

SIR RICHARD GIPPS' LIBRARY  
AT GREAT WHELNETHAM:  
AN UNEXPLORED PRIVATE COLLECTION  
OF THE TURN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by MICHAEL LEACH *and* MARK LOCKETT

'My Company is Gone so that now I hope to enjoy my selfe & Bookes againe,  
wch are the true pleasures of my life, all else is but vanity & noyse'  
Sir William Boothby, 18 May 1685<sup>1</sup>

THE MAN

SIR RICHARD GIPPS was not an agreeable man. He was abusive, unreasoning, litigious and on occasion prone to violence. Chronically short of money, and jealous of those with wealth enough to enable them to exercise an influence he could never possess, he craved acceptance without doing anything to make himself acceptable. One redeeming characteristic was his scholarship manifested in the collection of books and manuscripts he assembled in his lifetime and continued after his death by his eldest son, also Richard. By turns topographer, bibliophile, field archaeologist and botanist, he counted among his friends the ecclesiastical historian John Strype, the herald Peter Le Neve, the Huguenot exile and preacher Peter Allix, Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury and the philosopher Richard Burthogge. In politics a hothead, in religion he fell within the anti-dogmatic, broad church, tolerationist tradition exemplified by Burthogge and Burthogge's correspondent, John Locke. If earlier generations of the Gippes had counted themselves among the godly, Sir Richard did not. Unlike Burthogge, there is no evidence that he 'erred and strayed' into nonconformity.

Baptised at Great Whelnetham, Suffolk, on 15 September 1659, Sir Richard was educated under Dr Leedes at Bury Grammar School. He matriculated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in September 1675. In the February following he was admitted to Gray's Inn where he retained chambers for the rest of his life. He was called to the bar on 3 November 1682 'upon promise to perform the office of Master of the Revels'. The revels enjoyed royal patronage and on 27 November he was knighted by Charles II at Whitehall. Sir Richard spent much of his time on his father's estate at Great Whelnetham. About 1690 he married Mary, daughter and heiress of Edward Giles of Bowden, near Totnes, Devon. At the general election of 1695 he was defeated in his attempt to enter parliament as member for Totnes. Mary Gipps died in February 1702/3 and was buried at Great Whelnetham church. Sir Richard died at Great Whelnetham Hall on 21 December 1708 and was buried on Christmas Eve in his wife's grave. He had survived his father by little more than eighteen months.

THE SALE CATALOGUE

The library at Great Whelnetham Hall was dispersed long ago and not a single book from the final collection of over 2200 titles has yet been identified. It is not clear whether Sir Richard wrote his name in his books, or used a bookplate or a distinctive personal binding, though he did autograph several of the manuscripts that were in his ownership. However the titles of the books, often in abbreviated and sometimes in garbled form, have been preserved in the sale



FIG. 154 – Sir Richard Gipps, Knight, of Great Wheltenham, from an engraving by Smith, 1687  
(reproduced with kind permission of Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch).

catalogue prepared in 1728 (Fig. 155).<sup>2</sup> The books include a dozen incunabula<sup>3</sup> and a wide range of subjects published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some 333 titles published after Sir Richard's death were presumably added to the library by his son, Richard Gipps. This makes interpretation of the collection difficult as, in the absence of a dated accessions list, it is impossible to say which books published before 1708 had been acquired by Sir Richard, or purchased second hand by his son. There is also the possibility that part of the collection had been passed down from an earlier generation.

A further caution is necessary when examining this collection. In March 1725/6, Sir Richard's son sold 'a parcell of Books' to the Suffolk antiquary, Thomas Martin.<sup>4</sup> No other evidence of dispersal has been found, but it is possible that significant numbers of books might have been sold between 1708 and 1728. However the sale catalogue plainly states that it was of 'the Library and Manuscripts of the late Sir Richard Gipps', implying to potential purchasers that this collection had been made by that 'Honoratissimi Eruditissimique Viri'. This may have been, of course, no more than bookseller's puff. The other, more tenuous, clue that the collection was Sir Richard's lies in the fact that many of the titles clearly reflect his particular interests.

The title page of the sale catalogue noted that the library consisted of 'a large Collection of Books in most Languages, relating to the History, Antiquities, and Parliamentary Affairs of

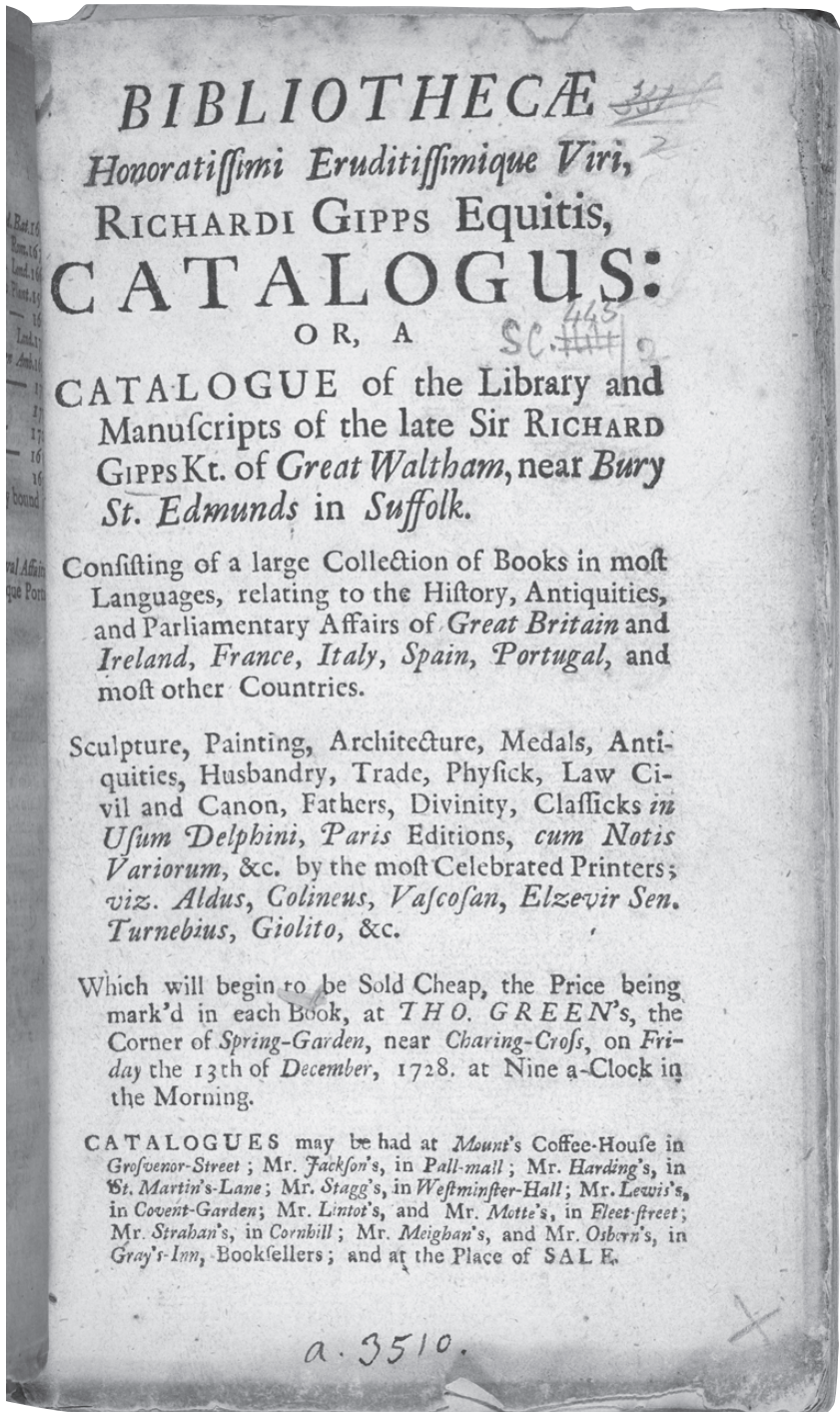


FIG. 155 – The sale catalogue of 1728  
 (reproduced by courtesy of The British Library Board, SC. 445(2) front page).

*Great Britain and Ireland, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal* and most other Countries. Sculpture, Painting, Architecture, Medals, Antiquities, Husbandry, Trade, Physic, Law Civil and Canon, Fathers, Divinity, Classicks in *Usus Delphini*, Paris Editions, *cum Notis Variorum*, &c by the most Celebrated Printers; *viz. Aldus, Colineus, Vascosan, Elzevir Sen., Turnebius, Giolito, &c.* It is interesting to note that books published by certain printers were specified. By this period bibliophiles, such as bishops John Moore and Thomas Tanner, were already making collections of rare fifteenth and sixteenth century English books, and the bookseller's specific reference to European printers suggests that these too had become collectable.<sup>5</sup>

The books were to be 'Sold Cheap, the Price being mark'd in each Book, at THO. GREEN's, the Corner of *Spring-Garden*, near *Charing-Cross* on *Friday* the 13<sup>th</sup> of *December*, 1728, at *Nine a-Clock* in the Morning'. It has been suggested that this was one of the first book sales in which the prices were already marked in each volume. However, another London bookseller, Edmund Curll had adopted this method at least twenty years earlier and the practice may have been more widespread than previously believed. It was certainly an alternative adopted by Norwich booksellers from the early eighteenth century onwards.<sup>6</sup> Green's list contained 2229 titles (some in multi-volume editions) and 50 manuscripts. It is inconceivable that all this stock could have been sold in a single day, and the sale must have continued for some time, with the less popular items being reduced at a later date.

In the catalogue the books are listed both by size (folio, quarto and 'octavo et infra'), and by broad subject classification. The books in Latin (about one third of the collection) are classified by subject, but the foreign language books are listed in two separate categories, French, and Spanish and Italian. The classification is reasonably accurate, though there are a fair number of errors of transcription. Some titles are misclassified and others, allocated to miscellaneous, could have been put under more specific headings. Authors' names, together with places and dates of publication, are normally given. Occasionally there are additional notes clearly aimed at the book-collector, such as 'very rare and scarce', 'large paper edition' or 'Turkey leather'. Though, by this date, the practice of gilding spines and adding title labels was often mentioned by booksellers, Green's catalogue contains no examples.

The task of cataloguing would have required some knowledge of books and must have been a two man job, with one calling out the titles, and the other writing them down. This could account for some of the misspellings and inaccurate author attributions. No doubt the process of converting the handwritten inventory to print added further scope for error. There is nothing to indicate where the cataloguing was done. Before 1728 the books would have been moved to the house of Sir Richard's son at Brockley in Suffolk. Not only did he retain his father's collection (when much else was sold to meet Sir Richard's debts) but he also added those titles that were printed after 1708. It is possible that the catalogue might to some extent reflect how the books were shelved at Brockley. However it seems much more likely that the books were classified after their arrival in London, as this would have enabled the bookseller to organise the collection to his best advantage on the shelves in his premises, and to add a few explanatory notes. It is difficult to account for some 90 titles covering a wide range of subjects and classified as 'libri omissi'. Were these overlooked in the original cataloguing, or had they been delayed on the road from Suffolk?

It is worth considering whether Sir Richard had made his own inventory, and whether the bookseller's catalogue might have been based upon it. Contemporary practice would suggest that his books were shelved or boxed by size. If this was, as the contents suggest, a working library, it seems inconceivable that Sir Richard would not have had his own catalogue, without which finding a specific volume could have been a lengthy and tiresome business. In any event, if there was such a catalogue it has not survived.

In this study, the bracketed dates ascribed to specific titles are those given in the sale catalogue. The multitude and variety of editions that popular works went through would make verification of publication dates almost impossible. In only a limited number of cases has an attempt been made to identify specific editions and then only of more notable works. Generally the present authors have found it convenient to follow the subject classifications used by the bookseller. However this is not always the case. For example, works by classical authors have been retrieved from the *Historici & Miscellanei*, *Libri Lexicographi & Classici*, *Miscellanies*, *Livres Francois*, *Libri Italici & Hispanici*, and *Libri Omissi* sections in the original catalogue. Authors represented by more than one work may appear in more than one section, and it is not uncommon to find a minority of authors in three or more sections.

#### THE FORMATION OF THE COLLECTION

Unfortunately there is nothing to indicate how Sir Richard formed his library. Very little of his correspondence survives and, if he kept diaries or account books, they are no longer extant. For the most part, evidence of his friendships can only be gleaned from the correspondence of others and, though this reveals something of the man, it says nothing of his habits as a collector. In his *Ecclesiastical Memorials* John Strype gave a detailed description of a portrait belonging to Sir Richard, suggesting that he might have visited him at Great Wheltenham. If he did so, he made no mention of the library or its contents.<sup>7</sup> In the absence of other sources the books and manuscripts must speak for themselves.

Well over 800 titles in the collection were published before Sir Richard would have been old enough to acquire books, but some of these may have been purchased second hand in London during his sojourns at Gray's Inn. It is possible that Sir Richard's grandfather, also Richard, had an interest in books as it was probably he who presented two volumes of St Thomas Aquinas's *Commentariorum* to St James parochial library in Bury St Edmunds in 1630.<sup>8</sup> It is disappointing that the few surviving records reveal nothing else about any interest earlier generations may have had in the acquisition of books. No bequests of books have been found in family wills.

Duplication of titles might indicate random inheritance or piecemeal acquisition by bulk purchases, or perhaps a desire to acquire a more up-to-date edition of a particular work. However this is only occasionally found in the Gipps' collection. The specialised nature of some of the books suggests a deliberate policy of buying specific titles to meet a particular need or interest. Books were relatively expensive at this time, and the practice of collecting to impress visitors, rather than as an essential part of a gentleman's intellectual life, was not yet well developed.<sup>9</sup>

It is surprising that there were only about 90 legal books. As Sir Richard maintained chambers at Gray's Inn he may have had a more substantial collection there. He would also have had access to the library at Gray's Inn. Any books in London could have been sold off on another occasion, perhaps to clear rent arrears on his chambers, as there is evidence that he had run up debts on at least two occasions, and that he was in particularly severe financial difficulties towards the end of his life.

#### THE MANUSCRIPTS

Although the sale catalogue lists 50 manuscripts, the more important items had already left the collection or were sold off separately. The majority of the descriptions in Green's list are insufficiently detailed to be identifiable, or to establish whether they were copies or originals – probably the former, as the latter would have been a selling point to be flagged up. A few,

such as the medieval parliamentary rolls and plea rolls, must have been copies. A near neighbour, the antiquary Sir Simonds D'Ewes, had collected copies of the same range of parliamentary rolls. As Sir Richard is known to have visited the D'Ewes library at Stowlangtoft, by then in the custody of his grandson and namesake, it is possible that his copies were made from this source.<sup>10</sup> The manuscripts listed in the sale catalogue include parliamentary journals and speeches, legal affairs including case law, heraldry and genealogy, and antiquarian matters relating to Suffolk and Norfolk. Some of the items were printed pamphlets such as Thomas Povey's *The Moderator expecting sudden Peace or certain Ruin*. Other listings are unspecific, such as 'a misc. collection on various subjects' and 'a disc. of the usefulness of letters'. A few appear to be printed books with manuscript additions. Examples are Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium* of 1616 (the principal reference work on legal writs up to the nineteenth century) 'with curious notes', and 'A Collect. of sev. Letters and Discourses by Sir Fr. Bacon to divers of his Friends in 1595, 2 vol. Some of them not printed'.

Listed amongst the manuscripts is one item of particular interest, entitled 'A plain and familiar description of the country, fruits, buildings, people and inhabitants, the customs, the divisions political and Eccles. Houses of Relig. with all their separate Valuations ... within the county of Suffolk in 1618'. This long descriptive title leaves no doubt that it was one of the manuscripts of *The Breviary of Suffolk* compiled by Robert Ryece, of which there were two versions. The first, known as the Crane Recension, was completed in 1618/19. Ryece continued to collect material, culminating in an expanded second version which was completed between 1627 and 1631 and known as the Ipswich Recension. An unknown number of copies of both were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Which version was owned by Sir Richard?

The original MS of the Crane Recension has been lost but a seventeenth century copy, in an unidentified hand, is now in the British Library.<sup>11</sup> It is bound between sheets of a Register Brevium of 1654 relating to the counties of Essex and Suffolk, and a few odd sheets bearing practice autographs of unknown individuals.<sup>12</sup> There are additional notes, in yet another hand, on Melford church dated 1688. A note on the folio preceding the Breviary transcript, 'Oxford & M bought in an Auction 1728/9', presumably relates to the acquisition of the Breviary by Edward Harley, earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The form in which the year is written suggests that his purchase was made between January and March 1729. This makes it probable that the copy purchased by Harley had come from Green's sale of Sir Richard's collection and is the version that eventually found its way into the British Library as H 3873.<sup>13</sup>

The original of the Ipswich Recension is now in the Ipswich Record Office, and is in Ryece's hand. Though it contains marginal notes added by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, it does not seem to have been owned by him as it is not included in any of his surviving library catalogues. In the eighteenth century this copy was owned by John Anstis but nothing else is known about its provenance until it came to light in a bookshop in 1938.<sup>14</sup> However, unlike H 3873, there is no circumstantial evidence that it had passed through Sir Richard's hands.

Reference has been made to the more collectable MSS that had been owned by Sir Richard but were not included in the 1728 sale catalogue. These have come to light from various sources. The library of St John's College, Cambridge, has an annotated catalogue of the sale of the earl of Ailesbury's library on 28 November 1687. Most of the books and MSS in the earl's collection had originally come from the library of William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and had passed down to him through his wife's family. The annotated catalogue shows that Sir Richard purchased ten manuscripts for the substantial sum of £10 12s 6d.<sup>15</sup> Only two, both of which bear his signature, have been located in modern collections. One is a fourteenth century copy of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia de gestis Anglorum*, once owned by William Cecil and bequeathed to the University of Glasgow library by William Hunter in 1783 (MS Hunter 288

U.6.6.). Inside the front cover is written 'Rich Gipps Miles of Graies Inne'. The names of the intermediate owners between Gipps and Hunter are not known. The other identified manuscript is a mid thirteenth-century Biblia Sacra Latino Carmine which had also been in the ownership of William Cecil. Later it passed into the hands of Cox Macro and then descended to the Patteson family before being donated by Mrs J Perowne (*née* Patteson) to the Norwich Castle Museum in 1961.<sup>16</sup> This is still in its sixteenth-century binding, with the arms of Cecil on the front cover, and is signed 'Rich Gipps' on the first folio (Norwich Castle Museum accession 1926.158.4b). It has not been possible to establish whether this bible was acquired by Cox Macro at the Gipps sale in 1728, or whether it had passed through the hands of another collector first. What is certain is that three other items purchased by Sir Richard at the earl of Ailesbury's sale were sold in the Patteson sale in February 1820. The catalogue indicates that the manuscripts were 'Formerly Collected by The Rev Cox Macro of Little Haugh in the County of Suffolk'.<sup>17</sup> The 1820 sale also contained MSS relating to Bury St Edmunds and Totnes, both of which would have been relevant to Sir Richard and might once have been in his ownership.

There is a manuscript (BL Add MS 22918) in the British Library which is known to have been owned by Sir Richard. This is signed on the title page 'R. Gipps', and is a copy, made in August 1687 by an unidentified R.H., of a shelf list of the books and manuscripts in the library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes. There are additional entries and comments in at least two other unknown hands on some of the verso sheets. It is not clear whether Sir Richard had commissioned this shelf list or how he had otherwise obtained it, but he was no stranger to the D'Ewes library.<sup>18</sup> Both the copy and the original had probably left Stowlangtoft by January 1696/7 because Peter Le Neve was only able to provide Edward Bernard with a much less complete list for inclusion in *Catalogi manusciporum Angliae et Hiberniae*.<sup>19</sup> Further confirmation that the D'Ewes shelf lists had left the library comes from the fact that they were not amongst the contents acquired by Humphry Wanley for Robert Harley in 1705. Sir Richard's copy shelf list subsequently passed to Cox Macro, John Patteson and Dawson Turner, and was acquired by the British Museum in 1859.<sup>20</sup>

The Victoria and Albert Museum holds a MS (pressmark F.48.D.12) in a nineteenth-century binding, bearing on the title page the name of Richard Gipps. It consists of extracts from Sir Simonds D'Ewes' autobiography (now in the British Library as BL, Harleian 646) and is in an unidentified seventeenth century hand. This MS had belonged successively to Cox Macro, Patteson and Dawson Turner, before its acquisition by John Forster in 1859. It is marked 'MS D Rich Gipps' in a spidery hand which differs from that of the main text and is not in Sir Richard's handwriting or in the form that he used for marking his other MSS. This annotation would appear to have been made by someone else, probably a subsequent owner or vendor of the MS.<sup>21</sup>

Sir Richard may have owned a copy of Sir Thomas Smith's 'divers orations for and against the Queen's marriage, feigned to have been spoken by certain dialogists ...' written in 1560. John Strype had access to the text which he printed as an appendix to his biography of Smith. He expressed his gratitude to 'my worthy friend, Sir Richard Gipps of Weltham', as well as to Revd John Laughton, librarian to the University of Cambridge for access to this MS, but gave no indication whether it was at Great Wheltenham, Cambridge or elsewhere. It might have been in Sir Richard's library, or in the possession of Laughton, though it seems more likely that they acted as intermediaries between Strype and its contemporary owner. In any event it has not been possible to establish its present whereabouts.<sup>22</sup>

Mention should be made of the papers which had been accumulated by Sir Richard and were directly related to his topographical interests. The first evidence of these is found in a letter from John Tanner to Sir James Burrough dated 10 November 1739:

I received your kind Letter and thank you for the account you sent me of Books relating to the Abbey of Bury – which was the thing I wanted. My Brother had got an account of most of them before; so that I only added from yours “Books and Papers in the Evidence Room &c at Bury.” Sir Richard Gipp’s Collections relating to Bury Abbey I never heard of; his Collections concerning the County of Suffolk in general were given to my Brother, and are amongst his MSS in the Bodleian Library.<sup>23</sup>

This appears to confirm that at least some of Sir Richard’s ‘Collections concerning the County of Suffolk’ must be amongst the Tanner papers in the Bodleian. They were used by John Tanner and cited as a source in the second edition of *Notitia Monastica*.<sup>24</sup> Amongst the Bodleian’s Tanner MSS there is a wide range of original and copied Suffolk material, including rentals, lay subsidies, ecclesiastical visitations, monumental inscriptions, heraldic and genealogical notes, but none are in Sir Richard’s hand, and none bear his distinctive autograph. Some or all of this material may have been collected from other sources, but it is no longer possible to identify those he might have owned. The Bodleian’s *Summary Catalogue* only attributes one item to Sir Richard. This is a fragment of a catalogue of Sir Simonds D’Ewes’ library but, though his name has been added in pencil at a much later date, the MS is certainly not in Sir Richard’s hand and is not, in any case, within the Tanner MSS collection. It forms part of a guard book of miscellaneous items of unknown provenance accumulated between 1924 and 1971.<sup>25</sup>

Some of Sir Richard’s archaeological and historical notes, which might have formed part of his Suffolk collections, are now in the Ipswich Record Office. These appear to have been owned by Cox Macro, John Patteson and Hudson Gurney.<sup>26</sup> Another part of the Suffolk collections could be what is now bound up in Harleian MS 4626 in the British Library. Unfortunately the BL catalogue provides no details of its provenance, and there is nothing to indicate when these MSS were assembled into one collection, or by whom. Though principally of Suffolk antiquarian interest, the first 179 folios are in other hands, possibly copies made for Sir Richard by other antiquarians. Many of the remaining folios are in his hand, and include ephemeral notes such as the payments that he had made for letters, or lists of those who had voted for him in the disputed Totnes election. There are also fragments of letters addressed to him. At the back of the volume are two MSS (fols 440–46 ‘*Mechanica circuli & quadratura cum equitione cubi et sphaerae*’ and fols 447–60 ‘*Tabula longitudinorum et latitudinum locurum memorabilium in Europa*’) by the Bury St Edmunds physician and mathematician Thomas Oliver. It is not possible to establish whether the Oliver MSS formed part of Sir Richard’s collection.

Another Gipps MS, which must have formed part of his Suffolk collections was his rough draft of ‘*Antiquitates Suffolciensis*’, an account of the landed gentry of the county. This was added to, and handsomely written out in a fair copy, by an unknown eighteenth-century antiquary who had noted in his introduction that Sir Richard’s draft was ‘very much mix’d & confus’d’. The compilation was, by 1757, owned by Stephen Soame of Little Thurlow, Suffolk, and by C. Hamilton in 1855, and is now in the British Library.<sup>27</sup> Sir Richard’s rough draft has not been found.

All or part of Sir Richard’s ‘Collections relating to Bury Abbey’ which was not known to John Tanner could possibly be contained in a slim volume entitled ‘*Abbey of Bury MS*’ now in Bury Record Office (Acc 448). This was almost certainly in Sir Richard’s ownership, though it is now in a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century binding and has book and shelfmarks from the library of Ickworth House. It contains information about Bury and its abbey, as well as church and genealogical notes relating to Suffolk families. Though an annotation by Francis Palgrave<sup>28</sup> dated 1842 suggests that it was compiled ‘about the time of Charles I’, the contents show that parts at least date from later in the seventeenth century and



are strongly suggestive of ownership by two or three generations of the Gipps family. A note on the verso of fol. 35, 'for my honor'd father Mr Rich. Gypps at Great Welnetham', must have been penned by Sir Richard's father and fol. 24, headed 'Feb.3: 1696/7 Wheltham magñ.', is possibly by Sir Richard himself. There is also, at fol. 30, a letter dated 26 January 1658 from Sir Richard's uncle by marriage, Humphrey Mossley, to an unidentified recipient about the practical arrangements for selling a 'great bibell'.<sup>29</sup>

In Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales* and Yates's *History of the Abbey of Bury*, 'Collect Buriens' and 'Collectanea Buriensia' respectively are cited as sources. This collection of MSS was assembled by Sir James Burrough who had been born in, and educated at, Bury. In a codicil to his will, dated 19 October 1763, Sir James directed that 'the Collectanea Buriensia newly bound in Rough Leather ... may be placed in St James Church Library de Bury'. Two volumes, one in folio and one in quarto, were deposited at the library by Elizabeth Burrough, his sister and sole executrix, but only the folio volume has survived. The fate of the quarto volume, together with other material said to have been held back by Burrough's sister in the hope of a profitable sale, is not known. At her death some two years later, administration of the will was still incomplete and Sir James's niece, Amie Burrough, was appointed sole executrix in October 1768.<sup>30</sup> It is uncertain whether any Gipps material had found its way into 'Collectanea Buriensia' though some of the contents of the slim quarto volume entitled 'Abbey of Bury MS', whose provenance before its acquisition by the Ickworth library is unknown, might perhaps have formed part of Burrough's collection.<sup>31</sup>

#### THE BOOKS

Unlike the manuscripts, none of the books belonging to Sir Richard have been found in modern collections, with one exception. This is not unexpected, as over the last three centuries large numbers of books have been discarded as obsolete or have simply worn out. Others would have been rebound and it is likely that endpapers bearing names of former owners would have been discarded by the bookbinder.

One book known to have been owned by Sir Richard is a 1559 edition of Cicero's *De Philosophia*, now in Pembroke College Library, Cambridge. The title page of this rather battered volume bears various signatures, as well as samples of practice penmanship. Though Sir Richard signed as 'Richard Gipse' there can be little doubt that the autograph is in his hand. It seems likely that he owned this book as an undergraduate, perhaps selling it to another student when he left the university. His own library contained a volume of *De Philosophia*, but of an earlier publication date. Unfortunately Pembroke College has no record of the provenance of this volume.<sup>32</sup>

Classical authors had a central place in both education and culture; Latin remained the lingua franca of educated Europe and, in the words of John Locke, 'absolutely necessary to a Gentleman'.<sup>33</sup> Sir Richard's library contained some 113 works by most of the major writers of antiquity. Even a short list must of necessity be quite long: Aesop, Aristotle, Caesar, Cicero, Euripides, Herodotus, Homer, Horace, Josephus, Livy, Lucan, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Plautus, Pliny the elder, Quintillian, Sallust, Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, Terence, Thucydides and Virgil. Petronius is missing from the collection, perhaps because of the pornographic content of the *Satyricon*, and more surprisingly there is no Pindar or Plutarch.<sup>34</sup> More than a third of the books were in sixteenth-century editions, and well over half had been printed before Sir Richard would have started to collect, suggesting that many had been inherited from an earlier generation or acquired second hand. For example, there were seven editions of Livy's *Historia Romanae* published between 1480 and 1714 and two editions in Greek of Homer's *Iliad* (1524 and 1550), as well as Joshua Barnes' edition of 1711. This would indicate

a desire to re-read the ancient authors in more accurate or better annotated editions. The majority of works were in Latin, with a small number in Greek, or in both languages. An even smaller number were in French or Italian, and only five were in English translation. Fourteen of the Latin texts were 'in Usum Delphini' editions, in which passages considered improper or unsuitable for the young had been removed or rewritten.

Most seventeenth-century gentlemen's libraries encompassed a wide range of subjects, including theology, classics, history, geography, medicine and science.<sup>35</sup> Sir Richard's library was no exception. The largest single group comprised English and classical history (over 560 titles, of which about 445 concerned English history). Though there were very few contemporary printed library catalogues at this date, Sir Richard owned the printed list of the manuscripts in the Cotton library (1696), the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lugduno-Batavia* (1640) and Bernard's *Great Catalogue* (1697). His library also contained numerous works of reference, including Calepini's *Dictionarium Quinque Lingarum* (1545), Ozanam's *Dictionnaire Mathématique* (1685) and Suicer's *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus* (1682). There was a copy of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1640) but probably in the edition of 1641 which contained a memoir of Foxe generally attributed to his younger son, Simeon.

Sir Richard and his son appear to have shared an interest in Anglo-Saxon scholarship. Henry Spelman's *Glossarium* (1626) and Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659) shared shelf space with Edward Thwaites's *Grammatica-Anglo-Saxonica ex Hiccesiano Linguarum Septentrionalium Thesaurō Excerpta* (1711) which, as its name suggests, was an abridgement of the Old English grammar in Hicces's *Thesaurus*, for the use of students. From an earlier period there was a copy of the first edition (1568) of Lambarde's *Archaionomia*, a pioneering collection and paraphrase in Latin of Anglo-Saxon laws and treaties. *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* (1605), sponsored by Lambarde's early patron archbishop Matthew Parker, traced the fortunes of the church in Britain from the time of Joseph of Arimathea. In writing to present William Cecil with a copy of the work, Parker explained that his objective was 'to note at what tyme Augustyne, my first predecessour, cam into this land, what religion he brought in with hym, and how it contynued; how it was fortified and increased ... untill the dayes of King Henry the VIIIth, when the religion began to grow better, and more agreeable to the Gospel'.<sup>36</sup> The library contained a copy of the third edition (1634) of the recusant Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, a highly original ethnographic study of the customs, manners and beliefs of the Saxons, and a great stimulus to the study of the 'English-Saxon' tongue. The German etymologist and lexicographer, Francis Junius, was represented by one work, *De Pictura Veterum* (1694), written at the behest of his patron, Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, but not by any of his transcriptions of Old English manuscripts. Richard Gipps assembled a small collection from amongst Hearne's numerous publications. Although no Saxonist himself, Hearne edited Heming's *Cartulary* (1723) and in his editions of works on and related to Glastonbury, both of which Richard acquired, contrived to include the Saxon poem now known as *The Battle of Maldon*. There were also works in Latin by Gildas and Bede, perhaps collected by Sir Richard.

The library contained printed chronicles (Fabyan, Hall and Holinshed), charters, national and ecclesiastical histories, works of historical interpretation, and a wide range of antiquarian authors including Camden, Drayton, Dugdale, Fuller, Gibson, Leyland, Selden, Spelman, Stowe, Tanner, Brian Twyne, Wharton, Weever and Wood. It is perhaps surprising that there was only one work by the prolific John Strype, his *Life and Acts of John Aylmer* (1701). Topographical works included Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* (1596), Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), King's *Vale Royal of England* (1656), Burton's *Description of*

*Leicestershire* (1657), Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), and Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities of Ambrosden* (1695). Sir Richard also possessed a copy of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, published in three volumes between 1655 and 1673 and widely recognised as marking a turning point in the study of charters. His book on judicial antiquities, *Origines Juridiciales* (1666), may have been of particular interest to Sir Richard not least because of the account it gives of the history of the Inns of Court.

A measure of the comprehensiveness of the collection can be made by looking at the sources cited by contemporary antiquarians who published topographical works. For example, Richard Newcourt, author of *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londiniense* is known to have referred to 38 printed sources, of which Sir Richard owned 25. The sources used by Thomas Cox, compiler of the Essex volume of *Magna Britannia*, ran to 36 publications, of which Sir Richard owned 17. No topographical work relating specifically to Suffolk had been printed before Sir Richard's death but, as noted above, he did own a copy of Robert Ryece's manuscript, 'The Breviary of Suffolk'.<sup>37</sup>

Apart from historical and topographical titles, the English history section contained much broadly political and parliamentary material, including a number of Prynne's pamphlets published between 1627 and 1645. There were several anti-Catholic broadsides such as Sir Edward Hoby's *A Currey-Comb for a Cox-comb* (1615) and Edward Gee's *Foot of the Snare* (1624). There were two volumes of unspecified 'Choice Tracts' dated 1641 and another undated volume of tracts, as well as Cotton's *No Post from Heaven nor Hell* of 1643 which was 'bound up with other tracts'. Of the 21 titles specified in the sale catalogue and dating from the Civil War period, twelve can be found in the collection of George Thomason.<sup>38</sup> Examples include *A Survey of that Seditious Libel called the Protestation* (1641), *Putney's Projects or an Old Serpent in a New Form* (1647) and *No Sacrilege nor Sin to purchase Church Lands of Bishops* (1659). It is likely that the four unspecified volumes of tracts would have contained more titles in common with Thomason's collection. The fact that the bookseller's catalogue described the two 1641 volumes as containing 'Choice Tracts' would suggest that such items were already being sought by bibliophiles. There was also a copy of the Leveller John Lilburne's *An Impeachment of High Treason against Oliver Cromwell ... and Ireton*, published in August 1649. The library contained Raleigh's *The History of the World* (1677), a work condemned by James I for being 'too saucy in censuring princes'. In his preface Raleigh showed how a succession of English and continental monarchs allowed ambition to lead them into tyranny: 'For those Kings, which have sold the blood of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price'.<sup>39</sup> Raleigh's *History* had a strong appeal to the regicides. Taken as a whole from the outbreak of the Scottish revolt to the restoration of Charles II, the Civil War remained part of the experience – or near experience – of most educated Englishmen. It is not surprising, therefore, that Sir Richard owned the first three volumes of Rushworth's *Historical Collections* (1682) as well as Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, published between 1702 and 1704.

Two works by political writers deserve mention: Sir Robert Filmer's *Observations Concerning the Original of Government* in which he extended his earlier attack on consent theory, and Algernon Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government*, the only explicit seventeenth-century defence of 'rebellion'. Filmer died in May 1653, little more than a year after the publication of the *Observations*, but it was the reappearance of his works in 1679 during the exclusion crisis, and the publication of *Patriarcha* in 1680, that made him the target of Whig writers, most famously Locke but also James Tyrell and Sidney. The library contained a copy of the 1696 edition of *Observations*, and also of the *Discourses* which was finally published in 1698 some fifteen years after Sidney's execution for treason.

The library held most of the important works of Gilbert Burnet, commencing with his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, finished in 1673 but not published until 1677. *The History of the Reformation* appeared in two volumes, the first in 1679 and the second in 1681. Sir Richard was dead when the supplementary volume was published in January 1715 and it was not acquired by his son. Burnet's *The History of the Rights of Princes in Disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church Lands* (1682) was ostensibly written in defence of Louis XIV in his dispute with the pope over his claim to the temporalities of vacant sees, but in reality to defend his views on the state's authority over the church. *Some Letters, Containing an Account of what Seemed most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, etc* (1687) was one of Burnet's most popular works. Anti-Catholic in tone, the author's 'chief design was to lay open the misery of those who lived under an absolute government and a devouring superstition'.<sup>40</sup> Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England* must have been acquired by Richard Gipps, as the edition was published after his father's death. It comes as no surprise that the library contained the *Sermons* (1695) of Burnet's fellow latitudinarian, John Tillotson. Late in life Richard Gipps acquired his *Works* (1728).

The next largest group was theology and divinity, 207 and 193 titles respectively, over a third in folio, some in multi-volume editions. The catalogue distinguished between 'Libri Theologici' which were all in Latin, or Latin and Greek, and 'Divinity', the vast majority of which were in English. Most of the former were in editions printed before 1660, and of the latter the majority were printed after that date. Almost a third of the books classified as divinity postdate Sir Richard's death. Fourteen Bibles or New Testaments are included in the catalogue, with the majority in Greek or Latin as well as two polyglot editions. Only two are in English – one a Matthew Bible of 1541, the other Field's 1660 folio edition, in two volumes, illustrated with engravings selected by Ogilby, and bound in 'Turkey leather.' When published, this lavish edition of the King James translation may have cost as much as £25 unbound, in the large paper version.

Christian texts, all written before the end of the fourth century, included writings attributed to St Clement of Alexandria, St Cyprian's plea for unity following the schism in north Africa, the account of the early history of the church by Eusebius, and the works of St Irenaeus written in defence of the faith against the animadversions of pagans and sceptics. Sir Richard owned works by St Augustine of Hippo as well as the *Summa Theologica* (1607) of the medieval scholastic theologian, St Thomas Aquinas. He also possessed a copy of *De Imitatione Christi* (1685) by the Christian mystic, Thomas À Kempis. The library contained studies of the Bible and works of biblical exegesis, notably of the Gospels and Epistles. Melancthon's *Operum Omnium* (1601) rubbed shoulders with works by St John Chrysostom, whose popularity in sixteenth-century England was unsurpassed by any other of the Fathers. Beyond Chrysostom, there was Martin Bucer and Bullinger on the Gospels.

Contemporary theological works included *Tractiones Theologicae* (1582) and *Novum Testamentum* (1642) by Theodore Beza, Calvin's associate and successor as leader of the Swiss Protestants. Catholic authors numbered Reynolds in response to the Calvinist William Whitaker, Regius professor of divinity at Cambridge; Cardinal Bellarmine, whose works were considered a cornerstone of Counter-Reformation polemic; and Clement Reyner, Benedictine abbot, historian and supporter of the English mission who, in 1626, published at Douai the *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*. Hooker's defence of the Elizabethan church settlement, *Of the Laus of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1666), complemented Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* (1702). There was one work, *Diatriba de Divina Justitia* (1653) by the theologian, independent minister and early proponent of toleration, John Owen. Sir Richard had corresponded with the French Protestant priest, Peter Allix, about the persecution of the Valdians, so it is not surprising to find that he owned a copy of Allix's *Ecclesiastical*

*History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont* (1690).

The miscellaneous category contained nearly 320 titles, of which about 40 were foreign histories. Examples included Francois Mézeray's *History of France* (1683), Davies's *History of the Caribby Islands* (1666), Rycaut's *History of the Turkish Empire* (1680) and Kaempfer's *History of Japan* (1727). There was a copy of Peter Heylyn's *Cosmography* (1703), together with two copies of the German historian, Helvicus's *Theatrum Historicum & Chronologicum* (1662), the second in English translation (1687). From an earlier period the library contained Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis* published in 1572. A similar number, more difficult to classify, included Boccacini's political satire *Advertisements from Parnassus* (1669), Richard Head's *The Art of Wheedling* (1675), *The World Bewitch'd* by the religious controversialist Balthasar Bekker (1695) and the deist John Toland's *Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile and Mahometan Christianity* (1708). There were about 30 volumes of travel and exploration, notably Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1589), Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1617) and William Dampier's *New Voyage round the World* (1703). Plays by authors such as Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden, Etherege, Shadwell, Mrs Behn and Congreve shared space with Jeremy Collier, whose *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698) excoriated Dryden and Congreve, among others, for profanity in stage dialogue and mockery of the clergy. The small number of poetry books included William Langland, Chaucer, Spencer, Cowley, Parnell and Steele, as well as several miscellanies. (Milton's *Political Works* (1700) found a place in the collection, but none of his poetry.) A title search for the light literature described by Birrell failed to find any examples, other than Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1590) in Italian. However the collection contained works by Petrarch and Tasso, again in Italian. A search for the bawdy and pornographic titles listed by Thompson failed to identify any such works.<sup>41</sup> Contemporary reading was represented by Swift's satire *A Tale of the Tub* (1711) and by *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). There are also a number of titles which could have been placed in other sections of the catalogue, such as dictionaries, classical texts and natural philosophy – perhaps reflecting ignorance or mistakes made by the compiler.

Sir Richard owned a number of works by Francis Bacon, including the first and second parts of his philosophical system, given the general title of *Instauratio Magna* and left incomplete at his death in 1626. There were two copies of the *Advancement of Learning*, the first edition of 1605 and another of 1674. In this work Bacon attempted the systematic classification of all branches of knowledge. His *Novum Organum*, acquired in the first edition of 1620, set out to topple Aristotle who, in Bacon's view, had done a great disservice to natural philosophy by making it subservient to his system of logic. The purpose of *Novum Organum*, in the words of its author, was 'to equip the intellect for passing beyond'.<sup>42</sup> This entailed a definition and exposition of the inductive method. Other works outside the scope of *Instauratio Magna* included the *Essays* (1625), together with a copy of *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, written in just fourteen weeks, from June to October 1621, and published in the following year.

About 280 titles fell into the broad category of 'Libri Medici, Philosophici, Mathematici & Historia Naturalis'. The 100 or so medical titles comprised classical texts such as Dioscorides, Galen and Hippocrates as well as works by Paracelsus, van Helmont, Vesalius and his successor at Padua, Gabriele Falloppio. If Paracelsus and his follower van Helmont attempted to demonstrate that all vital processes were chemical, Vesalius and Falloppio engendered a new climate of medical enquiry based on close observation of human anatomy. Works by William Harvey, Thomas Willis and Richard Lower, three of the foremost physicians of the seventeenth century, vied with more recent publications including two works by Herman Boerhaave as well as Floyer's popular *Essay of Cold Bathing* (1702), Cockburn's *Cure of Gonorrhoea* (1715), and Benjamin Marten's *New Theory of Consumptions* (1720). There

were contemporary pharmacopoeias and works on physic and surgery in Latin and English, as well as several midwifery titles listed in the French section. Sir Richard would have felt an obligation to own a selection of such medical works for the benefit of his immediate family and his wider range of dependants. This is reflected in the sale catalogues of other gentlemen's libraries of this period. What is notable about his collection is the unusually large number of medical works (and the specialised content of some of them) compared with other contemporary libraries, a finding which is difficult to explain. Perhaps it simply reflected his broader interests in natural philosophy.

Sir Richard owned ten of Robert Boyle's 40 or so publications, including the first edition of his best known work, *The Sceptical Chymist* (1661). Amongst the other titles were his *Experimental History of Colours* (1663), *The Origin of Forms and Qualities* (1666) and *Experiments about the Porosity of Bodies* (1684). In his funeral sermon, Burnet said of his friend Boyle 'His Design was only to find out Nature, to see into what Principles things might be resolved, and of what they were compounded and to prepare good Medicaments for the Bodies of Men'.<sup>43</sup> This might almost stand as a testament to the institutional continuity achieved by the Royal Society in its early years. It is perhaps surprising to find in the library a copy of the first edition of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687). Possibly as few as 300 copies were printed and they had acquired considerable scarcity value before the second edition was published in 1713.<sup>44</sup> The contents would have presented a tough intellectual challenge even to the most well informed amateur. Other members of the Royal Society were well represented with works by George Cheyne, John Collins, John Evelyn, Nehemiah Grew, William Petty, John Ray, John Wilkins and John Woodward. Sir Richard acquired *Opera Philosophica* (1664) by the French philosopher and mathematician René Descartes. He might have welcomed the Cartesian method of systematic doubt, but the Cartesian process of deductive argument ran counter to the inductive method championed by Boyle and his predecessor, Bacon. There was also one work by 'the original scissors and paste man', Pierre Gassendi.<sup>45</sup> Altogether a wide range of additional subjects was covered in this category, including botany, metallurgy, astronomy and astrology, meteorology, and husbandry. There were also a small number of practical works on cookery, veterinary medicine, falconry, horsemanship, map-making, navigation, surveying, trade and accounting, and warfare.

The books on botany form a small but significant group. *Ortus Sanitatis* (undated but first published in the late fifteenth century) was an illustrated compendium of plants, animals and minerals with therapeutic properties, used by subsequent authors as 'the mine from which they dug their semi-botanical treatises'.<sup>46</sup> A later herbal was Abraham Munting's *De Vera Antiquorum Herba Britannica* (1681), describing plants with medicinal properties and the formulations that could be prepared from them, illustrated with woodcuts. There was the 1634 edition of Gerard's *Herbal*, thoroughly revised with the addition of 800 new plants by Thomas Johnson, an indefatigable early seventeenth-century plant collector. Also by Johnson was *Mercurius Britannicus* (1634), an account of a plant hunting expedition with a group of fellow apothecaries. This work was the first step towards the composition of a British plant list. From an earlier period was Pena's *Stirpium Adversaria Nova* (1570); he was one of the first writers to ask why plant populations from distant lands differed from his own. There were two books on the structure of plants, one of which, Nehemiah Grew's *Anatomy of Plants* (1682), was not fully superseded as a reference work until the nineteenth century. Ownership of the three folio volumes of John Ray's *Historia Plantarum*, published between 1686 and 1704, suggests much more than a passing interest in plant identification and classification.<sup>47</sup> The first two volumes contained descriptions of over 6000 plants that Ray had found or had been sent by his botanical correspondents, and the third added another 10,000 plants mainly obtained from printed sources. There were no illustrations, due partly to the cost and partly

to the difficulties of obtaining accurate woodcuts. Finally, the most enigmatic book in the collection was a *Book of Curious Plants* with no author or date of publication. Was this a late medieval work with woodcuts of semi-mythological plants, or was it Sir Richard's own herbarium?

There were over 230 French titles and nearly 100 in Italian and Spanish. About three quarters of the French titles can be classified with reasonable confidence. Of these the largest group is history, followed by theology and natural philosophy, but most subject matters were represented, from travel accounts to geometry, and from dictionaries to treatises on fortification and midwifery. Amongst the titles whose authors are not identified in the catalogue are *Le Labyrinthe d'Amour* (1611), Prémont's translation from Boccaccio, and *Les Amours de Psyché & de Cupidon* (1703), a retelling by la Fontaine of the story of Cupid and Psyche set in contemporary Versailles. Both might be classified as light reading together with *Les Aventures de Robinson Crusoe* (1720). Amongst the titles in Italian are Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra* (undated) and Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* (1604) and in Spanish Andres Ximenez's *Descripcion del Monasterio del Escorial* (1681).

The library contained two standard English books on musical theory, Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1608) and Simpson's *The Division Violist, or an Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground* (1667). More surprising is the early work by the Italian theorist, composer and priest, Gafori, described as *Laudensis Musicae Actiones* but identified as *Practica Musici*, published in 1496. There were collections of music by Byrd, Tallis, Corelli, Purcell, Masciti and Pepusch. The music for strings suggests a male performer since women in this period did not play such instruments. The sets of opera arias would have been suitable for an amateur lady performer.<sup>48</sup>

The early part of Sir Richard's life coincided with the pioneer phase of classical architecture in England. Gentlemen began to acquire architectural books and some of them to include building among their recreations. Sir Richard possessed three editions of Vitruvius, in Italian (1521), in Latin with commentary (1567), and in English translation (1684). Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*, written around 1450, was acquired in an English translation of 1553. There were two editions of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, in Italian (1616) and in English translation by the Venetian architect Giacomo Leoni (1728), the latter added by Richard Gipps. Palladio's contemporary, Sebastiano Serlio, spent much of his professional life compiling a treatise on architecture. The library contained a copy of his *Regole Generale di Architettura* in an edition of 1544. It was the first of six books to appear in Serlio's lifetime. A seventh, based on his collected papers, was published in Frankfurt in 1574. The library contained a copy of the seven books, *I Sette Libri dell'Architettura* (1584), destined to exercise a profound influence on the development of English architecture. In addition there were works by Vincenzo Scamozzi, Giacomo da Vignola and the French artist and print maker, Abraham Bosse.

The library held works by Erasmus, Montaigne and Sir Thomas Browne. Taking Erasmus first, there were two copies of *Novum Testamentum, Lat & Gr* (1527 and 1544), *Opera* (1580), *Adagia* (1629), *Historia Ecclesiastica* (1623) and *Evangelium* (1645). His best-known work, *Encomium Moriae* (The Praise of Folly), a satire on theologians and the church, was one of the books that led inexorably to Martin Luther and the Reformation. There were two editions of Montaigne's *Essais*, one in French (1657) and the other in English (1685), probably in the new translation of Charles Cotton. Sir Richard owned a copy of *Religio Medici* (1682), Sir Thomas Browne's statement of 'the religion of a physician'. The library also contained a copy of his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* or *Vulgar Errors* acquired by Sir Richard in the revised, augmented third edition of 1658. Richard Gipps acquired Browne's *Posthumous Works* (1712). To these names might be added the Renaissance polymath Joseph Scaliger, the

French thinker Jean Bodin, and the scholar and historian Polydore Vergil, all of whom were represented in the collection.

In addition to the 333 titles printed after his father's death, Richard Gipps may have bought other books printed before 1708. Nearly three quarters of the post-1708 volumes were in 'octavo et infra', perhaps reflecting a trend towards publishing books in a smaller format. The group to which he added the largest number, a total of 88, was 'miscellanies'. This covered a very wide range of subjects, including memoirs and travel books, plays and poetry, and contemporary history. Amongst other works, he acquired John Locke's *Treatise on Coin* (1718) and *Works* (1727), Richardson's *Discourse on Painting* (1719), the 'large Paper' edition of Ben Jonson's *Works* (1716), four volumes of *The Tatler* (1728) and Essex's *Art of Dancing* (1710). He added 78 titles on English history (including numerous volumes on contemporary politics and parliamentary affairs), 65 on divinity and theology, and 10 in the broad category of 'Physick, Mathematics, Trade, Husbandry & Gardening', with a scattering in the other categories. To this must be added 39 books in French, including three works by Bernard de Fontenelle, La Bruyère's translation of *Les Caractères de Theophraste* (with *Les Caractères ou les Moeurs de ce Siècle* appended) (1701) and a first edition of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* of 1721. He also acquired Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1715) in the second, revised and enlarged edition, first published in 1702. All four authors mark the early phase of the European Enlightenment.

Richard added four volumes concerning the work of justices of the peace. This may suggest that he had no training in legal matters, or that his needs were met by what was already in the library. He added to his father's extensive holding of the works of the Dutch statesman and jurist, Hugo Grotius, with the purchase of *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1720). He also purchased a copy in English of Sir John Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Anglia* (1714), drafted between 1468 and 1471 and described by that great proponent of English common law, Sir Edward Coke, as 'worthy to be written in letters of gold for the weight and worthiness thereof'.<sup>49</sup>

It was the death of Richard Gipps in 1728 that brought about the final dispersal of the library. Extensive searches have failed to reveal the circumstances of his death, or the date and place of his burial, and no will has been found. Nine children were baptised at Brockley, seven of whom died under the age of three. Richard lived in straitened circumstances, almost certainly in rented property, and presumably his widow, Elizabeth, decided to raise funds by selling her husband's books and manuscripts. There is no information on how she closed with Thomas Green or what he might have paid for the collection. Elizabeth Gipps was buried at Chevington, Suffolk on 28 January 1747/8.

#### COMPARISON WITH OTHER COLLECTIONS

Comparison has been made with the sale and other catalogues of the libraries of a range of contemporaries of widely differing backgrounds. These are Sir Norton Knatchbull (1602–1685), MP and biblical scholar; Sir Thomas Browne (1606–1682), physician and author, and Dr Edward Browne (1644–1708), physician and traveller; Sir Charles Cotterell (1654–1710), courtier and translator; Revd Thomas Plume (1630–1704), archdeacon of Rochester and educational benefactor; and Anthony Wood (1632–1695), antiquary and historian of Oxford University and its alumni. The Browne library was largely the achievement of Sir Thomas, though of the dated titles about one fifth of the total was published after his death, including nearly 150 volumes in French. The Cotterell collection was probably amassed by Sir Charles senior (1615–1701) rather than his son, who was indolent and died debt-ridden in 1710, and it reflects the father's interest in civil and canon law.<sup>50</sup>



Sale and other catalogues were compiled in different ways and for different purposes by individuals whose expertise ranged from that of avid collector to bookseller's clerk. The sale catalogue of the library of Robert Streater (1624–1680) included an unspecified number of books 'from another eminent gentleman'. This suggests that there was nothing to prevent a bookseller from adding extra volumes to a catalogue without specifying the source. While the libraries of Anthony Wood and Thomas Plume have survived largely intact, and can be the subject of critical analysis, the others are only known through the less than ideal medium of their respective bookseller's catalogues.

Even allowing for these limitations, there are noticeable differences between the collections as shown in the table.<sup>51</sup>

Subject	Kn	Br	Ct	Pl	Wd	Gi
Total	1525	2457	1614	5803	6758	2229
Theology/divinity	36%	13%	19%	52%	18%	18%
History/biography	6%	9%	8%	4%	34%	29%
Natural philos/math's &c	2%	10%	2%	3%	1%	6%
Medicine	1%	20%	2%	2%	1%	5%
Classical literat.	5%	7%	6%	1%	1%	5%
Law	3%	1%	11%	2%	2%	4%
Geography/travel	1%	5%	4%	1%	2%	1%
Trade/agriculture	<1%	<1%	1%	<1%	1%	2%

Cotterell and Plume, for example, acquired far fewer medical books but, of those that they did own, the majority were also found in Sir Richard's library, presumably because they were popular and practical works. Knatchbull, as would be expected of a biblical scholar, accumulated numerous works on theology and divinity, but he also had titles from all the other categories represented at Great Wheltenham. Plume's collection strongly favoured theology and divinity, but natural philosophy, astronomy, medicine, travel, poetry and plays were all represented. Wood's library reflected his principal interest in the history of Oxford University; most of his theological works concerned the structure, government and liturgy of the Church of England, and the clergy. He was particularly interested in the controversies that might involve Oxford people. He also had an extensive collection of printed ephemera not found in any of the other collections. The preponderance of medical and scientific titles in the Browne library would be expected of an eminent physician with close ties to the Royal Society. As well as the classics, Sir Thomas acquired the prose and poetry of his own time. No doubt Edward Browne accumulated many of the numerous works on travel but Sir Thomas owned and read many of them himself.

#### CONCLUSION

It is difficult to go beyond the general conclusion that educated gentlemen of the seventeenth century owned broadly similar categories of books and that Sir Richard was no exception. Though the essential components of their libraries may have differed little, differences can be found which reflect the particular interests, needs and purposes of the owner. Most collections would have been made for private study, but it is clear that some were not. Revd Thomas Plume's books were initially intended for his own use, but towards the end of his life he

conceived the plan to create a library to bequeath to Maldon, the town where he was born, for the use of ‘gentlemen and scholars’ as well as local clergy.<sup>52</sup> Another factor that might influence an individual’s choice of books was the ease of access to another gentleman’s library for reference, or even loan, a practice that seems to have been more widespread than is generally recognised. Access to a university or college library might also determine the needs of a particular collector. Anthony Wood, who shared Sir Richard’s interest in genealogy, owned very few of the antiquarian works found at Great Whelnetham, presumably because Wood could find what he needed in the Bodleian or in college libraries. On the other hand he did own 29 works on heraldry of which Sir Richard owned only three.<sup>53</sup> Wood may have felt that he needed to have these works readily to hand to serve his all consuming interest in Oxford authors, their ancestry, connections and descent.

As a purchaser of books Sir Richard suffered a considerable disadvantage: he could not afford to spend as he pleased. Though he appears to have spent freely at the Ailesbury sale in 1687, he may not have been able to do so again. Yet in his lifetime he accumulated a relatively large library particularly rich in antiquarian authors, a powerful instrument of reference for someone with ambitions in the field of topography and genealogy. The specialised works of Anglo-Saxon scholarship reflect the awakening of interest in this language and its growing relevance to the study of early English history. The relatively large proportion of works on natural philosophy and in particular botany, suggests that this was another area of endeavour. It has already been suggested that the unusually large number of medical books may simply have represented an extension of his interest in natural philosophy. It is notable that certain subjects were absent from his library. There was almost no light literature, no ephemera, very little contemporary fiction or poetry, and few plays. For the most part this was an accumulation of learned works rather than a collection of general resort.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors are greatly indebted to Dr David Pearson (Director, Culture, Heritage and Libraries at City of London) for his invaluable critical comments and advice.

#### NOTES

- 1 Sir William Boothby, first baronet (1637–1707) of Broadlow Ashe and Ashbourne Hall, Derbyshire, landowner and bibliophile (Beal 1997, 352).
- 2 BL, S.C.445(2); BL, MIC B 896/6579.
- 3 The catalogue entries for the incunabula are a) Russinus. Lat. *Venet.* 1497; b) Sanctarum peregrinationum in Montem Sion &c cum fig. *Franc.* 1490; c) Fasciculus Temporum. *Lond.* 1488; d) Chrysostomi Sermones 1480; e) Tullii. Epistolae Familiares. 1487; f) Tit. Livii. Historia Romanae. 1480; g) The Grand Coutumier of Normandie. First Ed. very scarce. 1493; h) Franchini Gafori. Laudensis Musicae Actiones. 1497; i) Les Calendriers des Bergiers. Livre tres ancient & rare; j) A curious Collection of Poems printed by Will. Caxton, undated; k) Sabellici. Historia Veneta. *Ven.* 1497; l) Etymologicon Graec. *Ven.* 1497.
- 4 The personal account book of Thomas Martin (1697–1771) shows that he bought ‘a parcell of Books of Mr Gipps at Bury’ for 11 shillings on 22 March 1725/6. Though there were two other financial transactions with Gipps later that year, they do not seem to have been book purchases. (SROB, HD 1408/1).
- 5 Coates and Jenson 1997, 239; McKitterick 1991, 47.
- 6 Blatchly 2004, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10767>, accessed 12 Feb 2014]; Baines 2007, 24; Fawcett 1971, 6.
- 7 Strype 1822, iii, 449.
- 8 Birkby 1977, 114.
- 9 Wainwright 1991, 15 *et seq.*
- 10 Watson 1966, 55.
- 11 BL, Harleian MS 3873.

- 12 These appear to be Thomas Russ, George Yorkington, Richard Hawksbee and Joseph Stock.
- 13 Ryece dedicated his 1618/19 Breviary to Sir Robert Crane of Chilton, Suffolk. It was edited and published by Lord Francis Hervey in 1902. See Harlow 1970 for further details.
- 14 Harlow 1973, 64–67.
- 15 Beadle 2004, 48; St John's College, Cambridge, Dd.9.10. The ten manuscripts listed were a) *Historia Anglicana Heroico Carmine Conscripta auctore Joannes Herdo* (folio); b) *Candidus Decembris super novam Politiae Platonis ad Ducem Glocestriensum* (folio); c) *Scriptorum antiquorum Angliae &c Catalogus* (quarto); d) *Collecta quaedam Historica de gestis Anglorum* (quarto); e) *Henrici VII Receptio Maximiliani & Caroli ejus filij* (quarto); f) *Hartwelli Abra. Carmine in adventum Reginae Eliz. ad Cantab.* (quarto); g) *Biblia Sacra Latino Carmine* (octavo); h) *Trattato del regno d'Irlandia alla Reina Eliz por Gio Portinari* (folio); i) *Livre des requestes des Armes de France & d'Angleterre* (folio); j) *St Jerome's Epistle to Demetriade*, that had vowed Chastity, with notes upon several Texts of Scripture (quarto).
- 16 Ker 1983, iii, 512.
- 17 Christie's has a photocopy of the Pattenon sale catalogue, an original of which is in the Grolier Library in New York. The MSS identified as previously purchased by Sir Richard at the earl of Ailesbury's sale in 1687 were items a) f) and h) listed in endnote 6. It is interesting to note that two of the MSS, items d) and g) above, purchased by Sir Richard at this sale had come to Ailesbury from William Cecil's library (probably by inheritance), and that item a) was dedicated to Cecil and might possibly have come from his library.
- 18 Evidence that he had visited the D'Ewes library on at least two occasions is found in BL, Harleian MS 4626, fols 225–37; BL, Sloane MS 970, fol. 1.
- 19 Bodleian, Tanner MS 24, fol. 102; Watson 1966, 67–68. Proposals for a new catalogue of the Bodleian MSS date from 1691/2. Edward Bernard was appointed its editor by autumn 1692, but in the event used an existing catalogue with only minor revisions. By the end of 1693 the scope of the *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (known as the *Great Catalogue*) had been extended to include MSS in Oxford and Cambridge college libraries, but by this stage Bernard was too infirm to do more than work on the introduction and index. The prime mover was Arthur Charlett, assisted by Edmund Gibson, White Kennett and Thomas Tanner. Though the title page of the *Great Catalogue* was dated 1697 its publication was further delayed until November 1698 by the earlier decision to extend its scope to include MSS in private collections in England and Ireland (Hunt 1953, xxv–xxxv; Simpson 1935, 189–94; Sharpe 2005, 383–86).
- The evidence that it was Le Neve who provided Bernard with the list of the D'Ewes MSS is found in a letter to Tanner dated 28 January 1696/7. Le Neve had just heard of Bernard's death and was anxious that his list of the D'Ewes MSS should not be lost, and that it should be returned to him in due course. Though Watson concluded that Bodleian Rawlinson MS D.888 was a later copy made from the D'Ewes entry in the *Great Catalogue*, it is more probable that it is the original manuscript which Le Neve sent to Bernard and which was subsequently edited by Tanner for publication. (Bodleian, Tanner MS 24, fol. 102; Watson 1966, 69; Nichols 1818, iii, 409).
- 20 Watson 1966, 55, 56, 64, 315. Revd Cox Macro (1683–1767) was an enthusiastic collector of MSS from various sources, including Spelman, D'Ewes and (directly or indirectly) from Gipps. His collection passed to his daughter Mary (d. 1785) who married William Staniforth of Sheffield. Some of the MSS eventually found their way into the vast collection of Sir Thomas Phillips (1792–1872) but a larger portion was inherited by the Staniforths' niece Elizabeth. In 1781 she had married John Pattenon of Norwich who, in May 1819, was obliged by his financial difficulties to sell his picture collection. In the following year he sold 139 volumes of manuscripts by private contract, stipulating a minimum price of 1000 guineas. 41 of these were bought by Dawson Turner (1775–1858) for £700. These were auctioned by Puttick and Simpson in June 1859. The other 98 volumes (containing the majority of the medieval material) were bought by Hudson Gurney (d. 1864) and remained in his family until their sale in 1936. Turner and Gurney were partners in the same bank, as well as close friends, and must have acted together in the 1820 purchase of the Pattenon MSS (Munby 1962, 37–38; Nichols 1815, 359–65; Watson 1966, 64; Goodman 2007, 105–8; Moore 1988, 40–47). At least one item (the Norwich Castle MS) was retained in 1820 by John Pattenon and remained in his family until the C20. Madden's journal suggests that in November 1842 Pattenon's grandson may have been trying to sell other MSS that had been held back from the 1820 sale (Rogers 1980, endnote 130).
- 21 V&A, Forster MS 147; Watson 1966, 65, 225.
- 22 Strype 1820, 60. A number of copies of the MS have been located. One, in the Derbyshire Record Office (D 258/34/25/1) appears to have been owned by a Derbyshire family since the mid seventeenth century, so is very unlikely to have been Strype's source. Another is in Cambridge University Library (Gg.3.34) and bears the bookplate of the Royal Library. This was the library of John Moore (1646–1714), successively bishop of Norwich and Ely, purchased after his death by George I and presented to the university in 1715.

- There are other copies in the British Library (Add. MSS 4149, 48023, 48047 and 46366) as well as a photocopy (RP 4683/2) of an exported MS deposited under Government Export Regulations. It has not been possible to establish which, if any, of these was the source used by Strype. Further copies are scattered amongst other public and private collections.
- 23 Nichols 1818, 3, 435. John Tanner was Thomas Tanner's younger brother. He was collecting information for the revised second edition of the latter's *Notitia Monastica* which was published in 1744. The recipient of the letter, James Burrough, was a noted architect and a fellow (and later master) of Caius College, Cambridge. Burrough was a cousin of Tom Martin, and made generous provision for him in his will. The authors are grateful to Sarah Stegges for elucidating the relationship between the Burrough and Martin families.
  - 24 Tanner 1744, unpaginated entries for Blythburgh, and Dandy's Almshouses, Ipswich.
  - 25 Bodleian MS 47899, fols 70, r&v, 71r; inf. from Bodleian librarian.
  - 26 SROI, HD 695. This MS appears to be the first part of a larger manuscript collection which passed to Hudson Gurney's descendant, John Henry Gurney of Keswick Hall, Norfolk. It was catalogued as 'xxi Miscellanea' by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1891. It is not known how this part came into the ownership of Suffolk County Council. The rest of 'xxi Miscellanea' has not been traced.
  - 27 BL, Add. MS 20695.
  - 28 Sir Francis Palgrave (1788–1861) historian, archivist, and Deputy Keeper of the Public Records from 1838 to 1861, had married Dawson Turner's second daughter, Elizabeth, in 1823. It might be thought that he would have taken a particular interest in a manuscript which could have come from the same source as part of his father-in-law's collection. The inadequacy of his description is disappointing.
  - 29 The letter describes the reason for the proposed sale 'as believing I shall not be in a capacity to understand all these languages'. Clearly this was not Henry VIII's 'Great Bible' of 1540 but one of the polyglot editions, possibly the great 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta' edited by Brian Walton and printed in six large folio volumes in London between 1654 and 1657. Oliver Cromwell donated £1000 towards the project, as well as lifting the duty on the paper which was imported from France. Subscribers paid £10 for the six volumes. In all, there were translations in nine different languages, though no single volume had more than seven.
  - 30 TNA, PCC PROB 11/905; SROB, FL 541/13/4; Young 2008, 472–73.
  - 31 SROB, Acc. 448.
  - 32 Pembroke College Library classmark 7.14.53; inf. from Pembroke College librarian.
  - 33 Axtell 1968, 268.
  - 34 The authors are grateful to Kate and John Hayward for their expert advice on the classical works.
  - 35 Pearson 2010, 1–2.
  - 36 Quoted in McKisack 1971, 44.
  - 37 Powell 1993, 163; Cox 1716, 649–736.
  - 38 Fortescue 1908, 1, 6, 8, 131, 184, 257, 341, 392, 565, 677, 763; 2, 38, 82, 94, 177.
  - 39 Hammond 1986, 131.
  - 40 Quoted in Greig 2004.
  - 41 Birrell 1991, 113–31; Thompson 1979, 203–5.
  - 42 Purver 1967, 28.
  - 43 Hunter 1994, 55.
  - 44 Munby 1977, 51–52.
  - 45 Sobol 2007, 161, quoting Newton's biographer, Richard S. Westfall.
  - 46 Trimen and Dyer 1869, 364.
  - 47 Further evidence of Sir Richard's interest in botany is demonstrated by his donation to Revd Adam Buddle, botanist and reader at Gray's Inn, of a specimen of coralline algae which he had collected from St George's Island, Cornwall. Buddle's herbarium which included Sir Richard's specimen was later acquired by Sir Hans Sloane and is now in the Natural History Museum (HS 114, fol. 2).
  - 48 The authors are grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for their helpful analysis of these texts and scores.
  - 49 Quoted in Ives 2004, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9945>, accessed 12 Feb 2014].
  - 50 Details of these collections are found in Bullord 1698 (for Knatchbull); Finch 1986 (for the Brownes); ERO, D/DU 161/384/1 (for Cotterell); Deed 1959 (for Plume); Kiessling 2002 (for Wood); and ERO, D/DU 161/384/2 (for Streater).
  - 51 The different interests, needs and purposes of the collectors studied here are broadly reflected in the proportion of titles in the various categories listed in the table. The percentages have been rounded up or down to the nearest whole number. Where there is an overlap between subjects, books have been allotted to the principal category. A significant number in each collection did not fit easily into any defined category;

while no attempt has been made to classify these, they have been counted in the overall totals for the purpose of calculating the percentages. In the case of the Plume library, it was found more convenient to use the printed catalogue (Deed 1959) which has now been superseded by a more comprehensive electronic version.

52 Petchey 2004, 24–25.

53 Kiessling 2002, 706.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Axtell, J.L., 1968. *The Educational Writings of John Locke*. Cambridge.
- Baines, P., and Rogers, P., 2007. *Edmund Curll, Bookseller*. Oxford.
- Beadle, R., 2004 'Medieval English Manuscripts at Auction 1676–c.1700', *The Book Collector*, 53, 46–53.
- Beal, P., 1997. 'My books are the great joy of my life', *The Book Collector*, 46, 350–78.
- Bernard, E., 1697. *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*. Oxford.
- Birkby, A.E. (ed.), 1977. *Suffolk Parochial Libraries – A Catalogue*. London.
- Birrell, T.A., 1991. 'Reading as Pastime: the place of light literature in some gentlemen's libraries of the 17<sup>th</sup> century', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Property of a Gentleman: the formation, organisation and dispersal of a private library*. Winchester.
- Blatchly, J.M., 2004. 'Sir Richard Gipps'. ODNB.
- Britton, J., and Brayley, E.W., 1801–18. *Beauties of England and Wales*. London.
- Bullord, J., 1698. *The Library of Sir Norton Knatchbull*. (facsimile reprint by EEBO Editions 2012).
- Coates, A., and Jensen, K., 1997. 'The Bodley Library's Acquisition of Incunabula', in J.P. Carley and C.G.C. Tite, (eds), *Books and Collectors 1200–1700*. London.
- Cox, T., 1716. *Magna Britannia: Essex*. London.
- Deed, S.G., 1959. *Catalogue of the Plume Library at Maldon, Essex*. Maldon.
- Fawcett, T., 1972. 'Eighteenth-Century Norfolk Booksellers: A Survey and Register', *Trans. Cambridge Bib. Soc.*, 6, 1–18.
- Finch, J.S. (ed.), 1986. *The Libraries of Sir Thomas Browne and Dr Edward Browne, his son*. Leiden.
- Fortescue, G.K. (ed.), 1908. *Catalogue of Pamphlets, Newspapers & Manuscripts relating to the Civil War, Commonwealth & Restoration, collected by George Thomason 1640–1661*. London.
- Goodman, N. (ed.), 2007. *Dawson Turner: a Norfolk Antiquary and his Remarkable Family*. Chichester.
- Greig, M., 2004. 'Gilbert Burnet'. ODNB.
- Hammond, G. (ed.), 1986. *The Selected Writings of Sir Walter Raleigh*. Harmondsworth.
- Harlow, C.G., 1973. 'Robert Ryece of Preston, 1555–1638', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 32, 43–70.
- Harper-Bill, C., 1980. *Blythburgh Priory Cartulary*, 1. Suffolk Records Soc., Suffolk Charters, III. Woodbridge.
- Harrison, J., and Laslett, P., 1971. *The Library of John Locke*. Oxford.
- Hunt, R.W., 1953. *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library*. Oxford.
- Hunter, M. (ed.), 1994. *Robert Boyle by Himself and His Friends*. London.
- Ives, E.W., 2004. 'Sir John Fortescue'. ODNB.
- Ker, N.R., 1969–2002. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Oxford.
- Kiessling, N.K., 2002. *The Library of Anthony Wood*. Oxford.
- Madan, F. *et al.*, 1891–1953. *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in Bodleian Library*. Oxford.

- Marshall, G.W., 1873. *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights*. London.
- McKisack, M., 1971. *Medieval History in the Tudor Age*. Oxford.
- Mc Kitterick, D., 1991. 'Andrew Perne and his Books', in P. Collinson, D. McKitterick and E. Leedham-Green (eds), *Andrew Perne Quatercentenary Studies*. Cambridge Bib. Soc.
- Moore, A.W., 1988. *Dutch and Flemish Paintings in Norfolk*. London.
- Munby, A.N.L., 1962. *The Cult of the Autograph Letter*. London.
- Munby, A.N.L., 1977. 'Newton's *Principia*', in *Essays and Papers*, 43–54. London.
- Newcourt, R., 1710. *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*. London.
- Nichols, J., 1815. *Literary Anecdotes*, 11. London.
- Nichols, J., 1818. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, 3. London.
- Pearson, D., 2010. *Why do we need so many old books?* Maldon.
- Petchey, W.J., 2004. *The Intentions of Thomas Plume*. Maldon.
- Powell, W.R., 1993. 'Beyond the Morant Canon', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 24, 157–63.
- Purver, M., 1967. *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation*. London.
- Rogers, T.D. (ed.), 1980. *Sir Frederic Madden at Cambridge*. Cambridge Bib. Soc.
- Ryce, R., 1618/9. *Breviary of Suffolk*. Hervey, F. (ed.). London, 1902.
- Sharpe, R., 2005. 'Thomas Tanner, the 1697 catalogue and Bibliotheca Britannica', *The Library*, 6, 381–421.
- Simpson, P., 1935. *Proof Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Oxford.
- Sobol, P. G., 2007. 'Pierre Gassendi's Philosophy and Science: Atomism for Empiricists (review)', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 45, 16 1–2.
- Strype, J., 1820. *Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith*. Oxford.
- Strype, J., 1822. *Ecclesiastical Memorials*. Oxford.
- Tanner, T., and Tanner, J., 1744. *Notitia Monastica*. London.
- Thompson, R., 1979. *Unfit for Modest Ears: A Study of Pornographic, Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century*. London.
- Trimen, H., and Dyer, W.T., 1869. *Flora of Middlesex*. London.
- Wainwright, C., 1991. 'The library as living room' in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Property of a Gentleman: the formation, organisation and dispersal of a private library*. Winchester.
- Watson A.G., 1966. *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*. London.
- Yates, W., 1843. *History & Antiquities of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*. London.
- Young, F., 2008. 'Antiquitates S. Edmundi Burgi and its editors'. *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 41, 467–79.

### Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
ERO	Essex Record Office, Chelmsford
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
SROB	Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds
SROI	Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum Library