roger Gillingham, a local gentleman who bequeathed a range of religious and secular volumes to Wimborne Minster church for the clergy, gentry and merchants of Wimborne Minster and the surrounding areas, significantly augmented the collection in 1695.⁷² The locations of these four parish libraries can be seen in Figure I.2 below.

⁷² The National Archives, Kew, (C8/446/3), Attorney General v Fry, 1695; The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

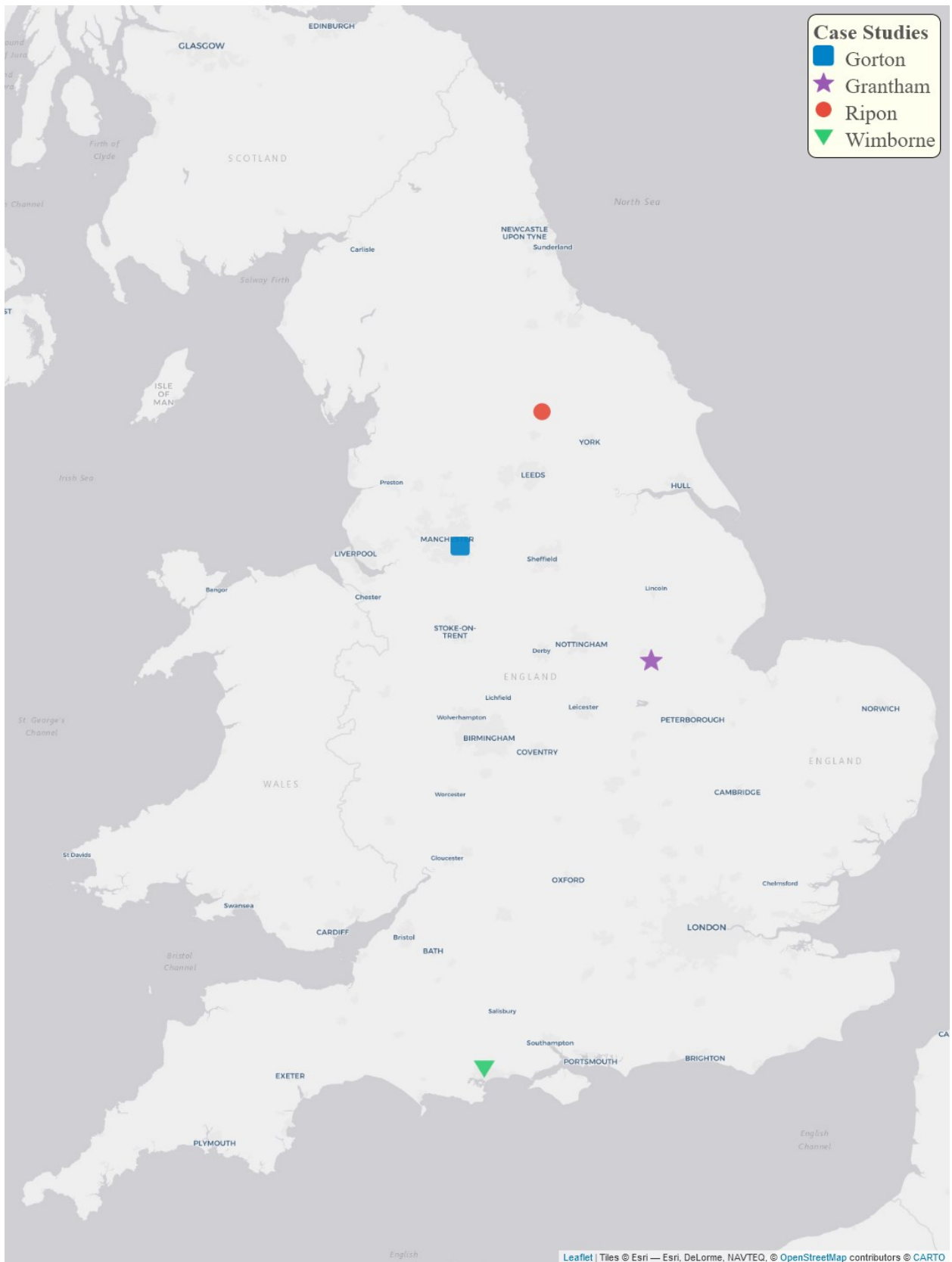


Figure I.2: Locations of the Four Case Study Parish Libraries

In order to examine the circumstances of the foundation of parish libraries and understand their significance in the intellectual and religious landscape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, this thesis draws on a variety of sources including wills, churchwardens' account books and purchase invoices, library catalogues and other archival material such as probate records. Wills are used in the course of this research in order to gather information about founders' instructions for the location of a library within a parish church, their directives regarding the intended users of those libraries and, occasionally, their directions for ensuring the security of the books after donation, either by chaining or by their placement in a lockable room. Wills also provide useful information regarding the amount of money given by the donor to found and purchase books for the library. One of the major limitations to wills as sources of information about parish libraries is that they rarely included specific information about the books that were to be included in the collection. However, the wills of both Humphrey Chetham and Roger Gillingham did provide this information, which was one of the reasons why these libraries were chosen.⁷³

Churchwardens' account books and purchase invoices used during the course of research for this thesis provide information about the cost of establishing and sometimes maintaining parish libraries. Churchwardens' account books often include details about transport costs for transferring books from their place of purchase to the parish church. Some also provide itemised payment information for the purchasing of wood for shelves or bookcases, funds paid to local craftsmen for services rendered in building the bookcases, chests or cupboards to house the books, and to blacksmiths for the making and attaching of chains to the books. Purchase invoices provide information regarding the cost of individual books, the date on which certain books were purchased, and also, on occasion, detail packing, transport and chaining costs. Both churchwardens' account books and purchase invoices are important sources of circumstantial evidence regarding the physicality of parish libraries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the practical costs of their foundation.

In this research, library catalogues are used to provide bibliographical information for all of the books in the relevant collection. This is particularly useful for identifying books that did not survive, as they enable a clearer understanding of a founder's vision for their library by revealing the full range of books a collection originally included. Catalogues are also used in

⁷³ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham; The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

the course of this research in determining which books from a collection were worthy of closer inspection; the modern catalogue for the Francis Trigge Chained Library, for example, includes details as to which books contained marginalia.⁷⁴

Thesis Structure

Parish libraries were a critical component of the religious and intellectual landscape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. In order to demonstrate this, this thesis begins with an overview in Chapter One of the parish library's evolution from pre-Reformation collections of liturgical works and service books intended for practical use by the clergy to repositories of Protestant theoretical texts intended for the education of a literate clergy and laity. It argues that post-Reformation parish libraries had visible, tangible roots in their pre-Reformation counterparts. Despite numerous elements of change in terms of the content of the books and where they were housed within the parish church – moving from the more sacred, private areas of the church to rooms more easily accessible to a wider range of people – the two institutions were inextricably linked by a sustained pattern of religious book ownership. This overview also demonstrates that parish libraries were founded continually throughout the period from 1558 to 1709, generally at a slowly increasing rate until the 1680s. In the 1680s, Barnabas Oley, bishop of Ely, founded ten libraries in various parish churches in the diocese of Carlisle. It was not until the 1690s, however, that the Church of England clergyman, Thomas Bray, and his associates in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) transformed the practice of parish library foundation from an individual pursuit into an educative programme on a nationwide scale. In the period between 1558 and 1680, urban areas of England were the focus for parish library foundations. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, however, this focus shifted to rural locations. Finally, the overview of parish libraries in Chapter One demonstrates that post-Reformation parish libraries were housed in more accessible parts of the parish church than had been the case before the Reformation, which demonstrates the broadening intended audience for parish library books. Several of the surviving parish library collections included books with Continental imprints, which have significant implications for demonstrating the success of the European book trade in England,

⁷⁴ John Glenn and David Walsh, *Catalogue of the Francis Trigge Chained Library, St Wulfram's Church, Grantham* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988).

as well as for the domestic trade networks that joined the central and peripheral towns and cities of early modern England to ensure book supply.

Chapters Two to Five constitute four individual case studies that focus on four parish libraries established in different counties and at various points in time between 1558 and 1709. These case studies evidence the impact of their founders' interests and intentions on the collections and demonstrate how the location of a collection within its parish church affected its accessibility to users. They explore the religious nature of all four collections to demonstrate that these libraries were all compiled in order to provide their readers with a religious education that they could apply to their everyday lives.

Chapters Six to Nine take an innovative, thematic approach to exploring the surviving marginalia and other marks of readership in a wide range of volumes from the four case study parish libraries. Analysis of the surviving marginalia and readers' marks in these volumes is significant for what it tells historians about early modern readers' understanding of their texts and the variety of reading practices that individual readers employed. These marks of readership have been organised into four subject categories that best evidence early modern readers' patterns of focus when reading these texts. Chapter Six considers readers' marks as they relate to expressions of anti-Catholicism that largely pertain to the errors and abuses of the Catholic Church. Particular attention was paid by readers to the doctrine of purgatory, the practice of penance and the use of images in Catholic churches and worship. Chapter Seven considers readers' marks and annotations on the importance of Scripture to early modern Protestants, and highlights readers' annotations on Scripture as the word of God, the need to correctly interpret and properly understand Scripture, and the requirement for Scripture to be widely accessible to everyone. Chapter Eight examines readers' marks and marginalia on the intertwined topics of sin, repentance and salvation. It considers beliefs, expressed through surviving marginalia, surrounding the causes and consequences of sin and the process of repentance as the only pathway back to God after sins had been committed. Finally, this chapter considers the doctrine of salvation and analyses readers' marks on Luther's concept of justification by faith alone and Saint Athanasius's comments on faith in God as way to salvation, two topics that were the subject of several annotations by readers. Chapter Nine examines the plethora of marks early modern Protestant readers left in numerous texts on the subject of godly living and dying. It analyses marks of readership pertaining to the benefits of preaching and prayer, as well as the importance of goodness and doing good works, actions that readers were keen to emphasise were a product of election as opposed to its cause. On the

topic of godly dying, Chapter Nine considers marginalia and annotations on the preparations that were to be made for death throughout one's lifetime. Finally, this chapter also examines a small number of interesting annotations on the subject of early modern suicide, which highlight contemporary concerns over whether such an act could ever be considered justified.

By analysing parish libraries and their collections in this way, this thesis demonstrates that early modern parish libraries constituted a significant part of the intellectual and religious landscape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. They were repositories of religious, and later secular, information accessible to a wide range of readers who were able to absorb and assimilate the messages of the texts into their everyday lives.

PART ONE

Chapter One: An Overview of Parish Libraries in Early Modern England

Introduction

In the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century, parish libraries were core elements of the intellectual and religious landscape of England as repositories of both spiritual edification and secular education that were available to both the clergy and the laity. They maintained a consistent level of importance in the shifting politico-religio-intellectual landscape of early modern England despite the ‘series of reverberations’ that stemmed from the Reformation of the 1530s and continued throughout the period.¹ Post-Reformation parish libraries – those examined in this work were established in the years between Elizabeth I’s accession in 1558 and the passing of the Parochial Libraries Act by parliament in 1709 – evolved out of the clerical libraries previously kept in pre-Reformation parish churches for the use of the clergy, and built on the precedents set by those repositories. There were, however, differences in the content of the books in pre- and post-Reformation libraries in parish churches that reflected their different intended users. Pre-Reformation collections largely contained service books and liturgical works for the use of the clergy, whilst post-Reformation repositories comprised predominantly theoretical works of theology and some books of practical divinity for use by both the clergy and the literate laity. Pre-Reformation collections of books were housed in the holier, private parts of the parish church such as the chancel, for example, which before the Reformation was usually only accessible to the clergy. This chapter will demonstrate that the shift in intended users led to post-Reformation parish libraries instead being housed in areas of the parish church that were more easily accessible to the laity, such as the nave or an upstairs room in the church. Therefore, whilst distinctions between pre- and post-Reformation parish libraries are evident, they were nevertheless inherently linked by a pattern of sustained ownership of religious texts for educational purposes, which connoted a high level of continuity. Parish libraries were constantly being established and used throughout the country by clergymen and the middling sorts of people in the early modern period, in search of a religious education.

¹ John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-2; John Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 3; Patrick Collinson and John Craig, ‘Introduction’ in Patrick Collinson and John Craig (eds), *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 17.

Pre-Reformation parish libraries tended to be moderately-sized collections of books that were primarily intended to facilitate the clergy in the performance of their ministerial and pastoral duties, with only occasional use by the well-educated laity. Over 192 pre-Reformation parish churches were known to have possessed books in the period between 1350 and 1536.² Those pre-Reformation book collections contained service books, liturgical texts and other religious volumes such as theologies, hagiographies, glosses and commentaries on the Bible. Both the clergy and the laity donated books to pre-Reformation libraries, primarily to improve educational provision for the clergy. Richard Tyttesbury, for example, in his will of 1410, bequeathed one of his books ‘to be used by the ministers of [Ermington] Church for their learning’.³ Some donors acknowledged the potential use of their books by the well-educated laity, suggesting a degree of lay usage of these pre-Reformation collections. The hope of spiritual benefits such as reduced time in purgatory or the favourable answering of prayers also served as the impetus behind donations of books, plate and other gifts to parish churches, as evidenced by the will of Richard Russel. In 1435, Russel donated books, plate and vestments to his parish church, requesting in return the prayers of the chaplain and parishioners for his soul and those of his wife, family and benefactors.⁴ Similarly, a Norwich vicar left a psalter to his church, requesting that the anniversary of his death be commemorated annually for ‘as long as the psalter lasts’.⁵ In bequeathing these items to their parish churches, it may be that these men were attempting to ‘achieve a perpetual linkage of their own names with the corporate worship of the community’.⁶ Because the clergy were the primary intended users of these collections, they were largely housed in the more private areas of the church, such as in the ‘chauncell’, as indicated in the 1519 will of Robert Same of Bury, or ‘before the ferterers at the hygh aughter’, as John Hoore’s 1509 will stated.⁷

² Stacey Gee, ‘Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England’ in Sarah Rees Jones (ed.), *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 200.

³ F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (ed.), *The Register of Edmund Stafford, (A.D. 1396-1419)* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1886), pp. 394-395.

⁴ Borthwick Institute of Archives (BIA), University of York, (Probate Register 3, f. 439r-441r), Will of Richard Russell, York, 10 December 1435. The will is in Latin, translated in John Shinnars, ‘Parish Libraries in Medieval England’ in Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (eds), *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 210-211.

⁵ Shinnars, ‘Parish Libraries in Medieval England’, p. 211.

⁶ Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 24; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, 2nd edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 330.

⁷ Samuel Tymms (ed.), *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds and the Archdeaconry of Sudbury* (London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1850), p. 253.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the religion of England changed with the royal injunctions of each successive monarch from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I. The service books in England's parish churches were cast out and brought back several times, but ultimately the post-Reformation parish libraries of 1558 to 1709 had their foundations in the book collections of the pre-Reformation period, in theory if not in practice. There was a decided shift in the content, language and intended users of many post-Reformation libraries, as they were deliberately made accessible to a larger proportion of the population. The importance of post-Reformation parish libraries in the intellectual and religious landscape of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was sustained into the eighteenth century, when the Parochial Libraries Act was passed by Parliament under Queen Anne. The 1709 Act provided protection to parish libraries and prevented the removal of books from libraries without consent from the Ordinary, whose permission could only be given if there were duplicates of the book in the same collection.⁸

The Evolution of the Parish Library

Post-Reformation parish libraries had their origins in their pre-Reformation counterparts, which were generally small-to-medium-sized collections of service books, liturgical texts and reference works that have often been overlooked by historians in favour of the larger and better-documented cathedral and monastic libraries.⁹ Pre-Reformation parish libraries – founded between the mid-fourteenth century and the passing of the Act of Supremacy under Henry VIII in 1534 – were significant in their purpose as educational collections for the clergy, to aid them in performing the rites and ceremonies of worship and in carrying out their pastoral duties. Furthermore, pre-Reformation book collections were also important sources of inspiration for the post-Reformation repositories founded in the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. The collections of liturgical texts, service books and other works housed in the churches of pre-Reformation English parish libraries usually grew slowly

⁸ Michael Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2004), p. 37. For a transcription of the Parochial Libraries Act of 1709, see Appendix A of Perkin's *Directory*, pp. 439-442.

⁹ Gee, 'Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England', p. 200. See for example, Charles C. Rozier, 'Durham Cathedral Priory and its Library of History, c. 1090-c. 1150' in Laura Cleaver and Andrea Worm (eds), *Writing History in the Anglo-Norman World: Manuscripts, Makers and Readers, c. 1066-c. 1250* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), pp. 133-148; Mary P. Richards, 'Texts and their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 78:3 (1988), pp. i-xii, 1-129; or Herman A. Peterson, 'The Genesis of Monastic Libraries', *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 45:3 (2010), pp. 320-332.

through gifts and bequests from both clergymen and the laity. They were rarely formally established, meaning that evidence for their foundation is often scant, and historians have to rely on ‘inscriptions in extant manuscripts or printed books, the occasional church inventory or scattered references to parish churches in wills’.¹⁰

Inventories and wills were the main sources of evidence used by John Shinnars and Stacey Gee in their studies of pre-Reformation parish libraries. These studies demonstrated that by the mid-fifteenth century, the majority of libraries in parish churches appear to have had a small collection of books in addition to the necessary service books and liturgical texts.¹¹ Shinnars asserted that by the later medieval period, ‘there were fairly diverse collections of books (liturgical manuals, pastoral handbooks, synodal legislation, moral tracts) communally available to serve the needs of the curate and his assistants in most parishes – in effect, parish libraries’.¹² Moreover, Gee demonstrated that pre-Reformation parish libraries incorporated ‘reference’ books, including legal and theological works, grammar books, clerical manuals, and other works of religious edification and instruction, in addition to service books and liturgical texts.¹³ It is impossible to know for sure how many parish churches possessed these liturgical texts, service books and reference works, and how many volumes each church owned, because there is no way to determine how many books survived or were lost during the Reformation. Legal texts, theological works and other works of religious edification and instruction also formed the basis of many later post-Reformation parish libraries, denoting a significant degree of continuity in subject matter between pre- and post-Reformation collections. In turn, this suggests that the pre-Reformation repositories constituted at least partial inspiration for the post-Reformation collections.

Laymen and clergymen donated books to libraries in the parish churches of both pre- and post-Reformation England. Before the Reformation, parish libraries increased in size gradually over time, as small numbers of books were gifted or bequeathed in response to ‘the obvious need for curates to have liturgical books’, or for spiritual benefit.¹⁴ Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Archbishop Robert Winchelsey of Canterbury (1293-1313) collated an unofficial list of books that included ‘a missal, a lectionary, an antiphonary, a gradual, a psalter, a sequence

¹⁰ Gee, ‘Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England’, p. 200.

¹¹ Shinnars, ‘Parish Libraries in Medieval England’, pp. 207-230; Gee, ‘Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England’, p. 199-222.

¹² Shinnars, ‘Parish Libraries in Medieval England’, p. 207.

¹³ Gee, ‘Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England’, p. 199.

¹⁴ Shinnars, ‘Parish Libraries in Medieval England’, p. 208.

book, an ordinal, and a manual', which parishioners were supposed to purchase for their parish church. Shinnars asserted that even though the list was 'never formally issued, it gained the stamp of officialdom through its wide circulation, and by the mid-fourteenth century it was treated as an official decree of the Canterbury archdiocese'.¹⁵ In some dioceses, the laity undertook this endeavour with decided enthusiasm. In Norwich, for example, over ninety-four percent of parishes owned all eight of these mandated volumes by the time of the Norwich inventory in the mid-fourteenth century, demonstrating just how important lay involvement was in the proliferation of libraries for religious education in the centuries before the Reformation.¹⁶ Whether the list was popular outside of the southeast and East Anglia is unclear.

At the same time, small numbers of other books not on Winchelsey's list were being given to parish churches for the improvement of the clergy. Thomas Daubtree, a York ecclesiastical lawyer, for example, left a copy of John de Burgh's *Pupilla oculi* to Holy Trinity church, Goodramgate, York, in 1437. Daubtree specifically stated that the *Pupilla oculi* was to be used by the chaplains of the church.¹⁷ Copies of the *Pupilla oculi* were also given to Feltwell St Mary church in Norfolk, by Thomas de Lexham in 1383, and to Ermington church in Devon by Richard Tyttesbury, a canon of Exeter, in 1410. Both bequests stipulated the use of the books by the chaplains and other clergy of the recipient churches.¹⁸ Other examples of donations by the laity to their parish churches include the clerical manuals donated by two clerks, John Crove of Wenlock and Thomas de Alta Ripa of York, to their parish churches in 1437, and the 1471 gift of a devotional book, *Crede mihi*, to the church of Wollaton in Nottinghamshire.¹⁹ The prominence of religious texts in the book collections of pre-Reformation parish churches demonstrates a commitment to improving the religious education of the clergy. The desire for improving education is similarly reflected in the dominance of religious texts in post-Reformation parish libraries that were intended to develop the learning of readers. These institutions extended the scope of their pre-Reformation counterparts, however, and sought to provide this religious education to both the clergy and the literate laity.

Survival rates of books once in pre-Reformation parish churches do not often accurately reflect their contemporary distribution, but the books from parish churches that do survive from this

¹⁵ C. R. Cheney, 'The so-called Statues of John Pecham and Robert Winchelsey for the Province of Canterbury', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 12:1 (1961), p. 22.

¹⁶ Shinnars, 'Parish Libraries in Medieval England', p. 210.

¹⁷ C. B. L. Barr, 'Parish Libraries in a Region: the Case of Yorkshire', *Proceedings of the Library Association Study School and National Conference, Nottingham*, 1979, p. 33.

¹⁸ Gee, 'Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England', pp. 201-202.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

period provide an insight into the types of books that were available to medieval readers. All collections included standard service books and liturgical texts including missals, manuals and psalters. In addition, many pre-Reformation church libraries also included assortments of ‘reference works’, which variously comprised theological texts, hagiographies, pastoral works, glosses and commentaries on the Bible, and many more. The surviving thirty-eight missals, twelve psalters and eight manuals, many of which are now in university library collections but were once in pre-Reformation parish churches, are testaments to their earlier prevalence.²⁰ The Bible was almost ubiquitous in the parish churches of pre-Reformation England, but few now survive, probably because, as William H. Sherman has suggested in relation to other titles, the Bible was used to destruction by many parish clergy.²¹ Examples of surviving medieval Bibles include a copy that was originally in the church of St John the Baptist in Newcastle-upon-Tyne but is now held in the Bodleian Library.²² Manuscript copies of the Latin Vulgate Bible once belonging to the parish churches of Bredgar in Kent, Buckingham (given by John Rudyng in c. 1481), and South Wingfield in Derbyshire also survive.²³ Similarly, the survival rates of pastoral manuals such as the *Oculus sacerdotis* and the *Pupilla oculi* do not reveal the level of popularity these volumes once enjoyed.²⁴ The only surviving parish church copy of the *Oculus sacerdotis* listed by Ker comes from the parish church of Halsall, and is now housed in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.²⁵ Only two parish church copies of John de Burgh’s *Pupilla oculi* now survive from the churches of Albury in Surrey and Stanhope in County Durham.²⁶ It is possible that, in addition to the Bible, parish clergy also read and used volumes such as these to destruction.²⁷

Despite many of the physical books of pre-Reformation churches having been lost during the Reformation, there was a continuation from pre- to post-Reformation parish libraries in the

²⁰ N. R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edition (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 219-224.

²¹ Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible: And Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 329; Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 75; William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 5.

²² Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 222; Bodleian Library, Oxford, (MSS. Rawl. C. 258), New Testament (early Wycliffite version).

²³ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, pp. 219, 221-224; for the donation of John Rudyng to the parish church of Buckingham see Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 159.

²⁴ Gee, ‘Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England’, pp. 213-214.

²⁵ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 220, 323; John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, (Latin MS 339), *Summa que vocatur sinistra pars oculi sacerdotum*.

²⁶ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, pp. 219, 223.

²⁷ Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 5.

subject matter and educational intentions of both institutions.²⁸ Many of the same genres of books that were once housed in pre-Reformation parish churches – including calendars, dictionaries, hagiographies and martyrologies, Biblical commentaries and glosses, books on canon law, devotional texts, and works on Christian life and morality – continued to be included in the collections of post-Reformation parish libraries. For example, pre-Reformation parish churches often possessed glosses and commentaries on the Bible that assisted in the interpretation of Scripture: parish priests found them ‘invaluable for the well-informed practice of *cura animarum*’ and often passed them on to their churches after their deaths.²⁹ Commentaries on the Bible were also prevalent in post-Reformation parish libraries, as can be seen in the content analyses of the four post-Reformation parish libraries discussed in this thesis. Whilst these were generally of a Protestant nature after the Reformation, there are also examples of post-Reformation Catholic Biblical commentaries in the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham, Lincolnshire.³⁰ Other examples of similar works in both pre- and post-Reformation parish libraries included history books and the works of the Church Fathers. Pre-Reformation manuscript copies of the writings of Augustine survive from the parish churches of Fenny Bentley in Derbyshire and Hardwick in Cambridgeshire and are now in the collections of the Bodleian Library and St John’s College, Cambridge, respectively.³¹ The works of the Church Fathers were common features of post-Reformation library collections as well – they were a dominant genre in the library of Wimborne Minster, for example, which is discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis – which demonstrates a sense of continuity between pre- and post-Reformation parish library collections.

The intrinsic link between the location of books in the parish church and their accessibility to potential readers is evident in both pre- and post-Reformation parish libraries, and this work demonstrates that the intended users of these libraries determined their placement in accessible locations within their respective parish churches. In this way, post-Reformation parish libraries followed the precedent set by pre-Reformation parish churches in allowing their intended audience to dictate their location. The book collections kept in pre-Reformation parish churches were intended primarily for the use of the clergy and so books were usually located in the more private areas of the parish church that were accessible only to the clergy and perhaps a small

²⁸ Barr, ‘Parish Libraries in a Region’, p. 33.

²⁹ Gee, ‘Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England’, p. 211; Shinnars, ‘Parish Libraries in Medieval England’, p. 209.

³⁰ This parish library is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two of this thesis.

³¹ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, pp. 220-221.

number of wealthy and well-educated laity.³² The choir or the chancel were the usual locations for collections of books in the pre-Reformation church; before the Reformation, these areas were seen as the holiest and most sacred spaces in the parish church. As C. Pamela Graves pointed out, ‘the chancel housed the main or High Altar and was almost exclusively associated with the clergy and the nave or open hall was the locale of most lay participation’.³³ In post-Reformation parish libraries, the intended audience of both clerical and lay readers often led to the books being placed in a repurposed room that was (theoretically) accessible by a much wider range of people. The case studies of the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham and Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Dorset, both of which remain *in situ* in rooms above the south porches of their respective churches, demonstrate this.

Parish libraries in post-Reformation English churches retained a distinct sense of continuity in content and practice with their pre-Reformation counterparts, disputing the arguments made by historians such as C. B. L. Barr and Michael Perkin, who asserted that ‘most books, whether manuscript or printed, together with service books, were cast out at the Reformation’.³⁴ This would suggest a high level of difference between the pre- and post-Reformation parish libraries, and historians such as Sarah Gray and Chris Baggs have gone so far as to suggest that ‘nothing that could be described as a library is known to have existed in a parish church’ for fifty years after the Reformation.³⁵ However, pre-Reformation parish libraries of liturgies and service books aimed specifically at the clergy evolved into more wide-ranging repositories of Protestant religious and secular education for both the clergy and the laity, demonstrating a continued educational intent. This supports Arnold Hunt’s argument that ‘a continuous tradition of book-ownership can be seen as bridging the gap between medieval and early modern religious culture’.³⁶ Libraries in parish churches in England continued to comprise predominantly religious texts. Many of these were either officially mandated, or else donated to the church by associated clerical or lay individuals throughout the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Thus, the continued possession of religious books by both pre- and post-Reformation

³² Margaret Aston, ‘Segregation in Church’ in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds), *Women in the Church* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 244-247.

³³ C. Pamela Graves, ‘Social space in the English medieval parish church’, *Economy and Society*, 18:3 (1989), p. 301.

³⁴ Barr, ‘Parish Libraries in a Region’, p. 33; Michael Perkin, ‘Parochial Libraries: Founders and Readers’ in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (eds), *The Reach of Print: Making, Selling and Using Books* (Winchester: St. Paul’s Bibliographies, 1998), pp. 191-192.

³⁵ Sarah Gray and Chris Baggs, ‘The English Parish Library: a Celebration of Diversity’, *Libraries & Culture*, 35 (2000), p. 417.

³⁶ Arnold Hunt, ‘Clerical and Parish Libraries’ in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries, Volume I, to 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 401.

churches was an important similarity between the two institutions, and a significant element of continuation amidst so many other changes to the fabric and worship of parish churches that occurred in the mid-sixteenth century.

Books became increasingly more accessible throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Henrician, Edwardian, and Elizabethan royal injunctions all contained the explicit instructions that books were to be placed in accessible locations within parish churches. As part of the Henrician injunctions of 1536, for example, the Bible unsurprisingly became the first religious text officially ordered to be placed in the parish churches of England after the break with Rome:

every parson, or proprietary of any parish church within this realm, shall on this side the feast of *S. Peter ad Vincula* [16 January] next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English, and lay the same in the choir, for every man that will to look and read thereon, and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English.³⁷

This was the only Tudor injunction regarding books in churches that explicitly stipulated where the books were to be placed: in the choir. This demonstrates the diminishing level of holiness associated with this space, which prior to the break with Rome had been one of the most sacred spaces in the church, after the Reformation, and supports Arnold Hunt's argument in favour of lay access to the choir, at least from the sixteenth century onwards.³⁸ The religious and educational benefits of lay access to books in parish churches continued to be recognised in later injunctions. An injunction of 1538, for example, clearly stated who was to read the books that were ordered to be placed in churches:

one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church... whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it.³⁹

The stipulation that the books placed in churches were to be housed in a 'convenient place', the location of which was not specified, suggests that they were intended for a wide readership, and were not specifically intended solely for the benefit of the clergy. The desire for books to

³⁷ Walter Howard Frere (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, Volume II, 1536-1558* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), p. 9.

³⁸ Hunt, 'Clerical and Parish Libraries', p. 412.

³⁹ Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, Volume II*, pp. 34-35.

be housed in convenient locations continued into the reign of Edward VI, who augmented the Henrician injunctions that placed a Bible in every parish church to include a larger range of religious texts for reading by the clergy and the laity. In 1547, Edward's first set of injunctions ordered the provision not only of an English Bible, but also an English translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases upon the Gospels*, suggesting that the scholarly merits of this work for Protestant readers outweighed Erasmus's Catholicism. Erasmus's *Paraphrases* were to be 'set up in some convenient place within the said church... whereas their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same, and read the same'.⁴⁰ This injunction did not stipulate where that 'convenient place' was, but it does demonstrate the importance of lay accessibility to religious books that was to become a key feature of post-Reformation parish libraries, which were intended to educate both the clergy and the laity.

Religious education remained a theme of the Marian regime, which was committed to promoting a renewed and revised form of Catholicism in England, promulgating its doctrine and the fundamentals of the faith, and encouraging the loyalty of the people to the traditions and rites of the Catholic Church.⁴¹ As such, Mary demanded the confiscation of all 'unlawful books' (i.e. Protestant religious works).⁴² Further, in the injunctions Bishop Edmund Bonner set out for his London diocese in 1555, he stipulated that

the churchwardens and parishioners of every parish, within the diocese and jurisdiction of London, shall of their own costs and charges, find, keep, and maintain... a legend, an antiphoner, a grail, a psalter, an ordinal to say or solemnize Divine Office, a missal, a manual, a processional....⁴³

This demonstrates that religious education during the reign of Mary I tended towards the clergy, as opposed to the laity, reflecting the more clergy-centred religious practices of Catholicism. The volumes Bonner stipulated contained formularies of practical worship that were of little use or interest to the laity, which may explain why these sorts of books are rarely found within the collections of post-Reformation parish libraries. Despite the large-scale shift in religion from Protestantism to Catholicism under the Marian regime, books in parish churches nevertheless retained their educational purposes, demonstrating a continuation in the nature of the books kept in early modern England's parish churches.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118.

⁴¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 543.

⁴² Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, Volume II*, p. 326.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

The accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 brought a renewed focus on providing Protestant religious reading material for the laity in England's parish churches. One injunction of the 1559 set issued by Elizabeth stated that the clergy

shall provide within three months next after this visitation at the charges of the parish one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English; and within one twelve months next after the said visitation, the Paraphrases of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, where as their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same and read the same.⁴⁴

The educational intent here is evident. As was the case in all injunctions after those of 1536, the 1559 set did not specify where within the church that 'convenient place' was. However, considering these injunctions anticipated the reading of these volumes by ordinary parishioners, it may be that the books were placed in one of the areas where the 'common' people sat during services. These were places such as 'the back of the nave, in the belfry, in the aisles, or in the choir', emphasising again the accessibility of the latter area to the laity in the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ The progress of parish libraries did not end there, however: religious texts retained their popularity amongst the 'rural masses and urban lower classes' alongside an increasing desire for secular material.⁴⁶ Over the course of the seventeenth century, post-Reformation repositories continued to grow and evolve into wide-ranging collections of significant sizes that eventually mutated into the subscription and lending libraries that were an increasingly popular feature of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷

This work argues that the most important characteristic of post-Reformation parish libraries was their purpose to educate both the clergy and the laity, which made them a significant part of the intellectual and religious environment of early modern England. These libraries had their roots in the collections of Catholic religious texts and liturgical works of pre-Reformation parish churches but developed into wide-ranging repositories to fulfil the spiritual and

⁴⁴ Walter Howard Frere (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, Volume III, 1559-1575* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), p. 10.

⁴⁵ Christopher Marsh, 'Order and Place in England, 1580-1640: The View from the Pew', *Journal of British Studies*, 44: 1 (2005), p. 10.

⁴⁶ R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500-1800*, 2nd edition (Harlow: Longman, 2002), p. 208.

⁴⁷ James Raven, 'Libraries for Sociability: the Advance of the Subscription Library' in Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume II: 1640-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 239-263.

educational needs of parishioners, often established at the gift or bequest of local men of prominence. The educational impetus for establishing post-Reformation parish libraries is evident in the foundation documents for all four of the case study libraries analysed in this thesis: Humphrey Chetham's will, for example, founded the Gorton Chest parish library, along with four others, 'for the edificac[i]on of the common people'.⁴⁸ Educating their readers in the Protestant religion was the primary focus of post-Reformation parish libraries and so, as Arnold Hunt has stated,

the significance of these modest collections is that they gave parishioners access to the writings of some of the leading English and continental Reformed divines – Calvin, Peter Martyr, William Perkins, Samuel Hieron – which, in theological terms, went considerably beyond the official doctrine of the Church of England.⁴⁹

Many of the authors Hunt named were included in the libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster, which educated their users and 'helped to disseminate the fruits of this "Calvinist consensus" to a wider readership' in the intellectual and religious landscape of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁰

In the period from 1558 to 1709, there were 165 parish libraries established in England. Of these, 134 parish libraries had known founders. Figure 1.1 below demonstrates the various sorts of people who established parish libraries. The clergymen and laymen who founded parish libraries in the post-Reformation period were following an established precedent set by their pre-Reformation predecessors. John Shinnars has demonstrated that in Norwich, both the clergy and the laity donated books to pre-Reformation churches to provide a religious education to the minister of the parish, with the clergy constituting the largest class of donors by a significant margin.⁵¹ Gee's work on parish libraries in pre-Reformation England similarly evidenced a combination of lay and clerical donors of books to parish churches, reflecting the practice that continued after the Reformation.⁵²

⁴⁸ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

⁴⁹ Hunt, 'Clerical and Parish Libraries', p. 416.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

⁵¹ Shinnars, 'Parish Libraries in Medieval England', pp. 210, 225 n. 24.

⁵² Gee, 'Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England', pp. 201, 209-211.

The Founders of Post-Reformation Parish Libraries, 1558-1709

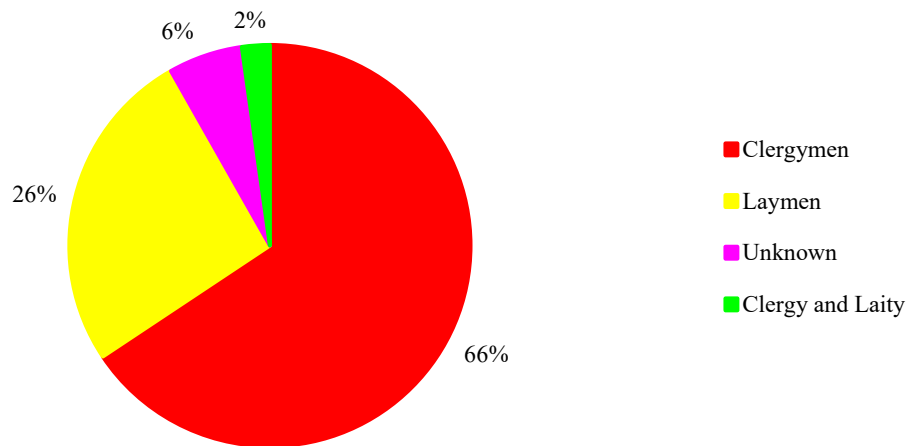


Figure 1.1: The Founders of Post-Reformation Libraries, 1558-1709

Clergymen were responsible for the foundation of eighty-eight parish libraries in the period. Ten parish libraries were founded in 1685 in Carlisle, by the will of Barnabas Oley, vicar of Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire, and archdeacon of Ely.⁵³ Richard Busby, an Anglican priest who was headmaster of Westminster School, established two parish libraries in Cudworth and Martock in Somerset and one in Willen in Buckinghamshire, all in 1695.⁵⁴ Between 1695 and 1705, Reverend Thomas Bray and his associates in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) established thirty-eight parish libraries across the country.⁵⁵ Thomas Bray has been rightly described by W. M. Jacob as ‘the most significant figure in the promotion of parochial libraries’ who ‘offered practical advice about establishing and maintaining’ parish libraries, which he desired to see instituted in England on a national scale.⁵⁶ Thirty-three libraries were founded by laymen. A further three libraries in Southwell in Nottinghamshire (1670), Sutton Courtenay in Berkshire (1686), and Bedford in Bedfordshire (1700) were

⁵³ Elizabeth R. Clarke, ‘Oley, Barnabas (*bp.* 1602, *d.* 1686)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 8 June 2020].

⁵⁴ C. S. Knighton, ‘Busby, Richard (1606-1695)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) [online: accessed 8 June 2020].

⁵⁵ For more information on Thomas Bray and the efforts of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, see Leonard W. Cowie, ‘Bray, Thomas (*bp.* 1658, *d.* 1730)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2012) [online: accessed 8 June 2020] and Craig Rose ‘The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK, 1699-1716’ in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c. 1689-1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 172-190.

⁵⁶ W. M. Jacob, ‘Libraries and Philanthropy, 1690-1740’, *Bulletin of the Association of British Theological and Philosophical Libraries*, 4:2 (1997), pp. 8-9.

collaboratively founded by both laymen and clergymen. Only two libraries in the entire period are known to have been established by women. Lady Anne Harington was responsible for the creation of the library in Oakham parish church in 1616, and a Mrs Eleanor Crowle gave three donations of £5 (1665), £20 (1666) and a further £5 (1667) for providing books in the library of Holy Trinity church in Hull, Yorkshire.⁵⁷ A further eight libraries were founded by known individuals of unknown professions in Devon, Lancashire, Berkshire and Yorkshire, amongst other locations. Unknown donors in twenty counties established the remaining thirty-one libraries of the 165 founded in the period between 1558 and 1709.

The foundation rates of post-Reformation parish libraries by laymen remained relatively stable throughout the period: in each decade between 1558 and 1709, up to six laymen established a library. For those parish libraries established by clergymen, the picture is much the same until the 1680s: in each decade between 1558 and 1679, up to five clerics founded a library. From the 1680s onwards, the numbers are distorted by Barnabas Oley, who founded ten libraries in the mid-1680s, and Thomas Bray and the SPCK, who established a tide of parochial libraries largely between 1695 and 1699, but extending to 1705. The efforts of Bray and the SPCK resulted in the exponential growth of the overall number of parish libraries between 1680 and 1709, the end of the period covered by this thesis.⁵⁸ Ten clergymen were responsible for the foundation of the fourteen parish libraries established in England in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

Just as post-Reformation parish libraries were founded by clergymen, laymen and, occasionally, a combination of the two, so were these libraries intended for use by different types of people. Founders usually stipulated who the intended users of their books were. The five parish libraries founded by Humphrey Chetham in the 1650s in Manchester and its surrounding areas are seemingly unique examples of libraries founded exclusively for the laity. In contrast, some of the documents that established parish libraries – whether that was a will, deed, or indenture – stated that the books were for the use and improvement of the clergy specifically. An example of this is the library at Oakham in Rutland, which was founded by Lady Anne Harington ‘for the use of the Vicar of that Church, and accommodation of the Neighbouring Clergy’.⁵⁹ Similarly, William Smarte (*d.* 1599), a draper, portman and burgess

⁵⁷ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 245-246, 309-310.

⁵⁸ Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 137.

⁵⁹ James Wright, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* (London: Printed for Bennet Griffin, 1684), p. 52. This edition not listed on the USTC.

to Parliament for the borough of Ipswich, founded a small library for the clergy in the parish church of St Mary-le-Tower through a donation of books to the church:

my latten printed bookes and written bookes in volume [velum] and p[ar]chmente ... which I gyve towards one librarye safelie to be kepte in the vestrye of the parishe church of St Mary Tower in Ipsw[i]ch ... to be used ther by the com[m]on preacher of the sayd towne for the tyme beinge or any other preacher mynded to preache in the saide p[ar]ishe church.⁶⁰

Smarte's will also included instructions for the safekeeping of the books he donated: they were to be kept locked in the vestry of the church, and the minister and the churchwardens were to hold the two keys used to open the door.⁶¹ Restricting access to one's books after their donation to a parish church was a not-uncommon practice in the late sixteenth century. For example, the library provided by Francis Trigge to St Wulfram's church in Grantham, Lincolnshire in 1598, which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter, was to be kept in a locked room above the south porch to which only the alderman, the two vicars of the church, and the schoolmaster of Grantham, had the keys.⁶²

Both the clergy and the laity were the intended users of the majority of post-Reformation parish libraries, however. The library at More, founded by indenture in 1680 by Richard More of Linley Hall in Shropshire, for example, was 'for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of the village and for the encouragement of a preaching minister'.⁶³ The library in the parish church of Newark-upon-Trent in Nottinghamshire, founded by the 1698 will of Thomas White, bishop of Peterborough, provides a similar example. White bequeathed

to the maior aldermen and viccar of the Towne of Newarke upon Trent for the time being All my printed bookes to be a library at least a good beginning of a library for the use of them and the inhabitants of that towne and the Gentlemen and Clergy of the adjacent Countrey.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/94/340), Will of William Smarte of Ipswich, Suffolk, 2 November 1599.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

⁶³ Conal Condren, 'More Parish Library, Salop', *Library History*, 7:5 (1987), pp. 141-144; Shropshire Archives, Shropshire, (P193/S/1/1), More Church Library Trust Deeds with Rules.

⁶⁴ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/446/372), Will of Reverend Thomas White, Bishop of Peterburgh, Doctor of Divinity, 19 July 1698.

All of the inhabitants of the town of Newark were welcome to use White's books, but only the gentlemen and clergy of the surrounding areas were acceptable. Other founders who restricted lay access to books based on social standing included Roger Gillingham who, in 1695, augmented the book collection given to the parish church of Wimborne Minster by William Stone in the 1680s.⁶⁵ Gillingham's will asserted that his books were 'for the use of the clergy there but alsoe for the use of the Gent shopkeepers and better sort of Inhabitants in and about the Towne of Wimborne'.⁶⁶ The educational incentives for post-Reformation parish libraries were clear, and in the majority of cases, this education was extended to all literate members of the laity as well as the clergy.

The book collections of post-Reformation parish libraries were varied and wide-ranging: they encompassed numerous genres of work that often reflected either the specific interests, occupation, or intentions of the donor, in addition to the works of theology that were found in the vast majority of libraries. Most collections were strong on theology, history and the classics, works that provided readers with a theoretical education, but collections also often included texts that offered a more practical education in, for example, agriculture, gardening and wine-making. In some cases, such as Roger Gillingham's donation to Wimborne Minster church for example, some of these books were already in a donor's collection before they were given to the church. Similarly, books on topics such as travel, science, poetry, grammar and mathematics, which were also included in early modern parish libraries, can also be taken as a reflection of the interests of the donor.⁶⁷ Sir Richard More, for example, who founded More parish library in Shropshire, gifted books from his own collection to the parish library, and thus the donation provides a clear insight into More's own religious, academic, and more general interests. Taken from More's collection of poetry, theology, history and geography, the parish library included works by classical authors such as Cicero, Isocrates and Euripides, as well as history writers like Bede. Like many other libraries of the seventeenth century, the theological texts in More parish library 'suggest the continuing importance of older thought in the structure of seventeenth-century intellectual life': they comprised works by authors ranging from 'evangelical to Jesuit and embracing a considerable range of subtle ecclesiastical

⁶⁵ Wimborne Minster Chained Library will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five of this thesis.

⁶⁶ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

⁶⁷ W. M. Jacob, 'Libraries for the Parish: Individual Donors and Charitable Societies' in Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume II: 1640-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 69.

distinctions'.⁶⁸ Thus, works by John Calvin, Theodore Beza, Jacob Arminius, Martin Luther, William Perkins and Philipp Melancthon sat alongside the works of men such as Martin Becanus, the Jesuit priest, theologian and controversialist.⁶⁹ Such a combination suggests that Richard More believed in the importance of providing a broad theological education for his readers, supplying them with books he thought most appropriate to facilitate this. In a similar way, the 'two hundred Latin and Greek Folio's, consisting chiefly of Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen, and Divines' that Lady Anne Harington donated to the parish church of Oakham in 1616 were appropriate for her audience of 'the vicar of that Church, and... the Neighbouring Clergy'.⁷⁰ The books also potentially reflected Lady Anne's or her husband's own reading interests. The volumes seem to have been taken from the Haringtons' personal collection and many of the books were 'curiously bound, the Covers adorn'd with several gilded Frets (commonly call'd the *Harington Knots*) and *Ex Dono Domine Annæ Haringtonæ Baronesse*. Printed and pasted in the Title Pages'.⁷¹

After their original foundation, some parish library collections were augmented by later donations, meaning that those collections were amalgamations that reflected the reading interests of various donors. The Cranston Library in the parish church of St Mary Magdalene in Reigate in Surrey, for example, was founded in 1701 by Andrew Cranston, vicar of Reigate, who began the collection with seventy of his own books. He gradually increased this to 186 volumes in total. Cranston sought additional donations from the wealthier inhabitants of Reigate; he did not specify the types of books he wanted, but received gifts from a wide range of people including merchants, MPs, clergy and lawyers, as well as weavers, shopkeepers and widows. Such a diverse range of donors naturally led to a diverse range of books that reflected their individual interests, in addition to those books Cranston felt it necessary for his readers to be able to access. The Reigate collection included books on 'history, the Classics, biography, reference works, science, topography, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and law', reflecting Cranston's desire to 'bring the widest possible range of knowledge to his flock'. The Reigate library also demonstrates Cranston's belief in the necessity of knowing the religious arguments

⁶⁸ Condren, 'More Parish Library', p. 146.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-158.

⁷⁰ Wright, *History and Antiquities*, p. 52.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

of opponents in order to refute them: it includes, amongst the predominantly Anglican texts, works by Catholic, Puritan and Quaker authors as well.⁷²

The Spread of Parish Libraries in Post-Reformation England

Post-Reformation parish libraries were founded continuously throughout the period 1558 to 1709, despite some historians' arguments to the contrary.⁷³ The rate of parish library foundation in the period from 1558 to 1679 was characterised by a slow growth. The dramatic increase in the number of parish libraries founded between 1680 and 1709 was partly the result of Barnabas Oley's efforts in the 1680s and the involvement of Thomas Bray and the SPCK in the 1690s and early-1700s. In addition to the combined forty-eight libraries established by Oley, Bray and the SPCK, other donors established a further fifty-four parish libraries between 1680 and 1709. Figure 1.2 below demonstrates the number of parish libraries founded in England per decade between 1558 and 1709.

⁷² Andrea Thomas and Hilary Ely, 'The Cranston Library, Reigate: The First Three Hundred Years', *Library and Information History*, 27:4 (2011), pp. 246-248.

⁷³ Barr, 'Parish Libraries in a Region', p. 34; Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p. 76.

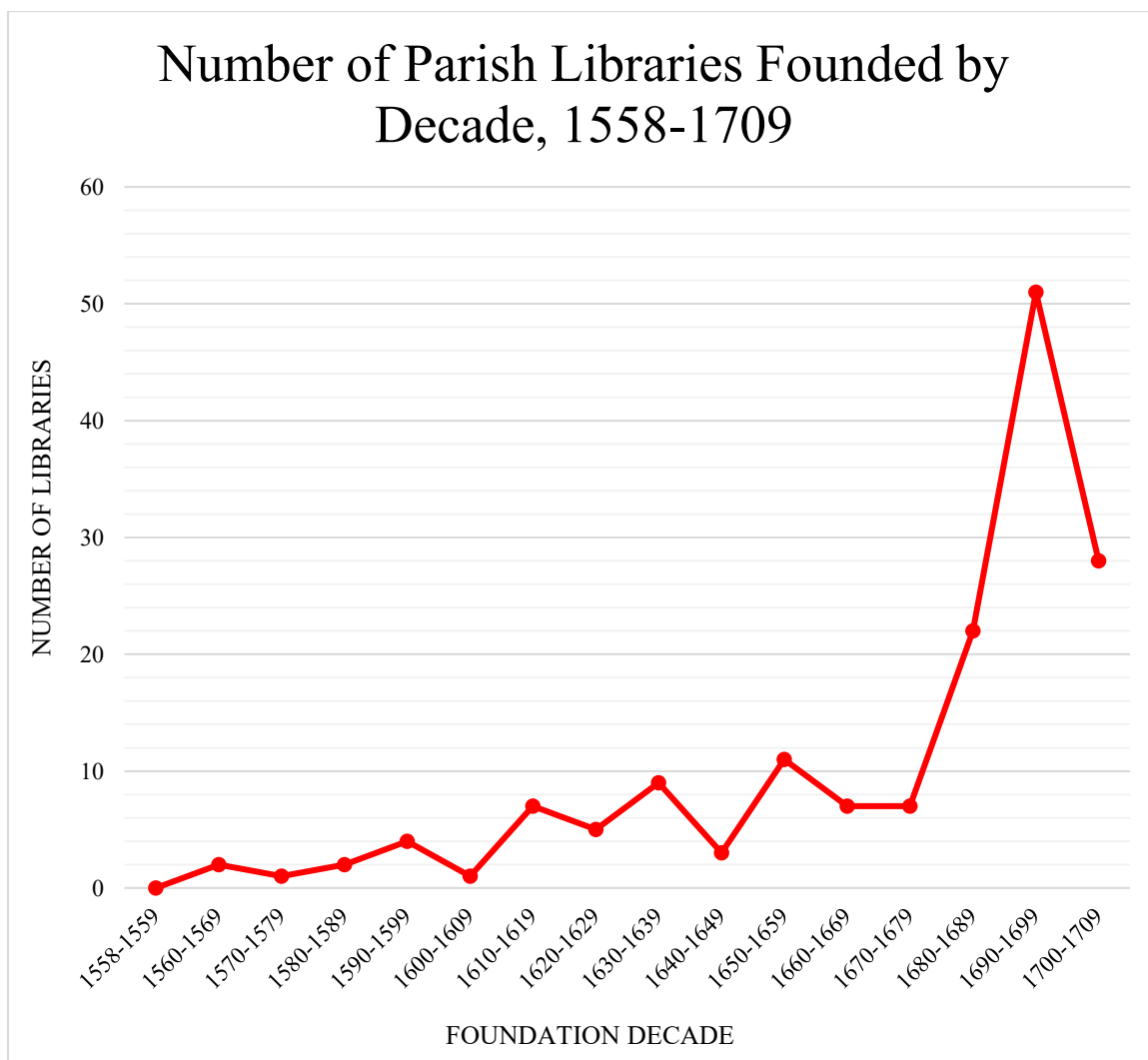


Figure 1.2: Number of Parish Libraries Founded by Decade, 1558-1709

In total, 165 parish libraries were founded between the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 and 1709, when the Parochial Libraries Act was passed by Parliament. As Figure 1.2 shows, foundation rates for parish libraries across the period 1558 to 1709 began slowly: ten parish libraries were established in total in England between 1558 and 1609. The numbers saw a comparative increase from 1610 to 1639, with between five and nine parish libraries established per decade. During the Civil War years from 1640 to 1649, there was a drop in the foundation rate to just three libraries, before it increased to ten libraries established during the Interregnum in the 1650s. Seven libraries were established between 1660 and 1669, and a further seven from 1670 to 1679. Between 1558 and 1679, a total of fifty-nine parish libraries were founded. The year 1680 proved to be a watershed in the establishment of parish libraries: in the thirty years between 1680 and 1709, 106 parish libraries were founded. The achievements of individual founders of parish libraries before the 1680s (perhaps with the

exception of Humphrey Chetham and Barnabas Oley) were somewhat eclipsed by the accomplishments of the Church of England clergyman, Thomas Bray, and his associates from the SPCK, who were responsible for founding thirty-three (approximately sixty-five percent) of the fifty-one parish libraries established in the 1690s.⁷⁴ Between 1700 and 1709, a further twenty-two parish libraries were established in England. All 165 parish libraries established in England between 1558 and 1709 can be seen on the map in Figure 1.3 below.

⁷⁴ For more information on the efforts of Thomas Bray and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in founding parish libraries, see Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 35-37, 444-452. See also Cowie, 'Bray, Thomas (*bap.* 1658, *d.* 1730)', *ODNB*, [online].

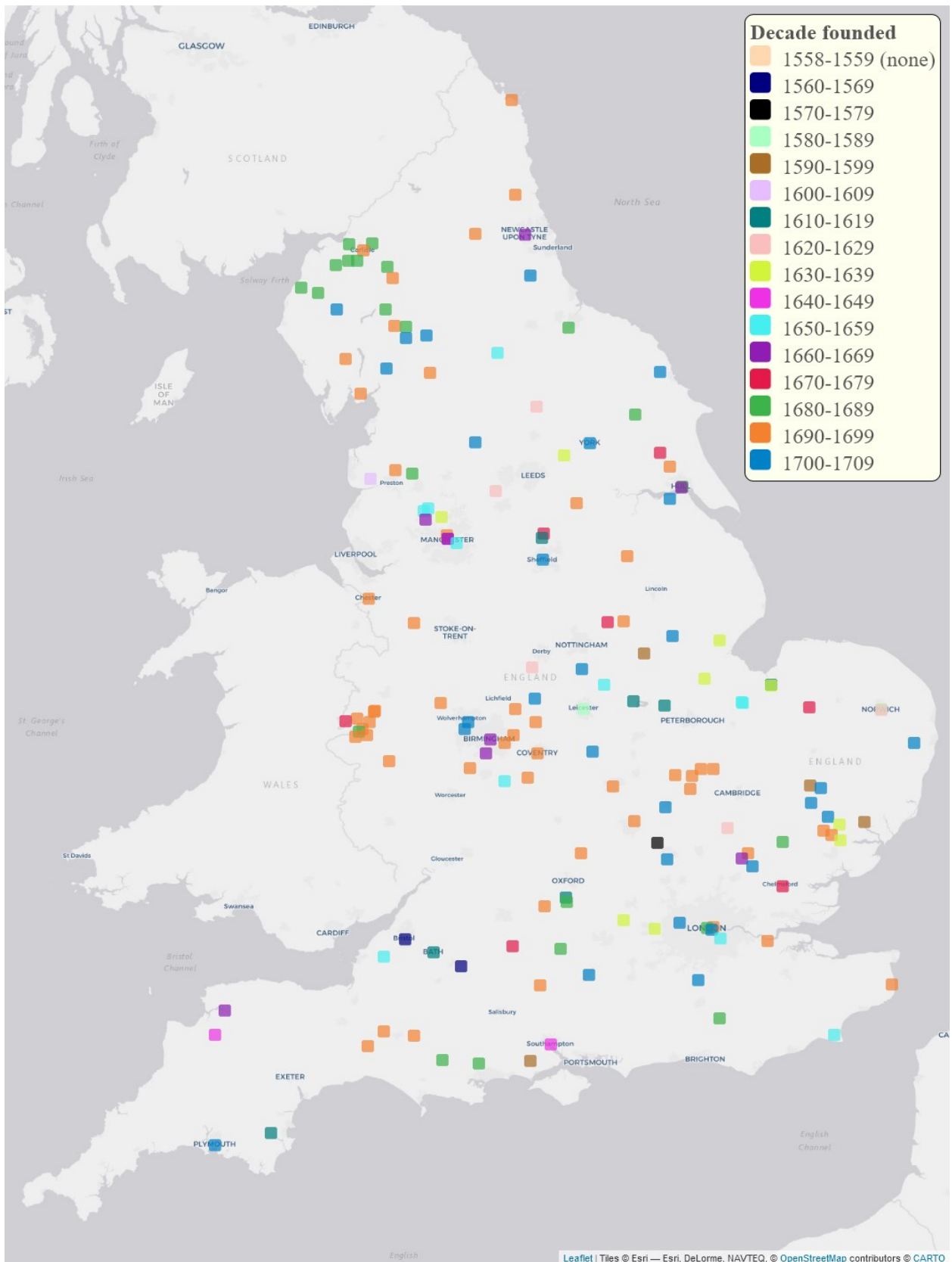


Figure 1.3: Parish Libraries Founded between 1558 and 1709

Historians Sarah Gray and Chris Baggs have argued that nothing like a parish library existed for fifty years after the English Reformation.⁷⁵ However, Figures 1.2 and 1.3 above challenge that assertion by showing that five institutions recognisable as parish libraries were established in the first fifty years after the beginning of the Reformation and the Act of Supremacy up to the mid-1580s. The first post-Reformation parish libraries appeared in Bristol (1567) and Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire (1568). A library in Toddington in Bedfordshire followed in 1570, as did two foundations in 1586 in Leicester and Norwich.

Furthermore, Figures 1.2 and 1.3 also dispute the arguments of C. B. L. Barr and Thomas Kelly, who separately asserted that few parish libraries were founded during the Civil War and Interregnum.⁷⁶ This was indeed the case during the Civil War: only three libraries were established between 1640 and 1649. Very little is known about these three institutions – located in Manchester, Great Torrington in Devon, and Southampton – beyond the information found in the testamentary instructions of their founders. Neither the Manchester nor the Great Torrington libraries survive; seven books survive in the library at Southampton, but none are the original two works donated by John Clungeon, a London haberdasher, in 1646.⁷⁷ Ten parish libraries were founded during the 1650s, signifying what was at that point the highest rate of parish library foundation in any decade since their inception in the 1560s. The foundation of these parish libraries may reflect the relative freedom of religious expression and the freedom of the press from censorship that were a feature of these years.⁷⁸ Barr and Kelly were thus incorrect in their assertions regarding a lack of library foundations.

The ten libraries established in the Interregnum were founded by a mixture of clergymen and laymen, mirroring the general trend in parish library establishment in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They included a library founded in St Peter and St Paul church in Wisbech, Cambridgeshire in 1651 by William Coldwell, rector of the church. This library was augmented twice in 1654: firstly, by William Fisher, who was elected Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon for 1653, and secondly – and more substantially – by John Thurloe, Secretary

⁷⁵ Gray and Baggs, 'The English Parish Library', p. 417.

⁷⁶ Barr, 'Parish Libraries in a Region', p. 34; Thomas Kelly, *Early Public Libraries: a History of the Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850* (London: Library Association, 1966), p. 76.

⁷⁷ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/198/73), Will of John Clungeon, Haberdasher of London, 9 November 1646; Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 349-350.

⁷⁸ Andrew Bradstock, *Radical Religion in Cromwell's England: A Concise History from the English Civil War to the End of the Commonwealth* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), p. xiii.

of State to Oliver Cromwell from 1652 until the latter's death in 1658.⁷⁹ In addition, two libraries were founded in the Manchester area by the merchant Humphrey Chetham (see below, Chapter Four).⁸⁰ A library was established in the parish church of Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire by its rector, George Dunscomb (*d.* 1652).⁸¹ Francis Roberts, the Presbyterian rector of All Saints church in Wrington, Somerset founded a library in the church by donating several volumes in 1659.⁸² In Yorkshire, familial connections led Matthew Hutton, an antiquary and rector of two benefices at Aynho (from 1677) and Croughton (from 1689) in Northamptonshire, to donate books to St Edmund's church in Marske, for the use of his nephew, Thomas Hutton, when Thomas was appointed as rector in 1659.⁸³ Not only do these libraries demonstrate the multiplicity of repositories established in the 1650s, they also serve to reinforce the involvement of both clerics and laity in the establishment of parish libraries – a level of shared participation that evidences the significance of these institutions even in the shifting politico-religious landscape of the decade.

Before 1680, post-Reformation parish libraries were established primarily in towns. After 1680, there was a shift in focus to England's more rural areas, and at the same time there was a threefold increase in the number of parish libraries founded between 1680 and 1709. The following analysis supports W. M. Jacob's argument that library founders' attention moved from urban establishments to rural ones after 1680.⁸⁴ In order to demonstrate this shift in focus, this work has used the maps of the Elizabethan cartographer and historian, John Speed. Speed's atlas *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* was originally published in 1611 or 1612, and is used in this thesis in order to determine the type of area – urban or rural – in which each parish library founded between 1558 and 1709 was established.⁸⁵ Speed used different symbols to distinguish between villages, market towns and cities, which were characterised by their

⁷⁹ Edmund Carter, *The History of the County of Cambridge from the Earliest Account to the Present Time* (London, 1819), p. 359; Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 395; Timothy Venning, 'Thurloe, John (bap. 1616, d.1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 16 June 2018].

⁸⁰ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

⁸¹ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 400; William Blades, *Books in Chains and Other Bibliographical Papers*, (London: Elliot Stock, 1892), p. 80; Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1931), p. 292.

⁸² Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 402-403.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 282; Jan Broadway, 'Hutton, Matthew (1638/9-1711)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 11 June 2020]; Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Volume II – Early Series* (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1891), pp. 779-780.

⁸⁴ Jacob, 'Libraries for the Parish', p. 67; David Williams, 'The Use and Abuse of a Pious Intention: Changing Attitudes to Parochial Libraries', *The Library Association and Study School and National Conference Proceedings*, Nottingham, 1979, p. 22; Gray and Baggs, 'The English Parish Library', p. 418; Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 33.

⁸⁵ Sarah Bendall, 'Speed, John (1551/2-1629)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 15 June 2020].

increasing levels of urbanity. Using Speed's maps, it can be seen that thirty-nine of the fifty-four parish libraries established before 1680 were founded in cities such as Bristol, Norwich or Bath, or else in market towns and ports such as Halifax, Boston in Lincolnshire, or Southampton. The remaining twenty parish libraries of the pre-1680 period were founded in rural locations. After 1680, 106 parish libraries were established in England before 1709. Post-1680 rural foundations did not come at the expense of urban library foundations, which continued and, in fact, doubled in number themselves between 1680 and 1709. Fifty-seven libraries were established in rural localities after 1680. Barnabas Oley, archdeacon of Ely, endowed ten parish churches in the diocese of Carlisle with a donation of sixteen books each in his will of 1685.⁸⁶ Further, motivated by their belief that the parish clergy needed to be well educated in order to fulfil their ministerial and pastoral duties, and desirous to improve Christian teaching as a way of increasing religious devotion in the localities of post-Restoration England, Thomas Bray and his associates in the SPCK instigated the establishment of almost forty parish libraries across England between 1695 and 1709.⁸⁷

The remaining forty-nine libraries founded after 1680 were founded in cities including Chester, Carlisle and Coventry, or in market towns such as Bishop's Castle in Shropshire or Bromsgrove in Worcestershire. Thus, in many counties, post-1680 rural foundations did not come at the expense of continuing urban library establishment, though it is important to note that the categorisations of urban and rural are, as John Patten has suggested, subject to regional variations, particularly along the divisional lines between the uplands and lowlands of England.⁸⁸ However, when considered on a countrywide basis, the pattern of foundation supports the theory propounded by historians that a growing trend for rural parish libraries can be seen in the last decades of the seventeenth century, as demonstrated in Figures 1.4a and 1.4b below.

⁸⁶ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/383/4), Will of Barnabas Oley, Vicar of Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire, 15 March 1686.

⁸⁷ Gray and Baggs, 'The English Parish Library', p. 419.

⁸⁸ John Patten, *English Towns, 1500-1700* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1978), pp. 27-28.

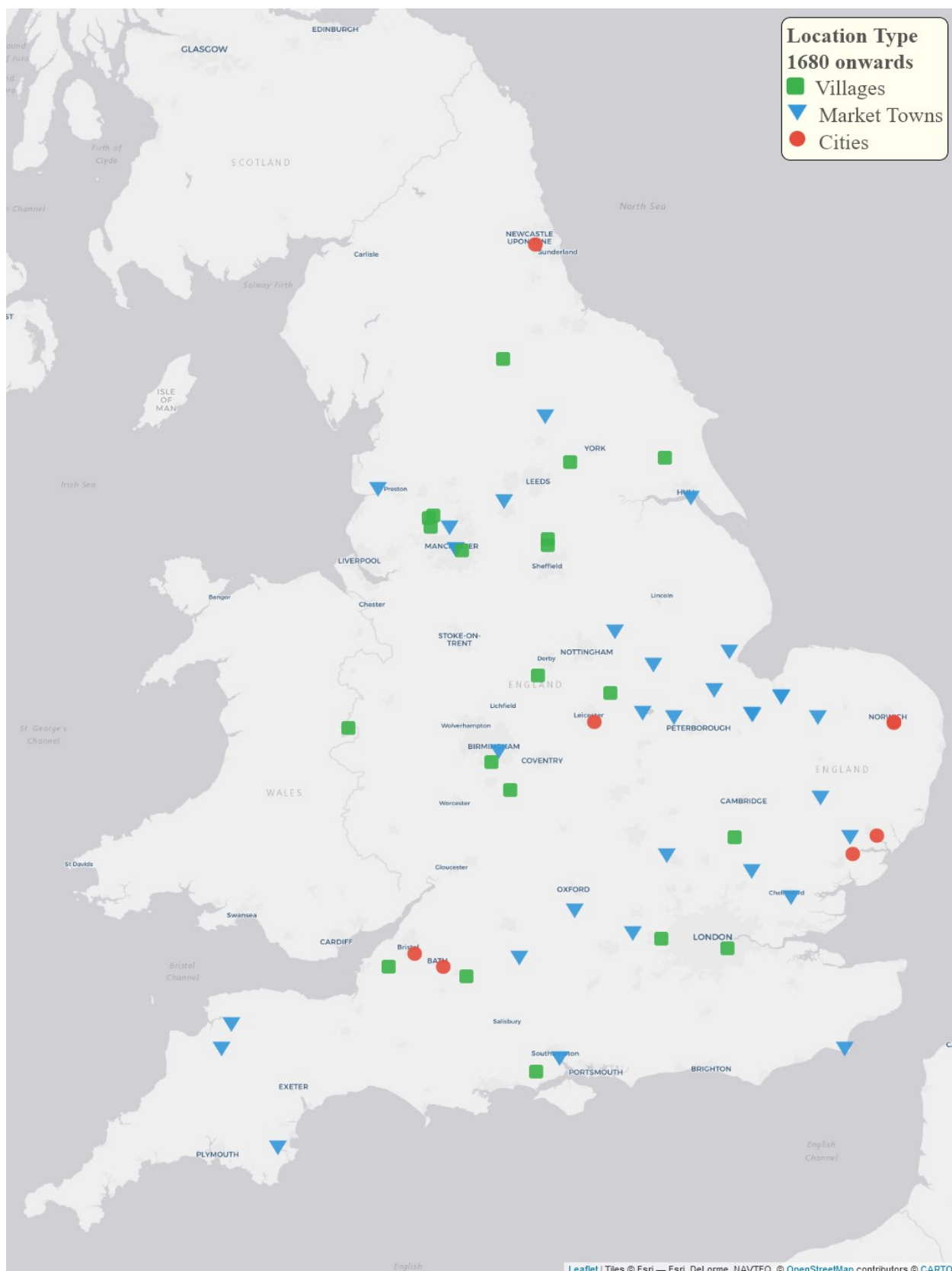


Figure 1.4a: The Number and Distribution of Parish Libraries Founded between 1558 and 1679 according to Location Type

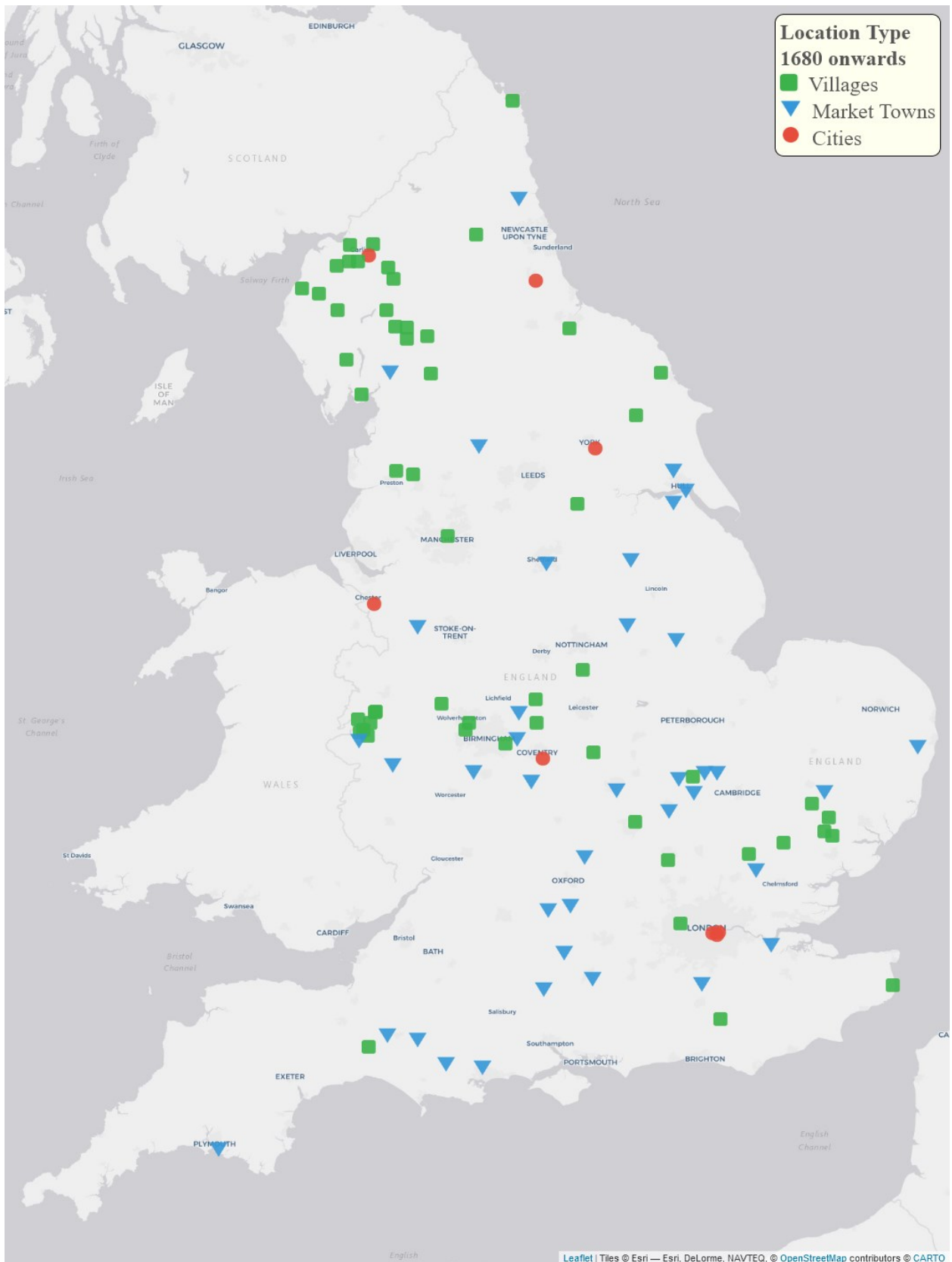


Figure 1.4b: The Number and Distribution of Parish Libraries Founded between 1680 and 1709 according to Location Type

The Composition of Post-Reformation Parish Libraries in England

The location of a post-Reformation parish library within its parish church depended on the size of its collection. As demonstrated below in Figure 1.5, post-Reformation parish libraries varied in size from small collections of less than fifty volumes, to repositories of between fifty and 250 volumes. A small number of parish libraries had collections that numbered over 500 books. Smaller collections could be stored in book chests or cupboards in the body of the church, easily accessible to everyone, and chains were often used to secure the books in the chest or cupboard to prevent theft. Larger collections were more likely to be housed on bookshelves, which were a reasonably new innovation that resulted from increasing collection sizes and the need to find a more efficient way of storing them – Hereford Cathedral contains some of the earliest examples that date from around 1590.⁸⁹ The bookshelves were usually housed in an upper chamber of the church that was sometimes repurposed to function as a library, and the books were attached to those shelves with iron chains for security purposes. Examples of these parish libraries can be seen in the case studies on the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Chapter Two and Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Chapter Five below, which were both housed in ‘convenient’ and accessible upper rooms of their respective churches.

Post-Reformation parish libraries were often housed in one of four locations within or adjacent to the parish church: in the body of the church, in an upper room of the church, in the vestry, or in the parsonage. A library’s location also affected its physicality and the amount of time people spent using the collection. Whilst there were a small number of libraries housed in purpose-built rooms, as at Langley Marish in Berkshire or Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex, repurposed rooms – usually the room above the south porch of the church – housed the majority of early modern parish libraries. Upper rooms in the church were commonly chosen because of their dryness, and the books were often stored on shelves or in bookcases, as in the Francis Trigge and Wimborne Minster libraries.⁹⁰ Alternatively, smaller collections of books were sometimes stored in chests or cupboards. Two of the best surviving examples of chest libraries can be found in Lancashire, one of which forms another case study in this thesis: the Gorton Chest parish library. This collection was established with a portion of the £200 bequeathed by Humphrey Chetham in the 1650s for founding parish libraries, and given to St James’s church in Gorton. Built in the almery style of a book cupboard on wooden legs, the physicality of this

⁸⁹ Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library*, p. 50; John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books: An Essay on the Development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the Earliest Times to the end of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), p. 172.

⁹⁰ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 42-43.

library made lengthy reading challenging for a reader, as prolonged use engendered discomfort. The Gorton Chest was altered in the mid-nineteenth century. Its reading ledge was removed sometime between 1865 and 1885, meaning that the hinges on the doors needed to be moved from the sides to the bottom, so that they could open out horizontally to form a makeshift reading desk. The legs were shortened to increase comfort for sitting and reading.⁹¹ The other book chest in Lancashire was given to Bolton School by James Leaver in the 1690s and remains *in situ*; it remains largely unaltered and, whilst a later example, ‘reproduces in essentials the older model of Gorton’.⁹²

Out of the 165 parish libraries established in England between 1558 and 1709, 102 still have surviving books. Forty-six of these (approximately forty-five percent) have books that have been identified as definitely being donated within the period discussed by this thesis. These forty-six parish libraries with books definitely donated between 1558 and 1709 will be the primary focus of analysis in this section, acknowledging that the surviving numbers of books is, in almost every case, lower than the number originally donated. Surviving collection sizes of English parish libraries founded between 1558 and 1709 range from just one or two books, to 200 or 300 volumes, to over a thousand books. Figure 1.5 below demonstrates the size of the surviving collections in the forty-six parish libraries that contain books from the period.

⁹¹ Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library*, pp. 302-303.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

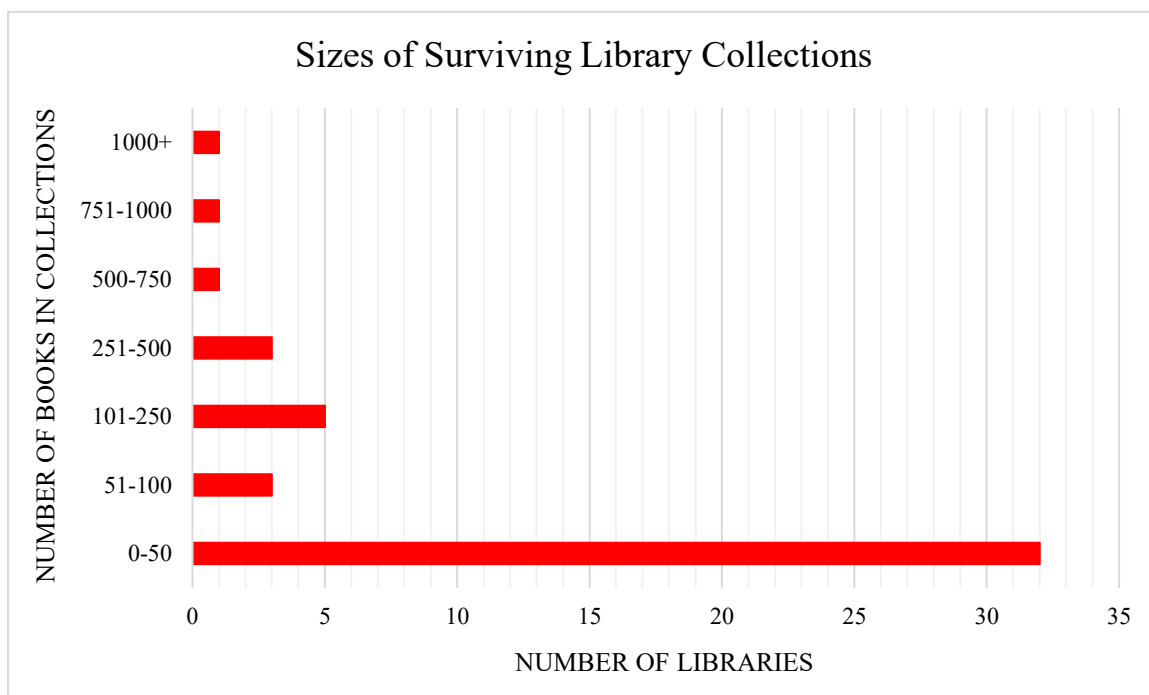


Figure 1.5: Size of Surviving Library Collections of Books Donated Between 1558 and 1709

The size of a library's collection seems in no way to have been linked to the date of its foundation: surviving library collections do not reveal a consistent, gradual increase in size as time progressed, books became more easily available, and parish libraries became more institutionalised. Nor did the date of a library's foundation necessarily correlate to the number of surviving books. For example, the libraries of Coniston in Lancashire and Milden in Suffolk were founded late in the period, in 1699 and 1703 respectively, and just one book survives in each collection. Conversely, the libraries of Oakham (1616) and Ripon (1624) were founded relatively early in the period; Oakham has 150 volumes remaining, and Ripon has a staggering 758 surviving books, the second largest surviving collection from the period (see below, Chapter Three). Book survival appears in large part to be due to chance. The library at Coniston, for example, was reported in 1885 as containing approximately a hundred volumes that had been purchased using the money originally donated by the library's founder, Roger Fleming, but Michael Perkin reports them as having been destroyed 'probably in 1957, as being dirty and unread'.⁹³ Similarly, the library at Milden survived in numbers in excess of 2,000 books until the early twentieth century when the books were sold to raise funds to buy more modern volumes; no catalogue of the parish library was made prior to this event.⁹⁴ The libraries

⁹³ Richard Copley Christie, *The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire* (Manchester: Charles E. Simms for the Chetham Society, New Series, 7, 1885), pp. 95-96; Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 180.

⁹⁴ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 284.

of Oakham and Ripon appear to have survived relatively well intact – again seemingly through chance – as no specific instructions for the maintenance and retaining of the books formed part of either bequest.⁹⁵

Of the 102 parish libraries founded between 1558 and 1709 with surviving books, at least twenty-seven of them contained books that were printed on the Continent, suggesting the extent of the Continental book trade in post-Reformation England.⁹⁶ It is, of course, probable – though not provable – that this number would increase significantly if there were more libraries with surviving books from the period covered by this thesis. The twenty-seven parish libraries that contained Continental books equate to approximately twenty-six and a half percent of the 102 libraries with surviving books and sixteen percent of the total 165 parish libraries founded from 1558 to 1709. These are reasonably small percentages, but ones that are possibly distorted, as there is no way of knowing what was in the parish library collections that no longer survive. The geographic spread of these surviving libraries that possessed Continental books, as displayed in Figure 1.6 below, demonstrates the reach of the Continental book trade in the early modern period, evidencing that these works were available to and accessible by people in areas of England that extended far beyond London and the southeast.

The foundation dates of these twenty-seven parish libraries suggest that both the physical accessibility and financial affordability of books increased over the course of the seventeenth century: just two of the libraries with surviving Continental books were founded before 1600. Seven were founded between 1601 and 1650, and the remaining eighteen were established between 1651 and 1709. However, this does not reflect existing scholarship on the Continental book trade in England in the sixteenth century, and suggests that many Continental books may once have been in the collections of post-Reformation parish libraries that have since been lost or removed. Continental books were seemingly readily available in England in the sixteenth century. As Andrew Pettegree has noted, ‘English libraries and collectors availed themselves freely of the easy and long-established connections with the continent to obtain the best books

⁹⁵ Anne L. Herbert, ‘Oakham Parish Library’, *Library History*, 6:1 (1982), pp. 1-11; Jean E. Mortimer, *The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin: Dean of Ripon (1608-1624)* (Leeds: Chorley and Pickersgill, 1962), pp. 1-10.

⁹⁶ In his *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, Michael Perkin listed twenty-four parish libraries that were founded between 1558 and 1709 and that still possess surviving Continental books. Research for this thesis has, however, revealed that the parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon and Gorton also still possess Continental books (to provide the total of twenty-seven noted in the text). This calls into question how many other parish libraries listed by Perkin contain surviving Continental books not recorded in the *Directory*, hence the use of ‘at least’ in the text above.

that continental suppliers had to offer'.⁹⁷ Such preferences for Continental volumes extended into the second half of the sixteenth century, as demonstrated by the library of Bishop Richard Cox, over ninety percent of whose collection was comprised of Continental imprints at his death in 1581.⁹⁸ By the mid-seventeenth century however, there was a marked increase in the number of texts printed in England and printed in English on the Continent. Joad Raymond has demonstrated that this was the result of a combination of factors, including the increased demand for books that was fuelled by contemporary events from the 1640s onwards, and the shift towards printing 'cheap works of controversy and polemic' that were utilised by those involved in the Civil War, in an attempt to enlist public opinion in their favour.⁹⁹

The relative paucity of surviving Continental books in parish library collections is attributable to several factors: firstly, as has been previously demonstrated, the survival of any library was in part a matter of chance, and there may be numerous libraries that have since been disbanded that once contained Continental books. Secondly, the likelihood of a parish library containing books printed on the Continent was significantly impacted by its proximity to a market town and the corresponding logistics of transportation between the two. Finally, the inclusion of Continental books in parish libraries was in some instances dependent upon the library's founder having sufficient finances or their own connections with Europe that enabled the provision of Continental books.

⁹⁷ Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), p. 118.

⁹⁸ Alan B. Farmer, 'Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books in Early Modern England', *Shakespeare Studies*, 35 (2007), p. 59.

⁹⁹ Joad Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain' in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 60-61.



Figure 1.6: Surviving Parish Libraries Possessing Continental Books

The majority of the parish libraries with surviving Continental books, as shown in Figure 1.6 above, were market towns, or else were in close proximity to a market town that provided opportunities for acquiring books. The number of northern and East Anglian libraries that possessed Continental books was reflective of the strength of the provincial book trade, which was practiced by notable booksellers in and around York, such as John Foster in the early seventeenth century, and in and around Norwich, such as Robert Scott in the mid- to late-sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps most surprising were the relatively few surviving parish libraries in the southeast – in and around London – that possessed surviving Continental books when the Central Council for the Care of Churches and Michael Perkin were conducting their respective studies. Numerous booksellers congregated in a relatively small area of London centred on St Paul’s Churchyard, Fleet Street and Paternoster Row, where they would have had easy access to the books imported from the Continent. Such a dearth of Continental books in this area suggests the distorting impact of book loss on modern analyses of Continental imprints in surviving parish libraries. John Taylor’s *The Carriers Cosmographie* (1637), which contains details of all the carriers and wagons that journeyed between London and diverse parts of England in order to facilitate trade, demonstrates the dominance of the city in England’s domestic and international trade. The *Cosmographie* lists the trading journeys between London and over 200 English and Scottish towns.¹⁰¹ England’s trade routes along its road networks help to explain how Continental books came to be in parish libraries in all corners of the country, some in locations very far distant from London.

It is almost impossible to say with any certainty where all of the Continental books in these libraries were purchased from, but most came from London. According to *The Carriers Cosmographie*, the city of York sent carriers to London on a weekly basis.¹⁰² The numerous booksellers who congregated in the area around York Minster, which was so densely populated by tradesmen that the south side of the Minster became known as ‘booksellers alley’, probably took considerable advantage of the goods brought from London on those weekly journeys. John Foster is one of the most well documented York booksellers of the early seventeenth century, a time when there were at least six other booksellers practicing their trade in service to an

¹⁰⁰ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster’s Inventory of 1616* (Leeds: The Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society Ltd, 1994), p. 4; Jennifer Winters, ‘The English Provincial Book Trade: Bookseller Stock-Lists, c. 1520-1640’, Volume I (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2012), p. 40.

¹⁰¹ John Taylor, *The Carriers Cosmographie* (London: Printed by A.G. [Anne Griffin], 1637). USTC 3019285; James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 61.

¹⁰² Taylor, *The Carriers Cosmographie*, sig. C3r. USTC 3019285.

increasingly literate local population.¹⁰³ The inventory of Foster's shop, made at the time of his death in 1616, shows that a portion of his stock (102 individual titles equating to just over fifteen percent) was printed on the Continent or elsewhere outside of England. Foster's Continental stock came from Germany, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, and Dublin.¹⁰⁴ The range of countries from which Foster's stock originated, as well as the breadth of subjects that stock covered in order to appeal to the clergy, gentry and professionals, in addition to students and literate townspeople, clearly demonstrate the wide reach of the provincial book trade in England.¹⁰⁵ It is possible that the Continental books in the Yorkshire parish libraries were purchased from Foster and his fellow York booksellers, though more research into those libraries is necessary to provide evidence for this.

The number of parish libraries in East Anglia containing Continental texts similarly demonstrates the long reach of the Continental book trade in England and the resultant access to Continental texts in its provincial localities. The booksellers of East Anglia may have drawn on the weekly trade link between the two cities of Norwich and London to procure foreign books, though again without further research into those East Anglian parish libraries this must remain speculation.¹⁰⁶ Robert Scott was one of four booksellers operating in Norwich in the 1570s, along with John Clifford, Thomas Gilbert and Leonard Delyson. All four men had shops reasonably close together in the parish of St Andrew's.¹⁰⁷ The printing locations for about half of Robert Scott's stock are unidentifiable. Only nineteen of the 152 titles with identifiable imprints were printed on the Continent in Antwerp, Cologne, Frankfurt or Zurich, though it must be remembered that this may be a misleadingly small proportion of the entire stock.¹⁰⁸ Even accounting for a degree of variation between the booksellers' businesses and stockholdings, it can be reasonably assumed that the founders of parish libraries in Norwich and East Anglia more widely were able to purchase both English and Continental imprints from one or more of these sellers to give to their libraries.

Some parish libraries possessed Continental books initially bought by their founders and held in their personal collections. Though the evidence is circumstantial, the parish library of Swaffham, established in 1679, seems to provide a good example. Founded at the bequest of

¹⁰³ Barnard and Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade*, *passim*; D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 173-174.

¹⁰⁴ Winters, 'The English Provincial Book Trade', Volume I, pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰⁶ Taylor, *The Carriers Cosmographie*, sig. B4v. USTC 3019285.

¹⁰⁷ Winters, 'The English Provincial Book Trade', Volume I, p. 40.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

Clement Spelman, Swaffham library consisted of Clement Spelman's collection combined with those of his father, Sir Henry, and his elder brother, Sir John Spelman. It is possible that the Spelmans' various Continental trips and connections were responsible for the Continental volumes contained within Swaffham library. Clement Spelman himself seems to have had no connections with the Continent, but both his father and brother did. Sir Henry Spelman was an antiquarian in London, and in the course of publishing one of his works, *Archaeologus*, was known to be in contact with European scholars. Furthermore, his eldest son, Sir John, made several trips abroad, notably to Paris in 1619 and Italy in 1628-1629. During these trips, Sir John was in contact with numerous European scholars. It may be, therefore, that visits to the Continent or a relationship with Continental scholars led to the inclusion of several Continental books in Swaffham parish library.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

Post-Reformation parish libraries were a significant element of the intellectual and religious landscape of sixteenth and seventeenth century England as repositories of both religious and secular information that were often available to be used by both the clergy and the laity. The post-Reformation parish library evolved out of the pre-Reformation collections of liturgical texts and service books that were kept in churches for the practical use of the clergy. Whilst there were considerable differences in the content, location and users of these two institutions, this chapter has demonstrated that the pattern of sustained ownership of religious texts and educational intentions link the pre-Reformation collections with their post-Reformation counterparts.

In the parish churches of pre-Reformation England, collections of books were almost exclusively written in Latin, and were predominantly service books and liturgical texts intended to aid the clergy in conducting church services, delivering their sermons and performing their pastoral duties. These books were often bequeathed or donated in small quantities to a church by both laymen and clergymen, though there was no intention of officially establishing a 'library' as they would come to be recognised after the Reformation. The variety of genres

¹⁰⁹ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 364-365; William Carr and Stuart Handley, 'Spelman, Clement (Bap. 1598, d. 1679)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) [online: accessed 17 June 2020]; Stuart Handley, 'Spelman, Sir Henry (1563/4-1641)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2005) [online: accessed 17 June 2020]; David L. Smith, 'Spelman, Sir John (1594-1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 17 June 2020].

found in the collections of pre-Reformation churches depended on the size of that collection: smaller collections focussed primarily on service books and liturgical works, but larger collections often also included a number of 'reference works'. These 'reference works' comprised books such as glosses and commentaries on the Bible, hagiographies and martyrologies, books on canon law and works of Christian life and morality, to provide users of the collection with a more rounded education. The location of these collections within the parish churches often restricted access: they were generally housed in the holier, more sacred parts of the church in which only the clergy or extremely wealthy laity were permitted, excluding the majority of the laity. These circumstances were subject to considerable change after the Reformation, which served as the impetus to remove books from the private parts of parish churches and, in accordance with official injunctions, place them in the more convenient locations of a church that were accessible to the general laity.

This chapter has also demonstrated that these repositories were founded in England continuously throughout the period from 1558 to 1709. This disproves the arguments of those historians who asserted that there were no parish libraries founded in England in the first fifty years after the Reformation, and others who argued that next to no parish libraries were established during the Civil War and the Interregnum. Furthermore, this chapter has shown that the geography of parish library foundation favoured urban areas before 1680, with only a small number of repositories founded before this date in England's more rural locations. After 1680, however, there was a shift in focus from urban areas to rural locales. The years between 1680 and 1709 saw a considerable number of rural parish libraries established, largely thanks to the efforts of the Church of England clergyman, Thomas Bray, and his associates in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). This dramatic increase in rural foundations was not at the expense of urban establishments, as this chapter has argued. Urban parish libraries continued to be established at a similar rate after 1680 as they had been before, demonstrating the continued importance of these institutions in the market towns and cities of England as repositories of learning and knowledge. Some of this learning and knowledge was obtained from books that were printed on the Continent and included in English parish libraries thanks to the strength and efficacy of the European book trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chapter Two: The Francis Trigge Chained Library, Grantham

Introduction

In October 1598, the Lincolnshire-born clergyman Francis Trigge provided £100 by indenture for the foundation of a library in Grantham. In the foundation indenture, Trigge stated that the library's role was to promote access to a collection that would facilitate the 'better encreasinge of learninge and knowledge in divinitie and other liberall sciences' for the clergy and laity of Grantham and its surrounding areas.¹ Trigge's three co-signatories to this indenture were clerics and administrative officials who had connections, albeit sometimes tenuous ones, to Grantham. A *Catalogus Librorum* of the library collection was compiled in 1608, most likely prompted by Trigge's death in 1606 and his testamentary bequest of further books to the library. The *Catalogus Librorum* demonstrates that the collection was largely comprised of second-hand religious texts, including commentaries on the Bible, works of general theology, and religious or Church histories. The majority of these were published after the Reformation and therefore reflected the new Protestant teachings, but post-Reformation Catholic works by authors such as Hector Pintus and Robert Bellarmine were also included, making this library a repository of general religious education. Through its theological makeup, the Francis Trigge Chained Library allows historians an insight into the intellectual and religious life of Grantham at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Protestantism had gained a strong foothold in Lincolnshire by the end of Elizabeth's reign but, as R. B. Walker has argued, it was 'not numbered among the most Protestant counties of the kingdom; its allegiance was divided'.² As such, the repository included works by Catholic authors to enable the local clergy to improve their knowledge of Catholicism in order to better refute its arguments to their parishioners. In its inclusion of Catholic volumes in a largely Protestant book collection, the Francis Trigge Chained Library was broadly similar to the personal libraries of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century archbishops and bishops, such as Samuel Harsnett, Lancelot Andrewes and Arthur Lake, whose private collections were dominated by Protestant volumes but intentionally included numerous Catholic texts as well.³

¹ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

² R. B. Walker, 'The Growth of Puritanism in the County of Lincoln in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journal of Religious History*, 1:3 (1961), p. 157.

³ David Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600-1640', *The Library*, 14 (1992), pp. 223, 229.

The Life of Francis Trigge

Francis Trigge was born in Lincolnshire in around 1547. Very little is known about Trigge's early life until 1564, when he matriculated to University College, Oxford. Trigge earned his BA in February 1569 and proceeded MA in May 1572.⁴ How Trigge spent the next years of his life is again unclear, but by 1589 he had taken orders and had been appointed as the rector of Welbourn in Lincolnshire. Trigge held this post until his death in 1606.⁵ The town of Welbourn, where Trigge was rector for at least twenty-five years was less than twelve miles from Grantham, and it is clear from the title of Trigge's published sermon, *A Godly and Fruitfull Sermon Preached at Grantham 1592*, that he visited the town at least once, and preached in St Wulfram's church.⁶ If this was a regular occurrence, the connection that Trigge developed with the town may have engendered the association and provided the justification for such a substantial gift to the area in the form of this sizeable library. The library was formed by a quadripartite agreement made on 'the twentieth daie of October in the fortieth yeare of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth [1598]'. The four parties between whom this agreement was made were Francis Trigge; the Alderman of Grantham, John Gibbard (or Gibson) and his two burgesses; two prebendaries of Salisbury Cathedral, Abraham Conham and William Barksdale; and Robert Bryan and Stephen Loddington, two vicars of Grantham.⁷ In the agreement, Trigge promised to 'have a lybrary erected in the said towne of Grantham' and to provide 'books of divinitie and other learninge to the value of one hundreth poundes'.⁸ Trigge bequeathed a further seven books 'to the librarye at Grantham' in his will of 1606.⁹ Perhaps he felt that these volumes – which included works by Andrew Willett, Duns Scotus and John Foxe, amongst others – filled what he perceived to be a hole in the original collection.

Trigge was a Calvinist whose belief in the importance of Scripture as the primary source of religious authority, along with the importance of preaching, suggests moderate Puritan sympathies. He was a popular author of at least eight different titles written in either English

⁴ E. I. Carlyle and A. McRae, 'Trigge, Francis (1547?-1606)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [online: accessed 4 July 2019]; Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxoniensis: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714: Volume IV – Early Series* (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1891), p. 1510.

⁵ Carlyle and McRae, 'Trigge, Francis (1547?-1606)', *ODNB*, [online: accessed 4 July 2019]; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, Volume IV – Early Series*, p. 1510.

⁶ Francis Trigge, *A Godly and Fruitfull Sermon Preached at Grantham 1592* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1594). USTC 512686.

⁷ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (LCC Wills/1606), Wills proved in the Lincoln Consistory Court, number 252.

or Latin. Trigge's earliest surviving work, his politico-religious commentary on social and religious conditions in Lincolnshire, *An apologie, or defence of our dayes, against the vaine murmurings & complaints of manie...*, was published in 1589. In this work, Trigge defended the Elizabethan Settlement and revealed his staunch Calvinism; he described the Reformed religion as a light that

when Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger preached... was spread farre and wyde. But nowe truly, all darkenes being dispersed, it hath filled all the worlde, it hath entred into every chinke, it hath lightned all the ayre. And it increaseth every daye, and is more brighter and clearer.¹⁰

Trigge did, however, acknowledge why many in the county retained their conservative views on religion. He recognised the upheavals brought about by the changes made to parish church interiors: 'the bare walles' that are 'lacking their golden images, their coastly coapes, their pleasant Orgaines...', which caused conservatives to 'bewayle this spoyling and laying waste of the Church'. Trigge also posited that a sense of disconnect with their ancestors confirmed people in their conservative opinions and in their unwillingness to accept Reform: 'they condemne all our forefathers, saye they, and therefore they will never be on our opinion'.¹¹ This did not deter Trigge in his attempts to effect conversions, his desire for which he elucidated in many of his published works.

Trigge's *A Godly and Fruitfull Sermon Preached at Grantham 1592*, which was first printed in 1594, expounded the importance of the gospel's lessons to ministers and laymen alike. In this work, Trigge asserted that ministers must keep 'the gospel of Jesus Christ in their heartes' and live an exemplar life in order to 'be able to say [to their parishioners]... do those things which you have both seene & heard of me'.¹² In preaching and publishing this sermon, Trigge stated that he hoped to 'pul some out of the fire of sinne and wickednes', suggesting that he was attempting to convert some of Lincolnshire's Catholics to Protestantism by his words.¹³ Two editions of Trigge's *A touchstone, whereby may be easilie discerned, which is the true Catholike faith, of all them that professe the name of Catholiques in the Church of Englande*

¹⁰ Francis Trigge, *An apologie, or defence of our dayes, against the vaine murmurings & complaints of manie wherein is plainly proved, that our dayes are more happie & blessed than the dayes of our forefathers* (London: John Wolfe, 1589), p. 4. USTC 511333.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 28. USTC 511333.

¹² Trigge, *A Godly and Fruitfull Sermon*, sig. C6v-C7r. USTC 512686.

¹³ Trigge, *A Godly and Fruitfull Sermon*, sig. A4v. USTC 512686.

were published in consecutive years in 1599 and 1600.¹⁴ Both editions were dedicated to Sir Thomas Cecil, second Baron Burghley, and in the dedicatory epistle, Trigge spoke of ‘the great zeale your Lordship hath to the Gospel, and to the professors thereof’.¹⁵ He further demonstrated his desire to convert Catholics to Protestantism in his epistle to the reader, explaining his wish ‘by the handes of our writings, or by any other meanes whatsoever, [to] drawe such as bee obstinate from the flame and fire of heresie’.¹⁶ Moreover, Trigge’s belief in the importance of Scripture was also demonstrated in this epistle, in which he stated that Christians sought ‘to build themselves in their most holy faith... by hearing, reading, and meditating of the holy Scriptures’.¹⁷ The work itself was divided into numerous chapters on topics such as ‘the sufficiencie of the Scriptures’, ‘praiers in a strange tongue’ or ‘the scriptures read in the vulgar tongue’. Other chapters concerned topics pertaining to Christian life, including ‘praier for the dead’, ‘mariage and single life’, ‘Christian patience’ or ‘the reward of good works’. In this epistle, Trigge outlined various points of Catholic belief, and responded to them from a Protestant standpoint.

The final two works published in Trigge’s lifetime were his *The true Catholique, formed according to the truth of the Scriptures, and the shape of the ancient fathers, and best sort of the latter Catholiques, which seeme to fauour the Church of Rome* (1602), and his *To the kings most excellent maiestie. The humble petition of two sisters; the Church and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient commons and liberties...* (1604).¹⁸ Both of these works evidenced Trigge’s confessional identity. In *The true Catholique, formed according to the truth of the Scriptures*, Trigge discussed ‘the preaching of the everlasting Gospell: the worshipping of God alone, that made all things, and not of any creature’.¹⁹ In addition, he requested

¹⁴ Francis Trigge, *A touchstone, whereby may easilie be discerned, which is the true Catholike faith, of all them that professe the name of Catholiques in the Church of Englande, that they bee not deceived taken out of the Catholike Epistle of S. Jude* (London: Peter Short, 1599). USTC 514096; Francis Trigge, *A touchstone, whereby may easilie be discerned, which is the true Catholike faith, of all them that professe the name of Catholiques in the Church of Englande, that they bee not deceived taken out of the Catholike Epistle of S. Jude*, 2nd edition (London: Peter Short, 1600). USTC 514973.

¹⁵ Trigge, *A touchstone, whereby may easilie be discerned, which is the true Catholike faith* (1599), sig. A2r. USTC 514096; Trigge, *A touchstone, whereby may easilie be discerned, which is the true Catholike faith* (1600), sig. A4v. USTC 514973.

¹⁶ Trigge, *A touchstone, whereby may easilie be discerned, which is the true Catholike faith* (1600), sig. A2r. USTC 514973.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Francis Trigge, *The true Catholique, formed according to the truth of the Scriptures, and the shape of the ancient fathers, and best sort of the latter Catholiques, which seeme to fauour the Church of Rome...* (London: Peter Short, 1602). USTC 3000846; Francis Trigge, *To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The humble petition of two sisters the Church and Common-wealth: for the restoring of their ancient commons and liberties, which late inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: containing seuen reasons as evidences for the same* (London: Felix Kingston for George Bishop, 1604). USTC 3001647 and 3001646.

¹⁹ Trigge, *The true Catholique*, sig. ¶5r. USTC 3000846.

forbearance from his readers should he ‘dissent in some points from the godly brethren’, assuring his audience that ‘I dissent not with a contentious mind, but with a mind longing and searching for the truth’.²⁰ Trigge’s final work, *The svmmme of true Catholike doctrine: plainly laid downe and prooued by scriptures and auncient fathers...*, was published posthumously in 1613. The volume contained an exposition on Christian doctrine and its relation to Roman Catholicism.²¹ These sentiments expressed in these works may have reflected concerns about the rehabilitation of Catholicism following the succession of James I to the throne of England.²² Francis Trigge may thus have been at pains in his last work to emphasise the differences between the Established Church and the Roman Catholic one. The only surviving copy of this work was once owned by Archbishop Tobie Matthew of York and is now in York Minster Library.²³

Signatories to the Indenture

Six men were named in the indenture that formed the legal basis for the creation of the library in Grantham. Francis Trigge formed the first part; John Gibbard (or Gibson), the Alderman of Grantham, and its burgesses, constituted the second part; the third part comprised Abraham Conham and William Barksdale; and Robert Bryan and Stephen Loddington were the fourth and final component of the agreement. Just four of these men – Barksdale, Bryan, Loddington and Trigge – signed the agreement itself, as seen below in Figure 2.1, hence its being referred to as a quadripartite agreement.²⁴ These five men were ostensibly chosen by Trigge to be his co-signatories because they were all educated men who constituted some of the most authoritative figures in the town. Each held influential clerical or lay positions that were based either in Grantham or in its surrounding area, or else they were connected to the town administratively. Such authoritative figures would have been best placed to ensure the

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Francis Trigge, *The svmmme of true Catholike doctrine: plainly laid downe and prooued by scriptures and auncient fathers, and also by the testimonies of some of the best (even) of the Romish Catholikes themselues. Where also the true Catholike is rightly desciphered and taught what doctrine he ought to embrace, and what to auoid: so that hereby are handled, most of the weightiest matters of controversie, betwixt the pseudocatholickes and vs* (London: Humphrey Lownes for John Royston, 1613). USTC 3005561.

²² Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 11.

²³ Trigge, *The svmmme of true Catholike doctrine*. USTC 3005561. York Minster Library, shelfmark V/2.N.17.

²⁴ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

longstanding security of the library, both in terms of preventing book borrowing or theft, but also in protecting the collection from general dispersal or removal from St Wulfram's church.

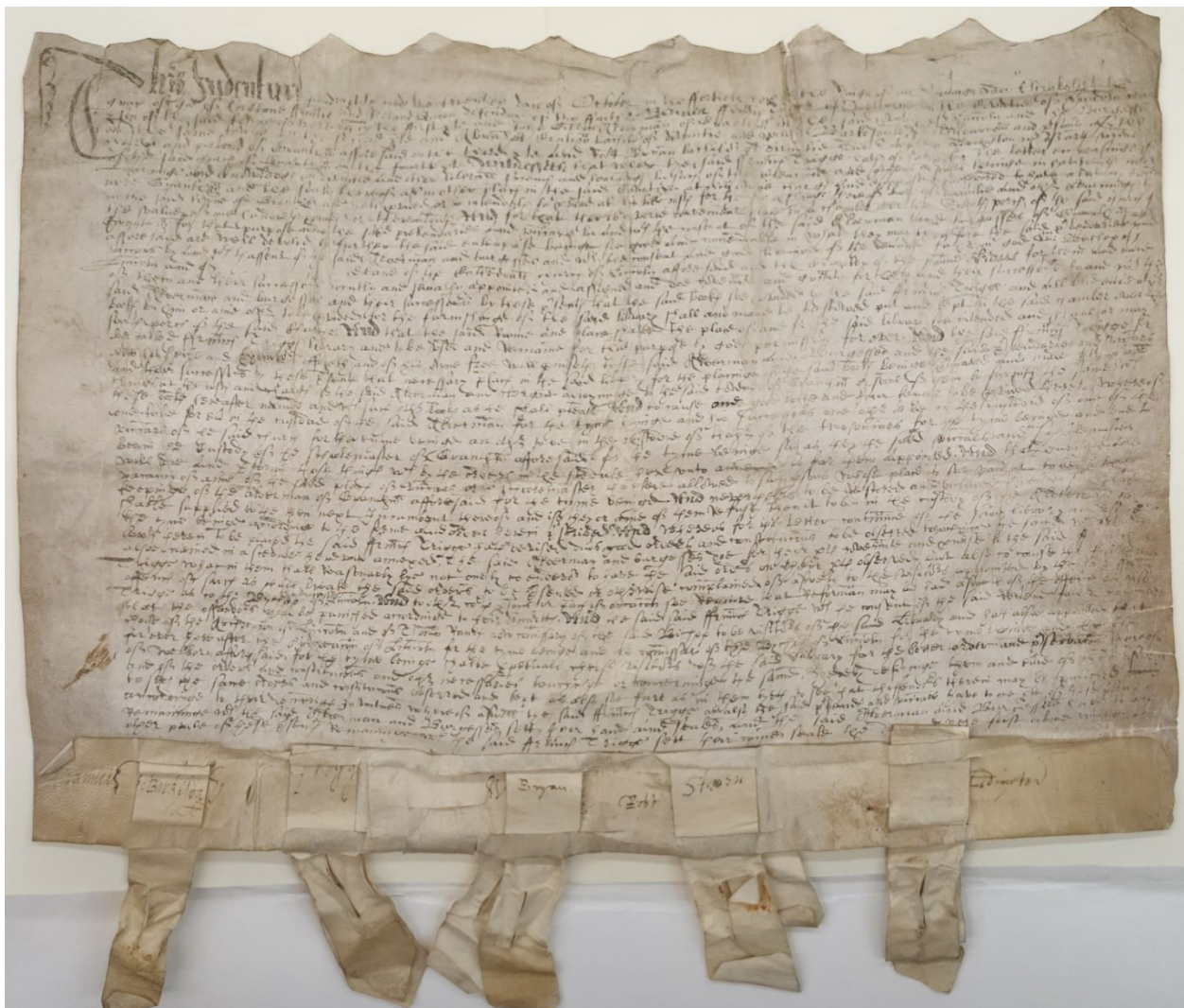


Figure 2.1: Indenture Document Establishing the Francis Trigge Chained Library

Trigge, William Barksdale and Robert Bryan all attended the University of Oxford at around the same time, albeit as students of different colleges. It is possible, therefore, that the three men were aware of one another prior to their respective arrivals in Lincolnshire and subsequent status as signatories to the library foundation indenture. Barksdale received his BA in 1573 and his MA in 1576, both from Christ Church, before going on to hold numerous clerical appointments. From 1580, Barksdale was a prebendary at Salisbury Cathedral and was in receipt of one of two Grantham-based livings. In 1597, he was listed as a rector in South Grantham in a visitation book drawn up prior to the visit of William Chadderton, Bishop of

Lincoln.²⁵ Barksdale's connection with Salisbury – a centre of godliness from the mid-sixteenth century thanks to the influence of John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury and 'a champion of the evangelical cause', and its connections to other evangelicals such as John Foxe and John Garbrande, a Dutch Protestant refugee – suggests that Barksdale, like Trigge, may have been a Calvinist conformist with godly sympathies.²⁶ Robert Bryan earned his BA from Lincoln College in 1572-3, before proceeding MA in 1577 and graduating as Bachelor of Divinity in July 1586.²⁷ Bryan was noted as a vicar in South Grantham in the same visitation book of 1597 that recorded Barksdale as a rector of the same area.²⁸

Abraham Conham and Stephen Loddington were both graduates of the University of Cambridge, though they attended ten years apart and so their association there is unlikely. Conham matriculated to Trinity College as a pensioner with no financial support in 1567, before being appointed as a scholar in 1570. He received his BA in 1571-2 and his MA in 1575. Conham was appointed as a University preacher in 1581 and earned his Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1582.²⁹ Throughout his career, Conham held many appointments as both vicar and prebendary, including that of perpetual vicar at Bishopstone in South Wiltshire from 1584 until his death in 1613. Conham was the second of two prebendaries at Salisbury Cathedral to hold a Grantham living, which was his from 1584.³⁰ Again, it may be posited that Conham's association with Salisbury implies that he held similar beliefs to Trigge and Barksdale, and conformed to the Church of England whilst retaining some godly sympathies. Stephen Loddington matriculated to Magdalene College as a pensioner in 1586, before gaining his BA in 1589-90 and his MA in 1593. He had been a vicar in North Grantham for a year by the time of Bishop Chadderton's visit in 1597, and he was appointed as a roaming preacher throughout

²⁵ Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Volume I – Early Series* (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1891), p. 72; Clergy of the Church of England Database, *Barksdale, William* (no date), Person ID: 47492, [online: accessed 22 July 2019]; C. W. Foster (ed.), *The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I as Illustrated by Documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln, Volume I* (s. l.: Alpha Editions, 2020), p. 174.

²⁶ Gary W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English National Church: The Dilemmas of an Erastian Reformer* (Ashgate: Routledge, 2006), p. 232; Rosamund Oates, 'Tobie Matthew and the Establishment of the Godly Commonwealth in England: 1560-1606', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York, 2003), pp. 47-50.

²⁷ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, Volume I – Early Series*, p. 202.

²⁸ Clergy of the Church of England Database, *Bryan, Robert* (no date), Person ID: 141703, [online: accessed 22 July 2019]; Foster, *The State of the Church, Volume I*, p. 174.

²⁹ John Venn and J. A. Venn (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Volume I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 379.

³⁰ Clergy of the Church of England Database, *Conham, Abraham* (no date), Person ID: 56268, [online: accessed 22 July 2019].

the diocese of Lincoln in 1607, suggesting a commitment to puritanism within the established Church.³¹

John Gibbard (or Gibson) was the only named party in the library's foundation indenture who seemingly did not attend university, and who did not hold a clerical office.³² Gibson was recorded as a magistrate in the borough in 1589, but very little is known about him beyond this information.³³

Considering the intertwined nature of the professional lives of these six men, there is a strong probability of their knowing one another prior to their signing the foundation indenture for the library, though there is no direct evidence to confirm this. Their positions of authority within Grantham and its surrounding areas are, however, evident. They were all men of considerable financial means with influence in the local community, who were 'well devoted to further[ing] the said enterprise [the building of the library] beinge so good & commendable'.³⁴ Perhaps they, like Trigge, were keen to provide local clergymen with the means of improving their own education and attempting to convert the confessionally divided population of Grantham and its surrounding areas to Protestantism. They were avowedly committed to the safety and security of the library, which may have been why Trigge involved so many influential and authoritative people in the enterprise. The indenture agreement stated that Trigge had 'devised good orders & constitucions' for the library. The Alderman and burgesses enjoined to uphold these instructions by doing 'what in them shall reasonably lye not onely to endeavour to have the said orders on their partes observed but also to cause the failures & offences of such as shall breake the said orders to be presented or otherwise complained of... to the Bychop of the diocese of Lincoln'.³⁵ Were Trigge's co-signatories not men of substance in the local community, they would not have had the power, authority or influence to carry out Trigge's penalties for transgressors, nor to contact the bishop of Lincoln directly to ask for his involvement and assistance. This would have opened the library up to having its books wrongfully removed or poorly treated, or else taken out of St Wulfram's church in its entirety.

³¹ Clergy of the Church of England Database, *Lodington, Stephen* (no date), Person ID: 71558, [online: accessed 23 July 2019].

³² This John Gibson does not sufficiently fit the description of any John Gibson provided in either John Venn and J. A. Venn (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Volume II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 211; or Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Volume II – Early Series* (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1891), p. 562.

³³ B. Street, *Historical Notes on Grantham and Grantham Church* (Grantham: S. Ridge and Son, 1857), p. 123.

³⁴ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

The Intended Users of the Parish Library

The indenture providing for the foundation of the library in St Wulfram's church stated that it was for the use of the 'cleargie and others beinge inhabitants in or nere Grantham and the souke thereof'.³⁶ Theoretically, this would make the library at St Wulfram's easily accessible by the vast majority of the literate locality. However, the stipulation in the foundation indenture that the library was to be kept locked significantly reduced the physical accessibility of the books. Only four men (the alderman, the two vicars of the church, and the schoolmaster of Grantham) were permitted keys, and if none of them could be found when a reader wished to consult the library, then it could not be used.³⁷ Access to the library was therefore by *de facto* permission of one of the four men who held a key. In addition, the orders and constitutions put in place by Francis Trigge for the maintenance of the library after its establishment stipulated that 'the bookes be kept continually bownd with convenient chaines to the staples devised', increasing the security of the books to prevent them from being removed from the library.³⁸ Trigge was not the only library founder to make these kinds of stipulations: William Smarte's library, founded at Ipswich a year after Trigge's collection at Grantham, was also ordered to be kept in a locked room. Similarly, the library John Clungeon established at Southampton in 1640 was to be 'chaned with iron chanes and kepte in an iron grate' for security purposes.³⁹ Trigge's own instructions regarding access were seemingly motivated by a concern for the books' security, and not by a desire to prevent certain readers using the books.

The Hall Book of Grantham, 'the earliest surviving book of minutes recording the discussions and decisions of the alderman's Court of the Corporation of Grantham', demonstrates that the library was still in use in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁰ In December 1642, it was recorded that Edward Skipwith, a Grantham-born merchant, gave fifty shillings to the town of Grantham. Skipwith gave the annual interest on these fifty shillings, which amounted to four shillings, to the upkeep of the library:

³⁶ *Ibid.*; For a brief description and discussion of the surrounding area of Grantham, the 'Soke', see Edmund Turnor, *Collections for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham* (London: W. Bulmer and Co. for William Miller, 1806), p. ix.

³⁷ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

³⁸ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/3), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Schedule of Orders and Constitutions.

³⁹ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/198/73), Will of John Clungeon, Haberdasher of London, 9 November 1646.

⁴⁰ John B. Manterfield, *Newton's Grantham: The Hall Book and Life in a Puritan Town* (Grantham: Grantham Civic Society, 2014), p. 9.

out of his love and well wishing to learning, and the better to make & incourage the viccars of Grantham (in the winter & colde tyme of the yeare to follow their studdies)... I will that ytt [the four shillings]... be allowed yearlie for the maintaineing of a fire within the librarie'.⁴¹

Such a donation makes clear that the library was still in use almost fifty years after its foundation, but it also suggests that the library was more popular with clerical users than lay ones – though Skipwith's wording implies that even the clergy needed prompting in the winter months. Considering the restrictive access arrangements, and without a library register to demonstrate otherwise, it is highly probable that this was the case.

Situating the Library within the Church

The foundation indenture for the Francis Trigge Chained Library explicitly stated that the library was to be placed in 'a verie convenient place in a chamber over the Sowth porch' of St Wulfram's church.⁴² This room, which still houses the library, was nominally accessible to all. Construction on the south porch of the church was completed sometime after 1300, slightly later than the church itself.⁴³ At some point in its history, the room over the porch that currently houses the library seems to have been accommodation for the vicar of the church.⁴⁴ The Bishop of Lincoln's consent to use this room for the library was granted on 8 November 1599.⁴⁵ Preparations to convert this room into a suitable space for the library were undertaken at the cost of the Alderman and clergy, as set out in the indenture.⁴⁶ The effort required to transform the room into a suitable space for the library demonstrates the level of importance placed on the library by Trigge and his co-founders, who spent their own money on the building work in order to provide the people of Grantham with an educational repository.

The library appears to have fallen into disrepair sometime after the mid-seventeenth century. When Thomas Frognall Dibdin visited the library in the late 1830s, he found it a 'desolate and

⁴¹ Bill Couth, *Grantham During the Interregnum: The Hallbook of Grantham, 1641-1649* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for Lincoln Record Society, 1995), p. 21.

⁴² Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

⁴³ Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, 2nd edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 316-317.

⁴⁴ Angela Roberts, 'The Chained Library, Grantham', *Library History*, 2 (1971), p. 89.

⁴⁵ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/2), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Consent of the Bishop of Lincoln.

⁴⁶ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

deserted spot. The windows were yet broken; the floor was yet cracked; the chains... yet dangling about the books'.⁴⁷ The damaged floor and leaking roof were repaired with money from Samuel Rudd in 1881, and the library was given a 'thorough restoration' in 1894. As part of this restoration, a local bookbinder in Grantham rebound numerous books, many of the chains were repaired, and the bookshelves that still hold the books today were partially reconstructed from the original library furniture.⁴⁸ The restoration demonstrates the renewed sense of importance that was attached to the library by its nineteenth-century custodians as something of cultural value, despite the fact the books were by then less topically relevant than they had once been. Today, the library remains in its original room over the south porch, as seen below in Figure 2.2, accessible only via a narrow spiral staircase.



Figure 2.2: The Francis Trigge Chained Library as it appears today in the room over the South Porch

The Selection and Supply of the Books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library

This chapter argues that the theologically diverse collection of the Francis Trigge Chained Library was purchased from Cambridge with the confessionally divided people of Grantham and its surrounding areas in mind, for use by the clergy in the preparation of their sermons and publications in defence of the established religion, and by the laity in search of an education. However, evidence for the compilation of the original collection of the Francis Trigge library is at best circumstantial. John Glenn, the library's foremost historian, argued that the collection was bulk-bought from Cambridge by Francis Trigge's agent, and asserted that this agent was

⁴⁷ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *A Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland, Volume I* (London: C. Richards, 1838), pp. 48-49.

⁴⁸ Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1931), p. 298.

responsible for collecting the books, which he did ‘without much discernment’.⁴⁹ In contrast to the argument made by this work that the library collection was compiled with conscious thought given to its prospective readers, Glenn concluded that the resulting collection was not ‘an attempt to bring together a library as useful and comprehensive as possible for the provincial clergy who would be its main users’.⁵⁰

The books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library were purchased using the donation of £100 from Trigge. The indenture and other documents relating to the foundation of the library were previously thought to have been lost prior to their re-discovery in the Borough archives in 1957, leading many nineteenth-century historians to assume that the library collection was a portion of Francis Trigge’s personal collection of books.⁵¹ However, the agreement that provided for the library’s establishment stated that Francis Trigge ‘hath provided or intendeth to provide at his like costs... books of divinitie and other learninge to the value of one hundreth poundes or thereaboutes’.⁵² Such wording suggests that Trigge provided the money for the books, as opposed to the books themselves from his own collection.

Glenn argued that the money that Francis Trigge gave to purchase books for the library was spent in Cambridge in a single book-buying roundtrip undertaken by Trigge’s agent.⁵³ There is, however, no direct evidence for the involvement of an agent in the purchasing of books for the library: the foundation indenture makes no mention of how the books were to be purchased or where they were to be purchased from. However, the provenance of the books themselves certainly speaks to them having been bought in Cambridge, and possibly in London, many of them second-hand. The date of publication for many of these works, combined with prices known to have been paid for certain titles in the collection, suggest their second-hand status at the time of their purchase. Many works were relatively affordably priced, and most new books were likely to cost more than an older edition, depending on the title.⁵⁴ The bindings of several books in the collection are identifiable as the work of known Cambridge binders. The work of both the Dutchman Garrett Godfrey, who was appointed one of three University stationers in

⁴⁹ John Glenn, ‘A Sixteenth-Century Library: the Francis Trigge Chained Library of St Wulfram’s Church, Grantham’ in Daniel Williams (ed.), *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989), p. 66.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 63.

⁵² Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

⁵³ Glenn, ‘A Sixteenth-Century Library’, p. 66.

⁵⁴ Ian Mitchell, ‘“Old Books – New Bound”? Selling Second-Hand Books in England, c. 1680-1850’ in Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme (eds), *Modernity and the second-hand trade: European consumption cultures and practices, 1700-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 150, 153.

1534, and Thomas Thomas, who was a Cambridge scholar and binder also appointed Printer to the University in 1583, can be seen in the collection.⁵⁵ Books bound by other Cambridge or London-based binders, who are known only by their initials, are also in the Francis Trigge Chained Library collection.⁵⁶ Therefore, considering the absence of direct evidence and the provenance of the bindings of many books in the collection, both Cambridge and London are plausible purchase locations for the books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library collection.

This chapter argues that the multiplicity of authors' confessional identities and book topics in the collection of the Francis Trigge library was not the result of indifferent purchasing practices. Rather that it was reflective of the religiously disparate populace in Grantham, its surrounding areas, and Lincolnshire more generally, and the founders' acknowledgement of the need to provide the local clergy with the necessary information to refute Catholicism and promote the Church of England. This contradicts Glenn's argument that in compiling the collection, there was no clear purchasing agenda and no attempt to provide a coherent and useful selection of books intended specifically for educating the clergy and laity of Grantham. Glenn cited the several volumes of commentaries on the Book of Psalms and the Book of Genesis and the existence of only one thirteenth-century commentary on the Gospel of Mark as evidence of this lack of care.⁵⁷ However, that was not the case. The collection was primarily comprised of theological works by Protestant authors that included Calvinist sermons, Lutheran propaganda, and an array of Protestant Biblical commentaries, all of which were useful for improving the religious knowledge of the clergy, as well as any lay readers. The inclusion of multiple different commentaries on some Books of the Bible – there are five different commentaries in the collection on both the Psalms and Genesis, for example – perhaps reflected the 'fascination' that these books held for people in the last years of the sixteenth century. The inclusion of just one copy of the Gospel of Mark in the collection, on the other hand, reflected its lesser importance to sixteenth-century readers.⁵⁸ Similar duplications of different commentaries on the Bible can be seen in Ripon Minster parish library, which

⁵⁵ Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 64; R. B. McKerrow (ed.), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1910), pp. 264-265; E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1905), pp. 56-57.

⁵⁶ Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 64.

⁵⁷ Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 65.

⁵⁸ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 116.

included several commentaries on the Book of Revelation and the Book of Psalms, for example.

These volumes sat alongside works by medieval and post-Reformation Catholic authors that were also of use to the parish clergy, including works of Catholic canon law written in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, and Biblical commentaries and doctrinal works by post-Reformation Catholics including Hector Pintus and Robert Bellarmine. Such variation in the context of late-Elizabethan Lincolnshire suggests a heightened religious awareness on the part of Trigge and his co-signatories. Such an awareness may have influenced them to provide a theologically diverse collection for use by the clergy in rejecting Catholicism and promoting established religion, as was the case in many other contemporary and later collections.⁵⁹ The library of Archbishop Tobie Matthew, for example, contained works by various Reformers including John Calvin, Theodore Beza, Martin Bucer and Heinrich Bullinger alongside the works of notable post-Reformation Catholics such as Robert Bellarmine, Hector Pintus and William Allen, an English Catholic cardinal, which provided the archbishop with a broad religious understanding.⁶⁰

The cost of the books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library demonstrate the range of prices paid for works of varying genres and ages at the end of the sixteenth century. Sixty books in the collection (equal to around one quarter of the original corpus) contain booksellers' price codes written on their title pages, in a manner akin to those identified by John Blatchly in his work on the books of Ipswich Town Library.⁶¹ Glenn applied Blatchly's work on Ipswich Town Library to the letters on the title pages of the books in the Trigge collection; he estimated that the original library would have been relatively close to being completed within its original budget. Francis Trigge gave £100 for the purchasing of books for the library; the total cost of the sixty books in the quarter of the collection that contained price codes was approximately £25, or one quarter of the total sum Trigge gave.⁶² The cost of the priced books ranged from between £2 10s. for an eight-volume set of the Magdeburg Centuriators' *Ecclesiastica Historia* (1560-1574), down to Hieronymus Zanchius's *In D. Pauli epistolam ad Ephesios*,

⁵⁹ Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops', p. 229.

⁶⁰ The full catalogue of Archbishop Tobie Matthew's library can be accessed via the University of York library catalogue.

⁶¹ J. M. Blatchly, 'Ipswich Town Library', *The Book Collector*, 32:2 (1986), pp. 191-198.

⁶² Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 69-70.

commentarius (1594) at 10s. Danaeus's *Vetustissimarum primi mundi antiquitatum sectiones* (1596) was the lowest priced book of the sixty coded volumes, priced at just 1s. 6d.⁶³

The *Catalogus Librorum*, dated 1608, is the earliest surviving record of the contents of the Francis Trigge Chained Library. Written in an Italianate script that becomes gradually smaller as the writer seemingly began to run out of space, the catalogue lists 228 titles in three neat columns, and a fourth column that appears to have been crammed onto the right hand side of the paper. As can be seen in Figure 2.3 below, the *Catalogus Librorum* grouped the books together by author, but no other arrangement is discernible: the titles are not, for example, arranged alphabetically under their respective authors nor are they arranged according to date of publication. Glenn has suggested that the titles were divided into four sections that may have reflected the four original shelves the books sat on. However, because the books now sit on bookcases from 1894, this is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty.⁶⁴ The catalogue ends with the words 'Exscript p[er] me', followed by an indecipherable signature and a date of February 1608.⁶⁵ Whilst there are some mistakes within the original catalogue (misrepresented authors and titles written in Latin when they are in fact in English in the actual book), the 1608 *Catalogus Librorum* remains the most useful piece of surviving evidence of the library's composition in its earliest years.

⁶³ For the full list of price-marked books in the Francis Trigge Library, see John Glenn and David Walsh, *Catalogue of the Francis Trigge Chained Library, St Wulfram's Church, Grantham* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988), pp. 81-82.

⁶⁴ Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 67; Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library*, pp. 297-298.

⁶⁵ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/4), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Catalogue of Books Given by Francis Trigge.

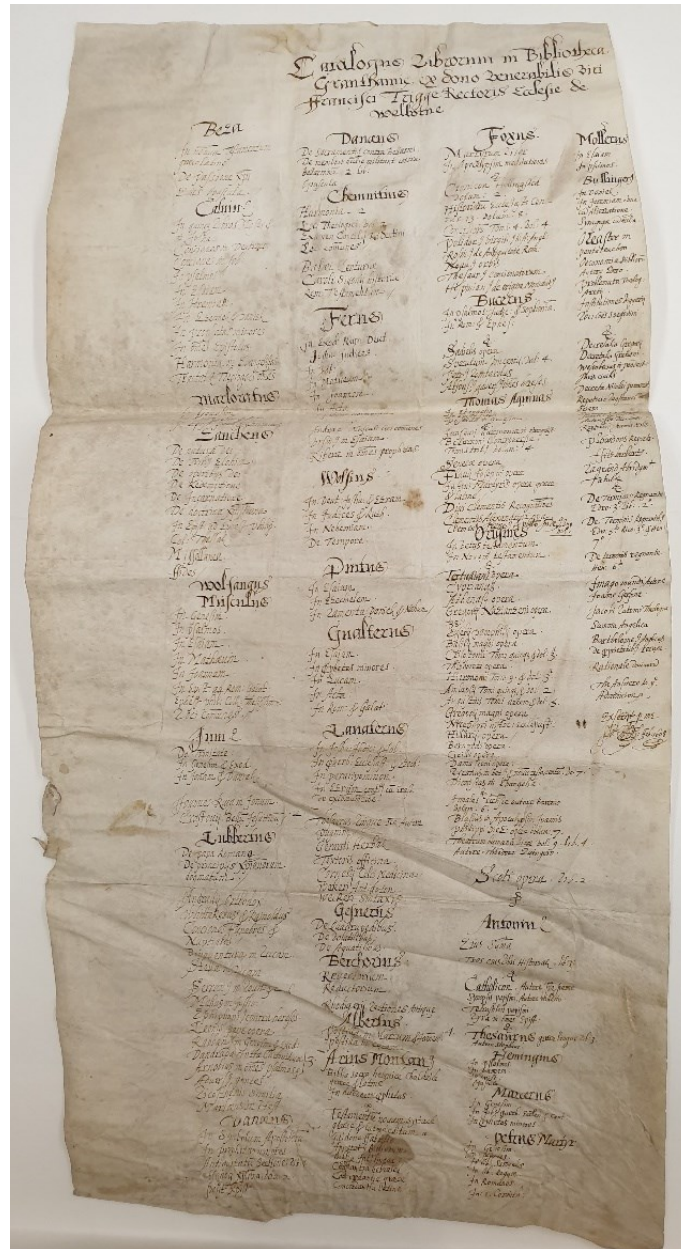


Figure 2.3: The Catalogus Librorum of 1608

Numerous donations and bequests throughout the seventeenth century augmented the initial *en masse* purchase of books for the Francis Trigge Chained Library. The first post-foundation bequest to the library came from Francis Trigge himself in his will, proved in 1606. The donation may well have prompted the compilation of the *Catalogus Librorum* in 1608.⁶⁶ Trigge bequeathed several books to the library at St Wulfram’s, including the three-volume *Historia Venerabilis Antonini* of Saint Antoninus of Florence, Johannes Balbus’s *Summa que Catholicon appellatur*, six volumes of Caesar Baronius’s *Annales ecclesiastici*, the *Eicasm*

⁶⁶ Glenn, ‘A Sixteenth-Century Library’, p. 67.

seu meditationes in sacram Apocalypsin by John Foxe, Blasio Viegas's *Commentaria exergetici in Apocalypsim Joannis apostoli*, Andrew Willett's *Synopsis Papismi, that is a general view of Papistry*, and the four volumes of Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae*.⁶⁷ Trigge's testamentary instructions on which books to give to the library were clear:

My Theatru[m] vitae humanae, and Scotus his works, and all Antoninus, and my great Pagnen his lexicon, Concordantiae graecae Phillippus de dies his postill with that p[ar]te wh[ich] Mr Pontell of Carleton hath of it, Vigeas upon the Revelation, Fox upon the Revelation and Catholicon.⁶⁸

The books bequeathed by Trigge were listed together in the *Catalogus Librorum* of 1608.⁶⁹ All of these works are still in the library, except the lexicon of 'Pagnen' (the Italian Dominican Friar, Sante Pagnini), which has since been lost.⁷⁰

Henry More was one of the most notable seventeenth-century donors to the library. More was born in Grantham in 1614 and was the son of Alexander More, the mayor of Grantham. More attended Christ's College, Cambridge and achieved his BA in 1636 and his MA in 1639. A noted theologian and writer, More was ordained and presented with the living of Ingoldsby, approximately six miles east of Grantham, in 1641. In 1666, More gave the living at Ingoldsby to John Worthington, who had been ejected from Cambridge after the Restoration. Henry More died in 1687 and was buried in Christ's College chapel.⁷¹ More donated eight titles of his own works in ten volumes to the Francis Trigge Chained Library between 1662 and 1681. The books were seemingly given in a series of different donations, as some were donated before the last were published, though the number of individual donations is unclear. More seems to have had

⁶⁷ Antoninus Forciglione, *Historia Venerabilis Antonini, Volumes I-III* (Basel: Nicolaus Kasler, 1502). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmarks I12-I14. These editions not listed in the USTC; Johannes Balbus, *Summa que Catholicon appellatur* (Lyon: Nicolaus Wolff, 1503). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark H10. USTC 142905; Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, in six volumes (Mainz: Balthasar Lippi, 1601-1603). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmarks J19-J24. These editions not listed in the USTC; John Foxe, *Eicasmī seu meditationes in sacram Apocalypsin* (London: T. Dawson for George Bishop, 1587). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark H1. USTC 510753; Andrew Willett, *Synopsis Papismi, that is a general view of Papistry* (London: Felix Kingston for Thomas Man, 1600). Francis Trigge Chained Library, no shelfmark. USTC 515024; Theodor Zwinger, *Theatrum humanae vitae*, in four volumes (Basel: ex officina Episcopiorum, 1586-1587). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmarks J15-J18. USTC 606252.

⁶⁸ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (LCC Wills/1606), Wills proved in the Lincoln Consistory Court, number 252.

⁶⁹ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/4), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Catalogue of Books Given by Francis Trigge.

⁷⁰ B. Roussel and R. E. Shillenn (trans.), 'Pagnini, Sante (1470-1536)', *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, (2005) [online: accessed 8 August 2019].

⁷¹ Sarah Hutton, 'More, Henry (1614-1687)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 28 July 2019].

some association with John Smyth, the warden of St Wulfram's church in 1679, as two of the volumes More authored and donated bear the inscription 'Sep 20 1679 Ex dono reverend auctoris / in the years of John Smyth church warden'.⁷² Three additional volumes of More's works bear the Latin phrase '*ex dono auctoris*' at the beginning of the book.⁷³ The location of More's living at Ingoldsby, in relatively close proximity to Grantham, makes it possible that More used the library for his own purposes. This and his association with the church's clergy and the town as his birthplace may therefore be accounted amongst the reasons for his gifts.

One hundred years later, in the mid-eighteenth century, John Newcome, another Grantham-born man who was Dean of Rochester as well as Master of St John's College and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, also donated books to the Francis Trigge Chained Library. The donation of these books over 150 years after the library's original foundation suggests that it had not yet begun to fall into the deplorable state in which it was found in the nineteenth century. A second codicil to Newcome's will, dated 18 September 1764, stated that

To the parish library in the church of Grantham... I give so many usefull Books as will fill the three Book cases in my Gallery such as Books of morality, Christian divinity, proper Commentation on the Bible or any part thereof, English history, chronology, geography, sermons.⁷⁴

Presumably, the users were to remain 'the clergy and gentlemen of the neighbourhood', as described in Newcome's first codicil to his will on 27 July 1763.⁷⁵ The selection of books Newcome deemed 'usefull' for the clergy and gentlemen of Grantham suggests that he wished the educational nature of the Francis Trigge library to be retained and not altered by his augmentation. Furthermore, Newcome specified works that were religiously edifying as well as a number of secular volumes on topics already represented within the collection, demonstrating his desire to further the library's educational purpose. The donation itself seems to suggest that the significance of parish libraries on the intellectual and religious landscape of

⁷² Henry More, *Opera philosophica tum quae Latine tum quae Anglice primitus scripta sunt... Volumes I and II* (London: printed by J. Macock for J. Martyn and Gualt. Kettilby, 1679). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmarks D10 and D11. These editions not listed in the USTC.

⁷³ Henry More, *An explanation of the grand mystery of godliness* (London: J. Flesher, 1660). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D9. This edition not listed in the USTC; Henry More, *Enchiridion ethicum praecipua moralis philosophiae rudimenta complectens* (London: J. Flesher, 1669). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark B13. This edition not listed in the USTC; Henry More, *Enchiridion metaphysicum. Pars prima* (London: E. Flesher, 1671). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark B14. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁷⁴ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/907/118), Will of Reverend John Newcome, Doctor of Divinity, Master of Saint John's College University of Cambridge, 12 March 1765.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

eighteenth-century England had begun to wane: Newcome may have donated his books to the Francis Trigge library in an effort to bring the reading material up-to-date. However, the books that Newcome donated to the church were never merged with the existing collection, for reasons unknown, suggesting that its usage was beginning to dwindle. Instead, Newcome's books were kept in the South chancel of the church until 1806, the vestry until 1878 and then moved to the bottom of the belfry stairs.⁷⁶

Content Analysis

The 228 titles in 263 volumes listed in the *Catalogus Librorum* are the closest possible representation of the original collection of the Francis Trigge Chained Library as it was at its foundation in 1598.⁷⁷ The list of volumes recorded in the *Catalogus Librorum* reflected Trigge and his associates' vision of a library for the 'better encreasinge of learninge and knowledge in divinitie and other liberall sciences' in the clergy and inhabitants of Grantham and its surrounding areas.⁷⁸ The original collection consisted largely of religious texts including commentaries on the Bible, works of general theology, and religious or ecclesiastical histories, the majority of which were printed after the Henrician Reformation of the 1530s. Trigge did not stipulate in the foundation indenture that the desired 'encreasinge of learninge and knowledge in divinitie' should come exclusively from contemporary texts.⁷⁹ As such, the collection includes works by Protestant authors of various denominations and post-Reformation Catholics, as well as works by patristic writers and other Early Christians, and medieval theological texts. The library thus represented 'a cross section of the writings of the men who brought about the Reformation and of those who sought to oppose it'.⁸⁰ For the late Elizabethan and early Stuart clerical readers of this library, this range of texts can have been no bad thing, as a thorough knowledge of one's religious opponents was of paramount importance when refuting them or attempting to effect conversions in parishioners.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Unknown Author, 'Local Notes and Queries, Replies: Libraries', *Grantham Journal*, Saturday 26 October 1878, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/4), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Catalogue of books given by Francis Trigge.

⁷⁸ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

⁷⁹ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

⁸⁰ Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 65.

⁸¹ Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops', p. 229.

The 263 surviving volumes in the original collection of the Francis Trigge library were written by 114 different named authors. This number excludes the numerous different versions of the Bible in the *Catalogus Librorum*, and the multi-volume *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which was written by a group of authors known collectively as the Magdeburg Centuriators. The religious affiliations of the known authors included in the Francis Trigge library include patristic and other Early Christian writers; medieval theological authors; and Catholics and Protestants at each end of the confessional spectrum, from committed Jesuits such as Robert Bellarmine, Paul Sherlock, or Francis Ribera, to the English Puritan clergyman John Rainolds. In addition, there were several classical authors like Seneca and Pliny the Elder, who were part of the canon of classical authors included in many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century libraries. Glenn argued that the mixture of Catholic and Protestant authors was probably attributable to happenstance resulting from indiscriminate selection practices by an agent who paid little care and attention to the books he was purchasing.⁸² However, it is far more likely the result of a conscious acknowledgement of the need to understand both sides of the confessional debate that pervaded Elizabethan and Jacobean religious society, and was particularly relevant in Lincolnshire. Figure 2.4 below demonstrates the different confessional identities found within the Francis Trigge Chained Library, and the number of authors who held these religious convictions.

⁸² Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 65.

Confessional Identities of the Authors in the Francis Trigge Chained Library

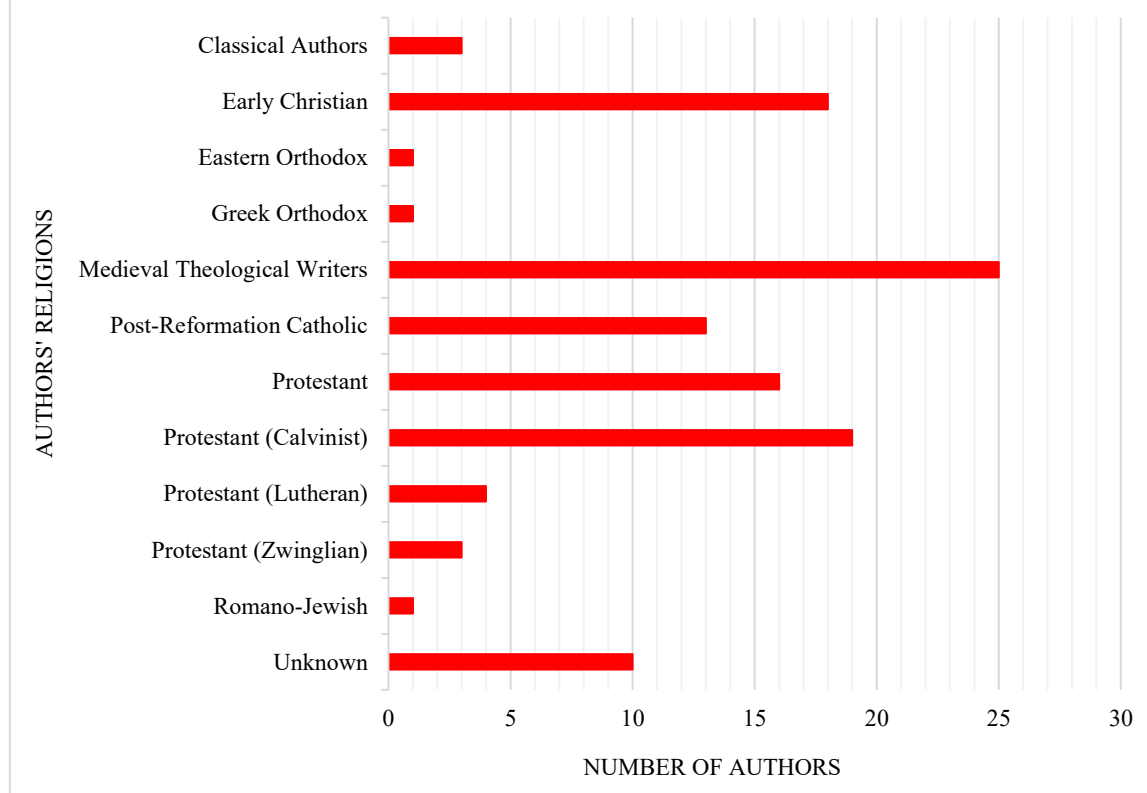


Figure 2.4: Confessional Identities of the Authors in the Francis Trigge Chained Library⁸³

Patristic writers, Early Christian and Late Antiquity authors have all been conflated within this work as Early Christians for the sake of clarity. Authors from the Middle Ages to the Reformation in the 1520s have been classified here as medieval theological writers, whilst post-Reformation authors have been categorised according to their Catholic or Protestant denominational confessional identity. The same classifications are applied in the analyses for all four of the parish libraries examined in this thesis. As can be seen in Figure 2.4 above, the number of Protestant authors of any denomination far outweighed the number of post-Reformation Catholic authors, and this weighting was also reflected in the split between the number of Protestant and Catholic titles. This suggests that whilst Trigge was keen to provide

⁸³ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2020), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/>>; *The Post-Reformation Digital Library* (Junius Institute for Digital Reformation Research, no date), <<https://www.prdl.org/>>; Hans J. Hillebrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, (Oxford University Press, published online 2005), <<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195064933.001.0001/acref-9780195064933>>.

Catholic reading material for bettering the knowledge of the local clergy in their refutation of Catholic religious arguments, he was far keener to promote the Protestant religion.

The Latin books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library were accessible to a wider range of people than may previously have been thought. Recent scholarship by Jennifer Richards has demonstrated that the majority of literate people with a grammar school education were able to read Latin to a certain extent; therefore the Latin nature of many of the books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library did not necessarily prohibit lay readership of the collection.⁸⁴ Only six of the 263 surviving volumes in the Trigge library were written in English, the remaining 257 were written in Latin. Richards' work on Latin literacy levels is significant because it means that the Latin religious works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were ostensibly accessible to a much larger number of people than previously thought. They were not predisposed to the clergy and the well-educated, but could be read by the 'middling' sorts of people who were in receipt of a grammar school education, the number of whom, as has been demonstrated by Ian Green, was rising throughout the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁸⁵ Thus, post-Reformation parish libraries were significant parts of the religious and intellectual landscape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England as means by which to distribute the religious messages of Calvin, Bucer and Peter Martyr, amongst other Protestant theologians, to the widest possible range of lay and clerical readers.⁸⁶ The Latin books in the Trigge library collection would have been accessible to all those with a grammar school education, enabling a deeper religious understanding for all of its readers and thus fulfilling Trigge's aim for the library to increase learning and knowledge.

The books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library were printed over a period of 130 years, in twenty-nine different European cities across seven countries, demonstrating the long reach of the Continental book trade in England and its impact on the increasing availability of Continental imprints in England as the sixteenth century progressed. The Francis Trigge Chained Library also suggests a thriving second-hand book market in late-Elizabethan England. Seventy of the 263 surviving volumes were published in the 1590s or the first decade of the 1600s, while the remaining 193 volumes were published prior to 1590. The seventy volumes printed between 1590 and the compilation of the *Catalogus Librorum* in 1608 are the

⁸⁴ Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 76.

⁸⁵ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 34.

⁸⁶ Arnold Hunt, 'Clerical and Parish Libraries' in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries, Volume I, to 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 416.

most likely to have been new at the time of their purchase and placement in the collection. The books published before 1590, on the other hand, were a decade old or more when they were purchased, meaning they were probably at least second-hand at the time of their inclusion in the Trigge collection. Figures 2.5 and 2.6 below demonstrate the range of cities and countries in which the volumes of the Francis Trigge collection were published, evidencing the strong links between the Continent and the book trade in London and its nearby market towns, including Cambridge, where the majority of this collection was purchased.

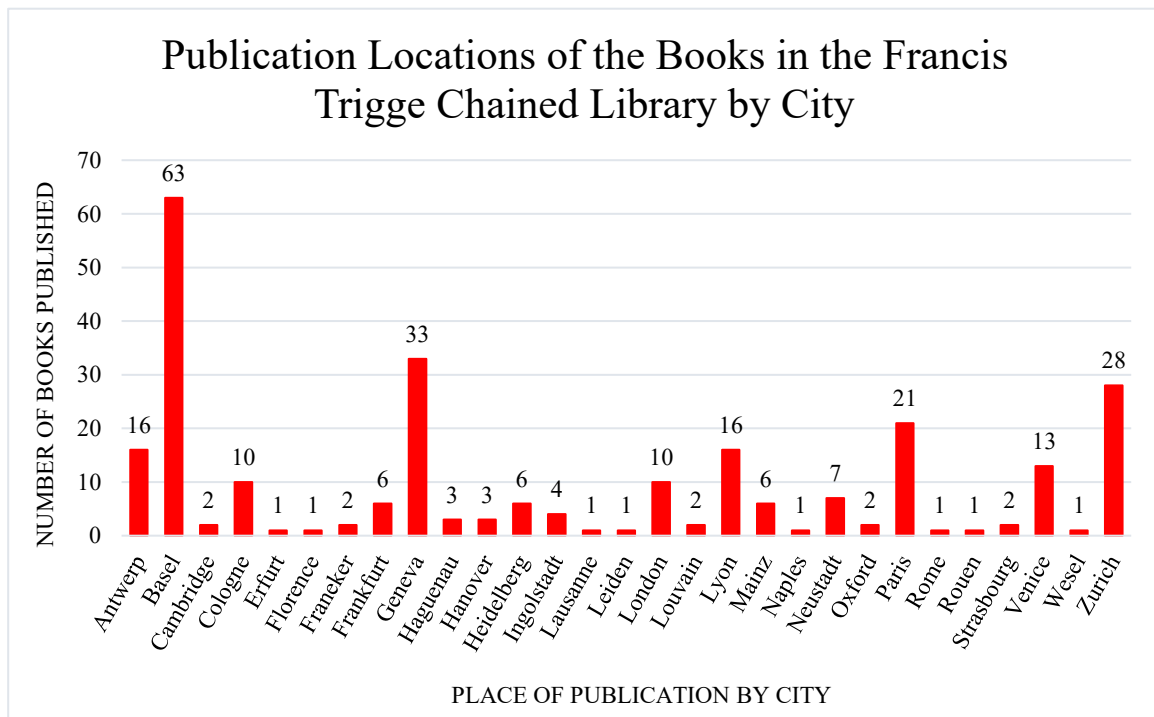


Figure 2.5: Publication Locations of the Books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library by City

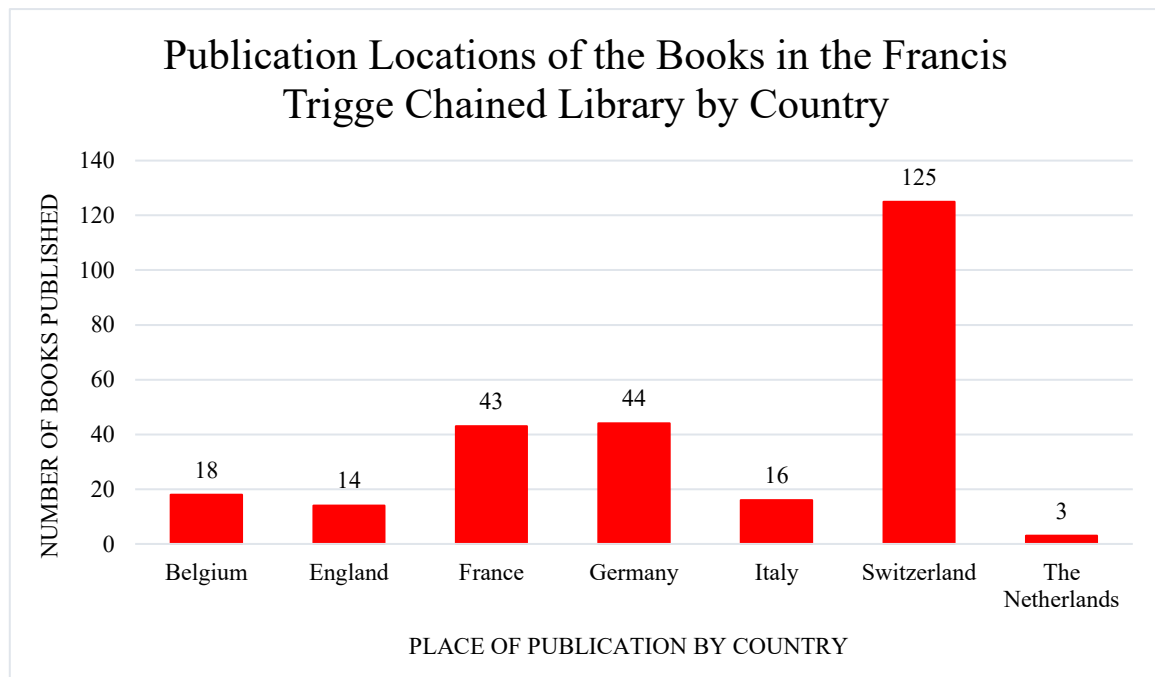


Figure 2.6: Publication Locations of the Books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library by Country

Figures 2.5 and 2.6 comprehensively demonstrate that only a small minority of the books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library were originally printed in England. The number of Continental imprints in the Francis Trigge library collection reflected the strong Anglo-European book trade in the early modern period, indicating that Continental books were once more pervasive in England than surviving numbers in parish libraries now suggest. Before 1601, printed book production in Europe was concentrated in France, Italy, the German Empire, the Netherlands, and the Swiss Confederation. These five territories were responsible for the production of over eighty percent of all books printed in Europe before the dawn of the seventeenth century.⁸⁷ This number rises even higher when focussing exclusively on Latin books. Within the Francis Trigge library, there is a correlation between the number of Latin books in the collection and the number of works printed in Europe. English book production in the sixteenth century largely centred on vernacular books and the books produced in England were not exported in any great numbers. The English book trade was thus heavily reliant on the international book trade for the scholarly Latin works it required.⁸⁸ The overwhelming majority of Latin books in the Francis Trigge library were produced on the Continent, in one of the main centres of printing in either France, Germany or Switzerland. These numbers reflected the printing prominence of these three countries and the large numbers of their books

⁸⁷ Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), pp. 105-106.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

that were imported into England, which in turn limited the abilities of the English printing industry, particularly in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁸⁹

The publication dates of the books in the Francis Trigge library suggest that around three quarters of the books were bought second-hand, meaning that just a quarter of the collection was likely to have been new at the time of its purchase in Cambridge for the Trigge library. The collection includes 193 volumes published before 1590, which accounts for seventy-four percent of the total collection. Even if this figure was lowered in order to take into consideration the time spent in booksellers' warehouses or back rooms and err on the side of caution, it is clear that a much higher proportion of the books were purchased second-hand than previously thought. Glenn asserted that a quarter of the collection was purchased second-hand, based on the surviving 'signatures and marginalia in sixteenth-century hands'.⁹⁰ However, if the publication dates of these volumes are also considered, the proportion of second-hand books rises significantly, making it possible for the surviving annotations to have been present in the books prior to their inclusion in the Library. Figure 2.7 below demonstrates the chronological distribution pattern of the books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library.

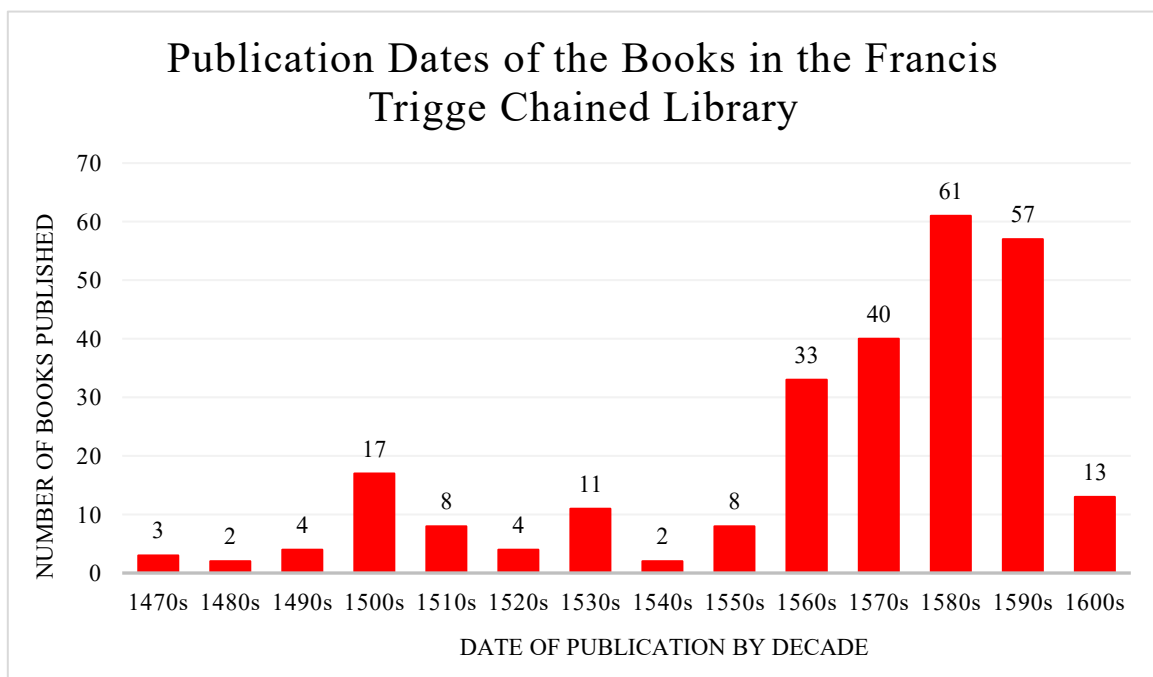


Figure 2.7: Publication Dates of Books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 106; Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland' in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 183-188.

⁹⁰ Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 65.

All of the books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library published before 1560 were printed on the Continent and imported into England, many of them under restrictive Henrician and Marian legislation that sought to constrain the activities of foreign merchants in England. In the 1530s and 1540s, Henry VIII passed various legislation to prevent foreign printers setting up presses in England, and inhibit the importation of books from the Continent, ostensibly to limit the spread of Continental heretical works in England. In 1534, Henry VIII passed an Act of Parliament that forbade any but wholesale purchases of foreign books; he followed this in 1542 with a blanket ban on the importation of books from Europe.⁹¹ Under Mary I, the charter of incorporation of the Company of Stationers in 1557 gave the company ‘a police power over books, on behalf of the state’, which allowed them to monopolise the London book trade.⁹² These powers, in conjunction with other Marian legislation, significantly depleted the number of foreign books available on the English book market. This legislation may account for the relatively small number of pre-1560 books in the collection when compared to those printed after 1560. The fourteen books in the Francis Trigge collection that were printed in England hint at the growing prominence of domestic production in the second half of the sixteenth century, as demonstrated by Joad Raymond, though it had evidently not yet begun to challenge Continental imports on a significant scale as it would later in the seventeenth century.⁹³

The age of many of the books in the collection suggests that approximately three quarters of the books were second-hand at the time of their purchase. This has significant implications for the examination and analysis of any marginalia surviving within the volumes, which are considered in later chapters of this thesis. It is possible, considering the age of the books, that previous, private owners of the books – as opposed to library users – were responsible for any surviving marks of readership. In that case, the library users read these books in conjunction with the surrounding marginalia. Such pre-existing annotations shaped the reading experience of later readers and ultimately influenced the messages they took away from these texts, many of which went ‘considerably beyond the official doctrine of the Church of England’ in their theology.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Frank A. Mumby and Ian Norrie, *Publishing and Bookselling*, 5th edition (London: Cape, 1974), pp. 48-49, 53-54.

⁹² John N. King and Mark Rankin, ‘Print, Patronage and the Reception of Continental Reform: 1521-1603’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 38 (2008), pp. 57-58; David Cressy, ‘Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36 (2005), pp. 363-364.

⁹³ Joad Raymond, ‘The Development of the Book Trade in Britain’ in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 61.

⁹⁴ Hunt, ‘Clerical and Parish Libraries’, p. 416.

The 263 titles in the Francis Trigge Chained Library were predominantly theological in character. The breadth of religious literature included, from homilies to hagiographies, Biblical commentaries to religious or Church histories, and general works of theology to doctrinal texts, suggests a comprehensive religious library intended for practical application. The genres of books in the collection and the confessional identities of the authors who wrote them are demonstrated in Figure 2.8 below.

The Genres of the Books in the Original Collection of the Francis Trigge Chained Library

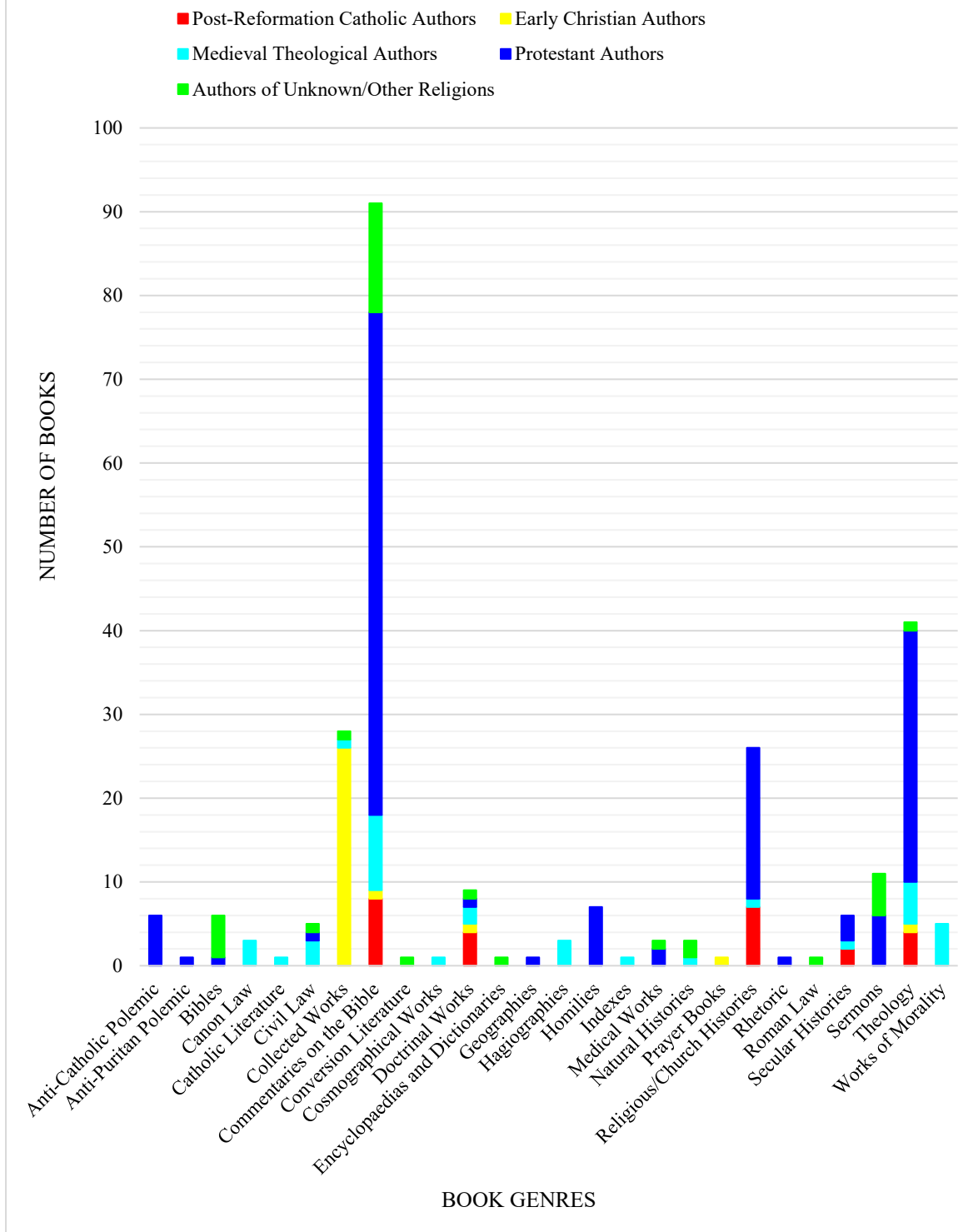


Figure 2.8: The Genres of the Books in the Original Collection of the Francis Trigge Chained Library⁹⁵

⁹⁵ The ‘Authors of Unknown/Other Religions’ includes those authors whose names are unknown, those whose names are known but whose religions are not, and the classical and Romano-Jewish authors included in the Francis Trigge Chained Library collection.

Works by Protestants of varying confessional identities dominated the original collection of the Francis Trigge Chained Library. The presence of works by medieval theological authors and post-Reformation Catholic writers is demonstrated in Figure 2.8, and this chapter argues that their inclusion was more likely to have been the result of a conscious choice on the part of Trigge and his co-signatories, as opposed to negligence, as Glenn implied.⁹⁶ Protestant books account for fifty-two percent of the total collection, whilst the works of medieval theological writers and post-Reformation Catholic authors account for the more modest figures of fourteen percent and ten percent of the collection respectively. The disparity between these two figures can be attributed to two factors: firstly, Trigge and his colleagues were attempting to provide a library to increase learning and knowledge amongst the local clergy and laity. In keeping with Trigge's moderate puritanism within the established Church, this meant promoting the Church of England and established religion, whilst also ensuring the clergy had access to Catholic texts to better understand and refute their arguments. The second reason for the larger number of Protestant texts than medieval or post-Reformation Catholic works was because of the better availability of Protestant books as the Elizabethan state, in conjunction with the Company of Stationers, sought to suppress Catholicism through various means that included the confiscation and destruction of books.⁹⁷

The combination of texts by Protestants and Catholics in scholarly and clerical libraries was not uncommon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. David Pearson has demonstrated that prominent Church of England bishops such as Arthur Lake, Samuel Harsnett and Lancelot Andrewes owned various works by Catholic writers in their collections, and that Catholic liturgy was an 'unfailing presence' within these clerical libraries because it enabled them to refute Catholic arguments regarding theology and doctrine.⁹⁸ The incentive to include a portion of medieval and post-Reformation Catholic works must have been strong in a theologically divided county such as Lincolnshire. The desire of Trigge and his colleagues to provide a library to educate the local clergy and laity proved similarly motivational.

The Francis Trigge library included a number of Biblical commentaries written by Protestant authors of various denominations, in addition to several by medieval theological writers and post-Reformation Catholics. Christians had been writing Biblical commentaries since the end of the apostolic era and the vast majority of Biblical commentators focused on presenting to

⁹⁶ Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library', p. 65.

⁹⁷ Cressy, 'Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England', pp. 364-366.

⁹⁸ Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops', p. 229.

their readers the literal meaning of Scripture.⁹⁹ There are ninety-one Biblical commentaries in the collection. Medieval theological writers wrote nine of these commentaries, with six being post-Reformation reprints of earlier works, making them more readily available in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁰⁰ Post-Reformation Catholics wrote eight of the Biblical commentaries in the collection. Their inclusion was not just about their ability to help Protestant divines refute Catholic arguments but was also a positive reflection of the quality of their scholarship, having been written by prominent Catholic theologians including Paul Sherlock, Hector Pintus and Francis Ribera. The three volumes of Sherlock's *Anteloquia in Salomonis Canticum Canticorum*, for example, copies of which are now in the Trigge collection, earned Sherlock considerable sums of money and was first printed at Lyon in the 1630s and again at Venice in the 1640s.¹⁰¹ The use of Catholic texts for Protestant purposes was relatively common: when the Catholic Robert Parsons published his *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise* in 1582, for example, it became extremely popular, even amongst Protestants. So popular, in fact, that Edmund Bunny, rector of Bolton-Percy in Yorkshire, felt compelled to 'deal with it' by producing a Protestant edition of the work, altering Parsons' text by omitting and changing words and short passages and adding his own interpretations, comments and additions in marginal notes to turn the work into a Protestant text.¹⁰² Protestants of different denominations wrote sixty of the Biblical commentaries in the Francis Trigge Chained Library collection. A breakdown of the works of theology by Protestant authors within the Francis Trigge library collection evidences the preponderance of Protestant Calvinist theology, with eighteen of the thirty theological texts being written by Calvinist authors – though only one by John Calvin himself. These works include Theodore Beza's *Tractatus theologiarum*, a compilation of theological treatises on Calvinist theology, as well as works on more specific aspects of that theology, such as Hieronymus Zanchius's various works on

⁹⁹ Marius Reiser, 'The History of Catholic Exegesis, 1600-1800' in Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller and A. G. Roeber (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 77; Ulrich G. Leinsle, 'Sources, Methods, and Forms of Early Modern Theology' in Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller and A. G. Roeber (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 32.

¹⁰⁰ Carl R. Trueman, 'Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Reformed Theology' in Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller and A. G. Roeber (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 188.

¹⁰¹ G. Martin Murphy, 'Sherlock, Paul (1595-1646)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 25 February 2021].

¹⁰² Robert McNulty, 'The Protestant Version of Robert Parsons' "*The First Booke of the Christian Exercise*", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 22:4 (1959), pp. 271, 273-276.

predestination, *Miscellaneorum libri tres. Tertium nunc editi. De praedestinatione sanctorum*.¹⁰³

In addition, the Francis Trigge library also included seven titles concerned with Catholic theology, including Diego de Payva de Andrada's *Defensio Tridentinae fidei catholicae et inegerrimae quinque libris comprehensa*, a defence of the Catholic doctrine as outlined at the Council of Trent (1563).¹⁰⁴ Alongside these were more reprints of medieval works of theology such as the *Summa theologica* of Saint Antonio Forciglione and Peter Lombard's *Sacratissima sententiarum totius theologie quadripartita volumina*.¹⁰⁵ These titles enabled the clergy to better their understanding of Catholicism as they attempted to convert the religiously conservative population of Grantham and the surrounding areas, many of whom, as Trigge himself acknowledged in one of his published works, were reluctant to embrace the Reformed religion out of fear of devaluing the faith of their ancestors.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

As a repository of religious and secular knowledge filled with works by authors of various confessional positions, the Francis Trigge Chained Library was an extremely important part of the religious and intellectual landscape of Grantham in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Francis Trigge Chained Library was demonstrably a repository of general religious knowledge: a considerable number of volumes authored by medieval theological writers and post-Reformation Catholics were included in the collection, though there were twice as many Protestant-authored books as medieval theological or post-Reformation Catholic ones. This reflected the official religion of England and the Calvinist consensus that Nicholas Tyacke and Arnold Hunt have previously identified.¹⁰⁷ The collection itself was comprehensive,

¹⁰³ Theodore Beza, *Tractatus Theologicarum*, 2nd edition ([Geneva]: Eustathius Vignon, 1582). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D22. This edition not listed in the USTC; Hieronymus Zanchius, *Miscellaneorum libri tres. Tertium nunc editi. De praedestinatione sanctorum* (Neapoli Palatinorum: Matthaëus Harnisius, 1592). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark C15. This edition not listed in the USTC.

¹⁰⁴ Diego de Payva de Andrada, *Defensio Tridentinae fidei catholicae et inegerrimae quinque libris comprehensa* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1580). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark B9. USTC 632166.

¹⁰⁵ Antonio Forciglione, *Summa theologica* (Lyon: Johannes Cleyn, 1516). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark I15. This edition not listed in the USTC; Peter Lombard, *Sacratissima sententiarum totius theologie quadripartita volumina* (Venice: Gregorio De Gregori, 1514). Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark G4. USTC 847956.

¹⁰⁶ Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops', p. 229; Francis Trigge, *An apologie, or defence of our dayes*, p. 28. USTC 511333.

¹⁰⁷ Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c. 1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 133, 161-162, 164; Hunt, 'Clerical and Parish Libraries', p. 416.

encompassing a large variety of genres ranging from Biblical commentaries to patristic texts to sermons, theology and works of Christian morality. In addition, secular texts were also included in the collection, comprising secular and natural histories, cosmographical volumes, medical works and books on civil law. In compiling such a comprehensive collection to meet the preaching and pastoral needs of the clergy and the intellectual needs of both the clergy and the laity, Trigge's wish to provide books that would facilitate the 'better encreasing of learninge and knowledge in divinitie and other liberall sciences' was fulfilled.¹⁰⁸ This chapter has revised John Glenn's earlier work on the Francis Trigge library in which he posited that the collection was bulk-bought in Cambridge by an undiscerning agent working for Trigge. Instead, this chapter has evinced a carefully compiled collection of confessionally disparate volumes that were purchased purposely to reflect the confessionally divided nature of Lincolnshire in the last decades of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth century.

The library was intended for use by both the clergy and the laity of Grantham, as evidenced in the foundation indenture that referred to the collection's usage by the 'cleargie and others beinge inhabitants in or nere Grantham and the souke thereof'.¹⁰⁹ Such an intended audience for the books was ostensibly reflected in its placement in a room above the south porch of St Wulfram's church, an area to which access was theoretically unrestricted. However, Trigge's instruction that the room was to be locked and accessed by only four keys – to be kept in the possession of the alderman, two vicars and the schoolmaster of Grantham – meant that the library was available only by *de facto* permission of one of these four key holders. Thus, clerical readers were more likely to obtain easy access to the books by virtue of their profession and comparative closeness to the key holders. In addition to demonstrating the impact the physical accessibility had on the sorts of users of the books, this chapter has demonstrated that the language of the books was not necessarily as exclusionary as previously thought. The vast majority of books in the Francis Trigge Chained Library were written in Latin, once thought to be the preserve of the clergy and the well-educated. However, in combining Ian Green's research on the increasing numbers of 'middling' sorts of people attending grammar school with Jennifer Richards' research on the education of those grammar school students in Latin, and applying their conclusions to this collection, it has here been demonstrated that a wide range of people were able to read these volumes. The surviving annotations in these books

¹⁰⁸ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

demonstrate that they were, indeed, read. The discussion of the annotations in these volumes in later chapters of this thesis demonstrate readers' interest in the importance of correct Scriptural interpretation, the corruption and errors of the Catholic Church, the importance of prayer and service to God, as well as the topics of assurance and salvation.

Chapter Three: Ripon Minster Parish Library, Ripon

Introduction

In his will proved 1624, Anthony Higgin, dean of Ripon, bequeathed his books to the Collegiate Church of Ripon Minster for a library, in order to help the church to achieve its aim – outlined in its Charter of Refoundation in 1604 – of instructing its attendees and the parishioners of Ripon in the Protestant religion. It is probable that Anthony Higgin began to collect books around the time of his arrival at Cambridge University in the 1570s. He seems, however, to have had little notion in the beginning of their ever becoming a collection for general use, despite his later testamentary instructions. During his time at Cambridge University, first as a student and then as a preacher, Higgin purchased new and second-hand books from booksellers both in Cambridge and in London. After his appointment as rector of Kirk Deighton in Yorkshire in 1583, when Higgin moved north from Cambridge, he seems to have made regular visits to York, purchasing books from the city's booksellers during his trips. After its refoundation as a collegiate church in 1604, Ripon Minster became an important centre for the religious education of the clergy in the early Stuart period, with its new charter confirming its educational purposes.¹ Higgin was dean of the Minster from 1608 until his death in 1624 and his library of over 2,000 books was the working collection of an active preacher and clergyman. Higgin utilised his library in defence of the Church of England against Catholicism, in his ministry, and to keep himself abreast of the contemporary religious debates, like many of his contemporaries.² Higgin's collection included a large number of Protestant works by authors of various denominations alongside works by medieval theological writers, Early Christians and post-Reformation Catholics.

The Life of Anthony Higgin

Anthony Higgin was born in Manchester, the second son of Thomas Higgin and his wife, Elizabeth Birch of Birch.³ His birth date is unknown, but assuming Higgin was seventeen or

¹ University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/1.0), Letters Patent of James I (known as 1st Letters Patent), re-constituting the collegiate church of Ripon, 2nd August 1604; University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/1.1), Copy of 1st Letters Patent. With Translation (1916) by J.T. Fowler.

² David Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600-1640', *The Library*, 14 (1992), pp. 228-229.

³ Jean E. Mortimer, *The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin: Dean of Ripon (1608-1624)* (Leeds: Chorley and Pickersgill, 1962), p. 2.

eighteen years of age when he matriculated to St John's College, Cambridge in 1568, he was probably born in the early 1550s. Higgin gained his BA from St John's College in 1571-1572, received ordination as a priest in 1572, and became a Fellow of St John's in 1574. He was awarded his MA in 1575 before being appointed as a prebendary of Gloucester Cathedral in 1578 and receiving his Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1582.⁴ In 1575, the same year that Higgin received his MA, his maternal uncle, William Birch, a clergyman who had served as warden of Manchester Collegiate Church in 1560 and was rector of Stanhope in Durham, died.⁵ In his will proved in 1575, William Birch bequeathed to Anthony Higgin 'seaven newe volomes of Civill Lawe', as well as 'all my Lattyn Divinitie books to be geven to those two of my nephews that first be teachers in the Ecclesiasticall Ministerey'.⁶ Roughly a dozen of Birch's books remain in the Ripon Minster parish library collection.⁷

From 1572 to 1578, Higgin was vicar of Kempsford in Gloucestershire, but did not reside in the town.⁸ Presumably, Higgin maintained his residence in Cambridge as his tenure as vicar coincided with his studies for his MA and BD degrees. Higgin was a university preacher in 1581 and was for a short time in 1582 a tutor to Thomas Morton, afterwards Bishop of Durham. In 1583, Higgin was 'called out of the College [St John's] to other more weighty employments in the Church' and was presented with the rectorship of Kirk Deighton, near Harrogate in North Yorkshire, in that year.⁹ Higgin's association with St John's College continued after he left Cambridge for Yorkshire. Higgin's signature can be seen on a 1586 letter to Lord Burghley in which Higgin and his co-signatories, other fellows of St John's, endorsed William Whitaker as Master of the College, 'praising Whitaker's virtues profusely and imploring him [Burghley] to see that Whitaker was elected'.¹⁰ Higgin's endorsement of Whitaker, whose bid to become Master of St John's College was opposed by many on account of his reputation for puritanism,

⁴ John Venn and J. A. Venn (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Volume II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 367.

⁵ Unknown Author, *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, Volume II* (Durham: Andrews & Co. for the Surtees Society, 1886), p. 260; John Venn and J. A. Venn (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Volume I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 154.

⁶ Unknown Author, *The Injunctions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, from 1575 to 1587* (Durham: George Andrews for the Surtees Society, 1850), Appendix X, pp. cx-cxiv.

⁷ Mortimer, *The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin*, p. 3.

⁸ A. B. Mynors, 'Kempsford', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 57 (1935), p. 217.

⁹ John Barwick, *Hieronikēs, or The Fight, Victory, and Triumph of S. Paul. Accommodated to the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas Late L. Bishop of Duresme... Together with the Life of the Said Bishop* (London: Printed for R. Royston, 1660), p. 64. This edition not listed in the USTC.

¹⁰ Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 171.

may provide an insight in Anthony Higgin's own confessional identity as a conformist with puritan sympathies.¹¹ Higgin was master of St Michael's Hospital in Well in the North Riding of Yorkshire from 1605, but seems to have remained at Kirk Deighton until 1608, when he was appointed by King James I to succeed Moses Fowler as dean of Ripon.¹² Higgin held these two positions at Kirk Deighton and Ripon in plurality until his death. He died in Well on 17 November 1624 and was buried the next day.¹³ His final will was written five days prior to his death, on 12 November. In it, Anthony Higgin bequeathed his books to two members of his family, William Lumley and William Cleburne, for their own use, on condition that they in turn left the books to Ripon Minster upon their deaths:

To my cosen Cleburne and my nephew Mr Lumley I give all my bookes upon condicion that then when they die shall give them to the Church of Rippon for a liberarie.¹⁴

The will gives no indication as to how many books Higgin had in his collection at the time of his death though estimates suggest that Higgin's complete collection once numbered around 2,000 volumes, of which approximately 1,250 still survive.¹⁵ These volumes were removed from Ripon Minster in the 1980s and are now in the University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library.

Ripon Minster and its Refoundation as a Collegiate Church in 1604

Ripon Minster's college of canons was dissolved shortly after Edward VI's parliament passed the Act for the Dissolution of Chantries and Colleges in December 1547. The redirection of its revenues to the Crown's treasury, however, had a significant detrimental impact on the condition of the church building and on the parish of Ripon more generally by 1600. The parishioners were compelled to take action, writing a memorial to 'Mr Chauncellor', Sir

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Mortimer, *The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin*, p. 2; Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Volume II*, p. 367; Unknown, *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid*, p. 260.

¹³ J. T. Fowler, 'Ripon Minster and its Founder', *The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, 2 (1873), p. 373.

¹⁴ Borthwick Institute of Archives (BIA), University of York, (Archbishop Register 31, f. 238v-239r), Will of Anthony Higgin, 12 November 1624.

¹⁵ Rosamund Oates, "'Far Off from the Well's Head": The Production and Circulation of Books in Early Modern Yorkshire' in Rosamund Oates and Jessica G. Purdy (eds), *Communities of Print: Readers and their Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (Ripon Cathedral MS 35), *Catalogus librorum*, compiled by Anthony Higgin, followed by Latin exercises and commentaries on Ovid's *Heroides and Tristia*, written by Roger Phillips.

Thomas Egerton, to complain about the deplorable state of the church and parish.¹⁶ Shortly after the accession of James I in 1603, Moses Fowler, a clergyman from Kent and later the first dean of the newly-refounded Ripon Minster, signed a petition addressed to the earl of Northampton, requesting the earl's assistance in promoting the refoundation of the Minster as a collegiate church to the new king.¹⁷ Whether the earl of Northampton assisted the people of Ripon in their request is unclear, but in August 1604, James I issued letters patent to reconstitute the Collegiate Church of Ripon.¹⁸

The letters patent setting out the refoundation of the collegiate church were detailed and comprehensive, outlining the purpose of the church in the local community and in Yorkshire more generally, and stipulating how it was to be organised.¹⁹ In the letters patent, James I asserted that in refounding the collegiate church, he was

desiring above all thing to promote and so spread abroad the Glory and the Honour of Almighty God, and that the said inhabitants [the parishioners of Ripon] henceforth may be piously and religiously in a better manner instructed, trained, and informed to the true worship of God.²⁰

Ripon was refounded in 1604, and it was subsequently used as a centre for preaching and education for Yorkshire and the north of England. The seeming lack of a significant book collection in the Minster prior to Higgin's gift likely prompted his donation in the first place. To ensure that the people of Ripon and its surrounding area were properly instructed in religion, James I decreed that

from henceforth and forever there may be and shall be in the said Church, one learned and erudite man, a Doctor in Theology or at least a Bachelor in Theology who shall be a first-man of the same Church and shall be called Dean of the same Church of Rippon, and that likewise hereafter may be and shall be in the same Church six other persons learned and erudite, and admitted ministers and preachers of the Word of God, who

¹⁶ University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/0.7), Draft of Memorial from the parishioners of Ripon complaining of the neglected state of the church and parish.

¹⁷ University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/0.8), Petition to the Earl of Northampton from the clergy of Ripon, requesting him to use his influence in promoting the re-establishment of the Collegiate Church. Signed by Moses Fowler.

¹⁸ University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/1.0), Letters Patent of James I (known as 1st Letters Patent), re-constituting the collegiate church of Ripon, 2nd August 1604; University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/1.1), Copy of 1st Letters Patent. With Translation (1916) by J.T. Fowler.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

shall be the Chapter of the same Church, subject to and assisting the same Dean, and shall be called the prebendaries of the same church.²¹

The aims and objectives of the dean and chapter of the newly reconstituted collegiate church were clear: the promulgation of doctrine and theology according to the Church of England. James I appointed

Christopher Lyndall, William Crashaw, William Barker, Robert Cooke, George Proctor, and William Bowe[s?], learned and erudite men and ministers and preachers of the Word of God, to be in future and to be now the first and for the time being prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of Ripon aforesaid.²²

William Crashawe, one of Ripon Minster's new prebendaries, himself owned a large library of books that numbered around 4,000 volumes. In an undated letter to esteemed members of the Middle Temple, in which Crashawe offered to sell his volumes to the Temple, he listed his collection as containing a variety of books 'concerning scripture, councils, fathers, protestants, papists, law, cosmography and history'.²³ Crashawe was vehemently opposed to the Roman Catholic Church, but nevertheless owned numerous Catholic-authored volumes, which he read 'in order to find their mistakes'.²⁴ Evidently, the practice of Protestant ownership of Catholic volumes in order to keep clergymen abreast of the arguments of their opponents was a common one. These learned men constituted the chapter of Ripon Minster and worked closely first with Moses Fowler as dean, and then with Anthony Higgin after his appointment in 1608. Throughout his tenure as dean, Higgin continued to acquire books in large quantities, educating himself on theology and a wide range of other subjects that could then be passed on to his parishioners through his sermons and ministerial and pastoral activities. The Charter of Refoundation made no provision for the continued education of those learned men it appointed, nor did it provide for the education of parishioners and clergy of the surrounding area. It is possible that Anthony Higgin bequeathed his library to the church after the death of his relatives in order to fulfil the church's purpose in instructing, training and informing the inhabitants of Ripon and the surrounding areas about 'the true worship of God', by providing access to his own collection of Protestant-dominated religious texts to parishioners and clergymen.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ R. M. Fisher, 'William Crashawe and the Middle Temple Globes, 1605-15', *The Geographical Journal*, 140:1 (1974), p. 105.

²⁴ P. J. Wallis, 'The Library of William Crashawe', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 2:3 (1956), pp. 216-218.

Library Placement, Users and Usability

Precisely when Higgin's books arrived in Ripon Minster is unclear. Higgin's testamentary instructions stated that his relatives, Lumley and Cleburne, were to donate the books to the Minster upon their deaths.²⁵ William Lumley, Higgin's nephew, died in 1625, the year after Higgin himself, but Higgin's cousin, William Cleburne, was a prebendary of Ripon until his death in 1660.²⁶ It is therefore possible that Cleburne placed the books in the Minster prior to his death.²⁷ The books were most likely originally placed in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, or the Lady Loft, which was first constructed as a chantry chapel atop the Chapter house and the adjoining Norman chapel in either the mid-fourteenth or the late-fifteenth century. The loft was accessed by a stone staircase leading up from the south transept of the Minster.²⁸ The possibility that the books were already in the Lady Loft prior to Cleburne's death in 1660 is reinforced by the Fabric Accounts for repairs to the Minster in the wake of the collapse of its spire in December 1660. The accounts listed several payments for the repair of the library, including for 'cleansing the Library', 'dressing the Library & Ladyloft' and 'repayring the glasse in the Library & Ladyloft', making it probable that the books had been in the chapel prior to Cleburne's death.²⁹ The books themselves are referred to in the Fabric Accounts for the first time in 1674 when a workman was paid five shillings 'pro dressing the books in the Library'.³⁰

Higgin's will stated that his cousin, William Cleburne, and Higgin's nephew, William Lumley, could use the books before they were given to Ripon Minster. A large proportion of Higgin's complete collection of around 2,000 volumes was theological and, as both his cousin and his nephew were clergymen, it is probable that Higgin thought his books would be of some use to his relatives. Considering his long incumbency as dean of Ripon, the church's educational objectives set out in James I's letters patent, and the seeming lack of books for the

²⁵ Borthwick Institute of Archives (BIA), University of York, (Archbishop Register 31, f. 238v-239r), Will of Anthony Higgin, 12 November 1624.

²⁶ Clergy of the Church of England Database, *Lumley, William* (no date), Person ID: 71585, *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*, [online: accessed 22 July 2019]; Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Volume I*, p. 353.

²⁷ The exact time of Cleburne's death is unclear. He is noted as a prebendary of Ripon from 1616 to 1660 in Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Volume I*, p. 353. No month of death is given.

²⁸ John Richard Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey, Harrogate, Bolton Priory, and Several Places of Interest in their Vicinity*, 12th edition (Ripon: A. Johnson and Co., 1875), p. 206; Cecil Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon: A Short History of the Church and a Description of its Fabric* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), p. 28. The date of the construction of the Lady Loft is uncertain. For more information, see Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 54; and Fowler, 'Ripon Minster and its Founder', p. 371.

²⁹ University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/80), Account Book of Work Done on the Church Fabric, 1661-1676, ff. 19, 45, 46.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

clergy to educate themselves with, it is probable that Higgin intended for his books to serve as religiously instructive for clerical and lay readers after his relatives were finished with them. It is likely that, once in the Minster, the collection that had once been a working library for Higgin became an important resource for the Yorkshire clergy and educated members of the laity – those with a grammar school education or better – in a similar way to Tobie Matthew’s collection at York Minster.³¹

Higgin left no instructions for safeguarding his books once they had been donated to the Minster by his relatives. How the books were stored or displayed in the Lady Loft in the immediate aftermath of their donation is not known, as the Fabric Accounts do not record this information. None of the remaining original bindings bear evidence of having been chained, so this method of securing the volumes was evidently not adopted. However, the Fabric Accounts for the church do refer to a payment made to a Mr J. Biggins ‘pro locks in the Vestry & chancel, & Library key’, suggesting that the door to the library was lockable; it was probably kept locked for security purposes.³² The first reference to the books’ display came from J. T. Fowler in 1873, who stated that ‘all the book-cases are quite new’. Fowler provided no information about other items of furniture in the room that indicated the practicalities of its use as a library.³³ The locked door to the library in Ripon Minster echoes the situation in the Francis Trigge Chained Library at St Wulfram’s church in Grantham: it restricted general access to the collection and forced potential users to ask permission from the key holder to use the books it contained.

The Nature of the Collection

Higgin’s donation constituted the foundation of Ripon Minster parish library and there were no additional books added until 1868, when Edward Feilde, vicar of Harrogate, bequeathed his books to the Minster.³⁴ That donation is, however, outside the chronological scope of this thesis. As a result, the collection of books given to William Lumley and William Cleburne by

³¹ Rosamund Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 169; Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 76.

³² University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/80), Account Book of Work Done on the Church Fabric, 1661-1676, f. 17.

³³ Fowler, ‘Ripon Minster and its Founder’, p. 372.

³⁴ Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, pp. 206-207; Fowler, ‘Ripon Minster and its Founder’, p. 374.

Anthony Higgin that was later donated to Ripon Minster is synonymous with Ripon Minster parish library and the terms are used interchangeably in this chapter.

Anthony Higgin's book collection numbered around 2,000 volumes at the time of his death in 1624.³⁵ Included within this number are 758 theological works that were catalogued by Higgin himself prior to his death, ostensibly in preparation for their eventual donation to Ripon Minster as a library. The collection as a whole was varied and wide-ranging, encompassing histories and chronicles; bibliographical works such as Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*; and medical books by authors as diverse as Hippocrates and Timothy Bright, the sixteenth-century physician turned clergyman. In addition, there were numerous books on geography and astronomy as well as several law books in English and Latin. Some of these bear the inscriptions of Higgin's relatives, Cleburne and Lumley, showing that they added their own books to Higgin's collection prior to its donation.³⁶ The scope for the practical application of the vast majority of these volumes reinforces its status as a working clerical library employed to educate its readers for their personal improvement and for the development of their preaching and ministerial occupations.

It is difficult to state with any certainty how many volumes from Higgin's library remain in the University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library. No catalogue of Higgin's complete collection ever seems to have been made, either before or after its placement in the Minster and its subsequent removal to the Brotherton Library. The University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library catalogue lists some 3,500 titles in their Ripon Cathedral Library collection, which includes both Higgin's collection and the substantial donations of the late nineteenth century onwards. The lack of a definitive list of books donated by Higgin means that the 778 theological titles in 758 volumes catalogued by Higgin himself will be the sole focus of the following analysis because they are the only volumes definitely attributable to Higgin's collection. There are now 486 theological titles in 451 volumes surviving from Higgin's collection.

The variety of sources from which Higgin acquired his books may account for the diverse character of the collection. They not only reflected Higgin's interests as a collector, but also the interests of those friends and colleagues who gifted Higgin their own books. Notes on the

³⁵ Jean Mortimer asserts that in addition to the 758 theological volumes catalogued by Anthony Higgin himself, his collection also contained an addition c. 1,250 non-theological volumes. Mortimer, *The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin*, pp. 6, 8.

³⁶ Mortimer, *The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin*, pp. 6-8.

title pages of a number of Higgin's volumes show that Higgin was a well-connected cleric. He frequently travelled to York, London and Cambridge, the main centres of book production and distribution in England, and purchased the volumes he desired whilst there. For example, during his residence at Kirk Deighton, Higgin purchased books during several trips to York in the 1580s and 1590s: in 1585, he paid 10s. 6d. for a copy of Saint Athanasius's *Opera*, and in 1589, he bought Willem van der Lindt's *Panoplia Evangelica* in York for 2s. 6d. Higgin again travelled to York in 1590 and whilst there purchased a copy of Conrad Kling's *Loci communes theologici*, the title page of which he inscribed with the note, '*Anth: Higgin empt. Ebor. Aprilis 16. 1590*'.³⁷

After his appointment as dean of Ripon, Higgin made numerous visits to London. On a visit to London in 1593, Higgin purchased Bishop Theodoret of Cyrus's *De providentia sermones X* and on a 1609 visit to the city, he bought Francisco de Toledo's *In sacrosanctum Ioannis Evangelium commentarii...*³⁸ Higgin also visited London in January and December 1622. During his January visit, Higgin purchased Nicolaus de Gorran's *In Acta Apostolorum*, inscribing it '*Ant: Higgin Londini 8 solidi, Januarii 20 1622*'. During his December visit, Higgin bought Willem Hesselszoon van Est's *Annotationes aureæ in præcipua ac difficiliora Sacræ Scripturæ loca*, a newly-printed title for which Higgin paid 10s. 6d.³⁹ Furthermore, Higgin acquired works by purchasing them from friends and colleagues, such as Griffin Briskin, a prebendary of York. Others he received as gifts from other friends and local collectors, including Richard Cox, bishop of Ely; John Favour, vicar of Halifax; and Sir Henry Savile of Bank, the noted antiquarian book collector.⁴⁰ Higgin received at least one work from

³⁷ Saint Athanasius, *Athanasii magni Alexandrini episcopi, graviss. scriptoris, et sanctiss. martyris, opera, in quatuor tomos distributa* (Basel, 1564). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.C.17/q. USTC 613803; Willem Van der Lindt, *Panoplia evangelica: sive De verbo Dei evangelico libri quinque...* (Paris: Jean Le Blanc, Guillaume Julian and Michel Julian, 1564). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XII.G.10. USTC 153579; Conrad Kling, *Loci communes theologici* (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1563). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XII.G.1. USTC 198658.

³⁸ Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, *Theodoretii Episcopi Cyri De providential sermones X. Nunc primum in lucem editi* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1545). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVIII.E.3. USTC 858943; Francisco de Toledo, *In sacrosanctum Ioannis Evangelium commentarii...* (Cologne: in officina Birkmannica, 1599). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVI.B.16/q. USTC 626093.

³⁹ Nicolaus de Gorran, *In Acta Apostolorum...* (Antwerp: n. p., 1620). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVI.C.12/q. USTC 112708; Willem Hesselszoon van Est, *Annotationes aureæ in præcipua ac difficiliora Sacræ Scripturæ loca* (Cologne: widow of Johann Crith, 1622). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library I.B.15. USTC 2019159.

⁴⁰ 'Richardus Cox Eliensis Anth: Higgino dedit' is inscribed on the title page of Walter Haddon, *Contra Hieron. Osorium, eiusq[ue] odiosas infectationes pro Evangelicæ veritatis necessaria Defensione, Responsio Apologetica* (London: John Day, 1577). University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark

its author himself: Thomas Bell gave Higgin a copy of his *The Survey of Popish Religion*, as noted by Higgin on the book's title page: '*Liber Anthony Higgin ex dono auctoris*'.⁴¹

The works that Higgin purchased himself from Cambridge, York and London demonstrate similar collecting practices to his contemporaries. The signatures and notes on the title pages of various volumes show that Higgin was actively collecting books for a period of at least forty years: the first recorded purchase date on a title page is 1582 and the last recorded purchase date is 1622. The collection included works by medieval theological writers, post-Reformation Catholic authors and Protestants of different denominations, a combination necessitated by Higgin's profession as a clergyman committed to the promotion and furtherance of the Church of England. His position required an awareness of the arguments made against the Church of England by Catholic polemicists, in order to refute them comprehensively. The catechisms, works of Protestant theology, Biblical commentaries and texts on Christian life not only shaped clerical ministries, but also provided spiritual support and inspiration in the face of the everyday difficulties of following a godly life and advocating Protestantism.⁴²

The prices noted by Higgin on the title pages of ten volumes in the Ripon Minster parish library collection demonstrate the influence of authorship, subject matter and edition on the cost of a book. For example, Higgin purchased the eight volumes of Saint Augustine's collected works in 1596 for £4 (see Figure 3.1 below).⁴³ Edited by Erasmus in the 1520s and printed in 1569-1570 on the Froben press in Basel, Switzerland, the volumes were thus at least twenty-five years old when Higgin purchased them. The high regard in which this edition was held, in respect of its Erasmian scholarship and its faithfulness to Augustine's original ideas and writings, account for its high price in spite of the age of the work.⁴⁴ Similarly, Higgin paid 10s.

Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.A.17. USTC 508369; '*Librum hunc Mr Guil. [actually John] Favor... ecclesiae Halifaxiensis Vicarius A. Higgin dono dedit*' inscribed on the title page of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, *De selectis scripturae divinae quaestionibus ambiguis* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1558). University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XII.D.1. USTC 152441; '*Liber Antonii Higgin ex dono Mr Henrici Savill, totius antiquitatis studiosissimi. Novembris. 17. 1593*' is inscribed on the title page of Johann Beckenhub, *Index alphabeticus sive Reptorium domini Johannis Beckenhab Moguntini in scripta divi Bonaventure super quattuor libris sententiarum* (Paris: n. p., 1510?). University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVIII.E.21. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁴¹ Thomas Bell, *The Survey of Popish Religion* (London: Valentine Sims, 1596). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.F.13 USTC 513050.

⁴² Oates, "'Far Off from the Well's Head'"; Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops', p. 223.

⁴³ Saint Augustine, *D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, cuius praestantissima in omni genere monumenta...*, Vols. I-VIII (Basel: Froben Press, 1569-1570). Annotation appears on the title page of Book X, University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.E.14/q.

⁴⁴ Arnoud S. Q. Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500-1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 30-31; Forrest C. Strickland, 'Teachers of Christ's Church: Protestant Ministers as Readers of the Church Fathers in the Dutch Golden Age' in Rosamund

in 1595 for a copy of the New Testament printed forty-five years earlier in 1550, and a volume of Saint Athanasius's works from 1564 was purchased for 10s. 6d. in 1585. On the other hand, a copy of Willem van der Lindt's interpretation of the New Testament, also printed in 1564, cost just 2s. 6d. in 1589, which was the lowest recorded price that Higgin paid for a text.⁴⁵

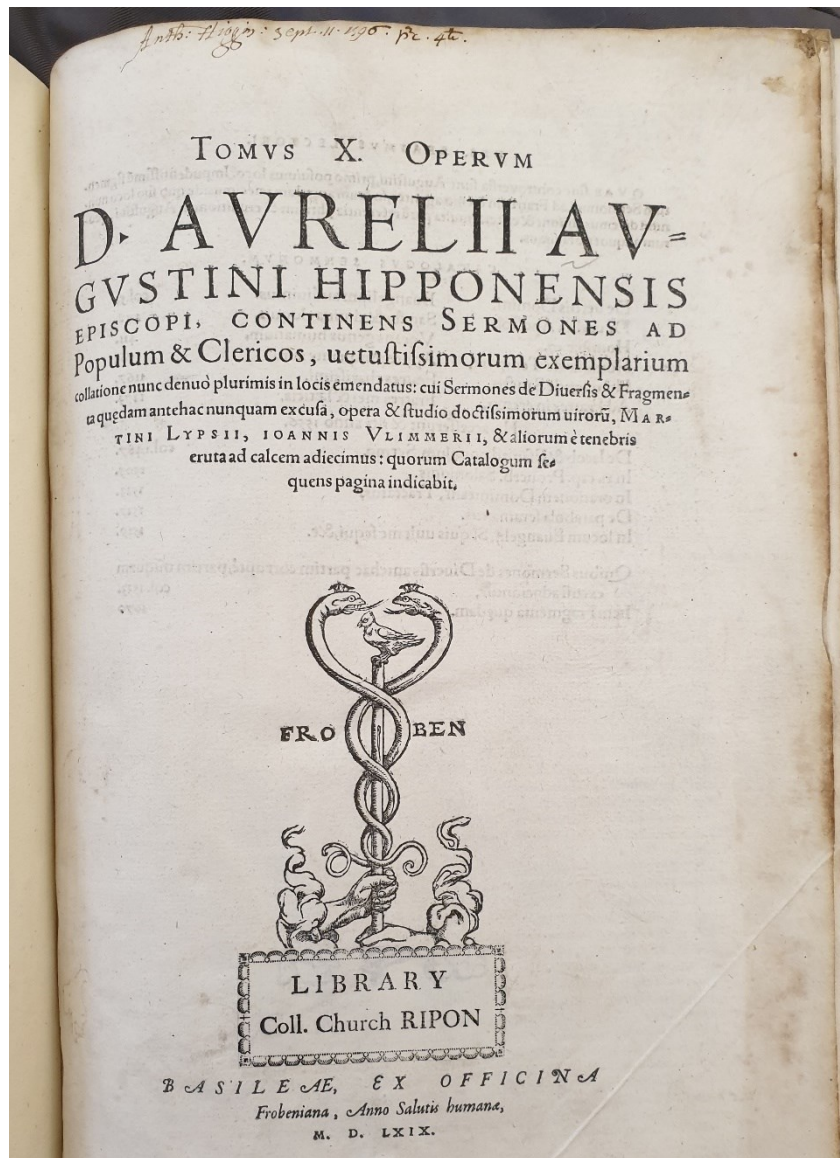


Figure 3.1: The Title Page of Volume X of Saint Augustine's Works, showing, at the top of the page, Anthony Higgin's Signature and the Purchase Price of all Ten Volumes

Oates and Jessica G. Purdy (eds), *Communities of Print: Readers and their Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

⁴⁵ Unknown Author, [*Novum Testamentum*] (s. l.: 1550). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library X.B.7. This edition not listed in the USTC; Saint Athanasius, *Athanasii magni Alexandrini episcopi*. Annotated copy in Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.C.17/q. USTC 613803; Van der Lindt, *Panoplia evangelica*. Annotated copy in Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XII.G.10. USTC 153579.

Anthony Higgin's Theological Works in the Collection of Ripon Minster Parish Library

Anthony Higgin compiled a comprehensive collection of religious works by Church Fathers and other Early Christians, medieval theologians, post-Reformation Catholics, and Protestants of different denominations. All of these works were intended to aid Higgin in his preaching and to support the efforts of Tobie Matthew and other clerics in combatting the increase in recusancy in Jacobean Yorkshire. Higgin was not dissimilar to other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century clergymen in compiling a collection that encompassed authors of different confessional identities: such a practice is seen in the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham at the end of the sixteenth century and again in Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Dorset towards the end of the seventeenth century. The Francis Trigge Chained Library, like Higgin's collection at Ripon Minster, was compiled partially to defend, promote and promulgate the doctrines and theology of the Church of England in opposition to reasonably high numbers of Catholics in their respective counties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Like the Francis Trigge Chained Library collection, the theology texts of Ripon Minster parish library included a wide variety of genres, such as patristic works, Biblical commentaries, and polemical texts. The collection also evidenced the strength of the international book trade and the proliferation of Continental titles available on the English book market: the majority of volumes in Ripon Minster parish library were written in Latin and printed in Europe, in cities like Basel, Paris and Antwerp, some of the most important and prolific printing cities on the Continent.⁴⁶

The confessional identities of the authors whose works were included in this collection provide an insight into the proportions of different confessions and authors represented in the repository and demonstrate which authors Higgin was both interested in reading and found to be useful in his defence of the Church of England. A total of 263 individual named authors wrote 465 of the surviving titles in the theology collection now in Ripon Minster parish library. The remaining twenty-one titles (totalling 486 surviving titles, as previously stated) have no known authors recorded in either the original manuscript catalogue, the printed catalogue of 1962 by Jean Mortimer, a librarian at the University of Leeds, or the University of Leeds Brotherton

⁴⁶ Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), p. 104.

Special Collections Library catalogue.⁴⁷ Figure 3.2 below demonstrates the different confessional identities of those 263 named authors.

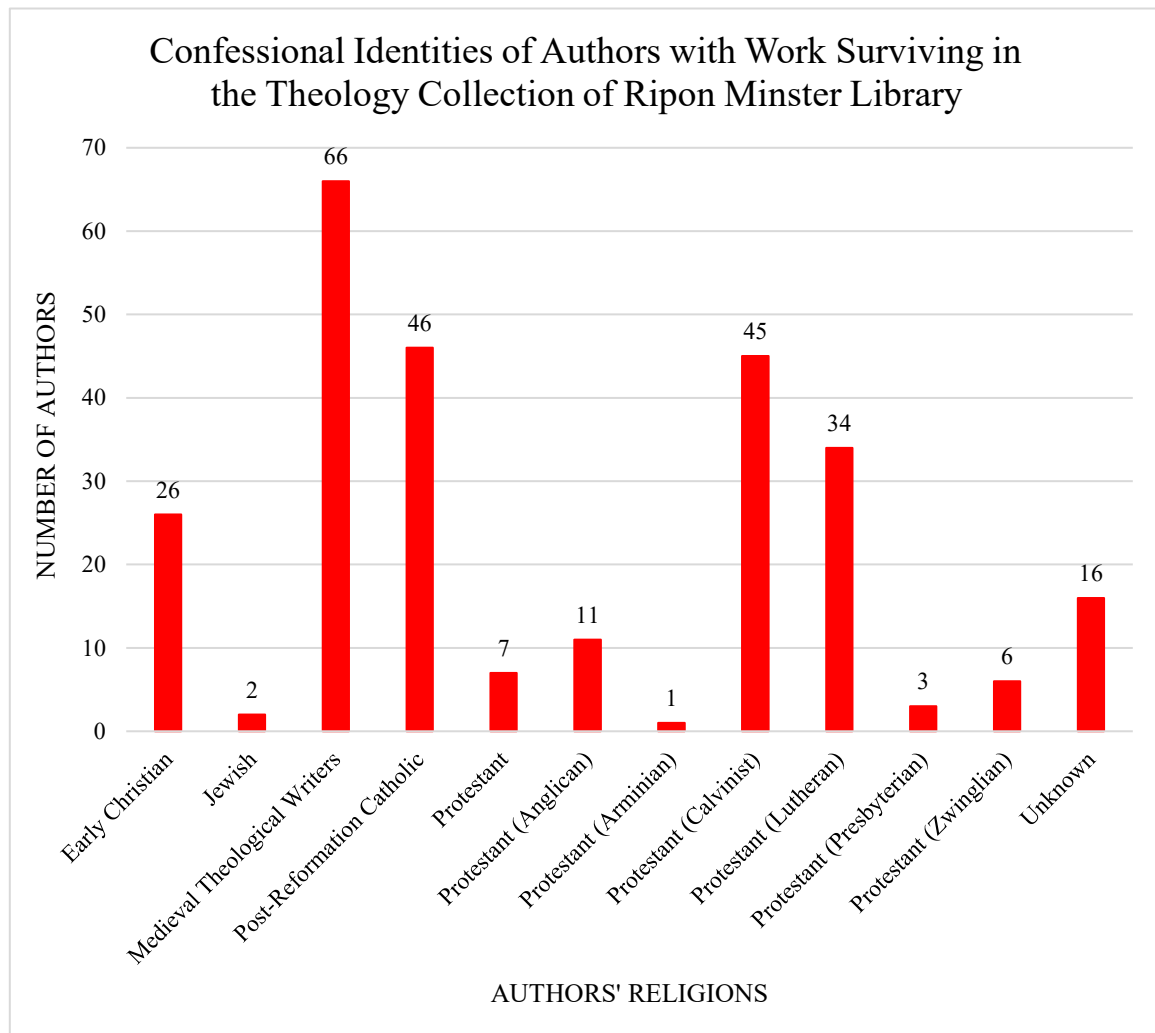


Figure 3.2: Confessional Identities of Surviving Authors in Ripon Minster Parish Library

The inclusion of works by post-Reformation European Catholic theologians like Hector Pintus, Peter Binsfield, Robert Bellarmine and Martin Becanus, as well as a relatively large number of English Catholic theologians from the post-Reformation period in the collection, is unsurprising. English Catholic theologians in the collection included Thomas Dorman, Thomas Harding, Nicholas Harpsfield and William Watson, in whose works Higgin perhaps recognised the continued importance amongst Catholics of religious instruction and education for the

⁴⁷ University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (Ripon Cathedral MS 35), *Catalogus librorum*, compiled by Anthony Higgin, followed by Latin exercises and commentaries on Ovid's *Heroides* and *Tristia*, written by Roger Phillips; Mortimer, *The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin*.

people.⁴⁸ These works provided Higgin and his contemporaries with more up-to-date insight into Catholic religious arguments that could then be appropriately refuted in their own sermons and anti-Catholic polemical writings.⁴⁹ These sermons and Protestant polemics were bolstered by the information found in books by the 101 combined Protestant authors that this collection also contained.

Notably for an early seventeenth-century clergyman, Higgin did not own works by many patristic authors. The texts of just eight Church Fathers of the Eastern and Western Churches were included in the collection: Ambrose, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius, Augustine, Pope Clement I, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa, and John Chrysostom. In total, Higgin owned forty volumes of patristic works by these eight authors, five of whom were included in the Erasmian and Calvinist canon of Greek and Latin Fathers identified by Irena Backus, their perceived importance reflecting the quality of their scholarship.⁵⁰ The writings of the Church Fathers were widely held in high regard amongst Protestants: Saint Augustine's writings were of central importance in Protestant doctrines, as were the opinions of Saint John Chrysostom on the value of Scripture being read by all and his 'capacity to communicate God's mysteries to the common people'.⁵¹ However, the popularity of the Church Fathers waxed and waned in the first three decades of the seventeenth century as tensions arose between Church of England divines and Calvinist conformists. While Church of England divines like Lancelot Andrewes, John Overall and Richard Montagu emphasised the importance of the Fathers in the interpretation of Scripture, Calvinist conformists such as Gabriel Powel, Robert Abbot and George Downame questioned the Fathers' authority and stressed the self-interpreting nature of Scripture.⁵² In the midst of this controversy, it is perhaps not surprising that Higgin's collection of works by the Church Fathers focused on those authors endorsed by both Erasmus and Calvin. The relative lack of patristic volumes in Higgin's collection compared to that of William Stone, for example, who donated his patristic collection to Wimborne Minster in Dorset at the end of

⁴⁸ Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 152.

⁴⁹ Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 158.

⁵⁰ Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378-1615)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 102; see pp. 102-106 for a general discussion on the merits of the Fathers' works.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102; Nicholas Hardy, 'The Septuagint and the Transformation of Biblical Scholarship in England, from the King James Bible (1611) to the London Polyglot (1657)' in Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith and Rachel Willie (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 120.

⁵² Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 274-275.

the seventeenth century, suggests that Higgin may have been of a similar mind to Powel, Abbot and Downname, but there is no evidence to support this.

Higgin put the vast majority of volumes in his collection to use in attempting to counter the increasing levels of Catholic recusancy in late-Elizabethan Yorkshire, a practice he may have undertaken with the encouragement and support of Tobie Matthew, archbishop of York, when Higgin was appointed as dean of Ripon in 1608. Ripon had 120 recorded recusants in 1604 and, as Rosamund Oates has argued, that number ‘only increased as James’s reign progressed’. Consequently, Archbishop Matthew encouraged the ‘use [of] Ripon Minster as a centre for preaching and education for the clergy’ in the northern Church, a scheme that Higgin supported, and which may have factored into his decision to leave his theological works to the Minster after his death.⁵³

The vast majority of the books in the theology collection of Ripon Minster parish library were written in Latin, which reflected the collection’s original role as a working library for Anthony Higgin. The different languages of the 486 surviving titles in this collection were determined using the University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library catalogue, and are demonstrated below in Figure 3.3.

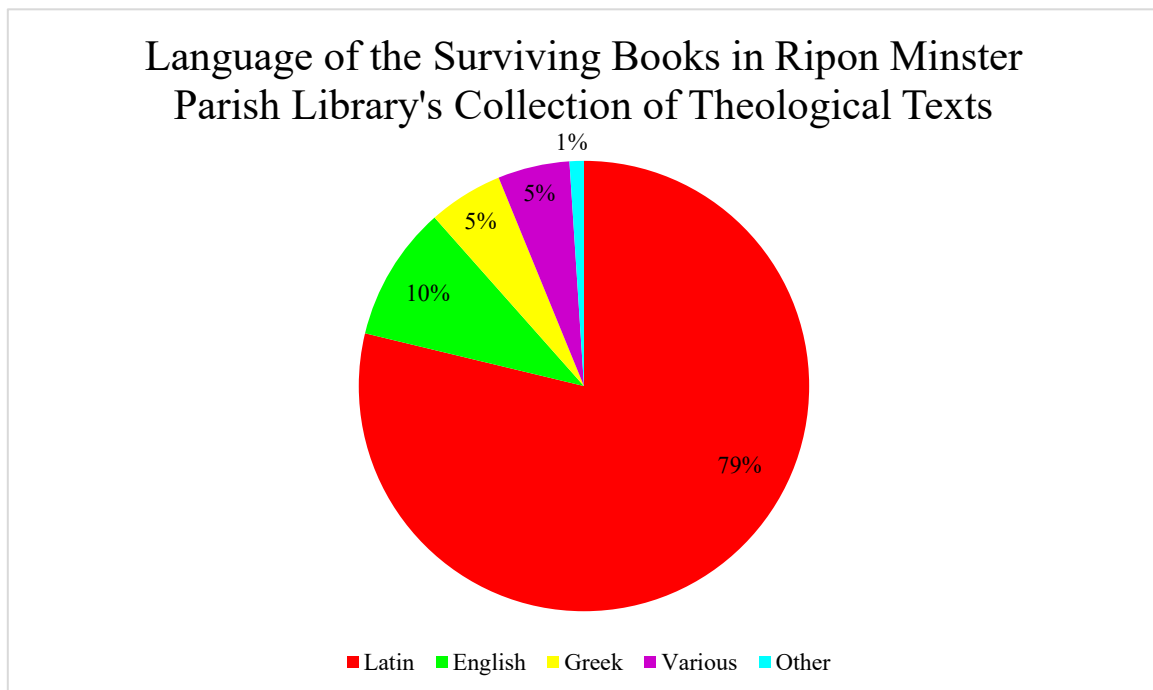


Figure 3.3: The Languages of the Surviving Books in Ripon Minster Parish Library's Theology Collection

⁵³ Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 213.

Within the collection, there were 382 titles written in Latin (equating to seventy-nine percent of the total), limiting their use by all those without at least a grammar school education. Similar usage restrictions were implicit for the fifty-six titles written in other languages besides English. There were twenty-six titles written in Greek, suggesting Higgin, at least, had the ability to read the language. A further twenty-five titles were polyglots, including the eight volumes of the *Biblia Regia* (or Antwerp Polyglot) overseen by Benito Arias Montano, and the collected works of Saint Basil of Caesarea in Greek and Latin. In addition, there were two German titles, two Italian titles and one Hebrew work on the Pentateuch.⁵⁴ Such titles were of no use to those without a grammar school education and of limited use even to those who had one: boys from middling and aristocratic households were taught Latin, but seemingly little Greek, whilst their female counterparts were more likely to be taught French.⁵⁵ Greek was unlikely to be encountered before university, and the other languages featured in the polyglot volumes of this collection (Aramaic, Syriac, Hebrew and others) would likewise have required a high level of education to read.⁵⁶ The inclusion of works in these languages unsurprisingly, considering its collector, suggests that the collection was of most use to the clergy and those members of the laity with an elite education.

Just forty-seven of the surviving titles in Higgin's theology collection in Ripon Minster parish library were written in English. They largely comprised Biblical commentaries, attacks on the Catholic Church, sermons and works of theology. Also in English were a number of the polemical writings of John Jewel and Thomas Harding who, from the 1560s onwards, were engaged in a bitter pamphlet war over Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England*. Jewel's numerous polemical works 'would remain significant throughout the early modern period' and Lucy Wooding has asserted that he did 'more than most to give the English Church credibility and a coherent Protestant identity'. Wooding demonstrated that Jewel's 'greatest achievement' was to 'create a clear-cut image of an English Protestant Church that was diametrically opposed to its Catholic critics'.⁵⁷ This was a particularly important sentiment in the context of the efforts

⁵⁴ Benito Arias Montano, *Biblia Sacra, Volumes I-VIII* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1569-1573). University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmarks Ripon Cathedral Library III.E.7/q – III.E.14/q. USTC 401394; Saint Basil of Caesarea, *Nunc primum Græcè et Latinè coniunctim edita, in duos tomos distributa...* (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1618). University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmarks Ripon Cathedral Library XVI.C.9/q – XVI.C.11/q. USTC 6015104.

⁵⁵ Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance*, pp. 76, 116.

⁵⁶ John Roberts, Águeda M. Rodríguez Cruz and Jurgen Herbst, 'Exporting Models' in H. de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe, Volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 274.

⁵⁷ Lucy Wooding, 'Introduction: John Jewel and the Invention of the Church of England' in Angela Ranson, André A. Gazal and Sarah Bastow (eds), *Defending the Faith: John Jewel and the Elizabethan Church* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), pp. 1-2.

of Higgin, Tobie Matthew and other northern English clerics, who may have found Jewel's texts highly useful in their attempts to eradicate recusancy. This demonstrates again the practical use of these works prior to their donation to Ripon Minster.

An examination of the publication places and dates of the theological works in Ripon Minster parish library evidence the strength and reach of the European book trade and the second-hand book trade in England. Basel, Paris, Antwerp and Cologne were – in addition to London – the four most common cities of publication for the surviving titles in Ripon Minster parish library. The same four European cities were the most prominent publication locations of the books in Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Dorset as well. The prevalence of these cities reflected their importance as part of the 'steel spine' of Europe's major trade routes that dominated the production of books in the scholarly languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁸ Figure 3.4 below demonstrates the large number of cities in which Higgin's theological books were printed.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery', p. 104.

⁵⁹ Surviving titles have been identified through a comparison of Higgin's manuscript catalogue, Mortimer's 1962 printed catalogue, and the University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library online catalogue.

Cities of Publication of the Titles in Anthony Higgin's Theology Collection

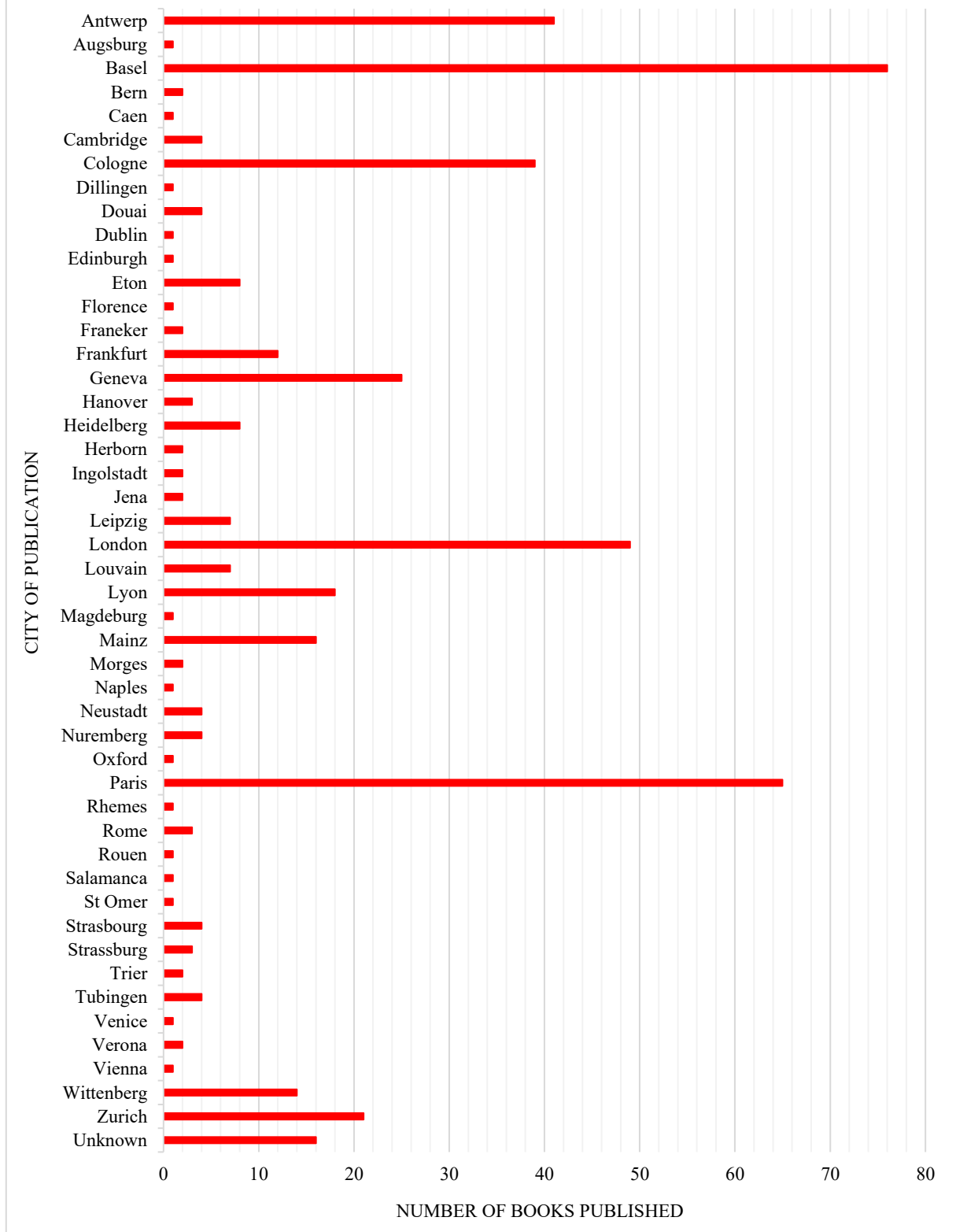


Figure 3.4: Cities of Publication for the Surviving Titles in Ripon Minster Parish Library's Theology Collection

The religious nature of the books in the theology collection of Ripon Minster parish library that were printed in Basel, Paris and Antwerp are highly reflective of the respective religious position of each origin city. Basel was ‘a relatively tolerant city where titles that would have been banned elsewhere could be published’.⁶⁰ This position led to Basel being the most prominent printing centre in Switzerland in the sixteenth century. It also explains why men of differing confessional identities, such as Saint Augustine, Desiderius Erasmus and Philipp Melanchthon, were the authors of several of the works with Basel imprints in Ripon Minster parish library. The city’s printers produced 8,285 editions of works on various subjects, theology foremost amongst them, and dominated a significant portion of the European Latin trade. Books printed in Basel were sold in numerous European countries, making it a relatively simple task for Higgin to purchase a Basel-published book from a bookseller in either London or York.⁶¹

Similarly, the books in the Minster’s theology collection that were printed in Paris were predominantly by medieval theologians and post-Reformation Catholic authors, reflecting the city’s religious identity, which it maintained through various upheavals during the course of the sixteenth century.⁶² Parisian books were widely distributed throughout Europe, accounting for the high number of Paris imprints in this collection.⁶³ Furthermore, Antwerp was a major Catholic printing centre and an international centre of book commerce that was responsible for fifty-five percent of all books published in the Netherlands between 1470 and 1600.⁶⁴ Antwerp’s Catholic status explains why many of the books in Ripon Minster’s collection with Antwerp imprints were by post-Reformation Catholic authors, including Robert Bellarmine, Nicholas Harpsfield and Thomas Harding.⁶⁵ The ‘close and long-established’ links between London and Antwerp engendered the availability of large numbers of Antwerp imprints on the

⁶⁰ Urs B. Leu, ‘The Book and Reading Culture in Basel and Zurich during the Sixteenth Century’ in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 306.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-306.

⁶² Pettegree, ‘Centre and Periphery’, pp. 111-112.

⁶³ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 87; James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 14.

⁶⁴ Andrew Pettegree, ‘Printing in the Low Countries in the Early Sixteenth Century’ in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 3, 9-10; Geert Vanpaemel, ‘Science for Sale: the Metropolitan Stimulus for Scientific Achievements in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp’ in Hugh Kennedy (ed.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 289.

⁶⁵ Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), pp. 269-270.

English book market, enabling their easy purchase and accounting for their prominence in this collection.⁶⁶

The printing and publishing cities of Europe were connected through the complex business networks that linked together printers and booksellers across the Continent. A series of annual trading events such as the Frankfurt Fair, at which ‘most major printers were represented’, facilitated the ‘efficient supply of books at a reasonable price to a widely dispersed readership’.⁶⁷ The presence of some of the top European publishing cities, whose printers were some of the most prominent participants in the Latin trade in early modern Europe, in the theology collection that Higgin gave to Ripon Minster reflected the efficacy of these events and networks in the distribution of books across Europe. Further, it also reinforces the argument that Higgin’s collection was originally intended for his personal and professional use before he decided to give it to the Minster as a library. The high-quality scholarship of these works was necessary for two reasons. Firstly, the high scholarly value of such texts was a necessity in reducing the recusancy that was rife in Yorkshire in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Secondly, it was an important part of shaping pastoral and ministerial development for the clergy in Ripon and its surrounding areas, in a continuation of the church’s objective, outlined in its Charter of Refoundation, to ‘promote and so spread... the true worship of God’ through instruction and information.⁶⁸

The publication dates of the titles in Higgin’s collection spanned 150 years, from the 1470s to the 1620s, and there were forty-four volumes in the collection that included handwritten notes detailing when Higgin purchased the books, which demonstrate how old the books were at the time of their purchase. Over half of the books in the collection (251 volumes equating to around fifty-six percent) were printed prior to 1570, meaning that they were most likely second-hand when Higgin purchased them for his library. Precisely when Higgin began to collect books is unknown, but it seems likely that he began to purchase books when he went to university in Cambridge in the early 1570s. The earliest purchase date Higgin recorded on the title page of one of his books is 1582, but it seems unlikely that Higgin would have spent the better part of a decade in Cambridge, a key centre of the English book trade, without purchasing a single

⁶⁶ Pettegree, ‘Printing in the Low Countries’, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁷ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, pp. 77, 80.

⁶⁸ University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/1.0), Letters Patent of James I (known as 1st Letters Patent), re-constituting the collegiate church of Ripon, 2nd August 1604; University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (MS Dep 1980/1/1.1), Copy of 1st Letters Patent. With Translation (1916) by J.T. Fowler.

volume.⁶⁹ The second-hand nature of many of these books, like those in the other three collections discussed in this work, has significant implications for any surviving annotations, which are discussed in later chapters of this thesis. Figure 3.5 below demonstrates the decades in which the books of Ripon Minster's theology collection, donated by Higgin, were printed.

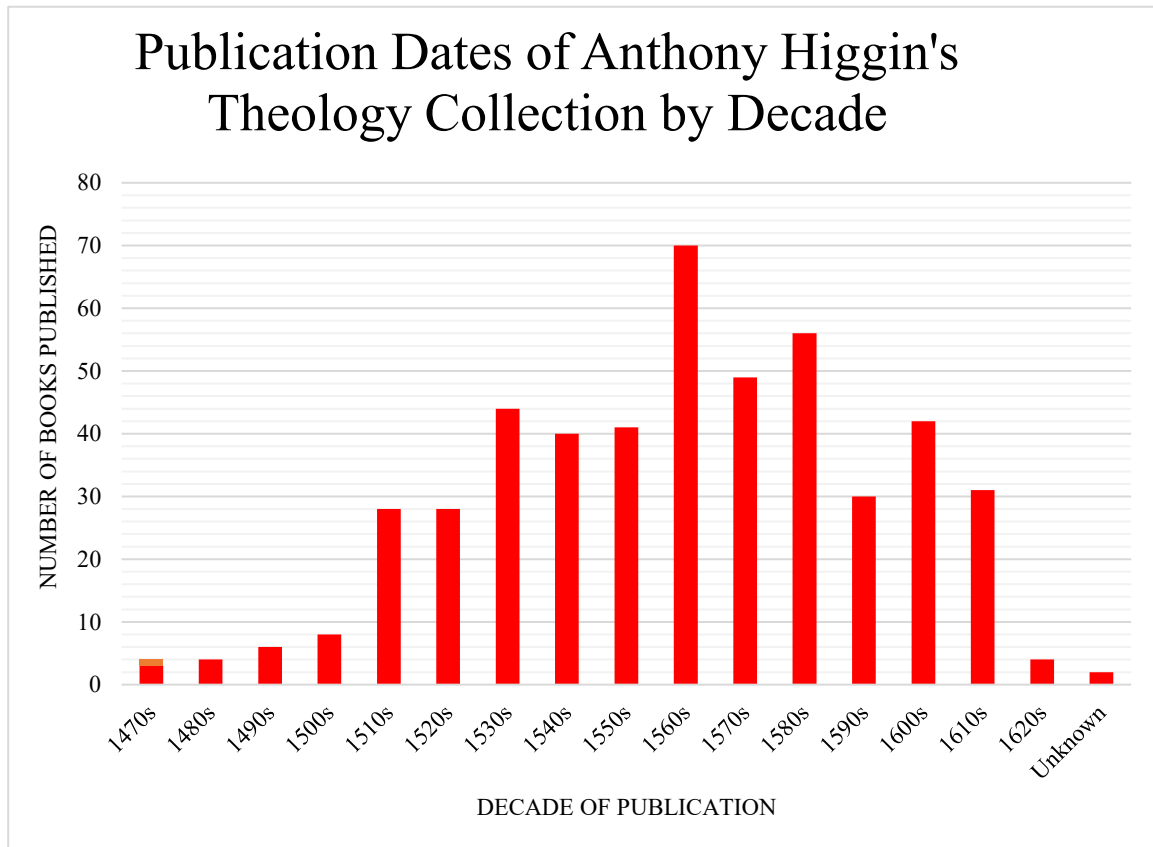


Figure 3.5: Publication Dates of the Surviving Titles in Ripon Minster Parish Library's Theology Collection

Much of the evidence for Higgin's purchase of second-hand books is circumstantial because the date of purchase is unknown. However, the forty-four volumes in the theology collection of Ripon Minster parish library that included purchase information on their title pages evidence the amount of time between their publication and their purchase. The ages of these books at the time of their purchase range from brand new to 103 years old. Higgin purchased just three volumes in the year of their publication: Joannes Drusius the Elder's *Joh. Drusii ad loca difficiliora Josuae, Judicum, & Samuelem commentaries liber...* (1618), Willem Hesselszoon van Est's *Annotationes aureae in praecipua ac difficiliora Sacrae Scripturae loca* (1622), and

⁶⁹ The date of 1582 is noted on the title page of Saint Augustine, *D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Confessionum libri XIII. Opera theologorum Lovaniensium ex manuscriptis codicibus multum emendati. Eiusdem Confessio theologica tripartite* (Louvain: Hieronymus Welleus, 1573). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.A.33. USTC 406004.

Theodore Beza's *Ad acta Colloquii Montisbelgardensis Tubingae edita* (1588).⁷⁰ Archbishop Theodoret of Cyrus's *Theodoretii Episcopi Cyri De providential sermones X. Nunc primum in lucem editi* was published in 1545 and purchased by Higgin in London in 1593, making it almost fifty years old at the time.⁷¹ In 1596, Higgin bought a copy of the medieval writer Astesano's *Summa Astensis. Clarissimi sacre theologie eximii professoris fratris Astesani de Ast... Summa de casibus amenissimam complectens disciplinarum divinarum & ecclesiasticarum sanctionem...*⁷² Astesano's text was published in just one edition, in 1519, leaving Higgin no choice but to purchase such an old copy if he wanted to read this work of moral theology.⁷³ The oldest volume in Higgin's collection with a purchase date noted on the title page was a 1488 imprint of the first volume of Guillaume Durand's *Rationale divinarum officiorum* that Higgin bought in 1591, making the book 103 years old at the time of its purchase.⁷⁴ Higgin's purchasing of such old books was not unusual. Many of his contemporaries and earlier clerics purchased second-hand versions of texts they could not otherwise obtain and the practice is replicated in all of the other libraries analysed in this thesis. It demonstrates an acknowledgement of the fact that the most recent edition of a work was not always the best edition.⁷⁵ This desire for the best works of scholarship available demonstrates the significance of these parish libraries on the intellectual and religious landscape of early modern England as repositories of education that consisted of the highest-quality information.

⁷⁰ Joannes Drusius the Elder, *Joh. Drusii ad loca difficiliora Josuae, Judicum, & Samuelem commentaries liber...* (Franeker: Fredericus Heynsius, 1618). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library I.B.8. USTC 1018085; Hesselszoon van Est, *Annotationes aureae in praecipua*. Annotated copy in Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library I.B.15. USTC 2019159; Theodore Beza, *Ad acta Colloquii Montisbelgardensis Tubingae edita* (Geneva: Joannes Le Preux, 1588). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library II.C.10. USTC 451142.

⁷¹ Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, *De providential sermones X*. Annotated copy in Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVIII.E.3. USTC 858943.

⁷² Astesano, *Summa Astensis. Clarissimi sacre theologie eximii professoris fratris Astesani de Ast... Summa de casibus amenissimam complectens disciplinarum divinarum & ecclesiasticarum sanctionem...* (Lyon: Stephen Gueynard, 1519). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.G.18. Not listed in the USTC.

⁷³ John Duns Scotus, *Sententiarum antea vitio impressorum depravatum: nunc vero a multifariis erroribus purgatum: pristinaeque integritati restitutum* (Lyon: Jacques Myt for Jacques Giunta and Francois Giunta, 1520). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVIII.F.20. USTC 145318; Astesano, *Summa Astensis*. Annotated copy in Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.G.18. Not listed in the USTC.

⁷⁴ Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinarum officiorum* (Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1488). Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVIII.H.12. USTC 744526.

⁷⁵ Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops', p. 229; Matthew Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 53-56.

The genres of the books in the theology section of Anthony Higgin's professional library reflected the types of books that Higgin thought interesting and useful for his ministerial and pastoral duties and necessary for the defence of the Church of England. The genres of the books also demonstrate the types of works that were available to the clergy and laity to provide them with a religious education after the books' donation to the Minster. Providing readers with a secular and spiritual education was the primary purpose of the vast majority of parish libraries established in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, more specifically in the case of this particular collection, the main aim of Ripon Minster as set down in the Charter of Refoundation. In the manuscript catalogue that Higgin compiled towards the end of his life, he arranged the theology section of his library under eight different subject headings, namely, *Biblia Sacra*, *Patres*, *Commentarii*, *Polemici*, *Conciones*, *Leiturgiae et Missalia*, *Scholastici*, and *Loci Communes et Catecheses*, which were separated into thirty classes. The proportion of volumes under each subject heading can be seen below in Figure 3.6. Having been taken directly from Higgin's manuscript of c. 1620, the below diagram includes both surviving and missing titles. Within these classifications are multitudinous Biblical commentaries and interpretations, numerous volumes of the collected works of patristic writers, a large quantity of theological texts and several sermons, as well as works of other genres such as anti-Catholic polemics, catechisms and works on Christian life and practical divinity. The contents of this library were not dissimilar to the collections of the other parish libraries considered in this work.

Anthony Higgin's Classifications of his Theological Works

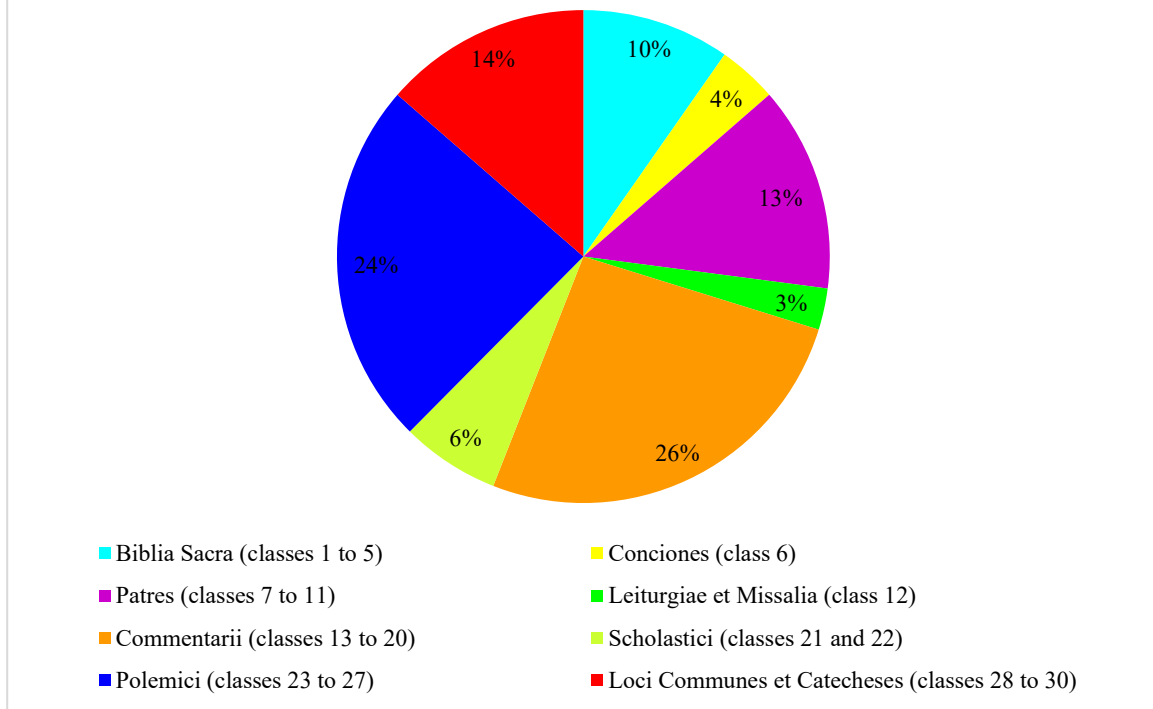


Figure 3.6: Anthony Higgin's Classifications of his Theological Works

The genres of books included in the theology section of Anthony Higgin's library suggest a collection amassed for use by a clergyman in a functional and professional capacity prior to their donation to Ripon Minster as the basis of the church's parish library. Many of the volumes in the collection would have aided and improved Higgin's ministry. The corpus comprised numerous volumes that demonstrate Higgin's commitment to the Church of England, his belief in the importance of the Bible, and the necessity of its being communicated and explained to the laity through commentaries, interpretations and paraphrases. The prevalence of Biblical commentaries in the collection reflected their usefulness to both the clergy and the laity in summarising and simplifying complex passages of Scripture. Specialist commentaries in Latin and Greek aimed at academics, educated clergy and wealthy bibliophiles were often imported from the Continent, whilst English commentaries were published for those whose knowledge of Latin was limited.⁷⁶ Just eight of the surviving 122 Biblical commentaries in the Ripon Minster parish library collection were written in English. Works of theology, including various works on moral and pastoral theology, Christian life and education, were the second largest

⁷⁶ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 103-104, 113-119.

genre in the surviving theology collection: eighty-three titles survive accounting for seventeen percent of the total. The vast majority of both the Biblical commentaries and the works of theology in the collection were in Latin, limiting their usefulness to those without a grammar school education.

Sermons, official homilies, catechisms and books of practical divinity were numerous in this collection. The preponderance of these texts within the collection hints at their usefulness to Higgin and his clerical colleagues. Pastoral works were useful to early modern clerics as resources from which they could gather information for their own sermons to preach to their congregation. Higgin's manuscript notebooks demonstrate that he read catechetical works in preparation for 'expounding the staple items of Protestant catechetics [that] was deemed necessary in the Elizabethan and early Stuart Church' in his sermons to his congregation.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the pastoral works in Ripon Minster parish library had the potential to be beneficial to any lay readers using the collection: pastoral works increasingly encouraged the laity to 'pray fervently and frequently at home'.⁷⁸ This at-home, practical piety, which was closely monitored by the clergy, required ongoing self-examination on the part of the laity for signs of assurance of grace.⁷⁹ As the place to go for instruction on practical piety to be carried out at home, parish libraries like Ripon Minster were of significant importance to the laity and to the clerics who used them as repositories of religious knowledge.

Conclusion

Ripon Minster parish library was founded by the donation of around 2,000 volumes from the personal collection of Anthony Higgin, dean of Ripon from 1608 to 1624. Higgin was the second dean of the newly refounded Ripon Collegiate Church and bequeathed his book collection to two of his relatives for their use after his death, on the proviso that the books would eventually be given to the church. This chapter has argued that Higgin wanted these books to be given to Ripon Minster in order to further the church's aims in educating the clergy and parishioners of Ripon. The library was originally placed in the Lady Loft, formerly the

⁷⁷ Ian Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes' in Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 146. See also Higgin's manuscript notebooks: University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, Leeds, (Ripon Cathedral MSS 16-22, 24-27, 29-30, 32, 34-36, 38, 40).

⁷⁸ Ian Green, 'Varieties of Domestic Devotion in Early Modern English Protestantism' in Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Ashgate: Routledge, 2017), p. 9.

⁷⁹ Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 39-48; C. Scott Dixon, *The Church in the Early Modern Age* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), p. 159.

Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, and was nominally accessible to all. When the books were first deposited in the church remains unclear, though there are references to repairs made to the library in the aftermath of the collapse of the church spire in December 1660, meaning that the library must have been in the church before this date. Higgin left no instructions for the safety and preservation of his books once they had been donated to the church, but the Fabric Accounts for the repairs to the church make reference to a key for the library door, which has implications for ease of general access to the volumes if, in effect, permission was required from the keyholder.

The significance of Ripon Minster parish library on the religious and intellectual landscape of seventeenth-century Yorkshire lies in the scope of subjects covered by the collection and the role it played in providing both the clergy and laity with a religious education that could be implemented in their everyday lives or in driving out recusancy from Yorkshire. The collection included around 750 volumes of theological works that are now the only books that can be ascribed to Higgin's ownership with any degree of certainty because they were catalogued in Higgin's own hand prior to his death. The collection included volumes that ranged from the collected works of numerous patristic authors such as Saint Athanasius and Saint Augustine to Biblical commentaries by both Protestant and post-Reformation Catholic authors to polemical texts and catechisms, sermons and theological works. Many of these volumes contained messages and information that clerical and lay readers alike could understand, interpret, and incorporate into their everyday lives. The preponderance of Latin volumes in the collection restricted their readership to those who had at least a grammar school education, but Jennifer Richards has demonstrated that such an education was more common than historians have previously believed. The parish library is also significant because of what it tells historians about the success of the European book trade and the domestic second-hand book trade in England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The presence of numerous prominent European printing cities in the theology books of Ripon Minster parish library reflected the efficacy of the complex business networks that linked together printers and booksellers across Europe.

Chapter Four: The Gorton Chest Parish Library, Manchester

Introduction

The five parish libraries founded in Humphrey Chetham's will of September 1653 were established 'for the edificac[i]on of the common people' of Manchester.¹ Chetham left explicit instructions for the libraries to be stocked with 'godly English Bookes', including the works of numerous Reformers such as John Calvin, William Perkins and John Preston, and the overwhelmingly Protestant collection of the Gorton Chest parish library demonstrates that these wishes were complied with.² Chetham's parish libraries were a significant part of the intellectual and religious landscape of seventeenth-century Manchester: only two parish libraries had been established in Lancashire prior to 1653, and only one of those had actually come to fruition.³ The parish libraries were not the only charitable bequests set out in Chetham's will. In addition to the five parish libraries that were to be placed in churches and chapels for the use of 'the common people', as Chetham described them, he also founded a school for forty poor boys and a public 'librarie within the towne of Manchester, for the use of schollars and others well affected'.⁴ A separate building was purchased specifically to house the school and the public library. Both the school and the public library are still in existence today: the school evolved into what is now Chetham's School of Music in Manchester, whilst the public library that Chetham founded in his will has remained true to its origins and is now known as Chetham's Library, Manchester. This public library was in addition to the five parish libraries Chetham provided. This chapter explores how Chetham's desire to edify the 'common people' of Manchester and surrounding areas translated into the sorts of parish libraries that were established, seeking to identify which locations Chetham and his trustees thought to be most in need of library repositories. It also examines the types of books that the clerics in charge of purchasing books for the libraries thought most appropriate for the edification of their readers.

¹ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

² *Ibid.*

³ Henry Bury, a Manchester-based clerk, had founded a library in Bury in 1634 and bequeathed money in 1640 for a library in the Collegiate Church in Manchester that seems never to have come to fruition. Michael Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2004), pp. 163, 280.

⁴ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

Modern scholars have overlooked Chetham's parish libraries in favour of examining the surviving public library now known as Chetham's Library in Manchester.⁵ In order to rectify this oversight, this work focusses on the five parish libraries founded by Chetham. It utilises primary evidence from Chetham's will and the invoices kept by his trustees for books purchased to demonstrate Chetham's educational motivations for founding the five parish libraries. The level of Chetham's influence over those libraries' collections will also be analysed in order to show that all five of the parish libraries contained volumes written in the vernacular that were intended to provide their users with an understanding of Scripture that would increase their Protestant religiosity, in accordance with Chetham's own vision. By examining these sources and the collection of the Gorton Chest parish library, this chapter provides an insight into the intellectual hinterland of seventeenth-century Lancashire and demonstrates that the Gorton Chest parish library was an important part of the religious and intellectual landscape of mid-seventeenth century Manchester.

Chetham chose five churches and chapels in different areas of Lancashire, with which he had a personal connection, to receive parish libraries. Chetham named the Collegiate Church of St Mary in Manchester (now the Cathedral), to which his family had been connected for generations, and St Peter's church in Bolton, a town where he conducted much of his business, to receive parish libraries. In addition, the chapels of Gorton, Turton and Walmsley, all three of which were in reasonably close proximity to two of Chetham's properties, were also gifted libraries by Chetham in his will. To bring these libraries to fruition, Chetham chose three Protestant trustees from Calvinist and Presbyterian confessional backgrounds, seemingly to foster a shared sense of religion in post-Civil War Lancashire.⁶ He had a personal connection to each of these three men. Richard Johnson was a Calvinist with Puritan tendencies, and Richard Hollinworth and John Tildsley were both staunch Presbyterians. Chetham had become acquainted with Richard Johnson in the latter's capacity as minister of Gorton Chapel, which was close to Chetham's house at Clayton Hall and which Chetham was known to visit. Chetham knew Richard Hollinworth through their mutual connection to Manchester Collegiate Church. The third man, John Tildsley, was married to Chetham's niece, Margaret.⁷ In

⁵ Matthew Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); S. J. Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653: Fortune, Politics and Mercantile Culture in Seventeenth-century England* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 2003); A. C. Snape, 'Seventeenth-century Book Purchasing in Chetham's Library, Manchester' *John Rylands University Library of Manchester Bulletin*, 67 (1985).

⁶ Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 33; Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. 266.

⁷ The spelling of 'Tildsley' used throughout this thesis has been chosen because this is how it was spelled in Chetham's 1653 will. John Tildsley's surname is also commonly spelled 'Tilsley' or 'Tildesley'.

collaboration with two London-based booksellers, John Rothwell and Robert Littlebury, these trustees selected books for the five parish libraries that mirrored their own religiosity and that together promoted a Reformed Protestantism that was broadly Calvinist and Presbyterian in nature to their readers.⁸

The Life of Humphrey Chetham

Humphrey Chetham was born at Crumpsall Hall in Manchester in 1580, the sixth child of Henry and Jane Chetham.⁹ A member of a relatively wealthy mercantile family, Chetham was raised in a godly household and educated at Manchester Grammar School until the age of seventeen. At school, Chetham came into contact with the sons of other wealthy merchants, with whom he began to establish the social and business networks that would serve him so well in adulthood.¹⁰ During his lifetime, Chetham held various administrative positions that brought him considerable authority, but little financial gain. Chetham was appointed as High Sheriff of the County Palatine of Lancaster in 1634 and again in 1648, and he was named the High Collector of Subsidies granted to the king by Parliament in 1641. From the beginning of the English Civil War in 1642, Chetham established himself firmly in favour of the Parliamentarians by providing the army with substantial sums of money, as well as food and other provisions for the entirety of the war.¹¹ In 1643, he was appointed Treasurer of the county and given responsibility for collecting money to maintain the army, before he was appointed receiver-general of assessments in Lancashire in 1647.¹² By the time of his death in September 1653, Chetham had amassed a vast fortune, accumulated through his business dealings as both a cloth merchant and a moneylender, which he charged at an interest rate of eight percent.¹³

In his will, written in 1651 and proved after his death in 1653, Chetham's large fortune was divided between three charitable endeavours. Chetham already maintained twenty-two poor boys from in and around Manchester, providing them with apprenticeships, as stated in an

⁸ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (CPP/2/141), Letter from John Tildsley to Rev. Hollinworth at Manchester; Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 86.

⁹ Alan G. Crosby, 'Chetham, Humphrey (bap. 1580, d. 1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 25 July 2019].

¹⁰ Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, pp. 15, 169.

¹¹ Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, pp. 221-222, 237.

¹² Francis Robert Raines and Charles William Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham, founder of the Chetham Hospital and Library, Manchester, Volume I*, printed for the Chetham Society (Manchester: James Stewart, 1903), pp. 72-74, 132, 137-138, 158; Crosby, 'Chetham, Humphrey (bap. 1580, d. 1653)', *ODNB*, [online: accessed 25 July 2019].

¹³ Raines and Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham, Volume I*, p. 113.

earlier draft of Chetham's will from 1642.¹⁴ His final will of 1651 provided for a further eighteen boys to be taken care of and educated until they were eighteen years of age. In order to facilitate this, Chetham requested that his trustees use his fortune to purchase 'the great howse, with the buildings, outhouses, courts, yards, gardens and appurtenances... called the colledge or the colledge house' to be 'an hospitall for the habitac[i]on of the said forty poore boyes'. In addition, Chetham also bequeathed £1000 to establish a public library, which was to be placed in 'some convenient parte or place thereof or therein' in the College House as well. Whilst ostensibly a 'publick librarie', this repository was restricted 'for the use of schollars and others well affected to resort unto', thus limiting the sense of publicness. Finally, £200 was left to establish five parish libraries, separate from the public library, to religiously educate the 'common people', although who Chetham meant by this is unclear. These libraries were to be placed in areas to which Humphrey Chetham was personally connected and which were in reasonably close geographical proximity to one of his two residences at Clayton Hall in Manchester or Turton Tower in Bolton, as Figure 4.1 below demonstrates. The £200 that Chetham bequeathed in his will for the parish libraries was to be divided by Chetham's trustees into five portions to provide a parish library to the Collegiate Church of St Mary in Manchester; to St Peter's church in Bolton-le-Moors; and to the chapels of Gorton, Turton and Walmsley.¹⁵

¹⁴ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (ChetDeeds/5/12), Draft of the Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham of Turton, Lancashire, Esq.

¹⁵ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

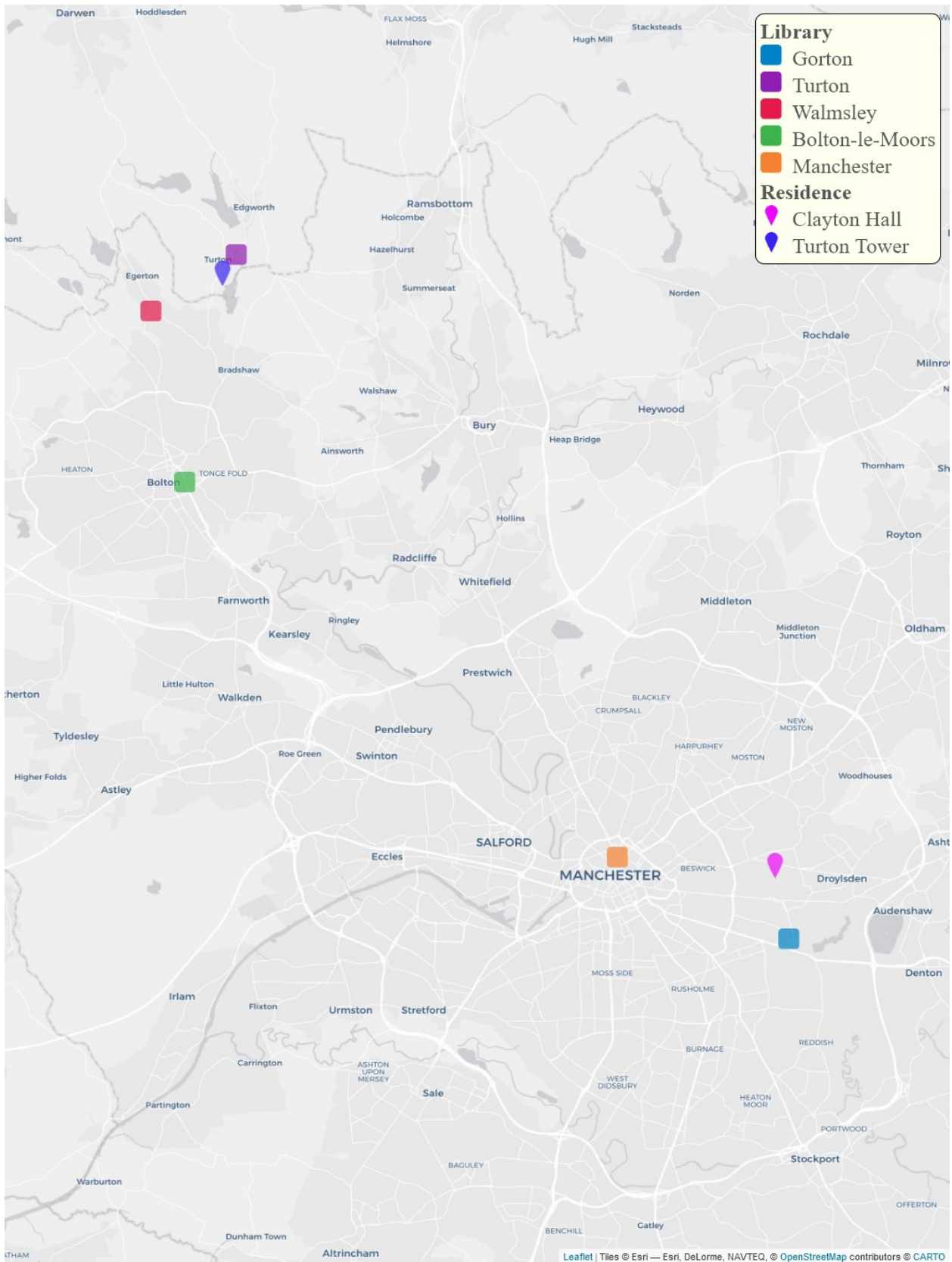


Figure 4.1: The Parish Libraries and Residences of Humphrey Chetham

Humphrey Chetham chose the collegiate church in Manchester as the site of his first parish library because his family had been associated with the church for generations and Chetham himself had been baptised there on 10 July 1580. Whilst the collegiate church had a reputation for nonconformity, the Chetham family themselves were never presented for nonconformity, despite their connections to known nonconformists like the Tipping family.¹⁶ Humphrey Chetham maintained a close relationship with the church throughout his life, but does not seem to have attended services there regularly, preferring instead to visit the smaller chapels local to his residences. Chetham's dealings with Manchester Collegiate Church do provide some clues as to his social standing: in 1621, he purchased a pew in the church, which emphasised his power as a civic figure. His purchase of the collegiate church's tithes a year later, in 1622, suggests Chetham's desire to search for new sources of wealth and influence.¹⁷ Throughout the 1620s and 1630s, Humphrey and his brother James farmed numerous of the church's greater tithes, which proved a lucrative venture.¹⁸ They also contributed to the requests for funds towards church repairs.¹⁹

Chetham's connections to Manchester Collegiate Church, along with those of his friend Richard Johnson, minister of Gorton Chapel and a Fellow of Manchester Collegiate Church, provide an insight into the confessional identities of the two men. In 1633, a list of the failings of the collegiate church and its associated clergy was compiled in the wake of Archbishop Neile's visitation. Chetham provided Johnson with money to travel to London to 'give evidence before the Council, and especially to protect the interests of the Church in Manchester'.²⁰ During the negotiations, Johnson was accused by Peter Shaw, another cleric associated with the collegiate church, of failing to wear the surplice, administering the sacrament to private seats, and omitting parts of the divine service, amongst other offences. Johnson's defence against these allegations, expressed in an impassioned petition to Archbishop Laud, asserted that he always wore the surplice 'unlesse it weare some one day or other in washinge or kept from him through the negligence of the clerk'.²¹ S. J. Guscott described such an argument as a 'puritan staple'.²² This suggests that Johnson was a Calvinist with Puritan tendencies, and his correspondence with Chetham during his time in London reveals some puritan sympathies on

¹⁶ Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, pp. 170-171.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 70.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171, 188.

²⁰ Raines and Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham, Volume I*, p. 47.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²² Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. 190.

Chetham's part as well.²³ Johnson enjoyed frequent friendly correspondence with, and immense financial support from, Humphrey Chetham during his time in London defending the collegiate church and advocating for its reform. Chetham provided Johnson with over £100 to support him during the negotiations and frequently sympathised with Johnson's puritan complaints about the accusations against him in his letters, suggesting Chetham's sympathies to the cause.²⁴

Humphrey Chetham chose to establish a library in Gorton Chapel because of its proximity to his home at Clayton Hall and because he was closely connected to Richard Johnson, the chapel's godly minister. Gorton was situated less than two miles from the Clayton Hall estate that Chetham purchased with his brother George in 1620. Chetham made Clayton Hall his permanent home after George's death in 1627.²⁵ The Clayton estate had no chapel of its own, and so Humphrey Chetham attended parish churches in the surrounding area, including Gorton, and became friendly with their ministers. Chetham established a friendship with George Gee, minister of the church at nearby Newton, for example; Gee was mentioned in an earlier iteration of Chetham's will in 1631, but because Gee predeceased Chetham, he was not mentioned in Chetham's final will of 1651.²⁶ More important was Chetham's friendship with Richard Johnson, Gorton's curate from 1628 and subsequently its minister until 1646, when he was ejected both from the living in Gorton and from his position as Fellow of Manchester Collegiate Church during the attempt to establish Presbyterian-style government in Lancashire in 1646.²⁷ Establishing Presbyterianism involved the partitioning of Lancashire into nine classical presbyteries to be guided by worthy ministers and laymen. Richard Hollinworth was a named minister in the first *classis* in Manchester while John Tildsley was a named minister of the second *classis* in Bolton. It is also noteworthy that many of the twenty-four trustees Chetham named in his will were also named as members of these two *classes*.²⁸ The friendship between

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-192.

²⁴ Raines and Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham, Volume I*, pp. 49-64; Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. 70.

²⁵ Raines and Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham, Volume I*, pp. 19, 22, 30; Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. xiii.

²⁶ Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. 183; Lancashire Records Office, Lancashire, (WCW/Supra/C116C/8), Archdeaconry of Chester Probate Records, Will of George Gee, dated 21 April 1636; Chetham's Library, Manchester, (ChetDeeds/5/4), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham, 1631; Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

²⁷ Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, pp. 183-185; Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Volume II – Early Series* (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1891), p. 815.

²⁸ William A. Shaw (ed.), *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis. Part I*, printed for the Chetham Society (Manchester: Charles E. Sims, 1890), pp. 1-2, 6-8.

Chetham and Johnson lasted until Chetham's death, despite his close relationship with many of those who had cost Johnson his living. The strength of Johnson's friendship with Chetham led Chetham to describe Johnson as 'my loveinge friend' in his will and name Johnson as one of his trustees. Chetham also requested that his friend Johnson preached his funeral sermon.²⁹ Chetham's frequent visits to Gorton, his friendship with Johnson, and Johnson's skill as a preacher and affiliation to Gorton, played instrumental roles in Chetham's naming of the parish in his will as one of the areas in which he wanted to establish a library.³⁰

Chetham's business dealings in Bolton and his proximity to Turton and Walmsley after his purchase of Turton Tower in 1628 influenced Chetham's decision to endow these three areas with parish libraries. Chetham made regular visits to Bolton in a professional capacity. The town had a strong Puritan confessionism and Chetham regularly had business dealings with godly wool and cloth merchants in the town. A 1626 list of creditors and debtors evidences Chetham's mercantile connections in Bolton and its surrounding localities.³¹ Such close working and personal relationships in the area of Bolton led Chetham to establish a parish library in St Peter's church in the town. Chetham's status as a land and property owner in Turton, a sub-district of Bolton that also encompassed the town of Walmsley, influenced his decision to bequeath libraries to these two parishes. Chetham's connections with these godly communities may have spurred him to provide these libraries for use by people in the areas with which he was associated.³²

Only two of the original five parish libraries founded by Humphrey Chetham survive: the Gorton Chest parish library and the Turton parish library. The library that was in Manchester Collegiate Church from 1665 was removed from the church in the 1830s and booksellers in Manchester's Shudehill area subsequently dispersed its books in the mid-nineteenth century. The current whereabouts and survival rates of the books are unknown.³³ The parish library in St Peter's church in Bolton was also disbanded in the nineteenth century. It was still in the church in 1833 when Edward Baines compiled his *History of Lancashire*, but had disappeared

²⁹ Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. 185; for examples of surviving correspondence between Chetham and Johnson see Chetham's Library, Manchester, (CPP/3/72, 73, 88, 95-99); Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

³⁰ Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, pp. 184-185.

³¹ B. G. Blackwood, 'Parties and Issues in the Civil War in Lancashire', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 132 (1982), p. 111; Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. 36; Chetham's Library, Manchester, (CPP/3/18), Account: Note of Debts Owing; Chetham's Library, Manchester, (CPP/3/19), Account: Payments for Fustians at Bolton.

³² Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. 184.

³³ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 280.

by 1855 when Gilbert J. French published his *Bibliographical Notices*.³⁴ Some of the volumes from the Bolton parish library are now contained in the almery-style chest at Bolton School, which was donated by James Leaver to the school in the 1690s, though how Chetham's books came to be included in the collection is unclear.³⁵ The library intended for the chapel at Walmsley seems never to have reached completion; its fifteen allocated books were amalgamated into the library at Turton instead.³⁶ The Turton parish library itself was originally in St Anne's church but is now in Turton Tower, Bolton. It is well-preserved and a large number of books from the original collection survive. A manuscript list of the books originally sent to the Turton library survives in the archives at Chetham's Library in Manchester.³⁷ The original collection of the Gorton Chest parish library survives almost in its entirety and is in extremely good condition, which is why the indepth analysis at the end of this chapter is focussed on this repository in particular.

The Intended Users of the Parish Libraries

The intended users of Humphrey Chetham's parish libraries were 'the common people', a phrase Chetham himself used to describe his intended audience, in order to distinguish the parish libraries' readership from the 'schollars and others well affected' that were the intended users of the public library he also founded in his will.³⁸ The 'godly English Bookes, such as Calvins, Prestons, and Perkins workes' that Chetham's will stipulated were to be included in the parish libraries reflected his intended readership who, as Ian Green has demonstrated, were interested in 'collections of prayers and handbooks on godly living and godly dying'.³⁹ The surviving invoices for the books sent to the Manchester, Bolton, Gorton, Turton and Walmsley parish libraries demonstrate that a range of works of practical divinity, commentaries upon the Bible, and copies of sermons given by eminent preachers were in each collection, which would have held significant appeal to the 'common' readers of Chetham's parish libraries.⁴⁰ The

³⁴ Edward Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster, Volume III* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1836), p. 64; Gilbert J. French (ed.), *Bibliographical Notices of the Church Libraries at Turton and Gorton, bequeathed by Humphrey Chetham*, printed for the Chetham Society (Manchester: Charles Simms and Co., 1855), p. 4.

³⁵ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 143-144; Richard Copley Christie, *The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire* (Manchester: Charles E. Simms for the Chetham Society, New Series, 7, 1885), p. 56.

³⁶ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 376-379.

³⁷ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/5/2), Invoices of Books, 1655-1685, f. 58r.

³⁸ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

³⁹ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 36.

⁴⁰ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/5/2), Invoices of Books, 1655-1685, f.55r, f.55v, f. 58r, f. 59r.

books in the Gorton Chest parish library and the other four parish libraries Chetham established were written exclusively in the vernacular, making them accessible to all literate people and not limiting their usage to those with the grammar school education required for reading Latin volumes.

The Selection and Supply of the Books in the Chetham Parish Libraries

Humphrey Chetham's will was meticulous in its detail. In it, he named twenty-four men as his trustees. Three of those trustees, Richard Johnson, Richard Hollinworth and John Tildsley, all of whom were clerics, were also nominated to have particular responsibility for selecting the books for both the public library and for the five parish libraries. Richard Johnson was a Calvinist with puritan inclinations, and Richard Hollinworth and John Tildsley were both 'very zealous' Presbyterians. In selecting men of different theological outlooks as his trustees, Matthew Yeo has argued that Chetham had a 'plan for religious and political reconciliation' in post-Civil War Lancashire that he hoped to see spread across England in the 1650s, after the Civil War and regicide of the 1640s.⁴¹ However, there is no explicit evidence to support this. What is clear, however, is that Chetham had a desire to spread godly religion to the readers of the parish libraries and deliberately chose men who had previously been in conflict to work together to establish those libraries, which may suggest a desire to encourage the kind of cooperation Yeo asserted was Chetham's goal. What cannot be doubted was Chetham's intention, brought to fruition by his trustees, to create libraries for the 'common people' that had widespread appeal to Protestants of different denominations. Chetham was clear in his will that the parish libraries were to contain 'godly English Bookes, such as Calvins, Prestons, and Perkins workes, comments of annotac[i]ons uppon the bible or some parts thereof, or such other bookes as the said Richard Johnson, John Tildsley, and Maister Hollinworth... thinke most proper for the edificac[i]on of the common people'.⁴² Despite their differing confessional identities, Johnson, Hollinworth and Tildsley worked together to fill the parish libraries with religious books of various genres, the overwhelming majority of which were by authors of Protestant confessional identities. As such, the three men brought Chetham's vision of the parish libraries as providers of a Reformed religious education to the laity of Manchester to completion. The other trustees' main role was to oversee the school for poor boys that Chetham

⁴¹ Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, pp. 33-34; Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, p. 266.

⁴² Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

established in his will, and they had responsibility for electing and removing boys to and from the school as necessary or appropriate. In addition, they held annual meetings

to audit accompts and to order all the other affaires and business touching the premises [the school] accordinge to such orders, instructions, and directions, and in such sorte, manner, and forme as is or are in this my [Chetham's] last will conteyned and expressed.⁴³

Richard Johnson, 'Chetham's closest friend', was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. In the nineteenth century, Raines and Sutton described Johnson as 'a sound doctrinal Calvinist' and Yeo has similarly noted that 'Calvinism was a strong influence on both Humphrey Chetham's and Richard Johnson's faiths'. The accusations against Johnson of refusing to wear a surplice and of other offences demonstrate Johnson's Puritan inclinations, with which Chetham sympathised, as correspondence between the two men demonstrates.⁴⁴ Johnson was appointed as curate of Gorton in 1628, became its minister shortly after, and a Fellow of Manchester Collegiate Church in 1632.⁴⁵ As a Calvinist, 'zealous royalist and cavalier', Johnson was deprived of both his fellowship and his living and subsequently imprisoned during the attempt to establish Presbyterian government in Lancashire in 1646, an effort in which Johnson's co-trustees Richard Hollinworth and John Tildsley were instrumental.⁴⁶ Upon his release, Johnson moved to London and later became Master of the Temple Church until 1659, when he returned to Manchester to take up a position as the first librarian of the public library now known as Chetham's Library.⁴⁷

Richard Hollinworth was a noted religious author and leading Presbyterian who was acquainted with Chetham because of his status as an influential divine in the area and by virtue of his position as Chaplain and Fellow of Manchester Collegiate Church from 1643.⁴⁸ Hollinworth was described by the seventeenth-century nonconformist minister Adam Martindale as one of the 'very zealous (usually called Rigid) Presbyterians' who were intrinsically involved in the

⁴³ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

⁴⁴ Raines and Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham, Volume I*, p. 63; Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 39; for examples of surviving correspondence between Chetham and Johnson see Chetham's Library, Manchester, (CPP/3/72, 73, 88, 95-99).

⁴⁵ Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, pp. 34 and 37.

⁴⁶ James Crossley (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, Volume II, Part I* (Manchester: Charles Simms and Co. for the Chetham Society, 1855), p. 239 n. 1.

⁴⁷ Charles Trice Martin (ed.), *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, Volume III: 1650-1703* (London: Butterworth & Co. Ltd., 1905), p. 1138; Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 38.

⁴⁸ John Venn and J. A. Venn (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, Volume II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 396.

implementation of a Scottish-style Presbyterianism in Lancashire.⁴⁹ A member of the Bolton *classis* from 1646 and later the Manchester *classis*, Hollinworth was a constant advocate for Presbyterianism in Lancashire even after the failure of the Presbyterian experiment. He produced numerous favourable tracts on the subject and played a central role in the composition of various statements by Lancashire Presbyterian ministers in the 1650s. In 1654, two years before his death, Hollinworth was appointed as a commissioner for ejecting ‘scandalous and ignorant ministers and schoolmasters in Lancashire’ in the parliamentary ordinance of 29 August.⁵⁰ The acquaintance between Chetham and Hollinworth, coupled with Hollinworth’s prominence in the local area, may have accounted for his appointment as one of Chetham’s trustees.

John Tildsley, husband of Humphrey Chetham’s niece, Margaret, was educated at the University of Edinburgh. Another of Lancashire’s highly influential Presbyterians, Tildsley, like Hollinworth, was heavily involved in the attempt to establish Presbyterian government in the area in 1646. In 1648, Tildsley signed the ‘Harmonious Consent’ of the ministers of Lancashire, to which Hollinworth also subscribed.⁵¹ Written in support of the Westminster Assembly and Presbyterian government in England, the ‘Harmonious Consent’ condemned toleration as something akin to the ‘putting of a sword into a mad man’s hand’ and praised the Assembly’s Confession of Faith as ‘orthodox, sound, solid, substantial, and pious, but also to be very ful, and in especial maner useful for these times’.⁵² Tildsley’s dedication to ‘the utter extirpation of Independencie, root and branch’, as asserted by Adam Martindale, is reflected in the surviving letter that Tildsley wrote to his co-religionist Richard Hollinworth in April 1655, in which Tildsley was careful to stress his desire to avoid ‘erroneous’ and ‘Independent’ authors in the parish library collections.⁵³

Working with Tildsley and Hollinworth cannot have been easy for Johnson, considering the prominent role both men played in the Presbyterian experiment of 1646 that lost Johnson his livelihood; Yeo has demonstrated that the Accessions Registers for Chetham’s libraries

⁴⁹ Richard Parkinson (ed.), *The Life of Adam Martindale* (Manchester: Charles Simms and Co. for the Chetham Society, 1845), pp. 62-63.

⁵⁰ Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham’s Library*, p. 36.

⁵¹ John Tildsley, *The True Relation of the Taking of the Town of Preston, by Colonell Seatons Forces from Manchester* (London: J. R. for Luke Fawn, 1642). USTC 3052212.

⁵² Unknown author, *The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: printed for Luke Fawne, 1648), pp. 6, 12. USTC 3046480; Hollinworth and Tildsley’s names can be seen on p. 26.

⁵³ Parkinson, *Adam Martindale*, p. 63; Chetham’s Library, Manchester, (CPP/2/141), Letter from John Tildsley to Rev. Hollinworth at Manchester.

document disagreements in correspondence between the trustees.⁵⁴ However, Chetham's appointment of these three men, their prior conflicts and differences notwithstanding, does suggest that Chetham sought to encourage reconciliation.

At a meeting of the trustees in October 1654, over a year after Chetham's death, the trustees in attendance apportioned the £200 Chetham had bequeathed for the establishment of his five parish libraries. Chetham left no instructions as to how the money was to be divided, so the trustees seem to have allocated funds to the different parish libraries according to the size of the town in which the library was to be located: the bigger the area, the more money apportioned to that particular library. The trustees allocated £70 to purchase books for Manchester parish library, £50 for books for Bolton parish library, £30 each for Gorton and Turton, and £20 for the library at Walmsley.⁵⁵ John Tildsley, whose position as the vicar of Deane in Bolton led to him being given responsibility for the Bolton, Turton and Walmsley parish libraries, was absent from the meeting. His absence may account for his outrage at what he deemed to be the insufficient funds allocated to the three parish libraries in his charge. Tildsley seemingly felt that the sums allocated to these libraries – and to Bolton in particular – would not be sufficient to provide adequate books to the libraries. In the letter he wrote to Hollinworth in April 1655, Tildsley asserted that he had 'little stomach to meddle at all in the business' if the sums allocated to Bolton, Turton and Walmsley were to stand. Tildsley even went so far as to state that 'if I die without a son I should be willing to add to it at my decease'.⁵⁶ Hollinworth's reply to Tildsley's letter, if he ever wrote one, does not survive, and the funds apportioned to each library remained the same despite Tildsley's protestations. Tildsley's displeasure at what he perceived to be such a small sum being allocated to the three libraries he was charged with was ostensibly related to his desire to eradicate Independency. His indignation at not being able to supply as many Protestant texts for the parish libraries as he wished demonstrated his commitment to the provision of edifying and educational books for the people of Bolton, Turton and Walmsley.

Chetham left no testamentary instructions as to where or from whom the books for the public library and the parish libraries were to be purchased. However, the Temple Church, where Johnson was Master, was in reasonably close proximity to Little Britain, Cheapside and St Paul's Churchyard, three areas of London in which numerous booksellers had shops. The books

⁵⁴ Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 34; Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/11/1), Accession Register, 1655-1880.

⁵⁵ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/1/2/1), Minute Book, 6 Dec 1653-16 Apr 1752.

⁵⁶ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (CPP/2/141), Letter from John Tildsley to Rev. Hollinworth at Manchester.

that went into the parish libraries were primarily purchased between the mid-1650s and the mid-1660s from Robert Littlebury and John Rothwell, two London-based booksellers. Littlebury's print shop was located at the Unicorn in Little Britain.⁵⁷ Rothwell specialised in theological texts, with print shops located first in St Paul's Churchyard and then in Goldsmith's Row, Cheapside.⁵⁸ Therefore, Johnson, at least, was likely to have had knowledge of both Littlebury and Rothwell prior to being appointed as one of Chetham's trustees, which may be why he used these booksellers to provide texts for both the public, scholarly library and the parish libraries.⁵⁹ The precise roles of Littlebury and Rothwell in the selection processes for the parish libraries is unclear. Only one delivery of English books for the parish libraries from Rothwell's bookshop was recorded in May 1657; Littlebury provided the rest, in addition to the vast majority of the works now in the public library.⁶⁰ Matthew Yeo, in his analysis of the public library collection that is now Chetham's Library, argued that Littlebury was given a large amount of freedom in choosing to provide the public library with whichever books he deemed fit and appropriate, and with the best of what was available in the new and second-hand book markets.⁶¹ It is possible that Littlebury was afforded a similar level of autonomy in suggesting and supplying books for the parish libraries. However, the closeness with which the confessional nature of the parish library collections reflected the confessional identities of the trustees intimates that they had a considerably larger influence over the collections of the parish libraries than Yeo suggested for the public library.

Books for the five parish libraries were selected with the intention of achieving Chetham's vision of facilitating the 'edificac[i]on of the common people'.⁶² The focus on Protestant theology demonstrated by the surviving invoices of books purchased for all five parish libraries is clear: the works of Protestant authors of different confessional identities dominated and works that opposed Protestantism were notable by their omission. The broad exclusion of Catholic works in the collections of the five parish libraries appears to have been a conscious decision on the part of Johnson, Hollinworth and Tildsley. The reasons for this are unclear. Likely, it was a combination of factors including their desire to adhere to Chetham's testamentary wishes, their mindfulness of their intended audience of 'common people', and the

⁵⁷ Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 534.

⁵⁸ Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Blades, East and Blades, 1907), pp. 157-158.

⁵⁹ Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, pp. 84-85.

⁶⁰ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/5/2), Invoices of Books, 1655-1685, f. 17r.

⁶¹ Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, pp. 49-50.

⁶² Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

relatively small amount of money they were working with for the parish libraries, though there is no firm evidence to support this. For the parish libraries, the trustees focussed on vernacular religious works by prominent Protestant authors of primarily Calvinist and Presbyterian confessional identities. These books included expository works of doctrine, general theology, books of practical divinity, and printed sermons, in addition to Biblical commentaries and Church histories.

The delivery dates of books to Manchester for the five parish libraries demonstrate how long it took for these libraries to be compiled and placed in their respective churches. Deliveries of English religious books from London to Manchester began in August 1655, almost two years after Chetham's death in September 1653. Because Littlebury, at least, was providing books for the public library and the five parish libraries at the same time, he often combined deliveries for the two different types of libraries, as indicated on the relevant invoices.⁶³ English books were delivered to the trustees on 2 August and 20 September 1655, 7 May and 28 July 1657, 30 June 1659, and 1 October 1666.⁶⁴ As books were still being delivered in 1666, this must mean that at least one of the parish libraries (in this case, that at Bolton) was yet to be finalised by that date. The books do not seem to have been collected on a library-by-library basis: invoices for the books list the titles sent by date and separate manuscript lists were made of which titles were sent to which parish libraries.⁶⁵ The manuscript list of books that were sent to Gorton chapel can be seen in Figure 4.2 below.

⁶³ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/5/2), Invoices of Books, 1655-1685, f. 6r, f. 8r, f. 17r, f. 19r.

⁶⁴ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/5/2), Invoices of Books, 1655-1685, f. 6r, f. 8r, f. 17r, f. 19r, f. 58r, f. 58v.

⁶⁵ See Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/5/2), Invoices of Books, 1655-1685, for the full selection of invoices for books delivered and for the lists of books sent to each parish library.

the books' bindings. They also demonstrate the length of time it took for the five parish libraries to be completed.⁶⁶ The Gorton Chest parish library was the first of Chetham's parish libraries to be placed in its intended church in 1655, followed by Turton (with some of the books originally intended for Walmsley included) in 1659. A parish library was placed in Manchester Collegiate Church in 1665 and Bolton-le-Moors was the last location to receive its library in 1668.⁶⁷

Content Analysis

The intention of Chetham's trustees to provide parish libraries that would increase the Protestant religiosity of their intended 'common' readers whilst also providing for their spiritual edification is best demonstrated by the books those trustees purchased for the library collections. A brief examination of the surviving invoices for the Manchester, Bolton, Turton and Walmsley parish libraries reveals a range of authors and genres not dissimilar to those in the Gorton Chest, which is examined in more detail in the remainder of this chapter. Like the Gorton Chest parish library collection, those of Manchester, Bolton, Turton and Walmsley variously included sermons, doctrinal and theological works, sermons, and books on Christian life. This demonstrates that the trustees' aims were applied to all libraries, and the number of books that were purchased for multiple libraries evidenced the trustees' belief that these were the books necessary for and appropriate to a reading audience of 'common people'.

A copy of John Calvin's *Institution of Christian Religion* was purchased for the Manchester, Bolton and Gorton collections, as well as a copy for the combined Turton and Walmsley collection, demonstrating the perceived importance placed on this text by all three trustees. Similarly, four copies of Arthur Hildersham's *CLII Lectures upon Psalm, LI* were purchased, one for each collection, and the Manchester, Bolton and Gorton collections were also in receipt of Hildersham's *CVIII Lectures upon the Fourth of John*. The Turton and Walmsley collection and the Gorton Chest collection both received copies of the three volumes of William Perkins' *Workes*, whilst the Manchester parish library instead received four volumes of John Preston's writings. All of the libraries received some volumes of sermons: the Manchester and Bolton repositories included a collection of Thomas Adams' sermons, the Turton and Walmsley collection received the works of Christopher Love, and the Gorton Chest collection was the

⁶⁶ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/5/2), Invoices of Books, 1655-1685, f. 6v, f. 58r.

⁶⁷ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 60-61, 143-144, 216-217, 280, 376, 378-379.

recipient of sermons by both Love and John Dod, in addition to others by Joseph Mede and Edward Reynolds. The desire to provide collections that held a broad appeal to Protestants of different denominations was thereby achieved: not only did these repositories include works by authors of different confessional identities, they also included a wide range of texts that were intended to increase the religious knowledge and spiritual edification of their readers.

This argument is best supported by a thorough examination of the Gorton Chest parish library collection, which is the best preserved of the two surviving collections. The Gorton Chest parish library contains sixty-five individual titles of religious literature in fifty-one surviving volumes. Originally in St James's church, the Gorton Chest was removed in 1984 and rehoused in the Reading Room of Chetham's Library, Manchester, where it remains. Built in the almery style of a book cupboard supported on wooden legs, elevated off the ground to a height comfortable for sitting, the Gorton Chest originally had a ledge attached to it, just below the books themselves, for the books to rest on whilst they were in use. The Gorton Chest was altered in the mid-nineteenth century, after the removal of the reading ledge. Its hinges were moved from the sides to the bottom of the doors, in order for them to open out horizontally and form a makeshift ledge for reading. The legs of the chest were also shortened for ease of use.⁶⁸ The Gorton Chest parish library as it is today is shown in Figures 4.3a and 4.3b below.

⁶⁸ Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1931), pp. 302-303; French, *Bibliographical Notices*, p. 107.



Figure 4.3a: The Gorton Chest Parish Library



Figure 4.3b: The Gorton Chest Parish Library

It is difficult to estimate how many desk or chest libraries were founded in England in the period between 1558 and 1709: Michael Perkin's *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales* lists fourteen parochial desk libraries that were established in this period in his table of libraries by county.⁶⁹ However, this list does not include the five parochial desk libraries established by Chetham, which begs the question as to whether any other parochial desk libraries were overlooked in the course of Perkin's research. Furthermore, Perkin listed three libraries – those of St Martin-in-the-Fields church in London, More in Shropshire and Wimborne Minster in Dorset – as desk libraries, despite their original collections being too large to be housed in this manner. This research has identified fifteen parochial desk libraries that were established in England between 1558 and 1709; the figure is derived from those eleven libraries correctly listed by Perkin as desk libraries in addition to the four established by Humphrey Chetham that came to fruition. Of these fifteen desk libraries, only three libraries remain in their original desks or chests, though they have all been modified: the Gorton Chest and Turton parish libraries, and the parish library at Wooten Wawen that was established in 1652 by George Dunscomb, the rector of St Peter's church.⁷⁰ The Gorton Chest parish library is the largest collection of the three.

Thirty-six individual authors were responsible for writing forty-nine of the fifty-one remaining volumes in the Gorton Chest parish library. The remaining two volumes are annotations on the Old and New Testaments by an unknown author. The majority of authors whose works were included in the Gorton Chest collection were either Calvinists or Presbyterians, reflecting the confessional identities of the trustees. The inclusion of authors of other confessional identities again suggests an attempt to reflect the breadth of English Protestantism within the collection. Whilst there is no explicit evidence to support Yeo's argument in favour of Chetham and the trustees' attempts to promote unity, the range of confessional identities in the authors of the Gorton Chest does reflect the range of confessional identities held by the people with whom Chetham associated, as demonstrated by Raines and Sutton in the nineteenth century, and more recently by Guscott. Guscott demonstrated that Chetham was not afraid to associate with Manchester's 'more aggressively godly' by examining the legacies in Chetham's numerous wills.⁷¹ Raines and Sutton also asserted that Chetham 'was not so blindly hostile to the Roman Catholics as to have no dealings with them... he had certainly no hostility to their persons, and

⁶⁹ Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp. 83-112.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁷¹ Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham, 1580-1653*, pp. 172-173.

extended to several members of that community a wide and generous benevolence'.⁷² Figure 4.4 below demonstrates the distribution of religious identities amongst the authors in the Gorton Chest parish library.

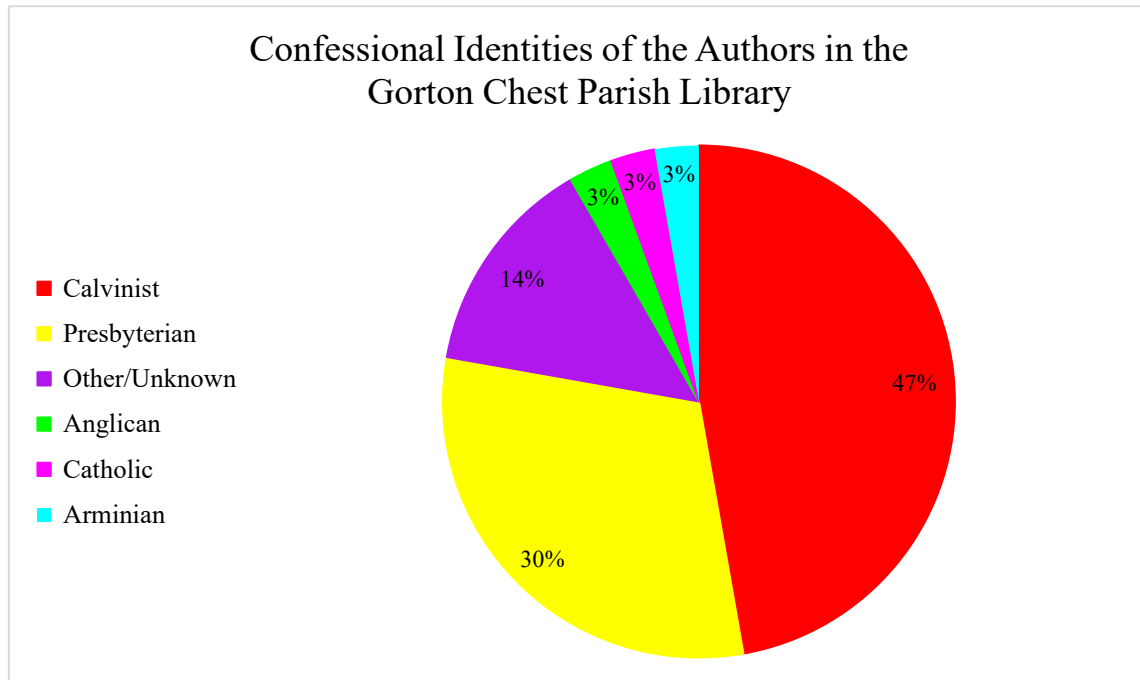


Figure 4.4: Religious Affiliations of Authors included in the Gorton Chest Parish Library

Johnson, Hollinworth and Tildsley included one Catholic author in the Gorton Chest parish library collection, the Venetian friar, Paolo Sarpi, whose religion placed him in obvious juxtaposition to the other authors represented in the library. Sarpi's most famous work, *The History of the Council of Trent*, a translation of which was included in the Gorton Chest, outlined Sarpi's strong opposition to the papacy, its policies and practices in the second half of the sixteenth century. In *The History of the Council of Trent*, Sarpi asserted that 'ecclesiastical councils had become mere manifestations of papal power'; he denounced the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church and denied its claim that it had reverted to a purer form of Christianity, after the Council of Trent.⁷³ Sarpi's vocal opposition of the papacy was in alignment with the anti-papist stance of the trustees, and the volume itself was popular in Protestant countries throughout Europe.⁷⁴ In England, over thirty copies of the edition included in the Gorton Chest survive. The inclusion of Sarpi's *History* in the Gorton Chest parish library suggests that it was

⁷² Raines and Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham, Volume I*, pp. 32-35, 135.

⁷³ Nicla Riverso, 'Paolo Sarpi: the Hunted Friar and his Popularity in England', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 34 (2016), pp. 302-303; Jaska Kainulainen, *Paolo Sarpi: A Servant of God and State* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 173.

⁷⁴ K. Brinkmann Brown, 'Sarpi, Paolo (1552-1623)', *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, (2005), [online: accessed 24 April 2019]; Kainulainen, *Paolo Sarpi*, p. 173.

highly valued by Protestants for its anti-papal tone and demonstrates that works by Catholic authors could be – and were – used to promote Protestant ends.

The books in the Gorton Chest parish library were all religious in nature. Unlike the other three parish libraries analysed in this thesis, all of which contained at least a small number of secular volumes, the Gorton Chest parish library contained none. All of the works in the Gorton Chest were written in English, and there was a strong and distinct pastoral leaning towards works of practical divinity in this collection. It reflected the trustees’ focus on providing a repository of Reformed Protestant religious knowledge to the ‘common people’ of Manchester through sermons, Biblical commentaries, catechisms, and works of Christian life. The librarians at Chetham’s Library in Manchester assigned Library of Congress subject headings to the Gorton Chest parish library’s sixty-five remaining titles. The range of subjects in this repository is demonstrably less varied than the other three libraries in this thesis, reflecting the trustees’ focus. The proportion of titles in each different category can be seen in Figure 4.5 below.

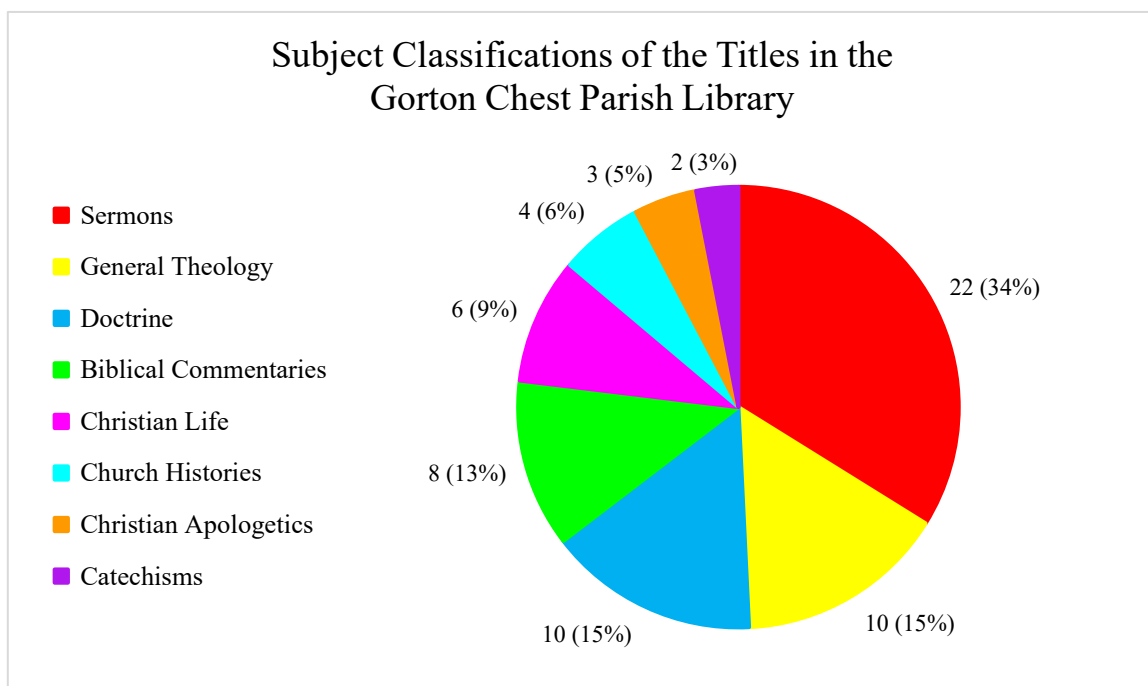


Figure 4.5: A Breakdown of Titles in the Gorton Chest Parish Library

The Gorton Chest parish library was comprised exclusively of religious works in English and contained no secular titles. The focus on religious texts reflected Chetham’s desire, expressed in his will, for the parish libraries to edify and to educate their readers in religion.⁷⁵ The general

⁷⁵ Chetham’s Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

popularity of religious literature in the seventeenth century was growing as it became the chosen reading material of all serious and righteous readers.⁷⁶

Sermons – an important part of worship for Protestants who ‘ascribed to the sermon a key role, with the help of the Holy Spirit, in bringing the faithful to salvation’ – accounted for over a third of the titles in the Gorton Chest parish library.⁷⁷ This reflects the general pervasiveness of sermons in the seventeenth-century book market: estimates suggest that over 1,000 sermons were printed between 1558 and 1603; 2,000 in the period from 1603 to 1640; and a staggering 24,000 between 1660 and 1783.⁷⁸ In his *A Christian Directory*, Richard Baxter provided four reasons for the popularity of the printed sermon: the ability of the sermon to convey the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures; the possibility for printed sermons to be written by a more able preacher than one’s parish minister, meaning a better quality of sermon; the opportunity for printed sermons to be chosen by readers according to their individual needs, interests and concerns; and the fact that printed sermons were available at any time a person wished to read them.⁷⁹ James Rigney has argued, using Baxter’s assertions as his evidence, that printed sermons were therefore popular because they provided the reader with a strong sense of autonomy and empowerment that released the reader from overreliance on a parish priest.⁸⁰ Ian Green has argued that the printed sermons of Henry Smith, lecturer at St Clement Danes in London in the 1580s, were popular because they contained a straightforward explanation and application of a text, using simple vocabulary that made his messages easier to understand.⁸¹ Many of these benefits of and incentives for reading printed sermons can be applied to those within the Gorton Chest parish library to explain the prominence of this genre within the collection.

The Gorton Chest parish library collection also included numerous works of theology and practical divinity. For example, John Calvin’s seminal text, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, a work of systematic theology that set out the paradigms of Reformed religion to all readers, was included in the Gorton Chest collection. Divided into four sections, *The Institution*

⁷⁶ David L. Gants, ‘A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade, 1614-1618’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2002), p. 187; James Rigney, ‘Sermons into Print’ in Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 204-205.

⁷⁷ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 194.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (London: Robert White 1673), pp. 60-61. This edition not listed on the USTC.

⁸⁰ Rigney, ‘Sermons into Print’, p. 200.

⁸¹ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 197-198.

simultaneously outlined the foundations of the Protestant religion to its readers and enabled the godly to better recognise God. Calvin himself stated his desire to ‘prepare and furnish’ his readers in ‘reading of the Word of God, that they may both have an easy entry into it, and go forward without stumbling’.⁸² Nine editions of this title, as translated by Norton, were published in England between 1561 and 1634.⁸³ In addition to this copy in the Gorton Chest, a further seventeen copies of the same edition of *The Institution* are recorded by the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) as surviving in England. Other theological works in the collection included volumes such as *Mr Bolton’s Last and Learned Work of the Last Four Things*. In this volume, Robert Bolton focussed on the ways in which people could identify the elect and enabled the godly to recognise themselves as such. In order to do this, Bolton asserted that the difference in the response of the godly to challenges and adversity, in comparison to ‘the graceless’, marked them out as those chosen by God for ‘rescue’ and relief. His readers were thereby able to undertake self-examination in order to discover whether they were members of the godly themselves.⁸⁴

Apocalyptic literature was also a feature of the theological works in the Gorton Chest parish library: Thomas Brightman’s *Works* on the Book of Revelation sat beside John Napier’s *A Plain Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St John*, in which Napier concluded that the end of the world would come in either the 1650s or the 1690s.⁸⁵ Brightman sought to instil in Protestants a conviction of their being God’s elect people by mapping contemporary events onto the apocalyptic narrative of the Book of Revelation to increase their awareness of ‘their own decisive role in the cosmic battle between Christ and Antichrist’. Apocalyptic tradition in Europe had been strengthened by the Protestant Reformation, as believers read apocalyptic texts that encouraged them to understand that ‘the persecution and suffering of this world are part of God’s plan yet unknown to man’. In England specifically, apocalyptic literature became an important source for explaining the break from the Roman Catholic Church. It gained even more popularity amongst Protestants, and Puritans particularly, in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, as the English Reformation stalled and finally seemingly stopped, and many began to question England’s status as the Elect Nation. Brightman himself

⁸² John Calvin and Thomas Norton (trans.), *The Institution of Christian Religion* (London: printed for Thomas Norton, 1611), sig. ¶3v. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.11. USTC 3004572.

⁸³ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 607.

⁸⁴ Robert Bolton, *Mr Bolton’s Last and Learned Worke of the Foure Last Things* (London: George Miller, 1633), pp. 1-2. Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, shelfmark 1.20(2). USTC 3016539.

⁸⁵ Christopher Hill, ‘God and the English Revolution’, *History Workshop*, 17 (1984), p. 22.

was instrumental in encouraging his readers to view themselves as God's elect people who were responsible for continuing to advance the Reformation.⁸⁶

Further, the Gorton Chest parish library also contained works of practical divinity by some of the genre's most notable authors: the books of William Perkins, Richard Baxter and Richard Rogers sat alongside those of Isaac Ambrose and Robert Bolton. The educational aims and intentions of the preachers who wrote these volumes aligned directly with Chetham's educational motivations for founding his five parish libraries. Richard Rogers advocated 'strict activities of piety and self-scrutiny' in order to obtain assurance of grace, whilst William Perkins' texts focussed 'not on identifying actions that satisfy a minimal standard of Christian behaviour, but on advancing, step-by-step, sometimes painfully and hesitatingly, towards the perfection that God intends for his people'.⁸⁷ Perkins' writings heavily influenced those of Richard Baxter, and the measured application of religion to everyday life by both men made their works popular with the reading public.⁸⁸ In the 'Premonition' to his *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, for example, Richard Baxter pleaded:

And now, Reader, whatever thou art, young or old, rich or poor, I intreat thee, and charge thee in the Name of thy Lord, (who will shortly call thee to a reckoning, and Judge thee to the everlasting unchangeable State,) that thou give not these things the reading only, and so dismiss them with a bare approval: but that thou set upon this work, and Take God in Christ for thy only Rest, and set thy heart upon him above all. Jest not with God; do not only Talk of Heaven' but mind it, and seek it with all thy might; what greater business hast thou to do?⁸⁹

Similarly, Richard Rogers stated his hopes for providing his readers with useful information in the preface of his *Seven Treatises*:

⁸⁶ Avihu Zakai, 'Thomas Brightman and English Apocalyptic Tradition' in Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulan and Richard H. Popkin (eds), *Menasseh ben Israel and his World* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 31-35.

⁸⁷ Michael P. Winship, 'Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospellers: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s', *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, 9 (2001), p. 462; W. B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 103.

⁸⁸ Louis B. Wright, 'William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of "Practical Divinity"', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 3 (1940), pp. 181-182.

⁸⁹ Richard Baxter, *The Saints Everlasting Rest, or, A Treatise Of the blessed State of the Saints in their enjoyment of God in Glory* (London: Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyson, 1656), sig. C2v. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.1. This edition not listed in the USTC.

I desire in this treatise of mine to be some helpe and assistance, and to speake plainely, that such as would faine doe well, and yet cannot tell how, may hereby be eased and relieved.⁹⁰

Finally, in the preface to the first volume of his *Workes*, William Perkins set out his desire to lift his readers out of their ignorance for, he asserted, it was not enough simply to be able to recite the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. People had to be able to understand them as well:

For an helpe in this your ignorance, to bring you to true knowledge, unfained faith, and sound repentance: here I have set downe the principall points of Christian religion in sixe plaine and easie rules: even such as the simplest may easily learne: and hereunto is adjoynd an exposition of them word by word. If ye doe want other good directions, then use this my labour for your instruction.⁹¹

The intentions of the authors to educate their readers in matters of religion and provide them with manuals and templates by which to improve their spiritual lives underscored Humphrey Chetham's primary motivation – stated explicitly in his will – for the establishment of his parish libraries. Chetham gave 'godly English Bookes... for the edificac[i]on of the common people'.⁹² This education could then be applied to material aspects of their everyday lives as guidance for living a life pleasing to God as a way to eternal salvation. As a complete collection, the volumes in the Gorton Chest parish library promoted a programme of religious reform that strongly reflected the Calvinist and Presbyterian confessional identities of Chetham, Johnson, Hollinworth and Tildsley. The library facilitated access to the most popular religious works of the time, many of which were concerned with godly living and the preparation for a godly death, but also included sermons, and edifying annotations on all or parts of the Bible. It may have been Chetham's hope – implied by the stipulation of providing 'godly English bookes' to the 'common people' in his will – that reading Reformed texts would lead to an increase of godliness in the lay population of Manchester, who used his parish libraries in search of a religious education.⁹³

⁹⁰ Richard Rogers, *Seven Treatises* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1603), sig. A5v. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.31. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁹¹ William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, Mr William Perkins: The First Volume* (London: John Legatt, 1626), sig. A2v. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.13. USTC 3012639.

⁹² Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

The vast majority of titles in the Gorton Chest parish library were published over a seventy-year period between the 1580s and the 1640s. Less than a third of the titles were published in the 1650s, the same decade as the library was placed in the church, meaning that the greater part of the collection was purchased second-hand. Thus, this collection passed over some of the more divisive texts of the 1650s. This also has interesting implications for the surviving marginalia and other marks of readership in the books, which could have been made by a previous owner as opposed to a library user reading and marking the book *in situ*. The surviving marginalia in a selection of books from the Gorton Chest parish library will be analysed in the thematic chapters in Part Two of this work. The age of the books at the time of their purchase for the Gorton Chest parish library may account for their relative cheapness: as James Rigney has argued, printed books were associated with newness and age did not necessarily mean they were considered more valuable, as was the case for other objects.⁹⁴

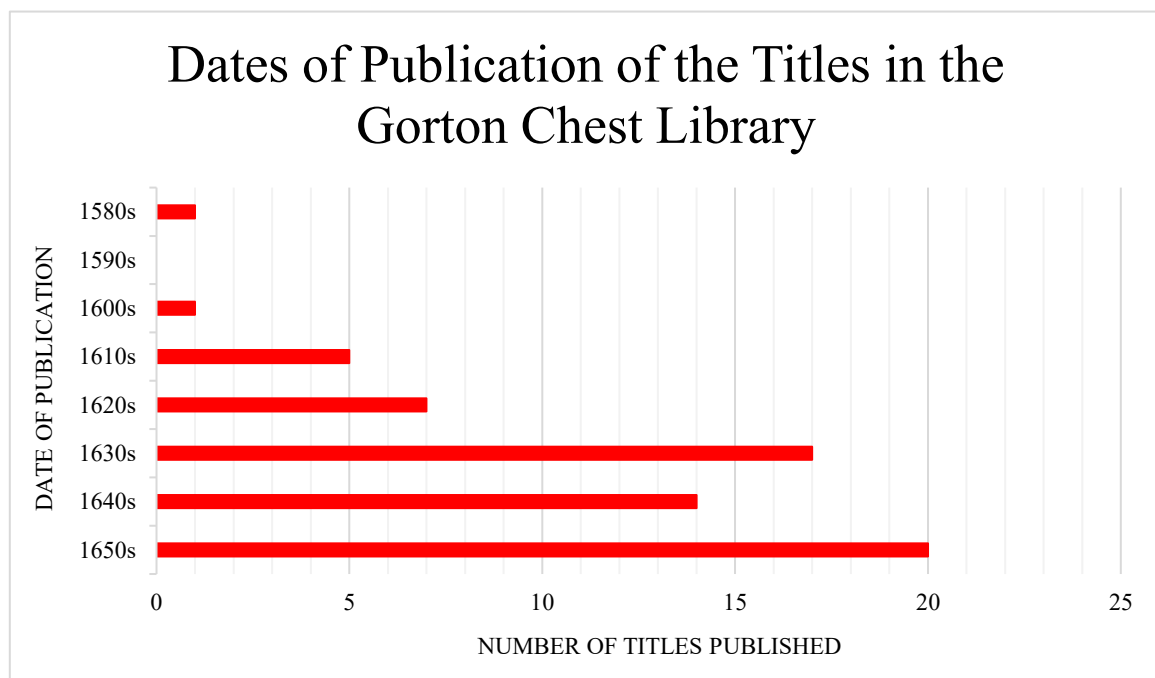


Figure 4.6: The Publication Dates of Titles in the Gorton Chest Library by Decade

Chetham bequeathed £200 for the founding of five parish libraries, and whilst this was a significant sum of money, books were expensive. John Tildsley lamented the sum as seemingly inadequate for its appointed task.⁹⁵ Robert Littlebury, the main bookseller from whom the vast

⁹⁴ Rigney, 'Sermons into Print', p. 206.

⁹⁵ Ian Mitchell, "'Old Books – New Bound'?: Selling Second-Hand Books in England, c. 1680-1850' in Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme (eds), *Modernity and the second-hand trade: European consumption cultures and practices, 1700-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 140; Chetham's Library, Manchester, (CPP/2/141), Letter from John Tildsley to Rev. Hollinworth at Manchester.

majority of books for Chetham's libraries were purchased, was a principal practitioner in the second-hand book trade, and acquired many second-hand books through *post mortem* valuations and sales of estates.⁹⁶ By purchasing second-hand books, the trustees were able to buy more volumes for the libraries, as they were often cheaper than new editions.⁹⁷

Sixty-one of the sixty-five titles in the Gorton Chest parish library were printed in London. Two titles were printed in Oxford, and one apiece in Edinburgh and Leiden in the Netherlands. England's printing presses were centred in London and were famed for their concentration on vernacular religious books, in contrast to the European presses that focussed on the production of Latin texts.⁹⁸ The kinds of books desired by the trustees for the five parish libraries Chetham established made the London book market an ideal supplier of the required religious texts, rendering the need to look to the Continental market unnecessary.

Conclusion

An examination of the purchase invoices for the books in the five parish libraries and the nature of the texts in the Gorton Chest library collection revealed a wide array of religiously educational literature, including sermons, Biblical commentaries, and works on living a Christian life. As a repository of Protestant education with clear Calvinist and Presbyterian emphases, the Gorton Chest parish library founded by Humphrey Chetham was an important institution in the intellectual and religious landscape of mid-seventeenth century Lancashire. As only the second parish library established in the county, the Gorton Chest parish library provided access to books to those people who were unable to afford substantial collections of their own. The exclusion of secular texts in favour of exclusively religious volumes makes the Gorton Chest parish library a unique collection in the context of this thesis. This is particularly significant considering the time at which the library was founded: during the 1650s, the book market was saturated with works of controversial literature and polemical pamphlets on the Civil War and the new government in England.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 87.

⁹⁷ Mitchell, "'Old Books – New Bound'": Selling Second-Hand Books in England', pp. 139-140 and 153.

⁹⁸ Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), pp. 118-119.

⁹⁹ Joad Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain' in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 60-61.

By eschewing the secular works that the Grantham, Ripon and Wimborne Minster parish libraries included, Chetham's trustees were able to focus on their goal and provide the 'common people' with a core collection of texts that tended strongly towards pastoral works of practical divinity. Such works, purchased by Johnson, Hollinworth and Tildsley, demonstrate that the trustees fulfilled Chetham's testamentary wishes in the establishment of library collections appropriate for the religious education and spiritual edification of the 'common people' that Chetham referenced in his will.¹⁰⁰ Chetham's selection of Richard Johnson, a Calvinist, and Richard Hollinworth and John Tildsley, two committed Presbyterians, as the trustees responsible for choosing the books for his parish libraries suggests that Chetham wished for the three men to co-operate despite their differing religious opinions. The vast majority of authors in the collection subscribed to Calvinist or Presbyterian confessional identities, reflecting the religious positions of Johnson, Hollinworth and Tildsley themselves. The inclusion of additional works by authors of other confessional positions ensured that the Gorton Chest parish library collection provided its readers with religious texts from a range of Protestant perspectives for their edification and improvement.

¹⁰⁰ Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham.

Chapter Five: Wimborne Minster Chained Library, Dorset*

Introduction

The combined collections of a seventeenth-century clergyman and a seventeenth-century gentleman together established Wimborne Minster Chained Library, at that point the largest parish library founded in Dorset. Before his death in June 1685, William Stone, the clergyman, gave verbal instructions for his collection of patristic texts and other religious volumes to be sent to the church of Wimborne Minster. Stone's motivation for this instruction is unclear, which makes it difficult to state with any certainty who Stone intended to read and use his book collection. The patristic works and theological texts that constituted Stone's collection were likely originally purchased for his own personal and professional use. They were written almost exclusively in Latin, suggesting an audience possessed of at least a grammar school-level education. However, Roger Gillingham, the gentleman, provided clear instructions in his will as to which books were to be donated to the library and who should be allowed to access and read the books. Gillingham purchased over thirty volumes with the express purpose of giving them to the library and left testamentary instructions for these books to be supplemented with works from his own personal library collection. Gillingham stated that he intended for his books to be used by – and useful to – both the clergy and the laity. As such, he bequeathed to Wimborne Minster church a collection of texts that were predominantly written in English and included both religious and secular works on a vast array of topics.

Wimborne Minster Chained Library was an important part of the intellectual and religious landscape of the town of Wimborne Minster and the surrounding area, providing its readers with access to a wide breadth of religious and secular books written by authors of various confessional identities. William Stone's collection of primarily patristic texts included fifty-one volumes by Early Christians, twenty-three by Protestant authors (including Calvinists and Presbyterians), six by medieval theological writers, and three by post-Reformation Catholics. Roger Gillingham's bequest of eighty-two volumes included works by authors including Anabaptists, Latitudinarians, post-Reformation Catholics, Protestants of various confessional identities, classical writers, and even some post-Restoration Anglicans, perhaps suggesting that he wished to provide himself and his readers with a broad-based knowledge of Protestantism.

* I am particularly grateful to Mr Frank Tandy, who was kind enough to share much of his unpublished research on Wimborne Minster Chained Library with me during the course of researching this chapter.

Many of the books that Stone and Gillingham donated to Wimborne Minster church were common in other scholarly libraries of the late seventeenth century. The works of Eusebius, Saint Augustine and Saint Clement of Alexandria in Stone's collection, for example, could also be found in the libraries of five seventeenth-century clergymen and laymen surveyed by David Pearson, including William Bassett (an Anglican clergyman), Stephen Charnock (a nonconformist clergyman) and Sir Norton Knatchbull (an MP, private scholar, and member of a gentry family). Similarly, authors such as Walter Charleton, Jeremy Taylor, James Ussher, Henry Hammond, William Camden, William Dugdale, and Thomas Fuller, all of whom feature in the donation of Gillingham to the library, are also in the collections of several of the men Pearson surveyed, demonstrating the popularity of these authors in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹

The Founders and their Donations

Personal connections were often the motivating factor for clergy and laity to found a parish library in a certain area: Francis Trigge, Anthony Higgin and Humphrey Chetham, the founders of the parish libraries discussed in previous chapters of this work, all had personal connections to the areas in which they chose to establish parish libraries. The same can be said of both William Stone and Roger Gillingham: personal connections to the town of Wimborne Minster contributed to their decision to endow the town with a parish library in its church. William Stone was the son of another William Stone, who was a schoolmaster in the town of Wimborne Minster from 1601 to 1639. The younger William Stone was born either in the last months of 1614 or in the first half of 1615; his tombstone, which provides the only surviving information about the date and place of his birth, states that Stone was in his seventieth year at the time of his death in 1685. Stone received his early education from his father at the grammar school in Wimborne Minster before he proceeded to St Edmund's Hall at the University of Oxford.² In December 1639, Stone, then a deacon, subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles, signing himself 'Guilelmus Stone LL Bacc:'.³ In a Latin indenture dated 24 December 1641, Stone was appointed by the governors of Wimborne Minster Grammar School as one of three ministers

¹ David Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England', *The Library*, 11 (2010), pp. 141-153.

² J. M J. Fletcher, *A Dorset Worthy, William Stone, Royalist and Divine (1615-1685)* (Dorchester: Dorset County Chronicle Printing Works, 1915), p. 2.

³ Oxfordshire Record Office, Oxford, (Oxf dioc, pp. e 13, p. 441), Subscription to the 39 Articles by William Stone.

who were conjointly in charge of Wimborne Minster church. He retained his position until March 1645, when he was forcibly ejected from his living by Parliamentary forces under the command of Colonel John Bingham.⁴ The *Mercurius Academicus*, a Royalist newspaper, described Bingham and his officers as having ‘expelled the Doctor [Stone] out of his living and banished him out of the county’.⁵ Over the next sixteen years, William Stone travelled; in the early 1650s, he was in Padua – the admissions register at the University of Padua records his admission ‘*aegrotus*’ on 26 September 1652.⁶ The nature and duration of his stay are unclear.

By the summer of 1660, Stone had returned to England. While in London on 11 July, Stone wrote to the governors of Wimborne Minster Grammar School, who also controlled ministerial appointments, to accept their request that he return to Wimborne and resume his duties as minister.⁷ The appointment was confirmed by indenture on 1 February 1661.⁸ This appointment was short-lived, however. On 6 July 1663, Stone was appointed Principal of New Inn Hall at the University of Oxford. This appointment necessitated his resignation as minister of Wimborne Minster church, as one of the requirements of the minister was a continual residence in Wimborne.⁹ New Inn Hall was strongly associated with Puritanism from the mid-seventeenth century, and several clergymen who were ejected after the Restoration had previously studied there: the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* lists nine such men, including the brothers Richard and William Alleine, Samuel Fisher and William Bartlet.¹⁰ Stone’s tenure there, in light of the college’s strong Puritan tone, is surprising: he was in Europe throughout the Interregnum and only returned at the Restoration, which does not suggest strong Puritan inclinations or tendencies on Stone’s part.

⁴ Dorset History Centre, Dorset, (PE-WM/GN/2/2/7), Appointments of Ministers, 1633-1665; Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Volume I – Early Series* (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1891), p. 124; Fletcher, *A Dorset Worthy*, p. 3.

⁵ *Mercurius Academicus*, 2 March 1645, pp. 109-110.

⁶ Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Padua, (ms. 634), *Registro in cui dal 1614 fino all'anno 1765 moltissimi inglesi, scozzesi e irlandesi scrissero i loro nomi e cognomi*.

⁷ Dorset History Centre, Dorset, (PE-WM/GN/2/2/4), Appointments of Schoolmasters with recommendations of suitable candidates, 1600-1760.

⁸ Dorset History Centre, Dorset, (PE-WM/GN/2/2/7), Appointments of Ministers, 1633-1665.

⁹ Andrew Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself, Volume I: 1632-1663* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), p. 478; Fletcher, *A Dorset Worthy*, p. 6.

¹⁰ H. E. Salter and Mary D. Lobel (eds), ‘St. Peter’s Hall’ in *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford: Volume 3, the University of Oxford* (London: Victoria County History, 1954), pp. 336-338; Stephen Wright, ‘Alleine, Richard (1610/11-1681)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 6 February 2021]; Stephen Wright, ‘Alleine, William (1613/14-1677)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 6 February 2021]; Stephen Wright, ‘Fisher, Samuel (1605/6-1681)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 6 February 2021]; Stephen Wright, ‘Bartlet, William (1609/10-1682)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 6 February 2021].

Strangely, there is no record of William Stone ever having entered an Inn of Court. He does not appear in the Admissions Registers for Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, the Inner Temple, or the Middle Temple.¹¹ As such, the details of William Stone's legal career – if, indeed, he pursued one – remain obscure. In 1684, William Stone resigned as Principal of New Inn Hall and briefly returned to Dorset, perhaps to live with his sisters. By April 1685, however, Stone had returned to Oxford.¹² He died there in June 1685 and was buried in the College chancel of St Michael's church.¹³ The town of Wimborne Minster featured heavily in his will, demonstrating Stone's connection to the area. He provided two shillings apiece to one hundred poor people residing in the parish, and he stated that after the death of his siblings, to whom Stone left his lands in Wimborne Minster, the profits of those lands were to benefit the poor living in St Margaret's Hospital in Wimborne Minster.¹⁴ The remainder of Stone's wealth was to be 'bestowed on some charitable uses as Mr [Obadiah] Walker now Master of University Colledge shall direct', and Stone and Walker evidently discussed the nature of this charitable use prior to Stone's death. In a letter from Walker to Timothy Halton, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in May 1695, Walker stated that Stone wished the money to be used to endow almshouses

for sick & sore and none to bee refused as long as there was roome to receive them, that it should be founded without revenues, upon the providence of our good Lord, & the alms of well disposed & devout persons; & that all inhabitants, privileged or not, strangers, men of all professions, Catholics, Protestants, dissenters should be received & none rejected.¹⁵

Stone's Hospital was operational by 1700. Such a benefaction demonstrates not only Stone's philanthropic nature, but evidences that his generosity was not restricted to those who shared his own confessional identity as an Anglican conformist. Stone's will makes no specific mention of his books, but an inventory drawn up in the immediate aftermath of his death

¹¹ Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889* (London: the Hansard Publishing Union, Limited, 1889); The Society of Lincoln's Inn, *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Volume I: Admissions from A.D. 1420-A.D. 1799* (London: Lincoln's Inn, 1896); The Inner Temple, 'The Inner Temple Admissions', *The Inner Temple Admissions Database*, no date, <<http://www.innertemplearchives.org.uk/>> [accessed 7 February 2021]; Henry F. MacGeagh and H. A. C. Sturgess (eds), *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple: From the Fifteenth Century to the Year 1944, Volume I: Fifteenth Century to 1781* (London: Butterworth & Co. Ltd., 1949).

¹² Andrew Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself, Volume III: 1664-1681* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), pp. 108-109.

¹³ Clark, *Anthony Wood, Volume III*, p. 144.

¹⁴ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/380/483), Will of William Stone, Clerk of Oxford, Oxfordshire, 27 July 1685.

¹⁵ Bodleian Library, Oxford, (MS Ballard 21, fol. 103), 1 May 1695: Walker, Obadiah, 1616-1699 to Halton, Timothy, 1633-1704.

demonstrates that Stone was a wealthy man when he died. His books, most of which were religious, were estimated to be worth £120 in total – the patristic texts that had been sent to Wimborne Minster church already were valued at £43 7s. 4d.¹⁶

Stone's collection of patristic texts and other religious works arrived at Wimborne Minster church in 1685. A court case against Dr Stephen Fry, the executor of Stone's will, was brought before the Attorney General because Dr Fry was not perceived to be executing Stone's will in a timely manner. Fry's answer to the Attorney General stated that Stone's patristic texts were sent to the church by verbal agreement between Stone and an unknown second party: Stone 'did before credible witnesses declare that the Church of Wimborne in the county of Dorset should have all the Fathers & Commentators whereof he should dye possessed'.¹⁷ How Stone intended for the books to be kept and used by the church is unclear. There is no mention either in the court case or in Stone's will of an explicit intention, or indeed any intention whatsoever, to create a library, nor a discussion in either document of why the books were sent to the church in the first place. It may be inferred that despite the amount of time that Stone spent in Oxford during his career, he had a personal attachment to his hometown of Wimborne Minster, which may have influenced his decision to endow its church with his collection of patristic and religious texts.

Roger Gillingham was born in approximately 1626, the second son of Richard Gillingham, a gentleman, in either Pamphill or Cowgrove in Dorset (both situated less than three kilometres west of the town of Wimborne Minster).¹⁸ Roger Gillingham matriculated to All Souls' College, Oxford at the age of fourteen in 1640, and on 27 November 1654, at the age of approximately twenty-eight, he was admitted to The Middle Temple Inn of Court.¹⁹ After being called to the Bar in June 1662, Gillingham was later promoted first to Bencher of the Inn on 26 November 1680 where he sat as a member of the Inn's governing body, or parliament, and then to the position of Reader in autumn 1686.²⁰ Gillingham reached the apogee of his career at the Inn when he was appointed as the Temple's Treasurer for 1694, during which he presided

¹⁶ The National Archives, Kew, (C8/446/3), Attorney General v Fry, 1695.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ In his will dated 1695, Roger Gillingham refers to himself as having been born in both Cowgrove and Pamphill, The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696; Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Volume II – Early Series* (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1891), p. 568.

¹⁹ Charles Trice Martin (ed.), *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, Volume III: 1650-1703* (London: Butterworth & Co. Ltd., 1905), p. 1071.

²⁰ J. Bruce Williamson, *The Middle Temple Bench Book*, 2nd edition (London: Chancery Lane Press, 1937), pp. xix-xx, 18.

over the parliaments of the Inn.²¹ Gillingham's rise through the Middle Temple provided him with the means to purchase large numbers of books and build a sizeable personal library, part of which was donated after his death to the church in Wimborne Minster.

Roger Gillingham died in late 1695 and requested that his body 'be decently interred with the least charge and trouble and vain solemnity as it may conveniently be done in the Temple Church there to expect the joyfull resurrection'.²² He was buried in the Temple Church vault on 3 January 1696.²³ Gillingham's will shows that he and William Stone knew one another, though the origins of their acquaintance are unclear, especially as it appears that Stone did not enter any of London's Inns of Court. In his will, Gillingham referred to Stone as 'my late good friend' and it is possible (though not provable) that Stone and Gillingham discussed the possibility of founding a library in Wimborne Minster church before Stone's death. Their friendship, combined with Gillingham's ownership of property in the town of Wimborne Minster, may have influenced Gillingham's decision to add his books to Stone's patristic collection and augment the library in the church. In bequeathing his own books to the church in 1695, Gillingham made it plain that he perceived Stone's books as a library already, and that he intended to enlarge the collection of books 'given to that Library by my late good friend Mr William Stone'.²⁴

Gillingham's will demonstrated his wealth at the time of his death in the details of his stocks in the East India Company, the Royal Africa Company, and in Lechmere's saltpetre works. In addition, Gillingham had extensive holdings in Bedfordshire, Middlesex and Dorset, including several houses in and around London. Gillingham was married twice: first to Susan Dickens (*m.* 4 February 1654) and then to Agnes Frewen (*m.* 26 August 1662); neither of Gillingham's marriages produced any surviving children.²⁵ Gillingham therefore left considerable bequests in his will to numerous family members and charitable endeavours, echoing the actions of Humphrey Chetham in Lancashire forty years previously. He left much of his property to his cousins Roger Gillingham, Roger Bramble, and Roger Thurborne, to their heirs, and to his

²¹ MacGeagh and Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, p. 155; Williamson, *The Middle Temple Bench Book*, p. xxiii.

²² The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

²³ Williamson, *The Middle Temple Bench Book*, p. 139; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, Volume II – Early Series*, p. 568.

²⁴ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

²⁵ London Metropolitan Archives, London, (P93/DUN/267), Register of Marriages October 1653-August 1656; City of Westminster Archives, Westminster, (SML/PR/3/2), Marriages 16 October 1653-29 May 1669.

nephew, Thomas Parker Taylor.²⁶ In addition, the charitable endeavours for which Gillingham provided funds included money for the building of a school at Pamphill Green (one of his two prospective birthplaces slightly west of the town of Wimborne Minster), and lodgings for a Schoolmaster there. Gillingham also left funds for the erection of four almshouses adjacent to the school for ‘poor indigent men who shall be widowers or single persons never married’ and another four almshouses for ‘poor indigent women who shall be widows or single persons never married to live in and inhabit’, in a similar manner to Stone’s Hospital in Oxford. Finally, Gillingham bequeathed money to be distributed as alms to the general poor of the town of Wimborne Minster.²⁷ A clear focus on providing for the education and wellbeing of the town and inhabitants of Wimborne Minster and its surrounding areas was evident in Gillingham’s will. Such philanthropic endeavours suggest that the library in Wimborne Minster church was another way in which Gillingham desired to improve the intellectual and religious landscape of Dorset in the last years of the seventeenth century.

Gillingham’s donation to Wimborne Minster church included a combination of titles that he purchased with the explicit intention of giving them to the library and books that were drawn from Gillingham’s personal collection by his executors after his death. He bequeathed the books to the church ‘for the use of the now erected Library of Wimborne Minster’ in an undated codicil to his will of 2 July 1695.²⁸ Gillingham left to the library in Wimborne Minster church ‘all the books I lately bought for that purpose’, as well as ‘soe many of my best folio 4to and 8vo Bookes which are not Law Bookes as are fittest and most usefull for that Library as my said Executors shall estimate and Judge’, up to the value of £10.²⁹ Gillingham listed the authors and titles of the sixteen works in twenty-eight volumes that he bought specifically for the library in his will. They included Walton’s Polyglot Bible, Arthur Lake’s *Sermons with some religious and divine meditations*; two volumes of Gilbert Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, a work that defended the English Reformation and for which Burnet received the gratitude of both Houses of Parliament; Sir Walter Raleigh’s *History of the World*; and Archbishop Laud’s *A Relation of the Conference between William Laud and Mr Fisher, the Jesuit*, an attempt by Laud to refute the allegations of popery being levelled against him.³⁰ Further books purchased

²⁶ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Brian Walton, *Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta, Volumes I-V* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1653-1657), Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks I11-I17. These editions not listed on the USTC; Arthur Lake, *Sermons with some religious and divine meditations* (London: William Stansby for Nathaniel Butter, 1629). Wimborne

by Gillingham specifically for the library included the extant works of Plutarch, in two volumes, and those of Plato, also in two volumes. Further, the three volumes of William Howell's *An Institution of General History* and the royalist cleric Henry Hammond's *Works* in four volumes were also listed.³¹ The books that Gillingham purchased specifically for the library had a strong religious and historical focus, whilst also featuring works by classical authors. These twenty-eight volumes serve to demonstrate what kinds of books Gillingham intended the library users to read.

In addition to these books, others were drawn from Gillingham's own collection and placed into the Library after his death in late 1695. These volumes evidence Gillingham's personal reading interests and included Edward Herbert's *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, Thomas Fuller's *The Church-History of Britain*, and the extant works of Cicero.³² Other works in Wimborne Minster Chained Library taken from Gillingham's personal collection included William Chillingworth's *Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation*, Thomas Rogers' *Treatise upon Sundry Matters Contained in the 39 Articles*, and Robert Sanderson's *The Obligation of Conscience to Attend the School of Theology at Oxford*.³³ Again, a religious and historical leaning can be detected amongst these titles, suggesting that Gillingham believed

Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D14. USTC 3014201; Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Volumes I and II* (London: T.H. for Richard Chiswell, 1679 and 1681). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks D10 and D11. These editions not listed in the USTC; Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (London: George Latham and Robert Young, 1634). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K4. USTC 3017553; William Laud, *A Relation of the Conference between William Laud and Mr Fisher, the Jesuit* (London: Richard Badger, 1639). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D16. USTC 3020501 and 3020493.

³¹ Plutarch, *Quae extant omnia* (Frankfurt: Daniel and David Aubry and Clemens Schleich, 1620). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks I3 and I4. These editions not listed in the USTC; Plato, *Opera quae extant omnia* (Lausanne: Henr. Stephanus, 1578). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks I1 and I2. These editions not listed in the USTC; William Howell, *An Institution of General History, Volume I* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman et al., 1680). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D1. This edition not listed in the USTC; William Howell, *An Institution of General History, Volume II* (London: Printed for Thomas Bassett et al., 1680). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D2. This edition not listed in the USTC; William Howell, *An Institution of General History, Volume III* (London: Miles Flesher, 1685). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D3. This edition not listed in the USTC; Henry Hammond, *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Henry Hammond, Volumes I-IV* (London: Printed for R. Royston, 1684). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks D4 and D5. These editions not listed in the USTC.

³² Edward Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry VIII* (London: Printed by E. G. for Thomas Whitaker, 1649). Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D15. USTC 3047333; Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain* (London: Printed for John Williams, 1655). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark I7. This edition not listed in the USTC; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Opera quae extant omnia, Volumes I-IV* (London: J. Dunmore, 1681). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks I5 and I6. These editions not listed in the USTC.

³³ William Chillingworth, *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1638). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K19. USTC 3019801; Thomas Rogers, *Treatise upon Sundry Matters Contained in the 39 Articles* (London: William Hunt, 1658). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark unknown. This edition not listed in the USTC; Robert Sanderson, *The Obligation of Conscience to Attend the School of Theology at Oxford* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1686). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark M7. This edition not listed on the USTC.

them to be appropriate reading for his intended library users, and that he found these genres of personal interest as well; they demonstrate a clear royalist and Anglican persuasion. In total, eighty-eight books were donated to the Library at Wimborne Minster by or on behalf of Roger Gillingham.

The Library Space in the Church and the Implications for Users and Accessibility

Similarly to the other three parish libraries analysed in this work, the placement of the library collection within the church affected its accessibility. On their arrival at the church, Stone's collection of patristic texts seem to have been housed in the former Treasury above the fourteenth-century sacristy, where they remain, and the churchwardens set about making the room a suitable space for the library almost immediately.³⁴ The building work to make the former Treasury appropriate for a library began in 1685 and the churchwardens' accounts reveal that substantial sums of money were paid to various individuals for the construction of the Library. The churchwardens' accounts for Wimborne Minster church listed charges including £6 15s. paid to Dennis Smith 'for one hundred of Deal boards for ye Library', suggesting that the wardens may have been constructing bookshelves on which to house Stone's collection. The accounts also included charges such as £2 4s. 4d. paid 'for bringing the books from Oxford', and £5 5s. 9d. paid to John Mackrill 'for timber and work about the Library'.³⁵ In total, the conveyance of Stone's books from Oxford and the construction and cleaning of the Library cost the churchwardens £34 13s. 6d. If the deal boards and timber were, in fact, used to construct bookshelves, this setup may have led Gillingham to refer to Stone's books as 'the now erected Library of Wimborne Minster' in his will. Gillingham instructed that the books he bequeathed to the Library were not to be given to the church until Stone's books 'be chained to their places as is usefull in other public Libraryes and chaines and places be provided for such Bookes as I hereby give'. For this purpose, Gillingham bequeathed £10 to the churchwardens of the Minster 'towards the provideing the said chaines for the bookes'.³⁶

³⁴ Charles Mayo, *A History of Wimborne Minster* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1860), p. 56; Thomas Perkins, *Wimborne Minster and Christchurch Priory* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), p. 54; John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Dorset* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 462.

³⁵ Dorset History Centre, Dorset, (PE-WM/CW/1/42), Account Book, 1640-1696.

³⁶ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

Wimborne Minster Chained Library as it is today, still in the Old Treasury, can be seen in Figure 5.1 below.



Figure 5.1: Wimborne Minster Chained Library as it appears today in the old Treasury

The former Treasury was a location that allowed both the clergy and the laity to access the books that Stone and Gillingham had donated. Stone's intended users for his collection of patristic texts and other religious volumes are unclear, though Gillingham's will provides an explicit statement as to who he intended to use the books in the library collection. They were to be used and read by 'the clergy... but alsoe... the Gent shopkeepers and better sort of Inhabitants in and about the Towne of Wimborne'.³⁷ The location of the books in the former Treasury made this usage possible; Gillingham placed no further usage restrictions on the library and his testamentary instructions to chain the books to ensure their security suggests that he anticipated a large number of readers would use the library.³⁸ Unfortunately, as is also the case for the other three libraries discussed in this thesis, there are no surviving records documenting whom, how, or even if, the books were used after their placement in the library of Wimborne Minster church.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

The Nature of the Collection

The patristic texts and other religious books that Stone gave to Wimborne Minster church reflected his position as an Anglican conformist clergyman with royalist sympathies. Stone lived in Oxford for much of the 1660s and 1670s, as well as for the first half of the 1680s, before his death in 1685. Jean-Louis Quantin has demonstrated that ‘the 1670s and 1680s saw the heyday of English patristic scholarship, especially at Oxford’. Because of his residence in Oxford and his large collection of patristic volumes, it is reasonable to suggest that Stone was one of those restoration divines who ‘valued antiquity all the more as they were confident, to a higher degree than ever before, that they could argue from it much more effectively than ever before’ in order to effectually ‘express and promote the confessional identity of the Restoration Church’.³⁹ Other books that Stone donated to the church in Wimborne Minster demonstrate his scholarly interests: he owned numerous works by prominent humanists and Reformers including Desiderius Erasmus, John Calvin and Theodore Beza. Moreover, the works of John Prideaux, a notable Oxford Calvinist of the early seventeenth century and rector of Exeter College whose lectures Stone may have attended, were also in the collection.⁴⁰ All ten volumes of the Restoration Anglican churchman John Pearson’s *Critici Sacri* are present in Stone’s donation. Pearson enjoyed a fruitful professional relationship with Charles II in the years immediately after the Restoration, being preferred to the archdeaconry of Surrey by the king himself in July 1660 and being appointed Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge on Charles’s recommendation in 1661.⁴¹ Stone’s interest in Pearson’s works reinforced Stone’s position as a royalist conformist and his collection demonstrates his religious identity as a Restoration divine with an interest in antiquity.

All of the works in Stone’s collection were scholarly and there was an overwhelming majority of works written by Protestant and Early Christian authors. The collection also included a small number of works by medieval theological writers and post-Reformation Catholic authors. Ostensibly, this showed a willingness on Stone’s part to purchase books by those on the opposite side of the religious divide. However, Stone’s ownership of these Catholic texts may also suggest that he was interested in determining the extent of the Church of England’s

³⁹ Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 312.

⁴⁰ A. J. Hegarty, ‘Prideaux, John (1578-1650)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 19 December 2019]; M. N. E. Tiffany, *The History of the Rev. Mr. William Stone and his Hospital together with that of other Almshouses in Oxford* (Headington: Tiffany Arts, 2000), pp. 3-4.

⁴¹ Hugh de Quehen, ‘Pearson, John (1613-1686)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2008) [online: accessed 4 August 2020].

similarities to and differences from the Church of Rome, and recognised the inspirational role the Catholic Church played in the formulation of the doctrines and practices of the Church of England. Anthony Milton, for example, has argued that both the Catholic Church and the Church of England maintained some orthodox doctrines, though they differed on Catholic additions, which the English Church argued touched on fundamentals that, from their perspective, rendered the institution corrupt.⁴²

The books donated by Roger Gillingham constituted a combination of religious and secular volumes, heavily weighted in favour of the latter, and reflected the books that he and his executors deemed appropriate and necessary for reading by a combined clerical and lay intended readership, as stated in Gillingham's will.⁴³ Some of the volumes were purchased specifically for the library, whilst others were drawn from Gillingham's personal library collection by his executors after his death. These volumes were seemingly deemed important by Gillingham's executors, who selected them for inclusion in the library to be read by others, despite Gillingham's will making no mention of which specific works within these genres were to be donated.⁴⁴ As a complete collection, the books Gillingham donated included secular works by authors including Samuel Hartlib, Sir William Dugdale, Edward Chamberlayne and Edward Grimeston alongside the texts of more religious writers including James Ussher, Arthur Lake, William Chillingworth and the German Lutheran Christoph Scheibler. For the donation of some secular volumes, Gillingham seems to have taken inspiration from his copy of William Ramesey's *The Gentleman's Companion: or, a Character of True Nobility, and Gentility* (1672), which Gillingham subsequently donated to Wimborne Minster Chained Library. In *The Gentleman's Companion*, Ramesey listed a number of books he thought it necessary for a gentleman to read for his better education.⁴⁵ Many of the books listed in Gillingham's will for inclusion in the library were also listed by Ramesey as being 'requisite' and of sufficient 'substance' for the seventeenth-century gentleman, including the works of Hammond, Laud, Raleigh, and Plutarch.⁴⁶ This suggests that Gillingham may have used his own copy of

⁴² Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.176-181.

⁴³ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ William Ramesey, *The Gentleman's Companion: or, a Character of True Nobility, and Gentility* (London: E. Okes, for Rowland Reynolds, 1672). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark J23. This edition is not listed in the USTC.

⁴⁶ Ramesey, *The Gentleman's Companion*, pp. 127-129. Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark J23. This edition is not listed in the USTC; Hammond, *Works, Volumes I-IV*. Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks D4 and D5. These editions not listed in the USTC; Laud, *A Relation of the Conference*. Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D16. USTC 3020501 and 3020493; Raleigh, *The History of the World*.

Ramesey as the basis for part of his donation or else to guide his own collecting practices. More broadly, the collection that Gillingham and his executors compiled for Wimborne Minster church included works on secular topics such as history, agriculture, hygiene, health, and melancholy, suggesting that Gillingham was interested in the liberal sciences. Within the body of religious texts in Gillingham's donation, a preponderance of volumes by Anglican and Protestant authors far outweighed the works by medieval theological writers and post-Reformation Catholics within the collection, reflecting Gillingham's own confessional identity.

After the initial gifts of Stone and Gillingham, the library in Wimborne Minster church received book donations from several other benefactors. The catalogue compiled in 1725 by William Russell, then Presbyter of the Minster, showed that twenty-three known benefactors donated 284 books to Wimborne Minster Library between 1685 and the catalogue of 1725. A further five books were given to the library in the same time period by unknown donors.

Donor	Number of Books	Donor	Number of Books
William Stone	90	Henry Lewen	3
Roger Gillingham	88	Aldrich Swann	3
Thomas Ansty	27	John Webb, baronet	3
Samuel Conant	21	Minster	2
Richard Goodridge	8	J. Cole	1
Richard Gillingham	6	John Corbett	1
Thomas Holway	5	John Grene	1
Richard Lloyd	5	John Moyle	1
Philip Traherne	5	George Mullens	1
Churchill	4	John Talbot	1
Anna Constantine de Merley	4	Nicholas Taylor	1
Dewey	3	Anonymous	5

Figure 5.2: The Donors to Wimborne Minster Chained Library and the Number of Books Given

The wills of several donors to Wimborne Minster Chained Library survive. These donors were all local to the town of Wimborne Minster. Many of these wills do not include specific information about the testators' books nor instructions for their donation to Wimborne Minster

Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K4. USTC 3017553; Plutarch, *Quae extant omnia*. Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks I3 and I4. These editions not listed in the USTC. See Chapter Five: The Gorton Chest Parish Library in this thesis for more information on the collecting practices undertaken by Chetham's trustees.

church. Surviving wills include those of Thomas Ansty, a minister, Richard Gillingham, a priest, Richard Lloyd, a clerk and headmaster of Wimborne Minster School, and Thomas Holway, a joiner. The wills of these men demonstrate that, despite their varied occupations in life, they shared a connection to the town of Wimborne Minster that likely served as the impetus for the donation of their books to its church.

Thomas Ansty was born in Wimborne Minster and was one of the three rectors of Wimborne Minster church at the same time as Stone: the churchwardens' accounts for 1662 detail a payment of £1 14s. 2d. for a new hood for 'Mr Anstie'.⁴⁷ Ansty died in 1669; his will made no mention of books specifically, but he bequeathed 10s. to the church and 'the rest of my goods[,] chattells [and] household stuffe' – including the books, presumably – to his son, also named Thomas.⁴⁸ It was probably the younger Thomas Ansty who donated the twenty-seven volumes now in the Wimborne Minster collection. He may have donated the volumes to the church upon his death, after the opening of the library, though the younger Thomas Ansty's will does not survive to confirm this. Richard Gillingham, who was born in the town of Wimborne Minster, died in 1680 and his will was proved in 1681. In his will, Gillingham gave 'to my Grandson Richard Fidkins... all my Books, except some to be reserved for his Sister Elizabeth'.⁴⁹ It is likely that Richard Fidkins donated the books to the church in Wimborne Minster sometime after his grandfather's death and in his name, though when this donation took place is unclear. Whether Richard Gillingham was a relative of Roger Gillingham is also unclear; Roger's father was named Richard and Roger's will also details three cousins who bear the name Richard Gillingham, though these cannot be the Richard Gillingham who died in 1681 and whose books were eventually given to the Minster, because this Richard Gillingham predeceased Roger Gillingham himself. Richard Lloyd (*d.* 1738), a clerk of Wimborne Minster and headmaster of Wimborne School, was another donor to the library. He donated five volumes to the church in his hometown of Wimborne Minster, though they are not mentioned in his will.⁵⁰ Thomas Holway, a joiner, was also born in the town of Wimborne Minster. His will, proved in August 1742, stated that he lived in Abbot Street at the time of his death.⁵¹ Holway donated five books

⁴⁷ Mayo, *A History of Wimborne Minster*, p. 123.

⁴⁸ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/331/257), Will of Thomas Anstye, Clerk of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 2 November 1669.

⁴⁹ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/365/283), Will of Richard Gillingham of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 19 February 1681.

⁵⁰ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/693/256), Will of Richard Lloyd, Clerk of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 12 December 1738.

⁵¹ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/365/283), Will of Richard Gillingham of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 19 February 1681; The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/720/99), Will of Thomas Holway, Joiner of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 11 August 1742.

to Wimborne Minster's church library, though when is unclear, as he makes no explicit mention of them in his will. Holway and Lloyd died after the compilation of the first library catalogue in 1725, meaning that they must have donated their books at some point before their deaths. The donations to the library in Wimborne Minster church continued through the first half of the eighteenth century. This reflected the library's continued importance in the local religious and intellectual landscape of Dorset for those who wished to read books they could not afford to purchase, or who wished to donate their books to a library for their continued use by others.

The Library Contents

William Stone and Roger Gillingham together donated 178 volumes to Wimborne Minster, which accounted for approximately sixty-two percent of the entire collection as it was in 1725 when William Russell catalogued it. Of these, 154 titles in 151 volumes currently survive in the library, comprising thirty-nine percent of the complete collection as it is today. The following analysis in this chapter will concentrate on the books that were donated by Stone and Gillingham exclusively for several reasons. Firstly, because they were the original founders of and donors to the library. Secondly, because their books dominate the surviving collection. Finally, because their books are the only ones that can be said with any certainty to have been donated to the church within the timeframe of this thesis.

The 178 volumes donated by Stone and Gillingham to the library in Wimborne Minster church were written by 109 individual authors from a range of confessional identities.⁵² Figure 5.2 below demonstrates the range of confessional identities included in the Stone and Gillingham donations, evidencing works by Early Christians, including several Church Fathers, medieval theological authors, post-Reformation Catholics, Protestants of various denominations and post-Restoration Anglicans. The religious diversity evident in Stone's and Gillingham's collections was not unusual: the Francis Trigge Chained Library and Ripon Minster parish library, which have been discussed in previous chapters, exhibited a similar variety. Within these collections, as in the Wimborne Minster collection, there was a clear focus on works by

⁵² The various Bibles and liturgical works with no known authors have been excluded from these figures. Those volumes with more than one author, such as the *Biblia Polyglotta*, has been included on the basis of the first-named authors.

Protestant authors, and some repositories included a significant number of Early Christian texts as well, demonstrating their importance within early modern Protestantism.⁵³

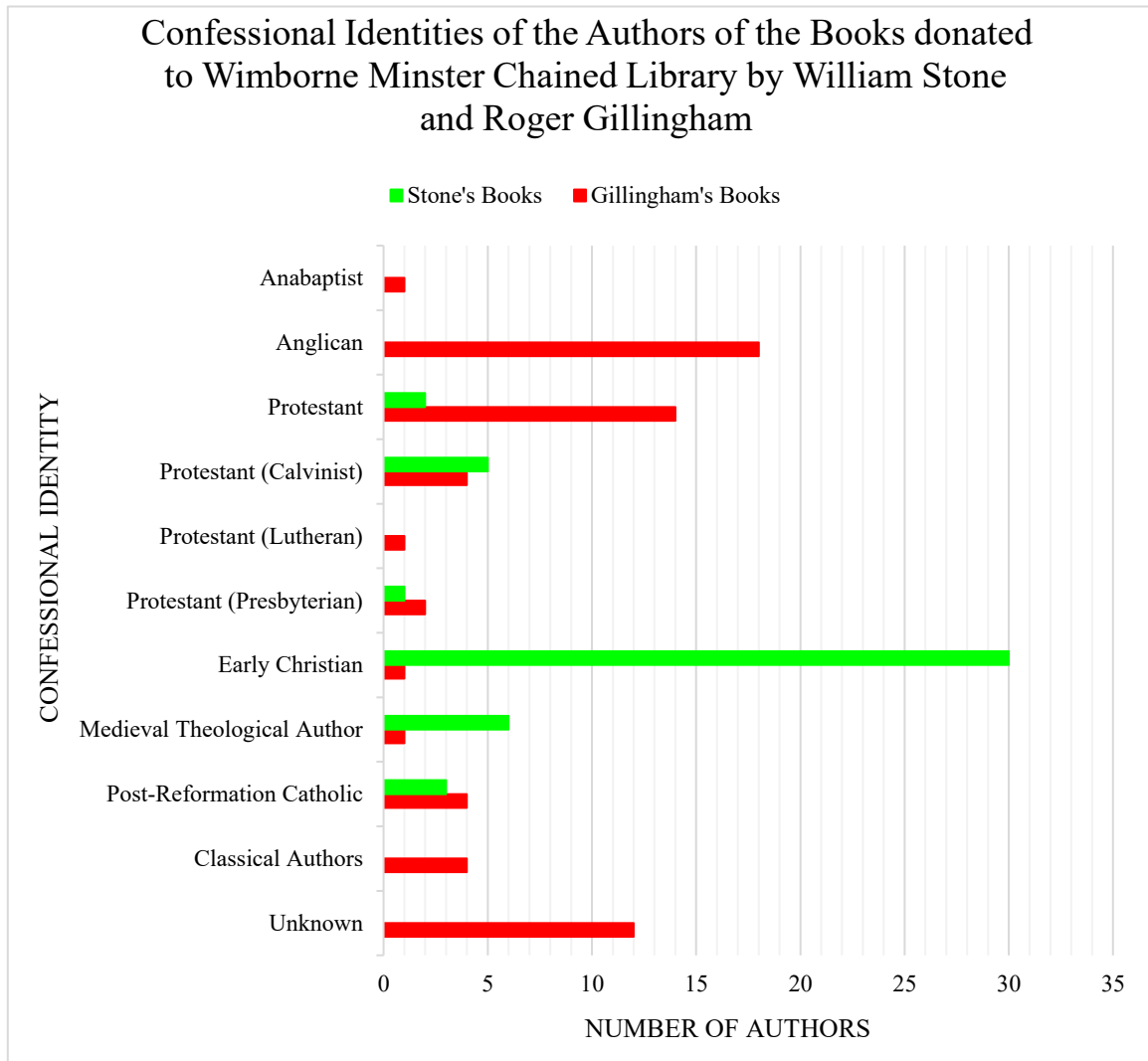


Figure 5.3: The Confessional Identities of Authors whose works were Donated to Wimborne Minster Chained Library by William Stone and Roger Gillingham

By separating out the two collections in Figure 5.3 above, it is clear that both corpuses included works by authors from a range of confessional identities. Stone’s collection was largely comprised of books by Early Christians – unsurprisingly, given the prominence of these works in Oxford in the 1670s and 1680s – whilst Gillingham’s was predominated by Protestant authors of various denominations.⁵⁴ When considered together, the two collections of books donated by Stone and Gillingham to the church of Wimborne Minster were dominated by

⁵³ Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, pp. 24-31, 327.

⁵⁴ Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, p. 312.

works by Protestants of all denominations, including Anglicans, which accounted for forty-two percent of the collection, and works by Early Christian writers, which accounted for twenty-eight percent of the collection. Medieval theological writers and post-Reformation Catholics each totalled five percent of the collection. The remaining eighteen percent of the collection was comprised of authors of other or unknown confessional identities. Such a wide array of confessional identities amongst the authors in these collections demonstrated Stone's and Gillingham's commitment to acquiring the best and most learned scholarship.

William Stone's collection was originally part of a working library for use in his clerical and academic occupations: his 'learning, knowledge, and probity' and his abilities as a preacher were much talked of in contemporary Oxford.⁵⁵ Forty-seven different authors were responsible for the eighty-nine volumes in Stone's donation, and Early Christian authors accounted for just over half of those (fifty-one percent). The Church Fathers formed a canon of sacred texts that were so popular they can be found in almost every episcopal library in seventeenth-century England; they were esteemed particularly highly in the years after the Restoration, when Stone was employed at New Inn Hall, Oxford.⁵⁶ In addition to their value as Scriptural interpretations, Protestants of all denominations also employed the works of the Church Fathers to demonstrate the antiquity of Protestantism and refute Catholic claims to the same.⁵⁷ Stone's position as a clergyman accounts for the prominence of works by the Church Fathers in his collection. After their donation to Wimborne Minster church, the books would have been of most value and interest to the library's clerical users and those members of the laity who were able to read Latin and had a particular interest in reading patristic Biblical commentaries.

Roger Gillingham's donation included a combination of books that he purchased specifically for the library in Wimborne Minster church, and those taken from Gillingham's personal library collection by his executors after his death. The collection was primarily comprised of works by Protestant authors of various denominations that together accounted for around thirty-four percent of the total. However, the collection also included a number of works by medieval theological writers and post-Reformation Catholics, as well as several volumes by authors of unclear confessional identities. Thus, the collection not only demonstrates the sorts of books that a seventeenth-century gentleman was interested in reading, but also exemplifies the kinds

⁵⁵ Philip Bliss, *Reliquiae Hearnianae: The Remains of Thomas Hearne, M.A., of Edmund Hall* (London: John Russell Smith, 1869), pp. 185-186; Fletcher, *A Dorset Worthy*, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership', p. 139.

⁵⁷ Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, p. 68.

of books that Gillingham and his executors thought most appropriate for the library's clerical and lay readers.

The combined collections of William Stone and Roger Gillingham in Wimborne Minster Chained Library included numerous works that David Pearson has shown were particularly prevalent in the collections of scholarly books owned by English clerics and the educated laity in the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ These included works by authors as diverse as Plato, Saint John Chrysostom, Tertullian, Desiderius Erasmus and John Calvin. All of these authors, and many others in Stone and Gillingham's combined collections, were highly respected for the quality of their scholarship. This may be why Stone and Gillingham collected these works and later donated them to Wimborne Minster church, in order to provide library users with the best classical texts and religious works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁵⁸ David Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600-1640', *The Library*, 14 (1992), pp. 227-228; Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership', p. 139.

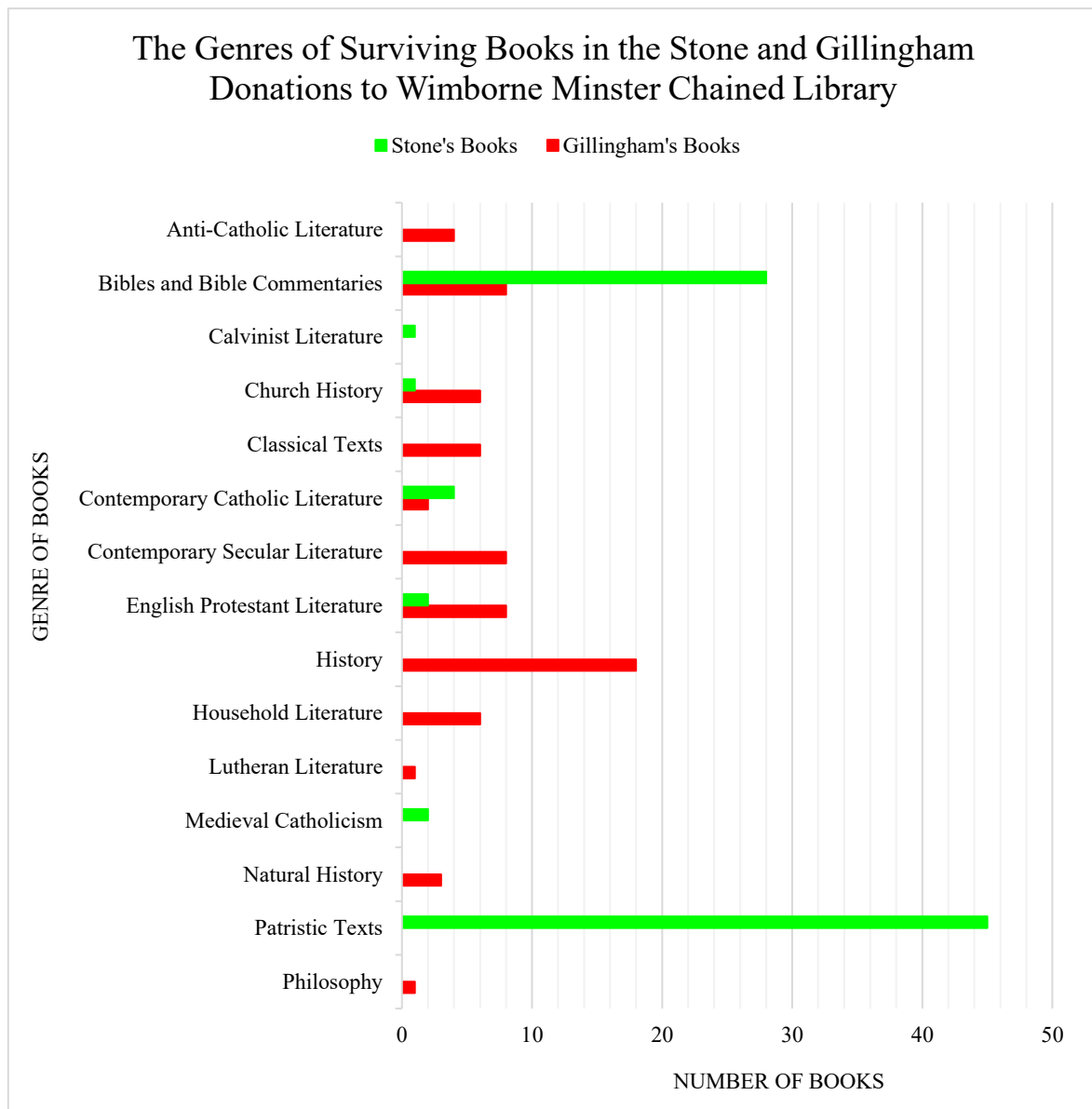


Figure 5.4: The Genres of Surviving Books in the Donations of William Stone and Roger Gillingham to Wimborne Minster Chained Library

Patristic texts, Bibles and Biblical commentaries were the most popular genres of books in the collection given to Wimborne Minster church by William Stone. The Church Fathers dominated the collection donated by Stone despite their being the subject of much criticism in the mid-seventeenth century. In the post-Restoration Church, however, the Church Fathers were in the vanguard of the Anglican defence of episcopacy.⁵⁹ Their writings were upheld as important evidence for a discontinuous church that was fractured by the corruption and adulteration of its original practices, in favour of the superstitions of the papal church, over the

⁵⁹ Robert D. Cornwall, 'The Search for the Primitive Church: The Use of Early Church Fathers in the High Church Anglican Tradition, 1680-1745', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 59 (1990), pp. 305-306; Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, pp. 203, 267.

course of a millennium.⁶⁰ The works of the Church Fathers also provided Protestants with the means by which to demonstrate the corruption and innovations of the Roman Catholic Church over the centuries, and provided evidence that Protestants were restoring the original truth that had occasionally made itself known in the past, through the Waldenses, the Wycliffites, and the Hussites, for example.⁶¹ Many of the most commonly-cited Church Fathers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – Augustine, Clement of Alexandria, Cyril, Eusebius, Hilary, Jerome, John Chrysostom, and Tertullian – appeared in Stone’s donation, demonstrating his participation in the seventeenth-century collecting practices that saw learned men and dedicated scholars acquiring a broad religious understanding.⁶² Many of Stone’s patristic texts included in the library were published before 1630, meaning that by the 1680s, when the collection was donated to Wimborne Minster church, they provided library users with a somewhat dated view of Protestantism. The same is true of the small numbers of sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Protestant and post-Reformation Catholic literature, by men such as John Prideaux and Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, included in the collection. These Protestant and Catholic works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were all published in 1633 or earlier, meaning that they did not engage with the religious disputes that arose within the English Church from the 1630s onwards. This calls into question the usefulness of this collection of books to the clergy in Wimborne Minster in the preparation of their sermons and their ministry to their parishioners.

Roger Gillingham’s collection in Wimborne Minster Chained Library initially appears to be more wide ranging than that of William Stone, which may have been a deliberate act on Gillingham’s part, in order for it to be more useful to both the clergy and the lay inhabitants of the town. The collection was predominated by historical texts, contemporary religious works by Protestant and post-Reformation Catholic authors, and contemporary secular literature, demonstrating the kinds of books that Gillingham thought ‘fittest’ to his intended readers of Wimborne Minster Chained Library, as his will stated.⁶³ The historical texts included the works of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors such as William Camden and William Howell, Edward Herbert and Sir Robert Cotton. Works of Church history by Thomas Fuller and Henry Isaacson were included in the collection, alongside Gilbert Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*

⁶⁰ Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, pp. 68, 71.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

⁶² *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁶³ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

of the Church of England in two volumes.⁶⁴ A notable religious inclusion was Nathaniel Brent's English translation of Paolo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, in which Sarpi denounced the Catholic Church's religious supremacy and denied that it had returned to apostolic Christianity in the wake of the Council of Trent.⁶⁵ This was a different, later edition of the work than that in the Gorton Chest parish library. The sustained popularity of this work was the result of its employment by later writers in increasing the popularity of the Church of England – and later, after the Restoration, the Anglican Church – through repeated denunciations of the pope and the papacy as the Antichrist. Sarpi's own Catholicism was seen as a strong indictment against the Catholic Church, which was again being criticised as a corrupt institution by one of its own.⁶⁶ In addition, the corpus also included English Protestant literature by authors including Arthur Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells, John Pearson, bishop of Chester, Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, and William Chillingworth. In contrast to the dated texts of Stone's collection, many of the religious works in Gillingham's donation were published between 1629 and 1686, and thus engaged with the religious divisions and discussions of the mid-seventeenth century onwards. The inclusion of Sir William Dugdale's *Short View of the Late Troubles in England* is a particularly relevant example of this attempt to engage with contemporary religious disputes.⁶⁷

The majority of books in William Stone's collection were written in Latin, suggesting their intended clerical readers. Stone's collection of Church Fathers in Latin was purchased for his own personal use, but after their donation to Wimborne Minster church, the patristic texts were available to be read by any members of the clergy and laity with a grammar school education in Latin.⁶⁸ The majority of books in Gillingham's collection were written in English, making them more generally accessible to those without a grammar school education. The proportion of books in the combined collections of Stone and Gillingham, in their different languages, are demonstrated in Figure 5.5 below.

⁶⁴ Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Volume I* (London: T[homas] H[odgkin] for Richard Chiswell, 1679). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D10. This edition not listed on the USTC; Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Volume II* (London: T[homas] H[odgkin] for Richard Chiswell, 1681). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D11. This edition not listed on the USTC.

⁶⁵ Paolo Sarpi, *The History of the Council of Trent, translated by Nathaniel Brent* (London: J. Macock, 1676). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K2. This edition not listed on the USTC.

⁶⁶ Nicola Rivero, 'Paolo Sarpi: the Hunted Friar and his Popularity in England', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 34 (2016), pp. 302-303.

⁶⁷ William Dugdale, *Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (Oxford: printed at the Theatre for Moses Pitt, 1681). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D18. This edition not listed on the USTC.

⁶⁸ Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 76.

Languages of the Stone and Gillingham Books in Wimborne Minster Chained Library

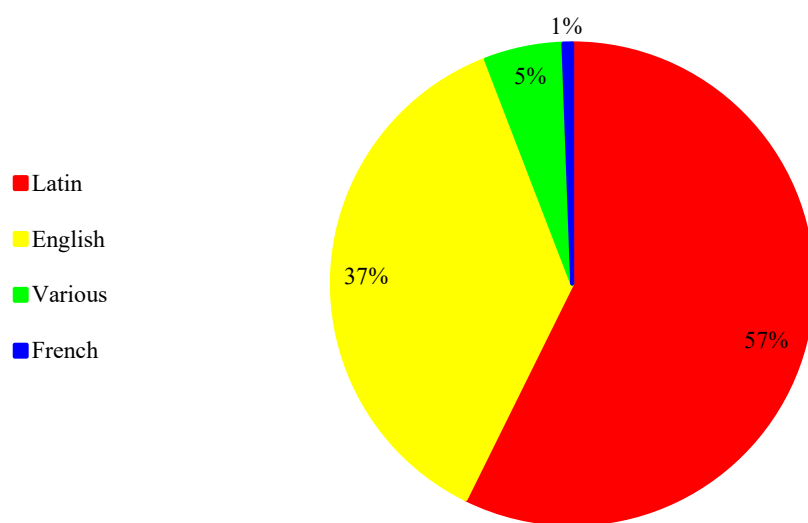


Figure 5.5: Language of the Books in Wimborne Minster Chained Library Donated by William Stone and Roger Gillingham

Gillingham's collection also included a small number of volumes written in other languages. Some of the multilingual books Gillingham donated included the seven-volume Polyglot Bible by Walton *et al.* and the two volumes of Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, both of which were written in various languages including Arabic, Persian, Ethiopic, Hebrew and Samaritan. Gillingham also donated a French work by François de La Mothe Le Vayer, the controversial French writer and tutor, under the pseudonym Orosius Tubero.⁶⁹ If Gillingham could read any of these languages, it was a testament to the level of his education. Alternatively, his purchase of these volumes and their inclusion in Wimborne Minster Chained Library may be a reflection of the perceived scholarly value and importance of these texts by Gillingham. Their usefulness to the general readership of the town of Wimborne Minster, however, was likely to have been limited.

The publication locations of the books in Wimborne Minster Chained Library corresponded to their genres. The scholarly Latin and religious works donated by William Stone were printed

⁶⁹ Walton, *Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta, Volumes I-V*. Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks I11-I17. These editions not listed on the USTC; Edmund Castell, *Lexicon Heptaglotton, Volumes I and II* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1669). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmarks I9 and I10. These editions not listed in the USTC; Ian Maclean, 'La Mothe le Vayer, François de (1588-1672)', *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 437.

predominantly on the Continent. The eighty-nine volumes of Fathers and Commentators' works that Stone gave to the church of Wimborne Minster were printed on presses in three English and fifteen European cities, including Basel, Antwerp, Paris and Cologne, which formed part of the 'steel spine' of European printing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The dominance of these cities in the collection's imprints reflected the statuses of France and the German Empire as 'by far the most important' territories in early modern Europe 'both intellectually and in terms of book production'.⁷⁰ It also spoke to the organisation and proliferation of the Continental book trade in England that such a large proportion of these volumes were imported and made available for sale. The collection of primarily secular, English works that Gillingham donated were largely printed in England – around eighty percent of them in London – demonstrating the strength of the domestic book trade in vernacular literature. Imprints from Cambridge and Oxford within the collection were printed on the learned presses at the universities, which by the 1690s were well established and run by professional printers.⁷¹ Imprints from five different European cities also featured in the collection. The number of volumes printed in this vast array of English and European cities is demonstrated in Figure 5.6 below.

⁷⁰ Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), p. 104.

⁷¹ David McKitterick, 'University Printing at Oxford and Cambridge' in John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 204.

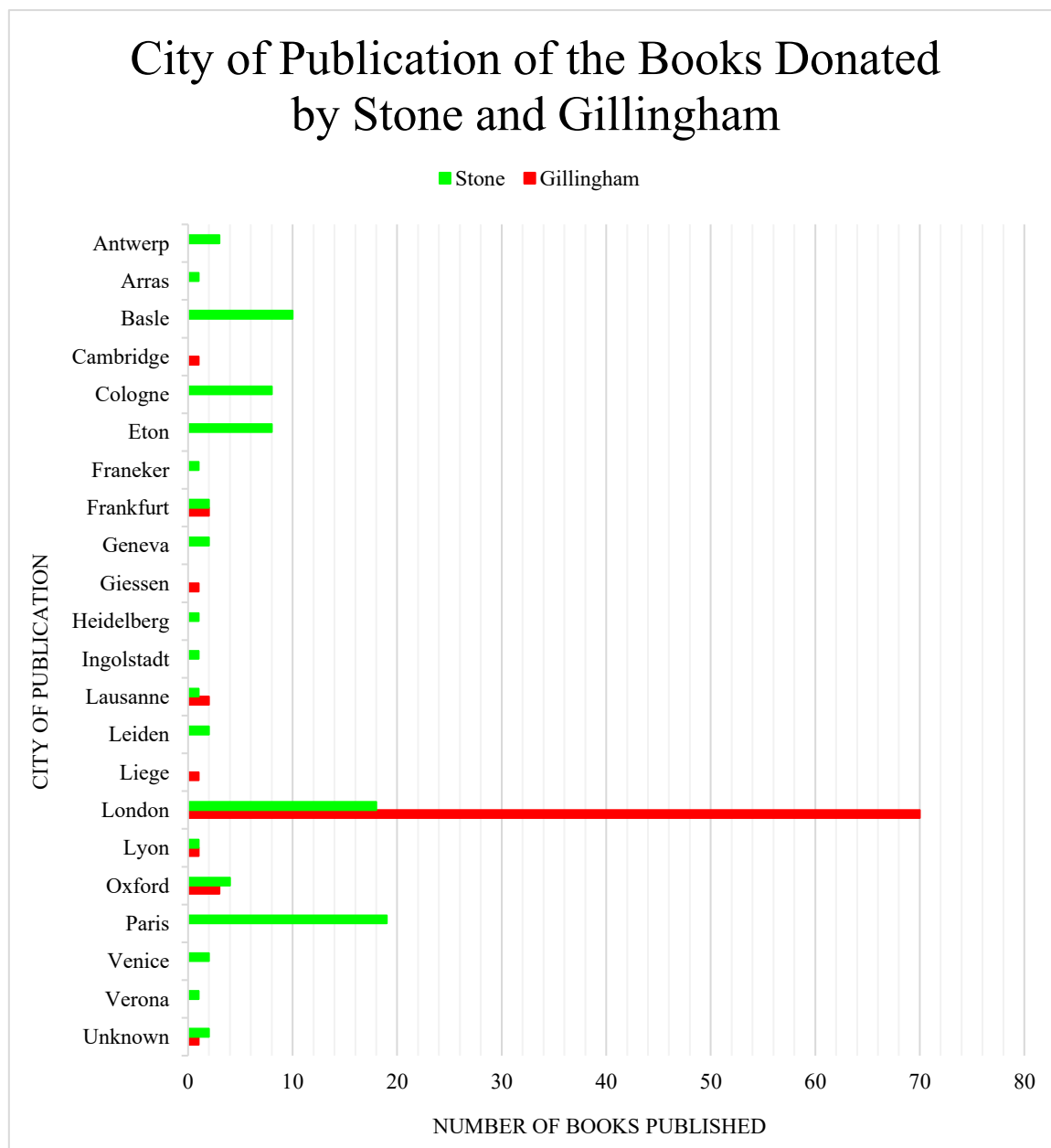


Figure 5.6: City of Publication of the Books Donated by William Stone and Roger Gillingham

The differences of topic and language in the books donated by Stone and Gillingham explain the variance in the number of European cities in which the books were produced. Latin religious texts dominated Stone’s collection and were almost certainly imported into England as part of the Latin trade, ‘a specialised trade’ carried out by ‘specialised personnel’ who consisted of both Englishmen and Europeans – as opposed to solely Europeans as was once posited. The Latin trade itself was ‘intended to facilitate intellectual exchange across Europe’.⁷² In the

⁷² Julian Roberts, ‘The Latin Trade’ in John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 141; Alan B. Farmer, ‘Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books in Early Modern England’, *Shakespeare Studies*, 35 (2007), p. 60.

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Latin texts of Christian and humanist scholarship were imported into England in vast quantities, ostensibly owing to the simultaneous inability of English printers to produce editions of good quality and the ability of European printers to do exactly that, at a reasonable cost.⁷³ Considering the reputation for scholarship attached to the Latin trade, it is unsurprising that many of the great European printing houses were represented in Stone's collection. Some of the books he owned came from some of the most prominent publishers and booksellers in England and on the Continent, including the Birckmanns of Cologne and the Frobens of Basel. This suggests that Stone, like Chetham's trustees, may have been keen to acquire the best possible versions of the texts he was interested in, though this is difficult to determine with any certainty due to the obscure nature of Stone's collecting practices.

On the other hand, the vast majority of the titles in Gillingham's donation were written in English and covered a wide variety of topics from religious literature to secular histories to health and agriculture, which Continental printers had little economic incentive to print in a vernacular language. The predominance of books published in London denotes the strength of the Stationers' Company in preventing the growth of the print industry outside that city: provincial printing in England was prohibited between 1557 and 1695. The growing consumer demand in early modern England for small volumes such as history books, almanacs or manuals on 'gentility and politeness' is attested to by the prevalence of such works in Gillingham's donation.⁷⁴ London's dominance in Gillingham's collection also resulted from his proximity to the city's numerous booksellers during his years at the Middle Temple. The Middle Temple was in close proximity to five prominent locales in London's book trade: Little Britain, St Paul's Churchyard, Cheapside, Fleet Street, and Paternoster Row, all of which housed large numbers of booksellers.⁷⁵ This would have made access to a wide range of books relatively easy for Gillingham and he may have purchased at least some of the books he later donated to Wimborne Minster church during his time at the Middle Temple.

⁷³ Farmer, 'Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books', pp. 58-61.

⁷⁴ John Hinks, 'The Book Trade in Early Modern Britain: Centres, Peripheries and Networks' in Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 117; James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 34-35.

⁷⁵ Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 534; Raven, *The Business of Books*, pp. 26, 156.

The publication dates of the works in the collections of both Stone and Gillingham evidence a mixture of new and second-hand volumes. The dates of publication for Stone and Gillingham’s books span a period of two hundred years, as shown in Figure 5.7 below, from the 1490s to the 1690s. The second-hand nature of many of the books has interesting implications for the surviving marginalia that they contain, which often provide an insight into the thoughts of their readers on the texts. The marginalia within some of the volumes in these collections will be discussed in greater detail in the following thematic chapters.

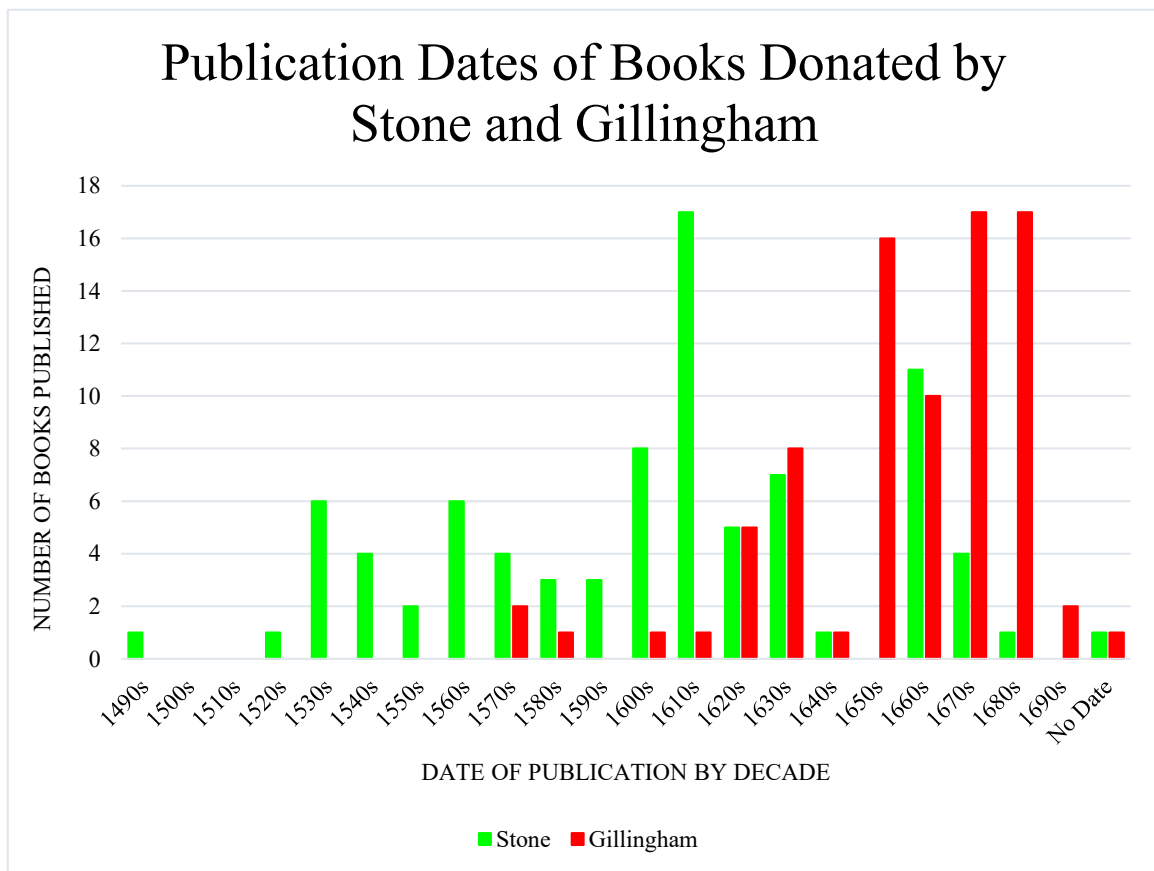


Figure 5.7: Publication Dates by Decade of the Books Donated by William Stone and Roger Gillingham

The publication dates of the books in Stone’s collection demonstrate that the vast majority were at least fifteen years old when they arrived in Wimborne Minster church in 1685. The age of the books at the time Stone purchased them for his own collection is unclear, though M. N. E. Tiffany has suggested that Stone only started to collect the books that were eventually sent to Wimborne Minster church after his return to Oxford and his appointment as Principal of New Inn Hall in 1663.⁷⁶ The vast majority of books in Stone’s collection of Church Fathers were

⁷⁶ Tiffany, *The History of the Rev. Mr. William Stone*, p. 19.

published in the 1630s or earlier, with a smaller number published in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Taking into consideration the time that books could spend unsold on booksellers' shelves and in warehouses, this could mean that Stone only purchased five volumes new. The remaining eighty-four books were most likely to have been bought second-hand. Stone's access to books was facilitated by his proximity to the book trade in both Oxford and Cambridge, which 'was on a larger scale than anywhere else outside London'.⁷⁷ It was driven primarily by the needs and interests of the students and senior members of the universities, resulting in local booksellers holding a significantly increased number of Latin volumes, many of which were printed on the Continent.⁷⁸ As Principal of New Inn Hall, therefore, Stone had easy and almost immediate access to numerous Oxford booksellers, who were themselves reliant on the London-based book trade to provide them with Continental works.⁷⁹ It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that Stone was able to compile such a large collection between 1663 and 1685 which, by the time of his death in 1685, was worth over £120.⁸⁰

The sources of Gillingham's books are obscure. His will stated that he had purchased thirty-one volumes for the specific purpose of donating them to Wimborne Minster Library; the rest of his donated volumes came from his own collection. Gillingham's bookseller(s) remain unknown, but he probably took advantage of his residence near the Middle Temple to visit any number of the London booksellers who congregated in Little Britain, St Paul's Churchyard or elsewhere.⁸¹ Much of Gillingham's collection was printed in the second half of the seventeenth century, though only a small number of volumes were printed in the 1690s, the decade when Gillingham donated the volumes to Wimborne Minster church. The later publication dates of Gillingham's volumes reflect the secular nature of many of the books. From the outset of printing, religious texts were the favoured genre across Europe: almost half of all the books printed in the fifteenth century were religious in their nature.⁸² Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious texts were the mainstays of the printing industry: Bibles, catechisms, prayerbooks, homilies and more, were frequently reprinted before secular literature began to grow in popularity at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the

⁷⁷ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The English Provinces' in John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 668.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 669.

⁷⁹ Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', p. 146.

⁸⁰ The National Archives, Kew, (C8/446/3), Attorney General v Fry, 1695.

⁸¹ Bradley and Pevsner, *London I: The City of London*, p. 534.

⁸² Colin Clair, *A History of European Printing* (London: Academic Press, 1976), pp. 121-122.

seventeenth century.⁸³ Seventy-four percent of the books Gillingham donated, either those purchased directly for the library or those drawn from his personal collection, were published before 1680, meaning that around three quarters of the corpus was most likely second hand when Gillingham purchased them. Like Stone's books, this has significant implications for analysis of any surviving marginalia that may have been made by readers before Gillingham, by Gillingham himself, or by later library users.

Conclusion

Wimborne Minster Chained Library was founded by the combined collections of a seventeenth-century clergyman and a seventeenth-century gentleman, which together constituted the largest parish library founded in the county of Dorset up to that point. It was thus an important part of the intellectual and religious landscape of Wimborne Minster and the surrounding area, due to the access it provided the clergy and laity to such a large corpus of religious and secular volumes. The books given to the church by the clergyman William Stone, a native of Wimborne Minster, were primarily religious works of the Church Fathers and other theological volumes. The books donated by Roger Gillingham, a gentleman who was born not far from Wimborne Minster and who owned property in the town in later life, were comprised of historical texts and religious volumes by both Catholic and Protestant authors. Personal connections to the town of Wimborne Minster on the part of Stone, Gillingham and the numerous later donors to the collection were the most likely motivations for the donation of books to the church for a library.

As stated in a 1695 court case brought before the Attorney General, William Stone made a verbal agreement to send his books to the church of Wimborne Minster shortly before his death in 1685. The reason for this decision is unclear and it is therefore difficult to ascribe to Stone or his collection a firm sense of who he intended the users of the books to be once they were in the church. Stone's patristic and theological texts were written almost exclusively in Latin, suggesting an intended audience that possessed at least a grammar school level of education and thus were able to read Latin. They were probably originally purchased for Stone's own personal and professional use. Gillingham, however, left clear testamentary instructions as to

⁸³ Joad Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain' in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 62.

which books were to be given to the church and who was to use them. Books that Gillingham had purchased specifically for the library were to be donated alongside an unspecified selection of books from his own personal collection, 'for the use of the clergy there but alsoe for the use of the Gent shopkeepers and better sort of Inhabitants in and about the Towne'.⁸⁴ It is in Gillingham's collection that the impact of intended users on the selection of books can best be seen. Gillingham intended for his collection to be used by both the clergy and the laity, and he consequently donated a collection that included both religious and secular works on a wide variety of different topics, the vast majority of which were in English.

⁸⁴ The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696.

PART TWO

Introduction to Part Two

A macrostudy focussing on the anonymous annotations of readers of early modern parish library books made in the late-sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century enables the identification of broad patterns of readers' interest and focus. This thesis demonstrates that throughout the time period discussed in this work, readers' interest and topical foci remained relatively similar, and shows that they were generally interested in the practical aspects of Protestant theology.

Anonymous Annotators

Studies of early modern readers and readers' marks often concentrate on an individual, well-known reader.¹ By focussing on individual readers, historians have been able to ascribe motivations to these readers, and understand how readings were influenced by and impacted upon readers' lives and the events of their time. For example, Julie Crawford has demonstrated that Lady Margaret Hoby had religion in mind when she chose both her books and her reading companions, and that she selected texts and fellow readers that would aid and improve her religious understanding and social influence.² Kevin Sharpe argued that Sir William Drake's reading experiences 'not only formed his general worldview, but also helped to script his specific responses to particular contemporary issues and events'.³ Furthermore, Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton have shown that Gabriel Harvey, a professional reader, undertook numerous rereadings of his copy of Livy for various reasons and for several different patrons. With each rereading, Harvey's aim changed; such aims included, but were not limited to, understanding 'the forms of states' and the 'conditions of persons', understanding the various professions into which a man could go, and understanding how the messages and lessons to be taken and learned from Livy could be applied in the real world.⁴ Micro studies such as those

¹ Julie Crawford, 'Reconsidering Early Modern Women's Reading, or, How Margaret Hoby Read her de Mornay', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73:2 (2010); Elspeth Jajdelska, 'Pepys in the History of Reading', *The Historical Journal*, 50 (2007); Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990); Fred Schurink, "'Like a Hand in the Margine of a Booke": William Blount's Marginalia and the Politics of Sidney's "Arcadia"', *The Review of English Studies*, 59:238 (2008); Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (London: Yale University Press, 2000); William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

² Crawford, 'Reconsidering Early Modern Women's Reading', p. 194.

³ Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, p. 74.

⁴ Jardine and Grafton, 'Gabriel Harvey', pp. 36, 39, *passim*.

carried out by Crawford, Sharpe, Jardine and Grafton, and others, enable historians to identify both the readers and approximately when they were reading. As such, historians are able to understand how those readers' readings influenced their lives, enabled their political or social advancement, and informed their responses to contemporary events. Whilst this approach provides an important contribution to the history of reading, the conclusions provided by micro studies on the reading practices of the wealthy and educated cannot be applied to a wider range of readers amongst the 'middling' and lower sorts of people. Those people could not always afford to possess vast libraries of their own and thus made use of the parish libraries that were being founded across England in the early modern period.

This thesis takes a more general approach to the study of reading practices amongst the 'middling' sorts of people in early modern England. As Mark Towsey pointed out, 'the possession of certain books or access to them... can never illuminate fully the experience of the individual reader in the past'.⁵ However, by studying the largely anonymous marks of readership in the publically accessible volumes housed in parish libraries, this work seeks to understand not who the readers of parish library books were, but how the middling sorts of people used the books in parish libraries and to analyse the topics and subjects in which they were most interested. Identifying the readers in parish library books is difficult because the majority of parish libraries in the period covered by this thesis did not keep user or reader records, meaning historians have no way of knowing who read the library books *in situ*. It is often difficult, therefore, in a macrostudy such as this to ascribe the annotations to a specific reader, due to a lack of ownership inscriptions and the second-hand nature of many of the volumes in these repositories. Thus, attempting to attribute motivations to these readers, to understand how contemporary events influenced their understanding of the texts they read, and to analyse how those texts impacted on their everyday lives, is problematic and risks stretching the evidence available to historians.

Furthermore, it is almost impossible to determine when the annotations were made in the books that now survive in numerous early modern parish libraries in England. It is often unclear whether a user of the parish library who read the book *in situ* made them, or whether the annotations were already in the book when it was purchased for, or donated to, the parish library. However, the value of a macrostudy such as this one is that it allows historians to be able to recognise and analyse patterns of reading that emerged over a large period of time and

⁵ Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and the Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 163.

reveal the topical foci of a large number of readers. In this thesis, an examination of the four parish libraries of Grantham in Lincolnshire, Ripon in Yorkshire, Gorton in Lancashire, and Wimborne Minster in Dorset facilitate an understanding of how the ‘middling’ sorts of people in these four areas received and reacted to various elements of the English Reformation. Annotations in numerous books from these four parish libraries centred on four major themes: anti-Catholicism; the importance of Scripture and Scriptural understanding; the intertwined topics of sin, repentance and salvation; and the importance of godly living and preparation for a good death. Readers’ annotations on these four topics demonstrate consistent patterns of focus for reading interests across the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century, whilst also suggesting the Protestant nature of those readers.

Patterns of Focus in Readers’ Marginalia

The second part of this thesis following will consider these four patterns of readers’ focus in turn to show that anti-Catholicism, the importance of Scripture, sin, repentance and salvation, and godly living and dying, were significant elements of popular religion and practical divinity. Readers’ interest in these subjects demonstrates that what these Protestants focussed on was less the theology of early modern Protestantism than its practical aspects. Annotations on anti-Catholicism emphasised the errors, changes and corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church since the apostolic era. Protestant authors believed that those corruptions stemmed from the corruption of the pope himself, who many Protestants believed to be the Antichrist. These corruptions were evident to Protestants in the doctrine of purgatory, the practice of selling indulgences, false worship, and the veneration of images and idols.

The importance of Scripture and correct Scriptural understanding was stressed in readers’ annotations that focussed on Scripture as the Word of God. The main benefits of Scripture for early modern Protestants lay in its ability to teach and improve its readers, in regulating Christian life, and as something that contained everything necessary for faith, which linked directly to Protestants’ dislike of Roman Catholic inventions such as indulgences and the doctrine of purgatory expressed in the anti-Catholic marginalia.

Readers frequently emphasised the internal and external temptations that manifested in sinful actions committed by individuals on a daily basis. Repentance was highlighted in early modern readers’ marks as a complex process that functioned as the pathway back to God after sins had been committed. Salvation and eternal life featured prominently in readers’ annotations of

parish library books, emphasising that both could be achieved through justification and righteousness, through faith, and a life lived in service to fellow believers.

The final theme of readers' interest centred on godly living and preparation for death. Annotations suggested that a godly life constituted regular prayer to God, goodness and good works – which for Protestants were the product of one's elect status, and not the cause of one's salvation – and patience and trust in God. A good death could be made by seeking guidance and information from divines as to how to make a good death and by actively preparing for it during life to distract from worldly pleasures. Interestingly, marginalia in two of the books also concerned the topic of suicide, debating its contemporary acceptability and outlining situations in which the act might be justifiable before ultimately declaring suicide unacceptable.

Conclusion

Examining the annotations in a selection of the books from the four parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster enables historians to gain an insight into the reception of these texts at a parish level. These parish libraries were founded at different points in the time period covered by this thesis, enabling historians to see the progress of the English Reformation and the continued religious changes in England throughout the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at a parish level. Moreover, the examination of anonymous readers' marks from a selection of books in these libraries provides an insight into the sorts of topics and subjects in which those early modern readers were most interested, and which continued to hold their attention throughout the early modern period.

Chapter Six: Anti-Catholicism

Introduction

Anti-Catholic ideology grew in prominence in England during the reigns of Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts. However, the books in the collections of the Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster parish libraries do not reflect the preoccupation with anti-Catholicism that historians such as Carol Wiener, Patrick Collinson, Anne McLaren and others attribute to English Protestants in the early modern period. Carol Wiener argued that what began as ‘the private obsession of religious extremists developed into a part of the national ideology’, an ideology, as Patrick Collinson demonstrated, that was the result of ‘concern, mistrust and fear of Catholic powers, the pope and those rulers deemed to be his agents’.¹ Anne McLaren described anti-Catholic sentiments in England as something that increased in importance over time.² Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated that these anti-Catholic sentiments manifested themselves in the derogatory epithets of ‘papist’ or ‘church papist’, which Collinson argued gained ‘meaning, substance and historical importance’ in the ‘context of confrontation’. Collinson was specifically referring to the label of Puritan, but Walsham reasoned that the argument applied equally to the label of ‘papist’.³ Christopher Haigh argued that anti-Catholic sentiments were particularly prevalent during times of political crisis or uncertainty in England, such as during the Armada or in the months immediately following the Gunpowder Plot.⁴

Works of anti-Catholic polemic in the collections of the Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster parish libraries were not, however, as prominent as might be expected considering the strong resentments that historians have argued Protestants harboured towards their Catholic countrymen. In addition, without knowing when the surviving annotations were made, it is difficult to correlate crises or threats such as those discussed by Haigh with annotations on this topic in parish library books. Less than seventy books across the entirety of

¹ Carol Z. Wiener, ‘The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism’, *Past & Present*, 51 (1971), p. 27; Patrick Collinson, ‘The Politics of Religion and the Religion of Politics in Elizabethan England’, *Historical Research*, 82:215 (2009), p. 79.

² Anne McLaren, ‘Gender, Religion and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism’, *The American Historical Review*, 107:3 (2002), p. 740.

³ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), p. 111; Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1988), p. 143.

⁴ Christopher Haigh, *The Plain Man’s Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England, 1570-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 198.

the combined collections of the four parish libraries were anti-Catholic polemic, accounting for approximately thirteen percent of the overall corpus of texts analysed in this work. Just six books out of the 223 volumes in the Francis Trigge collection in Grantham were anti-Catholic polemic, equivalent to less than three percent. Similarly, out of the 178 books in the combined donations of William Stone and Roger Gillingham to Wimborne Minster library, only four were anti-Catholic polemic, accounting for just over two percent of the collection. The slightly more significant number of fifty-five anti-Catholic polemical texts were included in the 758 books bequeathed to Ripon Minster by Anthony Higgin, equating to approximately seven percent of the collection. None of the books in the Gorton Chest parish library were anti-Catholic polemical texts. In addition to these texts, annotations suggesting anti-Catholic sentiments were also found in works that were not strictly polemical, but nevertheless expressed opposition to Catholic doctrines and practices.

Very few of the books in any of the four parish libraries contained anti-Catholic annotations; the annotations on this subject that were found were not necessarily in polemical texts against the Catholic Church. Just fourteen of the volumes in the four parish libraries contained annotations on the subject of anti-Catholicism. These included texts by authors such as Thomas Brightman, Martin Luther, Francis White, Saint Athanasius, and Saint Augustine. The most multitudinous annotations on the topic featured in Martin Chemnitz's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*, a four-part critique of the doctrines, decrees and canons of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) that was also a highly-charged piece of polemical and political literature, now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham.⁵ As such, the annotations discussed in this chapter will be drawn from a relatively small range of authors and titles, few of which were primarily anti-Catholic polemical texts.

Readers' marks within these fourteen volumes revealed three patterns of focus for readers' interests that suggest a level of anti-Catholicism. In the first instance, readers were concerned with the errors, changes and corruptions of the Catholic Church, as Protestants perceived them. The changes to the apostolic Church in the intervening centuries were the focus of numerous underlinings by readers, and several authors and readers particularly focussed on the willingness of the Catholic Church to devise and accept doctrines and practices that were not expounded in Scripture. This went against the Protestant belief that Scripture contained everything necessary for faith, which will be explored more fully in the following chapter.

⁵ R. Kolb, 'Chemnitz, Martin (1522-1586)', *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, (2005) [online: accessed 8 October 2019].

Protestants' rejection of Catholic doctrines and practices that were not referred to in Scripture had a particular impact on the doctrine of purgatory and the practice of indulgences, both of which were the subject of several annotations. The second pattern of focus that emerged in readers' marks concerning anti-Catholicism was a dislike of false worship, specifically the veneration of saints and images encouraged by the Catholic Church. These annotations were concerned with attacking Catholic tendencies to venerate images, as Protestants feared that this practice had the potential to move people's focus away from God in favour of images and idols. Protestants found Scriptural precedent for their hatred of idols and idolatry, citing passages in which Scripture asserted that God himself disliked idols. The final pattern of focus by a small number of readers on the topic of anti-Catholicism was the guidance found in texts for the identification of a true and uncorrupted Church, such as that found in the copy of William Chillingworth's *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation* in Wimborne Minster Chained Library.

The Errors, Changes and Corruptions of the Catholic Church

The belief that the corruption of the Catholic Church stemmed from the corruption of the pope is evident in annotations found within two parish library books. The marginal annotations in the copy of Thomas Brightman's *Workes* in the Gorton Chest parish library, adjacent to a passage in which Brightman asserted that the Antichrist was indeed 'contrary to Christ' and argued that the name referred 'not [to] particular men, but a certain kingdom and succession,' suggest its perceived importance by a reader.⁶ Francis White stated similar beliefs on a marked page of his *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*.⁷ The idea that the concept of Antichrist was applicable not just to the papacy but to an entire institution is also one that has been argued by Peter Lake, and by Christopher Haigh who asserted that 'Antichrist... was not merely the Pope as a person..., but the papacy as an institution which subsumed within itself all evil'.⁸

⁶ Thomas Brightman, *The Works of that Famous, Reverend, and Learned Divine, Mr. Thomas Brightman* (London: John Field, 1644), pp. 614-615. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.22. USTC 3046550.

⁷ Francis White, *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher's Answer to Certain Questions Propounded by His Most Gracious Majesty, King James* (London: Adam Islip, 1624), p. 63. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.27. USTC 3011511.

⁸ Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 56; Christopher Haigh, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, revised edition (London, New York: Verso, 1990), p. 5.

The annotations of a reader of *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation* by William Chillingworth reflected the belief that Catholic doctrines and practices were invalid because they were additions to the apostolic Church when they underlined Chillingworth's assertion that, 'neither will the Apostles depositing with the Church, all things belonging to truth, be any proof that the Church shall certainly keep this depositum, entire, and sincere, without adding to it'. The underlining of the statement suggests the significance of this passage to the reader.⁹ This Protestant belief in the invalidity of Catholic beliefs was reflected in annotations throughout the four parish library collections. In the copy of Martin Chemnitz's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini* now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham, for example, a reader underlined several parts of Chemnitz's discussion on the changes made to the doctrines and practices of the Church since the apostolic era specifically. The reader underlined Chemnitz's assertion that 'there is no doubt that the Church after the apostles added certain other rites for the purpose of edification, order and decorum'.¹⁰ More generally on the point of errors, changes and additions in the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, a reader of the copy of John White's *Workes* in the Gorton Chest parish library marked a page on which White noted 'particular corruptions that crept into particular writings and Churches, whereby our Adversaries have taken occasion to increase them'.¹¹ In addition, in a passage of his *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher* underlined by a reader to signify its importance, Francis White proclaimed that the Roman Catholic Church had 'degenerate[d] and depart[ed] from the right Faith'.¹²

The annotations made by Protestant readers of these volumes demonstrate that they rejected Catholic practices and doctrines as incorrect because they did not have any Scriptural basis. As has been demonstrated by numerous historians, Protestants, and the godly specifically, believed that Scripture contained everything necessary for faith and instruction in living a good life, and so Protestants repudiated Catholic additions as departing from true faith and going beyond

⁹ William Chillingworth, *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1638), p. 110. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K19. USTC 3019801.

¹⁰ Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 74. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 74 reads '...*Ecclesiam post Apostolos pro ratione aedificationis, ordinis & decori, alios quosdam ritus addidisse*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 268.

¹¹ John White, *The Workes of that Learned and Reverend Divine, John White, Doctor in Divinitie* (London: R.F., 1624), p. 246. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.1. This edition not listed in the USTC.

¹² White, *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, p. 4. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.27. USTC 3011511.

Scripture.¹³ The polemicist John White asserted in his *Workes* that Roman Catholics ‘know and confesse the most and greatest points of their religion, even welnigh all wherein they dissent from us, have no foundation on the Scriptures’. The page was marked by a reader to suggest its significance to them as justification for the rejection of Catholic beliefs.¹⁴ Linking his attack on the corruptions of the Catholic Church to their impact on its adherents, Martin Chemnitz described ‘how dangerous it is for the Church, and how destructive for the faith, to receive and venerate traditions concerning dogmas which cannot be proved with any testimony of Scripture’, in a passage underlined by a reader.¹⁵ Similar anti-Catholic sentiments were reflected in several annotations in Thomas Brightman’s *Workes*, adjacent to his discussion of the Catholics’ rejoicing at being delivered from the restrictions of Scripture.¹⁶ These passages demonstrate both Protestants’ rejection of the innovations and changes made to the apostolic Church by the Roman Catholic Church, and the importance of Scripture in Reformed Protestantism, which will be demonstrated in the following chapter. Anthony Milton put forward a similar justification for Protestants’ rejection of Catholic practices. He argued that ‘the points in controversy were thus mostly ‘additional’’, and that from a Protestant perspective, ‘Rome did indeed err in the foundation of faith, and her errors were fundamental because they touched on the most basic tenets of salvation in Christ, the true Word of God, and the right administration of the sacraments’.¹⁷

The specific innovations and changes of the Catholic Church that early modern Protestants rejected included the doctrine of purgatory and the practice of selling indulgences. The innovation of praying for the dead in the Catholic Church was condemned by John Dod in a passage marked by one reader of his work now in the Gorton Chest parish library, suggesting its perceived importance to that reader. In the annotated passage, Dod stated that ‘this serves to condemne the Papists, that are most guiltie in this point, and have defiled the whole worship

¹³ For numerous examples of this, see the essays in Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

¹⁴ White, *Workes*, p. 10. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.1. This edition not listed in the USTC.

¹⁵ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I*, p. 76. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 76 reads ‘...quam periculosum sit Ecclesiae, & quam perniciosum fidei, traditiones de dogmatibus, quae nullo Scripturae testimonio probari possunt’. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I*, p. 275.

¹⁶ Brightman, *Works*, p. 374. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.22. USTC 3046550.

¹⁷ Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 178-179.

of God with their owne inventions and superstitions [such] as by praying for the dead'.¹⁸ The act of praying for the dead was linked to purgatory, and purgatory was one of the most prominent Catholic doctrines repudiated by Protestants as having no basis in Scripture. The lack of Biblical foundation for purgatory led to its equivocal status in English ecclesiastical legislation. While belief in purgatory was one of the first things to be removed from the Church of England after the break from Rome, prayers for the dead were still encouraged. The Act of Ten Articles (1536) asserted that 'it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed', but prevaricated on the existence of purgatory, stating that the location of the souls prayed for was 'to us uncertain by Scripture'.¹⁹ The Act Dissolving the Chantries (1547) denounced 'vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory, to be done for them which be departed' as superstition, before the English Communion service of 1552 eradicated all traces of intercessionary prayer from English services.²⁰ Prayers for the dead continued to be condemned by Elizabethan clergymen, most notably by John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, in his *An Homily or Sermon Concerning Prayer* published in 1563.²¹ However, by the seventeenth century, prayers for the dead had begun to find favour again, particularly amongst men such as James Ussher and Jeremy Taylor. Some of their works were included in the case study parish libraries, but the copy of Taylor's *Antiquitates Christianae* in Wimborne Minster library no longer survives.²² However, as Houlbrooke has shown, these clergymen and others who advocated for prayers for the dead did so on the basis that 'they were justified by the ancient practice of the Church', whilst also emphasising the fact that praying for the dead 'did not necessarily imply belief in purgatory'.²³

¹⁸ John Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1614), p. 74. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

¹⁹ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 38; Gerald Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 3rd edition (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2019), pp. 151-152.

²⁰ Henry Gee and William John Hardy (eds), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896), p. 328; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England*, p. 38.

²¹ Unknown Author, *Certain Sermons or Homilies, Appointed to be Read in Churches, in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory* (London: Printed for the Prayer-Book and Homily Society, 1852), pp. 309-311.

²² James Ussher, *A Body of Divinity, or the Sum and Substance of Christian Religion* (London: Thomas Downes and George Badger, 1653). The Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.7. This edition not listed in the USTC; James Ussher, *The Annals of the World* (London: E. Tyler, 1658). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K3. This edition not listed in the USTC; Jeremy Taylor, *Antiquitates Christianae or the History of the Life and Death of the Holy Jesus* (London: J. Macock and M Flesher, 1684). Wimborne Minster Chained Library, no long survives. This edition not listed in the USTC.

²³ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England*, p. 39.

The lack of Scriptural foundation for purgatory was the main focus of a reader of part three of Chemnitz's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*. As the reader underlined, 'the papalists carry their opinion about purgatory to Scripture, and do not get it from there'.²⁴ In the chapter of the *Examinis* on purgatory, Chemnitz provided a lengthy rebuttal of Catholic claims that the doctrine of purgatory had a Scriptural basis; a reader underlined several passages in this section, suggesting their agreement with Chemnitz's arguments. A reader of the *Examinis* wrote 'nota' next to Chemnitz's explanation that he had discredited various passages from the Bible that Catholics used to argue in favour of purgatory, 'in order to show that the purgatory of the papalists cannot be proved'.²⁵

Protestantism's repudiation of the doctrine of purgatory rendered the Catholic practice of selling indulgences obsolete. Edward Herbert expressed anti-Catholic sentiments in his attack against the practice of selling indulgences in his *The Life and Raigne of King Henry VIII*. His arguments on the subject were annotated by a reader of the copy of this work now in Wimborne Minster Chained Library. Herbert argued that the Catholic practice of selling indulgences, 'the conditions of which were, That, whosoever performed certaine Religious Rites, and paid certaine sums of Money, should have their sinnes forgiven', was something that was only allowed to continue for so long because when they first began to be used, 'no divine worship in the West parts of Europe, but what the Church of Rome prescrib'd, was publicly knowne'.²⁶ The manuscript marginalia surrounding this passage suggests that one of Chillingworth's readers found this argument against a key Catholic practice particularly interesting. After the Reformation, Diarmaid MacCulloch has noted, the Protestant dismantling of indulgences was so thorough that the third session of the Council of Trent (1561-1563) eventually forbade the practice of selling them.²⁷

Reformers promulgated the doctrine of justification by faith alone, a concept that contrasted starkly with the Catholic doctrine of purgatory. Annotations in several parish library volumes

²⁴ Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part III* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 116. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 116 reads '*Antea aliquoties diximus, Pontificios opinionem purgatorii ad Scripturam adferre, non inde referre, sed cogere hoc videri in Scriptura dictum, quod ante lectionem praesumpserunt credendum*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part III* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 330.

²⁵ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part III*, p. 123. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Latin passage on p. 123 reads '*...ut ostendere pontificiorum purgatorium...*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part III*, p. 351.

²⁶ Edward Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry VIII* (London: Printed by E. G. for Thomas Whitaker, 1649), p. 70. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D15. USTC 3047333.

²⁷ MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided*, p. 304.

conveyed anti-Catholic sentiments in their endorsement of justification by faith alone. Martin Luther was one of the first reformers to propound the notion of *sola fides*, which he outlined in his *A Commentarie upon the Fiftene Psalmes*. In several sentences of Ripon Minster parish library's copy of this work that were underlined by a reader, Luther argued that the way to salvation was not via purgatory, but through faith.²⁸ Moreover, in his *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, Francis White was clear in his opinion that within Protestantism, salvation was achieved through Christ alone. A reader of White's work now in the Gorton Chest marked the page on which White asserted that

No Christian Church ever prized the oblation and merits of Christ more highly and religiously than wee... and wee firmly beleeeue the inestimable price and virtue thereof, for mans Redemption, Sanctification, Justification, and Glorification. And in particular wee beleeeue expressely, and contrarie to our Adversaries accusation, That the same is all-sufficient to justifie a sinner in the sight of God.²⁹

The Protestant abolition of the doctrine of purgatory in favour of the doctrine of justification by faith eliminated the need for indulgences in the Reformed faith. The marking of this passage by a reader suggests their belief in the importance of this change, which signalled a move away from believing that salvation was achievable through good works and other penitential acts, and towards the understanding that good works were instead the product of faith and a sign of a person's elect status.³⁰ As such, a degree of anti-Catholicism can be perceived in the repudiation of the Catholic doctrines of salvation and purgatory in favour of the Protestant belief in justification by faith alone.

Other innovations by the Catholic Church that early modern Protestant readers of parish library books denounced and rejected were the acts required of people in order to achieve salvation: 'in most recent times the matter of the protection, merits, intercessions, help, aid, and benefits of the saints was forged into an article of faith'.³¹ William Perkins discussed such errors on a

²⁸ Martin Luther, *A Commentarie upon the Fiftene Psalmes*, trans. Henry Bull (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1577), p. 219. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.E.16. USTC 508422.

²⁹ White, *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, p. 169. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.27. USTC 3011511.

³⁰ Jonathan Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue: Religious Identity and the Ten Commandments in England, c.1485-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 64.

³¹ Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part II* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 159. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 159 reads '*postremis vero temporibus, fabricatus est inde articulus fidei, de patrociniis, meritis, intercessionibus, auxiliis, adjumentis & beneficiis sanctorum*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.),

page marked by a reader of the Gorton Chest parish library's copy of the first volume of his *Workes*, suggesting the importance of these errors in the Catholic doctrine of salvation as perceived by the reader.³² A reader of Chemnitz's *Examinis* in the Trigge library in Grantham endorsed anti-Catholic sentiments on the subject of salvation by underlining the Lutheran divine's assertion that, in order to achieve salvation within the Catholic Church,

people were directed now to the sanctity of required works, now to making their own satisfaction through works that are not required, now to works of supererogation, and again to the treasure of the merits of the religious orders, to various brotherhoods, to the pleading of the saints, to pilgrimages.³³

Another underlining by one of Chemnitz's readers highlighted the belief that Catholics were not guaranteed salvation, even if they performed all of the acts required by the Church. As Chemnitz asserted, 'they [the Catholic Church] left them in the saddest doubt, setting before them, alas, the consolation of the fire of purgatory'.³⁴ A reader of Arthur Hildersham's *CLII Lectures upon Psalm LI*, now in the Gorton Chest parish library, marked the page on which the divine argued that in doctrines and practices such as these, the Catholic Church was not following God's example of mercy, but rather pursuing more vengeful policies.³⁵ The undertaking of such acts as described by Chemnitz in order to achieve salvation stirred anti-Catholic sentiments because they were in direct contravention of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith. Both Luther and Calvin – and their adherents – subscribed to this doctrine, albeit with some differences, as outlined by Alister McGrath; both, however, emphasised the union between Christ and true believers that was linked to justification.³⁶

Examination of the Council of Trent, Part II by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 506.

³² William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, Mr William Perkins: The First Volume* (London: John Legatt, 1626), p. 99. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.13. USTC 3012639.

³³ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I*, p. 128. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 128 reads '...*jam ad proprias satisfactiones operum indebitorum, jam ad super erogationes, mox ad superflua merita ordinum, ad varias fraternitates, ad patrocina sactorum, ad peregrinationes...*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I*, p. 461.

³⁴ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I*, p. 128. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 128 reads '...*in tristissima dubitatione illas reliquerunt proposita (si dis placet) consolatione ignis purgatorii*'. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I*, p. 461.

³⁵ Arthur Hildersham, *CLII Lectures upon Psalm, LI* (London: J. Raworth, 1642), p. 115. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.5(1). USTC 3052352.

³⁶ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, pp. 117-127, 131-132.

False Worship, Images and Idolatry in the Catholic Church

Early modern Protestant readers of books in the four parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster were interested in attacks against idolatry as a form of anti-Catholicism and proof of the corruption and errors of the Catholic Church. As Peter Lake has argued, ‘crucial to the Protestant analysis of the falseness of these practices and doctrines was the concept of idolatry’; early modern Protestants believed that ‘the papists’ reverence for the worship of idols and images, and their use of the saints as intercessors’ had ‘supplanted and subverted’ the worship of God.³⁷ As the focus of annotations in parish library books reflects, many early modern Protestants argued that the veneration of images and other articles of faith was one of the most prominent innovations of the Catholic Church. In a passage underlined by a reader of the copy of Chemnitz’s *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*, now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library in Grantham, Chemnitz asserted that ‘after the apostles, through 300 years, the veneration of relics about which the papalists now contend did not exist’.³⁸ Francis White, in his *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, expressed a similar anti-Catholic sentiment, refuting arguments that the worship of idols was present in the apostolic Church using a catechism question-and-answer style. A reader of the copy of White’s work now in the Gorton Chest parish library marked this page, suggesting both the perceived importance of this subject and the anti-Catholic attitude of the reader.³⁹

Protestants’ denunciation of idolatry was rooted in Biblical precedent: as Anthony Milton has argued, ‘the imputation of this error to Rome lay in the unequivocal denunciations of idolatry in the Old Testament’.⁴⁰ The idea of men creating their own gods was born in the book of Exodus, with Aaron’s creation of a golden calf and the construction of an altar whilst Moses was in discussion with God on Mount Sinai.⁴¹ This belief in Scriptural precedent for the condemnation of idolatry was reflected in the annotations of several parish library books. John Weemes, for example, discussed ‘how base idols are in the sight of God’ in his collected

³⁷ Peter Lake, ‘Anti-Popery: the Structure of a Prejudice’ in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 74.

³⁸ Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part IV* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 12. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 12 reads ‘...ostendimus in primitiva & antiquissima post Apostolos Ecclesia, per annos trecentos non fuisse illas venerationes reliquiarum, de quibus Pontificii nunc dimicant’. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part IV* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 47.

³⁹ White, *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, p. 238. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.27. USTC 3011511.

⁴⁰ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 187.

⁴¹ Exodus 32:1-8.

Workes. A reader of the Gorton Chest's copy of this text marked the page on which Weemes expounded this belief.⁴² Saint Athanasius was one of several Early Christian writers to reject idolatry based on the Bible. In his *Contra Gentes*, Athanasius identified idolatry with non-Christians, and credited Christ as being ultimately responsible for the decline of idolatry both in his *Contra Gentes* and in his *De Incarnatione Verbi*.⁴³ Similar sentiments were expressed by Saint Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei*. Two chapters in which Augustine discussed the 'calamities suffered before the religion of Christ began to compete with the worship of the gods' and how 'the worshippers of the gods never received from them any healthy moral precepts, and that in celebrating their worship all sorts of impurities were practiced', were annotated by a reader. In these chapters, a reader of the copy now in Ripon Minster parish library focussed on Augustine's warnings about the dangers of worshipping false gods.⁴⁴ John Weemes echoed these warnings also, telling his readers that to worship a false God contravened the Commandments. The marking of this page by a reader suggests their anti-Catholic opinion and that Weemes' warnings were considered important and needed to be heeded.⁴⁵

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, criticisms of idolatry were used 'as a stick to beat the Catholics', for whom imagery was an integral part of worship, as Jonathan Sheehan has demonstrated.⁴⁶ Thus, to attack the worship of images was an explicit expression of anti-Catholicism that annotations in parish library books suggest their readers agreed with. Peter Martyr Vermigli asserted the wrongness of idolatry in his *Common Places*: he condemned the altars the Catholics built to images of the saints and argued that Catholics' assertions that such practice was pleasing to God was incorrect. The significance of this condemnation is suggested by a reader who marked this page in the copy of the *Common Places* now in the Gorton Chest

⁴² John Weemes, *The Workes of Mr. John Weemes of Lathlocker in Scotland. The Second Volume* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1636), part 1, p. 82. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.9. USTC 3018588.

⁴³ Khaled Anatolios, *Athanasius: The Coherence of his Thought* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 28.

⁴⁴ Saint Augustine, *De Civitate Dei in Cuius praestantissima in omni genere monumenta, Volume V* (Basel: Ambrosius and Aurelius Froben, 1570), pp. 93-95. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.E.10/q. Latin passages on pp. 93 and 94 read '*De assumenda historia, qua ostenditur, quae mala acciderint Romanis, cum deos colerent, antequam religio Christiana creseeret*' and '*Quod cultores deorum nulla unquam a diis suis praecepta probitatis acceperint, & in sacris eorum turpia quae que celebraverint*'. USTC 626339. English translation: Marcus Dods (trans. and ed.), *The City of God, Volume I* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1871), pp. 50-53.

⁴⁵ Weemes, *Workes. The Second Volume*, part 1, p. 29. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.9. USTC 3018588.

⁴⁶ Jonathan Sheehan, 'Sacred and Profane: Idolatry, Antiquarianism and the Polemics of Distinction in the Seventeenth Century', *Past & Present*, 192 (2006), pp. 38-40; Margaret Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660' in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), p. 99.

parish library.⁴⁷ John Dod furthered the Protestant diatribe against the Catholic practice of idolatry by positing the idea that no true Christian would allow the worship of an idol: ‘have you felt him [Christ], and received his body and blood in the Sacraments? If you have beheld his excellent beauty in these means, you will abhor an idol, as an ugly thing’. This was underlined by one of Dod’s readers, suggesting the importance of the perceived link between the internal spiritual representation of Christ within a Christian during the Eucharist and the external worship of that same God.⁴⁸ In England, attacks against the worship of saints, idols and images came in many forms: Thomas Cranmer spoke out against the worship of saints in a sermon at Paul’s Cross in 1536; Edmund Grindal established a commission in 1571 to ‘discover and demolish rood-lofts’; and there were instances of puritan gentry taking iconoclasm into their own hands in Cheshire in the 1580s.⁴⁹ All of these attacks reflected the strong sense of anti-Catholicism that historians have argued pervaded England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and reinforced Margaret Aston’s argument that idolatry was a hot topic throughout the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, when the godly were agitating for further reform.⁵⁰

Annotations in several volumes demonstrated an interest on the part of their readers in the routes through which one could see an image of God. An implicit form of anti-Catholicism is detectable here, as Protestants disregarded Catholics’ use of visual representations of God created by men. Saint Athanasius asserted that Christ himself was the image of God in his *Expositio Fidei*, an annotated copy of which was included in Ripon Minster parish library. Athanasius asserted that the ‘absolutely perfect Son’ was ‘the true Image of the Father’, next to which a Latin annotation reads ‘*et in filium ex patre perpetuo genitam*’, seemingly in two different hands and two different inks, suggesting the importance of this belief to multiple readers.⁵¹ In a similar way, Luther asserted that those ‘that pray unto God and fasten not their

⁴⁷ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *The Common Places of the Most Famous and Renowned Divine Doctor Peter Martyr* (London: Henry Denham and Henry Middleton, 1583), part 2, p. 308. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.10. USTC 509866.

⁴⁸ Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition*, p. 72. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

⁴⁹ Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), p. 4; Aston, ‘Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660’, pp. 97, 100-102.

⁵⁰ Aston, ‘Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660’, p. 97.

⁵¹ Saint Athanasius, *Expositio Fidei in Athanasii magni Alexandrini episcopy, graviss. scriptoris, et sanctiss. martyris, opera, in quatuor tomos distributa* (Basel, 1564), p. 80. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.C.17/q. Underlined Latin passage on p. 80 reads ‘...sed Filium perfectum... veram imaginem Patris’. USTC 613803. English translation: Philip Schaff and Henry Wade (trans.), *Contra Gentes by Saint Athanasius* (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1892), p. 84.

eyes and minds upon Christ, come not unto God, but worship the imaginations of their owne harts in steed of ye true God, & are plaine idolaters'. A reader annotated the margin adjacent to this passage in the copy of Luther's *A Commentarie upon the Fiftene Psalmes* now in Ripon Minster parish library, suggesting its importance to that reader.⁵² Alternatively, early modern Protestant readers of parish library books also highlighted the belief that an image of God could be conjured in the minds of the faithful through reading His Word. This was propounded by Martin Chemnitz, and a reader of the Francis Trigge library's copy of Chemnitz's *Examinis* underlined the passage in which the theologian asserted that 'the best, surest, and most useful image of God and of Christ is the one which the understanding of our minds forms and conceives from the Word of God'.⁵³

The sentiment expressed hostility towards visual representations of God, Christ and other religious imagery in churches and sacred spaces, as objects that may have inspired devotion and worship in and of themselves. A dislike of religious imagery was particularly relevant to the experiences of Reformation in both Lincolnshire and Lancashire, where the Francis Trigge and Gorton Chest libraries are located and where many of these annotations can be seen. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Lincolnshire had been extremely slow to accept Protestantism after the Elizabethan Settlement and even in the late 1580s, when Francis Trigge himself published his *An apologie, or defence of our days*, it remained a conservative county in which many people still adhered to Catholicism.⁵⁴ At least thirty-five parishes did not destroy their rood screens until after 1560, and a 1566 enquiry into the diocese of Lincoln 'yielded a large harvest of [Catholic] objects for defacing and burning'.⁵⁵ Similarly, Lancashire was renowned for its high number of Catholics in the Elizabethan period, relative to other English counties: statues of saints were still present in numerous churches in 1564 and at least one parish church still retained their rood screen in 1574.⁵⁶

⁵² Luther, *A Commentarie upon the Fiftene Psalmes*, pp. 211-212. Annotated copy in the Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.E.16. USTC 508422.

⁵³ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part IV*, p. 22. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 22 reads '*Optimam vero, certissimas, & utilissimam Dei & Christi imaginem esse, quam mentis nostrae agnitio ex verbo Dei format & concipit*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part IV*, p. 80.

⁵⁴ *An apologie, or defence of our dayes, against the vaine murmurings & complaints of manie wherein is plainly proved, that our dayes are more happie & blessed than the dayes of our forefathers* (London: John Wolfe, 1589), p. 24. USTC 511333.

⁵⁵ R. B. Walker, 'The Growth of Puritanism in the County of Lincoln in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journal of Religious History*, 1:3 (1961), p. 150; Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660', p. 97.

⁵⁶ Ronald Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations' in Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 135.

Guidance for Identifying the True and Uncorrupted Church

Anthony Milton has argued that ‘from the Reformation onwards, Protestant ecclesiology in England... was preoccupied with the need to combat the claims of the visible Church of Rome to be the universal Catholic Church, the one true Church of God’.⁵⁷ This was certainly the case for several Protestant divines, who were keen to assert the ways in which the true Church could be recognised, and this was reflected in annotations and other readers’ marks. Francis White, for example, asserted in an underlined passage in his *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher* that ‘the Church wherein the Apostles taught and governed, was the ground and pillar of Truth, fully, entirely, and in all things’.⁵⁸ William Chillingworth was another such divine who, in his *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation*, provided explicit guidance for his readers on how to recognise the true Church. A reader annotated Chillingworth’s assertion that ‘the only note of a true and uncorrupted Church, is conformity with Antiquity; I mean the most ancient Church of all, that is the Primitive and Apostolique’.⁵⁹ As part of his guidance, Chillingworth exhorted his readers to ‘by [their] own particular judgement, find out what was the doctrine of the Primitive Church, and what is the Doctrine of the present Church’, and determine for themselves whether their religion was true. The Protestant clergy of the Church of England appealed to the Early Church as the basis of their religion throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Anthony Milton has argued, many divines claimed that ‘the Church of England essentially preserved entire the true doctrine of the Early Church’.⁶⁰

Conclusion

Anti-Catholicism was a feature of annotations in only a limited number of books in the parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster, which does not reflect the prevalence of anti-Catholic sentiment that historians have argued abounded in England in the early modern period. This chapter has demonstrated that rather than focussing on general anti-Catholic sentiment, readers’ marks in many of the fourteen volumes annotated on this topic focussed on three specific elements of anti-Catholicism. Readers were keen to emphasise the Catholic Church as corrupt, a state that readers’ marks suggest was believed to be the result of

⁵⁷ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 128.

⁵⁸ White, *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, p. 4. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.27. USTC 3011511.

⁵⁹ Chillingworth, *The Religion of the Protestants*, p. 95. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K19. USTC 3019801.

⁶⁰ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 272-273.

the pope's true identity as the Antichrist, a label which extended to the papacy in general. The corruption manifested in the addition of doctrines and practices not present in the apostolic Church; the doctrine of purgatory and the selling of indulgences were prominent complaints amongst the annotations in several volumes. Both of these were condemned by Protestant readers as contradicting their belief in justification by faith alone. The need of the Catholic Church to institute additional doctrines and practices alongside those outlined in Scripture stemmed from their assertion that Scripture did not contain everything necessary for faith. This was an assertion rejected by many of the early modern Protestant authors and readers considered in this chapter, as can be seen from the surviving marginalia and annotations. Moreover, the Catholic practice of revering images and idols was a prominent subject in surviving annotations, which evidence readers' belief in the wrongness of these acts. Surviving readers' marks reflect the early modern Protestant belief in the lack of Biblical precedent for idols and images, the absence of idolatry in the Early Church, and in its association with non-Christians and men who raised other men up as gods. Annotations instead made reference to the Protestant belief that images of God could be found through Christ, and through the Word of God. Finally, a small number of annotations highlighted Protestant divines' attempts to assist their readers in recognising the true Church, which was identifiable through its similarity to and continuation of the doctrines of the apostolic Church.

Chapter Seven: The Importance of Scripture

Introduction

Protestantism was a bibliocentric religion, grounded in reading, and in reading the Bible above all. Alec Ryrie has argued that it would be difficult to over-emphasise the weight of importance placed upon the Bible by early modern Protestants.¹ Early modern Protestant reading experiences were diverse: Andrew Cambers has demonstrated that reading was not just an individual activity, but a social one that could be undertaken in many different rooms of the home and in other, more public spaces as well: in a town, public or parish library, in the parish church or in a coffee house or bookshop.² The scope of religious reading undertaken by Protestants extended beyond the Bible, and Cambers has demonstrated that the godly ‘returned again and again to a relatively narrow strand of religious reading material’ that was drawn from the wide range of religious texts that flew off the Protestant printing presses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³ Bible reading was a practice that brought people closer to God. Ann Hughes, for example, has demonstrated that Bible reading was one of the activities through which early modern Protestant women developed a personal relationship with God.⁴ Reading the Bible, and listening to the Bible being read aloud, were activities through which the faithful could expect to experience grace, as Charles Hambrick-Stowe has argued.⁵ Protestant and Puritan divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including men like Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, frequently encouraged at least daily Bible reading of one chapter from both the Old and New Testaments.⁶ Ryrie has argued that most Protestants did read a chapter a day, but that some went much further, and that ‘Biblical-overeating was a recurring feature of heroic Protestant piety’.⁷

Considering the centrality of the Bible to early modern Protestantism, the prominence of marginalia and other marks of readership that focussed on the importance of Scripture and

¹ Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 270.

² Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), *passim*.

³ Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 246; Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 1.

⁴ Ann Hughes, ‘Puritanism and Gender’ in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 299.

⁵ Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, ‘Practical Divinity and Spirituality’ in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 202.

⁶ William Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1843), pp. 129-130.

⁷ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 271.

Scriptural understanding in numerous books from the four parish libraries analysed in this work is unsurprising. Within the annotations and readers' marks in numerous parish library books on the topic of the importance of Scripture, three broad patterns of focus emerged. One major theme in the annotations and marginalia in these libraries was readers' emphasis on Scripture as containing everything necessary for faith, and its use as a practical tool for teaching, improvement, and the regulation of Christian life and practice.

The second theme relating to the importance of Scripture that drew the attention of readers of the volumes in these four parish libraries was the importance of correctly interpreting and understanding the Bible. Readers' marks highlighted the importance of entrusting the interpretation of the Bible to a council of learned men in conversation with one another, as opposed to the Catholic practice of relying solely on the pope for interpretation. Understanding the Bible was also an important objective to early modern Protestants; it was not, however, enough merely to read the words. A Protestant reader had to engage their intellect and read the Bible critically, in order to internalise the text successfully, and numerous commentaries and paraphrases were produced from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards in order to support Bible readers of the 'middling' and lower sorts in this endeavour at understanding.⁸

The final topic that drew readers' interest in relation to the importance of Scripture was its accessibility. Accessibility to the Bible for all was a central tenet of Protestantism. A core endeavour of the Reformation was to make the Bible widely available and to encourage people to read it. The Henrician, Edwardian and Elizabethan injunctions contained numerous exhortations to that effect.⁹ The readers of volumes in the libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster were keen to stress the importance of general accessibility to the Bible. However, one reader of Edward Herbert's *The Life and Raigne of King Henry VIII* in Wimborne Minster Chained Library did note that author's discussion of the controversies surrounding the provision of the Bible in English in the reign of Henry VIII.

⁸ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 276; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 113-124.

⁹ Walter Howard Frere (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, Volume II, 1536-1558* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), pp. 9, 117-118; Walter Howard Frere (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, Volume III, 1559-1575* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), pp. 2, 10.

Scripture as the Word of God

Several divines rose to the challenge of providing their readers with guidance on the subject of how the faithful were to be able to recognise Scripture as the Word of God in the first place. The marginalia in several volumes in the four parish libraries examined in this thesis demonstrates that this was a popular reading topic and suggests that readers may have put the advice they read into practice. James Ussher's *A Body of Divinity*, for example, offered readers fifteen assurances as guidance on how they could be certain of the truth of Scripture, which included the godliness and holiness of the apostolic authors of Scripture.¹⁰ The folded corners of these several pages suggest the importance of this issue to readers of this text, and are suggestive of the perceived applicability of these assurances to a life that centred on a desire for spiritual rightness. Moreover, a reader of the copy of John White's *Workes* also in the Gorton Chest collection reinforced the importance of knowing that Scripture was the Word of God. A reader folded the corners of pages on which White elucidated 'the illumination of God's Spirit' and the 'vertue and power that sheweth itselfe in every line and leaf of the Bible' as methods by which to understand the truth of Scripture.¹¹ Similar examples of the means by which the faithful could recognise the Word of God can also be found in annotated copies of John Calvin's *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job* in the Francis Trigge Chained Library and Jean-François Salvard's *An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches* in the Gorton Chest parish library. A further instance of annotations suggesting how the faithful may recognise Scripture as God's Word can also be found in Martin Chemnitz's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*, now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library.¹² In order for Protestants to interpret Scripture correctly, they 'needed to believe it in a saving sense for oneself'. This required the full assistance of the Holy Spirit, as well as a sense of true devotion

¹⁰ James Ussher, *A Body of Divinity, or the Sum and Substance of Christian Religion* (London: Thomas Downes and George Badger, 1653), pp. 8-11, 19-21. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.7. This edition not listed in the USTC.

¹¹ John White, *The Workes of that Learned and Reverend Divine, John White, Doctor in Divinitie* (London: R.F., 1624), p. 26. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.1. This edition not listed in the USTC.

¹² John Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job* (Trans. A. Golding) (London: T. Dawson for G. Bishop and T. Woodcocke, 1579), p. 627. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947; Jean-François Salvard, *An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches* (London: John Legatt, 1643), p. 108. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.4. USTC 3049712; Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part II* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), 89. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part II* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 296.

and a commitment to prayer.¹³ Andrew Cambers has shown that many Puritans used Bible reading in the early modern period as a means of channelling the Holy Spirit and thus the presence of this topic within readers' marginalia is unsurprising.¹⁴ A clear example of this can be seen in an annotation in Chemnitz's *Examinis*, now in the Francis Trigge collection. In the underlined passage, Chemnitz asserted that 'through the Word that is preached, heard, and pondered the Holy Spirit incites, begins, works, and effects in us'.¹⁵

For Protestants, Scripture contained everything that was necessary for faith, and many early modern readers demonstrated their keen interest in the topic by marking the passages of books that dealt with this subject. In the late sixteenth century, Martin Chemnitz outlined this belief in the sufficiency of Scripture in his *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*, stating that 'whatever is declared to be necessary in the church of Christ must be prescribed and commanded by the Word of God and have examples in Scripture'.¹⁶ This sentence was underlined by a reader of the copy of the *Examinis Concilii Tridentini* now in the Trigge library in Lincolnshire, evidencing the importance of this sentiment to the reader. Furthermore, Chemnitz asserted that 'in these passages which are clearly and plainly in the Scripture all those things are found which define the faith and morals for living', as the reader underlined. This certainly spoke to both the Lutheran and Calvinist preferences for vernacular religious literature for everyone to read and understand.¹⁷ In the early seventeenth century, the Puritan divine John Dod asserted in a passage of his *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements*, now in the Gorton Chest parish library, that Scripture was important because 'the Word and Sacraments [were the place] wherein Christ Jesus offereth himselfe' to the faithful.¹⁸ The assertion was

¹³ Carl R. Trueman, 'Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Reformed Theology' in Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller and A. G. Roeber (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 187.

¹⁴ Cambers, *Godly Reading*, p. 16.

¹⁵ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part II*, p. 184. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 184 reads '...sed Spiritus sanctus per verbum praedicatum, auditum & cogitatum, illam nobis excitat, inchoat, operatur & efficit'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part II*, p. 582.

¹⁶ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part II*, p. 89. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 89 reads 'Quicquid igitur in Ecclesia Christi necessarium esse statuitur, necesse est ut habeat praescriptum & mandatum verbi Dei, & Scripturae exempla'. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part II*, p. 296.

¹⁷ Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 57. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 57 reads 'Scriptura posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia, quae continent fidem moresque vivendi'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 207.

¹⁸ John Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1614), p. 35. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

underlined by one of Dod's readers. Twenty years after the publication of Dod's *Exposition*, the theologian William Chillingworth published his *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation*. In *The Religion of the Protestants*, Chillingworth asserted that Scripture was 'sufficiently perfect, sufficiently intelligible in things necessary, to all that have understanding, whether they be learned or unlearned', 'because nothing is necessary to be believed, but what is plainly revealed'.¹⁹ In the copy of Chillingworth's work now in Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Dorset, a reader drew three dots in a triangle in the margin of the page between these two quoted lines. The dots denote the word 'therefore',²⁰ connoting that that particular reader understood a clear connection between these two statements: Scripture contained everything necessary in religion, therefore only what was written in Scripture needed to be believed and adhered to. Carl Trueman has argued that this belief had been a mainstay of Reformed Protestant thought since its earliest days, demonstrating that Reformed Protestantism was characterized by 'a basic commitment to the authority, sufficiency, and perspicuity of Scripture' and that it was 'moving toward a more formal development of a doctrine of Scripture' at the time Dod was writing.²¹

The annotations on the sufficiency of Scripture for true faith in books published in the 1650s and in the second half of the seventeenth century suggest that this belief continued to be a popular concern over a century after the start of the English Reformation. A reader of the copy of James Ussher's *A Body of Divinity* now in the Gorton Chest parish library, for example, marked several pages of the volume, on which Ussher used a catechism style of writing to discuss how man could know that the Scriptures were sufficient and all that was necessary for instruction in achieving salvation. Ussher's assertions included the fact that God was the author of the Scriptures and so they were perfect, and that they taught all true doctrine and rejected the false.²² This was a particularly important consideration in the mid-seventeenth century, as a small number of sectaries called into question the act of Bible reading as a form of idolatry and challenged the very authority of the Bible itself.²³ Despite these challenges to its authority, belief in the sufficiency of Scripture continued in the second half of the seventeenth century,

¹⁹ William Chillingworth, *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1638), p. 92. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K19. USTC 3019801.

²⁰ Steve Leveen and the Levenger Company, 'How to Leave Masterly Marginalia' cited in William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 26.

²¹ Trueman, 'Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Reformed Theology', pp. 179-180.

²² Ussher, *A Body of Divinity*, pp. 19-21. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.7. This edition not listed in the USTC.

²³ Cambers, *Godly Reading*, pp. 16-21.

as seen in the annotations of William Stone, who annotated a large number of his patristic texts before donating them to Wimborne Minster church in the 1680s. For example, in Stone's copy of Saint Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, now in Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Dorset, Stone underlined Augustine's assertion that within 'Scripture are to be found all matters that concern faith and the manner of life, hope, to wit, and love'.²⁴ The fact that marginalia on this topic can be seen in several books that were housed in libraries in different counties and were published over a period of approximately seventy years, demonstrates a continued sense of the importance of this belief.

Scripture was also an important tool for teaching and improvement and for regulating Christian life and practice. Nowhere is this better elucidated than in the Gorton Chest's annotated copy of the third volume of the collected works of William Perkins, who was 'an excellent example of the moderate Puritan who helped transform the social and spiritual life of England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries'.²⁵ Perkins' assertion, taken from the Bible, that 'the Scripture is profitable to teach, improve, correct, instruct in righteousness' was underlined by a reader who, to further compound the point and assert its importance, also drew two short diagonal 'slash' lines next to the statement.²⁶ Evidently, for this reader, the most important function of Scripture was for 'regulating Christian life and practice', as Trueman has argued it was for the vast majority of early modern Protestants.²⁷ Furthermore, in the copy of John Calvin's *Sermons upon the Booke of Job*, now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, a reader wrote a marginal note next to a passage of printed text that discussed the use of Scripture in the teaching of one's neighbours, noting that this was 'a good lesson for the importance of the word of god'.²⁸ Such an annotation demonstrates that early modern Protestants believed that the Bible was not simply useful for one's own instruction, but in the instruction of others as well. The teaching of others linked to Protestant beliefs about a godly life being spent in the service

²⁴ Saint Augustine, *D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, Complectens Ta Didaktika, hoc est, quae proprie ad docendum pertinent...*, Volume I, Book III (Basel: ex officina Frobeniana, 1569), p. 25-26. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark A1. Underlined Latin passage on p. 25-26 reads '*In iis enim quae aperte in Scriptura posita sunt, inveniunt illa omnia quae continent fidem moresque vivendi, spem scilicet atque charitatem ...*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: J. F. Shaw and S. D. Salmond (trans.) and Marcus Dods (ed.), *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, Volume IX: On Christian Doctrine; The Enchiridion; On Catechising; and On Faith and the Creed* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873), p. 43.

²⁵ Louis B. Wright, 'William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of "Practical Divinity"', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 3 (1940), p. 171.

²⁶ 2 Timothy 3:16; William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. William Perkins: The Third and Last Volume* (London: John Haviland, 1631), p. 492. Annotated copy in Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.15. USTC 3015389 and 3015390.

²⁷ Trueman, 'Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Reformed Theology', p. 186.

²⁸ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 65. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

of others and the importance of praying for the benefit and comfort of others, both of which will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter. Living a life in accordance with Scripture as God's Word was marked by a reader of Robert Harris's *A Treatise of the New Covenant*, included in the volume of his *Works* in the Gorton Chest, as the key to happiness. The marked page of Harris's *Treatise* described a man's happiness as being in direct correlation to his relationship with God: the better the relationship, the happier the man.²⁹

Interpreting and Understanding Scripture

The importance of correctly interpreting the Bible was underscored most prominently by a reader of the first part of Martin Chemnitz's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*, now in the Francis Trigge library in Grantham. Both Chemnitz and his reader rejected the monopoly of interpretation held by individuals in the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy, a model in which one person – the pope, an archbishop, bishop, a monk, or even a single parish clergyman – had responsibility for interpreting the Bible for those below him. Instead, Chemnitz and his reader demonstrated a clear preference for Scriptural interpretation undertaken by a small number of godly men in conference with one another. The Scriptural foundation for this came from Saint Paul. Chemnitz stated that 'Paul describes how pious teachers ought in dark passages to seek the true interpretation by an exchange of opinions: "Let two or three prophets speak!"', and the annotating reader underlined the passage, suggesting its significance to them.³⁰ Though the *Examinis Concilii Tridentini* was a Lutheran text, such sentiments evoked parallels with the Puritan prophesyings that occurred during the last quarter of the sixteenth century in England, in which individuals came together to discuss and interpret the Bible collectively.³¹ Such practices were established in Lincolnshire in conjunction with Puritans after Thomas Cooper's election as bishop of Lincoln in 1571, and continued until Elizabeth I forced Bishop Cooper to suppress the prophesyings in the late 1570s.³² There are references to 'exercises' taking place

²⁹ Robert Harris, *The Works of Robert Harris, Once of Hanwell* (London: Miles Flesher, 1654), p. 90. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.28. This edition not listed in USTC.

³⁰ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I*, p. 58. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 58 reads '*Paulus describit, quomodo in obscuris locis, pii Doctores veram interpretationem communicantes sententiis inquire re debeant: Prophetiae duo aut tres dicant*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I*, p. 210.

³¹ Roger E. Moore, 'Sir Philip Sidney's Defense of Prophesying', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 5:1 (2000), p. 35.

³² R. B. Walker, 'The Growth of Puritanism in the County of Lincoln in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journal of Religious History*, 1:3 (1961), pp. 150-151.

in Grantham in the episcopal records of Lincoln, as Bishop Cooper ordered ‘Master Banester, vicar of Grantham... not to speake at all in the Exercise until his moderacion shalbe better knowne’.³³ The highlighting of these ideas suggests that the reader may have had godly sympathies. This has interesting implications for the confessional landscape of Grantham in the early seventeenth century. Either there were Puritans or Puritan sympathisers living in the county, or else library users read this text complete with Puritan annotations that drew attention to thoughts, exercises and activities that were considered dangerous and subversive by the Crown. Without knowing who the reader that made these marks was, whether they were a private owner of the book or a library user marking a public text, it is difficult to identify the reader’s confessional identity with any degree of certainty. Either way, the reader underlined arguments reminiscent of Puritanism that were the complete antithesis not only of Catholic Biblical interpretation practices but also those of the established Church of England, within a Lutheran text.

It was not enough, however, to interpret the Bible correctly. Alec Ryrie has demonstrated the importance of Bible reading, suggesting that ‘it did not mean merely eyes passing over print or lips murmuring words’; rather it was both a spiritual and intellectual activity that required ‘the right use of the critical faculties’.³⁴ Various annotations in the books of the four parish libraries considered here demonstrate the importance of properly understanding the Bible. A reader of Francis Roberts’ *Clavis Bibliorum. The Key of the Bible* now in the Gorton Chest parish library, for example, marked a page that began Roberts’ exposition of seven key pieces of information that people needed to know about the Old and New Testaments, in order to increase their understanding of the Bible as a whole. Roberts’ guidance included advice such as being ‘well acquainted with the 1 Order, 2 Titles, 3 Times, 4 Penmen, 5 Occasion, 6 Scope, and 7 Principal Parts of the books, both of the Old and N. Testament’.³⁵ Numerous marks of readership survive in several volumes on pages pertaining to how people were to properly understand Scripture. A reader of the second volume of William Perkins’ collected works now in the Gorton Chest parish library folded the corner of a page on which Perkins detailed three ways in which to correctly consider God’s Word. Firstly, they were to observe the true sense and meaning of Scripture; secondly, the faithful were to note the truth of the Word that they had experienced

³³ C. W. Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Episcopal Records in the Time of Thomas Cooper, S. T. P., Bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1571 to A.D. 1584* (London: printed for the Canterbury and York Society, 1913), p. 114.

³⁴ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 275-276.

³⁵ Francis Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum. The Key of the Bible, Unlocking the Richest Treasury of the Holy Scriptures* (London: T.R. and E.M., 1649), part 1, p. 43. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.8. USTC 3052315.

in their own lives – temptation, for example, or repentance; and finally they were to reflect on how obedient they had been to God and how far they had transgressed against Him.³⁶ The annotating reader of Chemnitz's *Examinis* in the Francis Trigge collection underlined the divine's assertion that 'you do not have the Scriptures by merely reading, but by understanding them'.³⁷ Moreover, William Stone's annotations in his copy of Saint Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine*, now in the library in Wimborne Minster church, focussed on the patristic writer's advice to explain Scriptural messages with other sections of Scripture, in order to aid understanding. Stone underlined Augustine's assertion that 'it is far safer to walk by the light of Holy Scripture'.³⁸ This was a characteristically Protestant interpretation of Augustine's message and the sufficiency of Scripture.³⁹

The plethora of Bible reading-aids that flooded the book market in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflected the importance of understanding the Bible correctly.⁴⁰ As demonstrated by Ian Green, these aids came first in the form of commentaries on certain parts of the Bible, with a strong focus on the New Testament and the better-known books and passages of the Bible, such as the Gospel of Matthew. Annotations that 'promised to focus on the harder or more significant words and passages' of the Bible, and paraphrases that 'made the meaning clearer by rephrasing the whole or part of the text in question' soon followed. By the mid-seventeenth century, commentaries, annotations and paraphrases on the Bible had become so popular that commentators expanded their scope to the lesser-known books of the New Testament and to the Old Testament as well.⁴¹ The collections of the Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster parish libraries reflected the general popularity of these Bible reading-aids. Bibles and Biblical commentaries and interpretations accounted for thirty-seven percent of the Francis Trigge Chained Library collection, thirty-six percent of Ripon Minster

³⁶ William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, M. William Perkins: The Second Volume* (London: John Legatt, 1631), p. 480. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.14. USTC 3015392.

³⁷ Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I*, p. 57. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 57 reads '*Scripturae non sunt in legendo, sed in intelligendo*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Kramer, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I*, p. 207.

³⁸ Saint Augustine, *Complectens Ta Didaktika, Volume I, Book III*, p. 57-58. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark A1. Underlined Latin passage on p. 57-58 reads '*Per Scripturas enim divinas multo tutius ambulatur...*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Shaw, Salmond and Dods, *The Works of Aurelius Augustine*, p. 104.

³⁹ Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie, 'Introduction to Part II', in Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 114; Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*, 4th edition (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 98.

⁴⁰ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 277.

⁴¹ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 113-124.

parish library collection, twelve percent of the Gorton Chest parish library collection, and twenty-three percent of the collection of Wimborne Minster Chained Library. Rather than devaluing the importance of understanding the Bible, these reading-aids were instead a manifestation of the commitment of the ‘middling’ sorts of people who used these parish libraries and read the volumes they contained to reading the Bible critically and understanding it properly. The numerous early modern marginalia pertaining to the topic highlight their desire to do so.

Accessibility of the Scriptures

The need for the Scriptures to be accessible to all was expressed in numerous instances of marginalia in several parish library volumes analysed in this thesis. William Stone, the clergyman who gave his collection of patristic texts to the church of Wimborne Minster before his death in 1685, annotated a large proportion of his books in his own hand. Stone’s annotations in his copy of Saint Augustine’s *Compectens illius Epistolas...*, now in Wimborne Minster Chained Library in Dorset, suggest his interest in the importance of universal accessibility to the Scriptures, which was a key principle of early modern Protestantism. Stone underlined one of Augustine’s epistles to Volusianus in which Augustine extolled the simplicity of language used in Scripture. Augustine praised

how accessible it is to all men, though its deeper mysteries are penetrable to very few. The plain truths which it contains it declares in the artless language of familiar friendship to the hearts both of the unlearned and of the learned.⁴²

Stone underlined this statement and added two manuscript annotations in Latin in the margin. The first annotation Stone noted read ‘*Scriptura accessibilis omnibus, paucis penetrabilis*’, whilst the second annotation adjacent to the passage read:

Quo consilio Scripturas in quibus

1. *Facilis*
2. *Difficilis*

⁴² Saint Augustine, *D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, Compectens illius Epistolas...*, Volume I, Book II (Basel: ex officina Frobeniana, 1569), p. 15-16. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark A1. Underlined Latin passage on p. 15-16 reads ‘...*que omnibus accessibilis, quamuis paucissimis penetrabilis, ea quae aperta continet quasi amicus familiaris sine fuce ad corloquitur indoctorum atque doctorum...*’. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Philip Schaff, *The Confessions and Letters of St. Augustin, with a Sketch of his Life and Work* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1886), p. 687.

These annotations served to both reiterate and summarise the arguments made by Augustine, and enabled Stone and any later readers to digest and understand them more easily.⁴³

The accessibility of the Scriptures was not always celebrated, however. It seems that a reader of Edward Herbert's *The Life and Raigne of King Henry VIII* now in Wimborne Minster Chained Library paid close attention to Herbert's thoughts on the topic, which were largely against providing the Bible to the general reading public. The discussion Herbert engaged in on the vernacular Bible and its status as a source of religious confusion and conflict is an interesting one. Both Protestant contemporaries and modern sources usually couch the vernacular Bible positively in terms of increased accessibility for the common laity.⁴⁴ However, unusually amongst the range of books studied in this work, Herbert presented a conflicting view of the vernacular Bible as a source of confusion and disruption. In his discussion of the poor social behaviour engaged in by those who had not previously been permitted to read the Bible for themselves – which Henry VIII perceived to be the consequence of the new general lay access to Scripture in the vernacular – Herbert stated that 'they fell into many dangerous opinions: little caring how they liv'd, so they understood well, bringing Religion thus into much irresolution and Controversie'.⁴⁵ The discussion was annotated with two manuscript manicules and a wavy line down the complete length of the page (all drawn in the same hand) in order to draw attention to the paragraph.⁴⁶ However, because of the nature of the marginalia and a lack of knowledge about the annotator, it is unclear whether these passages were marked to denote agreement or disagreement with Herbert's assertions. These tales of religious controversy would, however, have been extremely familiar to a post-Civil War reader of this 1649 edition of *The Life and Raigne* in Wimborne Minster Chained Library.

⁴³ Augustine, *Completens illius Epistolas...*, Volume I, Book II, p. 15-16. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark A1. This edition not listed in the USTC; Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and the Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 177.

⁴⁴ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 46-47; Susan Wabuda, "'A Day After Doomsday": Cranmer and the Bible Translations of the 1530s' in Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 26; Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 22.

⁴⁵ Edward Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry VIII* (London: Printed by E. G. for Thomas Whitaker, 1649), mispaginated in manuscript as p. 361. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D15. USTC 3047333.

⁴⁶ Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry VIII*, p. 323. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark D15. USTC 3047333.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the importance that Scripture held for early modern Protestants. In several books from the four parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster, annotating readers marked various passages in which authors outlined how Scripture could be recognised as the true Word of God, and demonstrated their belief that as the Word of God, Scripture contained everything necessary for faith. The Bible's practical use as a teaching tool was demonstrated by readers' marks in books that emphasised the importance of teaching one's neighbours as well as oneself. Before a person could use the Bible to teach, however, they had to be sure that they had interpreted and understood it correctly themselves, the importance of which was highlighted in several readers' annotations. This chapter has highlighted readers' marks that emphasised the importance of Scriptural interpretation being carried out by a group of learned men as opposed to one individual, so that the truth of Scripture could be better ascertained. Furthermore, the annotations in these volumes also demonstrate that understanding Scripture did not come merely from reading it, but from internalizing the messages of Scripture and incorporating both the text and its lessons into everyday life. Finally, in order for as many people as possible to benefit from Scripture as the Word of God, the Bible needed to be widely accessible, both in terms of its language and in its physical availability. Whilst the use of the Bible by those unaccustomed to reading it was not without problems, as Herbert noted in a passage underlined by one of his readers, this chapter has demonstrated that many readers' marks in these volumes on the topic of accessibility to the Bible focussed on the more positive aspects of its use by both the learned and unlearned.

Chapter Eight: Sin, Repentance and Salvation

Introduction

The Protestant Reformation redefined the concepts of sin and salvation by obliterating the Catholic cycle of sin, repentance, absolution and penance.¹ Alec Ryrie has argued that Protestant repentance was a multi-step process – an argument supported by the various readers’ marks and annotations in parish library books – and that repentance did not come naturally, hence the wealth of instructive literature.² The ultimate goal of this repentance was to receive assurance of grace in this life and salvation in the next, and only in true mourning for one’s sins could assurance be felt.³ Salvation was, however, only accomplished through faith and bestowed by God’s mercy as a result of Christ’s sacrifice. Good works, expounded by the Catholic Church as a key component in increasing one’s chances of salvation, were, in Reformed Protestant theology, not the cause of salvation, but the result of one’s elect status.⁴ Protestant authors of all confessional identities set down such beliefs in their works. The annotations in books of the four parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster suggest that they were taken to heart by their readers and assimilated into their everyday lives and practices.

There are numerous annotations on the three interrelated topics of sin, repentance and salvation. On the topic of sin, annotations reveal readers’ preoccupation with the nature of sinful actions and the importance of avoiding such actions. These annotations specifically focussed on the need to resist both internal and external temptations that manifested themselves in lustfulness, either for carnal or material things, and the need to avoid setting too much store by earthly pleasures and instead focus on the benefits accorded to the faithful in the afterlife. In regards to repentance, readers’ marks and annotations primarily focussed on the act of repentance as being the pathway back to God and salvation after having committed sin. Repentance was of intrinsic importance in attaining salvation, and readers’ marks in parish library books focussed on how salvation was to be achieved: through justification and righteousness, through faith and

¹ Jonathan Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue: Religious Identity and the Ten Commandments in England, c.1485-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 177-178.

² Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 49-55.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 62.

⁴ Carl R. Trueman, ‘Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Reformed Theology’ in Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller and A. G. Roeber (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 170.

a life lived in service to fellow believers. Many annotations also discussed hard times and their role in leading the faithful to salvation whilst other marginalia, particularly in the works of Thomas Bilson and Saint Athanasius, now in Ripon Minster parish library, suggest the significance of Christ's sacrifice and his role in the justification and sanctification of the faithful to early modern Protestants.

Sin

Avoiding sin was of paramount importance to early modern Protestants, as demonstrated by multitudinous annotations in several parish library volumes. Various early modern Protestant authors exhorted their readers to strive against the internal corruptions of the flesh, and against the external corruptions of the world and the devil.⁵ These internal and external corruptions could take many forms; most prominent amongst the external temptations were worldly possessions, earthly wealth and prosperity, whilst the internal temptations referred to included lust and the associated sins of the flesh. William Perkins identified two types of sins in the second volume of his *Workes*. First were sins of infirmity, caused by the passions of men that included grief, anger, sorrow and other, similar emotions. Second were sins of presumption, which arose from emotions like pride, arrogance and wilfulness.⁶ A reader marked the page on which Perkins outlined these various forms of sin, suggesting the significance of these distinctions. The consequences of failing to resist either internal or external temptations were dire to early modern Protestants: it could lead to 'the dismal thoughts of an accusing, tormenting conscience', and the 'everlasting burnings' of hell. Early modern readers evidently took this advice in Isaac Ambrose's *Media* to heart: a reader of the copy now in the Gorton Chest parish library in Lancashire marked the page on which Ambrose advocated relinquishing the worldly possessions and fleshly lust in order to avoid such sufferings.⁷ Similarly, a reader of Joseph Mede's *Diatribæ* marked the page on which the biblical scholar encouraged his readers to protect their souls from even the smallest of sins, lest they were taken incrementally

⁵ Frank Luttmer, 'Persecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil: The Unregenerate in Puritan Practical Divinity', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51 (2000), p. 60.

⁶ William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, M. William Perkins: The Second Volume* (London: John Legatt, 1631), p. 6. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.14. USTC 3015392.

⁷ Isaac Ambrose, *Prima, Media & Ultima: The First, Middle and Last Things* (London: T. R. and E. M., 1654), part 2, p. 112. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.6(1). This edition not listed on the USTC.

further away from God.⁸ William Higginbotham, whose copy of John Calvin's *Sermons upon the Booke of Job* now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library contains annotations on almost every page, made numerous marginal annotations on the topic of sin. In one annotation, Higginbotham referred to sin as 'a disease that we have within us'.⁹ This reinforces the point made by Jonathan Willis in his *The Reformation of the Decalogue*, in which he argued that early modern Protestants defined sin as 'a breach of God's law'. They likened sin to a sickness: 'a corruption, a frightening malady which led inevitably to a terminal diagnosis'.¹⁰

The need to avoid external temptations and the consequences of not doing so loomed large in the annotations of parish library books. The interlinked emotions of greed and envy were strongly connected to one's own and others' worldly possessions, and were seen as primary causes of sin. As one reader of John Dod's *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements* underlined, a man's greed could lead him to sin: 'for, give a covetous man wealth enough, and an ambitious man honour enough, and you may lead him whither you will'.¹¹ In this passage, Dod warned his readers against deviation from God in favour of other, temporal lords, which stemmed from covetousness and contravened God's First Commandment to obey none other than Himself. Similarly, envy, which was defined by John Dod as 'a bitter affection, against the prosperity and pre-eminence of another' in a sentence underlined by a reader, was often inspired by the wealth and honour perceived in others.¹² Envy was a sin that undermined the love shown by God to His elect, that He expected His true believers to exemplify in their dealings with others, and that potentially jeopardised a person's salvation. In this context, Higginbotham's marginal note in his copy of Calvin's *Sermons upon the Booke of Job* now in the Trigge library that reminded himself and any later readers that 'we most not lik to well of our prosperity' seems particularly pertinent.¹³ Higginbotham also wrote a note in the margin of Calvin's *Sermons* next to a passage in which the author instructed his

⁸ Joseph Mede, *Diatribæ Pars IV. Discourses on Sundry Texts of Scripture* (London: J.F., 1652), p. 225. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.12. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁹ John Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job* (Trans. A. Golding) (London: T. Dawson for G. Bishop and T. Woodcocke, 1579), p. 19. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

¹⁰ Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue*, pp. 139, 148.

¹¹ John Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1614), pp. 52-53. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

¹² Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition*, pp. 261-263. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

¹³ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 287. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

readers ‘not to set our mindes to much upon the world’. Higginbotham summarised this passage in a note that read: ‘we most sett our mindes uppon heavenly thinges for this world is... full of evell’.¹⁴ There was Biblical precedent for the corruptive nature of worldly possessions and goods: William Perkins, for example, used the New Testament to argue that those who neglected their faith and obedience to God in favour of material possessions were fools, as W. B. Patterson has shown.¹⁵

However, early modern readers also noted that men were not necessarily expected to relinquish their worldly goods; rather, they were simply expected not to become so attached to them that they became more enamoured with their prosperity than with God. A reader of John Dod’s *Ten Sermons Tending Chiefly to the Fitting of Men for the Worthy Receiving of the Lord’s Supper* now in the Gorton Chest parish library annotated the margin adjacent to a passage in which Dod asserted that the desire of the faithful for the kingdom of Heaven should render earthly possessions and valuables meaningless. For Dod and the faithful, Christ and salvation were worth far more than worldly goods: ‘he should withdraw his confidence from these, and his immoderate love of these, being content to forsake them quite, rather than to forgoe Christ, and to forfeit his owne salvation’.¹⁶ Similarly, a page on which Isaac Ambrose encouraged his readers to deny themselves worldly pleasures in order to remain close to Christ was marked by a reader of the copy of Ambrose’s *Prima, Media & Ultima* now in the Gorton Chest library.¹⁷ Such sentiments were also expressed on a marked page of Richard Baxter’s *The Saints Everlasting Rest*.¹⁸ Furthermore, these views were reinforced by Higginbotham’s underlining of passages of his copy of Calvin’s *Sermons* now in the Francis Trigge collection, in which Calvin reminded his readers, ‘so then if our Lorde give us any goodes, let us learne not too intangle oure selves in them’.¹⁹ These marked pages and annotations suggest their readers’ interest in these topics and highlighted them for later readers. These annotations also denote a

¹⁴ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 247. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

¹⁵ W. B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 110.

¹⁶ John Dod, *Ten Sermons Tending Chiefly to the Fitting of Men for the Worthy Receiving of the Lord’s Supper* (London: T. P., 1621), p. 149. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(2). USTC 3009792.

¹⁷ Ambrose, *Prima, Media & Ultima*, part 2, p. 156. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.6(1). This edition not listed on the USTC.

¹⁸ Richard Baxter, *The Saints Everlasting Rest, or, A Treatise Of the blessed State of the Saints in their enjoyment of God in Glory* (London: Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyson, 1656), sig. C2v. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.1. This edition not listed in the USTC.

¹⁹ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 358. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

highly practical focus on the part of the readers, demonstrating their search for guidance that they could assimilate into their lives in order to make themselves more pleasing to God.

For the early modern readers discussed in this work, sin could not be relieved by further sinful actions, nor could a person be saved from sin by any other means than by God himself. This belief is reflected in the annotations of William Stone in his copies of Saint Augustine's *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei*, now in Wimborne Minster Chained Library. Augustine was one of the first to perpetuate the idea that sin could not relieve sin, and in *De Civitate Dei*, Stone underlined Augustine's musings on forgiveness: 'is it not better to commit a wickedness which penitence may heal, than a crime which leaves no place for healing contrition?'.²⁰ Further, in Augustine's *Confessions*, Stone also highlighted Augustine's thanks to God for His remission of Augustine's sins: 'unto thy grace and mercy do I ascribe, that thou has dissolved my sins as it were ice'. Stone wrote a marginal note asking that 'God bless us and keep us from sin' adjacent to the passage.²¹ Stone's annotations on these topics suggest some degree of agreement with Augustine's sentiments, and Stone's belief in Protestant theologies relating to sinful behaviour and God's forgiveness. Similarly, annotations suggesting readers' belief that only God, albeit in different guises, could alleviate sin can be found in the copy of John Weemes' *Workes* in the Gorton Chest parish library.²² Moreover, readers marked the pages of Anthony Burgess's *Spiritual Refining or A Treatise of Grace and Assurance* and Richard Rogers' *Seven Treatises*, on which the divines commented on people's inability to be saved without the will of God, suggesting the significance of these arguments to the early modern Protestant readers of these volumes.²³ It is clear in these annotated passages that, for the early

²⁰ Saint Augustine, *D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, De Civitate Dei Libros XXII, Volume II, Book V* (Basel: ex officina Frobeniana, 1569), p. 73-74. Underlined Latin passage on p. 73-74 reads '*Nonne satius est, flagitium committere, quod poenitendo sanetur, quam tale facinus ubi locus talis poenitentiae non relinquitur?*'. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark A2. USTC 698766. English translation: Marcus Dods (trans. and ed.), *The City of God, Volume I* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1871), p. 36.

²¹ Saint Augustine, *Primus Tomus eximii Patris, inter summa Latinae Ecclesiae ornamenta ac lumina principis, D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, Cuius praestantissima in omni genere monumenta...*, Volume I, Book I (Basel: Ambrosius and Aurelius Froben, 1569), p. 79-80. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark A1. Underlined Latin passage on p. 75-76 reads '*Gratiae tuae deputo & misericordie tuae, quod peccata mea tamquam glaciem solvisti...*'. USTC 686573. English translation: William Watts (trans.), T. E. Page and W. H. D. Rouse (eds), *Saint Augustine's Confessions* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), p. 89.

²² John Weemes, *The Workes of John Weemse of Lathocker in Scotland, in four Volumes* (London: T. Cotes, 1637), part 1, p. 308. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.23. USTC 3019107.

²³ Anthony Burgess, *Spiritual Refining: or, A Treatise of Grace and Assurance* (London: A. Miller, 1652), p. 200. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.30. This edition not listed in the USTC; Richard Rogers, *Seven Treatises* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1603), p. 7. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.31. This edition not listed in the USTC.

modern Protestant readers of these parish library books, repentance and trust in God was the only way to regain the hope of salvation after committing sinful acts.

Repentance and Salvation

Annotations on the topic of salvation are plentiful in the selection of books analysed in this thesis, demonstrating its importance to early modern Protestant readers. Many readers focussed on the ways in which salvation was to be achieved, and discussions on repentance were foremost amongst these annotations. For early modern Protestants, repentance was the pathway back to God and assurance of salvation. Assurance was an important feeling for early modern Protestants – as Higginbotham noted in a margin of his copy of Calvin’s *Sermons*, now in the Francis Trigge collection, the happiness that resulted from this assurance was ‘something God’s children may rejoice in’.²⁴ Several of the surviving annotations on the topic of repentance link to the doctrine of predestination and the scope of the atonement. As noted by Calvin and underlined by Higginbotham in the twelfth sermon on the third chapter of the Book of Job, for example, ‘in death there is not rest for all men’.²⁵ This links to the concept – sometimes referred to as double predestination – put forward by Calvin, in which God selected some for eternal life and the rest for eternal torment and damnation.²⁶

More generally, on the topic of salvation, readers of early modern parish library books highlighted passages on justification and righteousness as ways to salvation, alongside the maintenance of faith in God through the hardships people faced in their lifetime. Other readers were particularly keen to emphasise in their marginalia the importance of Christ’s sacrifice and the role he played in the sanctification and justification of the faithful that led them to salvation – in other words, whether he suffered and died for the benefit of all, or only for the elect. This debate gained prominence during the predestinarian controversy in the ninth century and remained a subject of contention between Reformers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁷ Alec Ryrie has demonstrated that many early modern Protestants were highly concerned with their spiritual wellbeing and their elect status, and has demonstrated that these

²⁴ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 18. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

²⁵ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 55. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

²⁶ Paul Helm, *Calvin at the Centre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 145-146.

²⁷ Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*, 4th edition (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 192-204

preoccupations gave rise to a significant number of published works that outlined the signs or the symptoms that denoted one's election to salvation.²⁸ This concern with recognising oneself as saved was reflected in several annotations on divines' advice regarding the ways in which salvation could be attained and assured, much of which pertained to the process of sanctification that was, for most early modern Protestants, lifelong. William Perkins, for example, was one of many early modern Protestant authors who sought to provide his readers with assurances of grace that, as Charles Hambrick-Stowe has argued, took into account 'the human penchant to swing between self-confidence... and remorse for ongoing doubt and sin'.²⁹

Repentance was such a complex practice that the practical advice of divines on how to undertake it was, unsurprisingly, an important feature of the annotations in these parish library books. In the first place, Protestant divines encouraged readers to examine themselves in order to determine whether they were ready to repent. On two marked pages of the copy of his *Diatribæ* now in the Gorton Chest parish library, Joseph Mede outlined a three-step self-examination process for readers to follow in order to decide whether they were a true penitent that was ready to repent of their sins.³⁰ Once a person was ready to repent, they needed to know how to do so. In the first volume of his *Workes*, William Perkins discussed the forms of repentance, the sorts of people who should repent, and outlined the four-step process of repentance, which involved examining one's conscience, acknowledging their sins, praying for God's pardon, and finally, praying for God's grace.³¹ The marking of this page by a reader of the copy of Perkins' *Workes* now in the Gorton Chest parish library suggests the practical value of Perkins' advice to that reader. Moreover, a reader of the first part of Chemnitz's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini* in the Trigge library underlined the Lutheran divine's discussion of the purging of sins 'first through remission, through the removal of the guilt, or by non-imputation. Thereafter it occurs through mortification and renewal'.³² In his copy of Calvin's *Sermons*, now in the Trigge collection, William Higginbotham wrote 'hear [sic] we may learn how we

²⁸ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 39.

²⁹ Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, 'Practical Divinity and Spirituality' in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 193-194.

³⁰ Mede, *Diatribæ Pars IV*, pp. 100-101. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.12. This edition not listed in the USTC.

³¹ William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, Mr William Perkins: The First Volume* (London: John Legatt, 1626), p. 458. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.13. USTC 3012639.

³² Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 101. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 101 reads '*Dicimus autem eam fieri, primo remissione, solutione reatus, seu non imputatione*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 362.

shall be clensed from our sinnes' next to a paragraph in which Calvin outlined the process of repentance, suggesting its significance.³³ Alec Ryrie has demonstrated that repentance was a complicated process in which early modern Protestants engaged, involving earnestness, regularity and thoroughness. Ryrie argued that readiness to engage in this process was a stark demarcation between the regenerate and the reprobate, stating that the point of repentance was 'to attain assurance in this life and Heaven in the next'.³⁴ Thus, these annotations suggest the significance and importance to early modern Protestant readers of correctly performing this process of repentance in order to obtain that assurance of grace and salvation that they so desperately desired.

Other early modern Protestant readers and writers placed a different emphasis on the practice of repentance. Arthur Hildersham, for example, provided his readers with reassurances on the topic of repentance on two marked pages of his *CVIII Lectures upon the Fourth of John*, now in the Gorton Chest parish library. On these pages, Hildersham related proofs of the doctrine that the sins of the elect could not separate men from God once they had truly repented of those sins, before going on to list his evidence.³⁵ Furthermore, on one of these marked pages, Hildersham explicitly stated that 'yet can no sinne of Gods Elect, how hanious soever, cause God to hate or reject them'.³⁶ Frank Luttmer has demonstrated that the daily need for repentance reflected the unavoidably sinful nature of everyday life for even the most devout of God's true believers, who would occasionally find themselves backsliding before recovering themselves and returning once more to God.³⁷ Numerous readers' preoccupation with the need for repentance demonstrates its significance and suggests that they sought to apply the advice of the Protestant divines to their everyday lives.

Irrespective of how repentance manifested in the godly, true repentance had to be meant in order to lead successfully to salvation. One reader of Francis White's *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, now in the Gorton Chest parish library, folded the corner of a page and underlined several passages of a paragraph that stated that 'the promise of remission of sinnes is conditionall... and the same becommeth not absolute, until the condition be fulfilled'. A reader also underlined

³³ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 10. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947; Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and the Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 177.

³⁴ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 55-59.

³⁵ Arthur Hildersham, *CVIII Lectures upon the Fourth of John* (London: Moses Bell, 1647), pp. 87-89. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.5(2). USTC 3043316.

³⁶ Hildersham, *CVIII Lectures*, p. 88. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.5(2). USTC 3043316.

³⁷ Luttmer, 'Persecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil', p. 61.

Fisher's assertion that 'the full assurance of remission of sinnes succeedeth Repentance, Faith, Obedience, and Mortification'.³⁸ The importance of true repentance to early modern Protestants is suggested by an underlined passage of Chemnitz's *Examinis* now in the Francis Trigge collection, in which the Lutheran Chemnitz asserted that 'contrition is altogether necessary in those who truly and earnestly repent'.³⁹ These annotations support the arguments made by Alec Ryrie about the importance of repentance to early modern Protestants, and the belief 'that repentance meant action, not words... that true repentance was marked by a sincere and earnest intent to moral reform'.⁴⁰ The annotations made by early modern readers also suggest an element of the 'identification of faith with assurance' of salvation, which Michael Winship has demonstrated.⁴¹ It may be that the desire to truly repent, combined with the difficulties in recognising the truth of assurance, prompted these and other readers to engage in the sort of self-examination favoured by Puritans of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a process in which the faithful scrutinised themselves for signs of election.⁴²

The centrality of faith in God to salvation is widely reflected in the annotations on the topic of salvation more generally, which also touched on the scope of Christ's atonement, his sacrifice and his role in the justification of the faithful. Martin Luther was engaged in discussions on the scope of Christ's atonement in the sixteenth century; he was effusive on the topic of achieving salvation and rigorously promoted his doctrine of justification by faith, which asserted that God gave 'justifying righteousness to people without the need for any merit on their part'.⁴³ A reader of Luther's *A Commentarie upon the Fifteene Psalmes* annotated certain psalms in the copy of this text that is now in Ripon Minster parish library. One of the most heavily annotated psalms in this volume was Luther's commentary on Psalm 130, which Luther himself declared 'amongst the most excellent & principall psalms: for it setteth forth the chiefest point of our

³⁸ Francis White, *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher's Answer to Certain Questions Propounded by His Most Gracious Majesty, King James* (London: Adam Islip, 1624), p. 162. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.27. USTC 3011511.

³⁹ Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part II* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 184. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 184 reads '*Omnino in iis, qui veram & seriam agunt poenitentiam, necessaria est contritio*'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part II* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 581.

⁴⁰ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 58.

⁴¹ Michael P. Winship, 'Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospellers: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s', *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, 9 (2001), p. 470.

⁴² Margo Todd, 'The Problem of Scotland's Puritans' in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 181.

⁴³ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, p. 193

salvation'.⁴⁴ It is therefore unsurprising to find it so thoroughly annotated in pencil by a reader. Similar pencil annotations can also be found in Luther's commentary on Psalm 124, suggesting they are by the same reader. The annotations on the commentary on Psalm 130 are in the introduction and in Luther's commentary on the first four verses of the psalm. In these annotated four verses, the orator called to God and asked that he be attentive to the pleas he heard, before continuing to a discussion on the immorality of sin and the need for God's forgiveness, expounding this need as a reason to fear God.⁴⁵ As Andrew Pettegree has pointed out, for Luther, free will and men's deeds were irrelevant to salvation, which depended on God's will alone.⁴⁶ This argument is supported by an annotated passage of Luther's commentary on the third verse of Psalm 130, in which he declared:

For what teach we else at this day, but that we are saved by fayth alone in the death and blood of Christ? that by the merite of Christ onely, our sinnes are covered and taken away, according to that saying: *Blessed are they whose sinnes are forgiven*. Forgiveness of sinnes then is that heaven under the which we dwell through our trust and confidence in the merite of Christ.⁴⁷

The annotations on this passage suggest the significance to the reader of Luther's thoughts on the doctrine of justification by faith alone. As Peter Marshall has argued, the doctrine of justification by faith alone was 'a bold reinterpretation of the doctrine of salvation' and was 'for many encountering it... a life-changing insight', as suggested by the annotations of this reader of Luther's *Commentarie*. Salvation was the result of God's generosity in bestowing the faithful with righteousness.⁴⁸ Many of the annotations in Luther's *Commentarie* are suggestive of a reader who was interested not only in the concept of salvation, but specifically in Luther's profession of the importance of faith in God's Word and the belief that righteousness was a gift from God and that His mercy was the only way to salvation.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Martin Luther, *A Commentarie upon the Fifte Psalms*, trans. Henry Bull (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1577), p. 210. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.E.16. USTC 508422.

⁴⁵ Laurence Kriegshauser, *Praying the Psalms in Christ* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019), pp. 276-277.

⁴⁶ Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: How an Unheralded Monk Turned His Small Town into a Center of Publishing, Made Himself the Most Famous Man in Europe – and Started the Protestant Reformation* (New York: Penguin Books, 2015), pp. 233-234.

⁴⁷ Luther, *A Commentarie upon the Fifte Psalms*, pp. 219-220. Annotated copy in the Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.E.16. USTC 508422.

⁴⁸ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 144.

⁴⁹ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, p. 120

Furthermore, the importance of faith to achieving salvation was also underlined and highlighted by a reader of Athanasius's *Contra Gentes* and *De Incarnatione Verbi*, now in the Ripon Minster parish library. Athanasius was a leader of the Alexandrian school of theological thought, which centred on Christ as the saviour of humanity.⁵⁰ As such, his work was utilised by several early modern European Reformers including John Calvin, Abraham Scultetus, a German professor of theology and court preacher for Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate, and Amandus Polanus, a German theologian and early Reformer.⁵¹ As Aza Goudriaan has demonstrated, Athanasius's writings were used as an authority on numerous theological topics during the Reformation, 'and especially in the polemics with Roman Catholic theology'.⁵² A reader's underlining of the final sentences of the *Contra Gentes*, which summarised Athanasius's arguments in favour of faith in Christ as a constituent part of salvation, suggests the importance of this belief to the reader. Athanasius asserted that

having faith and piety towards Whom [i.e. God], my Christ-loving friend, be of good cheer and of good hope, because immortality and the kingdom of heaven is the fruit of faith and devotion towards Him... for just as for them who walk after his example, the prize is everlasting life.⁵³

This was the crux of Protestantism, the combination of the principle of *sola fides* and the pious act of imitating Christ, the idea that faith alone would lead to salvation but that a holy life was additionally beneficial. Its underlining by a reader demonstrates their belief in this doctrine and its wider significance to early modern Protestants.

The importance of keeping faith even through hard times as a way to salvation for early modern Protestants was reflected in the numerous annotations on the topic that survive in several volumes now in the Gorton Chest parish library. Why these annotations are more numerous in

⁵⁰ Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 6th edition (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), pp. 219-220.

⁵¹ James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church of Germany, 1620-1890* (Reading, PA: Daniel Miller, 1894), p. 18; Robert Letham, 'Amandus Polanus: A Neglected Theologian?', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21:3 (1990), pp. 463-476.

⁵² Aza Goudriaan, 'Athanasius in Reformed Protestantism: Some Aspects of Reception History (1527-1607)', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 90:2/3 (2010), p. 275.

⁵³ Saint Athanasius, *Contra Gentes in Athanasii magni Alexandrini episcopi, graviss. scriptoris, et sanctiss. martyris, opera, in quatuor tomos distributa* (Basel, 1564), p. 35. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.C.17/q. Underlined Latin passage on p. 35 reads '...in quem quum tu fidem habeas & amorem, o Christi studiose, gratulare tibi, et certo persuadeas, in mercedem emolumentum que istius in ipsum fidei et religionis, immortalitatem et regnum coelorum tibi destina tum esse... aeterna vita pro praemio est...'. USTC 613803. English translation: Philip Schaff and Henry Wade (trans.), *Contra Gentes by Saint Athanasius* (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1892), p. 30.

the books of this parish library than in any of the other three examined in this work is unclear, though it may be because the Gorton Chest parish library has a clearer leaning towards books of practical divinity than the other repositories. In Richard Baxter's *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, for example, a reader marked a page on which Baxter asserted that 'Labour and Trouble are the common way to Rest' and that 'through many tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven'.⁵⁴ A reader of Anthony Burgess's *CXLV Expository Sermons upon the Whole 17th Chapter of the Gospel According to St John* folded the corners of two consecutive pages on which Burgess outlined the reasons why Protestants were afflicted with troubles on earth, namely so that they did not become too attached to their earthly existence. This suggests a desire to understand why God would allow the faithful to suffer.⁵⁵ This seems to have been the desire of one of William Perkins' readers as well. They underlined a passage in which the divine advised the godly on what they may learn from bearing their afflictions in good faith: 'the first, that God is well pleased with us, and that wee are reconciled to God in Christ: the second, that al our miseries shal in the end turne to our good and everlasting salvation'.⁵⁶ Luther's theology of the Cross provided an explanation for the value of the hard times, struggles and afflictions that early modern Protestants suffered: the theology of the Cross claimed that persecution and difficulty was a sign of God's favour.⁵⁷ So important were hard times to faith and salvation that Alec Ryrie was able to demonstrate that Protestants exploited and exaggerated real and plausible dangers in order to maintain a sense of the threat they felt necessary to maintain faithfulness.⁵⁸

Several annotations in the books of the four parish libraries concern Christ's sacrifice and his role in the justification of the faithful, whilst others highlight Christ's dual nature as both human and divine, which was a key doctrine of early modern Protestantism that was discussed by many of the leading theologians of the period. Paul Helm has demonstrated that Calvin, for example, outlined to the readers of his *Institutes of Christian Religion* that 'there is need of human salvation' that only a saviour who was both God and man could provide.⁵⁹ Several annotations in Athanasius's *De Incarnatione Verbi* suggest that at least one reader was

⁵⁴ Baxter, *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, part 3, p. 252. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.1. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁵⁵ Anthony Burgess, *CXLV Expository Sermons upon the Whole 17th Chapter of the Gospel According to St John* (London: Abraham Miller, 1656), pp. 287-288. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.24. This edition not listed on the USTC.

⁵⁶ Perkins, *Workes: The First Volume*, p. 481. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.13. USTC 3012639.

⁵⁷ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 417.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 419-420.

⁵⁹ Helm, *Calvin at the Centre*, pp. 163-167.

interested in Christ's dual nature: His divinity manifested in the miracles He worked, His humanity manifested in His corporeal body. At the top of a page on which Athanasius outlined some of Christ's miracles, a reader noted 'Christ's divinity is evidenced by his miracles'. This annotation suggests the importance of Athanasius's arguments on this topic to the reader, and infers that the reader may have simplified or summarised Athanasius's message in this way in order to aid their own comprehension and understanding.⁶⁰ On the topic of Christ's humanity, probably the same reader interpreted and summarised in a marginal annotation Athanasius's assertion that Christ was 'conjoined with all by a like nature' as the source of man's dignity.⁶¹ Belief in the two natures of Christ was a principal creed of the ancient Church, and it is thus unsurprising that this belief was retained within Protestantism, a religion whose constant refrain was a desire to return to the primitive Church.⁶²

Some of the annotations on the scope of Christ's sacrifice focussed specifically on the limited atonement controversy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which debated just who Christ died for. For instance, a reader of the copy of John Calvin's *In Omnes Pauli Apostoli epistolas et in omnes epistolas canonicas*, now in the Francis Trigge library, underlined Calvin's discussion on the scope of the atonement. *In Omnes Pauli Apostoli epistolas* reflected Calvin's belief in the universality of Christ's death, but also the variable degree to which the atonement applied to individuals, in his assertion that 'Christ suffered sufficiently for the whole world, but efficiently only for the elect'.⁶³ The annotations on this passage fed into contemporary theological controversies surrounding atonement and salvation. The annotations on the redeeming nature of Christ's sacrifice suggest the importance of the topic to early modern Protestant readers of several other parish library texts. For example, a reader of the copy of William Chillingworth's *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation*, now

⁶⁰ Saint Athanasius, *De Incarnatione Verbi in Athanasii magni Alexandrini episcopi, graviss. scriptoris, et sanctiss. martyris, opera, in quatuor tomos distributa* (Basel, 1564), p. 47. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.C.17/q. Latin MSS note at the top of p. 47 reads '...Christi divinitas ex miraculis quae Christus fecit constat...'. USTC 613803. English translation: Philip Schaff and Henry Wade (trans.), *De Incarnatione Verbi by Saint Athanasius* (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1892), p. 46; Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 177.

⁶¹ Athanasius, *De Incarnatione Verbi*, p. 41. Annotated copy in the Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.C.17/q. Latin MSS note at the top of p. 41 reads '...hominis dignitas per christum factum hominem...'. USTC 613803. English translation: Schaff and Wade, *De Incarnatione Verbi by Saint Athanasius*, p. 41.

⁶² Dewey D. Wallace, Jr, 'Puritan Polemical Divinity and Doctrinal Controversy' in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 206.

⁶³ John Calvin, *In Omnes Pauli Apostoli epistolas et in omnes epistolas canonicas* (Geneva: Eustathium Vignon, 1580), p. 173. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E4. This edition not listed in the USTC.

in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, annotated Chillingworth's discussion on the redeeming nature of Christ, in which he noted that

whosoever dies with Faith in Christ, and Contrition for all sinnes known and unknown (in which heal all his sinfull errorrs must be compriz'd), can no more be hurt by any the most malignant and pestilent errorr.⁶⁴

Chillingworth's comments on right and true faith were particularly significant in light of his conversion to Catholicism and reconversion to Protestantism, and his reader seemingly perceived a sense of importance and authority in Chillingworth's guidance that caused them to annotate these passages.⁶⁵

Similar themes can be seen in the annotations of both Jean-François Salvard's *An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches*, now in the Gorton Chest parish library, and Thomas Bilson's *The Effect of Certain Sermons Touching the Full Redemption of Mankind by the Death and Bloud of Christ Jesus*, now in the Ripon Minster parish library. A reader demonstrated their interest in Salvard's discussion of Christ's voluntary sacrifice on the Cross and his argument that Christ's resurrection was a symbol of man's justification by marking the page on which these ideas were discussed, suggesting the significance of Salvard's arguments to that reader and drawing the passages to the attention of later readers. On the marked page, Salvard asserted that 'our Lord Jesus offered himselfe a voluntary sacrifice unto his Father for us... that we should be absolved before the tribunall seat of our God', and that 'our Lord Jesus crucified, dead and buried... did rise againe for our justification'.⁶⁶ Further to this, in the copy of Thomas Bilson's *The Effect of Certain Sermons Touching the Full Redemption of Mankind by the Death and Bloud of Christ Jesus*, a reader highlighted the importance of Christ's sacrifice to salvation. A pencil underlining of Bilson's statement that 'the ground of our salvation then is the obedience, humility and charitie of the sonne of God, yielding himselfe not onelie to serve in our steed, but to die for our sinnes'

⁶⁴ William Chillingworth, *The Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1638), p. 159. Annotated copy in Wimborne Minster Chained Library, shelfmark K19. USTC 3019801.

⁶⁵ Warren Chernaik, 'Chillingworth, William, (1602-1644)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2010) [online: accessed 19 February 2021].

⁶⁶ Jean-François Salvard, *An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches* (London: John Legatt, 1643), part 2, p. 10. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.4. USTC 3049712.

suggests the significance of this belief to its early modern Protestant reader.⁶⁷ The centrality of Christ's sacrifice seems to have pervaded every aspect of believers' lives. It reflected the contemporary belief that no work or act of any man was pleasing to God on its own merit, without the effect of Christ's sacrifice upon it. Protestants needed to understand and accept this in order to maintain faith and act in a way that was agreeable to God.⁶⁸

Conclusion

From the annotations in numerous volumes from the Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster parish libraries it is clear that the interlinked subjects of sin, repentance and salvation were of high importance to early modern Protestant readers. The fact that these annotations survive in books from all four parish libraries analysed in this work, which were founded at various points over a period of a hundred years, demonstrates the longstanding significance of these concepts. This chapter has demonstrated that the pattern of focus of these readers tended toward practical advice that they could assimilate into their everyday lives: the best ways to avoid sin and temptation; the process of repentance; and how to achieve salvation. Annotations on the topic of sin and temptation suggest that many early modern Protestant readers believed that sin could be avoided by placing more emphasis on faith in God than on material possessions. Readers' marks on the topic of repentance demonstrate the importance of the process to early modern Protestants as the pathway back to God and salvation after sin had been committed. Salvation was achieved through a complex process of true repentance that involved several steps: the number of annotations in books by various divines who outlined the method suggests the importance of completing these steps successfully. Finally, the importance of salvation as the ultimate goal for early modern Protestants is demonstrated by the plethora of readers' marks on the topic that are found in books from all four parish libraries examined in this thesis. Readers' marks highlight their belief in the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone and their belief that salvation was achieved through faith in God and the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, which redeemed the faithful.

⁶⁷ Thomas Bilson, *The Effect of Certain Sermons Touching the Full Redemption of Mankind by the Death and Bloud of Christ Jesus* (London: Peter Short for Walter Burre, 1599), p. 44. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.E.14. USTC 513859.

⁶⁸ Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue*, p. 191.

Chapter Nine: Godly Living and Death

Introduction

This chapter will analyse two aspects of practical pastoral theology, godly living and preparation for death, as highlighted in the annotations in numerous parish library books. The frequency of annotations on the topic of godly living suggests a widespread interest in the practice amongst the early modern Protestant readers of parish library books. In addition, there are several interesting annotations on the topic of preparation for death. Ian Green has argued that a godly life required both inward faith, in the form of self-examination and repentance, and outward expressions of faith, such as good works in the home and the wider community. Authors of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century handbooks on godly living often focussed on either one aspect of piety or the other.¹ Other chapters in this work have considered some of the internal signs of faith in God, such as acknowledging the importance of Scripture as the Word of God and the need to avoid sin and repent for any transgressions. This chapter, therefore, will focus primarily on those outward expressions of faith that were important to early modern Protestant readers of parish library books, as demonstrated by the plethora of surviving annotations on this subject. Such outward manifestations of belief comprised the acts of praying to God, listening to learned, godly preachers, and the acts of good works that fostered a sense of community amongst the godly.

Multitudinous annotations on the topic of godly living and preparation for death in numerous books from all four parish library collections demonstrate the pervasive importance of the topic and the compelling need felt by early modern Protestants to live a good life and make a good death. Annotations on a godly life included three main components that each reflect a strand of godly living. Firstly, readers' marks demonstrate the importance of preaching and prayer to those early modern readers. The importance and significance placed on sermons by the early modern godly was reflected in their willingness to travel several miles, sometimes across parish boundaries, in order to hear them preached.² Secondly, several annotations in these parish library books reflect their readers' belief in the importance of goodness and of carrying out good works, such as the religious education of one's household, which were the product of

¹ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 305.

² Alexandra Walsham, 'The Godly and Popular Culture' in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 287.

one's trust in God and one's elect status.³ Many early modern Protestants, including prominent authors such as William Perkins and Anthony Burgess, were keen to emphasise that the good works they considered a prerequisite of a godly life were manifestations of one's elect status and not the cause of their salvation, as readers frequently highlighted. Paul Lim and Eamon Duffy have also argued that early modern Protestants viewed the conversion of the ungodly as an important good work.⁴ Finally, patience was an important element of a good life: several annotations highlighted exhortations by authors to be thankful to God when he corrected the faithful, and to bear with fortitude the advantages and disadvantages that He sent to both the regenerate and the unregenerate. Several of the works containing annotations on these topics were books of Puritan practical divinity. Ian Green has demonstrated the popularity of these handbooks to godly living and dying in his *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*; their usefulness to early modern Protestants is evidenced by the plethora of annotations in these books from several parish libraries.⁵

The second part of a godly life on which early modern Protestants ruminated in their annotations was the necessity of making a good death. On that subject, readers of several volumes now in the parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster highlighted the necessity of preparing for death throughout one's lifetime and the belief that death was not the end, but merely the start of eternal life. Ralph Houlbrooke has argued that the need to prepare for death as the most important part of life was a view shared 'by most preachers and writers of Christian advice literature between the Middle Ages and the early eighteenth century', demonstrating the longevity of this practice.⁶ In the second half of the sixteenth century, William Perkins was perhaps foremost amongst those authors who asserted that a good death was one that was prepared for throughout one's lifetime, and there are several readers' marks on this subject in the three volumes of his *Workes* now in the Gorton Chest parish library. Ian Green has argued that a good death was such an important part of a godly life that handbooks providing advice on godly dying occupied a small but significant part of the book market in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷ Handbooks such as these were

³ Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1964), pp. 445-446; Keith V. Thomas, 'Women and the Civil War Sects', *Past & Present*, 13 (1958), p. 42.

⁴ Paul C. H. Lim, 'Puritans and the Church of England: Historiography and Ecclesiology' in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 232; Eamon Duffy, 'The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the Multitude' in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London: UCL Press, 2003), p. 42.

⁵ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 346-368.

⁶ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 57.

⁷ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 360-368.

aimed at those who did not know when to expect the point of their death and so should always be prepared. Calvinism brought with it, to many of its adherents, a sense of despair, as Alec Ryrie has demonstrated.⁸ At its most extreme, this sense of despair caused some people to attempt, or actually commit, suicide. Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy have argued that contemporaries viewed suicide as a ‘heinous, even diabolical act’.⁹ Nevertheless, many contemporaries also grappled with whether suicide was ever acceptable. John Calvin, for example, echoed the assertions of Saint Augustine that suicide was never an acceptable act in the eyes of God, no matter how desperate a person may have felt. These discussions were the subject of many readers’ marks on the topic of suicide.

Godly Living in Early Modern Protestantism

Early modern Protestant readers’ preoccupation with instructions on living a godly life, demonstrated by the numerous annotations in various books from the parish libraries analysed in this thesis, suggests an intrinsic link between faith and the doctrine of assurance.¹⁰ Ian Green has demonstrated that Protestants focussed on both the inner, spiritual elements and the outer signs of faith in order to determine whether they were among the elect.¹¹ In order to maintain their faith and live a godly life, the readers of parish library books highlighted the importance of listening to godly preachers, praying to God, practicing patience and trust in God through difficult times, and seeking solace in the doing of good works that they believed signified their election to eternal life.

The hearing of sermons given by learned, godly preachers was an important part of godly living for early modern Protestants, and an experience for which many people were prepared to travel several miles.¹² Alexandra Walsham has argued that the central role sermons played in early modern Protestantism was because they were an ‘addictive and enthralling experience’ in which ‘talented preachers did not simply instruct their hearers in the lessons embedded in

⁸ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 27.

⁹ Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 74.

¹⁰ Michael P. Winship, ‘Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospellers: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s’, *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, 9 (2001), p. 465.

¹¹ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 305.

¹² John Craig, ‘The Growth of English Puritanism’ in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 44.

Scripture’ but also ‘roused them to a pitch of emotional fervour’.¹³ Similarly, church services were also greatly esteemed by early modern authors and readers. The importance of godly church services was emphasised by Arthur Hildersham in his *CVIII Lectures upon the Fourth of John*. In the copy of this work now in the Gorton Chest parish library, a reader marked a page on which the divine asserted that church services were to be greatly esteemed and always attended by the godly.¹⁴ In addition, a reader of Hildersham’s *CLII Lectures upon Psalm, LI*, also in the Gorton Chest, underlined the author’s assertion that a good Christian, whilst listening to the Word of God in a sermon, should be wholly present in His presence, and pay attention to the preacher. This was because, as the annotated passage reads, ‘it is God’s Word, and not man’s that you hear [during the sermon]’.¹⁵ This sentiment also found support from a reader of Martin Chemnitz’s *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*, now in the Francis Trigge library, who underlined the Lutheran divine’s assertion that ‘the assumed outward appearance of worship, without the inner spiritual impulses, does not please God’.¹⁶

The official Elizabethan homily on prayer used Augustine’s definition of prayer as ‘a lifting up of the mind to God; that is to say, an humble and lowly pouring out of the heart to God’. The definition continued to be used throughout the early modern period.¹⁷ Thus, the significance of prayer to early modern Protestants was its capacity to allow them to communicate with God, whom many Protestants believed commanded prayer, and so it was a central tenet of the Protestant faith.¹⁸ Protestant prayer was undertaken both in church and in private, in various forms, for numerous different reasons. Divines who discussed the correct form of and reasons for prayer had their arguments annotated by several readers of copies of their works now contained in parish libraries. Prayer was an important act on the part of ministers. In the copy of John Dod’s *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements* now in the Gorton Chest parish library, a reader highlighted the belief that it was ‘a great sin against God in the

¹³ Walsham, ‘The Godly and Popular Culture’, p. 286.

¹⁴ Arthur Hildersham, *CVIII Lectures upon the Fourth of John* (London: Moses Bell, 1647), p. 336. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.5(2). USTC 3043316.

¹⁵ Arthur Hildersham, *CLII Lectures upon Psalm, LI* (London: J. Raworth, 1642), p. 33. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.5(1). USTC 3052352.

¹⁶ Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part II* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 84. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 84 reads ‘...*externam simulatione cultus, sine interioribus spiritualibus motibus, Deo non placere...*’. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part II* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 281.

¹⁷ Unknown Author, *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1844), p. 289; Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 99.

¹⁸ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 239.

minister, if he be not frequent in prayer for his people'.¹⁹ Prayers by ministers given during church services were, Charles Hambrick-Stowe has argued, to be “conceived” in the heart of the pastor, pre-meditated in preparation for the service and offered extemporaneously rather than merely read aloud from a printed page’. Ministers’ prayers served several purposes, including ‘invoking God’s presence, petitioning, interceding and giving thanks for his blessings’.²⁰ This was certainly the view of John Dod, whose lengthy assertion that the faithful must show ‘reverence’ to their minister, whose role it was to look after his congregation and intercede with God on their behalf through his prayers, was underlined by one of his readers, suggesting its significance to them.²¹ This was not the same sort of intercessory role played by the Catholic priest, however. A large part of the appeal of private prayer for early modern Protestants was the opportunity to converse with God directly.²² Numerous underlined passages of both Epistle II in the second book and Epistle IV in the fourth book of Saint Cyprian’s *Epistles*, now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, demonstrate the importance of private prayer to God.²³ One of the main reasons as to why Cyprian’s comments on this topic were so important to their reader was because they implied reciprocity, the idea that through prayer an individual could speak directly to God and expect a response without the interjections of a mediatory priest, as was necessary in Catholicism. Private prayer was the sustenance of the relationship between God and the faithful, as one of Cyprian’s readers underlined the patristic author’s exhortation to ‘be constant as well in prayer... now speak with God, now let God speak with you’.²⁴

Annotations on the topic of prayer in several volumes reveal the range of reasons an early modern Protestant could have for praying. One reason for prayer highlighted in readers’ annotations was for the benefit of others. For example, in his *CXLV Expository Sermons upon the Whole 17th Chapter of the Gospel According to St John*, Anthony Burgess discussed the

¹⁹ John Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1614), p. 232. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

²⁰ Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, ‘Practical Divinity and Spirituality’ in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 200-201.

²¹ Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition*, pp. 234-235. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

²² Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 200.

²³ Saint Cyprian, *Opera* (Basel: the Office of Johann Froben, 1521), pp. 44-50 and 121-124. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark F27. USTC 679668. English translation: Robert Ernest Wallis (trans.), Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (eds), *The Writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Volume I* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1868), pp. 1-13 and 27-32.

²⁴ Cyprian, *Opera*, p. 50. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark F27. Underlined Latin passage on p. 50 reads ‘*Sit tibi uel oratio assidua, uel lectio: nunc cum deo loquere, nunc deus tecum...*’. USTC 679668. English translation: Wallis, *The Writings of Cyprian, Volume I*, pp. 12-13.

merit of praying for others. He asserted that as Christ had prayed for others, so too should the faithful, and argued that prayers for the benefit of others were the most likely to be heard by God. A reader of the copy of this work now in the Gorton Chest library marked this page, suggesting its importance to that reader.²⁵ Further, a reader of the copy of Saint Cyprian's *Opera* now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library underlined the Church Father's emphasis on the importance of diligent prayer not only for the benefit of oneself, but also for the advancement of those around you. In the underlined appeal to his readers, Cyprian requested they

lift up our eyes to heaven, lest the earth with its delights and enticements deceive us. Let each one of us pray God not for himself only, but for all the brethren, even as the Lord has taught us to pray, when He bids to each one, not private prayer, but enjoined them, when they prayed, to pray for all in common prayer and concordant supplication.²⁶

Christ and the apostles themselves served as models for this kind of prayer. As Cyprian's reader underlined: 'the apostles also ceased not to pray day and night; and the Lord also Himself, the teacher of our discipline, and the way of our example, frequently and watchfully prayed'.²⁷ These annotations support the arguments made by Alec Ryrie that the frequency of prayer to God exhorted by the Bible – Psalm 119 makes reference to prayers said seven times a day, for example – was largely impractical in the everyday lives of most people, and therefore many practiced daily prayer.²⁸

Prayer could also be made to God for protection from worldly temptations and the devil. For example, Calvin's sixth sermon on the first chapter of the Book of Job touched on praying to God for protection, 'forasmuch as while we be in this world, we are as it were in a wild wood full of robbers'. William Higginbotham, who annotated this volume before it was added to the

²⁵ Anthony Burgess, *CXLV Expository Sermons upon the Whole 17th Chapter of the Gospel According to St John* (London: Abraham Miller, 1656), p. 230. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.24. This edition not listed on the USTC.

²⁶ Cyprian, *Opera*, p. 124. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark F27. Underlined Latin passage on p. 124 reads '*Oculos erigamus ad coelum, ne oblectamentis & illecebris nos suis terra decipiat. Unusquisque oret dominum non pro se tantum, sed & pro omnibus fratribus, sicut dominus Jesus orare non docuit, ubi non singulis privatam precem mandavit, sed communi & concordi prece orare pro omnibus iussit*'. USTC 679668. English translation: Wallis, *The Writings of Cyprian, Volume I*, p. 32.

²⁷ Cyprian, *Opera*, p. 123. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark F27. Underlined Latin passage on p. 123 reads '*Nam & apostoli oratore diebus ac noctibus non destiterunt, & dominus quoque ipse disciplinae magister & exempli nostri via frequenter & vigilanter oravit...*'. English translation: Wallis, *The Writings of Cyprian, Volume I*, p. 30.

²⁸ Psalm 119:164; Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 148.

Trigge library collection, added a marginal note adjacent to this passage stating this was ‘a lesson worth noting’, which suggests its importance to him.²⁹ This lesson also evidences a connection between prayer to God and trust in Him: by praying to God for protection from worldly temptations, sin and the devil, Protestants implicitly trusted not only that God would heed their prayers but also that He would grant them the protection they desired. Such trust manifested in prayer is similarly demonstrated by Calvin’s appeal to God that He not allow the faithful to fall into the hands of Satan and a repetition of this request by Higginbotham in an adjacent marginal annotation that read ‘we must pray God that he will not let us fall into Satan’s snare’.³⁰ Ultimately, as another of Higginbotham’s marginal notes on Calvin’s eighth sermon on the first chapter of the Book of Job stated, Protestants ‘need not be afraid of the devil if we be strong in faith’; faith needed to be strong if Protestants were to protect themselves from the despair and distraction that were the primary weapons of the devil.³¹

There was some debate amongst sixteenth- and seventeenth-century divines as to whether set forms of prayer or extempore prayer was most beneficial. Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestant divines advised their followers to pray at set times each day, but left specific times up to individuals.³² Alec Ryrie has argued that the establishment had advocated set forms of prayer since the Reformation, and that this practice continued to be favoured until the mid-seventeenth century. At that point, Ryrie asserted, Puritans began to voice their opposition and instead promote extempore prayer.³³ However, Ian Green has demonstrated that there was a significant degree of overlap between the forms of prayers published by English divines for at least a century after the Reformation, which reflects Ryrie’s argument that in private, most people ‘accepted that both [set and extempore prayer] were legitimate’.³⁴ A reader of Saint Cyprian’s *Epistles*, now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, underlined Cyprian’s emphasis on the need for regularity in prayer in Epistle IV of the fourth book, suggesting a level of agreement from the reader themselves.³⁵ Moreover, a reader of the copy of Joseph Mede’s *Diatribæ* now in the Gorton Chest marked a page on which Mede expounded the virtues of set forms of worship over extempore prayer, in which he argued that only through set prayer could

²⁹ John Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job* (Trans. A. Golding) (London: T. Dawson for G. Bishop and T. Woodcocke, 1579), p. 20. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

³⁰ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 16. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

³¹ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 246.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

³⁴ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 243; Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 215.

³⁵ Cyprian, *Opera*, p. 123. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark F27. USTC 679668. English translation: Wallis, *The Writings of Cyprian, Volume I*, p. 30.

the common believer become more closely associated with God.³⁶ The large number of prayer books that continued to be printed throughout the period best evidences the sustained popular preference for set prayers, but not everyone found them beneficial. As Judith Maltby has argued, ‘to some of the godly, the use of set forms [of prayer] was a shallow exercise’.³⁷ The debate around the efficacy of set forms of prayer versus extempore prayer was one that began in the 1570s and would continue intermittently until at least the 1640s.³⁸

In Calvinist thought, the act of doing good works stemmed from an internal notion of one’s goodness and election; these good works took the forms of helping one’s neighbours, teaching and instructing in right faith, and converting one’s neighbours to godliness. The importance of a sense of community amongst the godly was emphasised by William Higginbotham several times in his marginal notes on John Calvin’s *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*; one note observed that ‘we most imbrace one another in a godly manner’.³⁹ On a marked page of Richard Rogers’s *Seven Treatises*, the divine asserted his desire to help those who did not yet find godly living an easy task.⁴⁰ Similarly, John Dod exhorted husbands to edify their wives in an underlined passage of his *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements*: ‘he must dwell with her, as a man of knowledge and edifie her, both by his good example, and also by good instructions’.⁴¹ This corresponds with Christopher Hill’s argument that as the importance of the priest diminished within Protestantism, so the role of the family and the authority of the head of the household increased.⁴² Keith Thomas’ work supported this view and asserted that the head of the household was expected, ‘particularly by Puritans, to conduct daily worship at home and to see to the general spiritual welfare of all in his household’.⁴³ Both John Calvin and John Dod also encouraged their readers to help in converting their ungodly

³⁶ Joseph Mede, *Diatribæ. Discourses on Diverse Texts of Scripture* (London: M. F., 1642), p. 10. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.11. USTC 3046642.

³⁷ Susan M. Felch (ed.), *Elizabeth Tywhit’s Morning and Evening Prayers* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 29-34; Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 30.

³⁸ Christopher Durston, ‘By the Book or with the Spirit: the Debate over Liturgical Prayer during the English Revolution’, *Historical Research*, 79:203 (2006), pp. 52-54; Judith Maltby, ‘“Extravagancies and Impertinencies”: Set Forms, Conceived and Extempore Prayer in Revolutionary England’ in Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Worship and the Parish church in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 221-224.

³⁹ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 7. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

⁴⁰ Richard Rogers, *Seven Treatises* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1603), p. 412. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.31. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁴¹ Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition*, p. 228. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

⁴² Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, pp. 445-446.

⁴³ Thomas, ‘Women and the Civil War Sects’, p. 42.

neighbours. In a passage underlined by Higginbotham in his copy of Calvin's *Sermons* now in the Francis Trigge library, Calvin asserted that

here you see that god's instructing of us first, is to the end that when we see our neighbours ignorant, we should endeavour to lead them with us into the same way whereinto we ourselves are entered already.⁴⁴

Moreover, in an underlined passage of his *Exposition on the Ten Commandements*, John Dod stated that 'he that can thus convert his brother from going astray, hath done the part of a good man, and loving friend'.⁴⁵ Similarly, John Calvin discussed the need to liberate Catholics from the superstition of popery in his *Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis*. In the copy of the *Praelectiones* now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, Calvin exhorted his readers to take action thus: 'it is your duty, dearest brethren, as far as lies in your power, and your calling demands it, to use your hearty endeavours, that true religion may recover its perfect state'.⁴⁶ The annotation of this passage by a reader of this volume indicated the significance of Calvin's exhortations to uphold true religion and may suggest the reader's belief in his duty to convert the ungodly. These conversions often took many forms: Paul Lim has demonstrated that conversion could come through 'catechising and personal instruction, eventually leading to an intimate knowledge of the soul's state', for example, whilst Eamon Duffy has argued that 'conversion... meant not merely bringing the heathen to knowledge of the gospel, but bringing the tepid to the boil'.⁴⁷

In their annotations in parish library books, early modern Protestant readers stressed their belief that good works were the product of one's elect status as opposed to the cause of one's election. As John Knox asserted in his *The Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland*, 'it is proved that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous. Ergo, No works neither make us good nor evil... a good man maketh good works, and an evil man evil works'. In the copy of Knox's *Historie* now in the Gorton Chest parish library, a reader has marked the page on which

⁴⁴ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 276. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

⁴⁵ Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition*, p. 360. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.13(1). USTC 3005942.

⁴⁶ John Calvin, *Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis* (Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1561), sig. *v r. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E7. USTC 450107. English translation: Thomas Meyers, *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel by John Calvin* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1999), p. 39.

⁴⁷ Lim, 'Puritans and the Church of England: Historiography and Ecclesiology', p. 232; Duffy, 'The Long Reformation', p. 42.

Knox stated this distinction, suggesting its significance to that reader.⁴⁸ Similar sentiments were expressed in Anthony Burgess's *Spiritual Refining or A Treatise of Grace and Assurance*. In this text, a reader annotated the page on which Burgess reflected on the importance placed on good works and charitable acts towards neighbours by Protestants in general, and Puritans in particular, as a sign of elect status, as a consequence of assurance of salvation, and as evidence of having received God's grace.⁴⁹ Furthermore, a marked page of Peter Martyr Vermigli's *Common Places*, on which Vermigli outlined the differences between Protestant and Catholic beliefs surrounding good works, highlighted the contrast between the Protestant belief that good works were the product of assurance of salvation and the Catholic belief that good works were the cause of salvation. The marking of this page by a reader suggests its significance to that reader, whilst serving to draw the attention of later readers of this volume to this important distinction.⁵⁰

For Luther, good works were not the way to salvation but the product thereof. In his *A Commentarie upon the Fiftene Psalmes*, which was annotated in pencil with brackets by a reader of the copy of this work that is now in Ripon Minster parish library, Luther affirmed that 'we must acknowledge & confesse that we know nothing but the righteousnes of Christ: not that we should not now worke and bring forth the fruites of a holy life'.⁵¹ Dewey Wallace has suggested that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Puritans were keen to stress 'the importance of good works in the Christian life as evidence of justification', lest their opponents use the theology of predestination to 'undercut moral striving'.⁵² Thus, whilst acknowledging that 'the good works that flow from Christian charity will never win salvation', for many Protestants, their faith in God gave rise to a desire to do good works. Andrew Pettegree has argued that this desire was, in early modern Protestants' view, 'the fruits of God's grace in those whom God has called to lives of service'.⁵³ This is reminiscent of the Lutheran divine

⁴⁸ John Knox, *The Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland* (London: John Raworth, 1644), p. 12. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.6. USTC 3052353.

⁴⁹ Anthony Burgess, *Spiritual Refining: or, A Treatise of Grace and Assurance* (London: A. Miller, 1652), p. 307. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.30. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁵⁰ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *The Common Places of the Most Famous and Renowned Divine Doctor Peter Martyr* (London: Henry Denham and Henry Middleton, 1583), part 3, p. 56 mispaginated as p. 58. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.10. USTC 509866.

⁵¹ Martin Luther, *A Commentarie upon the Fiftene Psalmes*, trans. Henry Bull (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1577), p. 220. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.E.16. USTC 508422.

⁵² Dewey D. Wallace, Jr, 'Puritan Polemical Divinity and Doctrinal Controversy' in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 218.

⁵³ Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: How an Unheralded Monk Turned His Small Town into a Center of Publishing, Made Himself the Most Famous Man in Europe – and Started the Protestant Reformation* (New

Martin Chemnitz's view that 'good works are called fruits of the Spirit'. The underlining of this statement by a reader of Chemnitz's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini* in the Francis Trigge Chained Library suggests its significance to them.⁵⁴ Still other marks of readership in the second volume of Perkins' *Workes* in the Gorton Chest library asserted that good works and acts of charity were best performed in consideration of God's providence and patience. Such advice reinforced the belief that Protestantism was the true faith and that Protestants were true Christians and the best representations of God, by carrying out good works through His will.⁵⁵ As Dewey Wallace has demonstrated, 'the commonplace of Reformed theology [was] that the predestined were elected to holiness... that they should be a holy and sanctified people on earth, known by their good works'.⁵⁶ These annotations and readers' marks reflect how important the debate over the nature and benefits of good works was to the Protestant readers of these parish library books.

In his sixty-ninth sermon on the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Job, John Calvin discussed the care that God showed for the faithful in revealing to them their errors and offering correction. This implicit request for patience was seemingly of significant personal importance to William Higginbotham, the annotator of the copy of this work now in the Francis Trigge collection. In addition to drawing brackets around the passage, Higginbotham also added a marginal note that read: 'let us be thankful for the care that god has for us'.⁵⁷ Moreover, Higginbotham also demonstrated his belief that God's guidance must be accepted by the faithful, as he underlined Calvin's exhortation to 'refuse not the correction of the almighty' in Calvin's twenty-first sermon on the fifth chapter of the Book of Job.⁵⁸ Such patience and acceptance of God's admonishments was linked to an implicit trust in God and a belief in His care for the spiritual wellbeing of the faithful. This may be why there are a number of annotations on the subject of the afflictions of the godly and the need to bear those trials with

York: Penguin Books, 2015), pp. 128-129; W. B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 102.

⁵⁴ Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), p. 134. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 134 reads '...sed est donum & operatio Spiritus Santi, unde bona opera vocantur fructus Spiritus...'. This edition not listed in the USTC. English translation: Fred Kramer (trans.), *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I* by Martin Chemnitz (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 482.

⁵⁵ William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, M. William Perkins: The Second Volume* (London: John Legatt, 1631), p. 480. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.14. USTC 3015392.

⁵⁶ Wallace, 'Puritan Polemical Divinity and Doctrinal Controversy', p. 218.

⁵⁷ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 324. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

⁵⁸ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 97. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

good grace in the parish library books considered in this work. Higginbotham seemingly agreed with Calvin's appeals for people to endure in good faith the trials sent by God. He added the marginal note, 'mark this', next to a passage in the thirty-sixth sermon on the ninth chapter of the Book of Job, in which Calvin advised people to think about the good things that God had done for them when He also afflicted them.⁵⁹

In his *De Civitate Dei*, Saint Augustine suggested that God sent advantages and disadvantages to both good and evil men in order that He might encourage the wicked to reform and repent. As a reader of the copy of *De Civitate Dei* now in Ripon Minster parish library underlined, 'the patience of God still invite[s] the wicked to repentance, even as the scourge of God educates the good to patience'.⁶⁰ The faithful would be marked out by how they bore these challenges differently from the wicked:

For even in the likeness of the sufferings, there remains an unlikeness in the sufferers; and though exposed to the same anguish, virtue and vice are not the same thing ... and thus it is that in the same affliction the wicked detest God and blaspheme, while the good pray and praise.⁶¹

Similar sentiments were echoed in various works of puritan practical divinity by authors such as William Perkins, who, in the third volume of his *Workes*, asserted that the godly 'man cares not what God laieth on him in this life, who is perswaded that after this life God will give him heaven'.⁶² The underlining of and marginal annotation adjacent to this passage suggest it was of some significance to a reader of the copy of this text now in the Gorton Chest parish library. Further, it supports Alec Ryrie's assertion that divines such as Perkins and Henry Scudder, a seventeenth-century Presbyterian minister, thought that faith in God could lead to an indifference to worldly misfortune and a trust that enabled Protestants to 'accept either triumph

⁵⁹ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 169. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

⁶⁰ Saint Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* in *Cuius praestantissima in omni genere monumenta, Volume V* (Basel: Ambrosius and Aurelius Froben, 1570), pp. 45-46. Annotated copy in University of Leeds Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.E.10/q. Underlined Latin passage on pp. 45-46 reads '...tamen patientia Dei ad poenitentiam invitat malus, sicut flagellum Dei ad patientiam erudit bonos...'. USTC 626339. English translation: Marcus Dods (trans. and ed.), *The City of God, Volume I* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1871), p. 10.

⁶¹ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei, Volume V*, pp. 45-46. Annotated copy in the Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.E.10/q. Underlined Latin passage on pp. 45-46 reads '...Manet enim dissimilitudo passorum etiam in similitudine passionum...'. USTC 626339. English translation: Dods, *The City of God, Volume I*, p. 11.

⁶² William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. William Perkins: The Third and Last Volume* (London: John Haviland, 1631), part 2, p. 78. Annotated copy in Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.15. USTC 3015389 and 3015390.

or disaster with equanimity'.⁶³ The mid-seventeenth century was a time of religious and political upheaval as first 'elaborate forms of Laudian worship and decoration' began to take root in the established Church before the country devolved into civil war during the 1640s. A brief resolution came in the form of the short-lived period of Puritan triumph during the Interregnum of the 1650s before the return of the king and the restoration of the Church of England alongside the monarchy.⁶⁴ As such, these and other assurances found in similar works may have been particularly pertinent to seventeenth-century readers of these texts, as they attempted to weather the religious storms that buffeted England after 1630.

The ability to accept hard times during life with fortitude was often a sign of one's elect status, helping the godly to bear these troubles in the knowledge that they were guaranteed salvation. In a passage underlined by a reader of the first volume of his *Workes*, Perkins stated that the ability to abide these trials with patience stemmed from Protestants' faith in God and His promise that their sufferings would end in 'good and everlasting salvation'. This, Perkins argued in an annotated passage, should have brought 'contentation in any estate' to the faithful.⁶⁵ On a page marked by a reader of his *The Institution of Christian Religion* in the Gorton Chest parish library, John Calvin warned his godly readers to prepare themselves for a difficult life in order to prove themselves to God. The marking of this page suggests that it held a sense of importance to that individual.⁶⁶ Similar sentiments were expressed on two pages of Anthony Burgess's *CXLV Expository Sermons upon the Whole 17th Chapter of the Gospel According to St John*, both of which were marked by a reader. On those pages, Burgess outlined 'the Grounds and Reasons Why the world is thus made by God a disquieting and troublesome place to the Godly'.⁶⁷ A reader of the copy of *The Works of Robert Harris*, now in the Gorton Chest parish library, marked a page on which Harris set out the ways in which the godly could know that their troubles would end in the comfort of salvation. Harris asserted that godly sorrows that indicated eventual salvation were concerned with godly matters; he argued that such sorrows flowed from godly sources, such as zeal for His name or indignation against sin.

⁶³ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 81.

⁶⁴ Anthony Milton, 'Unsettled Reformations, 1603-1662' in Anthony Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity, c.1520-1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 73.

⁶⁵ William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, Mr William Perkins: The First Volume* (London: John Legatt, 1626), p. 481. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.13. USTC 3012639.

⁶⁶ John Calvin and Thomas Norton (trans.), *The Institution of Christian Religion* (London: printed for Thomas Norton, 1611), part 3, p. 335. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.11. USTC 3004572.

⁶⁷ Burgess, *CXLV Expository Sermons*, pp. 287-288. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.24. This edition not listed on the USTC.

Harris also stated that the effects of those sorrows could signify that the godly would be taken away from sin and brought to God's love.⁶⁸ Moreover, Richard Rogers attempted to provide his readers with some comfort in his *Seven Treatises*, encouraging them to don their Christian armour and persevere, for the godly should have known that even during difficult times in their lives, they had not been forsaken by God. This page was also marked by a reader, which again suggests its significance and draws attention to these reassuring words.⁶⁹ These struggles, which early modern readers sought to understand the reasons for and how to bear them, invoked elements of the Protestant doctrine of predestination, which 'gave greater depth and meaning to the perplexing divisions of England'. The doctrine of predestination, Peter Marshall argued, taught that 'the struggles, travails and contradictions experienced by the godly in this life were but echoes of another, elemental and invisible contest between the forces of light and darkness, elect and non-elect, Christ and Antichrist'.⁷⁰ As such, to have experienced hard times during one's lifetime could be understood as a sign of one's election.

Godly Dying and Suicide in Early Modern Protestantism

A godly life was, in itself, a lifelong preparation for a good death. The removal of the doctrine of purgatory had changed early modern perceptions of death: 'there was no painful waiting, no uncomfortable holding in purgatory, and of course, no purpose at all in prayers for the dead'.⁷¹ As Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy have argued, 'during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, less and less emphasis was placed on the hour of death. The art of dying became more dependent on the art of living, living as a good Christian'.⁷² This section will explore readers' marks in parish library books in order to highlight the importance early modern Protestant readers placed on preparing for death in order to achieve salvation, and their beliefs about eternal life after death. It will also consider several annotations on early modern suicide, an interesting aspect of the early modern Protestant culture of death.

⁶⁸ Robert Harris, *The Works of Robert Harris, Once of Hanwell* (London: Miles Flesher, 1654), p. 128. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.28. This edition not listed in USTC.

⁶⁹ Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, p. 263. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.1.31. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁷⁰ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 353.

⁷¹ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 386.

⁷² MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, p. 1.

The desire for everlasting life is evident in annotations found in John Calvin's *Sermons upon the Booke of Job*. In one annotation on Calvin's fifty-third sermon on the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Job, Higginbotham, the annotating reader, underlined Calvin's assertion that 'god wil bring us to a good end by receiving us intoo his everlasting rest'. In a second annotation, in the fifty-sixth sermon on the same chapter of Job, Higginbotham underlined Calvin's assertion that death was a good thing, 'bicause that by that meanes God taketh us out of the miseries of this worlde, to make us partakers of his riches and glorious immortalitie'.⁷³ Eternal life also had another benefit for the early modern godly, as a marked page of John Weemes' *Workes* in the Gorton Chest parish library demonstrates: their separation after death from the ungodly.⁷⁴ This belief was linked to predestination, the doctrine in which 'God chose certain humans for eternal life, irrespective of their merits and achievements'.⁷⁵

The desire to appropriately prepare for death in the early modern period meant that books, tracts and sermons providing guidance on how to do so were printed in droves between the late fifteenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁷⁶ Many of these books in the parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster were annotated by their readers, suggesting the importance of the information they contained. The necessity of making a good death was reiterated in several parish library books and readers' annotations. A reader of Hildersham's *CLII Lectures upon Psalm, LI*, for example, twice folded the corner of a page on which Hildersham outlined the benefits of consciously thinking about death during life. On the marked page, Hildersham explained that by thinking about one's own death, it would distract the mind from focussing on the worldly pleasures that had been sacrificed for God, lest they should draw a person in to sin. It was intended that thinking about their own death would enable Reformed Protestants to view their trials and troubles less bitterly, and even render death itself less terrible.⁷⁷ William Perkins was one of Protestantism's most vocal advocates of the need to prepare for death throughout one's lifetime; the large number of annotations on the subject in the three volumes of his *Workes* now in the Gorton Chest parish library suggests that readers may have targeted these books specifically in search of information on this topic. Those readers

⁷³ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, pp. 250, 265. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

⁷⁴ John Weemes, *The Workes of M. John Weemes of Lathocker in Scotland. The Third Volume* (London: M. Dawson, 1636), part 2, p. 206. Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.1.2. This edition not listed in the USTC.

⁷⁵ Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 292; Wallace, 'Puritan Polemical Divinity and Doctrinal Controversy', p. 214.

⁷⁶ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England*, p. 59.

⁷⁷ Hildersham, *CLII Lectures*, p. 241. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.5(1). USTC 3052352.

marked many of the passages in Perkins' *Workes* that outlined how to physically ingratiate preparations for death into daily life. Perkins encouraged his readers to live their lives in the manner in which they wished to continue after death: in an annotated passage from the third volume of his *Workes*, Perkins stated that 'whatsoever wee would doe when we die, that we must now begin'.⁷⁸ A reader of the second volume of Perkins' *Workes* annotated the margin next to a passage explaining three different things to do in preparation for death; he recommended his readers live each day as if it were their last; disarm death by avoiding sin; and attempt to find some semblance of eternal life in the earthly one.⁷⁹ Preparing for death throughout one's lifetime was sensible advice because, as Ralph Houlbrooke has argued, early modern life was not guaranteed to be long, and death should therefore be begun to be prepared for as soon as possible: 'indeed, it was the most important business of earthly existence'.⁸⁰

Suicide is an important element of the early modern culture of death, on which there are several noteworthy studies.⁸¹ Whilst early modern readers' marks on this topic are not numerous in the parish library books considered in this thesis, they do reflect broader preoccupations with death in this period. The prospect of eternal life after death prompted many Protestants to prepare actively for their deaths because 'that moment had enduring consequences'; some may have considered hastening their arrival at that moment in order to avoid as many worldly temptations as possible.⁸² Suicide may now seem an extreme technique for evading the sin of temptation, but both Saint Augustine and John Calvin wrestled with the topic, and had their thoughts annotated by their readers. The several annotations in the copy of Saint Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in Ripon Minster parish library and the copy of Calvin's *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job* in the Francis Trigge Chained Library on whether suicide was a justifiable act are indicative of readers' interest in their arguments and conclusions.⁸³ Augustine's views on suicide heavily influenced the thinking of John Calvin, whose ideas in turn were highly influential in the

⁷⁸ Perkins, *Workes: The Third and Last Volume*, part 1, p. 149. Annotated copy in Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.15. USTC 3015389 and 3015390.

⁷⁹ Perkins, *Workes: The Second Volume*, p. 34. Annotated copy in the Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, Manchester, shelfmark GC.2.14. USTC 3015392.

⁸⁰ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England*, p. 57.

⁸¹ For examples of important studies into early modern suicide, see, Jeffrey R. Watt, 'Calvin on Suicide', *Church History*, 66:3 (1997), pp. 463-476; MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*; R. A. Houston, *Punishing the Dead?: Suicide, Lordship, and Community in Britain, 1500-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, especially pp. 27-31.

⁸² Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 28, 461.

⁸³ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei, Volume V*. Annotated copy in the Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.E.10/q. USTC 626339; Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

Church of England and the Church of Scotland.⁸⁴ The parallels between the two sets of annotations are clear: both authors arrived at the conclusion that suicide was unlawful and unjustifiable in the eyes of God.

After grappling with the topic for some time in his *De Civitate Dei*, Saint Augustine concluded that ‘in no passage of the holy canonical books there can be found either divine precept or permission to take away our own life’.⁸⁵ Augustine asserted that whilst someone who took their own life might initially seem admirable for their ‘greatness of soul’, he questioned, ‘is it not rather proof of a feeble mind, to be unable to bear either the pains of bodily servitude or the foolish opinion of the vulgar?’. A reader of the Ripon Minster parish library’s copy of this work underlined this question, suggesting its importance.⁸⁶ Despite the perceived unlawfulness of committing suicide in the early modern period, Alec Ryrie has demonstrated that the godly were often so afflicted by despair that they did, indeed, consider – and sometimes even attempt – suicide. Nehemiah Wallington is one of the best-known examples of an early modern individual so plagued by his own conscience that he attempted suicide on numerous occasions throughout his life.⁸⁷ One of Augustine’s readers underlined sections of the patristic author’s scathing remarks on the subject of whether suicide ought to be committed in order to avoid further sin. The underlined suggestion that sin could be justifiably committed ‘to prevent one’s falling into sin either through the blandishments of pleasure or the violence of pain’ was almost immediately afterwards dismissed by Augustine: ‘it is wicked to say this; it is therefore wicked to kill oneself’.⁸⁸

The inability to justify sin as an acceptable rationalisation for suicide in the early modern period can be seen in Calvin’s work as well. Calvin’s fundamental objection to the act of committing suicide, Jeffrey Watt argued, was that ‘in taking one’s life, one is being disobedient by refusing

⁸⁴ Watt, ‘Calvin on Suicide’, pp. 463-476; Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 85-86.

⁸⁵ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei, Volume V*, pp. 67-68. Annotated copy in the Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.E.10/q. USTC 626339. English translation: Dods, *The City of God, Volume I*, p. 30.

⁸⁶ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei, Volume V*, pp. 69-70. Annotated copy in the Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.E.10/q. Underlined Latin passage on pp. 69-70 reads ‘...*Magis enim mens infirma deprehenditur, quae ferre non potest, uel duram sui corporis servitutem, uel stultam vulgi opinionem...*’. USTC 626339. English translation: Dods, *The City of God, Volume I*, p. 33.

⁸⁷ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 27-28.

⁸⁸ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei, Volume V*, pp. 75-76. Annotated copy in the Brotherton Special Collections Library, shelfmark Ripon Cathedral Library XIII.E.10/q. Underlined Latin passage on pp. 75-76 reads ‘...*scilicet ne in peccatum irruat, uel blandiente voluptate, uel dolore saeviente*’. USTC 626339. English translation: Dods, *The City of God, Volume I*, pp. 38-39.

to submit to the will of God'.⁸⁹ In his *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, Calvin asserted that 'it is not lawfull for the faithfull to mislike their owne life, and too wishe so for death'; the passage was underlined by William Higginbotham, the annotator of the copy of this text now in the Francis Trigge Chained Library.⁹⁰ Calvin made clear the distinction between the lawfulness of wishing for death, as stated in the underlined proposal that 'we may wish for death in one respect: which is, in consideration that we be hild here in such bondage of sinne, as we can not serve God so freely as were to be wished', and the unlawfulness of acting upon that wish oneself. Next to this passage, Higginbotham added the marginal note: 'how we may lawfully wish for death'.⁹¹ Alec Ryrie, Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy have all commented on the links between sin and worldly temptations and early modern suicide. Ryrie described Calvinism as a 'theology of despair' for many early modern Protestants, and this despair was often linked to suicide, or attempted suicide. He noted that 'the longer you live in sin, the worse the condemnation you earn. A quick suicide might at least cut your losses'.⁹² Moreover, Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy demonstrated the role that the temptations of the devil played in instigating suicide, and also highlighted the perils of everyday life, honour and shame, and the afflictions of the heart as motivating factors in suicide.⁹³ The clear distinction between the acceptability of the thought of suicide and the acceptability of actually committing the act, irrespective of the impetus, is reflected in R. A. Houston's work. He argued that whilst 'Scots Calvinists saw a clear place for suicidal thoughts in their soteriology... the idea that suicide itself was defensible remained marginal'.⁹⁴

Conclusion

The number of readers' marks on the topics of godly living and a good death demonstrates its importance to early modern Protestants. The annotations made by early modern Protestant readers revealed the concepts of godly living and death to be interconnected. This chapter has demonstrated that the pattern of readers' focus on these topics tended towards the practical advice proffered by authors who instructed their readers in how a godly life manifested itself

⁸⁹ Watt, 'Calvin on Suicide', p. 465

⁹⁰ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 58. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

⁹¹ Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, p. 58. Annotated copy in the Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10. USTC 508947.

⁹² Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 27-28.

⁹³ MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, pp. 42-76, 259-300.

⁹⁴ Houston, *Punishing the Dead?*, p. 228.

in actuality, and the nature of a godly life as one long preparation for death. On the subject of godly living, readers' annotations evidenced a clear interest in the importance of private prayer as a form of direct communication with God and preaching as an indirect connection with God through the minister, who spoke God's words. Goodness and good works were crucial to a godly life, though authors and readers alike were at pains to stipulate that good works were a manifestation of one's faith and elect status, as opposed to the cause of one's salvation. Readers' marks revealed that good works centred on the idea of community, of comforting fellow members of the godly and of attempting to convert the ungodly. Elements of a godly life also included trusting in God and bearing the hard times He sent the godly with patience and forbearance; they were linked to the elect status of the godly and reflected an invisible struggle between good and evil. Readers' marks on the subject of death demonstrated that Protestants believed the moment of death had enduring consequences, and so was to be thoroughly prepared for. Suicide, which it was eventually decided was only justifiable if committed in order to avoid further sin, was also the topic of annotations by at least two readers, which suggests the personal significance of the subject to those readers.

Conclusion

The role of early modern parish libraries in post-Reformation England, as repositories of religious education for the clergy and the laity, made them a significant part of the intellectual and religious landscape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Post-Reformation parish libraries evolved out of pre-Reformation book collections of liturgical and secular texts. They were intended to be used by both the clergy and the laity, which impacted upon the location of parish libraries within a church, and provided readers with both a religious and secular education. For the first time, this work has analysed the surviving marginalia and readers' marks made by anonymous readers in early modern parish library books to demonstrate readers' patterns of focus and highlight the topics and subjects in which they were most interested; those topics fall into four themes that reflect the contemporary Protestant preoccupation with practical divinity. These conclusions were reached in answer to the four main research questions that were posed in the Introduction:

1. How did post-Reformation parish libraries come to be?
2. Who were the intended users of post-Reformation parish libraries?
3. What was the purpose of post-Reformation parish libraries?
4. How did readers use post-Reformation parish libraries?

In order to answer these questions, this thesis has built on much of the pre-existing literature on early modern parish libraries and reading practices, in addition to conducting original research into four case study parish libraries from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As such, this work has presented a macrostudy of early modern parish library foundation and use in the post-Reformation period from 1558 to 1709, and focused on four case study libraries: Grantham in Lincolnshire (1598), Ripon in Yorkshire (1624), Gorton in Lancashire (1653), and Wimborne Minster in Dorset (1686). These case studies demonstrated that parish libraries were founded by both clergymen and laymen and that they largely consisted of theological and other religious texts, with only a relatively small number of secular volumes. Part Two of this thesis argued that patterns of early modern readers' focus and interest are demonstrable through the surviving marginalia and annotations in parish library books. By examining and analysing the subjects in which early modern readers of parish library books were interested, this work has provided an important contribution to the existing literature on early modern reading practices and textual interpretations of religious works in the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries. Early modern readers' interests manifested in the four key themes of anti-Catholicism, the importance of Scripture, intertwined beliefs around sin, repentance and salvation, and godly living and preparations for death, reflecting the significance of the practical aspects of theology to those readers.

Post-Reformation parish libraries evolved out of the collections of service books and liturgical works housed in the parish churches of the pre-Reformation period. Pre-Reformation parish churches often housed collections of liturgical texts and service books, sometimes alongside a number of other religious works, for the use of the clergy in preparing their services and carrying out their pastoral duties. Despite these works being removed from parish churches during the Reformation, as argued by C. B. L. Barr and Michael Perkin, this thesis, in support of Arnold Hunt, argued that post-Reformation parish libraries maintained a sense of continuity and similarity with pre-Reformation collections that manifested in a continual pattern of religious book ownership.¹ The small collections of liturgical texts and service books in pre-Reformation parish churches expanded in post-Reformation parish libraries to include a wider range of theological and other religious works, including Church histories, commentaries and paraphrases on the Bible, patristic texts, and works of pastoral theology and practical divinity. The expansion in scope, and thus the size, of these collections led to their removal from the holier, more sacred parts of the church in which the books of pre-Reformation parish churches were housed. Instead, post-Reformation parish libraries were located in areas of the parish church that were ostensibly more easily accessible, such as a converted room on the upper floor of the church. Ripon Minster parish library was originally housed in the Lady Loft, an upper room in Ripon Minster church, and the libraries of Grantham and Wimborne both remain in their original locations in upper rooms of St Wulfram's church, Grantham, and the Minster church of St Cuthberga, Wimborne Minster, respectively.

After the Reformation, parish libraries were intended to be used by both the clergy and the laity, which was reflected in the widening range of genres in the book collections of post-Reformation parish churches. Pre-Reformation book collections were primarily intended for use by the parish clergy; this work has argued that post-Reformation parish libraries were intended to be used by the laity as well. This was demonstrated not only by their broadening

¹ C. B. L. Barr, 'Parish Libraries in a Region: the Case of Yorkshire', *Proceedings of the Library Association Study School and National Conference, Nottingham*, 1979, p. 33; Michael Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2004), p. 30; Arnold Hunt, 'Clerical and Parish Libraries' in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries, Volume I, to 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 401.

corpuses and their increasing collection sizes, but also by the inclusion of works in English as well as Latin, a language that Jennifer Richards has shown was perhaps more accessible than previously thought.² Grantham and Wimborne Minster libraries both included a range of secular texts in addition to their religious volumes. Those in Grantham included books on civil law, medicine and natural history and those in Wimborne Minster included works on agriculture, history, philosophy and viticulture, all of which suggested a varied clerical and lay readership. The foundation documents for three of the four case study parish libraries examined in this work referred explicitly to lay users of the collections, and Anthony Higgin made no mention of exclusively clerical users of his collection at Ripon Minster, evidencing this expanded readership.³

Parish libraries were usually established for educational purposes. An examination of the foundation documents for the Grantham, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster parish libraries demonstrated that their founders intended the libraries to be used as means of educating their readers. The sustained interest in providing parish libraries for educational purposes across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is one of the clearest indicators of the importance of parish libraries on the intellectual and religious landscape of early modern England. Some founders, such as Humphrey Chetham who founded the Gorton Chest parish library and four others in Lancashire, focussed explicitly on providing his readers with a religious education in the Protestant religion. The purpose of parish libraries as religiously educational repositories became abundantly clear in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, as founders began to establish libraries in England's rural localities in order to provide people with a religious education. This was a clear motivation for Barnabas Oley, who bequeathed books for ten parish libraries in Cumberland in the 1680s, and for Thomas Bray and his associates in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge who, in the 1690s, established over thirty parish libraries across England to educate their readers. Other founders, such as Francis Trigge in Grantham, for example, sought to provide a Protestant religious education, but also included a number of texts by medieval and post-Reformation Catholic authors as well. Trigge was not alone in this practice, and this thesis has argued that these inclusions were most likely the result

² Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 76-79.

³ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire, (Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/1), Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement; Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Uncatalogued), Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham; The National Archives, Kew, (PROB 11/430/238), Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696; Borthwick Institute of Archives (BIA), University of York, (Archbishop Register 31, f. 238v-239r), Will of Anthony Higgin, 12 November 1624.

of the exemplary scholarship of these authors. Further, as David Pearson has suggested, books by medieval and post-Reformation Catholics may also have been included in these collections in order to equip readers with a thorough knowledge of Catholicism so that they might better refute its arguments and claims to legitimacy.⁴

Readers' interest in parish library books remained relatively consistent throughout the various periods of socio-politico-religious unrest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as demonstrated by the close analysis of surviving marginalia and readers' marks. Early modern readers of parish library books were interested in works of theology and practical divinity, and the marks left behind in these texts suggest that readers were looking for information that they could implement and assimilate into their everyday lives. The four key themes or categories into which much of the surviving marginalia and annotations fell revealed that early modern readers were largely interested in four main topics. Firstly, this work has demonstrated that early modern readers were interested in the errors and corruptions of the Catholic Church, and the changes that Church had made to various doctrines since the apostolic era. Secondly, early modern Protestant readers were keen to highlight the importance of Scripture as the Word of God and as containing everything necessary for faith, and thus argued that it should be widely accessible. Thirdly, this thesis has demonstrated that early modern readers of parish library books were particularly interested in the intertwined concepts of sin, repentance and salvation, with annotations focussed specifically on the need to avoid sin, the process of repentance as the way back to God, and the idea that faith in God alone was enough to achieve salvation. Finally, the readers of these texts highlighted numerous instances in which early modern authors advised their readers of the necessity of living a godly life that was grounded in goodness and the act of carrying out good works, patience in the face of hardship, and an acknowledgement of the importance of preaching and prayer. In consideration of these topics, this thesis has argued that parish libraries were used in the educational spirit in which they were founded: early modern readers read their parish library books in search of information that they could apply to their everyday lives in order to please God and achieve eternal life after death.

Examining these four libraries and the surviving marginalia and readers' marks in their books provides a unique insight into the reception and impact of the Reformation at a parish level in the intellectual hinterlands of early modern England. This work has demonstrated that these collections contained mainly works of Protestant theology and a range of other religious works,

⁴ David Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600-1640', *The Library*, 14 (1992), p. 229.

as well as, occasionally, a selection of secular texts. Filling a gap in knowledge that has previously focussed on the practices, interests and motivations of individual elite readers, this work has also demonstrated that reading interests amongst early modern Protestants remained much the same for over a century, and that readers were primarily interested in the practical aspects of Protestant theology. This research opens up further avenues for study and invites similar case studies to be carried out on other parish libraries in early modern England. Further analyses of the surviving anonymous marginalia in parish library books can only add to historians' knowledge of early modern reading practices and textual interpretations and implementations. It is to be hoped that in the fullness of time, more attention will be paid to these regional repositories of religious and secular information that were often the only point of access to this sort of knowledge for many people in the localities. An indepth analysis both of a larger number of surviving institutions established across England throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the marks of readership within their volumes, would provide a helpful diachronic overview of the development and use of these institutions over time, and allow for an examination of how their contents and usage changed and evolved in response to contemporary events and circumstances. Alternatively, a comparative study of the reading practices of another Reformed country, such as Germany or Scotland, could also provide interesting parallels (or indeed differences) in the reading interests of early modern Protestants.

Appendix One: List of Books in the Gorton Chest Parish Library

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Edition	Extant?	Shelfmark
Ambrose, Isaac	<i>Media: The Middle Things</i>	T.R. and E.M.	London	1652	Second	Y	GC.1.6(2)
Ambrose, Isaac	<i>Prima, Media & Ultima: The First, Middle and Last Things</i>	T.R. and E.M.	London	1654		Y	GC.1.6(1)
Augustine, Saint	<i>The Confessions of the Incomparable Doctor S. Augustine</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Baxter, Richard	<i>The Saints' Everlasting Wrest</i>	-	London	1656	Sixth	Y	GC.1.1
Baxter, Richard	<i>Plain Scripture Proof of Infants' Church-Membership and Baptism</i>	T.V.F.T	London	1656	Fourth	Y	GC.1.32
Beard, Thomas	<i>The Theatre of God's Judgement</i>	S.I. [Susan Islip] and M.H. [Mary Hearne]	London	1648	Fourth	Y	GC.1.26
Bolton, Robert	<i>Mr. Bolton's Last and Learned Work of the Four Last Things</i>	George Miller	London	1633		Y	GC.1.20(2)
Bolton, Robert	<i>Some General Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God</i>	John Legatt	London	1638	Fifth	Y	GC.1.20(1)
Bolton, Robert	<i>Two Sermons Preached at Northampton at Two Several Assizes There</i>	George Miller	London	1639		Y	GC.1.20(3)
Brightman, Thomas	<i>The Works of that Famous, Reverend, and Learned Divine, Mr Tho. Brightman</i>	John Field	London	1644		Y	GC.1.22
Burgess, Anthony	<i>Spiritual Refining: or a Treatise of Grace and Assurance</i>	A. Miller	London	1652		Y	GC.1.30
Burgess, Anthony	<i>The True Doctrine of Justification, in Two Parts</i>	A.M.	London	1655		Y	GC.1.16
Burgess, Anthony	<i>CXLV Expository Sermons upon the Whole 17th Chapter of the Gospel According to St John</i>	Abraham Miller	London	1656		Y	GC.1.24
Calvin, John	<i>The Institution of Christian Religion</i>	Eliot's Court Press	London	1611		Y	GC.2.11
Cartwright, Thomas	<i>A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses and Annotations on the New Testament</i>	W. Brewster	Leiden	1618		Y	GC.2.8

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Edition	Extant?	Shelfmark
Chillingworth, William	<i>The Religion of the Protestants, a Safe Way to Salvation</i>	Leonard Lichfield	Oxford	1638		Y	GC.1.29
Clarke, Samuel	<i>A General Martyrology Containing a Collection of all the Greatest Persecutions which have Befallen the Church of Christ</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Clarke, Samuel	<i>The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History: Contained in the Lives of the Fathers</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Crooke, Samuel	<i>The True Guide unto Blessedness</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Dod, John	<i>A Plain and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments</i>	Felix Kyngston	London	1614		Y	GC.1.13(1)
Dod, John	<i>Ten Sermons Tending Chiefly to the Fitting of Men for the Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper</i>	Thomas Purfoot	London	1621		Y	GC.1.13(2)
Dod, John	<i>Ten Sermons Tending Chiefly to the Fitting of Men for the Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper</i>	Thomas Harper	London	1634		Y	GC1.14(2)
Dod, John	<i>A Plain and Familiar Exposition on the Lord's Prayer</i>	M. Dawson	London	1635	Second	Y	GC.1.14(1)
Drake, Roger	<i>Sacred Chronology</i>	James and Joseph Moxon	London	1648		Y	GC.1.10
Du Moulin, Pierre	<i>The Anatomy of Arminianism</i>	Humphrey Lowndes	London	1626		Y	GC.1.19
Estwick, Nicholas	<i>A Learned and Godly Sermon Preached on the XIX Day of December</i>	George Miller	London	1639		Y	GC.1.20(4)
Foxe, John	<i>Acts and Monuments</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Fulke, William	<i>Confutation of the Rhemish Testament</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Gee, Edward	<i>A Treatise of Prayer: and of Divine Providence as Relating to it</i>	J.M.	London	1653		Y	GC.1.18

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Edition	Extant?	Shelfmark
Hakewill, George	<i>An Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World</i>	William Turner	Oxford	1635	Third	Y	GC.2.2
Harris, Robert	<i>The Works of Robert Harris once of Hanwell</i>	James Flesher	London	1654		Y	GC.1.28
Hildersham, Arthur	<i>CLII Lectures upon Psalm, LI</i>	John Raworth	London	1642		Y	GC.2.5(1)
Hildersham, Arthur	<i>CVIII Lectures upon the Fourth of John</i>	Moses Bell	London	1647	Third	Y	GC.2.5(2)
Josephus, Flavius	<i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Knox, John	<i>The History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland</i>	John Raworth	London	1644		Y	GC.2.6
Love, Christopher	<i>Grace: the Truth and Growth and Different Degrees thereof</i>	-	London	1654		Y	GC.1.17(1)
Love, Christopher	<i>The Combat Between the Flesh and Spirit</i>	T.R. and E.M.	London	1654		Y	GC.1.17(5)
Love, Christopher	<i>A Treatise of Effectual Calling and Election</i>	-	London	1655		Y	GC.1.17(4)
Love, Christopher	<i>Heaven's Glory, Hell's Terror, or Two Treatises</i>	-	London	1655		Y	GC.1.17(3)
Love, Christopher	<i>The Zealous Christian Taking Heaven by Holy Violence in Several Sermons</i>	John Rothwell	London	1654		Y	GC.1.17(2)
Mayer, John	<i>A Treasury of Ecclesiastical Expositions, upon the Difficult and Doubtful Places of the Scriptures</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Mayer, John	<i>Ecclesiastica Interpretatio</i>	John Haviland	London	1627		Y	GC.1.5
Mede, Joseph	<i>Diatribæ. Discourses on Diverse Texts of Scripture</i>	Miles Flesher	London	1648		Y	GC.1.11
Mede, Joseph	<i>Diatribæ. Part Four.</i>	J.F.	London	1652		Y	GC.1.12
Morton, Thomas	<i>A Catholic Appeal for Protestants, Out of the Confessions of the Roman Doctors</i>	Richard Field	London	1610		Y	GC.2.16
Morton, Thomas	<i>The Grand Imposture of the (Now) Church of Rome</i>	George Miller	London	1628	Second	Y	GC.1.33
Napier, John	<i>A Plain Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St. John</i>	-	Edinburgh	1645	Fifth	Y	GC.1.7

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Edition	Extant?	Shelfmark
Pemble, William	<i>The Works of that Late Learned Minister of God's Holy Word, Mr William Pemble</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Perkins, William	<i>The Works of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins, Volume I</i>	John Legatt	London	1626		Y	GC.2.13
Perkins, William	<i>The Works of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, M. William Perkins, Volume II</i>	John Legatt	London	1631		Y	GC.2.14
Perkins, William	<i>The Works of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, M. W. Perkins, Volume III</i>	John Haviland	London	1631		Y	GC.2.15
Raleigh, Sir Walter	<i>The History of the World</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-
Reynolds, Edward	<i>The Shields of the Earth</i>	Felix Kyngston	London	1636	Second	Y	GC.1.15(4)
Reynolds, Edward	<i>A Sermon Touching the Peace & Edification of the Church</i>	Felix Kyngston	London	1638		Y	GC.1.15(3)
Reynolds, Edward	<i>Meditations on the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Last Supper</i>	John Norton	London	1639	Second	Y	GC.1.15(2)
Reynolds, Edward	<i>A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soul of Man</i>	R.H.	London	1640		Y	GC.1.15(1)
Reynolds, Edward	<i>An Explication of the Hundred and Tenth Psalm</i>	T.B.	London	1642	Third	Y	GC.1.21(1)
Reynolds, Edward	<i>Three Treatises of the Vanity of the Creature, the Sinfulness of Sin, the Life of Christ</i>	W. Hunt	London	1651	Fifth	Y	GC.1.21(2)
Richardson, John	<i>Choice Observations and Explanations upon the Old Testament</i>	T.R. and E.M.	London	1655		Y	GC.1.25
Roberts, Francis	<i>Clavis Bibliorum. The Key of the Bible</i>	T.R. and E.M.	London	1649	Second	Y	GC.1.8
Rogers, Richard	<i>Seven Treatises</i>	Felix Kyngston	London	1603		Y	GC.1.31
Rogers, Richard	<i>Seven Treatises</i>	Felix Kyngston	London	1610	Third	Y	GC.2.12

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Edition	Extant?	Shelfmark
Salvard, Jean Francois	<i>An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches</i>	John Legatt	London	1643		Y	GC.1.4
Sarpi, Paolo	<i>The History of the Council of Trent</i>	Robert Young and John Raworth	London	1640	Third	Y	GC.2.9
Trapp, John	<i>A Commentary or Exposition upon all the Books of the New Testament</i>	R.W.	London	1656	Second	Y	GC.2.17
[Unknown]	<i>Annotations upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament</i>	John Legatt	London	1651	Second	Y	GC.2.3-4
Ursinus, Zacharius	<i>The Sum of Christian Religion</i>	James Young	London	1645		Y	GC.2.18
Ussher, James	<i>A Body of Divinity, or the Sum and Substance of Christian Religion</i>	Tho. Downes and Geo. Badger	London	1653		Y	GC.2.7
Vermigli, Peter Martyr	<i>The Common Places of the Most Famous and Renowned Divine Doctor Peter Martyr</i>	Henry Denham and Henry Middleton	London	1583		Y	GC.2.10
Weemes, John	<i>A Treatise of the Four Degenerate Sons</i>	Thomas Cotes	London	1636		Y	GC.1.3
Weemes, John	<i>The Works of John Weemes of Lathlocker in Scotland. The Second Volume</i>	Tho. Cotes	London	1636		Y	GC.1.9
Weemes, John	<i>The Works of John Weemes of Lathlocker in Scotland. The Third Volume</i>	M. Dawson	London	1636		Y	GC.1.2
Weemes, John	<i>The Works of John Weemes of Lathlocker in Scotland, in Four Volumes</i>	T. Cotes	London	1637		Y	GC.1.23
White, Francis	<i>A Reply to Jesuit Fisher's Answer to Certain Questions Propounded by His Most Gracious Majesty: King James</i>	Adam Islip	London	1624		Y	GC.1.27
White, John	<i>The Works of that Learned and Reverend Divine, John White Doctor in Divinity</i>	-	London	1624		Y	GC.2.1
Wolleb, Johannes	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]		N	-

Appendix Two: List of Books in the Turton and Walmsley Parish Libraries*

Turton

<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
-	A great bible	01	10	00
Barlow, Thomas	On Tim:	00	07	00
Baxter, Richard	Works in 2 vol:	01	02	00
Baynes, Paul	On Col:	00	04	06
Baynes, Paul	On the Ephes:	00	10	06
Beard, Thomas	Theatr: of gods Judgmts:	00	06	00
Blake, Thomas	Covt: of grace	00	04	06
Bolton, Robert	Works 2 vol:	00	10	00
Bolton, Samuel	Arraigmt: of error	00	02	06
Burroughs, Jeremiah	Irenicu:	00	02	08
Byfield, Nicholas	On Col: & on Peetr:	00	15	00
Calvin, John	Institutions	00	07	06
Calvin, John	On Job	00	08	00
Caryl, Joseph	On Job 5 vol:	01	16	06
Clarke, Samuel	Marrow of Eccl: history	00	10	00
Clarke, Samuel	Martyrologie	00	15	00
Culverwell, Nathaniel	Light of nature	00	02	09
Elton, Edward	On the romans	00	12	00
Elton, Edward	On the Col:	00	06	00
Foxe, John	Acts and Monumts:	02	00	00
Gillespie, George	Arons rod	00	05	00
Goodwin, Thomas	Select cases	00	06	06
Goodwin, Thomas	Christ. armr:	00	08	00
Gouge, William	On the heb. 2 vol.	01	00	00
Greenham, Richard	Works	00	13	00
Greenhill, William	On Ezek: 3 vol	00	10	00
Heylyn, Peter	Cosmography	01	00	00
Hildersham, Arthur	On Psal. 51	00	15	06

* This list of books from the Turton and Walmsley libraries has been taken from the original invoices in Chetham's Library, Manchester, (Chet/4/5/2), Invoices of Books, 1655-1685, f.58r and from David Roderick Evans, 'The Five Parochial Libraries Founded by Humphrey Chetham', (Unpublished MA thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 1993), pp. 41-42. It has been alphabetised according to authors' surnames and thus is not in the original order. Due to access restrictions to Turton Tower – where the collection is currently held – because of the Covid-19 pandemic, I was unable to visit the library in order to find the publication information for these volumes.

Jenkyn, William	On Jude	00	10	06
Jermin, Michael	On ye Pvrbs:	00	06	00
Jermin, Michael	On the Ecclesiast:	00	06	00
Jewel, John	Apolog:	01	00	00
Love, Christopher	Works	00	08	00
Mayer, John	On the bible 5 vol.	03	00	00
Mornay, Philippe Du Plessis	Mistry of Iniquitie And on the Mass 2 vol.	00	10	00
Morton, Thomas	Cathol: appeal	00	07	00
Perkins, William	Works 3 vol:	01	17	00
Slater, [Unknown]	On Thess:	00	05	00
Ursinus, Zacharias	Cattachisme	00	08	00
Ussher, James	Answer to ye Jesuites	00	04	06
Ussher, James	Body of divinity	00	06	06
White, Francis	Answr: to fisher	00	05	00
White, John	Works	00	05	06
Willet, Andrew	Works in 7 vol:	03	15	00

Walmsley

<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
-	Book of homilies	00	04	00
Attersoll, William	On ye Sacramt:	00	03	06
Foxe, John	Book Martyres	02	00	00
Jewel, John	Apol:	01	00	00
Leigh, Edward	Body of divinitie	00	12	00
Martyr, Peter	Como: places	00	12	00
Mornay, Philippe Du Plessis	Mystery of Iniquitie and on the mass	00	10	00
Perkins, William	[Works] 3 vol:	01	17	00
Rutherford, Samuel	4 vol:	00	13	00
Stoughton, [Unknown]	-	00	07	06
Taylor, [Unknown]	6 vol:	01	09	00
Taylor, [Unknown]	Works	00	10	00
Topsell, Edward	On Joell	00	05	00
Ursinus, Zacharias	Cattachisme	00	08	00
Ussher, James	Som: Christ religio:	00	06	06

Appendix Three: List of Books in the Stone and Gillingham
Donations to Wimborne Minster Chained Library

William Stone's Donation

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Arethas of Caesarea	<i>Commentarii D Joannis apocalypsim compendiaria...</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	1618	N	-
Aretius, Benedictus	<i>Comment in Apocalypsin D. Joannis Apostoli facili...</i>	Jean le Preux	Paris	1581	Y	J8
Aretius, Benedictus	<i>Commentarii in Evang. D. N. Jesu Christ, secundam Lucam...</i>	Franciscus le Preux	Lausanne	1579	Y	M18
Athenagora	<i>Opuscula</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	N	-
Beza, Theodore	<i>Jesu Christi D. N. Novum Testamentum</i>	Thomas Vautrollier	London	1585	Y	J34
Binius, Severin	<i>Concilia Generalia, et Provincialia, quotquot reperiri. Item Epistolae Decretales...</i>	Antony Hierat	Cologne	1606	Y	F17
Calvin, John	<i>Institutio Christianae Religionis...</i>	Adam and Jean Rivery	Geneva	1554	Y	J18
Cassian, John	<i>Opera omnia / cum Commentariis D. Alard Gazaei</i>	Joannem Baptistam	Arras	1628	Y	G3
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Opera Graece et Latine quae extant...</i>	Johannes Patius	Leiden	1616	Y	B15
Colladon, Nicolas	<i>Methodus Facilima ad Explicationem sacrosanctae Apocalypseos Joannis theology...</i>	Jean le Preux	Paris	1581	Y	[Unknown]
Cologne Cathedral Chapter	<i>Antididagma, seu Christianae et Catholicae religionis...</i>	Jacques Kerver	Paris	1549	Y	[Unknown]
Erasmus, Desiderius	<i>Chiliades adagiorum, opus integrum et perfectum...</i>	Joannis Gymnici	Cologne	1540	Y	G4
Eusebius of Emesa	<i>Homilies in Evangelia...</i>	Jérôme de Marnef	Paris	1554	Y	J10
Facundus of Hermiana	<i>Pro Defensione Trium Capitulum Concilii Calchedonensis...</i>	Sébastien Cramoisy	Paris	1629	Y	J26
Fonseca, Jeronimo Osorio da	<i>De Justitia caelesti, libri decem. Ad Reginaldum cardinalem Polum...</i>	Arnold Birckmann	Cologne	1572	Y	J24

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Fumi, Bartolomeo	<i>Summa; quæ Aurea Armillæ inscribitur, continens breviter... quæcunque in jure canonico et apud Theologos circa animarum curam...</i>	Aldus Manutius	Venice	1554	N	-
Gorus, Johannes	<i>Summa de exemplis ac similitudinibus rerum...</i>	Damiano Zenaro	Venice	1576	N	-
Gregory of Nazianzus	<i>Cognomento theologi, orationes triginta octo</i>	Claude Chevallon	Paris	1532	Y	B7
Gregory of Nazianzus	<i>Opera, nunc primum Graece et Latine conjunctim... Volume I</i>	[Unknown]	Paris	1630	Y	B5
Gregory of Nazianzus	<i>Opera, nunc primum Graece et Latine conjunctim... Volume II</i>	[Unknown]	Paris	1630	Y	B6
Lactantius, Lucius	<i>Divina opera... Apologeticus adversus getes...</i>	Joannem Paruum	Paris	1525	Y	[Unknown]
Ley, John	<i>Annotations upon all the Books of the Old and New Testaments...</i>	John Legatt and John Raworth	London	1645	Y	G2
Oecumenius	<i>Expositiones antiquae... ex diuersis sanctorum patrum... ed. by Donato</i>	Stephanum & fratres Sabios	Verona	1532	Y	B14
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume I</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F1
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume II</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F2
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume III</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F3
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume IV</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F4
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume V</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F5
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume VI</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F6
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume VII</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F7
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume VIII</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F8
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume IX</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F9
Pearson, John	<i>Critici Sacri. Volume X</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	F10

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Poole, Matthew	<i>Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturae interpretum. Volume I</i>	James Flesher and Thomas Roycroft	London	1669	Y	F11
Poole, Matthew	<i>Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturae interpretum. Volume II</i>	James Flesher and Thomas Roycroft	London	1672	Y	F12
Poole, Matthew	<i>Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturae interpretum. Volume III</i>	James Flesher and Thomas Roycroft	London	1673	Y	F13
Poole, Matthew	<i>Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturae interpretum. Volume IV</i>	James Flesher and Thomas Roycroft	London	1674/1676	Y	F14
Pope Gregory I	<i>Opera D. Gregorii Papae, huius nominis primi... Volumes I and II</i>	Hieronymus Froben	Basel	1564	Y	A11
Pope Saint Clement	<i>Clementis ad Corinthios epistola prior... interpret. Patricius Junius</i>	John Lichfield	Oxford	1633	Y	L19
Pope Saint Leo I the Great	<i>Heptas Praesulum Christiana... ed. by Raynaudus et al.</i>	Claude Du-Four	Lyon	1633	Y	F16
Prideaux, John	<i>Orationes novem inaugurals de totidem theologiae apicibus...</i>	John Lichfield	Oxford	1626	Y	L13
Prideaux, John	<i>Lectiones decem. De totidem Religionis capitibus...</i>	John Lichfield	Oxford	1626	Y	L13
Saint Ambrose	<i>Opera omnia quae extant, ex editione Romana: sacrae... Volumes I to III</i>	Antonio Hierat	Cologne	1616	Y	A6
Saint Ambrose	<i>Opera omnia quae extant, ex editione Romana: sacrae... Volumes IV and V</i>	Antonio Hierat	Cologne	1616	Y	A7
Saint Anselm	<i>Opuscula beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ordinis Sancti Benedicti</i>	Johann Amerbach	Basel	1495	Y	[On Display]
Saint Augustine	<i>Cuius praestantissima in omni genere monumenta... Volumes I to III</i>	Ambrosius Froben	Basel	1569	Y	A1
Saint Augustine	<i>Cuius praestantissima in omni genere monumenta... Volumes IV and V</i>	Ambrosius Froben	Basel	1569	Y	A2

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Saint Augustine	<i>Cuius praestantissima in omni genere monimenta... Volumes VI and VII</i>	Ambrosius Froben	Basel	1569	Y	A3
Saint Augustine	<i>Cuius praestantissima in omni genere monimenta... Volumes VIII and IX</i>	Ambrosius Froben	Basel	1569	Y	A4
Saint Augustine	<i>Cuius praestantissima in omni genere monimenta... Volume X</i>	Ambrosius Froben	Basel	1569	Y	A5
Saint Augustine	<i>Contra secundum Juliani responsionem, operis imperfect... ed. by Menard</i>	Sebastian Chappelet	Paris	1617	Y	J25
Saint Augustine	<i>Liber de Gestis Pelagii... ed. by Menard</i>	Sebastian Chappelet	Paris	1617	Y	J25
Saint Bernard of Clairvaux	<i>Opera omnia: tam quae vere Germana illius esse nemo inficias...</i>	John Keerberg	Antwerp	1609	Y	F15
Saint Cyprian	<i>Opera, iam quartum accuratioro uigilantia a mendis... per. Des. Erasmus Roterod.</i>	Hieronymus Froben	Basel	1530	Y	B9
Saint Cyprian	<i>Opera, recognita & illustrata per Joannem Oxoniensem episcopum...</i>	Printed at the Theatre	Oxford	1682	Y	B8
Saint Cyril of Alexandria	<i>Scita & elegantia commentaria in quinque priores Moysis libros... ed. by Andreae Schotti</i>	Martin Nutius and John Verdussen	Antwerp	1618	Y	B11
Saint Cyril of Alexandria	<i>Sermones paschales triginta: ex interpretatione Antonij Salmatae...</i>	Martin Nutius and John Verdussen	Antwerp	1618	Y	B11
Saint Cyril of Alexandria	<i>S. Cyrillus Patriarcha Alexandrinus, in XII Prophetas: ex biblioth. Vatic. et Bauar...</i>	Adami Sartorii	Ingolstadt	1607	Y	B12
Saint Cyril of Alexandria	<i>Adversus anthropomorphitas, liber unus graece et latine, Ejusdem, de incarnatione...</i>	Joannis Patii	Leiden	1605	Y	K18
Saint Cyril of Jerusalem	<i>Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera, quae reperiuntur: ex variis Bibliothecis praecipue Vaticana...</i>	Charles Morel	Paris	1631	Y	E20

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Saint Hilary of Poitiers	<i>D. Hilarii Pictaurore episcopi Lucubrationes quotquot extant...</i>	Per Eusebium Episcopium, et Nicolai fratris haeredes	Basel	1570	Y	G10
Saint Ignatius of Antioch	<i>S. Ignatii episcopi Antiocheni & martyris quae exstant omnia: in duos libros distincta...</i>	Widow of Peter de la Roviere	Geneva	1623	Y	K15
Saint Irenaeus	<i>Divi Irenae, adversus Valentini, et similium Gnosticorum haereses, libri quinque...</i>	Birckmann	Cologne	1596	Y	B10
Saint Isadore of Pelusium	<i>S. Isidori Pelusiotae de interpretatione diuinae scripturae epistolarum libri IV...</i>	Hieronymus Commelinus	Heidelberg	1605	Y	F18
Saint Isadore of Pelusium	<i>Sancti Isidori Pelusiotae presbyteri Epistolarum, quae in Billii & Rittershusii editionibus desiderantur, volumen reliquum...</i>	Matthaei Kempfferi	Frankfurt	1629	Y	G1
Saint Isadore of Seville	<i>D. Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi de summo bono lib. III... Quibus aditus est eiusdem...</i>	Petri Regnault	Paris	1538	Y	[On Display]
Saint Jerome	<i>Opera, ed. by Mariani. Volume I, Tomes I to IV</i>	Sebastian Nivellium	Paris	1602	Y	A8
Saint Jerome	<i>Opera, ed. by Mariani. Volume II, Tomes V to VII</i>	Sebastian Nivellium	Paris	1602	Y	A9
Saint Jerome	<i>Opera, ed. by Mariani. Volume III, Tomes VIII and IX</i>	Sebastian Nivellium	Paris	1602	Y	A10
Saint Jerome	<i>Sancti Hieronymi Stridonensis Indiculus de haeresibus Judaeorum: Nunc primum in lucem...</i>	Sebastian Chappelet	Paris	1617	Y	[Unknown]
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Opera. Volume I, ed. by Sir H Savile</i>	John Norton	Eton	1612	Y	A12
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Opera. Volume II, ed. by Sir H Savile</i>	John Norton	Eton	1612	Y	A13
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Opera. Volume III, ed. by Sir H Savile</i>	John Norton	Eton	1612	Y	A14
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Opera. Volume IV, ed. by Sir H Savile</i>	John Norton	Eton	1612	Y	A15

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Opera. Volume V, ed. by Sir H Savile</i>	John Norton	Eton	1612	Y	A16
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Opera. Volume VI, ed. by Sir H Savile</i>	John Norton	Eton	1612	Y	A17
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Opera. Volume VII, ed. by Sir H Savile</i>	John Norton	Eton	1612	Y	A18
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Opera. Volume VIII, ed. by Sir H Savile</i>	John Norton	Eton	1612	Y	B1
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>Commentaria in sacrosancta quatuor Christi Evangelia...</i>	Charlotte Guillard	Paris	1544	Y	M13
Saint John Chrysostom	<i>In Sanctum Iesv Christi Evangelium secundu[m] Mattheum co[m]mentarii luculentissimi...</i>	Joannis Steelsii	Antwerp	1542	Y	J7
Saint Justin	<i>Opera Graecus textus multis in locis correctus & Latine</i>	Sébastien Cramoisy	Paris	1615	Y	B13
Saint Macarius the Elder of Egypt	<i>Homiliae Spirituales quinquaginta, de integritate quae decet...</i>	Widow of Johann Wechel	Frankfurt	1594	Y	J28
Saint Optatus of Mela	<i>Optati Afri Mileuitani Episcopi De schismate Donatistarum contra Parmenianum Donatistam libri septem...</i>	John Legatt	London	1631	Y	J27
Saint Vincent of Lerins	<i>Aduersus prophanas haereseon nouationes libellus verè aureus...</i>	Birckmann	Cologne	1613	Y	[Unknown]
Salvianus	<i>De vero iudicio et providentia dei: ad S. Salonium episcopum Vienensem libri VIII...</i>	Hieronymus Froben	Basel	1530	Y	G7
Tertullianus, Quintus Septimius Florens	<i>Opera quae adhuc reperiri potuerunt omnia ex editione Iacobi Pamelii Brugensis...</i>	Gillis van den Rade	Franeker	1597	Y	H13
Theophylactus of Ochrida	<i>In D. Pauli Epistolas commentarii...</i>	Robert Barker	London	1636	N	-
Theophylactus of Ochrida	<i>In quatuor Evangelia enarrationes...</i>	Gottfried Hittorp	Cologne	1532	Y	[On Display]
Walker, Obadiah	<i>A Paraphrase and Annotations upon the Epistles of St Paul...</i>	Printed at the Theatre	Oxford	1675	N	-

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Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Allestree, Richard	<i>A Discourse concerning the Period of Humane Life...</i>	Printed for Enoch Wyer	London	1677	N	-
Baker, Richard	<i>Chronicle of the Kings of England from the Time of the Romans...</i>	Ellen Cotes	London	1665	Y	D19
Barnes, Joshua	<i>Edward III. History of that Most Victorious Monarch, King of England and France...</i>	John Haynes	Cambridge	1688	Y	K1
Browne, Thomas	<i>Pseudodoxia Epidemica... together with the Religio Medici...</i>	J.R.	London	1672	Y	K17
Burnet, Gilbert	<i>History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Volume I</i>	T.H.	London	1679	Y	D10
Burnet, Gilbert	<i>History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Volume II</i>	T.H.	London	1681	Y	D11
Burton, Robert	<i>Anatomy of Melancholy</i>	Printed for Henry Cripps	Oxford	1638	Y	K11
Camden, William	<i>History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth late Queen of England</i>	Thomas Harper	London	1635	Y	E9
Castell, Edmund	<i>Lexicon Heptaglotton... Volume I</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1669	Y	I9
Castell, Edmund	<i>Lexicon Heptaglotton... Volume II</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1669	Y	I10
Chamber- layne, Edward	<i>Anglia Notitia or The Present State of England</i>	T.N.	London	1670	Y	J20
Charleton, Walter	<i>Two Discourses: I. Concerning the Different Wits of Men: II. Of the Mysteries of Vinters</i>	F.L.	London	1675	Y	J11
Chillingworth, William	<i>Religion of the Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation</i>	Leonard Lichfield	Oxford	1638	Y	K19
Cicero, Marcus Tullius	<i>Opera quae extant omnia... Volume I, ed. by Littleton</i>	John Dunmore	London	1681	Y	I5
Cicero, Marcus Tullius	<i>Opera quae extant omnia... Volume II, ed. by Littleton</i>	John Dunmore	London	1681	Y	I6

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Comines, Philippe de	<i>History of Philippe Comines... trans. by T. Danett</i>	Printed for Samuel Mearne	London	1674	Y	K7
Cotton, Robert	<i>Cottoni Posthuma: Divers Choice Pieces of that Renowned Antiquary... by J. Howell</i>	Printed for Richard Lowndes	London	1672	Y	L11
Cudworth, Ralph	<i>The True Intellectual System of the Universe...</i>	Printed for Richard Royston	London	1678	Y	D17
Daniel, Samuel	<i>The Collection of the History of England...</i>	Edward Griffin	London	1650	Y	L22
Dugdale, William	<i>History of St Paul's Cathedral in London from its Foundations until these times...</i>	Thomas Warren	London	1658	Y	D7
Dugdale, William	<i>Short View of the Late Troubles in England</i>	Printed at the Threatre	Oxford	1681	Y	D18
E., D.	<i>A Vindication of Historiographer of the University of Oxford</i>	Randal Taylor	London	1693	N	-
Eusebius of Caesarea	<i>Ancient Ecclesiastical histories of the First Six Hundred Years after Christ... trans. M. Hanmer</i>	Abraham Miller	London	1663	Y	G11
Evelyn, John	<i>French Gardiner...</i>	S.S.	London	1672	Y	J19
Fuller, Thomas	<i>Church-History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year 1648</i>	Printed for John Williams	London	1655	Y	I7
Graunt, John	<i>Reflections on weekly Bills of Mortality for the Cities of London and Westminster...</i>	Printed for Samuel Speed	London	1665	N	-
Grew, Nehemiah	<i>Musaeum Regalis Societatis, or a Catalogue and Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities belonging to the Royal Society...</i>	William Rawlins	London	1681	Y	D13
Grimeston, Edward	<i>General History of the Netherlands...</i>	Adam Islip	London	1608	Y	[Unknown]
Hammond, Henry	<i>Paraphrase & Annotations upon all the Books of the N.T.</i>	John Macock and Miles Flesher	London	1681	Y	D6
Hammond, Henry	<i>The Works of Henry Hammond, ed. by William Fulman, Volumes I and II</i>	Thomas Newcomb and Miles Flesher	London	1684	Y	D4

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Hammond, Henry	<i>The Works of Henry Hammond, ed. by William Fulman, Volumes III and IV</i>	Thomas Newcomb and Miles Flesher	London	1684	Y	D5
Hartlib, Samuel	<i>Enlargement of the Discourse of Husbandry used in Brabant and Flanders</i>	Robert and William Leybourn	London	1652	Y	J6
Herbert, Edward	<i>The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth</i>	E.G.	London	1649	Y	D15
Hooker, Richard	<i>Of the Laws Ecclesiastical Politie</i>	Printed for Robert Scot, Thomas Basset, John Wright and Richard Chiswell	London	1682	Y	K10
Howell, William	<i>An Institution of General History; or the History of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the World... Volume I</i>	Printed for Henry Herringham and Thomas Bassett	London	1680	Y	D1
Howell, William	<i>An Institution of General History; or the History of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the World... Volume II</i>	Printed for Henry Herringham and Thomas Bassett	London	1680	Y	D2
Howell, William	<i>An Institution of General History; or the History of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the World... Volume III</i>	Miles Flesher	London	1685	Y	D3
Hughes, William	<i>The Complete Vineyard...</i>	John Crooke	London	1670	Y	J15
Isaacson, Henry	<i>Saturni Ephemerides, sive Tabula Historico-chronologica. Containing a chronological series...</i>	Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet	London	1633	Y	I8
Lake, Arthur	<i>Sermons with some religious and divine meditations...</i>	William Stansby	London	1629	Y	D14
Laud, William	<i>Relation of the Conference between W. Laud... and Mr Fisher, the Jesuite...</i>	Richard Badger	London	1639	Y	D16
Machiavelli, Nicolo	<i>The Works of the Famous Nicolas Machiavel... trans. by H. Neville</i>	Printed for John Starkey	London	1675	Y	K6

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Markham, Gervase	<i>Way to Get Wealth by the Approved Rules of Practice...</i>	Roger Jackson	London	1625	N	-
Micanzio, Fulgenzio	<i>Life of the most learned Father Paul: of the order of the Servie. Councillor of State...</i>	Printed for Humphrey Moseley	London	1651	Y	M9
More, Henry	<i>A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings...</i>	James Flesher	London	1662	Y	K20
More, Henry	<i>An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness...</i>	James Flesher	London	1660	Y	K21
More, Henry	<i>A Modest Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity...</i>	James Flesher	London	1664	Y	K22
Pearson, John	<i>Exposition of the Creed</i>	John Macock	London	1683	Y	D12
Phillippes, Henry	<i>The Purchasers Pattern</i>	Robert and William Leybourn	London	1653	N	-
Plato	<i>Opera quae extant omnia... Volumes I and II</i>	Henri Estienne	Lausanne	1578	Y	I1
Plato	<i>Opera quae extant omnia... Volumes III and IV</i>	Henri Estienne	Lausanne	1578	Y	I2
Plutarch	<i>Quae extant omnia, Volume I</i>	Daniel and David Aubriorum, and Clement Schleichii	Frankfurt	1620	Y	I3
Plutarch	<i>Quae extant omnia</i>	Daniel and David Aubriorum, and Clement Schleichii	Frankfurt	1620	Y	I4
Primatt, Stephen	<i>The City and Country Purchaser and Builder</i>	Printed for S. Speed	London	1667	Y	J12
Raleigh, Walter	<i>The History of the World</i>	Robert Young	London	1634	Y	K4
Ramesey, William	<i>The Gentleman's Companion: or, a Character of True Nobility and Gentility...</i>	Edward Okes	London	1672	Y	J23
Rogers, Thomas	<i>Treatise upon Sundry Matters contained in the Thirty-Nine Articles</i>	William Hunt	London	1658	Y	[Unknown]
Ross, Alexander	<i>The History of the World: the second part, being a continuation of the Famous History of Sir Walter Raleigh</i>	Printed for John Saywell	London	1652	Y	K5

Author	Title	Printer	Place	Date	Extant?	Shelfmark
Saint-Amour, Louis de Gorin	<i>Journal of Monsr. De St. Amour... Containing a Full Account of all the Transactions both in France and at Rome...</i>	Thomas Ratcliff	London	1664	Y	D20
Sanctorius, Santorio	<i>Medicina Statica: or Rules of Health, English'd by J. Davies</i>	Printed for John Starkey	London	1676	N	-
Sanderson, Robert	<i>De obligatione conscientiae prælectiones decem...</i>	Robert Littlebury	London	1686	Y	M7
Sarpi, Paolo	<i>The History of the Council of Trent... trans. by N. Brent</i>	John Macock	London	1676	Y	K2
Scheibler, Christoph	<i>Metaphysica specialis sive Metaphysicorum liber II...</i>	Nikolaus Hampel	Giessen	1622	Y	J35
Secundus, Pliny	<i>Historiae mundi libri XXXVII</i>	Patrus Santandreas	Lyon	1582	Y	D8
Serres, Jean de	<i>A General History of France... much augmented...</i>	George Eld	London	1611	Y	D9
Tallents, Francis	<i>A View of Universal History, from the Creation, to the Destruction of Jerusalem...</i>	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	[Unknown]	N	-
Taylor, Jeremy	<i>Antiquitates Christianae or the History of the Life and Death of the Holy Jesus...</i>	John Macock and Miles Flesher	London	1684	N	-
Temple, William	<i>Miscellanae by a Person of Honour</i>	A.M. and R.R.	London	1680	Y	L10
Temple, William	<i>Miscellanae. The Second Part...</i>	T.M.	London	1690	Y	J5
Temple, William	<i>Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands</i>	Anne Maxwell	London	1673	Y	L12
Trussell, John	<i>Continuation of the... History of England...</i>	Mary Dawson	London	1636	Y	K13
Tryon, Thomas	<i>The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness...</i>	Andrew Sowle	London	1683	N	-
Tubero, Oratius	<i>Cinq Dialogues faits a l'imitation des anciens...</i>	G. Rousselin	Liege	1673	N	-
Ussher, James	<i>The Annals of the World deduced from the Origin of Time...</i>	Evan Tyler	London	1658	Y	K3

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Venner, Tobias	<i>Via recta ad vitam longam, or, A treatise wherein the right way and best manner of living for attaining to a long and healthfull life...</i>	James Flesher	London	1650	N	-
Walton, Brian	<i>Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta. Prolegomena from Volume I</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1653	Y	I17
Walton, Brian	<i>Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta. Volume I</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1653	Y	I11
Walton, Brian	<i>Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta. Volume II</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1655	Y	I12
Walton, Brian	<i>Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta. Volume III</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1657	Y	I13
Walton, Brian	<i>Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta. Volume IV</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1657	Y	I14
Walton, Brian	<i>Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta. Volume V</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1657	Y	I15
Walton, Brian	<i>Biblia Sacra, Polyglotta. Volume VI</i>	Thomas Roycroft	London	1657	Y	I16

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1 May 1695: Walker, Obadiah, 1616-1699 to Halton, Timothy, 1633-1704 (MS Ballard 21, fol. 103).

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Letter from Richard Johnson to Humphrey Chetham (CPP/3/72).

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Will of Henry Bury, Clerk of Bury, Lancashire, 24 May 1636 (PROB 11/171/190).

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