

## Monotessaron: The Harmonies of Little Gidding

‘Monotessaron’, at root the making of four into one and specifically the harmonizing of the four gospels into a single narrative, was the actual title given to such works not only by the Ferrars in 1640 but by various other earlier authors.<sup>1</sup> Making such harmonies began in the second century and the Reformation saw a notable flowering of such works by both Catholics and Protestants. Most of the fifteen Little Gidding harmonies were gospel harmonies of this sort, though a few sought to harmonise other biblical texts. The Ferrars created their harmonies during the years from 1625 when they moved to Little Gidding until the outbreak of civil war in 1642. These were, of course, years of mounting tension in church and state. Were the harmonies caught up in these partisan battles? Such was certainly not their intended role.

Nicholas Ferrar’s response to the increasing acrimony and division in political and religious life was not to join in the fray but to create an alternative that he hoped would stand outside and rise above that discord. His ideal society would be, like the Isle of Man, a place where there were ‘Neither Lawyers, nor Beggars, nor Malefactors’, nor quarrels over religion, and where women went about in their winding sheets to keep them mindful of their mortality.<sup>2</sup> He had by 1625 had more than enough experience of polemic and malice during the attack on the Virginia Company and the bargaining and litigation arising from the threatened bankruptcy of his brother. In the wake of these trials he sought not riposte but repentance, a disengagement from such worldly concerns though not a disengagement from concern for the world.<sup>3</sup> His programme centred on his household, relocated from London to the Huntingdonshire countryside, but also extended to a wider circle of relatives and friends. He successfully built what we would call a ‘network’, though he called it ‘the communion of saints’ and ‘the web of friendship’.<sup>4</sup>

That network, moreover, included such men as John Cosin, Francis White, and Augustine Lindsell, who were vocal advocates of the kind of churchmanship Archbishop William Laud was seeking to impose. To ‘Arminian’

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supporters its revived ceremonial was bringing order and uniformity to public worship and restoring set forms of prayer and sacraments to their rightful importance. To 'puritan' opponents, who gave priority to preaching and extempore prayer, the Laudian programme was a thinly disguised plot to restore popery. The little evidence we have of Nicholas's own vision of 'the beauty of holiness' would indicate that he found many of those Laudian practices congenial, but equally that he had no desire either to weigh in to the public debate or to offend his friend and diocesan John Williams, who was no friend of Laud.<sup>5</sup> With a somewhat eclectic approach and a judicious silence Nicholas tried to avoid partisan identification, a path that was easier in Little Gidding than in many ordinary parishes because the manor and the parish were coextensive and the family virtually the entire membership.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, as we shall see, Little Gidding attracted attention and was eventually drawn into the mounting ecclesiastical controversy during these years. Critics cast suspicion not on the harmonies themselves but the whole pattern of household life of which they were a part. The harmonies, however, did contain the potentially controversial ingredient of pictures accompanying the composite text. Why Nicholas valued such a combination will thus be a significant point to consider in an account of the history and development of those books.

Printed harmonies had not hitherto included illustrations, which would have added to both their cost and bulk. English printers were clearly capable of producing illustrated volumes like those of Foxe and Samuel Purchas, to say nothing of herbals, medical treatises and other 'how-to' books.<sup>7</sup> Bibles, however, were a special case and the presence or absence of pictures reflected not only printing costs but also prevailing and changeable attitudes toward graven images and idolatry. After a virtual disappearance of pictures in editions of the Geneva Bible of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, they were enjoying, with the support of a king and archbishop sympathetic to the visual arts, a revival in volumes of the new Authorized Version in the late 1620s and 1630s. The prints in these bibles were 'optional extras', separate sheets interleaved with the pages of text at the time of binding rather than integrated with the text at the time of printing. Nevertheless opponents regarded such pictures when they appeared in 'the Bishop of Canterburie's Bibles' as evidence of Archbishop Laud's popish tendencies.<sup>8</sup> The Ferrars used a different technique, assembling their harmonies by hand out of verses cut from previously printed bibles. They thus could readily combine text and pictures on their pages but only in a very limited number of books.

The role for which Nicholas originally designed the books reveals the primary purpose of the pictures in the harmonies. They were for use in a particular part of the family's elaborate pattern of daily devotions which included, besides services in the church, formal family prayers at home in early morning and at bedtime. In addition at home there were readings

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hourly during at least eight of the weekday hours. Nicholas was particularly concerned to educate the younger generation and wanted these hourly readings to reinforce their knowledge of scripture.<sup>9</sup> At first Nicholas had simply used the passages of gospels, epistles, and psalms appointed in the Prayer Book, a repetition of what family members would have heard that day at matins and evensong.<sup>10</sup> A harmony, he quickly realized, would provide a variant text with the added aid to memory of a continuous narrative while avoiding the risks of excessive repetition.

Peter Peckard in his account of the first harmony declared it also to have been ‘adorned with many beautiful pictures’,<sup>11</sup> a statement supported by Anna Collet’s letter of July 1627 to her uncle in London thanking him ‘for our pictur[e]s’.<sup>12</sup> Though he left no explicit comments on the matter it is hardly surprising that Nicholas, noted from boyhood as one especially fond of stories<sup>13</sup> and nurtured on Foxe’s vividly illustrated *Actes and Monuments*,<sup>14</sup> would believe that pictures enhanced the educational impact of a narrative. We can speculate that the early impact of Foxe’s book was probably reinforced during his time on the Continent, whether in Lutheran Germany or Catholic Italy, for he brought back with him quantities of prints as well as books. Yet although we know that texts adorned the walls of Little Gidding, John Ferrar never referred to any representational art in the house.<sup>15</sup> A late eighteenth-century visitor to Gidding, however, described elaborate wall paintings in what might well have been Nicholas’s private set of rooms.<sup>16</sup> He was obviously no iconoclast and his personal taste would have reinforced his pedagogical conviction that pictures promoted learning. Yet interestingly a Ferrar family bible of 1637, though bound in velvet like several of the harmonies, contained no pictures.<sup>17</sup> Whether this absence reflected scruples or expense, however, remains unknown.

To make so rapid a start on producing a harmony for the family Nicholas would no doubt already have had a model in mind. He could certainly have encountered several versions during his student days in Cambridge, for many of the college libraries possessed copies of numerous harmonies by authors both Catholic and Protestant.<sup>18</sup> Nicholas might also have encountered these works during his travels on the Continent.

When and where Nicholas chose his model is unclear because in volumes made for family use there was no need to identify it. He did, however, do so in the great harmony created for King Charles in 1635. The basic harmonizing arrangement of the gospel texts, he there explained, was that of a Netherlander, Cornelius Jansen. To Jansen’s plan he had added annotations taken from the work of a later follower of Jansen, Jean Buisson.<sup>19</sup> Other possible but unacknowledged sources I shall consider later. Jansen had divided his harmony, *Concordia Evangelica* (1549), into 150 chapters.<sup>20</sup> The appeal of that format to Nicholas probably lay in its having the same number of chapters as there were psalms. In his reading plan psalms and harmony chapters could be apportioned so that both books could be read through

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together in a thirty-day month and thus repeated twelve times in the course of the year.<sup>21</sup>

If these and other harmonies were available, why did the Ferrars have to create their own? Most of the continental harmonies, including Jansen and Buisson, were in Latin, with a few in French or German.<sup>22</sup> While harmonies in these languages would have been accessible to Cambridge dons and students, they would hardly have served for general family use at Gidding. There were only two English harmonies extant in 1625–6 and they too were aimed rather at an academic than a family audience.<sup>23</sup> The only ‘popular’ work of this sort was Robert Hill’s chapter-by-chapter summary of Jansen’s harmony published in 1596 and bound with Hill’s more extensive summary of the whole bible.<sup>24</sup> Hill, who at that time was a Fellow of St John’s College, Cambridge, but also lived with the family of Sir William Fitzwilliam in Essex, explicitly proclaimed the educational value of both harmonies and summaries of this sort. Hill’s subsequent career as a preacher showed him as keen to educate his listeners as Nicholas was to instruct his family.<sup>25</sup> Unlike Hill, however, Nicholas wanted for this purpose not a summary but the actual words of scripture.

In 1625 therefore he could only have obtained such an English harmony by making it himself, cutting up an English bible and arranging its verses in Jansen’s sequence.<sup>26</sup> This necessity, however, Nicholas took not as an obstacle but an opportunity, for he enlisted the entire family in a way that maximised both participation and instruction. Once Nicholas had provided the necessary materials and laid out the order of the passages, everyone capable of using scissors and paste could help. A special room in the house was set aside for this activity.<sup>27</sup> It contained, besides the necessary work tables and chairs, two ‘great presses’ which produced pasted pages so neatly and firmly joined that people who saw them believed them to be ‘a new kind of printing’.<sup>28</sup> The room would also have housed the equipment needed to bind the completed pages.<sup>29</sup> As John Ferrar put it,

‘the younger sort learned [the gospel passages] without book [presumably as they assembled a harmony], and hourly made repetition of some part of them, that so both their hands and minds might be partakers in what was good and useful.’<sup>30</sup>

Though biographies of Nicholas suggest that everyone, including on occasion the matriarch Mary Woodnoth Ferrar herself,<sup>31</sup> took part, the bulk of the craft work evidently fell to the elder Collet daughters. John Ferrar indeed described the harmonies ‘as rarities in their kinds and the handy-work of women (for their manufacture, I mean, and labour of putting together, by way of pasting, &c.)’.<sup>32</sup> George Herbert too declared in his thanks to the ladies of Gidding for the harmony they had given him:

he most humbly blessed God that he had lived now to see women’s scissors brought to so rare a use as to serve at God’s altar.<sup>33</sup>

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As both of these comments suggest, the educational value of the harmonies lay in the combination of crafting them and reading them. Since the family only needed one for its readings but wanted also to keep the hands as well as the minds occupied, they had made another and presented it to Herbert.

Indeed they continued to make them, which raises the question central to this paper, namely what if any changes and developments appeared in the fifteen harmonies<sup>34</sup> they made over the years and when and why such changes were introduced. Let us first consider the eight harmonies of the four gospels. Such harmonies were integral to the family's devotional life, and provide dated examples from 1631 to 1640. They fall into three groups: the earliest ones at Harvard and the Bodleian (before 1632), a middle group that includes the king's great book and three others made at about the same time (1635–37), and finally the last three dated 1640.

Two aspects of the harmonies will not be considered in any detail, namely the bindings and the illustrations. The bindings have been much studied and that work needs no duplication here.<sup>35</sup> The prints were largely of Dutch and Flemish origin though many, as George Henderson has demonstrated, were copies of those Continental originals made by Robert Peake.<sup>36</sup> Hardly great art, their present importance lies rather in their union with the text than in their quality. If Peter Peckard's description and Anna Collet's thanks for pictures referred to the earliest harmony,<sup>37</sup> Nicholas would have planned from the outset to include pictures. Certainly a subsequent volume now in the Houghton Library at Harvard, probably the earliest still existing, is lavishly decorated with large prints. In point of fact only one among all the harmonies lacks illustrations. The significance of that omission I shall consider presently.

Not previously studied, however, is the framework that structured the narrative and I shall concentrate here on its development. There are three basic problems in harmonizing the text apart from combining it with illustrations. One of these is chronology, establishing a unified time sequence for the new narrative of Christ's life compiled out of four different stories each with its own sequence of events. Another is reconciling variations in accounts of the same episode in the four gospel sources. The third is the need to retain every word of Holy Writ while avoiding a redundancy that would hinder the narrative flow. The Little Gidding harmonies addressed all these problems, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly, in ways that developed according to the use intended for the books and the knowledge and skill available to the makers.

In the earliest surviving harmony, now at Harvard, the organizational framework was minimal, simply taken over from Jansen.<sup>38</sup> In a book intended for reading aloud a smooth narrative was primary and Jansen provided a widely accepted chronology and composite text that avoided repetition and blended variations, and was readily available. The resulting volume had no title inscribed in the small rectangular space on its illustrated title page, no table of contents, and no numbering of its pages. The uniform black

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letter text<sup>39</sup> contained the standard 150 chapters, of which a very few lacked both numbers and titles while perhaps a third of them, mostly in the early part of the book, had numbers but lacked titles. Like the verses of text the numbers and titles had been pasted in using a variety of sizes and typefaces; in some cases they appear to have fallen out as have some verses of text.<sup>40</sup> Occasionally a few missing words of text have been added in ink. The source gospels for the passages were indicated less frequently and fully than in later harmonies, perhaps because there are more chapters drawn entirely from single gospels. Where several gospel accounts were blended, however, the sources were simply listed together in a group, pasted in the margins with the full names of the evangelists and usually with verses indicated. It was not a format designed to offer a reader the alternative choice of following the text of a single gospel. It was a one-purpose book for family use where the composite narrative sufficed and required no further explanations or directions.

The next harmony to which we have a reference rather than the book itself was the one made for George Herbert and brought to him in October 1631, by Nicholas's cousin Arthur Woodnoth.<sup>41</sup> The Harvard harmony, with obvious imperfections and probably needed for family use, would have been an unlikely presentation copy for so esteemed a family friend as Herbert.<sup>42</sup> Herbert's volume, therefore, like another said to have been presented to Thomas Jackson,<sup>43</sup> has most probably not survived to reveal if it incorporated any significant new features or improved techniques.

Next in the sequence is the earliest dated harmony, which is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It bears a note at the end declaring that it was completed by Mary [Collet] Ferrar on 3 December 1631.<sup>44</sup> It is smaller than the Harvard harmony with a plain title page bearing the simple title 'The Evangelicall History' and no contemporary table of contents. Its uniform black letter text with a few inserts in Roman again simply followed Jansen. Were it not for the presence of manuscript page numbers, chapter headings and linking phrases,<sup>45</sup> its pages of pasted text neatly enclosed in double red lines would have been sufficiently uniform and skilfully done to demonstrate why contemporaries called it 'a new kind of printing'. The source gospels too are more clearly and consistently indicated than in the Harvard volume, using the more flexible device of letters in the margin (A,B,C,D for Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, respectively, which became standard practice in later harmonies) together with the appropriate chapter number for that gospel. The greater clarity of these devices might perhaps be a sign not simply of the family's more skilful craftsmanship but of Nicholas's new wish at once to retain the appeal of the continuous narrative but also to add the possibility of following the text of an individual gospel. The absence of pictures, which was the most striking difference between the Bodleian Harmony and all the other harmonies that survive, could also indicate a wish to reach a larger audience.

How might this have been accomplished and why might it have necessitated omitting illustrations? A letter to Arthur Woodnoth in January 1632

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suggests that in the latter part of 1631, when Mary Collet Ferrar was at work on this harmony, Nicholas and she had hoped to produce a published harmony but had been pipped at the post:

Touching the Concordance reason persuades us to beare the same affections to him yt hath don it as wee would have desyred from others – Wee Honnour wee Love him wee pray god it may prove to his owne as undoubtedly it will to the Benefitt of Gods Church in which regard Relligion enforceth us to reioyce in it And to bless God That it is Don and not onely to be content but glad That it comes forth from better hands then our[s] bee shall Any kynde of [ ^ toole] Instrument murmure agaynst the workman or it[s] fellow Instrument because another is rather employed then it selfe –

Our greate Master hath made choyse of another to bring this worke to light [‘by’ in margin] wth his blessing he knows whats best to his owne service and wee are assured That it is likewyse best for our good

Hee hath not taken the Worke out of our hands but onely the Publication of it – hee hath not deprived us of what wee have don but hee hath restrayned us from what wee desyred – Honnour and profitt The last perhaps neither very Comely nor Certayne The first assuredly very perillous – Well blessed bee his holy name for that hee hath given and that hee hath taken away. But though in this regard our purposes are frustrated yett not in respect of that which we first began and cheifely aymed at that is our owne Good and furtherance in true good – to which it may bee others workes will not soe much enduce as our own . . .<sup>46</sup>

If they had viewed their 1631 harmony as a potential printer’s dummy, that hope would explain the greater care to indicate source gospels and to provide bridging phrases to help a reader follow the text of a single gospel as well as the composite narrative. It would also signal their apparent willingness to sacrifice illustrations for the sake of this wider circulation. Reaching a larger audience was evidently more important than including pictures. The poignant disappointment expressed in the letter provided a measure of the importance they had evidently attached to this project. Who was it that had beaten them to the draw?

In the six weeks after Mary had finished her book the Ferrars apparently learned of the imminent publication of Johan Hiud’s *The Storie of Stories*.<sup>47</sup> It had received its imprimatur in November 1631 from William Haywood, one of Laud’s chaplains, and was published in 1632.<sup>48</sup> Like those of the Ferrars it offered in a continuous narrative without additional commentary the gospels’ account of Christ’s life. If Hiud followed an earlier model, he never revealed it. He did explain, however, that he had compiled his *Storie* as an aid to his personal study of scripture; only subsequently had friends persuaded him publish it.<sup>49</sup>

His purpose of providing a study guide for individuals rather than a source book for family devotions produced a different handling of the text, with a strong emphasis on chronology.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, as Hiud explained in his preface, ‘To the Reader’, a clear time sequence provided his major ‘harmonising’

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device. After a brief Part I devoted to Christ's youth, prior to his public ministry, came a much longer Part II, subdivided into three 'Portions', which were themselves each divided into three 'Passages'. Within these divisions he started a given episode with those verses which provided a time reference.<sup>51</sup> These were printed in bold and larger Roman type; what he deemed the clearest and fullest version of the story then continued in smaller Roman type and could be drawn from several gospel sources, indicated in the margin. To address the problem of alternative versions he used columns parallel to this main story column to present, in italic, those that occurred in the same time context as the central version. Those placed in a different time frame were simply noted in the margins in brackets. Hiud also claimed successfully to have resolved the problem of including every word in each gospel, and as proof concluded the book with a 'Table' showing the chapters of each gospel and the page on which specified verses of each chapter appeared. Though Nicholas never acknowledged any debt to Hiud's alternative purposes or devices for structuring his harmony, subsequent volumes starting with the great harmony made for the king showed signs of his possible influence.<sup>52</sup>

Did Nicholas give up too quickly on a possible printed version of his harmony? With his Cambridge connections he could have approached Thomas and John Buck, the printers to the university, who had begun bible-publishing in Cambridge in 1629.<sup>53</sup> Certainly it was Thomas Buck with another partner, Roger Daniel, who published in 1633 George Herbert's *The Temple*, for which Nicholas provided the anonymous preface. The following year Daniel published Nicholas's translation of Leonard Lessius's *Hygiasticon*. That same year Buck and Daniel also published an unillustrated harmony, *Monotessaron* by Henry Garthwait, which suggests that Nicholas might indeed have persuaded them to publish his harmony had he persevered.<sup>54</sup> Instead he apparently abandoned his hopes of being the one to bring to 'Gods Church' the benefits he acknowledged would come from Hiud's work. That he had aspired to do so points to a developing sense of Little Gidding's mission soon to become further evident. At that immediate moment in January, however, he could only comfort Arthur, and no doubt himself as well, with the notion that they had been spared the temptations of honour and profit while retaining the benefits that came from doing the work themselves.<sup>55</sup>

Following this disappointment over publication in January 1632, the only evidence that further work on harmonies continued came in a letter from Arthur Woodnoth to Nicholas in the following April. Arthur there explained that he was sending some 'letters or characters' that might be useful and also a pot of printer's ink and a leather ball with which to apply it to the letters. He supplied directions for doing this and then applying the letters to the prepared paper. Such stamped letters could have substituted neatly for the handwritten marginal indicators of source gospels and were used in later harmonies.<sup>56</sup>

Even if they continued making harmonies, however, the family directed their main attention and hopes to a different project, an experiment in 'tem-

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perance', which began with a very rigorous fast during Christmastide 1632, continued during 1633 and issued in 1634 in the publication of Nicholas's translation of Leonard Lessius's *Hygiasticon*.<sup>57</sup>

While the more committed of the Ferrars were continuing this regime in the summer of 1633, King Charles undertook at last a journey to Scotland for his long-postponed coronation as King of Scots. On the way he stayed with the Earl of Westmoreland at Apethorpe and, learning that Little Gidding was nearby, sent a courtier with a royal request to borrow their harmony, about which 'rare jewel' the king had heard. Obviously by this time Gidding harmonies were a topic of conversation in court circles and perhaps also in circles hostile to royal policy. How had this happened? We know that friends and family who over the years came to visit Gidding often participated in the daily devotions and perhaps even watched the nieces at work on the harmonies. This network of contacts Nicholas had cultivated over the years could thus have furnished to clerical friends like John Cosin and Francis White glowing accounts of the harmonies. They as royal chaplains could in turn have described these unusual books to both Archbishop Laud and the king.<sup>58</sup> So too could Bishop John Williams, Little Gidding's diocesan and another longtime family friend. George Herbert, who was another Ferrar friend, had received a harmony in October 1631 and was a close kinsman of the courtier Earl of Pembroke. Had Herbert brought his harmony from Bemerton to show to the Pembrokes at Wilton, for example,<sup>59</sup> they in turn might well have spoken of it to the king, particularly since Pembroke was with the king on the progress in 1633 which brought him near to Gidding.<sup>60</sup>

Despite the family's protestations that the (Harvard) harmony they were using was not worthy of a royal reader, the courtier dispatched by the king to borrow it insisted that the king would take no denial of his request. Having kept the book for some months and not only studied but carefully annotated it, Charles eventually agreed to return it on condition that the family make one for him. That first request and those that followed in effect linked Little Gidding to the king and by extension to the ecclesiastical policies of his metropolitan William Laud despite Nicholas's efforts to stay out of the controversy they engendered. He could ignore gossip that circulated in the neighbourhood and beyond,<sup>61</sup> but not the king's attention, which drew the family and its way of life into a spotlight which they had not sought but now could not avoid.

The king claimed to have read the borrowed harmony daily and his marginal notes lend credence to that claim. He also expressed a 'great good liking of it in all kinds',<sup>62</sup> perhaps a sign of his particular approval of the Ferrars' combination of text and pictures. Thus encouraged Nicholas made use of the flexibility of his 'new kind of printing' to create a harmony for the king that combined the full scriptural text with carefully selected and arranged pictures. But it was not simply a more skilfully made and costly replica of the one King Charles had borrowed. Instead Nicholas provided his demonstrably keen royal reader with a harmony set up to facilitate study of text and

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pictures together, a format which would enable the king even to devise his own synthesis out of the varying gospel versions.<sup>63</sup>

Some of these added tools for the royal student suggest the influence not only of Jansen's and Buisson's Latin harmonies but also Hiud's and Henry Garthwait's English ones. Garthwait, publishing two years after Hiud,<sup>64</sup> gave no sign that he knew of that earlier work and he used a different model as the basis for his synopsis.<sup>65</sup> He did, however, give his harmony an explicit chronological framework, though one different from Hiud's. He divided his work into five books, the first comprising Christ's early years and the second, third, fourth and fifth books designated as the first, second, third, and fourth years of Christ's public ministry.<sup>66</sup> His prefatory 'direction' explained not only the text's chronological division but also elaborated his method for identifying source gospels and relating multiple versions of a passage to the harmonized text. For those essential elements of a harmony he had used parallel columns, though again somewhat differently from Hiud. There were two at the right and two at the left sides of the page, one for each of the evangelists, which contained chapter and verse locations for the passages harmonised on that page. In a wide central column was the harmonised narrative. Garthwait gave a distinctive name, the 'Context', to this central narrative. Nicholas's adoption of that same term not only in the royal harmony of the following year but also in other subsequent ones suggests Garthwait's influence. Again like Hiud Garthwait included a table giving the location in the harmony of every 'chapter, verse, or sentence' in each gospel. A reader could thus not only place a given passage in the appropriate year of ministry but know that not one word of any gospel had been left out.

We know from Nicholas's correspondence that he possessed a copy of Garthwait's book, for his friend, Robert Mapletoft of Pembroke College, Cambridge, had procured it at Nicholas's request and sent it to him soon after it appeared.<sup>67</sup> Nicholas also evidently set Mapletoft as well as Edward Wallis, another Cambridge friend, to searching college libraries for other harmonies, though if he made use of any information they supplied, he never acknowledged it. That he made the request, however, remains a measure of the system and seriousness he brought to the making of a new style of harmony for the king.<sup>68</sup>

Ferrar's splendid volume now in the British Library is the most notable of that middle group (1635–37) of gospel harmonies. It bears the date 1635 and was presented to the king by Archbishop Laud and Dr. John Cosin in May 1636.<sup>69</sup> The family clearly spared no pains or expense in producing a book worthy of its recipient.<sup>70</sup> For visual enhancement there were gilding, coloured inks, abundant illustrations and a handsome binding.<sup>71</sup> The illustrations also introduced a greater emphasis on typology, as the title page indicated,<sup>72</sup> and this theme continued in later harmonies.

What marked a more striking development over earlier efforts, however, were new organisational devices addressing those basic problems of chronology, variant versions of gospel stories and inclusion of every gospel word.

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These devices were named and incorporated in an altogether more elaborate title page than preceding harmonies had possessed. The lengthy 'Advertizement', a device possibly borrowed from Garthwait, followed that enhanced title page and explained at greater length these new terms and their functions. A still further addition was a handwritten table of contents headed 'Order of Chapters . . .'. It listed the standard Jansenian 150 chapters, which were both numbered and titled, with those source gospels included in each chapter indicated in different coloured inks. The corresponding chapter headings within the text were also handwritten and their titles showed occasional minor variations from those given in the 'Order of Chapters'.<sup>73</sup>

Two of the new devices, the 'Comparison' and 'Composition', dealt with those episodes within a given Chapter that appeared in variant forms in more than one gospel. Both Hiud and Garthwait had developed simpler versions of such a comparative method. Nicholas's 'Comparison' set out in parallel columns each gospel's version of a particular episode to facilitate comparison. The 'Composition' then created a synthesis, which within its continuous text also bore small printed letters (M/Mr/L/J) indicating the particular gospel sources taken from the columns of the 'Comparison'. Both 'Comparison' and 'Composition' were set in Roman type, the 'Composition' in larger type. On one rather spectacular page they were illustrated with a selection of images from Foxe's Book of Martyrs, that other staple of Ferrar family reading.<sup>74</sup> The 'Advertizement' explained that this elaborate treatment of multiple versions of the same story would enable a reader to do his own comparisons and create his own compositions should he wish, an opportunity that Nicholas evidently hoped his studious royal reader would welcome.

The 'Collection', the third component of Nicholas's new format, contained in its 'Context' and 'Supplement' the heart of the matter, 'the whole EVANGELICAL HISTORIE',<sup>75</sup> presenting the essential narrative in the 'Context' with those relevant passages not included in it added in the 'Supplement' in a different typeface. A reader could thus follow a continuous synoptic story by reading the black letter passages of the 'Context' or read any individual gospel by following the passages in either 'Context' or 'Supplement' marked by the letter indicating that gospel. Besides the A/B/C/D markers in different coloured inks were linking phrases to show the reader how to move between 'Context' and 'Supplement' to follow a single gospel. These were clearly inked in, sometimes in printed capitals, sometimes in cursive. In this way Nicholas could provide at once a smooth narrative and the complete text of each gospel, an assurance that not one word had been omitted. This elaborate system of Collection, Comparison and Composition, together with explanatory 'Annotations' added at various points to the text, was the apparatus that Buisson, 'ye Kings Professor of Diuinitie at Doway' had devised about 1570. With it Nicholas transformed the king's harmony from a source book for reading aloud to a book for an individual reader and serious student, a substantial leap beyond the beginnings discernible in the Bodleian Harmony.

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This pattern continued in modified form in other harmonies made during these years. Though the separate ‘Comparison’ and ‘Composition’ sections included in the king’s volume were never repeated, the three volumes that were made contemporaneously with or shortly after the king’s harmony retained the key organisational feature of ‘Context’ and ‘Supplement’, set in different type-faces. On this basis they constitute a distinctive subgroup of Little Gidding harmonies that comprises the harmony now in the Cotsen Children’s Library at Princeton, another in the British Library (the volume that had belonged to the Collets and Mapletofts)<sup>76</sup> and a third at Hatfield House.<sup>77</sup> All three volumes possessed certain other characteristics besides ‘Context’ and ‘Supplement’ found in the royal harmony: ‘Advertizements’ to explain how to use the books so as to enjoy the versatility which the new structure made possible and a title page that was standardized, although illustrations and layout continued to vary.

The lengthy title provided a brief methodological summary in itself:

The Actions Doctrine and other Passadges Touching Our Lorde and Saviour Jesus Christ as they are related by the Foure Evangelists Reduced into one Compleate Body of History wherein that which is Severally Related by Them is Digested into Order and that which is Joyntly by All or any of them is Extracted into one cleare Context by way of Collection Yett soe as whatever is Omitted in the Context is Inserted by way of Supplement in another Point in such Manner as all the Foure Evangelists may be Reade Severally from First to Last . . .

Although an ‘Advertizement’ appeared in all three volumes, the one in the Cotsen harmony did not appear as a separate page. It had instead been squeezed in, written in John Ferrar’s hand, at the bottom of the last two pages of the table of contents, as if it had been forgotten until after the book had been bound. It also lacked any acknowledgment of Jansen and Buisson or, of course, any reference to the omitted ‘Comparison’ and ‘Composition’. The Collet and Hatfield harmonies contained substantially the same directions though in these volumes the ‘Advertizement’ was set off on a page of its own and written in a neater hand and with somewhat more elaborate style. Even with more space and scope, however, there was no reference to Jansen or Buisson. In place of the omitted ‘Comparison’ and ‘Composition’ was simply an explanation of how the ‘Context’ and ‘Supplement’ layout would enable the reader to follow either the continuous narrative of the basic ‘Evangelicall Harmony’ or read a single gospel. These volumes thus sought to retain the flexibility of the king’s harmony without its extra apparatus.

All three also used a printed table of chapter heads and numbers<sup>78</sup> to supply a table of contents at the beginning; the appropriate page numbers for the chapters were then supplied by hand in the Collet and Hatfield volumes but omitted in the Cotsen. In the text itself the Cotsen had handwritten chapter headings whereas the others had the same printed ones used in the Table of Contents now cut and pasted into the text at the appropriate places. The

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usual capital letters (A/B/C/D) for source gospels were in the Cotsen volume written in by hand in contrast to both the Collet and Hatfield harmonies where they were done with printer's type and, in the Hatfield volume, coloured inks.<sup>79</sup> These latter two volumes also added a new feature present neither in the king's nor the Cotsen's volume, namely a division of the events in the gospel narrative into the years of Christ's ministry in which they occurred. This, as we have seen, was a device earlier used by Garthwait, who however adopted a four-year ministry rather than the three years in these Gidding harmonies.<sup>80</sup>

A most striking development in all these harmonies, including that of the king, was an extraordinary and puzzling change to the text. Surely only Nicholas himself could have presumed to make a deliberate and consistent alteration of this sort, though it is not clear why he did it. He took the material that Jansen himself and the first two Little Gidding Harmonies had included in a single chapter, numbered 44 and entitled 'The Leaper [*i.e.* Leper] Cleansed', and divided it into two widely separated chapters. This curious rearrangement, which added a chapter to the total, then produced a mismatch between the chapters as listed in the table of contents and the actual numbering and headings of chapters in the text.<sup>81</sup>

This change and resulting confusion became the more striking and also the more entrenched because the chapter lists in the three other volumes in this group were printed in contrast to the handwritten one in the king's book. One can only assume that at some point in 1635 the Ferrars had decided that their arrangement of chapters was sufficiently fixed to justify a printed version, which could be used both for the tables of contents and for chapter headings in the texts of their harmonies. Yet, very curiously, at that same time they changed the text in a way that made their new printed version incorrect.

What format that printed version had in its original state is hard to say because the sheets were cut up and pasted into each of the harmonies as best fitted the size and layout of that volume.<sup>82</sup> A more interesting question is how the Ferrars obtained these printed lists. Did they order them from a printer, perhaps in Cambridge where they had connections with printers and book-sellers? Or could they have printed them at Little Gidding? Perhaps emboldened by their success with stamping the individual letters that Arthur Woodnoth had sent in 1632 the family had added to the Concordance Room an actual printing press. There is no definitive evidence for this, so the possibility must remain conjectural if intriguing. If the printing of chapter numbers and titles was indeed undertaken at Gidding, why, once the mistake became obvious, did they not print a corrected version? Perhaps they wanted to retain the established 150-chapter format. Or perhaps, if they had had to purchase the printed pages, they felt they could not afford a second order after the expense of the king's book. Whatever the reason, they resorted, instead of a reprinting, to various more or less awkward interpolations to correct the discrepancy.<sup>83</sup>

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Who besides the king were the recipients of the harmonies in this group? The Cotsen harmony, the only one to bear a specific date, contains an extensive statement of its provenance and its early connection to the Cotton family.<sup>84</sup> The Collet harmony, tentatively dated 1636 and therefore roughly contemporaneous with the one at Princeton, descended through that family until it was eventually acquired by the British Museum in 1894.<sup>85</sup> Lord Salisbury's handsome volume bound in purple velvet was certainly sufficiently elegant to have been intended for royal presentation. That it was Prince James who in 1640 received it is purely conjectural.<sup>86</sup> Whether it was actually made in 1640 is also doubtful because it is much more like the Cotsen and Collet Harmonies than those harmonies that actually bear a 1640 date. It might well have been made several years earlier.<sup>87</sup>

Three gospel harmonies all dated 1640 were completed after the death of Nicholas in 1637. One, to be discussed later, was the unique polyglot version made by young Nicholas for Prince Charles. Of the other two, which are similar in form, one at Ickworth had belonged to the Hervey family<sup>88</sup> and is now the property of the National Trust. The other had belonged in the nineteenth century to a Miss Heming, a Ferrar descendent, and is still in private possession. Both of these have a truncated title and text. If the Cotsen, Collet and Hatfield harmonies have omitted the separate 'Comparison' and 'Composition' sections of the king's book, these later ones have jettisoned the 'Supplement' and 'Context', which in the earlier three continued to furnish a reader with reasonably accessible material for comparisons. Instead these later volumes presented simply 'one Compleat body of History wherein that which is severally related by all of them is digested into Order'. Hence there is in both a uniform text preceded by a table of contents employing the same printed list of numbered chapters with their titles, which list is also cut up and pasted into the text as chapter headings. Both also have the usual capital letters in the margins to indicate source gospels, though their reference is not always clear and in the Heming harmony they are not stamped in or all in the same hand. Trying to read a single gospel through consecutively would probably have been considerably more difficult than in the earlier three harmonies. That recurrent complication in the printed chapter list of the extra chapter on the leper cleansed also occurred in both in slightly different forms.<sup>89</sup>

The significant point about these two later harmonies is their simplification of the apparatus developed first for the king's harmony and then incorporated in modified form in the Cotsen, Collet, and Hatfield books. They reverted in effect to the single text that we find in the Harvard and Bodleian versions. Such a simplification might signify that they were intended for family use, as the earliest harmonies had been.<sup>90</sup> It might also reflect new demands on the time and energy of the harmony-makers, for in 1636 a fresh royal request had compelled Nicholas and his helpers to redirect their skills and knowledge to harmonising altogether different biblical books.

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Charles had wondered aloud to Laud and Cosin, when they presented his gospel harmony to him in May 1636,<sup>91</sup> whether the Ferrars would make him a harmony of the books of Kings and Chronicles. He read them frequently, he declared, and had found difficulties in reconciling some passages. He would like a harmony of them that would provide, like the gospel harmony, both a continuous narrative and a way to read each book separately.<sup>92</sup>

If the king's first request had produced a new and complex format for his gospel harmony, this second required the application of that model to an entirely new subject. I have found no precedents for it comparable to the numerous gospel harmonies that had been available to Nicholas for the earlier project. In any case, the king obviously liked the Buisson style of continuous narrative that also preserved the identity of its component parts. Hence Nicholas would have had to start from scratch and devise his own 'Collection' for these texts. It would have been a more intellectually demanding task than the 'scissors' work of the womenfolk, though the marginal notes in the printed bibles would have provided a start. Fortunately, Nicholas could by this time have called on his nephews, John's son Nicholas and Ferrar Collet, now in their late teens. Certainly the draft preserved in the Ferrar Papers, which was clearly the guide for the finished work, looks like a co-operative effort and is written in several different hands.<sup>93</sup> It included an introductory apology for any shortcomings, errors, omissions and unexplained transpositions of passages and expressed the hope that the reasons for the latter would be readily understood by an informed reader. The strength of these disclaimers along with mention of limitations of space and time that have restricted the scope of the referencing system suggests that Nicholas was very conscious that he was having to do a rush job.

As a history of the Israelites from the death of Saul to the Babylonian Captivity, the harmony began with the final chapter of I Samuel and ran through II Chronicles with some final chapters from Jeremiah and Ezra. What passages in this complex history of turbulence, rebellion and invasion he found difficult to reconcile the king did not specify. The books were harmonized in a 'Context' narrative in Roman letters, accompanied by a 'Supplement' in black letter of passages not included in the basic narrative, with marginal capitals to indicate sources of the text passages. Such an arrangement could fulfill the king's request and would supply the necessary cross-references by means of three 'Tables', the first listing the titles of the 203 chapters, the second showing which passages appeared in Kings alone, which in Chronicles alone and which in both Kings and Chronicles, and the third showing where every chapter of all of the texts could be found in the collected work.

The finished volume in the British Library<sup>94</sup> followed the draft carefully and included the three tables and directions for reading the book either as a continuous narrative or in its several components. It also contained the draft's apology for its manifold imperfections, it having not attained

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the measure of that Perfection wch is requisite for things intended to ye service & satisfaction of Great & Excellent DIGNITIES & especially of SUPREME MAJESTIE.

As that deferential note suggests, the Ferrars' position as harmony-makers to the king linked them increasingly, in the minds of many, not only to his spiritual life but also and more controversially to his and his archbishop's ecclesiastical policies. This connection would in turn expose them to attack when 'Schism, Faction, and Jealousie [did] kindle that Fire, which destroyed both Church and State'.<sup>95</sup>

As the king's and Laud's attempt to force a new Prayer Book on the Scottish church set that fire alight, the Ferrars, whether by royal request or on their own initiative, created a version of the book of Acts and the Apocalypse.<sup>96</sup> Though it was yet another new subject, this volume was not a 'harmony' at all but simply illustrated texts of these two books. Mary and Anna could in all likelihood have done such 'handy work of women' without learned oversight. Its handsome binding and large and well-arranged prints suggest that it too was destined for the king, though there is no direct evidence on this point other than Robert Woodforde's report of having seen in the king's bed-chamber in 1638 volumes of the four gospels and of the Acts and the Apocalypse.<sup>97</sup> Some of the prints in this volume were part of a series of illustrations of Acts that created a stir in Scotland in 1638 and that Walter Balcanquhall the following year claimed that the king knew nothing about.<sup>98</sup>

After Nicholas's death the family continued to make harmonies, at least in part to keep the hands as well as the minds at work. Two of these were the previously discussed gospel harmonies in the established though somewhat truncated form.<sup>99</sup> A third gospel harmony, devised by nephew Nicholas for the Prince of Wales and presented to him in 1640, was a new and elaborate four-language harmony reviving some of the comparative apparatus used in the king's gospel harmony of 1635. The work is entitled, doubly appropriately, *Monotessaron*, and presents the texts of the four gospels in four languages: Latin, French, English, and Italian.<sup>100</sup> It is a handsome volume, its green velvet binding with gold tooling appropriate for royalty and its parallel columns in the four languages matching verse for verse, a format that offers both spiritual instruction and a language tutorial. The text in these columns provided a continuous narrative called the 'Collection' though it was not divided, as in earlier harmonies, into a 'Context' and 'Supplement'. Source gospels were indicated in coloured letters with chapter numbers added. At the bottom of most pages, in larger Roman letters, is the 'Composition' in Latin. Here every word of every gospel was woven into a continuous history with small letters within the running text to indicate the sources of passages.<sup>101</sup> This elaborate system of letters revived the apparatus borrowed from Jansen and Buisson to provide an equivalent to the 'Comparison' and 'Composition' in the royal harmony of 1635. Young Nicholas also incorporated headings like those used earlier in the Collet and Hatfield

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harmonies to group the narrative chapters by specified years of Christ's ministry. He even added in manuscript a bit of exegesis to explain the discrepancy between Mark's and Luke's versions of Christ's instructions to his apostles when he sent them out to preach.<sup>102</sup>

At the same time as Nicholas presented it to the prince, he offered to the King prospectuses for two other polyglot volumes of the New Testament, one in eight languages and the other in twenty-four with interlineal translations into either Latin or English.<sup>103</sup> These two volumes were not harmonies in the sense of collations but rather prospectuses for future works. The eight-language volume declared on its title page that it would be aimed at those who wished to learn the languages, or for foreigners who wanted to learn English. Other great polyglot bibles such as the one made for the King of France did not include 'modern' languages. Young Nicholas, adding an imperial touch, justified their inclusion because the king for whom the works were intended ruled a realm whose subjects spoke more languages than did those of any other contemporary ruler. His projected inclusion of translations into the Indian languages of Virginia and New England suggests that he had at least something of his father's interest in North America. His premature death cut short these grand plans though his father, writing to Isaac Basire to ask help in getting bibles in exotic tongues, seems still to have cherished hopes of carrying on the work, probably with the help of his nephew Ferrar Collet.<sup>104</sup>

Nephew Nicholas clearly deserved his title as 'The Linguist of Little Gidding'.<sup>105</sup> How much his language training owed to his uncle's tutelage was, of course, never spelled out, but the claim in his epitaph that he had 'scarcely a teacher, scarcely needed one,' must be something of an exaggeration.<sup>106</sup> As a delicate child he had been educated at home by his uncle, who perhaps knew of the growing interest in and knowledge of Near Eastern languages which promised new insight into ancient biblical scripts. He might in consequence have steered his nephew in a direction that not only fitted his talents but was intellectually fashionable and patronised by Archbishop Laud.<sup>107</sup>

Yet another new harmonising project got underway at the stressful end of the elder Nicholas's life. This was a harmony of the Pentateuch, 'The Whole Law of God . . .' in a quite different format from those of the gospels and Kings and Chronicles. Gone were 'Context' and 'Supplement' and the need to include every single biblical word or to construct any narrative at all. This was a topical rather than a historical harmony and the 'law' contained in the books was 'Methodically Distributed into Three great Classes Morall Ceremoniall & Polyticall'. These categories formed the traditional framework for discussions of the applicability of the Mosaic law to a Christian society, including of course the vexed question of what constituted idolatry. Within this familiar framework Nicholas applied his harmonizing technique to organise (and illustrate) the texts fundamental to such debates. An unbound set of red-ruled folio pages, with their bits of heading, text, and pictures, some pasted in, more lying loose, exists in the Ferrar Papers [1892a]. Its ruled

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pages certainly have a sufficiently unfinished look to qualify as the draft version John Ferrar said had been made in Nicholas's lifetime, despite the presence with them of a title page bearing the date 1641.<sup>108</sup> A finished volume following this pattern and bound in the gold-tooled velvet of presentation copies was made for Archbishop Laud and probably given to him in 1640 as his gift when he brought young Nicholas and his father to the king and the Prince of Wales for the presentation of their polyglot harmonies.<sup>109</sup> More of the bits of text and pictures have in fact fallen out than is the case with most of the other harmonies, evidence perhaps of the greater haste involved when several projects were underway at once.

Why did the elder Nicholas choose this subject? Did it seem a logical outgrowth of the 'History of the Israelites'? Could a section on 'Ceremoniall Law' have reflected concern with the deepening discord aroused by Laud's efforts to enforce ritual conformity? Certainly among its 74 headings was one entitled 'Of the Preists and their Vestements For Glory and for Beauty'.<sup>110</sup> Would relating points of 'Politicall Law' back to the 'Moral Law' of the Ten Commandments have shed light on 'idolatry' and the duties of subjects to their rulers? Did Archbishop Laud specifically request the subject or did Nicholas himself choose it because he thought it of particular value to Laud? Answers to such questions can only remain conjectural, but whatever the initial reasons Laud's was not the only Pentateuch harmony. Prince Charles could well have seen Laud's volume at the presentations in 1640 and have expressed a wish to have one like it.<sup>111</sup> Without such a wish it is difficult to explain why, despite the unfortunate death of young Nicholas almost immediately thereafter, the family set about preparing another Pentateuch harmony far more splendid than the one prepared for Laud.<sup>112</sup>

This royal Pentateuch followed generally the pattern of the 1640 volume and the draft version in the Ferrar Papers in dividing the 'Whole Law' into 'Moral', 'Ceremonial', and 'Political' sections. There were, however, some significant differences, the most interesting of which was a much greater emphasis on typology than in Laud's volume. Typology had also been part of the gospel harmonies. Here, however, in addition to the juxtaposition of appropriate Old and New Testament passages, there were also lengthy manuscript sections copied from the works of Thomas Jackson.<sup>113</sup> The final section taken from Jackson dealt with more recent persecutions of the Jews in western Europe, claiming that these were all part of the divine plan and foretold in the Mosaic prophecies.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps this topic especially interested Ferrar Collet, now at Peterhouse. We have no other evidence besides these excerpts, however, that the Ferrars' interest in typology included applying it to apocalyptic prediction.

King Charles made his first visit to Little Gidding on his way north to rally his forces in the tumultuous spring of 1642; Prince Charles and the Palsgrave accompanied him. They were able to look over not only the house and church but also the great Pentateuch harmony being made for the prince. By

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that time, however, the apocalypse might seem already to have begun, for the Long Parliament had forced the king to acquiesce in the execution of his chief minister Strafford and the imprisonment of Archbishop Laud, and finally to withdraw from his capital. Little Gidding too with its royal and Laudian connections found itself included in the attack. 'This libel', as John Ferrar called *The Arminian Nunnery* (1641), portrayed Little Gidding as a hotbed of Arminian practices of the sort alleged to be part of Laud's campaign to bring back popery. The attack was based on a highly selective and slanted adaptation of Edward Lenton's earlier letter.<sup>115</sup> It dwelt on the crosses and candles and altar furnishings, Nicholas's genuflections and bowing to the altar, the 'friar's grey gown' of Mary Collet Ferrar, and the fact that she and her sister Anna had chosen to remain celibate thus becoming in the eyes of opponents 'the nuns of Gidding'.<sup>116</sup> Lenton had not mentioned the harmonies, however, so they did not figure in the attack.

In 1637–38 after the king had added the harmony of Kings and Chronicles to his gospel harmony, John Ferrar noted that the king had expressed to John Cosin his wish that they might be published so that all his subjects might profit from them.<sup>117</sup> Whether or not the king's comment reflected more than a pious hope or envisioned illustrated volumes like his own, ultimately nothing came of the idea. Though the family might at the time have delighted in the prospect, by 1641–42, after *The Arminian Nunnery* had appeared, they might have felt thankful to have escaped publication, especially of an illustrated harmony. Had such a work appeared they, like Archbishop Laud, might have found themselves attacked for the popish and idolatrous practice of illustrating bibles.<sup>118</sup> By remaining unpublished the Gidding harmonies were left unscathed even when the family's regimen of piety put them in the line of Parliamentary fire.<sup>119</sup> The harmonies thus survived when that larger 'pattern' that the family hoped would provide a model for their times had vanished.

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## Notes

I am grateful to Margaret Aston, Elisabeth Gleason and my husband, David Ransome, for their careful readings of drafts of this paper and for the criticisms and encouragement they have offered. Earlier versions of the paper were presented at the Seventeenth-Century Conference at Durham in 2003 and at the University of Arizona by invitation of Professors John Ulreich and Kari McBride. Both of these occasions provided stimulating and helpful comment.

- 1 An English one was published by Henry Garthwait in 1634. A list of those produced on the Continent in the sixteenth century appears at the end of Dietrich Wuensch's detailed study of these harmonies, *Evangelienharmonien im Reformationszeitalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Leben-Jesu-Darstellungen*, (Berlin and New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1983).

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- 2 B. Blackstone (ed.), *The Ferrar Papers* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1938), pp. 118–21 (hereafter Blackstone, *Papers*). The passage occurs in the last of the ‘Little Academy’ dialogues entitled ‘The Winding Sheet’, which took place in 1634–5.
- 3 He composed a prayer which the family recited every month at Gidding thanking God for deliverance and promising amendment of life; J. E. B. Mayor, *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century. Part I. Nicholas Ferrar: Two Lives by His Brother John and by Dr. Jebb* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1855), pp. 354–8 (hereafter Mayor, *Two Lives*).
- 4 I have discussed the circumstances of the move to Little Gidding and Nicholas’s purposes in my earlier article, ‘Prelude to Piety: Nicholas Ferrar’s Grand Tour’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 18 (2003), 1–24 (hereafter JR, ‘Prelude to Piety’).
- 5 They had publicly clashed over Laud’s altar policy. Arthur Woodnoth offered to send Nicholas Williams’s answer to *The Coale from the Altar [Holy Table Name and Thing]* if he had not got it already: David R. Ransome (ed.), *The Ferrar Papers, 1590–1790* (Wakefield, England, Microform Academic Publishers, 1992), 1046 (23 March 1636/7). (Hereafter FP followed by the item’s number in Dr Ransome’s Finding List and its date if not already indicated in the text.) He later reported that he had passed on to Dr Winston Nicholas’s news of Williams’s suspension: FP.1058 (24 July 1637). While the bishop was in the Tower both Nicholas and John visited him there; Lynette R. Muir and John A. White, *Materials for the Life of Nicholas Ferrar* (Leeds, Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1996), p. 108 (hereafter Muir & White, *Materials*). Woodnoth also in a letter to Nicholas in October 1637 referred to a journey Nicholas had recently made, which could have been to London to see Williams: FP.1062. Williams also, once he had been freed from the Tower in 1641, advised the family to remove some of the texts that decorated the Gidding walls lest they rouse suspicion among some of the more fervent supporters of Parliament against the king; Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 102.
- 6 In Little Gidding’s contribution to the Petition (dated ??Feb 1641/2) on behalf of Prayer Book and bishops was a statement that there were no parish officers. Of the seven signers of the Protestation four were family members and one their steward. Whether the other two were also members of the household is unclear; *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society*, 5 (1937), 323. Little Gidding had been steadily depopulated after the Black Death and the land enclosed and let out to tenants who lived nearby but not actually in the parish; the family’s house was said to have been ‘a lone house’; Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 107. Hence when the Ferrars moved in they were in effect repopulating it. The estate map of 1626, on which later annotations name tenants, is in the Oxfordshire Archives: Annesley Collection E6/12/13D/6–15. I am grateful to David Ransome for sight of an as yet unpublished paper, ‘The Landscape of Little Gidding’. Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 60, also contains brief information.
- 7 The admirable volumes of Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to Illustrated English Books, 1525–1603* (Tempe, AZ, Arizona State University Press, 1998), make this point very clear. I am grateful to Margaret Aston for helpful discussion of this large topic as well as for numerous references and for kindly allowing me to read prior to its publication her paper, ‘Moving Pictures: Foxe’s Martyrs and Little Gidding’ (hereafter Aston, ‘Moving Pictures’).

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- 8 On the protests both in England and particularly in Scotland against these 'Laudian' bibles, see George Henderson, 'Bible Illustration in the Age of Laud', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1982), 173–216 (hereafter Henderson, 'Bible Illustration'), *passim*. Also Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2000) (hereafter Green, *Print*), pp. 68–9, which also mentions the pictures separately bound in, as does A. S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525–1961* (London, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1968), pp. 167–8. Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (British Museum Exhibition Catalogue, 1998), p. 17, also discusses the relationship of print and book publishers.
- 9 On Nicholas as educator see JR, 'Prelude to Piety', *passim*.
- 10 Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 76.
- 11 *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge, J. Archdeacon, 1790), p.203.
- 12 FP.621 (7 July 1627). This timing would corroborate John Ferrar's statement that the 'concordance was a year in making at first'; Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 76.
- 13 *Ibid*, p. 43. He also compiled collections of stories for the children, and the participants in the Little Academy were given to story-telling.
- 14 On the impact of these pictures see Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram, 'The Iconography of Foxe's Book of Martyrs', in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 66–142. The family certainly read Foxe. For further discussion of Nicholas's interest in art, see below, p. 24.
- 15 Not even to the family portraits done well before the move to Gidding though they presumably came to the new home. They are now in the possession of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and family descendants.
- 16 Joyce Ransome, 'Little Gidding in 1796', *Records of Huntingdonshire*, 3:9 (2001–2), 21–2.
- 17 Volume in private possession.
- 18 H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600*, in *Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1967) I, 103, 160–1,580–1, and Sargent Bush and Carl J. Rasmussen, *The Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1584–1637* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 75, 169, 67, 65. Emmanuel had copies of harmonies by Gerson, Osiander, Jansen, and Martin Chemnitz.
- 19 This acknowledgment came in one of the explanatory 'Advertizements' at the beginning of the harmony: British Library, C.23.e.4, fol. 4v. Clare, Nicholas's own college, possessed Jansen's *Commentariorum in suam Concordiam* (1606), a later version with commentary added to the harmony itself, as well as Thomas Beaux-Amis's *Commentariorum in evangelicam harmoniam* (1593), which followed the Jansen model. But I have seen no copy of Buisson, the other source Nicholas later acknowledged, recorded in any Cambridge library.
- 20 Jansen was not the first to adopt such a structure. It had been used in the fifteenth century by Jean Gerson, a former chancellor of the University of Paris, when teaching children in a monastery school at the end of his life. The Rev. Robert Brooks, whose school at Enbourne Nicholas and his brothers attended, was said to have been a great admirer of Gerson; Mayor, *Two Lives*, pp. 167–8; also A. L.

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- Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdmans, 1980; first published 1938), p. 11, and John Venn and J. A. Venn, comp., *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1922–54), I, 229. Gerson's *Monotessaron* was published in several editions during the sixteenth century; Wuensch, *Evangelienharmonien*, p. 15. Jean Buisson, or Rubus, whose work was published in Douai in 1575, used this same 150-chapter structure but added an elaborate system of cross-referencing and annotations and a plan whereby his readers could move systematically through the chapters and thus cover the entire story of Christ's life in the course of a week; Wuensch, *Evangelienharmonien*, p. 223.
- 21 Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 76.
- 22 Wuensch provides as an appendix a list of 16th-century gospel harmonies.
- 23 One was a translation of Calvin's harmony of 1555 and a separate translation of his commentary on the Johannine gospel. These were first published separately in 1584. The two works were subsequently published together in 1610 as John Calvin, *A Harmonie Upon the Three Evangelistes Matthewe, Marke, and Luke, with the Commentaries of M. John Calvine: Faithfully translated out of Latine into English by E.P.[Eusebius Paget] Whereunto is also added a Commentarie upon the Evangelist S. John, by the same authour. [transl.] By Christopher Fetherstone, student in divinitie* (London, Thom[as] Adams, 1610). It was a bulky and scholarly tome with much more commentary than actual gospel text and certainly no pictures. A second and equally scholarly harmony published in Edinburgh in 1616 was *Lectures upon the History of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ. Beginning at John 18 and 19:16 . . . containing a perfect harmonie of all the foure Evangelists . . . Preached by R. Rollocke*.
- 24 *Consent of the Foure Evangelists: collected by C. J[ansenius] Englished. To which are added aphorismes, containing the matter of Caluins Institutions . . .*, bound with *The Contents of Scripture: containing the Sum of euery chapter of the Old & New Testament . . .* (London, 1597). On harmonies in English see Green, *Print* p. 68, and on Robert Hill, pp. 136 and 143.
- 25 For Hill's career and interest in pedagogy see J. F. Merritt's excellent article, 'The Pastoral Tightrope; A Puritan Pedagogue in Jacobean London', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain*, Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake, eds (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 143–61. There is no evidence that Nicholas and Hill knew one another, though their paths could conceivably have crossed during the time they both were in London (1617–23). Nicholas's reaction to a subsequent publication of a harmony suggests that he was unaware of Hill's earlier work; see below, p. 28.
- 26 Interestingly, no one, even those outside the family and hostile to their way of life, offered any objection to cutting up bibles. Arthur Woodnoth, who purchased materials for this work as well as other items for the household, reported sending to Little Gidding a 'byble in quires'; FP884 (10 Jan 1632/3). Unbound bibles would certainly have been easier to cut up although this particular bible Arthur specified was for his cousin Mary Woodnoth; perhaps Mary Collet Ferrar was to have bound it.
- 27 It was provided with its own fireplace and chimney, painted a restful green colour, and decorated with edifying 'sentences' supplied by various family members and friends; Muir & White, *Materials*, pp. 80–1.

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- 28 Such a press was perhaps supplied by Arthur Woodnoth in 1633: FP.905 (24 July). Or was Arthur's press intended to print parts of the harmonies such as tables of contents or, more prosaically, a press for clothing? On the 'new kind of printing' see Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 76.
- 29 Blackstone, *Papers*, p. 45. Nicholas had arranged for a Cambridge bookbinder's daughter to come to Gidding and teach her skill to the Collet nieces, particularly Mary, the eldest, who became the family's expert. She probably bound the elaborate volume presented to the king, and the later harmony of Kings and Chronicles that Charles requested. She also received requests from others, such as her brother-in-law, Rev. Joshua Mapletoft, to bind psalters and prayer books for use in his parish: FP.991 (18 March 1634/5).
- 30 Mayor, *Two Lives*, p. 115.
- 31 Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 77.
- 32 In a letter to Isaac Basire quoted in Mayor, *Two Lives*, p. 361.
- 33 Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 76.
- 34 There are thirteen complete Harmonies; the fourteenth is a partial plan for the Harmony of Kings and Chronicles requested by King Charles and the fifteenth is a bundle of materials for a Pentateuch harmony. Both of these last two are among the Ferrar Papers at Magdalene College, Cambridge: FP.1057 and (unfilmed) 1892a. The thirteen as I shall name them in the text are, in approximately chronological order: Harvard, Bodleian (1631), King Charles I's (1635), Cotsen (1635), Collet, Hatfield, Kings and Chronicles (1637), Acts & Revelation, Archbishop Laud's Pentateuch, Normanton (1640), Ickworth (1640), Heming (1640) and the Royal Pentateuch.
- 35 G. D. Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 122–4 and Cyril Davenport, 'Little Gidding Bindings', *Bibliographica*, 2 (1895), 129–49 (hereafter Davenport, 'Bindings').
- 36 Henderson, 'Bible Illustration', 178–83. The Peake prints refute the claim that Nicholas brought all the prints back with him from the Continent. There is evidence of John Ferrar's later dealings with Robert Peake: FP.1091 (April 1641). Aston, 'Moving Pictures' provides a detailed study of a particular example that the Ferrars adapted from Foxe. See also Nancy G. Cabot, 'The Illustrations of the First Little Gidding Concordance', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 3 (1949), 139–43.
- 37 See above, p. 24.
- 38 The actual harmony, (Vault) A 1275.5F\*, is very fragile and I am most grateful to the Houghton's Librarian, William Stoneman, for permission to examine it. The library also has a photocopy, Bible K.630, and a microfilm, Lobby X.4.13.
- 39 There are two chapters, 79 and 80, which are in small Roman type of the sort used in many of the chapter titles.
- 40 I am grateful to John Ulreich for information on these particular points and on the importance of consulting the original volume.
- 41 FP.815 (AW to NF, 13 October) reporting presentation of 'my cosin's concordance' to Herbert.
- 42 The family's reported response to the king's request to borrow the volume, that it was not worthy of presentation to so august a person, was not just false modesty; Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 77. The volume could have been Herbert's only if it had been returned to Little Gidding shortly after his death in March 1633 so

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- that it was available for lending to the king. There is no evidence of such a return in the correspondence of that year in the Ferrar Papers.
- 43 Jackson was one of the trio of notables cited by Barnabas Oley that included Nicholas and George Herbert; Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 95. See also Thomas Fowler, *The History of Corpus Christi College* (Oxford, Clarendon Press for Oxford Historical Society, 1893), pp. 184–94 and A. J. Hegarty, ‘Jackson, Thomas (bap. 1578, d. 1640)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (accessed 19 Oct 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14551>). Jackson was the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a noted polemicist on behalf of Arminianism. He licensed Nicholas’s translation of Valdes for publication. Arthur Woodnoth mentioned to Nicholas that he had been reading Jackson: FP.844 (15 March 1631/2) Excerpts from Jackson’s writings were included in the great Pentateuch Harmony at Windsor; see below, p. 39.
- 44 Arch. A.d.3. A table of contents was added in a later hand.
- 45 These links pointed the reader to the next verses of a given gospel passage when the main text had switched to material from a different gospel. Some of the handwritten lines extended well beyond the ruled margins of the text itself, indeed to the edge of the page. In a few cases, including the last line on the final page (‘At Litle Gidding’), a letter or two is missing or truncated, evidence that the pages had been cropped at some point. The sheets at the beginning (title page and table of contents in later hand) and end are mostly blank and are a different paper from the numbered pages 1–293.
- 46 FP.832 (16 Jan 1631/2).
- 47 *The Storie of Stories: or the Life of Christ, according to the foure holy Evangelists; with a harmony of them...* (London, M. Flesher, 1632) (hereafter Hiud, *Storie*).
- 48 Haywood (or Heywood) subsequently authorised publication of an expurgated version of St Francis de Sales’s *Introduction to the Devout Life*, which was published without the changes and was urgently recalled by Archbishop Laud; Anthony Milton, *Catholic & Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1560–1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 86. The Ferrars must have obtained one, however, for Isaac Basire presented to his wife in 1636 a copy he said had been bound by the ‘virgins of Little Gidding’; Mayor, *Two Lives*, p. 243n. Presumably one of the several court chaplains who knew the Ferrars would have alerted them to this publication; see below, p. 30.
- 49 Hiud, *Storie*, ‘To the Reader’. If any of the Ferrars used a harmony as a study guide, they made no reference to it.
- 50 Jansen had provided a chronological framework for his harmony though Nicholas did not introduce this element until later and then not invariably.
- 51 e.g., ‘In the beginning’ (p. 1) and ‘in the dayes of Herod’ (p. 5).
- 52 See below, p. 32.
- 53 This volume was in folio; later ones which Thomas Buck produced with Roger Daniel were in quarto; Herbert, *Historical Catalogue*, pp. 158–60, 167, 172, 175–6, 179–80. On the battles over publishing rights see P.M. Handover, *Printing in London from 1476 to Modern Times* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 54–60.
- 54 Any illustrations, however, would probably have had to be separate sheets bound with the printed text as was the case with Buck and Daniel’s bibles of the 1630s

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- and the 'Bishop of Canterburys' bibles; Henderson, 'Bible Illustrations', 179–81.
- 55 In a manuscript volume which Nicholas entitled 'The Duties Common to Man and Woman' he spoke of 'Those Precepts of Loue . . . yt bid us . . . to studie to be quiet, doing our own busines & working with our own hands. I Thes: 4.11'. MS in private possession.
- 56 See below, p. 34.
- 57 The project also included George Herbert's translation of an earlier tract on temperate diet by Ludovico Cornaro. Nicholas in his preface to the volume offered the example of his family's success with the diet as another 'pattern' for the world to emulate.
- 58 Whether Cosin and White actually visited Gidding in person is unclear, for no specific records other than references in letters survive. White was an old family connection whom Nicholas's father was said to have brought to London as a lecturer. As Bishop of Ely from 1631 till his death in 1638 he would certainly have been within range of Gidding; he was also a close associate of Cosin in the Durham House group. On these two men see Timothy Wadkins, 'White, Francis (1563/4–1638)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (accessed 19 October 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29239>) and Anthony Milton, 'Cosin, John (1595–1672)', *ibid.*, (accessed 18 October 2004: . . . /article/29239). Cosin, who by that time had become Master of Peterhouse in Cambridge, was with Laud for the presentation of the king's harmony in 1636: see below, p. 31. Williams was certainly a visitor on several occasions; Muir and White, *Materials*, pp. 101–2.
- 59 FP.815 (AW to NF). Arthur never said that Herbert actually took the book to Wilton, but he does recount a visit there in this same letter in which he had reported delivering 'my Cosens [Mary Collet Ferrar's] Concordance' to Herbert.
- 60 Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 20, which cites as supporting evidence a passage from Rushworth's *Collections*, Part 2, p. 147. Identification of Charles's companions as associates from Nicholas's London days is, however, inaccurate. The Southampton of those London days died in 1624, the Hamilton in early 1625, and the Pembroke in 1630. The successors to Southampton and Hamilton were very young. Only the new Pembroke (brother Philip, formerly Earl of Montgomery, b. 1584) might have known Nicholas in London but that past acquaintance would not have been as likely a source of information about Little Gidding and the harmonies as the later Herbert connection.
- 61 Muir and White, *Materials*, pp. 103–5 contains an account of a gathering at a local noble household, perhaps Apethorpe, where many took turns offering stories about crosses in Little Gidding church which were subsequently rebutted by another guest. Edward Lenton, who claimed to have been the first 'outsider' guest to visit and speak with the family and who was unsympathetic to Laudian 'innovations', actually committed his observations to paper: *ibid.* pp. 128–34. Lenton had been sent, not later than 1634, to find out what he could about Gidding and report to Sjt Thomas Hetley. He and presumably Hetley had obviously heard rumours about what went on there and he came prepared with particular points he wanted to question, notably about Nicholas's reverences and genuflections in the church and the crosses and large number of candles as well as the elaborate furnishings of the altar, though he also noted that the latter was not set up 'altarwise'

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- and that a pulpit on the south side of the nave matched the reading desk on the north and neighbouring clergy preached from it each Sunday. He never mentioned the harmonies, having no opportunity to observe their use or their making in his two-hour visit. Lenton's claim that he had been the first visitor simply to appear at the house with no prior introduction implies that previous visitors had been both known and sympathetic.
- 62 His comments were relayed to the family by the messenger who returned the borrowed book; Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 77.
- 63 This point about the significance of the changes Nicholas introduced into the king's volume owes a great deal to Margaret Aston's comments on the novelty of the Little Gidding harmonies' combination of text and pictures and the different audience it implied.
- 64 See above, p. 28.
- 65 Garthwait acknowledged his debt to Martin Chemnitz and to Polycarp Leyser and Johan Gerhard, who had finished Chemnitz's uncompleted work. The completed volume was published in 1626 in Jena and was, unlike that of Jansen, a work of Protestant scholarship.
- 66 The table of contents set out this framework and enumerated the number, title, and page of each of the 212 chapters that were grouped within each of the five books.
- 67 FP.950 and 951; Robert Mapletoft and John Tabor to NF (22 Aug 1634). Only Nicholas's letter of disappointment in 1632 suggests his ownership of a copy of Hiud.
- 68 FP.1000 (16 July 1635); Mapletoft reported finding Perpinian set forth by [Daniel] Heinsius, which he assumed was the same work also found by Wallis at St John's, and gave Nicholas a brief description of Perpinian's method. He also reported he had only two more colleges to search. The British Library Printed Catalogue, p. 959, lists a harmony by Guidone de Perpiniano entitled 'Quatuor Unum. Hoc est Concordia Evangelica . . .' published in Cologne in 1631 (some three hundred years after his death) in a collection of his works.
- 69 BL C.23.e.4. On 12 May 1636 Nicholas (FP.1016) instructed Arthur Woodnoth about delivery of the harmony. Replying (FP.1017, undated but clearly an answer to 1016) Arthur reported its delivery. He had seen the book and was sure that God would accept what in it was right and pardon anything else because of the devotion and humility which its invention and execution showed. It seems a rather surprising comment on so elaborate a piece of workmanship. For Laud's and Cosin's presence at the presentation see Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 79.
- 70 JF in his 1641 letter to Isaac Basire said that the king's book had cost the family £100; Mayor, *Two Lives*, p. 361.
- 71 The illustrations included only a few and very simple collage-style pictures. This technique the family would develop much more elaborately in later works. Only one roundel had been coloured, a depiction of the scourging of Christ.
- 72 'To wch [texts] are added Sundry Pictures expressing Either the Facts Themselves or their Types & Figures Or other matters appertaining thereunto'. This statement became standard in subsequent title pages.
- 73 For example, Chapter 28 in the 'Order' is entitled 'Simons Wives Mother & all Diseased' while in the text it is 'Peters Wives Mother & other Sick Folk'.
- 74 Aston, 'Moving Pictures'.

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- 75 This phrase had served as the entire title of the Bodleian volume.
- 76 BL C.23.e.2.
- 77 Cecil Papers 341.
- 78 See below, p. 34, on the problems connected to this printed table.
- 79 See above, p. 29.
- 80 For Garthwait see above p. 31. The Heming Harmony of 1640 adopted the four years of ministry plan as did the Normanton polyglot harmony of the same year.
- 81 Into the text but not into the table of contents was inserted a new Chapter 29, 'The Leaper Cleansed', which included most of the old Chapter 44. The original Chapter 29, entitled 'The Reproofe of Three' then became the textual Chapter 30. Yet the remaining material from the old Chapter 44 continued under the same title, 'The Leaper Cleansed', numbered in the Contents as 43 though it would in the text have been 44 as before.
- 82 The headings of the pages on which they were pasted, however, were in none of these harmonies printed but written in by hand along with the page/column number that was written in the margin beside each chapter title to indicate where that chapter could be found. In the Cotsen Harmony there are no page numbers included though there is an obvious space for them. The heading for the first page of its chapter listings has a different title from 'The Order of the Chapters . . .' used for the king's harmony. It is 'A Table containing the Severall contents of this Book Expressing in what page every Head or Chapter is to be found.' This heading is written in the standard Little Gidding hand, and could be the work either of Nicholas himself or one of the nieces. On the remaining pages, fols 2r-4r, appeared a shorter version, 'The Table of the Contents of this Book' written in the unmistakable hand of John Ferrar.
- 83 The pencilled corrections in the Cotsen Harmony would appear to be 19th-century additions, probably by their new owner, Arthur (Troyte) Acland. In the Collet harmony, however, four pages are devoted to the chapter lists, the first of which (fol. 6v.) is headed in Nicholas's hand 'The Table of Contents of this Book'. There are three columns of chapters, which are printed but cut into columns and pasted in, with 'Page' or 'Pages' written above and to the right of the printed columns and the appropriate numbers filled in, also by hand. The third column includes the problematical Chapter 29 and that difficulty is got round by pasting in the listed chapters through 28, then adding in smaller type, Chapter 29, 'The Leper Cleansed', and continuing the list using separate cutout bits pasted together instead of a continuous column. That pasted pattern obtains on the remaining pages. The next page (fol. 7r.) has its manuscript heading and page numbers in John Ferrar's hand, while the two remaining pages have no heading but only page listings. Within the text itself the printed chapter headings and numbers are also cut and pasted in at the appropriate divisions. The Hatfield harmony resorted to a similar manipulation to deal with the altered chapters in both table of contents and chapter headings.
- 84 It is based on a seal attached to the inside cover and identified as the 'Book Stamp of the great Sir Robert Cotton who died 1631 / used also by his grandson Sir John Cotton, Bart. who died 1702'. Although these Cottons of Conington were described as near neighbours of the Ferrars, other Cottons were even nearer neighbours at Steeple Gidding and more likely to have first acquired it. In the 18th century, however, the senior branch of the Cottons removed from Coning-

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- ton to Steeple Gidding and thereby could have acquired the book. The volume descended from Cottons to Bowdlers to Acland-Troytes, in whose possession it remained until 1997 when Cotsen purchased it and placed it at Princeton. On the sale see Sotheby's Catalogue #7775; the sale took place on 11 December 1997.
- 85 Davenport, 'Bindings', proposes the 1636 date; pp. 143–4. It contains a bookplate of 'Johannes Collet' (fol. [A]), son of Thomas Collet. Thomas's sister Mary Collet Ferrar bound the book herself and was said to have been its original possessor. She lived with her brother Thomas in Highgate till his death c. 1675. At her death in 1680 she presumably left it to her nephew John Collet, though the bequest in her will mentions only her 'story Books bound in black Spanish leather'. He in turn bequeathed it in 1713 to his cousin Elizabeth Kestian, who by January 1716 had left it to another cousin, Dr John Mapletoft, in whose family it remained until acquired by the British Museum. Henderson's claim that MCF gave it to her sister Hester, who then passed it to her daughter Elizabeth, ignores the John Collet bookplate as well as the fact that Hester was in all likelihood dead before 1680, for Mary's will does not mention her but does leave a legacy to Elizabeth; 'Bible Illustration', p. 202 n.7. I am grateful to David Ransome for this family information.
- 86 He was present in 1640 when his brother received his polyglot harmony from young Nicholas Ferrar and begged that he too might have a harmony of his own. He could as a result have received this one; Mayor, *Two Lives*, pp. 136–7.
- 87 The pages that became the Hatfield harmony might have been completed but unbound, which would allow an appropriately splendid binding (purple velvet) to be added when it became a royal presentation copy. Young James wanted his book soon and Nicholas assured him it would be done 'with all good speed', a promise the more plausible if he had known there was an available copy ready for finishing. By 1704 the Cecils possessed it, as evidenced by the bookplate of 'James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury 1704', (fol. 3v.).
- 88 What might be a clue to the book's original owner comes in a note on fol. 67r: 'Thomas iermine his book'.
- 89 The Heming table of contents has the standard list of 150 chapters, in which Chapter 29 is not about the leper but the 'Reproofe of Three'. The leper was not dead, however, but only sleeping as in the three earlier volumes, for he appeared in the text as Chapter 29, which again threw the subsequent numbers off by one, a problem which was solved here by simply stopping the numbering after 149, leaving the last two chapters unnumbered. The Ickworth harmony, which bears a note that it was done by Virginia Ferrar, aged 12, certainly showed her father's effort to correct the numbering problem. The result, however, was two chapters in the table of contents numbered 30, while in the text 'Christ Healeth the Leper' became Chapter 29, which enabled the final numbering to come out correctly to 150.
- 90 The Heming volume bears on its title page the initials S M, probably Solomon Mapletoft, who was certainly at Little Gidding in 1641, when he signed the Petition (see above, n. 6), and who subsequently married Judith Collet.
- 91 FP.1016 (NF to AW) and 1017 (AW to NF). The book was dated 1635 on its title page.
- 92 Muir & White, *Materials*, p. 79. He must have been impressed with the title page, and perhaps the 'Advertizement', which he was said to have perused when he had first received the gospel harmony, because he was essentially asking for a similar treatment of these historical books. The volume he had earlier borrowed, of

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- course, had no such elaborate system, though one could with an effort have read an individual gospel by following the appropriate letter through the text.
- 93 FP1057.
- 94 MS. Royal Appendix 65.
- 95 Barnabas Oley in his 'To the Reader' prefacing the 1671 edition of George Herbert's *The Country Parson*, [p.5].
- 96 Brit Library C.23.e.3. The volume bore no date but could hardly have been earlier than Kings and Chronicles.
- 97 Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992), p. 281n.
- 98 Henderson, 'Bible Illustration', pp. 174–5.
- 99 Ickworth and Heming, both dated 1640. See above, p. 35.
- 100 This volume is presently in the possession of Lord Normanton to whom I am indebted for permission to examine it. He and his secretary, Mrs Valerie Garner, were most generous in their welcome to Somerley, for which I offer my grateful thanks. For John Ferrar's account of the book's creation, see Mayor, *Two Lives*, pp. 123–4.
- 101 The letters from 'A' through 'P' were needed to indicate every possible combination of sources, from a single gospel to two, then three and finally episodes related by all four gospels. For an episode related in only one gospel, of course, no 'Composition' was needed.
- 102 pp. 65–6.
- 103 Young Nicholas had also armed himself with a 'proufe book' of the Gospel of John with each of its twenty-two chapters in a different language so that he could show the king that he really understood these languages; C. Leslie Craig, *Nicholas Ferrar Junior: A Linguist of Little Gidding* (London, Epworth Press, 1950), pp. 28–40 (hereafter Craig, *NFJr*). Craig presumably based his account on John Ferrar's story in Mayor, *Two Lives*, pp. 129–33, in which young Nicholas offered the king two large books with their title pages indicating the scope of the two projects. What, if anything, further they had by way of a start on the work is unclear, but the king himself talked of them as yet to be finished. The 'proufe book', on the other hand, was finished and is now in the archives of Clare College, Cambridge.
- 104 Mayor, *Two Lives*, pp. 359–60. The two letters are quoted in full, pp.359–62.
- 105 Craig, *NFJr*, Chapters 2 and 3.
- 106 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- 107 Peter N. Miller, 'The "Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 62, 463–82, discusses this movement and Archbishop Laud's leading role in it, e.g. his founding of a chair in Arabic at Oxford. I am grateful to Karen and Joel Kupperman for bringing the article to my attention. Laud also gave Oriental and Greek books to the Bodleian and obtained a royal letter to the Turkey Company ordering that every one of its ships returning from the Levant should bring back one Persian or Arabic ms; Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–42* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1981; paperback edition, 1985), p. 251. John Ferrar certainly knew of this polyglot scholarship when he inquired of Isaac Basire whether the French polyglot bible was yet available in London; Mayor, *Two Lives*, p. 359.

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- 108 Mayor, *Two Lives*, p. 149, gives JF's account of what he called the 'Seventh Work', which was the second Pentateuch harmony. He there said that the work had been 'contrived' in NF's lifetime and a draught version made, and that a similar volume had been given to Laud in NF's lifetime, though the great second version was not 'fully contrived' till later as gift for Prince Charles. Laud's volume dated 1640 could not, unless the date is wrong, have been given in NF's lifetime. While the unbound work in Magdalene (FP.1852a) includes a title page dated 1641, the text pages are sufficiently rough to qualify as a 'draught version'.
- 109 Oxford, St John's College Library, Ms. 262, title page. I am grateful to Mrs Catherine Hilliard, Librarian at St John's, for enabling me to examine this harmony and for supplying information relating to it. Loose sheets in the front of the volume as well as the Library's 'Supplementary Catalogue of MSS.', pp. 18–19, discuss the documentation of Laud's acquisition of and later presentation of the book to his college. Since Laud would hardly have been in a position by 1641 to receive such a gift, it might well have been part of the presentation by nephew Nicholas of polyglot volumes to the King and Prince of Wales at Easter 1640. See Craig, *NF Jr*, pp. 48–53.
- 110 Ms. 262, p. 29.
- 111 Craig, *NF Jr*, p. 26. There is no record of his making such a request, however, though if he did not, it is not obvious why the family proceeded to make it, especially on such a lavish scale.
- 112 JF was negotiating with Robert Peake for bibles and prints in April, 1641, notably texts of Genesis, a map of the Canaan, and pictures of the 'utensils in the sanctuary' that he would have needed for this second Pentateuch; FP.1091.
- 113 *The Eternal Truth of Scriptures* and his *Of the Harmonical Parallel between the predictions or types and the Evangelical Relations . . .* There was also an excerpt from a work by John Jackson, *Ecclesiastes. The Worthy Churchman described by the polishing of the twelve stones in the high-priests pectorall* (1628). On Thomas Jackson, see above, n. 43.
- 114 Jackson, *Eternal Truth*, Chapters 12 and 13, pp. 186–218. There was, of course, considerable interest in the fate of the Jews in England at this time particularly as it related to the timing of the apocalypse. For an extended discussion of this topic see David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982).
- 115 See above, n. 60. He sent a letter of apology to John Ferrar along with a copy of his original letter and said he had no idea how that letter fell into the transforming hands of the anonymous author of the pamphlet; Muir & White, *Materials*, pp. 134–6.
- 116 Muir and White, *Materials*, pp. 128–34.
- 117 Mayor, *Two Lives*, p. 122.
- 118 Henderson, 'Bible Illustration', rehearses in detail the controversy over illustrated bibles and the charges brought against Laud on this score.
- 119 John's son John in 1702 claimed – almost certainly wrongly – that his father had helped to smuggle from the Cambridge colleges the plate they donated to the royal cause: FP.1646; Huntingdon Record Office MS M49/1/3; and F. J. Varley, *Cambridge during the Civil War 1642–1646* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1935), pp. 79–83.

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