
Westminster Abbey Library: and Other Theological Resources of the Assembly of Divines (1643–1652)

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1. The Westminster Assembly's Need for Books¹

The Westminster Assembly of Divines was pre-eminently a gathering of scholars, a 'theological think-tank' made up of prominent theologians of the time. A 'thorough study of the books available' to these divines is therefore of interest.² Those members of the Assembly who were not from London clearly missed the use of 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.³

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 exunexpectednesse [unexpectednesse] of this taske layd upon us; & so should we be censured either of incogetency or connivence: therefore I desired that we might onely name erroneious 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 Comittee

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² Chad B. Van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation: Theological Debate at the Westminster Assembly, 1643–1652' (PhD, University of Cambridge, 7 vols., 2004), Vol. 1, p. 121, note 20. (Hereafter *Minutes*).

³ Van Dixhoorn, Lightfoot's first journal, 21st August 1643, *Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 37; *Minutes*, 17th October 1643, Vol. 3, pp. 183–184. Cf Van Dixhoorn, *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643–1652* (5 vols., Oxford University Press, 2012), Vol. 2, p. 206 (hereafter *Minutes*).

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 publique place.

Mr Seaman: A request to have liberty to have some designed together out of those libraryes 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.’⁴

2. 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.⁵

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 from the said Committee, or any Two of them, according to the Ordinance aforesaid.⁶

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, sequestred; and are now, or shall be, laid up at *Campden House*, *Savoye*, 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

⁴ ‘Journal of the Proceedings of The Assembly of Divines’, in *The Whole Works of the Rev. John Lightfoot* (13 vols., London: Printed by J. F. Dove, 1822-25), Vol. 13, p. 21.

⁵ *House of Commons Journal*, Vol. 2 (1802), 14th October 1642, p. 808. (Hereafter *HCJ*).

⁶ *HCJ*, Vol. 3 (1802), 13th February 1644, p. 398.

think fit, until further Order: And they are to certify their Proceedings herein, from time to time, to the House.⁷

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.'⁸

On 26th October the Assembly received the order from the House and the Minutes note: 'An order read: for sending for bookes.' Lightfoot elaborates: '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.'⁹ The Minutes then go on to note: 'Mr Seaman, ~~Mr Walker, Mr Calamy, Mr Carroll~~. 4 for the citty. For West[minster]: Mr Young, Mr Hill, Mr Herle, Mr Ny or any 2 of them to search.'¹⁰

3. 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.'¹¹

As noted this list survives amongst the manuscript letters of the Archbishop.¹² 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.¹³ The list extends from fol. 130r,

⁷ *H CJ*, Vol. 3, 2nd November 1643, p. 298.

⁸ *H CJ*, Vol. 3, 23rd October 1643, p. 285. *Minutes*, Vol. 3, p. 206; *Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 228.

⁹ 'Journal of the Proceedings of The Assembly of Divines', pp. 29-30.

¹⁰ The names are crossed out in the manuscript.

¹¹ Ann Cox-Johnson, 'Lambeth Palace Library, 1610-1664', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 2 Part 2 (1955), pp. 105-126 (p. 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, p. 107).

¹² Bodleian Library, S.C. 14994, fo. 130-131. The tally is ninety-eight entries with one possible duplication, 1-40 on 130r, 41-84 on 130v, and the remaining on the top portion of 131r.

¹³ This list was the only matter in the volume relative to the Assembly. Here I note again my thanks to Jonathan Vaughan for gaining access to the manuscript list in September 2010 and providing a description and rough transcript with detailed photographs. From the photographs I refined the transcription significantly and provided the interpolations.

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.¹⁴ 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. If a work is referenced in the Assembly Minutes, the session is noted in brackets.

[fol. 130r]

Bookes taken out of the ArchB^{pps}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^{o15}
2. Sr Tho: Ridley vewe of the civil lawe 4^{o16}
3. Crakenthorp on the 5th general Council 4^{o17}
4. Linwood Ecclesiastical laws – 3 vol: one in fol: othere in 4^o
and in 16^{o18}
5. Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis fol¹⁹ [Sess. 114, 157.]
6. Tena on Epist: ad Hebreos²⁰
7. Pamelij Lyturgica 2 vol: 4^{o21}
8. Dornavius his Amphitheater fol²²
9. De Jurisdictione Imperial et Ecclesl: varis fol²³
10. M Bucer Script: Anglicani fol²⁴

I also note again my appreciation for the help given by David C. Lachman and Chad Van Dixhoorn with several of the difficult entries.

¹⁴ Of the 98 titles, the majority are fairly identifiable. I could not identify the work by Thomas Browne in #90, and #86 remains uncertain. For almost all the remaining, excepting the tract bundles, I was at least able to offer suggestions or possibilities.

¹⁵ Severin Binius, *Concilia generalia, et provincialia*.

¹⁶ Sir Thomas Ridley, *A View of the Civile and Ecclesiastical Law*.

¹⁷ Richard Crakanthorp, *A treatise of the fift general council held at Constantinople, anno 553, under Justinian ... Pope Vigilius*.

¹⁸ Apparently William Lyndwood, *Constitutiones Angliæ prouinciales ex diuersis Cantuariensium Archiepiscoporum synodalibus decretis, per Guilielmum Lyndewode Anglum iam olim collectæ*. The canon law of the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, collected and abridged in 1433.

¹⁹ Hugo Grotius, *de Jure Belli ac Pacis libri tres*. Cf. *Minutes*, Vol. 2, pp. 447, 509.

²⁰ Luis de Tena, *Commentaria et disputationes in epistolam. D. Pauli ad Hebræos*.

²¹ Jacobus Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*.

²² Caspar Dornau, *Amphitheatrum sapientiæ Socraticæ joco-seriæ*.

²³ Apparently: Simon Schard, *De Jurisdictione, Auctoritate, et Præeminentia Imperiali, ac Potestate Ecclesiastica...*, though the work is one volume folio.

²⁴ Martin Bucer, *Scripta Anglicana fere omnia*.

11. Andreas Massius on Joshua²⁵
12. Hystoria Lyturgica in 3 vol: 8^{o26}
13. Haynes Pax in Terris Octavo²⁷
14. Disaplina Ecclia Scotica 8^{o28}
15. Mitigation towards Cathol: subiects 8^{o29}
16. Ceremonia sacræ 8^{o30}
17. Tortura Torti 4^{o31} [Possibly Sess. 232.]
18. Selden of Tythes – 4^{o32}
19. Mystery of Gentiles 4^{o33}
20. Grotius de satisfact: Christi 4^{o34}
21. Answ: to Cookes reports 8^{o35}
22. Carlson of Jurisdiction 8^{o36}
23. Fitzherbert of Polic: and religion 4^{o37}
24. Icon Animorum 16^{o38}
25. Dangerous Positions 4^{o39}
26. Survay[?] of Discipline 4^{o40}
27. Trial of the privait spirit 4^{o41}

²⁵ Andreas Masius, *Iosuae Imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata*.

²⁶ 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 Hær (Duaci: Belleri, 1605) is three volumes octavo.

²⁷ Thomas Haynes, *Pax in Terra; seu Tractatus de Pace Ecclesiastica*.

²⁸ Daniel Tilenus, *De disciplina ecclesiastica brevis & modesta dissertatio ad Ecclesiam Scoticam*.

²⁹ Robert Parsons, *A treatise tending to mitigation towardes Catholike-subiectes in England*.

³⁰ Probably, Augustinus Patricius, *Sacræ Ceremoniæ: sive rituum ecclesiastorum: libri tres*, i.e. *Sacrarum ceremoniarum sive rituum ecclesiasticorum Romanæ ecclesiæ libri tres*: 1516. A 1572 edition is in octavo.

³¹ Lancelot Andrewes, *Tortura Torti: siue ad Matthæi Torti*. Cf. *Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 232.

³² John Selden, *History of Tythes*.

³³ Possibly, or part of John Yates, *Imago mundi, et regnum Christi. The foure monarchies, and Christs two-fold kingdome, 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.*

³⁴ Apparently, Hugo Grotius, *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ De Satisfactione Christi Adversus Faustum Socinum Senensem*.

³⁵ Apparently, Robert Parsons, *An answere 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 4^o.

³⁶ George Carleton, *Jurisdiction, Regall, Episcopall, Papall*.

³⁷ Thomas Fitzherbert, *The First to second part of a treatise concerning policy and religion*.

³⁸ John Barclay, *Icon Animorum*.

³⁹ Richard Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*.

⁴⁰ Possibly, Richard Bancroft, *Survay of the Pretended Holy Discipline*. The supposition is bolstered by the immediately preceding work by Bancroft.

⁴¹ Possibly, James Sharp, *The Triall of the Protestant Priuate Spirit*.

28. Mocket[?] 4^{o42}
29. Burges his Defense of Ceremonyes 4^{o43}
30. Answere to Martins Libell⁴⁴
31. Troubles of Frankford about English Liturgy 8⁴⁵ [Sess. 383?]
32. Peregrin Letteres patents of presbitery 4^{o46}
33. Barrowe and Greenwood 4^{o47}
34. Cartwright ag^t Whitgift 4^{o48}
35. Puritan Tracts 4[?] parcells bound together 4^o
36. Dispute ag^t English Ceremonyes 4^{o49}
37. Duplyes of Schotts Ministers 4^{o50}
38. A Conference touching Succesion 16^{o51}
39. Kellisons[?] {Hierarchy?} 8⁵²
40. Abridgment of the Lincolneshyre[?] ministers Petition 16⁵³

[fol. 130v]

41. An Assertion for Church Pollicy 16^{o54}
42. Puritane Tracts 3 parcells 16^o
43. Lombards Sentences – 8^{o55}
44. Salmeron on the Parables 4^{o56}

⁴² Possibly, Richard Mocket's *Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, or Thomas Mocket, who wrote favorably on the National and Solemn League and Covenant (the latter in 1644).

⁴³ 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).

⁴⁴ 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...*

⁴⁵ William Whittingham, *A brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany A. Domini 1554. Aboute the booke off common prayer and ceremonie*. Cf. *Minutes*, Vol. 3, p. 545.

⁴⁶ James Peregrin, *The Letters Patents of the Presbyterie: with the plea and fruits of the prelatie...*

⁴⁷ Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, *A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffards booke, intituled, A short treatise gainst the Donatistes of England ...*

⁴⁸ See Thomas Cartwright's exchanges with John Whitgift over the 'Admonition Controversy'.

⁴⁹ George Gillespie, *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies*.

⁵⁰ Apparently, John Forbes, *Duplyes of the Ministers & Professors of Aberdene, to ... some reverend brethren, concerning the late covenant*.

⁵¹ Possibly, *A Conference about the next succession to the crowne of England*.

⁵² Matthew Kellison, *A Treatise of the Hierarchie and Diuers Orders of the Church against the Anarchie of Calvin* (1629), octavo.

⁵³ Apparently, *An abridgement of that booke which the ministers of Lincolne diocess deliuered to His Maiestie vpon the first of December 1605*.

⁵⁴ William Stoughton, Francis Knollys, *An Assertion for True and Christian Church-Policie*.

⁵⁵ Peter Lombard, *Sentences*.

⁵⁶ Alfonso Salmerón, *Sermones in Parabolas evangelicas totius anni*.

45. Attestation of church gouvmt 16^{o57}
46. Machiavels prince 8^{o58}
47. Appology of English Arminianisme 8^{o59}
48. Victory Rebellions[?] 8^{o60}
49. Travers of Discipline 16^{o61} [Sess. 180.]
50. Sa's Aphorismes 16^{o62}
51. Lucas Brugensis on the Gospells 2 vol: fols^{o63}
52. Tappers works[?] fol^{o64}
53. Cardinal Peron Answ: to K James fol^{o65}
54. Vicars his Decapla on the Psalms fol^{o66}
55. Service booke Corrected Jacobi fol^{o67}
56. Alvarez de Auxilis gratiae^{o68}
57. Ames agt Burgesse 4^{o69} [Sess. 88?]
58. Parker de Politia Ecclias 4^{o70} [Sess. 85, 156, 160, 295.]
59. Lesly de Authoritate Eclia[?] a Sermon 4^{o71}
60. Syons Plea 4^{o72}
61. Helvicus[?] Vindication of Scripture 8^{o73}

⁵⁷ Henry Jacob, *An Attestation of many learned, godly, and famous divines ... church government ought to bee alwayes with the peoples free consent....*

⁵⁸ Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*.

⁵⁹ O. N., *An apology of English Arminianisme*.

⁶⁰ Perhaps one or more of several tracts relating to the Protestant victory in Ireland.

⁶¹ Walter Travers, *A full and plaine declaration of ecclesiastical discipline.... Cf. Minutes, Vol. 2, p. 272.*

⁶² Manoel de Sa, *Aphorismi confessoriorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti....*

⁶³ Francisci Lucae Brugensis, *In sacrosancta quatuor Iesu Christi evangelia*.

⁶⁴ *Rvardi Tapperi Abenchvsia ... Opera* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1582–1583).

⁶⁵ Jacques Davy Du Perron, *The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinal of Perron, to the Answere of the Most Excellent King of Great Britaine*.

⁶⁶ John Vicars, *Decapla in Psalmos*.

⁶⁷ Possibly Laud's 1637 service book imposed upon Scotland, with corrections in hand?

⁶⁸ Diego Alvarez, *De auxilus divinæ grattiae et humani arbitii*.

⁶⁹ William Ames, *A fresh suit against human ceremonies in God's vvorship, or, A triplication unto D. Burgesse his rejoinder for D. Morton....* See #73. This title may have been collected in duplicate by mistake and this may be a double entry. Cf. *Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 272.

⁷⁰ Robert Parker, *De politia ecclesiastica Christi....* Cf. *Minutes*, Vol. 2, pp. 250, 501, 538; Vol. 3, p. 361.

⁷¹ John Leslie, *De illustrium fœminarum in repub. administranda, ac ferendis legibus autoritate ... nunc verò Latino sermone* This is Leslie's reply to John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women*.

⁷² Alexander Leighton, *An Appeal to the Parliament; or Sions plea against the prelacie*. Alexander Leighton was given charge of Lambeth Palace, but I have not found anything noting that 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', p. 111.

⁷³ 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 *Vindicatio Locorum Potissimorum V. T. a corruptelis Pontificiorum, Et In His Præcipue Bellarmini; Calvinianorum, Photinianorum, Judæorum &c. Ex originali textu*,

62. Charity Mistaken 8^{o74}
63. Demands agt the Covenant 4^{o75}
64. Forbes Irenicum 4^{o76}
65. Colloquy att Wormes 4^{o77}
66. Henry Dunelmensis agt Scots Covenant 4^{o78}
67. Saravia de obidentia Christiana 4^{o79}
68. Remonstrance to the Remonstrators 4^{o80}
69. Saravia de divsis Ministrorum gradibus 4^{o81}
70. Mason de Je{iunio} 4^{o82}
71. Sprint, necessity of Conformity 4^{o83}
72. Johnsons Chrian Plea 4^{o84}
73. A ffresh suit agt Ceremonyes 4^{o85}
74. Important Considerations 4^{o86}

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.

⁷⁴ Anonymous, 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 destroyes salvation.*

⁷⁵ *Generall demands concerning the late Covenant: propounded by the ministers and professors of divinity in Aberdeen.*

⁷⁶ John Forbes, *Irenicum amatoribus veritatis et pacis in ecclesia Scoticana.*

⁷⁷ Possibly, *Colloquium Wormaciense institutum*, 1542, in quarto.

⁷⁸ ‘Dunelmensis’ is Durham, but there was no Henry, Bishop of Durham in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The ‘D’ looks like an overwritten ‘L’, and the reference is probably 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.* From 1635, Leslie was Bishop of Down and Connor which is ‘Dunensis’ in Latin. Another remote possibility might be the anonymous, *A Briefe discovrse declaring the impiety and unlawfulness of the new covenant with the Scots* (Oxford: 1643, printed by Henry Hall).

⁷⁹ Hadrian Saravia, *De imperandi autoritate, et Christiana obedientia, libri quatuor.*

⁸⁰ 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 Joseph Hall and Smectymnuus (Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen and William Spurstowe).

⁸¹ Hadrian Saravia, *De diversis Ministrorum Evangelii gradibus.*

⁸² This would appear to be Henry Mason, *de Jeiunio* [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).

⁸³ John Sprint, *Cassander Anglicanus: shewing the necessity of conformitie....*

⁸⁴ Francis Johnson, *A Christian Plea conteyning three treatises.*

⁸⁵ William Ames, *A fresh suit against human ceremonies in God’s vvorship, or, A triplication unto D. Burgesse his rejoinder for D. Morton....* Possibly a duplicate or a double entry. See #57.

⁸⁶ Either Thomas Bluet, *Important considerations, which ought to moue all true and sound Catholikes, who are not wholly Iesuited* (1601), or possibly John Ley, *Defensive doubts, hopes, and reasons, for refusall 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).

- 75. Montanus de Regalibus fol⁸⁷
- 76. Gergorey de Valentia 4 vol: fol⁸⁸
- 77. Durandas – fol⁸⁹
- 78. A{ltissiodorensis} fol⁹⁰
- 79. Alcoran [The Koran.]
- 80. Erasmus fol⁹¹
- 81. Spelman Concilia Bretanica 4^{o92}
- 82. Cardan de prudentia Civili 16⁹³
- 83. Celsus de hæreticis combur:[?] 8⁹⁴
- 84. Saris[?] {buriensis?} 8⁹⁵

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- 85. Spelman de non Temerandis Ecclips 8⁹⁶
- 86. Seutus[?] Regius[?] 8⁹⁷
- 87. Cunæus de Rep: Hebr: 8⁹⁸
- 88. Sigonius de Rep: Hebr: 8⁹⁹ [Sess. 112, 378.]
- 89. vossius Idololatria progressu 4^{o100}
- 90. Tho: Browne[?] Concio in Act 1.20. 4^{o101}

⁸⁷ Horatius Montanus, *De Regalibus Tractatus*.

⁸⁸ Gregorio de Valencia, *Commentariorum theologorum tomi quatuor. In quibus omnes quæstiones, quæ continentur in Summa theologica D. Thomæ Aquinatis*.

⁸⁹ Possibly, Durandus of Saint-Pourçain, Bishop of Meaux, *In Petri Lombardi sententias theologicas commentariorum libri IIII*.

⁹⁰ 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] ... Guillermo altissiodorensi edita* (Paris: 1500). Only the last title is in folio and aligns subject-wise with #76 and #77.

⁹¹ Possibly one of five one-volume folio editions of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*.

⁹² Henry Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici*.

⁹³ Girolamo Cardano, *Hieronymi Cardani ... Proxeneta seu de prudentia ciuili liber*.

⁹⁴ Minus Celsus Senensis [Celsus Socinus], *Mini Celsi Senensis de hæreticis capitali supplicio non afficiendis. Adiunctæ sunt eiusdem argumenti Theodori Bezæ & Andreae Dvditii epistolæ duæ contrariæ*.

⁹⁵ Possibly *Ioannis Ivelli Angli: Episcopi Saris-buriensis vita & mors* (1573), but in quarto.

⁹⁶ Henry Spelman, *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*.

⁹⁷ Possibly Dobson may have intended *Scutum Regium* by George Hakewill for which there is a 1612 edition in octavo; otherwise this is a mystery.

⁹⁸ Petrus Cunæus, *Petri Cunæi De republica Hebræorum libri III*.

⁹⁹ Carlo Sigonio, *De republica hebræorum libri VII*. Cf. *Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 431; Vol. 3, p. 532.

¹⁰⁰ Gerardus Joannes Vossius, *Theologia Gentili ... Sive De Origine Ac Progressu Idololatriæ*.

¹⁰¹ 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

91. Fulleri. Miscel¹⁰²
92. Rothioford[?] Cont Armin.¹⁰³
93. Grager(?) logie¹⁰⁴
94. Corpus Confessionum¹⁰⁵
95. Spanhemii[?] Dubia Evan.¹⁰⁶
96. Paræus de potesate Erra[?]¹⁰⁷
97. {Sententia de pace?}¹⁰⁸
98. Theologia chounei[?]¹⁰⁹

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’.

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 Roman 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 Apologeticæ Pro Divina Gratia* (92), and possibly John Ley’s *Defensive doubts, hopes, and reasons, for refusall of the oath* (74).

How much the collection was used by the Westminster divines is not certain; it may have been more of a distraction than a benefit for the Assembly.¹¹⁰ As indicated in the list, only about seven of 98 titles are mentioned

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), pp. 201, 218.

¹⁰² Nicolai Fulleri, *Miscellaneorum*.

¹⁰³ Samuel Rutherford, *Exercitationes Apologeticæ Pro Divina Gratia*.

¹⁰⁴ Possibly, Thomas Granger, *Syntagma logicum, or, The diuine logike*.

¹⁰⁵ Gaspard Laurent (ed.), *Corpus et syntagma confessionum fidei* (1612).

¹⁰⁶ Friedrich Spanheim, *Dubia evangelica in tres partes distributa*.

¹⁰⁷ David Paræus, *De Potestate ecclesiastica et civili propositiones theologico-politicæ*.

¹⁰⁸ Possibly, John Davenant, *De Pace Inter Evangelicos procuranda Sententiæ Quatvor*.

¹⁰⁹ Possibly, Thomas Chouneus, *Collectiones theologicarum quarundam conclusionum ex diversis auctorum sententiis, perquam breves sparsim excerpt. Opera, et industria Thom Chounei*.

¹¹⁰ Session 455, 17th June 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, p. 1874), p. 105. Cf. *Minutes*, Vol. 3, pp. 620-621.

in the Minutes. Of the fast sermons preached by the Scottish Commissioners during this time the only title that appears is #5, Grotius *de Jure Belli*.¹¹¹ The only other significant work by the Assembly making use of such theological references are the debate papers over Presbyterian Church government. Of seventy titles referenced in *The Grand Debate*, only three are found on Dobson's list (31. Troubles at Franckford; 34. Cartwright v. Whitgift; and 58. Parker's *Politeia Ecclesiastica*). 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 97/98 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.¹¹²

4. 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,¹¹³ 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

¹¹¹ The Dobson list was not used in the collation of works referenced in the Scottish Commissioners' sermons that could be found in some of the other library resources. See the bibliography in *Sermons Preached Before the English Houses of Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643–1645* (Naphtali Press, 2011).

¹¹² *H CJ*, Vol. 3, 27th June 1644, p. 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 Palace Library', p. 119). Some books and/or papers must have been held over from Laud's trial by the Secretary, or possibly Thurloe had obtained whatever may have been retained by the Assembly.

¹¹³ *Benefactors' book*, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 46.

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.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵

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 Polyglot 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 was later completed/repared in 1812. It is speculated that it remained from that time in the Deanery and was destroyed by German bombing, May 10th/11th, 1941.¹¹⁶ Another set survives in the library, given by Thomas Mountford in 1631.¹¹⁷ As noted, the library was refurbished by John Williams, who also donated a large number of volumes over whatever had been accumulated prior to that date.

5. The Benefactors' Book

Compiled in 1651–52 and subsequently augmented, 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 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

¹¹⁴ '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*, Vol. 8 (1767-1830), 1st December 1645, pp. 17-20. Hereafter *HLJ*.

¹¹⁵ *Minutes*, Vol. 1, pp. 120-121; compare with *Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 41.

¹¹⁶ C.S. Knighton (ed.), *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 1543–1609* (2 vols., Westminster Abbey Record Series, Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997-1999), Vol. 1, p. lv; Vol. 2, p. 71, fn 350.

¹¹⁷ *Benefactors' book*, MS 46, p. 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, 28th July 28 2010). Some works may have been present before the first date in the book, 20th July 1623. Lines, columns, and benefactors are unnumbered in the MS and were supplied in the bibliography in *The Grand Debate* (p. 404ff). A title may be present in different forms and editions. Many entries are not dated and most listings are in two columns (denoted "a" for left, "b" for right). The first entry records John William's significant donation (1-John Williams, 20th July 1623). Except for one clear case that would date to 1645 or later (39-Anton Sousa, undated, 67r), it is presumed that entries date prior to the Assembly through page 68r, encompassing forty benefactors.

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).¹¹⁸ 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. Perrincliefe—10 Nov 1675) & 88 (George Stradling—6 Nov 1682) both written and signed by Peter Smart.

6. Benefit of the Benefactors' Book

We learn from the *Benefactors' book*, that of seventy works cited in their *Grand Debate*, twenty-nine were possibly 'available to the Assembly-men'¹¹⁹ in the Abbey's library at the time of the Westminster Assembly.¹²⁰ Again, one can imagine the initial disadvantage experienced by those ministers away from home and their libraries to which they may have been accustomed. Working 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 particularly we know the Scottish Commissioners wrote significant scholarly works while in London at the Westminster Assembly. For instance, George Gillespie may have 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 and elsewhere.¹²¹ Samuel Rutherford also wrote several works during this period.¹²² The Westminster divines were also routinely called upon to preach sermons for official and unofficial occasions. Including the Scots, two divines at least were

¹¹⁸ WAM=Westminster Abbey Muniments Manuscripts collection.

¹¹⁹ *Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 121, note 20. My count is thirty; see the bibliography in *The Grand Debate*.

¹²⁰ My thanks to 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. Thanks also go to Dr Joel Halcomb for examining the *Benefactors' book* and providing the description, and for researching some titles in the Abbey library card catalogue, and examining various individual volumes.

¹²¹ George Gillespie, *Aaron's Rod Blossoming* (1646).

¹²² Samuel Rutherford, *Due Right of Presbyteries* (1644); *Lex Rex* (1644); *Tryal and Triumph of Faith* (1645); *Divine Right of Church Government ... Dispute against Scandall* (1646); *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself* (1647); *Survey of Spiritual Antichrist / Survey of Antinomianism* (1648 [Nov. 1647]). Samuel Rutherford left the Assembly on 9th November 1647 (*Minutes*, Vol. 4, p. 703).

called upon each month to preach, often highly scholastic sermons, before Parliament for the regular fast instituted at the outbreak of civil war, and it would seem that the Abbey library was suitable for at least some sermon preparation.

But the Abbey's thirty-by-sixty-foot chapter library may not have always been convenient. The library was 'chained' at the time of the Assembly. The now commonplace lending library did not come into existence in England until the early 1700s, when chaining fell from use.¹²³ While 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 a hundred divines to remove volumes at will. It would be safe to presume that if one of the divines wished to do research in any of the Abbey's volumes the days he was attending the Assembly, he would have had to do so within the library. Clearly though, a single chained library would seem less than sufficient for such a number of divines as made up the Assembly on a regular basis during the week.¹²⁴ This – and that as fine a collection as it was, it was still lacking in some materials, and was not necessarily a quiet place for study – may explain the request for the sequestered books that the divines might have more regularly consulted in their deliberations.¹²⁵ Despite these disadvantages, the divines' study library made up of the borrowed volumes, clearly was not intended to take the place of a preacher's study. And the divines far from home and their studies, had to make use of some resource at hand. One may certainly deduce some serious use of the Abbey library from the fact that many of the books referenced, for instance, by the Scottish Commissioners in their fast sermons, could have been found there.¹²⁶ But others could not.

7. Other Potential Resources

There were 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. Auction catalogues can give a sense of what books may have been owned at the time, such as those of a prominent English 'Jus Divinum' Presbyterian, Lazarus Seaman, and of one of the Independent Brethren, William Greenhill. 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,

¹²³ 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), p. 197.

¹²⁴ *Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 41.

¹²⁵ '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.' *Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 121, fn. 23.

¹²⁶ Cf. *Sermons Preached Before the English Houses of Parliament*, Bibliography.

the libraries of the Inns of Court, Lambeth Palace library, and the library of Westminster Abbey.¹²⁷

8. 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 where the Scots Commissioners in particular found themselves, since we know where they were living the whole time while in London. This enables us to place them geographically in relation to Westminster Abbey and other locales of interest, such as the public libraries, booksellers, and the churches and dwellings of other of the Westminster divines.

Ordered, That Mr. *Holland* and Mr. *Oldisworth* do accommodate Lodgings in *Worcester House*, for the 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.¹²⁸

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 clarified which house, but misidentification persisted.¹²⁹ '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.'¹³⁰ We find letters by Gillespie and the Scottish Commissioners with the designation 'Worcester House' throughout the years they resided in London,¹³¹ and they and their families when with them, resided at Worcester House or Place, the whole time they were in London.¹³² Baillie puts it out of question as well:

¹²⁷ *Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 120, n17.

¹²⁸ *H CJ*, Vol. 3, 17th October 1644, p. 668.

¹²⁹ 'During the Usurpation, Worcester House in the Strand was furnished by Parliament for the Scotch Commissioners....', Peter Cunningham, *Handbook of London: past and present* (London: J. Murray, 1850), p. 559; J.G. Fotheringham (ed.), *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean De Montereul ... 1645-48* (2 vols., Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1898-99), Vol. 2, p. 569, note 1.

¹³⁰ D. Laing (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M. MDCXXXVII-MDCLXII* (3 vols., Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1841-1842), Vol. 1, p. li, n2.

¹³¹ See the Scottish Commissioners' correspondence and some of Gillespie's letters appended to Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 490, 500-503; Vol. 3, pp. 541-543. See also *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean De Montereul*, Vol. 2, p. 569; Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors, and Others: 1877 (volume 30), *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1877), pp. 89, 98, 112, 116, 117, 120, 123, 130, 137, 139, 142, 157, 162, 165, 169, 174, 181, 183, 184, 191, 216; Alexander F. Mitchell and James Christie (eds.), *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland Holden in Edinburgh in the Years 1646 and 1647* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1892), pp. xxiv, 12, 99, 162, 182, 187, 189, 200, 210, 223, 233, 257, 274, 275, 310, 312, 326.

¹³² The exception was Lord Warriston who had a separate house. See 'The Manuscripts of The Honourable Mrs. Isabella Erskine-Murray of Aberdona, in the County

For Mr. Thomas Fuller,

Reverend Sir,

Having latelie, and but latelie, gone through your Holy Warr and Description of Palestine, 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 1643 to 1647, I lived at Worcester House, and preached in the Savoy....¹³³

Worcester Place no longer exists. On the Agas map of old London,¹³⁴ the house is located between Queenhithe to the west and the Three Cranes Wharf to the east, on the bank of the Thames. Just up the street was the Vintners' Hall (see Map, 14, p. 49). Also, a few blocks north was St. Antholins [Anthony's] Church (Map, 10), which 'was set apart for their [the Scottish Commissioners] use, the ministers preaching in their turn, for a time, at least, to very crowded audiences.'¹³⁵ Saint Mary Aldermanbury, where Edmund Calamy was pastor, was about a mile due north Worcester Place (Map, 1) or less than half a mile from St. Antholins. Due south from Calamy's church is a church with a similar name which still stands today, Saint Mary's Aldermary (Map, 11). A short distance due west of this church was All Hallows, Bread Street, where Lazarus Seaman was pastor. To the east of Worcester house, was the only bridge across the Thames (until Westminster bridge was built in 1748), old London Bridge.

of Clackmannan', *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*. Issue 4 (London: [H.M.S.O.], 1874), pp. 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.'

¹³³ *Letters and Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 265. The Savoy Chapel was part of the Savoy Hospital built by Henry VIII replacing the Savoy Palace destroyed in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. The hospital was demolished in the nineteenth 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 and 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; see *The Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D., 1631-1659*, Volume 1 (London: The Gresham Press, 1891), pp. xxiii; ccxcii.

¹³⁴ *Civitas Londinium*, published sometime between 1570 and 1605, is attributed to Ralph Agas. A later seventeenth-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 25th April 2013).

¹³⁵ *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, Vol. 1, p. 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* (3 vols, London: John Murray, 1891), Vol. 1, p. 51.

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 1771.¹³⁶

9. 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 1684¹³⁷ and most older records were lost, including the earliest catalogue of books dating to 1669.¹³⁸ The whole library was again destroyed during the Blitz in WWII. Catalogues 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.¹³⁹ While these were nearby to the west of Worcester House,¹⁴⁰ it does not seem likely that the Scots 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.

10. 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,

¹³⁶ *The Americana: A Universal Reference Library, comprising the arts and sciences, literature, history, biography, geography, commerce, etc., of the world* (16 vols., New York: Scientific American compiling dept., 1907), Vol. 4, 'Coach'.

¹³⁷ Reginald J. Fletcher (ed.), *The Pension book of Gray's Inn (records of the honourable society), 1669–1800* (London: Chiswick Press, 1910), p. xiv.

¹³⁸ W. Douthwaite, *Catalogue of the Books in the Library of the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn* (London: C. Roworth & Sons, 1872), p. 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.

¹³⁹ *A Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Library 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: G. Davidson, 1835); *A Catalogue of the Library of the Middle Temple* (London, 1845).

¹⁴⁰ On the map the Middle and Inner Temple are shown at 5 and 8 (Agas map C3) where Fleet Street turns into the Strand, the same as modern maps today. Lincoln and Gray's Inn are shown at 4 and 7 (Agas, B3). <http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca>.

13). If any of the divines wished to use the Palace library, they could have taken a ferry known as the Horse-ferry.¹⁴¹ 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 1642¹⁴² 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.¹⁴³ The Lords granted his request and ordered:¹⁴⁴ '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.'¹⁴⁵

On 23rd December 1642, 'soldiers and prisoners occupied the Palace'. The 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

¹⁴¹ The ferry is shown at the bottom of panel D1 on the Agas map across the Thames from Westminster Abbey. '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 ... "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."' 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* (London: John Russell Smith, 1865), p. 60, note. Cf. 'Westminster Bridge', in *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, new series XI* (London, 1842), 16th April, p. 150.

¹⁴² *HCJ*, Vol. 2, p. 839 (cited by Cox-Johnson).

¹⁴³ H. Wharton (Vol. 1) and E. Wharton (Vol. 2) (eds.), *The History of the Troubles and Tryal of William Archbishop of Canterbury* (2 vols., London, 1695-1700), Vol. 1, p. 197 (cited by Cox-Johnson).

¹⁴⁴ *HLJ*, Vol. 5, p. 439 (cited by Cox-Johnson).

¹⁴⁵ Cox-Johnson, 'Lambeth Palace Library', p. 111.

for the Regulating of *Lambeth House*, in the like Manner as *Winchester House* is regulated.¹⁴⁶

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.¹⁴⁷ When Lambeth was shut up, both Cambridge and Sion College took a keen interest in obtaining the Lambeth collection. Sion College lost the contest and 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'.¹⁴⁸ A copy of this catalogue was made and used to check in the books on their arrival at Cambridge.¹⁴⁹ 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.4.¹⁵⁰ The library was subsequently restored to Lambeth Palace.¹⁵¹

Ann Cox-Johnson notes: 'Captain Manwaring and the London militia were ordered to keep a guard in continual readiness. The Library was locked up.'¹⁵² So while it is the library with the most accurate description of what was in the collection at the time of the Assembly, it appears unlikely that the divines had access to the Lambeth books; at least it seems that 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 that it was accessible in some way, the collation in the bibliography of *The Grand Debate* published by Naphtali Press in 2014 included the Lambeth library, making use of the Cambridge catalogue (MS Oo.7.51). Of the approximately seventy works referenced in *The Grand Debate*, forty-eight are found in the Lambeth catalogue.

11. 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.¹⁵³ Apparently, though there are scanty records, the library was well furnished by that date and 'was well known to

¹⁴⁶ Cox-Johnson, 'Lambeth Palace Library', p. 111; *HCJ*, Vol. 2, 23rd December 1642, p. 900.

¹⁴⁷ Cox-Johnson, 'Lambeth Palace Library', p. 108.

¹⁴⁸ Bodleian Library, MS 3335.

¹⁴⁹ Cambridge University Library, MS Oo.7.51; Cox-Johnson, 'Lambeth Palace Library', pp. 115-117.

¹⁵⁰ 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), p. xiii, n. 3.

¹⁵¹ Ironically, in the late 1990s the Sion College Library was transferred to Lambeth.

¹⁵² Cox-Johnson, 'Lambeth Palace Library', p. 112.

¹⁵³ E. H. Pearce, *Sion College and Library* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 233.

one great Orientalist.... In the *Life of John Lightfoot* prefixed to the folio edition of his works,¹⁵⁴ 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”.¹⁵⁵ The College became an important institution for the Puritans. The London ministers had been meeting informally at Sion College 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. A catalogue of the contents of the library was published in 1650 and works listed may possibly have been available to the Westminster divines.¹⁵⁶ Of the approximately seventy works referenced in *The Grand Debate*, forty-four are found in the catalogue for Sion College.

12. Private Libraries

As already noted, it may be that those divines who had good personal libraries gave aid to the transplanted divines and commissioners by giving them access to their own books. Certainly it was not uncommon for divines to have substantial libraries. While we do not know what may have been in his library at the time, it is said that Thomas Goodwin lost half his books in the fire of London in 1666 which amounted to £500.¹⁵⁷ Neither do we not know what was in Edmund Calamy’s library, but it was not unusual for him to open up his home to guests. As already noted, he was minister at St. Mary Aldermanbury. ‘Prior to the assembly Calamy worked from his home with his fellow “Smectymanuans”—Stephen Marshall, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen and William Spurstowe [all would be appointed to the Westminster Assembly]—to produce two concerted attacks against episcopacy. It was in his Aldermanbury home that an agreement was reached between presbyterians and leading congregationalists which delineated the parameters of their ecclesiological differences.’¹⁵⁸ On at least one occasion a committee of the Assembly met in his home.¹⁵⁹ So it is possible he could have loaned books out of his library; except that we have no record of what he owned or how extensive a collection it may have been. However, there is

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Lightfoot, *Works*, Vol. 1, p. 47.

¹⁵⁵ Pearce, p. 233, n. 1.

¹⁵⁶ John Spencer, *Catalogus universalis libroum omnium in bibliotheca Collegii Sionii apud Londinenses* (Londini: Ex officina typographica Rob. Leybourni, 1650). There are no acquisition dates, so of titles in this study it can only be concluded that books *may* have been present in the Sion College Library during the time the Scots Commissioners resided in London.

¹⁵⁷ James Reid, *Memoirs of the lives and writings of those eminent divines who convened in the famous Assembly at Westminster* (2 vols., Paisley, 1811-15), Vol. 1, p. 339. Reid writes that the sale of Seaman’s library brought £700, which may indicate the size of Goodwin’s. It is estimated that Seaman had fifteen to twenty thousand volumes.

¹⁵⁸ *Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 111.

¹⁵⁹ Lightfoot wrote, ‘our committee remooved to Mr. Calamies in London’. ‘Calamy’s home was in Aldermanbury and probably a large one.’ Chad Van Dixhoorn, ‘Reforming the Reformation: Theological Debate at the Westminster Assembly 1643-1652’, Volume 2, Appendix A: Lightfoot’s Journal, p. 25 and note.

a bit more known about libraries belonging to two other of the Westminster divines. There are auction catalogues for the libraries of Lazarus Seaman and William Greenhill.

13. The Libraries of William Greenhill and Lazarus Seaman

The collection of William Greenhill was by far the smaller of the two libraries. The catalogue is only 26 pages, listing 690 lots. ‘The contents are Bibles and commentaries, the large folio editions of the works of the Fathers, English Puritan Divines, and a few secular books of no prominence.’¹⁶⁰ Greenhill was not a prominent speaker at the Westminster Assembly, speaking mostly during debates over ecclesiology, and the Minutes do not note that he referenced any books which might have been checked against the catalogue to see what he may have owned at the time.¹⁶¹ Given its size, of the collections analyzed, Greenhill’s had the fewest matches to the titles referenced in *The Grand Debate*.¹⁶² His catalogue perhaps is more useful for giving an idea of what the average pastor’s library for London divines may have been like in the mid-seventeenth century.

The unusually large private library of Lazarus Seaman was the first such collection sold at auction in London (in 1676). The published catalogue extends to 137 pages listing approximately 5,639 lots,¹⁶³ amounting to a ‘collection of 15,000 or 20,000 volumes’.¹⁶⁴ Van Dixhoorn notes that by ‘1643 Seaman was made minister of All Hallows, Bread Street, London. The following year he was appointed master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Neither pastoral nor academic duties kept Seaman away from the Assembly and he ranks as the second most frequent speaker in the Assembly with over 400 speeches. He was also a member deemed exceptionally useful in committee, with around eighty appointments during the course of the Assembly. Seaman was respected for his learning and had a vast library, the first to be sold by public auction in England.’¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century (1676–1700)* (London: Elliot Stock, 1898), p. 117. Cf. Zacharias Bourne, *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum selectissimæ bibliothecæ reverendi viri Gulielmi Greenhill: theologi doctissimi & pastoris olim ecclesiæ de Stepney in comitatu de Middlesex. Quorum auctio habebitur in vico vulgo dicto Breadstreet, in Ædibus Ferdinandi Stable cossipolæ ad insigne Capitis Turcæ. Per Zachariam Bourne. Catalogi gratis distribuentur ad insigne Unicornu in vico dicto Breadstreet* (London: Tho. Hodgkins, [1678]).

¹⁶¹ *Minutes*, Vol. 1, pp. 121, 148-161.

¹⁶² Of about seventy works referenced in *The Grand Debate*, twenty are found in the Greenhill catalogue, and of those referenced by the Independents in their papers, Greenhill owned at one time, works by Budé, Chamier, Davenant, Estienne, Tremellius, Voetius, and Zanchius.

¹⁶³ *Catalogus Variorum & Insignium Librorum Instructissimæ Bibliothecæ ... Lazari Seaman* (London: Ed Brewster & Guil. Cooper, 1676). There is a misnumbering of pages and either a misnumbering of Octavo commentaries or about two pages are missing from the example in *Early English Books*. Several libraries note the mis-pagination, [6], 1-64, 57-112, 109-128, 131-137, [1]. The numbering of commentaries jump from 81 on page 112 to 151 on the facing page 109.

¹⁶⁴ *Book Auctions in England*, p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ *Minutes*, Vol. 1, p. 136.

Some evidence suggests that Seaman may have already collected a good number of volumes for his library at the time of the Assembly. Seaman referred to about eighteen authors and works explicitly during debates at the Assembly, which can be gleaned from the *Minutes*, Gillespie and Lightfoot.¹⁶⁶ Balsalmon on Acts (Lightfoot, p. 100), Beza's *Annotationes*, Calvin on Galatians, Cameron's *Prælectiones*, Cartwright's *Confutation*, Chrysostom (*Minutes*, Vol. 2, pp. 135, 187, 597; Vol. 3, p. 370; Vol. 4, p. 47), Cotton's *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* (Gillespie, p. 72), Estius on Acts (*Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 367), Estius 'on the seat' likely from his comment on the Sentences (Lightfoot, p. 125), Festus Hommius, *Harmonia Synodorum Hollandicarum* [i.e. *Belgicarum*] (Gillespie, p. 73), Ignatius (Lightfoot, p. 125), Luther on Galatians (*Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 187), Lydius (*Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 633), Guillaume Parisiensis (Gillespie, p. 96),¹⁶⁷ Savonarola (*Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 36), Symmachus (Lightfoot, p. 175), Whitaker (*Minutes*, Vol. 3, p. 312), and Scotus (*Minutes*, Vol. 2, p. 36). Only the Balsalmon on Acts, Luther on Galatians, and the Cotton, are not listed amongst the auctioned books. The Cotton would have been generally available at the assembly given that Goodwin and Nye published it with a preface under their own hand. The other two are listed in the Sion College catalogue.¹⁶⁸ The other fifteen are found in some form in the Seaman catalogue (distinct works or collections, etc.). This would indicate that Seaman's library (which assuming he lived near All Hallows, Bread Street, was not that much further from Worcester house than Calamy's house and Sion College), could have been of a significant size and resource at the time for the visiting divines. Of the approximately seventy works referenced in *The Grand Debate*, forty-three are found in the Seaman catalogue, compared to Greenhill's twenty, the twenty-nine found at Westminster Abbey, forty-four at Sion, forty-eight at Lambeth, and three that could be found in the Assembly's collection made out of Laud's study. While it cannot be known which works were in Seaman's collection during the Assembly, this nevertheless gives an indication just how significant a private collection it was.

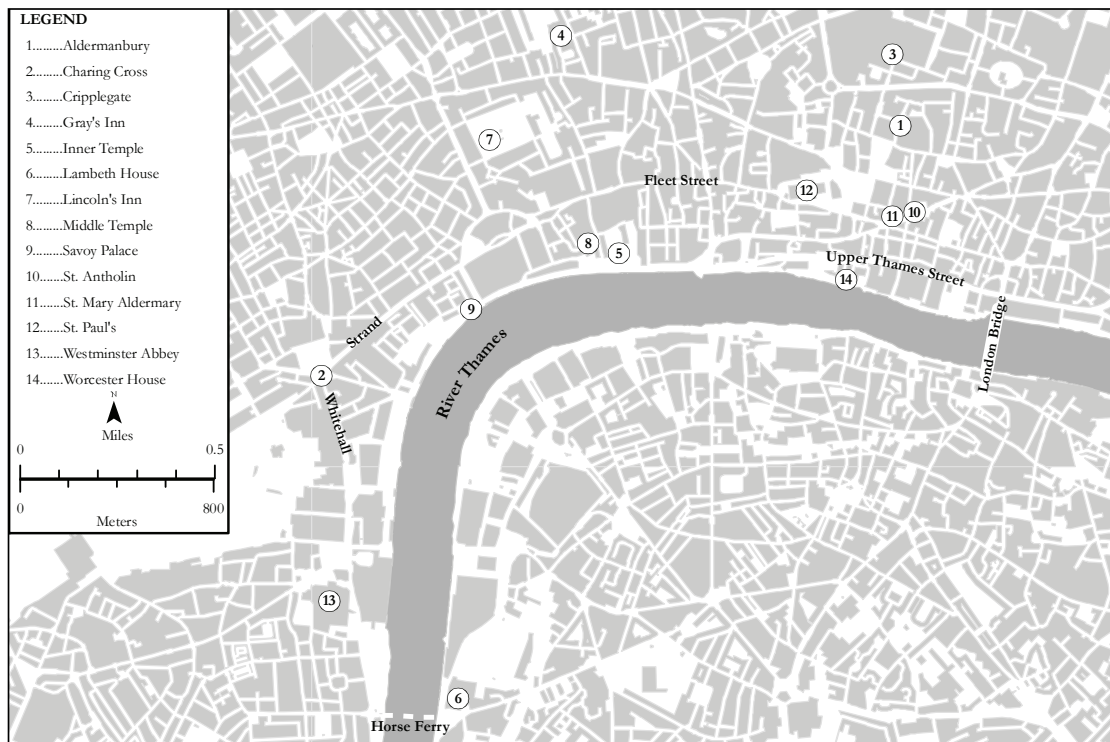
14. The London Book Shops

It is possible that the Scottish Commissioners and other divines purchased some of the older as well as newer books not found in the libraries in the London book houses. They 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

¹⁶⁶ *Minutes*, 'Register of Citations', Vol. 1, pp. 148-161; 'Notes of Debates and Proceedings of The Assembly of Divines and other Commissioners at Westminster. February 1644 to January 1646', in David Meek (ed.), *The Presbyterian's Armoury, The Works of George Gillespie* (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle, and Oliver & Boyd, 1846); Lightfoot, *Works*, Vol. 13.

¹⁶⁷ The Seaman auction catalogue lists '87. Guil. Parisiensis Episcopi de septem Sacramentis Libellus', page 132. Seaman adduced 'De Sacr. Ordinis' according to Gillespie's Assembly notes, p. 96.

¹⁶⁸ *Catalogus universalis*, p. 29, item 12. Seaman owned a copy of the Sion College catalogue.



London at the time of the Westminster Assembly (MAP BY SETH STARK © 2010).

and Scotland.¹⁶⁹ 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].¹⁷⁰

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.¹⁷¹

15. Scottish Agent in Campvere: William Spang

Another possible source for the Scottish Commissioners was Baillie's cousin William Spang. It is clear from their correspondence that the cousins were exchanging and obtaining books for each other. Through Spang, Baillie had access to Rivet, whom he had actually met, as well as Voetius and other

¹⁶⁹ David Davies, 'The Geographic Extent of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *Het Boek*, Vol. 31 (1952–54), p. 22, cited in Laura Cruz, 'The Geographic Extent of the Dutch Book Trade in the 17th Century: an Old Question Revisited', in Benjamin J. Kaplan, Marbeth Carlson, and Laura Cruz (eds.), *Boundaries and their meanings in the history of the Netherlands* (Brill, 2009), p. 119.

¹⁷⁰ Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton: a critical biography* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), pp. 160, 593, note 28. Cf. 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), p. 279.

¹⁷¹ See location 12 on the map (Agas Map, C5, <http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca>).

contemporary Reformed divines on the continent. He begged Spang a number of times to get Rivet and Voet involved writing on the Presbyterian side, and they corresponded often about books.¹⁷² 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, in addition to the other sources at their disposal.

16. 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 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 the time of writing this seems a remote possibility given its apparent closing by Parliament. The divines also had access to the London book marketers clustered around Saint Paul's, who 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. And there were the personal libraries of various London divines such as those of Seaman and Greenhill, which may have been available to the Scots and other divines away from their studies and personal libraries while in the city attending upon the Assembly. All of these were potential sources for the divines during the 'Grand Debate', and the bibliography in *The Grand Debate* was collated with the transcribed list of books from Laud's library, the Westminster Abbey *Benefactors' book*, the catalogue for the library at Sion College, the MS catalogue for Lambeth Palace Library, and the published auction catalogues for the private libraries belonging to assemblymen William Greenhill and Lazarus Seamen.

¹⁷² Spang became the minister of the Scotts church in Campvere in 1630 (Memoir of Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, Vol. 1, p. cxiv). In 1637 Baillie is found writing to him for 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. Regarding their book discussions, see *Letters and Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 158, 175, 239, 250, 251, 275, 290.