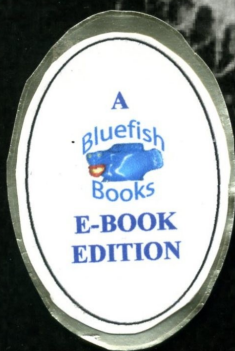


The Diary Of Samuel Ward



A TRANSLATOR OF THE
1611 KING JAMES BIBLE



**THE DIARY OF SAMUEL WARD,
A TRANSLATOR OF THE 1611 KING JAMES BIBLE**

Transcribed and prepared
by
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by
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Bluefish Books



**Cowart Communications
Jacksonville, Florida**

www.bluefishbooks.info

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TRANSLATOR OF THE 1611 KING JAMES
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SAMUEL WARD
1572 — 1643



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INTRODUCTION

by

John W. Cowart

Samuel Ward, a moderate Puritan minister, lived from 1572 to 1643. His life spanned from the reign of Britain's Queen Elizabeth, through that of King James, and into the days of Charles I.

Surviving pages of Ward's dated diary entries run from May 11, 1595, to July 1, 1632.

During much of her reign, the Virgin Queen manipulated religious factions in her realm by threatening to marry a Catholic — or not. Her appointed bishops threatened to defrock all Puritans who refuse to wear the mandated ecclesiastical gowns — a burr of contention often mentioned in Ward's diary.

Another source of tension between the Puritans and the established church involved which Bible to use. The queen and bishops favored the Bishops' Bible which she had translated in 1569.

The Puritans, Reformers, Presbyterians, and Separatists favored the Geneva Bible published in 1560. It was the first Bible to contain verse numbers so readers could easily locate specific Scriptures.

However it also contained Calvinist marginal notes which established church officials felt inflammatory.



Feelings ran high on the matter.

On March 24, 1603, King James ascended to the throne. The very next year, he convened the Hampton Court Conference to iron out differences between religious factions in his new kingdom. One result of that conference was the commissioning of a new translation of the Bible, the Authorized Version or King James Bible.

Working in six committees, 47 scholars from the University of Cambridge, the University of Oxford, and from Westminster Abby undertook the translation.

Each scholar worked independently, without pay, then each committee reviewed, revised, harmonized, and standardized their work.

Samuel Ward served on the translation committee of the Second Cambridge Company which was comprised of the finest biblical and linguistic scholars of the day.

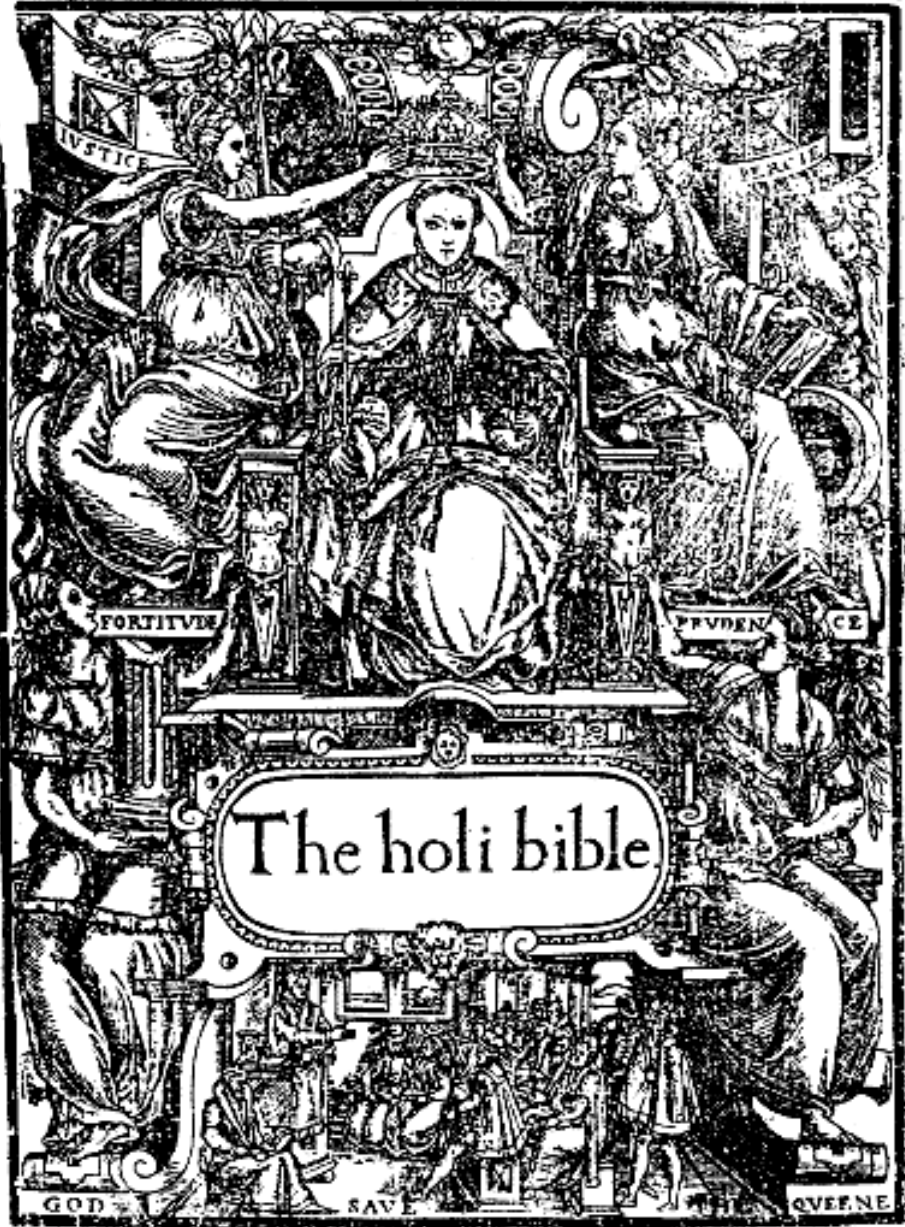
In January, 1609, the General Committee Of Review met at Stationer's Hall, London, to review the complete work of the six companies. Publisher Robert Barker issued the first printing of the King James Bible as a folio edition in 1611. Each page was printed on a cotton sheet measuring 16 ½ by 10 ½ inches. A bound copy cost 12 shillings.

The translators dedicated the volumn "To The Most High And Mighty Prince James, By The Grace Of God, King Of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender Of The Faith, &c."

They wrote a *Preface To Readers* outlining the reasons this translation improved on former ones. Their Preface details their history, methods and sources. It explains the principles guiding their work and how they built on former English translations.

"Truly (good Christian Reader)," they wrote, "Wee never thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one ... but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath bene our indeavour, that our marke".

A copy of this Preface, broken into shorter paragraphs for easier reading, follows the text of Ward's Diary in this book.



In 1569 the portrait of Queen Elizabeth I appeared on the title page of the Bishops' Bible.



Bible, English

THE BIBLE
AND
HOLY SCRIPTURES
CONTAINED IN
THE OLDE AND NEWE
Testament.

TRANSLATED ACCOR-
ding to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred With
the best translations in diuers langages.

WITH MOSTE PROFITABLE ANNOTA-
tions vpon all the hard places, and other things of great
importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader.

FEARE YE NOT, STAND STILL, AND BEHOLDE
the saluation of the Lord, which he wil shew to you this day. Exod. 14. 13.



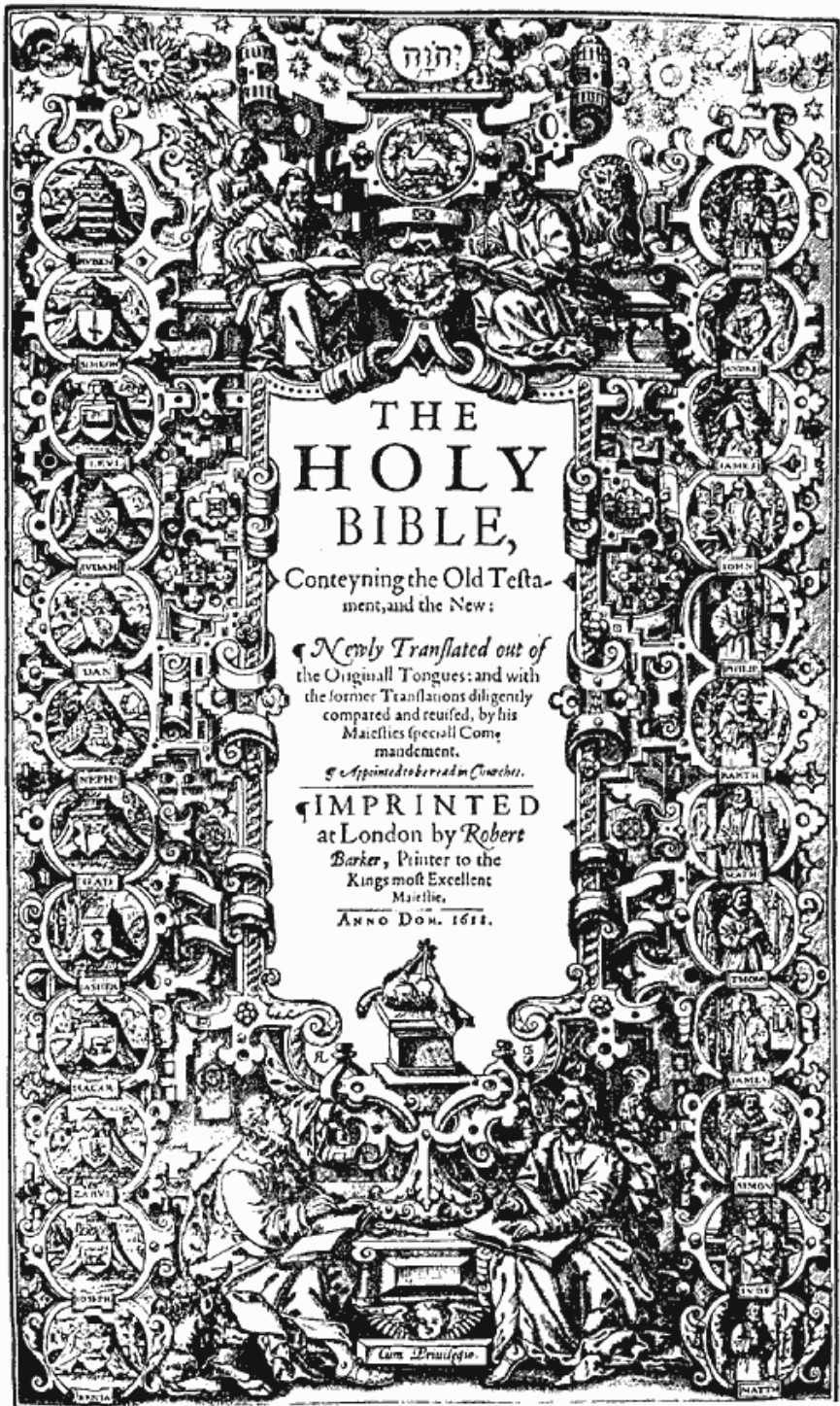
Great are the troubles of the righteous.

but the Lord delivereth them out of all. Psal. 34. 19.

THE LORD SHALL FIGHT FOR YOU: THEREFORE
holde you your peace. Exod. 14. 14. 15. 14.

AT GENEVA.
PRINTED BY ROVLAND HALL.
M. D. L X.

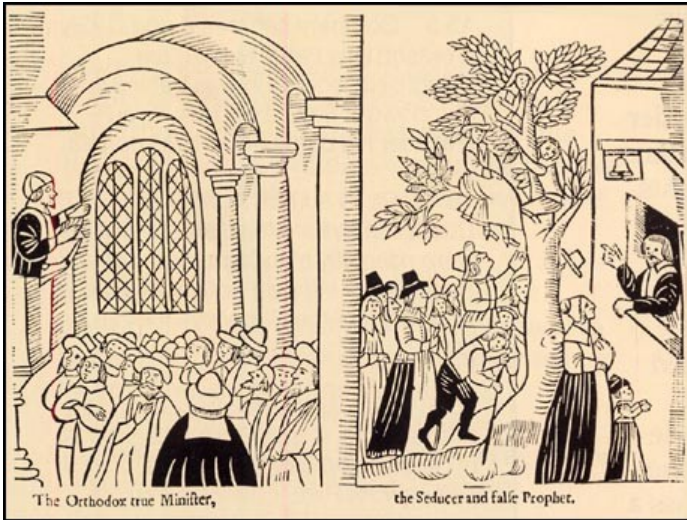
**Puritans favored the Geneva Bible with its
“Moste profitable annotations”.**



Title Page of the 1611 King James Bible



Yet having an authorized version of the Bible did not resolve differences among English Christians. This 1641 handbill shows how the established church regarded Reformers and Puritans:



Samuel Ward tried to walk a thin line between Puritan and Established Church factions. While perusing his academic career at Cambridge, he preached solid Puritan sermons, yet rose to become the royal chaplain for King James, head of the Established Church.

Although during Elizabeth's reign England had repelled the Spanish Armada, and although the Catholic Gunpowder Plot attempted to assassinate King James, he sought peace with Catholic Spain. He sent Charles, the crown prince, to the Spanish court to arrange a marriage with a Spanish princess. This development horrified English Puritans but that marriage fell through.

Charles married Princess Henrietta Maria of France, a Catholic, in 1625; his own subjects beheaded him in 1649.

Samuel Ward's diary reveals that while he cared deeply about larger academic, political and church polity matters, his main concern was his own walk with Christ.

He writes to remind himself of his daily sins and faults — and to remember God's blessings to him. The twin themes of this diary are repentance and thankfulness.

This book draws heavily from the scholarly work of Dr. Marshall Mason Knappen, assistant professor of English History at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Knappen transcribed the original text, researched extensive footnotes, wrote an introduction, drafted a biography of Rogers, and published the text in 1933. His work, *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, forms the basis of this present edition.

My role in presenting this edition is one of rendering it readable and available to modern readers.

In his zeal for preserving the text for researchers, Dr. Knappen retained Rogers' 16th Century spelling, abbreviations, capitalization, and punctuation. He inserted diacritical indicators on every page.

While these tools may prove invaluable to the scholar, they distract me in my own reading of the diary for its spiritual inspiration.

So many words have changed spelling since 1587 that as I entered these diaries in Word on my computer, Clippie, that little talking paperclip man on the Help menu, pops out and says, "There are too many spelling and grammatical errors in WardDiary.doc to continue displaying them. To check the spelling and grammar of this document, chose Spelling and Grammar from the TOOLS menu".

For instance Here are the opening paragraphs of Ward's diary:

Prid, Desir of vaynglory, yea, in little things. Wearisomnes in Godes service. Non affection. No delite in Godes service. No care of exhorting my brethren. Non boldnes in the professing of Godes name. No delite in hearing Godes word, or in prayer, or in receyving of the Sacramentes. Shame in serving God.

May 11, 1595. Thy dulness in the morning in prayer. Thy little affection in hearing Mr. Chattertons¹ good sermon upon the 34 verse of the 25 of Math. Thy adulterous thoughtes that day. Thy backwardnes in calling to mind the sermons that day. Thy backwardnes in exhorting S[ir] S[harp],² neverthesse the good

¹ Laurence Chatterton or Chaderton, formerly a fellow of Christ's, but at this time Master of Emmanuel College. His wife was a sister of the Ezekiel Culverwel who is mentioned in the Rogers diary. See *DNB*.

² Ward's roommate, Isaac Sharp, later rector of Thorpe-juxta-Newark, Notts.



motions of Godes spiritt in thy mynd. Thy anger against M[r.] N[ewhouse]³ for his long prayers.

May 12, 1595. My evil thoughts of M[r.] N[ewhouse] when I heard him beginning to expound a place in Ecclesiastes. My negligence in not comming to prayers, and my little care for the same. Think if thou were in Turky, thou would be glad to have them to pray with, as little account as thou now makest thereof.

May 13, 1595. My little pity of the boy who was whipt in the hall.⁴ My desire of preferment over much. My adulterous dream.

Yes, words change and new ones appear even today.

Why, when a young lady offered to show me her bling, I got all excited till I found out she was showing nothing but a stupid charm bracelet!

So I am updating Ward's Elizabethan vernacular as best I can.

I hope to make these diary pages readable for people today because they show the writer's walk with Christ; therefore, they help me in my own walk. Few books help me more than the diaries, journals, and blogs of other Christians. And when I read my own diaries from years past, they help me live my life today a little better.

Seeing where I've been helps me see where I'm going.

Apparently Samuel Ward enjoyed that same experience.

A word needs to be said about how Ward used the possessive; instead of the apostrophe S familiar today, (Joe's dog), Ward used the construction of a man's name followed by "his whatever" (Joe his dog). Thus we read "Mr. Latham his death" or "Mr. Dickinson his wife". For the most part, I have retained this construction as well as Ward's phonetic spellings when the meaning is clear.

Although I have kept some of Ward's linguistic features to retain the flavor of the original, take a look at a list of common words

³ Thomas Newhouse, Ward's tutor. "Suspected of Puritanism"; fellow of Christ's 1594-99; later minister at St. Andrew's, Norwich.

⁴ It was customary to punish the younger members of the college corporally. The older ones were fined (Masson I, 135).

used in the diary and you'll see why I felt the necessity of updating for readability:

A word such as *abhominacion* easily translate into *abomination*. Other words do not lend themselves as readily; when the minister says he went to a meeting for *Prechinge and Praier*, I have to stop reading and interpret those words into *preaching* and *prayer*.

Sometimes simpler words have been harder for me to figure out. Depending on the context, the word *of* can mean either *of*, or *off*, or *often*.

One word in the diary I had to watch for all the time is the word *then*. Sometimes that word means the same as it does today, as in the sentence: "I went to Wal-Mart, *then* to the dentist to have all my teeth pulled".

Other times the word *then* means *than*, as in the sentence, "I have more *than* ten books".

Stumbling over *then* used as *than* or *then* confused me until I realized that in everyday Elizabethan English, diarists often spelled things just as they pronounced them. And if I say the sentence I'm editing out loud, the meaning in context becomes clear because as I listen to what I actually say, I find that I pronounce the word the same way the diarists did!

Unless in print, or spoken by someone who enunciates clearly, practically everyone here in the South today says, "I have more *then* ten books". Yes, we Crackers pronounce many words just as the Elizabethan Puritans did. Here is a list of some words I have updated:

Allwaies = always

Aclock = O'clock

Agaynst = against

Anotheres = another's

Att = at

Ayre = air



Bene = been

Benummed = numb

Bycause = because

Chappell = chapel

Colledge = college

Comming = coming

Deutyas = duties

Esteme = think

Faythe = faith

Flegmaticke = phlegmatic

Goo = go

Goyng = going

Hartely = hardily

Hearbes = herbs

Iniust = unjust

Inough = enough

Interteyned = entertained

Lets = hindrances

Manciple = cook

Mayre = marry

Mundayes = Monday

Motyve = motive

Mynd = mind

Myne = mine

On = in

Physic = study medicine

Praevayling = prevailing

Prayse = praise



Puples - pupils

Primities = priority

Red = read

Sizing = food portions

Slubber = mutter

Soveraigne = Sovereign

Straungers = strangers

Tearme = term

Ther = their

Thow = thou

Thorow = through

Trew = true

Tropicke = tropics

Teeks = tricks

Uprore = uproar

Wamble = an upset stomach

Wer = were

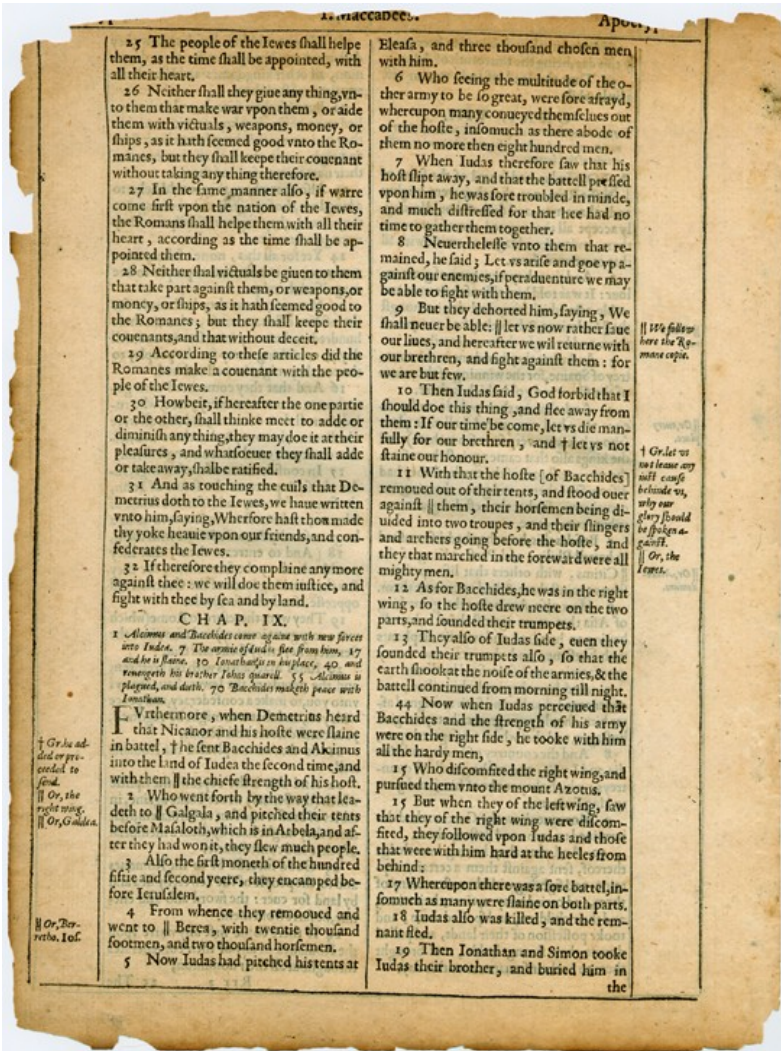
Yow = you

Ytt = it

I first read this book for my own edification, to let this focused man's thoughts from long ago nudge me closer to Christ in my own life today.

Since the Diary Of Samuel Ward helps me in that way, I think it only proper to preserve his words as best I can to help some other struggling reader in the future.

— John Cowart
www.cowart.info



A Page, from Ward's Section of the King James Bible



THE EPISTLE OF PAVL THE Apostle to the Romanes.

CHAP. I.

1 Paul comendeth his calling to the Romanes, 9 and his desire to come to them. 16 What his Gospel is, and the righteousness which it sheweth. 18 God is angry with all manner of sin. 21 What were the sins of the Gentiles.



PAVL a seruant of Iesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, * separated vnto the Gospel of God,

2 (which he had promised afore by his Prophets in the holy Scriptures.)

3 Concerning his Sonne Iesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of Dauid according to the flesh,

4 And declared to be the Sonne of God, with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.

5 By whom we haue received grace and Apostleship || for obedience to the faith among all nations for his Name,

6 Among whom are yee also the called of Iesus.

7 To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be Saints: Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Iesus Christ.

8 First I thanke my God through Iesus Christ for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world.

9 For God is my Witnesse, Whom I serue || with my spirit in the Gospel of his Sonne, that without ceasing I make mention of you, alwayes in my prayers.

10 Making request, if by any meanes

now at length I might haue a prosperous iourney by the will of God) to come vnto you.

11 For I long to see you, that I may impart vnto you some spirituall gift, to the end you may be established,

12 That is, that I may be comforted together || with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me.

13 Now I would not haue you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come vnto you, (but was let hitherto) that I might haue some fruit || among you also, euen as among other Gentiles.

14 I am debter both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians, both to the wise, and to the vniwise.

15 So, as much as in mee is, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at Rome also.

16 For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God vnto saluation, to euery one that belieueth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greeke.

17 For therein is the righteousness of God reueiled from faith to faith: as it is written, * The iust shall liue by faith.

18 For the wrath of God is reueiled from heauen against all vngodlinesse, and vnrightheousnesse of men, who hold the trueth in vnrightheousnesse.

19 Because that which may be known of God, is manifest || in them, so: God hath shewed it vnto them.

20 For the invisible things of him from the Creation of the world, are clearly seene, being vnderstood by the things that are made, euen his eternall Power and Godhead, || so that they are without excuse:

21 Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankfull, but became vaine

* Act. 13. t.

Or, deter. mend.

Or, the ordinance of faith.

Or, in my spirit.

Or, in yee

Or, in yee

* Abac. 2. 4.

Or, to them.

Or, that they may be.



**IMPORTANT NOTE:
The Two Samuel Wards**

By
John Cowart

When I first began to prepare this manuscript for publication, I made a crucial mistake which I have, to the best of my ability, corrected in the present pages

My own diary entry for Friday, July 27, 2007, best explains:

Double Trouble With Samuel Ward:



The Titanic embarks on her maiden voyage

Samuel Ward was a Puritan.

Samuel Ward was a Puritan.

Samuel Ward was a preacher.

Samuel Ward was a preacher.



Samuel Ward was an author.

Samuel Ward was an author.

Samuel Ward was a fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Samuel Ward was a fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Samuel Ward lived during the later part of the 16th Century and the early years of the 17th Century.

Samuel Ward lived during the later part of the 16th Century and the early years of the 17th Century.

The first time I ever heard of Samuel Ward was last December. ...

The first time I ever heard of Samuel Ward was yesterday.

Yes, as I proofread my sample copy of *A Zealous Heart: The Diary of Samuel Ward* — you know, the book I wrote about editing on Wednesday — the same book I have written about in **31 blog postings** since last December — the same book I struggled with over all those Greek quotations...

Yeah, that book.

As I used my magnifying glass to check out a footnote reference I read this phrase: “by his namesake of Ipswich”.

Samuel Ward lived between 1577 and 1639 — Samuel Ward lived between 1572 and 1643.

You got it!

There were two contemporary Puritan preachers — each named Samuel Ward!

And I did not realize that until yesterday!

Since last December I have worked preparing the diary of one of them, the one from Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, (Yeah, him) and writing a biography of the man (men) to accompany the 16th Century text of his diary.

In ignorance I combined the two men and incidents from their lives into one fictional Samuel Ward. I did not realize I was dealing with material from two separate lives.

Oh, there was one subtle hint when there in 1621, when Samuel Ward was in trouble with both the Royalists and with the Roundheads and I wondered why each of the opposing parties had it in for him. Well, turns out one Samuel Ward favored the Royalists; the other favored the Roundheads.



I just missed that hint, and blithely went on my way combining quotes and character traits and incidents from the lives of the two men and presenting them as one person.

What to do? What to do?

I mean, I'd scheduled this book to go to press this coming weekend. I sank seven months of long days and eye-strain nights into preparing it. The book cover is resized and ready. The promo material written. PDF files converted.

Change a comma here and there and the book is read to sell.

Right? Right?

Wrong! Wrong!

Discovering there were two Wards, stunned me.

All that time, all that research, all that anguish over Greek phrases, all that eye-strain, all that work — all for nothing. Wasted. Pissing against the wind.

Then came the insidious thought: Who'll know the difference? How many people in the world will realize that I've combined two men into one. I mean, there is not Samuel Ward fan club out there. His is not a household name. Hardly anyone will know the difference if I let it slide. Publish the book and move on. Why not?

Integrity.

How can I claim to be a Christian wanting to be (at times) 100% at the disposal of Jesus Christ if I knowingly publish a book which I know is factually wrong?

Ridicule.

If I publish this amalgamation then I'd be the laughingstock of the whole world, of everyone who knows the truth about Samuel Ward (all six or eight of them). Everything I write from here on would be suspect for these people; they'd know I'm a buffoon faking it.

Honesty.

Do I write for my own amusement? For readers? As a humble witness to my Savior?

The real question for me is not about Samuel Ward, but about Jesus Christ.

Is Christ just prominent in my life or is He preeminent?

In my upset, I questioned why God would let me bark up the wrong tree for months only to reveal that I goofed at the last minute?



Why would He let me waste all that time? Why let me make such a mistake and persist in it for months.

Well, my times are in His hands.

My time is His to waste.

My friend Barbara said, “John, I believe that God will let us make a mistake and keep on making it, but He will also turn it to good to honor His name”.

So, where do I go from here?

I have not fully decided yet.

There seems to be two options: I can trash the whole project and move on from here; or I can go back, do more research and try to unravel the correct information and present the book as it should be.

As I glanced over the so-closed-to-finished pages last night, I see that over 80 pages and many impressive graphics would need to be culled out altogether. But this incorrect stuff is interwoven in the correct.

To straightened this book out would be like trying to unscramble breakfast eggs.

I don't know if I can face that.

And Bambi is only a mouse click away.

If it ain't one temptation, it's another!

I do know that I'm not going to carry Samuel Ward's portrait on my match case any more! Sorry, low-down, two-faced, ruffle-wearing, Puritan-preaching, 16th Century, SOB!

Anybody got a chocolate donut?

That was my own diary entry. I did unscramble the eggs, going the entire text of this book again, corrected mistakes, and removed the material relating to Samuel Ward of Ipswich (1577-1639). He was a fascinating man and a great preacher but he was not the person who wrote this diary..The *Dictionary of National Biography* listing for Samuel Ward (1572-1643), diarist, translator of the King James Bible, is included next to avoid confusion.

—— John Cowart



**SAMUEL WARD'S LISTING
IN
DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY**

Volume 59, 1899 edition, pages 335-336

Ward, Samuel (d.1643), master of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, was born at Bishop Middleham in the county of Durham. He was of good family, although his father is described as of 'more auncestry than estate' (Harl. MS 7038, p. 355).

He was originally a scholar of Christ's College, where in 1693-3 he was admitted B.A. In 1595 he was elected to a fellowship at Emmanuel College, and in the following year proceeded M.A. He appears first to have become known to the learned world as one of the translators of the Authorized Version, his share of the work being chiefly the Apocrypha; during this time he also made the acquaintance of Ussher, whom he often assisted in his patristic researches. A letter which he addressed to him, 6 July 1608, affords an interesting illustration of the English scholarship of this period (Parr, *Life of Ussher*, pp 22-7).

In 1599 he was chosen by the executors of the founders of Sidney-Sussex College to be one of the



fellows to form the new society. William Perking [q.v.] had entrusted to him for publication his treatise, 'Problema de Ronanae Fidei ementito Catholicismo'. Ward published it with a noteworthy preface addressed to King James, to whom he was shortly afterwards appointed chaplain (Perkins, *Opera*, ed. 1611, col. 221).

On 9 Jan. 1609-10 the executors at Sidney elected him to the mastership of the college, and his letter of thanks to Lady Anne Harington is still extant (Tanner MSS. Lxxv. 317). In 1610 he was created D.D., having already been admitted B.D. in 1603.

He was not generally recognized as a moderate puritan of Calvinistic views, strongly attached to the Church of England, but equally opposed to all 'Romish' innovations, an attitude which Fuller, who was his pupil at Sidney-Sussex College, considers that he maintained with exceptional consistency (*Worthies*, ed. Nuttall, i. 488). His undeniable narrowness as a theologian was, however, largely redeemed by his high character, great attainments, and ready sympathy with every effort that tended to promote religion and learning in the university.

In 1615 Ward was made prebendary of Wells Cathedral, and also archdeacon of Taunton. On 21 Feb. 1617-18 he was appointed prebendary of York (Le Neve, iii. 170), and in the following year was one of the English delegates to the synod of Dort. The letters addressed to him there from Thomas Wallis, Gerard Herbert, Dr. (afterwards bishop) Hall, bishop Lake, are printed in Goodman's 'Court of King James,' vol. ii. The ability he displayed in the course of the proceedings of the synod led Episcopius to pronounce him the most learned member of the whole body (Hacket, *Sermons*, ed. Plume, p. xxvi). The statement of Sanford (*Studies of the Great Rebellion*, p. 204) that he 'never attended' the synod rests on a misquotation of a statement by Carter (*Hist. of the University of Cambridge*, p. 381).



In 1622-3 he was appointed Lady Margaret professor of divinity in the university, and on 11 April 1623 delivered his inaugural oration (Fuller, *Church Hist.* ed. Brewer, vi. 22n.)

Notwithstanding his retiring and modest disposition, a sense of duty impelled him to controversy. He was one of the licensers of George Carleton's book against Richard Montagu's 'Appeale', although the former volume was afterwards suppressed by Laud: and he appears to have himself taken part in the attack on Montagu, whose chaplain he had at one time been [see Carleton, George, 1559-1628; Montagu, Richard]. He concurred in the censure of a sermon preached at Great St. Mary's by one Adams in 1627, advocating the practice of confession (*Canterburie's Doom*, pp 159-92); and in the same year, when Isaac Dorislaus [q.v.] was appointed lecturer on history at Cambridge, he extended to him a sympathy and hospitality which contrasted strongly with the treatment which that eminent scholar received at the hand of the academic authorities. He appears also to have written in reply to the famous anti-Calvinistic treatise, 'God's Love to Mankind,' by Mason and Hord (Hickman, *Historia Quinqu-Articularis*, p 385).

Along with his party in the university Ward watched with the gravest misgivings the progress of Arminianism and the growing influence of Laud, while he trembled for his own tenure of the professorial chair (see letter to Ussher, 14 Jan. 1634-5, *Ussher's Works*, xv. 580-1).

His college under his rule maintained its freedom from the innovations of ritualism; its chapel remained unconsecrated, and offered to the view of the iconoclast, after the master's death, nothing that called for reform. But when the civil war broke out his sense of duty, as involved in his sworn allegiance to the crown, would not allow him to take the covenant, and in consequence he became obnoxious to the Presbyterian majority.



In 1643, along with many others, he was imprisoned in St. John's College until, his health giving way, he was permitted to retire to his own college, where he was attended during his closing days with filial care by his servitor, Seth Ward [q.v.] On 30 Aug. 1643, while attending the chapel service, he was seized with illness, an attack which terminated fatally on the 7th of the following September. His obsequies were formally celebrated on 30 Nov., when a funeral oration was pronounced in Great St. Mary's by Henry Molle, the public orator, and a sermon preached by the deceased's attached friend and admirer, Dr. Brownrigg [q.v.] He was interred in the college chapel.

Ward's Diary (1595-1599), which is preserved among the manuscripts of Sidney-Sussex College, was mainly written during his residence at Christ's College, and exhibits the internal workings of a singularly sensitive nature, prone to somewhat morbid habits of self-introspection. Apprehensions of the evil to come, both in church and state, darkened indeed the greater part of his maturer years, but no 'head' in the university was held in higher esteem for ability, learning, and character.

The eloquent tribute to his memory by the pen of Seth Ward in the preface to the *Opera Nonnulla* exhibits him as what he really was — a central figure in the university of those days.

Among his intimate friends were Archbishop Williams, Bishop Hall, Bishop Davenant, Archbishop Ussher, Brownrigg, Thomas James, Sir Simonds D'Ewes; while he was well known to most of the leading divines and scholars of his time.

Among his pupils were Fuller, Edward Montagu, second earl of Manchester, and Richard Holdsworth, the master of Emmanuel.

Ward was a generous patron of learning, as is shown by the acknowledgments of Abraham Wheelocke [q.v.] in the preface to his edition of Bede, and those of



Simon Birkbeck in the preface to his *Protestant's Evidence* (ed. 1657, paragraph 20.

There is a good portrait of Ward in the master's lodge at Sidney-Sussex College; his commonplace book is also in the care of the master of the college.

His works are :

1. *Gratia discriminans: Concio ad Clerum habita Cantabridiae*, 12 Jan. 1625, London 1626. 4 vols.

2. *Magnetis reductorium Theologicum Tropologicum, in quo ejus novus, verus et supremus usus indicatur*, London 1637. 8 vols; the same translated by Sir H. Grimston, London, 1640, 12 mo.

3. *De Baptismatis Infantilis vi et efficacia Disceptatio*, London, 1653, 8 vol.

4. *Opera nonnulla: Declamationes Theologicae, Tractatus de justificatione, Praelectiones de peccato originali. Editia a Setho Wardo*. 2 pts. London, 1658, fol.

5. "Letters to W. Harvey, M.D." [relating to a petrified skull] in *Specimens of the Handwriting of Harvey & c.*, edited by G.E. Plaget; [Cant. 1849] 8vols.

[Information kindly afforded by authorities of Emmanuel and Sidney-Sussex Colleges, and by Professor J.E.B. Mayor; Tanner Mss., see Cat. Cod. Mss. Vii. 258-65, 268-77. xi. 341, 353; *Acta Synodi Dortrechtii* (ed. 1620). P.11; *Aubrey's Lives*. Ed. Clark. ii. 283, 284, 287; *Fuller's Worthies*, i. 173, 487-8, iii, 287; Goodman's *Court of James I.* ii. 174, 186, 194, 218, 325; Pope's (Sir Walter) *Life of Seth Ward*. pp.13-14; Vossius (G.J.) *Epist.* pp. 108, 125; *Worthington's Diary*; Cat. Of MSS. In Sidney-Sussex College Library, by Dr. James, p. 29]

— J.B.M.



PREFACE

by

Dr. Marshall Mason Knappen

The documents printed in the following pages have been transcribed and edited from the originals which are to be found in English libraries.

Of the authorship of the Ward diary there has never been any question. Though it is anonymous, unbroken tradition, a comparison of the handwriting with that of Ward's signed letters in the Tanner Collection, and clear internal evidence unite in ascribing it to Samuel Ward.

The document is to be found in a bound paper book of ninety-five leaves, measuring 5 by 6 inches. In addition to the diary the volume also contains many blank pages and some sermon notes. These were made from the discourses of others, of which the first is apparently one delivered by Laurence Chaderton on March 7, 1591-2, over three years before the beginning of the diary.

After Ward's death, all his papers were committed to his friend, Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, who thirteen years later returned them to Seth Ward, who was a protege of the diarist but no relation.

In 1689, when Seth Ward, then Bishop of Salisbury, died, he left nearly a trunkful of the papers of Samuel Ward to his nephew, also named Seth Ward, with the request that the complete

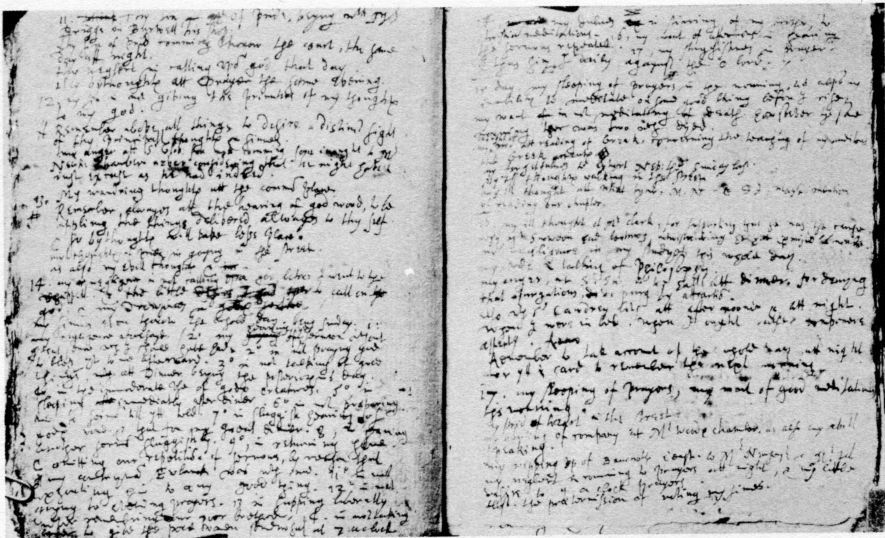


documents be either printed or "given to the Library in Sidney College Cambridge there to be preserved."

The will was contested, and the nephew died before he could fulfill this request. His widow gave the manuscripts to a Thomas Ward, apparently another relative, who thereupon communicated with the authorities of Samuel Ward's old college. They requested the manuscripts, which were sent in March 1692/3 (Harleian 7038, fol. 137).

Only this volume and one other, a commonplace book of Ward's, are now in the college library. Just when the others were dispersed we do not know, but Thomas Baker, the historian of Cambridge, had access to some of them, and from his transcripts we have reprinted additional fragments of Ward's autobiographical writings.

The Baker manuscripts in the Harleian collection in the British Museum and in the Cambridge University Library are too well known to scholars to need description. The many letters to Ward to be found in the Tanner Manuscripts in the Bodleian were doubtless part of the contents of the trunk, as Bishop Tanner, the collector, who died in 1735, had many Cambridge connections.



Folios 18B and 19A of the Ward Diary

The Ward diary is not mentioned in *The Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, which professes to cover the collection of Sidney Sussex College, but it is described in



M. R. James' published catalogue of the manuscripts in that library. It has been used by at least three historians. G. M. Edwards in his history of Sidney Sussex College, published in 1899, quotes from the diary to explain the character of the third Master. The account of Christ's College by John Peile, which appeared in the following year, has a five page summary of the diary inserted as an illustration of the college life of the time; the work was also used in the *Biographical Dictionary* of that college by the same author, which was published in 1910. Lastly, R. G. Usher, in his *Reconstruction of the English Church* (I, 259-60), quotes from the diary with the remark that "we could hardly have a better opportunity to observe the inner workings of a Puritan mind of this moderate stamp."

In the preparation of this work complete and fully annotated transcripts of the documents were prepared. In the case of the Ward diary this work was greatly facilitated by the existence of a transcript prepared in 1913 by Alfred Rogers of the Cambridge University Library, who was in turn assisted in his work by an older transcript made about 1879 by J. Richards, M. A., sometime fellow of the college.

The complete text appears repetitious and confused. This is partly because of actual reduplication of similar entries, and because of the writer's habit of making frequent changes in the text at dates subsequent to that of the original writing...

I have simplified and abridged the text. Most of the uninteresting marginalia have been eliminated, and the effort has been made to present only the original form of the body of the text. Exceptions have been made where the later insertions were made to clarify the original text—and so are essential to its understanding—and also in one or two places where preliminary notes were not properly written out. Such matter is included in the text without comment. Redundant passages have been omitted, but in the first part of the diary a large section has been left intact to illustrate the original style of the work. The resulting text is somewhat less than half the length of the full one. For the benefit of any who may wish to consult them, the complete, annotated transcripts are being deposited in the respective libraries which contain the originals.

In the details of preparing the Elizabethan material for publication I have endeavored to follow the best modern usage.



Punctuation has been altered to current forms, but it has been kept at a minimum, especially in cases where it could affect an otherwise uncertain meaning. The sentence structure has been changed to the extent of breaking up some of the longer sentences and combining some of the loose clauses, with corresponding changes in the capitalization of initial words.

In the Rogers transcript of the Ward diary the names of the Deity were capitalized, and these have been allowed to remain in the text. Otherwise the capitalization has been left as it stands, though it is not always possible to be certain whether the writer intended to capitalize or not.

Abbreviations of proper names have also been left unaltered, except in the relatively few cases where it is possible to be reasonably certain of the identification. Abbreviations of other words have been expanded without comment in cases where there was no doubt as to the meaning and where the modern spelling is the same as Elizabethan spelling.

Otherwise the letters added have been put in brackets, and, in cases where it seemed possible that another completed word was intended, a question mark inserted. Brackets and interrogation points have also been used to indicate passages in which the reading is doubtful.

Editor's note: I have removed most of the above diacritical markings for the sake of general readability. Scholars interested in the full text should consult Dr. Knappen's 1933 edition Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries, published by The American Society of Church History and reprinted in 1966 by Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass.... jwc

The dates have been reduced to a uniform style, and, for the sake of convenience and familiarity, the Authorized Version has been used when supplying biblical passages quoted in the text.

The scattered pieces at the end of the Ward diary and in the "Adversaria" have been rearranged to secure chronological and logical order, as far as possible. Whenever the original order of the text has been altered, the change has been indicated by the insertion of the folio number...

In accordance with the conditions governing the use of manuscripts in Dr. Williams' Library, the trustees of that institution



have allowed access to the manuscript, but are not responsible for the selection made....

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The picture of the diarist on this book's cover is taken from a portrait in the Master's Lodge of Sidney Sussex College, and owes its appearance in this volume to the kindness of the authorities of that college.

It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to all those who have so kindly assisted me in the preparation of this work.

The Trustees of Dr. Williams' Library have given their permission to publish the Richard Rogers diary, and the Librarian, Mr. Stephen K. Jones, and his staff have shown me every possible courtesy.

The Governing Body of Sidney Sussex College has given a similar permission for the Ward dairy, and E. J. Passant, M. A., the Librarian of the college, has been equally helpful, often at considerable inconvenience to himself.

Guy Parsloe, B. A., Secretary of the Institute of Historical Research, and his assistants have been most hospitable in providing research accommodations during several summers.

The facilities of the British Museum and the courtesies of its staff are, of course, proverbial in the scholarly world.

Professor Wallace Notestein, formerly of Cornell, and now Sterling Professor of English History at Yale, who directed my first research in the field of Puritanism, has also taken a helpful interest in the preparation of this work.

Other friends, A. B. Emden, M. A., Principal of my old academic body, St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, Professor F. G. Marcham of Cornell University, Professor Wilhelm Pauck of Chicago Theological Seminary, Dr. Ross Hoff-man of New York University, and Professor L. R. Gottschalk of my own department, have read the work in manuscript and made valuable suggestions.



Lastly, Professors Robert Hastings Nichols of Auburn Theological Seminary and Matthew Spinka of Chicago Theological Seminary.

The editors of *Studies In Church History, Volume II*, have rendered far more than the usual assistance in the final preparation of the work.

The responsibility for the final content of the transcription is, of course, mine.

— Marshall Mason Knappen



King James I



**THE PURITAN CHARACTER
AS SEEN IN THE DIARY**

by

Dr. Marshall Mason Knappen

The diary here printed is set forth as a contribution to the better understanding of the Puritan way of life, which has played such an important part in the drama of the development of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

It is, however, clearly impossible, in such a work, to present any exhaustive treatment of the subject of Puritan character as a whole. The beginnings of Puritanism may be traced back to the Middle Ages, and we have yet to see its end. It is obvious that a great movement, extending over such a period of time, and existing under such different circumstances, must undergo changes. Fundamental attitudes remain essentially unaltered throughout its history, but the details vary.

Consequently, documents from a single period can only illustrate, with any claim to adequacy, the Puritan character of that date. But while these documents cannot be of completely general significance, the period which they help to interpret is one of outstanding importance in the history of Puritanism.

At the end of the sixteenth century the party was developing in clarity of aim, in organization, and in the numbers of its adherents. It had not yet attained the success which brought about that fullness of unconscious, but none the less disastrous, compromise with material interests, which was the attitude of so many Puritans of a later day. Documents depicting the Puritan



character at this early stage of its development should be worth reproducing.

Even if we confine ourselves to one period in the history of a great movement, we cannot find a single uniform mould of character to which all its adherents conform. Temperaments vary from individual to individual, and men of widely differing natures may be found in any party. But, at a given time, it is possible to discover something approaching a predominant type, and, in this sense of the term, I think it may fairly be claimed that the diarist, with whom we are concerned, is typical of the Puritans of his day.

Ward trained in Christ's College, Cambridge, the leading Puritan seminary of the day, and, when the diary was written, he was in high repute among the leaders of the movement.

The practice of keeping such a diary was not confined to our author, and a comparison with the diary of a laywoman, written a few years later, shows that the type of character, which we are about to describe, was not exclusively clerical.⁵

The most striking feature of the Puritan way of life revealed in this diary is the overwhelming predominance of the ethical element. It was the good, rather than the beautiful or the true, which occupied the Puritan's mind. Though Ward lived in a most attractive countryside, and frequently rode through that section of it which Constable was to make famous, the glories of the landscape seem to have been almost entirely lost on him.

Ward was a university man, but, in the period when his diary was written, study was regarded as a moral duty, a preparation for more effective religious service, rather than an end in itself. The gratification of his intellectual curiosity in the matter of crocodiles and mathematics was more likely to produce, not pleasure, but remorse, because of the supposedly sinful pride which it engendered.

The best and simplest way to classify a particular variety of the great family of those groups which are primarily ethical in their outlook is to ascertain its practice in the matter of the inevitable

⁵ *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, ed. Dorothy M. Meads (London, 1930). Adam Winthrop's diary, printed in the *Winthrop Papers* (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1929), I, 39-145, covers the period subsequent to 1592, but does not deal with the points under discussion.



compromise. It is true that man does not live by bread alone, but neither can he exist solely by altruism or spirituality. Some concessions must be made to the other parts of human nature, and the type of compromise adopted is largely indicative of the character of those who make it. On this classification the Puritans belong far to the left among ethical parties, close to the medieval monastic element. Each wished almost entirely to suppress the flesh, and so made very few concessions to the enemy. Both recognized the necessity of sustaining physical existence, and so provided for reasonable care in the matter of food, shelter and clothing. The Puritan moved farther to the right, and conceded also, with strong reservations, the expediency as well as the lawfulness of family life and the ownership of private property. But beyond that he would not go. The Anglican practice of delighting in nature or the simple joys of daily living was beneath his ethical standard in a school of little compromise.

It was therefore natural that the Puritan should seldom rest on the assurance of having done all things well, but, rather, be engaged in a constant struggle to reach the high standard which he had set for himself. It is this interminable contest which is the theme of the diary. He composed the work in order to spur himself on to greater endeavor. He notes and laments his lapses, so that he will be ashamed to repeat them.

Other times he analyzes his comparatively satisfactory states of mind so that he will be able to recover them on future occasions. Similarly, weapons which have proved useful in the battle are described, and stumbling blocks also recorded.

The ideal state, which the Puritan was constantly seeking to attain, may be described by his own term *godliness*. It is seen, upon analysis, to have consisted of an attitude of mind. When the writer is "stayed," "settled in [his] course," "well-seasoned," having "fruitful" meditations and good thoughts, he is content, but when his mind is unsettled, "wandering," "roving," dull, dead, slack in hearing chapel talks, making "imperfect" prayers— in other words, unable to concentrate on the right things— he is driven to complaints and to self-accusations.

The proper frame of mind was one which kept a man constantly fit and willing to fulfill his Christian obligations, whatever that duty might be.



The nature of this duty varied with the circumstances.

It included the general obligations to think on spiritual matters, to humble one's self, and to assist one's fellowmen spiritually or materially. Thinking on religious matters meant meditating on God and the believer's relation to Him, the plan of salvation, the thinker's past conduct, the making of resolutions to do better, and such matters.

Of mystical dwelling on the abstract qualities of the Deity there is little evidence. The Puritan thought rather in terms of his own conduct and God's opinion of it. Spiritual assistance to another human being meant aiding him, also, to attain the ideal state by persuading the unconverted of the error of his ways and thus starting him on the upward path, or the furnishing of inspiration or helpful suggestions of those already engaged in the struggle. Of these various elements of the Puritan's duty, the first, spiritual meditation, seems to have been stressed more than any other, though all were considered important.

These general conclusions about the Puritan's conception of duty may be illustrated by noting some of the characteristics of men whom the diarist desired to imitate, and also their own faults, of which they complained so frequently. These types of virtues are mentioned by Ward in speaking of the famous William Perkins, and the Puritan leader, Chaderton, is commended for his "living affection to the poor".

Material dealing with the Puritan categories of vices overwhelms us, and we shall mention only the chief ones.

Another Puritan, Richard Rogers⁶ (1550-1618) had so far systematized his life as to have his faults classified into "major" and "minor", or at least into those for regular concern and miscellaneous ones. "The four usual," "about the which I am especially occupied," were "light thoughts" or "roving fantasies"; "liking of worldly profit," financial gain, that is; "unprofitableness" or ineffectiveness in communicating his attitude to others; and, lastly, neglect of study.

⁶ Rogers, Richard. *Seeking A Settled Heart: The 16th Century Diary Of Puritan Richard Rogers*. Jacksonville, Florida. Bluefish Books. ©2007. 133 pages. Available at www.bluefishbooks.info.



Over and over again he organizes his survey of his estate around the question of how he is faring in his efforts to overcome these besetting sins. On the theme of the fantasies Rogers is nowhere specific, but they probably included all thoughts which were not spiritual in nature. There is no evidence in their diaries to support the charge that the Puritans were obsessed with the subject of sex and fond of discussing such matters at length.⁷

The only other one of these four faults that calls for any comment is the desire for financial gain. This plays the role of the chief villain in Rogers' drama, and the bitterness of the struggle which he waged against it illustrates both the severe restrictions which the Puritan of this period put on the right to private property and the strength of the temptation, once even this slight compromise was made and the door opened ever so little.

Ward was also troubled with roving thoughts, and spiritual dullness, the failure to be "fruitful" in talking religion to his companions, and by the neglect of his duties as student and teacher.

The temptation to make money, however, did not present itself to him in his student days, unless his remarks on the Emmanuel Fellowship might be classed under this head. Ward apparently never set himself to make any very vigorous struggle against this desire, and this may account for his ceasing to be a Puritan in later life.

In addition to these four faults, Ward makes frequent mention of others which do not occur so often, if at all, in the records of the mature married man. Overindulgence of the body in the matter of food and sleep comes in constantly in Ward. The desperate struggle of the young man against the vice of overeating would be a fit subject for humorous treatment were it not equally a matter of regret that so many people have tortured themselves by thus exalting matters of physical routine to the moral level.

Here also belong Ward's occasional notations of his "filthy dream" or "adulterous thoughts." Pride and anger were the other main faults mentioned—pride in being seen with people of importance or in exhibiting superior knowledge, and anger with

⁷ James Truslow Adams, *The Founding of New England* (Boston, 1930), p. 265n.



everyone from the servants to the Almighty Dispenser of the weather.

Among the faults less often mentioned are lack of charity or sympathy, flattery, and covenant breaking. Ward frequently mentions "too merry talk" and "over much myrth", but it will be noticed that the fault was not in being merry but in the overindulgence of such emotions.

The Puritans did not oppose pleasure as such, which they admitted was necessary in moderation to refresh the body, but objected to it if it exceeded this essential minimum and hence took time and energy which might be devoted to better ends.

Lastly, some comment may be offered on the comparatively minor nature of the faults enumerated. To them it was a sin to steal a pin, and although at first glance it would appear that the author was constantly going astray, never does the writer confess to any offence which the modern critic would consider of major proportions. Murder, arson, and larceny are, of course, not mentioned.

The nearest trace of such things is Ward's occasional mention of lying or "dissembling", etc., and whether the things which his sensitive conscience labeled lies would be deemed worthy of that designation today must remain uncertain.

From this discussion of the diarist's ideas of right and wrong we are able to gather the Puritan conception of the *summum bonum* as an attitude or state of mind which fitted the believer to perform good works, both of the contemplative and the active sort. The means employed to secure and retain that desired frame of mind should also be noted.

The medieval church, faced with the same problem of holding the attention of its followers, had developed an elaborate system in which routine and appeals to the senses played the greatest parts. There were frequent services at stated hours, made attractive with music, processions, vestments, pictures, and images. There was a church year, with saints' days and periodic fasts. Pilgrimages and rosaries also helped to fix the believer's attention on higher things. In the heat of party conflict the Puritan abandoned this system. But as his problem was a very similar one, his solution



employed the same principles, routine and stimulation of the senses, much as it might vary in the details.

In addition to this program of routine meditation we can see our diarist establishing regular times for study, private prayer, and family or group prayers. Here belongs also the mention of the practice of regularly keeping diaries themselves, the writing of which obviously served to keep the attention fixed on the goal. This device was apparently more effective than most other means. It interrupted incorrect trains of thought, and caused the writer to renew his resolution to live correctly.

The Puritan, as well as the Catholic, found an established routine of spiritual exercises necessary if he were to retain the proper attitude and so rightly conduct his life.

Other means remind us of Catholic practices also. Covenant making was the Puritan equivalent of the medieval vow. Instead of promising to go on a pilgrimage or make gifts to a shrine, the Puritan, in time of stress, would vow to keep a better course, or even to cause others to do so, as when Ward promises to have his pupils bring him better accounts of sermons.

Bible reading is spoken of frequently, and the sacrament is mentioned occasionally in the Ward diary. He also notes the value derived from singing psalms, and mentions of aid received by contact with fellow Christians are very numerous.

Conferences with fellow Christians on spiritual matters were a very important part of the Puritan's spiritual life. Spiritual writings were interchanged for the purpose of stimulating each other, and it is obvious throughout the diary that visiting with friends, singly or in groups, contributed much to the writer's spiritual progress.

Lastly, we must examine the motive which impelled the Puritan to set before him the ideal we have described and which spurred him to follow it by the use of these means. Briefly stated, it was the desire to experience the immediate feeling of satisfaction which came from approaching the ideal state of mind.

Theorists might talk of a future life with rewards and punishments. The diarist doubtless believed in it, and preached it.



But his writings are singularly free from any dwelling on such matters.

In practice, the author was otherworldly only in the sense that immaterial desires are otherworldly. For all practical purposes, the Puritan, even when "in good Frame," lived nine-tenths or more of his time for the joys of this world. They were spiritual joys and not material ones, it is true, but they were of this world in the temporal sense of the phrase. One did not need to wait for the future life or live only in anticipation of it. What the Puritan lived for was the joy of having the right spiritual attitude here and now. He had a *joie de vivre*, though not one based on the enjoyment of tangible things.

This conclusion is established by noticing the number of instances in which emotional pleasure is mentioned. Rogers, for instance, is constantly speaking of his sweet meditations, his cheerful frames of mind, and on one occasion declares that his spiritual experiences made him not less merry than one who had made a good bargain.

Although this diary is constructed on negative lines, and written in terms of self-accusation, we do not have to read very far to find recurring such words as "delight," "injoy," "rejoic," "liberty" (in the sense of exaltation), and "comfort." To be able to shed tears while preaching or in prayer was a sensible proof of God's favor.

This may seem a perverted kind of enjoyment, but it was nevertheless a very real piece of emotionalism, in which the Puritan found great pleasure.

Finally, the poignant remorse which is constantly expressed in Puritan diaries is a further proof of the manner in which the Puritans were swayed by the feelings of the moment.

All this is not to overlook passages which speak of godliness as burdensome. We have already stated that the Puritan found life a constant struggle and the temptations to take the lower path exceedingly strong, but he balanced these against equally keen and immediate delights in living properly here and now.

Enough has now been said, I think, to justify the conclusion that current conceptions of Puritan character, based largely on the brilliant, but sweeping, generalizations of Max Weber and Ernst



Troeltsch,⁸ must undergo some modification. Stimulating and learned as these great scholars were, they nevertheless suffered from some serious limitations in their treatment of Calvinism in general and Puritanism in particular. Anxious to refute the Marxian thesis of materialistic determinism as the sole factor in historical causation, they exaggerated the role of theological dogma in the formation of human character. Their judgment was also affected by the peculiar events of church history in Germany, where Pietism developed into a movement distinct from the older church bodies. Troeltsch, furthermore, was committed to the theory that doctrines must vary with the type of ecclesiastical organization employed. Lastly, in the preparation of works covering such large fields, neither scholar had time to make a thorough study of Puritan life from the records of actual religious experiences. Consequently, they tended to generalize from evidence supplied by theoretical writings on the Christian life and by works on theology. The most striking of these were selected from the period when Puritanism had already been largely overcome by hostile forces, and the resulting picture was attributed to the movement as a whole. Without attempting to minimize the great service of these writers in calling attention to the importance of the relations between religious attitudes and social and economic forces, some changes may be suggested in their characterization of the Puritans.

It is customary to think of the Puritan as one who was primarily concerned with the future life and the assurance of attaining it. "The after-life," says Weber, "was not only more important, but in many ways also more certain than all the interests of life in this world." The questions, "Am I one of the elect?" And "How can I be sure of this state of Grace" must sooner or later have arisen for every believer, and have forced all other interests into the background."⁹ The Puritan was convinced that his fate

⁸ A discussion of the theories of these men is exceedingly difficult. There are many saving clauses in their works, and some apparently contradictory passages. The main features of their picture of Puritanism are, however, fairly clear, but I have taken the precaution of quoting somewhat at length from their works. The English versions, which are cited for the convenience of the reader, have been compared with the originals.

⁹ Max Weber, "Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus," " *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, I, 103; English translation, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons, (London, 1930) p. 109-10.



depended solely on the decree of God, who either had or had not elected him ages ago, once for all.

In what was for the man of the age of the Reformation the most important thing in life, his eternal salvation, he was forced to follow his path alone to meet a destiny which had been decreed for him from eternity. No one could help him. No priest, for the chosen one can understand the word of God only in his own heart. . . . No Church, for though it was held that *extra ecclesiam nulla solus*. . . nevertheless the membership of the external church included the doomed. Finally even no God. For even Christ had died only for the elect, for whose benefit God had decreed His martyrdom from eternity.¹⁰

The result was that the Puritan became a lonely individual, forsaking his family, like Christian in *Pilgrim's Progress*, eschewing friendships, striving for assurance of his salvation. This could be attained only by zealous activity in a calling. It was necessary to practice a "worldly asceticism", *innerweltliche Askese*¹¹, an asceticism in which, rather than fleeing from the world, one conquered it by active hard work in one's calling.

In order to attain that self-confidence of election, intense worldly activity [*rastlose Berufsarbeit*] is recommended as the most suitable means. It and it alone disperses religious doubts and gives the certainty of grace. . . . However useless good works might be as a means of attaining salvation, for even the elect remain beings of the flesh, and everything they do falls infinitely short of divine standards, nevertheless, they are indispensable as a sign of election. They are the technical means, not of purchasing salvation, but of getting rid of the fear of damnation. . . Calvinism added something positive to Lutheranism, the idea of the necessity of proving one's faith in worldly activity [*Berufsleben*, better:

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 93-4. Eng. trans. p. 104. Troeltsch agrees in making the doctrine of Predestination the most important element in Calvinism and Puritanism. Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der ahristischen Kirchen und Gruppen*, Vol. I of his *Gesammelte Schriften*, (Tubingen, 1923), p. 615 ff. English translation, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon (London, 1931), II, 581 ff.

¹¹ Weber, *op. tit.*, p. 35; English trans., p. 193-4.



professional life] . . . What God demands is not labour in itself, but rational labour in a calling.¹²

So the Puritan became coldly unemotional, rational, disciplined, unfeeling. Weber says "Calvin viewed all pure feelings and emotions, no matter how exalted they might seem to be, with suspicion", and Troeltsch agrees:

Above all this specifically Calvinistic individualism possesses this peculiar characteristic that in its refusal to expand on the emotional side it always directs attention towards concrete aims and purposes. . . . Puritanism differs from Lutheran Pietism in its still unshaken loyalty to the Church, in its lack of emphasis upon a passionate "conviction of sin" [*Busskampfes*] and of a sudden emotional "assurance" of grace. . . . In Puritanism, conversion was regarded as the effect of predestination which had gradually evolved, and it believed in the careful control and cultivation of this process, and not in "feelings", which a mere temporal faith can have also.¹³

Weber denies that the desire to enjoy the blissfulness of communion with God in this life was to be found in Puritanism, but makes it rather the decisive characteristic of the Pietism which developed later within the Reformed Church. For this element of emotion which was originally quite foreign to Calvinism, but on the other hand related to certain mediaeval forms of religion, led religion in practice to strive for the enjoyment of salvation in this world rather than to engage in the ascetic struggle for certainty about the future world.¹⁴

Again he states:

Lutheran emphasis on penitent grief is foreign to the spirit of ascetic Calvinism, not in theory, but definitely in practice. For it is of no ethical value to the Calvinist; it does not help the damned, while for those certain of their election, their own sin, so far as they admit it to themselves, is a

¹² Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 110, 120, 174, Eng. trans., pp. 112, 115, 121, 161-2 Cf. E. H. Tawney, *EeUyion and the Rise of Capitalism*, (New York, 1926), pp 199-201.

¹³ Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 623, 777; Eng. trans., II, 589, 680.

¹⁴ Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Eng. trans., p. 130.



symptom of backwardness in development. Instead of repenting of it, they hate it and attempt to overcome it by activity for the glory of God.¹⁵

In applying this picture to the typical Puritan of any age there are difficulties which appear at the first glance, and others which suggest themselves to one acquainted with the life of Calvinists in the past and present. It is common knowledge among the clergy of churches of the Reformed type that only a very small minority of their congregations have extended worries about the assurance of their election. Even to the uninitiated it seems peculiar that a man should be driven to superhuman exertions to make sure of something which his efforts cannot affect in the slightest.

The causal connection between the desire of assurance of election and worldly activity is not clearly proven by the citations from Baxter, who was evidently more concerned with preaching the duty of labor by way of attacking Catholic monasticism and insuring provision for the good of the commonwealth than with recommending it as furnishing a means of attaining a sense of the certainty of one's ultimate destiny.¹⁶ The fact that many serious-minded Christians, such as Luther, Pascal, and the Jansenists, have believed in the doctrine of predestination without being driven to intense worldly activity¹⁷ is puzzling. It would seem that whatever "worldly asceticism" may have existed among the later Puritans is best explained by other means. The loneliness and coldness of the Puritan seem also to have been exaggerated.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21, n. 4; Eng. trans., p. 237.

¹⁶ In the passage (*Practical Works*, London, 1838, I, 902-4) especially cited by Weber (*op. cit.*, p. 105, n. 5; Eng. trans., p. 229), the living of a Christian life, without particular reference to the duties of one's calling, is only one, though given as the most important, of twenty-eight suggested means for gaining assurance that one was of the elect.

¹⁷ Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 105-106, n. 5; Eng. trans., pp. 102, 229.

¹⁸ Nor, it may be added, (though the matter is not of great importance here) is it beyond challenge that the Puritans were influenced more in their outlook by the Old Testament than the New (Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 181; Eng. trans., pp. 123, 165, quoting J. L. Sanford, *Studies and Reflections of the Great 'Rebellion* (London, 1858) p. 79 f. and Edward Dowden, *Puritan and Anglican* (London, 1900) p. 39). This is a common characterization, but I have never seen any clear substantiation of it. If the New Testament doctrine of election were the central element in Puritanism, it is difficult to see how it could be said to depend more on the other section of the Bible. Good works and the doing of one's duty were



The career of Christian in *Pilgrim's Progress*, whose prolonged conversations with his fellow-seekers Weber mentions, would not appear to be a very good illustration of the Puritan's supposed spiritual isolation, and the historian knows that "passionate conviction of sin" was common in Puritan circles. William Perkins, who is mentioned with such respect in the Ward diary, experienced such a sudden conversion, and in his turn wrought similar changes in his hearers by striking sudden terror in their hearts.

But whatever may be the truth of this theory of Puritan character in general, as applied to the particular period which their diaries illustrate, it is certainly open to serious criticism. From the analysis, as presented in the first part of this chapter, it is doubtful that the Puritans devoted much time to thinking about matters of the future life. In fact, Weber's description of the Pietists, as striving for the enjoyment of religion in this world rather than engaging in the ascetic struggle for certainty about the future one, fits Puritans very nicely indeed.

We shall no doubt be more nearly correct, therefore, if we abandon the attempt, induced largely by the desire to universalize peculiarly German conditions, to distinguish between the Puritans and the Pietists.

Furthermore it seems clear, that, at least in the period when the Ward diary was written, many, and, in all probability, most of the Puritans were of the type of Calvin himself,¹⁹ in that they had no particular worry about securing assurance of the certainty of

enjoined in the New Testament as well as in the Old. With the exception of the topic of political theory, where the Old Testament afforded precedents more suitable to their purpose, it is open to argument that the Puritans were at least equally influenced by the New Testament. In fact it is difficult to find any one attitude in the Old Testament, and some passages of it did not appeal to the Puritan, as Weber grants (p. 180, Eng. trims., 164). It is probably better to consider the Puritans as influenced indiscriminately by both sections of the Scriptures. Since they regarded it all as the Word of God, they naturally commenced their study at the beginning, as did Rogers (see p. 33), which would explain the reason for the great number of Puritan treatises on this section of the Bible. Furthermore, the Old Testament is some three times as long as the New, which probably accounts for the greater number of references to the books of that portion of the Bible, if such a preponderance actually exists.

¹⁹ Weber, op. cit., p. 103; Eng. trans., p. 110.



their election. Some unusual cases there were,²⁰ and no doubt many Puritans passed through a time of anxiety over this matter when first entering upon the Christian life—or perhaps at death²¹—which would account for the space given to this topic in the literature of the party. But that great numbers lingered so long in this state that it exerted any profound influence on the character of the average Puritan, is highly doubtful.

In fact, there is little evidence that the theoretical notions of Predestination and the complementary doctrine of the denial of the free will had much effect on actual conduct. Puritan diaries imply a surprising amount of what was later called Arminianism. Rogers makes a remark with the genuine Augustinian Calvinist ring, to the effect that no one has grace at his command.

Ward's diary gives the reader the impression that the writer thought he could do a great deal toward shaping his conduct. The frequent self-accusations suggest that the author could have done otherwise had he tried, in other words that he had a free will.

Such passages confirm the old ministerial proverb that all are Calvinists when they pray — but Arminians when they preach.

We have already pointed out that the writer made much use of Christian fellowship for his spiritual growth, and was far from being the lonely soul popularly described as typical examples of Puritan character.

The diary carries no evidence that activity is any more highly esteemed than contemplation. The tendency is in the opposite direction. Proper meditations are more important than any kind of labor. Study and communicating spiritual attitudes are the duties of the writer's calling, but these obligations are not emphasized as much as having profitable spiritual thoughts.

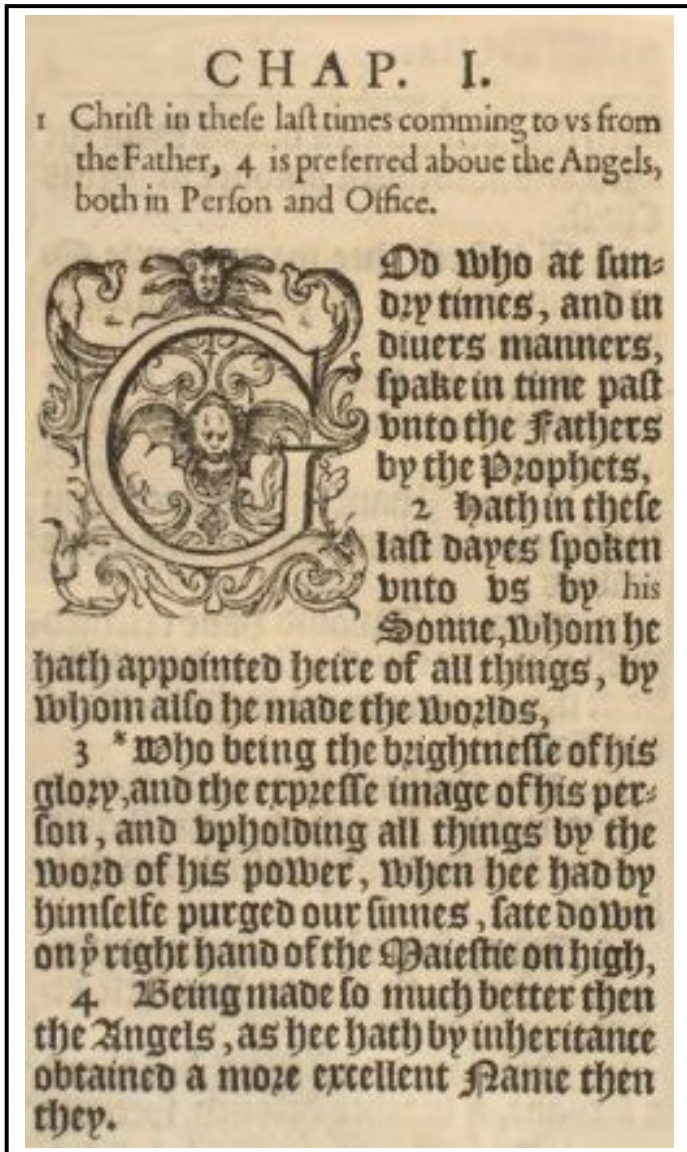
Other ideas may have permeated Puritan movement in the days when it was moving away from its medieval base and succumbing more to materialistic forces, but they are not typical of the Puritan of this period. An attitude predominately ethical,

²⁰ John Knox's mother-in-law is a famous example (*The Works of John Knox*, ed. Laing (Edinburg, 1895), III, 331 ff).

²¹ In the Bgerton MSS in the British Museum, No. 2645, fols. 156 ff., there is a lengthy and interesting account of the dealings of the well-known Puritan, John Dod, with one of the Trogmortons—of *Marprelate Tracts* fame—who when dying doubted his election.



involving the individual in a methodical struggle for the Pietistic delight in a correct state of mind resulting in the fulfillment of all duties, both contemplative and active, is a better description of the Puritan character as illustrated by Samuel Ward's Diary.



Hebrews Chapter One KJV

P S A L. XLVI.

1 The confidence which the Church hath in God. 8 An exhortation to behold it.

C To the chiefe Musician || for the sonnes of Korah, a song vpon Alamoeth.

G O D is our refuge and strength: a very present helpe in trouble.

2 Therefore will not we feare, though the earth be remoued: and though the mountaines be caried into † the midst of the sea.

3 Though the waters thereof roare, and be troubled, though the mountaines shake with the swelling thereof. Selah.

4 There is a riuer, the streames whereof shall make glad the citie of God: the holy place of the Tabernacles of the most high.

5 God is in the midst of her: she shall not be moued; God shall helpe her, † and that right early.

6 The heathen raged, the kingdomes were mooued: he vttered his voyce, the earth melted.

7 The L O R D of hosts is with vs; the God of Jacob is † our refuge. Selah.

8 Come, behold the workes of the L O R D, what desolations hee hath made in the earth.

9 He maketh warres to cease vnto the end of the earth: hee breaketh the bow, and cutteth the speare in sunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire.

10 Be stil, and know that I am God: I will bee exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.

11 The L O R D of hosts is with vs; the God of Jacob is our refuge. Selah.



THE LIFE OF SAMUEL WARD

by

Dr. Marshall Mason Knappen

Dr. Samuel Ward long occupied a prominent place in the established church. He was a canon and an archdeacon, a representative of the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, a chaplain to King James, and so much of a royalist as to be imprisoned by the parliamentarians who occupied Cambridge in 1643.

Yet he did write a Puritan diary.

The explanation of this paradox lies partly in the fact that there was, in reality, little difference in the fundamental aim between the Puritans and other Christians, but also in the well-known phenomenon that young radicals become old conservatives, a change sometimes more tersely referred to, in America, as the radical "fade-out." Many prominent churchmen of the early seventeenth century, including Lancelot Andrewes, experienced this cooling of zeal for Puritanism.

The document with which we are mainly concerned was written in Ward's late twenties while he was still under the influence of the two strongly Puritan foundations of Christ's and Emmanuel colleges, and before he had taken the tide of fortune at its flood. In order, therefore, to provide the proper setting for the diary, it is only necessary to tell the story of Ward's young and early manhood. Nevertheless, we have added to the main document some fragments of Ward's later devotional writing

which require a short sketch of his adult years. We have included this material because it throws light on the interesting question as to what parts of the Puritan attitude survived in the maturing conservative's prosperous days.

But, in any case, it would be advisable to re-tell the story of Ward's later years because of the errors in the accounts in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and elsewhere.

Readers familiar with the diary of Richard Rogers²² have noted that he has a stepson named Samuel Ward, who was a clergyman. Such will ask whether this Ward was the author of this present diary. The answer is in the negative, but since this Samuel Ward of Haverhill was also an author, a Puritan, and a fellow of Sidney Sussex College, it was inevitable that between the two there should be some confusion, which has shown itself in previous biographies.

Our diarist was a Durham man, born at Bishop Middleham near Sedgfield and baptized there, January 13, 1571/2.²³

The inimitable Thomas Fuller, who was Ward's pupil at Sidney Sussex College, tells us²⁴ that his father, John Ward, was "a Gentleman of more ancestry than Estate" — a fact borne out by the constant references in the diary to his son's need of money.

We do not know much more about his family except that there were at least four brothers and two married sisters²⁵, who seem to have given him more trouble than pleasure. While Ward speaks of a restitution having been made to his father, there was apparently little in the estate on his death, which occurred sometime after 1595, for the diarist notes God's goodness in permitting him to return to Cambridge afterwards. The chief burden of supporting the family seems to have fallen on Samuel,

²² Rogers, Richard. *Seeking A Settled Heart: The 16th Century Diary Of Puritan Richard Rogers*. Jacksonville, Fla. Bluefish Books. ©2007. 133 pages. Available at www.bluefishbooks.info.

²³ Venn, IV, 334.

²⁴ Thomas Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England*, ed. Nichols (2 vols., London, 1811), I, 333-34.

²⁵ A sister Penrith, mother of the fellow, receives twenty pounds in his will (Baker MSS, Cambridge University Library, XXVI, 197-98).

In Vol. LXXIV of the Tanner MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, p. 248, there is a reference to his sister Newton's son being absent from school during harvest because his mother had "imploiment."

and there are two references in his correspondence to his exertions on behalf of his nephews in school.²⁶

A third nephew named Penrith, who was stated to be a fellow of Sidney at the time of the writing of Ward's will,²⁷ no doubt also profited by his relationship to the Master. Almost at the end of his life Ward declared that most of his estate was spent in necessary books and in maintaining his poor kindred. In his will Ward forgave his brother George a debt of seventy pounds and his brother John "of all summes of money which he oweth to me." Peter was apparently the solvent brother, for he received a gift of fifty pounds. The fourth, Henry, who is mentioned in this diary as being at Cambridge, evidently pre-deceased him. There is also a reference in the diary to a poor cousin of whom we know nothing more.

We are not informed about how Ward happened to come to Christ's College. His remarks about his father's repentance on his deathbed were equally applicable in those days to the religious and irreligious, and we may take our choice between family influence or that of a friendly patron as being the determining factor in his going to Cambridge. In any case, there he went, and matriculated in March, 1588/9, not as a sizar, as we might expect, but as a pensioner, the class to which the upper middle-class students belonged.²⁸

By that time Dering was dead, but the great William Perkins was carrying on the Puritan tradition at Christ's. We know from the diary that Ward became a great admirer of Perkins, and he was unquestionably a thoroughgoing Puritan at this time.²⁹

²⁶ Tanner, LXXII, 307, mentions a brother's son at Eton. This may be the nephew Richard Ward who was willed a share in the lease of some Somerset lands.

²⁷ Not mentioned, however, in Venn, at least under that name.

²⁸ Peile, I, 195; Venn, *ut supra*. It is not the intention of this introduction to repeat information concerning student life in the sixteenth century which is already available elsewhere. For information on this point concerning Cambridge the reader is referred to the following works: David Masson, *Life of Milton* (7 vols.; New York, 1871); J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge* (3 vols.; Cambridge, 1884); *Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century* (London and Cambridge, 1867), by the same author; J. H. Marsden, *College Life in the Time of James the First as Illustrated by an Unpublished Diary of Sir Symonds D'Ewes* (London, 1851).

²⁹ "In the University he was very intimately acquainted with Mr. John Dodd and other Puritans, he himself being then counted one."

Otherwise we learn nothing of his undergraduate career except that he took his B.A. in 1592/3, and when the diary begins, in May of 1595, he is completing the second of the three years' residence then customary before proceeding to the M.A. degree, which he took the next year.

Our diarist seems always to have been fond of the university and very much desired to continue his career there.

To this there were two obstacles:

In the first place, there was a rule at the college that two men from the same county might not be fellows at the same time, and there was already a fellow from Durham at Christ's,³⁰ so that if Ward was to obtain a fellowship he must do it at some other college, a difficult task.

Second, to be a fellow he must take orders—though the rule was not always obeyed—and to the Puritan that meant a call to preach. Unfortunately, he had an impediment in his speech which caused him and others to doubt whether he had such a call.

Nevertheless he overcame all these difficulties. He secured a rather grudging approval of his plans from the authorities in his college, as he tells us in an interesting passage; and in January of 1597/8,³¹ after an agony of suspense which he also describes, he secured a fellowship at Emmanuel, the Puritan college recently founded by Sir Walter Mildmay, Elizabeth's Chancellor of the Exchequer.

After that date he was less conscientious about his diary, save in emergencies, and there are only a few scattering references to his life in Emmanuel before the main document ends in November, 1599.

After his success in the matter of the fellowship, he went from strength to strength in his university career.

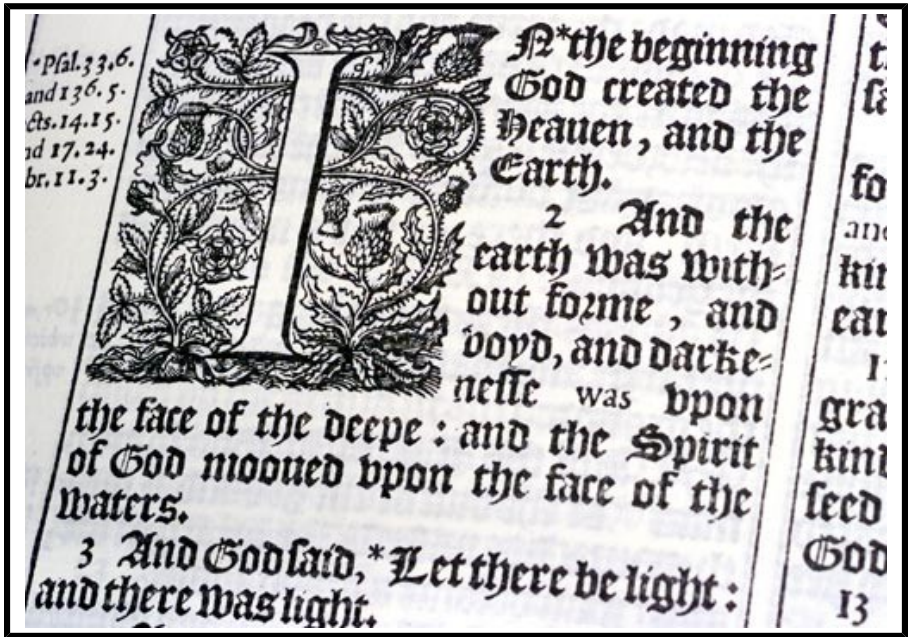
Upon the formation of the Cambridge committees for the preparation of the parts of the new Authorized Version of Bible assigned to that university, he was placed on the committee in

Chronological Account (M8S), III, 164 (314).

³⁰ Peile, I, 195.

³¹ Peile states (*ibid*) that the records of Emmanuel College show him to have been elected fellow in 1595, but notes that this diary makes such a fact very doubtful. The election occurred in January, 1597/8.

charge of the Apocrypha, and worked on the Prayer of Manasses and First and Second Maccabees³². This he seems to have regarded as entitling him to some further distinction, and possibly it had that effect.



On the ninth of January, 1609/10, one of the members of that wealthy class, which is always to be found behind the scenes directing ecclesiastical and educational appointments, named him master of an even newer foundation, Sidney Sussex College, an office which he held until his death thirty-three years later.³³

In 1620/21 he was vice-chancellor for the year, and in 1623 he was elected to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity, a position which he also retained for the remainder of his life.³⁴

It would seem that in Ward's case the transition from radicalism to conservatism took place in his early thirties, when he was enjoying his position as a fellow of Emmanuel and looking forward to better things.

³² Chronological Account, ut supra; Christopher Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible* (London, 1845), II, 377, n. 11.

³³ Peile, I, 191. His letter of thanks to Lady Anne Harrington, the wife of John Harrington, Lady Francis Sidney's nephew and one of the executors of the will, is in Tanner, LXXV, 317.

³⁴ Venn, IV, 334.

In the anti-Puritan movement of 1604/5 he was apparently undisturbed,³⁵ and shortly thereafter he embarked upon the most un-Puritanical course of joining living to living and office to office.

In February of 1607/8 he received a letter from the father-in-law of his old associate at Christ's, John Potts, offering him the rectory of Baconsthorpe.³⁶ Whether or not he accepted this we do not know, but another of his Christ's College contacts certainly served him well. The "Mr. Montague" of this diary was James Montagu, who belonged to a prominent Midlands family of the type of the Riches and Barringtons, who had little difficulty in securing from the church what they desired. James Montagu had accordingly been made Bishop of Bath and Wells—later he obtained the wealthier see of Winchester—and in July of 1608 we find Ward writing to his great friend James Ussher in this strain:

The Bishop [of Bath and Wells] sending for me and offering me a competency, in that kind I requested of him then when I was unprovided (being only fellow of Emmanuel) I could not neglect God's Providence and was advised hereunto by my best Friends.³⁷

Accordingly he goes on gracefully to refuse a request from Ussher to come over into Ireland and help him.

Just what this competency was we do not know, but about this time he was made the first chaplain to the Bishop and that may have been the office in question.³⁸ In this period the erstwhile Puritan also acquired, for fifty pounds, a living at Yatton, which, in a rather remarkable meditation in 1614, we find him planning to keep if he should be successful in an additional suit for the archdeaconry of

³⁵ Ussher, (*Reconstruction*, I, 259) states that Ward refused to subscribe the canons lest he offend the weaker brother, but he gives no reference, and in another passage (II, 14-16), this action is rightly assigned to Ward's correspondent, Bedell. The letters from Bedell to Ward in Tanner, LXXV, 126 ff., show that Ward at this time favored liberty in the matter of costume, though against the law, if it could be accomplished without scandal, but he was also open to argument on the subject.

³⁶ Tanner, LXXV, 247.

³⁷ Ward to Ussher, July 6, 1608, *The Whole Works of James Ussher*, Dublin, 1864 (cited hereafter as Ussher), ed. Elrington and Todd (17 vols.), XV, 53.

³⁸ He is so addressed in a letter from Richard Cudworth on Feb. 15, 1609/10 (Tanner, LXXV, 340v).

Bath. In this effort he failed, but consoled himself with the reminder that it was a working of God's special providence, and so resolved to "trust in God for relief" of his "wants, in His good time".

The Almighty's good time was not long in coming. The Venns and their tireless assistants, who somehow failed to chronicle the above facts, have contributed these facts on the remainder of his ecclesiastical career: "Archdeacon of Taunton, 1615-43; Prebend of Wells, 1615; Rector of Great Munden, Herts, 1616-35; Canon of York, 1617-43; and Rector of Terrington, Norfolk, 1638."³⁹

Furthermore, on January 26, 1616/7, he added the post of Canon Residentiary of Wells to his other offices in Montagu's diocese,⁴⁰ and sometime before the death of King James he also became one of the royal chaplains.

How many other preferments Ward may have held we do not know, but there are several references in his correspondence to other places with which he seems to have had some official connection.

This pluralism and nonresidence caused our diarist some unpleasantness, and some of it came from his own friends. There are letters in his correspondence from two men who, whether Puritans or not, apparently had the good of the church at heart. One, John Cooper, writes as follows:

I shall declare what—I not thinking of—I have heard by divers, and that of your non-residence, some of your friends, I know not whether they spake of it unto you, yet quipping at it behind your back, others of lower ranks wondering at it, and those whom I had thought never to have heard of it urging your example to induce others to it.⁴¹

He then goes on to quote the biblical passages concerning avoiding the appearance of evil, feeding the sheep, and the example of Paul, who was guiltless of the blood of all men.

³⁹ Venn, IV, 334.

⁴⁰ "1616/17 Jan. 27, Dr. Samuel Ward, Archdeacon of Taunton and prebend of Milverton I, elected a canon residentiary, on depositing 100 marks as caution money; he shall have no commons, nor any voice in the business of the chapter before October 1, 1618." Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells* (London, 1914), II, 372.

⁴¹ Tanner, CCXXX, 143 (no date).

Another acquaintance, Thomas Whitfield, in January, 1626/7, inquires pointedly:

How many of the worthies of our church, such as Grenham, Perkins, Rogers, and others, have contented themselves with a fourth part of your allowance?⁴²

Another friend, Richard Garbut, who was not quite so impartial a critic since he was looking for one of Ward's positions himself, sent this rather ambiguous expression of his good will to his old master:

God give you such a right improved use of them [the numerous offices] that they never do you more harm underground than ever they can do you or any man good above ground.⁴³



Archbishop William Laud in 1633

Ward also had difficulties on this point with Archbishop William Laud and Charles I, who did much more for the church than make Puritans uncomfortable. We have a petition from Ward to the King (evidently dated about 1634) requesting that he be excused from filling the requirements of his post as canon "residentiary," and a little later he writes thus to Ussher:

I entreated my Lord of Canterbury [Laud] to speak to the Dean of Wells that now is (who had sundry times excepted

⁴² Tanner, LXXII, 170v. There is a second letter on fol. 192.

⁴³ Tanner, LXXII, 167 (10 Jan. 1626/7).

against me for not residing three months per Annum as I should by Charter) which I nothing doubt but it was by his instigation. He promised me he would; but not having done it yet I repaired again to my Lord's Grace about it in November. But now he cannot for that his Majesty hath given him in charge to take account of the Bishops in his Providence how Residence is kept. I told him my Case was not every Man's Case; and that I had a benefice at which I desired to be in the Vacation-Time; but nothing would prevail, and yet, as I told him, I am every year at Wells sometimes a month or six weeks. I think they would have me out of my Professor's place and I could wish the same, if I could have one to succeed according to my mind [i. e., a Calvinist], for then I should have leisure to transcribe things. Well, howsoever, God's will be done, and He teach us Humility and Patience.⁴⁴

The matter seems to have dragged on, after the fashion of ecclesiastical court proceedings, for not until April 1, 1636, did the Chapter, acting at Laud's request, after Ward had appealed to the king himself, grant him a dispensation from half his required residence, which enabled him to retain the desired place.⁴⁵ Apparently he was compelled to disgorge his rectory in Hertfordshire, but the loss was soon remedied by the acquisition of the one in Norfolk three years later.

Part of Ward's justification for this shameful state of affairs can be seen in his interesting petition, probably to Laud, for exemption from the contribution levied on the clergy at the time of the Bishops' Wars⁴⁶.

There he lists his many services to the King, and pleads poverty. No doubt the incomes from many of his places were comparatively small, as a result of the plunder which the church had suffered in the preceding century, but the twenty pounds per annum which he admits receiving from his professorship alone was more than many clergy received for their entire labors. In spite of what he says about the gifts to his relatives, he did not die in poverty, though it is not possible to estimate the exact amount of his estate. He left the bulk of his property to his wife and

⁴⁴ Ward to Ussher, June 14, 1634 (Ussher, XV, 581).

⁴⁵ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Wells, ut supra*, II, 415.

⁴⁶ From the tone of Whitfield's second letter, it is evident that Ward took the same line of defense there.

stepdaughter as residuary legatees, but he nowhere specifies the total value. However, his gifts to his friends and relatives were reasonably large, judged by the standard of the other university wills of the period.⁴⁷

But if Ward fell away from the Puritan position on ecclesiastical discipline and organization, he held on grimly to the doctrinal Calvinism in which William Perkins had trained him. In 1604 he dedicated to the King an edition of the Calvinistic and anti-Catholic *Problema* of the great Puritan leader whom he regarded *in loco parentis*.

He was appointed one of the English representatives at the Synod of Dort in 1619, and, although careful not to assent to the discipline of the Continental churches, subscribed with his fellows the highly Calvinistic canons there adopted,⁴⁸ and ever after tried to defend them. It is true that in September, 1622, he wrote Ussher that he was lecturing, as Lady Margaret Professor, against Perron's doctrine of the Real Presence,⁴⁹ but he expended most of his energies in attacking the Catholics and Remonstrants alike on the equally abstruse question of the freedom of the will.

On January 12, 1625/6, he delivered a sermon *ad clerum* at St. Mary's on the text from Phil. 2:12-13 about working out one's salvation with fear and trembling, in which he dealt with the old question of the *posse* and the *velle*.⁵⁰ In May of 1628 he tells Ussher

⁴⁷ Baker, XXVI, 397-98. Evidently there was some property in his wife's family also, as the wardship of his stepdaughter was worth contesting (p. 122). Another thing that strikes the modern reader as peculiar is his disposing in his will of a "lease of some Lands in Somersetshire belonging to the corps of my Archdeaconry of Taunton, which I made lately my trust to Mr. Thomas Buck, Esq., Bedell of the University." Apparently the poverty of the church was not entirely due to the action of men in the previous century.

⁴⁸ Ward to Ussher, May 26, 1619 (Ussher, XV, 144-45).

⁴⁹ Op. cit., pp. 177-79.

⁵⁰ Published with the title *Gratia discriminants* (London, 1626). Aside from this one sermon and one other small work entitled *Suffragium* (London, 1633), against the Eemonstrants (in the Bodleian, not in the British Museum), Ward never published anything of his own, though Ussher urged him to do so (Ussher, XVI, 9-10). But before his death four of his younger colleagues at Cambridge—William Hodges, Edmund Matthews, Edward Gibson, and Seth Ward—arranged to prepare three of his works for the press. They were a treatise on justification, directed mostly against Bellarmine; his lectures on original sin; and a general anti-Roman Catholic work on marriage vows, grace, and other things. On his death the

that he had lectured for a year and a half to show, as he had maintained in his sermons, that "the Grace of Conversion giveth not only *posse converters* but also to *velle*", and this in spite of the fact that some were inclined to look towards Arminianism "because Preferments at Court are conferred upon such as incline that way."⁵¹ Other traces of his possessing the courage of his convictions on this subject may be seen in his licensing the work of Carleton against the Arminian, Richard Montagu,⁵² and in protests made against sermons along that line preached in Cambridge.⁵³ We are also told that there were no innovations in ritual at Sidney during his mastership. In fact, the chapel remained unconsecrated, with the table in front of the chancel, after the Puritan fashion.⁵⁴

All in all, we conclude that he was firm and sometimes outspoken in his doctrinal position, but not an extremely vigorous controversialist. He was not far wrong in concluding one petition to his superiors with the statement that "my life, and all that know me, can testify for me, that I have studied peace and have withstood any disturbance in the Church, to my most ability"

But it would be a great mistake to picture Ward only as the churchman and the theologian. The scholar and the correspondent also demand attention. Reference has frequently been made to his letters to Ussher. These and many from the Archbishop of Armagh to him are in the printed edition of Ussher's works.

manuscripts were given to his friend Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, who was unable, however, to publish them in the troublesome times that followed. But in 1656 or 1657 Seth Ward obtained them once more, and in the following year put them out under the title of *Opera nonnulla*. See the Preface of that work, *Ad lector*, A. 3. Another work worth mentioning in this connection is one entitled *Baptismatis infantilis* (1653), which professes to be an account of a discussion on infant baptism between Thomas Gataker and Ward. The work on the loadstone, *Uagnetis reductormm*, attributed to him in the *British Museum Catalogue* and the *DNB*, is by his namesake of Ipswich. See the English translation.

⁵¹ Ward to Ussher, May 16, 1628 (Ussher, XV, 402-4).

⁵² William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1646), p. 159. Ward was never chaplain to Richard Montagu as the *DNB* has it, but to James Montagu, as we have seen. Richard was apparently no relation to James (Venn, III, 201-2). The chief attack on Richard Montagu according to the work cited in the *DNB* was made by Samuel Ward of Ipswich, not our diarist (Henry Hickman, *Historia quinq-articularis exarticulata* (London, 1674), p. 229).

⁵³ Ward to Ussher, June 14, 1634 (Ussher, XV, 579) ; Prynne, p. 192. This protest was made in 1637, not 1627 as in the *DNB*.

⁵⁴ G. M. Edwards, *Sidney Sussex College* (London, 1899), p. 100.

Another of his correspondents was the learned Vossius, canon of Canterbury, and some of Ward's letters occur in the printed *Epistolae* of that scholar. A few others from people like Bishop Hall and Bedell were printed in Godfrey Goodman's *Court of King James the First*.⁵⁵

But very many more of Ward's letters are still unpublished in the Tanner Collection at the Bodleian, the source from which most of those in the Ussher and Goodman collections were obtained. They are mostly letters to Ward, from a great number of acquaintances and friends, including many continental scholars, and they cover a wide range of subjects. Some are news letters recording such political events as the early hostilities of the Thirty Years' War. Others refer to ecclesiastical or academic positions which were open. Questions of theology and "cases of conscience" make up another group.

But a large number are concerned with matters of scholarship. One, from another source, which has been published⁵⁶, shows Ward's interest in scientific matters (cf. the references in the diary to his globe and the crocodile), for it is to the great William Harvey stating that he is sending a petrified skull for the King's inspection.

But, on the whole, biblical and patristic subjects occupied his attention. Ussher and Bedell especially were interested in the early history of the church, and were constantly writing him for books or references, and discussing at great length various interpretations of the different documents.⁵⁷ There is here a great mine of material on the subject of seventeenth-century scholarship, which is still to be worked.

Mention should also be made in this connection of Ward's reputation as a scholar and teacher. Somewhere Morrice's amanuensis⁵⁸ found it stated that he was a scholar of clear

⁵⁵ London, 1839.

⁵⁶ No title-page (*British Ifitsenm Catalogue*, no. 549. 6. 25).

⁵⁷ Anglo-Saxon was not outside his range of interests. Abraham Wheelock, or Wheeloc, mentions his assistance in his edition of Bede (1643, B. 1).

⁵⁸ Morrice M. Section XIII, p. 10. For a sketch of Morrice and the history of his manuscripts, see Albert Peel, *Seconde Parte of a Register* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1915), I, 1-20, and the article by the same author in *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, V (1912), 298-300. cf. pp. 370-371.

judgment and of great skill in the languages, especially the Hebrew;⁵⁹ and Episcopius, the Continental theologian, considered him the most learned of the English divines at the Synod of Dort.⁶⁰ Fuller, who had been an undergraduate in his college, has this to say of his old teacher:

He was a Moses, not only for slowness of speech [probably a reference to his impediment], but otherwise meekness of nature. Indeed when in my private thoughts I have beheld him and Dr. Collins (disputable whether more different or more eminent in their endowments), I could not but remember the running of Peter and John to the place where Christ was buried—Dr. Collins had much the speed of him in quickness of parts, but let me say (nor doth the relation of a pupil misguide me), the other pierced the deeper into the underground and profound points of divinity.⁶¹

Seth Ward, who was no relation, though a favorite pupil, was even more affectionate in his comments. In telling how Samuel Ward first taught him to study at the age of fifteen, he dubs him *sanctissimus et longe profundissimus*, and speaks lovingly of the old days at Sidney when Morton, later Bishop of Durham, John Davenant, later Bishop of Salisbury, Ussher, and Brownrigg were in his company.⁶² That Ward enjoyed the acquaintance of these, and the many others mentioned in his correspondence, is clear evidence of his ability to make and retain friends. So far as we know, he had no enemies save those who objected to the number of his offices.

Ward did not marry until late in life, sometime between 1621 and 1625, as the diary indicates. From an entry in the latter year we gather that his wife was a widow with a child by a former marriage, and we know from Ward's will that her former name was Birchmore or Birchmeir, but whether she was the subject of the forebodings of four years before we cannot say. At his funeral she was referred to as a paragon of virtues, a delight in prosperity, and

⁵⁹ Chronological Account (MSS), *ut supra*.

⁶⁰ John Hacket, *A. Centurie of Sermotis*, ed. John Plume, D. D. (London, 1675), p. xxvi.

⁶¹ *History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. Prickett and Wright (Cambridge, 1840), pp. 319-20.

⁶² Samuel Ward, *Opera nonrmlia, Ad lector*, A. 2.

a solace in adversity, which we mention for what such remarks may be worth.⁶³

Our diarist's last years were clouded by the troubles attendant upon the opening of the Civil War. Fuller tells us:

He turned with the Times as a Rock riseth with the Tide—in a word he was counted a Puritan before these times and Popish in these times; and yet, being always the same, was a true Protestant at all times,⁶⁴

In 1641 he was one of a group of sixteen bishops and divines called together by the House of Lords to arrange a compromise on the ecclesiastical points at issue between the contending parties. The meetings took place in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, but nothing came of them⁶⁵. Ward was a strong supporter of the Crown in the trouble of the time, but was unwilling to contribute any of his personal funds to the royal cause. Sidney College, however, under his leadership, made a gift to the King in 1642⁶⁶

In the following year, he was one of two nominated by the House of Divines to represent Cambridge University at the Westminster Assembly, "but he sate not being then very ancient and weakly."⁶⁷

There was another reason.

The Assembly was to meet on the first day of July, but towards the end of March he was arrested⁶⁸ for refusing a loan to the Parliamentarians who had occupied Cambridge under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, a former member of Ward's college⁶⁹ who would later become Lord Protector of Britain.

⁶³ Harleian 7034, fol. 260.

⁶⁴ Worthies of England, I, 337.

⁶⁵ Fuller, *Church History of Great Britain*, XI, 46.

⁶⁶ G. M. Edwards, *Sidney Sussex College*, p. 106.

⁶⁷ Peile, I, 191; William Hetherington, *History of the Westminster Assembly* (New York, 1843), p. 97. Chronological Account, *ut supra*.

⁶⁸ Baker's extracts from Theophilus Dillingham's diary (Harleian 7048, fol. 390) indicate that he was taken prisoner on March 21, but note that he preached in St. Mary's six days later. Letters from Eichard Holdsworth of March 30 and June 7 (Tanner, LXII, 23, 107) indicate that he was released and then rearrested.

⁶⁹ He had been an undergraduate at Sidney, under Ward, in 1616.



Samuel Ward was kept in custody in St. John's College, whither the faithful Seth Ward accompanied him. He was not released until the beginning of August.⁷⁰ Fuller remarks that "as high winds bring some men the sooner into sleep, so I conceive the storms and tempests of these distracted times invited this good old man the sooner to his long rest."

On the thirtieth of the same month he was taken ill in chapel, and he died about one o'clock in the morning on September 7, 1643.⁷¹ His last words were "God bless the King and my Lord Hopton," who was then commanding the royalist army in the west.⁷²

The funeral was not held until the thirtieth of November, when a contemporary diarist tells us "Bishop Brownrig preached on Job 19:25-27. Mr. Mole, public orator, made the speech in St. Maries; Mr. Hodges in the College. The Earl of Manchester was present. After all was done, a Banquet. Six of the Fellows had

⁷⁰ Walter Pope's "Life of Seth Ward" in S. H. Casson, *Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherburn and Salisbury* (Salisbury and London, 1824), Part II, p. 41.

⁷¹ Harleian 7048, fol. 39a.

⁷² Pope, *loc. cit.*

mourning Gowns, the rest gloves only."⁷³ He was buried in the college chapel,⁷⁴ where, in Fuller's phrase, we may "fairly leave him and quietly draw the curtains about him".

⁷³ Harleian 7048, fol. 39o. The fulsome but rather vague eulogies may be found in Harleian 7037, pp. 258-65, 268-77. This volume has no foliation.

⁷⁴ Fuller, *Worthies, ut supra*, states that he was the "first man buried in Sidney College Chapel," but it is not now possible to locate his monument. The chapel has been recently restored, and while an at empt was made to preserve all existing memorials, apparently his was not among them.



THE DIARY OF SAMUEL WARD

Undated. Pride, Desire of vainglory, yea, in little things. Wearisomness in God's service. Non affection. No delight in God's service. No care of exhorting my brethren. Non boldness in the professing of God's name. No delight in hearing God's Word, or in prayer, or in receiving of the Sacraments. Shame in serving God.

May 11, 1595. Remember thy dullness in the morning in prayer. Remember thy little affection in hearing Mr. Chatterton's⁷⁵ good sermon upon the 34th verse of the 25th chapter of Matthew. Remember thy adulterous thoughts that day. My backwardness in calling to mind the sermons that day. My backwardness in exhorting Sir Sharp⁷⁶. Remember nevertheless the good motions of God's Spirit in thy mind. My anger against Mr. Newhouse⁷⁷ for his long prayers.

May 12, 1595. Remember my evil thoughts of Mr. Newhouse when I heard him beginning to expound a place in Ecclesiastes. My negligence in not coming to prayers, and my little care for the same.

Think, my soul, if thou were in Turkey, thou would be glad to have them to pray with, as little account as thou now makest thereof.

⁷⁵ Laurence Chatterton or Chaderton, formerly a fellow of Christ's, but at this time Master of Emmanuel College. His wife was a sister of the Ezekiel Culverwel who is mentioned in the Rogers diary. See *DNB*.

⁷⁶ Ward's roommate, Isaac Sharp, later rector of Thorpe-juxta-Newark, Notts.

⁷⁷ Thomas Newhouse, Ward's tutor. "Suspected of Puritanism"; fellow of Christ's 1594-99; later minister at St. Andrew's, Norwich.

May 13, 1595. My little pity for the boy who was whipped in the hall.⁷⁸ My desire of preferment over much. My adulterous dream.

Think thou, my soul, how that this is not our home in this world, in which we are strangers, one not knowing another's speech and language. Think how bad a thing it is to go to bed without prayer, and remember to call on God at going to our prayers in the Chapel.

May 16, 1595. My wandering mind in the Chapel at prayers.

May 17, 1595. My wandering mind on herbals at prayer time, and at common place. Also thy gluttony the night before.

May 19, 1595. My impatience in respect of my disease.⁷⁹ Being the First Day, thou read of thy disease in Piso.⁸⁰ And of thy surmisings of Mr. Newhouse that day when we were speaking against them that sought praise, as we were coming down Gogmagog.⁸¹

Think, my soul, how grievous a thing it is to be sick in body, learn thereby to think of health as of *a* great benefit. Remember thy restiveness, and remember to refer the health of thy body more to the praise of God.

May 22, 1595. My pride, which I took in every little action. My negligence in stirring up my brethren in Christianity. My cowardice in Christianity, in exhorting other's to the same. My fighting with S. J.⁸² as we went to bed and my *excandescencia*⁸³ against him in words before.

May 23, 1595. How I could not get out of my self no good meditations against pride. Of my thought of pride in Mr. Pirkins⁸⁴

⁷⁸ It was customary to punish the younger members of the college corporally. The older ones were fined (Masson I, 135).

⁷⁹ Probably Ward's speech difficulty.

⁸⁰ Nieolaus Piso, *De cognoscendis et curandis praecipue internis humani corporis morbis* (Frankfort-am-Main, 1580).

⁸¹ Gogmagog Hills, four miles southeast of Cambridge, are named after the biblical characters. In D'Ewes' time they were in ill repute as a scene of bull-baiting and the like (Marsden, p. 309).

⁸² Apparently for a short time the roommate of Ward and Sharp but unidentifiable.

⁸³ Blazing out.

⁸⁴ The famous Puritan fellow of Christ's. See *DNB*.

chamber. The good will that Mr. Pirkins showed me. My sleeping without remembering my last thought, which should be of God.

May 24, 1595. My rising without thinking on God. My irksomeness and unwillingness to pray. The goodness of God to me in blessing my prayers, and in giving me grace in some acceptable manner in calling upon Him. Remember this, my soul, when thou feelest little effect in prayer.

Remember to be diligent in thanksgiving, being a thing so acceptable to God, and for which David⁸⁵ was counted a man after God's own heart. Remember thy cowardice in exhorting W. J. at Royston⁸⁶ to prayer when I was with Mr. Bourne.⁸⁷ My inability to think a good thought when I waked in the night.

May 25, 1595. Think how blockish men are that never think of God and their salvation. Remember God's mercy toward thee, in giving thee grace at the end of thy prayer to pray hardily unto Him; whereas in the beginning, thou wast blockish. Thy unwillingness to pray and thy backwardness to any good exercise of Christianity.

Think of the good motion which God put in thy mind, that is of the forwardness and backwardness to serve God. How that it is a very preposterous thing, that seeing God hath set us in this world, especially to serve and glorify Him, and how that nothing conduceth more to the true service and glory of God than often to hear His Word, to call upon Him, and other such Christian exercises, yet for a man to be weary of this service, yea to think it much to call twice a day upon God, or to serve Him one day in a week. A man must therefore labour above all things for alacrity in God's service. And I must learn to desire more after the Sundays than Monday.

May 26, 1595. How God gave this morning, being Sunday before thou rise, some good meditation against wearisomeness in God's service. Thy dullness this day in hearing God's Word. Thy carelessness and impotency in exhorting thy Christian brethren. Thy unwillingness to pray. The little affection which I had in praying in S. J. study.

⁸⁵ Ward originally wrote *Moyses*, but evidently consulted his Bible and made the proper correction.

⁸⁶ A town some ten miles southwest of Cambridge, the seat of several fairs.

⁸⁷ William Bourne or Burne, M. A. from Christ's, 1592; later fellow of St. John's.

Remember, my soul, thy promise now, when thou art not well, how, if God restore thee to health, thou wilt be careful to perform all Christian duties. Remember this.

May 27, 1595. Thy overmuch delight in the transitory pleasures of this world.

May 28, 1595. How it pleased God to deny me the sense of my sins from me in my prayer, howsoever I called often for the sight thereof, but I must attribute it to my own want in prayer. How it pleased God to give thee insight into the state of salvation at thy evening prayers. Thy conceit of God, not as He is — omnipotent, omnipresent, most just, most good, most merciful.

May 29, 1595. How it pleased God to give you grace to pray in the morning. How that upon Mr. Nowel's⁸⁸ death we took occasion, M. W., Sir Sharp and I, to talk much upon the vanity of this life. My negligence in calling to mind Mr. Sheaf's sermon.

May 30, 1595. My negligence in my studies. My ignorance in a special point of divinity, of our sanctification. How that I can hardly be brought to make profession of God externally. How it pleased God to give me grace to call upon Him at night.

May 31, 1595. My not feeling of the reverence which I ought to have in the sight of God. My want of preparation for the Sabbath ensuing.

June 1, 1595. My late rising in the morning to sanctify the Sabbath. My negligence all that day, and idleness in performing the duties of the Sabbath. My want in not meditating sufficiently on the creatures, as also in prayer. My by-talk in the bed of other matters than are meet to be talked of on the Sabbath.

My ill dream.

June 2, 1595. My idleness in not rising to prayers. My little care of God in the morning and thinking on Him. My desire of vain glory, when we were gathering herbs with Mr. Downam,⁸⁹ wherby I might see how prone when occasion is given *superbire*.⁹⁰ My careless hearing at Mr. Newhouse catechising.

⁸⁸ Robert Nowell, a fellow of King's, died in this year, at the age of twenty-seven.

⁸⁹ George Downame or Downham, fellow, 1587-96; logician, later Bishop of Derry.

⁹⁰ The verb form of *superbia*, pride, the first of the medieval deadly sins.

June 3, 1595. My not rising to prayers.

June 4, 1595. My overmuch quipping and desire of praise thereby. My negligence in my calling. My forgetfulness in noting my sinnes.

June 8, 1595. My negligence in preparing myself for the receiving of the Sacrament. My negligence in exhorting Nevinson⁹¹ to the reverent receiving of the Sacrament. My hardness of heart when I should have prayed.

How, notwithstanding my heart was hard, yet it pleased God to give me some comfort in calling upon Him. Think if thou cannot receive Christ by faith, in the Sacrament, if thou cannot take delight in hearing God's word, or in keeping His Sabbath, that commeth of my negligence in preparation by prayer, or because that thou had long time before estranged thy heart from thinking upon God and good things. God's providence over me, being put out of commons one whison⁹² eve, in sending me the same day money to get me in again.

God make me thankful. How that I ought often to remember how I am placed in a most excellent place for knowledge and grace, and therefore to be careful to spend my time well. My evil thoughts at the sermon time. Think often upon Hebrews 11:25 *et* 26, the example of Moses.

June 9, 1595. The rising of my corruption in conference with Mr. Newhouse at supper. My idleness at the repetition of the sermons, as also in prayer that night. Think of the humility wherunto Mr. Dickenson's wife was brought to, who thought a little before her death that she was not worthy to enjoy the air.

Think how good a man Mr. Chadderton is, who hath such a living affection to the poor, which is a certain token of a sound Christian.

June 10, 1595. Thy sin in not going to Mr. Newhouse prayers, with thy scandal to Mr. Huchinson and Sir Sharpes thereby.

June 11, 1595. Thy sin of pride, being with Mr. Briggs⁹³ in Burwell his shop. Thy sin of pride coming thorough the court, the

⁹¹ Roger Nevinson matriculated as a pensioner in 1591/2. and was therefore two years junior to Ward. The son of Thomas Nevinson of Eastry, Kent, he was knighted in 1604; B. A. in 1595/6.

⁹² Whitsunday.

same day at night. Thy neglect in calling upon God that day. Thy by-thoughts at prayer the same evening.

June 12, 1595. My sin in not giving the priority of my thoughts to my God. Remember above all things to desire a distinct sight of thy principal thoughts and sins. My anger at Sir Glover⁹⁴ for not coming soon enough to Mr. Newhouse's chamber, never considering that he might have a just excuse — as he had indeed.

June 13, 1595. My wandering thoughts at the common place.

Remember always at the hearing of God's word to be applying the things delivered always to thy self, and so by-thoughts will take less place. My thoughts of pride in going in the street, as also my evil thoughts and im . . . [*sic*],

June 14, 1595. My negligence in not calling upon God before I went to the Chapel, and the little desire I had there to call on God, and my drowsiness in God's service.

My sins even throughout the whole day, being Sunday:

1. My negligence aforesaid.
2. My hearing of the sermon without that sense which I should have had.
3. In not praying God to bless it to me afterward.
4. In not talking of good things at Dinner being the Posteriorum Day.⁹⁵
5. In the immoderate use of God's creatures.
6. In sleeping immediately after dinner.
7. In not preparing me to sermon till it told.
8. In sluggish hearing of God's word, and that for my great dinner.
9. In hearing another sermon sluggishly.

⁹³ Probably Henry Briggs, fellow of St. John's. He was a distinguished mathematician and later Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. There are letters from him to Ward in the Tanner MSS.

⁹⁴ Thomas Glover, who evidently replaced S. J. as Ward's roommate; later chaplain to the Puritan Countess of Warwick and rector of Malden, Beds.

⁹⁵ A day set aside for exercises in the *Posterior Analytics* of Aristotle.

10. In returning home and omitting our repetition of sermons by reason that my countryman Ewbanck was with me.

11. In not exhorting him to any good thing

12. In not going to evening prayers.

13. In supping liberally, never remembering our poor brethren.

14. In not taking order to give the poor women somewhat at 7 a'clock.

15. My dullness in stirring of my brother to Christian meditations.

16. My want of affections in hearing the sermons repeated.

17. My sluggishnes in prayer —

— And thus sin I daily against Thee, O Lord.

June 15, 1595. My thought of pride at reading of Greek, concerning the teaching of my auditores⁹⁶ the Greek accentus. .

June 16, 1595. My ill thought of Mr. Clark⁹⁷ for suspecting that he was the cause why Mr. Snowden⁹⁸ had lectures, notwithstanding he had promised Snowden.... My anger at Sir Smith in the hall at dinner, for denying that purgations do purg by attraction..

June 18, 1595 My great want of modesty at Mr. Hudson's act, as also my want of pity, which should rather have wept than laughed....

June 19, 1595. My want of preparation before I went to the common place. As my mind running at Mr. Newhous prayer of preferment..

June 21, 1595. My too-much drinking after supper, my idle talk with Tunstal⁹⁹ of Durham matters..

⁹⁶ Though only a B. A., Ward was assisting some of the fellows in their teaching.

⁹⁷ Richard Clark, fellow, 1583-98, later prebend of Canterbury, and with Ward one of the translators of the Authorized Version. He belonged with Snoden to the anti-Puritan faction in the college.

⁹⁸ Robert Snoden, elected fellow, 1589; later Bishop of Carlisle.

⁹⁹ Christopher Tunstall, matriculated 1592/3; later rector of Peperharrow, Surrey.

June 22, 1595. My immoderate diet in eating cheese — very hurtful for my body at 3 a'clock...

June 24, 1595. My no care for Morton¹⁰⁰, thinking that I am as good as he, at what time he looked sourly at me, for that I had complained to his tutor of him. My vile thought of pride coming in at the gates when Brus beckoned to me..

June 25, 1595 My unfruitful spending of money that day I went down the river to Chesterton¹⁰¹.

June 26, 1595 My hard dealing with my Taylor..

June 27, 1595 My going to drink wine, and that in the Tavern, before I called upon God..

July 2, 1595 My not remembering of the poor this Commensment

July 4, 1595. My slackness in going to prayer, also my pride of heart when I was teaching Meres.

Lord, I thank Thee for the good meditation I had on the green balk¹⁰² on our back side.

July 5, 1595. Good Lord, grant that now after Mr. Pirkins departure¹⁰³ there follow no ruin to the college, seeing that some of the fellows begin to use such pollicy without any care of the future good of the college.

July 6, 1595. My forwardness in hearing the fellows talk under my window, in the sight of my chamberfellows..

July 7, 1595. The running of my mind upon the Fellowship all the day long, and my *indolentia* for this house, Mr. Greves¹⁰⁴ or Mr. Chaytor¹⁰⁵ being like to have the fellowship.

¹⁰⁰ John Morton, matriculated 1592/3; not the Morton with whom Ward was so friendly in later years (see Introd., p. 47).

¹⁰¹ A parish on the Cam in the northeast suburbs of Cambridge.

¹⁰² The strip of turf which separated the narrow divisions of the open fields of that day.

¹⁰³ Perking married in 1595, and so forfeited his fellowship.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Graves or Greaves. He was the successful candidate (see the entry for July 20). Ward obviously disliked him. Though removed from his fellowship, he became a lecturer at St. Andrew's, Norwich.

¹⁰⁵ Ralph Chater or Chaytor. He failed by reason of being out of residence and not "pauperimus".

July 8, 1595 Also my immoderate laughter in the Hall at acts at 9 aclock.

July 9, 1595 Our ill talk of Mr. Bolton¹⁰⁶ after supper

July 11, 1595...My unthankfulness to God for sending me money, whereas I knew not how to pay for my supper, and how after supper I had half a crown given me. Of my dissembling with Sir Graves when we talked on the balk.

July 12, 1595...My negligence in fasting, whereas I had purposed it. Also my over-great myrth at after Noone, notwithstanding I ought to have been sory, both for the imminent danger¹⁰⁷ which was to befall our college, as also of the unseasonable weather which was like to cause a dearth.

July 13, 1595...My liberal diet where rather I should have fasted, great danger being imminent...

July 14, 1595... My falling out with Sir Sharp at later table about dividence.¹⁰⁸

July 15, 1595...My incontinent thoughts at Hobson's.¹⁰⁹ My over-great mirth as we went to Hynton.¹¹⁰...

July 16, 1595. My little providence in preventing the stone, being a disease whereunto I am subject...

July 20, 1595... My too-much obsequency and flattery of Mr. Greaves, now being fellow.

July 24, 1595. My little consideration in my compleyning of Nevinson. My over-much mirth at bowling after supper. Also how I had almost hurt Mr. Pott....

July 26, 1595. Remember how I purposed this day, hereafter to go soon to bed, and on Saturday at night, and to rise soon on Sunday, and that at the remembrance of the example of Mr. Burne... My want of talk of good matters at dinner time.

¹⁰⁶ William Bolton, fellow, 1593-99. Though one of Ward's benefactors, Ward came to consider him an evil influence.

¹⁰⁷ In the matter of the election of an unworthy fellow.

¹⁰⁸ Probably of food.

¹⁰⁹ The famous liveryman of "Hobson's choice" fame.

¹¹⁰ Originally a nearby village. Now a section of Cambridge.

We are justly here punished in our college, because in the time of prosperity we bragged of our good estate too much, and also abused it, not taking occasion thereat to glorify God's name..

Sept. 14, 1595. My running thoughts of buying Carion, after I had gotten money, all that night. And my want in applying the word to me that day.

Sept. 15, 1595. My *crapula*¹¹¹ in eating pears in a morning and other things which might have diminished my health. And also my too-much gluttony at dinner time. My unfitness to do any thing after dinner. My anger in disputing with Sir Huchinson. Also my not giving of my last thought to God.

Sept. 16, 1595... My forgetfulness to write to my friends out of Cambridg, as to Mr. Allenson.¹¹² No doubt they will forget me when I am gone, and that justly.. My lieing to Mr. Huchinson and Sir Sharp in Kings College yard, for my gloves. My negligence instructing my brother Henry¹¹³ on the Sabaoth.

Oct. 3, 1595... My immoderate eating of walnuts and cheese after supper, whereby I did distemper my body....

Nov. 6, 1595. My dissembling with Mr. Bourn about his cittern.¹¹⁴ Also my pride in doing things in geometry...

Feb. 1, 1595/6... Oh the greivous sins in Trinity College, which had a woman which was carried from chamber to chamber in the night time.

My adulterous dream that night.

Feb. 2, 1595/6. My unthankfulness for the money which was given me that day. My want of the consideration of God's providence in sending me money when I wanted money to take physick

Feb. 9, 1595/6. How ashamed I was when I could not well answer an argument in the Hall at moderating, and yet I cannot be

¹¹¹ Surfeit.

¹¹² John Allenson, fellow of St. John's and a famous Puritan (see *DNB*), is probably the person here mentioned. Apparently he was out of Cambridge at this time. His death is mentioned in Ward's correspondence (Tanner MSS, LXXIV, 246, February 13, 1619/20).

¹¹³ Matriculated as a pensioner from Christ's in 1593. We know little else of him except for the reference in 1625.

¹¹⁴ Cithern, the musical instrument.

ashamed for my sins. How I magnified myself inwardly, being with Mr. Dillingham¹¹⁵ at fyre...

Feb. 10, 1595/6. Seeing I do not profit by the Lord's afflictions upon me, what can I hope but either that the afflictions should be multiplied, or else that I shall grow to hardness of heart.

Feb. 14, 1595/6... My anger at Mr. Greaves for his reprehension of Mr. Newhouse about the surplice. Also my anger at Mr. Snowden and Mr. Clark for punishing me.

Feb. 15, 1595/6... I learned a good lesson out of 14 John. 4 and 5 verses, that day, that Thomas, although he had much attributed him, yea of Christ our Saviour, yet in humility he debased himself, not acknowledging it but confessing his own infirmity, as the woman of Canaan did..

Feb. 17, 1595/6... My reioycing at Hovels evil success...

Feb. 19, 1595/6. My thought of pride as I went to the Priorums.¹¹⁶ My over-rash iudgment of Mr. Latham his death, to Mr. Brigs..

Feb. 20, 1595/6. My confused lecture which I read to my audiores. My want of meditation of Christ when I ly down to sleep.

Feb. 21, 1595/6... My impatency when Hobson told me he had non letters for me

June 16, 1595/6. Remember how thou wast pensive all the day, and could not be cheerfull till thou went forth and in meditation humbled thyself before God. O, that I could be so sorry for my sins as for my outward afflictions.

Remember how that afterward although thou was sore bond yet it pleased God to ease thee.

June 28, 1596. My carelesness in not preventing going so often to Emanuell College.¹¹⁷ My negligence in reading to Mr. Bolton his pupils, not discharging my duty herein.

¹¹⁵ Francis Dillingham, fellow of Christ's, 1594-1601; one of the Translators (see *DNB*).

¹¹⁶ Exercises on the *Prior Analytics* of Aristotle were required of all who were taking their B. A. degree (Masson I, 118; see note on June 14, 1595).

¹¹⁷ Where he had hopes of becoming a fellow.

June 30, 1596. My anger at Sir Sharp for that he found fault with me for sweeping the table with the brush

July 18, 1596. Also think how intemperate thou was in eating so many plums before supper, and think how thou mightest have prevented it if thou hadst gone out of the orchard when thou met Mr. Newhouse, and learn to avoid even the occasion of sin. Also thy pride in thinking so well of thyself for the objection about Christ's intercession. . . .

July 19, 1596. My drowsines in reading Ursinus. My anger and ill speches to Mr. Pot¹¹⁸ about giving his voice in baring us out of the orchard. Also my gluttony in eating plums and raisins and drinking so much after supper..

July 20, 1596. My anger at Mr. Newhouse for that he would come and go with us into the orchard.

July 21, 1596. Also my pride in walking in the midst of the orchard when St. John's men were there.

July 22, 1596. My anger with Sir Sharp for reading so long in Ursinus. Also my anger with the Manciple¹¹⁹ for not taking in my sizing.¹²⁰ Also my grief for being excluded out of the orchard, considering it is good to suffer some little troubles that we might the better suffer great ones.

July 23, 1596. Also for eating so many plums, although thou heard that many died of surfetes..

July 27, 1596. The occasion which I offered Mr. Newhouse of anger at our door. Also my waywardness in not being willing to go with him to the Mapp clother.

July 28, 1596. My proud thought of myself in chronology, preferring myself to Mr. House.¹²¹ My over-bold spech to Mr. Montagu of Mr. Bainbridg, saying he was in his coler when he put us out of the orchard. Also my anger at them who would not throw over our boule¹²² in the orchard. Also at Mr. Newhouse for throwing over the stick..

¹¹⁸ Thomas Pott or Potts, fellow, 1596-1602.

¹¹⁹ Cook.

¹²⁰ Rations.

¹²¹ Probably Walter Howse, fellow of Queens, a prominent disputant in the schools; later vicar of St. Andrew's, Cambridge.

¹²² Ball.

July 30, 1596. My impatiency in respect of my disease, considering Dr. Butler,¹²³ his words..

July 31, 1596. My anger at Mr. Sharp and Mr. Newhouse for calling me in jest Kyte. Also my ill defense of wearing velvet at [Hartes?], and my too-base thought of Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Pirkins.

Aug. 1, 1596... My hardness toward my poor Cosen.¹²⁴

Aug. 2, 1596... My study for writing somewhat in the Danes book,¹²⁵ and little care for better matters. How that I was not so affected as I ought to have been when I beheld the great rain, how I could not once fall down before God for it?

Aug. 8, 1596. Also my longing after damsens¹²⁶ when I made my vow not to eat in the orchard. Oh, that I could so long after God's graces.

Aug. 12, 1596. Also my anger at Mr. Newhouse at supper for saying he had eaten all the bread.

Aug. 13, 1596. Also my anger, almost, with Mr. Newhouse because he would know the particular cause why I went not to bowles. Also my intemperate eating of damzens. Also my intemperate eating of cheese after supper.

Aug. 14, 1596. My long sleeping in the morning, and my negligence in making the Analysis of the Chapter.

Aug. 16, 1596.. Also my anger at Mr. Sharp for not fetching our parts. Also my negligence and sleepiness in reading the Bible. Also my anger in that he called so often for his candle.

Aug. 17, 1596. Also my bragging, as it were of a fellowship, which is but an earthly vanity.

¹²³ Probably the celebrated physician, William Butler (see *DNB*).

¹²⁴ We do not know who this relation was (see the entry for August 29).

¹²⁵ Probably the work of the famous logician Daneus, much studied at Cambridge at this time (J. B. Mullinger, *Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century*, London & Cambridge, 1867, p. 50).

¹²⁶ Damzens are a kind of small plum. The form *damsel* (which occurs in the unprinted portions of the diary) is not in the *NED*.

Aug. 21, 1596. My anger at Bainbrid¹²⁷ both for denying that he lost the brasen rings of my globe, also because he upbraided me with the ii *d.* And also my long sleeping in the morning.

Aug. 25, 1596.. My extreeme anger the day before at John Mourton for taking the axeltree out of my globe.

Aug. 27, 1596.. Also my pride in thinking of the new college, whereas it is not likely I should have any place there. Also my stomaching of Cuthbert and Holland againe, and my grudging at their remembrance of my disease..

Aug. 29, 1596 Also with my Cosen for a while, till God stirred me up to better.

Sept. 3, 1596. My complaining to Mr. Pott and Mr. Glover of Mr. Huchinson, and my proud thoughts with Mr. Montague¹²⁸ when he said we should go see the crocodile. Also my proud and wild thoughts in that I had so many places offered, as one by Sir Hornby. Truly when God is favorable and mercifull to me I begin to be proud and to attribute to my own desert sathanically. My unthankfulness for God's benefits. My immoderate desire for the meat left for the sizer.

Sept. 4, 1596. Also by the Lord his providence I heard there should be restitution made to my Father. How I was straightened and could not enlarge my heart to thank God..

Sept. 8, 1596. My going to the tavern with such lewd fellows, albeit I knew them not. How little grieved was I at their swearing and oaths and wild talk. O Lord, Thou knowest that I wished often to be rid of their company. My little care of my health notwithstanding my disease grew upon me..

Sept. 10, 1596. My pride in talking with Paul Baynes.¹²⁹ My neglect of Mr. Huchinson and my little desire to have acquayntance with his wife.

¹²⁷ Cuthbert Bainbridg, fellow of the college for the long period of thirty-seven years, 1583-1620; not the Bainbridg who was Master in Milton's time.

¹²⁸ Probably James Montagu, Ward's patron in later life also (see *DNB*).

¹²⁹ A famous Puritan, the successor to Perkins as lecturer at Great St. Andrew's (See *DNB*).

July 31, 1597. My anger at Mr. Newhouse after dinner for singing so long a Psalm, and my unwillingness to sing any. My hardness of heart when I went out into the corn field to meditate, and my straynes in that I could not give occasion of celebration of God's name for the fruits of the earth. My want of often prayer this Sunday. Also how little we celebrated God for his creatures when we went forth, and thanked him sparingly, notwithstanding there had been great rain the week before, and the corn little harmed thereby, but likely to be much harmed this week enseuing. Also my negligence in sanctifying the Sabaoth all that night after 9 aclock; my too, too merry talk with Morton..

Aug. 6, 1597. How little I was affected with hearing of the ill success of our Navy.¹³⁰ . . .

Aug. 19, 1597.. My want of grief and sorrow in respect to the plague now raging so much in our Country. My proud thoughtes in that I had prayed in some good sort.

Aug. 20, 1597.. My negligence in praying the whole day for my distressed countrymen, who now were grieved with the plague. O Lord, grant from thence it be not dispersed in to the South parts..

Dec. 23, 1597... The not considering of the great benefits we enjoy under the reign of our Sovereign, as also here in the University, having the word truly preached and the Sacramentes duely administered¹³¹.

Dec. 24, 1597.. My unwillingnes to give alms at the collection of Christmas Day, and my defence of my action, against Mr. Newhouse.

Dec. 25, 1597. My laziness in not rising early enough to prepare my self to the worthy receipt of the communion.

Jan. 17, 1597/8. How pensive I was all the after noone considering my standing at Emanuell College, but I could never trouble my self so for my sins. I was, I thank God, somewhat willing to praepare my self against the missing of it, I pray God give me grace ever to consider of this point well, that a Christian

¹³⁰ A reference to the failure of the expedition of this year against Spain, led by Essex and Raleigh.

¹³¹ These two, and proper ecclesiastical discipline, were the signs of the true church according to Calvin.

man must forecast the greatest evils which may befall and patiently bear them when they fall.

May 27, 1598. Consider¹³² how, when you serve God most diligently, you prosper best in thy studies, and let this move thee more diligently to serve God, yea consider when thou servest God how all things prosper well..

May 28, 1598. . My slack hearing of the Clerum,¹³³ and how often I do abstain from going forth of the congregation only for fear of scandal, when I should be delighted with the sound of God's Word. My wandering thoughts when we were shooting.. My want of courage to correct my pupil G. when complaints are brought to me.

May 29, 1598. My to much desire of punishments.. My readiness to be angry at God when I was running in our Master's orchard, and seeing our Master's wife..

May 31, 1598. My anger at Mr. Pott, though dissembled, because he would not have me at eating of his capon

June [?] 4, 1598 My negligence in commending the medicine for my nose to God's blessing

June[?] 5, 1598 Remember the difference between the death of the Godly and the wicked, how the Godly's dying leaveth a good report behind him, as Dr. Whitaker,¹³⁴ yet Mr. Preston died without such report

Nov. 10, 11, 1599. Remember the great agony thou wast in for Lucke's leg; the greif thou had in part for that thou hadst been so negligent in looking to thy pupils, and therefore God had laid this heavy cross upon thee, which did hang upon thee continually all the week, so that thou couldst do nothing cherfully. Remember how on the 11th of November, 1599, upon consideration of this great judgment upon the, in Luke's leg, and upon consideration of thy negligence in looking to Robinson's study, and Sir Ruse, and other of my pupils. Thou hadst a holy purpose to break off that sin, and to be carefull in looking to all their studies, or, if they

¹³² Ward is now fellow of Emmanuel.

¹³³ A sermon to the clergy, of which class the students were considered members.

¹³⁴ Master of St. John's and a famous Puritan (see *DNB*).

would not be content with it, how thou wast minded to put them away resolutely.

Nov. 12, 1599. Remember how thou, being somewhat pensive in respect of Luke's case, as also for thy sinnes, and having good thoughts, and meditating all the dinner while — yet thou was overtaken with eating to much, which made thee somewhat unfitt to hear the sermon, when thou shuldest either have fasted, or have eaten but little. For thou must learne to take hold upon such occasions, and be carefull to humble thy self, for these pensive occasions may be great occasion of thy good if thou use them well.

Nov. 14, 1599. Being Tuesday at night, about 4 a'clock before day, it pleased God to take away my pupil Lucke.

God make me thankfull for his happy departure.

Remember how willing he was to die from the beginning.

Remember God's providence in bringing his brother out of Sussex to Cambridge the Saturday before his death. He confessed his sin before his death, prayed hartily, was very desirous to be informed in his duty towards God, and desired that he might leave behind him a good example of his death unto others.

Remember that his death be an instruction unto thee in the government and care of thy pupils. Look thou profitt by God's chastisements. Look to thy pupil Robinson as thou art purposed..

Before Jan. 1597/8. O Lord, give us grace to consider how all our night watching and all ought to tend to this end — to the winning of Christ. Grant that by Thy manifold benefits, both spiritual and temporal, we may be brought to repentance, to the dying to our sins, and to living in the newness of life, and that not only for a time but so long as we live in this world.

GOD'S BENEFITS

Feb. 17, 1595/6. He hath set thee in a College where thou sufferest not contempt for the true service of God, but rather art well liked, whereas others are contemned and mocked for the service of God. Example: Mr. Esty.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ George Estey. was a fellow of Caius; died, 1601 (see the entry for August 30, below).

Thank God for thy good meditation on the balk on Whisunday after Supper.

Upon the 22nd of June Mr. Pirkins gave me a Noble for reading to Nevinson when I could not get anywhere to borrow money for my gown. Remember to use thy gown therefore not for pride but for humiliation.

Upon the 14th of September, when I was in great distress for money, Nevinson gave me a French Crowne.

Also, when I was now in great necessity, it pleased the Lord to give me grace to fly to Him, and also patience to abide my affliction.

Oh, what a wretch am I, who will not serve God and rely on Him who fills my heart with spiritual comfort, when I deserve nothing because of my hardness of heart, but His wrath.

Remember how on the 15th and 16th of February thou was very dull in God's service, yet still hopped on God's good will toward thee, and still having Faith in him, how that it pleased Him to give thee comfort of His Holy Spirit on the 17th day. Learn by these experiences still to depend on God's good will even when things go backward with thee, and when thou art dull.

Also, when I had no money to take physick, it pleased God to give me a Crowne by Nevinson.

Also this 17th day of February spake I first to Mr. Banbridge about a Fellowship. God prosper those proceedings which I took in hand in some good sort, by His grace.

O, my unthankfulness for God's benefits, when no argument ought to be more effectual to move me to obedience, as that He selected me out from my brethren to come to Cambridge, as that I came to this College, and that in Mr. Pirkin's time, as that He hath continued me here so long, kept me from evil company, brought me back when I was in the Country, procured me means of maintenance by Mr. Boulton, and hope therof by Mr. Montague, and that He hath given me some taste of good things. For all benefits private, that I was not blind, stubborn-minded, cast into a reprobate sense as other poor people are. For all positive blessings, God make me thankful herefor. For preserving me still, when I knew no way of staying any longer, for providing for me

by Mr. Smyth his means. O Lord, these all proceed from Thy favour.

Aug. 29, 1601. Whereas thou hadst been much discouraged in common placing some month before, God gave thee good affections, and a good disposition before thy common place, and gave thee memory and boldness and utterance in some measure, thereby to confirm thee in thy calling to the ministry which thou so long before had begged of God.

Remember about that time, when thou wast setting up the dyell at the gates, how God gave thee an humble mind and though thou was troubled with few proud thoughts in that action, nay thou esteemest but little of it.

Aug. 30, 1601. Also the 30th day Aug. 1601, when the Vice Chancellor and the Doctor were putting in Harrison¹³⁶ at Christ's College, thou desiredst God to give thee good thoughts and minds. Bethink thy self how many good matters are overthrown by wrong judgment.

Remember how when thou heard Mr. Perkins preach on the dignity of God's children, and of the manifold comforts issuing from thence, thou had good actions and affections in thy mind.

Oh, bethink thy self on the great comfort that comes to a man by God's service. How this will breed true contentment of mind. Above all things learn humility. Pity men when thou seest them run with full stream into sin, bewail their case, insult not over them. Seek by all gentle means to reclaim them, use not rough words to provoke any man. Be always lifting up thy heart to God in all occurrences, in all troubles, in prosperity, in adversity, never rejoice to much in any worldly thing.

Think how God taketh away many worthy men who might have done much good in the church, as Mr. Esty of late. And therefore many more may, such as thou art, be spared.

Remember Mr. Stockdale's¹³⁷ end, of whom we are to have a charitable opinion. Yet he was one that was somewhat too bitter

¹³⁶ In this year, Vice-Chancellor John Jegon quashed the election of one, William Clayton, whom the society had named, and nominated Jacob Harrison, later Lady Margaret Preacher.

¹³⁷ Richard Stockdale, fellow of Caius, 1587-1601.

against good men. He died in great pain, having 1. an empostume¹³⁸ in his liver, 2. the dropsy, 3. the strangureion¹³⁹ 4. the yellow Jaundise.

Blessed is the man that feareth always. Always stand in awe of thy God. Keep in thine unruly affections. Be not extolled in any earthly thing, for God will make it turn to thy sorrow and grief.

Oh, bethink thyself often, how happy a thing it would be for thee, if thou couldest often in serious meditation be communicating with thy God of thy estate before Him, and of the estate of thy friends, and this whole land. Thou hadst sweet experience and sense of the favor of God in doing so, on Sunday before Sturbridge Fair, being the 6th of September, 1601. Let this be a motive to stir thee up to the like.

CONSIDERATIONS:

(On a girl Ward fancied — Jan. 6, 1621)

1. It will be a great disgrace, so to be entertained, and yet to have a former purpose, to reject.

2. A want of discretion or love, or both, in not signifying before our coming that the Party she could not condescend to thee mayre (marry).

3. The noise of our entertainment will make men brute abroad succesful proceedings when all is to the contrary, and augment the disgrace.

4. It is a great private check not to be respected in my first love.

Considerations to support in case all go backward:

1. The party worldly-minded.

2. May have no child.

3. May be not forward in religion.

4. Never bewrayed any Τεχμεριου¹⁴⁰ of entering affection, but rather, at the last meeting, the contrary.

¹³⁸ Abscess.

¹³⁹ Bladder trouble.

¹⁴⁰ Sign.

5. I am improvided of many necessaries which will be expected, house, household stuff, etc.

6. She ... (laecuna in manuscript).

Other considerations of an higher nature:

1. Romans 8, *Diligentibus Deum, omnia cooperantur in bonum, etiam •frustratis votorum.*¹⁴¹

2. Consider whether God do call thee to that state, considering how thou failest, notwithstanding thy orderly proceedings.

3. This disaffecting in the party is from a special providenc of God, and therefore great reason to rest content therewith.

4. It is God that hath command of hearts and affections.

Observations:

1. My impotency to brook the least thing that distastes me. Alas my great weakness.

2. My dejected mind upon any cross accident.

3. How necessary it is in humility to acknowledge my great imbecillity and weakness in bearing any adverse accident. Also my great imprudence and indiscretion in managing even little affaires.

4. How necessary to have perpetual dependence upon God, both for prudence to manage the least affaيرة, and patience to bear the least misfortune.

Sins of this Land:

1. Profaness and irreligion.

2. Toleration of notorious offenders.

3. Drunkennes and sottishness, and the not severe punishment.

4. Security in the midst of God's judgments.

Sins of the University:

1. Excess in apparrell.

2. Excess in drinking.

¹⁴¹ To those who love God all things work together for good (Romans 8:28) even when disappointed in their vows.

3. Disobedience and contempt of authority in the younger sort.

Motives for fasting and publick humiliation:

June 19, 1625.

1. The fear of increasing of popery, by the permission of the new Queen¹⁴² and her followers for to have their chapel, etc.

2 The prevailing of the enemy at Genoa, and the loss of Breda.

3. The loss of many worthy men, Earl of Southampton and his son, the Lord Belfast, Marquis Hamilton, Earle of Oxford.¹⁴³

4. The increase of the plague.

5. The late great mortality.

¹⁴² Henrietta Maria.

¹⁴³ The first reference is, of course, to Shakespeare's patron, Henry Wriothesley, who, with his son, died of the yellow fever while aiding the Dutch in 1624. Lord Belfast is better known as Arthur Chichester, the Irish statesman. Henry de Vere, eighteenth earl of Oxford, was the opponent of Buckingham. The last three named died in 1625.



During plague outbreaks doctors wore protective gear.

The beak on his mask contained “antiseptic” herbs.

The rod allowed him to take pulses without touching the patient.

6. The unseasonable cold and rainy weather.
 7. The prevailing of the enemy in Germany, the detention of the Palatinate.
 8. To pray for the good success of our navy.
 9. The consideration of the poverty in our nation.
-

10. To pray for the continuance of those whom we hope to become our benefactors to our College: Mr. Smyth and Sir F.C.

11. Also to prosper the business for the augmenting of the Lady Margaretts Lecture.

12. Also for preparation in this contagious time.

13. To bless me in my suite in the Court of Wards for the wardship of my wife's child.

14. To remember my poor friends in the Bishopprick.

15. To remember my brother Henry.

16. To bless me with health and free me from the melancholy illness now, by business coming so fast and the time so short.

March 1, 1629/30. [fol. 37.] That day Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Butts, came to thee, and brought the Testimonial for Dr. Beal,¹⁴⁴ and desired me to peruse it and see where I thought it liable to exception. I then would gladly have declined it, aludging it was now very unfit to exhibit it after agitation of matters above. I put out somewhat, and altered it about the present estate of Pembroke Hall.

Remember that after noon, but especially that night, even all that night and the morning after, how grievously thou was disquieted with subscribing to it: especially for that I might seem inconstant, and that I had written to Sir N. R.¹⁴⁵ touching Dr. Beal's impetuosity and violence. Alas, I see herein my great weakness and inconstancy, and what great perplexity I was in, chiefly because my Lords of Holland and Warwick¹⁴⁶, and Sir N. R. might think me dishonest in giving a testimonial to him who had been convicted of so many things. Which is reason I should have perused before I subscribed. Do not desert me, my God! Lord, in this perplexity and conflict, which hath aided me in so many. *Educ me Domine e*

¹⁴⁴ Jerome Beale, Master of Pembroke, 1619-30 (Venn, I, 166).

¹⁴⁵ Probably Nathaniel Rich, the great colonizer (see *DNB*).

¹⁴⁶ Henry and Robert Rich. Like their relative, Nathaniel, they had both been at Emmanuel, and, like the other gentry of their time, apparently kept a finger in academic politics (See *DNB*).

*necessitatibus meis.*¹⁴⁷ Sweet Lord, let me not be convicted of dishonesty.

The Three points in the testimonial touching Dr. Beal I suppose have their truth in them. And that notwithstanding, it is true which I signified to Sir N. R.

*Mar. 2, 1629/30. Laus Deo Triuno.*¹⁴⁸ I was eased the next day of my great Fear, for Mr. Saunderson prevented all by his coming and conferring with the Vice-Chancellor and some other heads. It was so ordered that our petition was not to be delivered. *Iterum Alleluiah!*¹⁴⁹ The clause of his singular integrity, in which it is said he is eminent and exemplary, I did unadvisedly subscribe unto. For though I think he be free from bribery and corruption in preferring of scholars and fellows, yet to give testimony of singular integrity and eminent, must be of it a heroicall degree, as which hath been much assalted with bribes, and would never give way.

This I cannot testify.

Lord, grant I may never hereafter yield to give my hand and subscribe to that of which I have not good assurance.

**HISTORICAL NOTES
FROM DR. WARD'S MS.
"ADVERSARIA"¹⁵⁰**

Dec. 1595. [fol. 189b.] Remember how Dr. Whitakers died, Dec. 4, 1595. His last words were these: "I hope shortly to see God face to face", and again, "Christ is to me, in life and death, advantage". Mr. Moody, Mr. Dickenson, Mr. Grenham — three great Lights in this shire, all taken away

Remember what a sorrowful day the Buryal of Dr. Whitaker was — how Dr. Goad¹⁵¹ and Mr. Bois both praised him for his great humility, joined with so great gifts. Also how he had promised Mr. Chaderton, and there upon gave him his hand, that he would stand to God's cause against the Lutherans¹⁵² when he went

¹⁴⁷ Save me Lord from my embarrassments.

¹⁴⁸ Praise to the triune God.

¹⁴⁹ Again Halleluiah.

¹⁵⁰ From the Baker MSS (Harleian 7038).

¹⁵¹ Master of King's (see *DNB*).

¹⁵² Probably a reference to the anti-Calvinistic movement of 1595 connected with the name of Peter Baro (see *DNB*).

to London. Remember how God took him away in a good time, when as within short time he should have been Provost of Eaton and might have been overcome with the world.

1597. [fol. 189a] Think of strange working of God in bringing in Mr. Cary¹⁵³. How Mr. Bolton's practise was detected and overthwarted. Think how corrupt the ArchBishop is, who will meddle in every matter, as in Gary's election, in the election of Playfer.¹⁵⁴ Think how deceitfully Giggons dealt with Mr. Rainbow,¹⁵⁵ and how at the same time he made a barren Sermon on the Queen's Day, speaking against Mr. Smith. Also how Dr. Some¹⁵⁶ would not go with Gary, and how that Dr. Goad was drawn thereunto. Think how all things go backward in the University and in our College. What stir Mr. Clark kept in the Hall in Christmas tide, how Greaves and Day accompanied him, how Carew railed on Mr. Smith.

Remember the great injury offered to our Master by the unjust dealing of the vicechancellor and Dr. Goad, also the proud words of Mr. Bolton, how they were overthrown. *Jacta est alea*¹⁵⁷. Shall not Mr. Snowden also be overthrown? I have brought in Carew in spite of all their tricks. Also I have cut Rainbow in the mouth — All¹⁵⁸ things now go backward, — being chosen Lecturer, Dr. Whitaker being taken away — being chosen into our college, also Lutheranism begins to be maintained

1598. [fol. 188b.] Think how now two good ministers, lights of the Church, are taken away, a little after Michaelmas, 1598, and Mr. Rogers¹⁵⁹ cited to appear before the High Commission.

¹⁵³ Valentine Carew or Cary, fellow, 1597, elected Master, 1609. Later Bishop of Exeter (see *DNB*).

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Playfer was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in 1596.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Rainbow, an Edinburgh man, elected fellow by the Puritan faction in 1596, when Chayter's election was declared void.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Soame or Some, Master of Peterhouse (See *DNB*).

¹⁵⁷ The die is cast.

¹⁵⁸ It is possible that this fragment belongs with the comments on the death of Whitaker, above.

¹⁵⁹ Rogers, Richard. *Seeking A Settled Heart: The 16th Century Diary Of Puritan Richard Rogers*. Jacksonville, Florida. Bluefish Books. ©2007. 133 pages. Available at www.bluefishbooks.info.

Jan. 30, 1598/9. Think how all things tend to declination from Religion, and that there begineth a general defection in England. How popery daily is spread abroad, example of William's Sermon, Day's¹⁶⁰ Problem, Overall's¹⁶¹ not subscribing

Nov. 3, 1590. Think howsoever men make outward profession of Religion, yet, if they walk inordinately in their calling, they will some time or other bewray their inward corruption of heart, example Mr. Bolton. Remember Mr. Bolton his double dealing, in pretending to Sir Glover how he doubted with whom he should give his voice, and yet had promised it to Mr. Greaves 2 or 3 days before. O Lord, grant these two last elections be not the harm of the college. (This I writ *Anno* 1595) These elections, as I feared, how they have proved it is seen by the event, both of the two elected and their chief elector, Mr. Bolton¹⁶², being rid of the college for no good practises.

Nov. 5, 1599. The like the Archbishop now hath performed in the choosing of this new — to be vicechancellor against the will of many in the University. Lord, turn all their plots and devices to thine own glory and the good of thy church, etc.

General benefits to thee:

(From folio 189b, 1597).

1. That thou shouldest be born in so great light of the Gospell and not in times of Popery,
2. In the midst of the Church, a benefit denyed to the greatest part of the world, and in the happy reign of so Gracious a Prince.

Particular Benefits:

1. That I among the rest of my Brethren should be selected—though most unfit—to the university.
2. That in Mr. Perkins' time I should be here.

¹⁶⁰ Martin Day, fellow, 1595-99. Later chaplain to the king, and friend of Bishop Joseph Hall.

¹⁶¹ John Overall, Regius Professor of Divinity, and later Bishop of Lichfield (see *DNB*).

¹⁶² The fellowships of Bolton, Day, and Snoden were terminated in 1599.

3. In maintaining me here I know not how, stirring up Friends to bestow gifts, as, at my last coming, Mr. Smith for my Commons, when as else I could not have stayed a quarter of a year. Mr. Mountagu in giving me a French Crown, Mr. Pepys¹⁶³ two Angels, etc..

*Jan. 1597/8*¹⁶⁴ [fol. 189b.] Jan. 14. Mr. Pott came and first signified to me of the election, and this came into my mind at the first mentioning thereof: In the name of Jesus my Savior.

The 16th day, came Mr. Titler and Mr. Bainbridge.

17th and 18th I fasted and prayed God to prosper my business.

On the 20th spake Mr. Bolton to Mr. Downe¹⁶⁵, and the same day at night came Mr. Titler and Mr. Downe to speak with me. The 20th Mr. Cholmly came to Mr. Mountagu's chamber, and gave me comfort, and I answered that if God thought it good for me, I desire to come in. If not, that He would not bring me in.

The 22nd, I thank God, I did reasonable well in Homer and Jonas.¹⁶⁶

The 23rd I was greatly daunted with one word in the 25th chapter of Job. O, that day was a sorrowful and grievous day to me.

The 24th God did raise me up again — did so work with Mr. Cudworth that, though the Sunday before he seemed altogether to be unwilling to do for me to Mr. Ahston, yet he met me in the morning before my 3 posing [*sic*] and promised to do for me what he could. This was a special providence of God, and did comfort me and embolden me much.

¹⁶³ There was an Apollo Pepys, who matriculated as a pensioner from St. John's ca. 1594, but Venn does not give any as being of M. A. standing at this time.

¹⁶⁴ Baker reads 1595, but from the entries in the main diary, which breaks off at this point, we know that the election took place in January, 1597/8.

¹⁶⁵ This, and several other names which follow, are those of fellows of Emmanuel.

¹⁶⁶ A reference to the subject matter of the examination for the fellowship (Edwards, *Sidney Sussex College*, p. 34).

The 26th day. God gave me grace still to call on Him and trust in Him, and, after I had often called on Him and lifted my soul to Him in Mr. Pott's chamber, came Mr. Crooke, after 3 a'clock, and brought me word of my election. I thank my God therefore. I thank God, after my election and admission I could have been contented to have given over my place but that I had some assurance of my calling. Yea, I told Mr. Pott, that if the company thought me insufficient, by reason of my speech, I could be content to give over presently.

Assurances of my calling to the ministry:

1. Mr. Perkins, after I had distinctly read a full period, told me that my speech would serve me, though he knew Dr. Hunton, upon less occasion, diverted his Studies to medicine.

2. God, from time to time, both inclined me to study Divinity, and I have been exhorted thereto by Mr. Burne and Mr. Rudd; also, though not so thoroughly, by Mr. Newhouse and Mr. Mountagu.

3. God never offered to me means, nor ever had I any inclination, to study Physic. I was, indeed, exhorted thereto by Mr. Bainbrige and Mr. Chaitor at Butterby,¹⁶⁷ but I fear with sinister respects.

4. God offered me means to remain at Cambridge, partly by Mr. Bolton, partly by Mr. Mountagu, and Smith.

5. Our Master reported to Mr. Chaderton that my impediment in speech was not much perceived in Commonplacing.

6. I never sought to come into Emanuel College by unlawfull means, but it was rather their seeking than mine.

7. They seemed not to think me insufficient by reason of my speech.

8. I ever at my election, or rather before, having a place offered me to read mathematics, began to bethink me what profession I should follow and in prayer often to commend me to God, desiring Him to shew me the way that I should walk in, and to give me some evidence of my calling. And consulting with Mr. Newhouse, he counselled me to stay still and study Divinity; and also when I stood at Emanuel, I often desired God that, if He had

¹⁶⁷ A hamlet three miles southeast of Durham on the Wear.

not selected me to the Ministry, He would shew it me, and still God strengthened me in all my prayers.

So that I conclude hereupon that I hope He hath selected me to this calling, and God's providence appeared also to me in that Mr. Chaderton did not send for me before the election but after the first day's sitting, for then he would have quite discouraged me. I pray God bless all good means which, in the fear of His name, I shall use to procure the amendment of my speech and pronounciation. God's providence also was towards me, in that Mr. Bright came not as appointed, but after the election. I pray God make me thankful for that He should bring me first into this college of any stranger, and should win the Fellows hearts more to me than any in the Town, and also that the Master should be better affected to me than any. And though I know not how to do for discharging of my commons and debts, yet the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, and He that hath provided for me will still provide. It pleased God at the election to give me great freedom from wicked thoughts. I thank Him therefore

Date uncertain, [fol. 189a.] Thank God that it pleased Him that my Father should give such good tokens of repentance at his death.

Also how it pleased God that my sister should then be married when we were all in the country together. How it pleased God sufficiently to provide for my return to Cambridge, notwithstanding my mare was stolen and little left in present by my Father.

Also thank God that He preserved me in the Country when the plague was very near.

Also how He prospered my journey and brought me safe hither, and continued the good will of my Friends towards me still at Cambridge. Take occasion hereby to be thankful to thy God

(He sometimes mentions Chopwell as the place of his and his Father's abode. His brother lived at Midleham).¹⁶⁸ . . .

Date uncertain. Mr. Benson¹⁶⁹ first began his sickness in coming to the chappel one morning, where the Devil would needs

¹⁶⁸ This is Baker's summary of material in the lost "Adversaria" MS.

¹⁶⁹ This instance of religious melancholia occurred at St. John's College. The names given are those of fellows of that institution.

persuade him that he was reprobate, and would drive him to desperation for that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost, rose in the night, came to Mr. Harrison, would needs ly with him. Asked him forgiveness, and also Mr. Muncy, bewraied all his faults. Called Mr. Cook altogether Devil, spit upon him, crying "Fie upon thee, Devil". Also he spake against his overmuch delight in the Greek, as also of Mr. Downs, Bois, Cook, and how he neglected other more profitable studies, and whenever he came to Divinity cried, "O Swetness"! with iteration. When any talked of any other talk, then he spake unadvisedly, but when they spake of Divinity, then he spoke most Divinely.

Oct. 21, 1602. [fol. 190b.] The day before Mr. Perkins, died Mr. Hook,¹⁷⁰ a man very well fitted for God's church, a great loss, but greater in that it was joyned with the loss of Mr. Perkins.

Oct. 22, 1602. Consider the great blow given unto the Gospel of Christ by the death of Mr. Perkins, who by his doctrine and life did much good to the youth of the university, by whom he was held in great reverence. He likewise did exceeding much good by his advice and direction to many Ministers in the Country, who did resort unto him from everywhere. His Life was most unblameable and upright. He was sparing in censoring any man, very wise and discreet in his carriage, very humble and meek. In his sickness, being in great extremity by reason of the stone, he was most quiet and patient, and when it was motioned unto him as he was puting out his hand, what he wanted, he answered, "Nothing but mercy." On Wednesday, the 2nd of October, when I was with him, he willed me to pray for him. God knows his death is likely to be an irrecoverable loss and a great judgment to the university, seeing there is none to supply his place

*1604/5*¹⁷¹ [fol. 189b.] Remember Wednesday, January 18th, was the day when the surplice was first urged by the Archbishop to be brought into Emanuel College.

God grant that other worse things do not follow the so strict urging of this indifferent ceremony. Alas, we little expected that King James would have been the first permitter of it to be

¹⁷⁰ John Hooke, fellow of St. John's; will proved in 1602.

¹⁷¹ This was the period, following the Hampton Court Conference, when an attempt was made to tighten up ecclesiastical discipline.

brought into our college, to make us a derision to so many that bear us no good will.

Aug. 12, 1604. Observe two plots laid to bring our College to the wearing of the Surplice:

1. Dr. Googe hath prescribed it to be worn in Magdalene College. 2nd Dr. Mountagu hath also appointed it to be worn in Sidney College. Now what remains but that we — unless we will be singular — should take it up. There is no way of escape for anything I can possibly discern. Our trust is in the name of the Lord. He is our only refuge, for from earth we can expect none. Beside the Proclamation is said to take hold upon us. What hope remains? God give us of His grace and teach us to cast ourselves wholly upon Him..

Nov. 8, 1609. [fol. 188b]. Woe is me for Christ's College!

Now is one¹⁷² imposed upon who will be the utter ruin and destruction of that College!

O Lord, Thou hast some judgments in store for this Land, of which this is no doubt a forerunner. Lord, my God, take some pity and compassion upon that poor college. In the multitude of Thy mercies do not utterly forsake it.—Remember what labouring was to annul the Election of Mr. Pemberton¹⁷³ and in pretence to bring in Dr. Dunham,¹⁷⁴ but nothing less intended by the ArchBishop.

O Lord, have mercy, mercy, mercy

**Reasons why I should keep Yatton¹⁷⁵
if Archdeaconry of Bath should fall:**
(From Folio 191b, 1614)

First, it is my stay of Maintenance.

2. It cost me 50 *libra*.

3. That ArchDeaconry is the least dignity.

4. The King will have all for first Fruits.

¹⁷² Valentine Carew was elected Master in this year.

¹⁷³ William Pemberton, fellow, 1602-1612.

¹⁷⁴ Possibly George Downame or Downham. He was D.D. in 1601.

¹⁷⁵ Probably Yatton in Somerset.

My Lord¹⁷⁶ may have good pretence for making me Residentiary:

First, I was his first Chaplain.

2. I have small means.

3. I am Doctor and Master of a College.

4. I was a Translator.

Mr. Yong may have one of the other Prebends

Apr. 3, 1614. [fol. 190b] Thank God for giving me so patiently to bear the giving away of the ArchDeaconry of Bath to another and for my calmness, notwithstanding my Lord's disposing of this to another.

Resolve that both the missing of the ArchDeaconry, and also my Lord's unwillingness to my exchange with Dr. Fludd, are from God's special providence.

Despair not, but trust in God for relief of thy wants in His good time

Reasons More for Garbut :¹⁷⁷

1616/7. [fol. 191a.]

1. Your Lordship¹⁷⁸ gave me in charge to choose the most eminent scholars, which since I have religiously observed, and must presume not to fare worse for that.

2. The argument of eminency of learning in all men's hearing will answer for your Lordship's fact in determining with me. *Detur Dignissimo.*¹⁷⁹

3. Your Lordship brought me to this trouble by making me to condescend to Franklin's oath.

¹⁷⁶ James Montagu, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Ward's patron.

¹⁷⁷ Richard Garbut, M. A., 1613. It is interesting to note that this candidate, though disappointed on this occasion, obtained a fellowship at a later date. Later lecturer at Leeds, 1624-31.

¹⁷⁸ Unidentifiable.

¹⁷⁹ Let it be given to the most worthy.

4. Smith¹⁸⁰ will continually grudge that he should be Junior to three Bachelors now Fellows, the rather at me, because before their admission he came to me to forbear admission till his place were chosen, and it will breed emulation amongst them.

5. I shall always have him *ad oppositum* because he cometh in without me.

6. I shall be thought to be a Patron of a most unjust cause.

7. I was convinced, when as I had purposed to do for the other, only by Garbut's eminency.

8. If in this cause I be overthrown, the world will think I undertake bad causes, the rather for that it is thought by the university that your Lordship should rather favor me than otherwise.

9. They cannot fear any faction on my part, as I may fear in them.

10. I will never trouble your Lordship hereafter in this kind.

11. This will encourage all good Scholars and discourage all Dunces for hoping for preferment with us.

In their Petition they dare not say that Smith is rather more sufficient or equal in sufficiency to Garbut. Whereas their main argument is taken from their number of 7 of 9, a Falsity:

First, they are but 6 to 3.

2-ly. All but Mr. Yong¹⁸¹ had one ground which prejudged their Suffrage upon oath for giving with Garbut, that only a Master of Arts was eligible by Sir John Hart's¹⁸² will.

3. Mr. Flud and Mr. Kay did not hear the examination.

4. Mr. Flud is now none, for he is married.

¹⁸⁰ Probably William Smith of Yorkshire, though Venn gives him as an M. A. in 1609, contrary to the inference to be derived from the date of this passage.

¹⁸¹ John Young, fellow of Sidney in 1616; Prebend and Chancellor of Wells under Montagu in 1611; probably the one mentioned in connection with the archdeaconry of Bath.

¹⁸² A benefactor of Sidney (see Edwards, pp. 52-53).

5. Mr. Kay is not *juratus*, heard not the posing, and told me flatly he would follow the greater part.

6. They were but 5 that petitioned to your Lordship and we are 3, whereof the Master is one, and one more with him would cast it in an ordinary election.

7. One of these 5 not Sworn nor heard the examination.

Reasons which may sway my Lord:

1. Our Suffrages are immediately grounded upon Statutes, which are the Rule of our Oath; theirs upon foreign considerations out of Statutes, not one but the 2d grounded on Statutes.

2. Eminency of learning in all men's hearing will answer for my Lord's determining the fact, he being the most eminent Bachelor which ever stood in College.

3. Smith may have the allowance this 2 year and a quarter.

Probabilities of Faction:

1. Their usage of me at our Summer election in many particulars, their speeches, and informing Mascall that he was not Fellow.

2. Mr. P. his leaving of me and cleaving to them, to whom he had been the greatest opposite, and that to get O. to be Fellow.

3. M. his carriage at this election and after.

4. Their complaints in the town of my injustice, and that I would rule as Dr. Branthwaite¹⁸³ did.

5. K. his private Speech touching Mr. Hall's living, that things were never so unjustly carried, that I inveigled him for Dagget, his excepting against Sir Mascall, his challenging me for Sir Hopps.

6. W. excepting against Sir Mascall as not being Fellow.

7. The animating of D. and thrusting him up my Stairs, and threatening if I denied him they would have me in the Regent House, and the intendment of the like for Howlet.

8. Their Triumph for that your Lordship did concur with them in the objection about going to Taverns, put me down about

¹⁸³ William Branthwaite, Master of Caius, 1607/8-1618/9; one of the Translators (see *DNB*).

the writing of Latin, approve of their disclaiming of faction and petitioning to me, did use fair speeches least I should have discovered former dealings, observe my stubbornness in not yielding that my Lord could elect, but only might nominate.

9. If they prevail in this it will hinder all their studies, as this has done already, for they devise all means to vex me, and still they will meditate faction, and this will not be the end but the beginning of faction, for they will now be always five or six strong against me.

10. The not yielding in the least matter, as appeareth in W., who would not subscribe to our compromise till he might see our reasons.

11. They take umbrage of every small matter.

*Jan. 26, 1616/7.*¹⁸⁴ [fol. 190b.] Being Saturday. Remember the great agony and distress of thy mind for yielding to accept of Mr. Smith, and how heavy, lumpish, and pensive thou was, ever since Tuesday at one of the clock, when thou didst consent, upon his weeping and grief which he then uttered, and that thou didst it only out of compassion, presently to comfort him who was in such anguish and distress. Consider thy great impotency and imbecillity, that must presently yield, and could not say that thou would induce thy self and think of it, or differ a little to answer it.

O, what a grief was it to thy conscience to yield against thy speciall persuasion thou hadst of Garbut his eminency, and to show thy Infidelity and Instability, notwithstanding thou was resolved not to choose.

Good Lord, deliver me out of this anguish, and I will never be solicited to go against my special persuasion while I breath. Rid me out of this distress, and I will be more careful to see my Scholars, bring me better account of Sermons than before they have done, and will be diligent in reading Scriptures, which, alas, I have too much neglected a long time. I know not what to do, but mine eyes are toward Thee.

July 1, 1632. [fol. 190b.] Remember how thou was disquieted in mind, for presenting this day before two Bachelors of Divinity, of

¹⁸⁴ Baker reads 1610, but the names mentioned in the passage fix the date as more than five years later. January 26 was a Saturday in 1616/7.

whose insufficiency thou after heard, and should have enquired of before thou hadst presented. Confess to God thy rash and Scandalous Act. Remember also how thou was disquieted for subscribing two years before to Dr. Beal his exorbitant Testimonial.¹⁸⁵ Take heed of grating Conscience..

Petition to the King's most excellent majesty:

ca. 1633/4. [fol. 187b.]

The Humble Petition of Samuell Ward, D. D., your Majesty's Chaplain, showeth unto your majesty. That whereas your said orator hath been, these 16 years, one of the Canons Residentiary of the Cathedral Church of Wells in Somersetshire, and being also Master of Sidney College in Cambridge, and the senior Doctor and Head in the same University, and also the Lady Margaret's Professor or Reader of Divinity there, and because in respect of these places he hath many employments in the Said University, and also the City of Wells is distant from Cambridge some six score miles, and your orator is grown in years, being above 60 years of Age: may it please your Highness to dispense with him as touching his personal Residence of 3 months *per annum* at Wells, and that henceforth he may enjoy all commodities, Dividends, and Quotidians¹⁸⁶ any way belonging to his Residentiary place, in as full and ample manner as if he were present, and your Orator shall pray...

ca. 1640. My honorable good Lord,¹⁸⁷ be pleased to cast your favorable thoughts upon this, my humble and necessary account of myself in this business of contribution:

1. My Estate hath always been far from any considerable greatness, and the greatest part of it spent in maintaining my poor kindred and in buying Books necessary for my profession.

2. I have done some service in education of Scholars and in governing my College. I have been one of the public readers of Divinity in the university this 22 years. I was also employed by King James in translating of the Bible, and after, sent by him to the Synod of Dort.

¹⁸⁵ See the entry in the diary for March, 1629/30.

¹⁸⁶ The daily returns.

¹⁸⁷ Archbishop Land is probably the person addressed.

3. As a member of the University I am exempted by our Charters, confirmed by Act of Parliament, from all Contributions to war.

4. Besides the Bond of Common Allegiance, I am his Majesty's Sworn Servant.

5. I had my Chief means from King James.

6. The greatest Revenue dependeth on my Lecture, which I performed 17 or 18 years for the stipend of 20 *libra per annum*. As for the accession made by King James, I have enjoyed it but 3 or 4 years, in which time it hath proved chargeable unto me, and may be taken from me by the choice of the university every two years.

7. I am indebted upon necessary occasions above 200 *libra*.

8. Mine age and my infirmities growing upon me require some provision for my Subsistance and Maintenance when I must be enforced to withdraw myself from public service.

9. My life, and all that know me, can testify for me, that I have studied peace and have withstood any disturbance in the church to my most ability.

HERE ENDS THE EXTANT PART OF WARD'S DIARY



**The 1611 Translators' Dedication
TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE
JAMES
BY THE GRACE OF GOD
KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND,
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.**

The Translators of the Bible wish Grace, Mercy, and Peace through JESUS CHRIST our Lord.

Great and manifold were the blessings, most dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, bestowed upon us the people of England, when first he sent Your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us. For whereas it was the expectation of many who wished not well unto our Sion, that, upon the setting of that bright Occidental Star, Queen Elizabeth, of most happy memory, some thick and palpable clouds of darkness would so have overshadowed this land, that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk, and that it should hardly be known who was to direct the unsettled State; the appearance of Your Majesty, as of the Sun in his strength, instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists, and gave unto all that were well affected exceeding cause of comfort; especially when we beheld the Government established in Your Highness and Your hopeful Seed, by an undoubted Title; and this also accompanied with peace and tranquility at home and abroad.

But among all our joys, there was no one that more filled our hearts than the blessed continuance of the preaching of God's sacred Word among us, which is that inestimable

treasure which excelleth all the riches of earth; because the fruit thereof extendeth itself, not only to the time spent in this transitory world, but directeth and disposeth men unto that eternal happiness which is above in heaven.

Then not to suffer this to fall to the ground, but rather to take it up, and to continue it in that state wherein the famous Predecessor of Your Highness did leave it; nay, to go forward with the confidence and resolution of a man, in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all Your Majesty's loyal and religious people unto You, that Your very name is precious among them: their eye doth behold You with comfort, and they bless You in their hearts, as that sanctified Person, who, under God, is the immediate author of their true happiness. And this their contentment doth not diminish or decay, but every day increaseth and taketh strength, when they observe that the zeal of Your Majesty toward the house of God doth not slack or go backward, but is more and more kindled, manifesting itself abroad in the farthest parts of Christendom, by writing in defence of the truth, (which hath given such a blow unto that Man of Sin as will not be healed,) and every day at home, by religious and learned discourse, by frequenting the house of God, by hearing the Word preached, by cherishing the teachers thereof, by caring for the Church, as a most tender and loving nursing father.

There are infinite arguments of this right Christian and religious affection in Your Majesty; but none is more forcible to declare it to others than the vehement and perpetuated desire of accomplishing and publishing of this work, which now, with all humility, we present unto Your Majesty. For when Your Highness had once out of deep judgment apprehended how convenient it was, that, out of the Original Sacred Tongues, together with comparing of the labours, both in our own and other foreign languages, of many worthy men who went before us, there should be one more exact translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue; Your Majesty did never desist to urge and to excite those to whom it was commended, that the Work might be hastened, and that the business might be expedited in so decent a manner, as a matter of such importance might justly require.

And now at last, by the mercy of God, and the continuance of our labours, it being brought unto such a

conclusion, as that we have great hopes that the Church of England shall reap good fruit thereby, we hold it our duty to offer it to Your Majesty, not only as to our King and Sovereign, but as to the principal mover and author of the Work; humbly craving of your most Sacred Majesty, that, since things of this quality have ever been subject to the censures of ill-meaning and discontented persons, it may receive approbation and patronage from so learned and judicious a Prince as Your Highness is; whose allowance and acceptance of our labours shall more honour and encourage us than all the calumniations and hard interpretations of other men shall dismay us. So that if, on the one side, we shall be traduced by Popish persons at home or abroad, who therefore will malign us, because we are poor instruments to make God's holy truth to be yet more and more known unto the people, whom they desire still to keep in ignorance and darkness; or if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by self-conceited Brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil; we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity as before the Lord, and sustained without by the powerful protection of Your Majesty's grace and favour, which will ever give countenance to honest and Christian endeavors against bitter censures and uncharitable imputations.

The Lord of heaven and earth bless Your Majesty with many and happy days; that, as his heavenly hand hath enriched Your Highness with many singular and extraordinary graces, so You may be the wonder of the world in this latter age for happiness and true felicity, to the honour of that great GOD, and the good of his Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour.



King James Enthroned



THE SECOND EPISTLE of Paul the apostle to the Thessalonians.

CHAP. I.

1 Saint Paul certifieth them of the good opinion which he had of their faith, love, and patience: 11 And therewithall useth divers reasons for the comforting of them in persecution, whereof the chiefest is taken from the righteous judgement of God.



Paul and Silvanus, and Timotheus unto the church of the Thessalonians, in God our Father, & the Lord Jesus Christ:

2 Grace unto you, and peace

from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

3 We are bound to thank God alwayes for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the charitie of every one of you all towards each other aboundeth:

4 So that we our selves glorie in you in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure:

5 Which is a manifest token of the righteous judgement of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer;

6 Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you:

7 And to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heauen, † with his mighty angels,

8 In flaming fire, || taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,

9 who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of

the Lord, and from the glory of his power:

10 when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that beleebe (because our testimony among you was beleebed) in that day.

11 wherefore also we pray alwayes for you, that our God would || count you worthy of this calling, and fulfill all the good pleasure of his goodnesse, and the work of faith with power:

12 That the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and ye in him, according to the grace of our God, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAP. II.

1 He willet them to continue stedfast in the truth received, 3 sheweth that there shall be a departure from the faith, 9 and a discovery of Antichrist, before the day of the Lord come. 15 And thereupon repeateth his former exhortation, and prayeth for them.

Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him,

2 That ye be not soon shaken in minde, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.

3 Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition,

4 who opposeth and exalteth himselfe above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.

5 Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things:

† Greek, the angels of his power.
|| Or, yeelding.



The 1611 Translators Preface To Readers

THE BEST THINGS HAVE BEEN CALUMNIATED

Zeale to promote the common good, whether it be by devising any thing our selves, or revising that which hath bene laboured by others, deserveth certainly much respect and esteeme, but yet findeth but cold intertainment in the world.

It is welcommed with suspicion in stead of love, and with emulation in stead of thanks: and if there be any hole left for cavill to enter, (and cavill, if it doe not find a hole, will make one) it is sure to be misconstrued, and in danger to be condemned. This will easily be granted by as many as know story, or have any experience.

For, was there ever any thing projected, that savoured any way of newnesse or renewing, but the same endured many a storme of gaine-saying, or opposition?

A man would thinke that Civilitie, holesome Lawes, learning and eloquence, Synods, and Church-maintenance, (that we speake of no more things of this kinde) should be as safe as a Sanctuary, and out of shot, as they say, that no man would lift up the heele, no, nor dog move his tongue against the motioners of them.

For by the first, we are distinguished from brut-beasts led with sensualitie: By the second, we are bridled and restrained from outrageous behaviour, and from doing of injuries, whether by fraud or by violence: By the third, we are enabled to informe and reforme others, by the light and feeling that we have attained unto our selves: Briefly, by the fourth being brought together to a parle face to face, we sooner compose our differences then by writings, which are endlesse: And lastly, that the Church be sufficiently provided for, is so agreeable to good reason and conscience, that those mothers are holden to be lesse cruel, that kill their children assoone as they are borne, than those noursing fathers and mothers (wheresoever they be) that withdraw from them who hang upon their breasts (and upon whose breasts againe themselves do hang to receive the Spirituall and sincere milk of the word) livelihood and support fit for their estates.

Thus it is apparent, that these things which we speake of, are of most necessary use, and therefore, that none, either without absurditie can speak against them, or without note of wickednesse can spurne against them.

Yet for all that, the learned know that certaine worthy men have bene brought to untimely death for none other fault, but for seeking to reduce their Countrey-men to good order and discipline: and that in some Common-weales it was made a capitall crime, once to motion the making of a new Law for the abrogating of an old, though the same were most pernicious: And that certain ones, which would be counted pillars of the State, and paternes of Vertue and Prudence, could not be brought for a long time to give way to good Letters and refined speech, but bare themselves as averse from them, as from rocks or boxes of poison: And fourthly, that he was no babe, but a great clerk, that gave foorth (and in writing to remaine to posteritie) in passion peradventure, but yet he gave foorth, that he had not seen any profit to come by any

Synode, or meeting of the Clergie, but rather the contrary:

And lastly, against Church-maintenance and allowance, in such sort, as the Embassadors and messengers of the great King of Kings should be furnished, it is not unknown what a fiction or fable (so it is esteemed, and for no better by the reporter himself, though superstitious) was devised; Namely, that at such time as the professours and teachers of Christianitie in the Church of Rome, then a true Church, were liberally endowed, a voice forsooth was heard from heaven, saying; Now is poison poured down into the Church, &c.

Thus not only as oft as we speake, as one saith, but also as oft as we do any thing of note or consequence, we subject our selves to everyone's censure, and happy is he that is least tossed upon tongues; for utterly to escape the snatch of them it is impossible.

If any man conceit, that this is the lot and portion of the meaner sort onely, and that Princes are priviledged by their high estate, he is deceived. As the sword devoureth aswell one as the other, as it is in Samuel; nay as the great Commander charged his soldiers in a certaine battell, to strike at no part of the enemie, but at the face; And as the King of Syria commanded his chiefe Captaines to fight neither with small nor great, save onely against the King of Israel: So it is too true, that Envie striketh most spitefully at the fairest, and at the chiefest.

David was a worthy Prince, and no man to be compared to him for his first deeds, and yet for as worthy an act as ever he did (even for bringing back the Arke of God in solemnitie) he was scorned and scoffed at by his owne wife. S

Solomon was greater then David, though not in vertue, yet in power: and by his power and wisdom he built a Temple to the LORD, such a one was the glory of the land of Israel, and the wonder of the whole world.

But was that his magnificence liked of by all?

We doubt of it. Otherwise, why doe they lay it in his son's dish, and call unto him for easing of the burden, Make, say they, the grievous servitude of thy father, and his sore yoke, lighter. Belike he had charged them with some levies, and troubled them with some cariages; Hereupon they raise up a tragedie, and wish in their heart the Temple had never bene built.

So hard a thing it is to please all, even when we please God best, and doe seeke to approve our selves to everyone's conscience. If wee will descend to later times, wee shall find many the like examples of such kind, or rather unkind acceptance.

The first Roman Emperour did never do a more pleasing deed to the learned, nor more profitable to posteritie, for conserving the record of times in true supputation; than when he corrected the Calender, and ordered the yeere according to the course of the Sunne: and yet this was imputed to him for noveltie, and arrogancie, and procured to him great obloquie.

So the first Christened Emperour (at the leastwise that openly professed the faith himself, and allowed others to do the like) for strengthening the Empire at his great charges, and providing for the Church, as he did, got for his labour the name Pupillus, as who would say, a wastefull Prince, that had neede of a Guardian, or overseer. So the best Christened Emperour, for the love that he bare unto peace, thereby to enrich both himself and his subjects, and because he did not seek war but find it, was judged to be no man at armes, (though in deed he excelled in feates of chivalrie, and shewed so much when he was provoked) and condemned for giving himself to his ease, and to his pleasure. To be short, the most learned Emperour of former times, (at the least, the greatest politician) what thanks had he for cutting off the superfluties of the lawe, and digesting them into some order and method?

This, that he hath been blotted by some to be an Epitomist, that is, one that extinguished worthy whole volumes, to bring his abridgements into request.

This is the measure that hath been rendred to excellent Princes in former times, even, Cum benè facerent, malè audire, For their good deeds to be evil spoken of. Neither is there any likelihood, that envie and malignitie died, and were buried with the ancient. No, no, the reproof of Moses taketh hold of most ages; You are risen up in your fathers stead, an increase of sinfull men. What is that that hath been done? That which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the Sunne, saith the wiseman: and S. Steven, As your fathers did, so do you.

**HIS MAJESTY'S CONSTANCY, NOTWITHSTANDING
CULMINATION, FOR THE SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH
TRANSLATIONS**

This, and more to this purpose, His Majestie that now reigneth (and long, and long may he reigne, and his offspring for ever, Himself and children, and childrens children alwayes) knew full well, according to the singular wisdom given unto him by God, and the rare learning and experience that he hath attained unto; namely that whosoever attempteth any thing for the publike (specially if it pertaine to Religion, and to the opening and clearing of the word of God) the same setteth himself upon a stage to be glouted upon by every evil eye, yea, he casteth himselfe headlong upon pikes, to be gored by every sharpe tongue.

For he that medleth with men's Religion in any part, medleth with their custom, nay, with their freehold; and though they find no content in that which they have, yet they cannot abide to hear of altering.

Notwithstanding his Royall heart was not daunted or discouraged for this or that colour, but stood resolute, as a statue immoveable, and an anvil not easie to be beaten into plates, as one sayth; he knew who had chosen him to be a Soldier, or rather a Captain, and being assured that the course which he intended made much for the glory of God, & the building up of his Church, he would not suffer it to be broken off for whatsoever speaches or practises.

It doth certainly belong unto Kings, yea, it doth specially belong unto them, to have care of Religion, yea, to know it aright, yea, to professe it zealously, yea to promote it to the uttermost of their power.

This is their glory before all nations which mean well, and this will bring unto them a far most excellent weight of glory in the day of the Lord Jesus. For the Scripture saith not in vaine, Them that honor me, I will honor, neither was it a vaine word that Eusebius delivered long ago, that pietie towards God was the weapon, and the only weapon that both preserved Constantine's person, and avenged him of his enemies.

THE PRAISE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

But now what pietie without trueth? What trueth (what saving trueth) without the word of God? What word of God (whereof we may be sure) without the Scripture?

The Scriptures we are commanded to search. Joh. 5.39. Esa. 8.20. They are commended that searched & studied them. Act. 17.11. and 8.28, 29. They are reproved that were unskilful in them, or slow to beleeve them. Mat. 22.29. Luk. 24.25. They can make us wise unto salvation. 2. Tim. 3.15.

If we be ignorant, they will instruct us; if out of the way, they will bring us home; if out of order, they will reforme us, if in heavines, comfort us; if dull, quicken us; if colde, inflame us.

Tolle, lege; Tolle, lege, Take up and read, take up and read the Scriptures, (for unto them was the direction) it was said unto S. Augustine by a supernaturall voyce. Whatsoever is in the Scriptures, beleeve me, saith the same S. Augustine, is high and divine; there is verily trueth, and a doctrine most fit for the refreshing and renewing of mens mindes, and truly so tempered, that every one may draw from thence that which is sufficient for him, if hee come to draw with a devout and pious minde, as true Religion requireth. Thus S. Augustine.

And S. Jerome: Ana scripturas, & amabit te sapientia &c. Love the Scriptures, and wisdom will love thee.

And S. Cyrill against Julian; Even boyes that are bred up in the Scriptures, become most religious, &c.

But what mention wee three or foure uses of the Scripture, whereas whatsoever is to be beleaved or practised, or hoped for, is contained in them? Or three or foure sentences of the Fathers, since whosoever is worthy of the name of a Father, from Christ's time downward, hath likewise written not onely of the riches, but also of the perfection of the Scripture?

I adore the fulnesse of the Scripture, saith Tertullian against Hermogenes. And againe, to Apelles an Heretike of the like stampe, he saith; I doe not admit that which thou bringest in (or concludest) of thine owne (head or store, de tuo) without Scripture.

So Saint Justin Martyr before him; Wee must know by all meanes, saith hee, that it is not lawfull (or possible) to learne (any thing) of God or of right pietie, save onely out of the Prophets, who teach us by divine inspiration.

So Saint Basill after Tertullian, It is a manifest falling away from the Faith, and a fault of presumption, either to reject any of those things that are written, or to bring in (upon the head of them,) any of those things that are not written.

Wee omit to cite to the same effect, S. Cyrill B. of Jerusalem in his 4. Cataches. Saint Jerome against Heludius, Saint Augustine in his 3. booke against the letters of Petilian, and in very many other places of his workes. Also we forebeare to descend to latter Fathers, because wee will not wearie the reader.

The Scriptures then being acknowledged to bee so full and so perfect, how can wee excuse our selves of negligence, if we doe not studie them, of curiositie, if we be not content with them? Men talke much of , how many sweete and goodly things it had hanging on it; of the Philosphers stone, that it turneth copper into gold;

of Cornu-copia, that it had all things necessary for foode in it; of Panaces the herbe, that it was good for all diseases; of Catholicon the drugge, that is in stead of all purges; of Vulcans armour, that is was an armour of prooffe against all thrusts, and all blowes, &c.

Well, that which they falsly or vainely attributed to these things for bodily good, wee may justly and with full measure ascribe unto the Scripture, for spirituall. It is not onely an armour, but also a whole armorie of weapons, both offensive, and defensive; whereby we may save our selves and put the enemie to flight. It is not an herbe, but a tree, or rather a whole paradise of trees of life, which bring forth fruit every moneth, and the fruit thereof is for meate, and the leaves for medicine. It is not a pot of Manna, or a cruse of oyle, which were for memorie only, or for a meal's meate or two, but as it were a showre of heavenly bread sufficient for a whole host, be it never so great; and as it were a whole cellar full of oyle vessels; whereby all our necessities may be provided for, and our debts discharged. In a word, it is a Panary of holesome foode, against fenowed traditions; a Physions-shop (Saint Basill calleth it) of preservatives against poisoned heresies; a Pandect of profitable lawes, against rebellious spirits; a treasure of most costly jewels, against beggarly rudiments; Finally a fountaine of most pure water springing up unto everlasting life.

And what marvaile? The originall thereof being from heaven, not from earth; the authour being God, not man; the enditer, the holy spirit, not the wit of the Apostles or Prophets; the Pen-men such as were sanctified from the womb, and endewed with a principall portion of Gods spirit; the matter, veritie, pietie, puritie, uprightnesse; the forme, Gods word, Gods testimonie, Gods oracles, the word of trueth, the word of salvation, &c. the effects, light of understanding, stablenesse of persuasion, repentance from dead works, newness of life, holinesse, peace, joy in the holy Ghost; lastly, the end and reward of the studie thereof, fellowship with the Saints, participation

of the heavenly nature, fruition of an inheritance immortall, undefiled, and that never shall fade away: Happie is the man that delighteth in the Scripture, and thrise happie that meditateth in it day and night.

TRANSLATION NECESSARY

But how shall men meditate in that, which they cannot understand?

How shall they understand that which is kept close in an unknown tongue? as it is written, Except I know the power of the voyce, I shall be to him that speaketh, a Barbarian, and he that speaketh, shalbe a Barbarian to me.

The Apostle excepteth no tongue, not Hebrew the ancientest, not Greeke the most copious, not Latine the finest. Nature taught a naturall man to confesse, that all of us in those tongues which wee doe not understand, are plainly deafe; wee may turne the deafe eare unto them.

The Scythian counted the Athenian, whom he did not understand, barbarous: so the Romane did the Syrian, and the Jew, (even S. Jerome himselfe calleth the Hebrew tongue barbarous, belike because it was strange to so many) so the Emperour of Constantinople calleth the Latine tongue, barbarous, though Pope Nicolas do storne at it: so the Jewes long before Christ, called all other nations, Lognazim, which is little better then barbarous.

Therefore as one complaineth, that alwayes in the Senate of Rome, there was one or other that called for an interpreter: so lest the Church be driven to the like exigent, it is necessary to have translations in a readinesse.

Translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtaine, that we may looke into the most Holy place; that remooveth the cover of the well, that wee may come by the water, even as Jacob rolled away the stone from the mouth of

the well, by which meanes the flockes of Laban were watered.

Indeede without translation into the vulgar tongue, the unlearned are but like children at Jacobs well (which was deep) without a bucket or some thing to draw with: or as that person mentioned by Esau, to whom when a sealed booke was delivered, with this motion, Reade this, I pray thee, hee was faine to make this answeere, I cannot, for it is sealed.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT OUT OF THE HEBREW INTO GREEK

While God would be known only in Jacob, and have his Name great in Israel, and in none other place, while the dew lay on Gideon's fleece onely, and all the earth besides was drie; then for one and the same people, which spake all of them the language of Canaan, that is, Hebrewes, one and the same originall in Hebrew was sufficient.

But when the fulnesse of time drew neere, that the Sunne of righteousnesse, the Sonne of God should come into the world, whom God ordeined to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood, not of the Jew onely, but also of the Greeke, yea, of all them that were scattered abroad; then loe, it pleased the Lord to stirre up the spirit of a Greeke Prince (Greeke for descent and language) even of Ptolome Philadelph King of Egypt, to procure the translating of the Booke of God out of Hebrew into Greeke.

This is the translation of the Seventie Interpreters, commonly so called, which prepared the way for our Saviour among the Gentiles by written preaching, as Saint John Baptist did among the Jewes by vocall. For the Grecians being desirous of learning, were not wont to suffer books of worth to lye moulding in Kings Libraries, but had many of their servants, ready scribes, to copie them out, and so they were dispersed and made common.

Againe, the Greeke tongue was wellknownen and made familiar to most inhabitants in Asia, by reason of

the conquest that there the Grecians had made, as also by the Colonies, which thither they had sent. For the same causes also it was well understood in many places of Europe, yea, and of Affrike too.

Therefore the word of God being set foorth in Greek, becommeth hereby like a candle set upon a candlesticke, which giveth light to all that are in the house, or like a proclamation sounded foorth in the market place, which most men presently take knowledge of; and therefore that language was fittest to containe the Scriptures, both for the first Preachers of the Gospel to appeale unto for witness, and for the learners also of those times to make search and triall by.

It is certaine, that the Translation was not so sound and so perfect, but that it needed in many places correction; and who had bene so sufficient for this worke as the Apostles or Apostolike men? Yet it seemed good to the holy Ghost and to them, to take that which they found, (the same being for the greatest part true and sufficient) rather than by making a new, in that new world and greene age of the Church, to expose themselves to many exceptions and cavillations, as though they made a Translation to serve their own turn, and therefore bearing witness to themselves, their witness not to be regarded.

This may be supposed to bee some cause, why the Translation of the Seventie was allowed to passe for currant. Notwithstanding, though it was commended generally, yet it did not fully content the learned, no not of the Jewes.

For not long after Christ, Aquila fell in hand with a new Translation, and after him Theodotion, and after him Symmachus: yea, there was a fift and a sixt edition the Authours wherof were not knowen. These with the Seventie made up the Hexapla, and were worthily and to great purpose compiled together by Origen.

Howbeit the Edition of the Seventie went away with the credit, and therefore not onely was placed in the

midst by Origen (for the worth and excellencie thereof above the rest, as Epiphanius gathereth) but also was used by the Greeke fathers for the ground and foundation of their Commentaries. Yea, Epiphanius above named doeth attribute so much unto it, that he holdeth the Authours thereof not onely for Interpreters, but also for Prophets in some respect: and Justinian the Emperour enjoying the Jewes his subjects to use specially the Translation of the Seventie, rendreth this reason thereof, because they were as it were enlightened with propheticall grace.

Yet for all that, as the Egyptians are said of the Prophet to bee men and not God, and their horses flesh and not spirit: so it is evident, (and Saint Jerome affirmeth as much) that the Seventie were Interpreters, they were not Prophets; they did many things well, as learned men; but yet as men they stumbled and fell, one while through oversight, another while through ignorance, yea, sometimes they may be noted to add to the Originall, and sometimes to take from it; which made the Apostles to leave them many times, when they left the Hebrew, and to deliver the sense thereof according to the trueth of the word, as the spirit gave them utterance. This may suffice touching the Greeke Translations of the old Testament.

TRANSLATION OUT OF HEBREW AND GREEK INTO LATIN

There were also within a few hundreth yeeres after CHRIST, translations many into the Latine tongue: for this tongue also was very fit to convey the Law and the Gospel by, because in those times very many Countreys of the West, yea of the South, East and North, spake or understood Latine, being made Provinces to the Romanes.

But now the Latine Translations were too many to be all good, for they were infinite (Latini Interpretes nullo modo numerari possunt, saith S. Augustine.) Againe they were not out of the Hebrew fountain (wee speake of the Latine Translations of the Old Testament) but out of the Greeke stream, therefore the Greek being not

altogether clear, the Latine derived from it must needs be muddie. This moved S. Jerome a most learned father, and the best linguist without controversie, of his age, or of any that went before him, to undertake the translating of the Old Testament, out of the very fountains themselves; which hee performed with that evidence of great learning, judgement, industrie and faithfulness, that he hath for ever bound the Church unto him, in a debt of speciall remembrance and thankfulnessse.

THE TRANSLATING OF THE SCRIPTURE INTO THE VULGAR TONGUES

Now though the Church were thus furnished with Greeke and Latine Translations, even before the faith of CHRIST was generally embraced in the Empire: (for the learned know that even in S. Jeroms time, the Consul of Rome and his wife were both Ethnicks, and about the same time the greatest part of the Senate also) yet for all that the godly-learned were not content to have the Scriptures in the Language which themselves understood, Greeke and Latine, (as the good Lepers were not content to fare well themselves, but acquainted their neighbours with the store that God had sent, that they also might provide for themselves) but also for the behoofe and edifying of the unlearned which hungred and thirsted after Righteousnesse, and had soules to be saved as well as they, they provided Translations into the vulgar for their Countrey-men, insomuch that most nations under heaven did shortly after their conversion, heare CHRIST speaking unto them in their mother tongue, not by the voyce of their Minister onely, but also by the written word translated.

If any doubt hereof, he may be satisfied by examples enough, if enough will serve the turn. First S. Jerome saith, *Multarum gentiu linguis Scriptura antè translata, docet falsa esse quæ addita sunt, &c.i.* The Scripture being translated before in the languages of many Nations, doth shew that those things that were added (by Lucian or Hesychius) are false. So S. Jerome in that place.

The same Jerome elsewhere affirmeth that he, the time was, had set forth the translation of the Seventy, *suæ linguæ hominibus*.i. for his countrey men of Dalmatia. Which words not only Erasmus doth understand to purport, that S. Jerome translated the Scripture into the Dalmatian tongue, but also Sixtus Senensis, and Alphonsus à Castro (that we speake of no more) men not to be excepted against by them of Rome, doe ingenuously confesse as much.

So, S. Chrysostome that lived in S. Hieromes time, giveth evidence with him: The doctrine of S. John (saith he) did not in such sort (as the Philosophers did) vanish away: but the Syrians, Egyptians, Indians, Persians. Ethiopians, and infinite other nations being barbarous people, translated it into their (mother) tongue, and have learned to be (true) Philosophers, he meaneth Christians.

To this may be added Theodorit, as next unto him, both for antiquitie, and for learning. His words be these, Every Countrey that is under the Sunne, is full of these wordes (of the Apostles and Prophets) and the Hebrew tongue (he meaneth the Scriptures in the Hebrew tongue) is turned not onely into the Language of the Grecians, but also of the Romanes, and Egyptians, and Persians, and Indians, and Armenians, and Scythians, and Sauromatians, and briefly into all the Languages that any Nation useth. So he.

In like maner, Ulpilas is reported by Paulus Diaconus and Isidor (and before them by Sozomen) to have translated the Scriptures into the Gothicke tongue: John Bishop of Sivil by Vasseus, to have turned them into Arabicke, about the yeere of our Lord 717: Beda by Cistertiensis, to have turned a great part of them into Saxon: Efnard by Trithemius, to have abridged the French Psalter, as Beda had done the Hebrew, about the yeere 800: King Alured by the said Cistertiensis, to have turned the Psalter into Saxon: Methodius by Aventinus (printed at Ingolstad) to have turned the Scriptures into Sclavonian: Valdo, Bishop of Frising by Beatus Rhenanus, to have caused about that time, the Gospels

to be translated into Dutch-rythme, yet extant in the Library of Corbinian: Valdus, by divers to have turned them himselfe, or to have gotten them turned into French, about the yeere 1160: Charles the 5. of that name, surnamed The wise, to have caused them to be turned into French, about 200. yeeres after Valdus' time, of which translation there be many copies yet extant, as witnesseth Beroaldus.

Much about that time, even in our King Richard the seconds dayes, John Trevisa translated them into English, and many English Bibles in written hand are yet to be seen with divers, translated as it is very probable, in that age.

So the Syrian translation of the New Testament is in most learned mens Libraries, of Widminstadius his setting forth, and the Psalter in Arabicke is with many, of Augustinus Nebiensis setting foorth. So Postel affirmeth, that in his travaile he saw the Gospels in the Ethiopian tongue; And Ambrose Thesius alleageth the Psalter of the Indians, which he testifieth to have bene set forth by Potken in Syrian characters.

So that, to have the Scriptures in the mother-tongue is not a quaint conceit lately taken up, either by the Lord Cromwell in England, or by the Lord Radevil in Polonie, or by the Lord Ungnadius in the Emperours dominion, but hath bene thought upon, and put in practise of old, even from the first times of the conversion of any Nation; no doubt, because it was esteemed most profitable, to cause faith to grown in men's hearts the sooner, and to make them to be able to say with the words of the Psalme, As we have heard, so we have seene.

**THE UNWILLINGNESS OF OUR CHIEF ADVERSARIES,
THAT THE SCRIPTURES SHOULD BE DIVULGED
IN THE MOTHER TONGUE, ETC.**

Now the Church of Rome would seem at the length to bear a motherly affection towards her children, and to allow them the Scriptures in their mother tongue: but indeed it is a gift, not deserving to be called a gift, an

unprofitable gift: they must first get a Licence in writing before they may use them, and to get that, they must approve themselves to their Confessor, that is, to be such as are, if not frozen in the dregs, yet soured with the leaven of their superstition.

Howbeit, it seemed too much to Clement the 8. that there should be any Licence granted to have them in the vulgar tongue, and therefore he overruleth and frustrateth the grant of Pius the fourth.

So much are they afraid of the light of the Scripture, (Lucifugæ Scripturarum, as Tertullian speaketh) that they will not trust the people with it, no not as it is set forth by their own sworn men, no not with the Licence of their own Bishops and Inquisitors. Yea, so unwilling they are to communicate the Scriptures to the peoples understanding in any sort, that they are not ashamed to confesse, that we forced them to translate it into English against their wills. This seemeth to argue a bad cause, or a bad conscience, or both.

Sure we are, that it is not he that hath good gold, that is afraid to bring it to the touch-stone, but he that hath the counterfeit; neither is it the true man that shunneth the light, but the malefactor, lest his deeds should be reproved: neither is it the plain-dealing Merchant that is unwilling to have the weights, or the meteyard brought in place, but he that useth deceit. But we will let them alone for this fault, and returne to translation.

**THE SPEECHES AND REASONS,
BOTH OF OUR BRETHREN, AND OF OUR ADVERSARIES
AGAINST THIS WORK**

Many men's mouths have bene open a good while (and yet are not stopped) with speeches about the Translation so long in hand, or rather perusals of Translations made before: and ask what may be the reason, what the necessitie of the employment:

Hath the Church bene deceived, say they, all this while? Hath her sweet bread bene mingled with leaven, her silver with drosse, her wine with water, her milke

with lime? (Lacte gypsum malè miscetur, saith S. Ireney,)

We hoped that we had been in the right way, that we had had the Oracles of God delivered unto us, and that though all the world had cause to be offended and to complain, yet that we had none.

Hath the nurse holden out the breast, and nothing but winde in it?

Hath the bread bene delivered by the fathers of the Church, and the same proved to be lapidosus, as Seneca speaketh? What is it to handle the word of God deceitfully, if this be not? Thus certaine brethren. Also the adversaries of Judah and Jerusalem, like Sanballat in Nehemiah, mock, as we hear, both at the work and workmen, saying; What do these weake Jewes, &c. will they make the stones whole again out of the heapes of dust which are burnt? Although they build, yet if a fox goe up, he shall even break down their stony wall.

Was their Translation good before? Why do they now mend it? Was it not good? Why then was it obruded to the people? Yea, why did the Catholicks (meaning Popish Romanists) alwayes go in jeopardie, for refusing to go to hear it? Nay, if it must be translated into English, Catholicks are fittest to do it. They have learning, and they know when a thing is well, they can manum de tabulá.

Wee will answer them both briefly: and the former, being brethren, thus, with S. Jerome, *Damnamus veteres? Minimè, sed post priorum studia in domo Domini quod possumus laboramus.* That is, Do we condemn the ancient? In no case: but after the endeavours of them that were before us, we take the best paines we can in the house of God. As if hee said, Being provoked by the example of the learned that lived before my time, I have thought it my duty to assay whether my talent in the knowledge of the tongues, may be profitable in any measure to Gods Church, lest I should seem to have laboured in them in vain, and lest I should be thought to glory in men, (although ancient,)

above that which was in them. Thus S. Jerome may be thought to speak.

A SATISFACTION TO OUR BRETHREN

And to the same effect say wee, that we are so farre off from condemning any of their labours that traveled before us in this kinde, either in this land or beyond sea, either in King Henries time, or King Edwards (if there were any translation, or correction of a translation in his time) or Queene Elizabeth's of ever-renoumed memorie, that we acknowledge them to have beene raised up of God, for the building and furnishing of his Church, and that they deserve to be had of us and of posteritie in everlasting remembrance.

The Judgement of Aristotle is worthy and well known: If Timotheus had not been, we had not had much sweet musicke; but if Phrynis (Timotheus his master) had not been, wee had not had Timotheus. Therefore blessed be they, and most honoured be their name, that breake the ice, and glueth onset upon that which helpeth forward to the saving of souls.

Now what can bee more availeable thereto, then to deliever Gods booke unto Gods people in a tongue which they understand? Since of an hidden treasure, and of a fountaine that is sealed, there is no profit, as Ptolomee Philadelph wrote to the Rabbins or masters of the Jewes, as witnesseth Epiphanius:

And as S. Augustine saith; A man had rather be with his dog than with a stranger (whose tongue is strange unto him.)

Yet for all that, as nothing is begun and perfited at the same time, and the later thoughts are thought to be the wiser: so, if we building upon their foundation that went before us, and being holpen by their labours, do endeavour to make that better which they left so good;

No man, we are sure, hath cause to mislike us; they, we persuade our selves, if they were alive, would thank us.

The vintage of Abiezer, that strake the stroake: yet the gleaning of grapes of Ephraim was not to be despised. See Judges 8. verse 2. Joash the king of Israel did not satisfie himselfe, till he had smitten the ground three times; and yet he offended the Prophet, for giving over then.

Aquila, of whom wee spake before, translated the Bible as carefully, and as skilfully as he could; and yet he thought good to go over it again, and then it got the credit with the Jews, to be called , that is accuratly done, as Saint Jerome witnesseth.

How many books of profane learning have been gone over againe and againe, by the same translators, by others? Of one and the same booke of Aristotle's Ethikes, there are extant not so few as six or seven several translations. Now if this cost may be bestowed upon the goord, which affordeth us a little shade, and which to day flourisheth, but to morrow is cut downe; what may we bestow, nay what ought we not to bestow upon the Vine, the fruite whereof maketh glad the conscience of man, and the stemme whereof abideth for ever?

And this is the word of God, which we translate. What is the chaffe to the wheat, saith the Lord? Tanti vitreum, quanti verum margaritum (saith Tertullian,) if a toy of glass be of that rekoning with us, how ought we to value the true pearl?

Therefore let no mans eye be evill, because his Majesties is good; neither let any be grieved, that we have a Prince that seeketh the increase of the spirituall wealth of Israel (let Sanballats and Tobiahs doe so, which therefore doe beare their just reproof) but let us rather bless God from the ground of our heart, for working this religious care in him, to have the translations of the Bible maturely considered of and examined. For by this meanes it commeth to passe, that whatsoever is sound alreadie (and all is sound for substance, in one or other of our editions, and the worst of ours far better then their autentike vulgar) the same

will shine as gold more brightly, being rubbed and polished; also if any thing be halting, or superfluous, or not so agreeable to the originall, the same may bee corrected, and the trueth set in place.

And what can the King command to bee done, that will bring him more true honour then this? and wherein could they that have been set a work, approve their duetie to the King, yea their obedience to God, and love to his Saints more, than by yeilding their service, and all that is within them, for the furnishing of the work?

But besides all this, they were the principall motives of it, and therefore ought least to quarrell it: for the very Historically trueth is, that upon the importunate petitions of the Puritanes, at this Majesties comming to this Crowne, the Conference at Hampton Court having been appointed for hearing their complaints: when by force of reason they were put from all other grounds, they had recourse at the last, to this shift, that they could not with good conscience subscribe to the Communion book, since it maintained the Bible as it was there translated, which was as they said, a most corrupted translation. And although this was judged to be but a very poor and emptie shift; yet even hereupon did his Majestie begin to bethinke himselfe of the good that might ensue by a new translation, and presently after gave order for this Translation which is now presented unto thee. Thus much to satisfie our scrupulous Brethren.

AN ANSWER TO THE IMPUTATIONS OF OUR ADVERSARIES

Now to the later we answer; that we do not deny, nay we affirm and avow, that the very meanest translation of the Bible in English, set forth by men of our profession (for we have seen none of theirs of the whole Bible as yet) containeth the word of God, nay, is the word of God.

As the Kings Speech which he uttered in Parliament, being translated into French, Dutch, Italian and Latin, is still the Kings Speech, though it be not interpreted by

every Translator with the like grace, nor peradventure so fitly for phrase, nor so expresly for sense, every where.

For it is confessed, that things are to take their denomination of the greater part; and a naturall man could say, *Verùm ubi multa nitent in carmine, non ego paucis offendor maculis, &c.* A man may be counted a vertuous man, though hee have made many slips in his life, (else, there were none vertuous, for in many things we offend all) also a comely man and lovely, though hee have some warts upon his hand, yea, not onely freckles upon his face, but all skarres.

No cause therefore why the word translated should be denied to be the word, or forbidden to be currant, notwithstanding that some imperfections and blemishes may be noted in the setting forth of it. For what ever was perfect under the Sunne, where Apostles or Apostolike men, that is, men indued with an extraordinary measure of God's Spirit, and priviledged with the priviledge of infallibilitie, had not their hand?

The Romanistes therefore in refusing to hear, and daring to burn the Word translated, did no less than despite the spirit of grace, from whom originally it proceeded, and whose sense and meaning, as well as man's weakness would enable, it did expresse.

Judge by an example or two.

Plutarch writeth, that after that Rome had been burnt by the Galles, they fell soon to builde it again: but doing it in haste, they did not cast the streets, nor proportion the houses in such comely fashion, as had been most sightly and convenient; was Catiline therefore an honest man, or a good Patriot, that sought to bring it to a combustion? or Nero a good Prince, that did indeed set it on fire?

So, by the story of Ezrah, and the prophesie of Haggai it may be gathered, that the Temple build by Zerubbabel after the return from Babylon, was by no means to be compared to the former built by Solomon (for they that remembered the former, wept when they

considered the latter) notwithstanding, might this later either have been abhorred and forsaken by the Jewes, or prophaned by the Greekes?

The like we are to think of Translations.

The translation of the Seventie dissenteth from the Originall in many places, neither doeth it come near it, for perspicuitie, gratvitie, majestie; yet which of the Apostles did condemne it? Condemne it? Nay, they used it, (as it is apparent, and as Saint Jerome and most learned men doe confesse) which they would not have done, nor by their example of using it, so grace and commend it to the Church, if it had bene unworthy the appellation and name of the word of God.

And whereas they urge for their second defence of their vilifying and abusing of the English Bibles, or some pieces thereof, which they meet with, for that heretikes (forsooth) were the Authours of the translations, (heretikes they call us by the same right that they call themselves Catholikes, both being wrong) we marveile what divinitie taught them so. Wee are sure Tertullian was of another minde: Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas? Doe we trie mens faith by their persons? we should trie their persons by their faith.

Also S. Augustine was of an other minde: for he lighting upon certaine rules made by Tychonius a Donatist, for the better understanding of the word, was not ashamed to make use of them, yea, to insert them into his own book, with giving commendation to them so far forth as they were worthy to be commended, as is to be seene in S. Augustines third book De doctrinâ Christianâ.

To be short, Origen, and the whole Church of God for certain hundred yeeres, were of an other mind: for they were so far from treading under foot, (much more from burning) the Translation of Aquila a Proselite, that is, one that had turned Jew; of Symmachus, and Theodotion, both Ebionites, that is, most vile heretikes, that they joyned them together with the Hebrew Originall, and the Translation of the Seventie (as hath

bene before signified out of Epiphanius) and set them forth openly to be considered of and perused by all.

But we weary the unlearned, who need not know so much, and trouble the learned, who know it already.

Yet before we end, we must answer a third cavill and objection of theirs against us, for altering and amending our Translations so oft; wherein truly they deal hardly, and strangely with us. For to whom ever was it imputed for a fault (by such as were wise) to go over that which he had done, and to amend it where he saw cause?

Saint Augustine was not afraid to exhort S. Jerome to a Palinodia or recantation; the same S. Augustine was not ashamed to retractate, we might say revoke, many things that had passed him, and doth even glory that he seeth his infirmities.

If we will be sons of the Truth, we must consider what it speaketh, and trample upon our own credit, yea, and upon other mens too, if either be any way an hinderance to it. This to the cause: then to the persons we say, that of all men they ought to be most silent in this case. For what varieties have they, and what alterations have they made, not only of their Service books, Portesses and Breviaries, but also of their Latin Translation? The Service book supposed to be made by S. Ambrose (*Officium Ambrosianum*) was a great while in speciall use and request: but Pope Hadrian calling a Councill with the ayde of Charles the Emperour, abolished it, yea, burnt it, and commanded the Service-book of Saint Gregorie universally to be used.

Well, *Officium Gregorianum* gets by this meanes to be in credit, but doeth it continue without change or altering? No, the very Romane Service was of two fashions, the New fashion, and the Old, (the one used in one Church, the other in another) as is to be seen in Pamelius a Romanist, his Preface, before *Micrologus*. The same Pamelius reporteth out of Radulphus de Rivo, that about the yeere of our Lord, 1277. Pope Nicolas the third removed out of the Churches of Rome, the more ancient books (of Service) and brought into use the

Missals of the Friars Minorites, and commaunded them to be observed there; insomuch that about an hundred yeeres after, when the above named Radulphus happened to be at Rome, he found all the books to be new, (of the new stampe.)

Neither was there this chopping and changing in the more ancient times onely, but also of late: Pius Quintus himselfe confesseth, that every Bishopricke almost had a peculiar kind of service, most unlike to that which others had: which moved him to abolish all other Breviaries, though never so ancient, and priviledged and published by Bishops in their Dioceses, and to establish and ratifie that only which was of his own setting forth, in the yeere 1568.

Now, when the father of their Church, who gladly would heal the soare of the daughter of his people softly and sleightly, and make the best of it, findeth so great fault with them for their oddes and jarring; we hope the children have no great cause to vaunt of their uniformitie.

But the difference that appeareth betweene our Translations, and our often correcting of them, is the thing that we are specially charged with; let us see therefore whether they themselves be without fault this way, (if it be to be counted a fault, to correct) and whether they be fit men to throw stones at us: O tandem major parcas insane minori: they that are lesse sound themselves, ought not to object infirmities to others. If we should tell them that Valla, Stapulensis, Erasmus, and Vives found fault with their vulgar Translation, and consequently wished the same to be mended, or a new one to be made, they would answer peradventure, that we produced their enemies for witnesses against them; albeit, they were in no other sort enemies, then as S. Paul was to the Galatians, for telling them the truth: and it were to be wished, that they had dared to tell it them plainlier and oftner.

But what will they say to this, that Pope Leo the tenth allowed Erasmus Translation of the New

Testament, so much different from the vulgar, by his Apostolike Letter & Bull; that the same Leo exhorted Pagnin to translate the whole Bible, and bare whatsoever charges was necessary for the work? Surely, as the Apostle reasoneth to the Hebrewes, that if the former Law and Testament had bene sufficient, there had been no need of the latter: so we may say, that if the old vulgar had bene at all points allowable, to small purpose had labour and charges bene undergone, about framing of a new.

If they say, it was one Pope's private opinion, and that he consulted only himselfe; then we are able to go further with them, and to averre, that more of their chiefe men of all sorts, even their owne Trent-champions Paiva & Vega, and their owne Inquisitors, Hieronymus ab Oleastro, and their own Bishop Isidorus Clarius, and their owne Cardinal Thomas à Vio Caietan, do either make new Translations themselves, or follow new ones of other men's making, or note the vulgar Interpretor for halting; none of them fear to dissent from him, nor yet to except against him.

And call they this an uniforme tenour of text and judgement about the text, so many of their Worthies disclaiming the now received conceit? Nay, we will yet come nearer the quicke: doth not their Paris-edition differ from the Louaine, and Hentenius' from them both, and yet all of them allowed by authoritie? Nay, doth not Sixtus Quintus confesse, that certaine Catholikes (he meaneth certainte of his own side) were in such an humor of translating the Scriptures into Latin, that Satan taking occasion by them, though they thought of no such matter, did strive what he could, out of so uncertaine and manifold a varietie of Translations, so to mingle all things, that nothing might seem to be left certaine and firme in them, &c?

Nay, further, did not the same Sixtus ordaine by an inviolable decree, and that with the counsell and consent of his Cardinals, that the Latin edition of the olde and new Testament, which the Councill of Trent would have to be authenticke, is the same without

controversie which he then set forth, being diligently corrected and printed in the Printing-house of Vatican? Thus Sixtus in his Preface before his Bible.

And yet Clement the eight his immediate successour, publisheth another edition of the Bible, containing in it infinite differences from that of Sixtus, (and many of them waightie and materiall) and yet this must be authenticke by all meanes.

What is to have the faith of our glorious Lord JESUS CHRIST with Yea and Nay, if this be not?

Againe, what is sweet harmonie and consent, if this be? Therefore, as Demaratus of Corinth advised a great King, before he talked of the dissentions among the Grecians, to compose his domesticke broiles (for at that time his Queene and his sonne and heir were at deadly fuide with him) so all the while that our adversaries do make so many and so various editions themselves, and do jarre so much about the worth and authoritie of them, they can with no show of equitie challenge us for changing and correcting.

**THE PURPOSE OF THE TRANSLATORS,
WITH THEIR NUMBER, FURNITURE, CARE, ETC.**

But it is high time to leave them, and to shew in brief what we proposed to our selves, and what course we held in this our perusall and survey of the Bible.

Truly (good Christian Reader) we never thought from the beginning, that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, (for then the imputation of Sixtus had been true in some sort, that our people had been fed with gall of Dragons instead of wine, with whey instead of milk:) but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath bene our indeavour, that our mark.

To that purpose there were many chosen, that were greater in other mens eyes than in their own, and that sought the truth rather than their own praise. Again, they came or were thought to come to the work, not

exercendi causâ (as one saith) but exercitati, that is, learned, not to learn: For the chiefe overseer and under his Majestie, to whom not only we, but also our whole Church was much bound, knew by his wisdom, which thing also Nazianzen taught so long ago, that it is a preposterous order to teach first and to learn after, yea that to learn and practise together, is neither commendable for the workeman, nor safe for the work.

Therefore such were thought upon, as could say modestly with Saint Jerome, *Et Hebræum Sermonem ex parte didicimus, & in Latino penè ab ipsis incunabulis &c. detriti sumus.* Both we have learned the Hebrew tongue in part, and in the Latin we have beene exercised almost from our verie cradle. S. Jerome maketh no mention of the Greek tongue, wherein yet he did excell, because he translated not the old Testament out of Greek, but out of Hebrew.

And in what sort did these assemble? In the trust of their own knowledge, or of their sharpnesse of wit, or deepness of judgement, as it were in an arm of flesh? At no hand. They trusted in him that hath the key of David, opening and no man shutting: they prayed to the Lord the Father of our Lord, to the effect that S. Augustine did; O let thy Scriptures be my pure delight, let me not be deceived in them, neither let me deceive by them.

In this confidence, and with this devotion did they assemble together; not too many, lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest many things haply might escape them.

If you ask what they had before them, truely it was the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the Greek of the New. These are the two golden pipes, or rather conduits, where-through the olive branches emptie themselves into the gold. Saint Augustine calleth them precedent, or originall tongues; Saint Jerome, fountaines. The same Saint Jerome affirmeth, and Gratian hath not spared to put it into his Decree, That as the credit of the old Books (he meaneth of the Old Testament) is to be tryed by the Hebrew Volumes, so of

the New by the Greek tongue, he meaneth by the originall Greek. If trueth be to be tried by these tongues, then whence should a Translation be made, but out of them?

These tongues, therefore, the Scriptures we say in those tongues, we set before us to translate, being the tongues wherein God was pleased to speak to his Church by his Prophets and Apostles. Neither did we run over the work with that posting haste that the Septuagint did, if that be true which is reported of them, that they finished it in 72. dayes; neither were we barred or hindered from going over it again, having once done it, like S. Jerome, if that be true which himself reporteth, that he could no sooner write any thing, but presently it was caught from him, and published, and he could not have leave to mend it: neither, to be short, were we the first that fell in hand with translating the Scripture into English, and consequently destitute of former helps, as it is written of Origen, that he was the first in a maner, that put his hand to write Commentaries upon the Scriptures, and therefore no marveile, if he overshot himself many times.

None of these things: the work hath not been hudled up in 72. days, but hath cost the workemen, as light as it seemeth, the paines of twise seven times seventie two days and more: matters of such weight and consequence are to be speeded with maturitie: for in a businesse of moment a man feareth not the blame of convenient slackness.

Neither did we think much to consult the Translators or Commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greeke, or Latine, no nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch; neither did we disdaine to revise that which we had done, and to bring back to the anvill that which we had hammered: but having and using as great helps as were needfull, and fearing no reproch for slownesse, nor coveting praise for expedition, we have at the length, through the good hand of the Lord upon us, brought the work to that passe that you see.

**REASONS MOVING US TO SET DIVERSITY OF SENSES
IN THE MARGIN,
WHERE THERE IS GREAT PROBABILITY FOR EACH**

Some peradventure would have no varietie of senses to be set in the margine, lest the authoritie of the Scriptures for deciding of controversies by that shew of uncertaintie, should somewhat be shaken.

But we hold their judgment not to be so sound in this point. For though, whatsoever things are necessary are manifest, as S. Chrysostome saith, and as S. Augustine, In those things that are plainely set down in the Scriptures, all such matters are found that concerne Faith, hope, and Charitie.

Yet for all that it cannot be dissembled, that partly to exercise and whet our wits, partly to wean the curious from loathing of them for their every-where-plainness, partly also to stir up our devotion to crave the assistance of God's Spirit by prayer, and lastly, that we might be forward to seeke aid of our brethren by conference, and never scorn those that be not in all respects so complete as they should be, being to seek in many things ourselves, it hath pleased God in his divine providence, heere and there to scatter words and sentences of that difficultie and doubtfulness, not in doctrinall points that concern salvation, (for in such it hath beene vouched that the Scriptures are plain) but in matters of less moment, that fearefulnesse would better beseem us than confidence, and if we will resolve, to resolve upon modestie with S. Augustine, (though not in this same case altogether, yet upon the same ground) *Melius est dubitare de occultis, quàm litigare de incertis*, it is better to make doubt of those things which are secret, than to strive about those things that are uncertaine.

There be many words in the Scriptures, which be never found there but once, (having neither brother nor neighbour, as the Hebrewes speake) so that we cannot be holpen by conference of places.

Again, there be many rare names of certaine birds, beastes and precious stones, &c. concerning which the Hebrews themselves are so divided among themselves for judgement, that they may seem to have defined this or that, rather because they would say something, than because they were sure of that which they said, as S. Jerome somewhere saith of the Septuagint.

Now in such a case, doth not a margine do well to admonish the Reader to seek further, and not to conclude or dogmatize upon this or that peremptorily?

For as it is a fault of incredulitie, to doubt of those things that are evident: so to determine of such things as the Spirit of God hath left (even in the judgment of the judicious) questionable, can be no less than presumption. Therefore as S. Augustine saith, that varietie of Translations is profitable for the finding out of the sense of the Scriptures: so diversitie of signification and sense in the margine, where the text is not so clear, must needs do good, yea is necessary, as we are perswaded.

We know that Sixtus Quintus expresly forbiddeth, that any varietie of readings of their vulgar edition, should be put in the margine, (which though it be not altogether the same thing to that we have in hand, yet it looketh that way) but we think he hath not all of his own side his favourers, for this conceit. They that are wise, had rather have their judgements at libertie in differences of readings, than to be captivated to one, when it may be the other. If they were sure that their hie Priest had all laws shut up in his brest, as Paul the second bragged, and that he were as free from error by speciall priviledge, as the Dictators of Rome were made by law inviolable, it were an other matter; then his word were an Oracle, his opinion a decision.

But the eyes of the world are now open, God be thanked, and have been a great while, they find that he is subject to the same affections and infirmities that others be, that his skin is penetrable, and therefore so

much as he prooveth, not as much as he claimeth, they grant and embrace.

**REASONS INDUCING US NOT TO STAND CURIOUSLY
UPON AN IDENTITY OF PHRASING**

An other thing we think good to admonish thee of (gentle Reader) that wee have not tied our selves to an uniformitie of phrasing, or to an identitie of words, as some peradventure would wish that we had done, because they observe, that some learned men somewhere, have been as exact as they could that way. Truly, that we might not varie from the sense of that which we had translated before, if the word signified the same thing in both places (for there be some words that be not of the same sense every where) we were especially carefull, and made a conscience, according to our duetie.

But, that we should expresse the same notion in the same particular word; as for example, if we translate the Hebrew or Greeke word once by Purpose, never to call it Intent; if one where Journeying, never Traveiling; if one where Thinke, never Suppose; if one where Paine, never Ache; if one where Joy, never Gladness, &c.

Thus to minse the matter, we thought to savour more of curiositie then wisdom, and that rather it would breed scorn in the Atheist, than bring profite to the godly Reader.

For is the kingdome of God become words or syllables?

Why should wee be in bondage to them if we may be free, use one precisely when we may use another no less fit, as commodiously?

A godly Father in the Primitive time shewed himself greatly moved, that one of the newfanglenes called , though the difference be little or none; and another reporteth, that he was much abused for turning Cucurbita (to which reading the people had been used) into Hedera.

Now if this happen in better times, and upon so small occasions, we might justly fear hard censure, if generally we should make verball and unnecessary changings.

We might also be charged (by scoffers) with some unequall dealing towards a great number of good English words.

For as it is written of a certaine great Philosopher, that he should say, that those logs were happie that were made images to be worshipped; for their fellowes, as good as they, lay for blockes behinde the fire: so if wee should say, as it were, unto certaine words, Stand up higher, have a place in the Bible alwayes, and to others of like qualitie, Get ye hence, be banished for ever, we might be taxed peradventure with S. James his words, namely, To be partiall in our selves and judges of evill thoughts.

Adde hereunto, that nicenesse in wordes was alwayes counted the next step to trifling, and so was to bee curious about names too: also that we cannot follow a better patterne for elocution then God himself; therefore he using divers words, in his holy writ, and indifferently for one thing in nature: we, if wee will not be superstitious, may use the same libertie in our English versions out of Hebrew & Greek, for that copie or store that he hath given us.

Lastly, wee have on the one side avoided the scrupulositie of the Puritanes, who leave the old Ecclesticall words, and betake them to other, as when they put washing for Baptisme, and Congregation instead of Church: as also on the other side we have shunned the obscuritie of the Papists, in their Azimes, Tunike, Rational, Holocausts, Præpuce, Pasche, and a number of such like, whereof their late Translation is full, and that of purpose to darken the sense, that since they must needs translate the Bible, yet by the language thereof, it may be kept from being understood.

But we desire that the Scripture may speak like it self, as in the language of Canaan, that it may be understood even of the very vulgar.

Many other things we might give thee warning of (gentle Reader) if we had not exceeded the measure of a Preface already.

It remaineth, that we commend thee to God, and to the Spirit of his grace, which is able to build further then we can ask or think.

He removeth the scales from our eyes, the vaile from our hearts, opening our wits that we may understand his word, enlarging our hearts, yea correcting our affections, that we may love it above gold and silver, yea that we may love it to the end.

Ye are brought unto fountaines of living water which ye digged not; do not cast earth into them with the Philistines, neither preferre broken pits before them with the wicked Jewes.

Others have laboured, and you may enter into their labours;

O receive not so great things in vaine,

O despise not so great salvation!

Be not like swine to treade under foote so precious things, neither yet like dogs to tear and abuse holy things.

Say not to our Saviour with the Gergesites, Depart out of our coasts; neither yet with Esau sell your birthright for a mess of potage.

If light be come into the world, love not darknesse more than light; if food, if clothing be offered, go not naked, starve not your selves. Remember the advise of Nazianzene, It is a grievous thing (or dangerous) to neglect a great fair, and to seek to make markets afterwards: also the encouragement of S. Chrysostome, It is altogether impossible, that he that is sober (and watchfull) should at any time be neglected:

Lastly, the admonition and menacing of S. Augustine, They that despise God's will inviting them, shall feele God's will taking vengeance of them.

It is a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God; but a blessed thing it is, and will bring us to everlasting blessednes in the end, when God speaketh unto us, to hearken; when he setteth his word before us, to read it; when he stretcheth out his hand and calleth, to answer, Here am I; here we are to do thy will, O God.

The Lord work a care and conscience in us to know him and serve him, that we may be acknowledged of him at the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the holy Ghost, be all prayse and thankesgiving. Amen.



The engraving above, from a 1614 field sports book, shows King James dressed for hawking. He wears a high copatain hat with a feather; and a close-fitting jerkin, slashed and decorated with bands of lace. His breeches are stuffed and padded about the hip and covered with lace and embroidery. On his belt hangs a large purse in which the hawker carried implements necessary to the sport. His left hand is protected from the talons of the hooded hawk by a thick glove enriched with needle-work and spangles. The king carries a staff which he used to polevault over ditches and streams when following the flight of a hawk on foot..



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