

William Thomas's Notebook: A Window on Seventeenth-Century Religion and Politics

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William Thomas entered Brasenose College, Oxford, as an undergraduate in 1609 and, while there, possessed at least one small notebook in which he recorded sermons from hearing. After ordination in 1617, and as a committed Puritan, Thomas was twice ejected from his living at Ubley in Somerset, first in 1634, then in 1662 after the Restoration. In the period of the Civil War, he used the notebook to record excerpts from printed religious and political tracts. Now in private hands in New Zealand, this notebook adds to our understanding of the culture of sermon-notation, and to the life of Thomas himself, known otherwise through his published works and Somerset ecclesiastical records.

The number of medieval manuscripts in private hands in New Zealand is small, and most are known and catalogued. It is more difficult to determine the number of early modern manuscripts and documents, as such items are often directly connected with their present owners' forebears in some way, and therefore more likely to remain in family possession, often without notice to the wider scholarly community. Some do surface, however, and I have come across a variety of items that now reside in New Zealand for rather serendipitous reasons. I have examined, for example, a cache of seventeenth-century legal documents rescued from a rubbish skip in London in the 1970s, which passed by inheritance to a New Zealand family member. Another object narrowly to have escaped destruction, the subject of this article, is a notebook miscellany brought to me for decipherment and information, which remains in private hands. The owner discovered it when clearing the personal effects in England of his deceased father, who purchased it from a bookseller or at auction, probably in the 1960s. At the time of discovery, its existence was unsuspected, and it was found in a cluster of shoeboxes in a closet.

This article offers a short discussion of the book and a catalogue of contents for other researchers, to ensure, through recording the text in digital images and transcriptions, that these contents are accessible, in view of the fact that the owner wishes to remain anonymous.¹ The evidence to be drawn from the notebook is important in two respects. First, it provides

¹ Digital images can be viewed at *The Notebook of William Thomas* (University of Otago, 2015) <www.otago.ac.nz/englishlinguistics/english/thomas_notebook.html>.

an insight into preaching activity in early seventeenth-century Oxford, and an example of the method by which university students took down sermon notes. Such notes have been the focus of important new research into sermon reception. Second, the notebook provides an insight into the reaction of a pious and politically informed member of the clergy to the crisis of the English Civil War, and the kinds of print documents that he found worthy of recording. The writer of both parts of the notebook was William Thomas (1592/3–1667), Puritan rector of Ubley in Somerset from 1618 to 1662, and Presbyterian activist, whose life details can be traced in his published works, and in ecclesiastical records for Somerset and London.

I. Evidence of Ownership

There is no inscription of ownership in the notebook, but several features point to the identity of the writer. The principal evidence is the copy of an undated letter in the notebook (item 31, transcribed in Appendix 2), its position indicating that it was inserted after 1642. The letter is addressed to ‘Mr Philip Mainwayring’, and concludes with the initials ‘W.T. Δ θ^æ’. It appears that the writer was William Thomas. As the letter indicates, both writer and recipient were at the same Oxford college, which, as surviving records show, was Brasenose:²

I desire the Continuance & renewing of our former acquaintance, not onely because of those Relations that were betweene us in the vniuersetie, being both of one House and Time, but especially because of that good report and esteeme which since that time you haue gained (not so much by a Civil as Religious Cariage).

Philip Mainwaring (1589–1661) graduated BA on 8 February 1613, having matriculated at Brasenose on 29 August 1610. He was a prominent government official and Member of Parliament, appointed to the post of Irish Secretary in 1634 with the support of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and knighted in the same year, on 13 July.³

The writer, William Thomas, was a clergyman, religious controversialist, and moral reformer of some note in Somerset. He was born in Whitchurch, Shropshire, and admitted as a plebeian scholar to Brasenose College on 17

² C. B. Heberden, ed., *Brasenose College Register 1509–1909*, 2 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1909), I, 113, 115.

³ See Fiona Pogson, ‘Mainwaring, Sir Philip (1589–1661), government official’, *ODNB*. I am grateful to Dr Pogson for further information about Mainwaring, and for sending me an advance copy of her article ‘County History and Civil War: Sir Philip Mainwaring, William Dugdale, and the Attempt to Publish a History of Cheshire in the 1650s’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 163 (2014), 1–18.

May 1609. He matriculated 1 December 1609, aged sixteen, and graduated BA on 8 February 1613, proceeding to MA on 17 June 1615.⁴

The identification of 'W.T.' as William Thomas, and as the writer of the notebook, is confirmed by item 25, a sermon headed 'By the vice chancellor Bishop of Bath & Wells: March 16, die Ordinationis Mm'. Diocesan records indicate that William Thomas was ordained, by the bishop of Bath and Wells, on 16 March 1617.⁵ On 4 January 1618, he was appointed rector of the church of St Bartholomew in Ubley, Somerset.

Finally, items 5, 14, and 15 are headed in a manner suggesting that the writer was from the same college as the Brasenose preachers in question, and that he did not need to indicate the college explicitly. Several other sermons, conversely, do note the college affiliation of the preacher.

II. Clerical Training and Career of William Thomas

William Thomas entered Brasenose at a time of expansion in the number of undergraduates, and of change in their social composition.⁶ Over the preceding decades, the proportion of gentry (as exemplified by Philip Mainwaring) had increased, and the BA curriculum had changed, to some extent, to reflect the interests of this new secular element in the student body.⁷ Nevertheless, Thomas would have been attending the lectures in theology, as expected, in addition to the lectures in the liberal arts from the outset of his studies. He must have impressed his associates in being allowed to proceed to ordination as early as 1617, apparently before completing a BD. It may be that this occurred because of the acute shortage of ministers in Somerset in the early seventeenth century, and because of Thomas's affinity with the Puritan Bishop of Bath and Wells, Arthur Lake, who ordained him.⁸

⁴ S. J. Guscott, 'Thomas, William (1592/3–1667), clergyman and ejected minister', *ODNB*; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, 4 vols (Oxford: Parker, 1891–92) (hereafter *Al. Ox.*), iv, 1474.

⁵ For his ordination, see Somerset Record Office, D/D/Vc 40 (Consignment Book), 1639.

⁶ On the college, see Joseph Mordaunt Crook, *Brasenose: The Biography of an Oxford College* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 1–94; and on the University of Oxford more broadly, *The History of the University of Oxford*, 8 vols (Oxford, 1984–2000), iii: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (1986).

⁷ Lawrence Stone, 'The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body', in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), i: *Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the Early 19th Century*, 3–110 (pp. 46–48).

⁸ According to Thomas Nelson (*The Life of Dr. George Bull* (London: for Richard Smith, 1713), p. 22), Thomas was advanced to the preferment of Ubley 'by the free and unsolicited bounty of Thomas Egerton, Baron of Ellesmere, and Lord Chancellor of England'. Both Thomas Egerton and his son John were Brasenose men, and by 1617, this preferment may have resulted more from the agency of the son than his ailing father.

Within the college, there was a strong Puritan faction, reflected in the election of successive masters with strong Calvinist sympathies, Thomas Singleton (1595–1614) and Samuel Radcliffe (1614–1648). Under the latter, Brasenose would become a bastion in Oxford against the rising Arminianism under Laud.

Having taken up his living at Ubley in 1618, Thomas became a well-known lecturer in Somerset. In 1633, he was granted a licence to preach throughout the diocese by Lake's successor as bishop of Bath and Wells, William Piers, who was closely allied with William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.⁹ In the rush to issue more licences in 1633, this must have been an oversight, given Thomas's pronounced lack of sympathy for Laudian policies. In October the following year, he was embroiled in the controversy surrounding the reissued order of Justice Richardson prohibiting the holding of church-ales.¹⁰ The orthodox Laud and Piers opposed this order, and, with Charles I's reissue of the *Book of Sports*, they took the opportunity to expose nonconformist and Puritan ministers who refused the directive that it should be read out in churches. Thomas was suspended for refusing, and a sentence of excommunication for three years was confirmed on 23 June 1635. Following a petition from colleagues in Somerset, Laud reinstated him; but as S. J. Guscott has observed, 'by the outbreak of civil war Thomas was an embittered opponent of the Stuart church'.¹¹

During the Royalist occupation of Somerset from July 1643 (until March 1645), he was ejected from his living, and imprisoned, at least temporarily. He took the covenant, and fled to London.¹² He preached regularly in the parish of St Pancras, Soper Lane, becoming rector in August 1645, and a 'Trier' for the second classis, which governed St Pancras and fourteen other London churches (most rather impoverished).¹³ The following year, he returned to

⁹ See M. Dorman, 'Piers, William (bap. 1580, d. 1670), bishop of Bath and Wells', *ODNB*. He was consecrated bishop of Peterborough in 1630 and translated to the see of Bath and Wells in 1632. Thomas may have known Piers in Oxford up to the time the latter took his DD in 1614, or when he was a canon of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, from 1616. He is variously indexed as 'Piers', 'Peirs', or 'Pierce' in modern discussions.

¹⁰ Margaret F. Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (London: Associated University Presses, 1982), pp. 34, 87, 293, 313; T. G. Barnes, 'County Politics and a Puritan *cause célèbre*: Somerset Churchales, 1633', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 9 (1959), 103–22.

¹¹ Guscott, 'Thomas, William'.

¹² Thomas refers to his imprisonment in his tracts against Speed. See n. 16 below.

¹³ Tai Liu, *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes* (Newark: Associated University Presses, 1986), pp. 51–102, 117. The 'classis' or 'presbytery' constituted an assembly of elders governing a group of local churches. By parliamentary ordinance, the London Provincial Assembly held jurisdiction over twelve classes and 136 parishes.

Ubley, and was active in Presbyterian governance as a member of the Somerset Board of Triers.¹⁴ In 1654, he assisted the Somerset committee for the ejection of 'ignorant, insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous' ministers. Thomas's concern was not just to remove or correct those representing the old Laudian regime, but also independent nonconformists. In 1656 and 1657, he published refutations of the work of the Bristol Quaker, Thomas Speed, who had replied in print to some letters of remonstrance from Thomas, 'stufft with much wrath, and more confusion', according to Speed in his *Christs Innocency Pleaded*. Speed's use of scripture and preaching and questions of tithes were at issue, and in his reply, Speed accused Thomas of attempting to acquire a more ample living at Wells, suggesting that: 'you did strenuously endeavour to shew yourselfe a faithfull Minister by your Preaching rather at Wells for tithes, than at Ubley for soules.'¹⁵ Thomas published a counter-reply, and the exchange of pamphlets continued into 1657.¹⁶

At the Restoration, Thomas again found himself in conflict with authorities, refusing to comply with the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He was ejected from his living at Ubley, although he continued to live there and to attend worship. Under the Five Mile (or 'Oxford') Act of 1665 he took the 'Oxford oath', which from 24 March 1666 allowed him to continue residing in his place of ministry, but which precluded him from preaching.

William Thomas's latter years were devoted to scholarship and writing, and to philanthropic projects, including endowments for the schoolhouse which he established at Whitchurch. He is buried in the chancel of the church at Ubley, where he spent much of his life. His published works include *Christian and Conjugal Counsell ... Applied unto the Married Estate* (London: for Edward Thomas, 1661) and *A Preservative of Piety* (London: for Edward Thomas, 1662). None of his own sermons appears to have survived, but his 'Exhortations' spoken at the funerals of two fellow pastors, Samuel Oliver, and his friend Samuel Croke, were published in association with John Chetwynd in 1653, and provide some insight into his orderly manner of delivery, along with his deep commitment to the role of pastor and preacher.¹⁷

¹⁴ William Gibson, *Religion and the Enlightenment, 1600–1800: Conflict and the Rise of Civic Humanism in Taunton* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 81–82.

¹⁵ Speed, *Christs Innocency Pleaded* (London: for Giles Calvert, 1656), p. 11.

¹⁶ Thomas, *Rayling Rebuked: or, A Defence of the Ministers of this Nation* (London: for Edward Thomas, 1656); Speed, *The Guilty-covered Clergyman Unveiled* (London: for Giles Calvert, 1657); Thomas, *A Vindication of Scripture and Ministry* (London: for Edward Thomas, 1657).

¹⁷ Chetwynd and Thomas, *The Dead Speaking, or The Living Names of Two Deceased Ministers of Christ* (London: by T. W. for John Place, 1653). There is nothing to indicate that Thomas would have opposed the publication of sermons in principle, and the reasons why he published none of his own are unknown.

III. William Thomas as Note-Taker

The centrality of the sermon in the English reformed Church, both in Anglican and in Puritan practice, is a point long recognised, and the evidence for this consists in the profusion of sermons surviving from the time of Latimer onwards, along with manuals about the composition of sermons, or about the proper way to receive the spoken sermon.¹⁸ The very churches themselves were being transformed into places of the Word, with whitewashed walls, adorned only with passages of scripture, clear glass windows, plain furnishings, and the pulpit as the focus for churchgoers.¹⁹ The imagery and visual aspects of Catholic worship had been swept aside, and indeed, debate focused more upon the relative merits of oral delivery of God's Word through preaching as opposed to study of the Word through reading.²⁰

The taking of notes from sermons was a widespread practice, and represents just one facet of what has been termed the 'afterlife' of the sermon, which having left the mouth of the preacher 'belonged to the congregation and was subject to their interpretations'.²¹ Fragments of a sermon preserved, or a written version involving systematic abridgment, can provide rich insights into the responses of the audience and those to whom the immediate audience passed on the sermon, or parts of it, filtered through their own point of view.²² Of the surviving notebooks, some belonged to lay-persons with rudimentary education, but most were written by university-educated men trained in the taking of notes, and familiar, through grammar-school and university education, with the rhetorical devices and structural systems

¹⁸ For an overview, see Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Other important studies include Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough, eds, *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600–1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁹ Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories', in *Oxford Handbook*, eds McCullough, Adlington, and Rhatigan, pp. 87–119.

²⁰ Ceri Sullivan, 'The Art of Listening in the Seventeenth Century', *Modern Philology*, 104.1 (2006), 34–71 (pp. 35–36); Jennifer Rae McDermott, '"The Melodie of Heaven": Sermonizing the Open Ear in Early Modern England', in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, eds Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 177–97.

²¹ Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 188.

²² For a detailed study of note-taking, see Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, esp. pp. 94–116; also Sullivan, 'Art of Listening', pp. 41–43.

of the sermon.²³ The notebook under consideration here is distinctive for its early date, and for its use for other purposes later in the life of the writer.

Prior to his Oxford studies, William Thomas would have been in the first cohort of school-boys whose masters were subject to the directive in the *Canons Ecclesiastical* of 1604 that:

as often as any Sermon shall bee vpon Holy and Festival days, within the Parish where they teach, they shall bring their Scholars to the Church where such Sermon shall bee made, and there see them quietly and soberly behaue themselves, and shall examine them at times conuenient vpon their returne, what they haue borne away of such Sermons.²⁴

In 1641, Ephraim Udall noted, among other problems in crowded London churches, the activity of the schoolboy note-takers:

And, in some places, the Boyes doe write on the Communion Table, the Table being prepared for the Communion, and remove the vessels of Wine that be on the Table prepared for the communion to make roome for their writing, fouling and spotting the linnen and table at the same time with inke.²⁵

Not all divines approved of note-taking, even where conducted unobtrusively, and some considered that it distracted from proper engagement with hearts and memories.²⁶ Thomas's bishop, Arthur Lake, wrote of the primacy of hearing over sight:

Wee have two Rational Senses, and contentions have beene made about their precedencie, the bookes that are giuen vs to studie, will easily resolute the doubt, they are *Gods workes*, and *his words*: if the sight of his workes might haue recouered vs, we should not haue needed the *Preaching of his word*, but the infirmitie of the former is argued by the supply of the latter: and whatsoever Philosophie thinkes, Divinitie must hold that wee are beholding much more to our Eare, than to our Eye for saving wisdom.²⁷

Thomas's own observations on this matter are of interest. In his posthumous *Practical Piety, or, The Pastor's Last Legacy*, he instructs his readers on the important 'family-duty' of sermon repetition. He sets out the 'objection' that:

²³ On the notebook of London businessman Robert Saxby, see Caroline Skeel, 'A Puritan's Commonplace Book', *History Teacher's Miscellany*, 4 (1926), 177–78; Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, pp. 110–12.

²⁴ Canon LXXIX, in *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (London: Robert Barker, 1604), sig. N4.

²⁵ Ephraim Udall, *Τό πρέπον ενχαριτικόν, Communion Comlinesse, Wherein is Discovered the conveniency of the peoples drawing neere to the Table in the sight thereof when they receive the Lords Supper* (London: T. Bates, 1641), sig. C2^v.

²⁶ Cf. Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, p. 69.

²⁷ Lake, *Sermons, with some Religious and Divine Meditations* (London: W. Stansby for Nathaniel Butter, 1629), p. 140 (emphasis in original). See Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, p. 23.

‘writing hindreth hearing, that is hearing with such attention and affection, and giving up the whole man to it, as there may be, if noting be laid aside, and hearing be the only work.’ Yet in reply he asserts the value of note-taking as an aid to ‘repetition’, that is the ‘repeating’ of the sermon after the event in order to reinforce memory and to aid analysis:

for I look upon Hearing as a necessary duty, and a special part of our obedience, but upon Repeating as an Auxiliary Exercise, and a part of our beneficial assistance. ... Nor doth this prejudice and take off the present business, which is *Repetition*: for a diligent hearer may ... write what he hears immediately after he hath heard it, and so repeat it. ... Repetition is here spoken of (in special) as it is a Family-edifying exercise, which if it be left to memory, useth to be as defective as the memory is slippery. ... Writing shews an estimation of what we hear, and a resolution to preserve the remembrance of it. Though by hearing without writing, the heart may be more moved, yet writing so imprints there that which is heard as that it is not so soon removed; for writing hath with it a multiplyed thinking of, and running over and over again (in the inward thoughts) that which is preached and heard till it be written down, and so it sinks more deeply, and leaves in the heart a more lasting impression.²⁸

The passage is illuminating not only for exposition of Thomas’s views, but also because of its intended audience, the rural parishioners at Ubley. Note-taking was not reserved for grammar-school boys or university students.

Outside London, the two English universities were central to the most advanced culture of preaching in the early modern period. Here preachers were of the highest intellectual order; their audiences – made up largely of their peers, and of students trained in rhetoric and training for the ministry – comprised an unusually attentive and critical cohort. The University church of St Mary the Virgin, where several of the sermons in the notebook were preached, stood alongside Paul’s Cross in London, the Court, and the Houses of Parliament, as one of the premier preaching venues. Furthermore, as Emma Rhatigan reminds us, university sermons were intensely engaged with public affairs, and often theologically or politically explosive.²⁹

Having acquired a grounding in note-taking while at school, university students would further develop their skills while attending lectures, perhaps in some instances employing one of the new shorthand systems, the first to appear being Timothy Bright’s manual, *Characterie*.³⁰ The English sermon style, employing the ‘doctrine-and-use’ method, ‘made it much easier for the

²⁸ Thomas, *Practical Piety* (London: for Edward Thomas, 1681), pp. 182–84.

²⁹ Rhatigan, ‘Preaching Venues’, pp. 112–16.

³⁰ Bright, *Characterie. An Arte of shorte, swifte, and secrete writing by character* (London: I. Windet, 1588).

hearer to visualise the sermon structure in diagrammatic form'.³¹ A sermon began with a general observation or 'doctrine', supported this doctrine with scriptural arguments termed 'reasons', and proceeded to practical application or 'use'. Some preachers announced the 'doctrines' and 'uses' by name, and in many printed sermons they are explicitly labelled in the text or margins.³² It thus became a relatively straightforward process to analyse a sermon.

The preacher began the process of composition by drawing up a skeleton structure of doctrines and uses, and then proceeded to construct the sermon around it, enlarging and amplifying particular points as he saw fit. The hearer promptly deconstructed it again, turning the sermon back into a skeleton structure of doctrines and uses, which could easily be memorised and repeated.³³

The transcription of sermons thus need not have involved extensive note-taking, for the skeleton structure might be recorded, and would help the hearer commit the sermon to memory for personal use or for discussion with others. Items 3, 5, 6, and 8 in the notebook provide examples of this kind of minimal notation. Others such as item 1 reveal an attempt to take down more content; but even here the hand-written version comes to a little over 2,500 words, where the published version of the sermon totals some 8,400.

Thomas's notebook dates from November 1614, at which time he was well advanced in his MA studies and probably committed to further study toward the BD (or at least ordination), which no doubt formed the basis of his studies in the second half of 1615 and 1616, leading to his ordination in March 1617.³⁴ Nevertheless, it is not the case that this kind of note-taking was restricted to the divinity students, and the surviving notebook, 'Liber G' (see below), is apparently one of a series kept by Thomas over the course of his entire undergraduate career. A younger contemporary at Cambridge, Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–50), destined for a career in law and antiquarian studies, records his long-standing habit, continued at university, of attending and recording sermons:

On March the 5th [1620] ... having heard one sermon in our College, and afterwards another in St. Mary's in the forenoon, I went in the afternoon to another church ... where my kind friend Mr Jeffray, Bachelor of Divinity and Fellow of Pembroke Hall, preached. ... Every sermon was

³¹ Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, p. 99.

³² See, for example, Matthew Newcomen's sermon discussed below.

³³ Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, p. 100.

³⁴ There is no surviving record of the award of a BD. On the patchiness of records and the award of these degrees in conjunction with a clerical posting and dispensation for non-residence, see S. L. Greenslade, 'The Faculty of Theology', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, III, 295–334 (pp. 296–313).

orthodox and useful, and therefore after supper I busied myself enlarging and correcting such notes as I had taken at the afternoon sermon.³⁵

Such notebooks, therefore, reflect wider University practice among undergraduates, and are not specifically connected with the undergraduate arts course in logic and philosophy, or the advanced study in divinity upon which a clerical career was founded in Thomas's day. Indeed it is striking that, in his treatise on the art of preaching, John Wilkins observed how little attention was paid to the requisite skills in the university system:

It hath been the usuall course at the University to venture upon this calling in an abrupt over-hasty manner. When Schollers have passed over their Philosophicall studies, and made some little entrance upon Divinity, they presently think themselves fit for the Pulpit without any further enquiry, as if the gift of Preaching and sacred Oratory were not a distinct art of itself. This would be counted a very preposterous course in other matters, if a man should presume of being an Oratour because he was a Logician, or to practise physick because he had learnt Philosophy.³⁶

As a moderate Puritan and an opponent of Laudian Arminianism, Wilkins may be signalling a deficiency that had worsened as a result of the Laudian statutes received at Oxford in 1636. That is not necessarily the case, though, and his account probably reflects the situation in the second decade of the seventeenth century, when Thomas inhabited an environment where Oxford divinity was still 'militantly protestant, generally Calvinist, in the sense of adhering to the Reformed theology of grace, and strongly evangelical'.³⁷

The differences between a sermon, as originally delivered orally, and as put into print either immediately after delivery (as in the case of Matthew Newcomen's 5 November sermon, item 25) or some years later (as in the case of Lake's 5 November sermon, item 1) can be significant, even reflecting in some instances changed political circumstances and sensitivities.³⁸ Thus there arises a methodological problem in comparing manuscript notes on a sermon with a surviving print version. Discrepancies may be the result of the note-taker's interference, or the note-taker may be accurately recording that which is later changed by the sermon author in revision for publication. Ceri

³⁵ *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., during the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), 1, 137–38.

³⁶ John Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes, or, A Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching as it Falls under the Rules of Art* (London: for Samuel Gellibrand, 1646).

³⁷ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Religious Controversy', in *The History of the University of Oxford, 4: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 569–619 (p. 569).

³⁸ Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, pp. 147–63; James Rigby, 'Sermons into Print', in *Oxford Handbook*, eds McCullough, Adlington, and Rhatigan, pp. 198–212.

Sullivan has discussed examples of Oxford sermons from the 1650s where we are fortunate enough to have more than one version of the same sermon taken from the oral delivery, in addition to the printed version.³⁹

Allowing for these factors, it is nevertheless informative to compare Thomas's transcript of Lake's sermon with the printed version. As is often the case, pronoun forms are adjusted for printed versions: 'to refresh your memories, and quicken your deuotion' in the notebook becomes 'to refresh our memorie, and quicken our deuotion'. In the opening sections, the abridgement does not take from the substance significantly (words in the printed version that are omitted from the notes are underlined):

I haue chosen this storie, which contains an vnpartiall censure of an inordinate Zeale; inordinate Zeale in two Apostles, who are therefore vnpartially censured by our Sauour Christ. And this storie haue I the rather chosen at this time to speake of in this place, because here is the hope of Church and Common Weale, the Seed as well of the Gentry, as of the Clergie.

Thomas abstracts the structure clearly in most points. For example, where the printed form of words appears as:

... for he *reproues* their *Zeale*, and *disproues* their *Reason*; and he doth both in *Word* and *Deed*.

He reproues in *Deed*; for *He turned about*, his gesture was angrie; not only in *Deed*, but also in *Word*, and his Word commented vpon his *Deed*, *he checked them*.

Thomas gives:

1 By reprooving their zeale 2 Disproving their reason, and both these 1 in Deed, he turnes about .2. in wordes he checkes them.

And the striking figure involving 'hands' and 'hearts' immediately after, is retained also:

But to reprove and shew no cause, is to hold the Hands, but not to rectifie the Heart; Christ doth not so, hee will not only haue them forbear, but also to be perswaded that they ought so to doe. Therefore he confuteth their Reason. [Print]

And to do all this without a cause were indeed to bridle their handes, but not to rectifie their harts but Christ in his rebukes not onely staies men but guides them. [Notebook]

That Lake revised the sermon somewhat is indicated by a few *exempla* that appear in the notebook, but not in print. Thomas took down this sentence, for example, which does not appear in print:

³⁹ Sullivan, 'Art of Listening', pp. 43–52, 60–71.

Men readinge Cesars life are glad to reade it, & approoue it, and hate the actions of a Nero. Yet who is it (saith Machaueil) thatt in his practise wold not sooner follow Nero? And if hee may slippe that followes the example of good men, he must needs fall that followes bad men.⁴⁰

On the other hand, it is apparent that Thomas trims the content by sometimes noting only one or two *exempla*, where Lake may provide three or four. In the series beginning with Leviticus 19 ‘Thou shalt not wrong a stranger’, matched with Homer ‘all strangeres are of God’s Family’, followed by Job ‘The stranger did not lodge in the street ...’, and concluding with the counter example of the Egyptians, who ‘held it an abomination to eat with the Hebrewes’, Thomas takes down only the first two.

Perhaps the most striking, and seemingly deliberate adjustment to Lake’s content is Thomas’s suppression of any overt reference (except for the heading in the notebook) to the Gunpowder plot, which forms the occasion for the sermon. Lake focuses on the plotters at some length, and concludes by drawing two ‘uses’ or ‘applications’ from the sermon:

But I haue stood long enough in opening the meaning of this text; Let me come now to the principall vse which I intend to make of it, which is twofold; The first is to ground thereon a good resolution of conscience. The second to stirre vs vp vnto thankfulness for our wonderfull deliuerance.

Thomas notes down only the first, and gives only one ‘application’, with an oblique reference to the Gunpowder plot:

Generous spirits vndertake not detestable actions, but they are first poisoned in conscience and in iudgment, imaginige light to be darknes, & darknes light: for the diuill wold not haue men to be passionately wicked, for then they wold afterwarde correct themselves; but he wold haue them habitually wretched: so then it was resolved firste of all that this treason was lawfull.

While retaining much of Lake’s anti-papist and anti-Jesuit content, Thomas nevertheless takes from the sermon points that can be generalised, and which are not tied specifically to the 5 November commemorations.

The first part of the notebook provides valuable insights into Thomas’s activity as a divinity student, and his Oxford connections. The first twenty-two sermons, running from November 1614 up to Thomas’s ordination in March 1617, must represent only a small proportion of the sermons he heard and noted down, and may be those that had particular significance for him.

⁴⁰ I have not found a passage in Machiavelli’s works resembling this turn of phrase. Lake seems to invoke Machiavelli in a general way. Compare with Edward Symmons, *A Militarie Sermon* (Oxford [i.e., London]: Henry Hall, 1644), p. 10: ‘they have looked into all the actions of Nero and Herod, into the Schooles of Machiavel and the Jesuites, for tricks and devises to further their designs.’

Perhaps Arthur Lake's three sermons appear not only because of his reputation as theologian and preacher, but also because of a more personal connection that culminated in Thomas's ordination and appointment into his diocese. The Regius Professors Abbott, Kilbye, and Sanderson, no doubt stood out as leading intellects of their time. Figures like Gardner and Sparke, on the other hand, while less distinguished, may also have been good preachers, worth going to hear. In Thomas Baylie, Henry Wilkinson (two other ministers later ejected), Sampson Price, and Thomas (or William) Sparke, William Thomas perhaps found men of like Puritan mind.

Item 24 is written into the book after a hiatus of eighteen years. It significantly falls in the period when Thomas was temporarily removed from his living at Ubley, and was attending service at the nearby church of Blagdon.

IV. The Later Extracts

The notebook was employed again in 1642 after another hiatus, and then for the collection principally of extracts from political-religious publications in the time of Civil War. Thomas did not accompany this with any comments of his own, so it is difficult to judge why he chose the particular extracts included, although their topicality is plain. Edmund Calamy's account of Thomas indicates that he was an assiduous and methodical writer, keeping a series of 'Anniversaria' 'that he might the better see what he had done, and what he had receiv'd, and what was wanting in, or for himself, and what remain'd as his Duty'. In addition, he spent evenings in writing his *Meditationes Verspertinae*, from which Calamy provided extracts (not included in later editions).⁴¹ Sadly, Calamy's source manuscripts appear to be lost. That Thomas had recourse to writing down extracts in the blank pages of an old notebook from the 1610s might be connected with his straightened circumstances during the Royalist occupation of Somerset. The material in item 27 is centred upon the pamphlet war initiated by *de facto* Parliamentarian spokesman, Henry Parker, in his *Observations upon some of his Majesties Late Answers and Expresses*, which was published in July 1642 on the eve of the Civil War.⁴² That Thomas was not exclusively concerned with theological matters at this time is further suggested by his recording the addresses of two members of the Hippisley family on the rear pastedown. Members of this family took prominent roles

⁴¹ Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times, with an Account of the Ministers, &c. who were Ejected after the Restoration, of King Charles II*, 2 vols (London: for John Lawrence and others, 1713), II, 587–92 (p. 588). Cf. the version revised by Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial: Being an Account of the Ministers who were Ejected or Silenced*, 2 vols (London: for W. Harris, 1775).

⁴² See Tim Harris, *Rebellion: Britain's First Stuart Kings, 1567–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 481–87.

on the Parliamentary side in Somerset (see Appendix 1). Item 31, the letter to old acquaintance (and Royalist) Philip Mainwaring stands out as an oddity in the book, and opens up questions about Thomas's motives in writing to him and the manner in which they resumed contact with one another. The addressing of Mainwaring as 'Mr', rather than 'Sir', might indicate that this is a late copy of a letter written prior to his knighthood in 1634, and perhaps in happier times. On the other hand, it may represent Thomas's mode of address to him even as late as 1643, when he was in London, and it may show yet another facet of his response to the crisis period of the First Civil War, when he was cast adrift from his beloved parishioners at Ubley.

Item 32, a series of extracts from Nicholas Byfield's *The Marrow of the Oracles of God* (1620), signals a return to concerns with pastoral care. Yet it may be that political documents such as the Earl of Bristol's 1642 speech (item 26) were set down in the notebook for pastoral purposes also. Like George Herbert's country parson, Thomas no doubt undertook 'reconciling neighbours that are at variance', and during the period leading up to the Royalist occupation, he must have possessed a congregation with considerable differences of view on matters of governance and religion. We cannot rule out some degree of political activism and partisanship at this time, but one of the points that Thomas made strongly in his exchanges with Speed was the primacy of the role of minister, be it under papal, episcopal, or presbyterian control. Perhaps, like Byfield, he wished as far as possible to avoid the 'contentious zeale' of those who 'make needlesse rents in the church', and to maintain a stable ministry in the face of political dissension, about which he tried to keep himself fully informed.⁴³ This frame of mind is apparent again in the train of events leading to his ejection in 1662 when fellow clergymen urged that he accept the Act of Conformity and the Book of Common Prayer, and even the restored Bishop Piers expressed his wish not to lose Thomas from the diocese. Calamy's presentation of Thomas's writings leading up to his refusal of assent presents a portrait of a man of principle attempting to reconcile his conflicting views on the matter through prayer, reflection, and consultation.⁴⁴

University of Otago

⁴³ Nicholas Byfield, *An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Colossians* (London: for Nathaniel Butter, 1615), p. 194.

⁴⁴ Calamy, *Abridgement*, pp. 589–97.

Appendix 1

Physical Description and Catalogue of Contents

The book is bound in a pigskin wrapper with thin boards of card, the pages measuring 85 cm high by 55 cm wide. Watermarks are visible, and depict a single-handled pot surmounted by crescent, with the monogram 'PO', probably the mark of Pierre Ollivier, of Pont-Authou, near Évreux in Normandy.⁴⁵ There are two unnumbered flyleaves, then 107 leaves, paginated correctly from 1–87. The verso of page 87 is also numbered 87, and from this point on the numeration continues with even numbers on the recto (beginning 88). Pages 113 and following were accidentally numbered 213–234. This discrepancy crosses an intact quire and it is not the result of loss from the book. The page 234 (recto) is numbered 244 on the verso. The original writer supplied all pagination. The last 39 leaves are not numbered. Pagination below is according to a corrected numeration, with numbers differing from the original (after 87) marked by an asterisk. The writing throughout is in a single secretary hand, mostly neat and legible, although some sections (items 27–29 in particular) appear to have been written more hastily and cursively, and all of those written in later life are distinctly less well formed. Water staining affects the lower and outer margins, and on a few leaves has rendered letters illegible at the extremities.

The recto of the first flyleaf has the inscription 'Lib: G', while two items, 9 and 12, have cross-references: apparently to another commonplace book, '[iber] D', in the alphabetical series.⁴⁶ The letter G also appears on the fore edge of the text block. On the spine cover, however, there appears an underlined 'S' or perhaps '5'. Traces of writing appear on the front of the binding, but are now illegible, and the manipulation of various parameters to enhance digital images does not help greatly.

The rear pastedown of the notebook bears an inscription (to be read with the book inverted) in the same hand as the contents:

[W]m Hippisly Servt to
Sr John Burgen
Kn Barronet
of Bedfordsh

⁴⁵ See Daniel W. Mosser and Ernest W. Sullivan II, *The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive* (1996–) <www.gravell.org>. The mark is similar to Gravell no. POT.204.1.

⁴⁶ I am grateful to Professor Peter McCullough for suggesting this reading of these references, and for his help and advice with this article in other matters of detail.

at Warwick Court
in Warwick Lane

Jo. Hippisley of Burcott parish Wells

This is unlikely to indicate that the William Hippisley of the inscription, or the John Hippisley, owned the book at any point. It seems more likely that Thomas inscribed these names and addresses for his own information. The William Hippisley in question was apparently in the employ of Parliamentary Baronet Sir John Burgoyne (1581–1657), High Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1640, and Member of Parliament for Warwickshire 1645–48. He assisted Cromwell in raising troops and supplies in 1643.⁴⁷ William Hippisley may have been from the Hambledon branch of the family.⁴⁸ John Hippisley from Burcott appears to be a cousin of John Hippisley of Stone Easton, High Sheriff of Somerset in 1640, who was present on the Parliamentary side during the engagements near Wells, 1–6 August 1642, held various administrative posts during the interregnum, and was one of the Elders of the Presbyterian Classis of Bath and Wrington.⁴⁹ His brother Richard Hippisley was one of the key officers under General Fiennes, who lost Bristol to the Royalists on 26 July 1643.⁵⁰

The following list aims to identify the various entries in the notebook, and to provide the opening lines of text, where appropriate, in order that sermons may be crosschecked against other sources. Spelling and punctuation are retained as they appear in the notebook; expansions of abbreviated words (with the exception of commonplace forms, *y^e* = the, *y^t* = that, *w^c* = which, etc.) are indicated by italics.

1. pp. 1–14. Sermon. Arthur Lake, Warden of New College, at St Mary's, Oxford, 5 November 1614.

Dr Lake. Nou: Coll: Nouember 5. Powder plot

Luk. 9 from 53 to 56 v.

And they did not receaue him because his face was as
though he wold go to Jerusalem. And when his disciples
James & John. etc. [GB]51

⁴⁷ Thomas Carlyle, *The Life of Oliver Cromwell: With a Selection from his Letters and Speeches* (London: Longmans, 1881), p. 52; *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, eds C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1911), I, 139–41.

⁴⁸ See Alfred E. Hippisley and I. FitzRoy Jones, *Some Notes on the Hippisley Family* (Taunton: Wessex Press, 1952), p. 27. A descendent of this name was baptised 7 April 1605, educated at Westminster School, then Christchurch, Oxford (BA 1629, MA 1632).

⁴⁹ David Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), p. 37. This is not the John Hippisley, son of William Hippisley (d. 1630), who was a member of the Long Parliament.

⁵⁰ Underdown, p. 63.

⁵¹ Text versions: [GB] = *Geneva Bible*; [KJ] = *King James Bible*.

Arthur Lake matriculated at New College, 1588, BA 1591, MA 1595, DD 1605. He was Warden of New College 1613–17, Vice-Chancellor 1616, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1616–26.⁵² This sermon was published in *Sermons, with some Religious and Divine Meditations*, a collection of ninety-nine sermons and eleven religious meditations published in 1629 by John Lake, who had been a fellow under Lake at New College.⁵³

2. pp. 14–22. *Sermon. Thomas Baylie, Fellow of Magdalen College.*

Mr Bayly Maudlin

1 Cor. 6. 9

Know yee not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdome of God! [GB/KJ]

Bee not deceaued neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers nor effeminate nor abusers of themselues with mankind. Nor theiues nor couetous nor drunkards nor reuilers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdome of God. ...

A zealous Puritan in later life, Thomas Baylie matriculated St Alban Hall, Oxford, 1600, BA Magdalen College 1604, MA 1607. In 1615, he resigned his fellowship (taken up in 1610) and married; BD and licensed to preach, 1621. After ejection from his living at Mildenhall, Baylie set up a conventicle at Marlborough, where he died in 1663.⁵⁴

3. pp. 22–23. *Sermon. Sampson Price, Exeter College.*

Mr Sampson Price

Luk: 13. 6

In these words is 1 a parable propounded. 2 a vineard planted. 3 Barrennes returned: *Christ* speaks a parable: 1 Doc: All fit helpes out of secular knowledge are to be used for conuerting of soules ...

As Cranfield put it, Sampson Price followed his elder brother Daniel 'to the stoutly Calvinist Exeter College' and later, 'like his brother, he served on the staff of the strongly protestant prince of Wales'.⁵⁵ He matriculated 1602, transferred to Hart Hall, BA 1605, MA 1608. After

⁵² Kenneth Fincham, 'Lake, Arthur (bap. 1567, d. 1626), bishop of Bath and Wells', *ODNB*; *Al. Ox.*, III, 869.

⁵³ See n. 27, above.

⁵⁴ Thompson Cooper, rev. Vivienne Larminie, 'Baylie, Thomas (1581/2–1663), ejected minister', *ODNB*.

⁵⁵ Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, 'Price, Sampson (1585/6–1630), Church of England clergyman and religious writer', *ODNB*.

returning to Exeter, he proceeded to BD 1615, DD 1617. Price delivered two jeremiads at Paul's Cross in London, published as *London's Warning by Laodicea's Lukewarmnesse* (1613), and *Ephesus Warning before her Woe* (1616).

4. *pp. 23–27. Sermon. Richard Kilbie, Lincoln College.*

Dr Kilbie Christmas day pro Dr Goodwine

Christchurch:-

Gal: 4. 4. 5

But when the fulnes of time etc. [KJ]

In these words consider: 1 the time of *Christs* incarnation. In fulnes of time. 2 Gods exceeding loue in sending no creature nor Angell but his sonne. God sent his sonne — 3 the manner of the incarnation made of a woman vnder the law. 4 the ends 2*. 1 to redeeme vs that were vnder the law: 2 that we might receaue the adoption of sonnes. ...

Richard Kilbye (1560/61–1620) was rector of Lincoln College from 1590, and Regius Professor of Hebrew from 1610. He took part in the translation of the King James Bible, but his sole publication otherwise was a funeral sermon preached in 1612 for Thomas Holland, the Regius Professor of Divinity.⁵⁶

5. *pp. 27–30. Sermon. Samuel Radcliffe, Principal of Brasenose College.*

Mr Ratclaif in chappell on Christmas day 1614 at convocation being confirmed Principall on St Thomas day before:—

Mat. 2. 10

And when they saw the star they reioyced *with* exceeding great ioy:— [KJ]

The time (when) a time of peace. for now Augustus had made a generall peace throughout the world: the men (they) men of peace for they were schollers: the sence a sence of peace (saw). The obiect an obiect of peace: the (starre) for when they missed it they were troubled. the fruites the fruites of peace: they reioyced *with* exceeding great ioy:— ...

Samuel Radcliffe (1580–1648) matriculated Brasenose College 1597; BA 1601, MA 1604, proctor 1610, BD 1611, DD 1615. He was Principal of the College from 1614 until ejected by the Parliamentary visitors in January/February 1648.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ David Wilson, 'Kilbye, Richard (1560/61–1620), Hebraist', *ODNB*.

⁵⁷ *Al. Ox.*, III, 1228.

6. pp. 30–31. *Sermon. Robert Sanderson, Lincoln College.*

Mr Sanderson

Ephes: 5. 6

For for (these) thinges. [GB]

(1) those in the 5 verse say Cajetane⁵⁸ & Bellarmine⁵⁹ &
thence gather their distinction of veniall & mortall sinnes.
mortall as those in 5 verse veniall, as those in the 4. ...

Robert Sanderson (1587–1662) matriculated Lincoln College 1603; BA 1604/5, MA 1607, Fellow 1606–19. After resigning his fellowship he spent most of his career in Lincolnshire, first as rector of Wyberton (1618–19), then of Boothby Pagnell until 1660, when he became Bishop of Lincoln. He was made one of Charles I's chaplains in November 1631. From 1646 to 1648 he was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Izaak Walton observed that he was a favoured protégé of Richard Kilbye at Lincoln.⁶⁰

This sermon is not among his published works, which remained highly influential into the eighteenth century.⁶¹

7. pp. 32–37. *Sermon. Samuel Lane, Fellow of Merton College.*

Mr Lane of Merton Coll:

Luk: 19. 8

And Zacheus stood and said to the Lorde Behold, Lord, the halfe of my goodes I geue to the poore, & if I haue taken any thinge from any man by false accusation, I restore him forefolde: [KJ]

In the profession of this conuerte obserue:

1. the person that maketh this profession Zacheus:— 2. his gesture: He stood | 3 ye manner of his speech (And said. 4 to whom he spake (vnto the Lorde) 5. The euidence of his Argument. Beeholde .) — 6. the singularity of the example (I) 7. the Profession itself which consisteth of 2 partes viz ...

⁵⁸ Dominican theologian Thomas Cajetan, 1469–1534.

⁵⁹ Jesuit theologian Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, 1542–1621.

⁶⁰ Walton, *Life of Dr. Sanderson, Late Bishop of Lincoln ... to which is Added, Some Short Tracts* (London: for Richard Marriot, 1678). On Sanderson's preaching style, see Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 100; Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, p. 260.

⁶¹ Sanderson, *Twelve Sermons* (London: Robert Dawlman, 1632); *The Works of Robert Sanderson, D.D.*, ed. William Jacobson, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1854). An autograph manuscript of other sermons by Sanderson survives as BL, MS Additional 20066; cf. BL, MS Additional 5783, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Dodsworth 49, 66, Rawlinson E 96, Gough Linc 11, Eng. th. f.63. See also J. Sears McGee, 'Sanderson, Robert (1587–1663), bishop of Lincoln', *ODNB*.

Samuel Lane (1581?–1624) was Fellow of Merton from 1602, MA 1606/7, BD 1615, vicar at Hughenden 1611–14, rector of Ibstone, Oxon. 1615–16, and of Gamlingay, Cambs. 1616–25. Details of his life are scant.⁶²

8. *pp. 38–39. Sermon. William Jones, Brasenose College.*

Mr Jones Ænatanaseus
Joh. 10. 27
My sheepe heare my voice:— [GB/KJ]
Christ. a shepheard, so ministers: this the [word illegible]: 1
Christ the cheife sheapeard, they ministeriall: 2 *Christ* without
sinne, they subiect to infirmities: 3 *Christ* vniuersall ouer all, they
of a parte:

Little is known of William Jones, other than what is set out in *Al. Ox.*: from Cheshire, matriculated Brasenose 1591/2; BA 1595, MA 1599, BD 1608–09, licensed to preach 1609. He cannot be identified certainly with any of those named William Jones listed in the *Clergy of the Church of England Database*.⁶³

9. *pp. 39–40. Sermon. Thomas Garner (or Gardner), Magdalen College.*

Mr Garner. Maudlins vid. l. D. p. 179
Ephes: 5. 8
But yee are now light in the Lorde. [KJ]
Obserue here 3 degrees in him that is regenerate. ...

William Gardner was clerk of Magdalen College 1606–12, BA 1606/7; College Chaplain 1612–17. None of his sermons appeared in print.⁶⁴

10. *pp. 40–49. Sermon. Robert Sanderson (cf. item 6).*

Mr Sanderson
Ephes: 5. 6 memoriae mandata
For for these thinges cometh the wrath of God vpon the children

⁶² See *Al. Ox.*, III, 875; George C. Brodrick (*Memorials of Merton College* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), p. 277) notes only the year of his election to a fellowship, the year of his death, and his clerical livings.

⁶³ *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (King's College London, 2013) <www.theclergydatabase.org.uk> (hereafter *CCEd*).

⁶⁴ I am grateful to Dr Robin Darwall-Smith, archivist at Magdalen College, for investigating records for me. There are no papers at Magdalen formerly belonging to William Gardner, or William Sparke and Thomas Baylie.

of disobedience. [K]/GB]

Doc. | The feare & apprehension of Gods wrath is an effectuall
meanes to restraine vs from sinne. the sinne ...

Apparently a different sermon from item 6, not found in Sanderson's published works, or in the collection in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 14330.⁶⁵

11. pp. 49–50. Sermon. Robert Abbott, Balliol College.

Dr Abbote on Dr Thortons funerall

Psal. 49. 14[–15]

Like sheepe they are laid in the graue, death will feede on them & the vpriht shall haue dominion ouer them in the morninge, & their beuty shall consume in the graue from their dwelling: But God will redeeme (my) soul from the power of the graue, for hee shall receaue mee:— [KJ]
Wicked (sheepe) 1 as sheepe go to the slaughter neither knowinge nor caring whether they go, so the wicked to the graue. 2 sheepe gather together, so the wicked combine themselues to euill. 3 as sheepe are ready to go astray, so the wicked: ...

Robert Abbot (1559/60–1618) of Balliol College, Regius Professor of Divinity 1612–15, then Bishop of Salisbury.⁶⁶ None of his sermons was published. Richard Thornton, student and canon of Christ Church, licensed to preach 1604/5, DD 1608. He was vicar of Cassington 1593–1607, rector of Westwell 1599–1615, and prebendary of Worcester 1611 until his death on 1 January 1614/15.⁶⁷

12. pp. 50–57. Sermon. Arthur Lake (cf. item 1).

Dr Lake

Luk: 3. 7. 8 vid. l. D. p. 230

Bring forth fruites therefore worthy repentance [KJ]
memoria mandata

Published 1629 in *Sermons, with some Religious and Divine Meditations*, the third of five sermons preached in St Mary's, Oxford.

⁶⁵ MS 14330 (Rawl. E. 95) contains three sermons, on Psalms 101. 3, Romans 3. 8, and 1 Corinthians 7. 24.

⁶⁶ See Julian Lock, 'Abbot, Robert (1559/60–1618), bishop of Salisbury', *ODNB*.

⁶⁷ *Al. Ox.*, iv, 1481.

13. pp. 57–62. *Sermon. John Hanmer, Fellow of All Souls.*

Mr Hamner Colleg. *omnium animarum*

Pro: 23. 26.

My sonne geue me thy harte. [KJ]

Behold a greater then Salomon is here that coms with. 1 a fauorable compellation. 2 a reasonable postulation:— ...

John Hanmer (1575/6–1629), Bishop of St Asaph, educated at Shrewsbury School, matriculated 1592 Oriel College; elected Fellow of All Souls 1595; BA 1596, MA 1600. In 1603, he became rector of Stoke Lacy, Herefordshire, but he seems to have remained mainly at college, acting as proctor in 1605. As the *ODNB* notes, his will, drawn up on 30 November 1628, ‘contained a strong statement of his Calvinist faith’. No sermons of his were published.

14. p. 63. *Sermon. Mr Rilston, of Brasenose College.*

Mr Rilston

Why hath not Christ defended vs from death, as well as sealed our resurrection after death?

Sol. 1a | He hath defended us from death as a curse & sting ...

Two identifications are possible. John Rillston, of Brasenose, matriculated 1608, BA 1611/12, MA 1614. More probably, however, the preacher was Edward Riddleston/Rilston, matriculated Brasenose 1578, BA 1581/2. He gained his MA at Cambridge, 1583, before returning to Brasenose as Fellow in 1585/6. He was Vice-Principal, 1596–1600, Senior Bursar 1600–01, and was licensed to preach in 1611/12. He was described as ‘a pious man ... whose preaching was of such life and power and in such evidences and demonstration of the Spirit that his hearers were ordinarily struck with fear and reverence, if not with terror’.⁶⁸

15. pp. 64–65. *Sermon. Samuel Radcliffe (cf. item 5).*

Dr Radecliff Principalis

Act: 2. 2

The descention of the holy ghost is in this chapter described by 4 circumstances. 1 the time. & that famous. at the feast 2 persons to whom he appeared. & they blessed; the Apostles, or as Aresius thinks, the 120 disciples: 3 manner how, & that miraculous ...

⁶⁸ Cited by Crook, *Brasenose*, p. 39.

16. pp. 66–76. *Sermon. Mr Sparke, Magdalen College.*

Mr Sparke

1. Cor: 1. 21

After that the world by wisdom knew not God in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishnes of preaching to saue them that beleieue. [KJ]

The finis here is saluation, the Medium foolishnes of preaching: Nature hath many, a worlde, grace but a few, them that beleieue. Nature hath wisdom, grace faith, nature Gods wisdom, a meanes hidden. ...

This sermon may have been preached by Thomas Sparke (1548–1616), Fellow of Magdalen College from 1569 to 1572, and rector of Bletchley, Bucks., from 1578 until his death, or by his son William. Thomas Sparke was a moderate Puritan who recanted his earlier nonconformity in 1603, and subsequently published *A Brotherly Perswasion to Unity and Uniformity in Judgement and Practice*.⁶⁹ Wood noted that Sparke was so highly respected at Oxford, ‘that the sages of the university thought it fit, after his death, to have his picture painted on the wall in the school-gallery among the English divines of note’.⁷⁰

William Sparke was Fellow of Magdalen College 1606–17, and Reader in Divinity. From 1616, he was chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham and rector of Bletchley, following the death of his father. Wood gives him a brief entry in *Athenæ Oxonienses*, noting his *Vis Naturæ, & Virtus Vitæ explicata* (London: Richard Field, 1612) and *The Mystery of Godliness* (Oxford: for William Webb, 1628).

17. pp. 77–85. *Extracts from ‘Basilikon doron, or, King James’s instructions to his dearest sonne, Henry the Prince’. 1599/1603.*

18. pp. 86–*91. *Sermon. Samuel Purchas, Rector of St Martin Ludgate.*

Mr Purchase in London

Reuel: 2. 15. 16

So haste thou them also that holde the doctrine of the Nicholaitans which thinge I hate: Repente, or else I will come to thee quickly, and will fighte againste them with the sworde of my mouth:— [KJ]

This sinne of the Nicolaitans is compared to that of Balaam: which was Idolatry and carnall fornication. And if such sinnes

⁶⁹ (London: Nicholas Oakes for Roger Jackson, 1607).

⁷⁰ Gary W. Jenkins, ‘Sparke, Thomas (1548–1616), Church of England Clergyman’, *ODNB; Al. Ox.*, II, 190.

raigned in the times of the Apostles, and in the purer state of the church, wee muste not thinke much if we see them now. *Which* thinge I hate, but *Christ* is God, and God is loue. how can he therefore be saide to hate? ...

Samuel Purchas (1577–1626) matriculated St John's College, Cambridge 1594, and was ordained in 1601. He was appointed chaplain to Archbishop George Abbot in 1613 or 1614, and was rector of St Martin Ludgate from 1614–26. Best known for his *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1624–25), he published only one sermon, *The Kings Towre* (preached at Paul's Cross on 5 August 1622).⁷¹

19. p. *92. *Sermon. Unidentified.*

Isa: 2. 5

O house of Jacob come yee &c. [KJ]

1 Doc | from the dependance: Before the prophet had shewed the forwardnes that shold be amonge the gentiles in the time of *Christ*, and therevpon exorts the Jewes to stir vp themselves: Doc | The example of others that goe before vs, and are like to go beyonde vs in good courses, oughte to be greate motiues to stir vs vp to walke in the like. ...

20. pp. *93–*110. *Sermon. Henry Wilkinson of Thame.*

Mr Wilkinson of Tame in St Maries⁷²

Psal: 19. 13

Keepe backe thy seruante also from præsumptuous sinnes, that they raigne not ouere mee:—⁷³

There be 2 thinges onely which seeme to neede explication:

1 Præsumptuous sinnes. 2 the Dominion of sinne. For the 1.

Præsumptuous sinnes cannot be restrained to any one sinne, as Blaspheme, Periurie, adulterie, but almoste any sinne may be committed in such a manner ...

Henry Wilkinson (1566–1647) matriculated Queen's College, Oxford 1582, BA 1585; elected Fellow of Merton 1586, MA 1590, BD 1597. From 1601–47 he was rector of Waddesdon, near Thame.⁷⁴ He

⁷¹ See David Armitage, 'Purchas, Samuel (*bap.* 1577, *d.* 1626), Geographical Editor and Compiler, and Church of England clergyman', *ODNB*.

⁷² The form of words suggests that this is St Mary the Virgin in Oxford, but the church in Thame is dedicated as the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Thame.

⁷³ Compare with KJ: 'Keepe back thy seruant also from presumptuous sinnes, let them not haue dominion ouer me.'

⁷⁴ See F. G. Lee, *The History, Description, and Antiquities of the prebendal Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Thame* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1883). Wilkinson does not appear to

wrote *A Catechism containing a short exposition of the points in the ordinary catechisme* (London: for Roger Pott, 1624) and *The Debt Book: or, A treatise vpon Romans 13. ver. 8* (London: for Robert Bird, 1625), and was a member of the Westminster assembly from 1643.⁷⁵

21. pp. *111–*120. *Sermon. Jenkyn Vaughan, All Souls.*

Mr Vaughan All Soules

1 Joh. 1. 8

If we say that we haue no sinne we deceaue ourselues, & ther is no truth in vs. [GB]

The words containe a supposition: If we say we haue no sinne, & a sequell, we deceaue ourselues & there is no truth in vs (If we say | what doth not God foresee and foreknow whether we will say so or no? Tullie denies Gods prescience vpon this ground. *quorum [recte quod] Homo est Dominus suorum actuum*,⁷⁶ and *ergo* he may do what he will ...

Jenkyn Vaughan (d. 1632), BA All Souls College 1601, MA 1605; proctor in 1614; rector of Penboyr 1610, Ilston 1620, vicar of Meifod, and rector of Cemmes 1626.⁷⁷

22. pp. *121–*126. *Sermon. Joshua Aisgill, Corpus Christi College.*

Mr Asgel. C. C. C. Lente:

Mat. 8. 8

Lord, I am not worthy thou sholdest come under my rooffe.

Speake the word &c. [KJ]

These words are the Centurions modeste refusall of *Christs* corporall presence. in them see the centurions vnworthines and in that. 1 the Title. Lord. 2 the extenuacion of his owne worth. Non sum dignus: 3 of what *Christs* corporeal presence. that thou sholdest come vnder my rooffe ...

Joshua Aisgill (1586 or 1587–post 1645). Matriculated Queen's College 1603, BA Corpus Christi College 1607/8, MA 1610/11. Incorporated at Cambridge 1617, BD 1623, licensed to preach 1623/4. Vicar of Down Hatherley, Gloc. 1622, Lydd, Kent 1627.⁷⁸

have had any clerical office at Thame.

⁷⁵ For his son, see Jim Spivey, 'Wilkinson, Henry (1610–1675), Church of England clergyman and ejected minister', *ODNB*.

⁷⁶ While the doctrine is Cicero's, the actual words cited appear to derive ultimately from Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a2ae, q. 158, a. 2.

⁷⁷ *Al. Ox.*, iv, 1536; his will is preserved as TNA, PROB 11/162/135.

⁷⁸ *Al. Ox.*, i, 10; *CCEd*, Person ID 7497.

23. pp. *126–*135. *Sermon. Arthur Lake (cf. items 1, 12).*

By the vicechancellor *Bishop* of Bath & Wells: March 16, die
Ordinationis Mm:
Joh: 20. 21
Then saide Jesus vnto them againe: Peace be vnto yow. As
my Father hath sente me, so sende I yow. etc [GB/KJ]
The first day that our sauour rose he appeared diuers times to
his *Apostles*, but that which was moste remarkeable [line heavily
cancelled] both because of the sensible manefestation of his
Resurrection & the consecration of his *Apostles* ...

This is not among Lake's published sermons.

24. pp. *136–*152. *Sermon. Anthony Parker, Rector of Blagdon, 1635.*

Blagdon
Mr Parker Ps[alm] 124: tot.
November 9. 1635:—
A text fit to record that *mercy which* if we should forget, the
stones would publish. 1. The Churches deliverance 2. Her
thanksgiving for it. I haue spoken of the thanksgiving In the
deliverance 3. The danger out of *which* delivered ...

Anthony Parker, matriculated Queen's College 1600/1, BA 1605;
Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, MA 1608. Rector of Blagdon,
Somerset, 1618–39. Along with Thomas, he was among the leading
ministers involved in setting up Presbyterian governance in Somerset
in 1647.⁷⁹

25. pp. *152–*153. *Note referring to Henry Parker's 'A Discourse Concerning Puritans' (1641).*

Henry Parker, political writer (known as 'The Observer') and
Parliamentarian, was prominent in the pamphlet wars of the 1640s (see
item 27).⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *Al. Ox.*, I, 1113; CCEd, Person ID 59157; William Page, ed., *A History of the County of Somerset*, Victoria County History, 9 vols (London: Constable, 1906–), II (1911), 49.

⁸⁰ Michael Mendle, 'Parker, Henry (1604–1652), political writer', *ODNB*.

26. pp. *153–*156. *Digest of the Earl of Bristol's speech in Parliament 20 May 1642.*

This is transcribed, with abridgement, from the printed version.⁸¹ The publication followed in the wake of John Digby, the Earl of Bristol's committal to the Tower on 28 March over the Kentish Petition, and his subsequent release on 19 April. On 27 May, Digby himself disowned the printing of this speech bearing his name.

27. pp. *157–*163. *Miscellaneous extracts from printed political tracts.*

The section begins with the proverb 'Qui uadit plane, uadit sane' and the statement 'Jesuits labor to reduce ...'. This part of the notebook is very difficult to decipher in comparison with the rest of it, and the text appears to have been entered very hastily in a scrawled manner. By page *159 the discourse centres on the dispute surrounding royal authority and parliamentary authority, and draws some sentences from *A Reply to the Answer (Printed by his Majesties Command at Oxford) to a Printed Booke Intituled Observations upon some of his MAIESTIES late Answers and Expresses. By J. M.*, written in answer to Henry Parker's *Observations* (1642).⁸² Other pamphlets in this debate such as the one specifically answered by 'J. M.', Dudley Diggs's *An Answer to a Printed Book ...*,⁸³ are probably also drawn upon.

28. pp. *163–*169. *Sermon. Matthew Newcomen before the House of Commons, 5 November 1643.*

From the referencing and notes, and from some idiosyncratic spellings, it is clear that this abbreviated transcript was copied from the print version.⁸⁴

⁸¹ *A Speech made by the Right Honorable Iohn, Earl of Bristoll, in the high court of Parliament, May 20. 1642. Concerning an Accommodation* (London: for W. G., 1642).

⁸² (London: Matthew Walbancke, 1642).

⁸³ (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1642).

⁸⁴ *The Craft and Crvelty of the Churches Adversaries* (London: G. M. for Christopher Meredith, 1643); Tom Webster, 'Newcomen, Matthew (d. 1669), clergyman and ejected minister and religious controversialist', *ODNB*.

29. pp. *170–*184. *A tract in Latin on the powers of King and Parliament.*

The writing is scrawled and in places illegible. The heading or opening line has been cancelled and is illegible. The opening appears to read:

1. subordinate et absoluta 2. coordinata et commixta sic nostra
composita ex 3bus coordinatis Estatis [?] Rege et 2bus parlamenti
domibus.

30. pp. *185–*190. *Sermon notes (unattributed).*

2 Thessal: 2. 8
Then shall the wicked man be revealed [GB]

What is recorded bears little of the sermon structure or argument in it, and is dominated by anti-papal polemic, involving a historical survey of the Roman Church and the development of Catholic doctrine.

31. pp. *191–*194. *Letter by ‘W.T.’ to Mr Philip Mainwaring.*

See Appendix 2.

32. pp. *195–*211. *Extracts from Nicholas Byfield’s ‘The Marrow of the Oracles of God’, 1620.*

Byfield’s *Marrow* and his other publications were widely read, and standard works in the Puritan library. Byfield and Thomas seem to have had much in common, as observed above, and the most surprising aspect of the entries here is the implication that Thomas by this time did not have a copy of *The Marrow* of his own.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ On Byfield’s systematic pietist disciplinarianism, see Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 95–96, 134–35, and *passim*.

Appendix 2

Letter from William Thomas to Philip Mainwaring

To Mr Philip Mainwaring

Sir, I shold think my self very unworthy of *your loue*, if I sholde be unmindfull⁸⁶ of *your Curtesie*. It was some trouble that (upon so kind *invitations*) I colde not be with *you*, which makes mee the more willing now to send these few lines as a signification of my respect and thankfulnes. The rather because I desire the Continuance & renewing of *our* former acquaintance, not onely because of those *Relations* that were betweene us in the vniuersetie being both of one House and Time, but especially because of that good report and esteeme *which* since that time you haue gained (not so much by a Civil as Religious Cariage) from those generally that be well if worthily affected. I think so much more worthy [of] Remembrance because Many that haue Contained themselues *within* Commendable Boundes in the vniversity, haue so strongly grown out when they haue bene transplanted that it easily appears their former good Cariage arose more from the *provident* care of those ouer *them*, than any vertuous disposition *within* them: such degenerating spirits are the Blemish of the vniversity *from which* they come, and the Grievance of the places *whither* they come.

Instances be so many that a Man cannot but think of it, and who can think of it, but he must be affected with it. Towardly Children, tolerable youths; vicious men, intolerable old men, euer the older the worse, euer the longer they bee, the looser they bee, what more Lamentable? In the Contrary, well-bredd Children, vertuous youthes, Religious Men; Zealous old Men; euer the older the better, and at last, best of all, what more ioyfull to others, what more honourable to themselues!

Where such good & worthy thinges be found what wold a man desire but Continuance; Where there is Continuance what wold a man long for, but increase? Where there is increase what wold a man wish for but Perfection? Sir there being so good Testimony of the thre former (without any Flattery for the father of all those things puts a barre to all Insolency) that I wish is the last of these. Your Perfection I meane (since there cannot be any perfection here saue onely Comparative) *your* going on to perfection Heb. 6. 1. *which* (as I conceive) consists in labouring still after a greater measure of knowledge, and Holiness, and Zeale; *which* add perfection to the Head and Heart and life. The first is like the naturall force and strength that is in a Mans body; The 2nd like the ingenuous and sweete disposition of a mans soule; The 3rd like a precieuse and noble spirit in a man, that sets bothe the former a work, and so presents unto vs a perfect man. This knowledge is attained in such a Measure, by attending upon Salomon and hearing his wisdom. 1 King 10: 8 (Hee that is Salomons servant must needes

⁸⁶ 'unworthy ... unmindfull' written out twice through eye-skip; first cancelled.

be either a very wise man, or a very foole.) I meane by hearkening⁸⁷ frequently and studiously unto that foolishnes of Preaching *which* God hath ordained to be the powfull Meanes of the begetting & increase of spirituall wisdom and praying for that spirit that may geue us Sight to make use of this light. 1 Cor. 1. 20. 21 & 2. 12. 13. 14. 15. Your assiduous Care in attending upon Ministeriall exercises geue all hope of the growth of this knowledge.

This knowledge will be fruitfull in a speciall measure of holines by communing *with* a Mans owne Heart at home. Psal. 4. 4 and communing *with* good Company abroad. The former brings a man to the Rules, and shewes him what he shold doe; The latter illustrates, & confirms the Rule by example, and shewes what he may do while he sees it done before his Face. A Chamber helps us to Meditations, good Company to actions: As for Zeale (*which* is the perfection of other perfections) that had, and encreased, by [s ...] & Celestiall Meditations of the wonderfull loue of God, of the great blessings of God, of the glorious promises of God; By the viewing of scripture — Presidents; and By the reseruing of the Most eminent Christians amongst whom wee liue.

The first of these puts us to *our* Mettle; The second makes us Mend *our* Pace; The third helpes us to good Company, *which* makes⁸⁸ us dispatch *our* iournies both more speedely & more Chearefully:— When all this is done, a Christians Rule remains still; Pray continually, *which* Prayer Containing still the acknowledgment of *our* owne imperfections, is a speciall Meanes of attaining Perfection with this Prayer that *you* may bee a Patterne (since those in Place are more obserued & imitated) both of goodnes and growth, and so draw many more to that *which* is good, and make those that be good already to mende their pace.

I rest, intreating you to accept this as a Remembrance of *your* loue, and my owne Respect, & with all is a Ministeriall service some way or other advantageous & helpfull to *your* progresse in good Courses.

Yours obliged

by *your* leue

W.T. Δ θ^e

⁸⁷ 'hearkening' written twice; first cancelled.

⁸⁸ Two words cancelled after 'makes'.