

ART. XIII.—*Carlisle Cathedral Library and Records*. By  
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IN his *Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England* (1849) Beriah Botfield observed of Carlisle: "The principal feature of this Library is theological, ponderous folios of obsolete divinity in dark, unlettered calf, and small controversial treatises, now deservedly forgotten, occupying a large space upon these dusty shelves."<sup>2</sup> Botfield's interests were typographical: he was not very concerned with the content of the books. "Dusty shelves," however, was still an apt description of the Library when the recent work of refurbishing began.

A paper on the manuscripts and books might easily become a tiresome catalogue: moreover, the present writer wishes to avoid the mere repetition of the article on *The Chapter Library of Carlisle* which that admirable scholar, R. W. Dixon, contributed to *Transactions* for 1876,<sup>3</sup> though some traversing of the same ground is unavoidable in a tolerably comprehensive survey. I propose therefore to say something first, as briefly as the subject allows, of the Cathedral manuscripts and records. Secondly, I shall make some general remarks on the history of the Library, its benefactors and contents; and, thirdly, I shall consider the books of Thomas Smith which constitute the core of the Library, looking at them as evidence of the interests of an informed and scholarly man of the seventeenth century, and thereby admitting a

<sup>1</sup> This article in its original form was a lecture given on 13 March 1965 in the Fraternity to an open meeting of the Carlisle Regional Group of the Society. Acknowledgment must gratefully be made to Miss M. Patch, of the Record Office, Carlisle, formerly Archivist to the Dean and Chapter, for assistance with the preparation of the first and second parts.

<sup>2</sup> London, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> CWI ii 312-336.

primarily human rather than a bibliographical interest into the paper, and so perhaps offsetting the tedium of the inevitable element of lists.

I. The manuscripts may conveniently be divided into three: mediaeval documents, Chapter records, and other (miscellaneous) papers in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

(i) Of the mediaeval manuscripts one of the earliest is the *Register of Holm Cultram*, of the 13th century, the gift of Joseph Nicolson of Hawkesdale who had it from Daniel Fleming of Rydal.<sup>4</sup> There is also a 13th-century *Lives of the Saints* on parchment, with mediaeval music in the binding, beginning with "The Dispute of Saints Peter and Paul against Simon Magus." Among its other contents are "The Suffering of the Apostle St Peter and other Apostles", "De Cupiditate which is in the world . . .", and the "Life of St Katharine, Virgin". Two notable manuscripts are eight leaves of an early 14th-century manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*,<sup>5</sup> and the *Register of the Priory of Wetheral*,<sup>6</sup> on vellum, compiled in the mid-14th century, containing 12th- and 13th-century documents, the first about 1100. This Register was restored to the Library in 1897 by G. Mounsey-Heysham, and with it are bound several documents relating to arrears of rents in Gilsland in the early 14th century. The *Lanercost Cartulary* is a late 16th-century transcript (not Lord William Howard's), continued, possibly by Joseph Nicolson, in the 18th century: the documents also include J. E. Prescott's further transcript. A fragment of some interest consists of verses from the eighth, eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Apocalypse, thought at one time to be from Wycliffe.

<sup>4</sup> See F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood, *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (CW Record Series, vol. vii).

<sup>5</sup> Part of this is printed in the appendix of *Durmart le Galois, Roman Arthurien de Treizième Siècle*, Tome I, by J. Gildea, Villanova (Penn.), 1965.

<sup>6</sup> ed. by J. E. Prescott in CW Record Series, vol. i.

However, T. W. Jackson of Worcester College, Oxford, who wrote notes on it in 1884, and who dated it about 1420, rejected its Wycliffite origin and considered it to be a copy of a translation from the French, describing it as an example of pure Northern dialect. Mention should also be made of a *Rental of Wetheral Cell*, dated 1490, a copy of a *Rental of Holme Cultram* of 1537/8 and a copy of the Statutes with a life of *John Elymonis* on late mediaeval parchment.

(ii) The Chapter records consist of bound accounts, registers, minute books, miscellaneous volumes, and many lease books and manor books. In these documents there is some overlapping of the matter: a lease book, for instance, turns out to be virtually a Chapter minute book. It is perhaps salutary to pause when surveying these many volumes concerned with the material possessions of the Dean and Chapter, themselves suggesting an almost exclusive concern with income (and, when not with that, with legal matters): the fulfilment of the primary duties of the corporate body is not normally recorded. The Registers go back to the time of Thomas Tallentyre, Registrar 1570 to 1578, (with documents as early as 1537), and John Smithe, Registrar 1579 to 1596. Most of the records, however, are post-1660, though there is an interesting court book for the Manor of Botchardgate, 1650 to 1661, which suggests that the Dean and Chapter quickly assumed administration of their estates after the return of Charles II and before the legal ecclesiastical settlement.<sup>7</sup> The numerous volumes of the former Dean and Chapter estates, of which Botchardgate near Carlisle and Morland in Westmorland are examples, provide abundant material for the economic and social history of the area. There are catalogues of leases started by Dr. Todd (of whom more later) in 1685, continued by Erasmus Head

<sup>7</sup> See Anne Whiteman, *The re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663*, for the resumption of Chapter administration at Salisbury and Exeter, Transactions, Royal Historical Society, 1955.

and Edmund Law and others down to the present century. The name of Thomas Tullie appears on the fly leaf of a manuscript volume entitled "A Perfect Rentall of all rents due and payable to the Dean and Chapter 1685/6". This also contains a list of "Things to be provided, Corrected, Ordered and Done in the Cathedral Church of Carlisle, and what its Revenues", in which the earliest date is 1685 and the latest 1778, and which includes an Abstract of the Valor of Henry VIII (St Mary's, Carlisle, i.e. the Cathedral), extracts from chronicles, a list of Bishops, and some pages of transcripts from Lord William Howard's mss. (relating to the genealogy of Lord Mowbray and the history of Abraham respectively, subjects not very obviously connected). "Things to be Provided" has an instruction, "All swine to be kept out of the Abbey and churchyard", and, further, "That the copes be mended and worn by Epistler and Gospeller", evidence of the use of copes in cathedrals in accordance with Canon XXIV of 1604, as is also shown by Dean Spencer Cowper's comment in September, 1746, on what he found at Durham:

"The Copes meer frippery and scandalous . . . By what I find . . . it will be difficult to get rid of them, some of my brethren are so attached to them and pleased with their finery. How they can be so fond of playing the popish priest, unless they have a secret bias that way, I can't imagine."<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the bound volumes of Chapter records and accounts, there is a large number of loose papers dating from the early 17th century, now fully calendared, and lodged in boxes in the upper room in the Fraternity. With them should be mentioned — indeed it deserves pride of place — Henry VIII's Endowment Charter. The miscellaneous papers concern the election of bishops, manors, buildings, the fabric of the Cathedral, appointments and personnel. They include Thomas Smith's

<sup>8</sup> *Letters of Spencer Cowper, Dean of Durham, 1746-74*, ed. E. Hughes, Surtees Soc., cxlv (1956) 57.

plans for the architectural embellishment of the Fraternity and the correspondence of the Chapter with the Victorian architect G. E. Street, almost two hundred years after Smith. Street designed the Bishop's throne, the furnishing of the Sanctuary (part of which remains) and the bookcases in the Fraternity which now house the Library.

From these records we learn of the weightier matters debated by the Chapter but we also catch glimpses of the more intimate sides of Cathedral life, some of them amusing; some of them revealing the tensions which have always characterised a small ecclesiastical community; some concerned with the daily worship, the existence of which is so often obscured in the records by the sheer bulk of material on estates, accounts and buildings. The ninth volume of the Register, for example, records the gift on 3 October 1680, by Dean Thomas Smith, of Communion plate which is still in use: two flagons, two chalices, two patens, and one bason, all of them double gilt, and amounting to £100 in value. The directions for cleaning the plate were as follows:

“Be carefull to wipe it with a clean soft linnen cloath, and if there chance to be any staines or spotts, that will not easily come off, use a little water (The cloath being dipp'd therein) and soe rubb the flagons and Chalices from the top to the Bottome, not crosswise, but the Bason and Patens are to be rubb'd roundwise, not acrossse, and by no means use either Chalke sand or salt.”<sup>9</sup>

At the time of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 the minutes record:

“No Chapter coul'd be held on the 23rd day of November 1745 according to the statutes of the Church, this unhappy place being then in the possession of the abettors of a wicked and unnatural rebellion in favour of a popish pretender.”

A few years later, in August, 1761, the Bishop, Richard

<sup>9</sup> Register, vol. ix, p. 49.

Osbaldeston, informed the Chapter of a complaint by a verger, Robert Stubbs, that the previous Bishop (George Fleming), when Dean, had reduced his salary.<sup>10</sup> The records reveal the annoyance of the Chapter at this complaint: they challenged the truth of Stubbs's account by recording £2. 11s. 8d. as his salary, plus fifteen shillings for a gown, the total being £3. 6s. 8d., "which he constantly receives besides a Gown as constantly found him in kind." The Chapter also recorded their subsequent interview with Stubbs in such terms as to show the inconsistencies of his case and the conflicting accounts of Stubbs himself and of Matthew Nixon who had written the letter of complaint for him. Stubbs's claim to have been verger for 47 years was denied: "He will have been only 42 years Virger next November Chapter."

Almost fifty years later, in June, 1808, Thomas Wait, the Chapter Butler, wrote an "Account of Glass in the pantrey in the fratrey", a list which reflects the spacious living of the capitular body of the day and includes "8 wine decanters, 1 pint decanter with brandy, 41 best wine glasses, 15 ale glasses, 12 silver spoons." The twelve spoons survive.

1850 was the year of the "Papal Aggression" when Roman Catholic dioceses were re-established in England. On 25 November of that year the Dean and Chapter addressed a letter to Queen Victoria (A. C. Tait, later Archbishop of Canterbury, was Dean) referring to the encroachments of Popery, assuring Her Majesty of their unalterable attachment to the Protestant institutions of the land, and asserting that "Your Majesty's undoubted prerogatives as supreme in your dominions has been invaded by a foreign Potentate and Your Majesty's claim to the undivided allegiance of all your subjects set at nought by the presumptuous language of his emissary . . . ."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Visitation Articles 1660-1791, 2 August 1761.

<sup>11</sup> Chapter Order Book, 1834-55.

In June, 1882, no doubt with the forthcoming half-yearly meeting of the Chapter in mind, the organ-blower, Horner Saunders, addressed a pathetic plea to his employers, reminding them of the exertions involved in his work, his never-failing attendance during the five and a half years of his employment, and the fact that he had made only two "almost unnoticeable mistakes, one at the end of the Chants, and one in a Psalm." He ended thus:

I live about two hundred yards beyond Trinity Church and I have that distance to walk to and every time I am wanted at the Cathedral. I received allowance every year for assisting in the Lent services until last year and the present year for which I have received nothing. The D. and C. allow me 7/- a week and if your Reverend would favour me with another shilling I would be very much obliged.<sup>12</sup>

Alas, the Dean and Chapter reacted to this appeal in what so often seems to have been characteristic fashion: they deferred consideration of the matter until the November Chapter!

(iii) Among the miscellaneous papers are documents of importance in the history of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, of the Diocese and City. One of the earliest of these is the *History of the Borders* by Richard Bell, Warden Clerk in Queen Elizabeth's time "of the West Marches of England over against Scotland". There are *Parliamentary Surveys* of Dean and Chapter manors at the time of the Commonwealth: the Survey of John de Chapelle (the manor near Carlisle, west of the Caldew) is of particular interest in that it includes a description of the Cathedral and its precincts and witnesses to the then ruinous state of the nave. The six volumes of Machell manuscripts are well known as an important source for the history of the area.<sup>13</sup> With the sixth volume is bound a copy of the manuscript account of the history of

<sup>12</sup> 21 June 1882.

<sup>13</sup> See J. Rogan and E. Birley, *Thomas Machell, the antiquary*, CW2 lv 132 ff., and Jane Ewbank, *Antiquary on horseback*, CW Extra Series xix.

Cumberland by the earlier local antiquary, John Denton of Cardean (d. 1617).<sup>14</sup> Thomas Machell, a former Fellow of the Queen's College at Oxford, was Vicar of Kirkby Thore from 1677 to 1698, and among his special interests were architecture and heraldry. But there are ten more volumes of manuscripts — less well known, perhaps — of the Machells of Crackenthorpe, a family collection. This miscellany contains documents (or copies) from the 13th century to 1768 and is useful not least on the history of place names.

Mention of Machell's membership of the Queen's College leads fittingly to comment on William Nicolson, Machell's pupil, successively Archdeacon and Bishop of Carlisle. The Chapter are the proud possessors of Nicolson's *Miscellany Account of the Diocese of Carlisle* and of the four volumes of his *Antiquarian Collections*. The latter are valuable on parishes, bishops, charters, revenues, visitation articles and other ecclesiastical matters. Nicolson was a member of that band of scholars at Queen's in the late 17th century who so successfully fostered antiquarian (and particularly Anglo-Saxon) studies.<sup>15</sup> Among its most prominent members were natives of Cumberland and Westmorland, and perhaps its most distinguished ornament was Edmund Gibson, born at Knipe near Bampton in Westmorland, successively Bishop of Lincoln and London. The *Miscellany Account* of Nicolson bears the mark of his vigorous, emphatic, and sometimes highly coloured comment on the fabric of the churches in his Diocese.<sup>16</sup> A notable feature of the *Account* is its comment on schools and the evidence it provides of their flourishing condition. At Westward Nicholson noted:

"I was glad to find the Curate, Mr Holme, surrounded by a good number of scholars; tho I could have wished

<sup>14</sup> See introduction to Denton by R. S. Ferguson, CW Tract Series no. 2, 1887.

<sup>15</sup> See D. C. Douglas, *English Scholars 1660-1730*, London, ed. 1951.

<sup>16</sup> The standard work on William Nicolson (Thomas Hearne's "Northern Bear") is F. G. James, *North-Country Bishop* (Yale), 1956.



THOMAS SMITH, Bishop of Carlisle.

to have seen them elsewhere than in the Chancel, and spoiling Mr Barwis's monument (at the west end of the Church) and writing their copies upon it. The lads gave a good account in Horace, Virgil, etc."<sup>17</sup>

Reference has already been made to Hugh Todd, fourth Canon from 1685 and Vicar of Penrith from 1699 to his death in 1728, who began the catalogue of Chapter leases. Todd was another of the crop of antiquaries and, as we shall see, had a good deal to do with the foundation of the present Library. His *Historical Account of the City of Carlisle from its first Foundation to the present time* (c. 1700)<sup>18</sup> is with the Chapter records, as is his *Notitia on the Cathedral Church of Carlisle, of Wetheral Priory and of the Hospital of St Nicholas*<sup>19</sup> (R. W. Dixon evidently found no copy of the *Account of the City*). The third work, a history of the Diocese, which is not in the Fraternity, was printed by Chancellor R. S. Ferguson from an imperfect copy which belonged to his predecessor, Chancellor Burton.<sup>20</sup> Todd's work on Carlisle was based on chronicles and he described its composition as "a pleasant diversion from more serious studies."

A later antiquary's collections in the Library are those, in nine volumes, of John Hill of Castle Bank near Appleby who died in 1861. Here there are entries on family affairs and parishes and materials for the history of Westmorland. The Chapter also possesses the *letter books of Samuel Waldegrave*, Bishop of Carlisle 1860 to 1869, four volumes which constitute a most valuable source for the history of the diocese during the episcopate of that forceful prelate.

Three other manuscripts should be mentioned. One is a complete Elizabethan song cycle — Altus and Bassus parts — with fifteen psalms by Henry Lawes. Of the

<sup>17</sup> *Miscellany Account*, ed. R. S. Ferguson, p. 5, Carlisle and London, 1877.

<sup>18</sup> CW Tract Series no. 5, ed. R. S. Ferguson, Kendal, 1890.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* no. 6, ed. R. S. Ferguson, Kendal, 1891.

<sup>20</sup> Printed in Tract Series no. 5.

seventy-three part songs sixty-three are in English, one is without words and nine are in Latin or Italian. These, which are often inspected by musicologists, were described by J. W. Brown in the *Cornhill Magazine*.<sup>21</sup> Then there is the curious collection, the *Nithsdale Papers*, found in the north triforium of the Cathedral in 1882, during renovations, and examined by Henry Bradshaw. They mostly concern military events in the period 1642 to 1644. Thirdly, there is the *Register of Carlisle Grammar School, 1699-1798, Notitia Scholae Liberae Grammaticalis Carliol:* which lays down that:

All other books which (the schoolmaster) shall teach shall be such as give the purity and perfection of the Greek and Latine languages and in some measure to tend towards improvement in good manners, and the knowledge of Christ and His holy religion. Such are . . . Aristophanes, Juvenal . . ."

The exclusive character of the school was to be maintained, as the following instruction testifies:

"That the scholars at all times, particularly at their sports and recreations, converse and sort with one another; and avoid and abstain from the company of soldiers, prentices and livery-boys and such as are of any ill qualities; lest they be tainted and infected with their bad condition."

An admonition, however, was required:

"That the rude and barbarous usage of barring out the master and taking violent possession of the school and coming armed with swords and pistols be utterly abolished and done away."

II. Of the Library which existed at the time of the dissolution of the religious houses in Henry VIII's reign — and to which at that time the library of the Priory of Wetheral was probably joined — there is no *certain* remnant. That Library is said to have disappeared about 1644/5 during the siege of Carlisle, and Guy Carleton, Dean from 1660 to 1672, said it was stolen.<sup>22</sup> It is possible,

<sup>21</sup> 1920, pp. 572 ff.

<sup>22</sup> R. W. Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

of course, that some of the early printed books — of which there is a good number — survive from the conventual library. The foundation of its successor took place in the last twenty years of the seventeenth century when, as we have seen, there was great zeal for historical collections. Alas, canonical brethren have not always dwelt together in that unity which the psalmist compares to the ointment which ran down unto the beard, and antiquaries have sometimes been roused from dispassionate study to vituperative denunciation of rivals. The re-foundation of the Carlisle Cathedral Library was marred by a combination of canonical and antiquarian spite. The principal antagonists were Hugh Todd and William Nicolson, and the story of their quarrel is to be found in a manuscript copy of the statutes of Worcester and Carlisle Cathedrals which is in the Carlisle records:<sup>23</sup> it is also recounted by R. W. Dixon.<sup>24</sup> Although Nicolson, when he became Bishop, complained of the surliness of his Chapter (his most notorious conflict was with Dean Atterbury) he was himself a ready disputant and had always displayed a fractious side. It must have been galling for Todd when Nicolson was preferred to the Bishoprick in 1702. The full details of their conflict need not be repeated. It arose from Todd's response to Dr. Edward Bernard of Oxford who had asked for details of the Carlisle Library for inclusion in his catalogue of the contents of all libraries in the kingdom. Todd had his reply printed on a sheet, copies of which were distributed, and one of these went to the Bishop, Thomas Smith. It was shortly after this that William Nicolson, then Archdeacon of Carlisle, was preparing his "English Historical Library". This was published in 1696, and in the Preface, addressed to Archbishop Sharpe of York, he warned Bernard against catalogues "either drawn thirty

<sup>23</sup> Presumably this MS. came from John Waugh (d. 1765) who became Second Canon in 1727, Chancellor and, in 1751, Dean of Worcester.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 313-321. See also F. G. James, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 152-153, and C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties*, 285-286.

years ago, or prophetically calculated for about thirty years hence," and went on with scant concealment to refer to "a certain Cathedral Church, which neither is, nor ever was, furnished with any one single manuscript of the several, in all volumes, which 'tis there said to contain." Nicolson also spoke slightly of Todd's remarks on the books. These comments were unfair as a general estimate of Todd, and on the specific charge the victim informed Archbishop Sharpe (14 July 1696) that at the relevant time there was indeed only one work in Latin in the Library (the *Notitia* on the Cathedral) but that he had thought it quite proper to include in his list that part of his collection relating to the Cathedral and Diocese which he had intended to add to the Library. Furthermore, he reminded the Archbishop that he had included the Holm Cultram and Wetheral cartularies, that he had reported the intention of Bishop Smith and himself to plan a new room to accommodate the books, that he and the Vice-Dean, Arthur Savage, had given books, that Lord Preston<sup>25</sup> had offered some, and that Smith had promised "his whole study". Todd met Nicolson at Rose, but he got no satisfaction, and in August, 1696, he addressed a strong letter of protest to his adversary. The latter promised that if the manuscripts *were* in the Library he would give a candid account of them in his second volume, and in fact in that volume, published in 1697, he mitigated his strictures somewhat. Todd's reference to a new room to accommodate the Library hinted at a scheme which came to fruition in the erection of the small building beyond the Deanery. "Thomas Carliol. 1699" over the door refers, of course, to Bishop Smith, who had abandoned his plan for converting the Fraternity into a Library, and the books were housed in Smith's building until their removal to the Fraternity after it had been rehabilitated by Street *c.* 1871.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Graham, first Viscount Preston, M.P. for Cockermouth 1685-8: pardoned for Jacobite activities in 1691.

From the story of the sordid conflict between Todd and Nicolson we can see who founded the Library. There was Arthur Savage, who occupied the Second Stall from 1660 to 1700 and who contributed patristic and theological works, among them works of the Fathers which had come into his possession from Henry Hutton. The latter had been appointed to the Fourth Stall in 1643 and was ejected two years later: he died shortly after the Restoration, but he must be honoured among the founders of the Library. The contribution of Todd and Smith has already been sufficiently indicated, and Lord Preston's proffered gifts were accepted. Subsequent benefactors included Joseph Nicolson of Hawkesdale, nephew of William Nicolson (who presented, with other gifts, twenty volumes of Rymer's *Foedera*, 1727-35), Bishop Gibson who gave a copy of his *Chronicum Saxonicum* (1692), and Tullie Cornthwaite, the heir of Dean Tullie's grandchildren: while Edmund Law, William Paley and Richard Burn, all distinguished members of the Chapter in the eighteenth century, presented copies of their works. There have been additions down to the present day, among them the first printed set of State Papers, deposited in the Cathedral Library because at that time there was no other in the area. The Library, however, remains essentially a 17th-century collection with 18th-century additions. Gifts to it are still made but it is beyond the resources of the present Chapter to extend it. They have a duty, however, to maintain it — to preserve the books and to see that the records are kept in proper order, and to make both easily available for those who wish to use them. The Chapter have been able to fulfil their obligations in these matters through very generous gifts from the Pilgrim Trust, totalling £5,000 since 1962, by which it has been possible to employ an archivist for a year to calendar the manuscripts, and to commission an expert firm to rebind or refurbish the books. A gift of over £700 from the Friends of the Cathedral enabled the Chapter to provide

additional shelving for the books and for the boxes of loose papers.

In the main the volumes, the number of which Dixon probably underestimated at 3,500, fall under the principal heads of theology, canon law, philosophy and history. Among the early printed books is a Jenson Bible of 1476, a Coverdale of 1553, a Primer of Henry VIII and other 16th-century Bibles and Prayer Books. There is a rare edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, published at Strasbourg in 1522; and works on canon law among the early books are Lyndewode's *Provinciale* (Paris, 1505/6) and Nicolaus Panormitanus's *Super Decretalibus* (1505-24, fifteen volumes in six). Panormitanus, 1386-1445, was Abbot of Palermo. There is a 1502 edition of the *Vita Christi* of the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony, 1300-1378, a work first published in 1474, and some early writings of Erasmus. Some of the extant volumes reflect Reformation controversies, like William Wraghton's *The Huntyng and Findyng out of the Romish Fox* (1543). But the bulk of the volumes are 17th-century theology (first editions of John Donne's works for instance), polemical treatises, and very large numbers of tracts and sermons. Among the Prayer Books is the Sealed Book, so called because a Prayer Book with the Great Seal attached was sent to several Cathedrals after the Restoration. This was the final revision of the Prayer Book and was the edition of 1637 with corrections. The printers, however, failed to insert the revisers' corrections which were therefore written in, with others added, possibly by Sancroft.<sup>26</sup>

III. We turn finally to Thomas Smith who lived from 1615 to 1702 and was another member of the Queen's College, Oxford. He was appointed Chaplain to Charles II and was advanced from the First Stall at Carlisle, 1660/1, to the Deanery in 1672 and the Bishoprick in 1684. The communion plate, the Library, and the charming little building

<sup>26</sup> See Dixon, *op. cit.*, 327 n.

which housed it are his memorial, and he is remembered also as a benefactor of Carlisle Grammar School. Very many of the books bear his autograph, and from them we have some guide to his interests. His life spanned the fertile period of the 17th century, when the modern world was, if not born, at least conceived. What did this scholarly and intelligent divine read?

First, there was the Bible, the study and knowledge of which was still fundamental, and Smith was Anglican enough to hold as necessary only those doctrines which could be "proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." It was he who gave the Coverdale Bible to the Library and he possessed many commentaries on the Scriptures, for example those of Abbot Rupertus, the 12th-century Abbot of Deutz near Cologne, on the Minor Prophets. With these were polyglot Bibles, works on the languages of the Scriptures, and Cornelius Schrevlius's Graeco-Latin Lexicon.

Equally characteristic of traditional Anglicanism was its insistence on placing Antiquity with Scripture (though not, of course, equal to it) as an authoritative source of doctrine, and at that time we should expect the Fathers to be well represented in a collection. Smith's patristic volumes included a 1583 edition of Tertullian and the six volumes of the Louvain edition of St Augustine (1576/7).

Classical studies were represented, apart from lexicons, by the *Comedies* of Aristophanes, edited by Thomas Barlow in 1625, Livy's *Opera* (three volumes) of 1644-5, a Tacitus of 1627 and Clement Edmond's *Observations on Caesar's Commentaries* of 1655.

Among the works of Humanists owned by Smith were the *Epistolae* of Erasmus (published by Froben at Basle, 1521), Bacon's *Essays* newly enlarged (1625) and a 1650 edition of the *Essais* of Montaigne. The Elizabethan Song Cycle was also his.

The paramount theological interest has already been indicated in the comments on Smith's books on the Bible

and the Fathers. The theological works were representative of several schools of thought. Among traditional Anglican writers were Bishop Jewel (*Defence of the Apology*, 1571) and Thomas Jackson, who became President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1630, and whose collected theological works, published in 1673, were purchased by Smith. An example of a more Latitudinarian school of thought was Edward Stillingfleet's *Rational Account of the Protestant Religion* (1665). Smith owned editions of the continental Reformers, of which Calvin's *Opera* in nine volumes (1576 ff.) and Beza's *Tractationes Theologicae* (1582) are examples. He also read the writers of the Counter-Reformation, among them the works of Cardinal du Perron (three volumes, 1633), Suarez's *Disputationes Metaphysicae* (1636), the *Opera Theologica* of Petavius (1644) and five volumes of the works of Cardinal Bellarmine (1648). With them may be mentioned a Pius V Missal (edition of 1634). There are also among his books works by Dissenters, like Richard Baxter's *Reason of the Christian Religion* (1667) and by heretics, like Socinus's *Epistolae ad Amicos* (1618). To these varied theological treatises should be added a 1649 edition of the *Alcoran*.

The founders of the Carlisle Library, as has already been shown, were associated with a zealous school of antiquarian and historical studies. These interests were also reflected in Smith's collection. He had Philemon Holland's translation of Camden's *Britannia* (1637, from the original of 1586) which observed of Carlisle:

"In the midst also of the city riseth on high the Cathedral Church, the upper part whereof being the newer, is very artificially and curiously wrought".

As for *Luguvallum*, or *Luguballium*, the Roman name for Carlisle:

"...in searching out the Etymology thereof, good God, how hath Leland bestirred him, being in the end driven to this point, that he thought verily Eden was called *Lugus* and *Ballum* came from *Vallis*, that is, a vale..."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> p. 778.

Smith also possessed a 1640 edition of Matthew Paris, William Prynne's *A Breviate of the Life of William Laud* (1644), and two works by William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655) and the *History of St Paul's* (1658). Among works by authors on foreign political and historical topics were Grotius's *De Imperio* of 1648, Paul Rycaut's *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* of 1668 (Rycaut had been at Constantinople with Lord Winchelsea), and Cardinal Bentivoglio's *History of the Wars in Flanders*, Englished by Henry, Earl of Monmouth, in 1654, who observed of the author:

"It likely may displease you to stile the enemy Heretick and Schismatick but consider 'tis the usual language of the Church whereof he was a member; and Writers who are of the contrary Persuasion do bestow as sharp epithets on him and his friends".<sup>28</sup>

Interest in a world more and more of which was being disclosed in this period is illustrated by the presence of Heylyn's *Cosmographie* (1652) among Smith's books.

The *Essais* of Montaigne have already been mentioned. Smith read French and his library included the *Dictionnaire Théologique* of De Ivigné (1646) and, rather curiously, the *Discours de la Possession de Saintes Religieuses Ursulines de Lodun* (1634), the story of which demoniacal possession has been made familiar in our day by Aldous Huxley's *The Devils of Loudun* and the late John Whiting's play on the same subject.

The study of English law and of Canon law links with historical and theological studies. Fortescue's *Commendation of the Laws of England* (1573 edition) was in Smith's collection, as was Lyndewode's *Provinciale* (1505), already mentioned as one of the earliest printed books in the Library. Lyndewode lived from 1375 to 1446 and the *Provinciale* is a digest in five books of the synodical constitutions of the Province of Canterbury from 1222 to 1416, a work of great importance on ecclesiastical law.

<sup>28</sup> Intro., p. 2.

Lastly, there is a section of Smith's books which is of interest in showing his philosophical and scientific reading, though he would know no distinction between these two branches of learning, "science", as it is now customarily called, being "natural philosophy". He owned John Fernel's *Universa Medicina* (1577), a work by Kenelm Digby on *The Nature of Bodies and the Immortality of Souls* (1644). Digby was a member of the Council of the Royal Society at its inception in 1662, and Smith was reading the writings of the first Fellows of that Society. Among these last were John Wilkins's *An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668), Joseph Glanville's *Plus Ultra or the Progress and Advancement of Knowledge since the days of Aristotle* (1668), and works by Robert Boyle (the "Father of Chemistry and Son of the Earl of Cork"), including *Tracts* (1671) and the *Excellency of Theology* (1674).

Smith belonged to a traditional, though humane, stream of European culture: he was living before the era of "new Western man", that era which makes the Renaissance and Reformation appear not the break they once were thought to be, but rather a chapter in the history of medieval Christendom. For him the Bible was still the supreme authority in establishing truth. The Fathers of the Christian Church were yet revered: it was in the 18th century that their reputation declined. With the Biblical and patristic foundations, however, went a classical and historical learning, and indeed a liberal temper, which secured the conditions for wider intellectual tolerance and also provided receptive ground for the new philosophical and scientific seeds which were being sown.<sup>29</sup>

"Some books are to be tasted," wrote Lord Bacon, "others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention." The

<sup>29</sup> See H. Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science* (London), 1949.

cultivated man in Thomas Smith's day — such was the pace of life — had time to chew and digest, to read with diligence and attention. Perhaps the study of what he read is of greater value for the understanding of the past than the mere catalogue of volumes in the Library of which he was the principal founder. The Dean and Chapter are proud to acknowledge their debt to him and to claim him as one of their more distinguished predecessors. His collection of books helps to bring him alive and the study of their contents is, at the very least, what Hugh Todd called "a pleasant diversion from more serious studies," those more serious studies in the twentieth century being intellectual and practical problems facing Christians, such as Smith could never have imagined.