

THE INTENTIONS OF THOMAS PLUME



W. J. PETCHEY

TERCENTENARY EDITION

THE INTENTIONS OF THOMAS PLUME

by

W. J. PETCHY

Based on the 1981
Plume Lecture



TERCENTENARY EDITION
MALDON
2004

The Intentions of Thomas Plume
was first published by
the Trustees of the Plume Library
of Maldon, Essex
in 1985

This edition is published by
the Trustees in 2004 to celebrate
the tercentenary of the foundation of
the Plume Library in 1704

ISBN 09509905 0 7

© The Trustees of the Plume Library

The cover illustration is from a drawing of
St Peter's Tower and the Plume Library building by Charles G Tait,
reproduced by courtesy of Mrs Tait

Printed in England by
Contact Reprographics, Cowdray Centre, Colchester, Essex

W. J. PETCHEY 1935-2001

The sudden death of Bill Petchey in 2001 deprived Maldon, Essex of its premier historian. A Maldon man, son of the town's Chief Fire Officer, William John Petchey spent his life endeavouring to disentangle the complex history of the ancient borough. His education at the Maldon Grammar School was fundamental in guiding his life's work. Under A.C. 'Gus' Edwards, he developed an interest in brass-rubbing and heraldry which led to his 1962 revision of *Armorial Bearings of the Sovereigns of England*, still in print after forty years.

Living opposite the elderly Plume Librarian Sydney Deed, 'young Petchey' was conscripted by Mr Deed's wife to fetch books down from the upper shelves of the Library while her husband compiled his Catalogue. From this contact with ancient learning derived Bill's life-long fascination with history in all its forms. Whilst still at school he won the coveted Emmison Prize for a study of Maldon Chamberlain's Accounts for the Tudor period.

After a scholarship to Christ's College, Cambridge, and post-graduate training at Balliol, Oxford, he published a study of the history of Maldon Grammar School which corrected the previously accepted account of its origins published in the *Victoria County History of Essex*. Most of his working life was spent at Ripon Grammar School, latterly as a housemaster, but school holidays invariably found him in Essex, frequently in Thomas Plume's Library, gathering material for his Leicester PhD thesis. This was later published by Essex Record Office as *A Prospect of Maldon 1500-1689*, surely the definitive study of the town at that period.

After retiring early to care for his ageing mother, Bill taught local history for the WEA and Essex University, before returning to his beloved Plume Library as Librarian for a period tragically cut short by his death. To be conducted around the Library by him was to get an insight into the seventeenth century granted to few. Added to his wide historical perspective was a fund of anecdote which made him a delightful companion, but he was not simply backward-looking. It was at his initiative that the work towards the comprehensive computerised catalogue of the Plume Library began.

Olive Earnshaw, Plume Librarian 2001-2003,
and Max Earnshaw

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The suggestions offered in this paper have sharpened themselves considerably since 1979, when the Trustees of Dr Plume's Library invited me to deliver one of their Lectures and when I decided to offer public answers to questions which I had been asking of myself about this collection of books during some thirty years of sporadic but at times extensive use of that Library. As time has passed, more and more examples have accumulated to substantiate those answers (and to illustrate my comments) and I have to thank the Trustees for charging me with an interesting exercise in presenting the material in two quite distinct forms: first, as a lecture to an audience whose range of interests and whose familiarity with the Library's contents was not restricted to that of specialists in 17th-century history; secondly, in the following printed format. The lecture had to be the occasion for an illustrated enquiry with a fully participating audience—it was not designed as a formal reading—and its substance could not usefully be transcribed into a printed essay such as this; even the illustrative material has often had to be replaced with equivalents more suitable for the changed medium of presentation.

Readers who were also members of that audience in 1981 should not, therefore, be surprised at the changed construction but they will find that the questions and my answers are the same. I have, however, ventured to press home more positively here my conclusions and I must point out that they are not necessarily the opinions of the Trustees or of their Librarian.

My thanks are especially due to Canon A J Dunlop, Chairman of the Trustees; to Mr Victor Gray, County Archivist of Essex, for his encouragement in the completion of this study; to Mrs G. Shacklock, Thomas Plume's Librarian, for her continuous help in my exploration of the Library; and to the 1981 audience for their encouragement and comments. This is also the opportunity for me to express my gratitude to a former Librarian, the late Mr S.G. Deed, under whose magisterial guidance I first made acquaintance with the world of 16th- and 17th-century book production.

W. J. Petchey

CONVENTIONS AND NOTES

All dates are given in the New Style. Book titles are printed thus: *The Letters of Mounsieur de Balzac*. The dates given are, unless otherwise indicated, those of the copies in the Plume Library. Where no place of printing is stated (of books published before 1900), it is to be taken to have been London. For books published after 1900 the publisher is given instead of the place of printing. All references, end-notes and bibliography have, for conciseness, been amalgamated and are indicated in the text within square brackets. Entries [1] to [10] form a list of the principal sources; entries [11] to [39] are principally notes to substantiate statements in the text; and [40] to [58] illustrate a particular theme in the Library's stock. Within these main entries there are often subsections, again for the purpose of avoiding repetition of main entries, and as a result the reader should note that the references do not run consecutively in the text itself.

THE INTENTIONS OF THOMAS PLUME

If it were reasonable to suppose, as many instinctively do, that collections of books will faithfully reflect their owner's concerns and beliefs, might even indicate accurately changes in their ideas or interests, then the special value of the Plume Library at Maldon ought to be as a record of the thoughts and ideas of a man who belonged to an intellectual climate and a society far different in outlook and structure to that of its present-day visitors. Thomas Plume, Vicar of Greenwich from 1658 to 1704, has gained a reputation for piety, learning and benevolence. In stepping over the threshold of his Library, which he bequeathed to his native town, one could be stepping back into what has been called "the world we have lost", the pre-industrial era, and into a fundamentally different intellectual world.

The books are as he left them, very few having been taken by plunderers, all things considered; they are kept in the room he built for them and it is unchanged. A cursory glance along the shelves, an exploration of the Library's printed Catalogue [1] is liable to encourage the supposition that these books' contents will prove to be an index to their owner's mind. Three sources—the easily ascertainable facts about his smoothly successful career (as set out in Figure 1 below), his Will [2.1], the subject-matter of his books—can be combined to produce an illusion that this Library is similar to the contemporary library of Samuel Pepys which, as it was assembled, "came to reflect almost as clearly as the diary itself" (i.e. Pepys' Diary) "the mind and personality of its owner" [10 (a)].

Thus the theology in the Library is as impressive in its range of Classes as ought to be expected for a preacher respected for his scholarship and authoritative pulpit-style. Here are Bibles in many languages, commentaries, patristics, pastoral and moral theology, liturgies, sermons (both printed and manuscript), devotional works and the earliest essays in what was to become, after his lifetime, Comparative Religion. Other books on canon law and aspects of ecclesiastical jurisdiction current during his working life are reminders that Dr Plume was the archdeacon of the diocese of Rochester for twenty-five years.

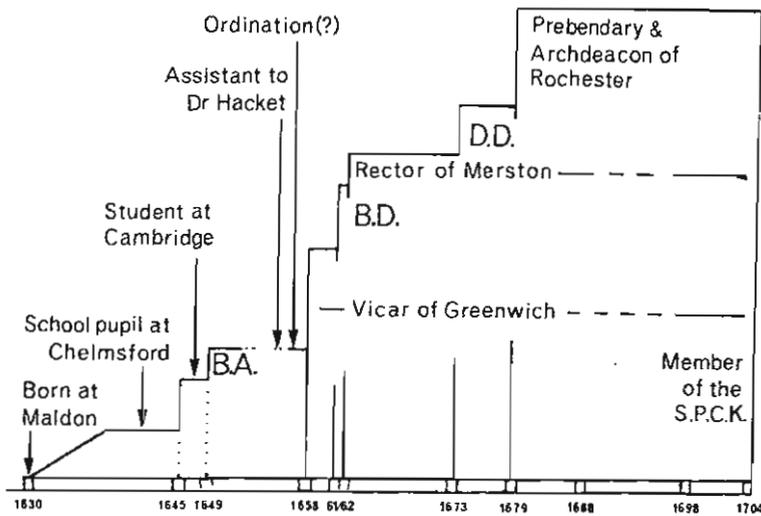


Figure 1. The Career of Thomas Plume.

The Platonists who flourished as a school of metaphysics at Cambridge from the 1650s to the 1690s, in particular as members of his own college, are well represented here. There is also a good selection of contemporary Levantine and Arabic studies, in which some other members of his college were distinguished scholars. So one might suppose that such books reflect special interests which Dr Plume derived from his undergraduate life and subsequent association with Christ's College, suggesting perhaps his familiarity with the Platonist philosophers Henry More and Ralph Cudworth and with Dr John Covell, Sir John Finch, Sir Thomas Baines and others of the college who had travelled in Greece and Asia Minor.

A visitor who knows that by his Will of 1704 Dr Plume founded the Professorship of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy at Cambridge University and that he was Vicar of Greenwich when the Royal Observatory was established there (1675) will not be surprised to find on the shelves treatises on astronomy, chemistry, mechanics, mathematics, botany, anatomy, with many issues of the *Philosophical Transactions* published by the Royal Society. It will be found appropriate that these books and tracts form a distinctive and considerable proportion of the entire Library.

A Director of the British Museum Library was thus led to describe Thomas Plume's books as "a personal working library of a scholar with wide interests in all fields of learning" [1(a)]. Yet curious anomalies appear if the Library's contents are searched for biographical material which would be more precise than impressions (such as these) produced by a superficial matching of the books' subject-matter with the known outlines of Plume's life.

If he was indeed an informed amateur mathematician whose objectives included collecting the major authorities' work, it is odd that his books do not include (nor ever did, so far as can be ascertained) the *Principia Mathematica* of Isaac Newton, published by the Royal Society in 1687, nor John Wallis' *Arithmetica Infinitorum* (1655) setting out the differential calculus from which Newton developed his theories and discoveries. Strange, too, that if the books indicate a special interest in astronomy and, indeed, all those other developing areas of what he called Natural and Experimental Philosophy (to us, the Natural Sciences), he never became a Fellow of the Royal Society. He acquired its *Transactions*; he bought the *History* setting out the Society's objectives and philosophy, written by a man who subsequently became his bishop [11]; he had a copy of a fine, illustrated catalogue of its Museum [12]. But he cannot be found directly associated with the Royal Society, nor with Gresham's College, another London institution which had sponsored the development of scientific and mathematical research in the mid-17th century and he gave shelf-space to two works attacking the Society's aims [13]. There is more on astrology, such as the *Discourse* of Sir Christopher Heydon "manifestly proving," so its title claims, "the powerful influence of the planets and fixed stars upon elementary bodies" (published in 1650 from a manuscript composed before 1623) than might be expected of a patron of the new sciences.

There is a story about the formation of the Plumeian Professorship which comes to us at third hand. If true, it puts his generous endowment of the natural sciences in an unexpected light. About 1730 Robert Smith, kinsman of the second occupier of this Chair, recorded that the first professor, Roger Cotes, had said that Dr Plume was "induced" to create this endowment by

reading Christian Huygen's *Cosmotheoros*. Only an unbound copy of the Latin edition (1699) of that is in the Library now but Dr Plume also had the original English edition (of 1698) [14] and the curious features of Cotes' story are, first, that Dr Plume's decision to devote a very large proportion (£1,902) of his estate to the creation of the professorship came only towards the end of his life, when he was 68; second, that *Cosmotheoros* was not a seminal treatise on the discoveries in this developing field of exact scientific research but an imaginative exercise akin to science fiction, consisting of "conjectures concerning the inhabitants, plants and productions of the worlds in the planets". Roger Cotes implied that his professorship existed merely because an old man had developed a curiosity about "Life in Outer Space". Why, then, are there so many serious, objective studies in this Library—the treatises and published letters and tabulated observations by Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Jeremiah Horrocks—which were all published long before 1698? And why had not these provoked the good Doctor into planning a professorship in astronomy?

The terms of Dr Plume's bequest are also curiously at odds with the academic scientific intentions he might have been expected to have had. The professor was to have very light academic duties and instead of being a Fellow residing in a college he was to live in a town house so that "any ingenious Scholar or Gentleman may resort to him at all proper seasons to be instructed in the knowledge of Astronomy . . .". Not, however, in the details of Newtonian physics, the calculus or theoretical astronomy but more generally about "The Globes, Navigation, Natural Philosophy, Dialling and other practical parts of the Mathematics" [2.1]. The clients of this professor were thus to be those *virtuosi* who had for long patronised the museums, galleries and observatories of Europe, such as the gentleman depicted in a Flemish painting of c.1630 [63(a)], whiling away time in an art gallery with books, a globe, a chart, an astrolabe, navigation instruments, medals and miniatures, the curios with which collectors like Elias Ashmole, Ralph Thoresby and the Fellows of the Royal Society packed their public rooms.

As one explores the books in this Library these anomalies are joined by an awareness of a curious impartiality in the choice of

subjects, amounting to an apparently deliberate pairing of alternative viewpoints. Disputations on a wide variety of controversial topics are, as it were, frozen and packed upon the shelves, their matters in controversy kept unresolved for ever. It is as if the collector had sought to make his collection uniformly impersonal. On the same page of the printed Catalogue, for example, are a denunciation of the unreformed universities by Edward Webster (*Academiarum Examen or the Examination of the Academies*, a printed text of 1654 from his sermon of 1653) and Edward Waterhouse's response to Webster's sermon, his *Humble Apologie for Learning and Learned Men* (1653). Six works by Andrew Marvell, printed between 1672 and 1680, are accompanied by Mr Theophilus Thorowthistle's *Sober Reflections or A Solid Confutation of Mr Andrew Marvell's Works* (1674) and, in reply, Marvell's *Plain-dealing or A full and Particular Examination of a Late Treatise* (Cambridge, 1675). Two copies of Bishop Jeremy Taylor's *Dissuasions from Popery* are accompanied by Edward Worsley's *Truth Will Out or A Discourse of Some Untruths Told by Jeremy Taylor in his Dissuasions from Popery*. There is a copy of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, its argument generally favourable to the scientific principles laid down by Sir Francis Bacon, but also *Medicus Medicatus*—"The Doctor Dosed With His Own Medicine"—which is in outright opposition to the scientific principles of both Browne and Bacon. Both works are bound together in one volume in this Library.

Certainly the books do illustrate facts already known from other sources about Thomas Plume. A comparison of their range of subjects with his contemporaries' collections—as described by Pepys and Evelyn in their diaries, for example—confirms that it is reasonable to consider the Plume Library "a guide to the culture of the seventeenth century" [1(a)], very similar to those of other cultured, alert, inquisitive men of his time. Yet clearly, beyond such a purely illustrative function the books will not serve independently as a reliable biographical source.

In particular they fail to shed any light on the years 1649 to 1662, when there is no certain record of Thomas Plume's life. It must have been the most formative period for him, when he came

to intellectual and perhaps spiritual maturity: he was in his twenties, a time of decisions as he laid the foundations of his career but also a time of great social, political and religious upheaval, when the world into which he had been born was (as was said at the time) "turned upside down" [15.1] or (as another commented) when the nation was "turned with its heels upwards" [15.2]. Indeed he could hardly have spent his formative years at a more difficult time.

The man who stepped out of the turmoil of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth's experiments in republican government, who was presented to Greenwich Vicarage by Oliver Cromwell's son, ought to have been an open supporter of the radical wing of the Church of England, a Puritan, eager to implement the presbyterian reorganisation of the State Church which the Parliaments and the Scots had attempted in the 1640s. He had spent his childhood in a borough (Maldon) whose Corporation had from the 1570s consistently maintained a Calvinist preaching ministry and in his childhood had sheltered a scholar ejected from Cambridge for republican sympathies, Isaac Dorislaus, who became one of the prosecuting counsel at the trial of King Charles I. This Thomas Plume graduated from one of the principal "nurseries" of Anglican puritanism, Christ's College, as had his father and close cousins [6]; for him a pulpit ought to have been more important than a Communion table, a sermon essential, a Book of Common Prayer not. His father officiated as Senior Elder in one of the presbyteries which replaced the dioceses, arch-deaconries and rural deaneries of England during the Commonwealth.

Instead, by 1662 Thomas Plume appears as a Royalist and a committed Anglican. He was a priest by 1659 and the regularity of his orders were never questioned after the re-establishment of the Church of England in 1661-1662, so he must have deliberately sought ordination at some time before 1659, at a time when the surviving bishops could only function clandestinely. (Another who did as Plume must have done was the future Archbishop Tenison [5], who was ordained by Bishop Brian Duppa in 1659). From the beginning of his ministry Plume celebrated Holy Communion in St Alphege's Church at Greenwich according to the Order in the Book of Common Prayer; John Evelyn, a

stalwart maintainer of the proscribed services, took his family there at Easter 1659 to receive Holy Communion [9.1]. Plume was by 1662 held in high esteem by the new Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Dr John Hacket, who had been victimised in the 1640s and 1650s for his adherence to the principles of Divine Right and episcopal church government and who, in 1662, was hoping to appoint to a prebend (a type of canonry) at Lichfield Cathedral this "Mr Plume of Greenwich, who is," he wrote to a friend [5] "of so great merit."

The influence of this Dr John Hacket on both the career and the principles of Thomas Plume becomes apparent as one peruses the books. It was a pervasive influence lasting throughout Plume's life, as may become evident in this brief study, but the circumstances in which they came to know each other are only indistinctly traceable. There is a blank period of some ten years between Plume's graduation as a Bachelor of Arts in 1649 (aged 19) and his arrival at Greenwich in 1658. As he did not proceed to the M.A. degree he would have remained *in statu pupillari* had he continued resident in Cambridge. However, it was customary for young graduates who sought ordination to spend a period of study combined with practical experience of pastoral work with a beneficed minister outside the university, a period of pupillage, a curacy. Thomas Plume could have gone with his tutor, William More, who abandoned his fellowship at Christ's College in 1649 (as did all but three of the Fellows) and retired to his college living at Kegworth, near Lutterworth. Perhaps he did but by 1656 Plume was at Nonsuch, the abandoned palace which Henry VIII had built in Surrey. One of his commonplace books [2.3] has a note to the effect that one of its sections was completed at Nonsuch, 20 September 1656.

Dr Hacket had been deprived of his most valuable benefices and positions during the Civil War but he was allowed to keep the rectory of Cheam and spent the Interregnum there, in scholarly seclusion. On the outskirts of his parish was the palace of Nonsuch. Hacket wrote of his dependence on Thomas Plume's services in buying books for him and as his secretary and general agent [5] and in the biography which Plume wrote of Hacket [3.2] the account of the ageing scholar's disciplined, frugal life at Cheam is full of touches that come from the author's familiarity

with the situation there, a companion's knowledge of the daily routine and of the old man's generosity which may have been Plume's own experience:

"In bad times, when he had lost his best income and, like the Widow of Sarepta, had but an handful of Meal and Cruze of Oyl left for himself and his Family, yet he then . . . has given a distressed Friend twenty pounds at a time . . ." [3.2(c)].

Dr Hacket was very much the patron a young man needed in the 1650s and 1660s. He was able to recommend Plume to one of the surviving bishops for ordination; he may have been able to use his reviving influence in 1658, as the return of the Monarchy and the Established Church became more certain, to secure Plume's appointment at Greenwich and that was an invaluable advancement, a desirable benefice in a well-to-do parish, a vicarage formerly in the patronage of the Crown and in 1658 in the gift of the new Lord Protector, Richard Cromwell. When Hacket became Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1661 he was in a position to secure for his former secretary the royal mandate to the University of Cambridge by which Plume graduated Bachelor of Divinity without having followed a course of residential studies or taken the statutory academic exercises in the Divinity Schools. This degree was, like Greenwich Vicarage, a very desirable promotion, a highly respected "second degree" which took precedence over the M.A. (and perhaps equivalent to a modern Ph.D. degree).

More to the point of understanding this Library, Dr Hacket had initiated the young scholar into the world of bibliographical scholarship. Plume explained particularly how Hacket had refused to set foot in London after the execution of King Charles I because, in his opinion, it had been polluted by that sacrilegious act. Books he needed, however, and Thomas Plume had been their purchaser. A degree of personal judgement and considerable time in sorting through variant editions is needed when buying books for others—librarianship at least—and the young man came to that task at a time when the lifting of press censorship had filled the bookstalls to an unusual extent. In the late 1650s he commenced a life-long acquaintance with the many book-sellers of London, with their specialities and the range of materials in print.

This relationship of admired patron with valued assistant continued to Hacket's death. Even in his last sickness, 1671, the bishop "sent, the week before he died, to a Friend in London to send him down the new books from abroad or at home . . ." [3.2(d)] and Plume knew the contents of the library in Lichfield Palace well enough to estimate its value: "to the University Library" (at Cambridge) "he bequeath'd by Will all his own books, which cost him about £1,500" [3.2(e)].

Having been unable to secure a prebendal stall for Plume at Lichfield, Hacket bequeathed to him £40 in 1671 and—probably more valuable in the long run—all his manuscript sermons, which Plume published as *A Century of Sermons* (100 of them), with the biography as an Introduction.

Little of this could have been gauged only from the books in his Library, although they can be brought into service to illustrate the veneration of Charles, King and Martyr [37]; the insistence on Learning and Continuity as an Historic Church as being an essential feature of the restored Church of England [36]; the desire to rebuild and repair the fabric and the standards of that Church from the ravages of Civil War and "fanatic rage"; all of which appear as policies that Thomas Plume learned from his distinguished patron. The manuscript notebooks in the Library similarly fail to reveal anything of lasting significance about their writer, Dr Plume, but can provoke a useful search of the books. Dr Andrew Clark supposed that the commonplace books could provide material for a sketch of the man himself, as:

"a theologian, with special interest in the Cambridge

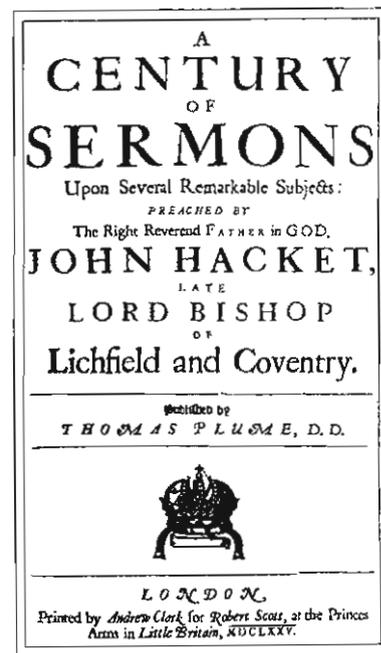


Figure 2. The title-page of Bishop Hacket's 'A Century of Sermons', edited by Plume.

Doctor Plume when hee was last att the Corporacion” [19] marked the occasion of his presentation of the building to the borough.

Secondly, he chose to reconstruct the tower of the previous church despite the considerable expense involved and although it was irrelevant to his principal project of housing his books. Indeed he chose to have the tower rebuilt in a traditional “Gothic” style, using traditional church building materials, cemented stone rubble with freestone dressings, whereas his secular library building on the site of the church nave is in a contrasting domestic style, of brick with a slate roof and wooden, rectangular window frames.

Thirdly, the juxtaposition of tower and library in contrasting styles was deliberate. It looks bizarre but is thereby more clearly a statement about the relationship of the English Church to the English State. They are shown as separate, distinguishably different institutions but linked as one body in which the key to Learning (the Library and the Schoolroom) is held by the Church, because entry to both rooms is through the Tower which remained the property of All Saints and St Peter’s parishes. Within, a series of journeyman portraits of monarchs and prelates [20] line the walls and bookcase ends, parading for us his veneration of the twin institutions of Monarchy and Episcopal Government. Archbishop William Laud’s portrait (twice the size of any of the others) dominates the room. Here, as in the design of the buildings, is a deliberate association of secular power—the Magistrate—with spiritual authority—the Clergy—which was to prevail in much of England until the late 19th century as the partnership of Squires and Parsons.

Whilst bequests of books to a parish or borough were not unusual in 17th century England, it was unusual to provide them with a purpose-built home such as this one. Most bequests had to be housed wherever the legatees could find a space, often in part of a parish church (as in the chamber over the porch of St Mary’s Chelmsford, for Dr Knightbridge’s Library) or in a house owned by the parish (as in St Nicholas’ Parish, Newcastle Upon Tyne). Sometimes the donors provided suggestions: William Petyt expected his books to be placed in an existing “Library erected in

the Church” at Skipton, Yorkshire, but allowed that they might be placed elsewhere “for the use of the Grammar School” [21]; Archbishop Harsnett asked that his books should be given “a decent room to set them up in, that the Clergy of the Town of Colchester and other Divines may have free access for the reading and studying of them” [22] but final discretion was left to the recipients of these libraries.

Even the Pepysian Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was not originally built as a house for Samuel Pepys’ books and manuscripts, although he nominated the building as their home in his Will [10(a)]. The only two libraries purpose-built in England during the 17th century of which this writer is aware, and excepting those built for colleges and cathedrals, are Dr Plume’s in Maldon and another which Dr Thomas Tenison asked Sir Christopher Wren to design for St Martin-in-the-Fields parish in 1684, which opened in 1685 [9.5]. Indeed, the two foundations were similar in two respects: both buildings incorporated grammar schools; both were conceived as public libraries, except that where Tenison’s was intended for young clergymen and tutors living in the City, to keep them out of coffee houses and taverns (he had a horror of card-playing clergy), Plume’s Will states that his was not only for the use of the clergy of the Madon area but also for “any Gentleman or Scholar” who wished to use it. Another public library planned during his lifetime was that created by Archbishop Narcissus Marsh at Dublin, whose construction was superintended by Sir William Robinson at the same time as this one was being built at Maldon.

A fashion for public libraries was under way by the time the books came to Maldon [59] and even if Dr Plume’s was not the first of its kind, its place among the first emphasises the deliberation with which it was created. The careful thought which went into the planning is evident in the arrangements made for its maintenance as much as by its design. There was to be a well-qualified Librarian, “a scholar that knows books,” who was to be at least a Master of Arts and (as the holder of the key) a clerk in holy orders. His salary of £40 was expected to be an addition to another income as a Minister or as Master of the Grammar School, so it would have assured him a very comfortable income

by the standards of 1704. He was to have rent-free a house nearby, which the Trustees were to own and maintain, so that he could open the Library four hours every weekday. The Will envisaged readers borrowing books, specifying that they must undertake to return the books “uncorrupted,” whilst the Librarian was to give a bond of £200 “not to embezzell my books”.

The interesting feature of these specifications is that the Librarian’s qualifications seem to have been more important than the conservation of the books. This also points up other features of the Library which throw some light on Dr Plume’s intentions for it. The Trustees were allocated only £1 a year for buying new books (compare that with the Librarian’s salary) whilst the size of the Library Room and the arrangement of its fittings suggest Dr Plume did not intend many additions to be made after his death. The internal arrangements were unlike those of collegiate libraries in this respect: the spaces between the high peninsula cases are very narrow, with no built-in provision of desks in these spaces, at which a reader could spread out his notepaper and book, as he could in the cubicles of collegiate libraries. The room was intended to be a book-stack, a store for a definitive collection, not the nucleus of an expanding institution. It is worth referring here to the opinion of Dr John Hacket, published in 1693:

“Books are sown so thick in all countries of Europe that a new one, which one adds more to the former gross, had need of an apology. The easie dispatch of so many sheets in a day, by the readiness of printing, hath found the World a great deal more work than needs. Many that love knowledge, both industrious and of sound judgement, are not nice to say that repletion of authors hath begat loathing . . . ‘For the stuff already is sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.’ (Exodus 36.7)” [3.3(a)].

Next the books must be considered, as a unit. The major feature is their unusually large number in comparison with other 17th-century libraries. That given by William Petyt to Skipton, Yorkshire, in 1719 contained 2,024 volumes [21]. That of Anthony Higgin had 2,000—perhaps as many as 2,500—when it was placed in Ripon Minster c. 1628 [24]. Archbishop Toby



Figure 4. Title-page of Andre du Laurens' 'Historia anatomica humani corporis', printed in Frankfurt in 1636—European printing at its best.

Matthew's library, given to York Minster in the 1630s, was of about 3,000 books, valued at £600 and considered then to be the largest private library in England [25]. Probably Archbishop Harsnett's in 1631 and Dr John Knightbridge's in 1677 were each of about 2,000 volumes [22 and 23]. The Norfolkian Library given to the Royal Society in 1678 was again some 3,000 printed books [26] and that was the total aimed for and achieved by Samuel Pepys [10(a)]. What stands in Dr Plume's Library amounts to at least 7,130 *titles*. Perhaps there were about 7,400 *titles* [27] when they reached Maldon in 1705. Allowing for the number of titles in these other collections being more than the number of volumes in which they were bound, Dr Plume's still far exceeds similar collections. It would seem to have been exceptionally large, a princely gift, for its time.

Another difference is the unusually large number of foreign publications. There are books from almost every town or city in northern Europe that ever had a printing house in the 16th or 17th centuries and some from Spain, Italy and Eastern Europe (see Figure 5). Many are of course from the great centres of the publishing trade—Antwerp, Paris, Lyons, Geneva, Leipzig, Cologne, Amsterdam—but also they have come from Poland, Sweden, Denmark, from presses in Glasgow, Aberdeen, Waterford. They include examples of the finest printing techniques of the time, others are of the most ordinary shop-work and there is at least one example [4.1] of the hurried printing done on a fugitive press of an outlawed group. The books display the range of work which the European press was capable of publishing by the early 17th century in authorship, language and subject-matter, with Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Calvinist authors as well as Anglicans and Presbyterians, with texts in Hebrew, Persian, Syriac, Coptic and Greek as well as Latin and English, with medieval chroniclers, Tartar astronomers, Cardinals and Jesuits, Huguenots, a Portuguese bishop, a Bohemian educationalist, a Quaker prisoner in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, as well as the expected host of English clergymen and lawyers.

The stock is so rich that some omissions are not easily noticed. In general Dr Plume ignored the pamphlets of radical British sects of the 1640s and 1650s. The atlases are not especially

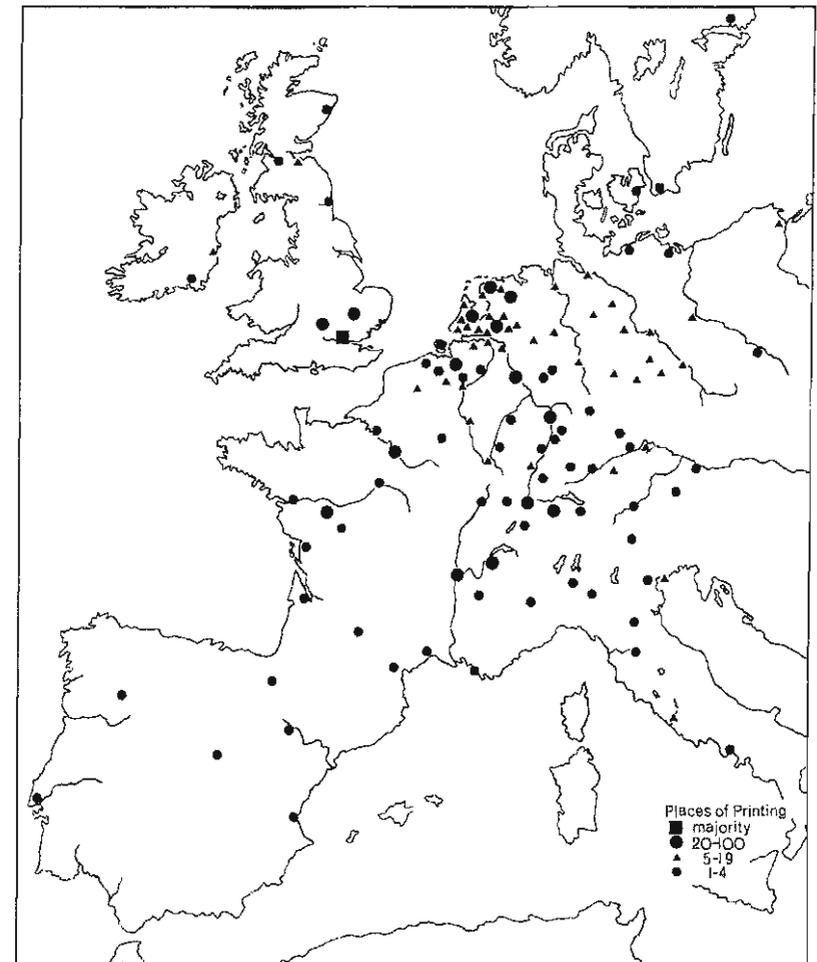


Figure 5. Places of printing of the books in the Plume Library, 1487-1704.

representative of the best published in his time; he had none of the navigational charts produced in his lifetime; he ordered his "large Map of the World" to be kept out of his Library [2.1]. There is no music. He preferred Latin or English translations to original French editions. Thus there are five publications of the writings of Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (his *Arustippe*, *Entretiens* and *Lettres*) which have an important place in French literature because they set the perfected form of its prose composition but

these five editions are in English so that much of the value of de Balzac's writing, the style and vocabulary rather than the subject-matter is lost.

This is a vast collection, despite the omissions, and an attempt to catalogue the books under modern classifications requires sections for *Theology, the Sciences and Mathematics, Law, Economics (or Political Science), Geography, Classical Languages and Literature, Medicine and Pharmacy*. Prose fiction did not exist as a developed literary form but there has to be a section for quasi-fictional fables and fantasies and others (though small) for *Drama and Poetry*.

These major classifications require many sub-sections, often well-stocked, as with *History*, where books on *Modern Political History c. 1500-1700* include works on most European states; *Biography* includes most major English sovereigns from Alfred the Great to James II and many European statesmen; *Texts and Diplomatic* has collections of Statutes, reports on debates in Parliament, the main treaties between European Powers of the 16th and 17th centuries, editions of medieval chronicles and the Rules and Acts of monastic orders. Similarly well-stocked for their time are *Warfare, Byzantine, Turkish* and other *Islamic History, the Protestant Churches* and the *Counter-Reformation*. The comprehensiveness of such sub-classes is illustrated by the list of titles on *Tithes* in the Notes below [40-58].

That this huge collection in fact never has been classified is an interesting feature, as will appear later. First it has to be looked at complete but with its titles rearranged not in Classes but in chronological order of publication. When they are placed in cumulative totals—that is, when Total A is all the books of 1471-1480, Total B is all the books of 1471-1480 plus those of 1481-1490, Total C is 1471-1490 plus 1491-1500 and so on (to 1704)—then a picture is produced of the distribution by age of the Library's final accumulated stock.

The result, as shown in Figure 6, is thought-provoking. Even though the cumulative totals are those of a provisional count [28] and the exact number of titles which came to Maldon in 1705 will not be known with certainty until further work on the Catalogue has been completed, the weight of numbers is already so clearly distributed across the years that it must be an acceptable

indication of the trend which a definitive count would show. The most striking feature of the cumulative distribution is surely that 50% of Dr Plume's Library was in print before 1649; that is half the books had been published before Thomas Plume became a B.A. It is unlikely that he had much money to spend on books before about 1660 and was still finding his way around the book-stalls until then but even if he had begun buying extensively for himself whilst purchasing for Dr Hacket, the sheer size of that part of his Library in print by 1650 is too great to encourage any idea that they can have been a young man's required reading or that more than a few were necessary for his current needs.

Figure 6 also shows how the accession-rate declined towards the end of his life, so that he appears to have bought fewer books as his income rose. Or, he must have bought more second-hand books than new editions in the last twenty years of his life. New titles published between 1675 and 1704 cannot have comprised any more than 22%, between one fifth and a quarter, of this total stock. In fact they formed a smaller proportion, because some of the accessions of 1675-1704 were reprints of works originally published before 1660, some are first editions (of 1660-1704) of works written before 1660.

Two simple conclusions to which this writer is drawn are, first, that Dr Plume principally bought second- or third-hand books and, secondly, that he deliberately sought the work of generations of scholars prior to his own. The physical and financial limitations which he set on future accessions, his requirement that the Librarian was to be "a Scholar that knows books," indicate his intention of creating before his death a definitive reference library. One may suspect that far from being

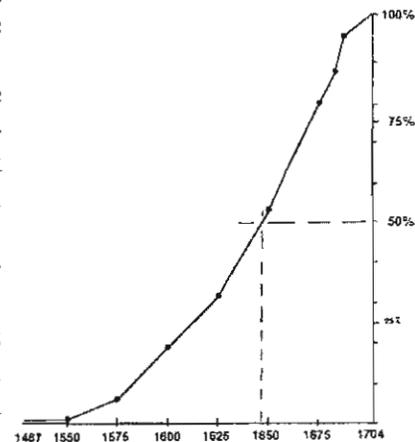


Figure 6. Cumulative totals, by date of printing, of Dr Plume's Library, 1487-1704. The totals are expressed as a percentage, where 100% is 7,131 titles.

a “personal working library,” as seen by Sir Frank Francis [1(a)], this was a deliberately constructed museum of European intellectual history of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Alternatively, this immense accumulation might be fortuitous. Perhaps it consists of Dr Plume’s “personal working library” and other collections which he inherited. His father, for example, Alderman Thomas Plume of Maldon, was a Cambridge graduate, a benefactor to the fine new building at Christ’s College in the late 1630s, a leading member of a provincial society deeply interested in theology and church affairs. Would not he have been the purchaser of many of these books? The copy of *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God* (1644) could be his, as he was involved in the administration of the local presbyterian classes during the Interregnum. A textbook of 1638, compiled by the Master of the Grammar School (see Figure 7), bears this manuscript dedication (in Latin) to Alderman Plume on its fly-leaf:

“To Thomas Plume, the most honest and greatest of friends, John Danes gives this little work as a mark and token of friendship” [29.1].

The wills of some of Maldon’s inhabitants of 1600-1665 have references to the books they owned [30] and the descriptions show that members of the Corporation and resident gentry loaned their copies to friends. There is some correspondence between a few of the Library’s books and those described in a few wills [30] but there turns out to be little hard evidence that the collections of Maldon men came eventually into Dr Plume’s possession. There is no copy of John Danes’ other textbook, *A Light to Lilly*; there are two sets of sermons by George Gifford, Maldon’s eminent and affectionately remembered preacher of the 1580s and 1590s but his most important pastoral treatises are not in the Library and do not appear ever to have been there [31.2-31.7] and no others can be traced back to Alderman Plume or his friends. Only a tiny proportion of the Library can be ascribed to Maldon owners.

Instead, the bulk of these 7,000 and more titles must have been acquired by his own diligent purchasing in St Paul’s Churchyard, Fleet Street and Westminster Hall, or at auctions in London coffee-houses. Many flyleaves and title-pages have scribbled on



Figure 7. The title-page of ‘Paralipomena’, by John Danes, Master of Maldon Grammar School. The copy in the Plume Library was presented by the author to Thomas Plume’s father.

them signatures and jottings by former owners, such as “Liber Ro: Eyre 1639” written on the title-page of St Thomas Aquinas’ *Golden Chain* (Paris 1637). One owner’s name is crossed out and another’s, “Thomas Roberts”, is written above it on the beautiful title-page of Jean Bodin’s *De Republica* (Paris and Lyons, 1586), showing it had two previous owners. Three works of René Descartes have notes by a Thomas Knight: in an edition of 1645 is jotted (on the front flyleaf): “Written by me Thomas Knight the 5 of October 1659”; the same message but dated 15 October 1660 is on the back flyleaf. Another of 1656 has the same note by T. Knight for 12 October 1656 but with “Pretium 11^s—Thos Plume” (price 55 new pence paid by Plume) beneath that note. The third of these Cartesian works once possessed by T. Knight was printed in 1662, so here are three books acquired secondhand at some date after 1662. The Library’s copy of Sir Henry Spelman’s *Concilia* of 1639 (Volume I only) has written on its title-page “Ex dono doctissimi authoris.” As Spelman died in 1641 this cannot have been a “gift of the most learned author” to Dr Plume himself and must be another second-hand purchase.

A few volumes are stamped with previous owners’ armorials. One, in gold on leather, is the coat of arms recorded for the Windsor family of Stanwell, Middlesex, in the heralds’ Visitation Book of 1634. Inside is written “Thomas Windesor”, the date 1637 and his motto “Virtus Vera Nobilitas”. Three volumes are worth special mention.

One is the 1619 edition of the *Works* of King James I. On its white vellum binding is shown a boar powdered with ermine spots, standing on a crest wreath. This is stamped in gold with other ornamentation on the front and back covers and was the crest of the Bacon family. As this boar bears a crescent on its flank (as a mark of cadency) the book’s original ownership can be firmly ascribed to Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) who lived from 1561 to 1626 [32.1].

Another is a Parisian edition (1625) of a Byzantine text which has unmistakably stamped on its covers the armorial bearings of Cardinal Richelieu and the monogram A-V of his baptismal name, Armand de Wignerod. During his career as principal minister of Louis XIII the cardinal bought entire libraries to

create a collection which he bequeathed to the French nation in 1642. Evidently this item is at Maldon at third or fourth hand, having passed as a bequest to a national library of France from the possession of a Prince of the Roman Church into the hands of a Protestant English diocesan official and thence to become for a second time a bequest to a public library.

The third, a Dutch publication (Leyden, 1606) has the complex grandeur of Baltic German heraldry stamped in fine detail in its moulded vellum cover. On the front are the arms of Bogislaw IV, Duke of Pomerania, who died in 1637. On the back are the arms of his brother-in-law, the Elector George William, Duke of Brandenburg, who died in 1640 [32.2]. Of this volume, too, Dr Plume was at best the third owner in the course of its curious wanderings across Europe, for the name “William Payne” is written inside the front cover.

Such books are the most exotic effects of the process by which Dr Plume assembled a Library. There is also a “hidden” result of his purchase of second-hand books, in that some titles may be present by accident rather than by design, because they happened to be bound up in a volume containing one or more other titles which he did want, or because they were part of a bundle sold as a Lot in a book auction. It would be next to impossible now to identify all such accidental acquisitions but their existence may explain the considerable number of duplicate copies and different editions of the same works which are to be found in this Library.

The possibility that the collection is to some extent the product of bulk purchasing can be pressed further. Most of it may have been accumulated in one fairly short period of intensive purchasing, either during the early years of his career—say late 1650s to the 1680s—which would partly explain the paucity of books from the 1680s to 1704, or he could have bought more intensively between 1680 to 1700, as his thoughts turned to the final disposition of his wealth.

The latter period is preferable for several reasons. Book auctions only became a speciality of the London market from the late 1670s. A spell of bulk purchasing requires a clearly-formed plan of action; he would need to be certain what kind of Library he wished to establish. Indeed the building programme indicates that his plan was complete by at least 1698. As has been noted

already, Dr Tenison established a very similar institution in 1684-5 and Dr Plume may have derived his own scheme from that and the exhortations of Dr Thomas Bray in the 1690s for the establishment of parochial libraries [33]. Plume was one of the original members of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge [8] and a benefactor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in both of which Thomas Bray worked for the acceptance of his library schemes. These movements in the 1680s and 1690s, and the story of how he came to the idea of a Professor of Astronomy as late as 1698, point towards so late a date as 1684-1698 for the formation of Dr Plume's decision to found a distinctive reference library in the symbolically designed house at Maldon.

Moreover, he amassed the books too late in his life to have time for their classification or to edit the stock. They arrived at Maldon arranged only by size (the shelving is fixed, had therefore been in place since c. 1700 and so the space required had been by then calculated) but not in any arrangement by subjects. Over 1,000 titles were still unbound, there were many duplications and there were some items which any donor would surely have purged from his public benefaction. (One thinks of *The Bassa of Buda* and *Rome's Rarities or The Pope's Cabinet Unlocked*). His catalogues and guides for this work span the years 1672-1697 [7.1-7.8] but the existence of only two early issues of *The Works of the Learned . . . books newly printed* [7.6] suggests a slackening concern for the purchase of new stock from 1692 (or 1693, in which his former patron's remark was printed that "repletion of authors hath begat loathing") which is reflected in Figure 3. As a guide to the sufficiency of his collection on Theology he had two standard works by Louis Ellies Dupin [7.7] which are both dated 1692. Of these, the *New Library of Ecclesiastical Authors* is a late edition of only the first of many volumes (its first edition was in 1686) and Dr Plume did not acquire any more of the volumes issued by Dupin up to (and beyond) 1704, which again suggests that 1692 was the last year of extensive purchasing: he did not require guides for any material published after 1692. The Librarian, the "Scholar that knows books", was needed to complete these tasks rather than to superintend their use.

What is thus proposed here is that this is an attempt at a general

reference library, a concept which developed in the founder's mind between 1684 and 1692 and was created, in part, by the acquisition of second-hand books in that period. Nevertheless its core is composed of books read and used by Dr Plume; its contents are to a considerable extent the result of his own deliberate choice and, had he been able to complete its final tailoring, his gift to Maldon would have been somewhat smaller but more completely a reflection of his own ideas, tastes, convictions. Age, interruptions by official functions, perhaps illness and the lateness in life at which he conceived his scheme, all prevented him from completing his task, just as the disorderly composition of his Will, begun in 1703, augmented by three further instalments over a twelve month period, full of changes of his mind, money indiscriminately bestowed, setting up too many trusts, all altered again by a final codicil with fresh bequests added, shows us a busy man surprised by the imminence of his death and without a clear knowledge of the extent of his possessions.

Even the most hastily compiled library, the most perfunctory of wills must be arranged according to distinguishable principles and this Library had certainly reached a sufficiently complete state by 1704 for Dr Plume's innate ideas about its purpose to be clear. It was to promote, strengthen, fulfil those ideas which had been nurtured during his early association with Dr Hacket.

Of course, the most obvious is his concern for the maintenance of the reputation his Church had gained for its scholarship. In St Paul's Cathedral, at the sermon for the opening of a Convocation in 1624, Dr Joseph Hall had complimented his auditors thus, in Latin: "the wonder of the world", he said, "is the clergy of Britain" for its learning [34]. Edward Waterhouse echoed the claim during this learned clergy's bleak years of the Interregnum; writing of "Prelates and Preachers . . . whose breasts and brains by constant reading and meditation became Christ's Libraries", he recorded that:

"the whole Body of the University of Oxford, in An. 1603 published 'There were then more learned men in the Ministry in the Land then were to be found amongst all the Ministers of the Religion in France, Flaunders, Denmark, Germany, Poland, Geneva, Scotland or all Europe beside'" [36.4(a)].

This and, certainly, Joseph Hall's sermon, Thomas Plume had read but it was learned by him also in John Hacket's study. Indeed, the most frequently cited version of this boast, accurately placing it "about the time of King Charles the First's reign", that "in the long reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James the Clergy of the Reformed Church of England grew the most learned of the world" is from Thomas Plume's own pen [3.2(a)]. And his Library is in part a showcase of the published proof of the claim. All the English scholars whom Joseph Hall had named in 1624 to illustrate his assertion are represented among Dr Plume's books.

From the 1560s to the 1640s England's two universities had poured forth an unprecedented number of graduates — indeed, unequalled until the late 19th century — and Plume's father can stand for the hundreds of benefactors who raised the fine new collegiate buildings, patronised the university presses and maintained the new grammar schools in which this spate of scholars was prepared. This phenomenon in English education had been halted by civil war; subsequent allegations that the violence of the 1640s had originated in the universities, the nurseries of social change and of the puritanism that "preached your Majesty out of your kingdom" [64(a)] prevented any recovery. But it was Plume's intention in 1704 to help re-establish the Church's learned ministry. A minister of religion, it had been said, should be "the eye of the world" for his congregation, "to disperse the clouds of ignorance and give light . . ." [35]. For this the clergy of Colchester and Chelmsford already had the Harsnett and Knightbridge libraries; the clergy of the Maldon area should have one, too.

He inherited from his father rather than from Hacket the parallel English tradition of a puritan insistence on the necessity of a learned laity, the ideal of a godly commonwealth conjointly ruled by learned magistrates and learned clergy. This too had flourished from the 1560s to the 1640s, had led to the foundation of hundreds of schools, the endowment of many scholarships, an informed, high-thinking lay readership of men like Alderman Thomas Plume, of T. Knight, Robert Eyre, Thomas Windesor (encountered above) and Thomas Chese and Ruben Robinson [30(b) and (c)] who read history, law and experimental sciences as well as sermons and biblical commentaries. Hence Plume's

stipulation that his professor's Observatory at Cambridge and his Library at Maldon were to be accessible to both clergy (or scholars) and gentlemen. And, mindful of his own education, he gave £20 to Chelmsford Grammar School to buy books, "for the use thereof in a Standing Library"; he proposed establishing at Christ's College "an annual exhibition of £6 towards the maintenance of one scholar educated at Maldon"; his trustees in the town were to provide schooling for six (or ten, if possible) sons of paupers; he gave the town's grammar school new premises below his Library Room.

Allied to this tradition of excellence in scholarship was the claim of the Church of England to an unbroken, continuous life from the time of the Early Church. Its scholars had been maintaining this since the 1560s, from John Fox's *Book of Martyrs* (see Figure 8) which set the Protestant martyrdoms of the 16th century in the context of the continuous persecution of the godly from St Stephen to his own time. The Library is well stocked with treatises written to substantiate this view [36], in which the Reformation is represented as a renaissance, not as a break with the past. But as scholarship had suffered by the Civil War, so had the historic fabric of the Church. Its monuments and its buildings had been haphazardly desecrated, its rituals and music had been abolished, its remaining wealth had been plundered. So the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 had to be complemented by the Restoration of the Church. Hacket and his generation, survivors from the glories of the past, and the new generation of young clerics like Plume and Tenison, had to be the rebuilders. That this remained his overriding intention is stated before his name as the opening words of Plume's Will, written in 1703:

"God direct me in the making of my last Will as may most make for His glory, the benefit of His church and my own soul's good in the Day of His great Account".

In part it was a physical restoration. On arriving at Lichfield in 1661 Bishop Hacket began the immense rebuilding of his cathedral, devastated by siege warfare in 1644, paying for much of the work from his own resources. This is carefully and fully described by Plume in his 'Life' of Hacket, down to the solemn service of rededication and the three-day feast of celebration. Nearly forty years later Plume put as the first item in his Will a gift

THE SEVENTH BOOK,

Beginning with the Reign of King HENRY the Eighth.



Figure 8. Frontispiece of the 2nd volume of the 1684 edition of Fox's 'Book of Martyrs'

of £50 towards the renovation of Rochester Cathedral. His Library is, of course, his main contribution to the physical restoration work, an entire rebuilding of a church left ruinous for thirty years. These are mere gestures, perhaps, in comparison with the rebuilding of an entire cathedral but the same antiquarian intention is present in other legacies. The books are another restoration work, some 3,000 of them being related directly to that great age of scholarship preceding the Civil Wars. He also provided for the continuation of weekly lectures by visiting clergy in All Saints Church at Maldon, which as the Lecture, the Combination of Clergy and (originally) the Prophesying, had for long been a special feature of the borough's religious life. He provided also £4 a year to ensure that the old custom of public daily reading of morning and evening prayers would be maintained in All Saints.

These were still only gestures by comparison with his contribution to a restoration of the former scholarly characteristics of the Church of England's ministry. His twenty-five years as an archdeacon were a practical influence here, for he understood the poverty which prevented many clergy from maintaining any scholarly standards in their work. Tithes were at the heart of the problem. Right through the century clergy—especially archdeacons—had proclaimed the Divine Right of parsons to receive their parishioners' tithe payments. Many parishes had, however, been granted to monasteries in the Middle Ages, so that the tithes had become endowments of abbeys and when the monasteries were dissolved between 1536 and 1540, the payment of tithes, instead of reverting to the parish clergy, had become the income of the layman who bought ex-monastic properties from the Crown. This was the "Great Plunder" or "Banquet of the Church" in which great landowners and the Crown fed themselves from the wealth that (some said) belonged by right to the clergy. "Sacrilege", said Hackett, referring to this impropriation of wealth dedicated to God's use, "was the sin of the Reformed Churches and as the Papacy was much to blame to endure no Reformation in the Church . . . so many Protestants were more to blame who reformed not out of conscience but covetousness" [3.2(b)]. At one extreme it was argued that tithe-

impropriation was sacrilege and brought upon the robbers of the Church inevitable retribution [see particularly 43 and 47]. At the other extreme lawyers (and some clergy, eventually) scoffed at the notion of supernatural intervention, as did one of Plume's Bishops of Rochester [11] and as did Gilbert Burnet [57]. But in practice it was the effect of this plundering of church revenues which was the real evil. Plume recalled how Dr Hacket "would bewail the Sacrilege committed upon very many poor Vicarages" [3.2(b)] because the loss of income prevented ministers from buying books to increase their learning.

Dr Plume's private attitude may have leant towards the views of Sir Henry Spelman, for in a different matter of church land of which he found himself to be in possession, he converted it all to charitable uses [39.1], but, as he made his Will, a Bill was being prepared for Parliament which would convert former church revenues, appropriated to the Crown since 1534, into the fund called Queen Anne's Bounty for increases to clerical stipends [39.3] and he had in mind similar measures to improve the incomes of the poorer clergy. £1,000 was allocated "for buying in of tythes to small livings in any great towns or villages where the Living is not worth an hundred pounds"; the household goods in his residences at Greenwich and Rochester were to be divided among any ten poor ministers of the diocese; 100 parishes were to get gifts of £1; and two clergy (the ministers of Hadlow, Kent, and Fordham, Essex) were each to receive £100. Then he altered his mind (or found he had overspent) and replaced the bounty of £1,000 with a gift of only £400 "to augment the Vicarage of All Saints, Maldon, by buying in impropriate tithes or so much glebe as may be had for the same". Perhaps Dr Plume decided that his money could be better disposed than in competing with the funds for the same purpose which would become available from Queen Anne's Bounty. His change of mind left this Library as his principal attempt to ensure that the clergy in the Maldon area and the gentry of central eastern Essex might be as learned as they had been in the years before the Civil Wars.

In the late 19th century Maldon's civic leaders wanted to celebrate famous local men. There seemed to be few worthies who were truly sons of the town except Thomas Plume, of whom the Town Clerk reported that he was its greatest benefactor but "the

inhabitants . . . know little how much his thoughts dwelt on Maldon" [2.2]. In fact his thoughts were on far more general concerns and his charitable bequests were more widely dispersed than the Town Clerk would admit and in making him an historical character the Borough Council broke into the anonymity Dr Plume had intended for himself

His books do betray something of his private beliefs. They and his Will hint at High Church convictions which perhaps led a vicar of Seale in Kent to dedicate to him, as a man distinguished for piety, probity and charity, an anniversary sermon on the execution of King Charles I [37.1]; his Will and his *Life of Hacket* both end with an exhortation: "Come quickly, Lord Jesus, O come quickly," which he must have learned from his patron and whose particular association with the cult of the Martyr King is made clear in Hacket's own writing [3.3(a)]. He may have felt too that in the partnership of Crown and Mitre, Squire and Parson which his building so oddly represents, the secular power of the Supreme Head of the Church was inferior to the spiritual authority, *jure divino*, of the Church's bishops. The relationship of the tower to the library, the dominating portrait of "the English Cyprian", Archbishop Laud [38] hint at this. Yet the deliberate impartiality of his Library on the whole precludes anything more than guesswork about his beliefs and politics.

Such anonymity was his firm intention. Only that which would most make for God's glory, the benefit of His church, was, as he said, to be of importance. He used only the humblest description of himself: "Thomas Plume of East Greenwich, D.D., Minister, the most undeserving"; he required the simplest of funerals in the most remote of his parishes (Longfield, Kent); in place of the ostentation that marked some church dignitaries' obsequies he desired "but small attendance and an ordinary black coffin", burial in "a plain brick grave" which was to be unfashionably in the churchyard, not inside the chancel, and a plain black gravestone which would record of himself only: "Thomas Plume, Archdeacon of Rochester, the greatest of Sinners, O that I could say 'of Penitents' . . .". He did not require his benefactions to bear his name, although four brick houses in Dog Kennel Row at Dartford were to be *The Archdeacon's Poor Almshouses*, which was still only an impersonal designation. The Plume School,

ERRATA page 31:

The four brick houses in Dog Kennel Row were in Deptford not Dartford.

Plumeian Professorship, Plume Library and Dr Plume's Charity are names given by posterity. In his biography he kept scrupulously to the third person of "a Friend" and published both that and his edited version of the *Century of Sermons* under the name of his former patron, Dr John Hacket, excluding himself from the list of 17th-century English authors. He forbade his unnamed portrait, "now (1703) in Mr Pond's house" in Maldon, "ever to be brought into my library" and gave no further directions for its future location.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. S. G. Deed. *Catalogue of the Plume Library at Maldon, Essex*. 1959. Maldon: The Plume Library Trustees. *Foreword*, pp. vii to ix, by F. C. Francis (later Sir Frank Francis), Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum.
2. Manuscript collection of the Venerable Thomas Plume, D.D., in the Plume Library. It is a collection of (i) sermons and pulpit notes by himself and Dr Robert Boreman (died 1675); (ii) of miscellaneous notes by Dr Edward Hyde (died 1659); (iii) bundles of jottings, notes and bills (mainly Dr Plume's); (iv) commonplace books of Thomas Plume; and (v) later MSS of the Plume Charity in Maldon. Among these, reference is made here especially to:
 - 2.1 19th-century copy of the Will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury of Thomas Plume, 1703, with additions of 23 and 28 December 1703, and of 2 September 1704, signed 20 October 1704, with a codicil of 4 November 1704; probate given 3 March 1705.
 - 2.2 Printed copy in the *Report of the Town Clerk on the Charities of Maldon*, January 1897, purporting to be "the whole of the will" but giving only the parts of the text referring to Maldon.
 - 2.3 Plume MS 7. Anecdotes and excerpts from printed books compiled by Plume c. 1650-1660.
 - 2.4 Plume MS 30. Anecdotes and jokes compiled by Plume c. 1650-1670.
 - 2.5 Plume MSS, bundle G/19. Draft booklet: see [49] below.
- 3.1 John Hacket, D.D. Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. *A Century of Sermons*. (Thomas Plume ed.) 1675.
- 3.2 Thomas Plume, B.D. "The Life of Dr John Hacket" as *Foreword* to [3.1]. (a) p. xxii; (b) p. xxxvi; (c) p. xlvi; (d) p. liii; (e) p. xlix.
- 3.3 John Hacket. *Scrinia Reserata. A Memorial Offered to the Greater Deservings of John Williams, D.D. . . . Lord Keeper . . . Lord Archbishop of York*. 1693: posthumous publication. (a) p. 1; (b) p. 227, relating how "from the heavy time of the King's Death he rose every midnight out of his Bed . . . kneeled on his bare knees and pray'd earnestly and strongly one quarter of an hour . . . 'Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, and put an end to these days of Sin and Misery'".
4. Andrew Clark, Litt.D., Rector of Gt. Leighs (formerly Fellow of Lincoln College and Vicar of St Michael in the North Gate, Oxford). See also [23]. Articles on the Plume Library.
 - 4.1 "The Plume Pamphlets at Maldon", *Essex Review* XII (1903), pp. 159-165.
 - 4.2 "Plume MS Papers", *Essex Review* XIII (1904), pp. 30-33.
 - 4.3 "Dr Plume's Pocket Book", *Essex Review* XIV (1905), pp. 9-20 and 65.
 - 4.4 "Dr Plume as a Cambridge Undergraduate", *Essex Review* XIV, pp. 147-148.
 - 4.5 "Dr Plume's Notebook", *Essex Review* XIV, pp. 152-163, 213-220 and XV (1906) pp. 8-24.
5. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds). *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Entries under *Hacket, John; Knightbridge, John; Tenison, Thomas*; and, in the first Supplement (Volume XXII, 1901), *Plume, Thomas*.
6. John Peile, Litt.D. (and J. R. Venn, ed.). *Biographical Register of Christ's College, Cambridge*. Volume I. 1900. Cambridge.
7. 17th-century book lists and librarians' guides in the Plume Library. Note that *Instructions Concerning the Erecting of a Library* by Gabriel Naudé (translation by John Evelyn), 1661, is not in the Library.
 - 7.1 Sisto da Sienna, Dominican friar. *Bibliotheca Sancta*. 1626. Cologne. A guide to editions, translations and glosses of each Book of the Bible.
 - 7.2 John Spencer, Librarian of Sion College. *Catalogus Universalis Librorum Omnium in Bibliotheca Collegii Sionii apud Londinienses*. 1650.

- 7.3 Bodleian Library Catalogue. The title page is missing but this copy is probably of the 3rd edition (1674) of *Catalogus Impressorum Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*. It was sufficiently comprehensive (to 1673) to be used as the catalogue of other libraries; the user added in manuscript his own library's press and shelf numbers against the printed entries and entered additional titles in the blank pages facing each printed page.
- 7.4 Johann Lomeir, Pastor of Zutphen. *De Bibliothecis*. 2nd edition, revised. 1680. Utrecht. A survey of libraries and library practice, much of it concerning the Ancient World, but Chapter XIII is about the functions of Librarians, Chapter XIV deals with the arrangement of books in classes, the siting, design and ornamentation of library buildings, and Chapter XV deals briefly with "the enemies of libraries".
- 7.5 Antonius Teisserius. *Catalogus Auctorum*. 1686. Geneva. A Librarian's manual of authors, libraries, classifications, printers and publishing ...uses, arranged as a series of indexes. Principally European.
- 7.6 Jean Cornand de la Croze. *The Works of the Learned or An Historical Account and Impartial Judgement of Books Newly Printed, Both Foreign and Domestick, to be published monthly*. Each issue contained both a synopsis and a critical review of the publications of the preceding month. Only two issues have survived in the Library: (a) of August 1691; (b) of January 1693.
- 7.7 Louis Ellies Dupin:
(a) *Bibliotheca Patrum or A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*. 1692;
(b) *Nova Bibliotheca Auctorum Ecclesiasticorum*. 1692. Paris. A late edition of the first volume of many published by Dupin from 1686 to beyond 1704.
- 7.8 William Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle. *The English Historical Library*. 1697.
- 8.1 Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. *A Collection of Papers*. 1715. Thomas Plume D.D. is included in the "Exact List of all the Members that are, or have been, of the Society", pp. 71-78; his legacy of £100 is reported in:
- 8.2 *An Account of the Foundation, Proceedings and Success of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. 1715, p. 86.
9. E. S. De Beer (ed.). *The Diary of John Evelyn*. 1955. Oxford University Press. Other editions (such as that in the Everyman Library) may be more accessible than this standard text, so the following entries are given under their dates alone.
- 9.1 April 3rd 1659: "I went to Greenwich to receive the Blessed Communion with my wife and family . . . where Mr Plume preached".
- 9.2 September 10th 1665 (i.e. towards the end of the great Plague in London): "Mr Plume at Greenwich on Collossians, chapter III verses 5 and 6, showing how our sins had drawn down God's Judgements".
- 9.3 September 16th 1666 (just after the Great Fire of London): "I went to Greenwich church, where Mr Plume preached very well on II Peter, chapter III verses 11 and 12 . . . taking occasion from the late unparalleled Conflagration to mind us how we ought to walk more holily in all manner of conversation".
- 9.4 April 1st 1687: Evelyn witnessed the use of St Alphege, Greenwich by French refugees (Huguenots), "the congregation consisting of about 100 French Protestant refugees from the Persecution" (by Louis XIV) "of which Monsieur de Rouvigny (present) was the chief and had obtained the use of the church after the parish had ended their own service".
- 9.5 February 15th 1684 and July 15th 1685: references to the foundation of Thomas Tenison's Library. It was in Leicester Square and was sold off in the mid-19th century, the associated Grammar School being moved to new premises at the same time.
10. Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.). *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: a new and complete transcription*. Eleven volumes, 1970-1983. Volume X, 1983, *Companion*, is of historical notes and specialist entries of which many are relevant to any study of the Plume Library, especially (a) *Books* and (b) *John Jackson* (both by Dr Latham) and (c) *Science* (by Professor A. R. Hall).
- 10.1 The Diary, September 1st 1665 (whilst Pepys was staying at Greenwich with his Office during the Great Plague): "To Church [St Alphege] where a company of fine people, and a fine church, and a very good sermon, Mr Plume being a very excellent scholar and preacher".
11. Thomas Sprat. *The History of the Royal Society of London*. 1667.
12. Nehemiah Grew, M.D., Secretary of the Royal Society 1677-79 and plant anatomist. *Musaeum Regalis Societatis or, A Catalogue and Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Belonging to the Royal Society and Preserved at Gresham Colledge. Whereunto is Subjoynd the Comparative Anatomy of Stomachs and Guts by the same Author*. 1681.
13. Henry Stubbe, physician at Stratford-on-Avon:
(a) *A Censure Upon Certain Passages Contained in the History of the Royal Society*. 1670. Oxford;
(b) *A Reply unto the Letter Written . . . in Defense of the History of the Royal Society*. 1671. Oxford.
14. Christian Huygens. *Kasmotheoros, sive De Terris Coelestibus Earumque Ornatu, Conjecturae*. 1699 (*editio altera*). The Hague. The MS note on the Library's copy, "See this Book in English A.D. 1698. K.8.8." shows that Dr Plume had this English edition, entitled *The Celestial Worlds Discovered or, Conjectures concerning . . . the Worlds in the Planets*. It had been lost from the Library by 1848, when the Rev. R. P. Crane listed the title in his MS Catalogue but without a shelf number.
15. Henry Denne, a puritan minister, referring to his proposals for a new form of government in 1645, wrote that he might "to many seem guilty of that crime which was held against the Apostle, 'to turn the world upside down'" and this was adopted for the title of a study of radical ideas of the Interregnum: Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 1972.
- 15.2 Joseph Glanvill, Rector of Bath. *Some Discourses, Sermons and Remains*. (Anthony Horneck, ed.) 1681, p. 170.
16. The legacy refers to Pierre Allix, formerly Minister to the Protestant Congregation at Charenton, who fled to England in 1685. The hospitality of clergy such as Plume led Allix and his family into communion with the Church of England; his son became Dean of Ely, 1730-58. Pierre Allix' *Remarks Upon the Ecclesiastical History of . . . Piedmont* (1690) is in the Library. In his Will Plume thanks him "for his translation of Nectarius" (a Greek Orthodox refutation of Papal claims to *imperium* in the Church) which is also in the Library. Plume's concern reflects the ecumenical policy of the S.P.C.K., which set up correspondence with Reformed Churches in Europe.
17. A comparison of the Catalogue [1] with references to Irish publications in *A New History of Ireland* (T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, eds.) Volume IV, 1976, Oxford University Press, has produced this list of works in the Library:
- 17.1 Richard Stanyhurst. *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*. 1584. Antwerp. (An account of the Anglo-Norman conquest in the 12th century).
- 17.2 Dermot O'Meara, M.D (*Dermitius de Meara*). *Ormonius*. 1615. (A poem in five books on the life of Lord Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory).
- 17.3 James Ussher, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh. *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*. 1687. (Posthumous Latin edition; the work was first published, in English, at Dublin, 1622).
- 17.4 Sir Thomas Ryves, civil lawyer, Judge in the Prerogative Court of Ireland, 1617. *Regiminis Anglicani in Hibernia Defensio Adversus Analecten*. 1624.
- 17.5 *A Remonstrance of Grievances Presented to His . . . Majestie in the Behalfe of the Catholicks of Ireland*. 1643. Waterford.

- 17.6 Sir James Ware. *De Hibernia*. 1654. (A major treatise on Irish antiquities. In 1639 he had published *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae* which is not in the Library).
- 17.7 Nicholas French, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns. *The Narrative of the Sale and Settlement of Ireland*. 1668. (English version of a Latin book, attributed to Bishop French, published at Louvain, 1668).
- 17.8 Edmund Borlase. *The History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion*. 1680.
- 17.9 Richard Lawrence. *The Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth*. 1682. Dublin.
- 17.10 Roderick O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*. 1685. (Described in *A New History of Ireland*, IV, p. 375, as "the most learned exposition of Gaelic loyalty to the Stuart dynasty and to the concept of the Kingdom of Ireland").
- 17.11 William Atwood. *The History and Reasons of the Dependence of Ireland Upon the Imperial Crown of the Kingdom of England*. 1698.
18. Plume's Will (as of 1703) states "I have erected over the school . . . a library room". The inscription on the bell for the tower states that it was cast at Whitechapel in 1699 (Cecil Deedes and H. B. Walters; *The Church Bells of Essex*, 1909, privately printed, p. 332), which suggests that the tower's rebuilding was at least nearing completion by then. The bell is no longer in the tower.
19. Gift recorded in the Maldon Borough Chamberlains' Accounts for 1699 (Essex Record Office D/B 3/3/320). Another item in that account roll is for money spent on bell ringing "when the Bishop of London was in Towne". That may, perhaps, be associated with some formalities at the completion of the building work, for St. Peter's parish lay then within the Diocese of London, the Bishop's licence had been necessary c. 1620 for the use of the former church as the grammar school and this new building, partly under the control of trustees, would require some permission from the Bishop as well.
20. Portraits of Edward IV, Edward VI, Mary I, James I, Charles I and James II, and of Archbishops John Whitgift and William Laud and Bishop Brian Duppa. Another "divine" is unidentified: was he Dr Hacket?
21. P. S. Baldwin, D. Ettey, K. E. G. Harris (eds.). *A Catalogue of the Petyt Library at Skipton, Yorkshire*. 1964. Coulthurst Trust, Gargrave, Yorks.
22. Gordon Goodwin. *A Catalogue of the Harsnett Library at Colchester*. 1888.
23. Andrew Clark. "Notes on the Knightbridge Pamphlets", *Essex Review* XII (1903), pp. 238-242. Dr Clark noted 130 folio volumes and "over" 280 others, "a dozen to twenty items often being bound together". A number of the titles are additions to Knightbridge's 1677 bequest.
24. Jean E. Mortimer. "The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin, Dean of Ripon (1608-1624)", *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, X, pp. 1-75.
25. C. B. L. Barr. "The Minster Library", in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster*, 1977, Oxford University Press, pp. 500-501;
26. E. N. Da Andrade. *A Brief History of the Royal Society*. 1960, p. 18.
27. The term "title" is used here deliberately. There are some 5,000 volumes, excluding additions made after 1704 and some of the volumes contain two or more distinct titles, though few have so many as some of the volumes in the Knightbridge Library [23 above]. By "title" is meant a work which has its own title-page, its own page-numbering, even if it is by the same author as other titles bound with it. The Catalogue [1] does not contain all these titles and the present Librarian has in progress a slip-index of those which [1] omits.
28. The counting of titles on which this study is based was done with independent checks by volunteers over the period 1960-1968, with additions to the yearly totals from the present Librarian's slip-index. It cannot be guaranteed to provide an exact grand total of Dr Plume's books; that and the analysis of the Library's stock is provisional but it is a very large sample and can be claimed to provide a sufficiently accurate impression.
29. John Danes, Master of Maldon Grammar School c.1620-1639. Publications:
- 29.1 *Paralipomena Orthographiae, Etymologiae, Prosodiae, Una Cum Scholiis*. 1638.
- 29.2 *A Light to Lillie: Being An Easie Method For The Better Teaching And Learning Of The Latine Tongue*. First edition 1637; 2nd, 1643; facsimile of the 1st by the Scolar Press, Menston, Yorks, 1968.
30. Most wills refer only in general terms to books. Where specific works are stated their titles are still, often, too vague to permit exact identification of the edition. Three Maldon wills with reasonably specific references to books are those of: (a) John Shipton, gentleman, 1619 (E.R.O. D/ABW 36/346) naming 21 titles, some of which correspond closely to titles in the Library; Thomas Chese, town clerk, 1625 (E.R.O. D/ABW 47/252) naming 4 titles of which 3 could be in the Library now; and (c) Reuben Robinson, gentleman, 1665 (E.R.O. D/ABR 7/75) whose books included some, "as well printed as manuscript" but unnamed, which he bequeathed to his "learned friend Dr Henry Power" of Elland, Yorks, a member of Plume's college and whose *Experimental Philosophy*, 1664, is in the Library (but bears no trace of Robinson having been its owner in 1664-5).
31. George Gifford. "Preacher of God's Word at Maldon" c. 1575-1600.
- 31.1 *Fifteen Sermons Upon The Song Of Solomon*. 1598.
- 31.2 *Sermons Upon The Whole Book Of The Revelation*. 1599.
The following [31.3-31.7] by Gifford are not in Dr Plume's Library:
- 31.3 *A Brief Discourse of Certain Points of the Religion . . . Which May Be Termed The Countrie Divinitie*. 1581.
- 31.4 *A Sermon on the Parable of the Sower*. 1582.
- 31.5 *A Dialogue Between a Papist and a Protestant*. 1582.
- 31.6 *A Discourse of the Subtill Practises of Devils by Witches and Sorcerers*. 1587.
- 31.7 *A Dialogue Concerning Witches*. 1593.
- 32.1 Richard Marks and Ann Payne. *British Heraldry From Its Origins to c.1800*. 1978. (British Museum exhibition catalogue.), pp. 90-92. Sir Anthony Wagner. *Historic Heraldry of Britain*. 1939. Oxford University Press, p. 77.
- 32.2 Jiri Louda and Michael Maclagan. *Lines of Succession: Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe*. 1981, Table 92.
33. Thomas Bray, D.D., founder of the S.P.C.K. (1698) and the S.P.G. (1701). *Essay Towards Promoting All Necessary and Useful Knowledge, both Divine and Human, in all parts of His Majesty's Dominions*. 1697. No copy of this is extant in the Library.
34. Joseph Hall, D.D., Dean of Worcester. *Columba Noae . . . ('Noah's Dove Bearing an Olive Branch to the Storm-Tossed Ark of Christ')*. 1624.
35. Thomas Oxley. *The Shepheard*. 1609. (A sermon preached before the clergy of the diocese of Durham, 1608). Sig. B4 verso.
36. Books on the historic continuity of the Church of England from the Early Church to the Post-Reformation period which are in the Library:
- 36.1 John Fox. *The Second Volume of the Ecclesiastical Historie, Containing the Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs*. 1610.
- 36.2 Matthew Parker, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury. *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae . . .* 1605. Hanover. (Latin edition of 1st edition, 1572).
- 36.3 James Ussher. See [17.3].
- 36.4 Edward Waterhouse. *A Modest Discourse of the Piety, Charity and Policy of Elder Times and Christians. Together with those their Vertues Paralleled by the Christians Members of the Church of England*. 1665. (a) p. 243.
- 36.5 Gilbert Burnet, Lecturer at St Clement Danes. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*. Volume II. 1681.
- 36.6 William Lloyd, Bishop of St Asaph. *An Historical Account of Church Government as it was in Great Britain and Ireland when they first Received the Christian Religion*. 1684.

- 36.7 Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St Paul's, London. *Origines Britannicae or The Antiquities of the British Churches*. 1685.
37. Literature illustrative of Dr Plume's veneration for Charles I (but note here [37.7] and [3.3(b)] above):
- 37.1 Maximilian Buck, Vicar of Seale, Kent. *An Anniversary Sermon on the Martyrdom of K. Charles the First of Blessed Memory*. 1702. (Preached 30 January 1702). Printed dedication to Dr Plume: "Viro morum probitate, vitae pietate, Erga egenos charitate, insigni, hoc quale qualecunque opusculum gratitudinis ergo quam humilime D. D. D. Q."
- 37.2 *The Pious Politician or Remains of the Royal Martyr*. 1684. (Collected writings of King Charles I).
- 37.3 *Basilika. The Workes of King Charles the Martyr*. 1662.
- 37.4 *Christus Dei, the Lords Annoynted . . . wherein is proved, that the regall monarchicall power of our Sovereigne Lord King Charles is not of humane but of divine right . . .* 1643. Oxford.
- 37.5 *Stratoste Liteutikon. A Just Invective Against Those of the Army . . . Who Murthered King Charles I*. 1662. By Dr John Gauden, who claimed to be the author of *Eikon Basilike: the Portrait of His Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings*.
- 37.6 Sir Roger L'Estrange. *A Memento Directed To All Those That Truly Reverence the Memory of King Charles the Martyr*. 1662.
- 37.7 John Milton. *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*. 1651. (A note in Plume MS 30: "Dr Robert Creighton told me he thought it brake Salmasius' heart that he could not answer Milton's book in such Latin as he wrote").
- 37.8 Claude de Saumaise (*Salmatius*). *Ad Johannem Miltonum Responsio*. 1660.
- 37.9 Claude de Saumaise. *Defensio Regia Pro Carolo I*. 1649.
38. Peter Heylyn, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster Abbey. *Cyprianus Anglicus: or the History of . . . William [Laud] . . . Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*. 1668.
- 39.1 Plume's Will states: "The Farm of Iltney in Munden, having been (as I have credibly heard) a Chantry land given to Maldon but alienated by King Henry the Eighth, I now restore and give for ever to the town of Maldon for the uses following . . .", which were: maintenance of the Library and School Room, a weekly lecture (Lady Day to Michaelmas), payment to "the most Godly indigent poor" attending the lectures, the maintenance at school of 6 to 10 poor boys (fees and clothing expenses). Plume knew that a chantry had been an endowment to religious uses and he was putting land which had been part of that endowment back into the most suitably religious usage possible in a Protestant nation.
- 39.2 Plume's action reflects the teaching of Sir Henry Spelman [47.1, 47.3] who asserted "a due Veneration to Persons, Places and Things consecrated to the service of God" [47.4(a)]. Spelman claimed that disaster fell providentially upon those who even unknowingly committed sacrilege, as for example in the area he first investigated, within 12 miles radius of Rougham, Norfolk, where 24 manor houses had been continuously occupied since 1536 without change of family, whilst 22 other properties which had been monastic estates to 1536/40 had "flung out their owners with their names and families . . . thrice at least and some of them four or five times . . . by fail of issue or ordinary sale but very often by grievous accidents and misfortunes". See also [61.1(a)] below.
- 39.3 Queen Anne's Bounty. *Statutes of the Realm* 2-3 Anne, c. 20, November 1704. The preamble of the Act recites the undesirable results of clergy being dependent "for their necessary maintenance upon the good will and liking of their hearers . . . under temptation of too much complying and suiting their doctrines and teaching to the humours rather than the good of their hearers . . ." and the Act set up a fund from which clerical stipends could be augmented by applying to it the Crown revenues called First Fruits and Tenths which had once been customary payments

- to the Papal Court and had been appropriated to the Crown by acts of parliament of 1532-1534.
- 40.-58. Books and pamphlets concerning tithes:
40. William Tooker, B.D., Archdeacon of Barnstaple, Chaplain to James I. *Of the Fabric of the Church and Churchmen's livings*. 1604. (2 copies).
41. George Catleton, B.D. *Tithes Examined and Proved to be Due to the Clergy by a Divine Right*. 1606.
42. Sir James Sempill of Beltrees. *Sacrilege Sacredly Handled, That Is, According to the Scripture Only; for the use of all Churches in general but more especially for those of North Britaine*. 1619. (2 copies). Sir James was a Scots lawyer and his book relates specially to the impropriation of church revenues in those parts of Scotland which had become controlled by Presbyterian landlords.
43. Foulke Robartes, B.D. *The Revenue of the Gospel is Tithes, Due to the Ministry of that Word by that Word*. 1613. Cambridge.
- 44.1 John Selden, Barrister of the Inner Temple. *The History of Tithes*. 1618. An MS note inside the cover reads: "Vide the Author's Submission made January 28 A.D. 1618 for the publication of this book. H. ix. 7 in Dr Tillesley's Preface to the Reader". See [44.3] below. This MS note refers to the licensing of publications. This book was subsequently banned.
- 44.2 Richard Montagu, B.D., Archdeacon of Hereford, Chaplain to James I. *Diatribae upon the First Part of the Late 'History of Tithes'*. 1621.
- 44.3 Richard Tillesley, D.D., Archdeacon of Rochester. *Animadversions upon Mr] Selden's 'History of Tithes'. The second edition, newly corrected and much augmented, together with an Answer to an unprinted pamphlet divulged against the former edition*. 1621. Oxford.
- 44.4 Stephen Nettles, B.D., Rector of Lexden, Vicar of Gt Tey and of Steeple, all in Essex. *An Answer to the Jewish Part of Mr Selden's 'History of Tithes'*. 1625. Oxford. (2 copies). This book led to the author's ejection from his rectory in 1644 "by force of arms" by Parliamentary troops.
45. William Walker. *A Sermon Preached in St Paul's Church, London*. 1629.
46. Bartholomew Parsons, B.D., Rector of Ludgershall, Wilts. *The History of Tithes or, Tithes Vindicated to the Presbyters of the Gospel; begun in a Visitation Sermon*. 1637. Oxford.
47. Sir Henry Spelman, legal antiquary. See also [39.2] above. Publications relating to tithes and impropriations:
- 47.1 *De Non Temerandis Ecclesiis*. 1646. Oxford. 3rd edition. (The first was of 1613 and the theory is very similar to that of F. Robartes, [43] above).
- 47.2 *An Apology of the Treatise 'De Non Temerandis Ecclesiis' Against a Treatise by an Unknown Author, written against it in some particulars. Also his Epistle to Richard Carew, Esquire, of Anthony in Cornwall concerning Tithes*. 1646.
- 47.3 *The Larger Treatise Concerning Tithes*. 1647. Posthumously published by Jeremiah Stephens, whose own *Tithes Too Hot To Be Touched* is not in the Library. Another account states that "in this Discourse he [Spelman] asserts Tithes to the Clergy from the Laws of Nature and of Nations; from the commands of God in the Old and New Testament; and from the particular Constitution of our own Kingdom." [47.4(b)].
- 47.4 *Reliquiae Spelmannianae. The Posthumous Works of Sir Henry Spelman, K(nigh)t Relating to the Laws and Antiquities of England. Publish'd from the Original Manuscripts. With the Life of the Author*. 1698. Oxford and London. (a) The Life, C2 verso; (b) The Life, C3.
48. John Warner, D.D., Bishop of Rochester, 1637-1666. *Church Lands Not To Be Sold*. 1648.
49. Robert Boreman, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Plume MSS, bundle G/19: draft booklet of 28pp. of *The Countryman's Catechisme*. The published

version of 1652 is not in the Library. The MS title-page reads: "The Countriman's Catechisme or The Minister's plea against the Countriman's Appeale. Wherein is discovered the Dutie and Dignities of ministers, their right to Tithes and the danger of altering so legall a Custome which hath its warrant from the Word, from the practise of all Ages and confirmed by the fundamentall Lawes of the Realme. These shalbe Delivered in 10 Sections to the capacitie of the Vulgar who may collect, if they puruse them with good attention, that in petitioning against Tithes they both highly displease God and endanger their own Liberties . . . Anno Christi 1648".

50. Christopher Elderfield, Chaplain of Sir William Goring of Burton, Sussex. *The Civil Right of Tythes*. 1650.
51. Anonymous author. *A Brief Discourse of Changing Ministers' Tithes into Stipends or into Another Thing*. 1654.
52. Cornelius Burges, D.D., Parliamentary Preacher at Wells Cathedral, 1650s. *No Sacrilege nor Sinne to Aliene or Purchase the Lands of Bishops*. 1659. He purchased estates formerly of the Deanery of Wells and of the Bishop. His arguments on the nature of sacrilege and his eventual fate — poverty and death by cancer of the neck — are discussed by Isaac Basire [55] below.
53. Rice Vaughan, Barrister of Gray's Inn. *First-fruits and Tenths out of Ecclesiastical Livings, according to their present improved values, No Present For Caesar: or the arithmetick of Dr Thomas Bradley, in his book called 'A Present For Caesar Of 100,0001. in hand And 50,0001. A Year' examined and found not to amount (by inversion) to 000,0001. 00s. 05d. a year*. 1657. This is an adequate précis on the title-page of the short work that follows. Dr Bradley's book (which must be of 1656-7 but is listed in the *Short-title Catalogue* as of 1658) is not in the Library, nor his abject justification of it — *Appello Caesarem*, 1661, York — which followed the Restoration of Monarchy and Church of England.
54. William Prynne of Swanswick, Bencher of Lincoln's Inn.
- 54.1 *Ten Considerable Questions Concerning Tithes*. 1659. An example of the over-exaggerated, unbalanced writing which, in some 200 tracts that poured off his pen, kept Prynne in prison, often in solitary confinement, savagely punished by Crown, Parliament and the New Model Army in turn for some twenty years. In this tract he denounces petitioners for the abolition of tithes as "anti-Christian, Jewish, burdensome, oppressive to the godly, conscientious people of the nation, excited, encouraged thereunto by disguised Jesuits, Popish priests, friars and Romish emissaries to starve, suppress, extirpate, our Protestant ministers, Church, religion, and bring them all to speedy confusion".
- 54.2 *A Gospel Plea (interwoven with a rational and legal) for the Lawfulness and Continuance of the Antient Setled Maintenance and Tenths of the Ministers of the Gospel . . . with a satisfactory answer to all cavils and material objections to the contrary*. 1660.
55. Isaac Basire, D.D., Archdeacon of Northumberland. *Deo et Ecclesiae Sacrum*. 1668.
56. Anonymous author. *The Evil Eye Plucked Out or, A Discourse on Church Revenues*. 1670.
57. Gilbert Burnet (see also 36.5 above). *History of the Rights of Princes in Disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church Lands*. 1682.
58. Richard Simon. *The History of the Original and Progress of Ecclesiastical Revenues*. 1685.
- 59.-65. Modern studies:
59. Peter Clark (ed.). *Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England*. 1981. Leicester University Press (especially pp. 21, 97, 200).
60. Patrick Collinson. *The Religion of Protestants: the Church in English Society, 1559-1625*. 1982. Oxford University Press.

61. Levi Fox (ed.). *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. 1956. Oxford University Press, for The Dugdale Society. Including:
- 61.1 Philip Styles. "Politics and Historical Research in the Early Seventeenth Century". (a) For Sir Henry Spelman's researches and his beliefs on the effects of lay impropriation of church revenues, see pp. 65-68.
62. Michael Hunter. *Science and Society in Restoration England*. 1981. Cambridge University Press. (a) For book sales, see pp. 77-78.
63. Alan G. R. Smith. *Science and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. 1972. Thames and Hudson. (a) Illustration 116, facing p. 162.
64. Lawrence Stone (ed.). *The University in Society*. Volume I. 1975. Princeton and Oxford University Presses. (a) pp. 53-54.
65. Keith Thomas. *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*. 1971. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. (1973, Penguin Books Ltd.).