

ANTIQUARY

Westminster Abbey Library

And Other Theological Resources of the Assembly of Divines (1643–1652)

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY'S NEED FOR BOOKS

In his work on the history and deliberations of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, Chad Van Dixhoorn has brought to light an interesting and heretofore overlooked facet of what Dr. Carruthers has called the “everyday work of the Assembly.”¹ Those Westminster divines who were not from London clearly missed their personal libraries. John Lightfoot raised this early in their proceedings in August 1643, and in October the divines made a request for remedy to the House of Commons.²

Lightfoot, Munday. Aug. 31 [sic 21]. “The first Committee reported the aspersions upon the 3 first Articles [of the 39 Articles] & this forenoone was taken up in concluding which way to take about aspersions, whether to name the errors in the Authors owne words & under their name, which thing I vehemently opposed for this would be a worke long & tedious, & we should be sure to misse of many Authors that were enemies to these truths of our Articles, because of the distance of us all from our libraries, and the exunpectednesse [unexpectednesse] of this taske layd upon us; & so should we be censured either of incoetency or connivence: therefore I desired that we might onely name erronious opinions, but let names & their owne words alone, for opinions I knew we could not misse, but Authors we should be sure to misse of. But it was carried the other waie & voted that every Committee should bring in aspersions under the aspersers name & wordes & the bookes also quoted for the thing, for the Assemblies ocular & full satisfaction.”

[Minutes, Oct. 17] 76 Sess. 17th 1643: Tuesday Morning. “Mr Ley: A motion to disperse the bookes of a church government to the severall members of the Assembly. Mr Goodwin: Many ministers severed from their bookes; that ther may be a provision of all those bookes in some publike place.

Mr Seaman: A request to have liberty to have some designed together out of those libraries that are sequestered [in order to have] bookes for this purpose. Mr White: I will move the house in this.”

Lightfoot recorded for the same day as the Minutes: “Then it was propounded that we should get books of the questions that are like to fall under our hands, out of the archbishop's library, and out of the sequestered libraries, laid up in some place where we might have public and common use of them.”³

SEQUESTERED LIBRARIES

At the outbreak of war, Parliament issued orders for the sequestration of delinquent estates.

Resolved, &c. That the Fines, Rents, and Profits, of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and of such notorious Delinquents, who have taken up Arms against the Parliament, or have been active in the Commission of Array, shall be sequestered for the Use and Service of the Commonwealth.⁴

The Commons had set up a committee to handle the seized estates, but also subsequently set up a committee for handling just the books of the acquired properties, and a few months later they also insisted on a careful review of any books before they were sold off. John Selden, one of the Erastian divines attending the Westminster Assembly, was on this committee for managing the sequestered libraries.

Ordered, That no Books, Records, Writings, or Manuscripts, shall be sold without the Perusal, Viewing, and Directions of the Committee appointed to that Purpose, or any Two of them, according to the Ordinance, 8 *Novembris* last, notwithstanding any Order whatsoever heretofore made for the Sale of Goods sequestered: And that the Sequestrators do not sell any Books, Records, Writeings, or Manuscripts, seized by Sequestration, until they receive Order and Direction

1. Chad B. Van Dixhoorn, *Reforming the Reformation: Theological Debate at the Westminster Assembly 1643–1652*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2004, 7 vols.; S. W. Carruthers, *The Everyday Work of the Westminster Assembly* (Philadelphia: Pub. jointly by the Presbyterian Historical Society [of America] and the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, 1943).

2. Van Dixhoorn, Lightfoot's first journal, August 21, 1643, 2:37; Minutes, October 17, 1643, 3:183–184.

3. “Journal of the Proceedings of The Assembly of Divines,” in *The Whole Works of the Rev. John Lightfoot*, volume 13 (London: Printed by J. F. Dove, 1824) 21.

4. *House of Commons Journal*, volume 2, 14 October 1642 (1802), 808. Hereafter HCJ.

from the said Committee, or any Two of them, according to the Ordinance aforesaid.⁵

Ordered, That Mr. Selden, Mr. Rous, Mr. Hill, Mr. Young, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Mr. Sam. Browne, Mr. Prideaux, Mr. Millington, or any Two of them, do peruse all such Books and Manuscripts, Records, and other Monuments of Antiquity, as have been, or shall be, sequestered; and are now, or shall be, laid up at *Campden House*, *Savoie*, or any other Place; and to give Order, that they may not be sold, or any way embezzled or defaced; but laid safe up in such Places as they shall think fit, until further Order: And they are to certify their Proceedings herein, from time to time, to the House.⁶

Ten days previous to the forming of the committee to manage the sequestered books, the Commons answered the assembly's request and ordered: "That the Assembly of Divines shall have Liberty and Power to go to the several Libraries within the Power of the Parliament; and to have the free Use of such Books as they shall think fit; and to have such Books brought unto them, where they sit, as they shall appoint; provided that they leave Inventories of such Books as they shall remove out of any of the said Libraries, to the end they may be well and safely restored unto the said Libraries, and undefaced."⁷

On 26 October the assembly received the order from the House and the Minutes note: "An order read: for sending for bookes" (Van Dixhoorn, Minutes, 3.206). Lightfoot elaborates:

5. HCJ 3, 13 February 1644 (1802), 398.

6. HCJ 3, 2 November 1643 (1802), 298.

7. HCJ 3, 23 October 1643 (1802), 285.

8. "Journal of the Proceedings of The Assembly of Divines," 29–30.

9. Van Dixhoorn, Minutes, 3.206; the names are crossed out in the manuscript.

10. Ann Cox-Johnson, "Lambeth Palace Library, 1610–1664," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, volume 2 Part 2 (1955) 112. Walter Dobson was one of Laud's servants and had served the previous two Archbishops. He also helped draw up the inventory of Archbishop Bancroft's books (Cox-Johnson, 107).

11. Bodleian Library, S.C. 14994, folio 130–131. The accurate tally is ninety-eight entries, 1–40 on fo. 130r, 41–84 on fo. 130v, and the remaining on the top portion of fo. 131r.

12. I would like to thank Jonathan Vaughan for gaining access to the manuscript list for me and providing a description and rough transcript with detailed photographs. From the photographs I have refined the transcription fairly significantly and provided the interpolations. This list was the only matter in the volume relative to the Westminster Assembly. I would also like to thank David C. Lachman who reviewed the list and offered some helpful suggestions on several of the entries, and Chad Van Dixhoorn for looking at several of the difficult entries as well.

13. Of the 98 titles, I could not identify the work by Thomas Browne in #90, and I'm skeptical of the suggestions for #86. For almost all the remaining, I was at least able to offer suggestions or possibilities, with the majority being fairly identifiable.

"When we were ready to rise, there came in an order from the Parliament, which giveth the Assembly leave to fetch books out of any library forthwith in the power of the Parliament for our use, leaving an inventory of what books are fetched away; and there was a committee appointed to see what books there were to be had."⁸ The Minutes then go on to note: "Mr Seaman, ~~Mr Walker, Mr Calamy, Mr Carrol.~~ 4 for the city. For West[m]inster: Mr Young, Mr Hill, Mr Herle, Mr Ny or any 2 of them to search."⁹

BOOKS TAKEN BY THE ASSEMBLY FROM LAUD'S LIBRARY

One record may indicate that the number of volumes collected by these divines on their book search was not insignificant. Ann Cox-Johnson noted that Archbishop Laud's personal library fell under the sequestration order, of which as recorded in Lightfoot's journal, the divines were aware, and "on 20 January 1643/44 Mr Nye, accompanied by another gentleman and supported by the authority of Parliament which had so ordered on 23 October of the previous year, entered the Archbishop's private study and removed some ninety-seven books for the use of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. A hurried, almost illegible list was made of them and signed by Walter Dobson."¹⁰

As noted this list still survives bound amongst the manuscript letters of the Archbishop.¹¹ The list is more legible than Ann Cox-Johnson's brief description indicated, and a majority of the books are identifiable. The pages of the list are roughly size A4, with a little wear at the edges.¹² The list extends from fol. 130r, 130v, to half of 131r. The paper making up the pages had previously been folded into eighths (in half lengthways and then in quarters), and there are three bookworm holes near the bottom of the folio. The script is generally legible as said, but some lines are very difficult to interpret. There is some smudging on the second side of fol. 130, and the script gets more cramped towards the bottom of sides fol. 130r and 130v. The handwriting gets bigger on fol. 131r towards the end of the list. The following is a transcription / interpolation of the list. Where the text is difficult a best guess is given if possible.¹³ Braces {} denote text that is difficult to make out or interpret, and "[?]" indicates some question on letters in words so flagged. The list was not numbered in the manuscript, but these have been added for ease of reference.

[fol. 130r]

Bookes taken out of the ArchB^{pp}s owne Library att
Lambeth Jan: 20th 1643: for the use of the Assembly
of Devines nowe sitting att Westminster

1. Binnius de Concily's Tom: 5 fol^o [Severin Binius, *Concilia generalia, et provincialia.*]

2. S^r Tho: Ridley vewe of the civil lawe 4° [Sir Thomas Ridley, *A View of the Civile and Ecclesiastical Law.*]
3. Crakenthorp on the 5th general Council 4° [Richard Crakenthorp, *A treatise of the fift general council held at Constantinople, anno 553, under Justinian ... Pope Vigilius.*]
4. Linwood Ecclesiastical laws – 3 vol: one in fol: other in 4° and in 16° [Apparently William Lyndwood, *Constitutiones Angliæ prouinciales ex diuersis Cantuariensium Archiepiscoporum synodalibus decretis, per Guilielmum Lyndewode Anglum olim collectæ.* The canon law of the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, collected and abridged by Lyndwood in 1433.]
5. Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis fol [Hugo Grotius, *de Jure Belli ac Pacis libri tres.*]
6. Tena on Epist: ad Hebreos [Luis de Tena, *Commentaria et disputationes in epistolam. D. Pauli ad Hebræos.*]
7. Pamelij Lyturgica 2 vol: 4° [Jacobus Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum.*]
8. Dornavius his Amphitheater fol [Caspar Dornau, *Amphitheatrum sapientiae Socraticae joco-seriae.*]
9. De Jurisdictione Imperial et Ecclesl : varis fol [Apparently: Simon Schard, *De Jurisdictione, Auctoritate, et Praeeminentia Imperiali, ac Potestate Ecclesiastica...*, though the work is one volume folio.]
10. M Bucer Script: Anglicani fol [Martin Bucer, *Scripta Anglicana fere omnia.*]
11. Andreas Massius on Joshua [Andreas Masius, *Iosuae Imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata.*]
12. Hystoria Lyturgica in 3 vol: 8°¹⁴
13. Haynes Pax in Terris Octavo [Thomas Haynes, *Pax in Terra; seu Tractatus de Pace Ecclesiastica.*]
14. Disaplina Ecclia Scotica 8° [Daniel Tilenus, *De disciplina ecclesiastica brevis & modesta dissertatio ad Ecclesiam Scoticam.*]
15. Mitigation towards Cathol: subiects 8° [Robert Parsons, *A treatise tending to mitigation towardes Catholike-subiectes in England.*]
16. Ceremonia sacrae 8° [Probably, Augustinus Patricius, *Sacrae Ceremoniae: sive rituum ecclesiastorum: libri tres*, i.e. *Sacrarum ceremoniarum sive rituum ecclesiasticorum Romanae ecclesiae libri tres*: 1516. A 1572 edition is in octavo.]
17. Tortura Torti 4° [Possibly Lancelot Andrewes, *Tortura Torti: siue ad Matthæi Torti* (i.e. Robert Bellarmine).]
18. Selden of Tythes – 4° [John Selden, *History of Tythes.*]
19. Mystery of Gentiles 4° [Possibly, or part of, John Yates, *Imago mundi, et regnum Christi. The foure monarchies, and Christs two-fold kingdom, Dan. 2.31, to the 36. Regnum lapidis et montis. The Gentiles converted, and the Jews restored. Lapis e monte excisus. The Gentiles converted, collected and governed by the Apostles, apostolicall men and bishops. 1. The mystery of the Gentiles, 1 Tim. 3.16.... 1640, in quarto.*]
20. Grotius de satisfact: Christi 4° [Apparently, Hugo Grotius, *Defensio Fidei Catholicae De Satisfactione Christi Adversus Faustum Socinum Senensem.*]
21. Answ: to Cookes reports 8° [Apparently, Robert Parsons, *An answeere to the fifth part of Reportes lately set forth by Syr Edward Cooke Knight, the Kinges Attorney generall. Concerning the ancient & moderne municipall lawes of England, which do apperteyne to spirituall power & iurisdiction.* 1606; however, in quarto.]
22. Carlson of Jurisdiction 8° [George Carleton, *Jurisdiction, Regall, Episcopall, Papall.*]
23. Fitzherbert of Polic: and religion 4° [Thomas Fitzherbert, *The First to second part of a treatise concerning policy and religion.*]
24. Icon Animorum 16° [John Barclay, *Icon Animorum.*]
25. Dangerous Positions 4° [Richard Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings.*]
26. Survay[?] of Discipline 4° [Possibly, Richard Bancroft, *Survay of the Pretended Holy Discipline.*]¹⁵
27. Trial of the privait spirit 4° [Possibly, James Sharp, *The Triall of the Protestant Priuate Spirit.*]
28. Mocket[?] 4°¹⁶
29. Burges his Defense of Ceremonyes 4° [John Burges, *An Answer Rejoined to that much applauded pamphlet A reply to Dr. Morton's General Defense of three nocent ceremonies* (1631); *The Lawfulness of Kneeling in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper* (1631).]
30. Answer to Martins Libell [Apparently, Thomas Cooper, *An Admonition to the People of England: Wherein Are Answered, Not Onely the Slaunderous Vntruethes, Reproachfully Vttered by Martin [Marprelate], the Libeller,*]
31. Troubles of Frankford about English Liturgy 8 [William Whittingham, *A brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany A. Domini 1554. Aboute the book off common prayer and ceremonie.*]
32. Peregrin Letteres patents of presbitery 4° [James Peregrin, *The Letters Patents of the Presbyterie: with the plea and fruits of the prelatie....*]
33. Barrow and Greenwood 4° [Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, *A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffards booke, intituled, A short treatise gainst the Donatistes of England*]
34. Cartwright ag^t Whitgift 4° [See Thomas Cartwright's exchanges with John Whitgift over the "Admonition Controversy."]

14. The one work found that generally goes by *Historia Liturgica* is by Petri Laurentius and Abraham Andre Angermannus and is one volume quarto (1588); however, the *Antiquitatum Liturgicarum Arcana* of Floris vander Haer (Duaci: Belleri, 1605) is three volumes octavo.

15. The supposition is bolstered by the immediately preceding work by Bancroft.

16. Possibly, Richard Mocket's *Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, or Thomas Mocket, who wrote favorably on the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant (the latter in 1644).

35. Puritan Tracts 4[?] parcells bound together 4°
36. Dispute ag^t English Ceremonies 4° [George Gillespie, *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies.*]
37. Duplyes of Schotts Ministers 4° [Apparently, John Forbes, *Duplyes of the Ministers & Professors of Aberdene, to ... some reverend brethren, concerning the late covenant.*]
38. A Conference touching Succession 16° [Possibly, *A Conference about the next succession to the crowne of England.*]
39. Kellisons[?] {Hierarchy?} 8 [Matthew Kellison, *A Treatise of the Hierarchie and Diuers Orders of the Church against the Anarchie of Calvin* (1629), octavo.]
40. Abridgment of the Lincolneshyre[?] ministers Petition 16 [Apparently, *An abridgement of that booke which the ministers of Lincolne diocess deliuered to His Maiestie vpon the first of December 1605.*]
[fol. 130v]
41. An Assertion for Church Pollicy 16° [William Stoughton, Francis Knollys, *An Assertion for True and Christian Church-Policie.*]
42. Puritane Tracts 3 parcells 16°
43. Lombards Sentences – 8° [Peter Lombard, *Sentences.*]
44. Salmeron on the Parables 4° [Alfonso Salmerón, *Sermones in Parabolas evangelicas totius anni.*]
45. Attestation of church goumnt 16° [Henry Jacob, *An Attestation of many learned, godly, and famous divines ... iustificyng this doctrine, viz. that the church government ought*
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17. See below at 73. This title may have been collected in duplicate by mistake because of the short title given this first example, or this is possibly a double entry.
18. This is Leslie's reply to John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women.*]
19. Alexander Leighton was given charge of Lambeth Palace, but I have not found anything noting he had anything to do with the Lambeth library or Laud's personal library. He had been severely treated by Laud and the Star Chamber. "Lambeth Palace Library," 111.
20. There is no title in English that matches "Vindication of Scripture" for the period in question. If the author name is indeed Christopher Helvicus (Helwig), then the title may possibly be his *Vindictio Locorum Potissimorum V. T. a corruptelis Pontificiorum, Et In His Praecipue Bellarmini; Calvinianorum, Photinianorum, Judaeorum &c. : Ex originali textu, Linguae Hebraeae proprietate, Chaldaicis Paraphrasibus, ad perpetuam fidei analogiam; Cum appendice de Genealogia Christi; adornata ; Additus est in fine geminus Index* (1620) which was indeed published in Octavo.
21. There is a long word that is difficult to make out. The "D" may be an overwritten "L". This may be a reference to Henry Leslie, *A full confutation of the covenant lately sworne and subscribed by many in Scotland; delivered in a speech, at the visitation of Downe and Conner, held in Lisnegarvy the 26th. of September, 1638.* Or it may be Dobson added unpublished information on the author and this refers to the anonymous, *A Briefe discovse declaring the impiety and unlawfulness of the new covenant with the Scots* (Oxford: 1643, printed by Henry Hall).
22. Neither a search of Copac nor Worldcat, nor the Thomason tracts, revealed a title for this period using the term "remonstrators." This may reference one or more of the exchanges between
- to bee alwayes with the peoples free consent; also this, that a true Christian church vnder the Gospell contayneth no more ordinary congregations but one.*]
46. Machiavels prince 8° [Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince.*]
47. Appology of English Arminianisme 8° [O. N., *An appology of English Arminianisme.*]
48. Victory Rebellions[?] 8° [Perhaps one or more of several tracts relating to the Protestant victory in Ireland.]
49. Travers of Discipline 16 [Walter Travers, *A full and plaine declaration of ecclesiastical discipline out of the Word of God.*]
50. Sa's Aphorismes 16 [Manoel de Sa, *Aphorismi confessoriorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti....*]
51. Lucas Brugensis on the Gospels 2 vol: fols [Francisci Lucae Brugensis, *In sacrosancta quatuor Iesu Christi evangelia.*]
52. Tappers works[?] fol [Ruard Tapper, *Opera.*]
53. Cardinal Peron Answ: to K James fol [Jacques Davy Du Perron, *The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinal of Perron, to the Answere of the Most Excellent King of Great Britaine.*]
54. Vicars his Decapla on the Psalms fol [John Vicars, *Decapla in Psalmos.*]
55. Service booke Corrected Jacobi fol
56. Alvarez de Auxilis gratiae [Diego Alvarez, *De auxilus divinae grattiae et humani arbitii.*]
57. Ames agt Burgesse 4° [William Ames, *A fresh suit against human ceremonies in God's vvorship, or, A triplication unto D. Burgesse his rejoinder for D. Morton....*]¹⁷
58. Parker de Politia Ecclias 4° [Robert Parker, *De politia ecclesiastica Christi & hierarchica opposita, libri duo.*]
59. Lesly de Authoritate Eclia[?] a Sermon 4° [John Leslie, *De illustrium foeminarum in repub. administranda, ac ferendis legibus autoritate ... nunc verò Latino sermone*]¹⁸
60. Syons Plea 4° [Alexander Leighton, *An Appeal to the Parliament; or Sions plea against the prelacie.*]¹⁹
61. Helvicus[?] Vindication of Scripture 8°²⁰
62. Charity Mistaken 8° [Anonymus, Edward Knott (i.e. Matthew Wilson), *Charity mistaken, with the want whereof, Catholickes are vniustly charged for affirming, as they do with grief, that Protestancy vnrepented destroys salvation.*]
63. Demands agt the Covenant 4° [Generall demands concerning the late Covenant: propounded by the ministers and professors of divinity in Aberdeen.]
64. Forbes Irenicum 4° [John Forbes, *Irenicum amatoribus veritatis et pacis in ecclesia Scoticana.*]
65. Colloquy att Wormes 4° [Possibly, *Colloquium Wormaciense institutum*, 1542, in quarto.]
66. Henry {Dunelmensis?} agt Scots Covenant 4²¹
67. Saravia de obidentia Christiana 4° [Hadrian Saravia, *De imperandi autoritate, et Christiana obidentia, libri quatuor.*]
68. Remonstrance to the Remonstrators 4°²²

69. Saravia de divsis Ministrorum gradibus 4° [Hadrian Saravia, *De diversis Ministrorum Evangelii gradibus.*]

70. Mason de Je[unio] 4° [This would appear to be Henry Mason, de Jeunio [on fasting]: *Christian humiliation, or, the Christians fast. A treatise declaring the nature, kindes, ends, uses, and properties of a religious fast: together with a briefe discourse concerning the fast of Lent* (1625; 2nd edition, 1627).]

71. Sprint, necessity of Conformity 4° [John Sprint, *Cassander Anglicanus: shewing the necessity of conformitie....*]

72. Johnsons Chrian Plea 4° [Francis Johnson, *A Christian Plea conteyning three treatises.*]

73. A fressh suit agt Ceremonies 4° [William Ames, *A fresh suit against human ceremonies in God's vvorship, or, A triplication unto D. Burgesse his rejoinder for D. Morton....*]

74. Important Considerations 4°²³

75. Montanus de Regalibus fol [Horatius Montanus, *De Regalibus Tractatus.*]

76. Gergorey de Valentia 4 vol: fol [Gregorio de Valentia, *Commentariorum theologorum tomi quatuor. In quibus omnes quaestiones, quae continentur in Summa theologica D. Thomae Aquinatis.*]

77. Durandas – fol [Possibly, Durandus, of Saint-Pourçain Bishop of Meaux, *In Petri Lombardi sententias theologicas commentariorum libri IIII.*]

78. A[tissiodorensis] fol²⁴

79. Alcoran [The Koran.]

80. Erasmus fol

81. Spelman Concilia Bretanica 4° [Henry Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici.*]

82. Cardan de prudentia Civili 16 [Girolando Cardano, *Hieronymi Cardani ... Proxenetæ seu de prudentia ciuili liber.*]

83. Celsus de haereticis combur[?]: 8 [Minus Celsus Senensis [Celsus Socinus], *Mini Celsi Senensis de haereticis capitali supplicio non afficiendis. Adiunctæ sunt eiusdem argumenti Theodori Bezae & Andreae Dvdtitii epistolæ duæ contrariæ.*]

84. Saris[?] {buriensis?} 8° [Possibly *Ioannis Ivelli Angli: Episcopi Saris-buriensis vita & mors* (1573), but in quarto.]

[fol. 131 side 1]

85. Spelman de non Temerandis Ecclipsis 8° [Henry Spelman, *De non temerandis Ecclesiis.*]

86. Scutus[?] Regius[?] 8°²⁵

87. Cunaeus de Rep: Hebr: 8° [Petrus Cunaeus, *Petri Cunæi De republica Hebraeorum libri III.*]

88. Sigonius de Rep: Hebr: 8° [Carlo Sigonio, *De republica hebraeorum libri VII.*]

89. vossius Idololatria progressu 4° [Gerardus Joannes Vossius, *Theologia Gentili, Et Physiologia Christiana; Sive De Origine Ac Progressu Idololatriæ.*]

90. Tho: Browne[?] Concio in Act 1.20. 4°²⁶

91. Fulleri. Miscel [Nicolai Fulleri, *Miscellaneorum.*]

92. Rothioford[?] Cont Armin. [Samuel Rutherford, *Exercitationes Apologeticæ Pro Divina Gratia.*]

93. Grager(?) logie [Possibly, *Thomas Granger, Syntagma logicum, or, The diuine logike.*]

94. Corpus Confessionum [Gaspard Laurent, ed., *Corpus et syntagma confessionum fidei* (1612).]

95. Spanhemii[?] Dubia Evan. [Friedrich Spanheim, *Dubia evangelica in tres partes distributa.*]

96. Paraeus de potestate Erra[?] [David Paraeus, *De Potestate ecclesiastica et civili propositiones theologico-politicae.*]

97. {Sententia de pace?} [Possibly, John Davenant, *De Pace Inter Evangelicos procuranda Sententiae Quatvor.*]

98. Theologia chounei[?] [Possibly, Thomas Chouneus, *Collectiones theologiarum quarundam conclusionum ex diversis auctorum sententiis, perquam breves sparsim excerpt. Opera, et industria Thom Chounei.*]

Walt: Dobson

On fol. 131v there is a note in small script which reads: “Ye names of some bookes taken out of ye Archbp of Cant primate studdy at Lamb. by Mr Nye & Mr [blank] by of our Order of pliant this 23. Octob. 1643”

Joseph Hall and Smectymnuus (Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen and William Spurstowe).

23. Either Thomas Bluet, *Important considerations, which ought to moue all true and sound Catholikes, who are not wholly Jesuited* (1601), or possibly John Ley, *Defensive doubts, hopes, and reasons, for refusal of the oath, imposed by the sixth canon of the late synod: with important considerations, both for the penning and publishing of them at this time* (1641).

24. There are only a few works I could identify associated with Altissiodorensis: Bishop Claudius Taurinensis, commentary on Galatians (1542/43), Robertus Altissiodorensis, *Chronologia seriem temporum et historiam rerum in orbe gestarum continens ab eius origine usque ad annum a Christi ortu 1200* (1608), and Gulielmus, Altissiodorensis, Archdeacon of Beauvais, *Summa aurea in quattuor libros sententiarum [of Petrus Lombardus] a subtilissimo doctore magistro Guillermo altissiodorensi edita* (Paris: 1500). Only the last title is in folio.

25. Possibly “Secutus Regius,” but it seems clearly “Sc”. Possibly a work by Abraham Scultetus is intended.

26. This may be an unpublished sermon by Thomas Browne (1604?–1673) who served as Laud’s chaplain. A sermon of his on Job 11:4 preached at Aldermary (whose pulpit would subsequently be filled by Edmund Calamy) was judged blasphemous by the Puritans who complained to Laud, who immediately made him Canon of Windsor. A copy was found on Laud’s desk when his papers were seized. A sermon preached in 1634 while at the University of Oxford is not on the text in question. A Latin sermon entitled *Concio Ad Clerum* (discourse of the revenues of the clergy) preached in 1637 apparently existed in MS but was not published until 1730. However the text is also not Acts 1:20. His only other published work prior to 1644 was a translation out of Camden’s *Annals, on the Life and Reign of Princess Elizabeth*, published in 1629. See *The Present State of the Republick of Letters* (1730) 201, 218.

The collection tends to be largely made up of works on ecclesiology, worship, and the covenant; more than several are on the nature of the gospel (e.g. contra Catholicism, Arminianism, etc.), with a sprinkling of general use titles (a couple of commentaries on individual books of the bible, logic, church councils, schoolmen) and perhaps a few eclectic titles that simply may have caught Nye's party's interest. It is interesting to note three or four of the divines' individual works were taken from Laud's study: Selden's *History of Tythes* (18), Gillespie's *English Popish Ceremonies* (36), Rutherford's *Exercitationes Apologetice Pro Divina Gratia* (92), and possibly John Ley, *Defensive doubts, hopes, and reasons, for refusall of the oath* (74).

How much use the divines made of their collection is not certain, though the moderator did have to chastise the assembly-men for reading during debates (one downside perhaps of having the book collection within reach).²⁷ It is also unclear how stable a collection it was. The Parliament was in the habit of bestowing seized books upon individuals in payment or recognition of service rendered. To the chaplain of the army, Hugh Peters, they granted the whole study or library of books belonging to the former Archbishop. So it is not certain whether the 98 books were turned over to Mr. Peters some months later in June, 1644. It could be the divines' book collection remained in a state of flux.

Whereas formerly Books, to the Value of an Hundred Pounds, were bestowed upon Mr. *Peters*, out of the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* particular private Study: And whereas the said Study is appraised at a matter of Forty Pounds more than the said Hundred Pounds; It is this Day *Ordered*, That Mr. *Peters* shall have the whole Study of Books freely bestowed upon him.²⁸

27. Session 455, June 17, 1645. "Upon the motion for the better ordering of the Assemblies, *Ordered*—That the members of the Assembly do not bring any news books or other books into the Assembly to read privately during the sitting of the Assembly,—books or papers to read privately in the Assembly during the sitting of the Assembly." The first version was crossed out by the scribe. Alexander F. Mitchell and John P. Struthers, *Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* [Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1874], 105.

28. *HCJ* 3, 27 June 1644 (1802) 544. Cox-Johnson notes that at the Restoration of the monarchy it had been ordered "that all books and papers belonging to the late Archbishop Laud but in the possession of John Thurloe, once Secretary of State, and the unfortunate cleric, Hugh Peters, should be secured" ("Lambeth Place Library," 119). Some books and/or papers must have been held over from Laud's trial by the Secretary.

29. *Benefactors' book*, Westminster Abbey Library MS 46.

30. "That the Place of Library-keeper aforesaid was and still is a Place of Necessity, and of Daily Attendance; many of the Reverend Divines of the Assembly and other Personages of Quality frequently repairing to the said Library, and making great Use thereof." *House of Lords Journal*, volume 8, 1 December 1645 (1767–1830), 17–20. Hereafter HLJ.

THE ABBEY LIBRARY

While it is not certain how large a collection the divines amassed from the sequestered libraries, or how much flux the collection experienced, it is clear they did not need to gather a large general theological library. The abbey did have a substantial collection on the premises, and while it was a chained library, prohibiting borrowing, and apparently noisy and not ideal, the divines did resort to it.

The key resource for this theological think-tank [Westminster Assembly] was the abbey library.... The library is a little known treasure but was very important in the seventeenth century. Dean John Williams's ambitious and beautiful renovation of the thirty by sixty foot chapter library was complete in 1626. The library is still impressive and contains Williams's original presses.... Williams is reported to have given a vast library, worth £2,000, with many of the books purchased at "a cheap penny worth for such precious ware." According to my title count of the Westminster Abbey Library's Benefactors' book,²⁹ Williams donated around 2,200 titles, many of them multi-volume works. He stocked the library with editions of works of the church fathers and medieval authors published throughout the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. Williams inspired others to imitation, and by the time the Assembly met, the library had 3,821 titles in its Benefactors' book and perhaps 5,000 volumes on the library shelves.

A complaint by the abbey librarian to Parliament testifies that the divines used the library.³⁰ He had stayed on at the library after the prebends had left, and argued that Parliament ought to pay him for his work. The main argument for immediate payment was that the Westminster divines and other "persons of quality" used the library regularly and heavily. Although the library was useful, it was busy. Furthermore, it was a chained library and the inability of the library to lend its books presented a problem for the Assembly-men (Van Dixhoorn, 1.120–121).

The library was originally ordered in 1549 but nothing seems to have been done at that time. In 1574 Dean Goodman gave towards a library a set of the Complutensian Polyglott and a Hebrew grammar. In 1587 rules were adopted including an order to keep an inventory and register of gifts of or towards books, and orders to weed out duplicates and triplicates. The Complutensian set given in 1574 was defective but later completed/repared in 1812. It is speculated it remained from that



Westminster Abbey Library, looking south. Copyright © Dean and Chapter of Westminster

time in the Deanery and was destroyed by German bombing, May 10/11, 1941.³¹ Another set survives in the library, given by Thomas Mountford in 1631.³² As noted the library was refurbished by John Williams and a large number of volumes added to whatever had been accumulated prior to that date.

The library was “chained” at the time of the assembly. The now commonplace lending library did not come into existence in England until the first part of the eighteenth century, when chaining of books began to become a thing of the past.³³ Additionally, while singular exceptions here and there may have been made to grant requests to borrow a volume, and other libraries may not have been as bold as the Bodleian, whose keeper famously refused to let Charles I remove a volume, it is hard to imagine the keeper of the abbey library throwing off the chains and allowing over 100 divines to remove volumes at will. It would be safe to presume if one of the divines wished to do research in any of the abbey’s volumes he would have had to do so within the library, even if it was not as quiet a place as one might have wished.³⁴

THE BENEFACTORS’ BOOK

The Westminster Abbey Library *Benefactors’ book* lists donations of books (and occasionally other items) or money

given toward the purchase of them from 1623 to about 1710. It is a large folio sized volume in a thick tan leather binding

31. *The First Collegiate Church: 1543–1556. Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster: 1543–1609, Part 1*, ed. C. S. Knighton. Westminster Abbey record series (Woodbridge [u.a.]: Boydell, 1997) lv. *Part 2, 1560–1609* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997) 71, fn 350.

32. *Benefactors’ book*, MS 46, page 49r. Thomas Mountford apparently wished it to be clear which volumes he had donated as the binding holds notice that the set was given by him in 1631. According to Christine Reynolds, Assistant Keeper of Muniments, this was not necessarily a regular or consistent practice (Email correspondence, July 28, 2010). An examination of individual volumes may yield previous owner information and possible means of dating when the books might have come into the library and if they might have been present at the time of the Westminster Assembly. For this study, only one volume had sufficient information to rule out that it was in the library at the time of the assembly. Short of examining each volume in the library, this leaves the *Benefactors’ book* as a key source for dating what works were possibly or even probably present by the time of the Westminster Assembly.

33. Clearly at the time of the Westminster Assembly chaining was the rule, as “chaining remained commonplace in institutional libraries throughout the seventeenth century...” Daniel R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge UP, 2000) 197.

34. “The library was also not completely free from distraction for ‘the distant shouts of the Westminster scholars’ which Washington Irving heard from the abbey library in 1818 would likely have been heard in the mid-seventeenth century as well.” Van Dixhoorn, 1.121, fn 23.

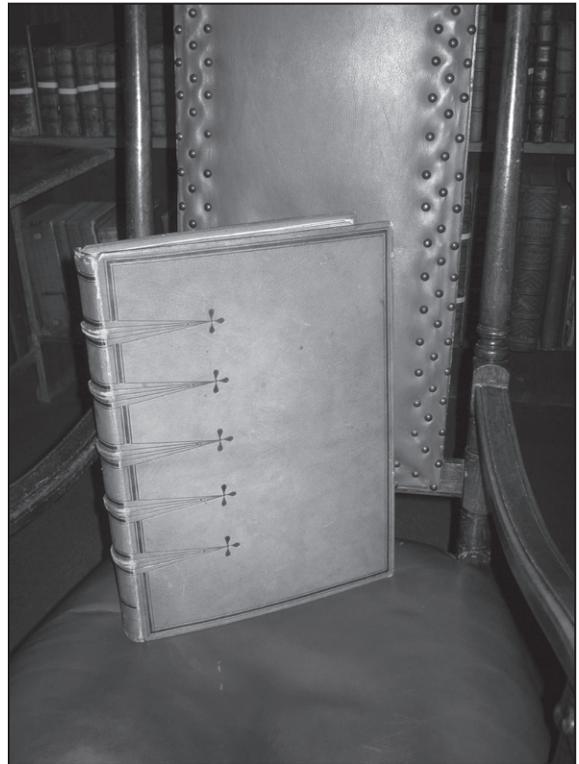
which appears to be Victorian, judging from the decorative endsheets. The binding itself is not particularly decorative, but does have some lines and minor decorations coming off the five main binding threads. The vellum pages have been padded front and back with a few paper pages in the binding, possibly dating to the rebinding. The dimensions of the volume are 43cm tall by 33cm wide (including the curvature of the spine). The volume is 6cm thick at the binding and curves out to 8 or 9 cm across the middle of the volume in a relaxed position. The pages are in good condition and legible.

There is a note in pencil written in a modern hand that dates the volume as follows:

This book was not written in 1623, but in 1651–2, by Matthew Roydon (WAM 57167, 57168).³⁵ He presumably compiled it from earlier lists. His work goes as far as f. 68.

ff. 69–87 (1st two lines) were evidently entred in 1673 (WAM 33706—Treasurers Account—f. 7b For recording ye names in ye Library ijlb:vs[])

ff. 87 (Rich. Perrincliffe—10 Nov 1675) & 88 (George Stradling—6 Nov 1682) both written and signed by Peter Smart.



The Benefactors' Book on a chair once seen by Washington Irving. Copyright © Dean and Chapter of Westminster

BENEFIT OF THE BENEFACTORS' BOOK

35. WAM=Westminster Abbey Muniments Manuscripts collection.

36. I wish to thank Christine Reynolds, Assistant Keeper of Muniments, and the Abbey Library for providing a microfilm copy of MS 46. While some of the pages on the film are not legible, the volume itself can be read with little difficulty. However, many of the books are not described or titled sufficiently to identify editions and perhaps in some cases even the actual work. I would like to thank Dr. Joel Halcomb for examining the *Benefactors' book* and providing a description, and for researching titles in the Abbey library card catalogue, and examining various individual volumes relative to this article.

37. George Gillespie, *Aaron's Rod Blossoming* (1646).

38. Samuel Rutherford, *Due Right of Presbyteries* (May 3, 1644); *Lex Rex* (Oct. 7, 1644); *Tryal and Triumph of Faith* (May 12, 1645); *Divine Right of Church Government ... Dispute against Scandall* (March 3, 1646); *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself* (1647); *Survey of Spiritual Antichrist / Survey of Antinomianism* (1648 [Nov. 1647]); *Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience* (August 6, 1649). Specific dates are given by George Thomason for all but *Christ Dying* which is not listed (cf. *British Museum, Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration* [London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1908]), and for *Due Right*, for which see Coldwell, "The Westminster Assembly & the Judicial Law: A Chronological Compilation and Analysis. Part One: Chronology," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 5 (2009) 12. Rutherford might have done some work on the later titles while still in London. He left the assembly on Nov. 9, 1647 (Mitchell and Struthers, *Minutes*, 487). *Christ Dying* and *Trial and Triumph* are sermon collections, which Rutherford may have preached around London, or at Saint Antholins which was set aside for the Scottish Commissioners' use.

As noted by Chad Van Dixhoorn, a "thorough study of the books available to the Assembly-men would be a useful project" (Van Dixhoorn, 1.121, note 20), and as indicated, we can identify from the Abbey library's *Benefactors' book* the works which were more than likely present and available for consultation at the time of the Westminster Assembly.³⁶ Again, one can imagine the initial disadvantage experienced by those ministers away from home and their libraries to which they may have been accustomed. On the other hand, living in close proximity to such a substantial library, as the Abbey collection surely was at the time, may have been a providential advantage. Many of the divines wrote substantial treatises during this period, and it certainly seems plausible, for instance, that George Gillespie made use of the Abbey library with ready access to works he likely would not have had otherwise. During this period he wrote his magnum opus *contra* Erastianism, and it would be an interesting line of research to trace the works referenced in it, to see what percentage he could have found in the abbey.³⁷ Samuel Rutherford also wrote several works during this period.³⁸

However, there were other more common and regular occasions to use the Abbey library. The Westminster Divines

were routinely called upon to preach sermons for official and unofficial occasions. Two divines at least were called upon each month to preach before Parliament for the regular fast instituted at the outbreak of civil war, and it would seem the Abbey library was suitable for at least some sermon preparation.

EXAMINING THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS' FAST SERMONS

The benefit of a study of the *Benefactors' book* can be illustrated with a review of some of these sermons preached by those divines we know were far away from home. For some years I have been working on a new edition of the fast sermons of the Scottish Commissioners, which are replete with citations and allusions to a wide variety of classical, scholastic and contemporary works, none of which save one, appear amongst the books from Laud's study.³⁹ Therefore, this brief exploration will focus on the nine sermons preached before the English Parliament by Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie and Samuel Rutherford.⁴⁰ These sermons are comprised of three by Henderson and two apiece by Baillie, Gillespie and Rutherford. Each preached once before the House of Lords and House of Commons, and Henderson preached as well a thanksgiving sermon before both Houses.⁴¹

Of these sermons preached by the Scottish Commissioners, Henderson and Baillie have perhaps a dozen references each amongst their sermons, Rutherford has about a dozen and a half, while Gillespie has nearly fifty references in his Commons sermon alone, and nearly thirty in that before the House of Lords, which is also one of the shorter sermons in the set of nine.⁴² As far as time to prepare, the divines were usually asked to preach at the conclusion of a fast for the one four weeks later. For instance in the case of Gillespie's sermon before the Commons, the order was given on February 28, 1643/44 for the fast of March, 27, 1644.⁴³

Many of the references are allusions which could be simply from memory of prior study, and thus not something necessarily sourced in the Abbey library or elsewhere; however, many would seem not to be so, such as those which address specific questions or involve quotations. For instance, allusions to classical literature could certainly be from memory as all four men were highly educated. Henderson was a country pastor until cast into public prominence by the Second Reformation to become the Scottish Kirk's leading spokesman, so it is not surprising to find only a handful of references in each of his three sermons. Baillie and Rutherford were professors of theology and scholars, and their references indicate this; and while younger and only a minister for a short number of years, Gillespie was an unusually gifted scholar, which is borne out by his numerous references.

We get a quick look at a variety of works using Alexander Henderson's first sermon as a jumping off point. In his Commons sermon, Alexander Henderson referred to or adduced works by Epiphanius, Eusebius, Josephus and Peter Martyr Vermigli. He made an allusion to the *Panarium* of Epiphanius, where he speaks of superfluous will worship. He may have been citing from memory as he gave no place in this large work (it is from the section "Against the Pharisees").⁴⁴ According to the Abbey *Benefactors' book*, amongst the thousands of volumes given by John Williams on July 10, 1623 were two editions of the *Opera* of Epiphanius, a Basel edition in Greek and Latin (no date or publisher given), and a 1622 Paris edition, also in Greek and Latin.⁴⁵ Williams

39. Grotius, *de Jure Belli* (#5 on the list) is quoted in Gillespie's March 1644 sermon before the House of Commons.

40. *Fast Sermons Preached Before the English Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly 1643–1645* (Naphtali Press, forthcoming), Introduction by Guy M. Richard. Authors and works are listed in the index. The bibliography notes what titles were present in the various resources available to the divines detailed in this article.

41. The nine sermons are: Alexander Henderson, *A sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn fast, Wednesday, December 27, 1643* (London: 1644); *Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the House of Lords, etc. upon Wednesday, the 28th of May 1645* (1645); and *Sermon Preached before the Lords and Commons at Margaret's Church in Westminster, upon Thursday, the 18th of July 1644* (1644); George Gillespie, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, [March 27, 1644] etc.* (London: 1644); *A Sermon Preached Before the Right Honourable the House of Lords, [August 27, 1645] etc.* (London: 1645); Robert Baillie, *Satan the Leader in chief to all who resist the Reparation of Sion ... in a Sermon to the Honourable House of Commons, [Feb. 28, 1643/44] etc.* (London: 1644); *Errors and Indurations, are the Great Sins and the Great Judgements of the Time ... Preached in a Sermon Before the Right Honourable House of Peers, [July 30, 1645] etc.* (London: 1645); Samuel Rutherford, *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable House of Commons, [January 31, 1643/44] etc.* (London: 1644); *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable House of Lords, [June 25, 1645] etc.* (London: 1645).

42. Perhaps the disparity between Gillespie and the other three preachers is not too surprising, when one considers the large number of authors Gillespie adduced in his first work, *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies*, which has over a thousand notes (cf. *A Dispute* [Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1993]). Gillespie's other prior work which was far shorter, referenced around 160 titles and authors (cf. *An Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland* [1641; Naphtali Press, 2008]).

43. "Ordered, That Mr. Rous do desire, from this House, Mr. Bond and Mr. Gillaspie to preach before the Commons the next Fast Day at Saint Margaret's, Westminster." *HCF* 3, 28 February 1644, 410. England used the Julian Calendar until 1752, which placed the first of the year at the 25th of March, hence dates between 1 January and 25 March are given notations such as February 28, 1643/44.

44. Cf. "Panarium Sive Arcula Adversus Octoginta Hæseses," in *Patrologiæ Græca*, vol. 41, col. 249B (Paris: Migne, 1863).

45. MS 46, 2r, right column, line 13 (hereafter left=a, right=b), and 3r, b11. The pages have been numbered in pencil in the upper right hand corner of the right hand pages (the recto) but unnumbered

also donated several editions of the works of Joesphus.⁴⁶ Henderson in his Commons sermon, and Gillespie in his, both referenced specific passages in *Antiquities of the Jews*. Henderson mentioned the march into Jerusalem by Alexander the Great,⁴⁷ and Gillespie the fact that there were three courts in the temple.⁴⁸ For the same fact Gillespie cited To-stado's commentary on 1 Kings, Montano's *Antiquitatum Judaicarum*, and Constantine L'Empereur's *Codex Middoth*. The last, not published until 1630, was not discernable in the *Benefactors' book*, nor is there a copy presently in the library. The Toštado *Opera* and two editions of Montano's *Antiquitatum Judaicarum* do appear in the book (3v, a16; 6r, a29 and 20r, a4). The *Antiquitatum Judaicarum* was first published in Montano's Antwerp Polyglott, which appears on the first page of entries of the *Benefactors' book* (2r, a3). Baillie and Gillespie and Rutherford referenced the Chaldee paraphrase which can be found in the Antwerp Polyglot (the Complutensian Polyglot, which Rutherford cited in his Commons sermon, had only the paraphrase on the Pentateuch, and as already noted, at that time the Complutensian would have been present in two examples in the library).

Both Henderson and Gillespie cited or alluded to specific comments by Peter Martyr Vermigli, but this involves works

on the left hand (the verso). Hence the scheme followed here is the common 1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, etc. The benefactor was John Williams unless otherwise noted.

46. MS 46, *Opera*, 2r, a22; anr. ed., 3v, b5; anr. ed., 9r, a26.

47. Henderson cited Lib. II, cap. 8, which may be a printer's error; the passage in modern editions can be found in Book 9, chapter 8, §5.

48. Gillespie cited *Antiquities*, Lib. 15, cap. 14.

49. Abbey Library, S.4.44, *In epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos* (1570), V.4.44, *In D. Pauli Apostoli priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam Petri Martyris Vermiglii commentarii. Editio tertia* (Apud C. Froschovorum. Tiguri: 1579), acquisition dates unknown.

50. "It [De Magistratu] makes up all of chapter thirteen in part four of the *Loci communes*." Robert M. Kingdon, "The Political Thought of Peter Martyr Vermigli," in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, ed. Joseph C. McLelland ([Waterloo, Ont.]: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980) 125.

51. Abbey Library, D.5.26, *In librum judicum* (Johannis Lancelotti: Heidleberg: 1609); S.4.42, *Loci Communes* (1583); acquisition dates unknown.

52. MS 46, 2v, b25; anr. ed., 3r, a3, *Opera graece*, 49r, line 2; English trans. by Holland, 63r.a1.

53. MS 46, *Vitae*, 3r, b12; 11r, b7.

54. MS 46, *Suetonius*, 6v, b19; 6v, b27; 11v, a25.

55. MS 46, Aulus Gellius, 11r, a31; 15v, a14.

56. MS 46, *Platonis, Opera*, 2v, a31. The next line (a32) has a dash which would seem to indicate another entry for Plato, but the film copy is barely legible.

57. MS 46, *Plinii Epistolae*, 12v, b16; *Plinii Epist. Aldus*, 13v, b26. *Plinii Epistolae*, 15v, a18.

58. MS 46, *Lucan.* (Plantini ed.), 16r, a5.

59. MS 46, *Florus...*, 4v, a27.

60. MS 46, *Aristot: Opera: 2 vol: gr: Lat:*, 10v, a21.

of his not listed in the *Benefactors' book*. Gillespie cites Vermigli's commentary on Romans in his Commons sermon, and the commentary on First Corinthians in his sermon before the Lords. While neither of these appears in the book, the library possesses copies which may have come into the library prior to the assembly.⁴⁹ At least there are no markings or notations which preclude them from possibly being in the collection at that time. Henderson quoted Vermigli without a citation and therefore it may have been from memory. Citing the Greeks' debate over whether Alexander ought to be worshiped amongst their gods, Henderson said, "Demades their orator told them, that it was to be feared while they were holding the heavens, they should lose the earth. But I change the words with Peter Martyr, that it is to be feared *ne dum Rempublicam terrenam curatis & defenditis nimium, coelum amittatis*: while you stand for the state, that you lose religion." Vermigli's comment appears in "De Magistratu" at the end of his commentary on Judges 19, and also appears in his *Loci Communes*.⁵⁰ Again, neither work appears in the *Benefactors' book*, but the library does presently own copies, and nothing about the volumes appears to preclude their being in the library at the time of the assembly.⁵¹

THE LITERATURE CITED

It would be difficult in this space to go through all of the references in each of these nine sermons, but a large number can be covered under some general categories. 1. Classical literature. 2. Church Fathers. 3. Textual difficulties and unusual references. 4. Familiar works.

1. Out of classical literature, Henderson cited Livy and Plutarch in his thanksgiving sermon before both Houses, and Suetonius in his Lords sermon. Gillespie cited Livy in both sermons, Plutarch in his Lords and Gellius and Socrates' *Apology* in his before the Commons. Rutherford cited, Pliny, Suetonius, and apparently Lucan's *Pharsalia* in his Commons sermon, and Florus and Aristotle in his Lords sermon. Baillie did not make any classical references.

Livy's History of Rome exists in multiple entries in the *Benefactors' book*,⁵² Plutarch in at least two editions,⁵³ and Suetonius' lives of the Caesars in three entries.⁵⁴ The Gellius also has two entries,⁵⁵ and the apology of Socrates which would be in Plato's works, has one and possibly two entries, but Gillespie may have been citing from memory the phrase, *Scio quod nescio* ("I know that I do not know").⁵⁶ Pliny's *Letters* appears several times in the book.⁵⁷ Lucan has one entry,⁵⁸ as does the Florus.⁵⁹ Multiple entries for Aristotle occur but there is no individual listing for his *Meteorology*, which is the work cited by Rutherford. However, there is one entry for a complete *Opera*.⁶⁰

2. Of the Fathers, Henderson cited Epiphanius (noted

above) and Eusebius⁶¹ (Commons sermon), Augustine's *Sermons on the New Testament Lessons* (thanksgiving sermon), and Augustine's epistles and Bernard of Clairvaux's *De Consideration* (Lords sermon).⁶² Baillie cited Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, Jerome's and Origen's commentary on Matthew (Commons sermon),⁶³ and in passing, Augustine, Epiphanius and Philatrius on heresies (Lords sermon). Gillespie referenced Anselm's tenth oration on prayer,⁶⁴ Arnobius' *Adversus Gentes*,⁶⁵ Augustine's epistles and *Meditationes*,⁶⁶ Gregory the Great on Ezekiel,⁶⁷ Gregory Nazianzen's *Orationes*,⁶⁸ Innocentius' epistles (cited from de Mornay's *Mysterie of Iniquitie*), Irenaeus *Against Heresies*, Jerome's *In Epitaphio Fabiola*⁶⁹ (Commons sermon), and Augustine on Psalms, and Jerome on Jeremiah⁷⁰ (Lords sermon). Rutherford referenced or apparently was citing Augustine's epistles, Chrysoſtom's *Homilies on Colossians*,⁷¹ and Tertullian against Marcion⁷² (Commons sermon).

Of all these I could not discern in the *Benefactors' book* a full *Opera* for Augustine or individual works cited by the Scots, except for his *De Consensu Evangelistarum* (MS 46, 10v, a15), but it is hard to imagine of all the Fathers, Augustine was not already present in the library prior to 1623 (the earliest date in the book). The library owns two editions of Augustine's works, acquisition dates unknown, which may have been in the library at the time of the assembly.⁷³ Of the rest, I found works listed for all but the de Mornay (citing Innocentius), Irenaeus and the Philastrius. However Baillie's reference to Philastrius, Irenaeus and Augustine against heresies, was only in passing.

3. Some of the references which involved textual difficulties are interesting. In his Commons sermon, Gillespie rejected the idea that the text of Acts 6:7 had become corrupted, which was the position of Beza and Casaubon.⁷⁴ While he does not cite them other than by name, he could have found Casaubon's note on the passage in the back of *Novi Testamenti ...* (London: Ioannem Billium, 1622), which is the edition listed in the *Benefactors' book*.⁷⁵ There is also a copy of Beza's *Annotationes* listed but the edition is not identified. Currently the library owns a copy of the 1598 Vignon edition, which might have been present at the time of the assembly.⁷⁶

Gillespie also made reference to the Jerusalem Targum. This was later published in the London Polyglot (1657), but did not appear in the earlier polyglots. It could be found in the rabbinic bibles of the Bomberg type, first published in 1517, and in Buxtorf's *Biblia Sacra Hebraica* (1620), neither of which are discernable in the *Benefactors' book*. The abbey does have a first edition of the *Biblia Hebraica* by Bomberg (Venice: 1517; Abbey library, A.6.10), acquisition date unknown.

In his sermon before the Commons, Robert Baillie addressed the difficulties of identifying the prophet Zechariah with Jeremy the prophet (Matt. 27:9):

As for the third word, *the person informed (me)*, it is the prophet Zechariah. There are many Zechariahs in Scripture, and which is considerable, there are two who are called the sons of Barachiah. The one of whom Christ says (Matt. 23:39 [sic 35]) *was slain between the Porch and the Altar*, the son of Jehoiada the high Priest, called also Johanan and Barachiah. Another Zechariah the son of Barachiah is our Prophet, styled a young man, the grandchild of Iddo. That he was not slain between the porch and the Altar, many reasons do prove, which for shortness I omit. This is he who by another name is called (Matt. 27:12 [sic 27:9]) Jeremy the prophet; except you will read that place of Matthew with the Syriac translator, without the word Jeremy, for it is hard to admit the corruption of the original text, by the negligence of the transcribers, mistaking the contracted word [Ἰροϋ] for [Ζροϋ], as some will have it. And it is harder, with Origen and Jerome, to admit any apocrypha parts of the prophet Jeremy, now not extant. And hardest of all, with Augustine, to grant a mnemonic error, a slip of the memory in the holy Evangelist.⁷⁷

61. MS 46, *Eusebius... Scaligorum*, fol. 1606, 2r, b2; *Eusebius, graece ... Stephanus*, 2r, b4; *Eusebius: Paris: 1541 Fol.*, 4r, a1.

62. MS 46, Bernard, *Opera: Paris*, 2v, a15.

63. MS 46, Jerome, *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaeum, Opera*, 2v, a10. Origen, *Commentaria in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, Opera*, 2r, a17; *Opera, Paris:*, 35v, a8; *Operum*, Genebrardo, Paris, 1619, 52r, line 2.

64. MS 46, Anselm, *Opera*, 4r, a10.

65. MS 46, Arnobius of Sicca, *contra Gentes*, 2v, b27; 14r, a11.

66. This is now considered pseudo Augustine. Migne suggested Anselm for the author. Gillespie's quotation seems to be conflating the *Meditationes* with the phrasing in Anselm's tenth oration, so he may have been citing from memory. Cf. *Fast Sermons*, Naphtali Press, forthcoming, p. 271.

67. MS 46, *Opera*, 2v, a14.

68. MS 46, *Opera*, 2r, b10.

69. MS 46, *Opera*, 2v, a10.

70. MS 46, *Opera*, 2v, a10.

71. There were a number of entries for Chrysoſtom including the following: MS 46, *Opera*, 2r, a21; *In S. Pauli Epist. gr: lat:* [Commenlinum, Heidelberg, 1596], 2v, a17; *Homiliae: grk: lat: Parisi*, 22v, a18; *Chrysoſtomi Florus, gr. Lat.*, 6r, a34; Grk., 6v, b5; *Homiliae* [Greek], 10r, a14; *Operum*, 5 vols. (Paris: Frontonis Ducaei, 1614), 52r, last line.

72. MS 46, *Opera*, 2v, a4.

73. Abbey Library, G.1.21, *Omnia opera D. Aurelii Augustini*, 10 vols. in 9 (Basil: 1543), inscription, "Ompus Capero[?] 27 Maie 1567"; G.3.33, *Omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini*, 10 vols. in 5 (Paris: 1555), acquisition dates unknown.

74. *Fast Sermons* (Naphtali Press, forthcoming) 248.

75. MS 46, *Novum Testamentum: Steph: 1622*, 11r B1.

76. MS 46, *Theod: Bezae Testamentum Novum cum. Annotat: Fol:* (no date), 4v, a8. Abbey Library, E.5.28, Vignon, 1598 ed., acquisition date unknown.

77. *Fast Sermons* (Naphtali Press, forthcoming), 120.

Of the three men's opinions he specifically raised, he could have possibly looked them all up in the abbey library at the time in Origen's *Opera*,⁷⁸ Jerome's as well,⁷⁹ and Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*.⁸⁰

Of the interesting or unusual references, the Complutensian Polyglot has already been mentioned. Of the four preachers, only Rutherford explicitly references this work, a rare title even at that time. Rutherford, Baillie and Gillespie all made use of the Antwerp Polyglot.⁸¹ Another elaborate work is Juan Bautista Villalpando's commentary on Ezekiel which Gillespie cited a number of times in his Commons sermon. Williams gave an edition to the library in 1623.⁸²

4. Much of the material referenced by the Scottish Commissioners, such as classical literature and the church fathers, would have been familiar to them from their education and general study. Of the four only Gillespie offers enough material beyond this literature to note some references in his sermons with which he may have become acquainted from

research and in writing his earlier works. Some commonalities in his *English Popish Ceremonies* include the Antwerp Polyglot, Beza's *Annotaciones*, Lancelot Andrewes' *XCVI Sermons*, Paraeus on Romans, Vermigli on 1 Corinthians, Gaspar Sánchez (Sanctius) on Ezekiel, and Cornelius à Lapide on the prophets (referencing his work on the minor prophets in *Popish Ceremonies* and on the major prophet Ezekiel in his Commons sermon). All of these works were possibly in the Abbey library at the time.⁸³ Gillespie's only other work prior to the assembly, *An Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland*, was published in Edinburgh in 1641.⁸⁴ In it we find the commonalities: Andrewes' *XCVI Sermons*, the Antwerp Polyglot, Beza's *Annotaciones*, and Paraeus on Romans. A general comparison irrespective to what could be found in the abbey library shows that Gillespie was already familiar with many of the authors and commentators cited in his sermons if not the exact same title or commentary.

OTHER POTENTIAL RESOURCES

It is also interesting to note some books referenced which are not listed in the *Benefactors' book*, nor are they in the library at the present time. Since they are not passing references and involve quotations, copies must have been found elsewhere. There were indeed other potential resources to which the Scottish Commissioners and other divines may have had access. Some of the London ministers with good libraries may have been willing to loan books out to other assemblymen. For recent and even older publications, including foreign works, books may have been purchased from the London bookshops clustered at St. Paul's Churchyard. However, even better resources potentially lay with the other public libraries. "London's institutional libraries, most of which were open to the professional clergy and lawyers, consisted of the Sion College Library, the libraries of the Inns of Court, Lambeth Palace library, and the library of Westminster Abbey" (Van Dixhoorn, 1.120, n17).

WORCESTER HOUSE: RESIDENCE OF THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS

As we look at these other resources, it perhaps would be helpful to have in mind a bit of geography of the city in which the Scots Commissioners found themselves and particularly where the divines' dwellings were in relation to Westminster Abbey and other locals of interest. Happily, we have the benefit of knowing where the Scottish Commissioners' residence was during their whole time in London.

Ordered, That Mr. Holland and Mr. Oldisworth do accommodate Lodgings in *Worcester House*, for the

78. MS 46, *Opera*, 2r, a17; *Opera*, Paris:, 35v, a8; *Operum*, Genebrardo, Paris, 1619, 52r, line 2. On the issue see, Origen, *Commentaria in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, Series Veteris Interpretationis Commentariorum Origenis in Matthaeum*, Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca*, 13.176.

79. MS 46, *Opera*, 2v, a10. On the issue see, Jerome, *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei Libri Quattuor*, Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, 26.205; *Commentary on Matthew*, trans. Thomas P. Scheck (Catholic University of America Press, 2008) 310.

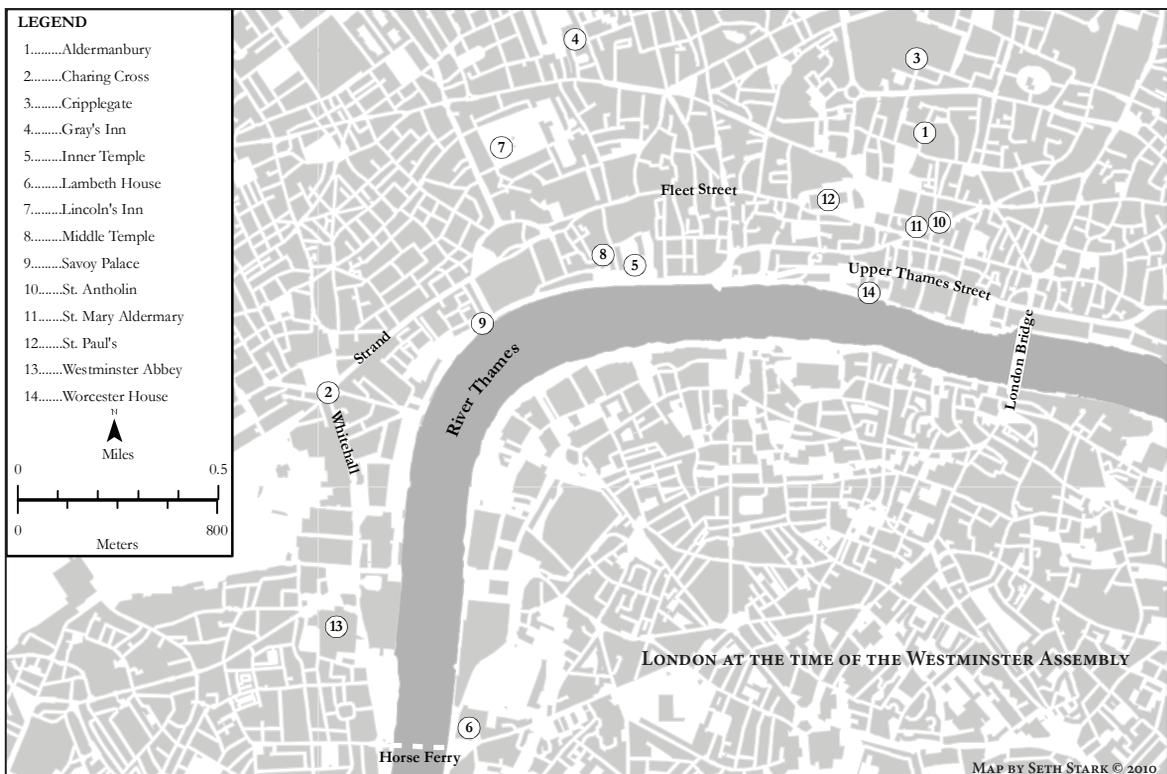
80. MS 46, 10v, a15. Cf. Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, 34.1174–1176; Schaff, *Nicene Post-Nicene Fathers*, first series, 6.191.

81. "The *Complutensian Polyglott* receives its name from Complutum (Alcala) in Spain, where it was prepared by Cardinal Ximenes assisted by several scholars of the University of Toledo and under the patronage of Pope Leo X. It was printed in 1514–1517, but the complete work was not published until after the death of the Cardinal in 1522. It is in six volumes. The first, on the Old Testament, contains the first edition of the Hebrew text issued under Christian auspices, the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Targum of Onkelos. In the sixth volume is a Hebrew grammar. There were six hundred copies published, most of which are now lost." "The *Antwerp Polyglott*, or *Biblia Regia*, was issued partly at the expense of Philip II of Spain in 1569–1572. It contains eight folio volumes, adding to the contents of the Complutensian Polyglott the Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets and a Targum on the Kethubim, besides lexicons and treatises on Biblical subjects. Of this five hundred copies were printed. Like the Complutensian it is now very rare." John Howard Raven, *Old Testament Introduction* (New York: Revell, 1906) 76.

82. MS 46, Jo: *Bapt: Villalpandi Apparatus in Ezechielem*, 3 vol: *Fol: Romae*. 1604, 3r, b9–10.

83. Paraeus, MS 46, Richard Burrell, Nov. 12, 1623, *Ad Romanos* (1620), 47r, a9; Julius Cralor, Oct. 20, 1623, Sánchez, in *Ezechielem*, 18v, b10; à Lapide, Julius Cralor, Oct. 20, 1623, in *Prophetas Majoros*, 18r, a10. The Vermigli does not appear in the book but the library does own a copy, acquisition date unknown. Abbey Library, S.4.44, *In epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos* (1570).

84. George Gillespie, *An Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland* (1641; Naphtali Press, 2008).



Reception and Entertainment of such of the *Scotts* Commissioners as are to come, or are lately arrived, in like manner as formerly: And that the Committee of the King's Revenue do take care to defray the Charge thereof out of the said Revenue.⁸⁵

There has been some confusion regarding the location of this place, because of another house known as Worcester House, which was over in the Strand. In the memoir of Robert Baillie prefixed to his edition of the *Letters and Journals*, Laing corrected this, but misidentification persisted.⁸⁶ "This was not the house of the Earls of Worcester, which Lord Clarendon afterwards inhabited, on the site of the present Beaufort-buildings in the Strand; but Worcester Place, the house of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Lord High Treasurer of England, also on the banks of the Thames, but nearer the Tower."⁸⁷ We find letters by Gillespie and the Scottish Commissioners with the notation "Worcester House" throughout the years they resided in London.⁸⁸ Gillespie departed the assembly, July 16, 1647,⁸⁹ and left London with his wife shortly thereafter. It seems he and the other commissioners

and their families resided at Worcester house the whole time they were in London.⁹⁰ Baillie puts it out of question as well (*Letters and Journals*, 3.265):

Scottish History Society XXX (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1899) 569, note 1.

87. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, A.M. MDCXXXVII–MDCLXII, 3 vols., ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: Printed for Robert Ogle, 1841–1842) 1.li, n2.

88. See the Scottish Commissioners' correspondence and some of Gillespie's letters appended to Baillie's *Letters and Journals*. Laing, 2.490, 500–503, 3.541–343. See also: *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean De Montereul*, 569; Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors, and Others: 1877 (volume 30), *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: London: Printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1877) 89, 98, 112, 116, 117, 120, 123, 130, 137, 139, 142, 157, 162, 165, 169, 174, 181, 183, 184, 191, 216; Publications of the Scottish History Society volume XI. General Assembly Commission Records. May 1892. *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland Holden in Edinburgh in the Years 1646 and 1647*, edited from the Original Manuscript by Alexander F. Mitchell, D.D., LL.D. and James Christie, D.D. with an Introduction by the former (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1892) xxiv, 12, 99, 162, 182, 187, 189, 200, 210, 223, 233, 257, 274, 275, 310, 312, 326.

89. Mitchell and Struthers, *Minutes*, 476.

90. The exception was Lord Warriston who had a separate house. See, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, "The Manuscripts of The Honourable Mrs. Isabella Erskine-Murray of Aberdona, in the County of Clackmannan" *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical*

85. HCJ 3, 17 October 1644, 668.

86. "During the Usurpation, Worcester House in the Strand was furnished by Parliament for the Scotch commissioners..." Peter Cunningham, *Handbook of London: past and present* (J. Murray, 1850) 1.559. *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean De Montereul ... 1645–48*,

For Mr. Thomas Fuller,
Reverend Sir,

Having latelie, and but latelie, gone through your Holy Warr and Description of Palestne, I am fallen so in love with your pen, that I am sorry I was not before acquaint with it, and with your self, when from the

Manuscripts. Issue 4 (London: [H.M.S.O.], 1874), 522–523. Amongst these papers this 1874 report noted there were “Correspondence and papers of Sir Charles Erskine as commissioner to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.” Erskine was trying to persuade his wife to stay in London and noted these facts: “Writing on 13th July 1647, he says that Mr. Gillespie and his wife were to come to Scotland either by coach or by sea. They were to depart within eight days from London.... He hoped to get her lodged in Worcester House as well as others, or at least in that house Warriſton had, for there was room enough in both. Lord Lauderdale had his own family; so had all the rest.”

91. The Savoy Chapel was part of the Savoy Hospital built by Henry VIII replacing the Savoy Palace destroyed in the peasant revolt of 1381. The hospital was demolished in the 19th century but the chapel, which dates to the 1490s, still survives. At the time Baillie was in London, the congregation of St. Mary le Strand held worship services there, which they did from 1549–1714. Thomas Fuller was appointed lecturer in 1642, but when the Solemn League & Covenant was drawn up he would not sign without reservation and left Savoy and attended upon the king at Oxford. He was reinstated at the Savoy at the Restoration (*The Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D., 1631–1659*, Volume 1 [London: The Gresham Press, 1891] xxiii; ccxcii).

92. *Civitas Londinium*, published sometime between 1570 and 1605, is attributed to Ralph Agas. A later 17th century copy of the map was preserved in the Guildhall Library which is now in the collection of the London Metropolitan Archive. A detailed scan of the latter with various locations and buildings identified has been constructed by Dr. Janelle Jenstad, Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Victoria. Worcester House appears in panel C4. See *The Map of Early Modern London*. <http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca> (accessed September 18, 2010). I would like to thank Seth Stark for creating the map presenting some of this information for this article. Map contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database rights 2010.

93. See Worcester House at 14 on the map on the previous page.

94. Laing, 1.li. The church was destroyed by the great fire of 1666, and afterwards rebuilt. However, the “church was taken down in September 1874 to make way for the new Queen Victoria Street, and the site is marked by a memorial with a painting of the church.” Henry Benjamin Wheatley and Peter Cunningham, *London, Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions* (London: John Murray, 1891) 1.51.

95. *The Americana: A Universal Reference Library, comprising the arts and sciences, literature, history, biography, geography, commerce, etc., of the world*, Volume 4 (New York: Scientific American compiling dept., 1907) “Coach.”

96. Reginald J. Fletcher, *The Pension book of Gray’s Inn* (records of the honourable society) 1669–1800 (1910) xiv.

97. *Catalogue of the Books in the Library of the Honourable Society of Gray’s Inn* compiled by W. Douthwaite (London: C. Roworth & Sons, 1872) iv. Whether the 1669 book list was destroyed in the 1684 fire is uncertain; at least in 1872 Douthwaite simply notes that the catalogue could not be found.

98. *A Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Library*

1643 to 1647, I lived at Worcester House, and preached in the Savoy....⁹¹

Worcester house no longer exists. On the Agas map of old London,⁹² the house is located between Queenhithe to the west and the Three Cranes Wharf to the east, on the bank of the Thames.⁹³ Just up the street was the Vintners’ Hall. Also, a few blocks north was St. Antholins [Anthony’s] Church (see Map, 10), which “was set apart for their use, the ministers preaching in their turn, for a time, at least, to very crowded audiences.”⁹⁴ Saint Mary Aldermary, where Edmund Calamy was pastor, was due north four blocks distance (Map, 11). To the east was the only bridge across the Thames (until Westminster bridge was built in 1748), old London Bridge. At the time travel by horse was probably the most likely means of getting around the city. There were also hackney-coaches for hire.

Hackney-coaches were first used in London in 1625. They were then only 20 in number, and were kept at the hotels, where they had to be applied for when wanted. In 1635 an attempt was made to restrain their use by a proclamation of Charles I.; but, this being found unsuccessful, their number was limited, and a commission was given to the Master of the Horse to grant licenses for their use. In this year only 50 were licensed. In 1634 one Capt. Baily, who had formerly been a sea-captain, hit upon the plan of keeping a number of hackney-coaches, with drivers in livery, standing at a particular place (the “Maypole,” in the Strand), where they might be had whenever they were wanted. Hackney-coaches now rapidly became more general. The four started by Capt. Baily in 1634 had increased to 200 in 1652, to 800 in 1710, and to 1,000 in 1771.⁹⁵

THE OTHER PUBLIC LIBRARIES: INNS OF COURT

The Inns of Court libraries included the collections of the Inner Temple, Middle Temple, Lincoln Inn and Gray’s Inn (Map, 4, 5, 7, 8). The Gray’s Inn collection was largely destroyed by fire in 1684⁹⁶ and most older records were lost, including the earliest catalogue of books dating to 1669.⁹⁷ The whole library was again destroyed during the Blitz in WWII. Catalogs of printed books held in the other three libraries were printed in the nineteenth century and while there are some religious and theological books, the collections are largely law books, as might be expected.⁹⁸ While these were nearby to the west

of the Inner Temple (London: T. C. Hansard, 1833). *A Catalogue of the Printed Books: To which is Prefixed a Short Account of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lincoln’s Inn* (London: Printed by G. Davidson, 1835). *A Catalogue of the Library of the Middle Temple* (London: 1845).

of Worcester House,⁹⁹ it does not seem likely that the divines would have found these libraries useful when they had the Abbey library as a resource, and possibly the other two public libraries, which were huge theological resources in comparison to those of the Inns of Court.

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

Of the other two libraries, the one at Lambeth Palace was founded in 1610 by Richard Bancroft, and is the historic library of the Archbishops of Canterbury. Almost anything found at Westminster might have been found there as well. The palace is located across the Thames from Westminster Abbey (Map, 6, 13). If any of the divines wished to use the palace library, they could have taken a ferry known as the Horse-ferry.¹⁰⁰ From their residence at Worcester House, the Scots Commissioners could have taken the two-mile trip by horse or coach, crossing over old London Bridge.

However, it appears that the House of Commons shut down the Lambeth library and locked it up, and therefore it would not have been generally accessible during the time of the assembly. Whether an individual divine might have been granted access is not clear and seems unlikely given the circumstances.

On 18 December 1640 William Laud was accused of high treason by the House of Commons, and was committed to the custody of James Maxwell, Officer of the Upper House. On 1 March 1640/41 he was taken to the Tower.

During 1641 and 1642 the Palace was twice searched for arms. After the second search, the House of Commons ordered on 9 November 1642¹⁰¹ that 'It be referred to the Committee for Propositions, to consider making the Bishop of Canterbury's House at Lambeth ... a prison to secure prisoners in,' and one Captain Brown was instructed to take over the place.

As soon as Laud heard what was intended, he petitioned the Upper House for the safety of the Library, as well as of his own books and other personal possessions.¹⁰² The Lords granted his request and ordered:¹⁰³ 'That the Person that hath the Custody of that House shall take that the Public Library at Lambeth, and also his Grace's Library, be locked up and secured, that they may be preserved from Violence or Imbezzling; and that his Grace shall have liberty to remove his goods he hath there to Croiden or some other place.' (Cox-Johnson, 111)

On December 23, 1642, "soldiers and prisoners occupied the Palace" (Cox-Johnson, 111). The House of Commons ordered: "That Mr. Glyn, Mr. Whitlock, and Mr. Hill, do take Care for the Securing of the publick Library belonging to the See of Canterbury, the Books, Writings, Evidences, and Goods, in Lambeth House; and to take the Keys of the Libraries, and other Rooms, where the Books, Writings, Evidences, and other Goods are, into their Custody. And it is referred to the Committee that is appointed to consider of fit Places for Prisons to prepare an Ordinance for the Regulating of Lambeth House, in the like Manner as Winchester House is regulated."¹⁰⁴

Ann Cox-Johnson notes: "Captain Manwaring and the London militia were ordered to keep a guard in continual readiness. The Library was locked up" (112). So, it does appear unlikely the divines had access to the Lambeth books; at least it seems they would have needed special permission for access, a record of which has not turned up at the time of this writing. However on the possibility it was accessible in some way, the collation in this article will include the Lambeth library.

99. On the Agas map, the Middle and Inner Temple are shown in panel C3 where Fleet Street turns into the Strand, the same as modern maps today. Lincoln and Grey's Inn are shown in panel B3 (<http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca> [accessed September 18, 2010]). These were all on the way to Westminster Abbey, but as noted, they do not seem as likely sources of research for the divines.

100. The ferry is shown at the bottom of panel D1 on the Agas map across the Thames from Westminster Abbey (<http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca> [accessed September 18, 2010]). "On repassing through the suburb of Water Lambeth (Watterlambet), where the Archbishop of Canterbury resides, his Excellency met at the Thames ferry the Prince, and the Prince of Brunswick, with whom he crossed the water and went to see the tombs of the Kings at Westminster." William Brenchley Rye, *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James the First: comprising translations of the journals of the two Dukes of Wirtemberg in 1592 and 1610; both illustrative of Shakespeare; with extracts from the travels of foreign princes and others, copious notes, an introduction, and etchings* (London: John Russell Smith, 1865) 60. A note explains: "The Ferry at Lambeth was a Horseferry between Lambeth Palace and Millbank. The memory of it is retained in the name 'Horseferry Road,' in Westminster. The following is extracted from an interesting paper on [old] Westminster Bridge, in the 'Penny Magazine,' 1842, p. 150:—"Those who may have occasion to cross the river by wherry from the stairs at the foot of the fine old gateway of Lambeth Palace to Millbank on the opposite side, are landed on a shelving slope, directly opposite the end of Market Street, and a little southward of the church of St. John the Evangelist." The note refers to an article on "Westminster Bridge," in *The Penny magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, new series XI* (London: Charles Knight, 1842) April 16, 150.

101. In Cox Johnson (*Journal of the House of Commons*, II, 839).

102. In Cox Johnson (*The History of the Troubles and Tryal of William Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. H. Wharton, I, 197).

103. In Cox Johnson (*Journal of the House of Lords*, V, 439).

104. HCJ 2, 23 December 1642, 900.

SION COLLEGE LIBRARY

Whether or not Lambeth was accessible, there was a closer option for the Scottish Commissioners. From Worcester House, the Sion College Library was only about half a mile due north. The old location of the college was in the Cripplegate Ward, essentially where Aldermanbury Square is now (Map, 3). Sion College was founded by provisions in the will of Thomas White (d. 1624), and while the will did not provide for a library, by 1631 the institution's hall, hospital and library had been built.¹⁰⁵ Apparently, though there are scanty records, the library was well furnished by that date and "was well known to one great Orientalist. . . . In the Life of John Lightfoot prefixed to the folio edition of his works (cf. ed. 1825, 1. p. 47) it is stated that between May 1628, when he married, and the spring of 1630, when he settled in Staffordshire, Lightfoot 'removed to Hornsey, near the city of London, for the sake of the library of Sion College, to which he often resorted.'¹⁰⁶ The college became an important institution for the Puritans. The London ministers had been meeting informally at Sion College

105. E. H. Pearce, *Sion College and Library* (Cambridge: 1913) 233.

106. Pearce, 233, n1.

107. John Spencer, *Catalogus universalis librorum omnium in bibliotheca Collegii Sionii apud Londinenses* (Londini: Ex officina typographica Rob. Leybourni, 1650). I have not found any record showing acquisition dates, so of titles in this study it can only be concluded that they *may* have been present in the Sion College Library during the time the Scots commissioners resided in London.

108. An entry in the online catalogue simply means a copy is there now, as there is generally no data given pertaining to date of acquisition. The manuscript book lists would help narrow this to what may have actually been in the library at the time of the assembly, over what was added to the collection after that time. While it seems unlikely Lambeth was unavailable at the time of the assembly, the lists would show what they could have found there if any of the divines did gain access. Lambeth has manuscript catalogues of the libraries of Archbishops Richard Bancroft and George Abbot. Cox-Johnson noted that in 1633 the library contained 6,065 books that belonged to Bancroft and 2,667 which were Abbot's (Cox-Johnson, 108). When the Lambeth Library books were moved to Cambridge a catalogue was ordered made in 1647, "A true catalogue of all the Books sent from Lambeth Library to the University of Cambridge by Order of both Houses" (Bodleian Library, MS 3335). A copy of this catalogue was made (Cambridge University Library, MS Oo.751) and used to check in the books on their arrival at Cambridge (Cox-Johnson, 115–117). These lists would indicate all the books that were at Lambeth prior to the move to Cambridge. The earlier catalogues of the Archbishops' books are Lambeth manuscripts, F.1 through F.4. Cf. O. S. Pickering and V. M. O'Mara, *The index of Middle English prose. Handlist 13, Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library, including those formerly in Sion College Library* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999) xiii, n3. A plate of a page from the Bancroft catalogue as well as pictures of the library and selected items in the collection are given in *Lambeth Palace Library, Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, ed. Richard Palmer and Michelle P. Brown (London: Scala Publishers Ltd, 2010). Ironically, in the late 1990s the Sion College Library was transferred to Lambeth Palace. The online catalogue

prior to the formation of the London Provincial Assembly in 1647. The house belonging to Edmund Calamy abutted to the College and he had his own entrance into the College gardens from his house.

COLLATION WITH THE COLLECTIONS OF
SION AND LAMBETH

Of the two, precise information for the period is easily available on Sion College Library as there was a catalogue published in 1650.¹⁰⁷ The Lambeth Palace Library has an online card catalogue, which will suffice for this study— various manuscript catalogs would further qualify what titles were possibly present at the time of the Westminster Assembly.¹⁰⁸

Of the works covered above found in either the *Benefactors' book* or to be presently in the Abbey library, most could be found also at both the Sion and Lambeth Palace libraries. Works found at the abbey and only additionally at Lambeth Palace include: the Plutarch, Florus, and the Casaubon. Works only found additionally at Sion College include, the Gellius, Suetonius, Pharsalia, Arnobius, Tertullian, Beza, and Bomberg.

A number of titles are not found in the *Benefactors' book* nor are presently in the abbey. These include: Adam Melchior, *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum* (Henderson, Commons Sermon)—Martin Bucer, *De Regno Christi* (Henderson, Lords Sermon)—Philastrus, *De Haeresibus* (Baillie, Lords Sermon)—Louis Cappel, *Historia apostolica illustrata, ex Actis apostolorum et epistolis Paulinis*; Ludovicus Caspensis, *Cursus theologicus*; Constantine L'Empereur, *Codex Middoth*; John Rogers, *Doctrine of Faith*; Francisco Suarez, *Tractatus de legibus*; Antonius Walaeus, *De Opinione Chiliaetarum*;¹⁰⁹ and Andre Rivet on the decalogue (Gillespie, Commons sermon)¹¹⁰—Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Diatriba de Mille Annis Apocalypticis, non illis Chiliaetarum. . .*; Hugo Grotius, *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644),¹¹¹ and John Robinson,

currently generally does not list the Sion College titles. Hence a search at this time is automatically limited to Lambeth titles.

109. Antonius Walaeus (1573–1639), *Opera omnia* (Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Francisci Hackii, 1643). Gillespie cites the pagination matching this volume printed in 1643.

110. Andrew Rivet (1572–1651), *Andrae Riveti Pictavi, . . . Praelectioniones in cap. xx. Exodi: In quibus ita explicatur Decalogus, ut casus conscientiae, quos vocant, ex eo suborientes, ac pleraque controversiae magni momenti, quae circa legem moralem solent agitari, fusè & accuratè discutiantur* (Lugduni Batavorum: Apud Franciscum Hegerum, 1632; also 1637).

111. Gillespie quoted from Grotius' *de Jure Belli* in his House of Commons Sermon. A copy is presently at Lambeth, and this title was also listed in the Sion College catalogue. It is also the only work cited in the Scots' fast sermons that was amongst the books borrowed from Laud's personal library (see #5 on the list); so it may very well be the case that Gillespie used that copy as the books were not possibly turned over to Hugh Peters until June 1644.

Apologia (Gillespie, Lords Sermon)—and Zacharias Ursinus, *Catecheticanum Explicationum* (Rutherford, Commons sermon).

Of these, 1. Baillie is merely citing works on heresies generally (adducing also Irenaeus and Augustine), but he could have found a copy of the Philastrius at Sion College (Catalogue, p. 112), and a copy is currently listed in the Lambeth Palace catalogue, as is the Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism adduced by Rutherford. He says: “Paul the third, a monster of men, said dying, *I shall now be resolved of three things: 1. if the soul be immortal; 2. if there be a God; 3. if there be a hell.*” However, whether he learned this from the Ursinus or not (he makes no specific reference to a source), he seems to be citing it from memory.¹¹²

2. Henderson does not cite the Melchoir Adam. He says, “Luther used to say that three things would prove mighty hindrances to Christian religion. (1) Forgetfulness of the work of God. (2) Security, which he found prevailing already in his time. (3) Policy and worldly wisdom, which would bring all things in order, and cure the public stirs with the counsel of man; to determine the present controversy by human reason, was in his judgment to go mad with reason.”¹¹³ This saying of Luther has often been repeated. “I remember Luther’s oracle.... *Haec perdent....* Three things will destroy the Christian religion: First, Forgetfulness of the benefit we received by the Gospel. Secondly, Security. Thirdly, The wisdom of the world, which will needs reduce all into order, and look to the church’s peace by ungodly means.”¹¹⁴ The source for this saying is almost certainly Melchior Adam’s life of Luther which had recently been translated. “Concerning the doctrine of the Gospel, he uttered this heavenly truth. These things will be a great bane to Christian Religion. First, *forgetfulness of Gods blessing on us in restoring to us the Gospel.* Secondly, *security, which already commonly and every where reigneth.* Thirdly, *worldly wisdom, which would bring all things into good order, and cure the publique stirres with wicked Councils.*”¹¹⁵ The source of the 1641 translation was Melchior Adam’s lives of German theologians, where the Latin is “*Haec inquit, perdent Christianam religionem: primum oblivio beneficiorum ab evangelio acceptorum: deinde securitas, quae iam passim et ubique regnat: postremo sapientia mundi, quae vult omnia redigere in oraenem, et publicae tranquillitati impiis consiliis mederi.*”¹¹⁶ Henderson may have seen the English translation or even purchased one; but a copy is not in the *Benefactors’ book*, nor presently in the library, nor was there a copy in the Lambeth catalogue, nor in the 1650 Sion College Library catalogue. However, there is a copy of the *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum* in the Sion catalogue.¹¹⁷

Bucer’s *De Regno Christi* is one of the few titles not found in any of the sources consulted. Henderson adduces it in the preface to his sermon before the House of Lords. However,

he does not quote the work, perhaps summarizing a portion. So he may be citing from memory when he says: “Judicious Martin Bucer in the beginning of the Reformation, wrote to pious Prince Edward VI., two books of church policy, to which he prefixed the title *De Regno Christi*, of the Kingdom of Christ. The complaints poured forth by him at that time against the wise men of this world, and the common sort of people, as enemies of Christ’s kingdom, may be now renewed, and with new aggravations; so rare a thing is it in any age to find a people disposed to receive the whole kingdom of the Son of God.”¹¹⁸

3. Gillespie adduces the Cappel, but does not make any quotation, so it is unclear whether he had access to a copy. None were found in the sources to indicate a copy was at either the Abbey Library, Lambeth Palace, or Sion College. He references but does not quote from several sections in L’Empereur’s *Codex Middoth*, which is currently listed in the Lambeth catalogue. Gillespie references sections but does not quote from the Caspensis, but this is another work that was not found. It had only recently come into print (there were 1641 and 1643 editions) and so, Gillespie seems to have seen a copy somewhere. He cites places, but does not quote from the Rogers on faith and the Suarez (*de legibus*), both currently listed at Lambeth. The Walaeus is quoted; it is also currently in the Lambeth catalogue. The Rivet on the ten commandments is another title not found in any of the libraries, but it is quoted so Gillespie must have had access to a copy. He also quoted the Rivet in his *Aaron’s Rod Blossoming* (1646).¹¹⁹

In his Sermon before the House of Lords, Gillespie adduces but does not quote from Alsted and he refers his audience to chapter 12 of Robinson’s *Apology*, both currently listed at

112. Cf. *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*, trans. G. W. Willard (1852; repr. Eerdmans, 1954) 310. The Ursinus is the only source I have been able to trace for this saying.

113. Thanksgiving Sermon, July 18, 1644, in *Faſt Sermons Preached before the English Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly* (Naphtali Press: forthcoming) 62–63.

114. Richard Baxter, “Saint’s Everlasting Rest,” *Practical Works*, vol. 23 (1830) 140.

115. Melchior Adam, *The Life and Death of Dr. Martin Luther: the passages whereof have bin taken out of his owne and other Godly and most learned, mens writings, who lived in his time* (London, 1641) 115.

116. Melchior Adam, *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum qui superiori seculo Ecclesiam Christi* (Heidelberg: Jonas Rosa, Johannes Georgius Geyder, Acad. Typogr., 1620) 157–158. Variations of the saying are traced in *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Bd. 48, Teil 4 (1927; [Revision-snachtrag] Weimar: Verl. Hermann Bohlaus Nachf, 1972, 2006). 279.

117. Sion catalogue, page 3.

118. Sermon, May 28, 1644, in *Faſt Sermons Preached before the English Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly* (Naphtali Press: forthcoming) 68–69.

119. “Aaron’s Rod Blossoming,” *Works* (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846) 86, 122.

Lambeth. Gillespie does reference and cite from Grotius on Malachi 3: “those, says one, who are called in the New Testament, ajsbeib; [Jude 1:4.] *ungodly*.” This is another work not found in the libraries. The *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* had just been published in 1644.

The titles which are quoted or specific places cited, which would seem to have been confined to one location are, **Abbey Library:** Arcularius on Isaiah; **Sion College:** Adam’s *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum*, Hall’s *Contemplations*; **Lambeth Palace:** Alsted, L’Empereur, Rogers, Robinson, Suarez, Walaeus. Even if some of these are ruled out as passing references or citations from memory, the larger number of them at Lambeth (all cited by Gillespie) are interesting given indications seem to be that it was closed up. Gillespie also cited the Arcularius and this apparently he could only have accessed at the Abbey library. He cited Hall’s *Contemplations*, vol. 7, which could only be found in a full set at Sion College.

Excluding the Melchoir Adam and the Martin Bucer, the rest of Henderson’s citations could all be found at the Abbey, and are currently listed at Lambeth. All but the Plutarch could have been found at Sion College, but this was also something he could have cited from memory. If we ignore the Philastrius, the same is true for Baillie: all sources are at the Abbey and can currently be found at Lambeth. For his Commons sermon, Rutherford could have found all but the Tertullian and Lucan at Lambeth, but as noted he does not attribute the particular citation to Ursinus and both may have been cited from memory. The Tertullian could have been found at Sion College or the Abbey. He could have found his other three sources (Augustine, Suetonius and the Antwerp polyglot) at either the Abbey, Sion College, or Lambeth Palace. For his sermon before the House of Lords, all of his possible sources could have been found at the Abbey, all but the Chemnitz are currently at Lambeth, and all but the Florus in the Sion College 1650 catalogue. However the Florus is not cited and the famous saying “Be not afraid (said the Emperor to the waterman) thou carriest Caesar” was likely cited from memory.

120. David Davies, “The Geographic Extent of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century,” *Het ‘Book* 31 (1952–54): 22, cited in Laura Cruz, “The Geographic Extent of the Dutch Book Trade in the 17th Century an Old Question Revisited,” *Boundaries and their meanings in the history of the Netherlands*, ed. Benjamin J. Kaplan, Marbeth Carlson, and Laura Cruz (Brill, 2009) 119.

121. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton: a critical biography* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2002) 160, 593, note 28. Cf. also James Holly Hanford, “The Chronology of Milton’s Private Studies,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, volume 36 (Baltimore: Published Quarterly by the Association, Printed J. H. Furst Company, 1921) 279.

122. See panel C5 in the Agas Map (<http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca> [accessed September 18, 2010]).

PURCHASING BOOKS

The books that were not found to have been in any library, but seem to have been consulted since they were quoted, all fall within Gillespie’s sermons. These are Henry Leslie’s *Treatise of the Authority of the Church* (1637; 1639), Rivet on the ten commandments, and Grotius on Malachi 3 (from his *Annotations on the Old Testament*, 1644). The Leslie was on a subject with which Gillespie was very familiar from his work on the *English Popish Ceremonies*. It is possible he could have found a copy still on sale in the book shops or it may have been one of those titles the assembly obtained under the grant of authority from Parliament (but not from amongst Laud’s books). It is also possible he obtained the Grotius and Rivet via purchase. The Grotius was newly published by the time of Gillespie’s sermon before the House of Lords. The edition of the Rivet he cites though, had been published a number of years before in 1637. It is possible this was in the assembly’s collection (but not from Laud’s study), or perhaps one of the London Divines had a copy in their library. Gillespie would use the Rivet again in his *Aaron’s Rod Blossoming*, so he either had it at hand or it was readily available.

THE LONDON BOOK SHOPS

It is possible that Gillespie purchased some of the older as well as newer books not found in the libraries in the London book houses. He would have been able to find some foreign published works as well. Books from the Netherlands could certainly have been on sale in London. It “was not at all unusual for Dutch seventeenth century booksellers to trade in Poland, Lithuania, Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, Smyrna, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, England and Scotland.”¹²⁰ John Milton owned a copy of Rivet’s *Praelectiones* and did reading in it between 1643 and 1646 according to his commonplace book. “The biblical commentaries include Peter Martyr, *In Librum Judicum*, Basil, *Homiliae*, *In Psalmum I*, *In Hexameron VIII*, *In Principium Proverbium*; Chrysoſtom, *In Genesim Homiliae*, Rivetus (André Rivet), *Praelectiones in Caput XX Exodi*; Peter Martyr (Vermigli), *In Librum Judicum* [sic].”¹²¹

At the time almost all of the booksellers were located in St. Paul’s Churchyard (Map, 12), which was within an easy distance from Worcester House, slightly more distant a few blocks to the northwest than Saint Antholins was to the northeast.¹²² The centrality of the location of the sellers is noted in the following comment which also details the devastation the Great Fire had on the London Book trade.

At the time of the Great Fire, and probably for long before, the principal booksellers’ shops were in St. Paul’s

Churchyard. Hither Pepys was commonly wont to resort when he wanted either a new or an old book.... A few years after this, however, the booksellers were for a time driven from this quarter by the effects of the great fire. "By Mr. Dugdale," writes Pepys, under date of September 26th, 1666, "I hear the great loss of books in St. Paul's Churchyard, and at their Hall also, which they value at about 150,000l.... That the goods laid in the Churchyard fired through the windows those in St. Faith's church; and those, coming to the warehouses'-doors, fired them, and burned all the books and the pillars of the church, which is alike pillared (which I knew not before); but, being not burned, they stood still. He do believe there is above 150,000l. of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone; not only them, but their warehouses at their Hall and under Christ-church, and elsewhere, being all burned. A great want thereof there will be of books, specially Latin books and foreign books; and, among others, the Polyglott and new Bible, which he believes will be presently worth 40l. a-piece." Walton's, or the London Polyglott, here mentioned, is in six folio volumes, the first of which had been published in 1654, and the fourth, fifth, and sixth in 1657. Evelyn also records the immense destruction of books by this terrible conflagration. In his 'Diary' he states that the magazines or stores of books belonging to the stationers, which had been deposited for safety in the vaulted church of St. Faith's under St. Paul's, continued to burn for a week.¹²³

SCOTTISH AGENT IN CAMPVERE: WILLIAM SPANG

Another possible source for the Grotius and the Rivet as well as other books was Baillie's cousin William Spang. It is clear from their correspondence they were exchanging and obtaining books for each other. Baillie had access to Rivet and others via his cousin, and he begged Spang a number of times to get Rivet and others involved writing on the Presbyterian side (cf. *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2). Baillie had also meet Rivet in 1641 when both were in London.

"In 1641, Rivet accompanied the court of the Hague to London as domestic chaplain, on occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I.... During the time that Dr Rivet was in London, Messrs Henderson, Baillie, and Rutherford were also there, attending upon the Commissioners of Scotland for a treaty between the two kingdoms. They had several meetings with him, which were to their mutual satisfaction."¹²⁴ Baillie wrote about the meeting: "We have mett at length sometimes with Dr Rivet: he is one fullie in our minds, and against the Bishops" (*Letters and Journals*, 1.351)

Spang became the minister of the Scotts church in Campvere in 1630 (Memoir of Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, 1.cxiv). In 1637 Baillie is found writing to him to aid in obtaining some books, at that time apparently for his own study. In 1642 Baillie was called to join David Dickson as a professor in Glasgow and much of the later correspondence with Spang about books concerns getting titles for the university.

"For Mr. David Dickson" [circa March-April 1644]. "For Commentars yow speak of, there is few new ones, except the Jesuits Sanctius and Ribera, and some others. If the Colledge have a mind to these, or any other books, I shall be carefull to gett them; but as yet I have not a scrape [i.e. of money] for any such end..." (2.158).

"To Mr. William Spang: May 3d [1644]" "I sent to yow by Thomas Cunninghame my sermon before; but receive now another; also three of Goodwin's pieces, one at five shillings, another at one shilling and fourpence, a third at one shilling and sixpence: (I cannot help the extraordinare dearth: they say, the great soume which the author putts on his copie, is the cause of it:) also Huit on Daniel, at two shillings and tenpence, and a wicked piece, which one of the Independents wrote against Dr. Stewart, at sixpence: in all eleven shillings and fourpence. For the folio Bible, as yet I have not gotten any to my mind. I hear yow may have better and cheaper there; so I will send none till yow advertised againe" (2.175).

"For Mr. William Spang. October 23th 1644" "The books yow wrote of are not come to me; I hear nought of them as yet" (2.239).

"For Mr. William Spang. December 27th, 1644" "Your's with Collonell Fullerton I received, and three books.... As to Gomarus and Rivet, I wrote to the College to receive them. Rivet, I have it all before in parcells" (2.250, 251).

[To Mr. William Spang, circa May, 1645] "Thomasius and Rivet I have sent to the Colledge" (2.275).

[To John Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow, July 1, 1645] "What Mr. William Spang long agoe sent to me for yow, I delyvered to John Herbertsone, Gomarus and Rivet's Works Vol. 3, folio [i.e. Works in 3 volumes]: the price I know not" (2.290).

The works of Rivet referenced must have been separately published works bound together as the first volume of the Opera in 3 volumes did not appear until 1651. This may be an earlier collection in folio but I have found none in that size and number of volumes at this writing. The work on the decalogue only came out in quarto size (1632; 1637). Baillie may have made an error as to the size. In any event, the particular books in question are being discussed many months after

123. *London*, ed. Charles Knight, 6v (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1851) 5.227–228.

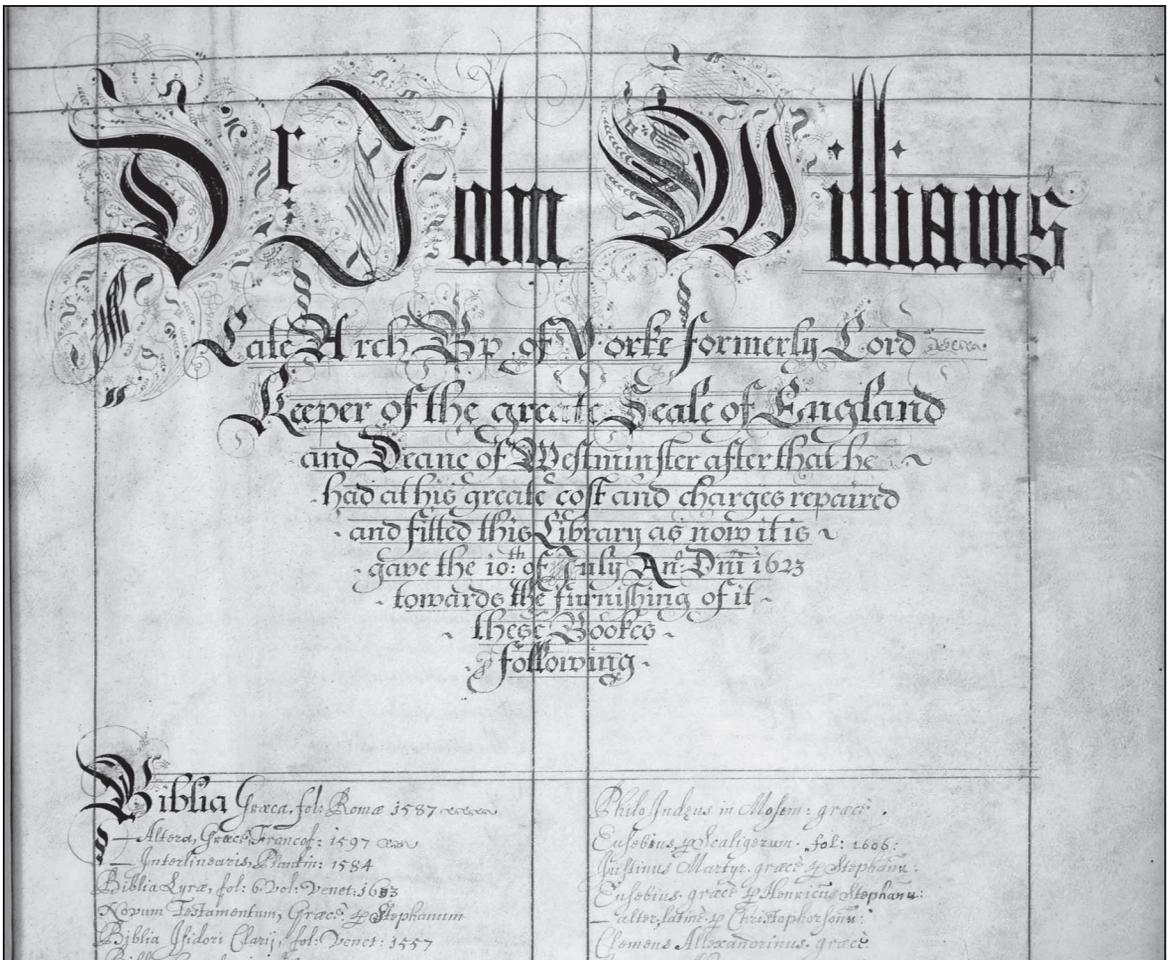
124. Thomas McCrie, "Life of Dr. Andrew Rivet," *Miscellaneous Writings, Chiefly Historical* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone: [1841]) 122, 123.

Gillespie preached the sermon citing Rivet on the ten commandments. But it is at least possible given the flow of books from Spang, that he was a source of books for the Scots while in London (apart from simply for the benefit of Glasgow) in addition to the other sources at their disposal.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the Divines attending upon the Assembly at Westminster had available to them several significant theological resources. On the premises where they met most days of the work week, they had at least the books from Laud's study at hand (and that at least from January until June 1644) and possibly more books for a longer period from the other sequestered libraries. We also have testimony that the divines made heavy use of the Westminster abbey library. Across town near Worcester house and Edmund Calamy's church and residence, there was the somewhat smaller library at

Sion College, and across the Thames there may have been some possible access to the largest library of the three at Lambeth Palace, though at this writing that seems a remote possibility given its apparent closing by the Parliament. The divines also had access to the London book marketers clustered around Saint Paul's, which offered for sale new and old domestic and foreign books. And the Scottish Commissioners had access as well to the Dutch and potentially also the Continental publishers through Baillie's cousin William Spang. As hopefully demonstrated by this brief look at the Scottish Commissioners' sermons, with the ability to collate works cited in the various publications of the divines during this time with the Laud list, the abbey *Benefactors' book*, the 1650 library catalogue of Sion college, and perhaps even the various manuscript catalogues of Lambeth Palace library, there is great potential for and hopefully interesting results awaiting a "thorough study of the books available to the Assembly-men" of Westminster. ■



Westminster Abbey Library, Benefactors' Book, detail (fol. 2r). Copyright © Dean and Chapter of Westminster