Collecting, communicating, and commemorating:
The significance of Thomas Plume's manuscript collection,
left to his Library in Maldon, est. 1704

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Dedication

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Abstract

This thesis is about networks in seventeenth-century England: the making and re-shaping of networks of people and texts, and the ways in which they evolved and transformed. It focuses on the manuscripts collected by Dr Thomas Plume (1630-1704), vicar of Greenwich and archdeacon of Rochester, who left them with a substantial body of books and pamphlets to the Library he endowed in Maldon. They take the form of notebooks and papers complied by a number of different clergymen, in particular Dr Robert Boreman (d.1675) and Dr Edward Hyde (1607-1659), in addition to Plume. The significance of the research lies in its reconstruction of the intellectual lives of the middle-status loyalist clergy through their handwritten texts. The research intervenes into debates about the nature and status of the manuscript form in an age of print and asks why these texts were left with the Library. The content and material form of these notebooks and papers evidence the reading and writing practices of the middle-status clergy, and the ways they were able to use their positions to influence and persuade on local and national levels. The main sections of the thesis encompass: a critical analysis of the manuscript collection; an examination of why the manuscripts were created and re-used; an appraisal of themes of identity, memorial, and legacy reflected within them; and the relationship between the handwritten items and printed books. This thesis argues that these seemingly-ephemeral texts were in fact the 'heart' of Plume's library collection, representing a network of clergymen whose commitment to each other's work extended as far as if they had been related by blood. Their working papers symbolised a memorial to their scholarship, saved for posterity under the shadow of destruction and loss during the Civil Wars.

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Abbreviations

CHLBI   The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland

ODNB   The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

TNA   The National Archives

TPL   Thomas Plume's Library

Chapter 1   **Introduction**

Books - real, imagined, and lost - and the knowledge that they contained, were

central to Thomas Plume's identity. This concept can be seen in his writings as

well as the way he has been depicted in art. In the biography of his mentor John

Hacket (1592-1670) Plume (1630-1704) elevated the significance of Hacket's books

of sermons to the same level as his salvation: he expressed that he had taken care

'not to permit his Books to be buried (as it were) in the Grave with his Body,

mortal and immortal to descend together into the same Land of oblivion', where

they would wait together for the Day of Judgement.[1] Plume was also likely to have

been involved in the publication of Hacket's biography of his own mentor,

Archbishop John Williams (1582-1650), a tradition that seems to have been passed

down through this particular lineage of royalist clergy patrons.[2] The biography

was entitled *Scrinia Reserata* or 'bookcases unlocked': a metaphor depicting the

details of Williams' life as coming from previously inaccessible sources of

knowledge, subsequently brought to light by publication.[3] The protagonists of

these two memoirs were greatly concerned with one of the common experiences

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[1]   Thomas Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', in John Hacket, *A century of sermons upon several remarkable subjects preached by the Right Reverend Father in God, John Hacket, late Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; published by Thomas Plume* (London: Printed by Andrew Clark for Robert Scott, 1675) (Standard No: B01512), p. i. Where a printed book is referred to in the footnotes, the Plume catalogue standard number is provided, if Plume owned it. A short biography of Hacket is presented in section 3.2.

[2]   W. J. Petchey, *A Prospect of Maldon 1500-1689* (Chelmsford: Essex Record Office, 1991), p.243. It was published posthumously on Hacket's behalf. With neither of Hacket's sons entering the church, this makes Plume a likely candidate as editor. Also, in the Errata, the post-Hacket editor refers to himself as a 'Friend', which was a trope used by Plume in his biography of Hacket. John Hacket, *Scrinia reserata a memorial offer'd to the great deservings of John Williams, D. D., who some time held the places of Ld Keeper of the Great Seal of England, Ld Bishop of Lincoln, and Ld Archbishop of York: containing a series of the most remarkable occurrences and transactions of his life, in relation both to church and state* (London In the Savoy: Printed by Edw. Jones for Samuel Lowndes, 1693) (Standard No: B00489), p.231.

[3]   Hacket, *Scrinia reserata*, Title Page.

of loyalist scholars during the Civil Wars: the destruction of their books,

manuscripts, and working papers by the Parliamentarian soldiers, alongside the

loss of their livings. Williams had lost 'his papers of long study, and much

commentation, with his choice Books', which had been ransacked and destroyed

with Cawood Castle.[4] Williams had not published much of his work and this was

because his scholarship had been disrupted by: 'Imprisonments, fatal Wars, and

most of all by the embezzling of his Notes and Papers'.[5] Hacket also lost unique

manuscript papers and many books during his sequestration from Holborn and

this, together with 'the melancholy Rust of the Civil War', had prevented Hacket

from writing his long-desired biography of James I.

The loss of scholarship had been a common problem for the loyalist clergy: The

Attempt Toward Recovering An Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the

Clergy by John Walker (1674-1747) also contains many complaints that the loyalist

clergy's books and papers, amongst other belongings, had been ransacked and

stolen.[6] Walker had written about the sufferings of the loyalist clergy in response

to a publication by Edmund Calamy (1671–1732) about the non-conformist

ministers who had been ejected following the Restoration.[7] In one example

Walker reported that Mr Sefton's study had been rifled and there were taken

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[4]   Hacket, *Scrinia reserata*, p. 441.

[5]   Hacket, *Scrinia reserata*, p. 464.

[6]   Fiona McCall, *Baal's Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 185. J. Walker, *An Attempt Toward Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England: Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, andc. who were Sequester'd, Harrass'd, andc. in the Late Times of the Grand Rebellion* (London: Printed by W. S. for J. Nicholson, R. Knaplock, R. Wilkins, B. Tooke, D. Midwinter, and B. Cowse, 1714).

[7]   Alexander Du Toit, 'Walker, John (bap. 1674, d. 1747)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

'among other Papers of Value, a *Dialogue* ... being the Sum of a very Learned Discourse.'[8] There are many examples of the clergy recounting and lamenting the loss of their books in the Walker accounts, which equated with the loss of a main part of their identity.[9] The result of these acts of destruction and theft was that the loyalist clergy became publicly silenced from their intellectual duty to society and the Church. Plume's involvement with Hacket's and Williams' biographies therefore may have inspired his concern to save clerical scholarship in the form of their workbooks and papers for posterity. In this way Plume exemplifies the experience of loyalist clergy who had become closer through adversity, making connections and associations to give them strength.

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[8]   Walker, *An Attempt Toward Recovering an Account,* p. 372.

[9]   McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p. 185.

**Figure 1: Portrait of Thomas Plume (1630-1704), date unknown,
reproduced by permission of Maldon Town Council**

Clergymen had long been portrayed in portraiture with iconography relating to

books, which symbolised both their expert knowledge and their access to the

Divine Word.[10] In his only known portrait (undated), now displayed in the Moot

Hall in Maldon, Plume can be seen holding a book in his left hand; perhaps

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[10]   Barbara Williams Ellerston and Janet Seiz, 'The Painted Page: Books as Symbols in
         Renaissance Art', *Independent Scholar,* 1 (2015), 20-33, p. 22.

subtly pointing to it with his right index finger (Figure 1). In a later depiction
made of Plume, the imagery selected to accompany him has continued to
highlight the significance of books; unsurprisingly considering his most
prominent benefaction in Maldon of a library for the town. The statue portraying
him on the side of All Saints Church was erected during the early twentieth
century alongside the sculptures of six other important Maldon individuals
(Figure 2).[11] Whilst the contemporary portrait of Plume depicted him sitting
down with a book, perhaps in preparation to read, the later statue shows him
active and advancing, with his robe lifted in one hand and a book in the other.
This reflects the way in which Plume used his knowledge and position in society
to make a difference with his philanthropic benefactions, which he provided not
only to Maldon but also in East Greenwich, Rochester, and Cambridge. Notably,
the books in both images of Plume are small and portable, perhaps small quarto
in size, like many of the manuscript notebooks in his collection.

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[11]   The statue was sculpted by Mr Nathaniel Hitch of Vauxhall and is situated on the South Aisle
of All Saints. It was inserted in 1907, a gift of the Maldon Royal Arch Freemasons. See
Leonard Hughes, *A guide to the church of All Saints, Maldon: with outlines of its history and
appendices, chiefly of original documents and authorities* (London: Gowers, 1909), pp. 2-4.

Figure 2: Statue of Thomas Plume, All Saints Church, Maldon

Plume was born in Maldon, where his father (also Thomas Plume, 1589-c.1658) was an Alderman, and he attended King Edward VI grammar school in nearby Chelmsford.[12] He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he graduated both BA and MA in 1649.[13] He must have received ordination in secret by a practising bishop, before his 1658 institution as vicar of Greenwich. Following the Restoration, Plume graduated BD in 1661 and DD in 1673, becoming Archdeacon of Rochester in 1679.[14] Plume had accumulated some wealth by the end of his life and left many legacies to the poor clergy and laity, as well as for educational purposes, such as an observatory and Professorship of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy to the University of Cambridge, and £20 to buy books for King Edward VI grammar school.[15]

Plume left his personal collection of books to his hometown of Maldon in Essex, augmented with additional works which he thought would be useful to 'any Gentlman or Scholer', which they could read in the Library, or borrow after providing a *vadimonium* (bond).[16] Plume also bequeathed his collection of paintings, a map of the world, and 'all my Manuscripts papers of my own hand' to

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[12] Petchey, *A Prospect of Maldon,* p. 74.

[13] Frank Herrmann, 'The Emergence of the Book Auctioneer as a Professional', in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620-1920,* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1996), p. 1; W. J. Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume: Tercentenary Edition* (Maldon: The Trustees of the Plume Library, 2004), p. 6.

[14] S. G. Deed, *Catalogue of the Plume Library at Maldon, Essex* (Maldon: Plume Library Trustees, 1959), p. xiii.

[15] London, TNA, PROB 11/481/24, 'Will of Thomas Plume, Doctor in Divinity, Minister of East Greenwich, Kent', 3 March 1705, lines 330-1; line 198.

[16] *Will of Thomas Plume,* lines 149-50.

his Library, alongside his printed books and pamphlets.[17] It is Plume's collection of handwritten texts comprising notebooks - sometimes referred to by his contemporaries as 'paper books' - and unbound papers, which forms the focus of this research. This is because the manuscript collection is a remarkable and unusual part of the Library holdings, as will be shown in the next section. Rather than being available to be loaned out to interested readers, the manuscripts were instead to be 'carefully preserved in the Study of the said Library'.[18]

Why, then, did Plume wish to have his manuscripts carefully preserved as part of his wider repository of knowledge? Contrary to the terminology used by Plume in his will of 'my Manuscripts papers of my own hand', he only created around one-quarter of the collection himself. Although Plume read and annotated many the documents, the remainder were created by forty or so other individuals who lived during the span of the seventeenth century. This thesis examines the situation of Plume's manuscripts within the Library space and asks why he placed them there, and what they can reveal about their significance to Plume and their other authors. The remainder of this introduction will provide a review of the relevant literature before setting out the central research questions and the structure of subsequent chapters.

1.1   Literature review

This research falls at the intersection between two complementary literatures: manuscript collections in early modern libraries, and the history of notebooks

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[17]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 122-4; 132-3.

[18]   Will of Thomas Plume, line 133.

and working papers found within debates in 'the history of the book'. The purpose of the review is to understand the types of manuscripts which were left to libraries and to demonstrate that the handwritten documents Plume collected were very unusual for a library legacy. The second sub-section will examine manuscript production and transmission in the seventeenth century, particularly for members of the professions, and will demonstrate how Plume's texts shared similarities with those produced by other types of professional gentlemen, but also where they diverged.

1.1.1   Manuscripts within the context of libraries

In addition to printed books, many libraries of the late seventeenth century contained at least a few manuscripts.[19] Different types of manuscript can be identified, but they sometimes had overlapping functions in terms of practical use and rarity or aesthetic value. However, Plume's manuscripts do not conform to the types of manuscripts often presented to libraries, especially not in such a significant number. Library benefactors contemporary with Plume owned three main types of manuscript collections along with their printed books: pre-Reformation manuscripts, post-Reformation political papers, and those containing contemporary knowledge such as scientific work.

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[19]   Thomas Kelly, *Early Public Libraries: A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850* (The Library Association, 1966), p. 93.

There was a culture of learning and nobility attached to the seventeenth century, which included the appreciation of manuscripts as artefacts.[20] John Evelyn's second edition of Gabriel Naudé's *Instructions concerning erecting of a Library* included manuscripts and medals, which were not discussed in the first edition, and this suggests a move towards the idea of a gentleman's 'collection' rather than simply a library.[21] Naudé's *Instructions* refer to manuscripts belonging at the heart of a library because they were 'at present in most esteem, and less vulgar'.'[22] This shows how having manuscripts as part of the Library and in particular this type of historical manuscript, was very much in demand and gave an impression of the owner as a gentleman of culture and learning. In parallel to Plume's motivation to save manuscripts in the light of their widespread loss during the Civil Wars, John Evelyn wrote of a risk that manuscripts could be destroyed for another reason: the fact that they had been overlooked and were 'cover'd with dust and cobwebs'.[23] This mirrors the sentiment in the title of Hacket's biography of John Williams, *Scrinia Reserata,* of knowledge about his life and work having been hidden, but now recovered.

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[20] Paul A. Nelles, 'Libraries, books and learning, from Bacon to the Enlightenment', in *CHLBI, Volume II 1640-1850,* ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 23-35, p. 28.

[21] Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions concerning erecting of a library: presented to my lord the President De Mesme. By Gabriel Naudeus, P. And now interpreted by Jo. Evelyn, Esquire* (London: printed for G. Bedle, and T. Collins, at the Middle-Temple gate, and J. Crook in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1661), p. 53.

[22] Naudé, *Instructions concerning erecting of a library*, p. 53.

[23] Arnold Hunt, 'Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts', in *From books to bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and his collections*, ed. by Michael Hunter, Alison Walker and Arthur MacGregor (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 190-207, p. 192.

One of the major early seventeenth-century collectors of manuscripts was Sir

Robert Cotton (1570/1-1631).[24] Cotton and his contemporaries were interested in

manuscripts of historical interest and utilised both pre- and post-reformation

documents. In particular, Cotton collected Anglo-Saxon documents, the major

chroniclers of the medieval period, and state papers from the reigns of Henry VIII

to James I.[25] Cotton attended Westminster School with William Camden and was

an early member of the Society of Antiquaries, therefore having an antiquarian

interest in manuscripts.[26] Francis Bacon (1561-1626) called Cotton 'a worthy

Preserver and Treasurer of rare Antiquities', giving the impression that the

manuscripts were collected to be preserved rather than actually used.[27] However,

this was not the case, as he lent them to other interested parties; for example, he

gave eleven manuscripts to Thomas Bodley (1545-1613) in 1601.[28] The historical

manuscripts were often bound up with more recent texts, suggesting that they

were to be referred to in a complementary manner.[29] The circle of scholars

surrounding Matthew Parker (1504-1575) also had an antiquarian interest in the

manuscripts of his collection, since they 'annotated, cross-referenced and

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[24]   Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530-1930) and their marks of ownership* (London: The Holland Press, 1960), p. 24.

[25]   *The English Library before 1700*, ed. by Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (London: University of London, the Athlorne Press, 1958), pp. 193-5, p. 197. See also C. E. Wright and Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton as collector: essays on an early Stuart courtier and his legacy* (London: British Library Board, 1997).

[26]   Colin Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton: The Panizzi Lectures 1993* (London: The British Library, 1993), p. 5.

[27]   Wormald and Wright, *The English Library before 1700*, p. 203.

[28]   Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*, p. 12.

[29]   Wormald and Wright, *The English Library before 1700*, p. 197, p. 202. See also Colin Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London: British Library, 2003).

compared the texts of the different manuscripts'.[30] Parker wanted to 'salvage the

written record of England's medieval past', and antiquaries in general were

interested in transcribing old state and ecclesiastical papers to find 'surest proof

of history'.[31] The main difference between Parker and Cotton in terms of their

collections was that Parker considered his manuscripts to serve his own private

use during his own lifetime, with the exception of a few close associates, 'even

though the purposes that inspired his use were public ones'.[32]

Humphrey Chetham (1580-1653), Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713) and Thomas

Tenison (1636-1713) all had libraries with a number of important medieval

documents in their collections.[33] There were only ten manuscripts in the Ipswich

town library collection, most of which are decorated and valued for their age and

rarity.[34] At the end of the seventeenth century there was a revival of the

Elizabethan and Jacobean impetus to collect rare and beautiful editions rather

than practical texts.[35] This mirrored the attempt to return to the status quo from

before the Civil Wars in politics and religion. However, Plume did not have this

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[30]   Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the book in early modern England: the making of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 152.

[31]   Timothy Graham, 'Matthew Parker's manuscripts: an Elizabethan Library and its use', in *CHLBI, Volume I: to 1640* ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 322-42, p. 323; Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London and NY: Hambledon, 2004), p. 15.

[32]   Graham, 'Matthew Parker's manuscripts: an Elizabethan Library and its use', p. 328.

[33]   Michael Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', in *CHLBI, Volume II 1640-1850,* ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 83-101, p. 99.

[34]   John Blatchly, *The Town Library of Ipswich provided for the use of the town preachers in 1599: A history and catalogue* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989), p. 175. Shelf numbers: M4, G5, E5, H4, H4, H4, H2, H2, I2, and I1.

[35]   David Pearson, 'Scholars and bibliophiles: book collectors in Oxford, 1550-1650', in *Antiquaries, Book Collectors & the Circles of Learning,* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1996), pp. 1-26, p. 2.

kind of manuscript in his collection and seems not to have participated in

antiquarian pursuits in this way. Instead he collected printed books written by

antiquaries who had used these sorts of manuscript sources, as can be seen from

his some of his reading notes, and perhaps he also saw them as a suitable vehicle

for presenting the topic to his library readers.[36]

Manuscripts could be left to the same institution as the printed texts, whether

that was a university or college, cathedral, or town library. The medieval Middle

English manuscripts belonging to Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) were bound up and

shelved with his printed books in his bequest to Magdalene College, Cambridge

in 1705.[37] Similarly, Wisbech Town Library (founded 1653) had 'sundry very old

Abbee manuscripts' included in the main collection.[38] There are connections

between Plume, Pepys and Wisbech Town Library making them suitable for

comparison. Pepys recorded in his diary that he visited Wisbech Town Library in

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[36]   Evidence from his reading notes is set out in section 4.4.3. See, for example: Henry Spelman, *Reliquiae Spelmannianae. : The posthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman Kt. relating to the laws and antiquities of England. Publish'd from the original manuscripts. With the life of the author* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater for Awnsham and John Churchill at the Black-Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, London, 1698) (Standard No: B04515); James Wright, *The history and antiquities of the County of Rutland: collected from records, ancient manuscripts, monuments on the place, and other authorities. Illustrated with sculptures (*London: Printed for Bennet Griffin at the Griffin in the great Old Baily, and are to be sold by Christ. Wilkinson at the Black Boy, and by Sam. Keble at the Turks-Head in Fleetstreet, 1684) (Standard No: B00197). P. Lilly, *The history of the Evangelical churches of the valleys of Piemont: Containing a most exact geographical description of the place, and a faithfull account of the doctrine, life, and persecutions of the ancient inhabitants. Together with a most naked and punctual relation of the late bloudy massacre, 1655. And a narrative of all the following transactions, to the year of Our Lord, 1658. All which are justified, partly by divers ancient manuscripts written many hundred years before Calvin or Luther, and partly by other most authentick attestations: the true originals of the greatest part whereof, are to be seen in their proper languages by all the curious, in the publick library of the University of Cambridge* (London: Printed by Henry Hills, one of His Highness's printers, for Adoniram Byfield, and are to be sold at the three Bibles in Cornhill, next to Popes-head Alley, 1658) (Standard No: B04056).

[37]   Robert Latham, *Catalogue of Pepys Library Vi Medieval MSS, Vol 1, Vol 5* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1978), p. xxi.

[38]   Graham Best, 'Books and Readers in Certain Eighteenth-Century Parish Libraries' (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Loughborough University of Technology, 1985), p. 32.

1663; he had been impressed by Plume's preaching in Greenwich in 1665; and

Plume had donated a book to the Wisbech collection in 1675.[39] Wisbech's Town

Library was similar to Maldon's in having a market town location, although it had

instead been established by a group of local élites and was kept in the parish

church.[40]

However, collections could also be split between separate institutions, as was the

case for Narcissus Marsh who left his oriental manuscripts to the Bodleian at the

end of his life, whilst his printed books and western manuscripts made up part of

his library in Dublin founded in 1701.[41] Marsh's library is a good example for

comparison with Plume's, being similarly purpose-built and available to the

'public'. For some libraries provided for the clergy, however, manuscripts were

not thought to have been of use or of relevance: Samuel Harsnett (1561-1631) left

his collection of manuscripts to his university college rather than the town clergy

of Colchester with his printed books, and there is no mention of manuscripts in

the library of John Knightbridge (1619/20–1677) in Chelmsford.[42] This is likely to

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[39]   '18 September 1663', *Pepys diary* online version ed. by Phil Gyford
       http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1663/09/18/ [accessed 12 January 2015]; '1 September 1665',
       Pepys diary online version ed. by Phil Gyford http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/09/01/
       [accessed 12 January 2015]. Miguel Antonio Francés de Urrutigoyti, *De ecclesiis cathedralibus,
       earumque priuilegiis et prærogatiuis, tractatus: in quo omnia, quæ ad erectionem earum vsque
       ad diuinorum celebrationem, singulisque partibus, tam interiorum, quam exteriorum ipsarum,
       à principio nascentis Ecclesiæ vsque ad præsens reperiuntur* (Lugduni: Sumptibus Philippi
       Borde, Laurentij Arnaud, Petri Borde, et Guill. Barbier, 1665), Shelf mark: A6.17; with thanks
       to Robert Bell, the Assistant Curator at Wisbech & Fenland Museum, for this information.
       Plume's Library also has a copy of this edition, Standard No: B00446.

[40]   Best, 'Books and Readers in Certain Eighteenth-Century Parish Libraries', p. 29.

[41]   Colin Wakefield, 'Archbishop Marsh's oriental collections in the Bodleian Library', in *The
       Making of Marsh's Library*, ed. by Muriel McCarthy and Ann Simmonds (Dublin: Four Courts
       Press, 2004), pp. 76-84, pp. 83-4; Charles Benson, 'Libraries in University Towns' in *CHLBI,
       Volume II 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge
       University Press, 2006), pp. 102-21, p. 118.

[42]   Gordon Goodwin, *A Catalogue of the Harsnett Library at Colchester* (London: 1888), p. xxiv.

be because medieval manuscripts were thought to be relevant for historical

rather than theological study; in the case of Ipswich Town Library the presence of

a few medieval manuscripts can be attributed to the merchant benefactor's

interest in contemporary collecting practices.

It has been seen that pre-Reformation manuscripts, prized for their rarity and

aesthetic value, were sometimes collected both to preserve them as artefacts and

for interest in their rare content. However, post-Reformation manuscripts, such

as state papers, were collected for their political significance or for their practical

usefulness in everyday professional activity, and as part of a national historical

record; this comprises the second type of manuscript collected by library

benefactors. Certain contemporary or more post-Reformation documents could

be used for political and antiquarian purposes. For example, part of the collection

belonging to Archbishop Parker had a political purpose 'playing a role in the

defence of the Elizabethan church settlement.'[43] Sir William Haward (c.1617–1704)

collected manuscripts with a political function in his miscellany, which illustrates

the type of information available at the Stuart court.[44] Haward wrote down

excerpts from texts provided by other people, and his miscellany was meant both

for his own use and 'as a source book for further transcription'.[45] The miscellany

contained a large quantity of satirical verse together with notes on parliamentary

sessions and speeches.[46] Harold Love attributes the satirical verse to an

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[43]   Pearson, 'Scholars and bibliophiles', p. 2.

[44]   Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 211.

[45]   Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 213.

[46]   Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 213-4.

'oppositional' nature of manuscripts, where readership of controversial material could be more closely controlled.[47] This becomes more complex when analysing texts in manuscript form which were intended for print. Plume also had some political manuscripts, for example, a tract regarding the restoration of the wealth of England and some Elizabethan state papers, although these represent a small fraction of the collection.[48] This aspect of reading and writing in times of crisis or opposition is relevant to a study of Plume's manuscripts, since many of those in his collection were dated to the times of the Civil Wars and interregnum.

The third type of manuscripts which could be kept in libraries comprised the everyday scholarship of members of the professions and other gentlemen. Tenison's library had, for example, one of Francis Bacon's notebooks, and Chetham's library contained a number of transcripts by two gentlemen 'who intended to collaborate in writing a history of Lancashire'.[49] However, it has been argued that the trustees of Chetham's library did not want to receive donations of modern manuscripts, as they were thought to be ephemeral in material form and ended up 'in pie cases or burned to keep fires going'.[50] Samuel Hartlib (1600-1662) also collected contemporary manuscripts such as Francis Bacon's papers, and other scientific and philosophical manuscripts, and these could be used in the

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[47]   Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 189.

[48]   Maldon, TPL, MA0015 'Certayne Projects for the mean how to restore, increase and mantayne the wealth of England'; MA0111, E.39, 'This Clausula' and MA0111, E.40, 'Repequancie'.

[49]   Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, his life and times* (London: SPCK, 1948), p. 25; Hilda Lofthouse, 'Unfamiliar Libraries I: Chetham's Library', *The Book Collector*, 5 (1956), 323-30, p. 327.

[50]   Matthew Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library 1655-1700* (London, Boston: Brill, 2001), p. 227.

same way as contemporary printed books.[51] However, these papers were often the

work of one particular individual, particularly if they were of élite status or

otherwise well-known. Leonard Wheatcroft (1627-1707), a schoolmaster and

parish clerk (and contemporary with Plume) had a library containing 'at least

seven of his own manuscript books'; Wheatcroft's son added his own manuscript

notebooks to the collection, which included didactic manuals, bringing the total

up to 19.[52] Although Wheatcroft's collection was similar to Plume's in that it was

a practical working collection of manuscripts, it was far smaller in size, remained

in family ownership, and only contained the papers of the two men, compared

with Plume's much larger, multi-authored, collection.

Similarly, Samuel Pepys had a large bundle of papers including naval papers, draft

histories, and correspondence, which, it is claimed, he 'never quite got round to

throwing away'.[53] Pepys's library of books and manuscripts, on the other hand,

which was left to Magdalene College, were to be assembled and catalogued with

precision by his nephew John Jackson before its arrival in Cambridge.[54] The naval

papers, histories and correspondence were, unlike the manuscripts Pepys left

with his library, draft or 'unfinished' texts and therefore not thought to be of use

in a library setting. This attitude towards Pepys's working papers contrasts

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[51]   Nelles, 'Libraries, books and learning, from Bacon to the Enlightenment', p. 25.

[52]   Giles Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', in *CHLBI, Volume II 1640-1850,* ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 173-89, p. 177.

[53]   Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 1. See also Justin Reay, '"A masse of papers unconnected": Samuel Pepys' Naval Papers in the Bodleian Collection', *Bodleian Library Record,* 23 (2010), 168-9.

[54]   Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his books*, p. 15.

significantly with Plume's perception of his own papers, which he wished to be 'carefully preserved'. These types of notebooks and papers related directly to Pepys's and Plume's professional work. Pepys made notes in his professional papers from reading other people's manuscripts, for example he had access to current drafts written by his friend Sir William Petty (1623-1687), who had held the role (amongst others) of Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, and was one of the founding Fellows of the Royal Society.[55] In contrast, Plume's access to other clergymen's professional papers took place after the death of the previous owner, which offered no chance of discussion of the content.

The sorts of manuscripts which made up Plume's collection - notebooks of sermons or commonplace books - were typically left to a son or nephew, who was expected to go into the Church.[56] Plume acquired the notebooks and papers through family or friendship legacy, or in some cases perhaps through purchase.[57] For example, William Miller's collection of manuscripts comprising papers and pamphlets written after 1600 were sold at auction, according to a printed sale catalogue.[58] There are a few examples of these types of items being left

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[55]   Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his books,* p. 233; Ted McCormick, *William Petty: And the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 2.

[56]   For bequest of sermon notebooks to family members see Ann Blair, 'Note Taking as an Art of Transmission', *Critical Inquiry,* 30 (2004), 85-107, p. 104.

[57]   This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

[58]   Charles Tooker, *The famous collection of papers and pamphlets of all sorts, from the year 1600. down to this day, commonly known by the name of William Miller's collection is now to be sold, by retail, or otherwise, at the Acorn in St. Paul's Church-yard, turning down the Old-Change. Being digested into such an order and method, by way of alphabet, and common-place, that the reader shall find, without any difficulty, whatever he hath occasion for; as in the following table will appear. Composed by Mr. Charles Tooker. Catalogues may be had at Mr. Math. Gilliflowers at his shop in Westminster-hall, Mr. Chr. Bateman Middle-Row Holbourn, Mr. Joseph Hindmarsh over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, and at the guilded Acorn in St. Paul's Church-yard, London* (London: 1695).

individually to a university, for instance in the case of Sir Henry Stapylton 1st

Baronet of Myton (1617-1679) whose commonplace books and papers were left to

the University of Oxford. However, in that particular case, Stapylton's

commonplace books were of interest because he was of élite status and an

alumnus, unlike the authors in Plume's collection.[59] Therefore it is likely that

Plume wished to keep the papers safe from future dispersal by leaving them as a

collection with the books in the Library's institutional hands.

So how did Plume's practices compare with other seventeenth-century

manuscript collectors? He shared practices with contemporaries such as Samuel

Hartlib in that he used manuscripts to mine them for information which he could

use to perform his professional role. Pepys, like Plume, also was a 'collector of

collections' in this regard, having a number of papers and notebooks from

particular individuals.[60] Like Sir Robert Cotton, Plume also proactively saved

items for posterity, although the types of documents Plume saved were very

different, being 'working papers' and unfinished texts. An important way in

which Plume's practices differed to those of other collectors is that he did not

catalogue any of his items (the only evidence for any sort of ordering being in the

marking of indexes in some of the notebooks) and that he did not bind items

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[59]   R. C. Alston, *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997); pp. 87-88; See also: Frans Karsten, *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker* (Cambridge, 2010); Yeo, *The acquisition of books by Chetham's Library*; David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press vol 2: Scholarship and Commerce, 1698-1872* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth century English manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015), p. xx, p. 17 "fowle", p. 20, p. 166.

[60]   Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his books,* p. 120.

together in order to preserve them better, for example, as did Robert Cotton or

Samuel Pepys.[61]

In addition to existing literature on early modern libraries and their manuscript

collections, there are two major debates in the general field of the 'history of the

book' which are relevant to this research: the role of manuscripts in an age of

print, and the nature of communications between authors and readers. Within

these two fields, scholars have focused on specific types of manuscripts which

were produced, their uses in terms of reading and writing practices, and how they

were communicated. These issues will be covered in turn in the following section.

1.1.2   Manuscripts in an age of print

A consensus has developed among scholars in work undertaken in reaction to

Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change,* that manuscript

production and publication did not come to an end (although it did decrease)

following the invention of print.[62] For example, Peter Beal argues that in 1663 'for

over two centuries … the age of the scribe was nowhere near over'.[63] H. R.

Woudhuysen agrees that manuscript 'survived in the age of print', and David

McKitterick asserts that in Europe and North America 'the copying out of texts

and habits of note-taking implied a continuing commitment to scribal culture

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[61]   For details of Cotton's cataloguing of his manuscripts see Tite, *The Early Records*, p. 4.

[62]   Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Roger Chartier, 'The Printing Revolution: A Reappraisal', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L Eisenstein,* ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric L. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shelvin (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 397-408, p. 398.

[63]   Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England, The Lyell Lectures, Oxford 1995-1996* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 2.

alongside that of print'.[64] The manuscripts often discussed in this context are described as 'scribally published' or produced to be circulated in manuscript form. The main scholarship on the topic of 'scribal publication' involves the commercial copying of texts, or the ways in which literary texts, subversive religious texts, or women's writings, were distributed to a select audience.[65] David D. Hall defines scribal publication as 'any text that existed in one or more copies', although this should be clarified to emphasise that 'publication' only took effect if the text was intended to be seen by more than one person.[66]

Manuscript workbooks were an important source of knowledge for the clergy in the same way as were printed books. They were, however, a different concept to scribally-published manuscripts, since the workbooks were 'unfinished' or unpolished products, and instead can be viewed as 'draft' and fragmentary in nature. Therefore, apart from one or two exceptions, Plume's manuscripts are not the same type of text as those discussed under the heading of 'scribal publication'. The working notebooks and papers in Plume's collection were not created with the intention that they would be copied and disseminated in that form. They also had a different function in that, as far as we can tell, Plume's

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[64] H. R. Wouldhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 19; David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 11.

[65] In Peter Beal's definition, 'scribe' comes from *scriba* and simply means someone who writes a text by hand. However, he sees the most common use as a 'professional clerk or copyist' or another peson 'who copies out a text for whatever reason'. 'Scribe', *Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology,* ed. by Peter Beal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 361. For commercial scribal publication see: Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England*; David D. Hall, 'Scribal publication in seventeenth-century New England' in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* 115 (2006) 29-80; Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*.

[66] David D. Hall, *Ways of Writing: The Practice and Politics of Text-Making in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 33.

manuscripts were not shared during text production, but instead were passed on to a new reader only once the original author had died.

There have been some recent studies which show how dissenting clergymen in New England, and how other professionals in England, such as antiquarians and naturalists, have created, used, and preserved their working books and papers.[67] There are many similarities in these studies relating to Plume's use and preservation of his handwritten texts. It is useful to make a comparison of these studies of other clergy and professional writers with Plume's collection, since is it apparent that it was not at all unusual for working papers to be saved and preserved within a culture of late seventeenth-century scholarship of the professions more generally. However, few examples of manuscript sermon notes are thought to survive from the early seventeenth century, and those that do were usually made by university-educated non-conformists, making Plume's collection a rare example of such texts found together in one place, especially a library setting.[68]

As would be expected, the types of handwritten texts circulated in New England Puritan communities studied by Hall were in many ways similar to those in Plume's collection: correspondence, treatises, issues of controversy, letters,

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[67] In particular, see Hall, *Ways of Writing* and 'Scribal publication in seventeenth-century New England'; Elizabeth Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Elizabeth Yale, 'With slips and scraps: How early modern naturalists invented the archive', *Book History,* 12 (2009); Elizabeth Yale, 'Manuscript Technologies: Correspondence, Collaboration, and the Construction of Natural Knowledge in Early Modern Britain' (Unpublished PhD Diss, Harvard University, 2008).

[68] Ian Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon,* ed. by Peter McCulloch, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 137-53; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences 1590-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 108, p. 115.

stories, and biographies concerning religious experiences and advice, verse, and textbooks.[69] Those manuscripts studied by Elizabeth Yale which were used by naturalists, were also for the most part concerned with those professionals' daily working lives. They generated 'notes from experiments, and observations' and Samuel Hartlib sought out other people's work after their death 'including notes towards future treatises, commonplace books, letters, and other fragments'.[70] Similarly, many of Francis Bacon's manuscripts containing religious, legal and political themes were disseminated to contemporaries before and after his death.[71] Naturalists had created these texts in the first place in order to generate new knowledge as part of their everyday work.[72] In particular, they could be 'mined for insights and observations that contributed to the advancement of natural, technical, and historical knowledge'.[73] Yale has shown how these naturalists then passed their draft papers between each other as a necessary stage in creating these advances in knowledge.[74] Another parallel can be drawn with Thomas Hobbes' preparation of *De corpore*, where he sent drafts to Robert Payne and Sir Charles Cavendish for comments.[75] The collection of manuscripts started by Hans Sloane (1660-1753) began as 'the working library of a professional

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[69]   Hall, *Ways of Writing*, pp. 40-2, p. 45.

[70]   Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, p. 210; Yale, 'With slips and scraps, p. 7.

[71]   Richard Serjeantson, 'The Philosophy of Francis Bacon in Early Jacobean Oxford, with an edition of an unknown manuscript of the *Valerius Terminus', The Historical Journal,* 56 (2013), 1087-1106, p. 1090.

[72]   Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, p. 207.

[73]   Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, p. 207.

[74]   Yale, 'Manuscript Technologies', p. 1, p. 7.

[75]   *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan, Vol I Editorial Introduction*, ed. by Noel Malcolm (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), p. 1, p. 8. An examination of Plume's reading of the first English printed edition of Leviathan is presented in Chapter 5.

physician' and was therefore similar to Plume's in its practical application.[76]

However, it was Sloane's historical and literary manuscripts which were
circulated amongst antiquarians, since the content of the medical documents
soon became out of date.[77] This can be contrasted with the scriptural references
and applications in the contents of Plume's workbooks, which had a much longer
shelf-life over the course of the seventeenth century.

Scholars such as Ann Blair, Peter Stallybrass, and Richard Yeo have argued that
early modern note-takers might have found their own notes to be useful in
future, even if they did not have a purpose in mind for them at the time. It was
common practice to keep them 'just in case' and the notes then formed a 'treasury
of material' which could be drawn upon.[78] However, there has been a consensus
between these scholars that these same draft notes were unlikely to have been
useful to *other* readers. For example, Yeo's research on Robert Boyle's note-taking
practices found that Boyle himself did not think that his notes could be useful to
other readers.[79] And Ann Blair argues that, although many people at the time
believed their notes *might* be useful to others, she thought that this was probably
just wishful thinking.[80] This is, however, certainly not the case for Thomas
Plume: he and other later readers of the manuscripts left evidence that they *did*

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[76]   Hunt, 'Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts', p. 192.

[77]   Hunt, 'Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts', p. 201, p.206.

[78]   Ann Blair, 'The Rise of Note-taking in Early Modern Europe', *Intellectual History Review,* 20,
       (2010) 303-16, p. 303; Ann Blair and Peter Stallybrass, 'Mediating Information 1450-1800', in
       This Is Enlightenment, ed. by Clifford Siskin, William Warner (University of Chicago Press,
       2010), pp. 139-63, p. 143.

[79]   Richard Yeo, 'Loose Notes and Capricious Memory: Robert Boyle's Note-Taking and its
       Rationale', *Intellectual History Review*, 20 (2010), 335-54, p. 352.

[80]   'such hopes were probably often illusory', Blair, 'The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern
       Europe', p. 314.

find other men's notes to be useful for their own professional work, in the same way as did the antiquaries and naturalists studied by Yale.[81]

During the seventeenth century, antiquaries wanted to preserve not only the medieval manuscripts from the dissolution of the monasteries, but also 'the increasingly the large volume of handwritten texts they produced in the course of their work', as did naturalists.[82] These gentlemen knew that manuscripts were fragile and that it took a great effort to be able to preserve them after their death.[83] Hall has also come across the desire to save information for future generations in relation to the New England Puritans. In 1656 the Commission of the United Colonists wanted to collect what had been written by the people who had founded the colonies, so that that future generations would 'trewly understand the maine ends and aimes proposed in our Transmigration ... and the great thinges that god hath heere done for theire Fathers'.[84] This memorial function assigned to these texts by the Commission resonates with Plume's own desire to remember the clergy of his lifetime and their role in society through their scholarship.

In contrast, however, many writers ordered their notebooks and papers to be burned on their deaths. For example, Thomas Tenison instructed in his will that:

> 'I have several books and papers in a deal-press marked B, and in a deal-box marked M, I do hereby direct and appoint my executors to cause all the said

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[81] This will be seen in section 5.2 where Edward Hyde left instructions to a future reader and where one scribe adapted an earlier writer's sermon to create a new text.

[82] Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, p. 207.

[83] Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, p. 207.

[84] Hall, *Ways of Writing*, p. 22.

books and papers to be burnt and destroyed within ten days after my
decease, and not to suffer any person to look into these or any of those
books and papers.'[85]

Edward Hyde (1607-1659) willed that his personal papers should be burned at the

discretion of two named clergymen after his death once twelve months had

passed (this did not include his notebooks).[86] Hunt argues that requests for the

burning of papers was not simply a convention (as had been suggested previously

by Kevin Sharpe), but instead was a serious matter.[87] The examples discussed by

Hunt in this connection are mainly letters relating to court politics and news

which might be controversial, and there was an element of trust involved that the

request would be honoured.[88] Hyde differentiated in his will between his writings

which were to be saved and those which were to be destroyed. This demonstrates

that the preservation of manuscripts in some cases was selective rather than

merely accidental, and this is an important issue when reflecting on how the

individual items in Plume's collection came to be saved by both Plume and their

original authors.

This review has established that the thesis explores an area which has not been

looked at in any depth to date: the significance and value of the working papers

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[85]   Quoted in Job Orton, *Letters from the Rev. Mr. Job Orton and the Rev. Sir James Stonhouse,
        Bart, M.D. to the Rev. Thomas Stedman, M.A. Vicar of St Chad's, Shrewsbury* Vol II 2nd edn
        (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1805), p. 230.

[86]   London, TNA, PROB 11/298/753, Will of Edward Hyde, Doctor in Divinity of Salisbury,
        Wiltshire, 26 November 1660, lines 29-32.

[87]   Arnold Hunt, '"Burn this letter", Preservation and Destruction in the Early Modern Archive',
        in *Cultures of correspondence in Early Modern Britain,* ed. by James Daybell and Andrew
        Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 189-209, p. 193, p. 205.

[88]   Hunt, 'Burn this letter', p. 198, p. 191.

created by the loyalist clergy, in terms of their creation, use and legacy. These types of text are infrequently found in library collections and, in the instances where they are present, they have tended to have belonged to one or two particularly prominent individuals. Plume's collection comprising many individuals' working papers is an unusual phenomenon; the number of different authors represented in the collection enables a broader view to be taken of the work of the loyalist clergy of the mid-late seventeenth century than could the writings of a single individual. It enables an analysis of their reading and writing practices, and the ways in which they interacted with their peers, and also a consideration of how they shared common practices with other contemporary middle-status professionals. This research will not only be of interest to historians of libraries and early modern religious history, but also scholars concerned with texts, manuscripts and books, from both history and literature perspectives.

I wish to argue that the manuscripts are in the Library for several, inter-linking, reasons: first, because they had been useful to Plume and others in a practical sense before they arrived in the Library. They also had various relationships and connections with the printed books which made them hard to separate. However, the main reason that Plume wanted them to be 'carefully preserved', was that they served to memorialise their authors, who wanted to be remembered for their scholarship, their identity as part of a larger network of loyalist, and the actions which they undertook to promote the Church of England during the seventeenth century. This is related to the concern that many books and papers had been lost

by loyalist clergy during the upheavals of the mid-century and Plume understood how deeply it had distressed those who had been affected. Finally, the inclusion of these seemingly ephemeral items within the Library collection helped to achieve a sense of order from the previous periods of chaos and provide a safe haven for clergy scholarship.

The four practical steps taken to achieve the research aim were: firstly to document in a spreadsheet each manuscript in terms of its content, material form, language, authorship, date, and geographical origins, in order to find out what was present; secondly to select specific documents to be read closely, based on whether they can be shown to be representative of their genre, or alternatively selected for the fact that they are particularly unusual or problematic in comparison with the other items in their genre. The purpose of the close reading has been to find how why they were originally created and how they were subsequently used. The third stage was to identify recurring themes and connections between the manuscripts which demonstrate why Plume thought them to be worthy of preservation. The final step was to place the manuscripts in the context of the Library and to identify connections between the manuscripts and printed books.

The supplementary research questions derived from these objectives ask: What do the manuscripts comprise of in terms of material form genre, and authorship, and how did Plume acquire them? Why were they originally created and how were they subsequently used? And what recurring themes emerge from the content of the documents which indicate why they should be treasured and

preserved? What is their place in the Library and their relationship with the Library's printed items? The structure of the thesis follows the order of these research sub-questions, as shown in section 1.2.

1.2   **Structure of the thesis**

The whole thesis is structured to trace the lives of the manuscripts, from the forms they were given, the reasons why they were created, and the ways in which they were used, before their internment in the Library institution. Chapter 2 presents the three theoretical perspectives which have been applied to this research: theories of reading are used to understand the ways in which the note-takers read and recorded their reading; theories of collecting offer explanations for why and how Plume acquired the manuscripts; and network theories can provide a framework to understand the ways in which both the people and the texts interacted and had an effect on each other. A general background and context to library provision in the seventeenth century will be presented in Chapter 3, together with brief biographies of the main individuals referred to in this thesis. The complexity and quantity of information required to explain the literatures, theories and contextual background, meant that these sections all warranted separate chapters. Chapter 4 provides a critical overview and analysis of the manuscript collection, and this is where the riches of the collection are revealed.

The remainder of the thesis has been structured to illustrate the development of the functions of the manuscripts. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 demonstrate how the clergy used their manuscript texts as a method for developing their professional

knowledge: how they created their documents and re-used them, and how they were read and annotated by other people at a later date, but before they entered the Library. Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 highlight the two major themes which arise from the manuscripts in the collection: firstly, the way in which the writers fashioned their identities both as individuals and as part of a close community; and secondly, how the clergy used their status as educated, informed, and connected professionals to make an impact on society in various ways. Finally, in Chapter 9 the manuscripts metaphorically enter the Library and are evaluated in the context of the printed items in terms of spatial position, relative status and function.

Following the introductory and contextual sections of Chapters 1 to 3, Chapter 4 answers the first two supplementary research questions: 'Of what does the collection comprise?' and 'How did Plume acquire these items?' For reasons discussed in this chapter, it is not possible to ascertain the range and content of the manuscripts from the preliminary catalogue created by Andrew Clark in the early twentieth century. The main argument in this chapter is that Plume acquired the notebooks and papers as gifts from friends and family. This suggests that their authors and owners knew that he was a collector of such items, and they wanted their work to go to someone who would value and preserve it. He also may have acquired some of them second or third-hand, in the same way he bought many of his printed books. However, these acquisitions in most cases were preceded by the original author's death. This is a different context from a 'republic of letters', where work was shared with contemporaries during their

lifetimes.[89] Previous scholars have not taken into account the writings by the many different authors in the manuscript collection, having only considering it in the context of Plume's own writings. The critical overview considers the collection in terms of the authors and their scholarly practices, the genres found in the books and papers, and their material forms. The chapter concludes that, although many examples were useful to Plume and others in a practical sense, this was not the only reason why he collected them.

Chapter 5 is the first of two chapters answering the supplementary research questions of why the manuscripts were created in the first place and how they were used by others. The main argument here is that the manuscripts were created because they were useful to their authors as part of their initial, and continuing, professional development as clergymen. Later they were useful to other readers before they reached the Library. Their use and re-use shows that they were of practical help to the clergy in conducting their day-to-day duties. When they passed from Plume's personal collection into the institutional space of the Library their conceptual identity changed to encompass a memorial to the scholars who created them. The chapter examines three examples, the first of which comprises Thomas Plume's schoolboy records of sermons he heard in Chelmsford and Maldon in the 1640s. Through hearing sermons and reproducing them in his notebook, Plume acquired the knowledge to enable him to construct his own sermons in the future and to take effective notes; skills he would need for his career as a clergyman. Secondly, examples where sermons were written out

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[89]   Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, *La République des lettres* (Paris: Belin; Bruxelles: De Boeck, 1997).

and later re-used by their authors will be provided, together with a new text fashioned by a clergyman in the early 1660s, where the scribe recycled the work generated by a predecessor to make a sermon that he could use in his own preaching ministry. The final example is Plume's reading of Hobbes' *Leviathan*, which forms just a single page in a larger notebook of recorded readings. From these brief notes, a great deal of information can be gleaned about Plume's motivations for reading and his responses to the text.

During the same period that Plume was recording the sermons he heard as a teenager, Robert Boreman was making notes of his reading as part of his continuing acquisition of knowledge. In Chapter 6, it will be seen how Boreman read two Italian histories to find ways to understand human nature and the contemporary political and religious context of the 1640s. His personal commentary reveals that his reading experience was coloured by both his vocation and the circumstances of the Civil Wars, and that this encouraged him to extract his own meaning from the texts. Boreman's reading practices differed from Plume's in three ways: the amount of text he provided; the material form of his notes; and the period from which the works he read came. He inserted navigational devices and page citations showing that he expected to revisit these notes, and perhaps the related printed texts, in the future. For this and the previous chapter there is a sense of longevity attached to these notebooks and unbound pages, since they were preserved for decades before being deposited in the Library. This demonstrates how they had been useful not only at the time of

creation, but for their authors to re-engage with them and for new readers to benefit from the work already done.

Chapter 7 addresses the supplementary research question of 'What recurring themes emerge from the content of the documents to indicate why they should be preserved?' It demonstrates the ways in which the writers considered that the connections, loyalties and allegiances between clergy and their extended network of contacts were vital for performing their professional role. The chapter concludes that the manuscript authors created or self-fashioned identities through their writings, which reflected a mutually-influencing and supporting extended 'clergy family'. The first example is Barbara Hyde's sermon diary, which enhanced her own association with scholarship, family, and piety. For Barbara Hyde the notebook was useful to record occasions when she connected with her family and members of the clergy community through the exercise of her spiritual piety at sermons held outside of her home parish. Through this she constructed an identity of collaboration and affiliation with the loyalist clergy on the eve of the Civil Wars. The second example is an examination of Robert Boreman's publication of Edward Hyde's treatise and sermons from the 'paper books' Hyde left to Boreman in his will, and which Boreman in turn left to Plume. In the dedication of Hyde's treatise Boreman constructed an identity of family connection and ideological allegiance to Lord Clarendon, who was Dr Hyde's first cousin. In another manuscript, a verse elegy by Boreman addressed to Clarendon, Boreman reiterated his allegiance and association to his patron. Although this verse was not published in print, its existence serves to show that even in 'private'

he extended his bond of loyalty to Clarendon's ideology posthumously, in the same way as he had continued his responsibility to his friend Dr Hyde by publishing his work.

Chapter 8 again addresses the supplementary research question of 'What recurring themes emerge from the content of the documents to indicate why they should be preserved?' It illustrates the ways in which the authors wished to use their knowledge and common identity to influence society both in the parish and on a national level through printed publication. It argues that they used their positions as clergymen to persuade others to their own political and religious ideologies, and saw their position and professional role as including a duty for them to take action to promote the loyalist church. In the first example, two manuscript sermons are compared, both of which sought to persuade their audiences to political allegiance as well as spiritual piety.

Robert Boreman's sermon 'God save the King' exhorted allegiance to the monarch, whereas the preacher at Eythorne in Kent used parliamentarian propaganda, in the form of proclamations for days of thanksgiving, in order to promote the parliamentarian cause in the 1640s.[90] These sermons show that local clergymen of either political persuasion thought it was their professional duty to persuade and inform their parishioners due to their superior educated status. The issue is raised here as to why Plume may have had the sermons of a parliament supporter in his collection. Robert Boreman's account book illustrates the influential congregation in St-Giles-in-the-Fields, where he had become rector,

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[90] The preacher of Eythorne has not been conclusively identified. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of his possible identity.

perhaps as a result of his dedication to Clarendon. One of his parishioners was Lady Alice Dudley (1579-1669), whose funeral sermon he published in print. In this sermon he used devices to persuade the Duchess' contemporaries – and in particular her daughter - to behave in a similar way to benefit the Restoration Church. This chapter shows how the clergy saw their scholarship as being vital to their role in society on a local and national level. Their special status as educated professionals made them obligated to take on this role.

Chapter 9 answers the supplementary research question of how the handwritten texts in the Library were connected to printed books and provides an assessment of their relative positions and status. The main argument in this chapter is that, although the manuscripts were closely connected with the printed books, they had a different function: the manuscripts were in fact the 'heart' of the collection. They were carefully preserved because they were unique – compared to the replaceable printed texts which could be taken away from the safety of the Library building. Three examples are presented which demonstrate the different types of relationships, intersections and connections between the notebooks and papers and the printed texts. In some cases, the manuscripts belonged with the printed books because they were acquired as a 'set', as illustrated by the notebooks and at least three printed books which had belonged to Justinian Whitter (1600-1649).[91] In another instance, they truly could not be separated without damaging the material form, as in the example of Edward Hyde's notebook where a printed text *The Whole Booke of Psalms* had been bound in,

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[91]   The acquisition of Whitter's manuscripts is referred to in more detail in section 4.5.1 and his notebooks are considered in Chapter 9.

with blank pages either side of it for his own handwritten observations. The third

example examined in this chapter is concerned with a relationship between

manuscript and print which represents a transition in material form over time.

Robert Boreman's successive manuscript forms of a sermon eventually emerge as

a larger treatise in print. In this instance the draft copies were faithfully kept: the

handwritten form did not become redundant following print publication.

Themes run through these examples which relate to the other sub-research

questions of: why they were originally created and how they were subsequently

used; and themes which indicate why they should be treasured and preserved.

Chapter 2   Methodology and theoretical framework

This chapter discusses the methodology selected for this research, the methods used for data collection and analysis, and the critical theories which can be applied to it. The reasons for Plume's inclusion of the manuscripts in his library can be revealed from a close reading of the sources against the contexts of their production and use, and of the contemporary political and religious climate. The methodological approach uses some of the techniques employed in microhistories: in-depth reading of the content and material form of the collection; an examination of the printed sources connected with the manuscripts; and contextual information about the people connected to the manuscripts and printed books from their wills or contemporary accounts. A pragmatic epistemological approach has been taken to extract evidence from the particular sources, because of their multi-faceted nature as documents, texts, and objects. To enhance this, theories of reading, network theories, and theories of collecting have been applied to understand the significance of the collection. As a result, a new model of communication has been created to map communication and transmission between people and texts. A visual depiction of this model is presented in the Conclusion.

2.1   Method of data collection and analysis

All the manuscripts within the collection have been individually handled and appraised for content, material form, language(s), and their author and date, where these could be established. A typology was created for genre. The main sections identified were 'sermons' (including initial notes on biblical verses, draft

sermons, and complete sermons); 'reading notes'; 'treatises'; 'miscellanies'; 'correspondence'; and 'household and accounts'. In terms of the manuscripts' material form, the measurements, number of folios, and methods of binding were noted. Bundle F, comprising 24 items, could technically be counted as one item, since it forms an exposition on Psalm 25, but it had been separated out into individual documents to provide material for separate sermons by the author. For the purpose of this research the documents in Bundle F have been considered as separate items, in line with those which appear in the other Bundles. This means that 484 individual items make up the manuscript collection.

The Library catalogue lists each individual item under a separate identifying number, whether it comprises, for example, a large folio measuring containing 192 leaves, or a single fragment of paper.[1] This means that the manuscripts do not represent equivalent or comparable types of objects. The manuscripts are not shelved, but boxed either individually or with others of a similar size. They are assigned standard numbers rather than shelf marks, using the same method as the cataloguing of the printed books in the Library. The information contained in the spreadsheet enables the data to be filtered and sorted to show different configurations, for example: all manuscripts written by one author; or all texts containing the same language; or all documents comprising, or containing, notes from reading. In the case of the reading notes selected for close reading, the specific edition of the book from which the notes were taken was identified. The wording of the reading notes was compared with the printed text to identify

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[1]   Maldon, TPL, MA0001, 'Quotations from the bible', and Maldon, TPL, MA0109, C.39, 'Fragment dated Greenwich Jan. 97'.

whether the reader had extracted text by directly copying or paraphrasing the original author. The parts of the book which the reader thought necessary to write down were considered in conjunction with the parts they did not extract.

The manuscripts have been conserved in recent years to prevent further deterioration, but some of them had been damaged over time through environmental conditions. For a number of the manuscripts it was not possible to ascertain the date they were created, nor the original author, due to either lack of textual evidence or damage to the manuscript itself. In these cases, a name was assigned to the specific handwriting in the document, in case it appeared again elsewhere in the collection. For example, where the author of a treatise on the Apocalypse was unknown, it was assigned the name 'Apocalypse hand' and this same handwriting was found subsequently in two other manuscripts.[2] There are two issues to contend with when reading Plume's handwriting: firstly, in many cases he contracted his words, resulting in transcription being difficult; and secondly, his handwriting deteriorated significantly around the late 1660s, possibly due to a health condition.[3]

There are complications for assigning genre when a document had been created with one purpose in mind but then was subsequently used for a different reason. In most cases, the original function has determined the categorisation. For example, if a letter had been subsequently used to record notes on the reverse, the item was categorised as 'correspondence', with the later notes having a

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[2]   Maldon, TPL, MA0113, G.12, 'The brief meaning of the Apocalypse'; Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.26, 'Exposition (Latin) on the apocalypse see G12'; Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.42, 'id necessario inter'.

[3]   Discussed further in Chapter 4.

subsidiary function. However, there are exceptions to this. For example, Bundle

H comprises sixty-nine sermons written by Robert Browne. The original function

of manuscript MA0114, H.25 would have been 'correspondence' since the paper

had originally been used as an address wrapper addressed to Browne. However,

Browne subsequently re-used the paper to write a sermon, which formed part of

the series of sermons found in Bundle H. In this case 'sermons' was chosen as the

primary function of the document, because it became the more significant use of

the paper than the original address label when placed in the context of the rest of

the Bundle.

Although all the manuscripts were initially assessed, only a small proportion of

the 484 items could be chosen for transcription and examination in detail. These

manuscripts were selected for two specific reasons. The first reason was that the

manuscripts were representative of many others in the collection in terms of

genre. For example, there are several examples of notes from histories so

choosing one reading of history over another would depend on fragility or

legibility of the document. Although most the manuscripts are in English, there

are a few documents which were written completely in Latin or in Greek, and

several which contain a mixture of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. For example, Robert

Boreman read Jerome Zanchi's *De Operibus Dei Intra Spacium* in Latin and made

his notes in that language, and there is one instance where he made notes in

Greek, from John Chrysostom's work on *Genesis*. However, it was considered that

Boreman's notes from Francesco Guicciardini and Paulo Sarpi's works would be

more useful to provide evidence for reading, since they highlighted the relevance

of histories for the seventeenth-century clergy, and they were in a good and legible condition. These notes were in English because the editions of those books which Boreman read were also in that language. Secondly, two examples were chosen because they seemed *atypical* of the collection as a whole: the sermons given by a Parliamentarian preacher, and sermon notes made by a female auditor. As a result of this approach towards the selection of sources, it is highly likely that, if other examples were to be taken from the collection for close reading, they would show the same practices and themes as the ones which have been chosen for inclusion in this thesis.

An examination of the manuscripts in Plume's collection allows three main perspectives to be taken. Firstly, the documents can illustrate how the seventeenth-century clergy utilised handwritten texts in their professional role: how they recorded, stored, and retrieved information. Secondly, due to the number of different authors, a wide-lens view can be taken of practices and themes which were common to all – even those loyal to different political strands or religious groups – but at the same time allowing for individual idiosyncrasies. Finally, insight can be gained on the values which can be attributed to such documents, both by their original creators and by Plume himself. This can be seen in the way they wished their texts to be passed on after their death, either to be used by others or just to avoid the destruction of their valuable work.

2.2   **Theoretical framework**

Theories of reading, networks, and collecting can also be applied within this research to help to understand the ways in which the individuals and their texts

were created, communicated, and transmitted. In the history of reading, several theories came out of a debate concerned with whether it was the reader or the author who had the most agency in creating meaning from the text. These positions are applied in a consideration of the use and re-use of the notebooks and can be related to Robert Darnton's communications circuit, where he presented a model to explain the progress of a text from author to reader.[4]

2.2.1   Balance of power between book, text, and reader

Five major positions have been taken by scholars concerning the relationships between books, texts, and readers. The first argument is that, in a literate culture, the text does not exist in the absence of either a material form to contain it, or of a reader to read it. Roger Chartier argues against the idea that a text exists outside the material form that acts as its vehicle and (with Cavallo) insists that the text does not exist unless 'a reader gives it meaning' because the text does not contain a set reading.[5] Sharpe and Zwicker agree that, since the theory of deconstruction took hold, the text is no longer considered to have a fixed meaning, and that it is up to the reader to assign a meaning.[6] Chartier also explores Michel de Certeau's idea of 'braconnage' or 'poaching', to describe how

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[4]   Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus 111(3) Representations and Realities* (1982), 65-83', p. 68.

[5]   Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 9; *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p. 1.

[6]   Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 1.

the reader takes their own reading from the text.[7] I would argue that the very nature of 'poaching' suggests that something does exist within the text already in order for the reader to appropriate it.

Cavallo and Chartier later moderate their statement that the text does not exist without the reader by conceding that the space of the text is made up of 'objects, forms and rituals whose conventions and devices bear meaning'.[8] This means that the presented text contains internal mechanisms which can, after all, have an impact on the reader's understanding. Sharpe and Zwicker discuss examples of such mechanisms or conventions as frontispiece portraits or dedicatory epistles that convey authorial authority.[9] This is part of the second major argument which says that forms that shape meaning *do* exist within a text, originating from the author, publisher and printer, but that the reader has the power to circumvent these influences. Robert Darnton argues that, although readers might be active in their reading, 'texts shape the response of readers' and Chartier confirms the idea that all those involved in producing the finished product exert their own control over the reader, but the reader can use strategies to avoid the controls.[10] In this model, which suggests a more equal dialogue between text and reader, the text is imbued with agency to influence the reader through the intentions of the original author.

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[7]   Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printings, Readings,' in *The New Cultural History*, ed. by Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 154–75, p. 156.

[8]   Cavallo and Chartier, *A History of Reading in the West,* p. 15.

[9]   Sharpe and Zwicker, *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, p. 6.

[10]   Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', p. 79; Chartier, *The Order of Books,* p. viii.

The publisher and printer also have an influence on the reader's expectations through the text's material form and transmission. The reader's reception of the text is partly influenced by these factors and partly by what the reader brings to the text, both in terms of cultural context and their reading ability. In this model, the extent to which the reader allows the text to influence them depends on whether they are active or passive readers, prepared to accept the text at face value or to challenge it. For example, as will be seen in Chapter 6, Robert Boreman did not dispute the authority of the Italian historians he read in terms of the information they provided about the individuals and events described in their books. However, at the same time, he selected from the readings material he thought to be useful for his own purposes; Boreman in his notes made from the Italian histories, was both reader and note-taker, involved in a process of active reading where he appropriated information useful for his current circumstances.

Boreman's appropriation of what was useful for him is also relevant for the third model which comes out of a consensus amongst some scholars that texts were received in differing ways by individual readers. Chartier argues that this is because of their 'diversity of characters and dispositions' and their 'abilities and expectations', and Martyn Lyons agrees that reader responses cannot be considered uniform because they have individual methods of selection and interpretation of their reading.[11] Chartier gives an example of this in the case of a sixteenth-century author, Fernando de Rojas, who found three readings of his

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[11]   Chartier, 'Texts, Printings, Readings' p. 155; Martyn Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 3.

own text ranging from: a comprehensive full reading and understanding; a treatment of the text as a story to pass the time; and a third which was merely a perusal of the interesting expressions and clichés.[12] Readers also could read for a specific purpose which affected their appropriation of the text.[13] This purpose would also include what they intended to do with the knowledge gained, and means that the skills and background of the reader - and whether they are reading in an active or passive manner - has an effect on the way the material is received. For Plume and the other readers, their notes suggest that they were reading for a specific purpose: to find information, ideas and material which would aid them in their professional roles, so they were likely to have been reading with a common purpose, which leads to the fourth position.

The fourth position contends that, although different readers can have non-conforming responses to a text, there are also *communities* of readers who can have a collective response to a reading because of their shared cultural contexts. This idea was first posited by Stanley Fish, who explains that the assumptions about literature shared by a specific community of readers at a particular time will shape the way each member pays attention to the text.[14] He emphasises that it is the 'interpretative communities' who determine the meaning, rather than the text or the reader.[15] Brian Stock studies 'textual communities' as 'microsocieties organized around the common understanding of a text' by looking at the group's

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[12]   Chartier, 'Texts, Printings, Readings', p. 155.

[13]   Geoff Baker, *Reading and Politics in Early Modern England: the mental world of a seventeenth century Catholic gentleman* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 120.

[14]   Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?: The authority of interpretive communities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 11.

[15]   Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class?,* p. 14.

individual members in terms of their interactions with each other, the way they used texts in a literary or social manner, and the context and consequences of their actions.[16] Stock's work concentrates on medieval textual communities where there was a marriage between oral and textual cultures that had 'a reference system based on texts'.[17] This textual reference system remains relevant in the seventeenth century, where the individuals in Thomas Plume's circle evolved shared beliefs and behaviours through their common understanding of texts, for example concerning the significance of an educated clergy; the benefit to the Church of published work; and the restoration of church buildings. In a sense, Plume's network can be seen as a 'community of writers' as well as of readers.

Frances Dolan and Helen Small provide similar arguments supporting the idea of collective responses by readers, although they study larger communities of individuals who do not necessarily interact with each other directly. Dolan argues that contemporary readers' concepts of 'true evidence' in a text depended on their standpoint, for example, whether they were Catholic or Protestant, whereas Small discusses a specific group of collective readership whose members went to the public readings of Charles Dickens' books.[18] Small argues that (although her co-authors no longer accept the idea of a 'general reading public' or 'common reader') the audience for Dickens' readings was a cohesive one, made up of

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[16]   Brian Stock, 'History, literature, and medieval textuality', *Yale French Studies, 70,* (1986), 7-17, p. 12.

[17]   Brian Stock, 'History, literature, and medieval textuality', p. 10.

[18]   Frances E. Dolan, *True Revelations: Reading, literature and evidence in seventeenth century England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 20; Helen Small, 'A pulse of 124: Charles Dickens and a pathology of the mid-Victorian reading public', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England,* ed. by James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 263-90, p. 263.

people with different reading skills but who exhibited a 'unified experience' in their reception of the readings.[19] Therefore, although it is possible for diverse readers to take different interpretations from the same text, a community-wide interpretation can also be achieved if individuals form a social or cultural grouping with shared aims. This concept is also addressed by Jauss, who modifies it through a Romance philology perspective in the context of religious communities so that it is: 'primarily social phenomena' which determines the meaning, in conjunction with the intentions of the author and the identity of the audience community.[20] This suggests that the meaning is not determined by the community's agency, but instead the meaning comes from the influence of the environment and culture in which the community exists, and in which the text is produced. Again, this perspective can be applied to the specific reading and writing context of clergymen who sought to improve their knowledge and apply it in the context of their vocation.

The final model is one proposed by Roger Chartier, where he argues that the text remains the same over time whilst the world moves on.[21] Even though he argues that the influences on readers from changing cultural contexts over time will modify their responses to their reading, Chartier does not think that the text itself changes. Darnton agrees that readers' reception of a text will change over time due to their different cultural contexts, but he disputes whether the texts

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[19]   Small, 'A pulse of 124', p. 263, pp. 276-7.

[20]   Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception,* trans. by Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1982), p. 100.

[21]   Chartier, 'Texts, Printings, Readings', p. 166.

themselves can be seen as unchanging.[22] This debate is also partly dependent on the first position outlined above - whether the text exists outside of its material form. If it does, then it could be considered as unchanging, but if the text relies on the book being its vehicle, then the form of the book may change over time, thus also changing the text that is reliant upon it. For example, the text can be seen to exist outside of its final form if it is orally-delivered. The transition of material forms containing a text will be examined in Chapter 9 in relation to Robert Boreman's orally-delivered sermon 'Sweare Not', which later was transformed into a printed treatise. In that particular case it will be shown that the text changed at the same time that its vehicle changed.

The printed items and manuscripts in Plume's library can both be considered as 'objects' as well as 'texts' although, in the context of collecting theories, the manuscripts can be perceived as 'objects' to a greater extent than can printed texts. This is because the handwritten items more specifically represent their authors (and post-authors) in a way that the printed books do not. There was a tangible degree of separation between a printed book and its author, via interventions made by the printer and publisher and the typeface itself, which does not reveal the author's handwriting to the reader. Robert Darnton's model of a 'communications circuit', which was an influential development in methodology designed to reveal the connections between authors, publishers,

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[22]   Robert Darnton, 'First Steps toward a History of Reading', in *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York/London: Norton, 1990), pp. 154–87, p. 161.

printers, distributors and end users, reflects this.[23] The model is reproduced

below in Figure 3.

Adapted from Robert Darnton's communications circuit (1982)
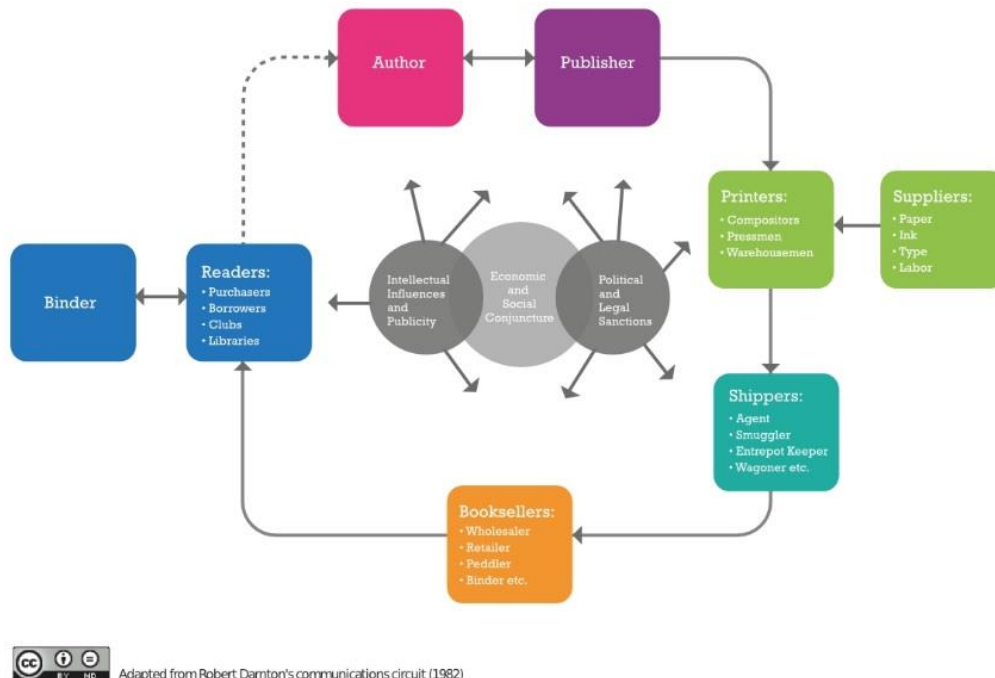
Figure 3: Darnton's model of a communications circuit reproduced by University of
Stirling

Darnton's model shows how the author's text must pass through several other

agents, who all influence the appearance and content of the printed text before it

arrives in the possession of the reader. The circuit can be closed if the reader then

communicates with the author following their engagement with the text.

Darnton points out that historians usually focus on one element of the circuit at a

time, but these elements demand to be related back to the total circuit if they

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[23]   Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', p. 68.

were to be more useful.[24] He uses his model to understand the bookseller's role in relation to 'Voltaire's *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie'*, and applies certain questions to the transmission of the text, regarding the activities individuals on the circuit and their relationship with others on that and other circuits; this is then compared with 'other elements in society'.[25] Using a similar concept to Darnton, the essays in *Readers, Audiences and Coteries* look at the reception of sermons and how models of circulation affected this, particularly the way in which the method of delivery was involved.[26] They discuss the idea that a printed sermon could reach a much wider audience, although the author became responsible for any consequences when it became publicly available.[27]

Darnton clarified, when revisiting his model twenty-five years later, that its original purpose was to help historians working on highly-specialised topics within book history to connect with each other's work.[28] He suggested three questions to be considered to help further with this problem: 'How do books come into being?' (meaning printed books) How do they reach readers? What do readers make of them?'[29] These types of questions are addressed in this thesis in relation to Plume's manuscript collection, phrased as: Why did the original authors create their texts? How do other readers subsequently use them? How

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[24]   Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', p. 67.

[25]   Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', p. 69, p. 67.

[26]   *Readers, Audiences and Coteries in Early Modern England* ed. by Geoff Baker and Ann McGruer (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006), p. 5.

[27]   Baker and McGruer, *Readers, Audiences and Coteries in Early Modern England*, p. 6.

[28]   Robert Darnton, '"What is the History of Books" Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History, 4* (2007), 495-508, p. 495.

[29]   Darnton, '"What is the History of Books" Revisited', p. 495.

did Plume acquire them? Darnton refers to the alternative model subsequently

produced by Adams and Barker in response to his own, as being particularly

useful, and one which includes printed items other than books.[30] Rather than the

various individuals and groups which feature in Darnton's model, Adams and

Barker instead make printed texts (of all varieties) the agents in the model.[31] In

this way, the life of the book is central to the circuit and the influence of the

people is at the periphery.[32]
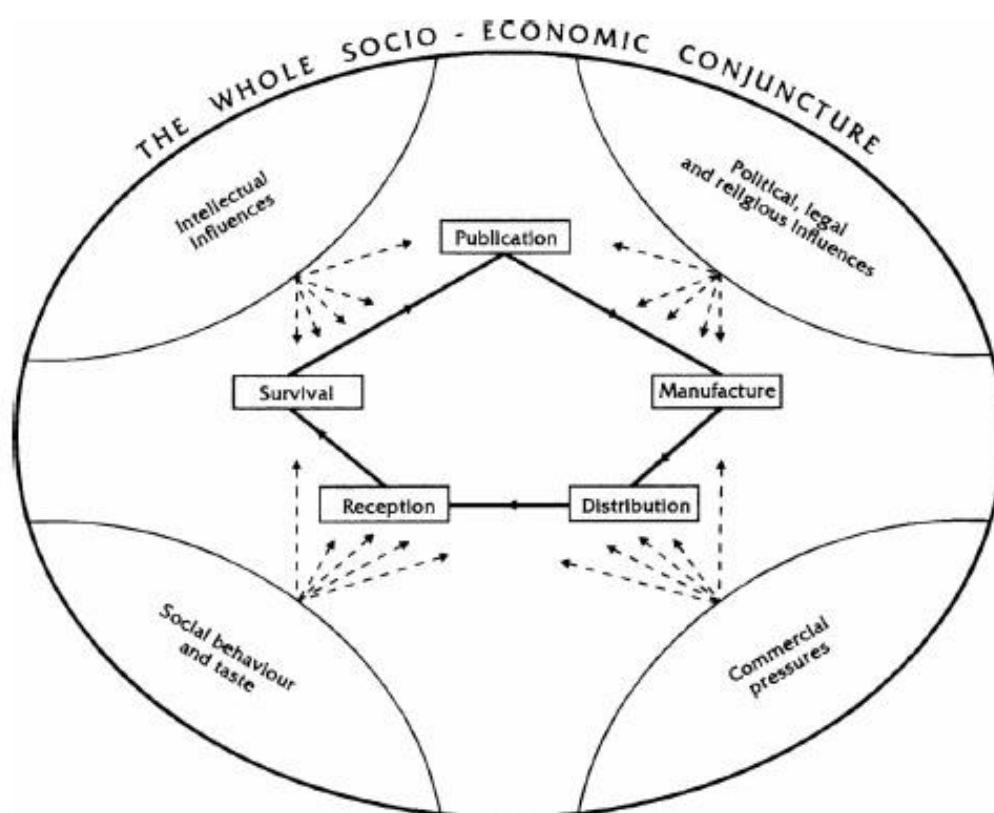
Figure 4: Adams and Barker's model of 'The Whole Socio-Economic Conjuncture', 1993

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[30]   Darnton, '"What is the History of Books" Revisited', p. 503. Their model is reproduced in
        Figure 4.

[31]   Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book', in *A
        Potencie of Life Books in Society: The Clark Lectures 1986-1987*, ed. by Nicholas Barker
        (London: The British Library and Oak Press, 1993), p. 12.

[32]   Adams and Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book', p. 15.

2.2.2   Theories of collecting

Several critical theorists have considered why and how people collected (both in the early modern period and more generally), the difference between accumulation and active collection, and the function and nature of collections. In addition, they consider aspects of collecting such as the link that can be traced back to the creator of an object, and the significance of missing items. Jean Baudrillard's 'The System of Collecting' has been described as the 'founding document' of collecting theory, although many scholars acknowledge that it has certain flaws.[33] In Baudrillard's view, for objects to be 'collected' they must have no practical function. Instead they only have an aesthetic value and can be 'possessed': infused with the cerebral passion of the owner and with the subjective meaning provided to them by the owner.[34] This was not the case for Plume at the time he acquired the manuscripts, because they had a practical function as well as a memorial purpose. Swann and Pearce both look at collecting in the early modern period in terms of art and objects of natural history.[35] Swann also looks at collecting texts, and argues that a 'culture of collecting' existed in the seventeenth century, whereas Pearce links collecting with classifying and

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[33]   Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', in *The Cultures of Collecting,* ed. by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), pp. 7-24; Richard Wendorf, *The Literature of Collecting & Other Essays* (The Boston Athenaeum and Oak Knoll Press, 2008), p. 7. It has also appeared in *Material Culture: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences I,* ed. by Victor Buchli (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 22-40.

[34]   Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', p. 8, p. 7.

[35]   Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Cultures of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Susan M. Pearce, 'Early Modernist Collectors', in *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 109-21.

preserving. A culture of collecting is evident in the similarity of Plume's practices

to those of other professional owners of manuscripts, notwithstanding that

Plume catalogued neither his books nor his manuscripts. Richard Wendorf

compares critical theories of collecting with representations of collectors in prose

fiction, whereas Muensterberger takes a psychological approach, linking

collecting with childhood anxiety.[36] Wendorf considers that Muensterberger's

case studies 'cannot be considered exemplary because their subjects are extreme

cases, often literally *in extremis'.*[37] However, there is a link here with the way in

which Plume's sense of anxiety about books and papers being lost in the Civil

Wars comes to the fore in his life of Hacket.[38] Finally, G. Thomas Tanselle's

approach is to propose a wider definition of collecting than others have done, to

include the *accumulation* of objects as well as an active acquisition of specific

items: 'collecting is the accumulation of tangible things'.[39] The work of these

theorists will be considered in relation to the questions of why Plume might have

collected the handwritten notebooks and papers.

A sense of collecting to impose order in some way is a common theme amongst

theorists. For example, Swann discusses collectors' identity being constructed

through the act of cataloguing, which reflected their ownership and authority on

their collection, and Baudrillard proposes that the collector collects in order to

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[36]   Wendorf, *The Literature of Collecting & Other Essays*; Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: an unruly passion: psychological perspectives* (Princeton University Press, 1994).

[37]   Wendorf, *The Literature of Collecting,* p. 31.

[38]   See Chapter 1.

[39]   G. Thomas Tanselle, 'A Rationale of Collecting', *Studies in Bibliography,* 51 (1998), pp. 1-25, p. 1.

exercise a form of control over the world.[40] For Tanselle, collecting is about the

'human need to find order'; and this is not incompatible with Muensterberger

who sees collecting as compensating for anxieties.[41] Plume was motivated to

collect for three reasons: for access to the specific content of the manuscripts, like

the naturalists and antiquarians discussed in Chapter 1; for the evocation of their

original creator through the visual effect of their handwriting and the way in

which they handled the same paper; and the fear that their scholarship might be

lost in the aftermath of the conflicts of the mid-century. By carefully preserving

the manuscripts, then, Plume imposed order on any potential loss by placing

them within the safety of the Library institution.

The second reason Plume collected these manuscripts, introduced above, was the

link they provided to their author, and this issue is also addressed by collecting

theorists. They perceive manuscripts as 'serving to nourish a shared set of values

and to enrich personal allegiances', and objects 'attested to the existence of

historical events and general personages in more general terms'.[42] Tanselle goes

further in saying that objects are connected to the people who gave them or

made them; because the object has lived through a moment in the past that one

can 'touch', and Muensterberger agrees that they could 'become animatized like

... holy relics'.[43] In this instance, then, there is a consensus that an object

maintains a link with the person who has created it. This supports the argument

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[40]   Swann, *Curiosities and Texts,* p. 193; Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', p. 9.

[41]   Tanselle, 'A Rationale of Collecting', p. 8; Muensterberger, *Collecting: an unruly passion,* p. 31.

[42]   Swann, *Curiosities and Texts,* p. 155; Pearce, 'Early Modernist Collectors', p. 116.

[43]   Tanselle, 'A Rationale of Collecting', p. 2, p. 10; Muensterberger, *Collecting: an unruly passion*,
        p. 9.

that Plume wished to preserve the manuscripts because of that connection they had with their authors. Books are also often thought of as having a connection with their owners but this can be reflected even more strongly in terms of manuscripts and their writers. This is because the whole text appears in the author's own hand, not just an ownership signature or some annotations. Baudrillard asserts that the item is human-like in its individuality and this gives a sense of books and their owners having a related identity.[44]

James Raven too refers to books being intimately connected with their owners since 'their collections formed a representation of their lives and like all lives, included bits and pieces of the lives of others'.[45] This could be applicable to both the 'book as text' and the 'book as object'. In *Areopagitica,* John Milton described the way in which books contained the essence of their authors in that they: 'doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are'.[46] This was a problem for Milton when it came to the destruction of books since he saw 'a kind of homicide ... committed' when 'we spill that season'd life of man preserv'd and stor'd up in Books'.[47] It was common for texts to be referred to by the name of the author, for example: 'Did you ever read Bishop Taylor against Resistance...?', or 'have you read Lipsius?'[48] This gives a sense that

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[44]   Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', p. 10.

[45]   James Raven, 'Liberality and Librolarceny: The Archbishops and their public libraries in the seventeenth century', in *Lambeth Palace Library Annual Review* (London: Lambeth Palace Library, 2010), pp. 59-76, p. 73.

[46]   John Milton, *Areopagitica; a speech of Mr John Milton for the liberty of vnlicens'd printing, to the Parlament of England* (London: 1644), p.4.

[47]   Milton, *Areopagitica*, p.4.

[48]   Richard Baxter, *The defence of the nonconformists plea for peace, or, An account of the matter of their nonconformity against Mr. J. Cheney's answer called The conforming nonconformist,*

the book stands in for the person, especially if they are no longer present.

Therefore, the texts written by the author (either handwritten or printed) and the

physical aspect of the book in its material form also provide links to its author

and owners.

Moreover, Susan Pearce explains how, in the seventeenth century, objects started

to be thought of as having a 'voice' in three ways: first in that they were witnesses

to actual events; second in their economic value; and third in terms of a

judgement being made about the object's specific place within the collection.[49]

Although these three signifiers of an object's voice were thought to be

inextricably linked during the seventeenth century, they were later regarded as

separate elements.[50] In terms of Plume's manuscripts, the strongest aspect of

their voice can be in their memorial function as witnesses to individuals and the

events and ideologies they experienced. Their place within the larger collection is

also relevant here in that they were to be carefully preserved as a witness to the

scholarship that their authors had produced. In print they were less likely to be

lost, because other copies had been made alongside, but in manuscript form they

were often unique in textual existence, as well as being fragile in their

manifestation as objects. The agency gained by the object, through its 'voice',

links to actor-network theory, which will be discussed in section 2.2.3.

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and The nonconforming conformist: to which is added the second part in answer to Mr. Cheney's Five undertakings (London: Printed for Benjamin Alsop, 1680), p. 93; Thomas Middleton, *The changeling as it was acted (with great applause) at the Privat house in Drury-Lane, and Salisbury Court / written by Thomas Midleton, and William Rowley, Gent* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1653), E2.

[49]   Pearce, 'Early Modernist Collectors', p. 114.

[50]   Pearce, 'Early Modernist Collectors', p. 115.

The connections between Plume's manuscripts themselves also reflect the existence of an extended clergy network, whose members helped and supported each other through using specific tropes of kinship and loyalty. In a number of the manuscripts family relationships are explicitly foregrounded, for example, in the notebooks provided to Thomas Plume, Robert Boreman and Edward Hyde and inscribed by their brothers. Lady Barbara Hyde referred to her own brother, her sons, her cousins and her sisters-in-law in her sermon diary, which led to the other clergymen referred to in this book being implicated as honorary members of her prominent and high-ranking family by association. In addition, Robert Boreman fashioned a familial relationship with the Earl of Clarendon through his close friendship with Edward Hyde, who was first cousin to Clarendon. This idea of an extended 'clergy family' is similar in some ways to the 'godly bretheren' of the dissenting protestants.[51] For example, Webster found that the dissenting clergy community had a 'heightened sense of community' and that their relationships went further than would be expected from professional association.[52] In particular, they would put their community before other allegiances during times of conflict.[53]

The authors of the notebooks demonstrated their loyalty and allegiance to each other through passing on their knowledge in the form of their notebooks for their peers to use, and also by posthumously publishing work created by their

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[51]   Discussed further in Chapter 7.

[52]   Tom Webster, *Godly clergy in early Stuart England: the Caroline Puritan movement, c.1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1.

[53]   Webster, *Godly clergy in early Stuart England:* p. 2.

contemporaries or mentors. These reciprocal sentiments of trust and dependability - expected between family members - therefore extended out from to people related not by blood, but instead connected through their profession, vocation, and piety.[54] Benefits could be conferred on a recipient of manuscripts during the seventeenth century in return for a favour such as publication of their work.[55] This reciprocal patronage arrangement is reflected in the way in which Plume and others posthumously published the work of their mentors and friends.[56] Similarly, collectors experienced a sense of responsibility towards objects they owned, especially if they have been given as an inheritance, and gifts can reflect the relationship between bestower and recipient.[57] In some ways there is an element of *trust* in the passing on of the Plume manuscripts, in that the recipient was going to keep the notebooks safe, and also that they could be depended upon to read the raw works of text with empathy and compassion. In addition, there is a sense of piety in action in the importance of saving and using the information for the benefit of the Church. This sense of connection between the original creators of the manuscripts and Thomas Plume can be considered further in relation to network theory, in terms of how transmission and communication took place.

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[54] This is seen in particular in Chapter 7 where Lady Barbara Hyde associates clerical members of her family with other clergymen she knows through annotations in her sermon diary.

[55] Swann, *Curiosities and Texts,* p. 163.

[56] Aso discussed in Chapter 7.

[57] Wendorf, *The Literature of Collecting,* p. 24, Tanselle, 'A Rationale of Collecting', p. 3.

2.2.3   Network theories

There are two networks which can be perceived in relation to the people and texts of Thomas Plume's collection: first, one of people who were closely connected through their families, friends, and common religious and political causes. This network extended outwards to other like-minded individuals with whom they had ideologies or practices in common. As mentioned in the previous section, this led to a sense of identity and belonging to an extended clergy network, who strove to help each other through carefully preserving and publishing each other's work. This partly came out of a royalist sense of being persecuted during the Civil Wars and the destruction of their books and manuscripts. The themes of mentoring and patronage are relevant to this idea of a network of individuals and, in particular, the way in which they passed on their texts as a legacy so that the recipient could re-use the texts or publish them as a form of commemoration. There is also evidence of inter-generational mentorship and cross-status patronage in the actions relating to texts between individuals.

The second network can be described as an 'actor-network' between manuscripts, both those extant in the collection and those which once existed but now only known in memory. It also includes the related printed materials, which are connected to the manuscripts in some way, many of which are at the Library. There are also sub-collections within the larger collections, such as all the notebooks of one particular author, as well as incidental manuscripts such as recipes and receipts, which cannot be connected to scholarship, but which have

been included in the collection accidentally (and for today's reader

serendipitously) as page markers in notebooks or indexes to notebooks.

Theories of networks can be applied to a study of Thomas Plume's friends and

contacts and the movement of texts between them. Mark Granovetter set out his

model of network theory in the 1970s, describing a system of strong and weak

connections between individuals and the nature of their interactions with each

other.[58] He argued that strong ties between two people, which is characterised by

communication of an emotional nature and time spent in each other's company,

would also mean that they will know more of each other's friends.[59] A

manifestation of this in relation to Plume's associations is the way in which he

spent time with John Hacket during Hacket's sequestration at Cheam, and would

have had the opportunity to meet Hacket's contacts at that time. For example,

Robert Boreman has also been placed at Cheam during this period.[60]

These strong ties can be examined in terms of the homophily principle; that is

people who are similar to each other in many aspects.[61] Those friends of friends

are likely to get on as well, achieving a 'cognitive balance' and to become friends

themselves, referred to as 'transivity', and results in a group of strong ties.[62] Such

ties can be hierarchical, and therefore in Plume's case would include mentorship,

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[58]   Mark Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology,* 78 (1973),
       1360-80.

[59]   Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', p. 1360-1.

[60]   See section 3.2.1.

[61]   Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook, 'Birds of a Feather: Homophily in
       Social Networks', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 27 (2001), 415-44, p. 415. See also Granovetter,
       'The Strength of Weak Ties', p. 1362.

[62]   Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', p. 1362; Mark Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak
       Ties: A Network Theory Revisited', *Sociological Theory*, 1 (1983), 201-33, p. 218.

patronage and inter-generational ties.[63] A weak tie, on the other hand, is a

relationship between two people which lacks an emotional context and can be

termed acquaintance rather than friend.[64] Weak ties will have access to 'novel'

information contained outside a close knit circle of strong ties.[65] Where a direct

kinship or friendship connection cannot be established between the scribe of a

manuscript and Plume, it is possible that Plume acquired the manuscript through

a 'weak tie' such as an auction house. Therefore, in this context, the strong ties in

Plume's network would be those who made up the extended clergy family, since

they included individuals who were 'friends of friends' through the transivity

principle, and who were similar in professional status, through the homophily

principle. Weak ties would not belong to this group but would be known through

reasons other than professional or social connections.

Building on previous work by Granovetter and Ronald Burt, Borgatti and Halgin

recently made the distinction between the terms 'network theory' and 'theory of

networks'.[66] They argue that the theory of networks is concerned with the

question of why networks take their particular form and properties. This theory

can be used to show how Thomas Plume built social connections which resulted

in lasting friendships, taking into account factors such as making educational and

professional contacts and meeting people through shared geographic locations.

Network theory, on the other hand, describes the consequences of processes

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[63]   Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', p. 1361, and n. 2.

[64]   Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', p. 1368.

[65]   Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', p. 1371.

[66]   Stephen P. Borgatti and Daniel S. Halgin, 'On Network Theory', *Organizational Science*, 22
         (2011), 1168-81, p. 1168.

encountering the structure of the network.[67] Network theory would therefore be more relevant to show how the manuscripts moved between the individuals through the network structure.

The form or shape a network takes is thought to have a bearing on how ideas transmit from one individual to another. Networks differ from groups, since groups are a discrete collection of individuals, whereas networks are flexible and fluid in nature.[68] The network in which Thomas Plume took part changed shape with the passage of time; associations waxed and waned, older friends and contacts passed away, and new ones arrived. However, rather than the structure of the network having a form of existence in itself, Borgatti and Halgin consider that each researcher defines their own network by the choice of individuals to focus on, which will depend on their specific research questions.[69] It will become apparent that the main influences on Plume for the purposes of this research were the Hyde family and Edward Hyde's close friend Robert Boreman, who knew Plume through their shared association with John Hacket (see section 3.2).

In terms of the movement of information or objects, the 'structural holes' thesis proposed by Borgatti and Halgin shows that it is the *structure* of the network that is the important factor - rather than the number or strength of ties - and in particular where the individuals involved stand in relation to the central hub of the network.[70] For Thomas Plume, it can be argued that he was the lynchpin of

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[67]   Borgatti and Halgin, 'On Network Theory', p. 1168.

[68]   Borgatti and Halgin, 'On Network Theory', p. 1169.

[69]   Borgatti and Halgin, 'On Network Theory', p. 1169.

[70]   Borgatti and Halgin, 'On Network Theory', p. 1172.

the network only towards the end of his life, when he was a senior clergyman and had collected most, or all, of the manuscripts. During his early career Plume would have been part of a social and intellectual scene where older clergymen such as John Hacket would have been the central figure. The network of individuals was never completely static and, in the same way, the manuscripts transformed over the course of their existences, as will be seen in the model presented in section 10.4.

Borgatti and Halgin developed a now well-established model from Granovetter and Burt's theories of a 'flow' or 'pipes' model, which shows how an object or idea passes through the network one stage at a time.[71] They cite the examples of a single object which passes from one hand and completely moves into another's possession (although may return along the same route later like a coin or note of currency), as opposed to viruses which duplicate themselves and can be attached to several people at a time.[72] The manuscripts collected by Plume could fall into either of these examples, where a manuscript was given to someone else, or loaned and later returned, or alternatively was copied, forming a duplicate (for example, one of the manuscripts in the collection is a copy of Lancelot Andrewes' own handwritten texts).[73] Another model under development in the field is the 'bond' model, which is where two 'nodes' join forces to reach a common goal.[74]

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[71]   Borgatti and Halgin, 'On Network Theory', p. 1168.

[72]   Borgatti and Halgin, 'On Network Theory', p. 1168.

[73]   Maldon, TPL, MA0113, G1, 'Treatise on The forme of church government'.

[74]   Borgatti and Halgin, 'On Network Theory', p. 1174, p. 1179.

This model can be seen in the case of Edward Hyde writing the treatise which

Robert Boreman later published on his behalf.[75]

More recent work has turned to actor-network theory, which studies objects

creating networks. Actor-network theory moves away from interactions between

people and incorporates non-human entities into networks. Theorists have

argued that the most successful model to use is one which shows movement of

something through the network itself, rather than one which shows relationships

between individuals.[76] This theory is therefore relevant as a vehicle for describing

Plume network of manuscripts, since actor network theory insists on the agency

of objects and explores relationships between them.[77] Bruno Latour argues that

'non-humans ... have to be actors ... and not simply the hapless bearers of

symbolic projection'.[78] It is therefore important for the network to be 'alive' and

'animate'. The 'net' part of the word 'network' refers to the connections existing

between the objects, and 'work' reflects the actions which occur between them.[79]

Actor network theory can encompass the characteristics of human and non-

human, as well as their properties and circulation and can help to explain how

Plume's manuscripts have connections both with each other and with the printed

materials, as seen in the model in section 10.4.[80] They affect each other and are

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[75]   Discussed further in Chapter 7.

[76]   Bruno Latour, 'On actor-network theory: A few clarifications', in *CSI-Paris* (à paraître dans Soziale Welt, 1997); Borgatti and Halgin, 'On Network Theory', p. 1176.

[77]   Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An introduction to actor-network-theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 5.

[78]   Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 10.

[79]   Latour, 'On Actor Network Theory: a few clarifications', p. 3.

[80]   Latour, 'On Actor Network Theory: a few clarifications', p. 6.

related to each other on their own, without human intervention; they have their own agency to act upon each other and upon humans. Once the individuals have gone, the human network is *re-created* by the manuscripts, since without them many of the human relationships can no longer be traced. This agency can also be seen, for example, where a missing document 'stands out' in the 'space' between one text and a subsequent one; where a signature on one manuscript prompts a reader to find other manuscripts with the same handwriting; or where notes taken from a book point the reader towards accessing the printed text. These different types of influence between text and reader relate back to the debates in the history of reading early in the chapter.

Perspectives can be taken on different aspects of Plume's manuscript collection from the three types of theoretical discussions which have been examined in this section. Reference will be made throughout the thesis to the ways in which the specific examples relate to the theoretical perspectives. The theories of reading, collecting, and networks are in certain ways complementary, as will be seen in the later chapters, in particular in the transmission of texts: how they were passed between individuals and re-used before coming together in the Library.

2.3   Boundaries of the research

This research focuses on the period from when the manuscripts were created until the moment at which they were deposited in the Library; this is roughly coterminous with Plume's life, although a few of the manuscripts were created before his birth. A consideration of their pre-library existences is vital to understand why Plume might have wanted to acquire and keep them. There are

no references in the post-Plume archives as to how the manuscripts were used

after their arrival at the Library and, until Andrew Clark wrote a series of articles

for the *Essex Review* in the early twentieth century, there had been no scholarly

consideration of them.[81] Therefore the third stage of the lives of the manuscripts -

the period after they had been installed in the Library - is not addressed in any

detail.

Although the thesis focuses on the manuscripts contained in the larger Plume

collection, other supporting primary sources from other archives are used, such

as wills from the National Archives and the Suffolk Record Office. Printed books

are referred to where they relate to items in the manuscript collection or the

context within which the manuscripts were created. For example, a manuscript

version of Robert Boreman's printed funeral sermon for Lady Alice Dudley does

not appear in the collection but the manuscript which provides a connection to it

is his account book of parish income, which refers to Lady Alice being one of his

eminent parishioners.[82] The purpose of this research is therefore not a

biographical study of Plume himself - although details of his life and other

legacies are pertinent; instead it is about his manuscript collection and what can

it say about how these types of documents were used and valued by both Plume

and others who shared his profession. To provide a context for the individuals

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[81]   Andrew Clark, 'Plume MS papers', *Essex Review* XIII (1904), 30-3; Andrew Clark, 'Dr Plume's
        Pocketbook', *Essex Review* XIV (1905), 9-20 and 65-72; Andrew Clark, 'Dr Plume's Notebook',
        Essex Review XIV (1905), 152-63, 213-20 and XV (1906), 8-24.

[82]   Maldon, TPL, MA0002, 'List of accounts, burials and gifts 1663-1674'. The printed sermon
        appears in the collection: Robert Boreman, *The Patern of Christianity: or The picture of a true
        Christian. Presented at Northampton in a sermon at a visitation, May 12, 1663. By R. Boreman,
        DD and rector of Blisworth* (London: printed for R. Royston, bookseller to His sacred Majesty,
        1663) (Standard No: B05013).

involved in creating the manuscripts, short biographies of the main characters

are included in the next chapter, following a section on the context of

seventeenth-century libraries and the reasons for their creation, which illustrates

a range of motivations leading Plume to build his Library in Maldon.

Chapter 3   Background and context

Following the more specific examination of manuscript collections within libraries set out in Chapter 1, this chapter provides a wider context for library provision in the seventeenth century. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that the converging cultures of a push for a better-educated clergy to benefit the Church, rising literacy amongst the laity, and expressions of piety and philanthropy from the professions all contributed to influence Plume to endow his library at Maldon. It also considers other library benefactors who might have influenced Plume's decision to provide the Library. The following section discusses the types of libraries that existed during the later seventeenth century, how and where they were established and operated, the types of knowledge they contained, their readership, and the role of the librarian. In the final section to this chapter, brief biographies are presented of the three main individuals who are discussed throughout the thesis: John Hacket, Edward Hyde, and Robert Boreman.

3.1   Libraries in the seventeenth century

Four main types of libraries by bequest existed during the seventeenth century: parochial, town, school, and university. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between these different categories - particularly, on the one hand, town and church libraries and, on the other, town and school libraries - since they had

overlapping functions and administration.[1] The term 'parochial libraries', which

emerged in the late seventeenth century, meant 'for the exclusive use of the

incumbent and his successors', specifically excluding anyone but the holder of

the living from access.[2] This indicates that Plume's Library does not strictly

belong in *A Directory of Parochial Libraries*, since his books were left for the use

of gentlemen of the town, as well as the 'scholars', or members of the professions

who made their livings from their specialised knowledge, not simply the local

clergy.[3]

W. M. Jacob revises Perkin's definition, suggesting instead that the term

'parochial library' can have a fluid meaning: those individuals allowed to read or

borrow could vary, and several different institutions, such as town corporations,

schools or deaneries could be involved.[4] However this description seems too wide

to be useful for distinguishing between the different types of library that existed

in early modern towns and villages. A better method would be to differentiate

between libraries where entry was restricted to specific individuals by the

controlling authority, and those which were open to a wider (but still limited)

readership. A wider readership might include, for example, those borrowers in

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[1] *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church of Wales,* first ed. by Neil Ker and revised by Michael Perkin (London: Bibliographical Society, 2004), p. 32 and n.14.

[2] *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England,* p. 33.

[3] *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England,* p. 34; See 3. a. 'One who has acquired learning in the 'Schools'; a learned or erudite person; esp. one who is learned in the classical (i.e. Greek and Latin) languages and their literature', "scholar, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, March 2015 [accessed 22 April 2015] (example from R. Montagu's 1621 *Diatribæ Hist. Tithes:* 'As becommed a Gentleman and a Scholer', p. 181.).

[4] W. M. Jacob, 'Libraries for the parish: individual donors and charitable societies', in *CHLBI, Volume II 1640-1850,* ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 65.

Maldon who were able to pay the required deposit for books, and the 'strangers'
who had to provide a 'Voucher' for their honesty before they could be left alone
in the Library.[5] This definition would allow for a variety of administrators of the
Library – associated with church, school, or town – while focusing on access and
use of the facility, which is arguably the more pertinent aspect when looking at
the impact such libraries had on local society.

As well as through establishment by endowment in life or at death, libraries
could also be provided by subscription or given to existing institutions, such as
universities and schools and, until the Reformation, the latter method was most
often employed.[6] The forerunners of subscription libraries - which involved
'clubbing together to buy books' - grew in popularity during the second half of
the seventeenth century, especially in connection with religious societies.[7] In his
Essay towards promoting all useful knowledge, The Reverend Dr Thomas Bray
(1658-1730) referred to his library scheme, which was to be raised by subscription
among the clergy and gentry at a visitation.[8] The subscribers, 'whether
Gentlemen, or Ladies' would be allowed to borrow books at any time convenient
to them.[9] An expectation that gentlewomen as well as men would be moved to
charitable action in providing money for the inception of the Library, and also to

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[5]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 151-4.

[6]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p. 68.

[7]   The first subscription library was formed in 1741 by the Scotch Mining Company. Kelly, *Early
        Public Libraries*, p. 122, p. 121. See also, James Raven, 'Libraries for sociability: the advance of
        the subscription library', in *CHLBI, Volume II 1640-1850,* ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A.
        Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 241-63.

[8]   Thomas Bray, *An Essay Towards Promoting all Useful Knowledge both Divine and Human, in
        all Parts of His Majesty's Dominions, Both at Home and Abroad* (London: Printed by E. Hold
        for Robert Cavel, at the Peacock in St Paul's Church-Yard, MDCXCVII [1698]), p. 2, p. A.2.

[9]   Bray, *An Essay Towards Promoting all Useful Knowledge*, p. 2, p. A.2.

borrow books is inferred here, showing that the scheme was not limited to a professional male audience.

3.1.1   Benefactors

Such benefactors came from a wide section of professional society, ranging from wealthy merchants, gentry, and members of the professions. Jacob offers three main reasons for so many libraries being established in the period 1680-1720: the availability of books; a drive to raise the clergy's educational standards; and increased literacy and interest from the public.[10] During the second half of the seventeenth century literacy rates had improved dramatically.[11] At the same time, many gentlemen and members of the professions felt that it was their responsibility, by virtue of their position in society, to act in a charitable and philanthropic manner to provide public services.[12] It should also be noted that if a book collector did not have any suitable heirs to leave his collection to, then he must have considered other options for its disposal. It should be noted that, although women were readers and borrowers in the eighteenth century, and had their own book collections, they did not seem to have endowed libraries outside of the family on death.[13]

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[10]   Jacob, 'Libraries for the parish', p. 66.

[11]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries,* pp. 118-9.

[12]   Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England: 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonweal* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 28.

[13]   See Raven, 'Libraries for Sociability', pp. 254-5; Ian Green, 'Libraries for school education and personal devotion', *CHLBI, Volume II 1640-1850,* ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 47-64, p. 56.

Benefactors of libraries by bequest often had a specific audience in mind. Prior to 1680, libraries contained mainly theological books in Latin and were geared towards a clergy reader, but, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the range of topics increased and more English editions were provided.[14] For example, the collection bequeathed by Samuel Harsnett (d.1631) was specified to be for clergy of Colchester and the surrounding area, and John Knightbridge's intention was that his books were to be 'in usum vicinorum theologorum' in Chelmsford.[15] In contrast, Thomas Tenison's library, established in 1685, in addition to being for the benefit of '30 or 40 young men in orders in his Parish', was also opened up for the use of the public, reflecting a trend for wider usage of such facilities.[16] Clergymen's personal libraries would also have contained books in subjects other than theology, as can be seen in Plume's ownership of an edition of plays by Ben Jonson.[17] Chetham's bequest, however, catered to two distinctly different audiences.[18] Chetham was exceptional in that, as early as 1653, he provided six parish libraries with English theological editions for the benefit of the lower orders, putting aside £200 to buy books for each.[19] Chetham's Manchester library, however, was aimed first and foremost at 'scholars' and the

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[14]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries,* p. 68.

[15]   For the use of the local clergy. *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England,* p. 32, p. 173.

[16]   John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* Vol. IV (London: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 367.

[17]   Benjamin Jonson, *The workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London: Printed for Richard Meighen, 1640). The other volume of the *Workes* in the catalogue with Standard No: B60127 was a post-Plume addition.

[18]   Lofthouse, 'Unfamiliar Libraries I: Chetham's Library', p. 323.

[19]   *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England,* p. 33; Lofthouse, 'Unfamiliar Libraries I: Chetham's Library', p. 323.

clergy are implied in that description.[20] The interests of the clergy and the gentry might cross over but, as witnessed in the establishment of two different libraries by Chetham for the gentry and the poor, persons of different social status were not expected to mix. Although the Plume Library building housed the Maldon Grammar school on the ground floor, the Library was not aimed at the school children or the lower orders of the town, but instead 'gentlemen and scholars'.[21]

Sometimes bequests were left in the hands of trustees from London instead of representatives from the local area. In 1654, for example, the scrivener Henry Colbron left an endowment for schools in Lancashire, which was to be administered by the London Draper's Company.[22] In this case local élites may have been Catholic, and Colbron wanted the funds to remain in Protestant hands.[23] There is a sense here of Colbron applying 'cultural power', through using London money to influence the local community.[24] Thomas Plume appointed several different trustees for his various bequests, but one of his main representatives was Dr Francis Thompson, Rector of St Matthew Friday Street in London from 1666 until his death in 1715.[25] Dr Thompson, although based in London, also had strong family links in the Maldon area, including his nephew, who was the schoolmaster and first keeper of Plume's library. Plume must also

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[20]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries,* p. 79.

[21]   Will of Thomas Plume, line 149.

[22]   Joseph P. Ward, *Culture, Faith and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 1.

[23]   Ward, *Culture, Faith and Philanthropy*, p. 2.

[24]   Ward, *Culture, Faith and Philanthropy*, p. 2.

[25]   'Tabbe-Thomyow', in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ed. by Joseph Foster (Oxford: 1891), pp. 1453-78.

have been concerned that dissenting views should not influence the

administration of his bequests, since he appointed: 'the two annuall Bayliffs of

Maldon (if they Communicate with the Church of England)' to help administer

his scholarship for poor boys.[26] Ward argues that, in the case of Henry Colbron

and others, the reason they built up reserves of money was to spend it to 'advance

the godly cause of reform', whilst intervening in the community power structures

of the towns outside London.[27] However, for Thomas Plume, the best

compromise to have his bequest administered effectively was to appoint a

combination of worthy local representatives with his trusted friends from London

to operate his legacy.

3.1.2   Location and setting

Before 1680 libraries were situated in the larger market towns but were not

considered necessary if a cathedral library was already available.[28] This is

consistent with Chetham's Library in Manchester, which was a large town, having

some 6,000-10,000 inhabitants but no cathedral.[29] At the time of Chetham's

benefaction in 1653, however, cathedrals had been suffering from neglect and

abuse, since they did not officially exist, and there had been a shift in power from

church to civic authority.[30] Kelly attributes the introduction of libraries into

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[26]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 186-7.

[27]   Ward, *Culture, Faith and Philanthropy*, pp. 142-3, p. 140.

[28]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries,* p. 69, p. 90; *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England,* p. 33.

[29]   H. S. A. Smith, 'Readers and Books in a Seventeenth Century Library', *The Library Association Record*, (1963), 366-9, p. 368.

[30]   Carl B. Estabrook, 'In the mist of ceremony: cathedral and community in seventeenth-century Wells' in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern Europe: Essays*

corporate towns to Puritan factions wishing to establish a preaching ministry and to provide lectureships attached to town libraries.[31] Maldon would have been considered as a corporate town, since it was governed by a town corporation, although it only had a small population of around one thousand inhabitants at the end of the seventeenth century.[32] Plume had also set up provision for a weekly lecture from Lady Day to Michaelmas, to be preached by the ministers of the Dengie and Rochford Hundreds, who were paid 10 shillings for the sermon plus two shillings for their dinner.[33] The lectureships to be held close to the location of the Library 'in the upper church at Maldon' gave the lecturers a ready supply of material for their lessons.[34]

Between 1680 and 1720, one hundred and sixty libraries were established in the smaller towns and villages.[35] An example of a village location is the library of c.800 books situated in the church of St Mary the Virgin, Newport, Essex, which was established in 1701 by the Bray Trustees for Erecting Parochial Libraries.[36] Plume's selection of Maldon as a location therefore is consistent with this general trend and he may have been influenced by this practice to choose Maldon for his

Presented to David Underdown, ed. by Susan Dwyer Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 133-61, p. 131.

[31]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p. 70. A corporate town can be defined as one 'possessing municipal rights and acting by means of a corporation' "corporate, adj and adv", OED Online, *Oxford University Press*, March 2015: http://www.oed.com [accessed 19 May 2015].

[32]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*, p. 23.

[33]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 163-6.

[34]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 168-9.

[35]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p. 69.

[36]   Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, p. 300.

library rather than Rochester or East Greenwich. Rochester had a long-standing

cathedral library, which might also have been a factor.[37]

Plume's Library is located on the site of the ruined medieval church of St Peter in

Maldon. Plume had the tower repaired and added a two-storey brick extension to

house the school and library and ordered that the town of Maldon was to keep

the school and library in good repair.[38] Plume left sixty shillings a year for each of

'10 poore boys' to be kept in schooling and clothing.[39] Petchey argues that Plume

was making a specific statement in his choice of location for the Library and

school, symbolising the coexistence of the Church (tower) and the State (library

and schoolroom), with access to the sites of learning only being available through

the tower, and therefore under the control of the Church.[40] The restoration of the

monarchy was linked to the restoration of the Church of England and this had

manifested in a renewed effort in the physical rebuilding of churches.[41] Thomas

Smith (1638–1710), a contemporary of Plume, lamented: 'the sacriledge … done to

… several goodly houses of Religious and Learning in Christendom' and

exclaimed that it was 'miraculous providence … in the late times of usurpation'

that the prevailing factions had not destroyed even more Cathedral buildings

than they had.[42] Smith had been comparing the 'brutishness and barbarousness'

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[37]   Nigel Yates and Paul A. Welsby, *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral, 604-1994* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), p. 217.

[38]   Will of Thomas Plume, line 162.

[39]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 182-4 and 225.

[40]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*, p. 12.

[41]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*, p. 27.

[42]   Thomas Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks Together with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, As they now lye in their Ruines: and A Brief*

of those who had destroyed beautiful buildings in Constantinople with the ruin of

abbeys during the Reformation and the Parliamentarian forces in the Civil

Wars.[43] He emphasised that in the British Isles 'the Christian Doctrine is profest

in its primitive purity and integrity, and where civility and learning, and all

ingenous Arts flourish, and are in their height and perfection'.[44] The destruction

of church buildings was therefore synchronous with the destruction of church

textual scholarship, and both were being revived during this period.

This emphasis on the repair of existing church sites continued a tradition started

in the 1590s which had peaked 'during the reign of James I'.[45] John Hacket,

Plume's mentor and patron, was influenced by 'the famous and most memorable

Dr Whitgift, sometime master', who was greatly concerned with the state of

repair of all churches during the early seventeenth century.[46] Plume describes

Hacket's own endeavours to rebuild the cathedral of Litchfield in the 1660s,

which had been 'ruin'd almost to the ground' during the Civil Wars and took

eight years' labour and £20,000 to rebuild.[47] Plume would have been influenced

by the tradition of repairing the Church in two senses – in restoring the fabric of

its buildings, and in the intellectual development of the clergy, whose education

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Description of Constantinople (London: Printed for Moses Pitt, at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-yard, M.DC.LXX.VIII), Preface To the Reader.

[43] Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks,* Preface.

[44] Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks,* Preface.

[45] J. F. Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians and the Phenomenon of church building in Jacobean London', in *The Historical Journal, 41* (1988), 935-60, p. 942.

[46] John Whitgift (1530/31–1604). Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. vi; Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians and the Phenomenon of church building in Jacobean London', p. 943.

[47] Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. xxxi.

had fallen behind during the Civil Wars and interregnum. The provision of the
Library to Maldon's clergy and gentlemen therefore served two functions.

The space housing the Library could be symbolically significant for how the
Library and its founder were perceived. An interesting parallel exists between the
settings created for Chetham's Library and Plume's. They both took existing
medieval buildings associated with the Church, and renovated them to house
their libraries and schools. Chetham chose the college building which had been
attached to the collegiate church (now Manchester Cathedral).[48] Keith Thomas
explores the idea that benefactors sought a posthumous reputation through their
creation of a building, in the same manner as funeral monuments.[49] Despite
Plume's apparent modesty seen in his instruction that his funeral monument
should not contain his name, nor should his portrait be placed in the Library, the
central position of the Library at the top of Market Hill would ensure that all
residents and visitors to the town would have been aware of its presence and he
must have been aware that it was likely to carry his name.[50]

3.1.3   Link to schools

The first town libraries established in the late sixteenth century were linked to
grammar schools, although many subsequent libraries tended to be related to the

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[48]   Claire Hartwell, *The History and Architecture of Chetham's School and Library* (New Haven:
        Yale University Press, 2004), p. 12.

[49]   Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford
        University Press, 2009), p. 235, p. 240, p. 246, p. 250, p. 258.

[50]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 26-8 and 122-3.

Church.[51] Town libraries could be managed and controlled by the town corporations - for a limited audience or by subscription - or by private individuals for the use of the public. The 'public' here refers to responsible persons.[52] In the case of Thomas Plume's Library, the town corporation was entrusted with the responsibility for the fabric of the building and was given the income from Itlney Farm in Mundon, near Maldon, 'to keepe in good repaire the School and Library Roome for ever'.[53] However, the Library Keeper was responsible to the Trustees, rather than the Corporation, for the safety of the books, having to provide 'two hundred pounds bond at least not to embezell my books nor to lend them out without Sufficient pawn to buy the same againe to my Trustees of the Library'.[54] Therefore, responsibility was shared between the town corporation and the trustees for different aspects of the Library legacy.

Although many libraries by bequest were associated with schools, the books were not expected to be used by the children. When Thomas Tenison arranged for the erection of a new building for his library in St Martin's-in-the-Fields, he provided for a school in the same building.[55] Humphrey Chetham's library in Manchester was also attached to a school and, like Plume's, the Library was not intended for the use of the schoolchildren.[56] Plume instead left £20 'to be laid out in bookes' to

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[51]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p. 71.

[52]   Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', p. 83; Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 5.

[53]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 158-162.

[54]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 134-136.

[55]   Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, p. 368; Walter Thornbury, 'St Martin-in-the-Fields', in *Old and New London: Volume 3* (London, 1878), pp. 149-60.

[56]   Lofthouse, 'Unfamiliar Libraries I: Chetham's Library', p. 323.

Chelmsford School 'for the use thereof in a standing library'.[57] Samuel Harsnett's library was moved to the grammar school in 1664, and the schoolmaster became responsible for the books from that time (although the library was for the clergy), suggesting this association between libraries and schools was a common trend in the later seventeenth century.[58] In contrast, the Reverend John Knightbridge's library, which his brother donated after his death in 1677, was given to St Mary's Church in Chelmsford and was therefore not associated with an educational body.[59] This issue of proximity between libraries and schools is significant when it can be seen to be symbolic rather than practical; the use of the Library then became related to self-education, or pro-active learning, rather than an education which was institutionally-informed and directed.

3.1.4   Stock

It is worth noting that Chetham did not leave his *own* books as part of his Library.[60] This is a significant difference from the other libraries and means that his endowment did not provide texts representing his own personal learning and knowledge. An important distinction can be made here between bequeathing money instead of giving a personal library or books specifically chosen by the donor. A more personal influence is achieved when the benefactor provided specific books or items, rather than simply money. In the same way that Lady

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[57]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 198-9.

[58]   Goodwin, *A Catalogue of the Harsnett Library at Colchester*, p. xxiv.

[59]   Plume had made a donation in his will to the nearby King Edward VI grammar school: 'Item I bequeath to Chelmsford Schoole twenty pounds to be laid out in bookes for the use thereof in a standing Library', Will of Thomas Plume, lines 198-9. *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England,* p. 173.

[60]   Lofthouse, 'Unfamiliar Libraries I: Chetham's Library', p. 323.

Alice Dudley chose the specific style of furnishings for the renovated St Giles-in-

the-Fields church building, giving her a say in the type of worship being

performed in that church, Plume had an influence on the type of knowledge the

readers would acquire by personally selecting the books that people would read.[61]

The individuals selecting the stock for Chetham's Library stock would have had

their own ideas about suitable reading material. Chetham appointed three

clergymen to choose the stock for his church libraries and wanted in particular

'godly English books, such as Calvin's, Preston's and Perkins's works, comments

and annotations of the bible or some parts thereof ... for the edification of the

common people'.[62] The three trustees belonged to different Protestant

denominations and the intention was that they would collaborate: John Tilsley is

described by Yeo as Puritan, Richard Hollinworth as Presbyterian, and Richard

Johnson as Calvinist.[63] However, later in the seventeenth century the trustees

eventually became more Anglican Episcopalian in their outlook.[64] As a separate

venture, Chetham left £1,000 for the purchase of books for his larger library, in

this case for 'Schollars and others well affected to resort unto' the library.[65]

Johnson, who had been Chetham's chaplain, was again charged with choosing the

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[61]   Robert Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity, and a miracle of charity; or, A true and exact narrative of the life and death of the most virtuous Lady Alice Dutchess Duddeley. Published after the sermon in the church of St. Giles in the Fields by R.B. D.D. rector of the said church on Sunday the 14th of March, MDCLXIX* (London: printed by E.C. for R. Royston bookseller to the King's most excellent Majesty, at the Angel in St. Bartholomews Hospital, and for J. Collins at the Kings Head in Westminster Hall, 1669). As discussed in Chapter 8.

[62]   Smith, 'Readers and Books in a Seventeenth Century Library', p. 367.

[63]   Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 34.

[64]   Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 45.

[65]   Lofthouse, 'Unfamiliar Libraries I: Chetham's Library', p. 323.

stock.[66] Chetham's libraries, therefore, contained a range of theological

perspectives, in the same way as Plume provided material on all sides of religious

debates.

In general, there was a perception that a library represented the centre of a public

spirit of dissemination of knowledge, which could be acquired from existing and

newly printed books.[67] Therefore, as well as providing a place to store books,

libraries also served as a representation of the available knowledge and its

movement out into the communities.[68] In 1737, Dr Charles Aldrich's library in

Henley-on-Thames contained a wide variety of subjects, which Kelly argues was

not very common.[69] This view that a variety of subjects was atypical is surprising,

since Tenison's library contained 'works of general literature' as well as

theology.[70] Chetham's town library, although it started off as a mainly theological

library, grew in size to include 'fairly substantial sections on history, travel,

topography, law, medicine, and science', making it similar in content to Plume's

by the end of the seventeenth century, although of a smaller size.[71]

It is not a straightforward matter to decide whether a founder intended his

collection to expand in the future, although provision of a continuing

endowment and a librarian meant that the Library was more likely to survive.[72] A

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[66]   Smith, 'Readers and Books in a Seventeenth Century Library', p. 367.

[67]   Nelles, 'Libraries, books and learning, from Bacon to the Enlightenment', p. 27.

[68]   Nelles, 'Libraries, books and learning, from Bacon to the Enlightenment', p. 23.

[69]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p. 93.

[70]   Thornbury, 'St Martin-in-the-Fields'.

[71]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p. 79.

[72]   Best, 'Books and Readers in Certain Eighteenth-Century Parish Libraries', p. 13.

library would also continue to be of interest for a longer period if it could provide

access to a wide range of people.[73] Yeo argues that the books bought for

Chetham's library should be relevant for some time in the future, since

'knowledge, whether theological or scientific, did not become obsolete as quickly

as it does today'.[74] Notwithstanding this, Chetham's charity specified that money

should continue to be spent on books each year.[75] Thomas Plume attested to the

abundance of books being available during the period 'because new Books are

dayly printing' but he left a small endowment for new books to be purchased by

the Library keeper.[76] However, Powell argues that, in contrast to others, Plume's

library was intended merely as 'a book-stack, a store for a definitive collection',

being therefore static and not expected to grow.[77] Powell's view is taken from

Petchey's *Intentions of Thomas Plume*, and there are challenges that can be made

to it. Before discussing those it is worth noting, however, it was common for

many libraries *not* to be provided with any funding to purchase additional books

even if the original donor anticipated that they would continue to grow.[78]

Petchey describes the Library as 'a deliberately constructed museum of European

intellectual history of the 16th and 17th centuries', and thought that Plume had

intended the collection to be fairly complete because there was little free shelf

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[73]   Best, 'Books and Readers in Certain Eighteenth-Century Parish Libraries', p. 2.

[74]   Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library*, p. 31.

[75]   Hartwell, *The History and Architecture of Chetham's School and Library,* p. 72.

[76]   Thomas Plume's Will, lines 155-158.

[77]   Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', pp. 96-97.

[78]   Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', p. 97.

space and only £1 per year to be spent on new books.[79] This can be compared with the library at Trinity College, Cambridge, where in 1646 an order was made for £20 to be spent on books, in 1660 £26 was to be spent, and in the years 1658 and 1662 all Fellows were ordered to present a book of their choice to the Library.[80]

It can be argued that Plume's legacy of £1 per year for the Library keeper to buy 'any that shall be most desired' by him was meant simply as a benefit for the librarian, rather than as a way of expanding the Library stock, since benefactors of libraries often only provided books (or money to purchase an initial stock), expecting that those who came after them would continue the legacy.[81] The responsibility for future provision often fell on those who came afterwards, and this might have been Plume's expectation for his own library.[82] Plume's library building was indeed extended during the nineteenth century (initially to house more pupils for the Maldon National school), and the collection of books has also increased through subsequent donations, which are catalogued as the 'Post-Plume' volumes. Therefore, the assumption that no expansion was envisaged by Plume cannot simply be implied from him providing a relatively small amount of money for book purchase and a limited space for books on the original site.

In terms of Thomas Plume's own collection of books, Herrmann argues that Plume had already acquired the 7,000-8,000 volumes before making the decision to leave the complete collection to Maldon as a reference library 'after much

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[79]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume,* p. 20, p. 14.

[80]   Philip Gaskell and Robert Robson, *The Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a short history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 11.

[81]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 157-8.

[82]   Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', p. 97.

reflection'.[83] If this is the case it is significant in terms of the contents of the Library; it means that Plume had not purchased the books specifically for the use of Maldon's gentlemen and scholars, but had chosen volumes for himself, ones that he thought to be interesting and necessary for his own use. This contradicts Petchey's analysis that the Library was not compiled as a personal library.[84] Herrmann argues that Plume bought books at the first book auctions in London in the late 1670s and early 1680s, and that the practice at these auctions was that 'each title became a separate lot'.[85] This means that Plume would have chosen specific titles to buy and did not bid for books in batches (which would perhaps have included superfluous volumes) as argued by Petchey.[86] Herrmann also mentions that Plume bought books by emerging writers, since he had purchased early works by them whilst they were still unknown, and they went on to be renowned after his death.[87] This is in contrast to the use of old texts by Plume and other members of the circle, and starts to build a picture of Plume's choice of books, challenging Petchey's argument that Plume 'is not to be found among his books'.[88] A more plausible explanation falls between these two positions: that Plume expanded on his own considerable personal collection of books once he had decided that he would provide a library to Maldon.

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[83]   Herrmann, 'The Emergence of the Book Auctioneer as a Professional', pp. 1-14, p. 3.

[84]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*, p. 20.

[85]   Herrmann, 'The Emergence of the Book Auctioneer as a Professional', p. 4.

[86]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*, p. 23.

[87]   Herrmann, 'The Emergence of the Book Auctioneer as a Professional', p. 3.

[88]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*, p. 11.

3.1.5   Culture of piety and education of the clergy

In addition to the general idea of disseminating all the newly available

knowledge, there was also a renewed sense of piety associated with the late

seventeenth century.[89] In the 1690s the Reverend Thomas Bray was appointed to

oversee the organisation of the Church of England in the colony of Maryland.[90]

Some parishes had been established in this area of the Americas, but they needed

more clergymen to make the journey.[91] Bray knew that the only ministers who

would agree to go there were the poor clergy so he accepted the position on the

condition that funds could be provided to buy books for them.[92] He explained, in

his sermon entitled *Apostolick Charity*, that experience and reason showed him

that libraries worth £100 would encourage ministers to sign up, although fifty

pounds would provide the absolute minimum number of books required.[93] In

addition, Bray explained that in every main town of the provinces a separate

library for 'universal learning' needed to be provided for the 'service and

encouragement of those who shall launch out further in the pursuit of useful

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[89]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries,* p. 90.

[90]   Sir Roger Twysden (d.1672) first had the idea of putting libraries in poor clergy's livings – see
Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England,* p. 33.

[91]   Thomas Bray, *Apostolick Charity, its nature and excellence consider'd in a discourse upon
Dan.12.3, preached at St Pauls, Decemb. 19, 1697 at the ordination of some Protestant
missionaries to be sent into the plantations: to which is prefix, A general view of the English
colonies in America, with respect to religion: in order to shew what provision is wanting for the
propagation of Christianity in those parts* (London: 1698), p. 4.

[92]   Bray, *Apostolick Charity,* p. 4.

[93]   Bray, *Apostolick Charity,* p. 4.

knowledge, as well Natural as divine', implying that the libraries were not only

meant for the clergy.[94]

Shortly afterwards, Bray decided to expand his scheme to include poor clergy

from England and Wales. Bray argued in his publication *The Country Curates*

Library that Clergy must 'double their Diligence in their Studies, not only that

they may be able to Explain … but to Defend all the Doctrines of Christianity'.[95]

Bray's reason for initiating this library scheme was to help the clergy to improve

their knowledge and therefore become better equipped for their role in the

community.[96] In particular, he thought that the conformist clergy needed to be

able to answer difficult questions from those holding opposing views.[97] Libraries

of carefully selected books gave the clergy access to well-reasoned arguments by

authorities on the subjects of church doctrine and practice.[98] In addition,

through increased opportunities for learning using these well-stocked libraries,

Bray hoped to counteract the uncertain and apathetic religious climate, which

was, he said, 'lukewarm in religion' and 'the worst of ages'.[99] Although the

libraries were to be primarily for the poorer clergy, he emphasised that

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[94]   Bray, *Apostolick Charity*, p. 4.

[95]   Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca catechetica, or, The country curates library being an essay towards providing all the parochial cures of England, endow'd with not above ten pounds per annum: with a study of usefull books of like value: to enable the ministers thereof to catechise the youth, and to instruct the people in all things necessary to salvation* (London: Printed for William Hawes, MDCXCIX [1699]), p. vii.

[96]   Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca parochialis, or, A scheme of such theological heads both general and particular, as are more peculiarly requisite to be well studied by every pastor of a parish together with a catalogue of books which may be read upon each of those points* (London: Printed by E.H. for Robert Clavel, 1697), Epistle Dedicatory.

[97]   Bray, *Bibliotheca parochialis,* Epistle Dedicatory.

[98]   Bray, *Bibliotheca parochialis,* Epistle Dedicatory.

[99]   Bray, *Bibliotheca parochialis,* Epistle Dedicatory.

physicians, lawyers and gentlemen would also find the scheme of benefit, and they were encouraged to promote it.[100]

This renewed emphasis on a culture of piety can also be witnessed in Thomas Bray's inception of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) alongside his scheme for the provision of libraries in market towns.[101] Plume does not appear to be one of the founding members of SPCK (contrary to Petchey's view) but he was a member of the related organisation 'Society for Propagating Knowledge Beyond the Sea', and left £100 to them in his will.[102] Best argues that this sort of religious society led to other pious schemes created other institutions such as 'book clubs and associations, and hospitals and charity schools'.[103] At the same time, in Scotland, James Kirkwood was publishing his proposals for providing clergy libraries, particularly in the Highlands.[104] He had been inspired in part by the actions of SPCK, observing that they had already formed 'excellent designs' in the plantations with 'Ministers sent amongst them and Schools Erected, and good Books provided for them'.[105] The inception of libraries were

[100]   Bray, *An Essay Towards Promoting all Useful Knowledge*, Preface.

[101]   Kelly, *Early Public Libraries,* p. 90.

[102]   Plume's name does not appear in the early membership records of SPCK according to: William Allen, Osborne Bird, and Edmund McClure, *Two hundred years: the history of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898* (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1898); Petchey, *The Intentions,* p. 24; The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *A Collection of Papers Printed by Order of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London: Printed by Joseph Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1715), p. 76. Will of Thomas Plume, line 105.

[103]   Best, 'Books and Readers in Certain Eighteenth-Century Parish Libraries', p. 15.

[104]   James Kirkwood, *An Overture for Founding and Maintaining Bibliothecks in every Paroch throughout this Kingdom Humbly Offered to the Consideration of this present Assembly* (Edinburgh: 1699); James Kirkwood, *A Copy of a Letter Anent A Project, for Erecting a Library in Every Presbytry, or at least County, in the Highlands* (Edinburgh: Printed by George Mosman in the year 1702).

[105]   Kirkwood, *A Copy of a Letter Anent A Project,* p. 5.

part of a drive to consolidate, repair and improve the educational standards of

the clergy, and Powell gives the example of Plume wanting to bring back the

learned clergy to Essex and to avoid further religious schism.[106] This illustrates

that embedding the libraries into the centre of the community was intended to

help disseminate the knowledge effectively, both for the clergy, and in the case of

Plume's library, for educated laymen. Earlier generations of benefactors in Essex,

such as Harsnett and Knightbridge, provided for the local and regional clergy and

were probably primarily motivated by an aspiration for a learned clergy,

alongside their own obligations of charity as clergymen.

3.1.6   Philanthropy and the professions

A 'new associated philanthropy', came to the fore towards the end of the

seventeenth century, and involved gifts of libraries or single books.[107] This

manifested as a result of the benefactor wanting to be perceived as being useful

to society, either through pious religious sentiment, or a more socially-based view

of charity.[108] This idea seems very similar to Rosemary O'Day's thesis of a

professional 'Social Humanism', where members of the professions undertook

social duties because they claimed that their status and education equipped them

with the skills to know what was necessary for the local people.[109] This cultural

phenomenon had started during the sixteenth century, but 'held the educated

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[106]   Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', p. 90.

[107]   Best, 'Books and Readers in Certain Eighteenth-Century Parish Libraries', p. 14, p. 243.

[108]   Best, 'Books and Readers in Certain Eighteenth-Century Parish Libraries', p. 14, p. 243.

[109]   O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England,* p. 5.

sectors of society in its grip' for more than a century afterwards.[110] This can be seen in both Tenison and Plume deciding to make their books available to a wider audience than just the clergy, with Tenison's Library, stated as being 'for publicke use' and Plume's 'for gentlemen and scholars'.[111] Humphrey Chetham went even further by dividing the provision of knowledge between two layers of society, thereby making judgements on their respective requirements for knowledge. His provision suggests he perceived the poorer members of society as needing religious instruction, whilst the more-educated people were allowed access to all available theological information, as well as histories, sciences and law.[112] There is a sense that the benefactors wanted to influence the degree to which members of the society had access to knowledge, and that it was their duty as educated and responsible citizens to have an accepted opinion on this.

Powell suggests that Plume could have been influenced by the formation of Thomas Tenison's Library in London, perhaps because both libraries are examples of the very few established in purpose-built locations.[113] John Evelyn documented conversations with Tenison about his library and recorded hearing Plume preach on several occasions, so it is possible that they all knew each other at that time that Tenison's library was being built. Plume owned seven books by John Evelyn, although not his translation of Gabriel Naudé's *Instructions*

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[110]   O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England,* p. 5.

[111]   Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* p. 367; Will of Thomas Plume, line 149.

[112]   Smith, 'Readers and Books in a Seventeenth Century Library', p. 369.

[113]   Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', p. 85.

Concerning Erecting of a Library.[114] It is also possible that Plume was influenced

by Humphrey Chetham's library, since the bequest was also discussed and

praised publicly, for example by Thomas Fuller (1608-1661), whom Plume

admired.[115] In fact, Plume may have been thinking about his own library as early

as 1675, when he donated a copy of *De Ecclesiis Cathedralibus* to The Town

Library at Wisbech. Tenison's and Chetham's library schemes were well-

publicised, and there was a growing culture of interest in this type of charitable

bequest during the period. Rather than being influenced by specific individuals,

therefore, it is likely that Plume was conscious of the widespread interest in this

type of benefaction.

Therefore, it was within this culture of library provision in both urban and rural

locations that Thomas Plume, influenced by the actions and ideas of other

contemporary clergymen, combined with his position as a wealthy and

unmarried member of one of the professions, decided to donate his library of

books and to build the school. His legacy coincided with Thomas Bray's scheme

to improve the educational provision for the clergy, which had expanded to

include a wider readership of professionals and gentry, including gentlewomen.

This scheme invited those expected to become readers to also contribute to the

scheme by way of subscription, thus raising awareness of the abundance of

knowledge available and a sense of public duty and charity. There is a sense that

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[114]   There are no books by Bray in Plume's Library.

[115]   Hartwell, *The History and Architecture of Chetham's School and Library*, p. 62. Plume had
        many books by Fuller and made notes from his *Truth maintained, or Positions delivered in a
        sermon at the Savoy: since traduced for dangerous: now asserted for sound and safe. By
        Thomas Fuller, B.D. late of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge* (London: 1643), see for example in
        Maldon, TPL, MA0007, 'The Table Viz', 1.v.

Plume was taking part in a movement concerned with the provision of newly-acquired knowledge, as well as the more traditional theological information, for the gentlemen and scholars of Maldon.

Plume's collection, although reasonably large for the geographical area, was not particularly unique in any of its aspects apart from the type of manuscripts he left to it as part of the wider collection. Other libraries such as Chetham's were also housed in renovated medieval buildings, contained a wide range of content, and were open to a larger audience than just the theological reader. Whether endowed or not, benefactors gave their collections in the expectation that they would continue to be used by future generations and augmented with relevant material where necessary. What this comparison does show is that it was not only the high-ranking clergy and noblemen who wanted to make provision for education in the cities, towns and villages, but merchants and middle-status clergy like Plume also saw a role for themselves in this cultural endeavour.

3.2   Biographies of Plume's main contacts

The papers in the manuscript collection show that Plume interacted with many contemporary clergymen who had an influence on his intellectual development, not least by providing him with their working papers. Although there has been little interest in these individuals to date - and few sources from the period relating to them are readily available - a biographical sketch of three important figures in Plume's network has been included, since it gives a wider context for the origins of the manuscripts in the collection. It will be argued in the thesis that there was a network of strong ties between these clergymen and their families

and that through helping each other through posthumous publication and scholarly benefaction they developed their connections with the wider body of loyalist clergy and royalist supporters. The network is unusual in that it continued after death, through either publication or other continuing use of the deceased's scholarship. These links extended out from their natural family ties, through close friends, and into the realms of those clergy who they might not have known well personally but who were working for the same aims.

3.2.1   John Hacket (1592-1670)

Plume's patron and mentor was John Hacket, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry at the Restoration, who does not seem to be represented in the manuscript collection. However, he did leave Plume his sermons, which Plume published in 1675 as *A Century of Sermons upon Several Remarkable Subjects*, prefaced by a biography.[116] One of Plume's own notebooks shows that he was resident in Nonsuch Palace at least between 1 January 1650/1 and 20 September 1656.[117] It is not known why he chose to live there, although it is less than half a mile from Hacket's rectory at Cheam, and this was the period during which Plume would travel into London to buy books on Hacket's behalf.[118] The notebook also evidences a period of concentrated reading for Plume, and it is possible that the

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[116]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author'.

[117]   Maldon, TPL, MA0116, 'Thomas Plume's commonplace book'.

[118]   R. A. Doe, 'The Churchmanship of Dr Thomas Plume (1630-1704): A study of a career in the Restoration Church of England' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Essex, 2005), p. 29.

books were suggested (and perhaps lent) to him by John Hacket.[119] One of these

was the recently-published *Leviathan,* which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Many details of John Hacket's life can be found in Plume's preface to *A Century of*

Sermons, in a biography of his mentor. Hacket had left £10 to Plume in his Will,

together with 'two Bookes of my Sermons, the one covered with purple velvet,

the other with greene velvet'.[120] Following attendance at Westminster School,

Hacket was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge with the future poet George

Herbert (1593-1633).[121] Hacket was awarded BA in 1613 and MA in 1616, and then

became a tutor of the College before serving as chaplain to the Lord Keeper John

Williams, who was to become his lifelong patron.[122] Hacket graduated BD in 1623

and acted as chaplain to James I and Charles I from 1623-1642, receiving the

Parsonages of St Andrews in Holborn and of Cheam in Surrey.[123] Plume relates

that the Lord Keeper gave Hacket 'Holbourn for wealth and Cheam for health',

and that Hacket compared the two residences to the active and contemplative

sides of his life; he would spend his time at Holborn in 'daily conversation, and

Holy Ministrations to mankind', and Cheam was for 'Prayer, Study, and

Meditation'.[124] Peltonen's work on classical humanism and republicanism prior to

the English Civil War refers to this kind of circumstance as being 'something akin

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[119]   Doe, 'The Churchmanship of Dr Thomas Plume', p. 29.

[120]   London, TNA, PROB/11/334/428, 'Will of John Hacket or Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry', 1
         December 1670, lines 102-4.

[121]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. v.

[122]   Brian Quintrell, 'Hacket, John (1592–1670)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004);
         Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. vii.

[123]   'James I unexpectedly paid a rare visit to Cambridge … and subsequently made Hacket his
         chaplain' and he was 'confirmed as royal chaplain on Charles' succession. Quintrell, 'Hacket,
         John (1592–1670)'.

[124]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. viii, p. ix.

to the Ciceronian ideal of a rhetorician', involving the combination of 'learning (philosophy) with the active life (eloquence)'.[125]

Plume was not alone in acquiring manuscript texts written by contemporaries: the Lord Keeper gave to Hacket 'Mr. Camden's Manuscript Notes of that King's Reign ... and ... his dear Friend and fellow Servant, Mr. John St. Amand communicated to him many choice Letters'.[126] However, as previously mentioned, many of Hacket's papers were lost when his living at Holborn was sequestered.[127] Hacket placed a high importance on a learned clergy, making 'use of all Heathen Learning', and emphasised 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'.[128] He donated his own library of books, both printed and manuscript, to the University of Cambridge (they are identifiable by his book plates) and his Will specified that if there were any books that the University did not want, they could be sold, at the best rate, to buy others.[129] Hacket also echoed Robert Boreman's words on the importance the Church placed on writing, describing bishops who, as well as being laudable preachers, were 'learned and Orthodox Writers, great Champions for the Protestant Cause'.[130] However, Hacket regretted that he had not done more in terms of 'Preaching and Writing' to attend to 'the miseries and distresses of this Church

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[125]   Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 10.

[126]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. x.

[127]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. x.

[128]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. xii.

[129]   Will of John Hacket, lines 69-70.

[130]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. xxv.

and Kingdom'.[131] This shows that Hacket, like Boreman, thought that the act of

publicly writing and speaking out on topical issues was an important way to serve

Church and State, and this may have influenced Plume in wanting to save clergy

scholarship. Hacket's published works include: *Loyola*, a Latin play performed for

King James in 1623 (which led to his appointment as royal chaplain) published in

1648, and a biography of his patron John Williams was also eventually published

in 1693.[132] Articles of enquiry for three visitations he made to the diocese of

Litchfield and Coventry went to press in 1662, 1665 and 1668, indicating the

importance he placed on the widespread knowledge of restored church

practices.[133]

John Hacket had been in attendance at Trinity College, Cambridge at the same

time as Robert Boreman and Edward Hyde, and it is possible that they continued

their association afterwards; Petchey suggests that when Boreman and Hyde

visited Hacket at Cheam while all three were sequestered, they were attended

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[131]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. xxvii.

[132]   Quintrell, 'Hacket, John (1592–1670)'; John Hacket, *Loiola scena est Amsterodami, à vesperâ ad vesperam peraguntur omnia* (London: Typis R.C. sumptibus Andr. Crooke, 1648) (Standard No: B06450); Hacket, *Scrinia reserata*; Brian Quintrell, 'Hacket, John (1592–1670)'.

[133]   Church of England, Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, Bishop (1661-1670: Hacket), *Articles of inquiry concerning matters ecclesiastical exhibited to the ministers, church-wardens, and side-men of every parish within the Diocesse of Lichfield and Coventry, in the first episcopal visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, John, by divine providence Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in the first year of his consecration, An. Dom. 1662* (London: Printed for John Place, 1662); Church of England, Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, Bishop (1661-1670: Hacket), *Articles of inquiry concerning matters ecclesiastical; exhibited to the ministers, church-wardens and side-men of every parish within the diocess of Lichfield and Coventry; in the triennial visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God John by divine providence lord bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in the seventh year of his consecration, An. Dom. 1665* (London: Printed for John Place, 1665); Church of England, Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, Bishop (1661-1670), *Articles of inquiry concerning matters ecclesiastical, exhibited to the ministers, church-wardens and side-men of every parish within the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, in the second triennial visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God John by divine providence Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in the seventh year of his consecration ... 1668* (London: Printed for John Place, 1668).

upon by Plume who noted down some of their discussions in his notebook.[134]

There is no mention of such meetings at Cheam in *A Century of Sermons*, but

Boreman can be placed as staying with his brother in Teston, Kent, in 1655,

approximately forty miles from Cheam, when he wrote the prefatory letter

addressed to Sir George Sonds in *A Mirrour of Mercy and Iudgement*.[135] Boreman

was not 'sequestered' but perhaps ejected from his fellowship at Trinity. Plume

does mention Hacket being 'one day visited by many sequestred and banished

Friends', but this was on Hacket's return to St Andrew's parish after the

restoration of the monarchy.[136]

Andrew Clark, however, thought that it was Robert Creighton (1593-1672) who

made up the trinity of sequestered divines who met at Cheam, rather than

Edward Hyde.[137] Although there are problems with this claim, there are several

reasons to link Robert Creighton with John Hacket and for Clark to have

proposed him as a visitor to Hacket's residence in Cheam. Both had been at

Westminster School and Trinity College together, and had a common friend in

George Herbert.[138] Clark records that Creighton was tutor to Edward Hyde, whilst

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[134]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*, p. 10. Maldon, TPL, MA0117, 'Dr Thomas Plume's Latin phrasebook probably at school and continued at Cambridge about 1649'; Plume's anecdotes can also be found in MA0116.

[135]   Robert Boreman, *A Mirrour of Mercy and Iudgement. Or, An Exact true Narrative of the Life and Death of Freeman Sonds Esquier, Sonne to Sir George Sonds of Lees Court in Shelwich in Kent. Who being about the age of 19. for Murthering his elder brother on Tuesday the 7th of August, was arainged and condemned at Maidstone, executed there on Tuesday the 21. of the same Moneth, 1655* (London, Printed for Thomas Dring, and are to be sold at his shop at the Signe of the George in Fleetstreet, neere Cliffords-Inne, 1655), p. 6.

[136]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. xxix.

[137]   Clark, 'Dr Plume's Pocketbook', p. 11.

[138]   John S. Macauley, 'Creighton, Robert (1593-1672)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. v.

serving as Professor of Greek in 1625 and Public Orator in 1627.[139] In addition, Creighton was King's chaplain in 1643 and Creighton kept in touch with church leaders in England during his exile with Charles II.[140] However, Creighton's exile causes a problem for Clark's placement of Creighton at Cheam in the 1650s and this, combined with his existing friendship with Robert Boreman, makes Edward Hyde a better candidate.

3.2.2   Edward Hyde (1607-1659)

Edward Hyde – not to be confused with his first cousin, Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon (1609-1674) - was at Trinity between 1625 and 1640 (a tutor from 1636), was made Doctor of Divinity and appointed to a living in Berkshire in 1643, which he lost in 1647.[141] Four of his works were published: a treatise about preparing for death in 1657, *Christ and His Church, or Christianity Explained* in 1658, a commentary on some topical controversies, and *A True Catholick's Tenure*, published posthumously on his behalf by Robert Boreman in 1662.[142] He is also

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[139]   From a photocopy of Andrew Clark's 'Excerpts from several MSS and papers', p. 40 (currently uncatalogued in Thomas Plume's Library archive).

[140]   Brian Quintrell, 'Hacket, John (1592–1670)'; John S. Macauley, 'Creighton, Robert (1593-1672)'.

[141]   J. Sears McGee, 'Hyde, Edward (1607–1659)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[142]   Edward Hyde, *A Christian legacy consisting of two parts: I. A preparation for death. II. A consolation against death.* (London: Printed by R[obert] W[hite] for Rich. Davis in Oxon, 1657); Edward Hyde, *Christ and his Church: or, Christianity explained, under seven evangelical and ecclesiastical heads; viz. Christ I. Welcomed in his nativity. II. Admired in his Passion. III. Adored in his Resurrection. IV. Glorified in his Ascension. V. Communicated in the coming of the Holy Ghost. VI. Received in the state of true Christianity. VII. Retained in the true Christian communion. With a justification of the Church of England according to the true principles of Christian religion, and of Christian communion.* (London: Printed by R. W[hite] for Rich. Davis in Oxford, 1658); Edward Hyde, *A Christian vindication of truth against errour concerning these controversies, 1. Of sinners prayers, 2. Of priests marriage, 3. Of purgatory, 4. Of the second commandment and images, 5. Of praying to saints and angels, 6. Of justification by faith, 7. Of Christs new testament or covenant* (London: Printed by R. White for Richard Davis ..., 1659); Edward Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure, or a good Christian's certainty which he ought to have of his religion, and may have his salvation* (Cambridge: Printed by John Field, Printer to the University, 1662).

noted as an author of an elegy 'I cannot blame those men that knew thee well' in the published funeral sermon of John Donne of 1633.[143]

There is evidence in one of Hyde's notebooks that, during the years between leaving Trinity in 1640 and receiving his living in 1643, that he may have been employed as a chaplain to a member of the nobility. On a page towards the middle of the book Hyde wrote that: 'The sermons which are before you came to this page were all made in Cambridge; those which follow were all made on several occasions since I came to dwell with my Lord; which was on Nov 5. 1640'.[144] There are two possible candidates for a patron in Wiltshire: first, the Marquis of Hertford (later Duke of Somerset), William Seymour (1588-1660). Robert Boreman acted as chaplain to the Marquis in the 1650s and could have been recommended to the post by Hyde, especially if Hyde had been the previous chaplain. Another possibility is Philip Herbert, 4th earl of Pembroke (1584-1650) whose ancestral home was Wilton House in Wiltshire. There is a connection to the earls of Pembroke in another notebook in Plume's collection, where Robert Boreman referred to Philip Herbert, 5th Earl of Pembroke, 2nd Earl of Montgomery (1621-1669):

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[143]   John Donne, *Deaths duell, or, A consolation to the soule, against the dying life, and living death of the body deliuered in a sermon at White-Hall, before the Kings Maiestie, in the beginning of Lent, 1630 / by that late learned and Reverend Divine, Iohn Donne ... ; being his last sermon, and called by His Maiesties houshold the doctors owne funeral sermon* (London: Printed by B. Alsop, and T. Fawcet, for Beniamin Fisher, and are to be sold at the signe of the Talbot in Aldersgate-street, M.DC.XXXIII. [1633]), p. 377. (The Bodleian Catalogue describes the attribution as speculative. See: http://dmi.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/-150195246973746575.)

[144]   Maldon, TPL, MA0044, f. 108r.

'… as my private duty and service bindes me I beseech God to redouble his blessings upon Philip Earle of Pembroke and Montgomancie [sic] my honorable lord ~~and patron~~. Let us allsoe pray for the rest of the Nobil. etc.'[145]

There is a further connection with Pembroke in another manuscript in the collection, where an unknown scribe indicates the place of writing as Durham House, the Bishop of Durham's residence in London, which the Bishop rented out in the 1640s to Philip Earl of Pembroke: 'the Bishop of Durham was probably only too glad to agree to Charles I's proposal in 1641 that Durham House should be granted to Philip, 4th Earl of Pembroke, in return for the annual payment of £200'.[146] Later pages refer to 'Richmond House' and 'St James's [Palace]'.[147] The Hydes were known to have an existing relationship with Philip Herbert and William Seymour, since Edward's brother Robert (1595/6-1665) was to name them both as his patrons during the general call of serjeants in 1640.[148] Hyde's living was sequestered in 1647, but he was permitted to stay in the rectory with his family until 1650 by the next incumbent John Ley.[149] Ley, however, was opposed to paying one-fifth of the rectory's income to Hyde since Hyde already had an independent income and Ley published a text about their disagreement in 1655.[150]

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[145]   Maldon, TPL, MA0064, 'Biblical Notes', f. 1r.

[146]   'Durham Place', in *Survey of London: Volume 18, St Martin-in-The-Fields II: the Strand*, ed. by G. H. Gater and E. P. Wheeler (London, 1937), British History Online: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol18/pt2/pp84-98, [accessed 15 October 2016], pp. 84-98.

[147]   Maldon, TPL, MA0078, 'Sermon Notes'.

[148]   Wilfrid Prest, 'Hyde, Sir Robert (1595/6–1665)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

[149]   J. Sears McGee, 'Hyde, Edward (1607–1659)'.

[150]   J. Sears McGee, 'Hyde, Edward (1607–1659)'; John Ley, *An acquittance or discharge from Dr E.H. his demand of a fifth part of the rectory of Br.in Barks* (London: [s.n.], 1654).

Hyde and his family moved to Oxford in the 1650s and then to Salisbury in c.1657, where he spent the remaining two years of his life.[151]

3.2.3   Robert Boreman (d.1675)

Robert Boreman attended Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving his BA in 1632.[152] He was elected Fellow of Trinity in 1632, and went on to receive MA 1635, after which he became Tutor and Lecturer in Hebrew.[153] He was ordained in 1638 in Peterborough.[154] At the Restoration he was created Doctor of Divinity and made rector of Blisworth in Northamptonshire.[155] Three years later he became rector of St Giles-in-the-Fields and a prebendary of Westminster Abbey in 1667.[156] Boreman's manuscripts were not referred to in his will but they were acquired by Thomas Plume around the time of his death, along with those which had belonged to Edward Hyde. During the period 1652-1669 Boreman published eight of his own texts in addition to the sermons and treatise he posthumously published on Hyde's behalf.[157]

Smith relays that Boreman 'was ejected from his fellowship by the parliamentary visitors during the 1650s', but was restored in 1660 and created DD.[158] There is, however, some controversy over his ejection and, unfortunately, many records

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[151]   J. Sears McGee, 'Hyde, Edward (1607–1659)'.

[152]   J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantbrigiensis*, Part 1 to 1751, Vol I Abbas-Cutts.

[153]   Smith, 'Boreman, Robert (d. 1675)'.

[154]   Venn, I.

[155]   Smith, 'Boreman, Robert (d. 1675)'.

[156]   Smith, 'Boreman, Robert (d. 1675)'.

[157]   These included treatises on tithes, swearing, the value of a university education, two funeral sermons and an account of a fratricide.

[158]   Smith, 'Boreman, Robert (d.1675)'.

relating to this period of Cambridge's history were destroyed at the

Restoration.[159] Feingold says that Boreman was ejected during 1644-5 along with

Thomas Comber, Abraham Cowley and Herbert Thorndike.[160] However, McLeod

Innes argues that 'only two fellows out of the seventy-seven of 1642, Robert

Boreman and William Bayly, received payments as resident fellows

uninterruptedly throughout the period'.[161] It therefore may be possible that

Boreman was able to continue as a fellow throughout the Civil Wars and

interregnum, whilst continuing to receive payment, notwithstanding his pro-

royalist stance. Tatham agrees that Boreman, along with three others, managed

to keep their fellowships.[162] In support of this claim, the title page of the *Paideia*

Thriamous indicates that he still considered himself a Fellow of Trinity on the

publication date 13 November 1652 (although this assertion could be in defiance

of an ejection which he would have contested).[163]

The subject matter of Boreman's publications ranges from a call for anti-profanity

legislation, to treatises on current political debates, to funerary sermons and

biographies, and a commentary on the nature of judgement involving a

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[159]   E. S. Leedham-Green, *A Concise History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 83.

[160]   Mordechai Feingold, *The Life and Times of Isaac Barrow* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 5.

[161]   H. McLeod Innes, *Fellows of Trinity College* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 12.

[162]   G. B. Tatham, *The Puritans in Power: A study in the history of the English church from 1640 to 1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 122.

[163]   Robert Boreman, *Paideia Thriamous*: *The Triumph of Learning over Ignorance; and of Truth over Falsehood: being an answer to foure quaeries: Whether there be any need of Universities? Who is to be accounted an haeretick? Whether it be lawfull to use conventicles? Whether a layman may preach? which were lately proposed by a zealot, in the parish church of Sacey nr Cambs, after the second sermon October 3, 1652. Since that enlarged by the answerer, R.B.B.D. and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge* (London, Printed for R. Royston at the Angel in Ivie-lane, 1653 [Novemb.13 1652]).

parishioner executed for fratricide. The earliest printed text, *Country-man's Catechisme,* published in 1652, exists today in 38 copies, more than any of Boreman's other works.[164] One of the later texts, *Patern of Christianity,* is the rarest, existing in only twelve locations.[165] The published texts are particularly relevant because they illustrate Boreman's views on the role of the clergy. For example, in the *Country-mans Catechisme,* he stated that minsters should have 'good expression, a good memorie, skill in the three languages, *Latin, Greek* and *Hebrew,* a deep knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the Ancient Fathers, with Moderne writers &c'.[166] He also asserted that published writing by clergymen was more valuable to the Church than preaching in the fight against heresy and sin.[167] This is significant because it suggests a shift from the notion that in the seventeenth century the clergy's main task was to preach and provide pastoral care.[168]

In *The Professions in Early Modern England,* discussed earlier in the chapter, Rosemary O'Day proposed a thesis of 'Social Humanism'. She argues that the philosophy of the educated early modern clergy, lawyers and physicians had emerged from the Renaissance and the Reformation, where their professional role in society was viewed in terms of 'vocation, service and commitment …

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[164]   Robert Boreman, *The Country-mans Catechisme; or, the Church's plea for tithes. Wherein is plainely discovered, the duty and dignity of Christs ministers, and the peoples duty to them. By R.B.B.D. Fellow of Trin.Col.Camb.* (London: Printed for R. Royston at the Angell in Ivy-Lane, 1652).

[165]   Boreman, *The Patern of Christianity*.

[166]   Boreman, *Country-mans Catechisme*, p. 3.

[167]   Boreman, *Country-mans Catechisme*, p. 10.

[168]   See, for example, O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England*, pp. 91-99.

which enabled [them] to … claim authority as well as expertise'.[169] As a result, members of the professions sometimes intervened into public discourse and debates.[170] An example of this type of intervention can be seen in the structure and content of Boreman's *Mirrour of Mercy and Iudgement,* a text detailing the life and death of a fratricide, Freeman Sonds.[171] Boreman's preface was addressed to the accused's father Sir George Sonds, followed by a biography of Freeman Sonds.[172] Boreman also supplied a copy of the Petition by the accused, a record of Sonds' confession, a prayer which Boreman had composed for Sonds' private devotions, and reports from other prisoners on his personality and behaviour during the period of his imprisonment.[173] This is an extraordinary use of evidence normally used for earthly judgement to elucidate divine judgement. To finish, Boreman addressed a postscript to the whole Kingdom and an appeal to the 'godly Orthodox Clergy of the Church'.[174] Boreman provided more information on the case than his remit as a visiting clergyman would suggest; perhaps it could be argued that he was also writing a 'history' of Freeman Sonds.[175] Boreman demonstrated his authority and expertise as a clergyman by helping Sonds and in bringing the case to the attention of both the public and the clergy. The theme of influencing the views of the public from a position of expertise is addressed more fully in Chapter 8.

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[169]   O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England*, p. 5.

[170]   O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England*, p. 5.

[171]   Boreman, *A Mirrour of Mercy and Iudgement*.

[172]   Boreman, *A Mirrour of Mercy and Iudgement*, pp. 1-11.

[173]   Boreman, *A Mirrour of Mercy and Iudgement*, pp. 12-27.

[174]   Boreman, *A Mirrour of Mercy and Iudgement,* pp. 28-38.

[175]   Boreman, *A Mirrour of Mercy and Iudgement*.

In Boreman's *Paideia Thriamous,* one of the questions he addressed was 'whether it be lawful to use conventicles'.[176] This was a topical subject at the time, since just over a decade later in 1664 The Conventicle Act was published as part of the Clarendon Code.[177] Boreman had addressed the Epistle Dedicatory to the Earl of Clarendon when he published Edward Hyde's text *The True Catholicks Tenure,* and this will be examined in detail in Chapter 7.[178] This raises the issue of patronage, the influence of the professions over the state, and whether Boreman's motivation was professionally altruistic, as suggested by O'Day's thesis. Boreman is an interesting individual because his writings suggest that, despite his conformist and royalist political stance, he was willing to venture (motivated by his moral convictions or otherwise) into areas outside his prescribed role as a member of the clergy.

3.3   **Conclusion**

The network of individuals therefore included not only the core of loyalist clergy who created the manuscripts in Plume's collection, but also their patrons and political contacts. This wider network of patronage and associations which are reflected in the brief biographies in this section are evidenced in the manuscripts in Plume's collection and related printed texts. Over the period of the seventeenth century the balance of relationships between the people shifted and evolved as new people joined and older members passed away. However the

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[176]   Robert Boreman, *Paideia Thriamous*.

[177]   'Charles II, 1664: An act to prevent and suppresse seditious conventicles', *Statutes of the Realm: Vol 5 1628-80,* ed. by John Rathby (London: 1819), pp. 516-20.

[178]   Edward Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure.*

manuscript collection re-created and re-shaped the network of individuals as it

was formed and when it arrived in the Library. The manuscript collection

transformed into a static representation of the network at this point, where

people were positioned in the context of their texts. A critical analysis of the

manuscript collection's contents will be examined in detail in the next chapter to

illustrate the forms and genres of the texts, together with an indication of how

they came into Plume's possession. It will be seen that the items came from a

widespread geographical region reaching across the whole of the south of

England.

Chapter 4   **'All my Manuscripts papers of my own hand to be carefully preserved in the Study of the said Library': a critical analysis of the collection**

In his will, Dr Thomas Plume directed his friend and trustee Dr Francis Thompson to: 'convey all my Manuscripts papers of my own hand to be carefully preserved in the Study of the said Library'.[1] At a first glance this seems to refer to documents written by Plume himself, but a closer inspection of the papers in the Plume Library reveals that around three-quarters of them were originally written by individuals *other* than Plume. Unpacking the precise wording in the will, it could be inferred that Plume referred to his 'Manuscripts' as the texts written by other people, as opposed to his own 'papers'. The instruction to Dr Thompson is curious, since Plume indicated neither his rationale for carefully preserving the notebooks and papers nor their expected future function. In contrast to the printed books, which could be borrowed upon application to the librarian and secured by a deposit, there is no mention of whether the manuscripts should be consulted in the future.[2]

4.1   Study of the manuscripts

The manner in which Dr Thompson transported the manuscript papers from Plume's residence(s) to the Library building in Maldon is not evident, nor is the way in which they were ordered upon arrival in the Library 'Study'. During this

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[1]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 131-3. A version of this chapter will be published in a scholarly biography of Thomas Plume, edited by Christopher Thornton.

[2]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 149-51.

period the term 'study' could refer to either a reading space or room, or alternatively a cupboard or archive location, and the reference to them being 'carefully preserved' suggests the latter meaning.[3] However, there is no contemporary furniture which could have been used as a cupboard, nor any references to such furniture being purchased in the Trustees' records. Plume's will specified that the printed books could be read *in situ* as an alternative to being borrowed, and there was space set aside for reading in the Library so the Study as a space is the most likely meaning. If this was the case, it does seem that the manuscripts were intended to be on hand for consultation, even if only for a limited clerical audience who might be motivated to refer to them. An example of such use can be seen in one particular manuscript which contains an index started in 1707, providing evidence that someone - perhaps the librarian – had referred to the manuscript three years after Plume's death.[4] It is unlikely, however, that subsequent users of the Library would generally have been inclined to annotate the manuscripts, since those documents had at that point become institutional property.

Plume's manuscripts have interested historians since the early twentieth century, although the texts have been approached with different purposes in mind. Andrew Clark's disappointment in the content of the manuscripts is palpable in his 1904 article for the *Essex Review*, where he reports that his 'awakened hopes …

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[3]   See "study, n.", OED Online. *Oxford University Press*, 8 September 2016, entries 7a and 8a: http://www.oed.com [accessed 23 May 2017].

[4]   MA0015, f. 37r.

have been dispelled by an examination of the papers'.[5] Clark had been inspired,

following the exciting rediscovery of 'several bundles of papers' in the Library's

mahogany chest, to make an inventory of the contents, and his appraisal of the

collection resulted in the first iteration of the Plume manuscript catalogue.[6] On 2

March 1721 the Plume Trustees' minutes recorded that: 'It is ordered that Mr

Thompson be paid ten shillings for the Mahogenie Box for the use of the Trust to

put ye Books and Writings and Deeds of the several Estates to them belonging'.[7]

In contrast to the printed books, a cataloguing exercise had not taken place for

the manuscripts until then.[8] Reading between the lines of Clark's article, it can be

surmised that the manuscript papers he referred to as being found in the chest

were exclusively what now constitutes the bundles of papers classified as A to I.[9]

The manuscripts in these bundles are unbound; this is in contrast to the

remaining 106 handwritten notebooks and papers, most of which are enclosed

within pasteboards or limp vellum covers. It seems likely that at the time of

Clark's research the bound notebooks were kept in a separate place within the

Library, and were therefore differentiated from the unbound papers. During the

seventeenth century the separation of printed and manuscript books on library

shelves was becoming increasingly common, but it appears that by the time of

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[5]   Clark, 'Plume MS papers', p. 30.

[6]   As previously mentioned, Clark's exercise book is uncatalogued.

[7]   Maldon, TPL, Trustees' Minute book 1 (uncatalogued). The estates provided were Itlney Farm near Maldon, Swanscombe and the manor of Stone Castle in Kent: Will of Thomas Plume, lines 248-50.

[8]   The printed books shipped from the vicarage at Greenwich arrived at the Library with a packing list, which served as an initial catalogue, and further catalogues were made by the serving Librarians in 1761, 1848 and the Trustees in 1959 and 2004. Maldon, TPL, MA0113, G.20, 'A List of books in 6 casks (29 November 1704) Plume Library packing list'. See further: http://www.thomasplumeslibrary.co.uk/catalogue/the-collections-and-their-catalogues/.

[9]   Comprising standard numbers MA0107 to MA0115.

the arrangement of Thomas Plume's Library, perhaps *four* distinctions were made between material forms of texts: printed books, unbound pamphlets, handwritten books, and unbound papers.[10]

Clark had hoped to find appropriate material in the rediscovered papers to furnish a biography of Plume where he could identify the context for Plume's endowments of the school, library and professorship. Although he later went on to write extensive articles on the content of Plume's 'pocketbook' and 'notebook', Clark concluded that the appropriate evidence did not exist in the manuscript papers.[11] He did find some consolation on realising that Dr Edward Hyde had used the reverse sides of a pair of letters to finish a sermon, since the letters exposed evidence for the availability of commodities such as wine and coinage during the Civil Wars.[12] This, Clark observed, would not normally be revealed by sermon notes.[13] Clark also mentioned in his article that he had found a theological treatise, but he thought this item would only be of interest if it had been written by a prominent religious leader.[14] These glimpses into Clark's Edwardian construction of history show that his interest was concentrated around élite political and socio-economic activities; a more narrowly-defined concept of history than the wider cultural appreciation which can be utilised today.

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[10]   McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 12-13.

[11]   Clark, 'Plume MS papers', p. 30; Clark, 'Dr Plume's Notebook', and Clark, 'Dr Plume's Pocketbook.

[12]   Clark, 'Plume MS papers', p. 31.

[13]   Clark, 'Plume MS papers', p. 31.

[14]   Clark, 'Plume MS papers', p. 31.

William J. Petchey, writing in the 1980s for his published Plume Lecture *The*

Intentions of Thomas Plume, again did not discuss the manuscript collection in its

entirety, but instead focussed on two of Plume's notebooks.[15] His examination led

him to concur with Clark that the notebooks did not reveal anything of

significance about Plume's intentions concerning his legacy, although he

commented that they 'can provoke a useful search of the books'.[16] Petchey did not

expand on the meaning of this latter statement, although Plume's notebooks do

reveal some evidence of his own reading. Since then R. A. Doe has addressed

Plume's reading activities, focussing on Plume's churchmanship and mentorship

by bishop John Hacket.[17] More recently, the manuscripts have been examined to

find evidence for the seventeenth-century university curriculum, and in the

content and tone of sermons preached during the 1640s.[18]

The previous studies of Plume's manuscripts have therefore mainly focussed on

Plume's own writings concerning his life and motivations, and more recently

specific sub-sections of the collection have been examined. My own

interpretation of the collection takes a different perspective because it addresses

the collection as a whole, examining manuscripts written by several different

authors and relating them to each other. This approach enables a broader

understanding of why Plume had accumulated these documents, and can

illustrate the ways in which the mid-level clergy generally used and valued their

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[15]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*; Maldon, TPL, MA0029, 'Theological Notes' and
         Maldon, TPL, MA0017, 'It was ye with of justice ... 1649'.

[16]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume,* p. 9.

[17]   Doe, 'The Churchmanship of Thomas Plume 1630-1704; MA0029.

[18]   Publications pending.

handwritten work. The new perspective will also allow a different insight into

Plume's motivations for wishing to 'carefully preserve' the notebooks and papers

in the Library.

Recent studies involving other manuscript collections have been concerned with

specific aspects of manuscript culture: texts collected for their historical value

and rarity; evidence for a particular person's reading and the mechanics of

facilitated reading; or 'scribal culture' where manuscripts are copied out by hand

for circulation and publication.[19] Recent scholars have also been particularly

interested in the political aspects and applications of reading.[20] Plume's collection

is different to these other sources in both its composition and the context in

which it can be approached, mainly because (as seen in Chapter 1) Plume's

manuscripts are mostly made up of what can be called 'working papers': not only

notes from reading made by a range of different people, but also drafts of

sermons and treatises, correspondence and accounts. This shows Plume as a

different type of collector: one who saw value in the ordinary and everyday

production of work and self-education. The perspective taken here helps to show

the significance of the handwritten alongside printed texts, how the seventeenth-

century clergy used them for their professional role, and how they were saved for

posterity from destruction. In order to give an illustration of the collection

overall, the following sub-sections will address the types of documents found

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[19]   See, Wright and Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector*; Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*;
        Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sydney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640*; Harold Love,
        The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England
        (University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

[20]   Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (Yale
        University Press, 2000); Paul E. J. Hammer, 'The Use of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert
        Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c.1585-1601', *The English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), 26-51.

there, the issues of why and how their original creators made and used them, and

the various ways in which Plume acquired them. First, however, it would be

helpful to introduce the main authors and the characteristics of their texts.

4.2 The known authors and their texts

There are varying degrees of certainty with which authorship of a manuscript can

be determined. For example, the presence of a signature does not necessarily

indicate original authorship, but could instead denote subsequent ownership.

Certain manuscripts, however, make references to people or places which can

provide evidence for an author's identity. One individual who can be identified

though the dates and places where he preached the sermons written in his

notebooks is Robert Joyner, who was vicar of the parishes of Chew Magna and

Dundry in Somerset from 1643 until his sequestration in 1647.[21] Plume acquired

three of Joyner's notebooks, two of which contained sermons preached in

Somerset and London within those dates.[22] One of the entries shows that the

same sermon was delivered twice, at 'Chew.1645 et at a Feast 1646'.[23] Another

writer, Lady Barbara Hyde, can be identified by connecting three pieces of

evidence from her notebook: the presence of her initials 'BH' in three places in

the text; the presence of her son's handwriting in the early part of the book; and

her reference in the text to various relatives including two of her sons, her

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[21]   'Jablonski-Juxston', in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714,* ed. by Joseph Foster (Oxford: 1891), pp.
       793-836.

[22]   MA0001; Maldon, TPL, MA0019, 'Pelusiot, printed - folio 1629'; Maldon, TPL, MA0069,
       'Sermon notes'.

[23]   MA0019, f. 287r.

brother and her sisters-in-law.[24] Many of the manuscript books and papers in

Plume's collection do not contain enough clues to establish the author's identity.

However, once identity *has* been firmly established in one manuscript, careful

comparison of the hand and cross-referencing with contextual information can

help to ascribe authorship in others.

4.2.1   Thomas Plume

Using this method of identification, just over a quarter of the manuscripts in the

collection can be attributed to Thomas Plume. The earliest examples of Plume's

work are three notebooks which Plume filled with records of sermons he heard in

Maldon and Chelmsford between the ages of twelve and fifteen.[25] One of these

notebooks is inscribed at the front: 'Thomas Plume His Booke Anno Domini

1643', and another: 'Plume his sermon booke'.[26] The vicar of the united Maldon

parishes of All Saints and St Peter in Maldon between 1620 and 1649 was Mr Israel

Hewitt: referred to by Plume in his notebooks on some occasions as 'Mr Huits'.[27]

Plume attended Chelmsford Grammar School, where the curriculum would have

included instruction on how to take notes on sermons.[28] These note-taking skills

would also be useful after Plume had left formal education for recording his

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[24]   Maldon, TPL, MA0092, 'Crismas 1638'. Discused further in section 7.1.

[25]   Maldon, TPL, MA0066, 'Notes for sermons', Maldon, TPL, MA0076, 'Sermon notes and notes on psalms', and Maldon, TPL, MA0096, 'Gods love able to encounter … notes'.

[26]   MA0066 and MA0076.

[27]   J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantbrigiensis*, Part 1 to 1751, Vol II Dabbs-Juxton.

[28]   David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 6; Kate Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self-Definition* (Abingdon, Oxon: Ashgate, 2012), p. 31.

reading from books.[29]

Most of Plume's own writings were made in English, although he used Latin and Greek in approximately ten percent of his work. Generally, if any of the note-takers represented in the collection had read a book in Latin or Greek, their preference was to take the resulting notes in those languages as well. A good example of this is Plume's reading of Philipp Andreas Oldenburger's *Notitia rerum illustrium imperii,* where his notes are in Latin to match the text in the book.[30] Another example is the notes taken by the preacher at Eythorne, Kent, who read works in Greek and made his notes using the same language.[31] Most of Plume's manuscripts are comprised of sermon notes: from sermons he heard, preached, or notes he made for future sermons.

The remainder of Plume's own manuscripts are made up of reading notes, correspondence, verses and accounts. Plume re-read and re-used many of his notes, and there is also evidence that he read at least thirty-two of the other texts, which contain annotations made by him. For example, Plume created an index in Justinian Whitter's miscellany and wrote a title on two of Robert Boreman's texts.[32] Evidence for this re-reading and recycling of manuscripts appears in fifty-one of the manuscripts in total. As well as complete notebooks or folios of text,

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[29]   See Chapter 5.

[30]   Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.41, 'Excerpts from a book Notitia Imperii'. The printed book is in the Library under Standard No. B06356: Philippus Andreas Burgoldensis, *Notitia rerum illustrium imperii Romano-Germanici tripertita, sive Discursus juridico-politico-historici ad instrumentum sive tabulas pacis Osnabrugo-Monasteriensis … Editio secunda … cura et studio Warmundi von Friedberg* (Apud A. Verum: Freistadii, 1669).

[31]   Maldon, TPL, MA0048, 'Sermon and notes on Greek philosophy'.

[32]   Maldon, TPL, MA0056, 'Historiola collecta'; Maldon, TPL, MA0107, A.45, 'St. Jo. 19.30' and Maldon, TPL, MA0107, A.47, 'St. Luke 24.36'.

Plume also made use of individual scraps of paper for his notes. Some of the scraps can be found within the bound notebooks, serving either as page markers or extractions of useful information from within, as illustrated by Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: Example of loose-leaf insertions in MA0017

Reference to the catalogue of printed books shows that Plume owned many of the books that he read, and in many cases his reading notes can be cross-referred to the specific printed books he owned and left to the Library. One notebook written by Plume which can be dated to the 1650s (after he left Cambridge and before he was presented to his living at Greenwich) comprises notes of various

books which he had read whilst living at Nonsuch Palace.[33] R. A. Doe has argued

that Plume was resident in that part of Surrey due to his connections with John

Hacket, who was sequestered at his rectory in Cheam, less than a mile away.[34]

This idea is supported in Plume's biography of John Hacket where he commented

that he would often go into London to buy books for Hacket, and also by the fact

that apartments at Nonsuch Palace were available to be leased during the 1650s.[35]

The collection contains eight further notebooks (in addition to various

miscellanies) written by Plume from the period encompassing the 1660s to the

1680s dedicated to his reading notes on topics ranging from philology and

philosophy, theology and jurisprudence; the catechism and divine character;

history, geography, war and politics.[36] The latest entries found in the books were

made during the 1680s, when Plume's handwriting had deteriorated so much as

to be virtually illegible; as Clark commented, it is a wonder that he could read it

himself.[37] It is possible that Plume had a particular health condition which

affected the legibility of his handwriting. An indication of this can be found in a

letter from Joseph Carte (1636-1707), vicar of Leigh in Kent from 1662, who wrote

to Plume with the following observation: 'I was glad to see your hand writing the

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[33]   MA0029.

[34]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. x.

[35]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. liii; Daniel Lysons, 'Cheam', *The Environs of London: volume 1: County of Surrey* (Centre for Metropolitan History, 1972), pp. 137-58.

[36]   MA0029; Maldon, TPL, MA0035 'Diarum'; Maldon, TPL, MA0047, 'Notes on various sermons and printed books'; Maldon, TPL, MA0050 'Notes on various books'; Maldon, TPL, MA0054, 'Notes on various books'; Maldon, TPL, MA0072, 'Notes on various books'; Maldon, TPL, MA0074, 'Notes on various books'; Maldon, TPL, MA0099, 'Dr Jackson folio - P1 notes'; Maldon, TPL, MA0100, 'Notes on various books'.

[37]   Clark, 'Plume MS Papers', p. 31.

certain indication of your health'.[38] This may point to Plume having a condition such as arthritis, which in its early stages affected his handwriting intermittently but got progressively worse over time. Since Plume did not, as a rule, annotate his printed books, this makes his manuscript notebooks more valuable to understand his reading practices.

The changing legibility of his hand leads to the question of how useful Plume may have thought his writings would be to subsequent readers. His earlier writings, and those of many of the other authors, could indeed have been read and understood, and perhaps were meant to be of practical help to future readers, in the same way they had been used before their arrival at the Library. However, by keeping all the papers by every author, regardless of their legibility or practical use, this indicates that, when placing them in the Library, Plume saw the manuscripts more as a historic cache of information relating to the time in which they were written, which formed type of 'biography' or memorial to their authors.

4.2.2   Dr Robert Boreman

Robert Boreman's manuscripts form the second largest body of documents by one author.[39] Boreman's papers begin in the 1640s and continue until the year of his death in 1675. The account book which shows his income until a month before his death is particularly interesting because it details donations and

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[38]   Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.5, 'Letter relating to money due' (NB also referred to in Chapter 2).

[39]   Seventy-seven items have been identified. See further information about Robert Boreman in section 3.2.3.

patronage received from prominent figures, including Lady Alice Dudley, whose

funeral sermon Boreman later published.[40] It is significant that the book was not

kept within the parish and instead was passed to Plume with Boreman's other

papers. However, this was a book which Boreman wrote in personally, rather

than one kept by a clerk or curate, and it is likely that he considered it to be his

own property, especially considering that it referred to income generated from

his living. Boreman died at Greenwich, where his family lived, and was buried in

St Alfege's church, where Plume was vicar.[41] Boreman described Plume in his will

as one of his 'very loving friends' and left him five pounds to buy a mourning

gown, attesting to the relationship which had developed since their association

with John Hacket many years earlier.[42] Plume's possession of Boreman's

manuscripts indicates that they must have been given to him shortly before or

after Boreman's death, as discussed later in this chapter.[43]

The majority of Boreman's writings were in English, although he produced a

slightly higher proportion of Greek and Latin manuscripts than Plume, and

occasionally used Hebrew script interspersed with the other languages in certain

of his texts. Like Plume's, Boreman's handwriting also changed over time but

remained neat and legible. Robert Boreman's general practice was to use

individual sheets of paper, sewn together to form his own notebooks, which were

compiled in preparation for writing (see Figure 6). To illustrate this further, one

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[40]   MA0002; Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*.

[41]   Daniel Lysons, 'Greenwich', in *The Environs of London: Volume 4, Counties of Herts, Essex and Kent* (London, 1796), pp. 426-93.

[42]   London, TNA, PROB/20/260, 'Boreman, Robert DD', c.1675, line 30.

[43]   See section 4.5.1.

notebook attributable to Boreman has had a page cut out leaving a 20mm stub, but resulting in no loss of text.[44] The manner in which the page was cut out suggests that the notebook was at least compiled, and perhaps sewn together, before the writing took place.
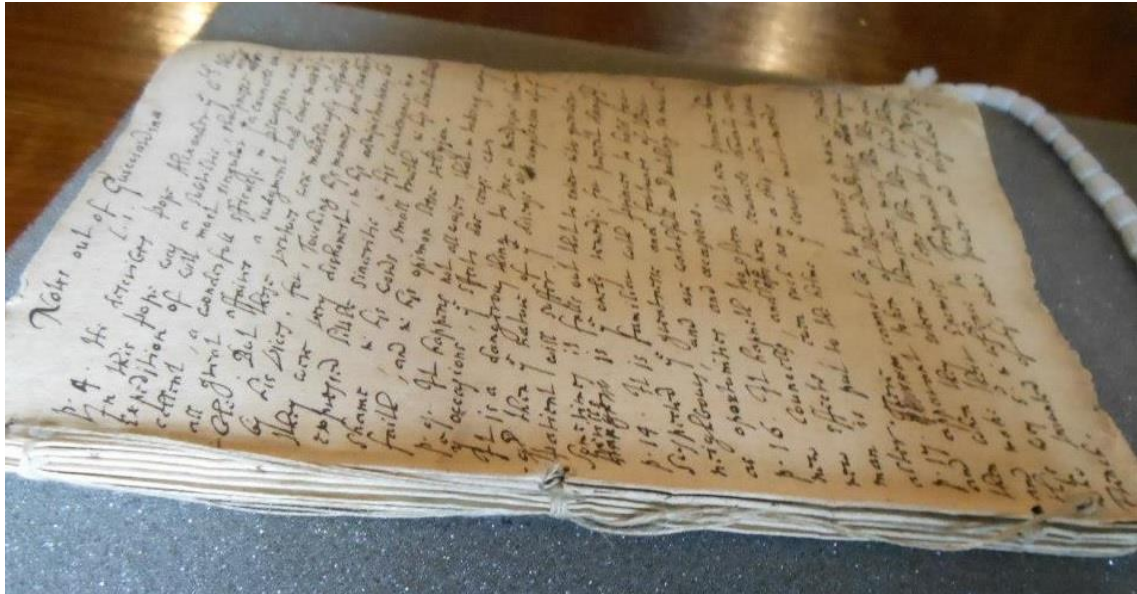
Figure 6: Side view of MA0106 showing construction

This may mean that the volume of notes was made to fit a previously-prepared notebook. Richard Holdsworth's 1651 treatise to students suggested that they should buy paper books in a portable octavo format, demonstrating that this type of book could be purchased already made up.[45] The twelve bound notebooks attributable to Robert Boreman, on the other hand, seem to have performed a more formal function than his sewn paper books. Some were acquired by him on

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[44]   Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.20 'Notes from a history of the Reformation'.

[45]   Christopher Burlinson, 'The Use and Re-Ue of Early Seventeenth-Century Student Notebooks: Inside and Outside the University', *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture, 1580-1730: Texts and Social Practices*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 229-45, p. 231. Holdsworth is believed to have devised Plume's curriculum at Cambridge (Doe, 'The Churchmanship of Thomas Plume', p. 21).

special occasions, perhaps as gifts: one example of this is a book with decorated

pasteboards, which he used as a grammar.[46] The remainder of Boreman's bound

notebooks represent a more permanent and formal record of his writing than

those which remain unbound, as can be seen in the pre-publication version of his

text 'Antidote Against Swearing' and the related sermon 'Sweare Not', which

formed earlier versions of a text that appeared in print in 1662.[47] The bound form

of these notebooks present a sense of being more complete and polished

compared with the draft nature of the unbound texts.

4.2.3   Dr Edward Hyde

In contrast to the note-taking methods of both Thomas Plume and Robert

Boreman, most of Edward Hyde's writings are contained within bound

notebooks. There are only three unbound sermons, together with a dis-bound

Exposition on Psalm 25, which had been split up at a later date into individual

sermons.[48] Dr Hyde's practice was to utilise all available space on the page using

very small handwriting, however, there are numerous blank pages in his

notebooks suggesting that he was not short of paper, but instead filled the pages

in an economical manner. Edward Hyde wrote fifty-three of the manuscripts

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[46]   Maldon, TPL, MA0091, 'Figurae Graece et Latine'.

[47]   Maldon, TPL, MA0024, 'An antidote against swearing'; Maldon, TPL, MA0030, 'Sweare not...'.
        Robert Boreman, *An antidote against swearing To which is annexed an appendix concerning
        an assertory and promissory oath in reference to the statutes of the two now flourishing sister
        universities. Also a short catalogue of some remarkable judgments from God upon
        blasphemers, &c. By R Boreman, D.D. and Fellow of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge* (London:
        printed for R. Royston, bookseller to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, at the Angel in Ivy-
        Lane, 1662).

[48]   Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.34 'What is determined in Gods', Maldon, TPL, MA0111 E.35 'Sermon
        on St. Jo. 14.23', Maldon, TPL, MA0111 E.36 'Sermon on Gen. 6.5.7', and Maldon, TPL, MA0112,
        Bundle F, Nos 1-24.

preserved in the Library, comprising: reading notes, sermons, papers of mixed content type, as well as his exposition on Psalm 25. In contrast to Plume, only five of these documents were completely in English, six were in Latin and the remainder in a mixture of Latin, English, Greek and Hebrew. The time-span of the documents ranges from 1629 to 1657, just before his death in 1659. Hyde's handwriting was consistently clear, notwithstanding that it was tightly packed onto the page, and did not significantly change over time. The examples of these three authors' handwriting can be seen in Figure 7 to Figure 12 below.
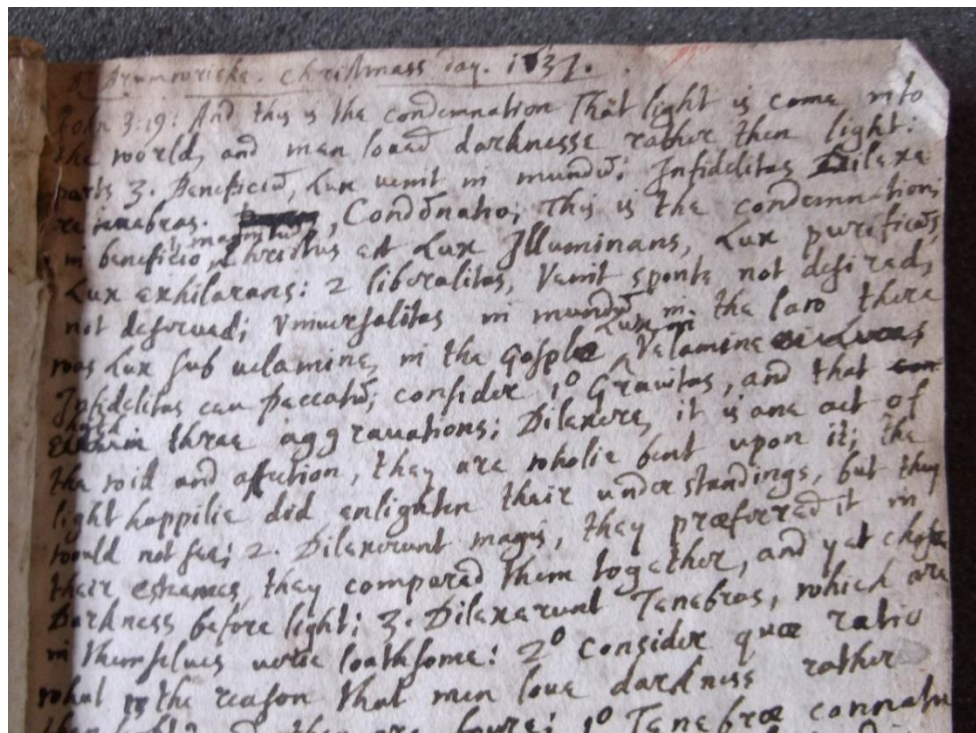
Figure 7: Example of Edward Hyde's handwriting in 1637 from MA0067
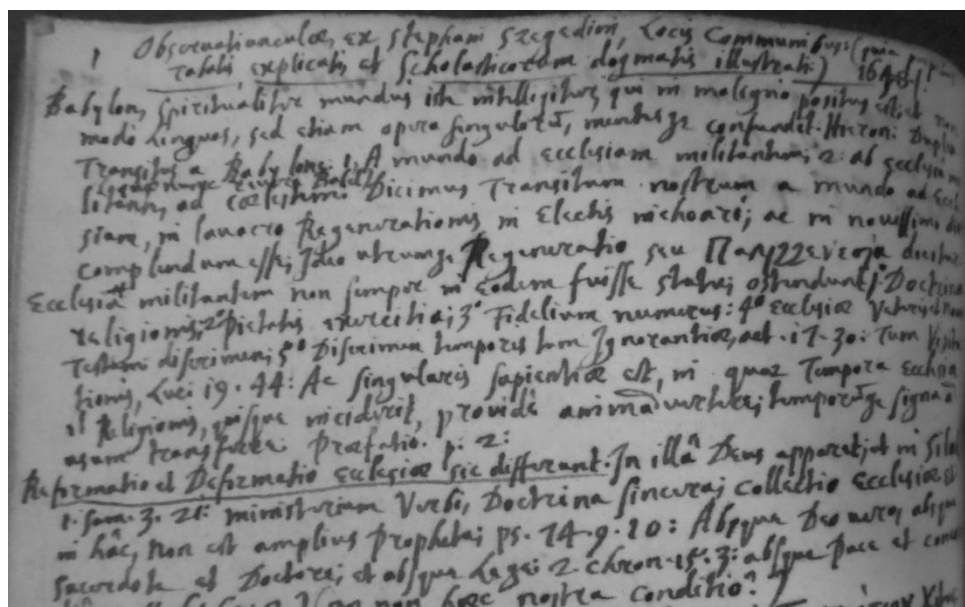
Figure 8: Example of Edward Hyde's handwriting in 1648 from MA0055

Figure 9: Example of Robert Boreman's handwriting in 1646, from MA0024

Figure 10: Example of Robert Boreman's handwriting in 1674/5, from MA0113, G.11

Figure 11: Thomas Plume's early handwriting from MA0096

Figure 12: Example of Thomas Plume's handwriting in 1697, from MA0109, C.39

4.2.4   Other authors not conclusively identified

MA0114, also known as 'Bundle H', comprises sixty-nine loose leaf sermons ascribed to a clergyman named Robert Browne, as discussed in Chapter 1. This attribution is derived from an address label from his father, Anthony Browne, forming part of the paper used for one of the sermons (see Figure 13). Andrew Clark suggested that the Robert Browne who received the MA degree from Magdalen College, Oxford, would fit the dates of the sermons (although no dates seem to appear in the sermon notes themselves).[49] However, two further clergymen named Robert Browne were known to have been operating in Kent: one who was vicar of Selling or 'Sellynge' in the 1540s, and another (rather long-lived) Robert Browne (1577-1675) who was rector of Stapleford, and these could be possible candidates for authorship.[50]

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[49]   Clark, 'MS papers', p. 32. The *Alumni Oxonienses* does not place this Robert Browne in Kent.

[50]   See Venn I, and Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID: 39422, http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/.
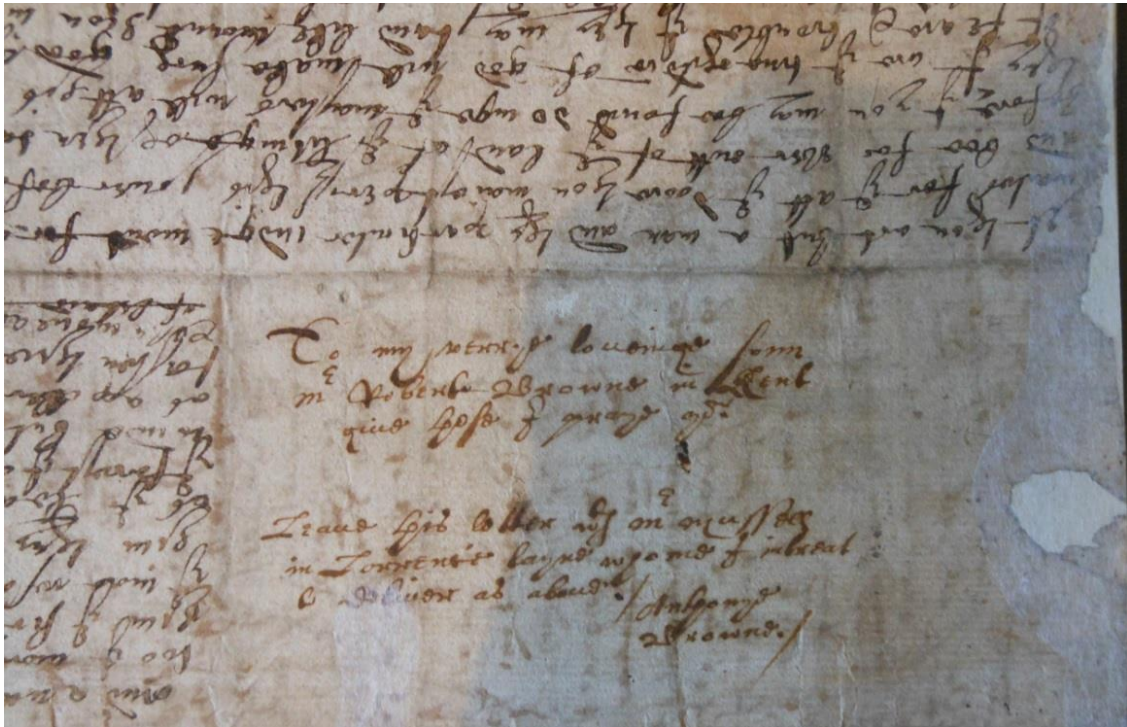
Figure 13: Address label in MA0114, H.25

Although Plume emerged as a royalist supporter following his time at university,
he also owned notebooks clearly written by a non-conformist preacher and
supporter of Parliament during the Civil Wars. In each of the notebooks the
preacher at Eythorne in Kent inserted his own indexes on the penultimate page
and back pastedown to show when, and where, he had delivered each sermon,
and it can be seen from these indexes that he also preached in the nearby
parishes of Tilmanstone and Norborne.[51] Plume also created his own index in
'The Third Booke' and made some annotations on another page, which shows
that he also found the contents of that particular book to be useful.[52] Plume's

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[51]   Maldon, TPL, MA0026, 'The Sixt Book'; Maldon, TPL, MA0036, 'The Seventh Booke'; and
       Maldon, TPL, MA0039, 'The Third Booke'.

[52]   MA0039, f. 1v and penultimate folio.

index refers to the biblical texts used by the Eythorne preacher in the

composition of his sermons.[53] Perhaps this suggests that Plume's interest was in

the scriptural references rather than political content of the sermons. However,

although, Plume owned twenty-four printed thanksgiving sermons in support of,

or issued by, the monarchy, three further printed sermons he owned were issued

by Parliament, giving thanks for Parliamentarian victories.[54] As mentioned in

Chapter 1, Plume owned books which represented all sides of religious debates,

and this practice was not at all unusual during the period, but the ownership of

these printed Parliamentarian sermons seems harder to reconcile with Plume's

royalist stance, because they stand directly against the king, rather than against a

theoretical position on church practice or scriptural meaning to be debated and

analysed by scholars.[55]

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[53] 'John 8:56, P[salm] 136:5 give thanks to ye L[or]d, Heb. 4:1-2, Heb 11:17 Abr[aham] off[e]red up Is[aac], M[atthew] 5:8 Bl[essed] pure in H[ear]t, L[uke] 36:25 [...] in your life torment, J[ohn] 4:23 K[ee]p ye H[ear]t [...], Exodus 5:1 K[ee]p ye, P[salm] 1-5-1 O give thanks to ye L[or]d & call up[on] h[is] n[ame].'

[54] Richard Vines, *Magnalia Dei ab Aquilone; set forth in a sermon preached before the right honourable the Lords and Commons, at St Margaret's Westminster, upon Thursday Iuly 18, 14644, being the day of publike thanksgiving for the great victory obtained against Prince Rupert and the Earle of Newcastles forces neere Yorke* (London: printed by G[eorge] M[iller] for Abel Roper at the signe of the Sunne over against St Dunstans Church in Fleet-Street, 1644) (Standard No: B04419); Charles Herle, *Davids song of three parts: delivered in a sermon preached before the right Honorable the House of Lords, at the Abby-Church in Westminster, upon the 15. day of June, 1643. Being the day appointed for publike thanksgiving for Gods great deliverance of the Parliament, citie and kingdome, from the late most mischievous conspiracy against all three* (London: printed by T. Brudenell for N.A. and are to be sold at the Angell and Bible in Lumberstreete, 1643) (Standard No: B02961); Stephen Marshall, *The song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lambe: opened in a sermon preached to the Honorable House of Commons, at their late solemne day of thanksgiving, Iune 15. 1643. for the discovery of a dangerous, desperate, and bloudy designe, tending to the utter subversion of the Parliament, and of the famous city of London* (London: printed for Sam: Man and Sam: Gellibrand in Pauls Church-yard, 1643) (Standard No: B02869).

[55] The thanksgiving sermons made by the Eythorne Preacher will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

4.3   **Material form of the manuscripts**

In terms of their material form, the manuscripts appear in a range of sizes. The

largest is 547mm x 212mm and comprises the list of the book values or prices of

books belonging to the bishop of Ely dating from the late seventeenth century.[56]

The latest published book listed in this manuscript is the 1682 edition of 'Cyprian

Opera', which Plume also owned.[57] Taking into account the date of this last book

and the date of Plume's death in 1704, there are two possible candidates for the

identity of the bishop whose books are referred to. Peter Gunning (1614-84),

bishop of Ely 1675-84, and Francis Turner (1637-1700) who followed him in office

during 1684-91.[58] Plume owned printed books written by both bishops.[59] David

Pearson's research suggests that the list represents books from Gunning's library

[56]   Maldon, TPL, MA0006, 'List of books with prices from the sale of bishop of Ely?

[57]   Saint Cyprian, bishop of Cathage, *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani Opera recognita & illustrata per Joannem Oxoniensem episcopum ; accedunt Annales Cyprianici, sive, Tredecim annorum; quibus S. Cyprianus inter Christianos versatus est, brevis historia chronologice delineata per Joannem Cestriensem* (Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1682).

[58]   Evelyn Lord, 'Bishops of Ely, 1667-1748' in *Ely, Bishops and Diocese 1109-2009*, ed. by Peter Meadows (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2010), pp. 210-32, p. 210.

[59]   Peter Gunning, *The Paschal or Lent-Fast; apostolical & perpetual. At first deliver'd in a sermon preached before His Majesty in Lent, and since enlarged [...]* (London: printed by R. Norton for Timothy Garthwait, 1662) (Standard No: B04227); Peter Gunning, *A contention for truth: in two several publique disputations* [...] (London: Printed by J. Moxon, for Francis Smith, and are to be sold at his shop, in Flying Horse Court in Fleet-street, neer Chancery Lane end. And by John Sweeting, at the signe of the Angel, in Popes head Alley, 1658) (Standard No: B05910); Francis Turner, *A sermon preached before their Majesties K. James II. and Q. Mary, at their coronation in Westminster-Abby, April 23. 1685 [...]* (London: printed for Robert Clavell, at the Peacock in St. Pauls Church-Yard, 1685) (Standard No: B03138); Francis Turner, *A sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen; at Guild-Hall Chappel on the 7th of May 1682. By Francis Turner, D.D.* (London: printed by J. Macock, for R. Royston, bookseller to His most sacred Majesty, 1682) (Standard No: B02975); Francis Turner, *A sermon preached before the King on the 30/1 of January 1680/1* (London: printed by J. Macock, for R. Royston, bookseller to His most sacred Majesty, 1681) (Standard No: B03764); Francis Turner, *A sermon preached before the King; at White-Hall, November 5. 1684. By Francis Lord Bishop of Ely, and almoner to His Majesty* (London: printed for Benj. Tooke, at the ship in S. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCLXXXV. [1685]) (Standard No: B02985).

left to St John's College which were duplicates to be sold.[60]

The smallest notebook in the collection at 131mm x 79mm, 'signed T Pindarus' on the pastedown, is bound in calf over pasteboards with a gold border, and contains reading notes on the subjects of the Vision of Cyrus, the Scythians, the Amazonians, and Plutarch's Life of Theseus.[61] There was a Thomas Pindar, rector of Weston in Suffolk in 1543, who could have been the original owner or scribe.[62] Apart from these, the majority of the notebooks and papers are around 140mm-160mm tall and 98mm-120mm wide, making them pocket-sized and transportable. During the early seventeenth century, once writing paper had been folded in two, pages were approximate 300mm by 200mm, indicating that many of the manuscripts in the Plume collection are on the small side.[63] At that time most the paper in use in England came from France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland, although there had been a paper-mill in Dartford from c.1585.[64] The material form of manuscripts can indicate how they were used, and finding evidence for authorship can help to show how the manuscripts came into Plume's possession. However, there is a third aspect which helps to demonstrate how and why Plume had the document, and that is the type of content they contained.

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[60]   Publication pending. I am grateful to David Pearson for this information.

[61]   Maldon, TPL, MA0090, 'Herculis in Hispania, Notes, letters etc'.

[62]   Alfred Suckling, 'Weston', *The History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk*: volume 1 (1846), pp. 97-101.

[63]   W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, France, England etc. in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co, 1935), p. 42.

[64]   Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper,* p. 40.

4.4   **Genre**

There are five main categories of content found in the manuscripts: sermons; treatises; reading notes; miscellanies and common-placing; and household items (including correspondence). The categorisation of manuscript items can be problematic when they were started for one reason and then reused for another. As discussed in Chapter 2, in most cases the original use – if that can be established – has been used here to determine the category.

4.4.1   Sermons

Two-thirds of the whole collection can be considered under an umbrella category of 'Sermons', which comprise three distinct types of document. The first is a record of the sermons which a note-taker heard being preached and these examples range from simply a few words on the theme or structure of the sermon to a more extensive transcription. The second comprises drafts of future sermons, and either includes details taken from scripture from which to base the theme of the sermon, or represented what Clark referred to as 'pulpit notes, such as divines placed on their pulpit-cushion to aid memory'.[65] The third type in this category is completed sermons: polished texts to be read verbatim or intended for publication.

Discerning the difference between sermons *preached* by the writer from sermons *heard* by the writer can be problematic. An obvious indication that the sermons were heard rather than composed is the presence of a preacher's name at the

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[65]   Clark, 'Plume MS papers', p. 30.

beginning of the notes. A good example is the notebook containing notes from sermons attended by Edward Hyde in Cambridge, where he records the speaker and their college affiliation, for example: 'Mr Nailer of Sidney' and 'Mr Duncan of Pembroke'.[66] Another (though less reliable) indicator is the appearance of the handwriting: an extensive transcription at the time of the sermon could result in poor legibility due to the speed with which the notes were taken. The messy handwriting found in one notebook prompted a later reader to write in the front that he thought the content 'seems to be notes taken fro[m] Dr Baylye, as they were preaching.'[67] This indicates that the original note-taker had been present at the preaching of the sermons and had made his record of them during the event. Sermons delivered by the author, in contrast to those heard, can be identified through a date and place being inserted *after* the text. A good example in the collection of sermons preached by the author are those set out in the notebook written by Robert Joyner, vicar of Chew Magna and Dundry in Somerset from 1643-7, mentioned earlier in this chapter, who gave sermons in both Somerset and London.[68]

Completed sermons intended for publication represents another form of this genre. In contrast, Robert Boreman kept manuscript pre-printer versions of certain of his publications. He drafted one such treatise in 1648 'intended first for ye pulpitt and now cast into a continued treatise', and published it in print as *An*

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[66]   Maldon, TPL, MA0093, 'Assorted notes in English and Greek/Contemplations of mine own'.

[67]   Maldon, TPL, MA0053, 'Nil esto triste recepto'. This notebook will be discussed further later in the chapter.

[68]   Foster, 'Jablonski-Juxston'; MA0069.

Antidote Against Sweareing in 1662.[69] Boreman's sermon 'Sweare not', which is

discussed in Chapter 9 in relation to its eventual publication as a treatise, is

another example of a complete, polished sermon.[70] Although the sermon

category is the largest, making up 65% of the items, the remaining genres of

manuscript can be particularly revealing in terms of their writers' interests.

4.4.2   Treatises

Religious writing was often addressed to specific religious communities and

aimed to strengthen an existing communal identity.[71] Lay readers were keen to

read expositions written by professional clergymen that interpreted doctrine and

provided references to further readings to enhance their understanding.[72] Several

manuscripts in the collection comprise drafts of tracts, treatises, expositions and

commentaries, some of which later appeared in printed form. For example,

Robert Boreman published a treatise in favour of tithes, *The Country-man's*

Catechisme, in 1651, an earlier manuscript version of which appears in the

collection.[73] This manuscript includes many erasures, and it is likely it would

have needed to be written out again in fair copy in order to be passed by the

licenser and for the use of the compositor.[74] The fair copy manuscript does not

appear in the collection but it is known to have existed since it represents the

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[69]   MA0024; Boreman, *An antidote against swearing.*

[70]   MA0030.

[71]   Roger D. Sell and Anthony W. Johnson, *Writing & Religion in England 1558-1689: Studies in Community-Making and Cultural Memory* (Abingdon, Oxon: Ashgate, 2013), p. 1.

[72]   Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers,* pp. 22-23.

[73]   MA0113, G.19 'A treatise on tithes dated 1648'; Boreman, *The country-mans catechisme.*

[74]   R. B. McKerrow, 'The Relationship of English Printed Books to Authors' Manuscripts during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The 1928 Sandars Lectures' ed. by Carlo M Bajetta, *Studies in Bibliography* (2000), 1-65, p. 26.

missing link between the first draft and the printed sermon. This issue of missing

manuscripts, which was raised in Chapter 2 will be discussed further in Chapter

9.

Another manuscript exposition existing in two parts in the collection, written by

an unknown author, is entitled 'The brief meaning or sum[m]arie exposition of

the Apocalypse'.[75] The illustration in representing the Four Monarchies is taken

from a drawing in the margin of this manuscript (see Figure 15).[76] The theme of

apocalypse is also present in Robert Boreman's Latin verses on Nebuchadnezzar's

vision.[77] Warren Johnston argues that, although apocalyptic ideas had been used

by radical factions during the Civil Wars to justify their opposition of the

monarchy, during the Restoration Anglicans also used these ideas politically in

favour of monarchy and episcopacy.[78] This is significant for the collection in that

it embodies one of the ideological concerns reflected in the whole collection of

manuscripts. Henry More (1614-1687), a fellow at Christ's College, Cambridge at

the time Plume was a student there, wrote extensively on the apocalypse post-

Restoration, and Thomas Plume had a number of his books on this and other

subjects.[79]

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[75]   MA0111, E.26 and MA0113, G.12.

[76]   MA0113, G.12, f. 2v.

[77]   Maldon, TPL, MA0113, G.4, 'Copy of Latin verses on Nebuchadnezzer 1st vision'.

[78]   Warren Johnston, 'The Anglican Apocalypse in Restoration England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (2004), 467-501, p. 469.

[79]   See J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantbrigiensis*, Part 1 to 1751, Vol. IV Kaile-Ryves.

Figure 14: Four Monarchies drawing in MA0113, G.12

Another draft treatise in the collection, later published by Lancelot Andrewes

(1555-1626) as *A summarie view of the government both of the old and new*

testament, is present in Plume's manuscripts in another person's hand.[80] The

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[80]   Lancelot Andrewes, *A summarie view of the government both of the old and new testament whereby the episcopall government of Christs church is vindicated out of the rude draughts of Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester: whereunto is prefixed (as a preamble to the whole) a discovery of the causes of the continuance of these contentions touching church-government out of the fragments of Richard Hooker* (Oxford: Printed by Leon Lichfield, 1641).

signature of 'John Simpson' and the date '1640' appear at the end of the document, whilst the first page states that the document is 'the copie of Bp And. work as he left it'.[81] This notation indicates that it was copied from one of bishop Lancelot Andrewes' own manuscripts prior to the text going to print in 1641. The handwriting in both the signature and the accounts corresponds precisely with the style of lettering in the main body of text, suggesting that John Simpson was the scribe who copied the work. The curate for St Mary's Church in Maldon during c.1619-1642 was named John Simpson, but there were other clergymen of the same name operating in London who could have equally have been the author.[82]

4.4.3   Reading notes

The breadth of subjects of interest to seventeenth-century clergymen is indicated by the notebooks containing reading notes. The genres of reading include: history, from Greek historians Xenophon and Plutarch, read by the Eythorne preacher and an unknown scribe, possibly Thomas Pindar whose signature appears in the manuscript; via Renaissance historians Francesco Guicciardini and Paulo Sarpi, read by Boreman and Plume; to more recent histories from authors such as William Dugdale, William Camden, and the Earl of Clarendon, also read by Plume.[83] Another sixteenth-century Italian protestant author, Girolamo Zanchi (1516-1590), was also popular; records of three readings of his work exist,

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[81]   MA0113, G.1, f. 1r.

[82]   Petchey, *A Prospect of Maldon,* p. 233.

[83]   MA0090; MA0048; Maldon, TPL, MA0106, 'Notes out of Guicciardin collected in ye yeare 1646'; MA0111, E.20; MA0029; MA0050; MA0054; MA0072.

by Boreman, Hyde, and by an unknown scribe; Plume also owned a printed book by Zanchi.[84] Plume read political philosophy in Hobbes' *Leviathan* and Descartes' *Opera Philosophica*, and *Natural Philosophy* by Robert Boyle.[85] Edward Hyde read Joseph Justus Scaliger's *De Emendatione* and *Chronicle of Eusebius*, and Plume read the notes that an unknown scribe had made on another work by Scaliger regarding *De intelligentiis*.[86]

Also present are notes on reading from books on astrology and astronomy by Tomasso Campanella and Pierre Gassendi; these authors were read by Hyde, Boreman and Plume.[87] Aristotle was read by many of the note takers: Boreman, Hyde, Justinian Whitter and two unknown scribes. They were interested in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, noting down his vocabulary, metaphysical terms, his 'categories' and his writings on behaviour, politics, the soul, cosmology, birth and death, and the history of animals.[88] Cicero's speeches were read by Hyde and two unknown scribes (signatures of R Groome and Thomas Beconus are present), in particular *Pro Quinctio* and *Pro Roscio Amerino*.[89] These classical authors were

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[84]   Maldon, TPL, MA0041, 'Latin notes with an index'; Maldon, TPL, MA0042, 'Ex Libri D Hieronymi Zanchii (De operibus Dei intra spacum ed)'; Maldon, TPL, MA0111 E.22, 'Tractate de malis angelis from H Zanchius'; Girolamo Zanchi, *Clariss. viri D. Hier. Zanchii Omnium operum theologicorum tomi octo [...]* (Geneva: Ex typographia Samuelis Crispini., M.DCXIX), (Standard No: B05690).

[85]   MA0029; MA0050; MA0007; MA0054.

[86]   Maldon, TPL, MA0055, 'De quinto et septimo libro'; Maldon, TPL, MA0071, 'General notes and zodiacal diagrams'.

[87]   MA0055; Maldon, TPL, MA0113, G.10, 'Latin notes on various themes'; MA0072.

[88]   Maldon, TPL, MA0027, 'Greek manuscript'; Maldon, TPL, MA0009, 'Phrases et sententice'; Maldon, TPL, MA0097, 'Liber secondus: De propositione'; Maldon, TPL, MA0057, 'Aqua, Fons, et Vocabulary'; Maldon, TPL, MA0087, 'Annotationes Logicae'; Maldon, TPL, MA0068, 'Assorted notes 1619'; Maldon, TPL, MA0077, 'Notes followed by a copy of Speculum Mundi'; Maldon, TPL, MA0105, 'Ecomiastica: quas quid habend veneras vererum'.

[89]   Maldon, TPL, MA0031, 'Various Latin notes include an index'; MA0009.

read side-by-side with Doctors of the Church, such as Thomas Aquinas who was read by Hyde and Whitter, and early Church Fathers such as Theodoret and Chrysostom read by both Hyde and Boreman.[90]

There are two references to the reading of contemporary drama: Plume read Ben Jonson's *Everyman in his Humour* and copied out a few verses, and Hyde read 'Mr Randolphs Comaedie called the Jealous Lovers Aug 6. 1632'.[91] There is a connection between these readings, since Thomas Randolph was a contemporary of Edward Hyde at Westminster School and Trinity, and became part of Ben Jonson's circle of followers.[92] Plume owned another comedy by Randolph, and a copy of the works of Ben Jonson.[93] John Hacket also had a connection to Ben Jonson through their collaboration in the translation of Francis Bacon's work *Advancement of Learning* into Latin.[94] These reading subjects illustrate the broad spectrum of learning available to scholars during the university years and beyond. The readings of contemporary texts – in some cases shortly after they were published – show the continued scholarly engagement of these manuscript

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[90]   MA0041; Maldon, TPL, MA0089, 'Peculiares quadas annotation: culae ex summa Thomae'; MA0068; Maldon, TPL, MA0011, 'Notae ex Theodoreti libro'; Maldon, TPL, MA0040, 'Notes in Latin and Greek'; Maldon, TPL, MA0018, 'Notae ex Chystomi orationibus in Genesis'; Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.16, 'Collections from Chrysostom on Genisis 1648'.

[91]   Maldon, TPL, MA0095, 'Dictata variis modis in Latinum sermonum versa'; Maldon, TPL, MA0016, 'Liturae Anno Domin 1629'.

[92]   W. H. Kelliher, 'Randolph, Thomas (bap. 1605, d. 1635)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[93]   Thomas Randolph, *Cornelianum dolium; Comœdia lepidissima, optimorum judiciis approbata, & theatrali coryphœo, nec immeritò, donata, palma chorali apprimè digna. Auctore, T.R. ingeniosissimo hujus œvi heliconio* (Londini : Apud Tho. Harperum. Et væneunt per Tho. Slaterum, & Laurentium Chapman, 1638), (Standard No: B00694); Jonson, *The workes of Benjamin Jonson.*

[94]   Francis Bacon, *Baconiana, or, Certain genuine remains of Sr. Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St. Albans in arguments civil and moral, natural, medical, theological, and bibliographical* (London: JD for Richard Chiswell, 1679), p. 60.

writers in the political, religious, and cultural developments of the time.

4.4.4   Miscellanies and common-placing

Notebook miscellanies were common during the early modern period.[95] They could be created by one author to record more than one type of content; alternatively the notebook could become a miscellany when a subsequent owner added information of a different genre. One of Plume's own notebooks contains a 'Recipe for Infection or Sickness' and parish accounts paid and unpaid, next to notes from the Psalms, Paul's Epistles and Church synods, and a reference to genealogy.[96] A further example is Plume's notebook used to record sermons he had heard together with Greek vocabulary.[97] Edward Hyde started a notebook to record or draft letters to his brothers Thomas and Henry but, following a section of blank pages, inserted a series of entries headed 'Carmina' (poems) and later on inscribed notes of the play by Randolph discussed above.[98]

It could be argued that useful information such as those items contained in the examples above was not meant to be segregated into different places, but formed a complementary body of knowledge for the author to draw on in one place. This is particularly likely in the case of Thomas Plume's notebook, which he completed whilst at grammar school, where Greek vocabulary found a common ground with sermons in the language of the New Testament. Plume referred to

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[95]   See *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England,* ed. by Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith (Abingdon, Oxon: Ashgate, 2014).

[96]   Maldon, TPL, MA0070, 'Sermon notes, accounts and general notes'.

[97]   MA0096.

[98]   MA0016.

the university workbooks long after he had completed formal education, for example, there are annotations in Plume's hand in the book previously owned by Edward Hyde, which he would have received as late as 1675.[99]

4.4.5   Household and accounts

In other cases, however, household information such as correspondence, recipes and accounts, could have been incorporated into a notebook or document merely in lieu of other writing space being available. This seems to be the case where the manuscript was started by one person and then the available space on the page is re-used by another person. For example, where Thomas Plume drafted a letter on the back of one of Robert Boreman's verses, and where Robert Browne re-used a piece of paper addressed to him by his father to write a sermon, as shown in Figure 9.[100] In some instances the appearance of different genres of writing in a manuscript seems merely arbitrary and at other times deliberate, but in most cases their presence is apparent from the material form of the text. Therefore the content in which Thomas Plume was more concerned with - the clergy scholarship - was sometimes joined by more random or unrelated information, which he would not necessarily otherwise have kept.

In terms of single items and fragments, however, one example of a household item Plume kept was a recipe, catalogued as being for brewing but, judging by the ingredients it could be a form of purging medicine instead: '4 oz senna, 2 oz

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[99]   MA0009.

[100]   Maldon, TPL, MA0113, G.3, 'Copy of Latin verses on Psalm 49.20, draft letter by Plume on back alluding to theft by some woman of my keys and my will'. Maldon, TPL, MA0114, H.25, 'The second use of'.

Rhubarb, 2 oz Polipody, 4 oz of Seeds, 1 oz Epithenam. Putt them into foure

gallons new Ale; before it hath done workeing in a droastring bag'.[101] Another

tantalising fragment reminds the author to 'Enquire of Dr Plume of the Errata let

it bee sent up with'.[102] There are also several items of correspondence, one

example being letter from George Gifford (d. 1686), 'Gresham professor of divinity

in 1661 and president of Sion College in 1677' and grandson of George Gifford

(1547/8–1600), curate of the united parishes of All Saints and St Peter, Maldon in

1578.[103] Gifford wrote to Plume:

> 'I met Mr Kent yesterday who tould me your journey was put of & that you
> Intended to come this way today. I have sent that if you could, I might
> hasten your coming; because my father is in London & hath a great desire
> to speake with you, but by reason of his shortnes of time in towne, cant
> possibly come so far. You would doe him & mee a great favour if you could
> possibly meet him at my house at dinner a little after 12 a clock. Pray send
> word If you can come. Your Assured friend G. Gifford.'[104]

George Gifford was rector of St Dunstan's-in-the-East, and this letter indicates

that Plume was planning to travel into the area near London Bridge on business.

On the reverse Plume had drafted a reply regretfully declining the request. Why

did Plume keep this particular letter for so many years after it had served its

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[101]   Maldon, TPL, MA0109, C.14 'A recipe for brewing'. Culpepper's Complete Herbal says that
         Polypody 'by itself it is a very mild and useful purge; but being very slow, it is generally mixed
         by infusion or decoction with other purging ingredients'; http://www.complete-
         herbal.com/culpepper/polypody.htm [accessed 4 June 2016]. Epithemum was also a purge for
         '... black or burnt choler, ... purging the veins of the choleric and phlegmatic humours';
         http://www.complete-herbal.com/culpepper/dodder.htm [accessed 4 June 2016].

[102]   Maldon, TPL, MA0109, C.40, 'Enquire of Dr Plume'.

[103]   Brett Usher, 'Gifford, George (1547/8–1600)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[104]   Maldon, TPL, MA0110, D.38 'A letter asking a friend to meet his Father [London]'.

purpose, amongst all the other correspondence he must have received and destroyed? Was it in memory of George or his father? The household items generally do not have a practical value for the clergyman's role in the same way as sermons and reading notes might, but in many cases were saved accidentally because they had been re-used for another purpose such as a page marker.[105] To try to understand why Plume might have kept these papers, therefore, it would be useful to know how he acquired the manuscripts.

4.5   **How Plume acquired the notebooks and papers**

There were two main ways in which Thomas Plume acquired the manuscripts: friendship gift and family inheritance, although it is also possible that Plume could have bought some of them second-hand. There is also evidence that other individuals whose work appears in the collection acquired manuscripts in the same manner, and a system of pro-active collection, as opposed to mere accumulation, emerges from these transactions. Similarly, there is a sense of a baton being passed from one user to the next with the former's death - or the recognition of its approach - as the catalyst. As discussed in the Introduction, this type of transmission contrasts with the usual picture of a republic of letters, or the circulation of texts between readers and writers who worked together to produce texts during their lifetimes. The way in which families passed completed manuscripts through generations is mirrored in the gifting of blank notebooks, with many of the examples of such gifts seeming to have been between brothers. There is also a relationship between the printed books and the manuscripts:

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[105]   This aspect is discussed further in Chapter 9.

although it has not been possible to prove that Robert Boreman gave Plume his

books in addition to his handwritten texts, there is a precedent for this in Plume's

acquisition of Justinian Whitter's books and notebooks as will be discussed in

Chapter 9.

The maps in Figure 15 and Figure 16 show the locations where the authors

originally created the manuscripts and the sphere of geographical space within

which they circulated. This is significant since the first map demonstrates the

wide-ranging scope of Plume's network across the south and east of England. The

'heat map' showing the numbers of texts produced in each region emphasises

that the main centres of scholarship were London, Oxford, Cambridge and

Rochester. It should be noted that the heat map shows the centre of each 'region'

in which the manuscripts originated, choosing, for example, Taunton as the

centre of the south west region, between the two points shown on the first map.

The maps do not represent all of the manuscripts in the collection, since many do

not have a discernible location, and the software itself selects the location of the

places and regions on the map. However, the maps provide an effective (although

simple) visual representation of the range and concentration of the origins of

items in the collection.

Figure 15: Map of locations showing origins of manuscripts
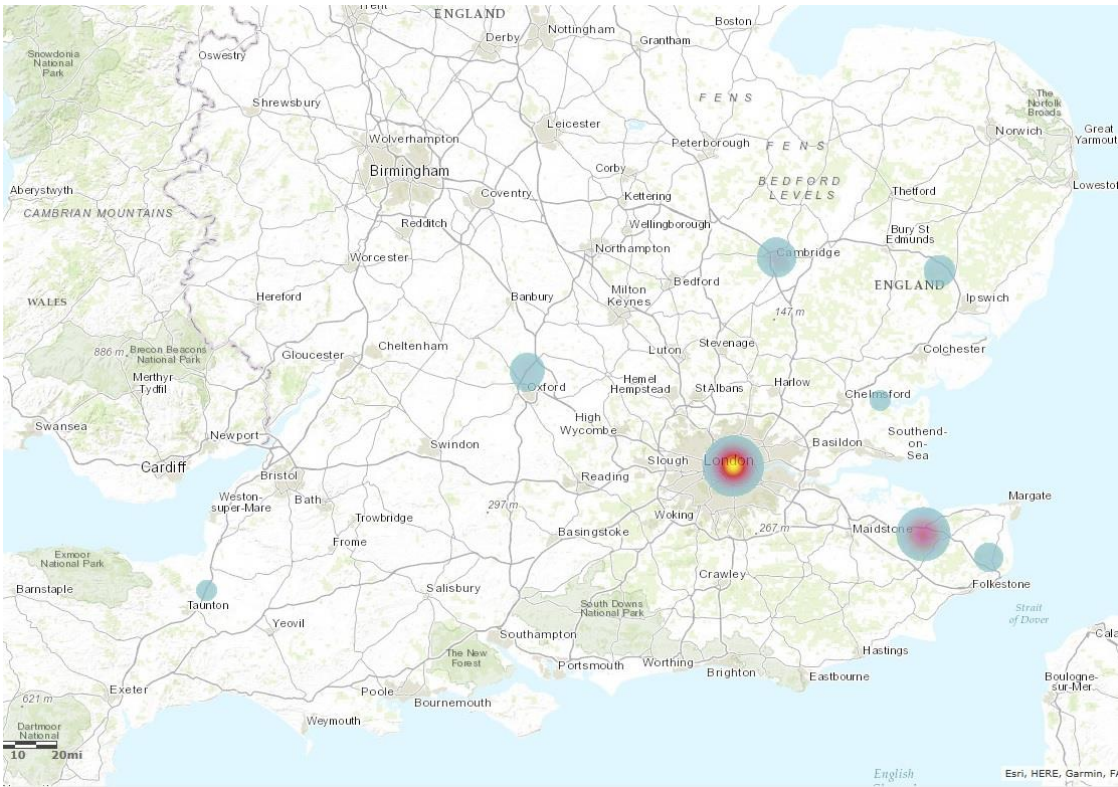
Figure 16: Heat map showing concentration of manuscripts produced in each region

4.5.1   Friendship gift

Evidence for the precise timing of Robert Boreman's gift of his own manuscript collection to Thomas Plume can be found in Boreman's account book relating to his time as rector of St-Giles-in-the-Fields in London 1663-75.[106] This particular document is useful because it shows the date when Boreman last used it, thus providing a small timeframe for when Thomas Plume acquired it. The final entry in Boreman's account book is 5-12 October 1675.[107] Boreman's will does not mention his personal library of printed books or manuscripts, but instead confirmed that his brother, Sir William Boreman (c.1612–86), knew how to dispose of any possessions not mentioned specifically in the will.[108] Therefore Boreman would have either given Plume his manuscripts in the month before his death, or asked his brother to pass them to Plume afterwards.

Also at the time of his death Robert Boreman had Edward Hyde's manuscripts in his possession, having kept them for the past sixteen years. Hyde had bequeathed his 'lesser bookes that is to say lesse than Folio' to his nephews, his books in English to his wife and daughters, and had entrusted to Boreman his 'paper books': in other words his manuscript notebooks.[109] In addition, the family were to keep Hyde's loose papers for one year before deciding whether to burn them, on the advice of Dr Hinchman 'or as Mr Robert Boreman (Chaplain to the

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[106]   MA0002.

[107]   MA0002, f. 18v.

[108]   Will of Robert Boreman, lines 54-56.

[109]   Will of Edward Hyde, lines 26-28.

Marquis of Hertford) shall desire'.[110] During the 1650s the Marquis of Hertford,

William Seymour, was living in Wiltshire, which means that Hyde and Boreman

would have been resident in the same area with opportunities to meet in

person.[111] Slips of paper in Boreman's hand inserted into two of Hyde's notebooks

show that Boreman not only read Hyde's sermons, but his other 'paper books' as

well (Figure 17).[112] Three years following Hyde's death, Robert Boreman published

The True Catholick's Tenure in Hyde's name, which contained a second title

Allegiance and Conscience not Fled out of England, comprising sermons Hyde had

preached in 1649.[113]

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[110]   Will of Edward Hyde, lines 29-32.

[111]   David L. Smith, 'Seymour, William, first Marquis of Hertford and second duke of Somerset (1587–1660)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[112]   Maldon, TPL, MA0008, 'Practical observations out of the Old Testament', and MA0044.

[113]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*. To be discussed in Chapter 8.
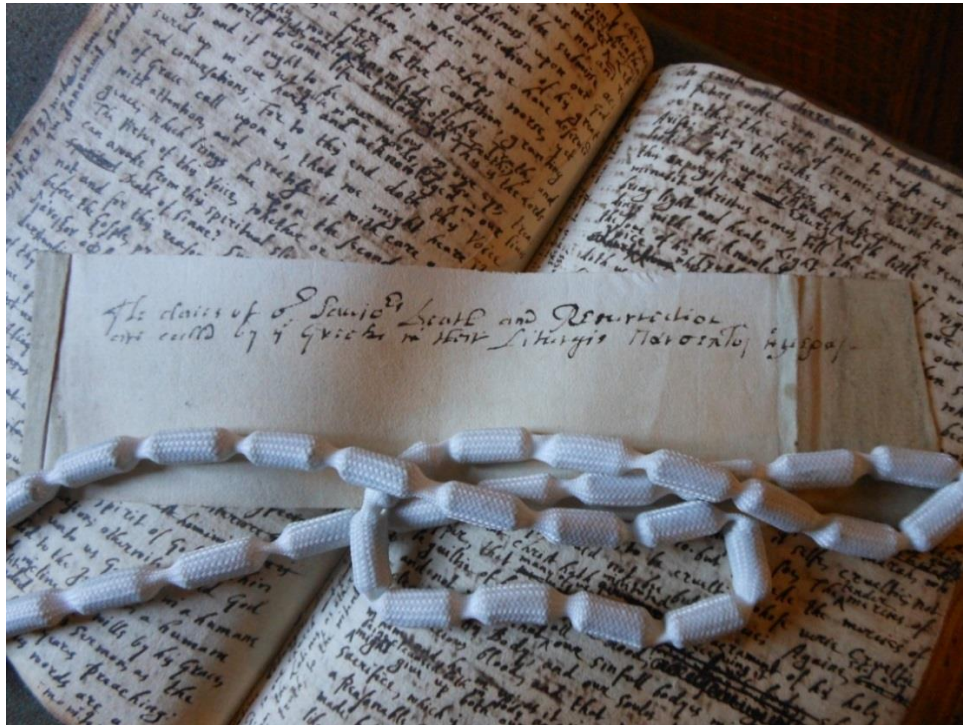
Figure 17: Robert Boreman's note in Edward Hyde's notebook from MA0044

Eight manuscripts and at least three books were acquired through friendship gift

from Justinian Whitter (d.1649). Whitter was educated at Emmanuel College,

Cambridge, matriculated in 1618, and was awarded BA in 1621/2, MA in 1625, was

ordained in 1627/7, and received BD in 1633.[114] Whitter's will stated that 'Tho.

Plumme of Yeldam' was to be one of the executors in the event of his wife Mary

either remarrying, or dying before the full execution of his will had taken place.[115]

Whitter did not specifically mention his books and manuscripts, but they would

have been included under 'the rest of any monie and goods' which he left to Mary

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[114]   Venn, I.

[115]   Bury Archive, Suffolk Record Office, IC500/1/106/21, Will of Justinian Whitter, 1648, line 32.

Whitter. In order to reach Dr Plume, it is possible therefore that they were passed to him through Thomas Plume senior having involvement with Whitter's will.[116]

4.5.2   Family inheritance

One of Plume's own notebooks contains the name John Plume and the date 1636 on the cover.[117] The most likely owner of this book was Dr Plume's half-brother, a few years older and probably only a teenager at his death.[118] John Plume's work involved arithmetic and calculations, and this may reflect his training as a merchant. The table at the start of John's notes is described as serving 'to reckon anie number', and he produced further pages on the addition of money and weights.[119] Thomas Plume would have been six years' old at the time of John's death, meaning that the book would have been kept for him until he was old enough to make use of it.

Thomas Plume started making use of John's notebook two years into his time at university, since his initial inscription reads: June 27/1648.[120] He continued using the notebook for arithmetic and calculations, for example, he noted calculations for amounts of rye, wheat, barley and oats.[121] He did this through posing questions to be answered, such as: 'So yt now say if 120 bushels cost 280 shillings,

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[116]   Will of Justinian Whitter, line 19. Whitter's notebooks will be discussed in section 9.2.

[117]   MA0007.

[118]   With thanks to J. R. Smith for providing this information.

[119]   MA007, f. 2r.

[120]   MA0007, f. 1v.

[121]   MA0007, f. 18v.

what will one bushel cost?'[122] At a later date Plume again wrote in this notebook,

recording his reading of Descartes' *Meditations on first philosophy*.[123] Plume

owned the 1654 edition of Descartes' *Meditations,* printed in Amsterdam, and the

connection can be made between the reading notes and the book from which

Plume compiled them.[124] There is an inscription on the front pastedown of the

printed book, reading 'Thomas Knight 8 October 1659' and on the back

pastedown '15 October 1660' (presumably when Thomas Knight finished reading

it himself). One candidate for the original owner of this book is a Thomas Knight

who was a scholar at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and a vicar in

Hertfordshire at the end of his life; he died in 1660.[125] The inscription gives the

purchase price as 6s 2d and this has been amended from a previous figure,

perhaps to show the price that Plume paid.[126] Thomas Plume did not always

ascribe a date to his reading, but the last date found in John Plume's notebook is

1688, showing that Thomas had used the notebook intermittently for around

forty years, and on his death it had been in his family's ownership for at least

sixty-eight years. His reading shows his ideological persuasion as well as his

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[122]   MA0007, f. 18v.

[123]   MA0007, f. 49v. (from the front of the notebook. This entry is upside down because it was inserted when the notebook was started again from the back end. If counting from the back the location is f. 121r).

[124]   Renati Des Cartes, *Meditationes de prima philosophia: in quibus dei existentia, & animae humanae à corpore distinctio, demonstrantur. His adjunctae sunt variae objectiones doctorum virorum in istas de Deo & anima demonstrationes; cum responsionibus authoris* (Editio ultima prioribus auctior & emendatior. ed.) (Amstelodami: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium., MDCLIV) (Standard No: B04832).

[125]   Venn, IV.

[126]   A simple Purchasing Power Calculator would say the relative value is £40.35. This answer is obtained by multiplying £0.31 by the percentage increase in the RPI from 1660 to 2013. http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php. The salary of journeyman mason or bricklayer was between two and three shillings per day.

interest in contemporary intellectual thought. This second-hand purchase of the

Descartes' *Meditations* reflects the final way in which Plume may have acquired

some of the manuscript notebooks in his collection.

There are other instances where the notebooks were passed from brother to

brother. One notebook containing a variety of different content is inscribed on

the front pastedown 'Sam: Plume', indicating that it first belonged to Dr Plume's

elder brother Samuel before he used it.[127] This same handwriting appears in the

front part of the notebook noting various lessons in Latin.[128] The other main

authors were also given notebooks by their brothers. John Boreman was one of

Robert Boreman's three brothers, and is referred to in the will of Sir William

Boreman.[129] In a notebook entitled 'Greek Manuscript', which contains Robert

Boreman's notes on Conrad Gessner's *Historia Animalium*, there is a signature of

John Boreman on the front flyleaf, suggesting that it had previously been owned

by him.[130] Such notebooks could also be given as gifts rather than just 'hand-me-

downs'. One of Edward Hyde's notebooks was given to him by his brother

Thomas as a gift, as indicated in the inscription on the front flyleaf: 'Ed Hyde

from THH'.[131]

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[127]   MA0095, front paste down.

[128]   MA0095, f. 1r.

[129]   '... betweene the issue of my brother John, the issue of my brother Edward, the issue of my
        sister Anne Yardley ...', TNA, PROB11/384/89 'Will of Sir William Boreman of East Greenwich,
        Kent', lines 174-5.

[130]   MA0027.

[131]   Maldon, TPL, MA0013, 'Occidit natum genetrix ablita dolorum'.

4.5.3   Second-hand purchase

The final example of how Thomas Plume may have acquired his manuscript

books is by second-hand purchase. Since Plume bought pre-owned printed books

second-hand, as demonstrated in the example of Descartes's *Meditations,* it is

possible that he also bought manuscript books in this way. However, this cannot

be definitively proven, since there is only one manuscript showing a purchase

price (see Figure 18).[132] The notebook is bound in calf with gold ornaments and it

is also possible that it was the blank notebook that was bought for this price,

rather than one which had already been used.[133]
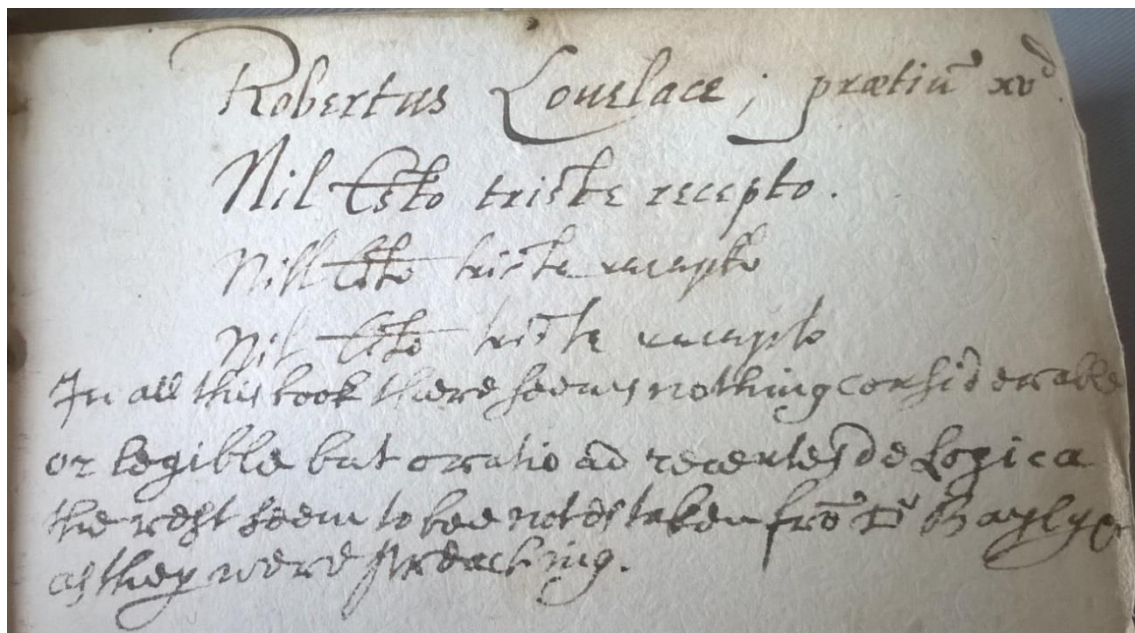
Figure 18: MA0053, front flyleaf

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[132]   MA0053, f. 1r.

[133]   A simple purchasing power calculator indicates the relative value to be £9.21. This answer is
obtained by multiplying £0.06 by the percentage increase in the RPI from 1673 to 2016.
https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php.

The inscription reads:

> 'Robertus Lovelace; praetiu[m] xv pence
> *Nil esto triste recepto*
> *Nil esto triste recepto*
> *Nil esto triste recepto* [nothing will be received with sadness]
> In all this book there seems nothing considerable
> or legible but *oratio ad recentes de logica* [speeches and recent thinking]
> the rest seems to be notes taken from Dr Baylye
> as they were preaching.'[134]

It is likely that Robert Lovelace whose name appears on the first line also wrote the three lines *Nil esto triste recepto.* Two further manuscripts contain this phrase in the same handwriting.[135] However, it is possible that a different writer, who subsequently acquired the book, wrote the second part of the inscription. Although both parts are in black ink, the reason for suggesting that there were two different scribes is the different styles of the letter 'e' in the two sections. There is no apparent connection between Robert Lovelace and Thomas Plume, apart from Lovelace's family was from Kent and Plume became archdeacon of Rochester in 1679.[136] Lovelace was a vicar in Hertfordshire and died in 1673 (no will has been traced).[137] It could be argued that Plume was interested in this content, since he owned other examples of sermon notes taken by auditors. Two individuals named Dr Bayly could be the one referred to: Lewis Bayly (1575-1631) or more likely his son John Bayly (1595-1633), since Plume owned a printed book

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[134]   MA0053, f. 1r.

[135]   Maldon, TPL, MA0022, 'Sermon notes lastly we are to consider'; Maldon, TPL, MA0083, 'Notes from Mr Sibbs preaching'.

[136]   Venn, I.

[137]   Venn, I.

of sermons by John Bayly *The Angel Guardian, the light enlightening* (1630).[138]

However, due to the illegibility of these notes, it is more likely that he acquired this notebook with two others previously owned by Lovelace.

Therefore it was through a combination of inheritance, friendship gift, family connections, and perhaps purchase, that the collection came together. This suggests that Plume was known and trusted as an active collector of manuscript notebooks and that he may also have sought them out in sales in a similar way to the printed books. This endeavour may have an origin in Plume's dismay that Hacket had lost important books and manuscripts during his sequestration from Holborn, but he found them to be useful in a practical way in the meantime.

4.6   Conclusion

Thomas Plume collected manuscripts both from his contemporaries and also from those of a generation earlier, and it is apparent that he knew some of these individuals personally. However, he was also in possession of work created by people with whom no obvious connection can be established. It is likely that he was given these manuscripts by intermediaries or bought them in sales. Since he specified that the notebooks and papers were to be 'carefully preserved', it is likely that he acquired them with a thought toward their future value and relevance, both for himself and the scholarly clergymen he wanted to provide for after his death. Specifically, though, Plume collected other people's *scholarship.* In terms of paperwork, Plume would have accumulated many more household

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[138]   John Bayly, *Two sermons; The angell guardian. The light enlightening. Preached by Iohn Bayly* ... (Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield printer to the famous Vniversity, a. D. 1630) (Standard No: B03004).

records and accounts than are present in the collection. Those items of this type that appear in the collection do so in most cases because they were re-purposed in some way to be used in his scholarship, through indexes and page markers (some examples of these will be discussed in Chapter 9). This shows that Plume, and the clergymen who gave him their work, were selective in what they saved and passed on. Plume was not merely a 'hoarder' of manuscripts; their accumulation had a purpose.

The manuscript collection taken as a whole provides an insight into Thomas Plume's development as a clergyman from his studies as a schoolboy, through his education at Chelmsford and Christ's, and his continued educational development and professional work. In addition, from what remains of his written work and the work of the other authors of the manuscripts, reading and writing trends emerge which emphasise the variety of genres in which these clergymen were interested. The authors of the manuscripts read widely in the history and geography of nations, as well as the history of the Church, and were particularly interested in the Italian writers of the sixteenth century. For their own professional development they made notes from sermons preached by others as a preparation for writing their own, and sometimes wrote their sermons out in full for publication. Many of the manuscripts contain readings from different genres within one document, and a few perform a multi-purpose function: interchangeably acting as letter books and repositories for information read or heard. They read each other's work and notebooks belonging to other individuals continued to be read long after the original author had inscribed

them and they had arrived in the possession of Plume. In the next chapter,

several different examples will be presented, showing how the writers heard,

read, and wrote for their professional role.

Chapter 5   **'Knowledge is the fairest Ornament of the soul': acquiring knowledge for one's professional role**

For the Reverend Thomas Bray, knowledge acquired from reading was an essential tool for understanding one's present life in preparation for the next. In his *Essay Towards Promoting all Useful and Necessary Knowledge,* Bray argued that theological knowledge could 'conduct us safe through the Mazes and Labyrinths of this World, to our Rest and Happiness in the other', and that the addition of humane knowledge - comprising subjects such as history, travel literature, works on nature, law and medicine – to one's reading list would ensure that most people became 'Intellectually, Morally and Civilly, as well as Divinely Happy'.[1] In other words, acquiring knowledge was necessary for cultivating a society of civilised and intellectually-fulfilled citizens, assured of their own salvation. As has been seen in Chapter 4, the variety of topics which are recorded in the manuscripts shows that the note-takers did indeed read widely, as Bray had advocated.

Many of the manuscripts in Plume's collection reveal evidence that the clergymen read to acquire knowledge for their own professional development, and composed sermons and treatises. This chapter examines examples of ways in which the clergy used their own handwritten texts to learn their craft and how they made use of existing clergy scholarship. The first manuscripts to be examined include Thomas Plume's schoolboy notebooks of sermons he heard in Chelmsford and Maldon in the 1640s. Through hearing sermons and writing them

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[1]   Bray, *An Essay Towards Promoting all Useful Knowledge,* Preface.

up in his notebook, Plume acquired the knowledge which would enable him to construct his own sermons in the future, and also to take effective notes; skills he would need for his career as a clergyman. In the second group of examples, Edward Hyde re-used his work on different occasions, and new texts were fashioned by a clergyman in the early 1660s. An unknown scribe was able to make a new sermon which he could use in his own preaching ministry by recycling work generated by a predecessor. This chapter will also consider in some detail Thomas Plume's reading of Hobbes' *Leviathan,* which he read shortly after it was published. Plume's reading of *Leviathan* is set within the context of a notebook where he recorded his readings of many books in a concise manner, by inserting only one or two pages of notes for each book. This contrasts with the practices of Robert Boreman who took lengthy notes from his readings, and kept them separately in unbound sewn pages to form small books.[2] This chapter, and the one which follows, address the research questions of why these texts were created, how they were used by their authors, and how they made use of other people's work.

5.1   **Hearing and recording: Thomas Plume as a schoolboy**

Generally, there were two main reasons why auditors took notes from sermons: as part of their education to learn the necessarily skills of note-taking skills and the construction of sermons, and as a reminder of the spiritual message so that they could later reflect on what they had heard. For Plume, a schoolboy in Chelmsford until 1646, writing notes from sermons he attended was part of the

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[2]   Boreman's reading of two Italian Histories will be examined in Chapter 6.

standard grammar school curriculum.[3] The beginner student wrote a few points, the intermediate pupil set out doctrines, reasons and uses, and the more advanced boys recorded the substantial content of sermon, 'leaving spaces between each part to fill in later'.[4] Students therefore were encouraged to understand and reflect upon the meaning of the sermon whilst at the same time learning how the sermons had been created.

The physical appearance of the notebooks can suggest their primary functions and the context within which they were used. Although the three books Plume used whilst at school to record sermon notes were small enough to carry, they have paper or limp vellum covers, suggesting that they were simply workbooks (see Figure 19, Figure 20, and Figure 21); in this way they differed from the more substantial hard-bound notebooks he used as an adult as repositories for reading. This indicates that these paper-bound notes were meant to be ephemeral, to represent a stage in Plume's development which would not need to be repeated, once learned. However, Plume instead carefully kept them, demonstrating that at the end of his life they had surpassed their practical purpose to represent a form of 'memoir' of his early years.

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[3]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing,* p. 97; Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order,* p. 6; Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England,* p. 31.

[4]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing,* p. 97; Ceri Sulivan, 'The art of listening in the seventeenth century', *Modern Philology,* 104 (2006), 34-71, p. 37.

Figure 19: MA0066, cover   **Figure 20: MA0076, cover**   **Figure 21: MA0096, cover**

Plume's last book from his period of schooling also contained theological commonplace entries in addition to the heard sermons, indicating that this information was also used for constructing sermons.[5] The notebook shown in Figure 20 is referred to by Plume as 'Plume his sermon booke', and measures 142mm by 96mm with 185 folios, with the two other notebooks being of a similar size.[6] Plume's handwriting indicates that on certain occasions he wrote quickly in this particular notebook, perhaps during the sermon (see Figure 22), but at other times his handwriting was much neater suggesting a later review (see Figure 23).

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[5]   MA0066, MA0076, and MA0096.

[6]   MA0076.
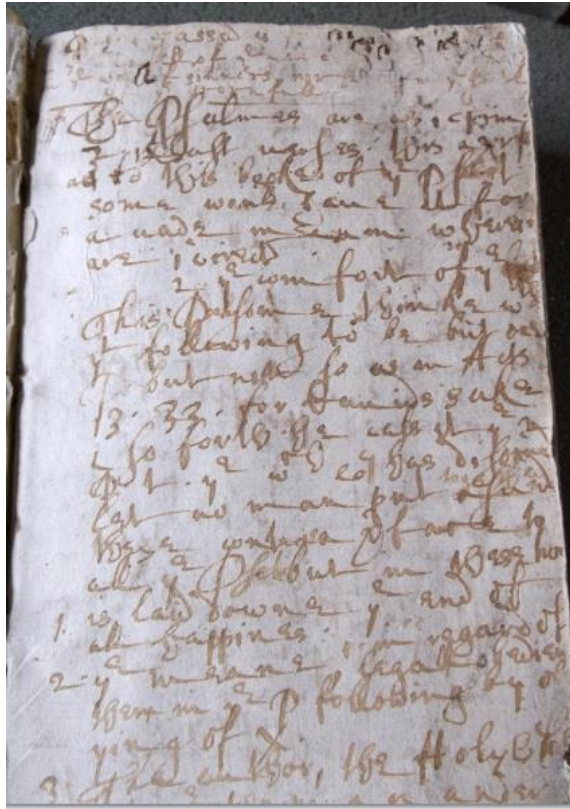
Figure 22: MA0066, f. 1r
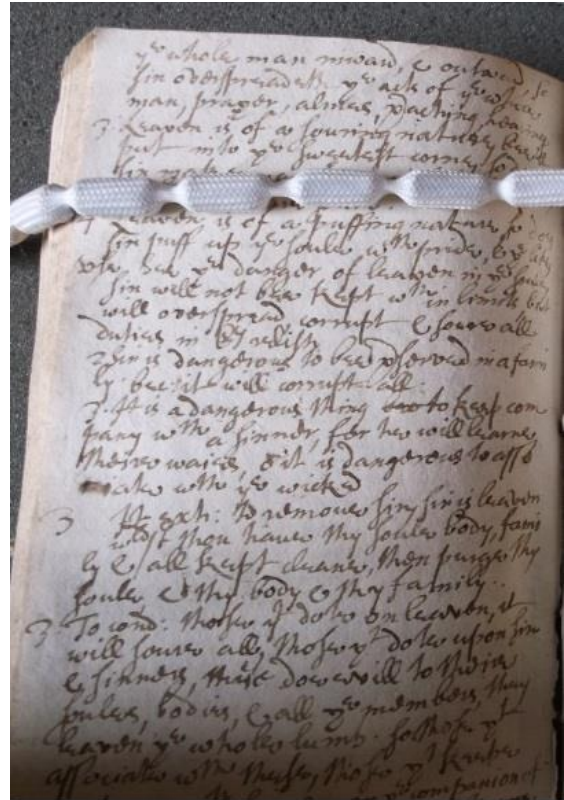
Figure 23: MA0066, f. 23v

The notebooks record sermons which Plume heard in Maldon and Chelmsford

between the ages of twelve and fifteen.[7] The vicar of the Church of All Saints and

St Peter in Maldon during the period 1620-1649 was Mr Israel Hewitt, who had

been a fellow of Christ's College and had been chosen by the Puritan Corporation

of Maldon to receive the living.[8] Plume also heard sermons in Chelmsford, for

example 'Mr Motts sermon at Chelmesford on Sunday morning October 27th

45'.[9] Mark Mott (c.1602-1667) had been the curate of Chelmsford under John

Michelson, who had been ejected in 1642, and Mott became rector for the period

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7   MA0066, MA0076, and MA0096.

8   Venn, II; Petchey, *A Prospect of Maldon*, p. 231.

9   MA0096.

1643-1660.[10] Mr Mott gave thanksgiving for Parliamentarian victories in his

sermons, one of which is headed: 'Mr Mott's sermon at Chelmesford on

thanksgiving day for ye victory at Chester Oct 15th 1645, Deut: 33ch: 29 v'.[11]

Sermons of thanksgiving for Parliamentarian victories during the 1640s were

often preceded by an ordinance published by Parliament, as will be seen in

relation to the Eythorne preacher's sermons which are examined in Chapter 8.

Plume had an early exposure to sermons by Puritan preachers, followed by his

education at Christ's College, which had been 'one of the principal bastions of

Puritanism in the University of Cambridge'.[12] This makes his patronage and

mentorship by John Hacket shortly afterwards, who was a staunch royalist and

Church of England clergyman, quite remarkable.

Regardless of the loyalties of the preacher, most sermons followed a general

pattern in their content and structure. Most sermons usually comprised either an

exposition on a short passage of scripture, or a single theme illustrated by several

texts.[13] They were often in the form of 'simple exegesis of the basics of the faith',

and by the end of the seventeenth century, the content of sermons could be

structured in four main ways: 'the homily, the thematic sermon, the classical

oration, and the doctrine-use scheme'.[14] Hunt explains the sermon structure as

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[10]   John Michelson (c.1599–1674), Venn, IV.

[11]   MA0096, f. 8v.

[12]   Petchey, *A Prospect of Maldon,* p. 231.

[13]   Green, 'Preaching', p. 140.

[14]   Ian Green, 'Teaching the Reformation: The Clergy as Preachers, Catechists, Authors and
         Teachers', in *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe,* ed. by C. Scott Dixon and Luise
         Schorn-Schüte (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 156-237, pp. 162-3; Greg Kneidel, '*Ars
         Praedicandi:* Theories and Practice', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon,* ed.

containing a general observation (the doctrine), followed by scriptural arguments (the reasons), and then the doctrine's practical applications, and he indicates that this was not an exclusively Puritan method.[15] Although Hunt is referring to sermon structures in general terms, this seems to suggest the 'doctrine-use' scheme referred to by Kneidel.[16]

Morrisey, in contrast, offers a definition of the simplest form of sermon as: an explication, the application, an exhortation, and a prayer.[17] This appears to be more like the 'thematic' sermon, which fits in with the sermons from Plume's collection. The thematic structure is explained by Kneidel as focusing on 'a single scriptural passage (the theme or *thema*)' containing an introductory section and a prayer, followed by the theme divided into different parts, which 'provide the skeletal structure of the sermon'.[18] Robert Boreman and the preacher of Eythorne in Kent both employed this structure (as will be seen in Chapter 8) evidenced by their use of the words '1ly' and '2ly' in their sermons to indicate the thematic divisions to the audience, as did Plume in his notes from the sermons he heard.[19]

The significance of memory in hearing sermons and preaching sermons is also a topic of debate: did the preacher or the listener write the whole sermon out at the time, make rough notes, or none at the time of the event? Some listeners took

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by Peter McCulloch, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3-20, p. 3.

[15]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 95, p. 96.

[16]   Kneidel, 'Ars Praedicandi', p. 3.

[17]   M. Morrisey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion in seventeenth century theories of preaching', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 686-706, p. 693.

[18]   Kneidel, '*Ars Praedicandi:* Theories and Practice', p. 10.

[19]   For example, see Maldon, TPL, MA0110, D.18, 'Sermon on II Kings 11.12', lines 34 and 54.

draft notes during the event and expanded them neatly afterwards, sometimes in

another book or for circulation.[20] Burlinson poses the question of whether

hearers had personal inkhorns, or inkwells, or writing tables, and Stern argues

that writing during sermons was prolific according to contemporary sources.[21]

There was a form of shorthand known as 'charactery' used for sermon notes in

the late sixteenth century, and other forms which were either pictorial in style or

only had limited number of characters.[22] Plume used his own form of

abbreviation when making notes, for example in his reading notes of Hobbes'

Leviathan, he shortened the phrase: 'die a natural death and remain dead till the

Resurrection' to: 'dy a nat d & rem dd till ye Res'.[23] However, although there is

some evidence of shorthand in his schoolboy notes from sermons, his neat

handwriting in Figure 23 suggests that in that particular case he was writing up

after the sermon, when he had more time. As would be expected, Thomas

Plume's sermon notes are quite detailed, especially since he would have learned

at school how they were constructed rhetorically. For example, on the occasion of

'Mr Hewitt's sermon at Maldon on Sunday ye text in 1 Cor 5 etc 17[th]v', Plume

wrote nine sides of text, where he first described Mr Hewett's introductory

remarks:

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[20]   Christopher Burlinson, 'Sermon Notes and Queens' College, Cambridge, MS90', pp. 1-5, p. 2; Blair and Stallybrass, 'Mediating Information 1450-1800', p. 141; See Blair, 'The Rise', p. 309 for use of wax tablets and table books and also on wax tablets, see Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery and Heather Wolfe, 'Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55 (2004), 379-419; and H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Writing-Tables and Table-Books', *Electronic BL Journal* article 3 (2004), 1-11.

[21]   Burlinson, 'Sermon Notes and Queens' College, Cambridge, MS90', p. 4; Tiffany Stern, 'Sermons, Plays and Note-Takers: Hamlet Q1 as a 'Noted' Text', *Shakespeare Survey*, 66 (2013), 1-23, p. 4.

[22]   Stern, 'Sermons, Plays and Note-Takers', p. 1, p. 2.

[23]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 14.

7.	Mr Hewitts Sermon at Maldon on Sunday	20.	Ch: to punish this man
8.	ye text in 1 Cor: 5 ch.	21.	4. He showes in ye 6th nothing availed
9.	17th v:	22.	while ye sinner remained for a little
10.	Sin is somet: compared to a plague 1K6 & ch	23.	leaven leavens ye whole lump, this sin
11.	ye plague of ye heart 2 to a gangrene	24.	tolerated wd spread over all
12.	They fest like a gangrene 3 to death	25.	5. An exhort: purge out ye whole leaven
13.	wt and distructive, you yt were dead in	26.	In this v: is 1 ye act purge 2 ye object
14.	limb 4 unto leaven in this place par	27.	leaven, set out by ye time old, 3 ye effect
15.	ye [obscured] [leaven]	28.	yt so you may bee a new lump 4 ye rea
16.	In this ch: he layes out of ye wonder of	29.	son for you are unleavened 5 ye gene
17.	one in ye Ch: of Corinths 1 Cor: 5 ch ii	30.	rall motive for X o[ur] passeovers is offred
18.	2. He layes downe therie evil 2d v:	31.	up already.
19.	3. He enlarges this by giving direction in ye		

Figure 24: Transcription of a section of Plume's notes on a sermon MA0066, f. 159v

Plume continued to explicate the sermon in this way, breaking down the sentences and paragraphs into numbered points. He noted the doctrine (signified by a letter 'D' in the margin) as 'All sin is old leaven', the Use as 'Sin is unsavoury in Gd bec: it is old leaven'.[24] Thomas Plume's schoolboy notebooks therefore reflect the system of education at the time, where students learned how to take notes and re-construct sermons. The fact that he kept these notebooks long after he had acquired the skills learned from using them, points to a reluctance to destroy the handwritten items which referred to memories of clergymen of the previous generation.

5.2   Sermons preached and later reused

As has been seen, clergymen had opportunities to preach their sermons more than once - at recurring feast days or in different locations - especially if they had kept a good record of what they had said on the first occasion. This was an

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[24]   MA0066, f. 162r, lines 11 and 18.

important aspect of their continuing professional role, and in addition to reusing the sermons themselves, other clergymen might also find the work useful to copy or to mine for information. This has already been seen in Chapter 4 with the notebooks of Robert Joyner, to which Plume subsequently referred. Recording where a particular sermon had been preached could have two benefits: it would enable the author to avoid repetition of a theme too soon in a particular parish, and it might also indicate to a future reader that this could be a particularly useful text which was worth re-using. It was often the case that those sermons which were 'linked either or specific festivals or seasons … or regularly occurring situations', for example.[25] Edward Hyde also preached sermons several times, and his notebook shows that he amended some of his own sermons to fit different occasions. He wrote at the end of one entry that: 'This sermon was indeed two sermons, made in June, 1646', showing that he had adapted more than one sermon made in that year to create a new one.[26] The inscription continues after a caret: 'and in the middest of the Troubles of the Leagurs and preached in Brightwell Church June, 21 et June 28'.[27] By indicating the occasion upon which the sermon had been produced, Hyde was in effect leaving a record for future readers to understand the context for the sermons.

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[25]   Green, 'Teaching the Reformation', pp. 162-3.

[26]   MA0014, f. 137v.

[27]   MA0014, f. 137v.
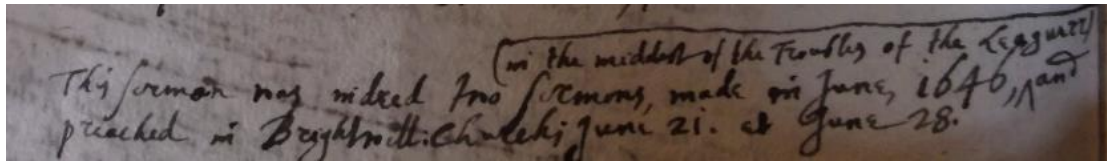
Figure 25: MA0014, f. 137v

Rather than simply the expectation of re-use, the next manuscripts show

evidence for this reprocessing of text taking place in the form of new sermons. In

the following unbound notebooks, one scribe used work created by an earlier

writer in order to re-purpose the sermon and adapt it for his own ends. This was

also not an uncommon practice amongst the clergy.[28] Scribe A had an older

secretary-style hand, as seen in Figure 27, and Scribe B's handwriting was more

italic in style, as can be seen in Figure 26.[29] The first manuscript is dated 'July 28th

1667 forenoone'.[30] The pages were originally sewn together by Scribe A, but Scribe

B made use of the blank front page to add a prayer before the sermon (Figure 26).

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[28]   Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes', p. 138.

[29]   Scribe A's text was Romans 12:2 'And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed
by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and
perfect, will of God.' King James Version.

[30]   Maldon, TPL, MA0107, A.12, 'Rom.12.2', f. 1r.
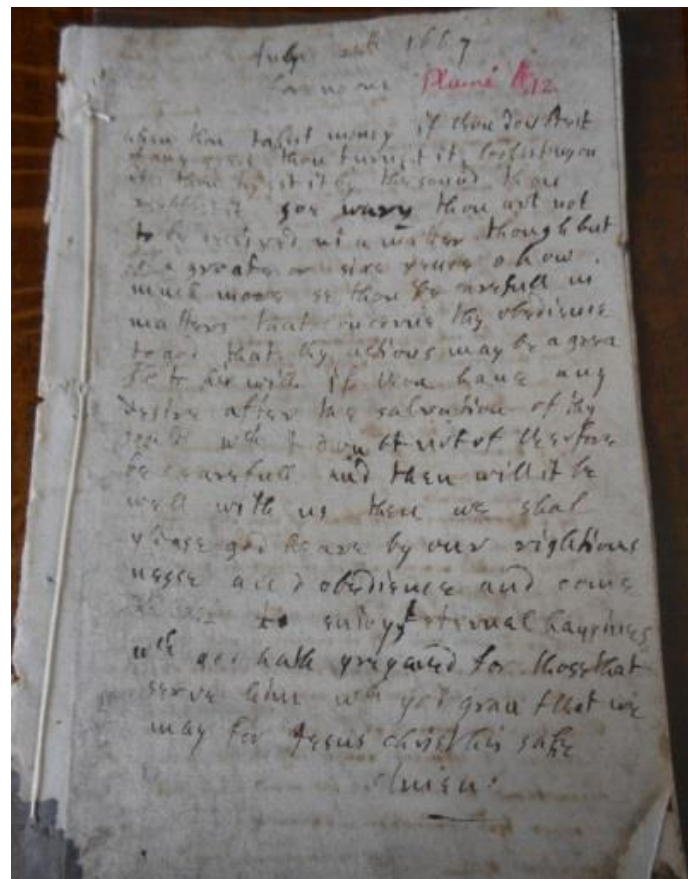
Figure 26: MA0107, A.12, f. 1r
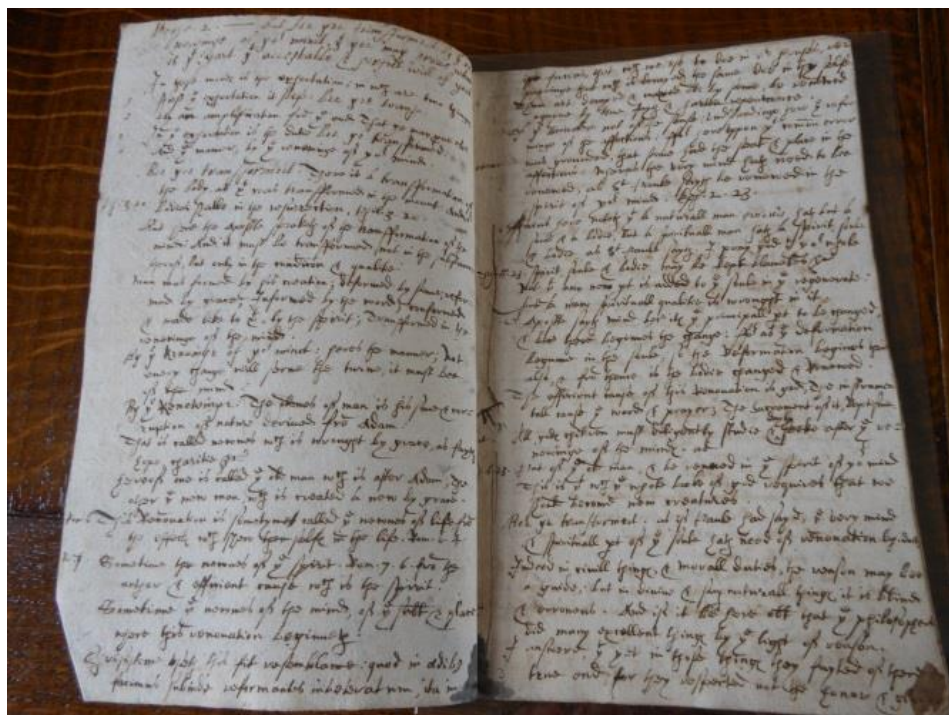
Figure 27: MA0107, A.12, f. 1v and f. 2r
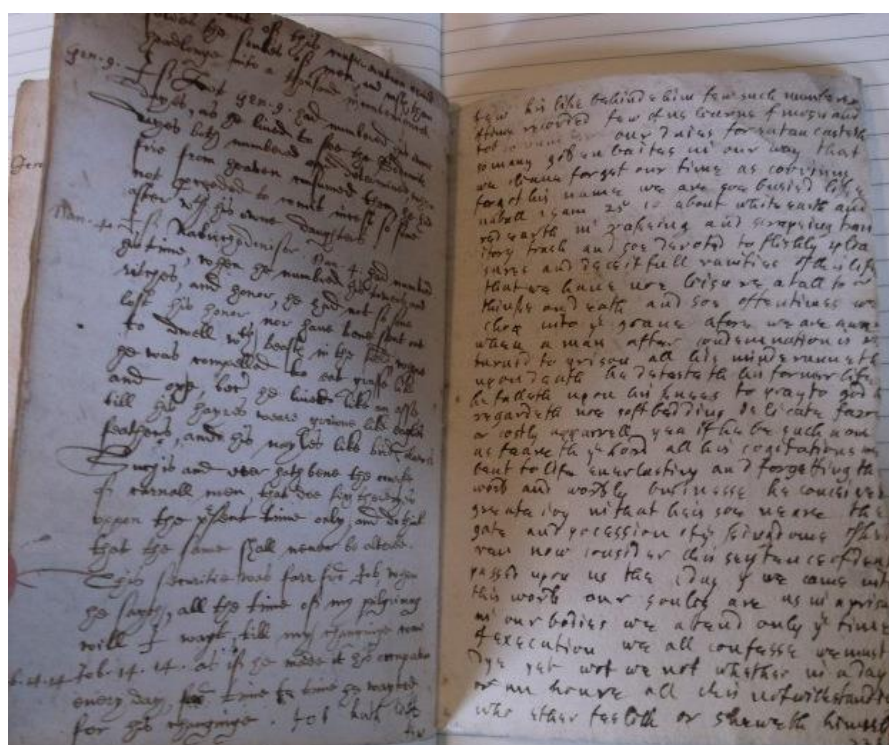
Figure 28: MA0107, A.13, f. 15v and f. 16r
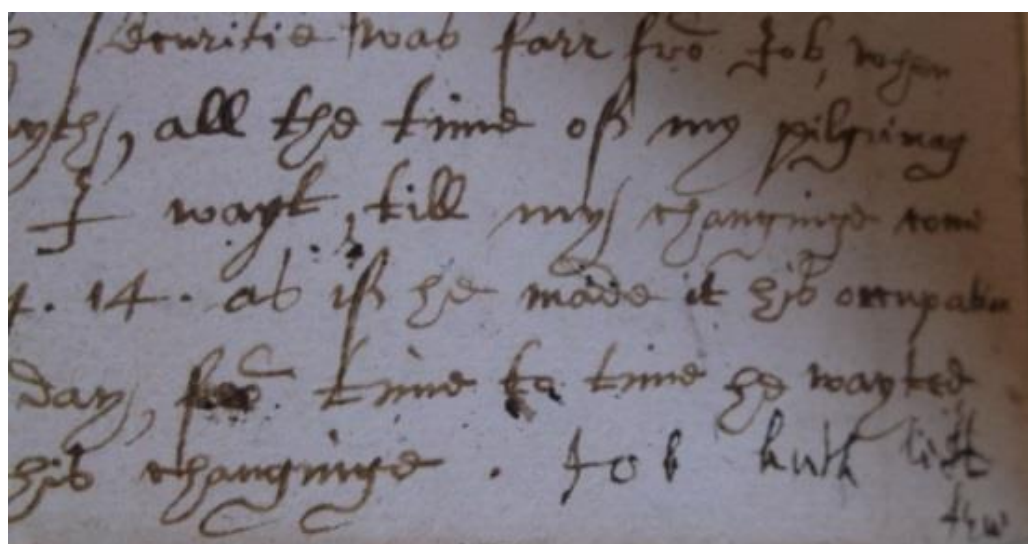
Figure 29: Scribe B adds linking words on f. 15v

In the second example of Scribe B's work, from August in the same year, his appropriation of the sermon text can be seen clearly where he provided linking words from Scribe A's sermon to his own additions on the next page.[31] Scribe B had written 'Job hath left few' at the end of Scribe A's text, to connect it to his own expansion of the sermon at the top of the next page, so that he could preach the work as a continuous text. Scribe B therefore made use of the previous sermon by expanding it to form a new version. This recycling of sermon notes shows that not only could one's own sermons be repurposed on different occasions, but that other people's could also be 'improved' on and used again. There are two further examples in the collection of Scribe B re-using Scribe A's work.[32]

Plume collected sermon notes from a wide variety of sources and in diverse material and textual forms. For his role as a clergyman, they formed a storehouse of information containing ideas for sermons and their construction, as they had for their previous authors and owners. Their use and re-use can be seen in the way that Plume indexed the contents and marked pages, and how other clergymen appropriated parts of existing texts to create new ones.[33] Evidence for different working practices can be seen in the way that some clergymen preferred to write in a bound notebook, keeping their records of sermons in one place, whereas others used discrete materials for their notes, dividing and separating

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[31] 'Job hath left few' on f. 15v, which links to the catch-word 'few' on f. 16r.

[32] Maldon, TPL, MA0107, A.9 'Rom. 12.1-2' and Maldon, TPL, MA0107, A.11, 'Psalm. 90.112'. Note that A.11 and A.13 have the same title, but comprise different sermons, one slightly longer than the other.

[33] Plume's method of indexing has been introduced in Chapter 4 in reference to Justinian Whitter's notebooks, and these examples will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

their pieces of work. This had implications for the retrieval of information and where it would be stored: hardback notebooks could be stored on shelves with printed books, but unbound paper materials needed to be kept in a different type of space to preserve their material form. Hardbound notebooks can tell a longer-term story of how clergyman made and used their sermons over a period of time, and could serve as a record or journal of a substantial part of their career, in contrast with a single unbound sermon which only shows a fragment of a larger body of work. The sermon notes, as a body of texts within the collection, stand as a metaphor of clergymen's careers, through the preservation of their early attempts to learn to record sermons and understand their construction, to the reading of other people's work and the understanding of how other people conducted their role, and the production of their own sermon texts.

5.3   **Thomas Plume's reading of Hobbes'** *Leviathan*

From its date of publication, *Leviathan* was controversial: it was received 'as both an important but also a dangerous book'.[34] The first printed criticism of Hobbes' theories on sovereign power came from Robert Filmer in 1652 where he challenged the position taken by Hobbes that the people had 'natural rights', which meant that the monarch's power was only manifested through a covenant with them.'[35] In terms of religious controversy, Hobbes was anti-scholastic, anti-Catholic, and opposed to ecclesiastical power.[36] He was accused of 'blasphemies'

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[34]   Richard Serjeantson, 'Introduction', in Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2014), pp. vii-xxviii.

[35]   Malcolm, *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan*, p. 147.

[36]   Malcolm, *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan*, p. 148.

in a pamphlet written by some Presbyterians whose main complaint was that he

seemed to place the monarch's power above divine authority.[37] Thomas Plume

read a copy of Thomas Hobbes' recently-published *Leviathan* during the mid-

1650s and made some notes, which he revisited some years later. A close reading

of Plume's notes, combined with the context of his reading, can give clues to his

response to *Leviathan*. Plume only recorded the parts containing theological

questions raised by Hobbes, and the second section 'Of a Civil Commonwealth',

is not represented at all. However, Plume was also trying to understand the

nature of knowledge and the relevance of natural philosophy in intellectual

discourse through his reading. Nigel Smith refers to *Leviathan* as one of the

'prismatic texts' of the Interregnum, which, depending on the viewpoint of the

reader, offered many alternative conclusions.[38] Although the only evidence of

Plume's reading is the notes he recorded in his notebook, it can be concluded

that Plume found *Leviathan* useful for considering some of the theological

questions raised by Hobbes, alongside the other readings he recorded in his

notebook.

There were 1200-1500 copies produced for the 1651 edition priced at 8s 6d, which

made *Leviathan* fairly expensive at the time in comparison with other books.[39]

There was only one English edition published in 1651, even though three editions

purport to have that date; the correct one being printed for Andrew Crooke at the

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[37]   Malcolm, *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan*, p. 150.

[38]   Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale
       University Press, 1994), p. 155. The other text Smith referred to as 'prismatic' was Harrington's
       Oceana, of which Plume had two copies: J. Harrington, *The common-wealth of Oceana* (Lond:
       J. Streater for L. Chapman, 1656) (Standard Nos: B06976 and B07475).

[39]   Glen Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 285.

Green Dragon in Paul's Churchyard.[40] Richard Serjeantson explains that 'at the

beginning of the seventeenth century it was exceptionally rare to write

philosophy in any language other than Latin … for some, such as Hobbes in

Leviathan, the English language served as a means of distancing their philosophy

from that of the schools'.[41] This meant that the English edition of *Leviathan* was

produced as a statement rather than with accessibility for readers in the

vernacular in mind. It was likely that those reading *Leviathan* at the price for

which it sold, and with the issues that it addressed, would have been educated to

a level where they could read Latin. Indeed, some years later, Plume did buy the

1670 Latin edition of *Leviathan,* which had been published in Amsterdam.[42] The

Latin edition was not a simple translation of the English text; it did not include

the Review and Conclusion, and Part 4 'Of the Kingdom of Darkness' was

'drastically pruned'.[43] Plume could have provided the Latin edition to the Library

in preference to the English edition for two reasons. It could be argued that

Plume bought it for the Library because it was the current edition at the time

Plume that was collecting for this purpose, although many of his books were

printed much earlier in the century. Another explanation is that Plume thought

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[40]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, p. 41.

[41]   Richard Serjeantson, 'Becoming a philosopher in seventeenth-century Britain', in *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century,* ed. by Peter R. Anstey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 29.

[42]   Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, sive, De materia, forma, & potestate civitatis ecclesiasticae et civilis* (Amstelodami: Joannem Blaeu, 1670) (Standard No. B06346).

[43]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, p. 43.

that only the most educated readers should be exposed to the controversial ideas contained in the book.[44]

The notebook Plume used to record his reading of *Leviathan* was started on 'Jan 1 $16^{50}/_{51}$' and finished in September 1656 at Nonsuch: 'Finis Nonsuch 7brii 20 1656'.[45] There is no date attached to the *Leviathan* reading, but it appears a few pages after the notes on White's *Upon Ye Sabbath*, which Plume finished on 15 September 1656 (see Figure 32).[46] There is no evidence to indicate that the book was not used chronologically, so it can be surmised that the *Leviathan* notes were taken between 15 and 20 September 1656.
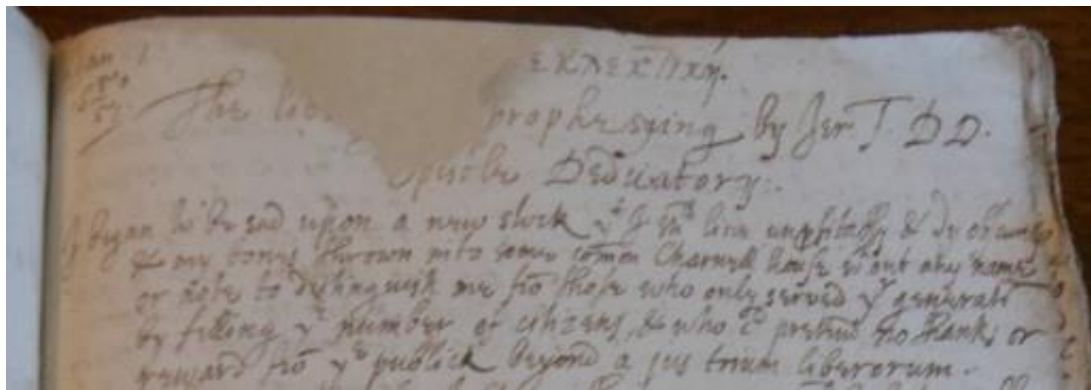
Figure 30: MA0029, date started in top left corner, f. 1r

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[44]   The second explanation was proposed by Dr Richard Serjeantson at the Plume Lecture: 'The idea of a university in the age of Thomas Plume', 12 November 2016.

[45]   MA0029, f. 9r, f. 81v.

[46]   MA0029, f. 57r.
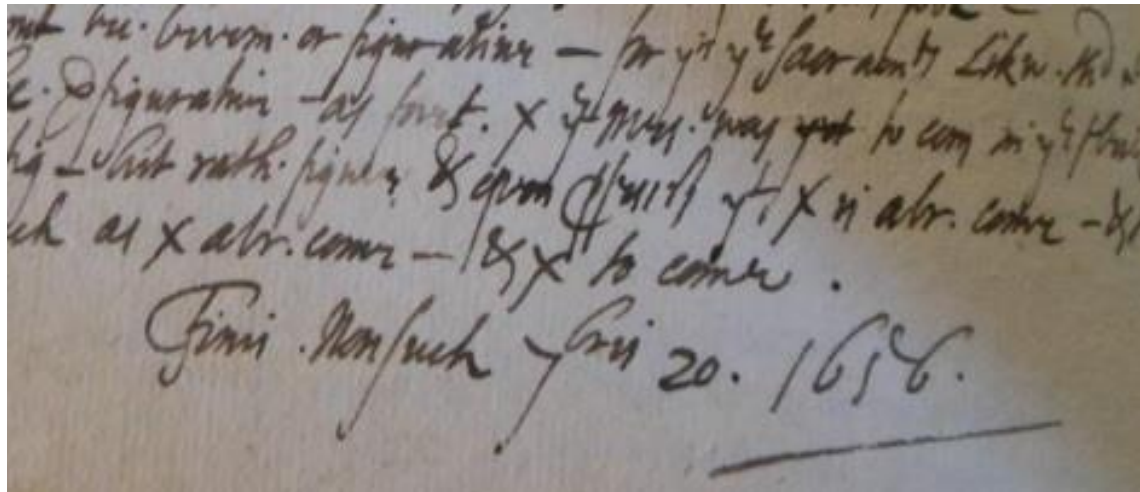
Figure 31: MA0029, date finished
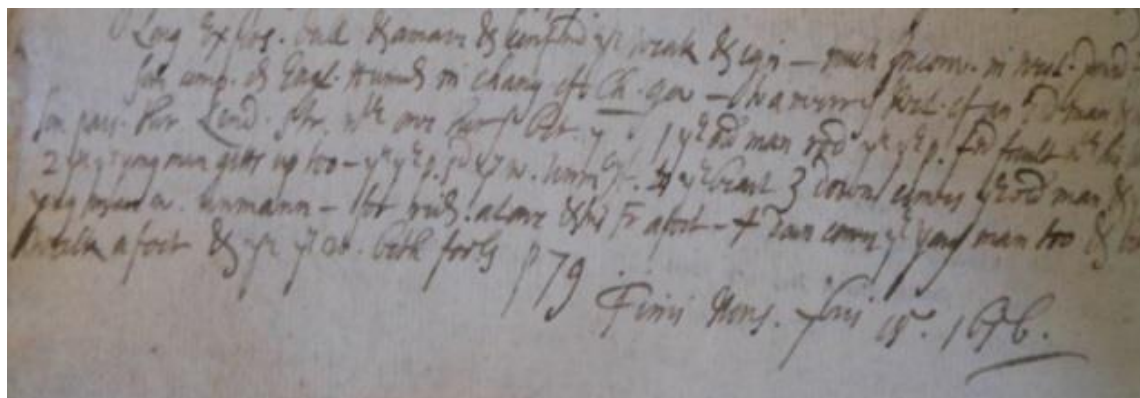
Figure 32: MA0029, dated reading of White Upon Ye Sabbath, f. 57r

The book in which these notes appear contains a selection of different readings,

all but one of which can be identified as theologically-themed.[47] The other

reading notes included works by authors such as Jeremy Taylor, William

Chillingworth, Edward Stillingfleet, Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Hooker and

Richard Holdsworth, all established church writers. This supports the idea that

Plume was involved in a reading project in preparation for his first living. Since

[47]   Jacques Gaffarel, *Vnheard-of curiosities: concerning the talismanical sculpture of the Persians; the horoscope of the patriarkes; and the reading of the stars. Written in French, by James Gaffarel. And Englished by Edmund Chilmead, Mr. of Arts, and chaplaine of Christ-Church Oxon* (London: printed by G.D. for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-Yard, 1650).

Plume was not associated with a university after 1650 it is most likely that he borrowed a copy of *Leviathan* to read, perhaps from John Hacket. Plume did also buy books for himself during this period, though, as evidenced by a reminder he made to himself: 'Concern. Pope Joan – gett Mr Robt Cooks book so <u>entitled</u>'.[48] In fact this book was by Alexander Cooke, and Plume purchased two copies; one as an unbound pamphlet, and the second was bound with George Carleton's *Iurisdiction regall, episcopall, papal* of 1610.[49]

Plume had more than one reason for taking his notes from *Leviathan*. Broadly speaking, those instances where he paraphrased Hobbes' words - in some cases summarising a large section into a few words - can be seen as Plume's method of acquiring an overview of the issues he was interested in. Word-for-word quotations of a single phrase or sentence, on the other hand, were more likely to have been saved as aphorisms; elegant or useful turns of phrase that caught Plume's attention. It should be noted that, due to the prolific contractions and personal shorthand used by Plume, a transcription of the notes is only possible when they are read in conjunction with Hobbes' original text (and there are still instances where words are unclear) however most of the notes can be deciphered. A complete transcription is provided in Appendix 1, and an image of Plume's writing appears in Figure 33 below.

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[48]   MA0029, f. 28r, line 1.

[49]   Alexander Cooke, *Pope Ioane. A dialogue betvveene a protestant and a papist. Manifestly prouing, that a woman called Ioane was Pope of Rome: against the surmises and obiections made to the contrarie, by Robert Bellarmine and Caesar Baronius Cardinals: Florimondus Raemondus, N.D. and other popish writers, impudently denying the same* (London: Printed [by R. Field] for Ed. Blunt and W. Barret, 1610) (Standard Nos: B01990 and B04024).
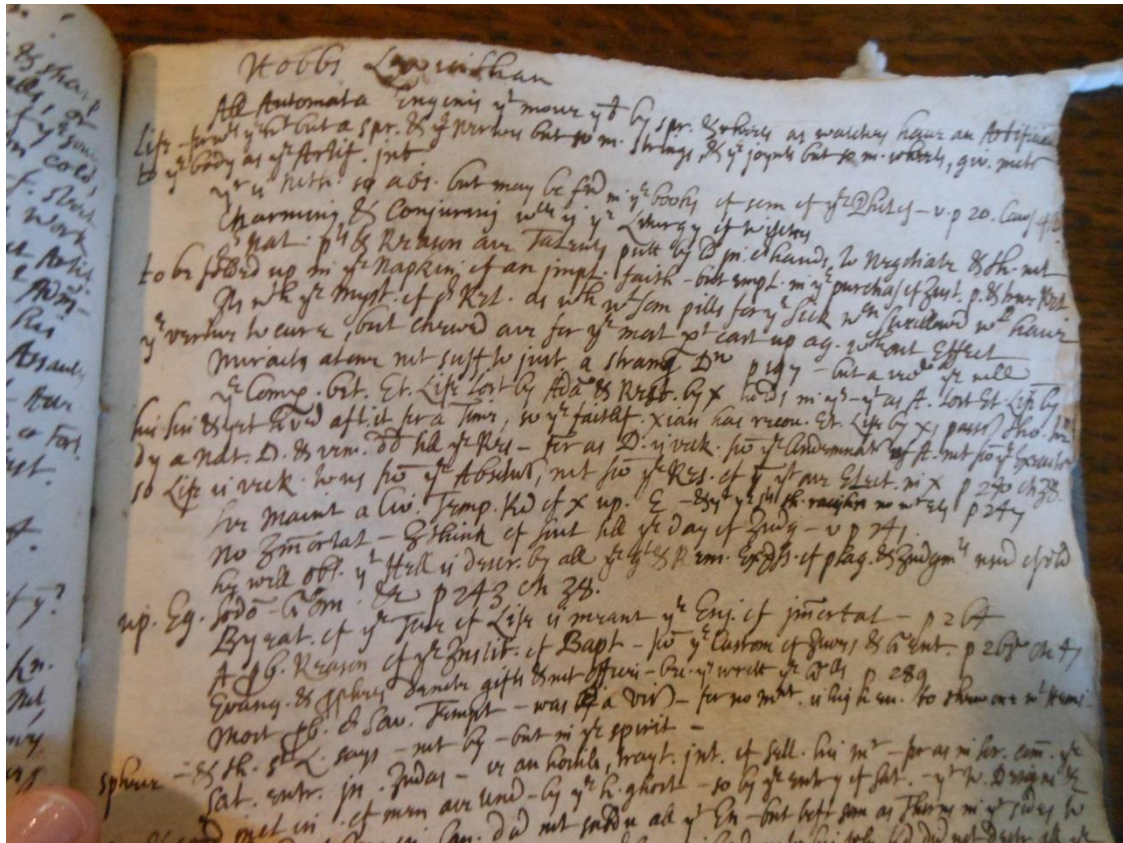
Figure 33: Plume's shorthand, MA0029, f. 62r

It is significant that Thomas Plume did not take any notes from Part 2: of Civil Government; it is as if he did not refer to that section at all. Plume took the highest percentage of his notes from Part 3 'Of Christian Commonwealth' and Part 4 'Of the Kingdom of Darkness', although he did briefly annotate from Part 1 'Of Man' and the Introduction and 'Review and Conclusion'. The following chart shows the percentage of words taken from each section of *Leviathan*.[50]

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[50] Of a total of 685 words in the notes: 81 words are from the introduction and conclusion (12%); 28 words are from Part 1 of Man (4%); 283 words are from Part 3 of the Christian Commonwealth (41%); and 293 words are from Part 4 of the Kingdom of Darkness (43%).
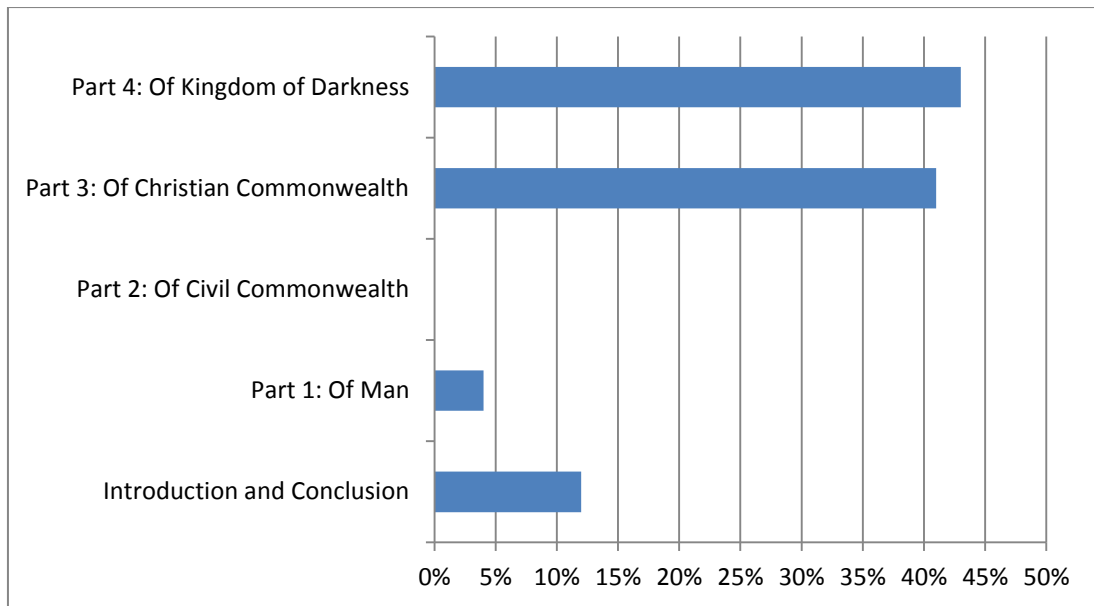
Figure 34: Percentage of notes from each section of *Leviathan*

Plume's notes can be grouped into four themes, which will be examined in turn: first, how his notes reveal his reception of the text, whether he took Hobbes' ideas at face value or modified his interpretation; second, how Plume read specifically for issues which would be useful in his role; third, how he read the text to make connections to his contemporary situation during the interregnum; and fourth, how Plume appropriated anti-Catholic rhetoric. Plume inserted navigational devices into his extracts so he could return to specific parts of the book at a future date.

5.3.1   Plume's reception of Hobbes' ideas

The way in which Plume wrote his comments indicates that he took some issue with Hobbes' hard-line position on the contemporary relevance of Aristotelian philosophy. In Part 1 'Of Man', Chapter 5 'Of reason and science', Hobbes'

discussion starts: 'For it is most true that Cicero sayth of them somewhere; that

there can be nothing so absurd, but may be found in the books of Philosophers'.[51]

He was referring to Aristotelian philosophy, following on from his previous

chapters 'Of Sense' and 'Of Imagination', where Hobbes had also taken a 'strong

anti-Aristotelian line'.[52] Hobbes thought that Aristotelian natural philosophy,

which incorporated 'irrational fears' would have bad political consequences,

leading to 'loss of political stability'.[53] Plume changed Hobbes' sentence to write

that: 'There is nothing so absurd but may be found in the books of some of the

Philosophers – v.p. 20'.[54] Whereas Hobbes refers to all scholastic philosophers,

Plume inserted the word 'some', bringing it closer to Cicero's text.[55] This wording

indicates Plume agreed that some scholastic thought was out-dated, but he had

not ruled out all of it entirely, in the way Hobbes had proposed.

However, later on in the 'Review and Conclusion', Plume seemed to have agreed

with Hobbes about the ineffectual way in which ancient authors were used. In

this chapter Hobbes argued that quoting ancient authors without understanding

them was simply a conceit to show how clever one was: 'But if it bee well

considered, the praise of Ancient Authors, proceeds not from the reverence of the

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[51]   Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan or The matter, forme, & power of a common-wealth ecclesiasticall and civill· By Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury* (London: printed [by Roger Norton and Richard Cotes] for Andrew Crooke, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1651), p. 20.

[52]   Cees Leijenhorst, 'Sense and Nonsense about Sense: Hobbes and the Aristotelians on Sense Perception and Imagination', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes' Leviathan,* ed. by Patricia Springborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 82-3.

[53]   Leijenhorst, 'Sense and Nonsense about Sense', p. 99.

[54]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 5.

[55]   'Sed nescio quo modo nihil tam absurd dici potest quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum' / 'Somehow or other no statement is too absurd for some philosophers to make.' Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De senectute, De Amicitia, De divinatione, with an English translation by William Armistead Falconer* (London: Heinemann, 1964), *De Divinatione*, II lviii, pp. 504-5.

Dead, but from the competition, and mutuall envy of the Living.'[56] Plume slightly

paraphrased Hobbes' words as: 'The Commendation Of Ancient Authors arise not

so much from the reverence of the dead as mutual Envy of the living', suggesting

that he was considering the contemporary use and relevance of ancient authors.[57]

However, the second note from the same page shows a harsher analysis by

Hobbes regarding the use of ancient authors by contemporaries, which Plume

does not seem to have argued with when he wrote that: 'Sticking that corrupt

Doctrine with the Cloves of other mens witt = Greek & Latin Sentences come up

unchewed, unchanged'.[58] Hobbes was referring to the way in which

contemporary writers took phrases in the ancient languages completely out of

context in order to try to look more learned and to improve their arguments. In

Hobbes' view this was ineffective and caused a form of intellectual indigestion.[59]

It is difficult to know for certain whether Plume agreed whole-heartedly with a

particular issue raised by Hobbes when he recorded it in his notebook. However,

in several instances (such as '*some* Philosophers') Plume modified the sentiment,

so it is possible that when he did not modify the meaning of a phrase he noted,

Plume had accepted it at face value. From these notes, it is apparent at least that

Plume was interested in writing practices and relevant forms of knowledge,

another of which can be seen in his annotations relating to natural philosophy.

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[56]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 395.

[57]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 39.

[58]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 40.

[59]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 395.

Plume was interested in what was real and what was unreal, what was natural

and temporal compared to supernatural influences in the world, and started his

notes by directly copying the most well-known passage in Hobbes' Introduction:

> 'All Automata Engines that move themselves by springs & wheels as watches
> have an Artificial Life – for what is the heart but a spring & the nerves but so
> many strings, & the joynts but so many wheels, giving motion to the body as
> the Artificer intended'.[60]

However, Plume wrote the sentence out in the form of a statement, as opposed to

Hobbes' version, which was posed as a question.[61] It is difficult to ascertain

whether this indicates Plume's acceptance of Hobbes' analogy, and indeed how

far one can tell from reading notes whether extracting phrases relates to the

acceptance of the ideas they contain. It can be argued that the way in which

Plume *did* modify some of Hobbes' phrases shows that he had considered how far

he had accepted their validity. The automata passage was controversial because

some commentators thought that it revealed Hobbes as an atheist. It is explained

by Newey as: 'everything is artificial – it is just that some things are made by God,

and others by humans. In creating an artificial man, the Leviathan, humans

imitate God as creator'.[62] Hobbes had originally used the watch analogy in *De cive*

where 'Hobbes argues that 'everything is best understood by its constitutive

causes', and compares the analysis of the body politic to the taking apart of a

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[60]   MA0029, f. 62r. lines 2-4.

[61]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 1.

[62]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, p. 63.

watch'.[63] In *Leviathan,* Hobbes uses the automata as an analogy to represent the 'importance in that work of the theory of the 'person' of the commonwealth'.[64] Plume's contemplation of the role of humanity in natural philosophical issues could be an early example of his developing interest in the natural world, although it is likely that he copied out this sentence as a useful aphorism. Taking down this quotation suggests that Plume was interested in the issue of whether it was acceptable to look into philosophical questions which were not revealed in the scriptures, even though the answers were not required for salvation.

In Part 3, 'Of a Christian Commonwealth', Plume made notes from three places in chapter 32 'Of the principles of Christian politiques', the first of which refers to issues of natural philosophy and reason. He was considering the way in which the study of the natural world was sanctioned by God:

> 'Our natural philosophy & Reason are Talents putt by God in our hands to Negotiate & therefore not to be folded up in the Napkin of an implicate faith – but simply in the purchase of Justice, Peace & true Religion.'[65]

Plume substituted Hobbes' 'sense and experience' with 'natural philosophy', showing that this was how he understood the term. Plume's notation describes how unquestioning faith was not appropriate in considering the natural world, but the use of reason should be employed, and this should result in furthering the cause of religion, resulting in justice and peace.

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[63]   Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 148.

[64]   Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes*, p. 151.

[65]   MA0029, f. 62r, lines 7 and 8.

Plume questioned the supernatural nature of the Temptation of Christ in his reading of Chapter 45, 'Of Daemonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles'. He surmised from his reading that: 'Most probably our Saviour's Temptation was by a vision for no mountain is high enough to shew one whole Hemisphere & that St Luke says – not by – but in the spirit'.[66] Smith interprets Hobbes' view, expressed most fully in *Leviathan* but previously developed in *Human Nature* and *De Corpore* that any form of dream or vision comes from within, and is psychological in nature.[67] By prefacing his paraphrase of Hobbes' words with 'Most probably', Plume indicated a circumspect agreement with Hobbes' view. The evidence of what was, and what was not, possible or real in nature, formed the basis for how the story of the temptation could be perceived. If it was not possible in nature to see another hemisphere from a mountain, then the vision of that place must have been in the mind.

5.3.2   Useful for his role as clergyman

Another section of the notes concerning visions comes from Chapter 32, where Plume wrote that: 'miracles alone not sufficient to justify a strange dream p. 197 – but a revelation the will' [sic]; a 'strange dream' being another way of describing a vision.[68] Plume's combination of words does not seem to make sense, but on the previous page Hobbes had written: 'a man doth many times naturally take his dream for a vision', suggesting that Plume was summarising the content of more

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[66]   MA0029, f. 62r, lines 23-4.

[67]   Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660,* p. 156.

[68]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 11.

than one page.[69] Hobbes went on to discuss the ways in which 'a true Prophet is

to be known'. [70] These were described by Hobbes as the performance of miracles

and teaching of the established religion.[71] Hobbes asserted that both of these

conditions must be present, since 'God will not have miracles alone serve for

arguments', and 'preaching the true Doctrine, without the doing of miracles is an

unsufficient argument of immediate Revelation.'[72] Therefore Plume's reading of

this section seems to be seeking to understand how a true prophet can be

identified.

Plume was also interested in Hobbes' commentary on what happened between

natural death and the Day of Judgement.[73] Plume wrote:

> 'the Comparison between Eternal Life lost by Adam & Restored by Christ
> holds in the - that as Adam lost Eternal Life by his sin & yet lived after it for
> a Time, so the faithfull Christian has recovered Eternal life by Christs
> passion though he dy a natural death & remain dead till the Reserection –
> For as Death is reckoned from the condemnation of Adam not from the
> Execution so life is reckoned from the Absolution not from the Resurrection
> of them that are Elected in Christ p. 240 Ch 38'.[74]

Here Plume took from *Leviathan* the idea that the faithful Christian's path to

salvation could be contrasted with Adam's. Adam remained dead until absolved

by Christ after the Resurrection, but those 'Elected in Christ' were saved upon the

death of Christ. The term 'Elected in Christ' (used by both Hobbes and Plume)

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[69]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 196.

[70]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 197.

[71]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 197.

[72]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 197.

[73]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 240.

[74]   MA0029, f. 62r, lines 12-15.

indicates a Calvinist belief in those predestined to be saved, rather than those

who had any agency in their own salvation. Hobbes argued that after the body

died the soul ceased to exist: God would return the body and soul to life on the

Day of Judgement – unless the person was one of the damned who would die a

second time and be sent to hell.[75] Edward Hyde's treatise *The True Catholick's*

Tenure, written around the same time as Plume took his notes, also discussed the

issue of salvation. Hyde, however, made the distinction that certainty of salvation

needed to come through prayer as well as faith.[76] This is an expression of the

established church view, especially after the Restoration, and suggests that one

could affect one's prospect of salvation through prayer and faith, and not simply

rely on a predestined outcome. This extract of text is quite substantial, indicating

that Plume was particularly interested in this question, and wanted to capture

the essence of Hobbes' commentary.

Again, in relation to salvation, Plume made notes on Hobbes' discussion of the

sacraments of communion and baptism. Plume paraphrased Hobbes: 'By eating

of the Tree of Life is meant the Enjoying of Immortality – p. 264'.[77] This comes

from Ch.41, 'Of the Office of our Blessed Saviour', where Hobbes had asserted: 'So

that by eating at Christ's table, is meant the eating of the Tree of Life; that is to

say, the enjoying of Immortality, in the Kingdome of the Son of Man.'[78] This

concerned Hobbes' analogy of the Last Supper, and therefore the sacrament of

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[75]   Newey, Routledge *Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan,* pp. 250-1.

[76]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, Preface to the Christian Reader.

[77]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 20.

[78]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 264.

Holy Communion, giving the same result as eating the forbidden fruit of the tree

of life, and leading to salvation. Plume's paraphrase of this section missed out a

stage of Hobbes' argument, the part about the Last Supper and Holy

Communion, in order to reach his conclusion.

Concerning the sacrament of baptism, Plume noted that Hobbes has given: 'A

proper Reason of the Institution of Baptism – from the custom of Jewes &

Gentiles p. 268 Ch 41.'[79] Hobbes had told the story of the choosing of a new

Apostle to replace Judas, where the person chosen would 'bear Witnesse', which

involved 'the graces of Gods Spirit, and the two Sacraments, Baptisme, and the

Lords Supper', which were necessary for eternal life.[80] By saying that Hobbes has

provided a 'proper reason' for the institution of baptism, Plume seems to have

been equipping himself with a specific scriptural justifications for baptism as a

sacrament. This prefigures Thomas Bray's recommendation to clergy in the later

seventeenth century to familiarise themselves with the different debates and be

ready to have answers in defence of the established church's position.[81]

5.3.3   Relating to the contemporary situation

Plume was of an age where he might be considering marriage, although he was

not to receive his living for another two years. He, like Robert Boreman,

remained unmarried throughout his life although he later commented in his will

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[79]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 21.

[80]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 268.

[81]   Bray, *Bibliotheca catechetica,*p. vii.

that he had 'no ill opinion' of marriage and went on to provide dowries for poor

girls.[82] When reading *Leviathan*, Plume noted that:

> 'It was inconvenient for ministers in Paul's time to marry – because being
> times of persecution they were forced to fly from part to part & he ought
> not to be clogged with care of wife & children & Family etc'.[83]

There had been no precedent in the primitive church for clerical celibacy since

there were both married and unmarried clergy, however this was later changed to

require the discipline of clerical continence.[84] Hobbes had been discussing the

question of why priests in the Early Church had been prohibited from marriage,

and concluded that it was not because of moral aims, or preferences for a single

life, but instead because it would have been too difficult and inconvenient to

keep women and children safe during times of clerical persecution.[85] This was

topical since during the Interregnum preachers loyal to the royalist cause and

established church were also being persecuted, mainly through the sequestration

of their livings, and this period would not have been conducive to the

responsibilities of marriage. However, there is a sense that the clergy

concentrating on their vocation without the distraction of a family was to be

venerated, which had been expressed in legislation passed by Edward VI although

it rescinded the requirement for clergy to be unmarried at the same time.[86] This

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[82]   Will of Thomas Plume, lines 61-3: 'because I would show I have no ill opinion of Marriage I
       bequeath one hundred pounds to the placeing tenn Maids in marriage'.

[83]   MA0029, f. 62r, lines 36-7.

[84]   Helen Parish, *Clerical Celibacy in the West: c.1100-1700* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 3.

[85]   Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 377.

[86]   Parish, *Clerical Celibacy in the West*, p. 1.

can be seen in Plume recounting that John Hacket had never intended to be

married and, when he did so, he refrained from telling John Williams at first,

being uncertain of his reaction.[87]

In another extract Plume compared the concepts of the Devil and the Holy Ghost

entering into and influencing people. Plume wrote:

> 'Satan entered in Judas - or an hostile trayt intention of selling his master
> pr as in for comm the graces & good part inclinations of men are
> understood by the holy ghost - so by the entry of Satan – that hostile
> design etc. As God bring the Israelites into Canaan in did not subdue all
> their Enemies but left some as Thornes in their sides to awaken from time
> to time their Industry & piety – so our saviour in conducting us for his
> Heavenly Kingdom did not destroy all the difficulties of natural Questions
> but left them to exercise our Industry & Reasons'.[88]

In this section Hobbes was considering the way in which the Holy Ghost

influenced humanity by 'Graces and good Inclinations' whereas Satan entered

people's minds with 'wicked Cogitations, and Designes'. Hobbes mused on the

issue of whether Judas had 'any such hostile designe' beforehand, which he says is

unclear.[89] It is not apparent how this concept would accord with visions coming

from within the mind, if these entities were outside forces. The relevant

paragraph in *Leviathan* then changes in topic to consider the insecure position of

the Israelites after they had entered the Land of Promise, since the surrounding

lands were left 'as thornes in their sides, to awaken from time to time their Piety

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[87]   Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. x.

[88]   MA0029, f. 62r, lines 25-29.

[89]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 355.

and Industry'.[90] This resonates with the position of the loyalist clergy under the interregnum regime who were continuing to exercise their 'Piety and Industry' to bring about a return of the monarchy and an established Church of England. Hobbes suggests that God also left behind 'Natural Questions ... to exercise our Industry, and Reason'.[91] Therefore Plume considered and connected these three issues within one 'paragraph' or block of text: the way humanity could be influenced by supernatural forces, and how piety and action could be inspired by pressure from disputes and pressing questions.

In another example Plume turned to the issue of official roles in the Church. Plume paraphrased Hobbes: 'Evangalists & prophets denote gifts & not office but that writt the Godly p. 289'.[92] Hobbes had been distinguishing between those who held a 'magisterial' appointment or an office, such as bishops, with evangelists and prophets who simply had 'Gifts'.[93] These latter people had been profitable to the Church without having held office, for example through writing stories about Christ.[94] Plume was interested in the various roles and offices of church leaders - the monarch, the bishops and the clergy - and the nature of their roles, power and abilities. He commented that:

> 'They that seek the Distinction of Divine & Civil worship not in the
> Intention of the worshipper but in the words δωλεια & Λατρεία [gift &

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[90]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 355.

[91]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 355.

[92]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 22.

[93]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 289.

[94]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 289.

worship] dec: yourself for if I fall prostrate before a King & yet think him but a man in but civil & not divine worship [...]'.[95]

Hobbes had drawn a distinction between civil and divine worship. He had explained that a monarch only had power to intervene in temporal matters, and if one were to prostrate oneself before the king to ask for something within his power to grant, then it would be called 'Civill Worship'.[96] However, the monarch was unable to perform supernatural favours, such as affecting the weather, because that fell under God's remit: to ask the king to do this was a form of idolatry.[97] In the following sentence, however, Hobbes clarified that it was not idolatry to do the prince's will if he compelled you. It was a topical issue in 1649 after the publication of *Eikon Basilike* in terms of whether civil icons should be prohibited as well as religious ones.[98] Calvin's *Commentaries on the Acts* had discussed this issue in relation to Acts 10:25 'Falling down at his feete, he worshipped'. The passage was about Cornelius bowing down in front of Peter, where 'hee fell into an immoderate token of reuerence, and so he offended in excesse'.[99] Calvin explained that Catholics mistakenly split divine worship into three parts: *Latrium* describes worship to God, *duliam* 'to the dead and their

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[95]   MA0029, f.6 2r, lines 30-2.

[96]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 360.

[97]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 360.

[98]   Mónica Brito Vieira, *The Elements of Representation in Hobbes: Aesthetics, Theatre, Law, and Theology in the construction of Hobbes' Theory of the State* (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 34.

[99]   John Calvin, *The Commentaries of M. Iohn Caluin vpon the Actes of the Apostles, faithfully translated out of Latine into English for the great profite of our countrie-men by Christopher Fetherstone student in divinities* (Londini: Impensis G. Bishop, 1595), p. 265.

bones', and *hyper duliam* to the Virgin Mary and the cross.[100] However, he asserted that there was a distinction between civil worship between men in respect of civil order, and that which relates directly to religion and the honour of God.[101]

The belief in supernatural forces raises the issue of what was to be ignored as superstition and what was acceptable faith. In Part 1 of Man, the second notation Plume made from Chapter 12 'Of Religion' was a simple statement: 'Charming & conjuring which is the Liturgy of Witches'.[102] Plume had paraphrased from *Leviathan*, adding the words 'charming' and 'liturgy', from a page where Hobbes had been discussing witches in the context of pagan superstitions.[103] Alison Rowlands argues that Plume's attitude towards witchcraft could be considered as moderate in that, although he was not sceptical about the supernatural world, he was not anxious to persecute or punish those who practised witchcraft.[104] This was because he had lived through the period of the 1640s witch-finding in Essex and East Anglia, and as a consequence 'abhorred persecution' because he associated it with Puritan extremism of the worst kind.[105] Plume's phrase 'Charming & Conjuring which is the Liturgy of Witches' suggests that he saw the activities of charming and conjuring as methods by which the witches

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[100]   Calvin, *The Commentaries,* pp. 265-6.

[101]   Calvin, *The Commentaries,* p. 265.

[102]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 6.

[103]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 56.

[104]   Alison Rowlands, 'What did Thomas Plume think about witchcraft? Reconstructing the intellectual outlook of a little-known 17th-century English sceptic', *The Essex Society for Archaeology & History*, 2 (2011), 196-203, p. 203.

[105]   Rowlands, 'What did Thomas Plume think about witchcraft?', p. 197, p. 203.

worshipped, but it also comes across as a catchphrase which he may have written as an adage or aphorism to use later.

5.3.4   Anti-Catholic rhetoric

Towards the end of *Leviathan,* Hobbes' discusses the superstitious elements of heathen and Catholic rituals, and the similarities between these traditional superstitions and contemporary culture.[106] Plume paraphrased Hobbes' words slightly:

> 'Papists & Gentiles p. 364 Cap 45 – Aqua Lustralis – holy water Bacchanalia and our wakes, Saturnalia & Carnevall & Shrove Tuesday liberty of servants – that procession of Priapus – our fetching in erection & dance about may poles – that procession called Ambarvalia – our procession about the fields in Rogation week'.[107]

The reference to the page number as well as the chapter could indicate that Plume was ensuring that he could find the same passage again in the future. This note may also have signified as a reminder to Plume that many of the elements of contemporary popular culture had been derived from Pagan or Catholic practices, and which were not, therefore, very suitable pastimes. Plume's reference to 'our' wakes, maypoles, and processions is striking and demonstrates that he applied what he read directly to the society of which he was a participant.

Another aphorism noted by Plume, in keeping with the theme of mocking Catholicism, comes from Chapter 47, 'Of the Benefit that proceedeth from such

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[106]   Hobbes, *Leviathan,* p. 364.

[107]   MA0029, f. 62r, lines 33-5.

Darknesse, and to whom it accreweth'. Plume copied Hobbes' phrase directly:

'Papacy is but the ghost of the Deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the

grave thereof v. ch.47 p. 386'.[108] Again, the insertion of the page number may have

been Plume's way of reminding himself to re-read this passage on some future

occasion. In terms of superstition juxtaposed with faith, then, Plume seems to

have been interested in understanding the activities which may have been

contrary to the practice of religion and the nature of faith. In particular, he was

looking for anti-Catholic commentary, but also sought to understand how far one

should simply have faith and when it was appropriate to apply reason. It seems

that Plume had made the choice to read Hobbes as anti-Catholic rather than

anti-Christian, which had been an accusation made against Hobbes during the

book's early reception by some protestant readers.[109]

5.3.5   The context of Plume's reading

To get a sense of how Plume responded to Hobbes' text, it is useful to understand

how *Leviathan* was received at the time, and the other aspects of Hobbes' work in

which Plume was interested. *Leviathan* was seen as an 'unusually productive

source for those in search of mud to sling at political and religious opponents',

but part from the anti-Catholic sentiments in one of Plume's notations, he does

not seem to have taken the notes for this reason.[110] Notwithstanding its

controversial concerns, the book was not subject to censorship by the Stationers'

Company nor by the Interregnum regime when it came out, despite the demands

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[108]   MA0029, f. 62r, line 38.

[109]   Serjeantson, 'Introduction', p. xxii.

[110]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, p. 287.

of the Presbyterian writers of the pamphlet in 1652, Richard Baxter in 1654, and a

Scottish Hebrew scholar in 1657.[111] It was not until 1683 that the University of

Oxford publically burned *Leviathan* alongside other 'Certain Pernicious Books',

following the Rye House Plot.[112] Some royalists reacted against *Leviathan* at first

because of its dismissal of divine right, since Hobbes had written that the

monarch was given authority by the people rather than by God.[113]

Edward Hyde Lord Clarendon was also against Hobbes' idea of limiting of the

monarch's power.[114] It was thought by some to be related to the Oath of

Engagement when in 1650 all adult males were to take an oath of allegiance to the

republican regime.[115] However, Newey argues that this is unlikely for three

reasons: *Leviathan* was not simply a political text, it was too expensive to be

available to everyone, and it was probably started well before the idea of the Oath

came about.[116]

Notwithstanding the brevity of his reading notes, Plume's collection of printed

books shows that he was interested in the debates surrounding *Leviathan*, which

continued for many years. Many of the books in Plume's library associated with

Hobbes' work were by Hobbes' detractors, politically, religiously or scientifically.

Plume owned three books by Robert Filmer, which contained critiques of

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[111]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, p. 297; Malcolm, *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan*, p. 154.

[112]   Malcolm, *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan,* p. 261.

[113]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, pp. 295-6.

[114]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, p. 297.

[115]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, p. 288.

[116]   Newey, *Routledge Guide to Hobbes' Leviathan*, p. 289.

Leviathan (amongst others).[117] Filmer was in favour of a patriarchal hierarchy, and objected to Hobbes' assertion that women should be counted as having an equal place with men in a social contract.[118] Filmer was also interested in countering Milton's *Against Salmasius* and Hugo Grotius' *De jure belli*. Plume owned Grotius' *De jure Belli* in the Latin edition published in Amsterdam in 1650.[119] He also owned four copies of John Milton's *Angli Pro populo Anglicano defensio; contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem regiam*.[120]

As well as the three publications by Robert Filmer, Plume also owned Edward Hyde Lord Clarendon's *A brief view and survey of the dangerous and pernicious errors to church and state, in Mr Hobbes's book, entitled Leviathan* (1676) and John Templar's *Idea Theologiae Leviathanis* (1673).[121] Another author who countered

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[117] Robert Filmer, *Observations concerning the original of government, upon Mr Hobs Leviathan. Mr Milton against Salmasius. H Grotius De jure belli* (London: printed for R. Royston, at the Angel in Ivie-Lane, 1652) (Standard No: B01705); Robert Filmer, *The free-holders grand inquest, touching our Sovereign Lord the King and his Parliament* (London: [s.n.], Printed in the year MDCLXXIX) (Standard No: B03557); and a further copy of this Robert Filmer, *The free-holders grand inquest, touching our sovereign lord the King and his Parliament* (London: printed for Rich. Royston, bookseller to His most sacred Majesty, at the Angel in Amen-corner, 1684) (Standard No: B01263).

[118] Sharon A. Lloyd and Susanne Sreedhar, 'Hobbes's Moral and Political Philosophy', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2014), online edition, ed. by Edward N. Zalta http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/hobbes-moral/.

[119] Hugo Grotius, *Hugonis Grotii De jure belli ac pacis libri tres,: in quibus jus naturæ & gentium, item juris publici præcipua explicantur (Editio nova ed.)* (Amstelædami: Apud Ioannem Blaev, MDCL) (Standard No: B04013).

[120] Three of the same edition: John Milton, *Joannis Miltoni Angli Pro populo Anglicano defensio; contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem regiam* (Londini: typis Du Gardianis, anno Domini 1651) (Standard Nos: B01412 and B22222), which both contain Plume's ownership mark (the second has "*Edition 1, Issue 3 ed.* as part of the title), and Standard No: B11111, which does not contain an ownership mark. There is also an edition of 1652, printed in Gouda (Standard No: B06089), which is a replacement copy.

[121] Edward Hyde Clarendon, *A brief view and survey of the dangerous and pernicious errors to church and state, in Mr. Hobbes's book, entitled Leviathan* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1676) (Standard No: B0754); John Templer, *Idea theologiæ Leviathanis: in quâ proponuntur, I. Leviathanis dogmata. II. Dogmatum defensio ab authore. III. Defensionis examen. Cui præmittitur Exercitatio theologica de sacro canone, ad quem prædicta theologia expenditure*

Hobbes' ideas was William Lucy and Plume owned two of his works relating to

Leviathan.[122] Plume had a further eight books by Hobbes on political and

theological philosophy and six books by other authors who disagreed with his

views.[123] This means that although Plume seemed interested mainly in the

theological issues raised by Hobbes when he first read it in 1656, he continued to

follow the political context of Hobbes' work and the effect it had on later

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(Imprint Londini: Typis E. Flesher, impensis G. Morden bibliopolæ Cantabr., MDCLXXIII) (Standard No: B02776).

[122] William Lucy, *Observations, censures and confutations of notorious errours in Mr Hobbes his Leviathan, and other his books* (London: printed by J[ohn]. G[rismond]. for Nath. Brooke at the Angel in Cornhill, 1663) (Standard No: B01342); and William Lucy, *An answer to Mr Hobbs his Leviathan with observations, censures, and confutations of divers errours, beginning at the seventeenth chapter of that book* (London: printed by S. G[riffin]. and B. G[riffin]. for Edward Man at the White Swan in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1673) (Standard No: B01335).

[123] Thomas Hobbes, *Thomae Hobbes Angli Malmesburiensis philosophia vita* (London: Printed for W. Crooke, 1682) (Standard No: B01709); Thomas Hobbes, *A letter about liberty and necessity with observations upon it by a learned prelate of the Church of England* [B Laney] (London: printed by J. Grover, for W. Crooke, 1676) (Standard No: B00049); Thomas Hobbes, *De corpore politico. Or the elements of law, moral & politic* (London: J. Martin, and J. Ridley, and are to be sold at the Castle in Fleet-street, by Ram-Alley, 1650) (Standard No: B00919); Thomas Hobbes, *Elementa philosophica de cive* (Amsterdam: 1647) (two copies) (Standard Nos: B04407 and B06280); Thomas Hobbes, *A letter about liberty and necessity: written to the Duke of Newcastle* (London: J. C. for W. Crook, 1677) (Standard No: B05086) and another edition from 1676 (Standard No: B00049); Thomas Hobbes, *The questions concerning liberty, necessity, and chance* (London: Printed for Andrew Crook, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1656) (Standard No: B04855); Thomas Hobbes, *Of libertie and necessitie; a treatise, wherein all controversie concerning predestination, election, free-will, grace, merits, reprobation, &c is fully decided and cleared, in answer to a treatise written by the Bishop of London-derry, on the same subject* (London: Printed by W.B. for F. Eaglesfield, 1654) (Standard No: B04498).

Roger Coke, *Justice vindicated from the false fucus put upon it, by Thomas White, gent, Mr Thomas Hobbs, and Hugo Grotius* (London: Tho. Newcomb for G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1660) (Standard No: B03313); Richard Cumberland, *De legibus naturae disquisitio philosophica, in qua earum forma, summa capita, ordo, promulgatio & obligation e rerum natura investigantur; quinetiam elementa philosophiae Hobbianae, cum moralis tum civilis, considerandtur & refutantur* (Londini: Typis E. Flesher, prostat verò apud Nathanaelem Hooke, 1672) (Standard No: B01251); John Eachard, *Mr Hobbs's state of nature considered; in a dialogue between Philautus and Timothy* (London: E.T. and R.H. for Nath. Brooke 1672) (Standard No: B04162); Thomas Tenison, *The creed of Mr Hobbes examined; in a feigned conference between him and a student in divinity* (London: Francis Tyton, 1670) (Standard No: B03611); Samuel Parker, *Disputationes de Deo, et providentia divina* (London: Typis M. Clark, impensis Jo. Martyn, 1678) (Standard No: B01587); William Hughes, *The spirit of prophecy: A Treatise to Prove ... that Christ and His Apostles Were Prophets. Together with the Divine Authority of Christian Religion and the Holy Scriptures, the Insufficiency of Humane Reason, and the Reasonableness of the Christian Faith ... Asserted Against Mr. Hobbs and the Treatise of Humane Reason* (London : Printed for W. Crook, 1679) (Standard No: B01431).

seventeenth-century intellectual debates. Although it was not unusual to collect texts on different sides of a debate, it is clear from Plume's notes that he did not disagree with Hobbes on certain points, although in some cases he expressed reservations. This gives a sense of where Plume's view might differ from other Church of England authors who disagreed vehemently with many aspects of Hobbes' text. Plume seems to have been reading in a pragmatic and impartial way, taking from *Leviathan* what he required and not recording any disagreement with what he read.

In a later period, which must have been at least ten years after the original record was made Plume revisited his *Leviathan* notes and inserted a further comment (see Figure 35). The text in these two lines is highly abbreviated and unfortunately there are insufficient words to make sense of it. However, it does indicate that Plume continued to find his reading notes useful throughout his career.
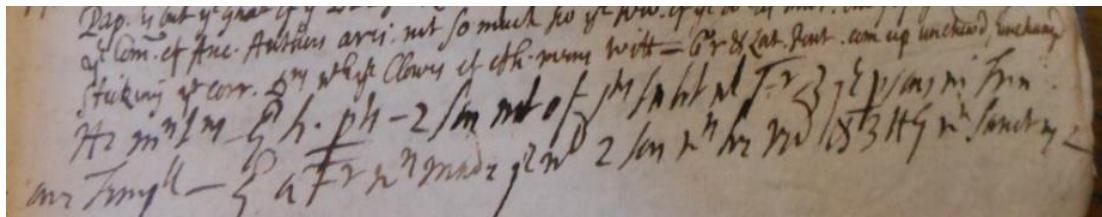
Figure 35: Plume's later annotation on his *Leviathan* notes, MA0029, f. 62r

5.4   Conclusion

Plume's reading notes from *Leviathan* establish the issues in which he was interested and indicate where he concurred with or diverged from Hobbes' view.

He agreed with Hobbes' opinion on the use of ancient writers and scholastics - although with some reservations - and was prepared to accept contemporary natural philosophical evidence derived from sense, experience and reason. Plume's notes also show a nuanced consideration of ideas of faith in the scriptures together with justification for looking at the natural world, and he seems to have adopted Hobbes' use of reason and experience to explain aspects of religion and faith. Plume was interested in the relationship between contemporary popular culture and traditional superstitious practices, and there is a sense that he did not see them as a threat, but rather that they could be inappropriate. He was more concerned with the issue of salvation, the role of the sacraments, and what happened after death of the body, but also turned to more practical issues for the clergy as opposed to theoretical and spiritual ones.

Plume's initial interest in the intellectual debates raised in *Leviathan* continued throughout his book-buying period, since he followed the intellectual discourse through the purchase of related books. For example, Plume owned Filmer's book in the 1680 edition, although it is possible that he read an earlier edition. This signifies the central importance of *Leviathan* in the second half of the seventeenth century, and that its concerns continued to be of significance for Thomas Plume many years after he had first encountered them.

Compared with Robert Boreman's lengthy and neatly written reading notes, as will be seen in the next chapter, Plume's single page, written in his own form of abbreviated text, illustrates that they employed very different styles of reading and writing practices. This may reflect a generational change where the

continuing expansion of book availability encouraged a transition from reading a small number of texts comprehensively to a greater number more selectively. However, as will be seen in the next chapter, they were both concerned in their readings to extract information which would be useful to their role as clergymen and their contemporary situations.

Although they both used a combination of paraphrasing and verbatim copying, Boreman's reading notes could certainly have been of use to other readers, who would be able to easily discern the salient points of the text picked out by Boreman. This indicates that he intended them to have a future use, either for himself or others. For Plume, however, the form of the notes might instead serve as a personal record as a reminder about the issues raised within it. For example, if he was to discuss his reading of the text with John Hacket, the notes could act as a prompt on the aspects in which he found particular relevance. The fact that Plume did revisit these notes later in life does show that they had a long-term use for him personally, but to carefully preserve them in his library after his death points to a more memorial purpose; a complete record of his intellectual life kept side by side with other manuscripts which were more legible and useful.

Chapter 6   **'We may reade an exact parallel to our Civill Warres': Robert Boreman's reading of Italian Histories**

Robert Boreman's reading of two of the renowned Italian histories - Francesco Guicciardini's *Istoria d'Italia* and Paolo Sarpi's *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* – provoked some powerful reactions from him. He proclaimed that the Inquisition was 'detestable and odius ... and the greatest Torture that can be inflicted on men.'[1] He also observed that styling the pope as 'his Beatitude' amounted to 'abominable flatterie', and that the French King's collaboration with the Turkes was 'a horrid practice'.[2] These types of response were not unusual however, since Sarpi's intention was to grip his readers with 'the strongest feelings of disquiet, disarray and disgust'.[3] Boreman's personal commentary on his reading of these texts can reveal insights into his ideological and political worldview, but his notes also convey specific evidence for his reading habits and practices, and how he read the two texts in different ways. Boreman's substantial reading notes from the Italian Histories helped him to find ways to understand human nature and relate it to his contemporary political and religious context. His personal commentary reveals that his reading experience was coloured by both his vocation and the circumstances of the Civil Wars, and this encouraged him to create his own meaning from the texts. He inserted navigational devices and page citations,

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[1]   MA0111, E.20, f. 4r.

[2]   MA0111, E.20, f. 19r; MA0106, f. 20r.

[3]   David Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi: between Renaissance and Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 104. This is similar to Hobbes' intention, who wanted to provoke his readers into thinking about the issues raised by *Leviathan*: see Serjeantson, 'Introduction', p. x.

showing that he expected to revisit these notes, and perhaps the related printed books, in the future.

As with manuscripts encountered in previous chapters, these examples were preserved for decades before being deposited in the Library. This demonstrates how they were thought to be useful not only at the time of creation, but for the author to re-engage with them and for new readers to benefit from the work already done. This chapter answers the supplementary research questions of why the manuscripts were created in the first place and how they were subsequently used. Again, Boreman's reading of these texts helped him in his role as both clergyman and scholar, and raised political issues relating to conflict and correct rule. This echoes Plume's use of *Leviathan*, although Boreman's reading referred to events which had taken place during previous centuries in another state, but the issues he encountered continued to have relevance for his current situation.

THE
HISTORIE
of Guicciardin:

CONTAINING THE WARRES OF
ITALIE AND OTHER PARTES, CONTINVED
for manie yeares vnder sundrie Kings and Princes, together
with the variations and accidents of the same:

And also the Arguments, with a Table at large expreßing the principall
matters through the whole historie.

Reduced into English by GEFFRAY FENTON.

Mon heur viendra.

Imprinted at London by Richard Field, dwelling in the
Blackfriers by Ludgate.
1599.

Figure 36: Title page of 1599 edition of *The Historie of Guicciardin*

THE
HISTORIE OF
THE COUNCEL
OF TRENT.

I. IN EIGHT BOOKES. II.

In which (besides the ordinarie Acts of the Councell)
are declared many notable Occurrences, which happened in
Christendome, during the space of fourtie
yeeres and more.

And particularly, the practices of the Court of Rome, *to*
hinder the reformation of their errours, and to
maintaine their greatnesse.

Written in Italian by *Pietro Soave Polano*, and faithfully translated
into *English* by NATHANAEL BRENT.

Unto this THIRD EDITION are added divers observable Passages,
and Epistles, concerning the truth of this Historie,
specified in the next Page.

LONDON,
Printed by ROBERT YOUNG and JOHN RAVVORTH,
for RICHARD WHITTAKER, and are to be sold at
the Kings armes in *Pauls* Church-yard.
1640.

Figure 37: Title page of 1640 edition of The Historie of the Councel of Trent

Boreman read English translations of both books; Geoffrey Fenton's *The Historie*

of Guicciardin of 1599 and Sir Nathaniel Brent's 1629 or 1640 edition of *The*

Historie of the Councel of Trent.[4] Fenton had used a French edition of the original

Italian text to make his 1579 translation, which was republished in 1599 and 1618.[5]

James I had sponsored Brent's translation of the *Historie of the Councel of Trent*,

which also ran to three editions of 1620, 1629 and 1640, and Sarpi subsequently

enjoyed a long period of popularity in England.[6] The two books were often read

together and it is possible that Boreman read the Sarpi text first and was directed

to the Guicciardini text through Sarpi's inclusion of certain extracts from *The*

Historie of Italie in his appendices.[7] Another English reader, Roger Twysden, also

read these books together as can be seen in a citation of Guicciardini in his copy

of the Sarpi text.[8] Protestants sometimes read both texts for their anti-Catholic

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[4]   Geoffrey Fenton, *The historie of Guicciardin containing the vvarres of Italie and other partes, continued for manie yeares vnder sundrie kings and princes, together with the variations and accidents of the same: and also the arguments, with a table at large expressing the principall matters through the whole historie. Reduced into English by Geffray Fenton* (London: By Richard Field, dwelling in the Blackfriers by Ludgate, 1599); Nathaniel Brent, *The historie of the Councel of Trent Conteining eight bookes. In which (besides the ordinarie actes of the Councell) are declared many notable occurrences, which happened in Christendome, during the space of fourtie yeeres and more. And, particularly, the practises of the Court of Rome, to hinder the reformation of their errors, and to maintaine their greatnesse. Written in Italian by Pietro Soaue Polano, and faithfully translated into English by Nathanael Brent* (London: Bonham Norton and Iohn Bill, printers to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, 1629); Nathaniel Brent, *The historie of the Councel of Trent In eight bookes. In which (besides the ordinarie acts of the Councell) are declared many notable occurrences, which happened in Christendome, during the space of fourtie yeeres and more. And particularly, the practices of the Court of Rome, to hinder the reformation of their errours, and to maintaine their greatnesse. Written in Italian by Pietro Soaue Polano, and faithfully translated into English by Nathanael Brent* (London: Robert Young and John Ravvorth, for Richard Whittaker, and are to be sold at the Kings armes in Pauls Church-yard, 1640).

[5]   Peter E. Bondanella, *Francesco Guicciardini* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), p. 127.

[6]   F. A. Yates, 'Paolo Sarpi's "History of the Council of Trent"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 7 (1944), 123-43, p. 126.

[7]   Bondanella, *Francesco Guicciardini*, p. 133.

[8]   D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 88.

propaganda; however another reason was that both books both focused on

human motives and this aspect will be explored in relation to the types of

extracts Boreman made.[9]

Machiavelli was also often read with Guicciardini: his 1595 edition of *History of*

Florence in translation was sometimes bound with Guicciardini's *History of Italie*

and his presence is conspicuously absent from Boreman's reading notes.[10] Anglo

explains that the opinions of other writers had an influence on how Machiavelli

was received, and it may be that Robert Boreman was influenced by the

Huguenot exile Innocent Gentillet (1535-1588), whom Boreman cited in his

Paideia Thriamous: *The Triumph of Learning*.[11] Gentillet wrote a treatise refuting

Machiavelli's ideas on governance (and to criticise the rule of Catherine de

Medici) and Thomas Plume's Library has a copy of this book, as well as four by

Machiavelli.[12]

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[9]   Bondanella, p. 131; Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1969), p. 89.

[10]   Examples examined include Westminster Abbey Library, Standard No: 5.3.13 and Senate House Library, Standard No: [G.L.] 1595 fol. SR.

[11]   Sidney Anglo, *Machiavelli – the First Century: Studies in Enthusiasm, Hostility and Irrelevance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 4; Boreman, *Paideia Thriamous*, p. 18.

[12]   Innocent Gentillet, *A discourse vpon the meanes of vvel governing and maintaining in good peace, a kingdome, or other principalitie. : Divided into three parts, namely, the counsell, the religion, and the policie, vvhich a prince ought to hold and follow. Against Nicholas Machiavell the Florentine* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1602) (Standard No: B04038); Victoria Khan, 'Reading Machiavelli: Innocent Gentillet's Discourse on Method', *Political Theory*, 22 (1994), 539-60, p. 540; Niccolò Machiavelli, *Nicolai Machiavelli Florentini Historiae Florentine libri octo*, Lugdu [n]i Batavorum: Apud Hieronymum de Vogel (1645) (Standard No: B04472); Niccolò Machiavelli, *Machiavel's discourses upon the first decade of Tl Livius. The second edition much corrected and amended* (London: Printed for Charles Harper at the Flower-de-luce over against St Dunstan's Church, and John Amery at the Peacock over against Fetter-lane, both in Fleet-street, 1674) (Standard No: B03224) [ESTC: R224103]; Niccolò Machiavelli, *Nicolai Machiauelli Florentini Disputationum, de republica, quas Discursus nuncupauit, libi III: Quomodo in rebuspub.ad antiquorum Romanorum imitationem actiones omnes bené malève [sic] instituantur* (Mompelgarti; Per Iacobum Folilletum, typographum Mompelgartensem,

Both Guicciardini and Sarpi were widely read and influential during the late
sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Guicciardini became 'one of the most
widely read historians of the modern period' and Jean Bodin rated Guicciardini as
one of the best historians since the classical period.[13] Gabriel Harvey, Sir Walter
Raleigh, Sir Francis Bacon were all influenced by Guicciardini; his popularity had
been ensured by Robert Dallington, who influenced the reception of
Guicciardini's work in England to the extent that *The Historie of Guicciardin*
became acceptable and even an 'official text' for English readers, and the main
source for 'Renaissance History and politics' in the early seventeenth century.[14]
Dallington's *Aphorismes* (a copy of which came to Plume from Justinian Whitter,
as seen in Chapter 9) contained examples from Guicciardini's *Historie of Italy*,
and this strengthens the idea of Dallington having an influence on Guicciardini's
reception.[15]

Paolo Sarpi's work was also popular in England reflected by the fact that he was
the most translated foreign author into English.[16] The *Historie of the Councel of*
Trent had been important to conformist clergy because, as Sarpi implied, if the
correct reforms at Trent had been adopted, then the 'Anglican' model would have
prevailed and the Church of England would have kept its lineage to the original

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MD. XCI) (Standard No: B04899); Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Nicolai Machiavelli Florentini*
Princeps (Editio nova priorbus. edn. Lugnduni Batavorum: Ex officina Hieronymi de Vogel,
1648) (Standard No: B04372).

[13]   Bondanella, p. 125, p. 129.

[14]   Bondanella, p. 129, p. 131; Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions,* p. 53; Sidney Alexander, *The History of*
Italy by Francesco Guicciardini, translated, edited, with notes and an introduction by Sidney
Alexander (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. xxx.

[15]   Linda Levy Peck, *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2005), p. 181.

[16]   John Leon Livesay, *Venetian Phoenix: Paulo Sarpi and some of his English Friends (1606-1700)*
(Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1973), pp. 75-6.

Church.[17] The Plume collection also attests to the continuing importance and relevance of Sarpi's works in the later seventeenth century. The Library has eleven copies of Paolo Sarpi's works (including the 1640 English edition of *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino,* and also a translation of his *History of the Inquisition* catalogued under another name by which he was known, Pietro Servita), together with five books by other authors writing about Sarpi and the Council of Trent.[18]

One of the main differences between the Guicciardini and Sarpi texts is in terms of how they treat religion. Guicciardini – in a similar way to Machiavelli - concentrates more on the Church as an institution rather than on its spiritual values, whereas the Sarpi text includes details of spiritual interpretation in addition to its historical facts, and partly because of this, Robert Boreman read the two books in different ways, and for different reasons.[19] Whilst reading the two texts Boreman made substantial reading notes and this chapter presents a comparison between his two manuscripts 'Notes out of Guicciardin collected in ye yeere 1646' ('Guicciardini notes') and 'Notes on a History of the Reformation' ('Sarpi notes')[20].

The front page of the Guicciardini notes reveal the year in which they were compiled, but not who wrote them. The year is significant: the author was interested in a period of war and conflict in early sixteenth-century Italy, whilst living through a period of Civil Wars himself. Although the Sarpi notes are

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[17]   Yates, 'Paolo Sarpi's "History of the Council of Trent"', pp. 134-5.

[18]   See catalogue numbers: B05784, B00185, B02452, B02732, B02159, B02158, B02737, B03815, B05857, B00836, B03709, B04252, B02528, B05644, and B06333.

[19]   Bondanella, *Francesco Guicciardini*, p. 115.

[20]   MA0106, and MA0111, E.20.

undated there are several reasons to date them to the 1640s, as will be shown over the course of the chapter. They were attributed in the Plume Library manuscript catalogue to Robert Boreman although, as in the Guicciardini notes, the manuscript itself is unsigned.

To confirm that author of both manuscripts was indeed Robert Boreman a handwriting comparison was carried out using two further manuscripts in the Plume collection which contain Boreman's signatures. These manuscripts were draft copies of books which he published in 1652 and 1662: 'A treatise on tithes dated 1648' and 'An Antidote Against Sweareing' (discussed in Chapter 9).[21] A selection of majuscule and miniscule letter forms were compared between the four manuscripts, together with the appearance of frequently used words in each of the documents. The handwriting is mostly slanted humanist cursive with certain secretary-hand characteristics. Examples of the secretary features are the letter O with a vertical line through it to represent 'pro' and the long vertical symbol standing for 'ers' at the end of a word. Following this examination of all four manuscripts - and notwithstanding the timespan of nearly twenty years between the first and last - it was clear that the author of each document was the same person.

In addition, the textual devices he used show that they were produced with the intention that Boreman, or another reader of the notes, should return to the books when further information was required. A detailed methodology has been

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[21]   MA0113, G.19, later published as: Boreman, *The country-mans catechisme;* and MA0024 later
        published as Boreman, *An antidote against swearing*.

adopted to analyse the contents of the manuscripts, and the discussion of this is followed by sections on what the manuscripts can reveal about both the general and more specific interests of their author: from the information he selected to notes down and the personal opinions he expressed.

6.1   Manuscript description and method of analysis

An initial comparison of the methods Boreman used for excerpting in the two manuscripts might suggest that they were written by different authors. The Sarpi notes include a margin on the left side of the page, which has been used for page number citations and marginal notes relating to the passages, whereas the Guicciardini notes contain neither margin nor marginal notes, and the page numbers are incorporated within the paragraph concerned. The Sarpi notes also contain certain textual devices to assist the reader which are not present in the Guicciardini notes, including: the underlining of proper nouns (they are italicised in the printed text) and the underlining of certain passages or phrases; the use of 'manicules' or pointing hands in the margin; and asterisks that lead to a further explication of the text. However, on a closer inspection, many similarities in the manuscripts become evident. The size, materials and construction of the notebooks are comparable, as is the use of the abbreviations 'vi' or 'vid' and 'vi. plu.' standing for 'see further' to direct the reader to additional information on the subject, and the use of 'ib' for 'ibid' referring to a repeat of the previous page citation. The different styles of extraction could indicate that he had developed a system which helped him navigate these two sets of notes which had been taken for different purposes.

Figure 38: MA0106, f. 1r

Figure 39: extract from MA0111 E.20 showing marginal notes, underling and asterisk

6.2   **Method for analysing the content**

It seems sensible to analyse these two manuscripts comparatively, since they are both evidence of reading histories by Italian authors in translation, and both refer to sixteenth-century events taking place in Europe. However, in methodological terms a comparative view presents certain difficulties because of differences in length and construction of the manuscripts, and the variation in subject matter appearing in each text. In order to analyse the individual reading note excerpts, both manuscripts were fully transcribed and arranged in tabulated form with each reading note separated by the paragraph spacing in the manuscripts. Following transcription of both manuscripts, each reading note was then compared with the text in the corresponding pages of the printed books to identify whether the excerpts had been copied or paraphrased, and to see whether Boreman had inserted his own opinions or commentary on what he had read.

From this exercise it can be understood that Boreman was careful and thorough in his citation of page numbers since the origins of most of the notes can be identified in the printed version. The criterion used for 'copying' is that the major part of the text in the reading note has been taken verbatim from a block of continuous text in the book, although qualifying phrases such as 'he saies that' may have also been included. This method of note-taking is likely to have been used to collect useful aphorisms or maxims, and many of the 'copied' excerpts from the Guicciardini text were taken from sections containing quotation marks, indicating that these were popular words to extract. The test for 'paraphrasing' is

that the reading note was taken from a collection of phrases or sentences from different parts of one or more pages, or that the word order or choice of words was altered. Boreman combined these two methods of note-taking into one form and also added his own opinions into the notes, illustrating a development in the conventions of note-taking and personal adaptation for his own needs. Following the cross-referencing of the extracts to the printed texts, the extracts taken in each section or 'book' of the text were then counted to identify the parts of the book he favoured. Finally, every extract was allocated keywords and a category to identify the subject matter of the notes. The themes of war and conflict, the nature of authority, models of good and bad behaviour, and the role of the clergy, are present in both sets of notes.

During analysis of the manuscripts particular attention has been paid to the extracted passages where Boreman underlined phrases, inserted asterisks and manicules, and where he indicated 'see further', in order to understand the kinds of passage he wanted to highlight. Four copies of each of the printed books have also been examined to see whether any marks in these books correspond with the marks Boreman made in his notes, and whether the actual copies he took notes from can be identified. In addition, parts of the books which were *not* noted down by Boreman can be identified by selecting the sections where more than ten clear pages have not had notes taken from them and by checking the text's marginal headings for the subjects of those pages. The absence of notes from these sections could indicate that Boreman did not consider the information to be useful for his present purposes, although time constraints in accessing the

book could have also played a part. Although there are twenty-one gaps of this size in the Guicciardini notes, there are none in the Sarpi notes: the largest gap is only five pages long. This is significant because it demonstrates that he read the Sarpi text much more comprehensively. Rather than choosing sections to read, perhaps with the use of the context or index as he could have done with the Guicciardini text, Boreman seems to have looked at the Sarpi text from beginning to end. It was common practice to take notes whilst reading texts even when there was no immediate purpose 'in order to make them available for future use by oneself or by others' and this may explain the differences in the composition of the notes, and it may be that this was the case for the Guicciardini notes.[22] By comparing the differences in the two sets of notes it is argued that Boreman was taking the notes for different purposes, and this accounts for the difference in presentation and method of extraction, as well as the variation which will be seen in the typologies.

6.3   **The physical act of reading**

Although the title of the Guicciardini notes reveals that the date of their collection was during the year 1646, it is not specified in the manuscript whether the notes were taken down on a single occasion, during several close sessions, or at a more leisurely pace over the course of the whole year. Christopher Burlinson, looking at Alexander Bold's notebooks, argues that they are 'entered in a hand and ink that suggests long passages of copying, not gradual compiling', and both sets of Boreman's reading notes suggest the same, since both manuscripts retain

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[22]   Blair, 'The Rise of Note-taking in Early Modern Europe', p. 1.

a consistent presentation of text and colour of ink.[23] There is only one example of an erasure at the *beginning* of an extract, and in neither manuscript are there examples of whole extracts being erased, showing that he did not tend to change his mind once starting to write out a reading note. This could be explained by Boreman marking the passages he wanted on the book, but it is not likely that the notes are a fair copy, due to the relatively large numbers of erasures in the notes: fifty-four erasures in the Guicciardini notes and one hundred and twenty-two erasures in the Sarpi notes.

A marginal note, which also contains an asterisk, says: '* Vid a confutation of this p. 349' refers to an extract three pages further on in the text.[24] The manner in which Boreman referenced back and forth to previous entries does suggest that the notes were taken in a fairly continuous way (rather than spaced out over a longer time period) since a fresh mental picture of what had been noted several pages before would have been required in order to remember the relevant passages. For example, in an extract saying: 'Middle Counsells doe usually displease both parties' he added a direction to see page 443 where there is an example of Pope Pius IV taking a middle course between two poles of argument.[25] He must have read the story on page 443 and then returned to his entry copied from page 435 in order to make the cross-reference.

Other phrases used by Boreman in the notes also suggest that the material in the notes was to be used in the future. His commentary of: 'This passeage of his may

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[23]   Burlinson, 'The Use and Re-Ue of Early Seventeenth-Century Student Notebooks', p. 241.

[24]   MA0111, E.20, f. 23r (paraphrased from p. 346 of the text).

[25]   MA0111, E.20, f. 28v (copied from p. 435 of the text).

be used and applied to shew how dangerous a thing it is when we deale with an

Adversarie of the Truth ...' indicates that the passage being read can be reused in

terms of future writings or sermons as an example or evidence.[26] Robert

Boreman's book *Paideia Thriamous*: *The Triumph of Learning* was published not

long after the making of the notes and many of the themes in this book

correspond to the types of extract Boreman chose to note down in his reading of

the Sarpi and Guicciardini texts. For example, Boreman described John Davenant

as 'a Worthie', reflecting his extracts concerning exemplarity in the Guicciardini

text, and recounted a story where 'a schismatick repented and come again to the

Church', which links directly to extracts about schismatics in the Sarpi text.[27] This

indicates that he was looking for understanding which could translate into his

own concerns in the present, rather than just searching for aphorisms.

6.3.1   Comparison of the different types of extraction

The Guicciardini text and the Sarpi text are very similar in length, comprising

nine hundred and forty-three and eight hundred and seventy-nine pages

respectively. In the Guicciardini notes there are a total of two hundred and

thirteen excerpts, 75% of which are made by copying and 25% from paraphrasing.

There are four instances of personal commentary, where Boreman made a note in

his own words, stating his opinion on what he had read (in many cases relating it

to the circumstances in contemporary England). There are also two cases of

asterisks being inserted and eight directions to 'see further'. In contrast, the Sarpi

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[26]   MA0111 E.20, f. 33r.

[27]   Boreman, *The Triumph of Learning,* p. 11, p. 28.

notes have six hundred and eighty-eight excerpts (more than three times as many), 44% of which were copied directly and 56% were paraphrased. This higher percentage of paraphrasing could mean that Boreman was trying to gain a greater understanding of the passages in the Sarpi text. In addition, there are thirty-nine examples of Boreman's personal commentary, the presence of eighteen asterisks, twenty-three manicules, and fifty-three instances of 'see' or 'see further'. Another major difference in the Sarpi notes is that twenty-six passages have also been underlined. It is unclear what the different meanings are between these devices: was there any specific reason for Boreman choosing to underline a passage, put an asterisk by it, or point a finger at it?

The most likely explanation for inserting manicules is that they serve to highlight notable passages. William Sherman employed the word 'manicule' to represent the illustration of a pointing hand in the margin of a manuscript or printed book, which could vary from a simple drawing to a very elaborate one.[28] Although many of Sherman's examples refer to Elizabethan texts, he confirms that in the seventeenth century it was still common practice for readers to inscribe manicules 'to draw attention to specific passages'.[29] Sherman argues that the manicule 'served alongside the asterisk and the flower as the most visible technique' but has identified more specific functions than just that of marking a notable passage: to show a new paragraph; to distinguish a certain kind of material; or to note where new passages have been added in a new edition of the

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[28]   Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 29.

[29]   Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 37.

text.[30] The examples Sherman discusses are where a reader drew a manicule onto a text that they were *reading*. However, in the case of the Sarpi notes, Boreman drew a manicule whilst he was *writing*. It seems likely that the manicules – and the other navigational devices – were inserted at the time of writing rather than during a later reading of the notes, since the ink colour and pen nib used are the same as those used in the main body of the writing, as are the other marginal notes. Boreman used printed manicules in the margins of his published work, for example, see Figure 62 in Chapter 8.
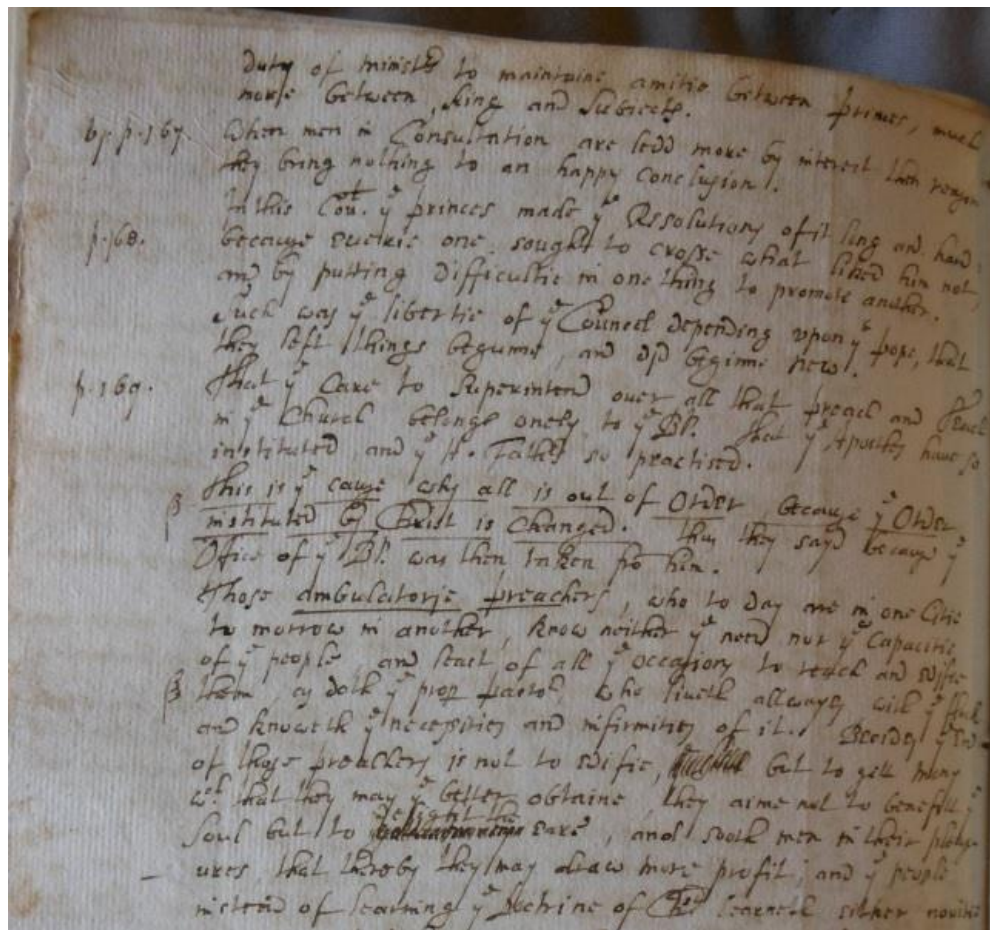
Figure 40: Examples of manicules in MA0111, E.20

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[30]   Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 41-42.

It is unlikely that the twenty-three manicules in the Sarpi notes perform any of the specific functions outlined above, such as denoting a particular topic, methodology or new material in the edition.[31] This is because there are several different categories of subject matter in the passages pointed to, so the manicules cannot have been inserted in order to show that a certain kind of material has been extracted. In addition, certain passages have been copied from the text and others have been paraphrased, so the manicules are not present in order to show a particular method of extraction. The passages in question are present in all editions of the printed English translation, so the manicules are not indicating new material. Therefore the most likely explanation for their presence is that they are marking notable passages which particularly interested Boreman. He therefore might have been using this device in a similar way to the 'see further' instructions. A selection of the passages which Boreman highlighted by the various navigational devices which have been introduced in this section have been analysed to identify what they can tell which aspects of the texts held specific interest for Boreman.

The Guicciardini notes contain two asterisked passages, and in both of these cases the asterisk appears at the end of the extract. The first has a resonance on the state of affairs in England at the time:

> 'So dangerous are the illes that are feared by revolution of a state, which for the most part drawes with it all those miseries which may be figured in an utter vaine and desolation. *'[32]

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[31]   One of which is much smaller than the others and could instead be a letter 'b' standing for [i]b[id].

[32]   MA0106, f. 10r (copied from p. 254 of the text).

The second refers to the ability of the Turks to take Rhodes because the

Christians were distracted by infighting:

> '... This was the fruit drawne of the discords of our princes, which yet might
> be somewhat tollerable if at least the examples of harmes past might make
> them better tempered in time to come. *'[33]

This latter extract implies that lessons can be learned from mistakes made in the

past so that they are not repeated in the future, and the asterisks in both cases

may have been inserted to highlight this as something which applied to the

contemporary situation in England. In contrast, the Sarpi notes contain two

alternative uses for asterisks. There are seven places where asterisks refer to

margin notes which clarify the information in the extracts.[34] There are also a

further eleven places where asterisks are used to indicate that these extracts

should stand out. One example begins: 'Originall Sinne is not * as a fountaine

without water but a fountaine from whence corrupted waters do issue ...'.[35] This

extract may have resonated with Boreman as sounding similar to verse II Peter

2:17 in the King James Bible: 'These are wells without water ...', and the asterisk

appearing after the word 'not', perhaps is placed to emphasise the divergence

from the biblical reference.

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[33]   MA0106, f. 16r (paraphrased from p. 683 of the text).

[34]   MA0111, E.20, see ff. 4r, 7r, 8r, 12v, 22r, 23r and 34v.

[35]   MA0111, E.20, f. 10r (paraphrased from p. 175 of text).

6.3.2   Motivations

As has been seen from the debates in the history of reading, individual readers

could read the same books coloured by their own opinions and motivations.

Robert Boreman read these texts from the standpoint of a clergyman who wanted

to understand both the human condition more broadly and the issues at stake in

the contemporary religious and political climate specifically. Although

Guicciardini himself did not agree that past situations could be directly applied

to the present, he was an exception as this was a widely held view during the

seventeenth century and his readers often saw the past in terms of unchanging

principles.[36] Boreman was a typical reader in this aspect, and his reading of these

texts can be compared with those of his contemporaries such as Sir William

Drake, Gabriel Harvey, or Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, whose primary

motivations and interests were political; Sharpe sees the Earl of Clarendon's

reading notes as political ammunition as opposed to humanist commonplaces,

and that 'Drake displayed little interest in passages that lay at the heart of

doctrinal or theological passages'.[37] One other reader, 'Rob: Paulling', whose

signature on the title page of a 1599 Guicciardini text in the British Library was

interested specifically in references applicable to 'ye Earle of Essex case'.[38] This

implies another example of looking to the past to make sense of later events; the

passages that Robert Paulling marked as applicable to the Earl of Essex are about

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[36]   J. H. M. Salmon, 'Precept, example, and truth: Degory Wheare and the *ars historica*', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric and Fiction, 1500-1800,* ed. by Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wildon Center Press, 1997), 11-36, p. 17; Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, p. 130.

[37]   Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions,* p. 305, p226.

[38]   British Library, Standard No: 5G2.q3, p. 22, p. 138.

the immoral desire for certain women, in the case of Ludovico Sforza's pursuit of

a married woman and 'the pope abominable in the lust of his daughter'.[39] Perhaps

Paulling was more interested in the event where Devereux 'surprises the Queen

in her bedchamber' rather than his rebellion in 1601.[40]

6.3.3   Individual versus communal reading

The phrases 'we may reade' and 'you may reade', which Boreman used in his

commentary on the Sarpi text, give the impression of a community of readers,

even if he was reading alone at the time that the notes were made. This inclusive

language is also used by Geoffrey Fenton in the Guicciardini text where, although

he does not say 'we may reade' he does use the phrases 'we may justly say' and 'we

may referre'.[41] Similarly in the Sarpi text, Brent translates the phrases 'of whom

we speake' and 'matter which we handle'.[42] This evocation in the language of a

community readers is discussed by Woolf as an *actual* community in that 'the

very nature of historical thought was such that it was intended to be socially

circulated: ... put to practical and moral or political uses, talked about ... and

interactively revised or reshaped by the reader', and it may have been that

Boreman shared his notes with others at the time, if he was still part of the

university setting.[43] No evidence has been found as yet to link Boreman's reading

of the histories to a form of 'facilitated reading' where 'a recognizable class of

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[39]   Guicciardini text (1599), p. 22, p. 138.

[40]   Michael Dobson and Nichola J. Watson, *England's Elizabeth: An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 41.

[41]   Guicciardini text (1579), p. 125, p. 326.

[42]   Sarpi text (1529), p. 5, p. 43.

[43]   Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, p. 80.

scholar' acted as interpreter or collector of information from texts for a patron or employer.[44] As far as it is currently known, at that time Boreman was reading for his own benefit and purpose.

6.3.4   Marks in books

Although the professional standpoint and motivation for reading might differ between 'professional' readers and writers - such as clergyman, secretaries and statesmen - the annotations they made in books to help them navigate the text could be similar. From an examination of extant copies of the Guicciardini and Sarpi texts, it can be seen that these books were sometimes marked with underlining of passages and other navigational devices, perhaps indicating sections intended to be extracted later. In terms of the Guicciardini text, four copies of the 1599 edition have been examined for annotations, by turning every page, and four copies of the Sarpi text have been examined using the same method, using examples from all three editions.[45]

There is an assortment of marks present in these copies, ranging from a single signature and a few pencil underlining in the Guicciardini text, to a complete rewriting of pages 1 to 5 of the Sarpi text.[46] Certain signatures appear on title

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[44]   Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past and Present,* 129 (1990) 30-78, p. 35. See also: Hammer, 'The Use of Scholarship'.

[45]   British Library, Standard No: 1605/232, J/457.1.h1, C67G5, 5G2q3 and 1317.1.3; Senate House Library, Standard No: [G.L.] 1595 fol. SR; Thomas Plume's Library, Standard No: B00185; Westminster Abbey Library, Standard No: 5.3.13. The Plume Library's copy of the Sarpi text does not contain any markings, and the Guicciardini text was a replacement copy where Plume's original had gone missing.

[46]   Westminster Abbey Library, Standard No: 5.3.13; British Library, Standard Nos: 1605/232.

pages, for example, 'WmL'[47] and 'Edward Mathen'[48] and one which was 'said to have been in the Library of King James I'.[49] The readers of these copies used similar navigational devices to those applied by Boreman, such as manicules and asterisks in the margin, but there are also crosses and dashed lines, marks which Boreman did not use. The marks in the printed books include underlining of items in the index tables at the end of the text, and some printed books also contain manuscript indexes, written in by the reader on the front and end papers however Boreman did not index his notes. The annotations in the printed books suggest that the readers were marking as they read in order to either extract the passages later into their commonplace books or marked the pages in order to find the relevant passages again when returning to the book. Although it is possible that Boreman went through the exercise of marking his books before extracting the passages, the specific books he used have yet to be identified.

6.3.5   Choosing the information

Three methods can be used to determine the kinds of information Robert Boreman was concerned to read - and in what he was not so interested - in a more general sense. The first method is to analyse the subject categories of the extracts by the creation of a typology in order to identify the nature of the topics he chose to record. Degory Wheare in his 1635 book *The Method and Order*, divided history into 'Bodin's distinction among the divine, the natural and the

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[47]   British Library, Standard No: C67G5.

[48]   Westminster Abbey Library, Standard No: 5.3.13.

[49]   Senate House Library, Standard No: [G.L.] 1595 fol. SR.

human' and then sub-divided the last category into 'civil … and ecclesiastical',[50] and it will be seen how the categories in the typology compare to these types. Peter Burke argues that a prominent keyword 'reason of state' started to be used in the mid-sixteenth century, and continued in use through the early seventeenth, in texts such as political histories.[51] This phrase does not appear in any of the extracts, however several 'medical metaphors' are present in the extracts, where the state was shown as ill and needing to be 'cured'.[52] The second method is to check whether Robert Boreman favoured any particular parts of the texts over the others, and, if so, what those sections were about (conversely, the sections from which he took fewer notes can reveal the areas which may have had less relevance to him). Finally, a method which can be applied to show the sections Boreman did not want to extract from at all is to count the page spaces in the books between the extracts and see whether any large sections were not used. A large gap was assumed for these purposes to be one of ten or more pages in length.

6.3.6   Typologies

Creating a typology can be thought of as a similar exercise to the formation of categories in a commonplace book. Keywords were sought in each extract to build a picture of the topic, the main subject of the sentences was identified, and

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[50]   Salmon, 'Precept, example and truth', p. 22.

[51]   Peter Burke, 'Tacitism, scepticism and reason of state', in *The Cambridge history of political thought, 1450-1700,* ed. by J. H. Burns and Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 479-98, p. 486.

[52]   Burke, 'Tacitism, scepticism and reason of state', p. 479.

a description of the topic assigned. By way of illustration of how the categories were assigned, the first extract taken from Book Two in the Guicciardini notes is about how people behave both during a period of tyrannical rule and after it has passed. The category could be 'Tyranny', especially since this word is repeated several times in the paragraph and was identified as a keyword, but the main purpose of the extract is to highlight the way people commonly respond to these situations; the pivotal phrase is: 'It is in the nature of men ...', hence the choice of 'Human Nature' as the category.[53] The choice of keywords and the creation of categories is by its nature likely to be fairly subjective. Although different ways could be chosen to select the categories in the typology, this particular method is a valid one in that it tries to strike a balance between showing the nuances between similar forms of subject matter and grouping them together so that larger trends can be perceived.

The following charts show the prevalence of the various topics for each set of notes:
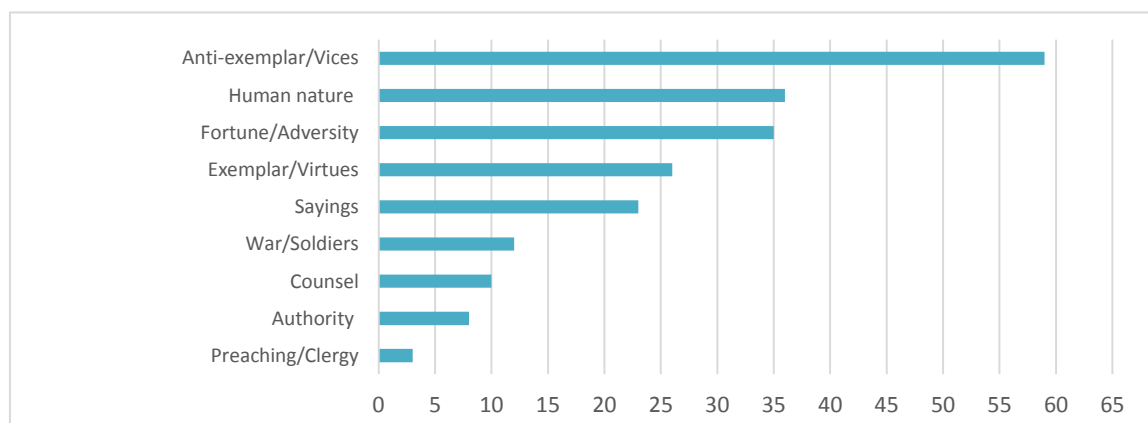
Figure 41: Typology for Guicciardini notes (total number of extracts: 212)

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[53]   MA0106, ff. 6-7 (copied from pp. 62-3 of the text).
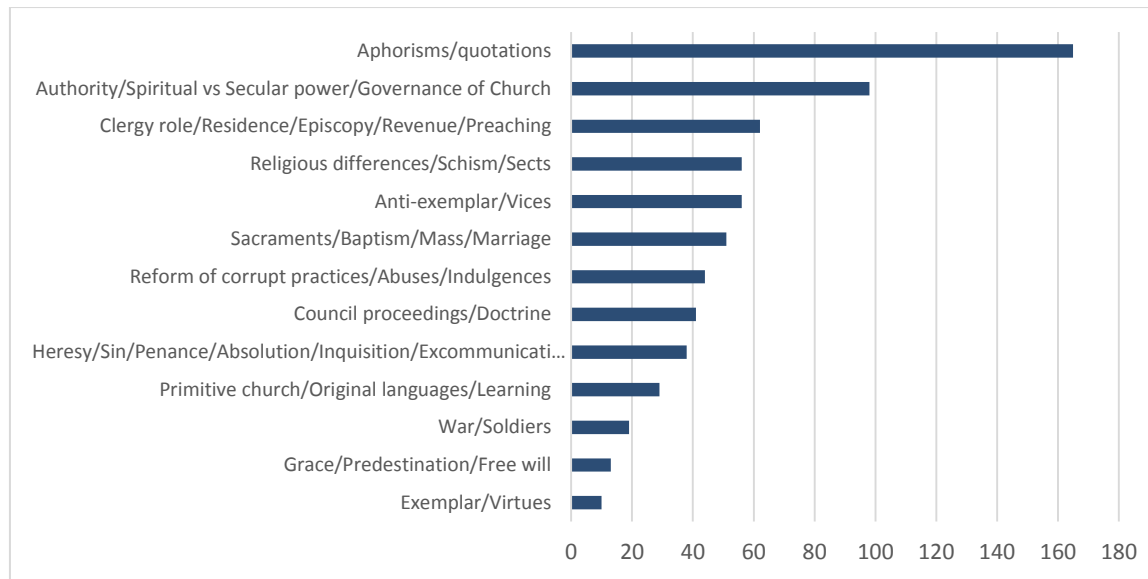
Figure 42: Typology for Sarpi notes (total number of extracts: 682)

The extracts in the Guicciardini notes fall into nine distinct typologies, the largest of which comprises passages which relate to 'anti-exemplar/vices', followed by 'human nature' and 'fortune/adversity', the latter category referring to events which are for the most part out of one's control. Human nature is an important category in terms of the Guicciardini text, since Bondanella argues that the *History of Italy* was not only recording historical facts, but it is also 'a philosophical interpretation of human behaviour during one of the most crucial periods in modern European history'.[54] This suggests that lessons can be learned from models of behaviour in such situations of adversity and war, those which Boreman was facing at the time. The category of 'human nature' is distinct from 'virtue/exemplar' or 'vice/anti-exemplar' because it refers to more innate and neutral characteristics of the human condition. This is meant in the sense that people are said to tend behave or think in this way in certain situations, as opposed to certain individuals or groups behaving particularly badly or well and

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[54]   Bondanella, *Francesco Guicciardini*, p. 106.

being held up as examples to either despise or admire. The distinction between vice/virtue and exemplar/anti-exemplar is a subtle one; anti-exemplar is applied when a specific individual acts in a vicious way and the extract describes that person's actions, whereas 'vice' on its own is more about the vice itself and less about the person. However, due to the close relationship between vice and anti-exemplar, and virtue and exemplar, they have been placed in joint categories for the purposes of the typology.

The extracts categorised as anti-exemplar often relate to the behaviour of a pope. The first reading note in the Guicciardini notes refers to Pope Alexander VI whose:

> '... virtues were marvellously defaced by his vices, for ... his manners and customes ... were very dishonest ... in his heart little faith, and in his opinion lesse religion'.[55]

In contrast, the category of exemplary behaviour is much smaller; an example can be seen in the following extract where: 'Archb[isho]p of Collen mooved with compassion to free the state from warre and that the innocent people might not suffer did generously renounce his Autoritie ...' and Boreman comments that this is 'an example of a brave spirit who had rather destroy himselfe then that his countrie should be destroyed'.[56] These examples of good and bad behaviour seem to give an insight into the different forms of morality. Similarly, the large percentage of extracts relating to human nature supports the view that what

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[55]   MA0106, f. 2r (copied from p. 4 of the text).

[56]   MA0111, E.20, f. 18v (copied from p. 260 of the text).

many readers of Guicciardini were most interested in was 'the perennial mystery of human behaviour'.[57] It is possible to see how these sorts of ideas would be useful as examples in sermons.

The classifying of the Sarpi extracts required a slightly larger number of categories – thirteen in total - and involved more sub-topics grouped under each category. It made sense to group certain topics together because they could fall within either category, for example, in the cases of 'episcopacy' and 'residence'. The highest number of extracts from the Sarpi text are in the category of 'aphorisms/quotations', followed by 'authority' and 'clergy role'. The large size of the category of 'aphorisms/quotations' suggests that these were useful pieces to record to be used as evidence. In some cases the extracts take the form of short aphorisms, such as: 'It is dangerous to moove in a body ill humours which are at quiet'.[58] In other cases they comprise quotations from certain individuals: 'Howsoever the church is defended by God, yett sometimes it hath need of the assistance of man. so said the Marquis of Pescara the King of Spaines Ambassadour.'[59] Many of the aphorisms are similar to the 'human nature' category in the Guicciardini notes, as they naturally exhibit a human element, as can be seen from the following example: 'Sometimes a man may better withstand a danger by dissembling his knowledge of it.'[60] The second largest category in the Sarpi notes typology is 'authority', which also includes the tension between

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[57]   Alexander, *The History of Italy*, p. xvii.

[58]   MA0111, E.20, f. 30r (copied from p. 482 of the text).

[59]   MA0111, E.20, f. 30r (copied from p. 484 of the text).

[60]   MA0111, E.20, f. 14r (copied from p. 219 of the text).

secular and spiritual authority in the quest that princes and popes had for power over the other. An example of conflict between the religious and the temporal or secular powers can be seen in the following extracts where a '... proud pope said to the 3 Ambassadours ... that he had power from God to build up and overthrowe kingdoms'.[61] Thomas Hobbes was of the opinion that this type of tension 'between kings and priests underpinned all the wars in Christendom' including the British Civil Wars.[62] This issue is discussed extensively in Part 3 of *Leviathan*, with Hobbes suggesting that the sovereign should have the ultimate power over ecclesiastical matters.[63]

A common category in both sets of notes concerns war and the behaviour of soldiers. One example states that: 'Warre is not a proper remedie to settle differences in Religion'.[64] The numerous passages of this nature can be attributed to the fact that most of the Guicciardini text was about the long period of warfare in the Italian states from 1494 to 1534, since all twenty sections of the text start 'with renewed hope for peace which are too soon dissolved by the resumption of war.'[65] However, affinity with this subject matter may also have come from Boreman's personal experiences at the time he was reading, since by 1646 the battles of the British Civil War had been going on for four years. Much of Boreman's personal commentary found in the Sarpi notes refers to the

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[61]   MA0111, E.20, f. 25r (paraphrased from pp. 391-2 of the text).

[62]   Charles W. Prior, 'Religion, Political Thought and the English Civil War', *History Compass,* 11 (2013), 24-42, p. 24.

[63]   Serjeantson, 'Introduction', p. xxiii.

[64]   MA0106, f. 37v (paraphrased from p. 696 of the text).

[65]   Mark Phillips, *Francesco Guicciardini: The Historian's Craft* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), p. 124.

contemporary problems of war. Another category which is excerpted in both sets

of reading notes relates to the role of the clergy and the question over residence

and episcopacy. Boreman copied the following extract: 'The cause of the

deformation of the church is the absence of the prelates from their churches ...'

(he also used a manicule to draw attention to this sentence).[66] Many of the

extracts in this category support residence and the authority of bishops, for

example '... the presence of the prelates and Curates in time past was the cause of

maintayning puritie of Faith in the people and discipline in the Clergie.'[67]

Another passage, which refers to the traditional authority of bishops states that

'In the ancient primitive Times the Ecclesiastical goods belonged to the wholle

church ... with the superintendancie of the Bishop and preists ...'.[68] The Long

Parliament had taken place a few years before between November 1640 and

September 1641 and one of its purposes was to remove civil authority from

bishops.[69] Royal assent had been given in February 1642 for the 'Clerical

Disabilities Act for the disenabling of all persons in Holy Orders to exercise any

temporal jurisdiction or authority', in other words they could not sit in

Parliament, and in January 1643 'the bill for the abolition of Episcopacy was

passed in both Houses'.[70] In October 1646 episcopacy had been formally

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[66]   MA0111, E.20, f. 30v (copied from p. 488).

[67]   MA0106, f. 12r (paraphrased from p. 191).

[68]   MA0111, E.20, f. 33v (paraphrased from p. 579).

[69]   Prior, 'Religion and the English Civil War', p. 26; John Morrill, 'The Causes and Course of the British Civil Wars', in *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. by N. H. Keeble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 13-31, p. 19.

[70]   John William Parker, *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643-1660 with special reference to Henry Hammond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), p. 5.

abolished in England, although many bishops had already been sequestered.[71]

Therefore, the issue of the bishops' authority was topical at the time Boreman

read the texts and he may have been looking for extracts relating to it.

The typologies common to both manuscripts are in terms of examples of good

and bad behaviour, war and conflict, the nature of authority and the role of the

clergy, including bishops. These types of passages would have been useful for

understanding the contemporary situation and how it could be improved.

Boreman was a writer as well as a reader who thought that writing was a useful

way of furthering the Church's cause, and it is possible that he was looking for

themes to use from these two texts in future projects of writing and preaching.[72]

The different note-taking styles employed by Boreman and Plume have

determined the method for analysing their notes. It has been necessary to create

a typology for Boreman's notes because of the large number of extracts, and the

transcription of his notes was too large to include as an appendix. Conversely,

Plume's notes of *Leviathan* were brief enough to warrant including the

transcription, but not for creating a typology of extracts.

6.3.7   Percentage of extracts per section

Another method for identifying the type of subject matter that was of interest to

Robert Boreman is to calculate what percentage of each part of the text was

extracted. In terms of their complete size, both books are comparable at nine

hundred and forty-three pages in the Guicciardini text and eight hundred and

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[71]   Peter King, 'The episcopate during the Civil Wars, 1642-1649', *The English Historical Review*, 83 (1968), 523-37, p. 523.

[72]   Boreman, *Country-mans Catechisme*, p. 10.

seventy-nine pages in the Sarpi text. The Sarpi text is divided into eight 'books', of which the most extracts Boreman took are from Book 2. The sections of the text are of different lengths but (apart from the slightly larger number from Book 2) the amount of extracts taken in each is comparable to the size of each chapter, meaning that Boreman extracted passages fairly equally from all pages of the book. This shows a thorough and consistent method of note-taking to amass the best possible amount of information from the Sarpi text. The following chart shows the percentage of extracts taken compared with the relative size of the sections of the book.
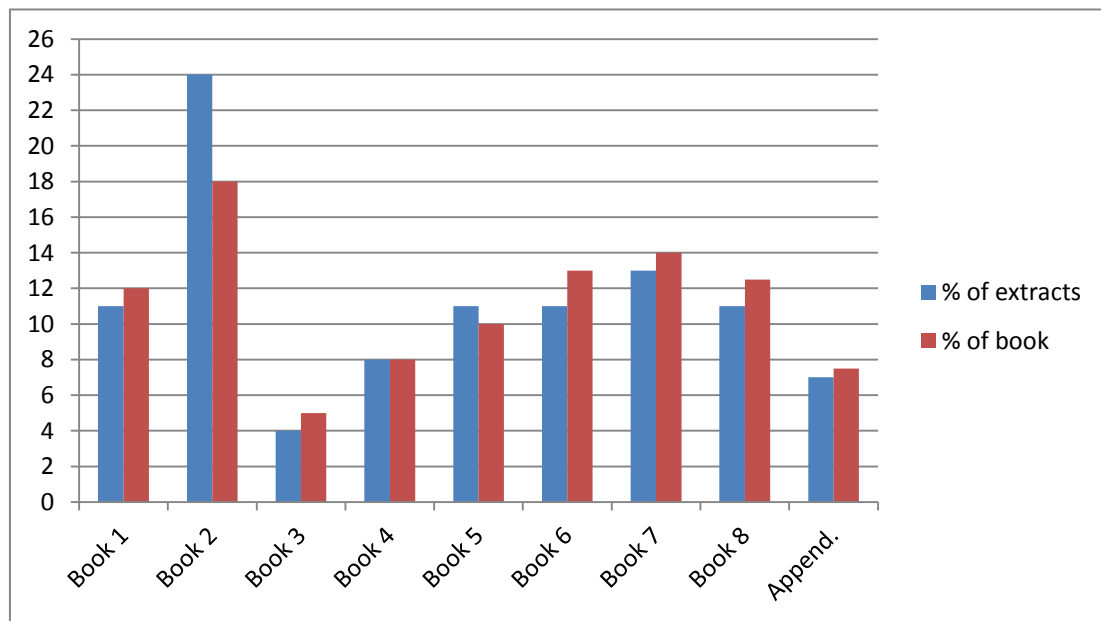
Figure 43: Percentage of extracts per book of the Sarpi notes
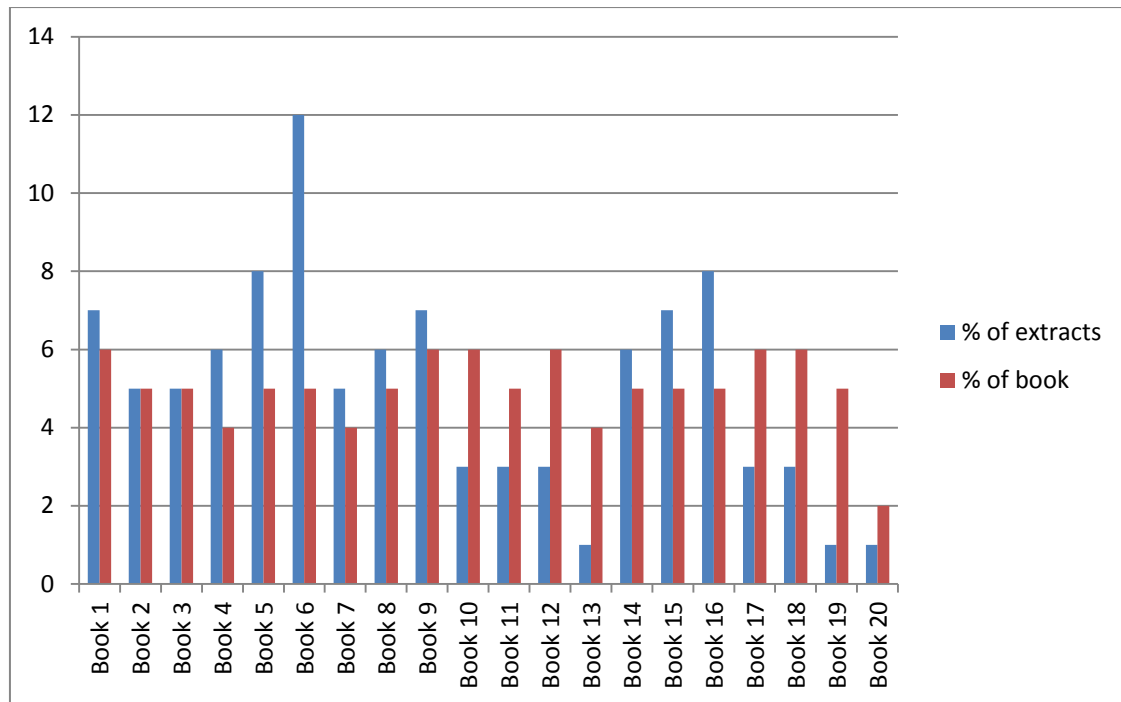
Figure 44: Percentage of extracts per book of Guicciardini notes

In contrast, the Guicciardini text is divided into twenty smaller 'books'. Although these sections are of similar lengths, the variation between the percentage of the extracts and the percentage of available text is far greater. From this disparity it can be argued that Boreman was being more selective in making his reading notes from the Guicciardini text, and might have been interested in particular periods rather than events. Whereas Boreman made a note every few pages from the Sarpi text, extracting as much of it as possible, only certain sections of the Guicciardini text seemed to have particular relevance for him. Figure 44 shows that most extractions from the Guicciardini text were from Book 6, followed by Books 1, 5, 9, and 16. Book 6 concerns the death of Alexander and succession of Julius II, the downfall of Cesare Borgia, the discovery of the new world, the spice

trade and the continuation of the war between Florence and Pisa.[73] Book 1

concerns the death of Lorenzo de Medici, the end of the 'balance' and the

collaboration and the rise of France as a military power; Book 5 refers to the

collaboration and subsequent split of France and Spain; Book 9 discusses Julius II

as warrior pope and the subsequent anti-papal rebellion and conventicle; and

Book 16 is in relation to the capture and liberation of the king of France, and the

roles of Pope Leo X and Cardinal Giulio de Medici.[74] From these items it seems

that he was generally interested in the actions of prominent figures in the Italian

wars, as well as events happening in the world outside Europe.

The least utilised areas of the Guicciardini text in terms of notes taken are Books

10-13 and Books 17-20. Books 10-13 discuss the ambitions of Henry VIII, Julius II's

'holy league'; history of the Swiss military; decline of France's fortunes; Florence

falling to the Medici, England and Spain's attack on France; the death of Julius II

and succession of Leo X; the Turkish empire and warfare; rivalry for the imperial

crown; and Luther and the spread of his doctrine. This last topic may have been

missed out because it is covered by the Sarpi notes. Books 17-20 refer to Francis

I's alliance against the Emperor; the Turkish threat in Hungary; uprising against

the pope; the sack of Rome; overthrow of the Medici; treaty between France and

England; Henry VIII's attempt to nullify his first marriage; the downfall of

Cardinal Wolsey; the siege of Florence; the coronation of Charles V; the return of

the Medici to power; the attempt to stop spread of Lutheranism; and the election

of Paul III. It is notable that he does not extract the information from these

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[73]   Alexander, *The History of Italy*, pp. ix-x.

[74]   Alexander, *The History of Italy*, pp. vii-xiii.

sections relating to England, and from other parts of the book only extracts a few passages concerning Henry VIII. Many of the themes in these later sections of the text, where he did not take so much information, are also covered elsewhere in the text, making it likely that he had already read the Sarpi text and taken notes on these events.

6.3.8   Passages omitted

Another method of showing where Boreman's interest in the texts was concentrated is to calculate which parts of the books were not extracted from at all. It is of course possible that the subjects were not written down in note form because he was avidly reading them, but the fact that they were not extracted, taken with his thorough and methodical reading of the Sarpi text, suggests he did not think them to be useful enough to write down for the future. Gaps of ten or more clear pages in the text which have not been extracted from were identified, and the printed margin notes were consulted to reach an understanding of the subject matter. In the case of the Guicciardini text, gaps of this size occur twenty-one times (not including one occasion where there is a printing error in the page numbers between books 10 and 11). In contrast, in the Sarpi text, there are fewer pages missed out, with the largest gap being only five pages long.

It is apparent from the gaps between the extracts from the Guicciardini text that the sections he missed out seem to concentrate mostly on historical narrative and anecdotes, and concern non-pivotal battles and transitional events like the succession of princes, the proceedings of sieges and the winning and losing of territory. For example, the section between pages 388 and 400 concerns the

occasion when the town of Mirandola yielded to Pope Julius II. The town had been held by Francesca Pico with protection from the French garrison, but, despite bitter weather conditions, Julius II personally went to oversee the siege in January 1511 and walked the streets afterwards to prevent looting by the soldiers.'[75] This story may also have been omitted because it puts the pope in a good light. Another siege was present in the omitted section spanning pages 534 to 544, where Padua was besieged by the viceroy. This section also covers the pope seeking to appease the king, the humility of two cardinals and the overthrow of the Venetian army. There are no extracts concerning sieges in either set of notes, suggesting that the practical mechanics of warfare were of less interest to Robert Boreman than the causes and consequences of conflict.

Another section covering pages 546 to 561 is concerned with, amongst other things, England's involvement in the proceedings: the English overthrow of the French and the English taking of Tournai in 1513, followed by treaties of peace between England and France and the marriage between Henry VIII's sister Mary and the French King. The section between pages 121 and 137, which was also passed over, concerns the succession of Frederick over Ferdinand as king of Naples, the Duke of Milan and the situation in Pisa. Pages 563-73 concern the French army and their confrontation by the Swiss mercenary soldiers and a broken treatise. Certain of the prominent figures who had been discussed elsewhere were not picked up again in the missing sections and most of the areas left out were not major events. Therefore the information that has been missed

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[75]   Michael Mallet and Christina Shaw, *The Italian Wars 1494-1559* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2012), p. 100.

out had already been extracted from the Sarpi text or he was not interested in it and did not record it from either book.

6.4   Insights into Boreman's personal worldview

Robert Boreman's insertion of personal commentary into his notes, especially when combined with the use of navigational devices, point to topics which he must have felt compelled to highlight, and many of these are related to contemporary events. His commentary is significant because it is an example of proactive reading: by inserting his own voice into the text he created his own meaning from it, and the reading became something more than a passive acceptance of the author or the translator's interpretation of events. Several premises can be interpreted from his comments: that he was a royalist and a supporter of the established church, and he believed that people who had left the Church of England should be gently encouraged to return.[76] He also made direct parallels between the problems encountered by the Reformation in Germany and the contemporary British Civil Wars; and believed firmly that the cause of the Civil Wars was due to the existence of religious plurality. The difference between the religious conflict that Boreman was reading about and his current situation though was 'that it was not between Protestants and Catholics but between two

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[76] The church which the writers considered themselves to belong to is referred to here as the 'Church of England' in most cases, rather than the 'Caroline Church', 'Restoration Church' or 'Anglican Church'. This decision has been taken because this is how they themselves tended to refer to it. For example see Hyde, *The True Catholick's Tenure,* p. 100 and Plume, 'An account of the life and death of the author', p. ii.

kinds of Protestants'.[77] Boreman however did make a direct connection between these two types of conflict and demonstrated that they were comparable.

6.4.1   Royalist supporter and conformist

A particular piece of Boreman's personal commentary that helps to date the Sarpi notes to the time of Charles I's reign also demonstrates Robert Boreman's support of the royalist cause. He considered that the monarch was being denied his rightful authority at that time when he wrote that: 'They should think of this who denie the king his just prerogatives which one day they must be forced to give.'[78] The extract to which Boreman added his opinion referred to opponents of a rightful king receiving punishment for their obstruction of him, and Boreman must have expected that the status quo would be restored and the parliamentarians punished. Charles I's own opinion of the royal prerogative was that God had bestowed it upon him so that he could ensure that all people obeyed God's authority.[79] He explained in *Eikon Basilike* that a monarch's first loyalty should be to God, his Soul and the Church, and after that he should ensure that civil justice and the law of the land are the best to govern with to allow the people 'industry, liberty, and happinesse'.[80] However, he asserted that there must be enough scope within those laws to allow for both the upholding of

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[77]   Norah Carlin, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (London: Blackwell, 1999), p. 46.

[78]   MA0111, E.20, f. 27v. (copied from p. 419 of the text).

[79]   Kevin Sharpe, *Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 194.

[80]   Charles I, *Eikon basilike The porvtraictvre of His sacred Maiestie in his solitudes and svfferings. Together with His Maiesties praiers delivered to Doctor Juxon immediately before his death. Also His Majesties reasons, against the pretended jurisdiction of the high court of justice, which he intended to deliver in writing on Munday January 22, 1648* (London: 1649) (Standard No: B04568), p. 219.

the king's majesty and prerogative, and also his subjects' enjoyment of their rights under the laws to which they have assented.[81]

A prominent characteristic of the Church of England was the authority of bishops, which was abolished in 1646 and continued to be outlawed throughout the Interregnum period.[82] Boreman showed his support for the bishops in an extract which he copied out, underlined, and inserted a manicule in the margin next to: 'This is the cause whey all is out of Order because the Order instituted by Christ is changed.' He then commented that: 'This they sayd because the Office of the Bishop was then taken from him'.[83] Another paraphrased extract which was underlined in the reading notes said that 'Christ grounded the Institution of Bishops … they were made Bishops by the Holy Ghost to governe the Church of God'.[84] This shows that Boreman thought that bishops as well as kings were divinely appointed by God. Lancelot Andrewes had stated episcopacy to be *jure divino,* and 'there was a growing sense in which many bishops … saw their function as being ordained officers of a sacred monarchy rather than as royal *intendants*'.[85] These examples show where Boreman's political and religious affiliations lay and that he was concerned to find parallels to the present day in events which had taken place in the sixteenth century.

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[81]   Charles I, *Eikon basilike,* p. 219.

[82]   Morrill, p. xii.

[83]   MA0111, E.20, f. 9v (copied from p. 169 of the text and commentary).

[84]   MA0111, E.20, f. 34v (paraphrased from p. 597 of the text).

[85]   John McCafferty, 'The Churches and Peoples of the Three Kingdoms, 1603-1641', in *The Seventeenth Century* ed. by Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 51-80, p. 69.

6.4.2   The Civil Wars and Religious Pluralism

It is apparent from Robert Boreman's personal commentary on the Sarpi notes that the time of writing was a period of violence in England. He remarks that one extract contains: 'good Counsail for these bloodie times', and another is: 'good advice for these distempered and distracted times'.[86] These statements are found within extracts which discuss how periods of truce and war follow on from each other, and how religious differences are the cause of the present problems. Boreman's respect for the Earl of Clarendon is expressed in the verse he wrote about him, as will be seen in Chapter 7; the Earl of Clarendon's reading was also coloured by the circumstances of the Civil Wars and he often made a direct comparison between contemporary and ancient events.[87] Pocock argues that it was a common practice in the seventeenth-century to look to the past to find answers to present situations.[88] When reading an extract about the Edict of Cyrus, Boreman could have been looking for a solution to the conflict when he commented that the reinstatement of ancient laws might help to quell the current troubles: 'so, if the ancient lawes of the realme were put in force our stirres and broiles might be allaied'.[89] The ancient constitution was the 'common law of the king's courts', which had represented a balance between the king's

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[86]   MA0111, E.20, f. 26r, p. 35.

[87]   Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, pp. 301-2; Thomas Plume's Library, MA0113, G.13, 'English verses in Commendation of Lord Chancellor Clarendon'.

[88]   J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century, a Reissue with a Retrospective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 31.

[89]   MA0111, E.20, f. 35v.

prerogative and the subjects' liberties.[90] Such a balance had been disrupted when the king's authority was challenged, and there had been a strong sense in the early 1640s that the ancient laws needed to be repaired.[91]

Boreman also believed that the British Civil Wars were caused by the proliferation of alternative Christian sects. He commented in the margin that 'We may reade an exact parallel to our Civill Warres' next to an extract which refers to the Catholic opposition to the Huguenots in Paris, and afterwards states his opinion that 'Thus differences of religion gave a beginning, first to a gentle, and afterwards to a furious warre'.[92] He was not necessarily expressing an affiliation with one side or the other in the sixteenth-century events, but acknowledging that it was the existence of religious division in a nation which could lead to civil war. Boreman also connected the problems encountered by Germany with diversity in religion and again related it to his contemporary situation. He remarked that in Germany: 'The controversies of religion were the fountain of all these troubles and calamaties' and affirmed that 'The like has now befallen this kingdome wherein we live'.[93] He underlined an extract which pressed this point further: 'Principalities cannot in likelihood be preserved when religion is lost, or when 2 Religions are suffered'.[94] The marginal summary he attached to the extract makes explicit Boreman's opinion on the problem of religious plurality:

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[90] Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law,* p. 30; Glen Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction to English Political Thought 1603-1642* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1992), p. 5.

[91] Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution*, p. 187.

[92] MA0111, E.20, f. 36r.

[93] MA0111, E.20, f. 24v (copied from p. 388 of the text).

[94] MA0111, E.20, f. 6r (copied from p. 88 of the text).

'The controversies of religion were the foundation of all these troubles and calamaties'.[95] Sir William Drake, too, thought that religious differences 'had opened the floodgates of revolution', and this may have been a common belief at the time.[96] Boreman was also interested in the question of what should be done about those who had broken away from the Church to form other sects, those he referred to as 'schismatics'.

6.4.3   Schismatics

Boreman believed that those who had left the established church should be brought back, but he eschewed the use of violence in their conversion. The following extract refers to the proposed treatment of the Protestants by the Catholics, where:

> '... wilde beasts taken in a snare must be drawen gently, making shew to yeeld unto them, not must be shewed the Fire or armes for feare of provoking them ... the Protestants must be used with Gentlenesse ...'.[97]

Boreman commented on this extract that the same course should to be taken when reforming Schismatics, although applying the different situation to current events. The difference between the Catholic conflict with Protestants in the sixteenth century and the established church's conflict against other protestant sects in the seventeenth century were in the terms of 'heretic' and 'schismatic', but Boreman saw them as comparable and advocated the same methods used by

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[95]   MA0111, E.20, f. 24v.

[96]   Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions,* p. 243.

[97]   MA0111, E.20, f. 20r (copied from p. 308 and commentary).

the Catholics in the Sarpi text. Many of the extracts draw parallels between those termed 'heretic' in the sixteenth century and those termed 'schismatic' in the seventeenth century. For example, Boreman extracted the following paraphrased text to which he adds an asterisk in the margin: '* It can scarce be credited that a Reformation will reduce obstinate Heretikes who first of all have separated from the church …', and added his own comment to it: 'Thus the pope said of Heretikes which may be (as is done) applied to Schismatiques'.[98] For Boreman, therefore, those who had separated from the Church of England in the seventeenth century could be viewed in the same way by its members as those Reformation Protestants had been viewed in the previous century by the Catholic Church. This means that Boreman had used the Sarpi text to find solutions or causes to his current reality.

6.4.4   Church governance and doctrine

Robert Boreman also found a parallel between the position of the Church of England in the seventeenth century to that of Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) who wanted to reform the corrupt practices and bring the Church back in line with its early incarnation. To the extract of that story he added: 'This should be all our desires'.[99] This also hints at the authority Boreman was building for himself as a representative of the Church of England. In another place, when reading the opinion of Thomas Aquinas and Dun Scotus that the number of people to be saved is predestined, he confirmed that 'This is the opinion of the

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[98]   MA0111, E.20, f. 37v (paraphrased from p. 700 of the text).

[99]   MA0106, f. 5v.

Church of England' and added the words: 'This opinion keepes the mind humble and relying upon God, without any confidence in itselfe, knowing the deformitie of sinne and the Exellencie of divine Grace'.[100] This shows Boreman's affiliation to the Calvinist belief in predestination, which makes him typical in terms of the view of 'the vast majority of educated Protestants' of the time.[101] Boreman modified the original wording in one extract to make it directly relevant to the Church of England, by changing the reference to the pope in the text to 'theires by whom it was first instituted' and labels it in the margin: 'A good rule to maintaine peace and order by the Church'.[102] The Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns 'were characterised by fervent debate over the liturgy, governance and ceremonies of the Church of England', and Boreman's extracts and comments show how these debates had continued into the mid-seventeenth century.[103] A sense of tension emerges between the idea of the need to return to the 'purer' form of the early Church and reinstate the king's authority, against the modernising of past concepts to fit in with the current circumstances.

6.5   **Conclusion**

Robert Boreman's manuscript reading notes were useful to him when he wrote them in the 1640s for finding ways to understand human nature and the contemporary political and religious situation. From an examination of the reading notes it is apparent that he read the texts in different ways and this,

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[100]   MA0111, E.20, f. 13v.

[101]   Ann Hughes, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), pp. 91-2.

[102]   MA0111, E.20, f. 16r (paraphrased from p. 240).

[103]   Prior, 'Religion and the English Civil War', p. 25.

together with the way he structured the two sets of notes differently, suggests that they had different purposes. The careful insertion of navigational devices and page citations into the reading notes shows that Boreman expected the excerpted passages and directions to read further on a subject to be useful in the future, either to himself or to other readers. His personal commentary reveals that his reading experience was coloured by both his vocation and the circumstances of the Civil Wars, and that this encouraged him to create his own meaning from the Sarpi text in particular. There is also a sense of permanence and preservation about these manuscripts, in that Boreman kept them for almost thirty years after he had created them and Plume then kept them for another thirty years. Almost three hundred and seventy years after their creation these reading notes continue to be useful. They show the reading practices of a loyalist clergyman at Cambridge, what he thought of the political and religious situation through which he lived, and how he turned to histories to understand the contemporary times.

William Sherman argues that it is difficult to attribute 'grand theories' to evidence from marginalia, due to its 'fragmentary nature' and the individual nature of readers.[104] However, the commentary written by Boreman on his notes gives an insight into the position and belief system of the scholarly loyalist clergy, many of whom lost their livings and fellowships during the 1640s. This grouping could be further expanded to include other 'professional' readers, and work has already taken place to look at note-taking 'as a practice that was broadly shared

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[104]   Sherman, *Used Books,* p. xvi.

within a context various defined by profession or occupation, time and place or other cultural factors such as religion'.[105] Notwithstanding that Boreman's views are inherently personal to him, the fact that he thought the material worthy of saving for future generations of scholars makes a consideration of such reading notes 'central to the history of the transmission of knowledge'.[106]

A sense of a wider practice emerges where the initial recording of notes relevant to one individual during the period of their creation, changes and develops over time: both into a resource preserved for the benefit of others and as a memorial to the clergy's scholarship during the difficult times of the mid-century. A sense of longevity is also attached to the notes created by Lady Barbara Hyde in the next chapter, although this is complicated by the fact that they were only saved because of their appearance in one of Edward Hyde's early notebooks. Notwithstanding this, Barbara Hyde's notes together with the writings of Robert Boreman explored in Chapter 7, show how the clergy who had been learning their role and improving their knowledge, came together at a time of adversity, demonstrating an identity of loyal friendship and kinship.

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[105]   Blair, 'The Rise of Note-taking', p. 5.

[106]   Burlinson, 'The Use and Re-Use of Early Seventeenth-Century Student Notebooks', p. 229.

Chapter 7   **'A forcible tie or obligation of love': creating a clergy 'family' identity**

This chapter examines two ways in which the loyalist clergy found and created common bonds through tropes of family and kinship in their texts. The first of these relates to the personal identity created by Lady Barbara Hyde (1574-1641) in her sermon diary, where she made the association between piety, scholarship and family at a time when Salisbury (where her notes are set) was known for having an atmosphere of 'piety and learning, and striving for order and discipline'.[1] She described her kinship with those who conducted the sermons in the notebook, and in a way 'collected' her family relationships. By association, membership of Barbara's clergy family extended out to the other clergymen who shared the textual space with her relations, marking her as the matriarch of this body of loyalist clergy. Secondly, in a more public and overt manner, Robert Boreman approached Edward Hyde Lord Clarendon in the preface to his posthumous publication of Dr Hyde's sermons and treatise. He drew on their connections in the larger network of loyalist supporters and claimed a special familial relationship with Clarendon, by figuratively taking the place of Clarendon's first cousin, Dr Edward Hyde.

7.1   **Lady Barbara Hyde's sermon diary**

One of the notebooks in Plume's collection stands out as unusual - amongst all those written by clergymen - in that it was owned and annotated by a female

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[1]   'The cathedral of Salisbury: From the Reformation to the Restoration', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3*, ed. by R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: 1956), pp. 183-97.

writer.[2] Lady Barbara Hyde was the daughter of Sir John Baptist Castiglion

(1516-1598) of Benham Valance, Berkshire, and had married Sir Lawrence Hyde

(c.1562–1642), a lawyer of Salisbury.[3] Two of her children were clergymen:

Alexander (c.1596–1667), later bishop of Salisbury, and Edward (1607-1659), as was

her brother Douglas Castilian (1573-1660), and her cousins Edward Hyde and John

Decke.[4] During the period of the notebook her son Edward was already a fellow

and tutor at Trinity College, Cambridge and, during the timespan of the notes he

was ordained and received his BD degree.[5] Therefore when Barbara Hyde noted

that she heard Edward preach, it is likely that he was visiting Salisbury where the

other sermons took place. Her notebook contains references to sermons which

she attended during the period 1636-40, not long before the end of her life on 24

August 1641, and during the period of uncertainty before the start of the first Civil

War.

Although Barbara did not sign her full name in the notebook she can be

identified as one of the authors through the combination of three pieces of

evidence: the presence of her initials 'BH' in three places; the existence of her son

Edward's handwriting and signature; and references to her various kinsmen and

women in the context of the sermons she attended. This section examines how

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[2]   MA0092 'Crismas 1638'.

[3]   Virginia C. D. Mosley and Rosemary Sgroi, 'Hyde, Lawrence I (c.1562-1642) of the Middle
        Temple, London, The Close, Salisbury, Wilts. and Heale House, Woodford, Wilts.', in *The
        History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629,* ed. by Andrew Thrush and John P.
        Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[4]   *Notes and Queries*, VII 1911-1913 (London: Phillimore & Co, 1914), p. 380; J. Sears McGee,
        'Hyde, Edward (1607–1659)' and Stephen Wright, 'Hyde, Alexander (1596x8–1667)', in *ODNB*
        (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Douglas Castilian was rector of Stratford Tony in
        Wiltshire 1619-1645 and another Edward Hyde was rector of West Grinstead in Wiltshire in
        1637. He was ordained in 1610, so the right age to be her cousin.

[5]   Sears McGee, 'Hyde, Edward (1607–1659)'.

Barbara Hyde used the notebook, what her notes represented, and how they both reflected and helped to shape, her sense of personal identity. It also considers why Plume might have acquired and kept Barbara Hyde's notebook, and why he left it to the Library.

It is possible to discern the context within which notebooks were used and their primary functions by examining their physical appearance. Barbara Hyde's notebook is pocket-sized at 137mm by 77mm, and has limp vellum covers with gold fillets. With only 37 extant folios, the notebook was not intended to contain much text. The small size indicates that she would have carried it on her person, and its attractive appearance meant that it was made to be seen and admired. The decorative nature of the book reflects the higher status of the Hyde family than, for example, those notebooks purchased for Thomas Plume as a schoolboy in Chapter 5.

Figure 45: MA0092, cover

However, her ownership and authorship of the notebook is complicated by the

fact that it was already second-hand before she began to write in it. The book was

originally used by her son Edward to write an exposition on the Septuagint, the

Jewish Scriptures which had been translated into the Greek language in the third

century BCE.[6] This is known because Barbara Hyde wrote around the larger

section of the notebook used by Edward. This adds another dimension to the

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[6]   MA0092, ff. 3r-26r; Peter J. Williams, 'The Bible, the Septuagint, and the Apocrypha: a consideration of their singularity', in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in honour of Robert Gordon,* ed. by Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton (Leiden: Koniklijke Brill NV, 2012), pp. 169-80, p. 175.

notebook, providing a link between family, piety, and scholarship. In a short preface to the exposition, Hyde presumably addressed his father 'Honoured Lord', when he expressed his gratitude for the opportunity to undertake a programme of study.[7] Edward Hyde had composed another manuscript exposition on the Septuagint, which Plume had acquired as part of Hyde's paper books, which he had received from Robert Boreman.[8] Plume owned eleven printed books relating to the same subject, so the exposition was the part of the notebook in which Plume would have been most interested.[9] In the same way that letters to Plume survived because he used them as indexes and page markers, Barbara's text also survived because it was attached to, or rather embedded within, Edward's scholarship. However, Barbara Hyde's notes do reveal a concern she seemed to share with Plume: the importance of recognising and remembering the loyalist clergy and their work.

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[7]   MA0092, ff. 3r-4v.

[8]   Maldon, TPL, MA0086, 'Septuagint Interpretallans'.

[9]   During the seventeenth century the Septuagint was used in the context of textual criticism. See further: Jaan Justen, 'The value of the Septuagint for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible as illustrated by the *Oxford Hebrew Bible* edition of 1 Kings', in *Text-Critical and Hermenuetical Studies in the Septuagint,* ed. by Johann Cook and Hermann-Josef Stipp (Leiden: Koniklijke Brill NV, 2012), pp. 223-36, p. 223.
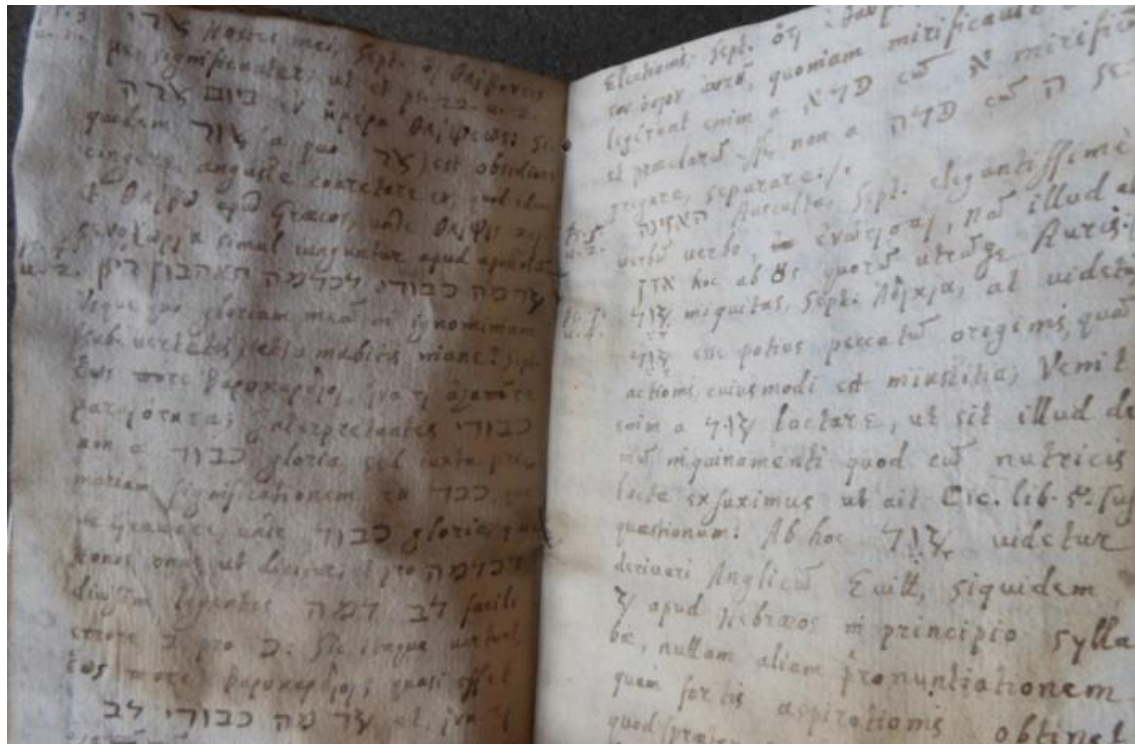
Figure 46: MA0092, image of Edward Hyde's exposition

Some time prior to Lent 1636 the notebook passed from Edward Hyde to his
mother, since the earliest date ascribed by Barbara Hyde, 'Lent, 1636', appears on
the pages directly following Edward's text. At a later date, 'Crismas 1638', she used
up the space at the front of the notebook.[10] Her notes do not follow a
chronological order, since the dates which appear on five further occasions are
placed in random positions: on the second folio '1640', and near the end of the
book: '1636 Do Davernitt', 'July 1640', 'April 1639', and 'xxiiii of April 1639'.[11] This
gives the impression that Barbara Hyde opened the notebook with the intention
of finding a blank space in which to write at the time; there does not seem to

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[10] The title of the notebook in the catalogue comes from this notation. MA0092, f. 27v. line 1,
f.2r. line 1.

[11] MA0092, f. 2r. line 1, f. 2v. line 13, f. 32v. line 1, f. 34v. line 1, f. 35v lines 1 and 7.

have been a systematic method of note-taking or forward-planning. The notes do

not correspond to typologies of places, preachers, or books of the bible, which

would have made sense for this kind of note-taking, and it seems that Barbara

Hyde had not been schooled to order her notes using a scholarly system or

simple seriatim approach. This may be because this notebook only recorded

special-occasion sermons outside of her parish church, including seven funeral

sermons as well as a fast-day sermon.

7.1.1   Sermon hearing

A good reason for taking notes was that people often could not recall what the

sermon was about immediately afterwards, even if they had thought that the

preacher was good.[12] The notes could serve as a memory aid for the listener, but

also, in certain cases, as information for other people who had been unable to

attend.[13] A contemporary commentator suggested that those attending sermons

should bring a copy of the Bible with them, 'if they can reade', so they could turn

to the relevant passages during the event.[14] To improve their understanding of

the sermon, hearers should also, where possible, 'mark the method and order of

the preacher [...] Because it is a great helpe to the memorie ... without which he

shall be entangled as in a Maze', suggesting that many sermons were in want of a

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[12]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 64; Blair, 'Note Taking as an Art of Transmission', p. 103.

[13]   Yeo, 'Loose Notes and Capricious Memory', p. 339.

[14]   Stephen Egerton, *The boring of the eare containing a plaine and profitable discourse by way of dialogue: concerning 1. Our preparation before hearing, 2. Our demeanour in hearing, 3. Our exercise after we haue heard the Word of God / written by that faithfull and diligent minister of Gods Word, Master Stephen Egerton* (London: Printed by William Stanley, 1623), p. 38.

logical structure.[15] A lay listener who was not a student would read over their notes afterwards to fix the message of the sermon in their memory. This was called 'Repetition', and could be a communal activity, with householders responsible for the understanding of all those under their care, as well as for news dissemination.[16] There is a distinction between repetition as private reflection and prayer and a more public and communal discussion of the sermon. Barbara's contemporary, Lady Margaret Hoby (1571-1633), noted in her diary that on many occasions she discussed the content of the sermons she had heard with members of her household.[17] This was not considered to be solely a woman's role, since Egerton advises that 'Parents and Masters ... must ... take account of their people, of the things they have heard', since this was part of their 'dutie in ciuill matters'.[18] However, more importantly, and regardless of whether she used it to help with subsequent spiritual reflection, Barbara Hyde's notebook served an additional function: it acted as a record of her familial relationships in the context of the Church and her personal piety. Sermons were 'events', and Barbara Hyde's later reflection on the text was interwoven with the recollection of the individuals she described as being related to her.[19]

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[15]   Egerton, *The boring of the eare*, p. 49.

[16]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 72, p. 75.

[17]   *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, ed. by Dorothy M. Meads (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd, 1930), p. 75.

[18]   Egerton, *The boring of the eare*, p. 61-2.

[19]   Ann Hughes, 'Preachers and hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (2014), 57-77, p. 65.

Lady Barbara Hyde was one of the ten percent of women in England who could

write by the 1640s, marking her as highly literate.[20] Barbara's writing was

uniformly legible, although her spelling was sometimes unusual, for example, she

consistently spelled Psalms as 'Phalms', which is not a phonetic spelling or found

in other writings of the time.[21] There was one occasion where she did not note the

minister's name and another where she forgot to note the text, but otherwise she

was reasonably consistent in the content of her notations.[22] She also included

scriptural location in terms of the book of the bible in twenty-six cases and the

specific chapter or verses in thirty-one. For example, one entry refers to: 'prover.

the xvi my brother Doug The Lott is cast into the Lapp but the whole disposing

thereof is of the Lorde'.[23] Since there are few words for each entry, and the

handwriting is fairly neat and legible, it is possible that Barbara Hyde took the

notes down either during the sermon or not long afterwards. Women were

known to have used either method: for example, Lady Strode took notes at

church but Mary Bewley, who wanted to exercise her memory, waited until she

got home before writing out her notes.[24] However it is also likely that in some

instances Barbara Hyde took partial notes at the time and then added to them

later. In the examples below the writing on the left-hand page looks neat and

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[20]   Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order,* p. 176; Michael Mascuch, 'Britain: Renaissance Life
       Writing', in *Encyclopedia of Life Writing: Autobiographical and Biographical Forms,* ed. by
       Margaretta Jolly (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 132-4, p. 134.

[21]   See, for example, MA0092, f. 7r, line 11, f. 7v, line 3, f. 8r, line 13. A full text search for this
       spelling on *EEBO* (and on the definition of Psalms in OED) do not reveal any other use of this
       spelling.

[22]   Mr White [no text following] MA0092, f. 31v, line 21, and 'Mr [blank space] on good Friday
       epistle of S Jhon' MA0092, f. 36r, lines 12-13.

[23]   MA0092, f. 30v. lines 25-28. Proverbs 16:33.

[24]   Meads, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby,* p. 160.

uniform, but on the right, it appears that she has added annotations later as an

afterthought: for example, in the second line where 'Mr Chandler' is added in a

cramped space under 'Revelatione' and where 'my soon' is added under 'Doctor

Hyde'.[25]
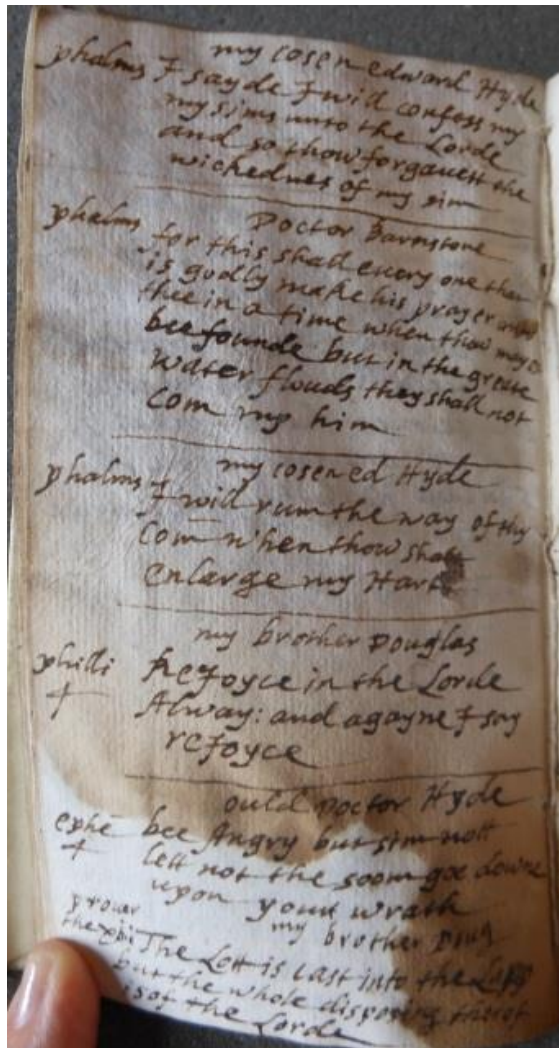
Figure 47: MA0092, f. 30v   Figure 48: MA0092, f. 28r
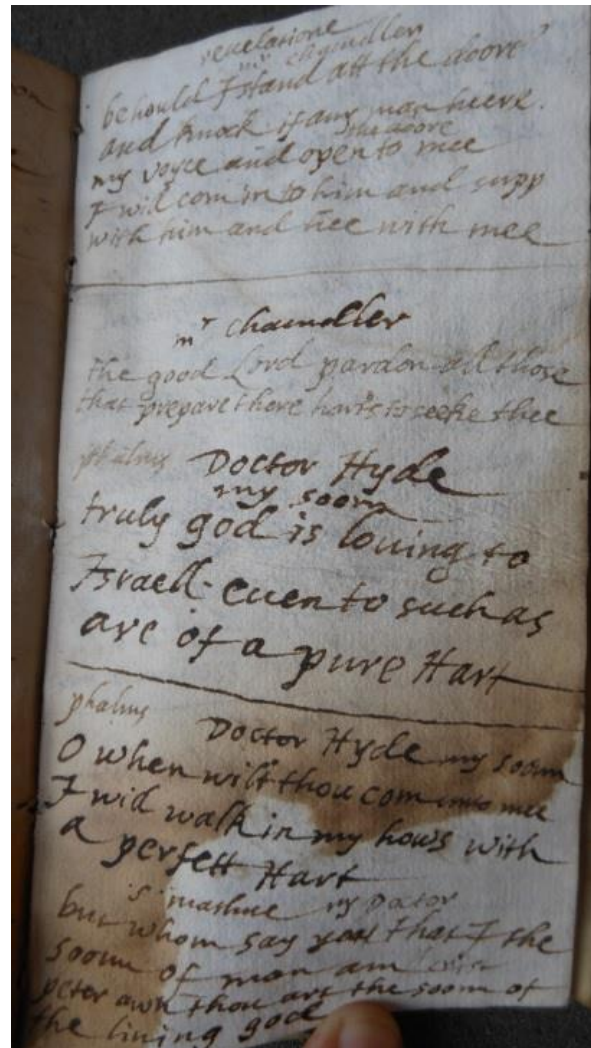
25   MA0092, f. 28r, lines 1-2.

7.1.2   Creation of a sermon diary

The types of annotations made by Barbara Hyde indicate that what she was creating were not 'sermon notes' in the sense of a detailed record of the sermon preached. Instead the notes are in the form of a 'sermon diary', where the theme and text of the sermon was recorded but not the way in which the preacher used them. This shows a considerable difference from the type of notes Thomas Plume took when he was learning to record the sermons he had heard.[26] Barbara also included the name of the preacher, his relationship to her (if any) and, if the sermon was for a funeral the name of the deceased. For example, she recorded that Mr Bucknor gave a sermon on the occasion of Mrs Margett Huchin's funeral, where text was from the book of Deuteronomy.[27] She set out the verse around which Mr Bucknor based the sermon: 'O that thay weare wise that they understood this that the [sic] would consider there latter end'.[28] This meant that, since Barbara Hyde would know the preacher, his text, and the circumstances of the occasion when reviewing her notes, this would help to generate a memory of the event and the spiritual message.

One of the preachers she heard was Robert Boreman, who was at Cambridge during this period with Edward Hyde, but the other clergymen mentioned in the

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[26]   As discussed in section 5.1.

[27]   Mr Bucknor could possibly refer to Thomas Buckner (1594-1644) who was Prebendary of Winchester and Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot. Margaret Hitchins could have been related to Edward Hutchins (1557/8-1629), Prebendary of Salisbury, perhaps one of his four daughters.

[28]   MA0092, f. 2v, lines 1-6. Deuteronomy 32:29, King James Bible version.

notebook seem to have been operating in the region of Wiltshire.[29] If Boreman

was visiting Wiltshire with Edward Hyde, this may have been a period when he

made the initial connections which led to his employment as chaplain to the

Marquis of Hertford in the 1650s through the patronage connections of the Hydes

in Wiltshire. For example, as mentioned in section 3.2.2, Robert Hyde had named

Hertford as one of his patrons in 1640.[30] Barbara Hyde noted that she heard Mr

Boreman preach on St John's Epistle, and above this note on the same page is the

date of 'Lent 1636', so if she heard Boreman preach in 1636, he had not yet been

ordained.[31] Barbara Hyde notes that one of the sermons preached by her son

Edward was his *first* sermon, which could either have referred to the first sermon

he preached in public, or his first sermon of the day:

> 'my sooun Edwards text on his first sermon genesis the xxxii 2V vers And
> the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of Joynt as he wrestled with him And
> hee sayde unto him lett mee goe for the day breaketh but hee sayde I will
> not lett thee goe except thou Bless mee'.[32]

Barbara Hyde referred to eighty-seven sermons in total, given by twenty-eight

different preachers, who were a combination of high and lower-ranking ministers

within the cathedral and around the district of Salisbury. Around two-thirds of

the sermon-givers were preachers in the diocese or were established in local

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[29] Boreman was also Fellow and Tutor at Trinity and was ordained in 1638, the same year as
Hyde, although in Peterborough rather than Salisbury. See: Smith, 'Boreman, Robert (d.
1675)'.

[30] 'Following the Short Parliament ... [Robert] Hyde ... was joined to the general call of serjeants
held in June 1640, naming Pembroke and Hertford, the two leading Wiltshire magnates, as
his patrons', Prest, 'Hyde, Sir Robert (1595/6–1665)'.

[31] MA0092, f. 27v, line 23.

[32] MA0092, f. 31r, lines 4-13.

livings and the remainder were of the higher-ranking clergy: Prebend, Dean or

Bishop.[33] It is important to note that the diary cannot represent of *all* the sermons

she attended during the period 1636-40. This is different to the phenomenon of

'sermon gadding' where people travelled out of their home parish to hear more

than one preacher, in that the sermons are likely to have taken place in the

Cathedral rather than in different parts of Wiltshire.[34] The vicar for Woodford in

Wiltshire, who would have served the area of the Hyde's main residence of Heale

House, was Henry Good, and he is not mentioned in these notes.[35] This may go

some way to explain the non-systematic ordering of the entries, since it would

not have been annotated on a weekly basis. It is possible that the sermons were

given at Salisbury Cathedral, as the Hydes had another residence in The Close in

Salisbury.[36]

This is supported by the fact that the largest number of twelve sermons she noted

were given by John Davenant, the bishop of Salisbury (who ordained Edward

Hyde in 1638).[37] The second largest number was eight sermons preached by her

son Alexander, who was sub-dean at the time and married Davenant's niece

Maria Townson in 1639.[38] Barbara Hyde attended seven sermons by Humphrey

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[33]   Mr Rogers could refer to Robert Rogers or Henry Rogers, preachers in the diocese of
       Salisbury, or John Rogers, Prebend at Salisbury Cathedral.

[34]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 14; Kenneth Charlton, *Women and Religion in Early Modern
       England* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 155; Hughes, 'Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary
       London', p. 62.

[35]   'Gilpin-Greenhaugh', in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ed. by Joseph Foster (Oxford: 1891), pp.
       569-99.

[36]   Mosley and Sgroi, 'Hyde, Lawrence I (c.1562-1642)'.

[37]   J. Sears McGee, 'Hyde, Edward (1607–1659)'.

[38]   Morris Fuller, *The Life, Letters and Writings of John Davenant DD (1572-1641) Lord Bishop of
       Salisbury* (London: Methuen & Co, 1897), p. 515.

Henchman, later bishop of London, which strengthens the link between

Boreman, Edward Hyde, and Henchman discussed in the section below on

Robert Boreman's patronage.[39] Humphrey Henchman was also a kinsman of John

Williams, Hacket's mentor, which provides a further strand to the extended

clergy network.[40]

There is evidence that Barbara heard one preacher re-using the same passage

more than once, either when repeating the same sermon on a different occasion,

or giving a different sermon on the same text, and another two instances where

preachers had used the same text for their sermons. For example, Barbara Hyde

recorded that Mr Thatcher preached on John 11:29: 'the xi of St Jhons gospel and

Mary arose quickly and went out to meete Christ the first'.[41] Later in the

notebook she records that Mr Thatcher used the same text, although she records

it using different wording: 'and mary rose up hastely and went ~~came~~ quickly to

crist'.[42] Similarly, she heard her cousin Edward and Henry Henchman both

deliver sermons on Psalm 32:5. The first entry reads 'My cosen edward Hyde

phalms I sayde I will confess my sins unto the Lorde and so thow forgavest the

wickednes of my sinn'.[43] A few pages later in the notebook she recorded that in

July 1640 on the occasion of a day of fasting Dr 'Hinchman' preached on the text 'I

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[39]   See section 7.2.

[40]   'The Cathedral of Salisbury from the Reformation to the Restoration'.

[41]   MA0092, f. 27v, lines 11-7.

[42]   MA0092, f. 31r, lines 1-3. King James version of John 11:29: 'As soon as she heard that, she arose quickly, and came unto him. 1599 Geneva Bible version: 'And when she heard it, she arose quickly, and came unto him'.

[43]   MA0092, f. 30v, lines 1-5.

sayde I will confess my sins unto the Lord and thou forgave the wickednes of my sin'.[44]

This day of fasting had been ordered by a Royal Proclamation and was held on Wednesday 8 July 1640.[45] The reason stated for the day of fasting was:

> 'for averting the heavy calamities of Sicknesse and War, justly deserved by unthankfulnesse to him for his blessings upon this Nation above all others, and the other crying sins of the people, as also for drawing down his blessing upon his Majestie and his people'.[46]

This day of fasting was similar in purpose to the thanksgiving sermons ordered by Parliament, where the people were asked to recognise that their sinful behaviour caused God to bring strife and chaos to lives, and that they had a duty to give thanks in order to appease him; the text used for the sermon reflects these sentiments.[47]

In most instances, Barbara Hyde wrote an average of four lines of text per entry, however, there are two cases where she inserted fourteen lines of text, suggesting that these expanded entries held a special significance for her. One was the occasion of her sister-in-law Joan Hyde's funeral, and the second was the sermon given by her cousin John Decke on the story of Eli and Hannah. In the extract on her cousin's sermon, Barbara Hyde's notes are virtually identical to the biblical

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[44]   MA0092, f. 34v, lines 1-5.

[45]   England and Wales, Sovereign, *A proclamation for a generall [H]fast to be solemnized thorowout this realm of England* (London: by Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most excellent Majesty: and by the assignes of John Bill, 1640).

[46]   England and Wales, Sovereign, *A proclamation for a generall [H]fast*.

[47]   See further discussion on sermons of thanksgiving in section 8.1.

text and imply a particular interest in this story, perhaps because of her family relationship with him or because the story had a particular resonance.

Table 1: Barbara Hyde's notes on the story of Ely and Hannah

Barbara Hyde's notes, f. 2r, lines 10-25	King James Bible version, Samuel 1: 15-17
my cosen John Decke The story of Ely and Hannah No my Lord I am a woman of a sorofull spirritt I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink but have poured out my soule before the Lord count not thy handmayde for a daughter of Beliall for out of the abundance of my complaint and grife I have spoken Then Ely answered and sayde goe in peace: and the god of Israel grant thee thy petititione that thow hast asked of him	And Hannah answered and said, No, my lord, I am a woman of a sorrowful spirit: I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but have poured out my soul before the Lord. Count not thine handmaid for a daughter of Belial: for out of the abundance of my complaint and grief have I spoken hitherto. Then Eli answered and said, Go in peace: and the God of Israel grant thee thy petition that thou hast asked of him.

Barbara Hyde recorded the specific date, the 'xxiiii of April 1639' when Mr Thatcher preached the funeral sermon for Joan Hyde (1564-1639), who she described as her 'beloved and worthy sister Mrs Jhone'.[48] Joan was Lawrence Hyde's younger sister, who was close in age to Barbara. She referred to Joan in a much more affectionate tone than she had described her other sister-in-law Mary Hyde née Swayne (d.1639), whose funeral fell in the same month. Mary had been married to Lawrence's brother Nicholas (1572-1631) and Barbara represented her as: 'my good sister Mrs Hyde'.[49] Referring to Joan, however, Barbara wrote

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[48]   MA0092, f. 35v, lines 7-9.

[49]   MA0092, f. 35v, lines 1-3.

further: 'you will hear the Text chosen by her self Job the vii'.[50] She thought it

admirable that her sister-in-law Joan Hyde should choose her own sermon text

and that reinforced her feeling of kinship with her.
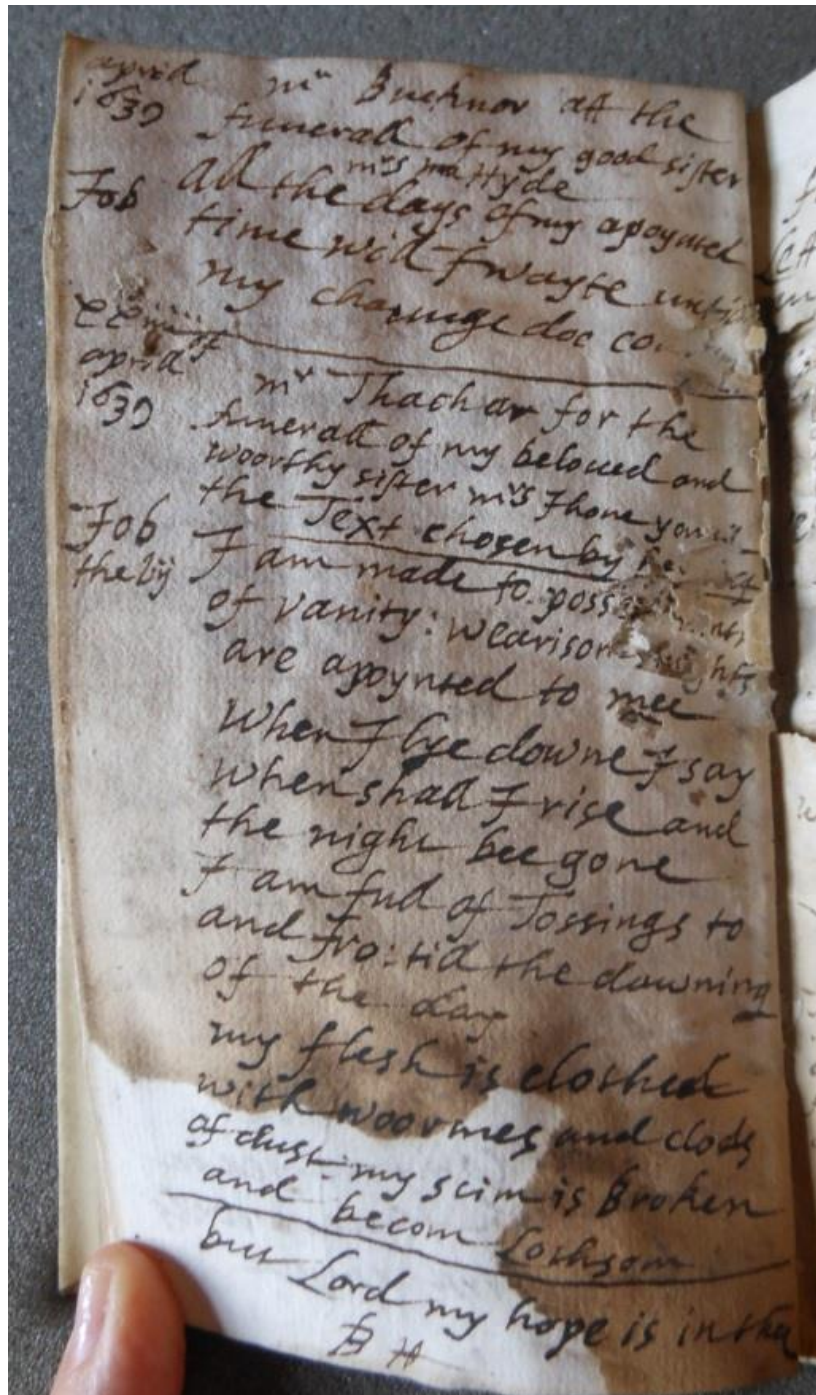
Figure 49: Mr Thatcher's sermon for Joan Hyde's funeral, MA0092, f. 53v

Not only did Barbara Hyde go to the sermon for her spiritual edification, but also to connect with people and emphasise her family relationships. Naomi Tadmor discusses the common usage of the term 'sister' instead of 'sister-in-law' when referring to kin by marriage and the importance of the title 'Mrs' when using the female relative's name.[51] Tadmor explains that in the case of married relatives the first name was used with this title, whereas kin by marriage were referred to by their surname.[52] Barbara's reference to 'Mrs M Hyde', therefore is in keeping with Mary Hyde's status as a sister-in-law married to Barbara's brother in law, but her relationship to 'Mrs Jhone' is differentiated by the more close relationship she had with her husband's sister.

Barbara recorded three verses from Job 7 as follows, which are close to the King James Bible version, demonstrating her attention to the spiritual message as well as to the mourning of her sister. However, the last line 'Lord [...] my hope is in thee', is from Psalm 39:7, and it is not known whether it was the preacher or Barbara herself who added this line. It could be argued that it was Barbara's own phrase, due to the line she drew beneath the funeral text and the inclusion of her initials (see Figure 49). The presence of her initials would therefore signify her authorship of this phrase, since they also appear at the beginning of the notebook, beneath a rhyming couplet she had inserted, and again at the end of the book. If it was Barbara, then perhaps she was attesting to her belief in the bodily resurrection here.

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[51]   Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 141.

[52]   Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-century England*, p. 142.

Table 2: Barbara Hyde's notes on Joan Hyde's funeral text

Barbara Hyde's notes, f. 35v, lines 11-25	King James Bible version, Job 7:3-5
I am made to possess months of vanity: wearisom thoughts are apoynted to mee When I lye downe I say when shall I rise and the night bee gone I am full of Tossings to and Fro: till the drawing of the day my flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust my scinn is Broken and becom lothsom but Lord my hope is in thee BH	So am I made to possess months of vanity, and wearisome nights are appointed to me. When I lie down, I say, When shall I arise, and the night be gone? and I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day. My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust; my skin is broken, and become loathsome.

7.1.3   Self-fashioning of identity

Ann Blair has written about the importance of understanding both the creative process and the link between the individual and the culture reflected in early modern note-taking. These processes can be addressed through different typologies of note-taking, for example: by field, by source type, by audience, and by whether they are rhetorical or factual.[53] Barbara Hyde's notes reflect her relationship with the culture in this way when she implied the significance of her sister choosing her own funeral text as something admirable and notable. There is evidence of German Lutheran women choosing their funeral text, for example, in late seventeenth-century Germany Aemilia Juliana 'prepared very well in advance, writing down while in full possession of her faculties what she wanted done at her funeral and how she was to be dressed, and choosing the Bible text "I

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[53]   Blair, 'Note Taking as an Art of Transmission', p. 89, p. 90.

know that my saviour lives" as the basis for her funeral sermon'.[54] Therefore, in

the same way that Barbara Hyde emphasised her agency and authorship in her

notes by adding her initials, Joan asserted a control and autonomy over her piety

and spiritual destiny through choosing the biblical text for her funeral. Women

also intervened in cultural activities through their verse compilations, and

Victoria Burke argues these were not solely private documents.[55] If Barbara Hyde

discussed her sermon notes with her household, then the number of people

potentially influenced by her notebook grew together with the knowledge of the

associations within it.

There are other examples of women's manuscripts acting as self-representation

and memorials, and being transmitted through generations. Patricia Phillippy

refers to Lady Elizabeth Russell (1540-1609) having a 'lifelong project of self-

representation' though her writings, which 'articulate and literalize the blood and

affective ties among family members, living and dead'.[56] The incorporation of

Barbara's initials is significant because it acts as an assertion of her authorship on

the notes and on the book as a whole, and it seems to create an emphasis to her

approval of her sister-in-law's actions. It also serves to connect her with her sister

in the same way in which Robert Boreman connected himself with Edward Hyde,

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[54]   Judith P. Aiken, '2: "Ich sterbe": The Construction of the Dying Self in the Advance
       Preparation for Death of Lutheran Women in Early Modern Germany', in *Women and Death
       3: Womens Representations of Death in German Culture since 1500,* ed. by Clare Beilby and
       Ann Richards (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2010), pp. 31-49, p. 32.

[55]   Victoria Burke, 'Women and early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript culture: Four
       Miscellanies', *The Seventeenth Century* 12:2 (1997), 135-50, p. 135.

[56]   Patricia Phillippy, 'Living Stones: Lady Elizabeth Russell and the Art of Sacred Conversation',
       in *English Women, Religion and Textual Production,* ed. by Micheline White (Farnham:
       Ashgate, 2011), pp. 17-36, p. 36.

as a way of showing a common identity, as seen in the next section. As an author alongside Edward, she also allied herself with learning and piety by association.

Barbara Hyde had made her own personal stamp on the notebook in another place in the notebook, through the insertion of a short verse together with her initials. On the first folio, half of which has been torn away, she wrote the rhyming couplet 'Lett all contention fly / That grace may multiply', and signed her initials, 'BH' (see Figure 50). This phrase does not come from scripture, although Romans 6:1 uses part of it: 'What shall we say then? Should we continue in sin in order that grace may multiply?' The word 'contention' could refer to contemporary political or social problems, for example the Bishops War, which started in 1639, or the business of the Long Parliament in 1640. Alternatively, perhaps Barbara was hinting at more localised disagreements in the context of Salisbury and the Cathedral. Most of the population were Puritan by inclination, but the deans were 'high church' and the bishop had to make a path between them.[57] Conversely, it could have meant something more personal to Barbara Hyde if she had devised the phrase herself, as has been proposed above.[58]

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[57]   Pugh and Crittall, 'The cathedral of Salisbury: From the Reformation to the Restoration'.

[58]   MA0092, f. 35v. lines 8-9.
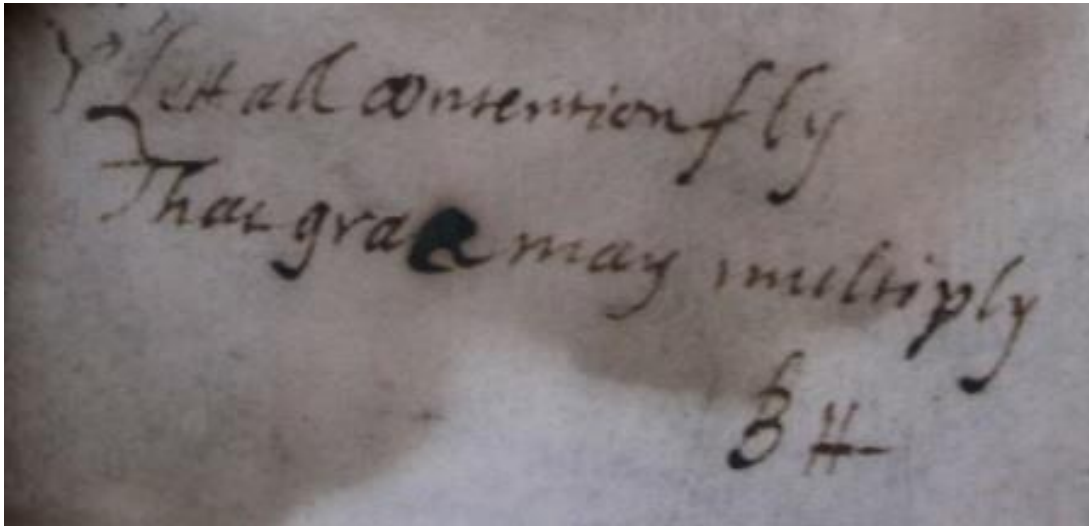
Figure 50: Phrase inserted by Barbara Hyde at the front of the notebook

As we have seen, legacy and ownership are important issues for a consideration of Thomas Plume's manuscripts as a collection and this is so for Barbara Hyde's notebook in particular. A remarkable amount of effort went into its survival and its transmission from person to person can be tracked. First owned by Edward Hyde, the notebook was used to create a presentation text which he gave to his father. The second stage was when Barbara Hyde then took ownership of the book and made her own annotations, transforming the manuscript into a different type of text. The ownership transferred again on her death, returning to Edward, then Robert Boreman, and finally Thomas Plume, before it entered the Library. This demonstrates the value placed on the book by the various individuals through whose hands it passed. The part of the notebook containing Edward Hyde's review of the Septuagint would be what Plume was interested in most, since that text would be useful for future study and represented his specialised knowledge. However, it is possible that Barbara Hyde's record of her

connections, kinship and friendship ties, related as they were to Edward Hyde and Robert Boreman, were also of concern to Plume since they represented his own affective ties. Ann Hughes provides the example of Katherine and John Gell who compared notes and their books 'became precious and enduring family heirlooms', and it could be that this was the case, to a certain extent, for Plume.[59] An issue is left unresolved: why did Barbara Hyde have to use the presentation copy of the exposition made by her son in order to make her notes? Why did she not have her own, new, notebook in which to write? Perhaps it was the case that she wanted to proudly display her son's exposition during her attendance at church.

For Plume, therefore, there is a sense that the book represented a memorial to a group of established church preachers who had operated during the reign of Charles I, but had lost their positions during the Civil Wars and interregnum, as well as providing a more personal memorial to Edward Hyde and his family. Another way in which the clergy and others were able to memorialise scholarship was by posthumous publication of the work created by their late friends and associates. Robert Boreman was left Edward Hyde's manuscript books, as Plume was left Hacket's sermons, in order that their work could be continued. It will be seen in the next section how Boreman capitalised on his relationship with Edward to make a connection at the same time which would help his own future career, as well as positioning himself as an important protagonist to help further Restoration politics and religious concerns.

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[59]   Hughes, 'Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London', p. 69.

7.2   **Networks of patronage in seventeenth-century London**

On Wednesday, 6 March 1667, Samuel Pepys made the journey by coach from Westminster Hall to Lord Crewe's residence in Lincoln's Inn Fields.[60] On arrival he found that Lord Crewe, first baron of Stene (1598-1679), had invited three other guests for dinner that evening: Crewe's daughter Lady Wright, Mr Borfett (the Earl of Sandwich's chaplain) and Dr Robert Boreman, who was rector of St-Giles-in-the-Fields parish.[61] After dinner, Dr Boreman described to Lord Crewe the recent conversion of two 'papist' women. One of the women had provided a written recantation 'which he shewed under her own hand mighty well drawn'.[62] Lord Crewe was impressed with the document and he asked for a transcription of her words, after first confirming that she had recanted freely and without duress.[63] This raises questions about the nature of written as opposed to oral testament, and why Boreman thought to take the document with him to dinner.[64]

The parishes of St-Giles-in-the-Fields, and the nearby St-Martin-in-the-Fields, were where the majority of London's Catholics lived at the time.[65] Although they were generally seen as an 'unthreatening minority' - and were able to go about

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[60]   'Wednesday 6 March', *Pepys diary* online version ed. by Phil Gyford http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/ 1667/03/ [accessed 12 January 2015]. John, Baron Crewe of Stene (1598-1679).

[61]   Gyford, 'Wednesday 6 March 1667'. Lady Jemima Wright (1625–1674), married to Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich (1625-1672), Samuel Borfett Samuel Borfett (d.1700), and Dr Robert Boreman (d.1675).

[62]   Gyford, 'Wednesday 6 March 1667'.

[63]   Gyford, 'Wednesday 6 March 1667'.

[64]   This document is not in the Plume collection.

[65]   John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 24.

their business and worship with some freedom – Roman Catholics had been

blamed by some for starting the Great Fire the previous year.[66] In addition, the

heir to the throne was suspected of having converted to Catholicism,

contributing to a general sense of unease as to the future fate of the English

Church.[67] The prospect of a Catholic monarch would have been very difficult for

Robert Boreman to reconcile with, since he believed that the monarch was

divinely appointed, a view he held in the specific context of Church of England

doctrine and practices.

The story illustrates the practical involvement of parish clergy in the process of

reinforcing the established form of the Restoration Church. It also shows that

there was a feeling that some Catholics had been coerced or forced to recant their

faith, even though persecution for religious opinion was not thought to have

been appropriate generally.[68] The significance of this story for Samuel Pepys may

have been his wife's origin as a Roman Catholic, but for Boreman it was in his

pursuit of Church of England worship as the only acceptable option.[69] As seen in

the previous chapter, Boreman did not believe in violence or persecution toward

those outside the established church and he had commented in his notes that

those who had broken away 'should be used with gentleness'.[70] However, he did

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[66]   John Coffey, *Persecution and toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689*, (London: Longman, 2000), p. 183.

[67]   Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688*, p. 22.

[68]   Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 55.

[69]   Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys the Unequalled Self* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 272.

[70]   MA0111, E.20, f. 15v.

believe in bringing them over to conformist belief, since he thought that the

prevalence of multiple sects was a direct cause of civil wars.[71]

This section will discuss the promotion and increased exposure which led Robert

Boreman to the table of Lord Crewe, following the patronage he received from

the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon. Five years earlier, Boreman had

dedicated a book to Lord Clarendon, and not long afterwards he was presented as

the rector of St-Giles-in-the-Fields. Although, superficially, a direct link could be

made between these two events, a deeper and more complex series of

connections were responsible for the journey from book dedication to promotion.

Boreman's preferment to this significant London parish led to further

sponsorship, through a substantial increase in income arising from gifts, and

opportunities for social interaction with members of the aristocracy. Boreman's

standing in this parish, and the strengthening of relationships within it,

eventually led to his presentation by the king to the office of prebendary in

Westminster Abbey.

I will argue, however, that what motivated Boreman to court recognition from

Clarendon in the first place was not merely financial gain and status; what he

wanted much more than this was a sense of involvement in the construction and

strengthening of the Restoration Church, both to belong to a group of like-

minded individuals, and to be instrumental in influencing events. His response to

his patrons through the media of poetry and biography reiterates his sense of

loyalty and allegiance to this particular ideology. The following sections illustrate

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[71]   MA0111, E.20, f. 6r.

the events before and after the receipt of patronage. First, the book dedication will be analysed, as well as the number of connections and associations which gave strength to Boreman's suit, helping the patronage to take place. This will be followed by Boreman's response in verse to Lord Clarendon's death. Boreman progressed from one appealing for patronage to one who spoke from a place of authority. This continues in the next chapter where he appealed to the daughter of Lady Alice Dudley (1579-1669) as inheritor of her mother's patronage. In this way, Robert Boreman transplanted his role as adviser to Lady Alice onto her daughter, thereby establishing a new relationship which would continue to benefit the Church.

As seen in the introduction, an aspect of network theory, known as the homophily principle, posits that strong ties are thought to exist between people who are similar to each other in many respects, whether in status or ideology.[72] It will be argued that by constructing a relationship of homophily with Clarendon, Boreman was building a sense of group identity with a shared vision of a divinely ordained order. Underlying this was a strong fear of a return to chaos as a result of religious diversity and a desire to subsume personal interests in favour of a group working together for a common aim. Bruce Mazlish calls this type of relationship an 'invisible tie' and suggests that this type of relationship represents a shift from the idea of 'patronage' to 'connections' and likens it to achieving a

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[72]   McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook, 'Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks', p. 1362.

common goal.[73] Boreman had at least two strong ties in common with Clarendon. First since Clarendon was cousin to his close friend Dr Edward Hyde, and also through the Marquis of Hertford who was Clarendon's brother-in-law.[74] During Boreman's chaplaincy to the Marquis he would have been living around thirty miles away from Dr Hyde and would have had opportunity to meet Clarendon through either of these connections.

In 1662, three years following the death of his friend, Robert Boreman published the treatise that Dr Hyde had prepared for publication entitled *The True Catholick's Tenure*.[75] The use of the word 'Catholick' in the title was meant to represent the Protestant position of a universal church in the form of the Church of England, and the author distinguished the 'true Catholicks' from the 'papists' through their different abilities to understand the meaning of their prayers.[76] Written before the Restoration, the treatise posited that the impiety of the people had led God to impose this period of inconstancy.[77] Through their disloyalty to the established church in the proliferation of Christian sects, the people had brought the war and interregnum period upon themselves. Dr Hyde did believe, however, that this period of time was an interruption to the normal order and only a temporary situation. The treatise wanted to reinstate *certainty* in

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[73]   Bruce Mazlish, 'Invisible Tie from Patronage to Networks', *Theory Culture and Society*, 17 (2000), 1-19, p. 3.

[74]   Richard Ollard, *Clarendon and his Friends* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987), p. 44.

[75]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*.

[76]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, Preface to the Christian Reader.

[77]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, Preface to the Christian Reader.

religion.[78] Dr Hyde made the distinction that, whilst knowledge of religion could

be acquired from hearing sermons being preached, the certainty of religion

needed to come through prayer.[79] The aim of the treatise was to show how the

reader could be certain that he belonged to the right religion, and to be sure of

gaining salvation; the 'true catholick' – who is constant in both heart and voice –

could hold salvation as a certainty.[80] The reader was exhorted to shun the

authority of laymen, in favour of bishops who are appointed by God.[81]
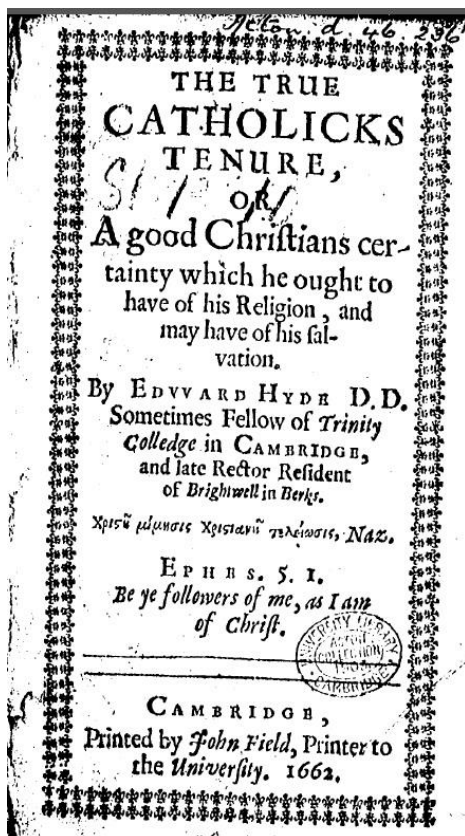
Figure 51: Title page of The *True Catholick's Tenure*
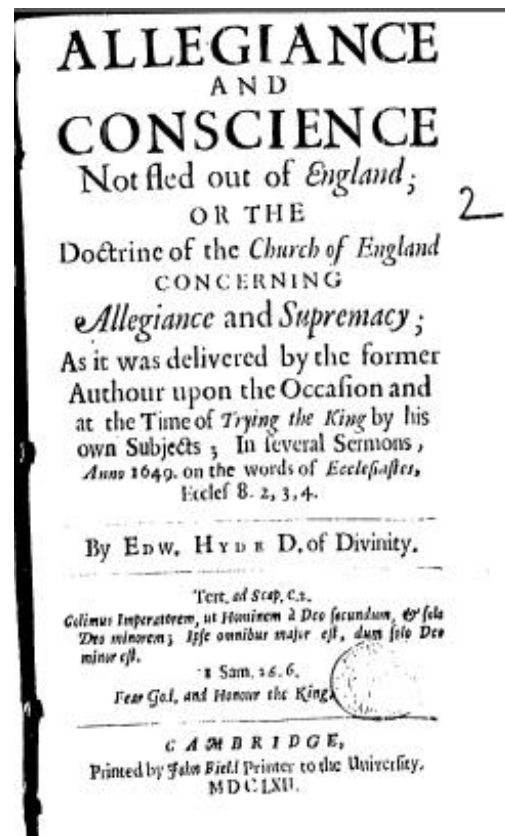
Figure 52: Title page of *Allegiance and Conscience*

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[78]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, Preface to the Christian Reader.

[79]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, Preface to the Christian Reader.

[80]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, Preface to the Christian Reader.

[81]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, Preface to the Christian Reader.

The treatise also contained a second title *Allegiance and Conscience not Fled out of England,* comprising sermons Hyde had preached in 1649.[82] The author's preface addressed to the reader argues that allegiance to the monarch is a Christian duty, that self-governance and lay preaching is anti-Christian, and that those Protestants who have broken away to form 'schisms' have done so for worldly reasons, such as avoiding the payment of tithes.[83] It represents the king as being both divinely appointed, and analogous to Christ, comparing the mourning of Mary Magdalene to the sorrow of the Church of England when Charles I was executed.[84] This idea belongs to the myth of royal martyrdom, which helped to reinforce a sense of duty to the monarch in his subjects.[85] The sermons that follow the preface are concerned with the theme of conscience; some written before, and some after, the regicide. The author says that the tract 'speaks to ... those only who still keep the old true Protestant Religion of the Church of England, and with it their allegiance and their conscience'.[86]

At the time the *True Catholick's Tenure* was being published, Boreman was rector of Blisworth in Northamptonshire, under the patronage of Lord Hatton.[87] However, a London position would have given more opportunities for interacting

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[82]   Edward Hyde, *Allegiance and Conscience not fled out of England, or the Doctrine of the Church of England concerning Allegiance and Supremacy as it was delivered by the former Authour upon the occasion of Trying the King by his own subjects; in several Sermons anno 1649 on the words of Ecclesiastes* (Cambridge: John Field, Printer to the University, MDCLXII). EEBO - UMI Wing 539:01 is 274 pages long and contains the *True Catholick's Tenure* including *Allegiance and Conscience* starting at image 214. UMI Wing 538:17 is the *Allegiance and Conscience* on its own.

[83]   Hyde, *Allegiance and Conscience,* Preface to the Reader.

[84]   Hyde, *Allegiance and Conscience,* Preface to the Reader.

[85]   Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688*, p. 91.

[86]   Hyde, *Allegiance and Conscience,* Preface to the Reader.

[87]   Christopher Hatton, 1st Baron Hatton (bap. 1605, d. 1670).

with those who had influence in the Restoration Church. Therefore, Robert

Boreman took the opportunity to address the dedication of Dr Hyde's book to

Lord Clarendon, explaining that Dr Hyde would have approached Clarendon

himself in this way if he had lived to see it published.[88] The reason he gave for

this assertion was that Clarendon's life had represented the living embodiment of

the treatise.[89] He echoed Dr Hyde's metaphor in the treatise of Christ and the

monarch, utilising the story of Eros and Anteros – love and requited love - to

show how loyalty to the king is entwined with loyalty to Christ.[90] He wrote that:

> 'loyaltie and Christianitie like that Eros and Anteros in the Fable are so
> twisted and linked together, that one cannot live or be without the other, so,
> he that is false to his King cannot be true to Christ'.[91]

The Act of Uniformity was coming into force at the same time as the treatise was

being published, and Boreman's references in the dedication testify to his support

of the action being taken to return the Church to a pre-Civil Wars form. Boreman

was keen to stress that he and Clarendon were very similar in intellectual and

political outlook, both in terms of strong royalist support and the desire to re-

establish a system of church practices.[92] Although Boreman expressed that he was

'unknown' to Clarendon in the dedication, he probably would not have meant

this literally, due to the strong connections they shared in common. Before the

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[88]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure,* Epistle Dedicatory.

[89]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure,* Epistle Dedicatory.

[90]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure,* Epistle Dedicatory.

[91]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure,* Epistle Dedicatory.

[92]   The main difference between their approaches to the church settlement was in Clarendon's
view that if the Presbyterians were not appeased there would be the risk of rebellion, and
Boreman's view that if there was more than one church practice then this would also result in
similar conflict and disorder. Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688,* p. 95.

Civil Wars and interregnum, the ordinary practice was to approach a patron

beforehand in order to gain their permission to dedicate a particular book to

them.[93] Patrons in the past had tended to accept dedications for books which

reflected their own views and interests.[94] It may be that Boreman had not

approached Clarendon beforehand for his permission, but by publishing the book

already addressed to him, had made it appear to the public that the treatise was a

work of which Clarendon would be supportive. Boreman asserts, however, that

the main reason he chose to address the treatise to Clarendon was the tie of

kinship between Clarendon and the author, Dr Hyde. He asked Lord Clarendon

to consider: 'the consanguinitie, or near relation of the Author of the ensuing

work to your most Noble person'.[95]

Boreman then went on to list his further reasons for addressing the publication to

Clarendon. The first of these was what he referred to as 'a forcible tie or

obligation of love'.[96] This expression referred to a kinship obligation which he

was constructing between them by standing in the place of Dr Hyde. This echoes

the strong ties of network theory, but goes even further adding the obligations

inherent in family ties. Boreman used the term *Autonomy* to describe the two

Edward Hydes' shared name, analogous personalities, and accomplishments.[97] He

stressed their absolute loyalty to the king and the established church and the fact

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[93]   Graham Parry, 'Patronage and the printing of learned works', in *The Cambridge History of the Book, Volume IV, 1557-1695,* ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie with the assistance of Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 174-88, p. 174.

[94]   Parry, 'Patronage and the printing of learned works', p. 180.

[95]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, A3-A4.

[96]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure,* A.3.

[97]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure,* A.3.

that they were both persons of great learning. This dedication therefore operates

as a device to make the two Edward Hydes almost interchangeable as one person,

meaning that Boreman became at once both kinsman and great friend to Lord

Clarendon - a kinsman in that he was representing Dr Hyde, and great friend, in

that Clarendon and Dr Hyde become one. He referred to God requiring

Christians to act with 'brotherly kindness to all', emphasising the familial

relationship he was constructing.[98] This again mirrors the Eros-Anteros

metaphor, introducing the idea of mutual support and reliance between Boreman

and Clarendon, and suggests that he was raising himself in status to stand next to

Clarendon.

A candidate for preferment in the Church often came to the attention of the

patron through personal recommendation or a family connection.[99] In his life of

Clarendon, Richard Ollard emphasises that Clarendon was keen to reward

loyalty, especially when there was also a kinship connection.[100] Boreman played

on acquiring this family connection to Clarendon and past loyalty by proxy

through Dr Hyde in the hope that Clarendon would be moved to favour him.

There were three ways in which livings were bestowed in practice. The first was

where the bishop presented his own candidate, the second where a patron

nominated a candidate for the bishop's sanction, and the third where the patron

did not require the bishop's permission, although the candidate was still required

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[98]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure,* A.3.

[99]   W. M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 76.

[100]   Ollard, *Clarendon and his Friends,* p. 246.

to hold a licence to operate as a Church of England clergyman.[101] In any of these options the bishop of the diocese would have been consulted or known about the proposed candidate. The parish of St Giles-in-the- Fields was in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, although this presentation is not recorded in the state papers for that year.[102] The Bishop of London, within whose diocese the parish of St Giles fell, was also known to Robert Boreman. At the time of Boreman's preferment, the office was transferring from Gilbert Sheldon to Humphrey Henchman, who had been nominated as Bishop of London on 16 June.[103] Dr Hyde's will refers to a 'Dr Hinchman' who should collaborate with Mr Boreman on what to do with Dr Hyde's paperwork a year following his death.[104] It is likely that this 'Dr Hinchman' was in fact Dr Henchman who at the time of the will was retired in the diocese of Salisbury, but had also acted as agent for Clarendon in filling vacancies for bishops in 1659, and was the same clergyman whom Barbara Hyde heard preach.[105] Therefore Boreman would have been known to Henchman even before their concurrent translations to London, and this may have also had a bearing on the choice of Boreman as rector.

Another factor which shows how Boreman shared Henchman and Clarendon's ideology on church governance and practice was that Boreman published in the

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[101]   Advowsons Collective, Presentative and Donative, see Jacob, *The Clerical Profession*, p. 75.

[102]   James Elmes, *A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs* (London: Whittaker, Treacher and Arnot, 1831), p. 210.

[103]   'Introduction', in *Survey of London: Volume 19, the Parish of St Pancras Part 2: Old St Pancras and Kentish Town,* ed. by Percy Lovell and William McB. Marcham (London, 1938), pp. 1-31.

[104]   Will of Edward Hyde, line 29.

[105]   John William Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism, 1643-1660: With Special Reference to Henry Hammond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), p. 205; John Spurr, 'Henchman, Humphrey (bap. 1592, d.1675)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

same year an open letter to Richard Baxter, the renowned Presbyterian.[106] In this

letter Boreman criticised Baxter, who later claimed that the publication was

merely a ploy by Boreman to seek advancement. Baxter complained: 'Yet did this

disingenious Dr. make a Book on this occasion, to seek Preferment by

reproaching me'.[107] Richard Baxter had met with Bishop Henchman and others in

discussions concerning the Church settlement, and had sent a petition to the

Lord Chancellor trying to get concessions for Presbyterians in church practices,

but had opposed the solution offered by Clarendon, which Baxter thought gave

opportunities to Roman Catholics.[108] In *Hypocrasie Unvail'd*, Boreman argued

that any accepted differences in church practices would eventually lead to civil

discord and hatred between fellow worshippers.[109] This was because 'these

differences in worship will seem to the several parties, or divided sides, as a great

deformitie in their Adversaries'.[110] Boreman's strict position on not allowing

different versions of religious practice to take place concurrently is consistent

with that in the *True Catholick's Tenure and Allegiance and Conscience,* where it

is also argued that schism in religion is responsible for war. There is a sense,

however, that Boreman was not merely trying to ingratiate himself by making an

enemy of Baxter, but that he was trying to influence Clarendon against the

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[106]   Richard Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ: or, Mr. Richard Baxter's narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times· Faithfully publish'd from his own original manuscript, by Matthew Sylvester* (London: printed for T. Parkhurst, ..., MDCXCVI. [1696]), p. 378; Robert Boreman, *Αυτοκατακριτοσ· or Hypocrisie unvail'd, and Jesuitisme unmast. In a letter to Mr R Baxter, by one that is a lover of unity, peace, and concord and his well-wisher* (London: Printed for R Royston, Bookseller to the King's most Excellent Majesty, at the Angel in Ivie Lane, 1662).

[107]   Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, p. 377.

[108]   Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,* p. 274; Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688,* p. 97.

[109]   Boreman, *Hypocrisie unvail'd,* pp. 22-23.

[110]   Boreman, *Hypocrisie unvail'd,* pp. 22-23.

Presbyterian cause. By aligning himself with Henchman and Clarendon against Baxter, he also delineated who was not welcome to join the group he was constructing.

It has been seen that Boreman felt a close obligation to Dr Hyde and built on that relationship in his communication with Lord Clarendon, not only to gain patronage, but also to be involved in the rebuilding of the Church. Notwithstanding Baxter's accusation, it seems that Boreman was committed in the allegiance which he had offered to Clarendon in the Dedication, since he expressed his continued loyalty many years later, even after Clarendon's fall from grace and exile, in the form of an elegy.

7.3   **Elegy to Lord Clarendon**

Following Clarendon's death in December 1674, Robert Boreman composed a poem, entitled: 'An Elegie in Encomiastick Epitaph upon the late Lord Chancellor of England the Earle of Clarendon'.[111] The poem is 243 lines long, in draft manuscript form, and contains erasures and amendments.[112] Most of the verse is in iambic pentameter with heroic couplets and is very typical for its genre; a very similar form can be seen, for example, in the poetry of John Dryden (1631-1700). Perhaps the elegy was never intended for publication, but a more likely reason that it did not appear in print was the occurrence of Boreman's own death less than a year following Clarendon's. Composing a funeral elegy was often

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[111]   Maldon, TPL, MA0113, G.11, 'English verses in Commendation of Lord Chancellor Clarendon', f. 1r.

[112]   A full transcription appears in Appendix 2.

used for 'political positioning', and in the poem Boreman emphasised his

continued support for Clarendon following his fall from grace.[113] Boreman

declared that Clarendon's name had been maliciously maligned:

> 'Clarendon who fell by that common faile
> of former Patriots, whom vulgar Fame
> shot with 'ts black arrows, and did blast their name
> with poisinous breath.'[114]

Fame here is shown in its negative aspect in comparison to Fame in Lady Alice's

elegy, discussed in the next chapter, which was instead helpful and 'nimble

winged'.[115] Boreman compares Clarendon's fall to that of Thomas Wentworth,

adviser to Charles I, who he refers to as 'brave Strafford', indicating that he

thought Strafford was also unjustly brought down by 'the skittish beast of

Fortune'.[116]

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[113]   Karen Weisman, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy,* ed. by Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1-9, p. 4.

[114]   MA0113, G.11, f. 1v, lines 8-11.

[115]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, p. 27.

[116]   MA0113, G.11, f. 1v, line 24, f. 4r, line 220.
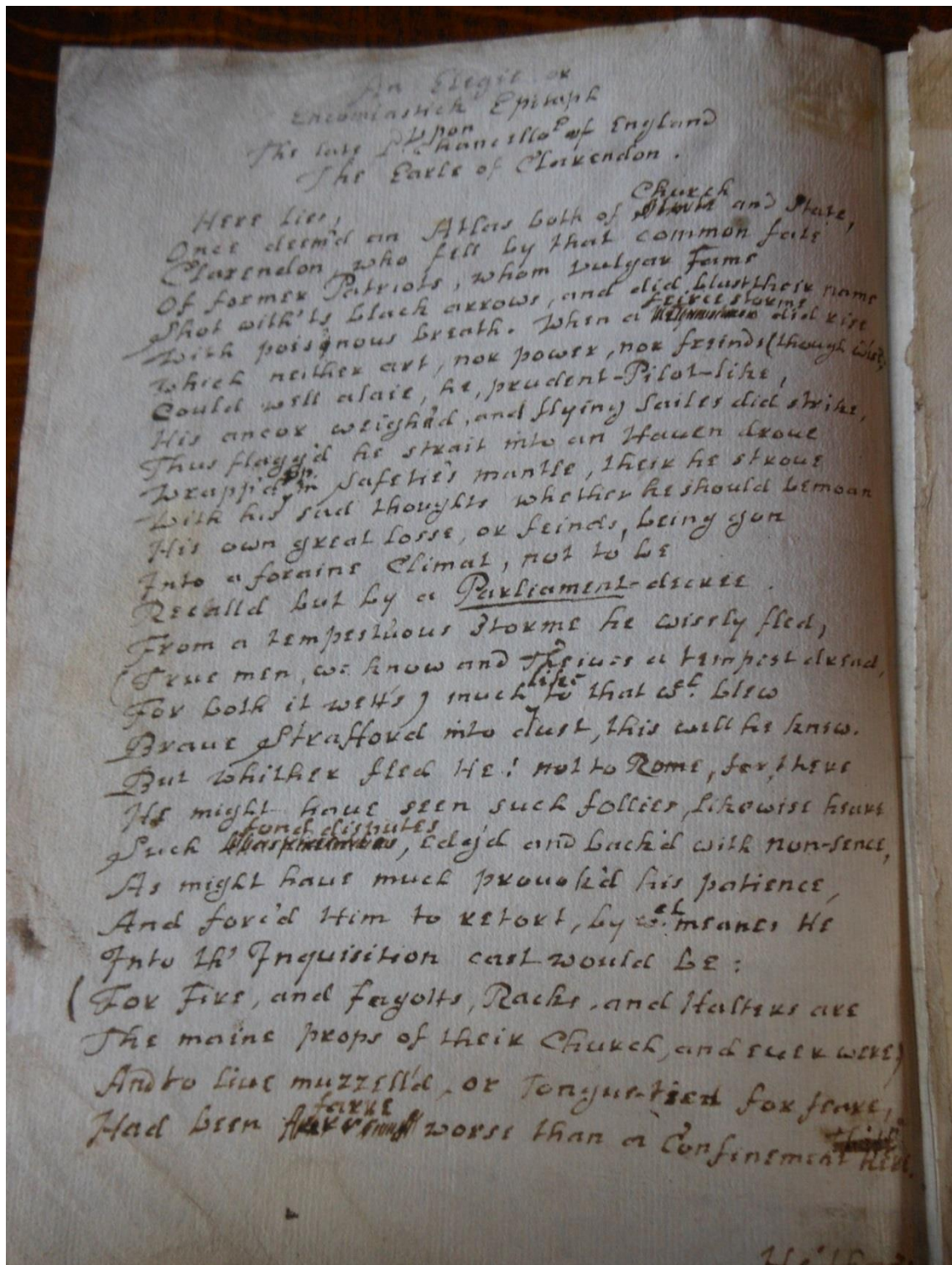
Figure 53: First page of Boreman's Elegy to Clarendon, MA0113, G.11, f. 1v

The elegy is typical in that it is written at the metaphorical site of death, where it

starts with 'Here lies'.[117] Where it is not so typical, however, is in the way that

elegies for persons of high status tended to be impersonal, whereas Boreman

hints at his knowledge of Clarendon.[118] Boreman responded to some of the

accusations levelled against Clarendon in the published articles of treason and

replied to the accusation that Clarendon had profited from various schemes

involving the abuse of his position: 'Great gainfull places must attract great

wealth / Which none will say was gained by fraud or stealth'.[119] Boreman refuted

this idea, saying that anyone with such elevated status was open to such charges.

Boreman also showed that he has been reading the published debate started by

Dr Stillingfleet, continued by Serenus de Cressy, which was responded to by

Clarendon in his publication in exile of the *Animadversions* in 1673.[120] Boreman

said that he hoped that de Cressy, the protestant-turned-Catholic priest, who had

been Queen Catherine's chaplain, had recanted his Catholicism as a result of

Clarendon's publication.[121] This echoes the recanting Catholic women Boreman

told Lord Crewe about some years earlier.

Boreman referred to Clarendon being free to communicate both verbally and

through text in his exile: 'He therefore fled where He might be fare / And write

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[117]   MA0113, G.11, f. 1v, line 6.

[118]   Morton W. Bloomfield, 'The Elegy and the Elegiac Mode: Praise and Alienation', in
         Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation, ed. by Barbara Kiefer
         Lewaslski (Cambridge Mass and London: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 147-57, p. 153.

[119]   MA0113, G.11, f. 2v, lines 93-4.

[120]   MA0113, G.11, f. 2r, lines 37-8. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *Animadversions upon a book,
         intituled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church, by Dr. Stillingfleet, and the
         imputation refuted and retorted by S.C. / By a person of honour* (London: Printed for R.
         Royston, 1674).

[121]   MA0113, G.11, f. 2r, lines 49-51. Serenus de Cressy (c.1605-1674).

and speak with a bold libertie'.[122] Towards the end of the elegy Boreman

juxtaposes his own composition with an autobiography which Clarendon could

have written himself, again emphasising the spoken word alongside text:

'Clarendon ... / Who writ and did and spake with tongue and / So well, so learned

lie that to write his story / None's so fitt as himself'.[123] This mirrors the way in

which the loyalist clergy were silenced during the Civil Wars and interregnum

and again shows the anxiety about preserving the expertise of those who had

been working towards a common goal.

In the last section Boreman addressed Clarendon directly:

> 'All ye day therefore I will mourn
> Clad with a sable vest
> But when yet night shuts up ye day
> I'll take a robe that's white
> And chasing cares and grief away
> Sing ye songs of night'.[124]

This conveys a sense of self-reflection, which was characteristic of the genre.[125]

Boreman proposed that Clarendon should have been considered a champion of

both Church and King for standing against the Roman Church and the influence

of Cressy: 'Stile him as the King's and Churche's Champion'.[126] Towards the end of

the poem Boreman summed up the qualities he admired in Clarendon: his stance

on religion, his great learning and his judicious conduct: 'Religious, learned, Just

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[122]   MA0113, G.11, f. 2r, lines 35-6.

[123]   MA0113, G.11, f. 4r, lines 204-7.

[124]   MA0113, G.11, f. 4r, lines 186-91.

[125]   Weisman, 'Introduction', p. 2.

[126]   MA0113, G.11, f. 3r, line 145.

and Wise'.[127] These are the same qualities Boreman referred to in the dedication

of Dr Hyde's book, and it could be argued that these were the qualities for which

Boreman himself aspired to be known. With Clarendon's support Boreman

achieved a position where he was able to perform a role of influence in the

established church.

7.4   Conclusion

A close examination of these texts by Barbara Hyde and Robert Boreman reveal a

real sense of the importance of commitment and fidelity within the group of

loyalist clergy, continuing from the eve of the Civil Wars until well into the 1670s.

For of them, affective ties served to create patronage structures. The existence of

a complex and nuanced pattern of relationships, a network of strong tie

connections, enabled Robert Boreman to come to the attention of Lord

Clarendon. An examination of Boreman's manuscripts and printed texts has

shown that what drove him to seek patronage was his commitment to the re-

establishment and strengthening of the Church of England after the Interregnum,

and his desire for a personal involvement in that endeavour. He showed through

both his dedication and his elegy to Clarendon that he wanted to be associated

with the same qualities. The elegy demonstrates Boreman's continued support of

Clarendon and knowledge of the details of Clarendon's impeachment and

subsequent publication.

Barbara Hyde's notebook was useful to record occasions when she connected

with family and community through the exercise of spiritual piety. These aspects

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[127]   MA0113, G.11, f. 4v, line 242.

of her identity would have been seen as honourable and worthy endeavours and those for which she would have wanted to be known. Many of the manuscripts in the collection, like Barbara Hyde's notebook, symbolise a memorial or remembrance of relationships with friends and associates, especially those manuscripts which passed through the ownership of family and friends until they reached Plume. Plume did not annotate Barbara Hyde's sermon notes, but it is likely that he kept it for two reasons: it contained Edward Hyde's review of the Septuagint; and it came as part of a larger collection of Edward Hyde's notebooks. The notebook, bound and decorated, also represented part of a body of work from a clergyman whom Plume respected, and the names recorded by Barbara Hyde were part of a larger 'family' of clergymen with whom Plume associated himself as well. Barbara Hyde's textual contribution to the clergy network was not obvious and explicit like Boreman's in that it was a semi-private document. However, it reflected her sentiments towards this group, in which she was heavily invested as a matriarchal figure, bringing together the strands of relationships and connections through her documentation of them. Clergymen had an active and public presence, but women also had a role to play in bringing strength to the established church, as will be seen further in the next chapter, in the case of Lady Alice Dudley, who was able to use her wealth and position to influence the style of church practice.

Chapter 8   'He will deliver us out of the hands of our enemies': Persuasion and intervention in society

The preacher at Eythorne in Kent during the 1640s attributed the chaos of the Civil War to a divine punishment. He exclaimed in one sermon: 'May I not say in this age that ye whole world is sett upon mischief', before arguing that people's 'evil intentions' had provoked God's anger.[1] Thomas Plume acquired two unbound manuscripts and four notebooks written by the minister at Eythorne, a supporter of the Parliamentarian cause.[2] Three of the notebooks contain sermons preached by him at Eythorne and the nearby parishes of Tilmanstone and Norborne (Northbourne) during the period 1645-1650.[3] Plume read these notebooks alongside the polemical royalist sermons written by Robert Boreman, such as his sermon of thanksgiving on the occasion of the King's birthday.[4] Both the Eythorne preacher who publicised the Parliamentarian victories in his sermons, and Robert Boreman, who promoted the King's cause, sought to enlist divine help against their enemies. They saw the wrath of God as being directed against the 'other side', and implored their parishioners not only to voice their support for these political causes, but also to feel it in their hearts.

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[1]   MA0036, f. 95r, lines 18-26.

[2]   Referred to in Chapter 4.

[3]   The unbound manuscripts by this author are: Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.17, 'Part of a theological tract in an old hand, entitled by Plume the fruits + effects of the resserection'; and Maldon, TPL, MA0111, E.23, 'The fruit who is'. The other bound notebook is a miscellany containing reading notes as well as notes for sermons, MA0048.

[4]   MA0110, D.18.

Considering his royalist and established church allegiances, why did Thomas

Plume see the contents of both of these politically-opposed sermons as worthy of

attention? It may have been that Plume was more interested in how the theology

was expressed in the sermons than in identifying himself with their political

stances. This aligns with his reading of Hobbes' *Leviathan*, where he focused his

extractions on the aspects of the book concerned with scriptural interpretation

and church governance and disregarded the whole section on civil government.[5]

It also is related to the way in which Plume collected printed books from all sides

of a debate for his Library. This section touches on the themes of self-

identification, in terms of political positioning, as well as the clergy having a role

in influencing society at parish level through their special status as educated

professionals. Robert Boreman also preached a funeral sermon for Lady Alice

Dudley, using it to persuade and influence her daughter and other parishioners to

emulate her acts in supporting the Church of England, which will be examined

later in this chapter. It will be seen from Boreman's biography of Lady Alice that

she had used her role as a wealthy noblewomen to influence the style of worship

practised in her parish church. The different media of spoken sermon,

manuscript record, and printed publication could therefore all be used to convey

the 'authority' of their authors.[6]

Although the content of High Church and Puritan sermons could be similar, the

traditional understanding was that the preachers of these groups had very

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[5]   As seen in Chapter 5.

[6]   Jonathan Barry, 'Communicating with authority', in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*,
        ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004),
        pp. 191-208, p. 191.

different styles of delivery. Anglicans were thought to have had a 'metaphysical'

or 'grand' style, compared with a Puritan 'plain' style, a notion taken from

Quintilian's division of the styles of oratory.[7] Morrisey argues however that this is

simplistic division, which assumes that preaching is more about displaying

rhetoric or oratory, rather than being a sacred office that employs those

techniques.[8] Hunt and Green agree that in *any* sermon the preacher must be

emotionally stirred to arouse an emotional response in their listeners, and

parishioners did not favour lessons that were read out verbatim.[9] This was the

case in the two manuscripts discussed this section, where both an established

church preacher and a dissenting preacher used rousing rhetoric to persuade

their parishioners into a particular action or frame of mind. Therefore, neither

denomination necessarily employed a distinctly opposing style, and this did

reflect contemporary preaching theories, especially by the end of the century.[10]

Two further issues which have interested scholars and also relate to the structure

and content of the sermon are the inclusion of biblical languages in sermons and

the use of profane sources.[11] Thomas Plume noted down sentences in Latin and

Greek from sermons he heard as part of his education at King Edward VI

Grammar School in Chelmsford. Other manuscripts containing sermons prepared

for preaching in Plume's collection also utilise Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew

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[7]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing,* p. 82.

[8]   Morrisey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion', p. 686.

[9]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing,* p. 84; Green, 'Preaching', p. 137.

[10]   Morrisey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion', p. 689.

[11]   Noam Reisner, 'The Preacher and Profane Learning', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon,* ed. by Peter McCulloch, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 72-86, p. 75.

quotations, so it is likely that preacher did on occasion speak these languages aloud to the parishioners, providing a translation at the same time.[12] This practice would imply that at least part of the audience was suitably educated to understand the references - what Morrisey refers to as 'rhetorical decorum' - and that the sermon was tailored to all hearers, since a learned audience might be bored by a sermon styled solely for uneducated listeners.[13] Although established church preachers might be more likely to use Latin quotations due to their advanced university training, they were also used in the sermons given by the Eythorne preacher, where he provided a translation immediately afterwards to help those who did not understand.[14] This shows that there was not a simple distinction between educated and royalist clergy and uneducated puritans who supported Parliament.

8.1   Political prayers and exhortations in the parishes

Political readings of preaching have been referred to at one extreme as 'politically centrifugal', characterised by a tendency towards a lack of restraint, with authorities having to employ control measures.[15] At the other extreme they were considered to be 'politically centripetal', where preachers operated within accepted boundaries of order.[16] The traditional view was that sermons were always political, whereas revisionists instead saw sermons as existing within a

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[12]   For example, sermon notes in Maldon, TPL, MA0051, 'Biblical notes'.

[13]   Morrisey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion', p. 694, p. 696; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, pp. 14-15.

[14]   For example: 'Hic est digitus dei, this is ye finger of god', MA0036, f. 127r, line 20.

[15]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 16.

[16]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 16.

well-understood framework, where the language used could be considered

censorious or provocative, rather overtly political.[17] Not all of the sermons in

Plume's collection written by Robert Boreman and the Eythorne preacher contain

explicitly political messages but, although it is difficult to separate religious and

political motives during the seventeenth century, the primary concern of sermons

was with spiritual life. However, sermons were one of the ways in which people

heard news or rumours about current affairs; in fact it is argued by Arnold Hunt

that some probably only attended to hear the news, especially in London

parishes.[18] In this way they could understand political events alongside hearing

the spiritual message. The Eythorne Preacher's faithful relaying of the

proceedings of the war, however, was not the only purpose or reference to these

events. He also used the occasion to seek to persuade his parishioners to join his

partisan political stance. Therefore, sermons like those in Plume's collection

which did contain explicit political references, can serve to demonstrate how

both the occasion of the sermon itself, as well as its scriptural content, were used

to justify partisan political action. They show how both preachers used their

position as role models in their communities to bring their influence to bear on

their audiences.

8.1.1   Thanksgiving for Parliamentarian victories

The preacher of the parish of Eythorne in Kent between 1645 and 1650 was fully

supportive of the Parliamentarian cause. Plume acquired three notebooks

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[17]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing,* pp. 294-5.

[18]   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing,* p. 298; Sulivan, 'The art of listening in the seventeenth century',
        p. 40.

belonging to the Eythorne preacher entitled: 'The Third Booke', 'The Sixt Booke' and 'The Seventh Booke'.[19] The three notebooks are similar sizes, although not identical in appearance, measuring in the region of 200mm x 150mm, and bound in seventeenth-century calf with blindlines over pasteboards. They each contain several sermons on different topics, written over a period of time and collected together in one place. This method of ordering the records would have enabled the writer to easily retrieve the information for future use. They contrast with the single sermon written on unbound paper by the same author in Plume's possession, and this illustrates how clergymen did not always adhere to a single method in their writing practices. It is not known how Plume came to own the notebooks belonging to the Eythorne preacher, and there does not seem to be a strong tie connection linking them. It is possible that he bought them second-hand, although no references to prices have been found in the books.

John Monyns (1609–1707), had been instituted as the rector of Eythorne, Kent in 1642 and it is likely that he was sequestered shortly afterwards in the same year and succeeded by another preacher.[20] Similarly, the appointments of the Caroline Church of England rector of Tilmanstone, Moses Capell, and Vicar of Northbourne, Edward Nicholls, both ended in 1642.[21] Another Church of England incumbent is not listed as rector of Eythorne parish until 1661, so it seems likely

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[19]   MA0026, MA0036, and MA0039.

[20]   Cambridge Alumni Database; 34% of parishes were affected by sequestration in 1642, see Gillian L. Ignajatijevie, 'The Parish Clergy in the Diocese of Canterbury and the Archdeaconry of Bedford in the Reign of Charles I and under the Commonwealth', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1986), p. 107.

[21]   Clergy of the Church of England Database, Edward Nicholls, Person ID: 37911 and Moses Capell, Person ID: 38768.

that the existing individuals were sequestered and preachers loyal to Parliament took on these roles after 1642. On 26 May 1643, a petitioner named Edward Hudson complained to the House of Lords because the Archdeacon of Canterbury had refused to induct him as rector of Eythorne.[22] The House found the Archdeacon and his two associates guilty of 'Oppression' and they were ordered to appear before the House so that appropriate recompense for Hudson could be decided.[23] This indicates that Edward Hudson was conducting the duties of rector in Eythorne but had been unpaid for the living. However, in lieu of conclusive evidence that Hudson was in post at the time the notebooks were written, the author will continue to be referred to as 'the Eythorne preacher'.

In each of the three notebooks the Eythorne preacher inserted his own indexes on the penultimate page and back pastedown to show when, and where, he had preached each sermon, and it can be seen from these indexes that he also delivered sermons in the nearby parishes of Tilmanstone and Norborne (see Figure 54 below). Plume also created an index in The Third Booke and made some annotations on another page, which shows that he also found the contents of that particular book to be useful (see Figure 55 and Figure 56 below).[24] Plume's index refers to the biblical texts used by the Eythorne preacher in the

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[22] 'House of Lords Journal Volume 6: 25 May 1643', in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 6, 1643* (London, 1767-1830), http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol6 [accessed 29 March 2016], pp. 61-63. The Archdeacon of Canterbury at the time was William Kingsley (1584-1648).

[23] 'House of Lords Journal Volume 6: 25 May 1643', pp. 61-63.

[24] MA0039, f. 1v and penultimate folio.

composition of his sermons.[25] This suggests that Plume's interest was in the

scriptural references rather than political content of the sermons.
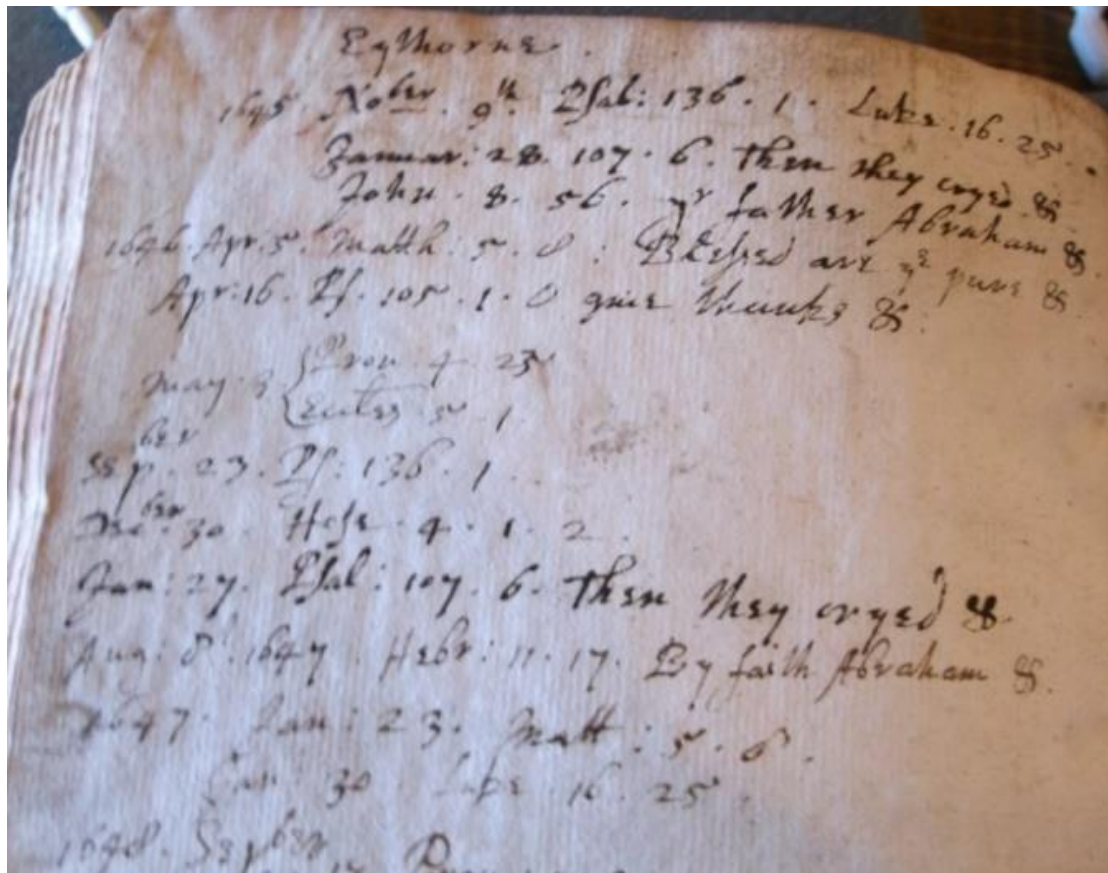
Figure 54: Eythorne preacher's index: MA0039, end flyleaf

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[25]   'John 8:56, P[salm] 136:5 give thanks to ye L[or]d, Heb. 4:1-2, Heb 11:17 Abr[aham] off[e]red up
       Is[aac], M[atthew] 5:8 Bl[essed] pure in H[ear]t, L[uke] 36:25 [...] in your life torment, J[ohn]
       4:23 K[ee]p ye H[ear]t [...], Exodus 5:1 K[ee]p ye, P[salm] 1-5-1 O give thanks to ye L[or]d &
       call up[on] h[is] n[ame].'
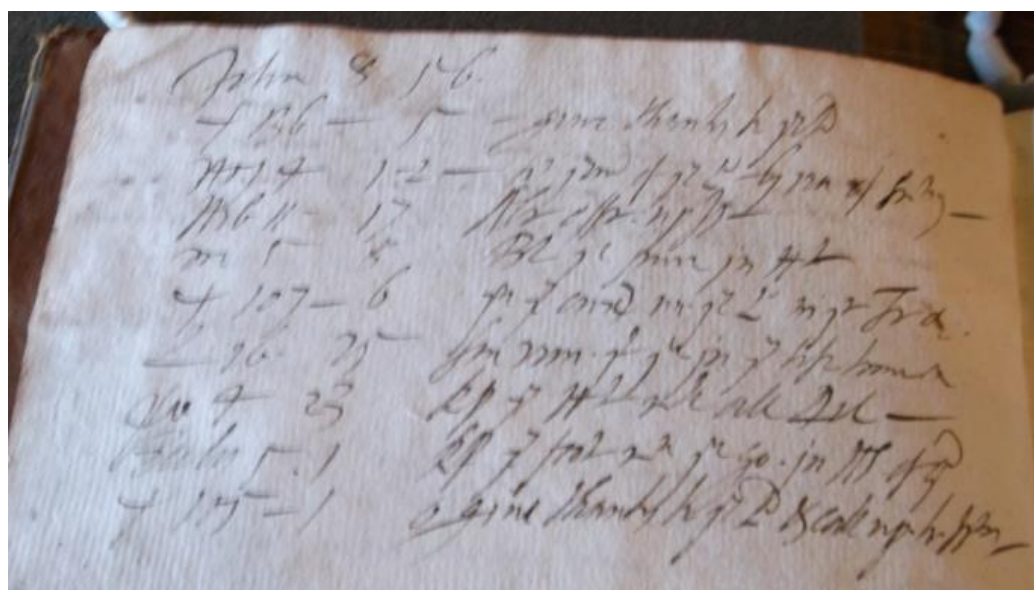
Figure 55: Plume's index: MA0039, front flyleaf
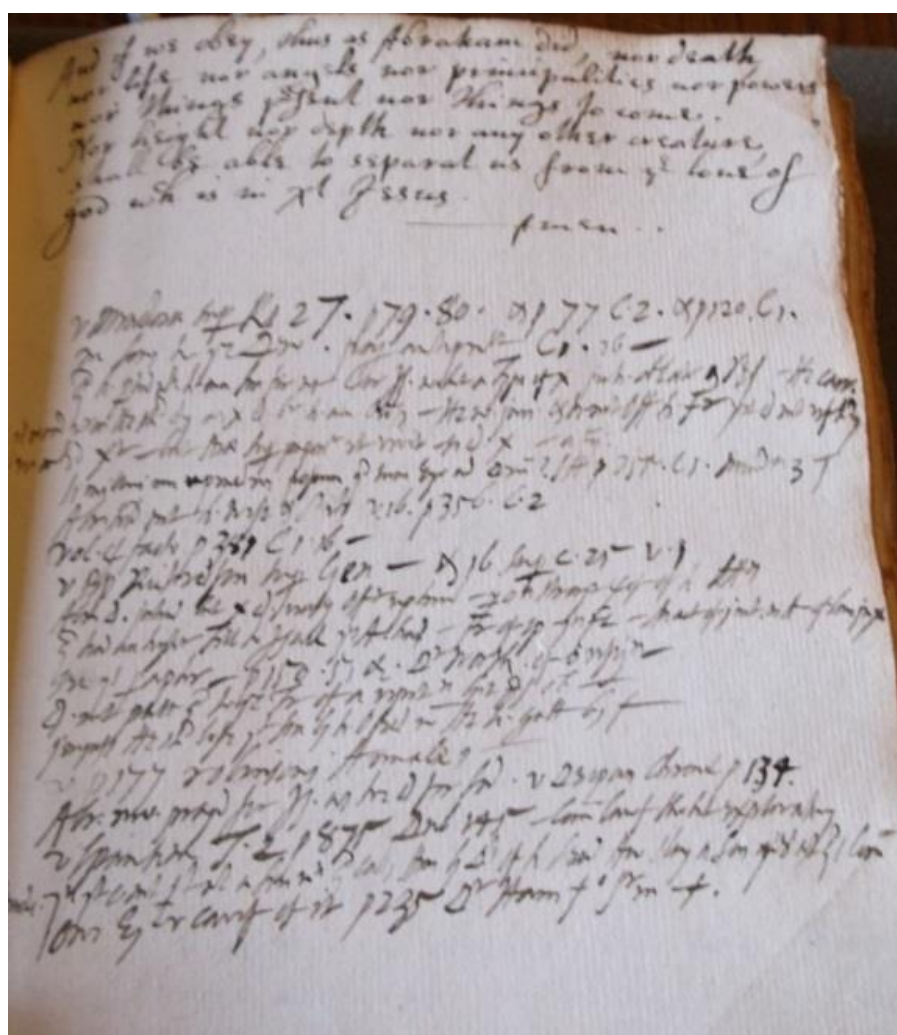
Figure 56: Plume's annotations: MA0039

During the Civil Wars the Long Parliament used public days of thanksgiving as

vehicles of propaganda to enforce obedience on the population through the

compulsory celebration of military successes.[26] The Elizabethan Church had

made provision for public days of thanksgiving and fasting, which could be called

by the Church or State in times of national crisis.[27] The sermons preached during

these days of thanksgiving recognised that God had punished the people by

actively intervening in the conflict to cause one side to win or lose in battle, but

could be petitioned to relieve their suffering and parishioners were obliged to

show their gratitude for this.[28] Evidence for public Parliamentary thanksgivings

can be seen in The Third Booke and the Seventh Book, but none are present in

the Sixt Booke or the single sermon 'The fruit who is'.

Although the Eythorne preacher obediently repeated the message from

Parliament in a sermon from The Third Booke, the opinion he inserted

afterwards suggests that he was also a personal supporter of the Parliamentarian

cause, and not simply obeying instructions in order to keep a low profile. The

Eythorne preacher responded to a Proclamation issued by Parliament on 21

March 1645, which declared as follows:

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[26]   Christopher Durston, 'For the better humiliation of the people: Public days of fasting and thanksgiving during the English Revolution', *The Seventeenth Century*, 7 (1992), 129-49, p. 133; For a recent study also see John Frederick Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism During the English Civil Wars, 1640-1648* (Princeton University Press, 2015), esp. chapter 1.

[27]   Durston, 'For the better humiliation of the people', p. 130. David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. xi, p. xiii.

[28]   Lucy-Ann Bates, 'National Fast and Thanksgiving Days in England, 1640-1660' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University, 2012), p. 9.

Table 3: Comparison of Proclamation and Sermon

Proclamation	Sermon
'Thursday shall be three weeks shall be set apart for a day of publique Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the great Successe of the Army under the Command of Sir Thomus [sic] Fairfax General, against the Enemy in the West, in breaking and destroying their Armies, and giving them up into the hands of the Parliament … And that the several Ministers do on the said day respectively take notice of the great Blessing of God upon the Forces of the Parliament, in taking of Sir Jacob Ashley prisoner, and Routing and defeating the Forces under his command neer Stow in the County of Glocester'.[29]	'this day of thanksgivinge a day of Publique thanksgivinge to allmighty god for the great success of o[ur] Army under ye Command of S[ir] Tho: Fairfax ag[ain]st the enemy in ye West, In breaking and destroying their armies and givinge them up into ye hands of ye Parliament. And also in taking S[ir] Jacob Ashley prisoner, and routings and defeatinge the forces under his Com[m]and'.[30]
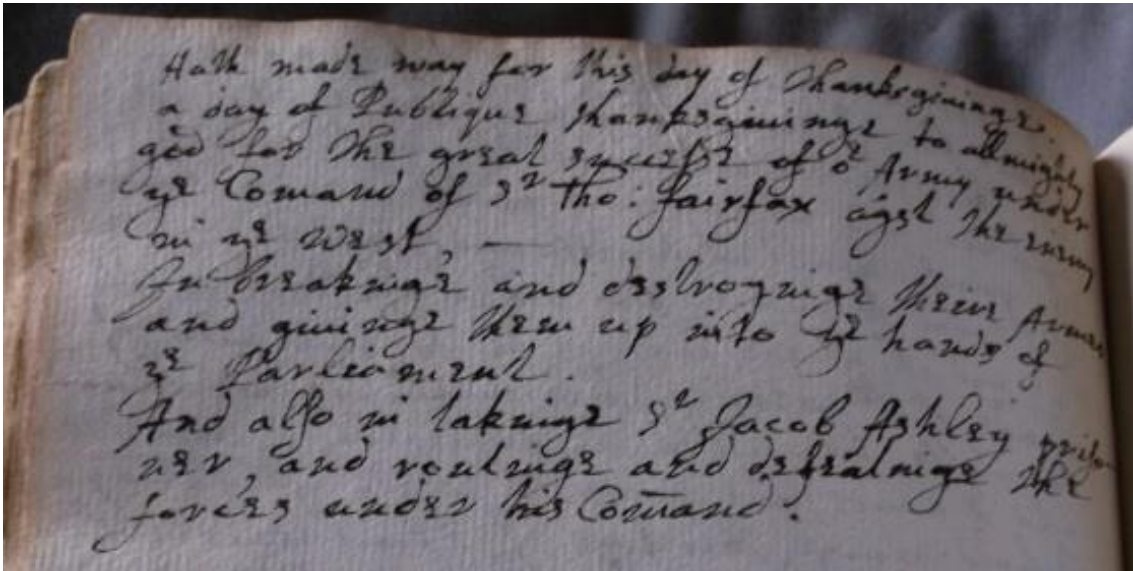
Figure 57: Extract from sermon MA0039, f. 176v

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[29]　　England and Wales, Parliament, *Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that Thursday shall be three weeks shall be [sic] set apart for a day of publique thanksgiving to Almighty God* (London: 1646) [Wing/E1751].

[30]　　MA0039, f. 176v.

The Eythorne preacher referred in his sermon to 'our Army' under Thomas

Fairfax rather than 'the Army', making clear his identification with the

Parliamentarian forces. He then continued to set out his praise of the

Parliamentarian victories, indicating that it was in God's power to end the

conflict:

> 'The greatest yt ever was yet, wh gives use good hopes, yt the warre is nigh
> an end, and yt ye lord will put a period to these troublesome dayes =
> Onely this: Above four thousand prisoners taken, believe it'.[31]

At a later date he revisited the page and wrote in pencil: 'Suppressinge ye later

factions and insurrections wch ever threatened a new warre'.[32] This may have

been written with hindsight after the onset of the second phase of the Civil Wars

in 1648. The Eythorne Preacher's reference to later 'factions and insurrections'

suggests that he considered political factions as the cause of war. Although it is

difficult to separate political and religious motivations in this period, in contrast

to Robert Boreman, who thought that the main cause of the wars was schism in

religion, the Eythorne preacher seemed to assume that it was the political, rather

than solely religious factions, which were to blame, and for which God had

punished them.

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[31]   MA0039, f. 176v.

[32]   MA0039, f. 181v.

669. f.9
47

Die Veneris, 28 August. 1646.

K England.
Parliament

ORdered by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, That Tuesday, being the eight day of September, now next coming, be set a part for a Day of Publike thanksgiving within the Cities of London and Westminster, Lines of Communication, and Weekly Bils of Mortality, and ten miles about, For the great blessing of God upon the Forces of the Parliament, in the reducing of the severall Castles and Garrisons of Worcester, Wallingford, Ruthen, Ragland, and Pendennis; And that the Lord Mayor of the City of London doe take care, that the Ministers of the severall Churches and Chappels, within the City of London, and Liberties thereof, may have timely notice hereof.

Jo. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON:
Printed for *John Wright*, at the King Head in the
Old Bayley. 1646.

Figure 58: Proclamation dated 28 August 1646

The Eythorne preacher again used inclusive language to persuade his audience of

their shared obligations to the Parliament. Another Proclamation was

subsequently issued by Parliament, stating that 8 September 1646 should be set

aside for a day of thanksgiving 'within the Cities of London and Westminster ...

and ten miles about'.[33] The Eythorne preacher had received this Proclamation,

notwithstanding that the village lay much further than 10 miles away from

London, as can be seen in his sermon for that date, when he noted that:

> 'This day we are commanded to give thanks for the great mercy of god to
> o[ur] forces in reducings of ye severall garrisons and castles of Worcester,
> Wallingford, Rathen, Ragland and Pendennis for these we are to give
> thanks, as for so many mercies and so many victoryes for every victory is
> to bee accounted of as a greate mercy of god. For in giving us victory, ye
> lord doth mercifully expresse his mercy and goodnesse toward us.'[34]

He stressed that it was God who gave the victory to the Parliamentarian side, and

by his comments 'giving us victory' and 'goodnesse toward us' he implicated

himself and the sermon hearers into belonging to the same cause. The Eythorne

preacher also used words and phrases from the Psalms using the device of

repetition to encourage the people to connect their thanksgiving to God with the

victories of Parliament. In a sermon from The Seventh Booke, the Eythorne

preacher referred to the outcome of the battles of Nasby, Bristol and Chester:

> 'O let us not forgett what marveillous th[in]gs the lord hath done for us
> allready. O forget not, that never to bee forgotten victory at Nasbee, forget
> not the late victory at Bristo[l], forgett not what ye lord hath done for us
> before Chester. O let these th[in]gs never bee forgotten'.[35]

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[33] England and Wales, Parliament, *De Veneris, 28 August. 1646. Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that Tuesday, being the eight day of September, now next coming, be set a part for a day of publike thanksgiving within the Cities of London and Westminster* (London: 1646) [Wing 2nd ed, 1994 / E1735]

[34] MA0039, f. 24v.

[35] MA0036, f. 118r. lines 5-11.

The text he used is from Psalm 98: 'O sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvellous things: his right hand, and his holy arm, hath gotten him the victory', and he repeated this particular phrase many times over during the sermon, using the repetition of the words to instil the sentiment into his audience's minds.[36] The Proclamation which prompted the Eythorne preacher to relay the news had stated:

> 'Thursday next to be a day of thanksgiving within the lines of communication. And throughout the whole kingdome the 27. of this instant Iune, for the great victory. Obtained against the Kings forces, nere Knasby in Northamptonshire the fourteenth of this Instant Iune'.[37]

The Eythorne preacher did not explicitly mention the Proclamation at this stage of the sermon, but instead referred to it three pages later, where he explained that in abiding by the Proclamation. He wrote: 'we do both testify o[ur] obedience to ye Parliam[en]t, ... and also hereby we doe o[ur] duty to god, who requires this of us'.[38] This again illustrates how he wished to emphasise that obedience to Parliament was part of God's plan and that all who heard the sermon were obliged to obey both Parliament and God. This linking between the authority of Parliament and God formed a direct parallel to the rhetoric of divine authority of the monarch used by royalist commentators, as seen in Chapter 7.

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[36]   This precise wording is from the King James version of the Bible.

[37]   England and Wales, Parliament. *An ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for Thursday next to be a day of thanksgiving within the lines of communication* (London: 1645) [Wing (2nd ed) / E2072].

[38]   MA0036, f. 121r. lines 10-16.

However, the enthusiasm portrayed by the Eythorne preacher for the victories by Parliament over the King's army was complicated, because on the one hand he willingly gave thanks that they had been routed, but on the other he was also concerned that the Parliamentary forces should show love and forgiveness to their enemies. He wrote that:

> 'If we have hated o[ur] brother, or o[ur] neighbour we must of hatred and malice and as o[ur] savio[ur] comands us, we must … Lett all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamo[ur] and evill speakinge bee put away from you w[i]th all malice And bee kind on to another, tender hearted, forgivinge on another'.[39]

Here the Eythorne Preacher used wording from the Book of Ephesians as evidence from the authority of scripture to show how the prisoners should be treated.[40] He was also keen to stress that the Parliamentarian army and their supporters must not ascribe the victories to their own skill, but instead to divine intervention. Referring to the recent Battles of Nasby, Bristol and Chester, he wrote:

> 'Beloved, as ye lord made his power knowen in savinge of his Israel, and in giving them miraculous victories over their enemies: So ye lord hath manifested his power in p[re]serving us and in crowninge us with so many victories. And therefore we must not ascribe these victories unto o[ur] selves, or to the number of o[ur] souldiers; but to the mighty hand and power of god'.[41]

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[39]   MA0036, f. 122r. lines 17-25.

[40]   The part from 'Let all bitterness and wrath' is from Ephesians 4:31-32.

[41]   MA0036, f. 228v. lines 19-28.

However, even though he thought that change had happened as a result of God's actions, the Eythorne preacher was also concerned that God would turn away from Parliament and start supporting the other side if the parishioners did not keep their covenant with God:

> 'The more mercifull ye lord is, the more holy and righteous we should bee for unlesse we walke worthy of ye mercy and goodnesse of ye lord, he will turn his mercies unto judgm[en]ts And whereas he hath delivered o[ur] enemies into o[ur] hands, he will deliver us unto o[ur] enemies hand; and whereas he hath given us of late many victoryes over o[ur] enemies, ye lord will give o[ur] enemies as many over us'.[42]

God was thought to have given help freely, but at the same time a response was expected from the worshippers.[43] The Eythorne preacher explained that if they continued to show thanksgiving to God then He would continue to support them:

> 'if we keepe yt part of the Covenant wch belongs unto us, he will p[er]forme yt wch belongs unto him ... he will deliver us out of the hands of o[ur] enemies; nay he will deliver o[ur] enemies, even all o[ur] enemies into o[ur] hands'.[44]

People were therefore expected to show their thanksgiving in three ways: in their hearts; by declaring it aloud in public; and by doing good works; although it was thought that good works did not lead to grace in themselves, they were a natural

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[42] MA0036, f. 130r. lines 7-25.

[43] Ronald E. McFarland, 'The response to grace: seventeenth century sermons and the idea of thanksgiving', *Church History,* 44 (1975), 119-203, p. 200.

[44] MA0036, f. 132r. lines 19-26. The part of the covenant belonging to the people was serving God 'in holinesse and righteousness all ye dayes of our life' (lines 22-23).

expression of it.[45] By voicing their thanksgiving aloud, the people were also seen to be publicly supporting the victories of the Parliamentarians as well as the actions of God, and by meditating on the thanksgiving they were meant to internalise the political as well as the theological message.

As has been seen, the Eythorne preacher used persuasive devices in his preaching to influence his audience. As an important figure in the community he put himself forward as a role model, one who supported the Parliamentarian cause. He used inclusive language like 'us' and 'we' to invite the parishioners to join him in his support of Parliament, both vocally in public and when alone, and he repeated words and phrases which would remain in their thoughts to reinforce the message. The Eythorne preacher also emphasised that it was essential to thank God for the military victories in order for them to continue, but not to take credit for God's actions.

8.1.2   God Save the King!

On the other side of the political divide, Robert Boreman is revealed in his handwritten sermon draft as a staunch royalist. The manuscript containing his politically-motivated sermon is undated, but was preached on the occasion of the King's 'nativitie'.[46] Although the specific monarch is not identified in this sermon, there were printed sermons entitled 'God Save the King' both for Charles I and Charles II, for example, one by Henry Valentine published in 1639 and another by

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[45]   McFarland, 'The response to grace', p. 200-1.

[46]   MA0110, D.18, 'God save the king', f. 1v, lines 11-12.

William Walwyn in 1660.[47] Boreman's sermon could have been written in reference to either monarch; although he did not receive his first living until the Restoration, he was ordained in 1637 and preached in public before receiving his first living.[48] However on balance the handwriting in the manuscript more closely resembles Boreman's later hand, indicating that it was created in reference to Charles II. In this sermon Boreman exhorted his parishioners to show their support of the King against his enemies.

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[47]   Henry Valentine, *God save the King A sermon preached in St. Pauls Church the 27th. of March 1639. Being the day of his Maiesties most happy inauguration, and of his northerne expedition. By Henry Valentine, D.D.* (London: Printed by M. F[lesher] for John Marriott; and are to be sold at his shop in St. Dunstans Church-yard in Fleet-streete, 1639) (Standard No: B02759); William Walwyn, *God save the King, or A sermon of thanksgiving, for His Majesties happy return to his throne. Together with a character of his sacred person. Preached in the parish-church of East Coker in the county of Sommerset, May 24. 1660. By William Walwyn B.D. and sometimes fellow of St. Johns College in Oxon.* (London: Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy lane, 1660).

[48]   See, for example, reference to Robert Boreman preaching in Chapter 7.
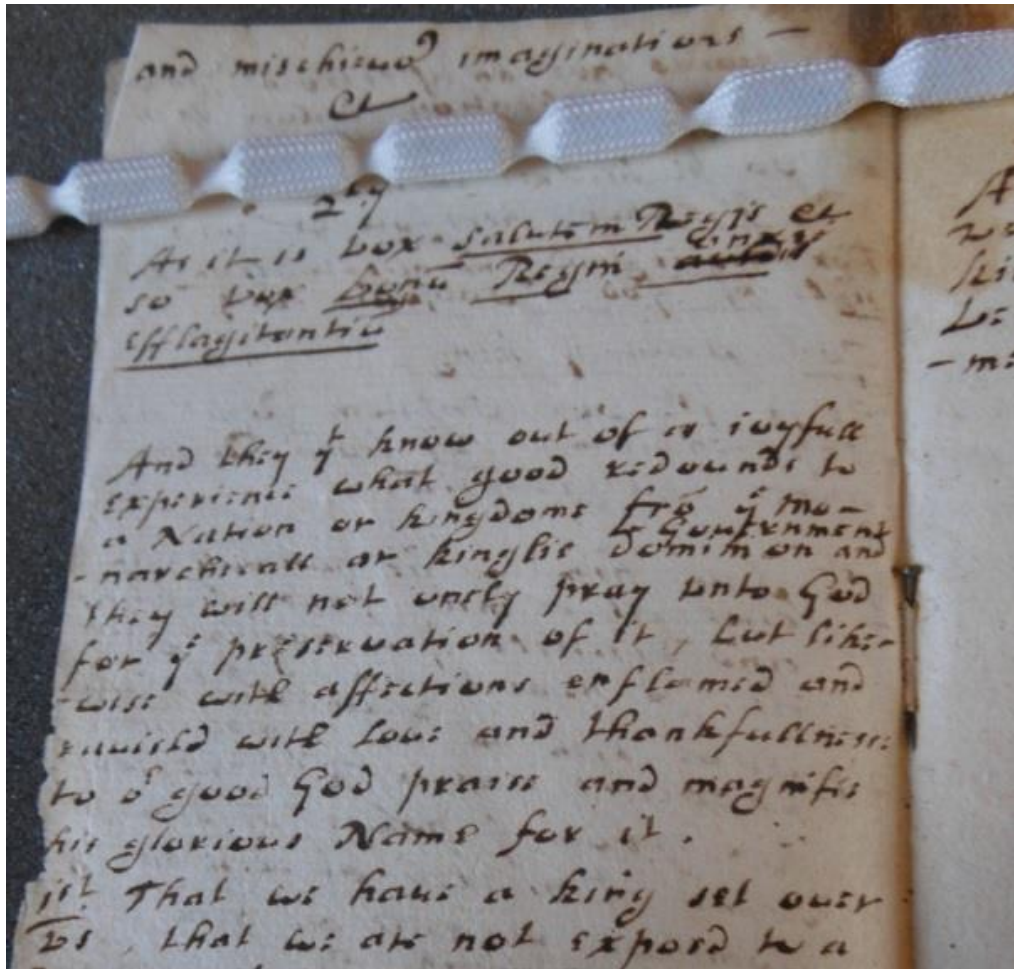
Figure 59: MA0110, D.18 'God Save the King' f. 2v

This sermon on 2 Kings 11 and 12, entitled 'God Save the King' exists as a stand-alone sermon written on four folios, made up of two sheets of paper folded over and secured by metal pin (see Figure 59).[49] It differs from the sermons contained in the Eythorne preacher's notebooks in that it is not written out in full, but in a note form to be used as a prompt for Boreman's presentation of the sermon at the time of delivery. The majority of Robert Boreman's sermon notes were unbound and either secured in the same way with a pin, or sewn along the left margin.

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[49]   MA0110, D.18.

This offers clues to his preferred reading, writing and preaching practices; instead of creating a miscellany where different types of content and sermons for different occasions could be placed (as was Edward Hyde's practice, for example), Boreman had a different method of organising his work to assist retrieving a specific piece for re-use. The loose sheets would have been easily removed to a different location to be used without affecting other pieces of work. This sermon was likely to have been used by Boreman on the pulpit to help his memory, since he did not write down everything he wished to say in the way that the Eythorne preacher had done. This is demonstrated by the copious use of 'etc' in each sentence (see Figure 60 below). For example, Boreman wrote 'This is the day which the Lord hath made his will etc' Ps. 18.24.'[50] The inclusion of 'etc' here, and in subsequent sentences, indicates that these are prompts for further extempore exposition when preaching the sermon. Similarly, the reference to Psalm 18.24 shows that he intended to talk further about the topic of this Psalm without the use of notes.[51]

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[50]   MA0110 D.18, f. 1v.

[51]   Psalm 18:24, King James version: 'Therefore hath the Lord recompensed me according to my
        righteousness, according to the cleanness of my hands in his eyesight'.
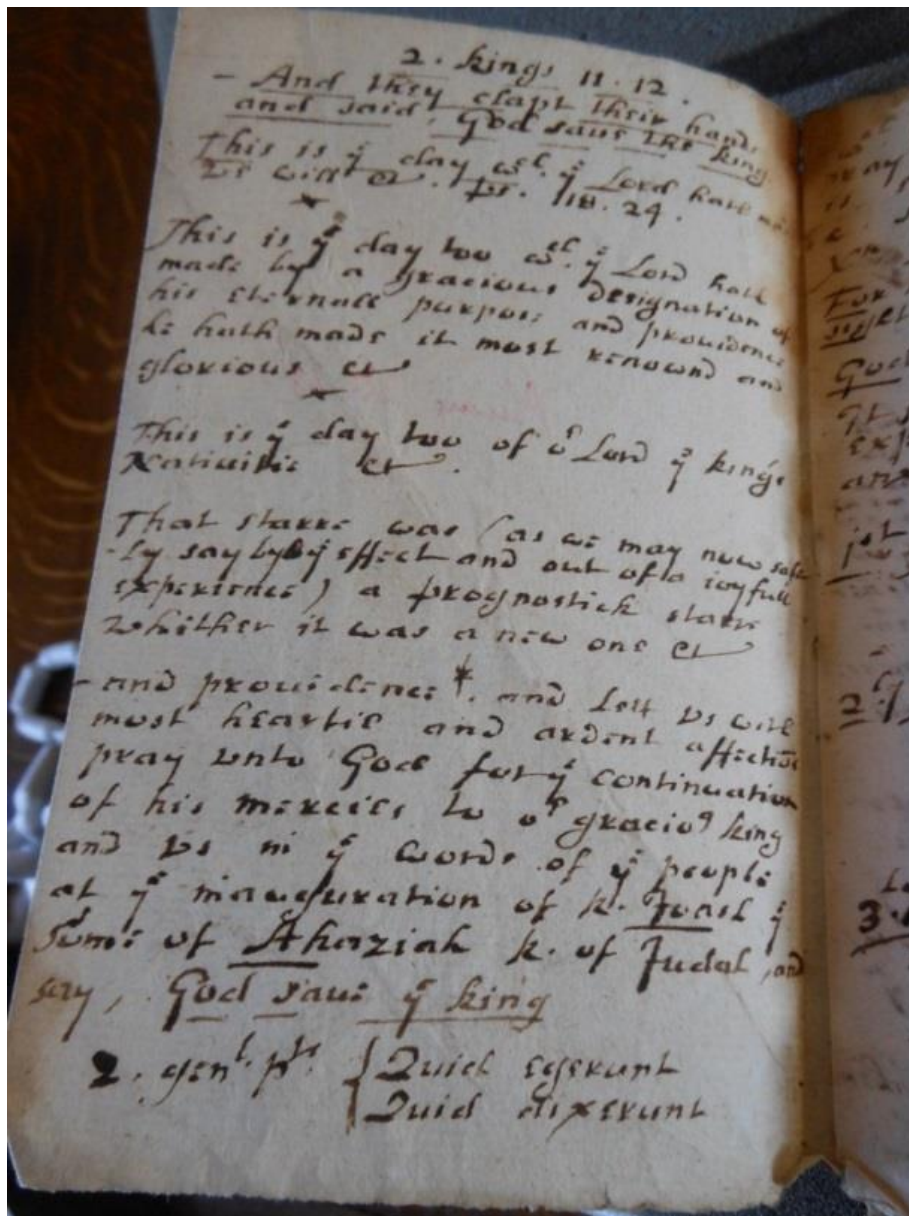
Figure 60: Use of 'etc' in MA0110 D.18, f. 1v

The political message behind Boreman's sermon is two-fold: first in his

encouragement of support for the King and to pray for his success, and secondly

by taking a public stand against the King's enemies. As to the first reason,

Boreman explained that they must pray for three aspects of the King's health:

physical, spiritual and political:

> '1st save him in his naturall capacitie as a man from sicknesse and disease …
> 2ly … Preserve him from ye power of sinne and Satan, yt neither of these
> get a dominion or rule ov[er] him … 3ly save him in his politik capa[city] as
> a supreame Ruler and Gov[er]no[ur] so exposd to many dang[er]s from his
> domesticke and forraine enemies preserve him from ye malice of these,
> and from all their traiterous designes'.[52]

The last part of this extract reflects the second purpose of the sermon, to take a stand against the enemies of the King. Boreman showed his conviction that any person opposing the King should be thought of as a traitor, and that he expected his audience to feel the same way. Both Charles I and Charles II had 'domesticke and forraine enemies' and the sermon directly encouraged the audience to stand up for their King and jeer at his enemies, to show their disapproval of these 'traiterous designes'.[53] Boreman also engaged in contemporary political philosophical debates when he argued:

> 'As we have to blesse God that we have a king, so such a king who is … ye
> very picture of God for his clemencie and goodnesse etc'.[54]

This argument reflects early seventeenth-century concepts of divinely-appointed monarchy, and the king being analogous to God in his dominion over the rest of humanity.[55]

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[52]   MA0110, D.18, f. 2r, lines 12-26.

[53]   MA0110, D.18, f. 2r, lines 48-51.

[54]   MA0110, D.18, f. 3v, lines 2-6.

[55]   For example, see Paul Baynes, *A commentarie vpon the first and second chapters of Saint Paul to the Colossians Wherein, the text is cleerly opened, observations thence perspiciously deducted [...] Together with diuers places of Scripture briefely explained. By Mr. Paul Bayne. B.D.* (London: Printed by Richard Badger, for Nicholas Bourne, and are to be sold at his shop

As will be seen in his printed sermon *An Antidote Against Swearing*, Robert

Boreman placed 'swearing' as blasphemy and profanity alongside the 'swearing of

oaths' in order to show the pitfalls of both.[56] In his manuscript sermon 'God Save

the King', he used another play on words, juxtaposing the clapping of hands -

symbolising applause for the King - with clapping hands as a gesture of *censure*

towards the King's enemies. For example, the first meaning can be seen in 'And

they clapt their hands and said, God save the king'.[57] Clapping hands to criticise

and scorn the King's enemies can be seen towards the end of the sermon in his

reference to Job.27.23: 'Men shall clap their hands at him (viz ye Hypocrite'); the

second part of Job.27.27 being 'and shall hiss him out of his place'.[58] When

Boreman referred to 'Job.27.27' in his preaching notes this is another example of

using these notes as a prompt: he did not need to write the verse out in full. This

is similar to the same way in which some sermon listeners used their notes to

remember further details of the sermon. Boreman's use of double meanings and

the Eythorne preacher's use of repetition show how they employed these

oratorical devices to help persuade and influence their audiences.

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at the Royall Exchange, 1634), p. 79, where he compares the King to God; and Henry
Wilkinson, *The debt book: or, A treatise vpon Romans 13. ver. 8 Wherein is handled: the ciuill
debt of money or goods, and vnder it the mixt debt, as occasion is offered. Also, the sacred debt
of loue. By Henry Wilkinson, Bachelor in Diuinity, and pastor of Wadesdon in
Buckinghamshire* (London: Printed by R. Badger and G. Miller for Robert Bird, and are to be
sold in Cheap-side at the signe of the Bible, 1625), Chapter 4, p. 24, where he refers to Charles
I being set over people 'by the gracious providence of the Almighty'. For a recent in depth
study of this concept see: Cesare Cuttica, *Sir Robert Filmer (1588-1653) and the Patriotic
Monarch: Patriarchalism in Seventeenth Century Political Thought* (Manchester: Manchester
University Press, 2015).

[56]   Boreman, *An antidote against swearing*. See further discussion in Chapter 9.

[57]   MA0110, D.18, f. 1v. lines 2-3.

[58]   MA0110, D.18, f. 4r. lines 9-11.

The different material forms taken by the sermons show that different methods were available for clergymen to record sermons they had written for preaching. These different practices were not peculiar to a particular religious sect or political leaning and instead reflected personal preference. Thomas Plume's later sermon notes appear on unbound sheets in the same way as do Boreman's, and it is possible that he was influenced by Boreman's writing practices. Unlike Boreman's sermon, the Eythorne preacher's notebooks show evidence of when and where they were preached, and that Plume had actively acquired information from them. Plume was clearly interested in the biblical texts used by the Eythorne preacher, and the anti-royalist political messages did not seem to deter or repel him. However, the sermon notes made by Robert Boreman would also have been useful for Plume to glean ideas from if he had the opportunity to preach a sermon on another instance of the King's birthday.

It has been seen that the social and political context had an effect on the way the preacher chose his sermon text - from special days set aside for public thanksgiving or on the occasion of the king's birthday - but at the same time no sermon had a purely political purpose. Sermons could become vehicles for promoting particular causes and could come either from the preacher's own preference, as in the case of Robert Boreman, or prompted by the government and endorsed by the preacher. The Eythorne preacher can be seen to have been slightly ambivalent about his cause when he reflected that the way that prisoners were treated might not be compatible with his Christian sentiments of love and

forgiveness. However, both clergymen wanted to convince their parishioners that their cause was divinely-supported.

They were concerned that the congregation must internalise their response in prayer as well as in public covenant in order for it to be an effective thanksgiving to God. This is a similar concept to Edward Hyde's discussion of the nature of faith in his treatise *The True Catholick's Tenure*, where he argued people could understand what was required of them by their religion through hearing sermons, but that prayer was the vehicle through which they could gain certainty of faith.[59] In both cases an outward, public, confirmation of their faith was expected but could not operate effectively without a corresponding internal meditation. These two preachers took a public stand on their political allegiances and in this way sought to influence the people in their parishes to give obedience to spiritual and temporal authorities. Another way in which Robert Boreman was able to influence his parishioners, and a wider readership in print, is through his funeral sermon to Lady Alice Dudley; although the manuscript version of the sermon is no longer extant, a link to the printed text can be seen in Boreman's account book of the 1660s.

8.2 'having with a large Revenue a larger heart, and an open hand': Persuading and influencing society in print

On the occasion of his presentation to the benefice of St Giles-in-the-Fields, Robert Boreman started a new notebook to record of the sums he would receive

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[59]   Hyde, *The true Catholicks tenure*, Preface to the Christian Reader.

during his time as rector.[60] The entries relating to income received for church

services is listed chronologically on the recto side of the pages, with incidental

records noting gifts, rents and tithes added in on several of the verso sides. It is

clear from Boreman's will that he considered both the income and the notebook

as his personal property, distinct from any records that his clerk kept, and it is for

this reason that he eventually gave the book to Thomas Plume with the rest of his

papers.[61] The title page of the account book reports that just over a week before

Saturday 25 July 1663, Lord Clarendon had affixed his authority to a petition made

on Boreman's behalf.[62] He was then presented to the rectory when the 'broad

seale' - the Great Seal of England - was annexed to the presentation.[63] It is clear

that Boreman knew that this position would bring an increase in earnings.

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[60]   MA0002, f. 1r. The book is 290 mm by 200 mm, contains 33 folios of text, and is encased
        within limp vellum covers, which could be secured by ties. His handwriting is neat and
        legible, although there are some erasures and alterations to the text.

[61]   Will of Robert Boreman.

[62]   MA0002, f. 1r.

[63]   MA0002, f. 1r.
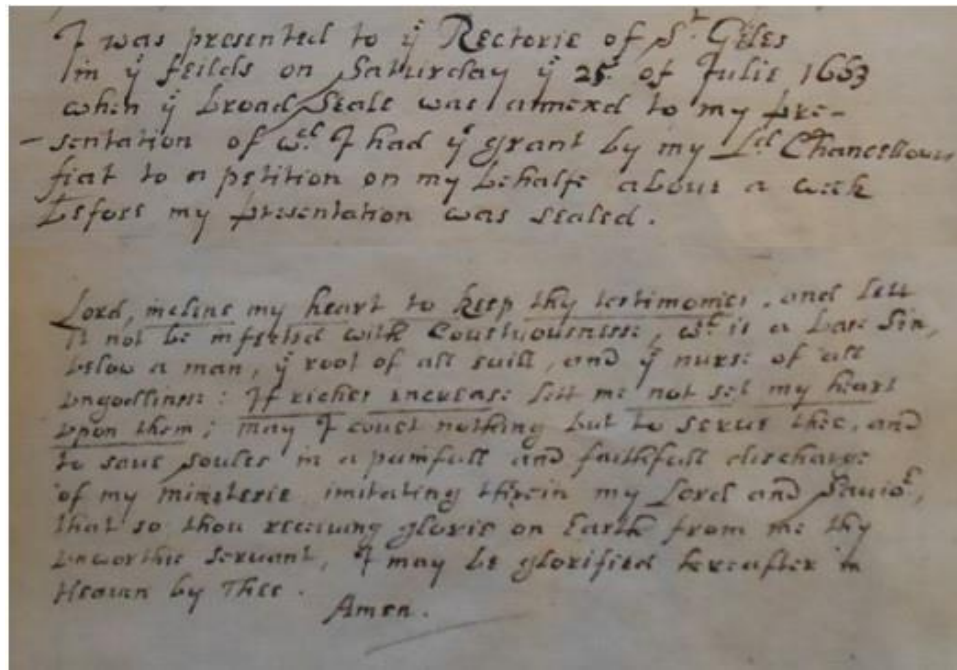
Figure 61: MA0002, f. 1r

Below the information recording his presentation he set out a short prayer to guard his heart against the 'base sin of covetousness', which he explained was 'below a man, the root of all evil, and the nurse of all ungodlinesse'.[64] He underlined the next words: 'If riches encrease lett me not set my heart upon them'.[65] Boreman's riches did indeed increase as a result of the benefice. The next page of the account book shows its purpose was to record income received from his clerk, Mr Robinson, 'For Burials and other Church duties. Besides these accidental gifts'.[66]

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[64]   MA0002, f. 1r.

[65]   MA0002, f. 1r.

[66]   MA0002, f. 2r.

The first recorded date for income received was on 27 July, the Monday following his presentation.[67] The amount was two pounds, two shillings, and eight pence, which Boreman noted was 'received for casualties', meaning a casual or incidental payment.[68] In certain entries, such as this one, there is no indication of what the money was for, or from whom it came. Similarly, many of the records simply cover a span of dates, where the reasons for the payments were not recorded, for example 'Received from the 16 of April to the 23'.[69] However, in other entries Boreman goes into more detail concerning the circumstances of the income. One notable parishioner was the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Southampton, who gave two pounds and eighteen shillings for a funeral service, where Boreman preached for the Lord Treasurer's deceased servant Mr Green during Boreman's first year as rector.[70]

The income set out in the notebook falls into three main types: firstly, earnings from tithes, pew rents and the lease of a property; secondly what he referred to as 'accidental gifts', awards given at Christmas, Easter or Lady Day. The third type was payments for church services, including burials, marriages and churchings. Many of the burials specified were for interments in the chancel of the church, and there are twenty-three entries spread over the short period of twelve years covered by the notebook. The eastern part of the crypt under the Chancel was called the 'Rector's vault', and this area had been set aside to provide the rector

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[67]   MA0002, f. 2r.

[68]   MA0002, f. 2r.

[69]   MA0002, f. 2r.

[70]   MA0002, f. 2r. This took place on 17 December 1663. Thomas Wriothesley was Earl of Southampton 1660-1667.

with income for burials in lieu of space lost from the churchyard following the enlargement of the church in 1630.[71] The first chancel burial mentioned in the account book took place on 12 August 1663, when Boreman recorded that he was paid eleven pounds and ten shillings for the burial of Lady Anne Holborne and for the use of his pulpit.[72] From the entries it appears that a burial in the chancel for an adult was set at ten pounds, so the extra one pound and ten shillings in this case would have been in payment for the use of the pulpit by another preacher.

In his will Boreman left some of the income from chancel burials, along with the rent received for pews, to the poor of the parish:

> 'Item to the Poore of St Gylses I bequeath all the monies that lyes in the church-wardens hands for my pewes and Interments of bodies in ye middle Isle commonly called the Chancell Isle, which monies they received from the year 1668 to this present time as will appeare upon their books.'[73]

This amounted to £128 (about £17,660 in today's value).[74] Boreman mentioned in his will that the total value of his estate was '400 and odd pounds'.[75] This was one measure by which he attempted to avoid the sin he feared of covetousness, since some of the money was still held by the clerk and unclaimed or not needed by Boreman himself.

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[71] Gordon Taylor, *The Story of St Giles in the Fields Parish Church London* (Margate: The Thanet Press, 1961), p. 12.

[72] MA0002, f. 2r.

[73] Will of Robert Boreman, lines 12-15.

[74] This answer is obtained by multiplying £128.00 by the percentage increase in the RPI from 1675 to 2016. https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php.

[75] Will of Robert Boreman, lines 12-15.

Lady Alice Dudley (1579-1669) was another notable parishioner whose financial patronage surpassed that of Lord Crewe in terms of Christmas and Easter gifts. She was the widow of Sir Robert Dudley (1574-1649), son of the Earl of Leicester, and Charles I had given her the title of Duchess for her lifetime in 1649.[76] Boreman celebrated the generosity of the duchess through his publication of her biography, which included a catalogue of her charitable acts as well as her funeral sermon, which he had preached on 14 March 1669.[77] Boreman declared that the publication performed two important functions: the duty of civility to the dead (a memorial aspect) and a duty of piety to the living, which he wished to encourage in the readers.[78] The dedication was presented to the Duchess's daughter Katherine Levison (1598-1674), whom, Boreman disclosed in his publication, he already knew well.[79] He acknowledged that she had started on the same path of charity and piety taken by her mother and he hoped that she will continue with this 'having with a large Revenue a larger heart, and an open hand'.[80] He explained that it would not be prudent to ask for her patronage of his work since it might cause envy and malice, but he cannot be accused of flattery since 'the Person commended is out of danger of being injur'd by it'.[81]

This dedication has a different tone from the one addressed to Clarendon, since it reminds the recipient of her duty as a Christian woman of means, and comes

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[76]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity,* p. 3.

[77]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity,* p. 1.

[78]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity,* p. 2.

[79]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity,* pp. A3-5.

[80]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity,* pp. A3-5.

[81]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity,* epistle dedicatory.

from a position of certainty and authority, rather than one of appeal, not seeking

anything for himself but instead for the Church, which he represented. Boreman

delineated his position of authority from the duty owed by his parishioners:

> 'Now to the glory of God (which is the aim of my weak endeavours) to the
> praise of his eternal goodness (which should be the object of yours) I shall,
> by his Blessing and Divine Assistance discharge a duty … In the doing
> whereof I shall perform a double commendable work; First A Duty of
> Civility and Christianity to the dead; secondly, A Duty of Piety to the
> Living.'[82]

Lady Alice Dudley had been an important parishioner for many years. She had

contributed to the rebuilding of the ruined church of St Giles thirty-nine years

previously in 1630 and had provided sumptuous decorations and furnishings for

the Church's interior.[83] Lady Alice had also supplied a new house worth thirty

pounds a year for the rector to live in.[84] The property, known as the White

House, was situated to the north of the Church, and included a yard, a garden,

and a stable with hayloft above, indicating the standard of living the rector

enjoyed.[85] The furnishings provided by Lady Alice to the Church included an

elaborately carved altar screen and some expensive rails to guard the altar from

'profane abuses'.[86] These, along with some sumptuous soft furnishings and a

'Large Turkey Carpet', were looted and sold off by the 'Deforming Reformers … in

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[82] Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, p. 2.

[83] Taylor, *The Story of St Giles in the Fields*, p. 5.

[84] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1668-9*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green
(London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894), p. 176.

[85] 'Site of the Hospital of St. Giles', in *Survey of London: Volume 5, St Giles-in-The-Fields, Pt II*,
ed. W. Edward Riley and Laurence Gomme (London, 1914), British History Online:
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol5/pt2/pp117-126, [accessed 15 October
2016], pp. 117-26.

[86] Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, p. 23.

the late bloody Rebellious times'.[87] The Parliamentarian forces had accused Lady

Alice of being a papist when they:

> 'did persecute her with theuir *hands* robbing her of her goods ... and
> blasting her reputation with their black *Tongues* not dreading to report
> that she was a *Papist,* or (as one said before a Committee) *something like
> one.*[88]

This reference again to the destruction caused by the Parliamentarian troops -

this time to the building and contents of the church - echoes the sentiments of

many loyalist clergy who had lived through that period and added to their

concern to preserve the Church in both its fabric and learning.

Boreman listed the virtues of Lady Alice in her biography as being five-fold: piety

in religion; affability and charm; prudence and wisdom; humility; and patience.[89]

The virtues of affability and charm reflect her role as a public figure and her

greater freedom outside the home than other women. This led to Lady Alice

having the opportunity to influence the *style* of religion presented in her Church

through the specific type of furnishings and decorations she presented, rather

than just providing the capital for their purchase. This is similar to the

presentation of specific books to a library, rather than a gift of money, to shape

the knowledge which would be available to readers. The type of furnishings

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[87]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, p. 23.

[88]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, p. 12.

[89]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, p. 23.

chosen by Lady Alice in 1630 suggests a rather Laudian version of worship, which was revived after the Restoration.[90]

Towards the end of the biography Boreman assumed the voice of Lady Alice by enclosing a section of the text in speech marks so that she could directly exhort the reader to emulate her good works. A printed manicule points to the section in speech marks emphasising that this is an important section for readers to note (see Figure 62). Through this vehicle of posthumous speech, Lady Alice stated the three main priorities for a charitable Christian: the first was the rebuilding of churches; the second, poor relief including salaries for poor vicars, alms for widows, and apprenticeships for orphans; and the third was providing ransom for Christian hostages.[91] This shows how the rebuilding of church fabric was still an important issue in the late 1660s (especially post-Great Fire) as a physical manifestation of the strengthening of church doctrine and practice.

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[90] Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[91] Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, pp. 16-17.
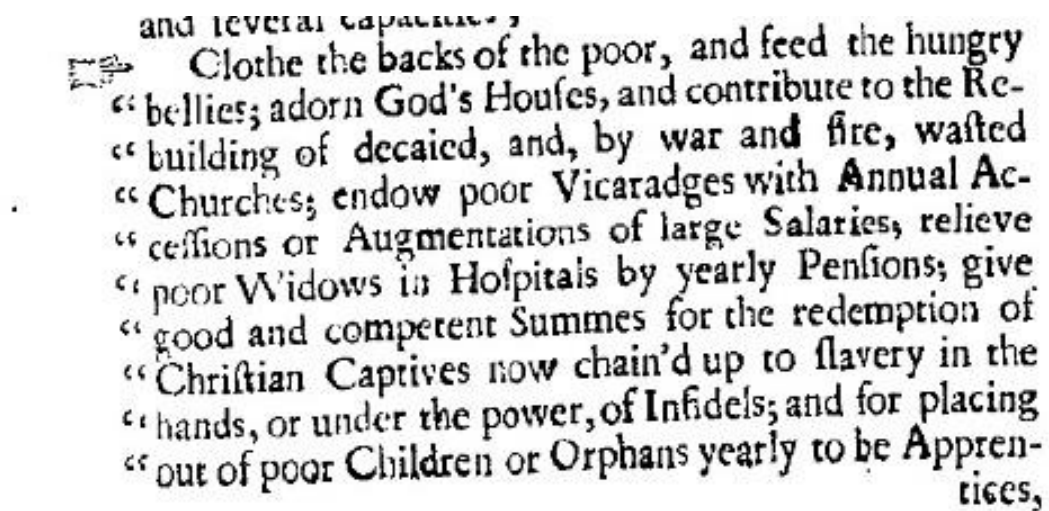
Figure 62: Printed manicule in Mirrour of Christianity, p. 16

Appended to the end of the catalogue of charitable deeds, Boreman addressed a short poem to the reader, expressing the sentiment that Lady Alice's acts of charity would have an effect which would outlast mere buildings:

> Reader,
> Wouldst thou the famous Dutchess Dudley know,
> Read not Her Monument (that's far below
> Her Merits) but her Acts; which with her Name
> Carried on the Nimble wings of Fame
> Will profit those that shall hereafter come,
> And last when Marbles have their fatall Dome.'[92]

Shakespeare's Sonnet number 55 starts in a similar way, saying that: 'Not marble, nor the gilded monuments / Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme'.[93]

Boreman followed the initial poem with a funeral ode reiterating how the following generation should emulate Lady Alice's deeds:

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[92]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, p. 27.

[93]   Shakespeare's sonnet 55. I would like to acknowledge the advice of Dr Deirdre Serjeantson in this section.

'When Greatness, with a Long-spund-age,
And Goodness joyn'd fill up the Page
Of Her due Praises, we may say
That unkin'd Death has snatch'd away
A phoenix of her Sex; in whole Brest
The Graces dwelt, and made their Nest;
O! from her Ashes may there Rise
A Generation to Immortalise
What e're of Virtue bears the name,
Whilst, what she did, they do the same'.[94]

This is an example of the genre of exemplarity, which is where readers are reminded of the importance of a 'truth' embodied by the deceased.[95] It was not unusual for a funeral sermon to contain an elegy at the end, but the inclusion of a catalogue of charitable acts and evidence taken from her will is remarkable. This is similar to Boreman's publication about the death of Freeman Sonds, discussed in Chapter 1, which also provided information not expected to belong with a funeral sermon. The description of Lady Alice as a phoenix, a device which had often been used for Elizabeth I, perhaps also serves as a metaphor for the Church of England, in its rebirth at the Restoration. The references to the three Graces, which Boreman says nested in her breast, represent a synthesis between the Christian Graces of Faith, Hope and Charity and a classical metaphor such as Seneca's description of the three graces as representing the 'giving, receiving, and returning of benefits', since Boreman depicts Lady Alice having received her

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[94] Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, pp. 27-8.

[95] Lorna Clymer, 'The Funeral Elegy in Early Modern Britain: A Brief History', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy,* ed. by Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 170-86, p. 173.

reward in heaven.[96] Boreman emphasised that it was not her noble birth but instead her piety which made up the most important aspect of her character, and her 'Virgin widowhood', which enabled her to be 'espoused' to God rather than a second husband, again linking her to Elizabeth I.[97]

8.3 Conclusion

This section has focused on the clergy's belief in their authority and influence which comes through a close reading of the texts: their authority as learned preachers and as the professional representatives of the Church, which legitimised them to instruct society on how to act. The Eythorne preacher also appropriated the political authority of Parliament through his use of their printed propaganda, at the same time that Parliament were making use of clergymen's access to their parishioners to spread news favourable to their cause. Jonathan Barry has commented on the politically-charged nature of sermons by dissenting clergy in Bristol, but a lack of surviving sources makes it difficult to know whether the parochial clergy of that region were just as explicit.[98] However, it has been seen in Robert Boreman's sermon that the clergy of the established church were just as unequivocal in their dissemination of political messages through their sermons.

What emerges from the examination of the politically-motivated sermons is that Plume showed an ecumenical interest in the work of both royalist and

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[96]   Malcolm Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods, Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 202.

[97]   Boreman, *A mirrour of Christianity*, p. 4.

[98]   Barry, 'Communicating with authority', p. 203.

parliamentarian preachers. He was not prejudiced against owning and using the sermons which supported Parliament, even though Plume seems to have emerged from his non-conformist roots to align himself with the established church by the 1650s. This highlights a difference between Plume and his friends of a previous generation, Robert Boreman and Edward Hyde, for whom religion and monarchy could not be separated. Boreman also used his position as rector of St-Giles-in-the-Fields to influence and persuade not only the members of the parish who heard him preach, but to publish a funeral sermon of one of his most notable parishioners. The manuscript version of Boreman's sermon of Lady Alice Dudley is not extant in Plume's collection but the link to the printed text comes through his parish account book, where Lady Alice's presence and influence is noted. The manuscript version of the sermon therefore represents one of the phantom texts which belongs in the textual network but can only be known about through its relationship to the printed form.

During the same period in which Lady Barbara Hyde was creating an identity for herself as the as the centre of a network of loyalist supporters, Lady Alice Dudley was in contrast asserting her agency in the public contribution she made to the fabric of the church building. Through his biography of Lady Alice, Boreman was able to take action to aid the Church of England's perpetuity in commenting on the appropriate behaviour of its members, and it was his proximity to her and her family through his position as rector of St Giles which enabled him to do so. Plume rebuilt the tower of the church of St Peter in Maldon rather than whole church structure, clearing the remainder of the site to provide the new building

for the Library and school. In this way he kept the symbolic connection between the Church and learning. However, the shift of location of these texts from London as the centre of operations to Maldon, a small town on the Essex coast, is significant, not least because of the town's history of dissent from the established church. The manuscripts and printed examples show that there are implications for a more nuanced understanding of communication, influence and identity in the field of early modern networks of knowledge and patronage. The theme of connections between manuscripts and printed texts continues in the final chapter, in its consideration of the relationship between these forms in the context of the Library itself. It will be seen that there were different ways in which they were inter-related but the status of the manuscripts was to become metaphorically more elevated than that of the books.

Chapter 9   'Intended first for ye pulpitt and now cast into a continued treatise': the relationship between handwritten and printed items in the Library

Robert Boreman had been interested in the topic of 'swearing' for many years. His concern related to three specific issues: swearing as blasphemy, swearing as profanity, and the danger of swearing oaths. To give an indication of his concerns, this extract comes from his treatise *An antidote against swearing*:

> 'If thou be-est a man given to much swearing, besides the prevention of many other sinnes, thou shall by curbing this passion of Anger soe bridle thy Tongue, that it shall not so often as formerly, nay seldome or never, profane God's Name by Cursing and Swearing'.[1]

Boreman's treatise had been published in print in 1662, but he had started researching the topic many years previously, starting with a sermon he had preached during the 1640s.[2] The draft treatise in manuscript form appears in the collection and in it Boreman alerted the reader that it had been 'intended first for ye pulpitt and now cast into a continued treatise'.[3] Boreman's series of texts about swearing form one of the examples in this chapter concerning some of the different types of relationship found between manuscript and print in Thomas Plume's Library.

The issue of a relationship between these two forms of text is important, since strong associations between them provided more reason for Plume to keep them

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[1]   Boreman, *An antidote against swearing*.

[2]   MA0030.

[3]   MA0024.

together. In their pre-library existences, many of the manuscripts had been of practical use both to their original creators and later readers and their connections with the printed texts reflect how they were originally used. However when they reached the Library they were not used in the same way, because they no longer belonged to their reader, and this resulted their identity and function changing. Whereas the pre-library writers and readers would annotate the documents they saw as belonging to them, once they came to the Library they were owned by an institution; although they might be accessed and read, library holdings were not supposed to be changed or 'defaced'.[4] At this time the manuscript items metamorphosed into a form of biography representing the scholarship of their authors and they were valued for their intimate connection with these individuals. Therefore, despite the close connections between Plume's manuscripts and printed materials, the discussion in this chapter shows that the handwritten items were considered by Plume to be uniquely valuable in comparison with the books, and formed the Library's inner sanctum of knowledge.

9.1   Space and separation

As discussed in Chapter 4, the 'Study of the said Library' in Plume's will, where the manuscripts were to be preserved, could have referred either to a physical storage space such as a cupboard, or a space within the Library room, and the lack of such furniture, or records of it, point to the latter meaning. The Library's

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[4]   For example, Plume instructed that the printed books must be returned to the Library 'faire and uncorrupted' after borrowing: Will of Thomas Plume, lines 151-2.

pamphlets were kept separately from the bound books; in 1903 Andrew Clark

reported that the pamphlets 'repose in bundles on the upper shelves'.[5] This points

to a separation out of material forms of text in the arrangement of the library,

suggesting that they were not intended to have the same function. For Samuel

Pepys, binding his manuscripts in the same form as his printed books and

shelving them together indicates that he expected the manuscripts to be read for

knowledge, like printed books, in the future. Also, perhaps, it suggests that he

was interested in achieving an elegant and uniform visual effect of the books on

the shelves as part of augmenting his posthumous reputation. That Plume did

not attempt to change the physical format of his manuscripts, and the way in

which they were to be 'carefully preserved' instead of borrowed, may hint at a

different function – that they were to be treasured for what they *had* been and

what they symbolised, rather than what they could do in the future.

On a close inspection of the examples in this chapter, it can be argued that it

would be difficult to separate certain of the handwritten items in Plume's

collection from his printed books because many were used, or acquired,

simultaneously. In some cases, they belonged together because they were

acquired as a set, as is illustrated by the notebooks and at least three printed

books which came from the estate of Justinian Whitter.[6] In another instance the

material form was combined, for example where a printed edition of *The Whole

Booke of Psalms* had been bound into one of Edward Hyde's notebooks, leaving

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[5]   Andrew Clark, 'The Plume Pamphlets', *Essex Review* XII (1903), pp. 159-65, p. 159.

[6]   Previously referred to in section 4.5.1.

blank pages either side of it for his own handwritten observations.[7] The notebook

was considered to be part of the manuscript collection, and the edition of the

Whole Booke was neither mentioned nor recognised in any of the editions of the

Library's catalogues of printed texts. The other example examined in this chapter

is concerned with a relationship between manuscript and print which represents

a *transition* in material form over time, where Robert Boreman's successive

manuscript forms of a sermon eventually emerged as a larger treatise in print. In

this instance the draft copies were faithfully kept after print publication, raising

the issue of the continuing importance of the handwritten text and its material

form. Before considering these examples in detail, however, it is worth noting

where the manuscripts might have been placed within the physical space of the

Library.

9.2   Justinian Whitter's legacy

A manuscript notebook in Plume's collection with the signature of 'Justinian

Whitter' and the date '1619' can be cross-referred with six further notebooks and

an unbound treatise containing the handwriting belonging to the same person.[8]

Although Venn records that Whitter became Vicar of St Olave in Suffolk in 1629

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[7]   Thomas Sternhold, *The vvhole book of Psalmes: collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall. Set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches ...* (London: Printed for the Companie of Stationers. Cum priuilegio Regis regali, 1632). Of the seven editions printed in 1632, this one is the same edition as ESTC: S108724 which is the only one containing 81 folios.

[8]   MA0035, Maldon, TPL, MA0043, 'M.mighty + m. glorious Lord ... sermons'; MA0056; MA0068; MA0071; Maldon, TPL, MA0075, 'General Notes'; Maldon, TPL, MA0088, 'Logica Notes in Latin'; Maldon, TPL, MA0113, G.14 'Sermon on St. John 18.27 preached at Clifton July 24 1630' (this should read have been described 'preached at Chilton').

and in 1633 became rector of Chilton, Suffolk, the date on his unbound document

shows him to have been in Chilton as early as 1630 (see Figure 63 below).[9]

Figure 63: Initials of Justinian Whitter in MA00113, G.14, front flyleaf

The Library also has a copy of Robert Dallington's *Aphorismes civill and militarie*,

which Whitter had previously received as a gift from Isaac Appleton.[10] The first

part of the inscription on the front pastedown reads: 'Isaac Appleton his booke'

and the second part: 'Ex Dono Isacci Appletoni Just. Whitter' (as shown in Figure

66). Two further printed books have been found to contain Whitter's ownership

mark.[11] Isaac Appleton (1606-1662), son of another Isaac (d. 1608/9) was a

contemporary of Whitter, a lawyer admitted to Gray's Inn in 1630 who later

became MP for Sudbury.[12] During the Civil Wars, Appleton was a Parliamentarian

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9   Venn, I.

10   Robert Dallington, *Aphorismes civill and militarie: amplified with authorities, and exemplified with historie, out of the first quarterne of Fr. Guicciardine* (The second edition) (London: Printed by M. Flescher for Robert Allot, at the signe of the Blacke Beare in Pauls Churchyard, 1629) (Standard No: B05702.)

11   J. H. Alsted, *Thesaurus chronologiae: in quo iniversa temporum & historarum series in omni vitae genere ponitur ob oculos* (Herbonae Nassoviorum, 1624) (Standard No: B02769); Moses Pflacher, *Analysis typical omnium seriem, & memoriam iuuandam, accommodate (edition secunda)* Londini: execdebat Edm. Bollifantus impensis G[eorge] B[ishop], 1587) (Standard No: B00789). With thanks to David Pearson for this information. The ownership signatures in these books are not referred to in the catalogue and it is possible that there are more books which belonged to Whitter in the collection.

12   16 May-December 1661. Venn, I.

and Presbyterian, although he seemed to change his allegiance after c.1653.[13]

Whitter's rectory was two miles from Appleton's family residence in Little

Waldingfield (although in a different parish) and they were likely to have known

each other through their close geographical proximity and similar social status.

The map in Figure 64 shows the proximity between the villages of Chilton, Little

Waldingfield, and Great Yeldham (where Plume's father had lived), as well as the

relative locations of Christ's College, Cambridge, where Plume was at time of

Whitter's death, and Maldon where his father had moved to.
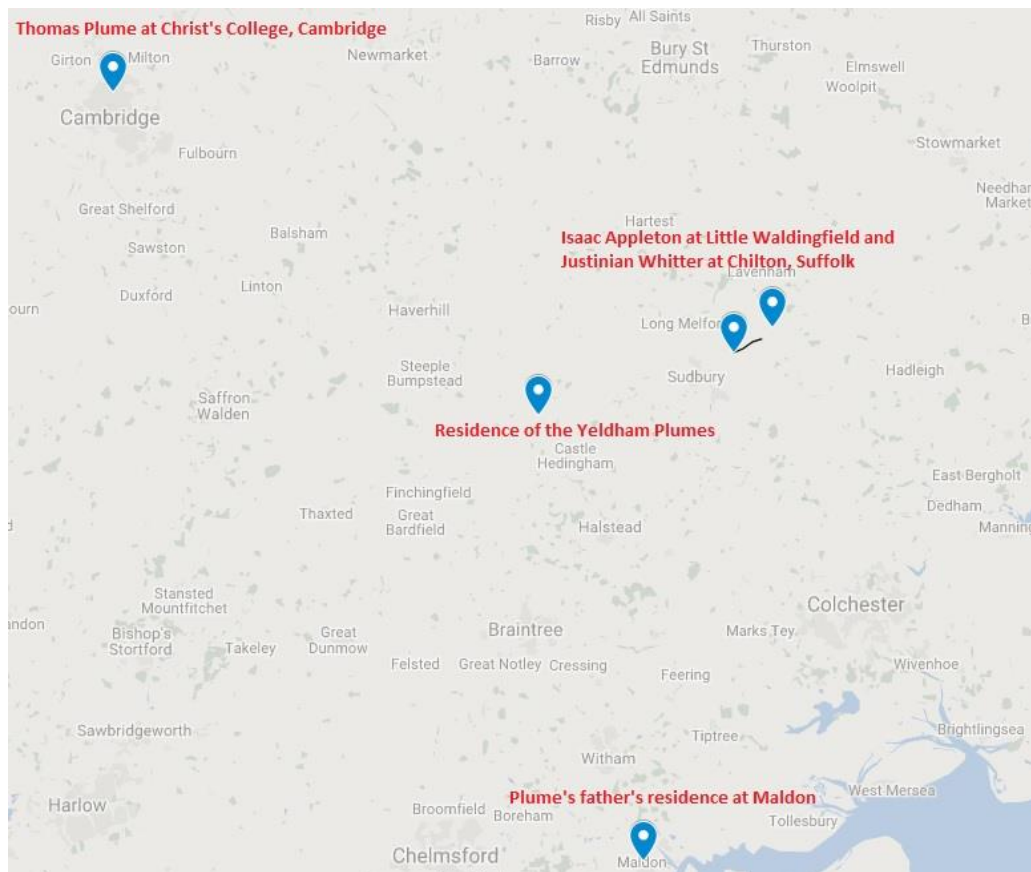
Figure 64: Map showing locations in Suffolk, Cambridge and Essex

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[13]   Paula Watson and John P. Ferris, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Volumes: 1660-1690* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1983).

Figure 65: Signature of Justinian Whitter 1619 in MA0068

Figure 66: Signature of Whitter in Dallington's *Aphorismes*

Whitter's notebooks are miscellanies containing a range of content, including sermons and biblical verses, for example there is a reference to 'Ro[mans]: 6, Deut[eronomy]: 6'.[14] Whitter also read collected stories in Latin which he noted under a heading of 'Historiola Collecta', several sections from Scaliger's *Exotericarum exercitationum Libri,* and made notes on several Roman Emperors and Logic.[15] There are also sets of accounts dated of 1627 and 1628 and astrological charts and symbols (Figure 67).[16]

Figure 67: from MA0071 'General notes and Zodiacal Diagrams'

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[14]   MA0056, f. 1v.

[15]   MA0056, f. 2r-f. 3r; MA0071; MA0088.

[16]   MA0071, f. 28r.

Plume subsequently annotated three of the notebooks created by Whitter,
demonstrating that he was interested in certain aspects of the content and
wished to return to it at a later date. Surprisingly, perhaps, considering Plume's
ownership of several astrological treatises, the content in which Plume showed
most interest was purely theological in nature.[17] The absence of Plume's
annotations on Whitter's other notebooks does not mean that he did not read
them, but instead that he did not anticipate a need to access that specific content
at a later date. Even though lack of annotation does not necessarily mean lack of
reading, it should be noted that Plume did not put in place an aid such as an
index or a page marker to enable him to refer back to these particular notebooks.
It is argued that Plume did not discard the notebooks that he did not intended to
read in the future because they were part of a 'set' or sub-collection, and
belonged with the printed books owned by Justinian Whitter.

As shown in the introduction, actor-network theory can be used to explain how
the manuscripts and printed books, as non-human entities, could also form a
network through their connections to, and influences upon, each other. They
'communicated' through their shared association with an author: for example,
Justinian Whitter's manuscripts containing his autograph proclaim their identity
with the books containing the same signature. Whitter, who had been a friend of
the Plume family, was also to be remembered through the notebooks

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[17]   For example: John Merrifield, *Catastasis mundi: or The true state, vigor, and growing
greatness of Christendom, under the influences of the last triple conjunction of Saturn and
Jupiter in Leo, the late comet, &c.* (London: printed for Rowland Reynolds near Salisbury-
Exchange in the Strand, 1684) (Standard No B02144).

representing his life's work as a loyalist clergyman. This strengthens the idea of a committed network of clergymen and their families who helped each other by passing on their scholarship after death and in turn their scholarship was useful. In this way Whitter took on an avuncular role to Thomas Plume which can be seen in the passing on of his notebooks and printed books.

9.3   **The Whole booke of Psalms**

The second example is one of Edward Hyde's notebooks, which contains a printed text bound within it: the *Whole booke of Psalms*. The *Whole booke of Psalms* originated in the court of Edward VI where Thomas Sternhold had gone about his duties singing his own versification of the Psalms, which he later printed as *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David* in 1547.[18] Sternhold attempted to enlarge the work when the *Certayne Psalmes* proved very popular, but when he died before its completion his printer enlisted the clergyman John Hopkins to complete it.[19] The *Whole booke* originated as a 'psalter that prescribed how the psalms should be sung' but later the tunes were changed to show how people had used different tunes of their own choosing.[20] Duguid identifies five groups of printing of the *Whole booke*, and the edition of 1632 which appears in Hyde's notebook falls into the final category.[21] There were seven editions in that year alone, which attests to this book's continuing popularity, and the practice of

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[18]   Timothy Duguid, *St Andrews Studies in Reformation History: English 'singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks c.1547-1640* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 3-4; See also Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2008), esp. Chapter 1.

[19]   Duguid, *English 'singing Psalms'*, p. 4.

[20]   Duguid, *English 'singing Psalms'*, p. 105.

[21]   Duguid, *English 'singing Psalms'*, p. 105.

having an edition of *The Whole booke of Psalmes* bound into a notebook was not

uncommon in the seventeenth century.[22]

Hyde's notebook also contains his own notes of sermons and prayers before

sermons, approximately half of which he preached in Cambridge before 1640. He

left a specific direction for a future reader or readers of the notebook in the form

of an inscription, which noted that the sermons made before that point in the

book were preached in Cambridge, and the ones following were made: 'since I

came to dwell with my Lord; which was on Nov 5. 1640'.[23] The final sentence of

the inscription, which appears to have been written in at a later date with

different pen and ink, refers to the twenty-four sermons on loose papers, which

together form an exposition on Psalm 25 (see Figure 77 on page 350).[24]

9.4   **Transition from MSS to printed form**

The final example of a relationship between the manuscript and printed

collections in the Library returns us to the beginning of this chapter and follows

the development of Robert Boreman's treatise *An Antidote Against Swearing*,

published in 1662, which was formed from successive versions of manuscript

texts. The publication of *An Antidote Against Swearing* took place almost twenty

years after its first inception as an undated sermon preached before or during the

Civil Wars. Out of this Boreman developed a shorter draft version of the final

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[22]   Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm culture & Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge
        University Press, 2004), pp. 40-41. For example, see Oxford, Christ Church, MS 150, Medieval
        & Renaissance Microfilms Section III: Theology, general & patristics, XC25. With thanks to Dr
        David Rundle for this information.

[23]   MA0044, f. 108r. Also discussed in section 3.2.2.

[24]   MA0044, f. 108r; MA00112, Bundle F.

treatise dated 1646.[25] The draft version of the treatise was made during the same year as Boreman's reading notes on Guicciardini's *Historie of Italie* discussed in Chapter 6, and reflects a period when he did not have a living but was working hard to consolidate his learning by reading, writing and preaching his royalist and conformist views.[26]

Within Plume's collection there are also notes which Boreman made on the chapter and verse upon which he based his sermon, Matthew 5.34 (see Figure 68).[27] However, the notes on Matthew 5.34 are undated and it is not possible to ascertain for certain when they were made. They are in the same handwriting found in Boreman's later work, and may not have been created before the sermon.[28] If this is the case it may indicate that Boreman was continuing to work on this topic even after his treatise had been published. Notwithstanding this, however, by keeping the successive manuscript versions even after the treatise had been printed, Boreman showed that they had not become redundant, following the print publication of his treatise.

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[25]   Boreman, *An antidote against swearing*; MA0030; MA0024.

[26]   See Chapter 3.

[27]   Maldon, TPL, MA0107, A.4, 'St Matt 5.34'.

[28]   MA0107, A.4.
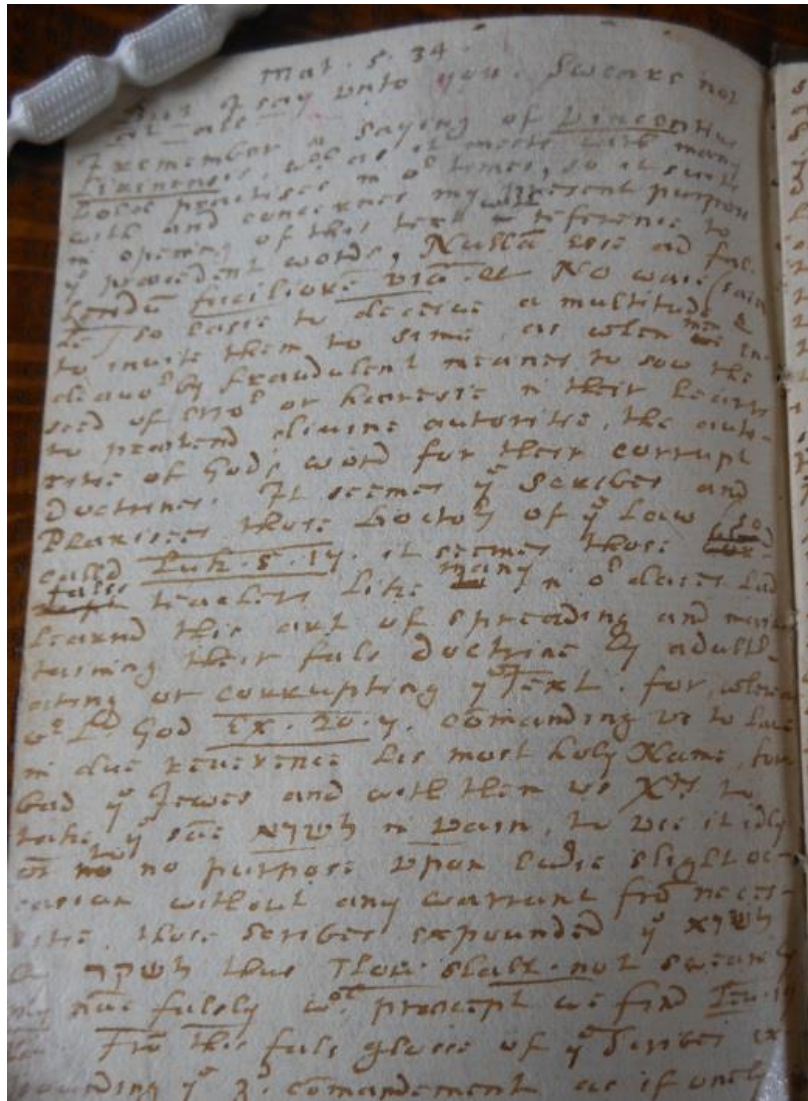
Figure 68: MA0107, A.4, Boreman's notes on Matthew 5.34

It is possible that the original manuscripts could have been kept in the sense of preserving the 'ur-text', where the original message and meaning was valued for its purity. However, the treatise which was made available in its final form had been developed significantly from the original sermon. In addition to the text being very different, it had also changed in its function – from an orally-delivered message to the parish, to one that would be read by other unknown scholars who could appreciate the numerous Latin, Greek and Hebrew references. This is

similar to the practices of Francis Bacon who also kept early drafts of papers, even

if their contents had been used in other works.[29] This points to a reluctance by

authors to destroy they own work regardless of future usefulness, perhaps since

they saw it as forming an autobiographical record of their scholarship.

In Figure 71 the image is of the draft treatise as it stood in 1646. Usually the final

fair copy of a manuscript would go to the compositor never to be seen again, like

Hacket's sermons which he left to Plume. This draft form of the treatise however,

could not have been the final manuscript version; it contains many deletions and

corrections, which indicates that Boreman was still perfecting his work. Further

evidence that this was an interim draft is that the excerpt presented at the

beginning of this chapter is different in the printed version (see Figure 69 below).

1646 draft treatise:	1662 printed version:
"If thou be-est a man given to much swearing, besides the prevention of many other sinnes, thou shall by curbing this passion of Anger soe bridle thy Tongue, that it shall not so often as formerly, nay seldome or never, profane God's Name by Cursing and Swearing."	"If thou beest addicted or given to much Swearing, (besides the prevention of many other sins) thou shalt by curbing thy angry Passion so bridle and restrain thy Tongue, that it shall not so often as formerly, nay, seldom or never, profane Gods holy Name."

Figure 69: Comparison of excerpts in *An antidote against swearing*

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[29]   Angus Vine, 'Francis Bacon's Composition Books', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society,* 14 (2008), 1-31, p. 3. Vine discusses this aspect of Bacon's working practices in relation to work done by Graham Rees.

As first encountered in Chapter 2, the presence of a ghost manuscript can be perceived within the collection: the version of the treatise which must have existed once but is now lost. This missing manuscript, however, still forms part of the network of texts which link the readers and writers through their scribal and printed scholarship. Therefore, it seems that Plume wanted to keep every piece of work produced by Robert Boreman and given to him on Boreman's death. The whole body of Boreman's work represented, for both of them, a memorial to him and a biography of his scholarship, which could not be destroyed, even if it had completed its practical objective.
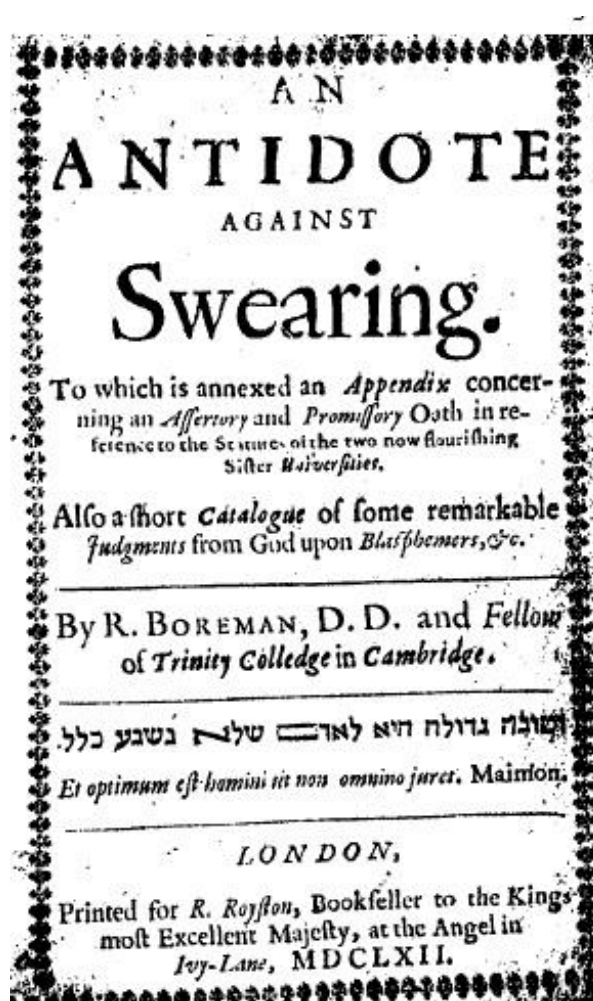
Figure 70: Robert Boreman's treatise published 1662

The cure of ye Kingdoms great Curse.
or
An Antidote for ye Tongue that is
accustomed to Swearing.
The ground of it or maine Ingredient
being these words of ye Saviour
        mat. 5. 34
But I say unto you, Sweare not at
        all.
Intended first for ye pulpitt
...first in diverse Sermons, and now
cast into a continued Treatise by the
Author R. B: B.D. and fellow of Trinitie
College in Cambrige.

                        briefe Appendix
To wch is annexed a .... concerning an
Assertories and a promissories Oath in reference
to ye Statutes of both ye Sister Universities.
Together with a postscript and to all magistrates
of this Land, directing them how they may suppresse this
crying Sinne of Swearing.

וְתוֹרַת חֶסֶד עַל
לְשׁוֹנָהּ שֶׁאֵין אֲנִי בְּכָל

Et optimū est hoīm vt non iuret
Ommitto.   Maimon. in Tract. de Juram.
Let your communication be yea yea, nay nay
for whatsoever is more then these commeth of
Euill.   mat. 5. 39.

Figure 72: MA0030 Robert Boreman's Sermon

In addition to demonstrating the connections between the manuscript collection and the printed books, these examples also illuminate another of the research sub-questions; the themes within the manuscripts themselves that show why Plume might have been motivated to carefully preserve them. The themes in these examples reflect those presented in the previous four chapters, namely: how the notebooks and papers were of practical use before arriving in the Library; that there was a notion of an extended clergy network; and that the writers wanted to take action in society as part of their role. Overall, the examples from this chapter highlight the longevity of the manuscripts. Many of the handwritten items were ephemeral and fragile in their material forms, comprising a few sheets of papers, or a small limp-bound notebook; however a

significant effort had been made by various individuals to preserve the

handwritten items for a long period, even before they arrived at the Library.

9.5 **Annotated books**

A more commonly-studied aspect of the relationship between print and script is

where printed books have been annotated by a reader.[30] The printed books in

Plume's library with manuscript annotations are not addressed here, however,

since the thesis focuses on the specific question of why the manuscript collection

itself is in the Library (as discussed in the Introduction). Plume did, in some

instances, write in his printed books, and this took several forms: inserting an

ownership monogram; indicating the provenance of the book as a gift; or making

brief notes of page references on the front or end flyleaves. The printed books are

referred to specifically in this thesis where they help to elucidate the function or

creation of the manuscripts. However, since later annotations do also appear on

the handwritten texts themselves, this reflects the common practice of

annotating printed books during the period.

9.6 **Engagement with the manuscripts by readers and a reflection of oral cultures**

Workbooks filled with readings and compositions could be used in the same way

as printed texts, as a useful source of knowledge for clergymen. This is

notwithstanding that they were often unfinished products with miscellaneous

information to navigate before the reader could find what they were looking for.

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[30]   For recent examples, see Stephen Orgel, *The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

For example, Plume engaged with the content of Whitter's notebooks in several different ways. He inserted paraphrases of quotations from books and verses of the bible where he was making connections; he compiled indexes directly onto the pages and others on loose-leaves; he made a list of items on another page, marked with plus signs. In one notebook, Plume inscribed a phrase underneath some accounts: 'Lik that Foole surnamed Callicon who having a earth pott for his pillow, that he might be more at ease, wold stuff it with chaff; + make it softer' (Figure 73).[31] This is from Joseph Hall's *Christian Moderation* (1640), which is not present in Plume's library.[32] Plume was fond of jokes and there are many like this in his own notebooks, but there does not seem to be a pattern where Plume added aphorisms like this to *other* people's notebooks. Perhaps in this case, then, the phrase is a *vanitas topos* relating to the transience of human concerns. The sum of money had been important to Whitter at the time, but ceased to be relevant at his death; for Plume, the issue of salvation was more important.

In the same notebook Plume inscribed a reference to three biblical verses beneath a page containing Whitter's accounts (shown in Figure 74): 'John 3 16 God so loved the world etc' and '4 28 Woman left her pot'; the final reference to 1 Cor[inthians] 11 is unclear, but perhaps refers to verse 1.[33]

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[31] MA0056.

[32] Joseph Hall, *Christian moderation In two books. By Jos: Exon.* (London: Printed by Miles Flesher [and R. Oulton?], and are to be sold by Nathaniel Butter, MDCXL. [1640]): 'Callicon found to his head in that chaffe, vvhere with he stuffed his earthen pitcher, vvhich he made his pillow?', p. 138.

[33] MA0056, f. 5v; John 3:16: 'For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life'; John 4:28: 'The woman then left her waterpot, and went her way into the city, and saith to the men'. 1
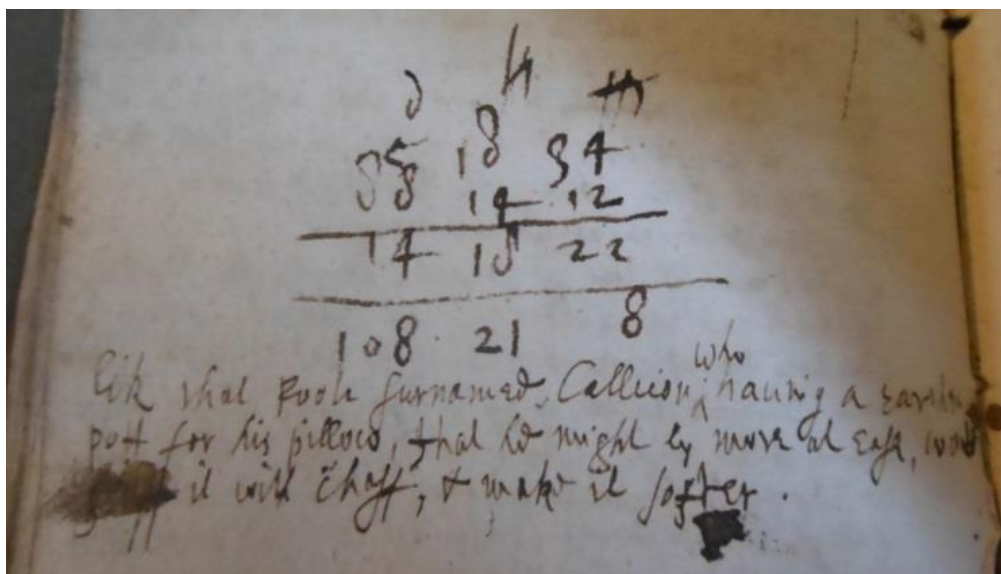
Figure 73: Plume's annotation from Christian Moderation on Whitter's accounts

Figure 74: MA0056 Plume's references to biblical verses on Whitter's accounts

Corinithans 11:7: 'For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man'.

Figure 75: MA0071 Plume's index after extracts from Scaliger's Exotericarum

Plume also recorded an index in one of the notebooks on the same page as

Whitter's notes from Scaliger's *Exotericarum exercitationum libri*.[34] Plume had a

copy of the *Exotericarum exercitationum libri* in the Library, and it is possible that

the printed book also belonged to Whitter, although there are no ownership

signatures.[35] Plume's index, transcribed in Table 4, indicates the topics which

interested him in the notebook, and these were again theological in nature.

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[34]   MA0071, f. 3r.

[35]   Giulio Cesare Scaligero, *Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV. De
subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum. : In fine duo sunt indices: prior breuiusculus, continens
sententias nobiliores: alter opulentissimus, pene omnia complectens* (Hanouiae: Typis

Table 4: Transcription of Plume's annotations in Figure 75

Plume's annotation in Figure 75	Source
Study to be quiet & do etc 1 Th 4.11 – p17	1 Thessalonians 4:11: And that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you
Number our days & apply H[ear]t Wisd[om] P90-12 p18	Psalm 90:12: So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom
de Brevit vitae 10 p19	Psalm 90:10: The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.
To kn[ow] & not doe is more dang[erous] - p20	"An observation"
Lam 3 41 – Lift up H[ear]ts & hands p32	Lamentations 3:41: Let us lift up our hearts with our hands.
Phil 1.21 Fo[r] me to live is X p43	Philippians 1:21 For me to live is Christ and to die is gain.

Another method of annotation used by Plume was a list prefixed by plus signs, as shown in Figure 76.[36] This device may indicate that they are pieces of information extracted from elsewhere. A. A. Luce looking at a commonplace book from 1706-7 argues that marginal plus signs 'indicate discarded entries', whereas Susan E. Whyman argues that in a reading journal the reader 'distinguished her own thought by adding a plus sign'.[37] It is not apparent what Plume's personal code meant, but it is likely that the marked passages referred to information he wished

Wechelianis, apud Danielem & Davidem Aubrios, & Clementem Schleichium., Anno MDC.XX) (Standard No: B05139).

[36]   MA0056.

[37]   A. A. Luce, *Berkeley & Malebrancke: A Study in the origins of Berkeley's* thought (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. ix-x; Susan E. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English letter writers 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 188; Also to refer to Sherman, *Used Books* and *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading,* ed. by Robin Meyers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2005).

to extract for his own use. Plume's annotations on Whitter's notebooks show his engagement with the content, even though the pages he wrote on did not necessarily correspond with the annotations.
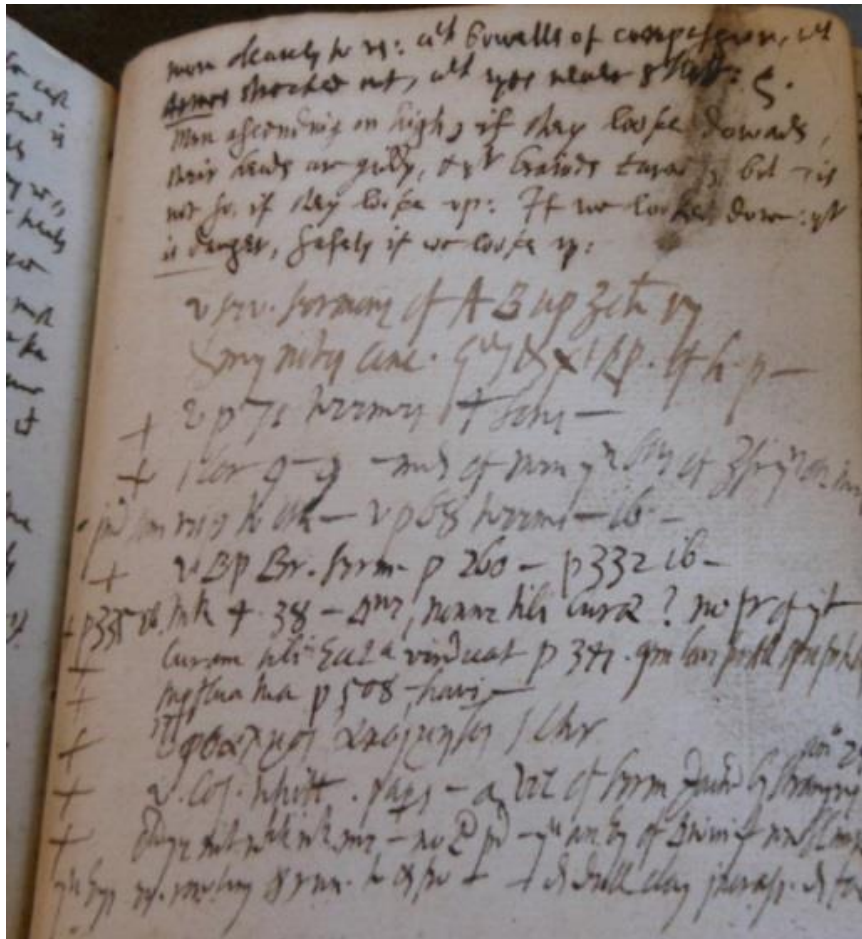
<p align="center">Figure 76: Plume's annotations with + signs</p>

Another example of annotations which were inserted at a later date appears in Edward Hyde's notebook, where Hyde wrote directions to himself and future readers to help them navigate the text. For example, he noted where and when he had preached various sermons: one prayer has a heading: 'My prefix before

sermons Sept 22 1642', and another: 'My prayer before sermon March 19 1646'.[38]

The latest date found in the book is 1648, also noted in the heading to a prayer.[39]
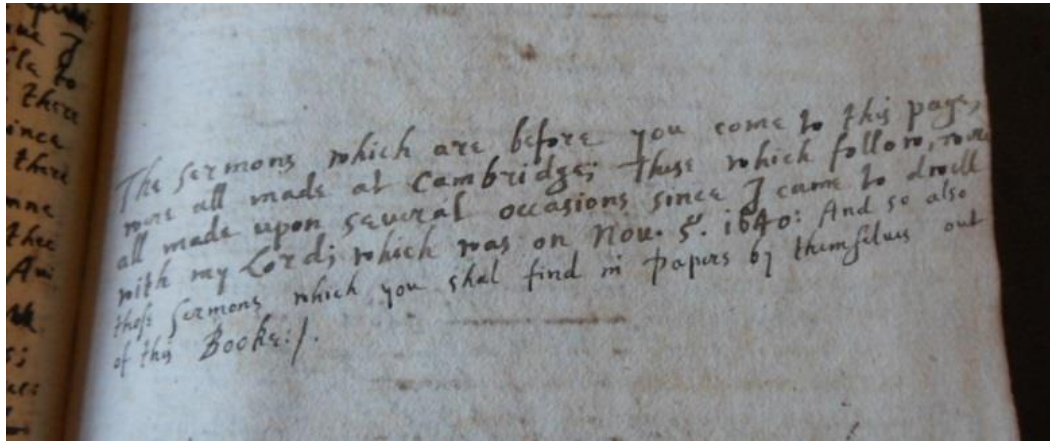
Figure 77: MA0044 instructions to future readers

In addition to the annotations he made directly into his notebook, Hyde's book also contains two types of additional inserts. The first insertion is a folded piece of paper containing a seal and attached to the page by a pin (Figure 78).[40] Hyde advised the reader that: 'this leafe was added in Salisburie because it was communion Sunday'.[41] This means that when this sermon was preached on more than one occasion it was adapted to fit the context by adding further information. The loose insertion is a slip written by Robert Boreman, which shows that that he subsequently used the notebook and was one of the future readers Hyde envisaged (see Figure 79). These annotations and insertions emphasise the continued use of the texts long after their first creation and show how Plume might have considered them to be useful again in the future.

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[38]   MA0044, f. 50r and f. 229v.

[39]   MA0044, f. 175v.

[40]   MA0044, f. 113v.

[41]   MA0044, f. 113v.
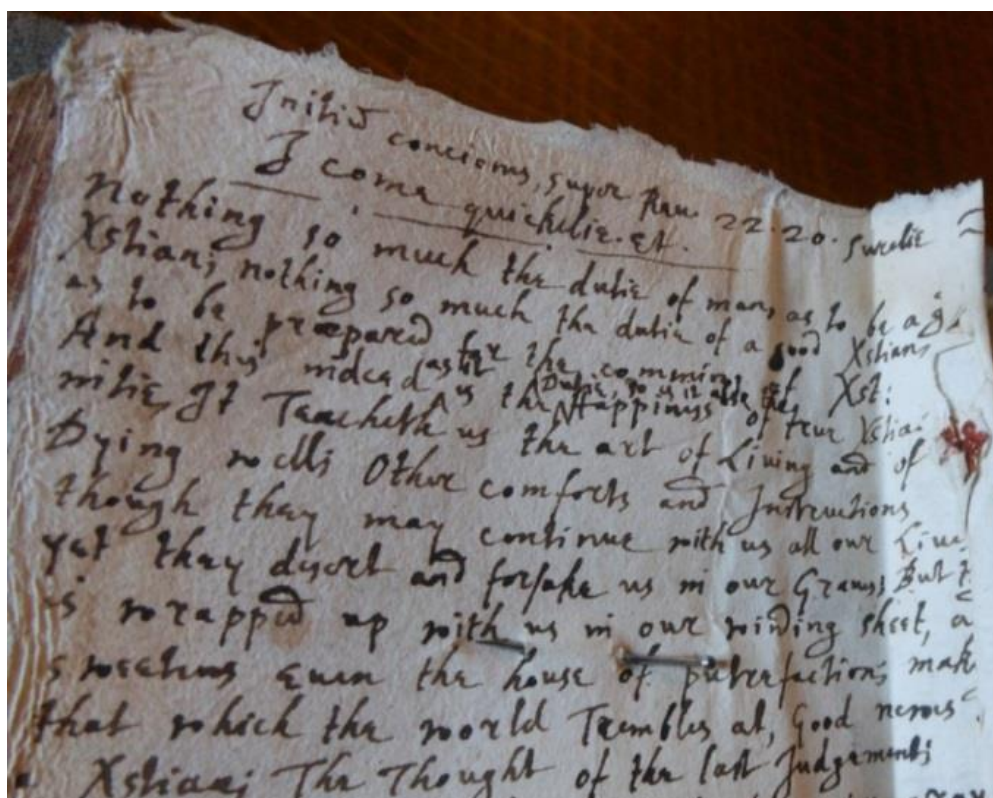
Figure 78: MA0044 slip of paper attached with a metal pin; presence of a seal
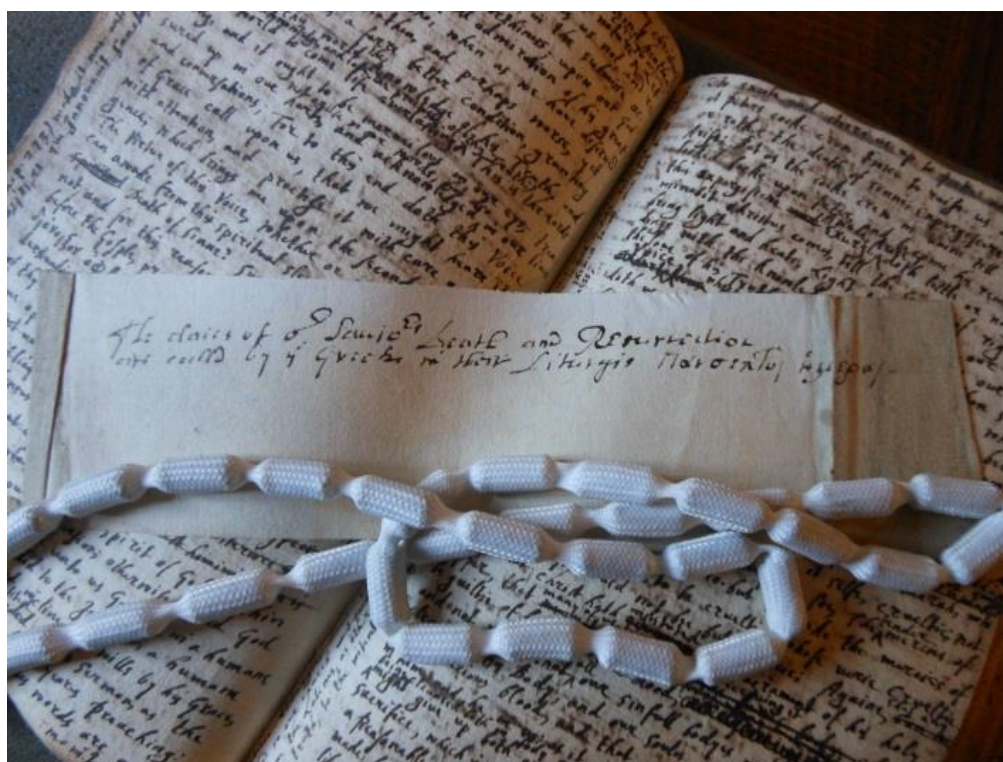
Figure 79: Boreman's slip of paper in Hyde's notebook MA0044

There was a connection between oral and literate culture as well as a connection between manuscript and printed texts. One aspect of the 'oral' culture of the period is captured to a certain extent in the manuscripts through examples of what people actually heard during sermons, rather than the content of the later published versions, which had been changed for a reading, rather than a hearing, audience. Again, in Boreman's sermon text discussed above, the ideas for his treatise were first spoken by him and *heard* by an audience, before being written down by him again in a form to be *read* by an audience; a different readership than his message would have had at parish level. This expansion of Boreman's message into wider society through publishing his work in print reflects one of the broader implications of the manuscript collection as a whole: that it demonstrates the desire for action and persuasion in society by the clergy and that they were actively involved in the re-establishment of the Church both before and after the Restoration.

9.7   The material form and ephemeral nature of texts

Another theme in the relationship between different types of text concerns the way in which the function of a manuscript can be reflected in its material form. The small size of the printed text in Hyde's notebook shows that this particular edition of the *Whole book of Psalms* was intended to be carried on the person and used during the service. The notebook measures: 180mm x 166mm and the *Whole book of Psalms* had been cropped slightly to fit into the notebook, but without any text being lost. The notebook contains twelve sermons using various Psalms as texts, and fourteen further sermons using other books of the Bible. Hyde

referred to the same biblical verses on more than one occasion in this notebook, for example, Jonah 2:8 was used in three different sermons, and Psalm 19:5 in two.[42] The high proportion of sermons using the Book of Psalms can be explained by the presence the *Whole Book of Psalms*, although this was not its only purpose, since the content did not only refer to the Psalms.

Boreman's series of manuscripts for the *Antidote of Swearing* are also reflected in their material form in that, as the text became more 'official' the material form became more substantial. The notes on the verse of Matthew, indicating preliminary research for a sermon, whatever its date, are on scraps of paper sewn down the side to keep the pages together. The sermon as it was preached, written out in full, is contained within a small limp bound notebook, perhaps bought ready-made. Finally, the draft treatise is contained within a larger book with more substantial covers. This second example also indicates that there was a sense of 'permanence' in the more finished texts which can be seen in their material form.

As has been seen, fragments and 'ephemeral' texts (in the sense that they were physically fragile and perhaps considered temporary in terms of utility) were used by the writers and readers to help them navigate the texts, including the overlaying of one text onto another in order to change its function and meaning. The slip of paper which Hyde attached with a pin to his notebook illustrates the theme of overlaying one text to engage with another, through the presence of a seal on the paper (Figure 78), showing that the insert had originally been a paper

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[42]   MA0044, f. 10r, f. 18r, and f. 24v (Jonah 2:8); f. 52r and f. 59r (Psalm 19:5).

address cover surrounding a letter.[43] Although other letters and papers such as these would have been generated during the working lives of the clergymen, not all have survived in their collections. Plume had managed to preserve a number of loose papers but hard-bound notebooks were stronger and more likely to survive. This is because they, and Plume, only sought to preserve their scholarship rather than the other correspondence or information they received during the course of their careers. The items which are not part of their scholarship have survived through serendipitous accident.

Another example of a re-purposed text is a sheet of paper which Plume used to provide an index, which had originally been a written confirmation (perhaps addressed to Plume) that an order had been correctly served. This slip of paper is marked as a separate manuscript item in the Plume Library catalogue (under Bundle G, No. 28). This separate cataloguing of the item – a choice made by Andrew Clark - reflects its previous incarnation as a different type of text with a specific author and date, which Clark thought might be useful to library users. In this way, another type of ephemeral text; a piece of correspondence, which may have otherwise been thrown away after its original purpose had finished, was saved for posterity because of its re-use within the notebook. It was the scholarship that Plume was interested in, but the correspondence has been included and saved in the collection through its new function as a page marker and index.

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[43]   It has not been possible to remove the metal pin and open the paper to see whether there is any address label underneath.

The paper in Figure 80 below originally comprised a note confirming that an

order had been served on an individual named George Allsop. [44] The presence of

this piece of paper within the notebook is likely to have been used to mark a page

that Plume wished to refer to again. The original text on the page reads:

> 'This Order was personally served by me upon the said George Allsop at
> his dwelling house in the parish of East Greenwich in the county of Kent
> upon Saturday the Twenty nineth day of January 1680/81 by me Tho:
> Gamble'.[45]

Thomas Gamble was perhaps reporting back to Plume that this order had taken

effect. Plume's recycling of the slip as an index could be a sign of his frugality, but

it had the effect of making an ephemeral item more lasting through its re-use for

another purpose. The separate cataloguing of the item reflects its previous

incarnation as a different type of text with a specific author and date, which may

be of interest to readers today from a different perspective than Plume's reading

and writing practices.

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[44]   MA0035.

[45]   MA0035.
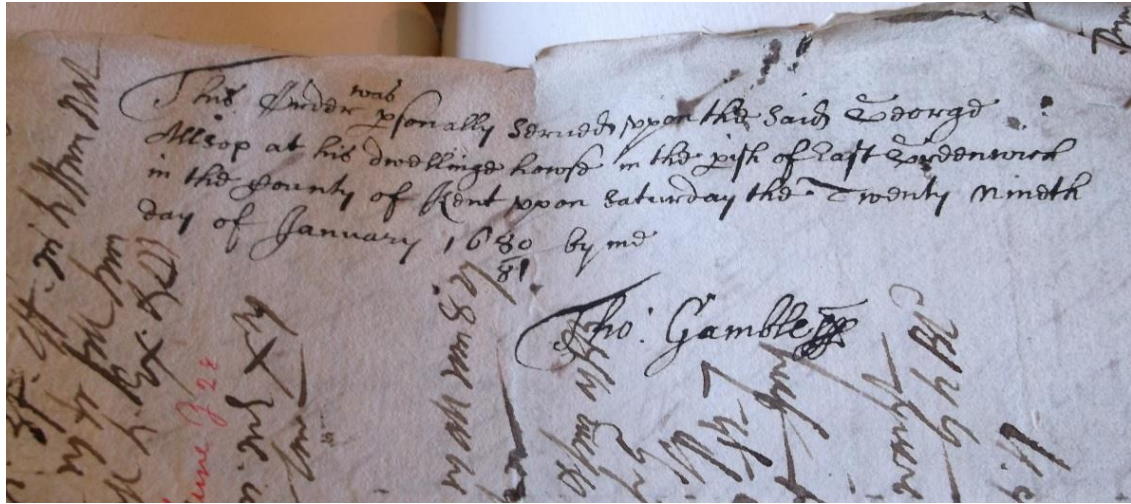
Figure 80: Ma0113, G.28, Note confirming an order was served

Plume navigated the content of Whitter's notebooks using two different

methods, in one by writing an index directly onto the page and in another by

inserting an index on a separate piece of paper. In contrast with, for instance,

Robert Boyle, who tried to index his papers by various means, Plume only

indexed individual books.[46] Andrew Clark in an article about the Plume

Pamphlets noted that 'It was Dr Plume's habit when reading a book to insert a

little slip of paper, with references to such passages as had specifically struck

him'.[47] This shows how Plume was using the notebooks in a similar way to the

printed pamphlets, as sources of knowledge. The insertion of the slip after the

year 1681 also shows that Plume was reading the notebooks many years after they

had been created, and presumably sometime after he had received them. They

had not become out of date over time.

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[46]   Yeo, 'Loose Notes and Capricious Memory', p. 336.

[47]   Clark, 'Plume Pamphlets', p. 160.

9.8   The provenance and longevity of texts

The original authors had retained their own manuscripts for long periods of time before they arrived in Plume's possession. For example, Justinian Whitter saved notes made in his early adulthood for thirty years, as seen in his earliest dated notebook which was created in 1619.[48] As discussed in Chapter One, Edward Hyde bequeathed to Robert Boreman all of his 'paper books' following his death in 1659. Boreman kept Hyde's texts for sixteen years, long after he had used them to publish Hyde's treatise, soon after Hyde's death. Boreman must have seen a value in keeping these paper books for his own use or for future readers: not only for their practical utility but in memory of his friend who had entrusted him with the notebooks which represented the work created during his career. Thomas Plume subsequently kept the manuscripts he had accumulated for long periods before he left them to the Library. For example, Plume had kept Whitter's texts for up to fifty-five years and used them many years after they were originally produced; this shows how he did not see the information contained within them becoming redundant through the interregnum. Plume also kept Boreman and Hyde's texts for twenty-nine years and his own for sixty-two years. Another example of longevity is that of the production of a finished text. The inception of Boreman's treatise occurred many years before the published product, as can be seen from tracing the successive versions.

Plume also owned a printed version of Boreman's treatise at the time he set up the Library, and this perhaps had originally belonged to Boreman, in the same

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[48]   MA0068.

way that Plume acquired both printed and handwritten books from Justinian Whitter.[49] Again, there is the sense of passing on knowledge after the death of the author to other members of the 'clergy network'. The manuscripts might have been useful in a practical sense, but they also helped to cement the loyalty and allegiance between the clergy and became a way to commemorate those who had died. Saving texts which would be useful after 'normality' had been restored by keeping them in the Library meant that this ideology continued after Plume's death.

9.9   **Conclusion**

The three examples discussed in this chapter reveal that printed and manuscript forms of text could be both connected and complementary. This sense of compatibility can be seen in the way they were used in a practical sense, as well as in the method and circumstances of their legacy. Clergy could read notebooks and extract information their professional role in the same way that they could read print books. This can be seen in the annotations made in the handwritten notebooks just as many early modern scholars would write directly onto the pages of their printed books. Similarly, annotations could be made to inform future readers as to the provenance of the text, in order to assist their understanding. Returning to the notebooks at a later stage in his career, Plume inserted a number of indexes, showing that he referred to them on more than one occasion. Perhaps he also intended the indexes to guide subsequent readers.

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[49]   Several books from which Boreman took reading notes have been looked at but no ownership signatures have been found in these.

These interventions into the handwritten texts give a sense of personal transmission from one individual to another and for communication with another person through engagement with their handwriting. Collecting theories have highlighted the way in which objects could provide a direct link with their owner through their shared touch and witness of their hand. When the manuscripts were bequeathed following death of the original author, a train of personal donation of one or a few items to a limited audience commenced.

There is a dichotomy between the items which were carefully saved for a long period for someone else and those which are known to have existed but are now lost, such as the final fair copy of Boreman's sermon which went to the compositor and was not returned. Were the earlier drafts saved to compensate in some way for the anticipated loss of that manuscript? Another theme which arises in this context is the issue of overwriting. The original was text still visible, although other authors at various times layered their work above what had gone before, changing the meaning and significance of the text. A sense of gradation or layering is also apparent where oral culture – heard or spoken – is present in the same place as handwritten and printed texts. These forms of communication were used in a complementary fashion to facilitate the acquisition and transmission of knowledge, and connections between the individuals who both wrote - and read – these texts.

However closely-connected to the printed books, through their unique content and memorial representations Plume's manuscripts emerge as the 'heart' of his library. Owners of contemporary libraries often saw manuscripts as important

additions to the reference material to be accessible to readers, but often working papers like Plume's were thought to be too ephemeral and fragile, or too personally esoteric to be useful. However, before they entered the Library, it is clear that Plume's manuscripts were used in a similar way, to provide knowledge useful to clergymen's work. They read each other's notebooks and extracted information to benefit their professional roles in the same way that they read printed books. This practice can also be seen in the annotations made in the handwritten notebooks just as many early modern scholars would write directly onto the pages of their printed books. Annotations were also written onto the notebooks in order to help future readers in their understanding of the context of the information contained within. Through their personal engagement with each other's work, and their care to ensure that the original, and their own scholarship, was not lost, a sense of a common identity arose, strengthening their bonds of loyalty. The interventions into the handwritten texts give a sense of personal transmission of knowledge from one individual to another. This textual communication indicates that clergy wanted to help each other in their work.

When the manuscripts were bequeathed following the death of the original author, a trail of personal donation of one or a few items to a limited audience commenced. This legacy transformed when Plume left the amalgamated collection for a wider audience (albeit still a limited one) through the Library institution. As has been seen, there is a real sense that the manuscript collection itself represents a network which links together all the readers and writers, as well as the printed books they referred to or created. The lost manuscripts, such

as Hacket's sermons, were once a part of this connected system of texts and those who engaged with them. They are still present *in a virtual sense* because they are remembered and recognised as being part of the network by its other constituent parts.

Publishing in print, too, was a way for clergy writings to reach a larger audience; however, the usefulness of handwritten drafts did not necessarily end with the publication of the text in printed form. The sense of what was ephemeral had shifted: those manuscripts which were not posthumously published were saved by their inclusion in Plume's collection. The royalist concern for saving what was in danger of being lost in Plume's *Life of Hacket* – itself echoing Hacket's memoir of John Williams - helps to shift the sense of what was ephemeral in terms of writings. By preserving the manuscripts *they no longer were* ephemeral in the sense that they had been saved and had now secured a place in posterity. The printed books, on the other hand, became *more* ephemeral when they entered the Library than they had been as part of Plume's personal collection. They could now be lent out potentially to people Plume had not known personally, with the risk that they might not be returned. If that had happened, another copy could have been purchased, if necessary, to take its place – they were not unique items in themselves and therefore in some ways less treasured. The manuscripts, therefore, however closely connected to the printed items in different ways, were *transformed* when they entered the Library. Instead of being texts used for the same reason as printed books - to provide knowledge – they became instead a

treasured memorial to the clergy of the previous century - of their scholarship

and vocation.

Chapter 10   **Conclusion**

Thomas Plume's collection of manuscripts emerges as a previously-hidden 'treasure', rediscovered in its entirety after more than three hundred years of obscurity. It had been concealed over time by an absence of both cataloguing and of scholarly interest before Dr Andrew Clark's brief survey in the early twentieth century.[1] Perhaps this was precisely what Plume had intended: the collection's careful preservation and continued safety was achieved through its inconspicuous and discreet presence in the Library. Maldon was a benign place to keep the manuscripts, away from the danger of the metropolis, where books had been deliberately destroyed by human agency as well as during disasters such as the Great Fire. Plume had recounted Hacket's distress over losing books and manuscripts following his sequestration from Holborn, and this was also mirrored in Hacket's biography of John Williams whose papers had also been ransacked.[2] Biographies were important ways for these clergymen to remember the lives and work of their associates, and also their patrons outside of the profession who had also contributed to the rebuilding of the Church. They thought that writing and public persuasion were important ways to serve the Church and state, and this strengthens the idea that they saw their scholarship as crucial to save.

The loyalist clergy had come together during the adversity of their exile from their livings and this gave them an enforced period of *otium*, which could be

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[1]   As discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4.

[2]   As discussed in Chapter 1.

utilised for reading and writing. Plume spent the time after he had left university to prepare for clandestine ordination and the hope of a living in the future, pursuing a programme of study, perhaps set by Hacket, whilst he acted on Hacket's behalf to buy books in London. Robert Boreman also spent the years of the Civil Wars and interregnum in reading and writing, publishing several treatises in addition to performing the role of chaplain for the Marquis of Hertford. The results of this period of reading and writing can be seen in the manuscripts in the collection, but these clergymen continued creating texts through the Restoration period alongside their parish duties.

10.1   **What has this research found?**

The purpose of this research has been to find out why Thomas Plume collected clergy workbooks and papers and left them to his Library to be carefully preserved. It has been found that in many cases he acquired the manuscripts from family and friends. Clergy notebooks and sermon notes would usually be left to male family member who was expected to go into the same profession, however, many clergymen, including John Hacket, Edward Hyde, Robert Boreman, and indeed Plume himself, did not seem to have had a suitable relative whom they thought would treasure their work or find it useful. The donors of texts wanted their scholarship to continue in some way, either by publication or through another form of preservation: Hacket left his sermons to Plume, and Hyde left his paper books to Boreman, so that they could be published after their deaths. Boreman, who had published a number of treatises in his own lifetime, instead left his manuscripts (and Hyde's) to Thomas Plume to ensure their

continued preservation. In the same way, the other authors represented in Plume's collection ensured that their work would be preserved by leaving it to a trusted associate. Therefore, Plume collected the manuscripts to be carefully preserved in his Library for several reasons. They had been a practical resource for their creators and later readers and they had connections with the printed materials in the Library. Their authors were concerned that their own scholarship should continue in some form, and there was a sense of anxiety that manuscripts and books belonging to the loyalist clergy had been lost during the Civil Wars and interregnum. This urge to preserve is intertwined with the unique nature of the individual handwritten texts and the way in which their authors and owners could be remembered and accessed through the pages they had touched and inscribed.

The types of documents in Plume's manuscript collection were unusual in the context of other library manuscript collections, being sermons heard and preached, records of reading, miscellanies and common-placing. Dissenting clergymen also produced the same types of texts, and the Commission of United Colonists in New England wanted to collect up their papers to commemorate the period when the colony was started.[3] These clergymen had also been working in adverse conditions and the Commission, like Plume, strove to keep a record of an important period in the history of their members. This concern can also be related back to the John Walker's *Attempt Toward Recovering An Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy,* which he had created in order to remember

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[3]   Referred to in Chapter 1.

the lives and sufferings of the loyalist clergy. It is worth considering why Samuel Pepys did not choose to leave his own working papers with his library of books, instead leaving historical manuscripts, bound up to match the printed books with his library. The difference between Pepys and Plume in this respect was perhaps that Pepys did not belong to a group coming together in adversity, in the same way as had Plume and other loyalist clergy.

The handwritten texts in the collection had many practical uses both for their creators and for subsequent readers before they arrived in the Library. Edward Hyde meant his notes to be used after his death, since he had left them to Robert Boreman so that he would publish his friend's work. However, he left Boreman not only the work relating directly to those publications, but also his other paper books. Within these notebooks he left directions to the future reader, showing that he meant them to be useful to others in their current manuscript form. Evidence that other people indeed re-used Hyde's work and that from other authors' can be found in the indexes, page markers, and annotations in other hands in the texts themselves. Other professionals such as physicians, natural philosophers and antiquarians also used notebooks and papers to record their professional work and passed their papers to each other during their lifetimes. This was also different, though, to Plume's collection, which grew following the death of each of its authors. Plume's collection served to memorialise these writers as individuals, but also the loyalist clergy as a collective, concerned with the work they did to contribute to the Church.

The function of manuscript texts had changed following the invention of printing; they could be used to communicate to a more select audience or as high status presentational pieces, as opposed to publications in print which were dedicated to a patron in an overt manner, which would be seen by other readers. Most of Plume's manuscripts were not 'scribal publications' in that they were not disseminated in more than one copy. This made Plume's manuscripts uniquely valuable since there was only one copy of the text in existence. The new owner did not need to make a complete reproduction because they owned the original; they could instead extract or adapt what was there to make it useful to them.

Plume's schoolboy 'exercise books' had limp covers and differed in their material form to the hard bound books he used at a later date to record extracts from his reading. As discussed in Chapter 9, in many cases the more 'formal' the text became, the more substantial its material form took. This indicates that Plume's school notebooks were meant to be ephemeral at the time that they were created, and were not expected to be kept for longer than he needed to learn the skills that they helped him to practise. However, the fact that he did keep them shows that after their original function had been performed they had become almost auto-biographical in their recording of Plume's experiences and learning during that period of his life. Other authors, such as Edward Hyde, also kept their student notebooks alongside their mature writings. This demonstrates that they considered their complete body of knowledge to be significant and valuable, including the knowledge which was gained before ordination and their emergence as a 'qualified' scholar. Since Plume's collection had a purpose, then,

to save this scholarship in memory of its authors, he should not be thought of merely as a 'hoarder' of texts.

10.2   **Revisiting the literature**

The contribution of this research to scholarship in the history of libraries has been to demonstrate that Plume's collection of manuscripts was unusual in its composition, that its type was rarely considered appropriate for in library collections, and that these types of texts are an under-studied but extremely useful resource. In terms of the history of note-taking, this research has shown that these clergymen found other people's notes to be useful and that different types of early modern professionals shared techniques and practices, and this allows a comparison to be made between different professions from evidence left in their handwritten texts.

Although Plume's will does not explicitly state whether he intended the manuscripts to be consulted by readers, the term 'careful preservation' suggests that he saw them more as a memorial resource rather than as one with a practical future use. In contrast, the printed materials were meant to be read within the Library setting or to be borrowed by readers. The printed materials could be 'risked' through their interaction with readers because they were to be used for educational purposes: they could be replaced through re-purchase via the *vademonium* given by borrowers because they were not unique, and therefore they were considered to be more ephemeral than the manuscripts. The manuscripts were more valuable in that they represented the scholarship of clergy which had not been published and only existed in one copy. They also

provided a direct link to their authors, through their handwriting and remaining as an object that their owner had touched.

The manuscript collection was not simply made up of an indiscriminate accumulation of texts. There was an element of randomness in that Plume might not have known whose manuscripts he would be able to acquire, however their original authors had *selected* the material to be preserved which related to their everyday research and learning for their role as clergymen. They controlled their legacy: any items they wanted to have printed were removed from the rest of their work, and any other items which were not appropriate for inclusion were disposed of. The map in Figure 15 emphasises that the origins of the manuscripts collected by Plume was remarkably widespread, and this reflects the range of his network of connections over the whole south of England. There is also a sense of layering of collections within collections, where all the writings of one person are situated within the whole manuscript collection, and in turn the manuscript collection is contained within the larger library collection. This idea of a 'collection of collections' enhances the sense of a memorial purpose to the manuscripts being kept together. Even if only some of the items within the sub-collection had been of practical use to Plume he still kept the other pieces of work by each author.

There was a culture of late seventeenth-century library endowment which converged with a culture of piety, where libraries were created and endowed for the benefit of the poor clergy because their education had suffered during the

mid-century.[4] This was combined with a social movement towards increased knowledge provision for all. As literacy rates rose, there was more interest from the non-professional but genteel sections of society, more books in the vernacular became available, and members of the professions became involved in philanthropic provision of educational facilities. Plume can be seen to have been affected by all of these movements. In the context of Plume's other legacies, the manuscript collection reflects Plume's concern with education, accumulation, and dissemination of knowledge; not only in terms of the Library's printed books and pamphlets, but also in his provision in his will of places for poor boys at the Maldon Grammar School, his donation to the Chelmsford Grammar School, and the provision of the Professorship of Astronomy and an observatory to Cambridge.

10.3   **Revisiting the theories**

The complementary theories of networks, collecting, and the history of reading have helped to build an understanding of how Plume's manuscript collection was created, used and transferred between individuals, and how meaning and agency was shared between texts. They also have helped to form a new model of communication and transmission to illustrate these movements, spaces and connections, which is set out in the next section. Although a culture of collecting existed in the seventeenth century, much of this culture can be seen as wanting to understand the natural world or to create a universal knowledge as to

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[4]   See the discussion in Chapter 1 relating to this.

remember the past.[5] However, of particular relevance to Plume's collection is the theoretical position, shared by many theorists, that collecting was a way to impose order. For one individual to personally own such texts was problematic: their future would be uncertain if that person was no longer able to keep them protected. Plume was therefore able to assert control over a potentially unstable society by placing them within the safe institutional space in Maldon, which had been distant from the centre of political conflict and other disasters and would continue to exist, it was hoped, for future generations.

It has been seen that two networks can be perceived as operating around Plume and his manuscript collection, one of people and one of texts. Authors used tropes of kinship and family in their work which emphasises that they saw themselves as belonging to an extended clergy network which included their families and friends. Posthumous publication shows that the work that they did during their lifetimes was valued by those who came after, and authors trusted their friends to carry on their work, revealing their sense of obligation to those not related by blood. The network of people was fluid in nature because it was inter-generational; when each individual died, their work was then transmitted to a younger or contemporary member of the network.

The network of texts can re-create the network of people after their deaths, but the network is fundamentally a process of re-shaping rather than construction. The actor-network of the texts, which includes the relationships between the manuscripts and printed books, also directs the attention to manuscripts which

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[5]   See the discussion in Chapter 2 relating to this.

once existed but do so no longer. Manuscripts which would normally have no relationship to others in the collection were sometimes incorporated and saved accidentally through their use as page markers or indexes. Since the texts were part of an actor network they have agency to act on each other and on their human readers. This aspect of actor-network theory is related to theories of collecting where the object can be seen as containing the essence of its creator and providing a link back to them through shared touch and the presence of their handwriting. The apotheosis of the manuscript collection is the network of people ascending to the actor-network, with paper becoming more long-lasting than people.

The debate in the history of reading which considers the balance of power between book, text, and reader is useful to consider the ways in which the manuscript writers recorded their readings. Robert Boreman, for instance, seemed to accept the text without judgement when he accumulated extracts of historical facts from the Italian histories. This can be seen where he copied whole phrases exactly, noting where they appeared in the book, perhaps for future citation or reference. Paraphrasing rather than copying denoted a different method of extraction, reflecting the readers' intentions to understand ideas or concepts. However, overall, the readers represented in the collection approached the texts by selecting extracts which echoed their current situation, both in terms of their professional life and the socio-political circumstances, and this shows that they created their own meaning from their reading. In Plume's manuscript collection a community of readers was also a community of writers, who shared

common goals in the context of their vocation. It has also been observed that manuscripts can be seen as 'objects' to an even greater extent than printed texts because they more specifically represented their authors, in that they had not been interfered with by third parties such as printers, publishers, and the conversion of handwriting into typeface.

10.4   **A new model of textual communication and transmission**

The model presented in Figure 81 is a useful tool for depicting in a visual form the lifecycle of the manuscripts. It has three stages, the first two of which can be repeated, forming two loops in the progression of transmission and communication. The model shows how the manuscripts were transmitted between different individuals over time; in a sense, it reflects an amalgamation of the models by Darnton and Adams and Barker discussed in Chapter 2, in that it foregrounds the agency of both individuals and texts, although it arises independently from a consideration of these actors within Plume's collection. It is different in that it foregrounds handwritten texts, although it also includes printed books. It sets out the ways in which the original author communicated with a later recipient through a manuscript, and how readers and writers re-used each other's work to create new texts. Authors of printed materials, too, would be encountered in a virtual sense by subsequent readers. A manuscript reader would gain a sense of what a book was about through the original note-taker's interpretation of it. The operation of patronage and mentoring in the network of individuals is apparent, although when the collection entered the library the clergy had stopped actively passing on texts: their interactions only appeared

within the collection, rather than in person at that stage. The model shows how

the manuscripts' function eventually changed from a practical resource to one of

memorial when they entered the Library. It is useful for visualising the

transformation of the manuscripts in the collection or network, as well as the

individual hands through which they passed during their transmission and

preservation.
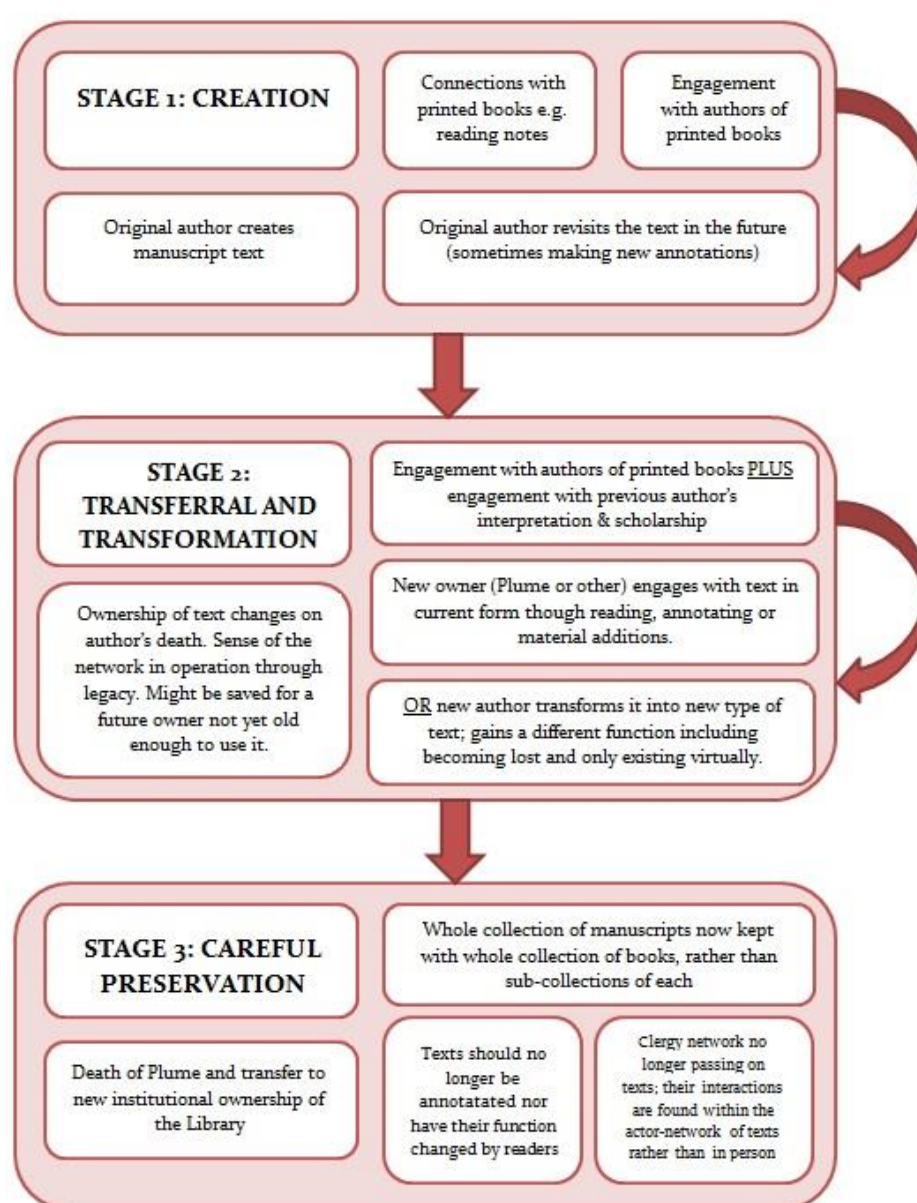
Figure 81: A new model for textual communication and transmission

The first stage of the model represents the act of initially creating a manuscript, in many cases where the author has engaged with printed materials to do so. The author might return to it at a later date and annotate their previous work in light of new information or priorities. The second stage is the point at which the original author has died and their manuscripts, and perhaps their printed books as well, came into new ownership: in this case either to Thomas Plume or a third party. The first owner, his executors, or the new owner would have selected the texts to be transmitted through a process of 'funnelling', where texts for publication would have been separated out as well as items which were to be destroyed.

The new owner then engages with the text through reading it and perhaps annotating it, especially if they wish to return to it later. During this process, they might come into contact with the author of a printed book: for example, when reading Robert Boreman's notes on Guicciardini's *History of Italy* examined in Chapter 6, Plume would have received an introduction to the scope of Guicciardini's book, alongside Boreman's interpretation of its contents. In the final stage, the manuscripts joined Plume's printed books in the Library. At this point the intervention of individual owners ceased in that the documents were unlikely to be annotated once they had become institutional property, since they no longer *belonged* to their reader. Instead the reader might make a new text after reading one of those in the Library collection. Although the clergy network is no longer actively operating at this point, evidence can still be seen of their presence within the collection.

The model also accommodates the relationships between the manuscripts in the collection and the printed materials in the Library, both in a corporeal sense and a virtual sense. This includes the presence of 'phantom' manuscripts, which are known to have once existed but no longer do so, although their relationships with other manuscripts and printed texts are still apparent. In a similar way to Darnton's model, the model employed for tracking transmission and communication in Plume's manuscripts also shows how the texts passed between different readers and writers who might also change the text through their annotations, or re-purpose the text for their own use.[6] Martyn Lyons has noted the limited application in Darnton's model to a particular time and context.[7] However, the model devised for Plume's collection could be applied to a different but related context, such as one of other early modern professionals who passed their texts between each other. An example of this could be the groups of natural historians studied by Elizabeth Yale, before their texts reached their destiny in publication, rather than the apotheosis of the manuscripts arriving in the Library in Plume's case.

The model can also be used to answer the research questions, firstly in terms of establishing what type of text Plume collected and how he acquired them. Plume collected scholarship from clergymen from the generation before him as well as from his contemporaries. The model shows how they were transferred by the original author to people they trusted to carry on or preserve their work. For

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[6]   For example, where a second scribe adapted another clergyman's sermon to make a new one, as explored in Chapter 5.

[7]   Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World*, pp. 6-7.

example, where Edward Hyde gave his manuscripts to Boreman so that he could publish some of his work, and the way in which Boreman passed on both his own documents and Hyde's to Plume. This example also highlights the strong sense that they wanted their work to have an impact on society through their publications. Sometimes the legacy was from blood relatives, but due to many clergymen being unmarried, they would pass their work to a trusted friend, rather than to a relative who might not know the significance of the scholarship nor have any use for it. This is seen in the discussion on how Plume acquired the manuscripts in Chapter 4 and his acquisition of printed books and notebooks from Justinian Whitter in Chapter 9.

Secondly, in terms of why the manuscripts were created and how they were subsequently used, it has been seen that they were texts produced as part of the day-to-day role of the clergymen. This included producing sermons, reading for knowledge, and fashioning tracts for publication. The model shows how these individuals went back later and revisited their earlier work. The model also shows how they made use of other people's work to create new texts, and that sometimes the original author would give directions to a new reader to show them how to navigate the material and to give details about the context within which it was written.[8]

Thirdly, in terms of the themes which arise from a close reading of the content of the manuscripts, the model shows the links which are apparent between people and texts, and provides a direction leading to identifying information required to

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[8]   This can be seen in operation in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

contextualise the close reading. For example, the appearance of Edward Hyde's and Robert Boreman's manuscripts invites the reader to look for their printed works, and this reveals that it was Robert Boreman who published Hyde's work on his behalf. This then directs attention towards Edward Hyde's will, which shows his instruction to give his 'paper books' to Boreman. Conversely, studying Boreman's printed works can instead lead to searching for the specific manuscripts he used to draft them.

Fourthly, the model shows how the manuscripts could be related to the printed materials in a physical way, in terms of being donated together by one person, being present within the same object, or in terms of reading notes taken from printed books. [9] In addition, following on from how the manuscripts were subsequently used, later readers could be introduced to an author of a printed text - intellectually if not physically - through reading someone else's reading notes; they would have an overview of the book's content as well as the manuscript writer's interpretation of it.[10]

Finally, relating to the overall research question of 'Why are these manuscripts here'? the model helps to show that they valued each other's work and wanted it to continue after their death as a form of biography or memorial to themselves. By passing their work on to people they trusted to value it, they anticipated that it would be saved from destruction. There was a sense of common goals in the

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[9]   As seen in Chapter 9.

[10]   This relates specifically to the examples in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

transmission and use of texts, and this helped to create strong connections and loyalty between them.

10.5   **The significance of this study**

The significance of this study is in its reconstruction of the intellectual lives of the middle-status loyalist clergy and how it illustrates their own perception of their scholarship and its significance. The authors were not famous or of élite status, which would have been a good reason for their work to have been preserved, so it is important to know why Plume valued them so much. Not many examples of this type of manuscript survive, so this research provides an insight on what the middle-status loyalist clergy did on a daily basis. These manuscripts have not been considered before as a whole collection, because scholars have been interested either in Plume himself, or more recently in terms of other specific aspects on which they can shed light, such as university education or sermons preached in the 1640s.

The value of the collection as a whole lies in the ability to see many authors' working papers in the same place in order to find the common themes between them. The collection shows that the authors all created, stored, and retrieved information in different ways: from choosing to use bound notebooks or unbound papers; or in writing a large amount of information as opposed to a few brief notes on each topic; to making indexes and adding instructions; or whether they had a legible hand. This shows that in a practical sense their choices were affected by personal preference or access rather than a defined convention. Viewing the manuscripts as a collection has allowed connections to be made

between themes running through the documents by different authors and to gain

a sense of the clergy's intellectual processes. Also it has revealed the way in which

they thought about their relationships and identities and what their

responsibilities were more generally to society and politics. It also shows how a

sense of Plume's personality and motivations can be found in his books, contrary

to Petchey's view.[11]

10.6   Questions arising from this research

There are two main issues which emerge as conundrums following the conduct of

this research. These relate to Plume's intentions for the manuscripts' future

careful preservation and the way in which his confessional loyalty is complicated

by the inclusion of writings by non-conformist authors. It is significant that

Plume did not catalogue, or even group together in some way, the sub-collections

of manuscripts. It is likely, as suggested in Chapter 4, that Andrew Clark kept and

named the bundles of papers together in the groupings in which he found them,

but that means that the texts created by the different authors had not stayed

together in sub-collections. Although I have argued for Plume imposing 'order'

on the collection in an overall sense through its preservation in a safe institution,

Plume did not order the manuscripts themselves, nor make provision for future

readers to understand they ways in which they were connected. It is possible that

Plume envisaged that the manuscripts would be catalogued by future trustees of

the collection, but how did he navigate the large numbers of texts himself? In any

case, the absence of an explicit instruction in the will is unsettling. In addition,

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[11]   Petchey, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*, p. 11.

manuscripts in other library collections were often bound up together, sometimes in a physical form to match the books, but Plume did not secure the loose papers in a physical way, which meant they remained fragile in their material forms, and this contradicts a concept of 'careful preservation'.

Although Plume's commitment to the Church of England has not been in doubt, there is a sense from the content of the manuscripts that he had a flexible and tolerant attitude to different protestant confessional and political circumstances. During his early life he was exposed to sermons by non-conformist preachers, and Maldon had historically been a strongly Puritan area. Plume kept his sermons by the Parliament-supporting preacher Mr Mott, and Puritan Israel Hewitt, and he also had read and indexed the notebooks and papers from the non-conformist Eythorne preacher. Although he was ordained in secret during the interregnum, Plume was bestowed his living at Greenwich by Richard Cromwell so, although the Restoration was known to be imminent, Plume was not averse to accepting the patronage of an individual belonging to the regime that had executed Charles I. The situation might have been different for Hacket, Boreman and Hyde who had more connection with the royal household. In contrast to this broad-minded and accepting attitude towards dissenting clergymen, Plume's portrait of Archbishop Laud is an imposing feature of the Library, suggesting that his allegiance was to the a more strictly Laudian version of the established church which emerged at the Restoration (see Figure 82 and Figure 83 below).

Figure 82: William Laud (1573-1645), copy after Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)

**Figure 83: View from the tower into the Library
(photo credit: Trustees of Thomas Plume's Library)**

10.7   **Further research**

One of the difficulties facing manuscript scholars at present is that the Library's online manuscript catalogue does not reflect the contents, making it difficult to search for specific source material. The catalogue was uploaded using Andrew Clark's records, where in many cases he had used the first line of each manuscript text as a description of its contents. For example, Edward Hyde's exposition on the Septuagint containing Barbara Hyde's sermon notes is catalogued as 'Crismas 1638', which has no bearing on what the manuscript might contain. As a result of this research, however, the catalogue will be fully updated with all relevant details. Scholars interested in the various genres represented in the collection will then be able to find sources more effectively.

This research has relevance to scholars working in several different fields. In particular, the materiality of the handwritten and its relationship with printed texts will be of interest to those working in manuscript studies, in both History and English departments. Similarly, the application of network theories, reading theories and collecting theories will interest people working with the history of the book, as will the new way of thinking about textual transmission and communication as legacy, rather than as between contemporaries. Scholars working on the professions may be interested in this research's depiction of how the clergy viewed their role in society, and in terms of philanthropy and education. In addition, historians of religion will find relevance in the sections regarding the clergy's perception of their influence in society and politics as well as the clergy network of shared identity and loyalty. More generally, those

working in library and information history will be interested to learn about the previously undocumented resources in Plume's library and their relationship to the printed books.

It would be useful to continue to work with the themes of manuscripts and legacy that have come out of this research in terms of any future provision people made for their handwritten texts during the early modern period. In particular, it would be beneficial to know how people from a range of statuses and professions provided in their wills or in correspondence for what should happen to their diaries, letter-books, commonplace books, and notebooks. Did they express an anxiety about what would happen to their papers after their death, or did they specifically ask them to be destroyed? If they did not mention them at all what does this mean for the significance their author ascribed to them? Does it mean that they had already done what was needed with their texts themselves, such passing them on or burning them?

A complementary aspect of this idea for future research is to understand how much of their personhood and identity people thought resided in their texts. Were they concerned that their work was continued by someone and published? Or did they wish it to live on in another way, for example, in a family archive, and how much importance did they place on the idea of an ongoing family history? Was their handwritten legacy intended to have a public or private audience, and by what means did people's handwritten papers travel to people outside of the immediate family? For example, were they sold, or given to specific people by the author, or was the recipient chosen by the family? Were women's texts valued in

different ways to men's, and in what circumstances were women's papers of public interest, rather than being kept as part of a family archive? What uses did women think their texts might have outside of the family?

In terms of the recipients of manuscript legacies, I would like to find out why people generally acquired handwritten texts and the uses to which they were put. Were they reverently accepted as a representation of the author's persona, or were they seen in more pragmatic terms as a source for knowledge? Therefore, there are three different angles from which to view manuscript legacy: from the author's perspective, the recipient's perspective and the family's perspective. This would leads to an insight as to the significance and value of manuscripts in a broader sense, but especially for legacy and posterity in the early modern period.

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Appendix 1:   Plume's reading of *Leviathan*

Direct transcription showing contractions

Line	Transcription
1	Hobbs Leviathan
2	All Automata Engines yt move ys by spr & wheels as watches have an Artificial
3	Life – for w is ye ht but a spring & ye nerves but so m strings, & ye joynts but so many wheels, giv mot
4	to the body as ye Artif int
5	That is noth so abs but may be fnd in ye books of som of ye Philos – v.p.20 [...]
6	Charming & conjuring wch is ye Liturgy of Witches
7	O nat ph & Reason are Talents putt by Gd in o hands to Negotiate & th not
8	to be folded up in ye Napkin of an imp faith – but simpl in ye purchas of Just, P & true Rel
9	Its w ye Myst of o Rel as with wlesom pills for ye sick wch swallowed wle have
10	ye virtue to cure, but chewed are for ye most pt cast up ag wthout effect
11	miracles alone not suff to just a strang dr p.197 – but a rev ye will
12	ye Comp bet Et Lif lost by Ada & Rest by X holds in ye - yt as A lost Et Life by
13	his sin & yet lived aft it for a Time, so ye faithf Xian has recov Et life by Xs pass tho he
14	dy a nat d & rem dd till ye Res – For as D is reck fro ye condemnat of A not fro ye Execution
15	so life is reck fro ye Absolut not fro ye Res of ym yt are Elect in X p.240 Ch 38
16	For maint a Civ Temp Kd of X up E & yt ye [...] [...] p.247
17	No Imortal - I think of sins till ye Day of Judg [...] [...] – v.p.247
18	His will obl yt Hell is deser by all ye [...] Rem [...] Ex of plag & judgem
19	up Eg Sodo – Gom etc p.243 Ch 38
20	By eat of ye Tree of Life is meant ye Enj of Imortal – p.264
21	A p Reason of ye Instit of Bapt – fro ye custom of Jewes & Gent p.268 Ch 41
22	Evang & pphets denote gifts & not office bu yt writt ye Gly p.289
23	Most pb o Sav Tempt was by a vis for no mt is high en to shew one wle Hemi-
24	-sphere & th st L says – not by – but in ye spirit -
25	Sat ent in Judas - or an hostile trayt int of sell his mr - pr as in for comm ye
26	gr & good part in. of men are und by ye h ghost - so by ye en of Sat – yt h design etc
27	As Gd br ye Is in Can in did not subdu all yr En but left some as Thornes in yr sides to
28	awak fro time to time yr Ind & piety – so o sav in cond us for his Hly Kd did not destr all ye
29	diff of nat Q but left ym to exe o Ind & Reasons

Line	Transcription
30	Ty yt seek ye Dist of Div & Civ worship not in ye Intent of ye worshipper but in ye wds
31	δωλεια & Λατρεία dec: yoself for if I fall prostrate bef a K & yet think him but a man in but civ
32	& not divine worship [...]
33	Pap & Gentil p.364 Cap 45 – Aqua Lustralis – holy wat Bacchanalia
34	and o wakes, Saturnalia & Carnevall & Shrove T lib of serva – that pcess of Priapus – o fetching
35	in er & dance ab may poles – that pcess called Ambarvalia – o pcess ab the fields in Rogation week
36	It was Inconv for ministers in Paul's time to marry – be being times of p th were for
37	to fly from pt to pt & he ought not to be clogd wth care of wif & ch & Fam etc
38	Pap is but ye ghost of ye Deceased Rom Empire sitt crowned up the grave tof v. ch.47 p.386
39	ye Com Of Ancient Authors aris not so much fro ye rev of ye dd as mut Envy of ye living
40	Sticking yt corr D wth ye Cloves of oth mens witt = G & Lat Sent com up unchewd, unchanged

Expanded transcription

Line	Transcription	Page no & chapter in 1651 ed.	Original text says
1	Hobbs Leviathan		For seeing life is but a motion of Limbs, the begining whereof is in some principall part within; why may we not say, that all Automata (Engines that move themselves by springs and wheeles as doth a watch) have an artificial life? For what is the Heart, but a Spring; and the Nerves, but so many Strings; and the Joynts, but so many Wheeles, giving motion to the whole Body, such as was intended by the Artificer?
2	All Automata Engines that move themselves by springs & wheels as watches have an Artificial	Introduction, p.1	
3	Life – for what is the heart but a spring & the nerves but so many strings, & the joynts but so many wheels, giving motion		
4	to the body as the Artificer intended		
5	There is nothing so absurd but may be found in the books of some of the Philosophers – v.p.20 [...]	Ch.5. Of reason and science, p.20	For it is most true that Cicero sayth of them somewhere; that there can be nothing so absurd, but may be found in the books of Philosophers.

Line	Transcription	Page no & chapter in 1651 ed.	Original text says
6	Charming & conjuring which is the Liturgy of Witches	Ch. 12 Of religion, p.56	Sometimes in the Prediction of Witches, that pretended conference with the dead; which is called Necromancy, Conjuring and Witchcraft ... So easie are men to be drawn to believe any thing, from such men as have gotten credit with them; and can with gentlenesse, and dexterity, take hold of their fear, and ignorance.
7	Our natural philosophy & Reason are Talents putt by God in our hands to Negotiate & therefore not	Ch.32 Of the Principles of Christian Politiques p.194	Neverthelesse, we are not to renounce our Sense, and Experience; [Note: Yet is not natural Reason to be renounced] nor (that which is the undoubted Word of God) our naturall Reason. For they are the talents which he hath put into our hands to negotiate, till the coming again of our blessed Saviour; and therefore not to be folded up in the Napkin of an Implicite Faith, but employed in the purchase of Justice, Peace, and true Religion.
8	to be folded up in the Napkin of an implicate faith – but simply in the purchase of Justice, Peace & true Religion		
9	Its with the Mystery of our Religion as with wholesome pills for the sick which swallowed wholesome have	Ch.32 Of the Principles of Christian Politiques p.194	For it is with the mysteries of our Religion, as with wholesome pills for the sick, which swallowed whole, have the virtue to cure; but chewed, are for the most part cast up again without effect.
10	the virtue to cure, but chewed are for the most part cast up again without effect		
11	miracles alone not sufficient to justify a strange dream p.197 – but a revelation the will	Ch.32 Of the Principles of Christian Politiques, p.197	... there be two marks, by which together, not asunder, a true Prophet is to be known. One is the doing of miracles; the other is the not teaching of any other Religion than that which is already established ... [Note: Deut. 13.v.1, 2, 3, 4, 5.] *a Prophet rise amongst you, or a Dreamer of dreams* ... God will not have miracles alone serve for arguments ... And as Miracles, without preaching that Doctrine which God hath established; so preaching the true Doctrine, without the doing of miracles is an unsufficient argument of immediate Revelation.

Line	Transcription	Page no & chapter in 1651 ed.	Original text says
12	the Comparison between Eternal Life lost by Adam & Restored by Christ holds in the - that as Adam lost Eternal Life by	Ch.38 Of the Signification in Scripture of Eternall Life, Hell, Salvation, the World to come, and Redemption, p.240 (strictly speaking pp.239-40)	The comparison between that Eternall life which Adam lost, and our Saviour by his Victory over death hath recovered holdeth also in this, that as Adam lost Eternall Life by his sin, and yet lived after it for a time; so the faithful Christian hath recovered Eternall Life by Christs passion, though he die a natural death, and remaine dead for a time; namely, till the Resurrection. For as Death is reckoned from the Condemnation of Adam, not from the Execution; Life is reckoned from the Absolution, not from the Resurrection of them that are elected in Christ.
13	his sin & yet lived after it for a Time, so the faithfull Christian has recovered Eternal life by Christs passion though he		
14	dy a natural death & remain dead till the Reserection – For as Death is reckoned from the condemnation of Adam not from the Execution		
15	so life is reckoned from the Absolution not from the Resurrection of them that are Elected in Christ p.240 Ch 38		
16	For maintaining a Civil Temporal Kingdom of Christ upon Earth & that the [...] [...] p.241	Ch.38 Of the Signification in Scripture of Eternall Life, Hell, Salvation, the World to come, and Redemption, p.241	... the Kingdom of God is a Civill Common-wealth, where God himself is Sovereign ... after the comming again of our Saviour in his Majesty, and glory, to reign actually, and Eternally; the Kingdom of God is to be on Earth.
17	No Immortality - I think of sins till the Day of Judgement [...] [...] – v.p.241	Ch.38 Of the Signification in Scripture of Eternall Life, Hell, Salvation, the World to come, and Redemption, p.241	Therefore where Job saith, man riseth not till the Heavens be no more; it is all one, as if he had said, the Immortall Life (and Soule and Life in the Scripture, do usually signifie the same thing) beginneth not in man, till the Resurrection, and day of Judgement; and hath for cause, not his specificall nature, and generation; but the Promise.
18	His will obliged that Hell is deserved by all the [...] Rem [...] Exodus of plague & judgement	Ch.38 Of the Signification in Scripture of Eternall Life,	because the Cities of Sodom, and Gomorrah, by the extraordinary wrath of God ... Hell Fire, which is here expressed by Metaphor, from the reall Fire of

Line	Transcription	Page no & chapter in 1651 ed.	Original text says
19	upon Egyptions Sodom – Gommorah etc p.243 Ch 38	Hell, Salvation, the World to come, and Redemption, p.242-3	Sodome, signifieth not any certain kind, or place of Torment; but is to be taken indefinitely, for Destruction ... from the Plague of Darknesse inflicted on the Egyptians ...
20	By eating of the Tree of Life is meant the Enjoying of Immortality – p.264	Ch.41, Of the Office of our Blessed Saviour, p.264	So that by eating at Christ's table, is meant the eating of the Tree of Life; that is to say, the enjoying of Immortality, in the Kingdome of the Son of Man.
21	A proper Reason of the Institution of Baptism – from the custom of Jewes & Gentiles p.268 Ch 41	Ch.41, Of the Office of our Blessed Saviour, p.268	... where St. Peter, when a new Apostle was to be chosen in the place of Judas Iscariot, useth these words, Of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Iesus went in and out amongst us, beginning at the Baptisme of Iohn, unto that same day that hee was taken up from us, must one bee ordained to be a Witnesse with us of his Resurrection: which words interpret the bearing of Witnesse, mentioned by St. John ... the graces of Gods Spirit, and the two Sacraments, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, which all agree in one Testimony, to assure the consciences of beleevers, of eternall life;
22	Evangalists & prophets denote gifts & not office but that writt the Godly p.289	Ch.42, Of Power Ecclesiastical, p.289	For by the names of Evangelists and Prophets, is not signified any Office, but severall Gifts, by which severall men were profitable to the Church: as Evangelists, by writing the life and acts of our Saviour;
23	Most probably our Saviour's Temptation was by a vision for no mountain is high enough to shew one whole Hemi-	Ch.45, Of Daemonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles, p.354	Wherein, wee are not to beleeve he was either possessed, or forced by the Devill; nor that any Mountaine is high enough, (according to the literall sense,) to shew him one whole Hemisphere. What then can be the meaning of this place, other than that he went of himself into the Wildernesse; and that this carrying of him up and down, from the Wildernesse to the City, and from thence into a Mountaine, was a Vision? Conformable whereunto, is also the phrase of St. Luke, that hee was led into the Wildernesse, not by, but in the Spirit: whereas concerning His being Taken up into the Mountaine, and unto the Pinnacle of the Temple, hee speak|eth as St. Matthew doth. Which suiteth with the nature of a Vision.
24	-sphere & that St Luke says – not by – but in the spirit -		

Line	Transcription	Page no & chapter in 1651 ed.	Original text says
25	Satan entered in Judas - or an hostile trayt intention of selling his master pr as in for comm the	Ch.45, Of Daemonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles, p.355	Again, where St. Luke sayes of Judas Iscariot, that Satan entred into him, and thereupon that he went and communed with the Chief Priests, and Captaines, how he might betray Christ unto them: it may be answered, that by the Entring of Satan (that is the Enemy) into him, is meant, the hostile and traiterours intention of selling his Lord and Master.
26	graces & good part inclinations of men are understood by the holy ghost - so by the entry of Satan – that hostile design etc	Ch.45, Of Daemonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles, p.355.	For as by the Holy Ghost, is frequently in Scripture understood, the Graces and good Inclinations given by the Holy Ghost; so by the Entring of Satan, may bee understood the wicked Cogitations, and Designes of the Adversaries of Christ, and his Disciples. For as it is hard to say, that the Devill was entred into Judas, before he had any such hostile designe
27	As God bring the Israelites into Canaan in did not subdue all their Enemies but left some as Thornes in their sides to	Ch.45, Of Daemonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles, p.355.	For as God, when he brought the Israelites into the Land of Promise, did not secure them therein, by subduing all the Nations round about them; but left many of them, as thornes in their sides, to awaken from time to time their Piety and Industry: so our Saviour, in conducting us toward his heavenly Kingdome, did not destroy all the difficulties of Naturall Questions; but left them to exercise our Industry, and Reason
28	awaken from time to time their Industry & piety – so our saviour in conducting us for his Heavenly Kingdom did not destroy all the		
29	difficulties of natural Questions but left them to exercise our Industry & Reasons		
30	They that seek the Distinction of Divine & Civil worship not in the Intention of the worshipper but in the words	Ch.45, Of Daemonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles, p.360	To pray to a King for such things, as hee is able to doe for us, though we prostrate our selves before him, is but Civill Worship; because we acknowledge no other power in him, but humane: But voluntarily to pray unto him for fair weather, or for any thing which God onely can doe for us, is Divine Worship, and Idolatry
31	δωλεια & Λατρεία [gift & worship] dec: yourself for if I fall prostrate before a King & yet think him but a man in but civil		
32	& not divine worship [...]		

Line	Transcription	Page no & chapter in 1651 ed.	Original text says
33	Papists & Gentiles p.364 Cap 45 – Aqua Lustralis – holy water Bacchanalia	Ch.45, Of Daemonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles, p.366	The Heathens had also their *Aqua Lustralis;* that is to say, *Holy Water.* The Church of Rome imitates them also in their *Holy Dayes*. They had their *Bacchanalia;* and we have our *Wakes,* answering to them: They their *Saturnalia,* and we our *Carnevalls,* and Shrove tuesdays liberty of Servants: They their Procession of *Priapus;* wee our fetching in, erection and dancing about *May-Poles*; and Dancing is one kind of worship: They had their Procession called *Ambarvalia;* and we our Procession about the fields in the *Rogation week.*
34	and our wakes, Saturnalia & Carnevall & Shrove Tuesday liberty of servants – that procession of Priapus – our fetching		
35	in erection & dance about may poles – that procession called Ambarvalia – our procession about the fields in Rogation week		
36	It was inconvenient for ministers in Paul's time to marry – because being times of persecution they were forced	Ch. 46, Of Darknesse from Vain Philosophy, and Fabulous Traditions, p.377.	But the secret foundation of this prohibition of Marriage of Priests, is not likely to have been laid so slightly, as upon such errours in Morall Philosophy; not yet upon the preference of a single life, to the estate of matrimony; which proceeded from the wisdom of St. Paul, who perceived how inconvenient a thing it was, for those that in times of persecution were Preachers of the Gospel, and forced to fly from one countrey to another, to be clogged with the care of wife and children;
37	to fly from part to part & he ought not to be clogged with care of wife & children & Family etc		
38	Papacy is but the ghost of the Deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof v. ch.47 p.386	Ch. 47, Of the Benefit that proceedeth from such Darknesse, and to whom it accreweth, p.386.	And if a man consider the originall of this great Ecclesiasticall Dominion, he will easily perceive, that the *Papacy*, is no other, than the *Ghost* of the deceased *Romane Empire,* sitting crowned upon the grave thereof: For so did the Papacy start up on a Sudden out of the Ruines of that Heathen Power.

Line	Transcription	Page no & chapter in 1651 ed.	Original text says
39	The Commendation Of Ancient Authors arise not so much from the reverence of the dead as mutual Envy of the living	A review and conclusion, p.395	But if it bee well considered, the praise of Ancient Authors, proceeds not from the reverence of the Dead, but from the competition, and mutuall envy of the Living.
40	Sticking that corrupt Doctrine with the Cloves of other mens witt = Greek & Latin Sentences come up unchewed, unchanged	A review and conclusion, p.395	Fiftly, it is many times with a fraudulent Designe that men stick their corrupt Doctrine with the Cloves of other mens Wit. Sixtly, I find not that the Ancients they cite, took it for an Ornament, to doe the like with those that wrote before them. Seventhly, it is an argument of Indigestion; when Greek and Latine Sentences unchewed come up again, as they use to doe, unchanged.

Appendix 2:   Transcription of Boreman's Elegy to Clarendon

MA0113, G.11, 'English verses in Commendation of Lord Chancellor Clarendon'

f. 1v.

1.   An Elegie or
2.   Encominastick Epitaph
3.   Upon
4.   The late Ld Chancellor of England
5.   The Earle of Clarendon.
6.   Here lies,
7.   Once deem'd an Athens both of Church and State
8.   Clarendon who fell by that common fate
9.   Of former Patriots, whom vulgar Fame
10.   Shot with 'ts black arrows, and did blast their name
11.   With poisinous breath. When a feirce storme did rise
12.   Which neither art, nor power, nor friends (although wise)
13.   Could well alaie, he, Prudent-Pilot-like,
14.   His ancor weigh'd and flying sailes did strike,
15.   Thus flagg'd he strait into an Haven drove
16.   Wrapp'd up in safetie's mantle, their he strove
17.   With his sad thoughts whether he should bemoan
18.   His own great Losse or feinds, being gon
19.   Into a foraine climat, not to be
20.   Recall'd but by a <u>Parliament</u> decree
21.   From a tempestous storme he wisely fled,
22.   (True men we know and theives a tempest dread,
23.   For both it welt's) much life to that wch blew
24.   Brave Strafford into dust, this well he knew
25.   But whither fled He: not to Rome, for there
26.   He might have seen such follies, likewise heare
27.   Such fond disputes, edg'd and back'd with non-sence,
28.   As might have much provok'd his patience,
29.   And forc'd Him to retort, by wch meanes He
30.   Into th' Inquisition cast would be:
31.   (For Fire and fagotts, Racks and Halters are
32.   The maine props of their Church, and ever were)
33.   And to live muzzell'd or Tongue-tied for feare
34.   Had been farre worse than a confinement here.

f. 2r.

35.   He therefore fledd where He might be fare
36.   And write and speak with a bold libertie

37. Even what he pleased; From thence his learned quill
38. By Cressie did transmit to Rome a pill
39. So strong so operative, that him it kill'd
40. (For soon after it he died) being filled
41. With rage and madnesse when he did discrie
42. The little grounds of his Apostacie
43. From ovr his Mother Church which first him bred
44. And with her milk that's pure and sincere fedd
45. Cressie is gone: but Whither should we put
46. This Quaere to a Popeline, he will shut
47. The poor man out of Heaven, if there be
48. such a fond thing as their Pergatorie
49. But wee'l be kind, and hope that by ye pen
50. He being convincd of spurned Clarendon
51. Recanted all his errours, and employe
52. That <u>reall Presence</u>, wch with so much noise
53. And clamour he confind to a piece of bread
54. Consecrated, and chang'd whereby he ledd
55. His Prosslytes into this fond council
56. That Christ his very bodie was then meatt
57. And drink; so that they pour soules were content
58. (And so must be) with an half Sacrament
59. This was his errour wch that mente Lord
60. Refused with this one brief confounding word
61. "I may as soon believe that a flintstone
62. "Put into my mouth has both flesh and bone
63. "Or is somewhat sloe (as milk) when hart and eie
64. Doe contradict that grosse absurditie
65. Cressie's departed, and we friendlie <u>hope</u>
66. That He, (wch was ye aims and onelie Scope
67. of Scorn'd Clarendon) before that did part
68. With his grand haeresies (wch not in heart
69. Though with his tongue he ownd) and raignes in bliss
70. where we believe his wise confuter is
71. Oh blessed exile, hadst thou staid at home
72. midst thy delights, without that happie doome

f. 2v.

73. Of thy exilement, we had not then seen
74. Thy Animadversione so sharp and keen
75. On S. Cd simple book: in him everie line
76. Thou didst so firmly knit and stronglie twine
77. With pregnant reason, that, with Cressie, Roome
78. Convinced is; and when ere I will come
79. An answer to them, from some stout Champion,

80.   That can at once to th' see of Faith and Reason

81.   Propose a better light (wch from that black cell

82.   Of darknesse and Falsehood prowd citadell

83.   Can't be expected) with others then I

84.   Will turne Apostate and embrace Poperie.

85.   Bless'd soul, hereafter t'will be said to thine

86.   Immortall praise, the Lawyer and Divine

87.   Did meet in one who without bribe or fee

88.   Did plead for Truth and confute Haeresie.

89.   But He could not refute yt wild conceit

90.   Of those, who fondly think that Good and Great

91.   Can hardly meet in one, when with a mound

92.   Of riches likewise he is circled round.

93.   Great gainfull places must attract great wealth

94.   Which none will say was gained by fraud or stealth,

95.   But the malicious, nor blame the owners more

96.   Then they would a vast river, which runnes o've

97.   It's bankes, when brooks emptie themselves into it

98.   Whose covrs cannot be stopp'd by force or with*

99.   *That costlie, statelie, Fabrick wch he built*

100.   Drew to his person a surmised guilt

101.   [crossed out section]

102.   However that vast structure doth proclaime

103.   That a large Soul he had, and ye same

104.   Sor'ed to Heaven upward like that gilded [base]

105.   Fix'd on it's pinnacle, wch is how speake all

f. 3r.

106.   (That doe behold it lowring in the skie)

107.   To raise their winged soule and to flie

108.   (And that with [?] and contempt) above

109.   The earth's vanities, as it doth behove

110.   Refined Christians, and becomes all those

111.   Whose treasure is in Heaven, and cannot close

112.   In their affections with ye world: of this

113.   Tempest was Clarendon who bore all his

114.   Troubles and losses with a cherefull mind,

115.   Assurd that God was His though man unkind

116.   The valiant Bedford, whip and scourge of France

117.   His name alone (besides sword, and launce)

118.   Subdued Towns, and cities, for which it was said

119.   <u>That Bedford comes</u>, with terrour they dismaid

120.   Their ports and gates would presentlie set ope

121.   Being bereaved (as well they might) of Hope

122.   His mightie arms, and victorious hand

123.   By force of armes to weaken or withstand

124.   Death conquerd them at last and at Roan

125.   In Ladie Chappell he interr'd alone

126.   Does her under a monument of State,

127.   Who was that Nations wonder, dread and Hate:

128.   There Clarendon breathd out his last dying breath

129.   A pleasing sacrifice to impartiall death,

130.   Who, being subiect to no rule nor law,

131.   Does oft ye best catch with his griping paw

132.   Roan triumph; for in they borders lie

133.   Bedford's drie bones, and in then did die

134.   The worthie and renownd Clarendon

135.   Both these the glories of o[ur] fam'd Albion,

136.   The former's sword gave France a deadly wound

137.   The other's Pen hath Rome (with Cressie) stand

138.   Evincing her that there'sbut one supreame

139.   God in ye Heavens and each king in his Realme

140.   Of Papast power the prop and onely stay

141.   Supremacie is; take but this away

142.   Clarendon hath shook it) then they and we

143.   Their tenents falling with it) shall soon agree

144.   For this as may (but not for this alone)

145.   Stile Him the King's and Churche's Champion

f. 3v.

146.   And in that statelie church iustly may He

147.   (where Kings and Princes lie) interred be

148.   Rather than in the forenam'd Cell of Roan

149.   Where Bedford lies, for it by chance above

150.   Of him (who living made all France to shake)

151.   Should touch ones body, heale its bones might quake

152.   It's fitt that after labour he should rest

153.   In quiet, and, being very good, with the best

154.   Deare soul, I will not on thy sacred urne

155.   So much as shed a teare, though mourn

156.   I must for the Churche's and State's great losse

157.   In thee, who didst (to a miracle) ingrosse

158.   In thy capacious soul a magazine?

159.   Of learning that's calld Humane and Divine

160.   Methinks I see thee on a glorious throne

161.   (By farre transcending that of Salomon)

162.   Incircled with ye Angells, and that light

163.   Wch does surpasse ye sonne when it shines most bright

164.   And this transplendent Title ove thy head

165.   Sett in a square of saphyr polished:

166.   'Such honour and so transcendent blisse
167.   'Shall he be crownd with who to his king
168.   'My deputie on earth is true and thinks nothing
169.   'Too good and great to part with (so he may
170.   'Advance this welfare) and in ye strait way
171.   'Of Justice treads, and who Charitie
172.   'Extends it selfe to all both low and high
173.   'And dares both by his tongue and well steepd pen
174.   'Maintaine my Truth against pernicious men.
175.   'The Lord that's <u>great</u> and <u>good</u> to such a Throne
176.   'Shall be promoted. Shall I now bemoane
177.   The death of this great Lord, as if I greivd
178.   And mournd for that he's released, and reprivd
179.   From ye disquiets of this life? No: I'll beare
180.   A part with him in that [Caellitial quire]
181.   Though I breath on Earth) and with him sing
182.   Glory, and praise to th' eternall king.

f. 4r.

183.   The Close
184.   The passions goe not well alone
185.   But when coupled are best
186.   All ye day therefore I will mourn
187.   Clad with a sable vest
188.   But when ye night shuts up ye day
189.   I'll take a robe that's white
190.   And chasing cares and grief away
191.   Sing ye songs of night.
192.   Thus will I divide my daies
193.   Betwixt joy and sorrow;
194.   But then, when I with ye bright raies
195.   (And 'twill be this life's morrow)
196.   The raies of glory clothd shall be
197.   Then these two passions joy and love
198.   The two attendants of ye Saints above
199.   Shall warme my brest to all eternitie
200.   And I with those shall chant ye praise
201.   Of Him who knowes no end of daies
202.   Grieve I must that <u>Clarendon</u> is dead
203.   But reioyce that to Heaven he's fled
204.   <u>Clarendon</u> late Ld Chancellour of ye land
205.   Who writt and did and spake with tongue and
206.   So well, so learned lie that to write his story
207.   None's so fitt as himself, this to his glorie
208.   I'll say: who now lies in his shadie grave

209.   Embalm'd and silent: but leave I crave
210.   To tell you what he there whispers" Lett all
211.   '(who know me, and have seen my rise and fall)
212.   'learn, that on a sliperie globe of Ice
213.   'The best and greatest stand; and my advice
214.   'To them is this that they think on the urne
215.   'Which must their Ashes hold, and yt a Turne
216.   'Or sodaine change befall them may and must
217.   'Either from honour, or into their dust.
218.   'These sad reflections kill, and stiffe Pride
219.   'The humble and meek soul will safely ride
220.   'The skittish beast of Fortune, wch does throw
221.   'The loftie minded man, and lay him low.

f. 4v

222.   Th' advice is good: but to it this I'll add
223.   That he whose soul with hopes of Heaven is dead
224.   And in ye height of honour humble is
225.   And knows ye Earth is not ye stage of blisse
226.   Meeting with crosses, ore these waves he'd stride
227.   With a contented and unshaken mind (his eye
228.   Being fixd on Heaven and Eternitie)
229.   Thus did th' heroick and undaunted Hide
230.   Who (though his Honour some did strive to taint)
231.   Did live in honour, and (if sainted stride
232.   In keeping ye migh High's and King's com[m]ands)
233.   We may then say, he lived and died a Saint
234.   Of whose Epitaph a finer thread
235.   And longer might be spun,
236.   [crossed out line]
237.   But th'under word alone
238.   Fixed on his Gravestone
239.   Begin by those that knew him read
240.   Might well suffice
241.   (As comprehending
242.   Religious, learned, Just and Wise)
243.   Clarendon.