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Life of Nicholas Ferrar by doctor Jebb.

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*Nihil, inquam, de his loquar: videntur enim nonnullis res humanas plus quam oporteret deseruisse, non intelligentibus quantum nobis eorum animus in orationibus prosit, et vita ad exemplum, quorum corpora videre non sinimur. Sed hinc disputare longum et supervacaneum puto: nam hoc tam excellens fastigium sanctitatis, cui non sua sponte mirandum et honorandum videtur, oratione nostra videri qui potest? Tantum isti admonendi sunt, qui sese inaniter jactant, intantum processisse temperantiam et continentiam sanctissimorum catholice fidei christianorum, ut restringenda nonnullis, et quasi ad humanos fines revocanda videatur: usque adeo supra homines illorum animos evasisse, ab iis etiam quibus id displicet, judicatur.*

S. Aug. *De moribus Eccl. Cathol.* § 66.



## LIFE OF NICHOLAS FERRAR.

**M**R. Nicholas Ferrar of blessed memory was born in London the 21st<sup>1</sup> of February in the year of our Lord 1591<sup>2</sup>, and born again of water and the Holy Ghost February the 28th<sup>3</sup>. A day (I find) he registered as more memorable than his birth-day, esteeming it (as he ought) a greater blessing to be received into the Catholic Church, than to come into the world. He was the third son of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, a rich East India merchant, and of Mary his wife, and as he became a follower of St. John the Baptist in a retired and mortified life, so his parents had that good character the word of God bestows on Zacharias and Elizabeth,

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<sup>1</sup> 22nd.

<sup>2</sup> 1592-3. See note on pedigree.

<sup>3</sup> "His godmother was a Mrs. Riggs, wife to Capt. Riggs, who recommended herself highly to the esteem of queen Elizabeth by a heroic act which she performed upon the sea-shore at Dover in 1588."—Peckard.

the father and mother of that burning and shining light, that *they were both righteous, &c.* (Luke i. 6). Though he never enjoyed a very firm health, but was inclined to aguish distempers from his infancy, yet his vigorous temper of mind overcame those indispositions of his body, so that he was noted for an active nimble youth, and graceful in all his motions. His genius at six years old began to discover itself much addicted to history, that of the Holy Bible especially, which he compassed in two or three years, and got all the Psalms without book. Then he fell upon the English chronicle and the Book of Martyrs, which, whilst his fellows were playing, he would be reading: and rather than not finish his story, which he seldom forgot, he used often to forget his meals and his sleep, as he was naturally moderate in them both.

2. Even at this time of day he fancied being a clergyman, and made his friends laugh heartily at a request he very solemnly made to his mother: *that whatever his brothers wore, he might wear no lace, but only plain*<sup>1</sup> *clean banns, for he was resolved to*

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<sup>1</sup> "Little and plain, like those of Mr. Wotton, 'for I wish to be a preacher as he is.' Mr. Wotton was a learned divine and reader of divinity in Gresham College. He was frequently at Mr. Ferrar's, and always examined and exercised young Nicholas, being wonderfully delighted with his ingenuity."—Peckard. This Antony Wotton was charged with Arianism by George Walker; the question was referred to eight arbiters, amongst whom was Thomas Gataker. When the judges had absolved Wotton, Walker turned upon

be a clergyman; and he would take no denial, but all his clothes must be plain. Before he was eight years old it was high time to translate him to a greater school; and there was one in a good healthful air by Newbury in Berkshire, where one Mr. Brooks, an excellent man for discipline, had introduced so extraordinary a way of teaching and living, that I am apt to believe the thoughtful pious child did there receive the first impressions and dispositions to that regular and religious course of life he so many years after hightened and formed in his own family into a greater and nobler figure of the good old Christian discipline. This Mr. Brooks had lived and preached with much esteem in London, but following the example of Jo. Gerson, the famous chancellor of Paris<sup>1</sup>, he forsook the noise of a great

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them, and the controversy had not died away at the end of 30 years (1611-1642). See Gataker's *Answer to Mr. George Walker's Vindication*, &c. Lond. 1642, 4to, pp. 136; Ward's *Gresham Professors*, and Peck's note from Fleming (ap. Peckard, 15, 16).

<sup>1</sup> Jean Charlier, better known as Jean Gerson (*Doctor Christianissimus*), born at Gerson in the diocese of Rheims in 1363, became chancellor of the university of Paris in 1395, zealously asserted the liberties of the Church against the papacy at the councils of Pisa and of Constance; in the year 1419 he retired into a cloister at Lyons, of which his brother was prior, and there devoted himself to instructing children. On the 11th of July, 1429, the day before his death, he took his pupils into church, and there bid them pray: *God, my Creator, have mercy upon Thy poor servant, John Gerson* (Schröckh, *K. G.* xxxiv, 6-33). See his *Tractatus de par-*

city to preside over children in a country retirement, believing his charitable pains abundantly rewarded by the prayers of such happy innocents. He procured able masters in their several kinds, a master of music, a writing master, and a choice one for grammar learning, reserving to himself a governing inspection over the scholars and over the tutors themselves. Above all, they had their times for conning and repeating the church catechism, the psalter<sup>1</sup>, the epistles and gospels, for which this youth's vast memory served him to good purpose and to his great consolation, when many years after he travelled and fell desperately sick among those who take it for a mark of heresy in a traveller to carry about him an English Bible. None of the scholars performed their tasks of this kind (neither indeed of any kind) so constantly carefully and easily, as he. Sometimes at those repetitions he would deliver observations of his own, that could not have been expected from his years (which yet, that it may not seem incredible, was no more than

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*vulis trahendis ad Christum*, Opp. iii. 278 sq. "Adeo jam indignum videtur apud multos, si quis ex Theologis aut famatus in litteris vel ecclesiastica dignitate præditus ad hoc se opus inclinaverit presertim circa parvulos, quod mihi (quia in talibus esse putor momenti alicujus) in fabulam et improperium cesserit."—285.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 11 ad fin. 13, 15, 36, 76. Compare Jerome's advice to the monk Rusticus: "Nunquam de manu et oculis tuis recedat liber, discatur Psalterium ad verbum."—*Epist.* 125, § 11 (i. 939).

St. Augustine's Adeodatus would often do, whose prodigious wit, the father himself protests, amazed him to think of it<sup>1</sup>). He did so naturally comprehend and retain everything, that while he conquered the greatest difficulties, he neglected not the least parts of useful education. Short-hand he learnt exactly, and his masters were even proud of him, and gave him this commendation, that he could do what he pleased. Yet he had so little vanity<sup>2</sup> and took so little pleasure in hearing himself commended, that he would often weep and forsake his meals when they would applaud him, and so unawares expose himself<sup>3</sup> to the envy of his schoolfellows; so that if his other virtues were gained by exercise, it looked as if his modesty and humility were born and bred with him.

3. But while he was very young it pleased Almighty God (Who had designed to fit him for great encounters) to permit the devil, who it seems already dreaded him, to send him a very formidable trial, a violent temptation to atheism, or rather a perplexing habit of doubting, *Whether there were a God? and if there was one, how to be worshiped*

<sup>1</sup> "Annorum erat ferme quindecim, et ingenio præveniebat multos graves et doctos viros... Horreri mihi erat illud ingenium; et quis præter Te talium miraculorum opifex?"—*Conf.* ix. 6, § 14.

<sup>2</sup> I have supplied, without notice, many letters which have been lost in the margin of the MS. Of this word however no trace remains.

<sup>3</sup> *Him?*

*and served?* Such thoughts extremely afflicted his body and mind. Hereupon he rises from his bed one night, which was cold and frosty (for sleep he could not) and going down to the grass-plat in the garden, throws himself prostrate with his face on the ground, and with abundance of sighs and tears he prays earnestly with all his strength, and most humbly begs of God *that He would put into his heart the true love and fear of His Divine Majesty; that this fear and love of God might never depart from his mind, and that he might know how to serve Him.* After long weeping and praying he felt his heart much eased; the consolations which none can know<sup>1</sup> but such as have experienced them, flowed into his soul; God made His face to shine upon him, and his scruples to vanish and pass away, as snow in warm weather. Two sweet and strong impressions were made that night within him<sup>2</sup>: one was, that God did graciously promise to be with

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<sup>1</sup> This clause (which none can know), I have supplied. In the original there is an asterisk here.

<sup>2</sup> "Two things especially, in that night's holy exercise were so imprinted in the heart and mind of the child, that they came fresh into his memory every day of his life. (This he told me more than once, two or three years before his death.) The one was the joy and sweetness which he did in that watching night conceive and feel in his heart. The other was the gracious promise which God made to him, to bless and keep him all his whole life, so that he would constantly fear God and keep His commandments."—John Worthington in Hearne's *Cvii Vind.* 685.

him by His Holy Spirit, to assist and bless him all the days of his life; the other was, that the pious tender-hearted child promised and vowed to Almighty God, that he would serve Him faithfully and set himself entirely to keep all His commandments. Then he raised himself from the earth and returned to his chamber, where he spent most part of that night in great and good passions, watching and prayer. He scarcely in his whole life neglected one day to renew the memory of that night's work, after which he always felt more and more confirmation in all goodness.

4. In his thirteenth year Mr. Brooks would needs himself carry his young scholar to settle him in the university, declaring that he was more than ripe for it, and alledging his loss of time if he stayed any longer at school. He placed him in Clare Hall<sup>1</sup> at Cambridge, famous for a set of the most eminent men of their times in their several faculties; Dr. Butler<sup>2</sup>, for physic, Mr. Lake<sup>3</sup> afterwards secretary to the lord treasurer Weston, and Mr. Ruggle that excellent comedian, all noted for their polite learning; Dutch Thomson<sup>4</sup> (as they

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<sup>1</sup> See in the Appendix a list of Ferrar's contemporaries at Clare Hall.

<sup>2</sup> Some papers relating to Dr. Butler are in Baker's MSS. ii. 541, xix. 39, xxii. 39-44.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 1606. Reg. Acad.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Thomson, A. B. 1587, A. M. 1591, "a Dutch man born of English parents and educated in Clare Hall," Wood's

call him still at Cambridge), Mr. Parkinson<sup>1</sup>, and Dr. Austin Linsell<sup>2</sup> (afterwards lord bishop of Peterborough, and at last of Hereford), for their profound knowledge in divinity. The last of these, who was a general scholar, was pleased to receive a youth of so great hopes into his own tuition, every day reading to him admirably well: yet he ever acknowledged that *he himself learnt more by teaching him, than he could teach him*. He was entered but pensioner at first, that he might be more strictly obliged to study and exercise. But soon after the fellows would needs have him fellow-commoner, *that he might be their companion*, as they expressed themselves. His tutor would invite his learned friends to be present at hard trials of his memory and other his extraordinary faculties. And

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*Fasti*, i. 273, where is some account of him and his works. On his *De Intercisione gratie*, &c. see Heylin, *Cypr. Angl.* 122, and Clarke's *Lives* (1677), 55 fin. Wood has given incorrectly the title; it is *Richardi Thomsonis Angli Diatriba de amissione et intercisione gratie et justificationis*. 8vo. Lug. Bat. 1618. He does not notice the edition Lug. Bat. 1616 in a larger oct.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Parkinson, A.B. 1607-8, A.M. 1611, acted the part of Ignoramus before king James in 1614-5, was taxor in 1617, is recorded as fellow of Clare and M.A. in 1619, was proctor in 1621, and died before his year was out. Baker has preserved the entry of his burial from the register of St. Edwards. "Mr. Tho. Parkinson, M.A., fellow of Clare and proctor, buried Feb. 12, 1621."—Baker in Hawkins's *Ignoramus*, xcvi. n. Le Neve's *Fasti*.

<sup>2</sup> A.B. 1595, A.M. 1599, D.D. 1621. Reg. Acad.

though a friendly foe (as one calls a great expectation) was raised upon him, yet he often performed things greater than were expected, either in declaiming (which he was chosen to execute on the coronation day<sup>1</sup>), or in disputing, or which way ever they turned him, for he was all obedience. He was no sooner bachelor of arts but the master of Clare Hall and the other electors were pleased to invite this young fellow-commoner into a fellowship, and chose him by unanimous consent at their next election. Whilst he lived at the college, his life was the example not only of his equals, but of his superiors. It must be no little indisposition that kept him at home when he heard the five o'clock bell ring to chapel. His chamber might be known by the last candle put out and by the first lighted in the morning. As his parts were excellent, so his industry was admirable, but his piety at his years was incomparable; and what made this still more illustrious was that his fervours of devotion were so tempered and well governed by a rare judgement and discretion, when he was not above twenty years old, that he seemed to possess this in a more eminent highth than any one of his other virtues. So good a conduct in his affairs, with such undoubted integrity, gained him universal esteem, with a powerful influence upon all his particular friends: and this good-natured youth would be overjoyed to use that

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<sup>1</sup> St. James's day, "Jul. 25, 1610, in the college hall."—Peckard.

interest as a reconciler, if any difference happened among them, or to divert them from any ill-chosen resolution. His good old tutor would often change his mind upon his advice, and then would tell others of the society pleasantly, that *if his pupil took them to task, he would alter them too.*

5. But if such was the strength of his mind, yet his constitution of body was not so happy, for his physicians observed there were very few of either sex of a more delicate frame than he; neither did the air of Cambridge agree with him, wherefore he often went from the university (but not from his study) to the house of Mrs. Collett (his beloved sister) at Bourne, five miles from Cambridge. She was a gentlewoman of an excellent understanding much reading and solid piety. There he began his labour of love to her children, whom he would catechise and exhort with a fatherly goodness, and he continued to his dying day their true spiritual friend and father<sup>1</sup>.

6. About this time Dr. Butler directed him to starve<sup>2</sup> away his aguish indispositions whenever

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Collett writes thus to her daughter Susanna Mapletoft, March 12, 1629: "I know you have been taught better, and I think it my greatest happiness that God hath provided so graciously for you all here [*at Gidding*], that my inability to instruct you hath been supplied beyond all expected insufficiency to admiration for the love and affection with which it has been performed. God give us all the grace to make the best use of it that still enjoy it."

<sup>2</sup> Saying, "You must henceforth deal with this disorder

they returned upon him, a prescription very agreeable to his patient, who was so great a lover of abstinence. But notwithstanding his exact observance of all that he was ordered, he still so drooped and sunk under his frequent agues (when he was about three years a graduate<sup>1</sup>, that Dr. Butler advised it, as the last remedy for him, *to change the air of England and go beyond sea for the recovery of his health, and a necessary diversion from his incessant studies*, pronouncing that *nothing but travel could preserve his life, and that scarce would prolong it beyond his thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year*; but the event proved otherwise, his regular and exact temperance (however austere methods) overreaching the marvellous faculty that great man had in this kind of natural divination. If his parents were extremely loth to part with him, so were many of his fellow-collegians, who loved him as a brother. Yet his tutor prevailed, bidding them all *hope comfortably to see him again, not only improved in health and learning, but grown in grace*, a stock few of our young travellers increase abroad. At his departure, he left behind him sticking in his study window a paper for his father and mother, very pathetically kind to them and his near kindred; where it was found three days after he was gone.

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when it comes to you, as men do with beggars, when they have a mind to disuse them from their houses, give them nothing, but let them go as they came."—Peckard, 25, 26.

<sup>1</sup> "In the autumn of 1612."—Peckard, 26.

And because it contains his vow of entering into holy orders (which he afterwards religiously performed), and because it justifies all that I have related, how carefully he remembered his Creator in the days of his youth, I shall insert it, as I find it transcribed into the diary which his brother left of him.

7. "Since there is nothing more certain than death, nor more uncertain than the time when ; I have thought it the first and chief wisdom for a man to prepare himself for that which must one day come, and always to be ready for that which may every hour happen : especially considering how dangerous an error is here, which cannot be amended : neither is any man any thing the nearer death for being prepared for it. It is then a thing of exceeding madness and folly to be negligent in so weighty a matter, in respect whereof other things are trifles. I here confess my own wretchedness and folly in this, that through the common hope of youth have set death far from me : and persuading myself that I had a long way to run, have more carelessly walked than I should. The Good Lord be merciful unto me.

"Indeed, I have a long way to run, if death stood still at the end of threescore years : but God knows if he be not coming against me, if he be not ready to grasp me, especially considering the many dangers wherein I am now to hazard myself, in every one of which death dwells, and if God keep me not, I know in some of them he will entrap me.

If the Good Lord God be merciful unto me, and bring me safe home again, I will all the days of my life serve Him in praising His Holy Name and exhorting others; yea, in His tabernacle, and in His holy sanctuary will I serve Him, and shall account the lowest place in His house better and more honourable than the greatest crown in the world.

“But I know my sins have deserved all His plagues and punishments, that any soul may suffer, but I most humbly beseech God to pardon them for Jesus Christ’s sake, and by His only merits and precious death I know my sins are forgiven me; yea, it may be God will take me away in the beginning of my day, it may be in this my journey. I hope He that hath begun this mind in me will continue it in me, and make me to walk so as I may always be ready for Him, when He shall come either in the public judgement of all the world, or in private judgement to me by death. This is my purpose, and this shall be my labour. I thank thee, O Blessed Lord God, for of Thee cometh this mind; it is not of myself, but from the inspiration of Thy blessed Spirit.

“And you, my most dear parents, if God shall take me from you now, I beseech you be of good comfort, and be not grieved at my death, which I undoubtedly hope shall be to me the beginning of eternal happiness, and to you no loss, for you shall with inestimable joy receive me in the kingdom of heaven, to reign there with you and my dearest brother Erasmus, and your other children that are

departed in the Lord. If I go before, you must come shortly after : think it is but a little forbearance of me. It was God that gave me to you, and if He take me from you, be you not only content but most joyful that I am delivered from this vale of misery and wretchedness. I know that through the infinite mercy of my gracious God, it shall be my happiness, for I shall then, I know, enjoy perpetual quietness and peace, and be delivered from those continual combats and temptations which afflict my poor soul. O Lord, Thou knowest I may truly say, *that from youth up Thy terrors have I suffered with a troubled mind*<sup>1</sup>. My soul hath been almost rent through violent temptations that have assaulted it: for to thy glory, O Lord, will I confess my own weakness and the great danger Thou hast delivered me from. *It was Thou, Lord, that hast kept me, else had they devoured my soul and made it desolate.* And this God Who thus hath kept me ever since I was born, ever since I came out of your womb, my most dear mother, will preserve me to the end, I know, and give me grace that I shall live in His faith, and die in His fear, and rest in His peace, and rise in His power, and reign in His glory.

“I know, my most dear parents, your tender affection to your children, and therefore I fear your grief if God take me away, and therefore write and

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<sup>1</sup> Psal. lxxxviii. 15 (Prayer-book Version).

leave this, that you might know your son's estate, and assure yourselves (for on the truth of God's infinite mercy am I confident in the hope of my salvation), that though he be dead to you, yet he is alive to God.

"I most humbly beseech you to pardon me in whatsoever I have at any time displeased you, and forgive me: I most humbly beseech God to bless and keep you, and give you a happy life here, and everlasting life in the world to come.

"Your most humble and obedient son,

"N. FERRAR."

"Postscript,

"My dearest brothers and dearest sisters; If I live, you shall find me a faithful loving brother unto you all: if I die, I beseech you by the fear of God, by the duty to our parents, by the bond of nature, by the love you bear me, that you all agree in perfect love and amity, and account every one the other's burthen to be his; so may plenty and prosperity dwell among you. So prays your faithful loving brother,

"N. F."

"If I die, I desire that the value of £5 of my books may be given to the college: the rest I leave to my father's and mother's disposing: yet I desire that in them my worthy tutor Linsell and cousin Theophilus may be remembered: and if any of my

sisters' sons prove a scholar, the rest may be given to him.

"This tenth day of April, 1613, being Sunday<sup>1</sup>."

8. He was so confirmed in goodness and truth, that by the grace of God there was no great danger of his being tainted either with vice or superstition. He had already run over many controversial writers between us and Rome, and he had read several of the ancient fathers, so that he might be safely ventured alone without any governor. Now it fell out, happily for him, that the lady Elizabeth, who was newly married<sup>2</sup> to Frederick the count palatine of Rhine, was to be transported into Holland, and so to be conducted into the Palatinate. Therefore Dr. Scott, who was then master of Clare Hall, and sub-almoner to his majesty, advised him by all means to make one of her highness's retinue. Whereupon, being first created master of arts (the university conferring his degree upon him by extraordinary favour before the commencement<sup>3</sup>), he took his leave of his beloved study in Clare Hall, and put

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<sup>1</sup> This last paragraph, *If I die—to him*, is added from Peckard. In the rest of the paper the most characteristic and beautiful sentences were omitted by Peckard, who, as he says himself, feared "the derision of the fastidious reader at the end of the eighteenth century."

<sup>2</sup> The wedding-day was Feb. 14, 1612-3. The royal pair embarked at Margate, April 25, and landed at Flushing, April 29, 1613.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. before Midsummer, 1613.

himself into the habit of a young gallant : not that he cared for a shining outside, but that he might gain access and admittance in princes' courts ; our Saviour Himself, where He describes John Baptist in his camel's hair, not disallowing those that are in king's palaces to wear softer raiment<sup>1</sup>. The Dr. carrying him one day to court, presented him to the princess to kiss her hand, and introduced him into the acquaintance of the courtiers that waited on her highness. The royal fleet landed them all at Flushing<sup>2</sup>, and his being very sea-sick cleared him, as Dr. Butler foretold it would, of his aguish humours. No sooner had he set his foot on the shore, but they all took notice of him for a great observer, one that spared no cost or pains to satisfy a laudable curiosity. He quickly got language enough for the despatch of common affairs, having ever his Dutch book with his English translation about him, that he might not lose a minute. He did not make it all his business to see sights and to measure the highth of towers, but he set himself laboriously to study the originals of their cities, the nature of their governments, the humours and inclinations of the people in their several provinces, the strength of their fortresses, the greatness of their arsenals and magazines, their trade and commerce, with the staple interest of their marts and

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. xi. 8, Luke vii. 25. Cf. Matt. iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> N. F. "went in the same ship with the master of the green cloth, who took an especial liking to him."—Peckard, 42.

public banks, what incomes and impositions supported the vast expense of their navies, with the different way of building their men of war and ours, their politic inventions and ingenious manufactures, where that industrious people employ their lame and impotent<sup>1</sup>, so as the very cripples get an honest livelihood. He acquainted himself exactly with the doctrine and discipline of their church; he visited ever the Brownists<sup>2</sup> and Anabaptists at their conventicles, comparing their practice with their books, and confirming himself in the faith of the Christian Church by taking a very particular account of the public worship used by the Jews in their synagogues. Above all, he was careful to make a severe inquiry into the remarkable instances of God's providence, the miracles of His mercy and justice in rewards and punishments which are illustriously visible in the histories of every country, though many such rich observations are buried in oblivion among us for want of reading them. He attended her highness to the Hague and to Amsterdam. Her travel was a triumph;

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<sup>1</sup> "It is a rare thing to meet with a beggar here . . . they have hospitals of all sorts for young and old, both for the relief of the one and the employment of the other."—Howell, *u. infr.*

<sup>2</sup> "I am lodged in a Frenchman's house, who is one of the deacons of our English Brownists' church here. . . I believe in this street where I lodge [*at Amsterdam*] there be well near as many religions as there be houses."—Howell, *bk. i. s. 1. letter 7.*

she was all along royally feasted, and he, as an ornament of her train, was much caressed. But when she begun to steer course directly to the Palatinate, he not intending that way but declaring his design of passing through Westphalia into the upper parts of Germany, some of the greatest quality who belonged to the princess implored him to go to Heidelberg, where the count palatine kept his court, assuring him, *if he sought advancement by his travels, he stood fair for her secretary; such notice her highness had taken of him both by her own observation and by every body's good word.* But he answered with his usual modesty, *That he aimed at lower things, and was not qualified for such an employment.* So he kissed her royal hand, and she graciously bid him farewell, with kind wishes that he might be prosperous in his travels.

9. So he set forward from Amsterdam towards Hamburg, and after he had travelled some days, it happened that he passed through a wood where two or three were hanged on a gibbet in chains. *Look yonder, sir,* (said the post that went along with him, a one-eyed fellow), *these villains so many years ago set upon my wagon, in which was a young English gentleman. They stripped us all and rifled him to his shirt, where they found some gold was quilted. Then they drank up our wine and rode away, neighing at our nakedness in a cold frosty morning. But following the padding trade, they some time after assaulted another wagon, where meeting a stout resistance, they shot three of the*

passengers: for which they were pursued taken and used as you see. That English youth, said Mr. Ferrar, whom these cut-throats used so barbarously, was my own brother<sup>1</sup>, and when I first saw you I knew you by the story my brother told me of his unlucky adventure with the one-eyed post: but I hope you and I shall have better fortune.

10. Safely arriving at Hamburg, he was kindly welcomed and entertained by the English merchants<sup>2</sup>, upon whom he had bills and letters of credence to deliver him whatever money he demanded; but it was abundantly repaid to his good parents by that excellent character his countrymen gave of him in their letters to their correspondents at London. They observed he would never taste any wine or strong liquor, that he might never be urged to drink with them. At first they tempted him, but he knew how to defend himself, and when they discovered his temperance in eating and drinking, they left importuning him; acknowledging that *he was in the right way, though they* (they said) *could not hit it*. Even in these his younger days he understood the art of dialogue well, and without the pedantry of assuming and imposing upon the

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Richard F., who was at Hamburg when Mrs. Collett wrote to him from Bourne, July 1616, (*Collett Letters*, MSS. No. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> Especially by Mr. Gore, his father's old acquaintance, then deputy governor of the company of merchant adventurers. At Hamburg he took daily lessons in German.—Peckard, 47.

company he would lead the discourse to some useful consideration of virtue or vice, and would so delicately array the one and disrobe the other, that his conversation was no less pleasing than it was instructive, ever interlacing some pertinent and remarkable passages out of sacred and civil history; with which new way of conversation they were strangely taken. Passing through several of their cities, he came up to Leipzig in Saxony, where, being in his own element again, he resolved to fix for some time and continue in that learned university. Presently he made inquiries for the ablest masters in every art<sup>1</sup>, whom he would gain entirely, if gold and good words could gain them, to teach him their mystery. Among other curious arts which he learnt abroad he was taught the skill of artificial memory. The Germans are exquisite mechanics, and to every trade he would, if he could, serve an honourable apprenticeship of a week or a fortnight to each. Their painters weavers dyers and smiths were much at his lodgings, and at his service, which enabled him to treat with artisans in their proper terms: he could maintain a dialogue with an architect in his own phrases; he could talk with the mariners in their sea terms, knowing the word for almost every rope and every pin in a ship. Such was his curiosity in all the fine parts of

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<sup>1</sup> And, attending all the exercises performed in the public schools, was admired for "the elegant Latin which he spake with the utmost readiness."—Peckard, 50.

learning and knowledge ; an affection which is last mortified<sup>1</sup> in a polite and a capacious mind, that now made the great world his other book. He took notes of all in short-hand, when he was by himself ; though his memory was so tenacious and so strangely faithful, that many times he could recal the circumstances of time and place with the very words he had heard many years ago. At Leipzig the learned professors courted him to their worthy acquaintance ; but his reputation drawing too many visitants, he retired to a neighbour village, where he spent his time in reading the choicest writers on the German affairs. All men concluded he designed greatness and rising in the state by the vast pains he took and by husbanding his time with so scrupulous a care of it. His father, overjoyed at his happy progress, writ him an assurance that *he should neither want money or time to perfect his intentions*, and therefore charged him *not to destroy himself by too much diligence*. After he had visited several courts of the lesser dukes and princes of the empire and carefully surveyed the imperial court and city, he bent his course from Vienna towards Italy.

11. Many German towns being full of the plague at this time, when he came upon the fron-

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<sup>1</sup> Doubtless an allusion to Tacitus's saying (*H.* iv. 6) : *Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima excutitur* ; which Milton (*Lycidas*) has imitated : *Fame, that last infirmity of noble minds.*

tiers of Italy, the Venetian territory, he was compelled at one passage to make his quarantine (as they call it), a custom on this occasion used to air the passengers for forty days. These fell out to be our forty-days fast of Lent, so that he was forced to do penance both under a restraint from company and from flesh, though neither of these was any great constraint upon one already so mortified. Here he had leisure enough to recollect his thoughts, to revise his notes<sup>1</sup>, and to reduce his observations into method. He spent this time of fasting and sequestration from the world very agreeably. In the morning he went up into a neighbour mountain, where abundance of wild thyme and rosemary grew; there with a book or two and with his God, Whom he met in the closest walks of his mind, having spent the day in reading, meditation and prayer, he came down in the evening to an early supper (his only set meal) of oil and fish. He omitted not his offices and exercises of devotion morning and evening and at midnight in his travels, for to serve and please his Maker was the travail of his soul. He needed not many books, who was his own concordance, and had the New Testament in a manner without book<sup>2</sup>. And if the time and place would not serve him to kneel, yet then and there he made the lowest prostrations of his soul and spirit.

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<sup>1</sup> Taken in short-hand.—Peckard, 54.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 2 and note.

12. I cannot omit one extraordinary deliverance among the many which the providence of God's goodness vouchsafed him in Italy. Riding one time over some dangerous and narrow passages of the Alps, his guide being but a little way before him, out comes an ass from the side of a hill between him and his guide, laden with a large piece of timber lying cross her back, running upon him down the hill, where the way was extremely strait and narrow and steep, as having a wall on the one side and a dreadful descent on the other. His guide not hearing the tread of his mule, looked behind him, and seeing the ass thus laden and now near him, he cried out, *O Lord! O God! the man is lost if he had a hundred lives.* Overhearing the guide's voice he was amazed, and looking up he saw the ass coming down hastily upon him, so that, the wood lying athwart her, he thought it must tumble him and his mule headlong into the dismal valley beneath him: therefore he instantly called upon God to preserve him, and by His infinite mercy to find some means of delivering him. Just as the ass came upon him, she tripped, and with that bowing and sudden violent motion the timber swayed away from him and only gave him a brush on one side as the ass passed quietly by, whilst he and his mule stood still. Immediately alighting and falling flat on his face he made his most humble acknowledgements to Almighty God for his preservation, whilst the guide and the owner of the ass (who coming up told how she broke away as they

were lading her) stood crossing themselves and crying *Miracolo!*

13. At Padua the genius of the place presented him with a fair opportunity, and his own infirm constitution gave him occasion enough, to apply himself intensely to the study of physic, in which by a sudden proficiency he gained the friendship and assistance of the most excellent men in that university. He soon became too well known and oppressed with too many visits, by his own countrymen especially (for it is the Englishman's fault when he is abroad, to lose his time in quest of his mother tongue). To remove this evil he retired ten, twenty, thirty, or forty miles into the country, frequently changing his place of residence and then returning for three weeks or a month to Padua or Venice, where he was treated at a very obliging rate by the honourable sir Dudley Carleton the English ambassador. While he resided at Padua he was seized with a violent sickness<sup>1</sup>. His physicians

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<sup>1</sup> "I bless God for the confirmation which he [Thomas Jackson] hath given me in the christian religion against the Atheist, Jew, and Socinian, and in the protestant, against Rome. As also, by what I have seen in manuscript of Mr. Ferrar's, and heard by relation of his travels over the western parts of Christendom ; in which his exquisite carriage, his rare parts and abilities of understanding and languages, his morals more perfect than the best, did tempt the adversaries to tempt him, and mark him for a prize, if they could compass him. And opportunity they had to do this, in a sickness that seized on him at Padua, where mighty care was had by physicians

were his particular friends, and held a consultation about him in his chamber, and all dreadfully apprehended him to be in extreme danger. They determined to let him bleed as the last remedy, to which he was ready to submit; though reasoning the case with them he declared his own sense that *it would hasten his end*. Then a very old physician, who came to him in pure kindness and had been silent before, protested that *he was his own best physician*, and prevailed to defer his bleeding. Next morning there appeared some favourable signs of his recovery, and within three or four days they were perfectly of his opinion, that had they opened a vein, he had been lost. The good old man, transported with joy to have been the means under God of his preservation, came daily and sat whole hours with him while he kept his chamber, admiring the excellency of his parts as well intellectual as moral.

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and others to recover his bodily health, with design to infect his soul. But neither did their physic nor poison work any change in his religion, but rather inflamed him with a holy zeal to revenge their charity, by transplanting their waste and misplaced zeal (as they were all three admirable in separating from the vile what was precious in every sect or person under heaven) to adorn our protestant religion, by a right renouncing the world with all its profits and honours, in a true crucifying the flesh, with all its pleasures, by continued temperance, fasting, and watching unto prayers. In all which exercises, as he far outwent the choicest of their retired men, so did he far undervalue these deeds, rating them much below such prices as they set upon them."—Oley's *Life of Herbert*, xviii, xcix.

They gave him one comfortable expectation, that *he would not be liable to fevers in the latter part of his life (which they thought would be none of the longest), and that if he still observed a regularity in his diet, as he grew older, he would be healthfuller every day than other*; and so it proved, though his labours and watchings and fastings were far greater as he drew nearer to heaven.

14. He had both studied the Roman antiquities and the best modern accounts of her, and as this study begat in him St. Augustine's wish<sup>1</sup>, to have seen her ancient glory, so it gave him a longing desire to see her present polity. But conferring with some that came from thence and were well acquainted with the English college there, he was assured *the Jesuits had him in the wind already, and that those perfect intelligencers had a description of his person with such a character of his abilities and of his manners, that they concluded he came abroad with some great design*. Therefore, as Rome was not so safe a place then<sup>2</sup> as it is now for

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<sup>1</sup> "Present Rome may be said to be but the monument of Rome past, when she was in that flourish that St. Austin desired to see her in."—Howell, *bk. i. s. 1, letter 38*. "Augustinus fertur tria videre cupiisse: nimirum Christum in carne, Paulum in cathedra, Romam in flore."—J. T. Freigius, *Præf. in Rosin. Antiq. Rom.* (Basil. 1583). For the reference to this passage, which probably gives the original form of this hackneyed saying, I am indebted to the learning of the Rev. Richard Gibbins. Elsewhere we find *triumpho* for *flore*.

<sup>2</sup> The English government at this time looked with

Protestants, if they happened to be discovered, he stole away from Padua, and travelled very privately<sup>1</sup> on foot, casting his business so as to reach Rome upon Monday<sup>2</sup> in the great holy week before Easter. When there, he changed his lodgings every night, and stayed but ten days, which he managed as advantageously as possible to take a view of everything very remarkable. One time he very unadvisedly pressed into a gallery, through which the pope passing in state, all the people fell on their knees to beg his indulgence before Easter, which Mr. Ferrar was not aware of. Though he was too genteel a traveller to have scrupled at such compliments as were usually paid the pope as a temporal prince, set up in the midst of Christian kingdoms and supported at their charges, yet this good Protestant was so surprised at this encounter, that one of the Switz guard, seeing him stand amazed and taking him for some Dutchman, came up to him as if on purpose to preserve him, and clapping his heavy hand upon his shoulder he pressed him down, whispering him softly in the ear *dune Skellam, dune*

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suspicion upon visits to Rome. "I have got a warrant," says Howell, "from the lords of the council to travel for three years anywhere, *Rome* and *St. Omers* excepted."—*Letters*, bk. i. s. 1, letter 3.

<sup>1</sup> Communicating his route only to his friend Garton, who, in case anything should happen to him, was to send an account to his family.—Peckard, 63.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Apr. 3, 1615. Comp. § 15, n.

*Skellam*<sup>1</sup>. When the pope was gone by, the fellow took off his hand from his neck; so he got up and got away in the throng, but he felt the great heavy paw of the brawny Switzer a week after, nor would he thrust himself into such places of danger any more.

15. And now taking his leave of Italy, he went to Marseilles, designing from thence to go by sea for Spain; but he was arrested at Marseilles by a more terrible fever than that which seized him before at Padua. Here his physician and his landlord took him for a knight of Malta, as they told him afterwards when he undeceived them. They thought him so because they had by chance espied, among his other curiosities, one of those little crosses usually worn by those knights, which was bestowed upon him when he was among them. His doctor confidently supposing him to be his countryman (for he spoke perfect Italian), wondered at his learned discourses in physic, which he thought very extraordinary for a young knight of Malta, and had a high veneration for him. At the beginning of his sickness he dispatched a passionate letter to his most dear friend Mr. Garton<sup>2</sup>, a worthy English gentleman whom he left at Venice, entreating him *to take a charitable voyage to visit the sick in a place where he was a perfect stranger, where he*

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<sup>1</sup> *Du Schelm, Du Schelm!* (you rascal, you rascal!) In Dr. Turner's *Life* the words are *Down, simpleton, down!*

<sup>2</sup> See § 71.

was obliged to be his own priest, his own book<sup>1</sup>, and was able to endure no light but from his own memory: wherefore he prayed him to come immediately, if ever he would see him alive or else procure him some corner for a Christian burial. His distemper grew so high and so acute, that he must either mend or die soon. His doctor took his leave (his last leave as he feared it would prove) one evening; but it pleased God, Whom he day and night invoked with a mighty fervour and with no less resignation, to send him a sound sleep and so comfortable a morning, that his physician pronounced it was a change preternatural and little less than supernatural, and that he was in the special care of the Divine providence. To double his hopes and joys (for which he never failed to double his thanks and praise to Almighty God), his friend Mr. Garton arrived and came to him that very day, even weeping over him and never parting from him<sup>2</sup> until a perfect recovery was established.

16. Soon after he shipped himself in a small English vessel of twelve guns bound from Marseilles<sup>3</sup> to Spain; but they had not sailed far before

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<sup>1</sup> See § 2 with the note.

<sup>2</sup> N. F. would take no refusal, but saw his friend safe back to Venice: when there he wrote (April, 1616) to his parents, giving them an account of his sickness and recovery. On leaving Venice he received from his friend a costly rapier, (comp. § 17. Peckard, 69.)

<sup>3</sup> From Venice (Peckard, 69, who says the vessel carried *ten* guns).

a Turkish pirate gave them chase and fetched them up amain, though the wind was not very favourable to the pirate. The sailors began to tremble, and only the master and his mate had the heart to think of fighting, the major part inclining to strike sail and yield immediately. Our traveller stood upon the deck and heard all, and said nothing till the master appealing to him asked his opinion. *For, said he, this young gentleman has a life to lose as well as we; shall we hear what he thinks of it?* Then this young Christian worthy animated them all with such words as David used<sup>1</sup>; *Let us fall into the hands of God and not into the hands of men; however, not into the hands of such men as have cast off all humanity.* He persuaded them to fight manfully, terrifying the fearful with horrid representations of the chains and stripes they must endure together with slavery, and firing the most phlegmatic by recounting how our ancestors lorded it over the sea and were renowned over all the world for their naval victories. He so wrought them, that they all prepared for an engagement, and he was as active<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

<sup>2</sup> So Isaac Barrow, when his ship was attacked by a pirate, bore his part manfully in her successful resistance; and when afterwards asked, *Why he did not go down into the hold, and leave the defence of the ship to those to whom it did belong?* replied, *It concerned no man more than myself; I would rather have lost my life, than have fallen into the hands of those merciless infidels.* See Walter Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 136, 137, Barrow's *Opusc.* 211.

as any tarpaulin<sup>1</sup> of them all. The Turk, who had been striving to get the weather-gage, approached and was ready to hail them: the English were resolved to use the advantage of the wind whilst they had it, and to give him a broadside. But as the master was giving the signal to the gunner, the Turk fell off and steered away with all the sail he could make, to their inexpressible joy and to their admiration, till they discovered the reason, viz. that he had descried at a distance a much greater ship and so probably a better booty, which he was unwilling to lose, and they saw him over the poop get apace upon her. They thanked God and their gallant passenger for his courage and conduct, and discerning his excellent skill in maritime affairs, they would hardly believe but that he had been some sea captain in the Venetian fleets against the Turks, and that he had seen hot service.

17. Being landed well in Spain, he travelled to the court at Madrid, and enquired among the English merchants there, *whether or no any bills were come for a friend of his* (for he would not be known), *one Mr. Ferrar?* But his father not supposing he could reach Madrid so suddenly had returned him no money thither. The greatest part of his cash which he had brought from Marseilles was spent, but his countrymen were so taken with his winning behaviour and discourse (though he

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<sup>1</sup> See Phillips's *World of Words* and Richardson.

thought it not proper to tell them who he was), that they<sup>1</sup> frankly offered him a very considerable sum, which he courteously refused. But whilst he was deliberating how to shape his affairs and which way to steer his course from Madrid, so as to take an exact survey of Spain (for now he had done with the court), and so to return through France into England, he received an information or rather intimation by a strange way, that his family was involved in sad distresses, and that none but he by his return could extricate them and preserve them from ruin. Submitting to this exigence, he quitted his determination of passing through France, resolving (had it been in his power) to have gone home<sup>2</sup> in as straight a line as it was possible to draw. He therefore desired to reach St. Sebastian's and there to take shipping for England. So, selling some jewels to supply his present necessity, he travelled on foot<sup>3</sup> with a rapier in his hand (as the Spaniards call it) *in cuerpo*<sup>4</sup>, i. e. in doublet and breeches. He chose

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<sup>1</sup> Especially Mr. Wyche the son of a merchant, who was an intimate friend of Nicholas Ferrar the elder.—(Peckard, 72.)

<sup>2</sup> "As straight as an angel could lay a line."—Bp. Turner.

<sup>3</sup> Suffering severely from blisters, until directed by his hostess to bathe his feet in a bowl of sack, which he found an effectual remedy.—Peckard, 74, 75.

<sup>4</sup> "To walk *in cuerpo*, i. e. to go without a cloak."—Phillips's *World of Words*. "They unmantled him of a new plush cloke, and my secretary was content to go home quietly, and *en cuerpo*."—Howell, *bk. i. s. 1. letter 17*.

this way of travelling in Spain (a kingdom not very hospitable to strangers, especially to known protestants and unprotected), not because his stock grew low, but that he might pass the more unsuspected and unquestioned. In all places wherever he thought fit to offer any discourse he was very inquisitive after the state of the war in Flanders, which his hosts or fellow-travellers observing, they took him for a young Italian gentleman going towards Flanders to serve under the marquis Spinola, the great commander in those parts for the king of Spain. At one little town the governor would have taken away from him his curious rapier, which he denied him, saying, *A man of courage ought no more to part with his sword than with his life*<sup>1</sup>. When still he was urged to surrender it, he answered wisely and resolutely, that *if it was forced away from him, he should find friends at court that would see him take no wrong*. Some judged by his free speech and by his brave deportment that he was some extraordinary person incognito; therefore they advised the governor to press him no further. *Well*, said the Don, *I did this only to try you, I see you love your arms, which indeed is soldierlike; I perceive you are for the Flemish wars*

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<sup>1</sup> Adding that it was given him by a dear friend, who had charged him to keep it. Peckard, 76. His bearing a rapier would incline strangers to take him for an Italian. "His long rapier," says Walton in his *Life of Wotton*, "which Italian-like he then wore."—Wordsw. *Eccl. Biogr.* iv. 79.

under your countryman *Spinola*; and so dismissed him to proceed on his wearisome journey.

18. One day, as he was forced to foot it alone and meeting nobody, he was obliged to guess his way by the landmarks they had given him where he had lodged the night before. Towards evening he perceived that his way (as he took it to be) led him to a very high hill, which climbing with great pains, he saw a vast circuit of ground flanked and bulwarked on every side with rocks, nor could he discern any path leading out of it. At this he was in a sad perplexity, suspecting he had wholly mistaken the hill that he was to ascend, and fearing he must take up his lodging all night in the open air; when, beseeching God to help and direct him and seconding his prayers with his endeavours, as he was looking up and down for some ways and means to help himself (since it was too late to turn back), he spied a great black hog running out from between two rocks. He ran to see what became of it, in hopes it might be a tame hog and some house not far off. By and by he saw it run down at the farther end of the mountain, and coming to the place, he perceived it a place cut out of a rock with a window to give some light. He entered into a turning and winding passage, which grew more and more dark till he came to a glimmering of light again from such another window; then listening, he overheard the voices of some that were talking, and found it a *venta* (as they call it), or one of their paltry inns to harbour passengers. Coming

in he saluted his host, who wondered how he could find the way thither without a guide. But here he saw very suspicious tokens and quickly perceived that he was fallen into very bad company, yet there was no retreating; therefore complaining (as he had reason), how weary and sleepy he was, he laid himself down on the bench to take some rest, still grasping his rapier. But he had hardly composed himself before a brace of hectors with an impudent quean came roaring into the room. One of the ruffians affronted the woman, t'other protected her, so feigning a quarrel they flourished in the air with their swords, and the weaker called upon him on the bench to arise and help him, only to engage him into a brawl for a pretence to assassinate him with the law on their side: but having to deal with counterfeits, he feigned himself all the while in a deep sleep. At last the duel was at an end through the host's mediation, and it pleased God he heard no more of them: so he got up before sunrise and stole away.

19. After a tedious travel on foot from Madrid to St. Sebastian's, he was constrained to stay a long time for a wind. The English factors there (as everywhere else) were extremely kind to their unknown countryman, whom they discerned to be a gentleman of very great worth and experience. They pressed him day after day to command their purses, and he was not nice in acknowledging that his own was at an ebb. In the end he was content to accept the loan of £10 and no more. He knew

there was sometimes as much goodnature in receiving handsomely as in doing a courtesy. When the wind came about fair, he was accompanied aboard by several of his new acquaintance; where taking a kind leave of them, within a few days he arrived at Dover, and leaping on shore he fell flat on his face on his mother earth, and rendered most humble thanks to God for so many preservations abroad, and for bringing him home safe and sound to his native country<sup>1</sup>. So posting from Dover to London, and finding his father's door open, he entered the house in his Spanish habit. His father, seeing one in that garb kneeling and begging his blessing, demanded *Who he was?* for he did not know him. He named himself, at which the good old man, who did not dream of his coming, felt all the transports of an affectionate father. Thus after about five years' absence in travel he returned home with a far better constitution than he carried abroad, and was received by all his friends with all the satisfaction imaginable. He would fain have resettled himself in his cell at Clare Hall, but his aged parents enjoined him to fix with them in the city of London the great theatre of England, where he

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<sup>1</sup> Many scarce books in various languages, chiefly treating of a spiritual life and of religious retirement, together with prints by the best masters relating to scripture subjects, all of which he had collected in his travels, reached England before him. Of these only a few prints escaped in the devastation of Gidding, and were in Peckard's possession in 1790 (Peckard, 88, 89).

presently has a very good part and excellently well he performed it.

20. Instantly upon his return he becomes a public person. Now the spheres in which he moves are the court of the king's great council of parliament: now, as if the world which he had already seen had been too little for him to study, he lays out his thoughts upon the new found world, and at last he does a greater thing than ever was done by Alexander the Great: he so overcomes the world as to subdue himself and all his love of the world, and being more than conqueror he marches out of it into a holy retirement.

21. Old Mr. Ferrar being an alderman's fellow, and having been intimate with those brave men and gallant sailors, sir Walter Rawley, sir John Hawkins, and sir Francis Drake, was a great lover and encourager of plantations, himself being one of the most early adventurers in that of Virginia and the Somer<sup>1</sup> Islands. A design, it must be acknowledged, the greatest and most honourable of its kind that ever was so generously embraced and undertaken by our English nobility, gentry, clergy, and the city of London. It was a project for the common good, for the employment of unsettled people, for estates to younger brothers, for a supply

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<sup>1</sup> He and his sons J. F. and N. F. all appear as shareholders in the Somer Islands, A.D. 1618 (Smith's *Virginia*, 188). N. F. was deputy of this company (and lord Cavendish treasurer) in 1622, but not in the following years (*ib.* 200).

of those commodities which we were fain to fetch from other countries at intolerable rates<sup>1</sup>, and above all, for the conversion of the rude and miserable savages there to the Christian faith<sup>2</sup>. Many

<sup>1</sup> "How much hath Virginia the prerogative of all those flourishing kingdoms [Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, France, Spain, Italy, Holland], for the benefit of our land, when as within one hundred miles all those [their commodities] are to be had. . . . So then here is a place, a nurse for soldiers, a practice for mariners, a trade for merchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a business most acceptable to God, to bring such poor infidels to the knowledge of God and His holy gospel."—Smith, 29. Cf. *ibid.* 163, 209, 211. Hakluyt, iii. 267 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Anderson (*Hist. of the Col. Church*) has proved the truth of this statement. *The gaining provinces*, says Smith in his preface, *addeth to the king's crown : but the reducing heathen people to civility and true religion bringeth honour to the King of heaven.* Again (226) : *Had the seed of Abraham, our Saviour Christ and His apostles exposed themselves to no more dangers to teach the gospel than we, even we ourselves had at this present been as savage and as miserable as the most barbarous savage yet uncivilized.* He elsewhere appeals (221) to another motive spoken of in the text : *What was it both in their purse and person they would not do for the good of their commonwealth, which might move them presently to set out their spare children in these generous designs ? Religion above all things should move us, especially the clergy, if we are religious, to shew our faith by our works, in converting those poor savages to the knowledge of God, seeing what pains the Spaniards take to bring them to their adulter'd faith.* See too 117, 143, 145, 217. Jonas Stockam, a minister, cruelly suggests, "till their priests and ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conversion."—*Ibid.* 140. Various gifts for religious uses are recorded (127, 141).

of the bishops<sup>1</sup> and dignified clergy engaged in this affair with an extraordinary zeal for the propagation of the gospel, to wipe off that aspersion, however unjustly thrown upon the Church of England by the Church of Rome, *that we convert no unbelievers abroad*: whereas indeed, our clergy (who are but a handful of men to that of theirs)<sup>2</sup>, whilst theirs are so busy to pervert the souls committed to our charge. But though the Jesuits have had great trading on that vast continent of Mexico, yet Virginia was safe enough from such charitable attempts of those merchants; for where there are no mines or plenty of gold or silver, there we seldom hear *they compass sea and land to make their proselytes*<sup>3</sup>. Sir Edwin Sandys was a prime manager of this Virginia affair, and treasurer<sup>4</sup> to this noble company; and, having named that gentleman, I must not slightly pass him over, especially since he and Mr. Ferrar within two months of his return from abroad contracted so near a friendship, that they were seldom asunder. It was that

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<sup>1</sup> Abbot, Montague, Mountaine and Parry are named in a list of the company printed in 1620, which seems to include past as well as present members (Smith, 130 seq.). Smith's *Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New England* (reprinted in the *Massachus. Hist. Collect. third ser. iii. 1 seq.*) are dedicated to the two archbishops.

<sup>2</sup> Something has fallen out here, probably to this effect, *carry the gospel far and wide among the heathen.*

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xxiii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> In 1619, when John Ferrar was deputy (Smith, 125, 126).

sir Edwin Sandys who thought it no less both his honour and happiness to have been Mr. Hooker's pupil, than to have been son to the lord archbishop of York: it was he that wrote the admirable *Europæ Speculum*, wherein may be seen the image of the eloquent author's politic and pious mind; he was indeed one of the blessings and glories of his time. Old Mr. Ferrar<sup>1</sup> lent his great parlour and hall for the governors of the Virginia company to meet in weekly<sup>2</sup>, and was much joyed to see his son as heartily affording his assistance to sir Edwin as he entreated it in this hard work. Nay, his care and charity could not confine itself to Virginia, for he and his ingenious brother Mr. John Ferrar frankly bestowed two shares of land they had in Bermuda for the maintenance of a free school there, whither they also sent a great number of bibles and psalm-books for the children. He was presently made

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<sup>1</sup> "Master Nicholas Ferrar, deceased, hath by his will given three hundred pounds to the college, to be paid when there shall be ten young savages placed in it; in the mean time £24 yearly to be distributed to three discreet and godly young men in the colony, to bring up three wild young infidels in some good course of life."—Smith, 127.

<sup>2</sup> By the third patent for Virginia (Mar. 12, 1612), "it was ordered that weekly, or even more frequent, meetings of the whole company might be convened for the transaction of affairs of less weight; while all questions respecting government, commerce, and the disposition of lands, should be reserved to the four great and general courts, at which all officers were to be elected and all laws established."—Bancroft, 60.

known to those noble lords that were engaged as adventurers, above twenty peers of the realm; but he was received with open arms by my lord Southampton, the most generous patron and the most vigorous promoter of this glorious enterprise. Mr. Nicholas Ferrar the younger was sure to be named for one in all committees; he was become their secretary to all intents and purposes except taking fees, which he never touched, but left them all to the person that had the title of secretary, who did but write after him. Their letters of advice to the colony were drawn by him<sup>1</sup>; he had the framing and ordering of all instructions, either for matter of government<sup>2</sup>, or for the country's improvement

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, who brings many objections against the company's management, the expenses of its official staff, &c., admits (166) the ability with which these papers were drawn up.

<sup>2</sup> By Sandys's influence the colony received a free government: the first representative assembly met in June, 1619. A written constitution, established by an ordinance July 24, 1621, made this assembly independent of the company at home, and granted the right of trial by jury. Well may Bancroft say, "The London company merits the fame of having acted as the successful friend of liberty in America. It may be doubted, whether any public act during the reign of King James was of more permanent or pervading influence; and it reflects glory on the earl of Southampton, sir Edwin Sandys, and the patriot party of England, who, unable to establish guaranties of a liberal administration at home, were careful to connect popular freedom so intimately with the life, prosperity, and state of society of Virginia, that they never could be separated."—*Hist. Un. States*, 63-65.

by staple commodities. He procured men out of France that were skilful in feeding and ordering silkworms<sup>1</sup>, and we owe it to his contrivance that Virginia now affords some as good silk as Persia. He treated with the civilians, the common lawyers, and the divines that came to their courts; he managed the victualling and setting out of their ships. If reading considering and advising would make him perfect master of his business, he would study it with such unwearied diligence, that *he alone* (as the tradesmen and seamen acknowledged) *could direct all the officers*. Thus, before he was aware of it, this great young man had made himself necessary to those parts of the other world.

22. The fame of these exploits flew into Spain, and the Spanish ambassador, count de Gundamore<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "By the dwelling of the savages are some great mulberry-trees, and in some parts of the country they are found growing naturally in pretty groves. There was an essay made to make silk, and surely the worms prospered excellent well, till the master-workman fell sick. During which time they were eaten with rats."—Smith, 26. "The *Frenchmen* affirm no country is more proper for vines, olives, silk."—*Ib.* 140. Cf. 143, 156, 161. *Massachus. Hist. Coll. first ser.* v. 126, *second ser.* ix. 109.

<sup>2</sup> "Our statesmen . . . had store of Gundemore's gold to destroy and discountenance the plantation of Virginia. . . . He did affirm to his friends that *he had commission from his master to ruin that plantation*. For, said he, *should they thrive and go on increasing as they have done under the government of that popular lord of Southampton, my master's West Indies and his*

had instructions from the king his master, to have an eye upon those notable managers, for fear, if the English were so well planted in so fruitful a country, so near the Spanish dominions by sea, they might be tempted one day with the glistening of their mines to become formidable neighbours; and these were no idle fears, for our late great usurper<sup>1</sup> had set his heart upon the Spanish gold to pay his red-coats, and advanced far, though he miscarried at last, in the greatest of all his designs, the West Indies. But now it happened in an evil hour for this excellent good design upon Virginia, that the great negotiation began upon the Spanish match: the Spanish faction was very powerful at court, and Gundamore had a great interest in the king himself. This politic minister set spies upon these good patriots at their courts; he misrepresented all

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*Mexico would shortly be visited by sea and by land from those planters in Virginia.* And marquis Hamilton told the earl of Southampton that Gundemore said to king James, that the *Virginia court was but a seminary to a seditious parliament.*—*A perfect description of Virginia*, London, 1649 (*Massachus. Hist. Coll. second ser. ix. 113*).

<sup>1</sup> This life was written temp. Car. II. See § 55. Venables and a land-force under his orders sailed on board Penn's fleet from Portsmouth, Dec. 27, 1654, made an unsuccessful descent on St. Domingo, and seized upon Jamaica, which has since remained in our possession. "To be able with the help of Spanish gold to carry on his design in England, without depending upon a parliament for money, is thought was the true motive of his attempt upon St. Domingo."—*Welwood's Memoirs* (2nd ed.), 116.

their proceedings to king James ; he insinuated, that *the Virginia courts and meetings at Mr. Ferrar's would be a seminary for turbulent spirits*, that *Southampton was a popular lord* (though he was so no otherwise than on a public spirit), that *he and Sandys and Ferrar were politicians*, that *they drove at breaking the Spanish match which then appeared in good forwardness*, and that, *if a parliament were called they would, if they could, make a breach between the two crowns*. At the next election of treasurer (who was annually chosen) a very surprising message from the court forbad the choice of sir Edwin Sandys<sup>1</sup> again for the ensuing year ; whereupon the whole company, which was very numerous, cried up my lord Southampton<sup>1</sup> for their treasurer, and as unanimously agreed upon Mr. Nicholas Ferrar for his deputy<sup>2</sup>, giving him their votes by ballot<sup>3</sup> ; and there was not one ball against him. The new treasurer immediately rose up and

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<sup>1</sup> Sandys and Southampton were shareholders also in the Somer Islands, and each gave name to one of the seven tribes into which they were divided in 1618 (Smith's *Virginia*, 187).

<sup>2</sup> In 1622 (Burk, i. 257, Smith, 143). In 1620 and 1621 Southampton had been treasurer, and John F. deputy (Smith, 128, 138). James had sent a similar message "nominating four candidates, one of whom he desired should receive the appointment," when Sandys resigned, May 17, 1620 (Stith, 176-181).

<sup>3</sup> Sandys introduced the ballot in the hope of securing free elections (Peckard, 94).

made his express acknowledgements to the company for fitting him with such a deputy, protesting that *though he wore the noble name of their governor, yet this must be the man to act all for him and them too.*

23. This employment obliged him to appear often at court, and sometimes twice a week before the council board, whither the company pressed along with him in great numbers. With such a show of popularity he was not at all delighted, but he willingly received a command not to come thither with more than twelve attendance<sup>1</sup>. The lords of the faction<sup>2</sup> loaded the company with envy enough, neither were they permitted to speak for themselves by counsel, but this unequal task was put upon the deputy as representative of all the patentees. So young Mr. Ferrar must answer all those objections the king's attorney<sup>3</sup> himself could devise against them. In the management of this weighty cause, wherein he had the advice of the ablest lawyers, he discovered such great integrity

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<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, 15, note.

<sup>2</sup> The chief of whom was the earl of Warwick. "Upon Wednesday," we read in a letter to Mead, dated London, July 18, 1623, "at the Bermudas court sir Edwin Sandys fell foul upon the earl of Warwick. The lord Cavendish seconded Sandys, and the earl told the lord, that, *by his favour, he believed he lied.* Hereupon, it is said, they rode out yesterday, and, it is thought, gone beyond sea to fight."—*Birch's Court of Jas. I.* ii. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thos. Coventry.

with such a presence of mind, and yet with so much deference and profound submission to his majesty, that even they whose interest it was to decry the merits of his cause, would acknowledge the merits of his person, and were pleased to say *he well understood state affairs, and that it was fit he should be taken off that business and employed in higher.* Accordingly marquis Hamilton and William earl of Pembroke<sup>1</sup> sent him overtures to make him clerk of the council, and sending him as envoy into Savoy. But he had already formed his resolutions, though he had not yet shaped his occasions, for another and that a more private course of life; so with great expressions of gratitude to those noble lords he declined both those tempting offers. The lord treasurer Cranfield told him hotly one day, that *his interest and advice might prevail with the company to lay down the patent.* He humbly replied and represented, that *a very considerable number of the English nobility and gentry, besides all the planters, were engaged upon the royal word and under the broad seal; that they had ventured their estates, and many of their lives upon the most religious accounts and the most honourable action in its kind that England ever undertook; that now they had brought the plantation, if not to perfection, yet into a very*

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<sup>1</sup> Of the seven tribes into which the Somer Islands were divided in 1618, two were named from these noblemen, and the Ferrars had their shares (§ 20 n.) in Pembroke's tribe (Smith's *Virginia*, 187, 188).

*thriving condition*<sup>1</sup>; that he could only speak for himself and in behalf of some others there present, in whose names he laid his and their private interests at his majesty's feet; but he would not abuse his trust to hurt the public. Another complaint was exhibited against the deputy himself and promoted by the Spanish minister, who more pleasantly than honestly used to say, that a lie might be worth a great deal, if it would hold water but a few hours. They suggested that since his majesty had this cause before him, young Mr. Ferrar had drawn up dangerous instructions and dispatched away several letters of very evil counsel to the governor of Virginia, how the planters should behave themselves and stiffly insist on the patent. Hereupon in all haste he was sent for to court by a pursuivant, and those papers demanded of him. He answered, that all those papers were in the secretary's hands. So all were sent for exposed and perused, not only to their entire satisfaction concerning his integrity, but even to the admiration of his politics piety and eloquence. They were so exactly penned, that some of them were called for again and recited a second time. *Who drew up these?* said one of the lords. He modestly replied, *The company.* *No,* said

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<sup>1</sup> When Sandys assumed office in 1619, the colonists amounted in all to six hundred; within three years fifty patents for land were granted, and three thousand five hundred persons found their way to Virginia, which was a refuge even for puritans (Bancroft, 64).

another privy councillor, *it's all one hand, and you have the chief hand in it; they are very rare pieces.* A copy of one letter was shewed king James, that excellent judge of wit, and when he had seen it he delivered his judgement upon it in these very words: *He that drew this has a head above all his opposers; 'tis a master-piece indeed; the man has much worth in him.*

24. And though he easily foiled the cabal whenever they demanded audience in so ill a cause as theirs, yet they were restless enemies: at last they brought in I know not how many sheets of articles and accusations against the government of the Virginia company. These they presented to the lord treasurer Cranfield and other grandees of the Spanish faction. They gave in this charge upon a Thursday<sup>1</sup>. The lord treasurer gives notice of it to the deputy, and requires his punctual answer to all particulars by the next Monday in the afternoon. The deputy protests against these proceedings as an insupportable hardship put upon them, and craves more time, at least one week more, but is austere refused by the lord treasurer and denied one hour longer. If cardinal Wolsey be still famous ever since king Henry the seventh's reign for one strange dispatch, posting to the emperor Maximilian at Calais and back again to Richmond

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<sup>1</sup> Thursday before Easter [i. e. Apr. 10] 1623 (Peckard, 141).

in the compass of three days<sup>1</sup>, I must needs think this as remarkable, which Mr. Ferrar and two other gallant gentlemen performed on this occasion though sitting still. For being treated so severely by my lord treasurer, he presently assembled the company, before whom all the articles of the charge held reading three hours. The company refer themselves and all their concerns entirely to the joint care of the honourable the lord Cavendish<sup>2</sup> sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. These three made it midnight ere they parted; they ate no set meals, they slept not two hours all Thursday and Friday nights; they met to admire each other's labours on Saturday night, and sat in judgement upon the whole until five o'clock on Sunday morning: then they divided it equally amongst six nimble scribes, and went to bed themselves as it was high time for them. The transcribers finished their task by five o'clock on Monday morning; at six the company met in court, and took a hasty review of it by twelve at noon; at two in the afternoon they resolved to meet and carry it to the council board, where their adversaries were talking merrily, that *now the patentees were coming with blank paper to require more time*. When the answer was offered at the council the lords were

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<sup>1</sup> See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (in Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* i. 468 seq. ed. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Smith (*Virginia*, 187) speaks of Cavendish's afterwards Devonshire's tribe in the Somer Islands in 1618.

astonished and almost affrighted at the bulk of it, asking them, *if they had not employed all the scribes in London?* It was run over very swiftly in six hours or thereabouts, to the entire satisfaction and joy of some, but to the extreme regret and discontent of the other party, who were so baffled by this answer, that they attempted no more at the council<sup>1</sup> board, but only in Westminster Hall, to void the patent; where though the deputy managed a righteous cause with all the industry and dexterity imaginable and natural to him, yet by a nicety in law such a defect was found in the patent, that it was voided and nulled by sentence of court. So the

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<sup>1</sup> "A *quo warranto* was granted against master deputy Ferrar and twenty or thirty others of that party, to plead their cause before . . . his majesty's privy council. Now notwithstanding all the relations, examinations, and intercepting of all letters, whatsoever came from thence, yet it seems they were so far unsatisfied and desired to know the truth, as well for the preservation of the colony, as to give content and do all men right, they sent two commissioners strictly to examine the true estate of the colony. Upon whose return, after mature deliberation, it pleased his royal majesty to suppress the course of the court at deputy Ferrar's, and that for the present ordering the affairs of Virginia, until he should make a more full settlement thereof, the lord viscount Mandevile, lord president of his majesty's privy council, and also other privy councillors, with many understanding knights and gentlemen, should every Thursday in the afternoon meet at sir Thomas Smith's, . . . as more at large you may see in the proclamation to that effect, under the great seal of England, dated the 15. of July, 1624."—Smith, 168.

colony languished, and the most flourishing plantation in the world was almost blasted under new lords and new laws.

25. From the time that the deputy apprehended the interest of the company to decline, he had kept a man in his house a whole year to write out fairly all the court rolls, registers, letters, instructions, &c. These cost him out of his own purse above £50 the transcribing, so when the originals were extorted from them, he had copies of them all attested upon oath. These he presented to my lord Southampton, who protested *he should esteem them as much more highly than the evidences of his land, as his honour was dearer to him than his estate or his life.*

26. About this time two such obliging offers, as might have shaken a great constancy, did in vain tempt this Christian hero to a little more love of the world. One was the mathematic lecture in Gresham college, which Mr. Briggs being to leave for the Savilian professor's place in Oxford, he importunately recommended Mr. Ferrar to the company of mercers; that *his great friend, whom he wished his successor, was excellent in that part of learning; and advising them upon any terms to fix this office upon him, though they should purchase him by a considerable augmentation of his salary; for so he might apply himself entirely to study geometry, and he would be an honour to his native city.* But he humbly refused the offer, alledging that *he had other intentions and aims, if it pleased God to ripen*

*them to a happy issue.* But it was no great wonder if he would not make geometry his mistress, who at the same time declined a nobler offer, and that was a very agreeable person with a great fortune offered him for a wife. This was the only child and heiress of a rich merchant, one of the Virginia company, who courted and wooed him to take her and £10,000 with her. He argued pleasantly with her father, that *he was not worthy to enter into the honourable state with so much wealth*: but the father reinforced his proposal, and protested *he was in love with him*; yet this excessive kindness only extorted from him a declaration, that, *if God vouchsafed him the gift of continence, he was resolved not to marry at all* (though he knew the world and the church too well to speak or think dishonourably of that estate in his clergy friends). So resolute he was to deny himself in anything that might in the least obstruct his great design of retiring and sharing his estate, so as to enjoy it only in common with his many relations. The merchant appeared extremely perplexed, yet he declared, *if the gentleman never married, he should take it more patiently*, and expressed much affection to him ever after.

27. In the year 1624 a parliament was called, where Mr. Ferrar, without his least endeavour or seeking after it, was by the means of some lords in the Virginia company chosen a member of the house of commons, as also sir Edwin Sandys and above a hundred other gentlemen of the Virginia company. It was that parliament where the lord

treasurer Cranfield was impeached, and particularly accused for oppressing the patentees. The lord Cavendish sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Ferrar were ordered by the house to draw up the charge, which could not be long a-doing, when those three gentlemen, who had formerly given his lordship such proofs of their activity, had the doing of this business. Mr. Ferrar was deputed to bring in the charge, and he brought it in with a speech very long but nothing tedious, for it was great natural eloquence, and (to speak truth) it was that gave the lord treasurer his mortal wound. But here I dare not omit one very remarkable passage to demonstrate how tender his conscience was towards God, and what a loyal obedient heart he had towards the king. For these engagements and his too free speeches against the will of his prince, though exceedingly well meant, were so deep and so long a regret and shame to him afterwards, that he was heard to say (stretching out his right hand), *I would I were assured of the pardon of that sin, though on that condition this right hand were cut off.* Thus if *his tongue, the best member that he had* as the Psalmist<sup>1</sup> calls it), *offended him by offending his God or his king, he would rather go maimed to heaven*<sup>2</sup>, than run the least hazard of losing the right way.

28. If at this time his hands were full of the public business, they were overladen with the

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<sup>1</sup> cviii. 1 (Prayer-book Version).

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 29, 30.

private affairs of his own family, which, according to the advertisement given him abroad, he found at his coming home involved in such difficulties, as nothing but the infinite mercies of God and the wisdom of this great man, which was designed to be God's instrument in it, could have wrought their deliverance. His honest brother John's estate was £7000, but being engaged for his friends and partners £6000 deep, he was left in the lurch to pay all the debt. But this good brother of his (Mr. Nicholas Ferrar), whom his father (lately dead and dying in a good old age) had left sole executor though the younger brother, undertook the satisfaction of all his creditors, and took the wise man's advice<sup>1</sup> in case of suretyship, giving himself no rest until he had fetched off his brother upon very advantageous terms. In a grateful memorial of this extraordinary preservation when his whole family was sinking, he, after it was settled, composed as good a form of thanksgiving<sup>2</sup> as ever I saw for such an occasion, setting apart the last day of every month as a day of devotion, on which these prayers for the family's deliverance were solemnly and constantly offered up in that happy society. While he was working for life to redeem those whom God had committed to his charge from a ruin almost as

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<sup>1</sup> Prov. vi. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Peckard has mutilated this thanksgiving, which he says was used on the *first Sunday* in every month. His copy may be seen in the Appendix.

insupportable as death, it was the time of the great plague, 1625. One died of the infection the next door to their house, yet some of them, not imagining it was the plague, were invited and went to the burial. But another sickening in the same neighbour's house, he then understood the danger, and in pious care of his aged mother he conveyed her and the rest of the household to her daughter Collett's house at Bourne in Cambridgeshire. Yet he would not quit the town himself, but stayed in it when there died four thousand a week<sup>1</sup>, till he had paid every one their due and cleared the estate of all engagements.

29. His mother had bought a lordship the year before in so obscure a village, it scarce had any name in our most accurate maps, till the fame of the holy life he lived in that place made the name of Little Gidding sound high in England. It was a very good air but a depopulated place in Huntingdonshire, no house in the parish but only the manor-house and a cottage for the shepherds, who together with their dogs were very sufficient managers of the whole estate, which lay in pasture. Thither he dismissed his brother John at the beginning of the plague, to make ready an apartment for him; whither at last he came himself: yet he entreated his mother to stay above a month at Bourne while he was airing himself and making another quarantine, for fear he might bring her the

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<sup>1</sup> In one week five thousand.—Whitlock (2nd ed.), 2.

infection. But the generous matron would run that hazard, longing to see him who had so nobly ventured and *stood between the living and the dead*<sup>1</sup> to save her and her posterity. Within three days after his arrival she rides to Gidding, fifteen miles from Bourne. Their greeting was like that of old Jacob and his son Joseph<sup>2</sup>, after his father had given him over for lost, while he was providing for the support of the family. Such an interview must needs be passionately kind and zealously devout, both of them blessing God, and she again and again blessing her son. He prayed her to enter the rude house and to repose herself after her journey. *Not so*, said she, *yonder I see the church; let us first go thither, to give God thanks that He has brought me to this good place and has restored me my son.* It was told her, *there was no getting into it, for as yet there had not been time to empty the hay that was in it, which was intended shortly to be done.* By the sacrilege and profaneness of the former inhabitants of Gidding the house of God was turned into a hay-barn and a hog-sty. But this good woman had somewhat of Augustine's mother Monnica in her devotion, of whom that father affirms<sup>3</sup>, that *if a*

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<sup>1</sup> Numb. xvi. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlvi. 29.

<sup>3</sup> "An vero tu, Deus misericordiarum, sperneres cor contritum et humiliatum viduæ castæ ac sobriæ . . . nullum diem prætermittentis oblationem ad altare tuum; bis in die, mane et vespere, ad ecclesiam tuam sine ulla intermissione venientis?"—*Conf.* v. 9. § 17. "Ad cujus pretii nostri sacramentum ligavit ancilla tua animam suam vinculo fidei. Nemo a

dragon stood between her and the altar, she would have stepped through him to advance thither. So this divine soul persisted in her ardent resolution, and thrusting into the church a little way, she kneeled and prayed and wept there about a quarter of an hour. Then she charged her son to send instantly for all the workmen about the house, which were many, and commanded them to fling out all the hay at the church windows, and to cleanse it as well as they could for the present. She was obeyed, and she saw all this done before she would stir or set her foot in the house. Then she entered the ruinous place where there was hardly one dry room to lodge her, yet they passed away the time with a great deal of cheerfulness. Next morning orders were given for the church to be well washed and swept, and workmen were presently employed in its reparations. Thus did the holy woman acquit herself like the mother of such a son, her zeal in this transaction preventing his, as if she had vowed the Psalmist's vow<sup>1</sup> to give herself no rest until she had found out a place for the temple of the Lord. But she publicly owned at this time to have made another vow of a more solemn importance, and that was to serve God better than she had done heretofore, which was to make herself more the temple of the Holy Ghost<sup>2</sup>, since God had redeemed her and her

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protectione tua disrumpat eam. Non se interponat nec vi nec insidiis leo et draco."—*Ibid.* ix. 13. § 36.

<sup>1</sup> cxxxii. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 19.

children from destruction and death, and had brought them to so pleasant a place, that now she could repeat the Psalm<sup>1</sup> in her own behalf, that her lot was fallen in a fair ground and she had a goodly inheritance.

30. A month being overpast, and no danger appearing of infection by her son's coming out of the fatal city, she sent for her children and grandchildren and other her dear relations from Bourne, that they all might live and serve God together at this their new purchase. Seating themselves there, it required much cost and time to repair the old crazy house, and to make it a convenient habitation for a religious and numerous family (consisting of above forty persons), of whom above half were so descended from the old gentlewoman, that they kneeled to her morning and evening for her blessing<sup>2</sup>. Then Mr. Nic. Ferrar, who was as it were the soul that inspirited the whole family with piety, began to bring all their affairs both spiritual and temporal into as good order as could be expected and as the sadness of the time did either permit or exact of them; the church being now made fit for use, and in those additions of structure or ornament which were made to the church there were none of

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<sup>1</sup> xvi. 7 (Prayer-book Version).

<sup>2</sup> See a good note in Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 180 seq. ed. 3.  
“There are national differences in outward reverence and worships: . . . children kneel to ask blessing of parents in England; but where else?”—Donne's *Sermon on Gen.* i. 26 (4to. ed. 23).

the family that had not a hand, and they that through absence could not do it themselves, had a stone laid by some other hands. He obtained leave of the lord bishop of the diocese, bishop Williams (his old acquaintance in the religious and ample foundation at St. John's College in Cambridge, and now his neighbour at Bugden), that, *it being the time of the plague and the deplorable city now the common object of the kingdom's prayers, they might be allowed to use the litany every day in the church*, and having once introduced it, he had license to keep it up after the plague, interceding still for the sins of the world, the cause of all its misery. So they divided the prayers of the church into three times a day, and the minister of the next parish called Steeple Gidding was ready to assist them; who was so friendly a man, that they and he were a blessing to each other in the convenient situation of their churches. For as the shepherds lead their sheep in the eastern countries and go before them (to which the scripture<sup>1</sup> alludes, *The sheep hear his voice and follow him*), so this good neighbour of theirs, like a true spiritual guide, walked with his own flock after him to officiate at that church. Thus they began already to taste the delicious fruits of peace and quietness, and they found by this little experience, how much the pleasant solitariness of the place (for their family was in a manner all the parish) contributed to the serenity of their thoughts

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<sup>1</sup> John x. 4, 16.

and the piety of their devotions. At this rate they spun out that part of the unhealthy summer and all the long winter at Gidding.

31. But at Easter they made one step to London again (the plague being now ceased), that the good old gentlewoman might take her last leave of all her friends, expecting to see them no more till the great Easter morning at the resurrection: for she was so well pleased with her country privacy, that she resolved by the grace of God to take livery and seisin of her new purchase by laying her bones there, as the first purchase we read of in the world was the burying-place of Sarah<sup>1</sup> the mother of the faithful. So, having let their great house in London, and having done all that they had to do in this world who intended to have no more to do with it, God having blessed them with all the success they could desire in the final settlement of all their earthly concerns, Whitsunday drawing near, and they designing to return to their beloved retirement within a fortnight,—then did this man of God come to a full determination of entering into that religious course of life which he had so long and so ardently thirsted after. The week before Whitsunday he ate sparingly, fasted much, slept little, and on Whitsun-eve was up all night in his closet; but having formerly and frequently done the like, it created nobody's wonder. So, without acquainting any other of his friends with his design

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxiii.

and intention, for fear they might oppose it, he made only his dear tutor Dr. Linsell his confessor and confidant in this business ; who was so ravished with joy to hear the resolution his pupil had so often debated with him in private brought at length to a blessed effect, that he was like one in a dream and could scarce credit his own ears. Now he lived in hopes to see his friend one day a priest, since he was now disposed to be a deacon, and the doctor would often say, *If his scholar would be persuaded to take complete orders and ascend the pulpit, he would then be in his proper orb, and would shine among those who turn many to righteousness*<sup>1</sup>.

32. Early on Trinity Sunday<sup>2</sup> he went to king Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster abbey, with his tutor Dr. Linsell, by whom bishop Laud was prepared to receive him there with a very particular esteem and with a great deal of joy, that he was to lay his hands on so extraordinary a person. So he was ordained deacon and no more, for he protested *he durst not advance one step higher*. Toward evening he returned home to his mother and entreated her to hear him read somewhat he had written in vellum and signed with his own hand: he drew it out from the place where he wore it next his heart. It was the solemn vow he had made to Almighty God, that *since He had afforded so many gracious deliverances from so many perilous attempts of the devil and man upon*

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<sup>1</sup> Dan. xii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> June 11, 1626.

his soul and body, and since now his family was rescued from a ruin so deplorable and unavoidable, if God had not been infinitely good to them;—he would now separate himself to serve God in this holy calling, to be the Levite himself in his own house, and to make his own relations, which were many, his cure of souls. His devout mother and some of his kindred that were present were as much amazed at the beginning, as overjoyed at the end of his discourse. She showered her tears and benedictions upon him, beseeching God to fill him every day more and more with His Holy Spirit, and to grant him a long life, as an unspeakable blessing to her and her whole family. They all assured him, that they also by God's assistance would set themselves with greater care and diligence than ever to attend the one thing necessary<sup>1</sup>.

33. The news of his taking orders was quickly spread over all the city and the court. Some of his friends were apt enough to censure and condemn him for it, all of them wondered at the course he was pleased to take, the best and the wisest applauded him; among whom sir Edwin Sandys had as much veneration for him now, as he had affection for him heretofore. This last excellent person made it his request to him and prevailed, that he would be overseer of his will, and he charged his lady (a lady of extraordinary discretion and piety) to do nothing of any great consequence in the

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<sup>1</sup> Luke x. 42.

*management of the estate without the advice of Mr. Ferrar. Some lords of the Virginia company, supposing that he would not now refuse preferment in the church, though he had declined advancement in the state;—one offered him a living of £300 a year; another nobleman courted him to accept of one of £400 a year. He returned his most humble acknowledgements to those honourable peers, promising to pray for their prosperity, but as he had already parted with all propriety in his temporal estate by sharing it equally with kindred for their common good; so he would employ his talent or half-talent (for he alone had a mean opinion of his own abilities) to make them partakers of the true spiritual treasures.*

34. So giving a long farewell to the great and busy world, they all returned to their Little Gidding, where the first thing old Mrs. Ferrar did was to beautify their church. It was repaired and made already decent, but she would have it adorned. So she contrived to have it wainscotted and the floor neatly boarded (as it still continues); and this was done not only for cleanliness but warmth, since they resolved to spend so much of their time in it. She adorned the communion-table with carpets of blue silk embroidered with gold; the pulpit and the reading-desk were hung with fine cloth of the same colour, richly laced and fringed with vallans<sup>1</sup> about

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<sup>1</sup> *Valance, Valence, Valency, or Vallance.* “A kind of saye, serge or stuff to make curtains for beds with.”—Florio p. Richardson, q. v.

each of them. She covered the floor upon which the altar was raised with sky-coloured silk, the benches round the chancel with blue taffety; and all the rest was suitable and very noble. But these were ornaments only for Sundays and holydays; there were carpets of tapestry and green cloth for the week-days. There was a brass font set up, and a large eagle of the same to hold a fair bible<sup>1</sup>. She thought the house of God the only place on which such costly furniture was not ill bestowed; and in this her son not only approved but animated her devotion.

35. After thus finishing the church, their next care was to set up a school, and, there being an ancient dove-house belonging to the lordship, they presently dispeigoned it, as thinking it not decent in them, who had no harvest of their own, having turned all into pasture, to harbour so many little thieves to devour their neighbours' corn. So the dove-house was enlarged into a handsome school-

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<sup>1</sup> The font and eagle, a bracket for an hour-glass and brazen tables (containing the creed, commandments, and Lord's Prayer) still remain: of the other ornaments only a silk carpet for the communion-table, and two small fragments of tapestry are preserved. As late, however, as May 9, 1748 (at the parochial visitation of Dr. Neve, archdeacon), there existed "cushions for the reading-desk and pulpit, with hangings about them;" and besides two pieces of plate (the flagon and offertory-dish) still in use, "a cup 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  oz., cover 3 oz., inscription round the foot *For the parish of Little Gidding in Hunts*; and a patine 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  oz."—(*Register at Gidding.*)

house, where not only their own children were trained up, but those of other parishes upon the request of their parents had liberty to come; where they might learn virtue as well as grammar music and arithmetic, together with fair writing. For which arts and sciences they had three several masters, and these had their several hours to ply their business. Then he fitted all his nieces and female relations, according to their ages and conditions, with chambers closets gardens and walks of pleasure. He fitted up so convenient lodgings for the scholars and for the schoolmasters, and placed his own lodging so in the midst of the house, that he could hear and see good order observed. He provided one room and called it the infirmary, that if any of all his young company should fall sick, they might be removed thither out of harm's way. They had rules and times even for their recreations, and they had places for running and vaulting and shooting at butts with bows and arrows. On Thursday and Saturday part of the afternoons were allowed the children for those pastimes, that the bow might not stand bent continually. The habit of the young women, nine or ten or more of them, was black stuff, all of one grave fashion always the same, with comely veils on their heads. And if ever women merited the title of *the devout sex*, these gentlewomen won it by their carriage and deserved to wear it; though to come to many particulars would so oppress the modesty of some yet alive, that such instances of their devotion are not yet to

be made public. They were curious at their needles, and they made their scissors to serve the altar or the poor. They were fine surgeons<sup>1</sup>, and they kept by them all manner of salves oils and balsams: a room they had on purpose to lock up these and cordial waters of their own distilling. All which being as freely given by them to the country folks, as themselves freely received all from God and their kind uncle, they were sure not to want customers; which every year cost them a good round sum. None of them were nice of dressing with their own hands poor people's wounds, were they never so

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<sup>1</sup> "When a lady of the house, diverted either by the attractives of his discourse, or some other occasion, delayed the clients of her charity in alms, or that other most commendable one in surgery, he in his friendly way would chide her out of the room."—*Life of Hammond* in Wordsw. *Ecl. Biog.* iv. 368; cf. Peckard's note *ibid.* 185. Herbert requires as the second quality in his parson's wife, "a curing and healing of all wounds and sores with her own hands; which skill either she brought with her, or he takes care she shall learn it of some religious neighbour."—c. x. Again, he says of the parson, "if there be any of his flock sick, he is their physician, or at least his wife, of whom instead of the qualities of the world, he asks no other, but to have the skill of healing a wound or helping the sick."—c. xxiii., at the end of which he gives a list of simples and salves used by the parson's wife. Aubrey, 400, 585, Clarke (1677), 417, 418. Mrs. Collett used to send ointments and balsams with the recipes for their composition to her friends, recommending them by her own experience (*Collett Letters MSS.* To lady Bodley, Jan. 2, 1631-2, July 1632, Dec. 10, 1632; to lady Aucher, Dec. 10, 1632, with the grateful reply Jan. 4, 1632-3).

offensive; but as for prescribing physic, their uncle understood it well himself, yet he never practised it, and he forbid them to tamper or meddle with it. And together with helps for the body the virgins were expert and ready to administer good counsels prayers and comforts to their patients for their souls' health. To take off the burthen of household affairs from his aged mother's shoulders, her son ordered his four nieces to be the managers, yet so as it might prove a burthen to none of them, but rather a recreation to them all. He contrived that every sister should be sole governess but one month in four, and then Mary's better part<sup>1</sup> was not to be taken away from her who acted the part of their Martha. Nor was she often called away, being not to apply her hands to anything servile, but only to carry in her head, to give the servants directions and cause herself to be obeyed by them, to book every farthing of their weekly expenses, allowing every small matter its column in their account-book; so they could cast an eye on what they gained or spent in every little necessary at the end of the month or year. This made his nieces, several of whom resolved to marry<sup>2</sup>, not only perfect accountants but good housewives too. The land was all let out in parcels to their tenants, who by agreement were to serve the house with some provisions at constant rates. Their diet was neat and frugal, yet with

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<sup>1</sup> Luke x. 42.

<sup>2</sup> § 66.

variety enough accommodated to every one's health and constitution.

36. Now from this period of time to write this life is indeed to write many lives, *i. e.* to describe the way and manner how they all lived under the discipline of him that was their chief. And now it may well be expected, that the rule by which he ordered his family should be set down. To begin with the first and the best day of the week;—on the Lord's day they rose as on other days, about five o'clock in winter and four in summer; his good old mother herself would be up at five. Then, having on their bended knees in their several apartments given God thanks for that night's preservation and speedily dressing themselves, they came one after another into the great chamber, which was handsomely furnished with a fair suit of hangings, and in winter a good fire was lighted against their coming: there they found him without fail, their leader to all their exercises both morning and evening. To him the younger people repeated the chapters and psalms they had got by heart, which commonly lasted till about seven o'clock, after which they retired to their own privacy till about nine the bell called them to prayers in the church. Then all the household came together again into the great chamber, where a hymn was sung, the organ playing to it; and so all went to church in order, two and two, according to their ages and conditions. The three schoolmasters in gowns leading the way, the youths in black gowns followed: this good son

led his aged mother, his two brothers going before her, all the children after her, then all the servants; and altogether made up a very solemn procession. The masters took their places in the chancel, the women sat by themselves, as they did in the ancient church<sup>1</sup>. The reading-pew and the pulpit stood opposite to one another, of equal highth<sup>2</sup>. Then this holy deacon in his surplice and hood (for so habited he ever went to church, whither they passed through a close walk, and it was but a few paces thither) stept into the reading-desk and officiated at divine service. After returning home his elder nieces and some others deputed to that office sat in a gallery, if it were summertime, or in winter at the fire in the large room, where the children repeated to them the psalms they had got without book the week before. These children came from neighbouring parishes; to whom notice was given, that such of them as would but take the pains to learn the psalms by heart and come on Sunday morning to

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<sup>1</sup> "Let the women sit apart and keep silence."—*Constit. Apost.* ii. 57. In the Greek church the women sat in galleries (*ὑπερφῶα*, sometimes also *κατηχούμενα*); in the later Latin church they had the north or right side of the church. See Bingham, viii. 5. §§ 6, 7, 9.

<sup>2</sup> "By his order the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal highth: for he would often say, *They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that praying and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation.*"—Walton's *Life of Herbert*, xxxii.

repeat them at Gidding, should have each of them a psalter bestowed upon them, and a penny for every psalm they could say perfectly, and their Sunday dinner into the bargain. This drew in many boys and girls, so that an honest divine who frequently visited the place assured me *he had seen forty or fifty children there at a time*. Their parents, who were most of them plain country-folks, were extremely pleased and obliged by it, and quickly not only their parents, but the adjoining ministers when they came to Gidding protested that *a mighty change was wrought not only on the children, but on the men and women who sat hearing their children reading and repeating at home*. And whereas heretofore their tongues were exercised in singing either *naughty or lewd or else vain ballads, that much estranged their young minds from the ways of virtue; now they heard the streets and doors resounding with the sacred poetry of David's harp which drove away the evil spirit from Saul*<sup>1</sup>. Thus one devout family brought again into their neighbourhood the golden age of the church, as 'tis described by St. Hierom<sup>2</sup>, *when every ploughman, every day-labourer*

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

<sup>2</sup> "In Christi vero, ut supra diximus, villula tota rusticitas, et extra psalmos silentium est. Quocunque te verteris, arator stivam tenens alleluia decantat, sudans messor psalmis se avocat, et curva attondens vitem falce vinitor aliquid Davidicum canit. Hæc sunt in hac provincia carmina: hæ, ut vulgo dicitur, amatoris cantationes. Hic pastorum sibilus:

(says he) *refreshed himself at his toil by singing the psalms, and knew the hour without the sun by the progress he had made in his psalter.* Some of their parents entreated that their children might also be taught their catechism at Gidding, but that he utterly refused, telling them that *bringing children to learn their psalter was a thing by itself, but catechising belonged to their minister and their parents.* He informed them, that, *by doing some things good in appearance, one might do very ill, by encroaching on other men's offices;* and he bid them *have a special care of this fine-trimmed and hidden snare, which the devil everywhere cunningly lays in the way of wellmeaning people, when he cannot persuade them to ugly known sin, then he tempts them to do some handsome thing, which it is not their parts to act, but presumption for them to do it.* The children not only repeated what they had learnt that week and had for every psalm a penny (some of them carrying away groats a-piece or more), but also recited part of what they had formerly learnt, to fix these incomparable devotions in their memories.

37. It now growing half an hour past ten, the minister of the next parish came with his own

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*hæc arma culturæ.*—*Epist. xlvi. (Paulæ et Eust. ad Marcell. § 11. i. 208).* For this reference (and not for this alone) I have to thank my friend, the Rev. A. Jessopp, from whose unwearied zeal we may expect a worthy edition of the works of that most eloquent preacher, duly valued by his contemporaries.—Dr. Donne.

people (which were not many, and most of them tenants) to the lordship at Little Gidding to preach there. The bell rung again to church, and the whole family with the psalms-children (as they called them) met him ; and, having taken their places, Mr. Ferrar went up into the chancel, and at the communion-table read second service ; which being ended, and a psalm sung, their neighbour minister preached. As they came to the church, so in the same order they came back to the house, where they found long narrow tables ready spread and set upon trestles, the poor children ranking themselves upon each side of the tables. The old gentlewoman did not think herself too good to follow our Saviour's example<sup>1</sup> of girding Himself and serving His disciples ; for oftentimes she set the first dish upon the table with her own hands, and, grace being said, the children took their dinners standing at the tables, for sit they did not ; and some were left to see all things disposed of in good order, their money having been given them when they said their psalms. Then the bell was rung to dinner in the parlour, and, all the household standing in the great dining-room, a hymn was sung by them, the organs playing. While they were feeding their bodies, one whose turn it was (as every one took his turn) read a chapter in the Bible, that their hearts and ears might not want the better spiritual food. After dinner all had liberty to go whither

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<sup>1</sup> John xiii.

they pleased, some to the gardens and orchards, others to their chambers or closets.

38. About two of the clock the bell called them all together, and so they went to Steeple Gidding church to hear evening service. When they came home, they went all into the great chamber and said all their psalms that day at one time, which they said on other days of the week at set hours and at several times. This done, they parted again and disposed of themselves as they listed till supper-time, which was about six at night, when, the bell ringing, they came into the great parlour. The organ began to play, and they to sing their anthem, while the meat was setting on the table. After grace one read a chapter, and another a story out of the Book of Martyrs or some other history. In summertime after supper most of them recreated themselves by walking abroad, or in winter sat by the fire, or those that would went to their own privacies, while the elder people entertained each other with some useful discourse. When it was eight of the clock, it rung to their oratory, where they introduced their meeting by singing an anthem. After their compline (or prayers before bedtime) there they wished one another good-night and went to their several apartments; the younger sort went to bed, and the elder were in their chambers and closets till they went to bed, for it was one of their orders, that *none must after their prayers go up and down the house, but keep in their lodgings*. Such was their Sunday's employment,

very agreeable to his judgement in the doctrine of the Lord's day, as I find his opinion briefly expressed in his own words. *It is, says he, a day of rest, not of pleasures; it frees us from bodily labours, but it should the more intend the exercises of the mind. God blessed the day and sanctified it: they must go together; if we would have it happy, we must make it holy; and that can be by nothing better done, than by taking a survey of all God's works according to the two divisions of heaven and earth, whereunto He hath reduced all sorts of generations; and, if it seems too long and hard a matter to go through all, we need but return to ourselves, where we shall find an epitome of all*<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Man the microcosm*; so Philo (*de opific. mundi*, § 51) says that man's mind is akin to the divine reason, but his body, like the universe, is composed of the four elements; similarly Nemesius (*de nat. hom.* 11, 12, ed. 1671, cap. 1). "Cognoscamus humani corporis fabricam instar esse mundi." — Ambros. *Hexaëm.* vi. § 55. See Gataker on Antonin. iv. § 27, Lobeck's *Aglaopham.* 920 sq., Arnob. ii. 25, Suicer, s. v. *μικρόκοσμος*. The word *microcosmus* occurs in Aldhelm. *de laud. virg.* 1. (*Bibl. Max. Patr.* xiii. 31 C.) The interpretation of *omnis creatura* mentioned by Mirandula below is given *ib.* x. 302 B. C., xix. 956 B., Aug. *Propos. ex Ep. ad Rom. Expos.* 53: cf. Maldon. and Bez. on Mark xvi. 15. An extract from the Index to the *Bibl. Patr.* will prove the familiar use of the expression in the middle ages. "*Homo imago mundi.* xxvii. 104 G. *parvus mundus.* viii. 622 B. *cur dictus minor mundus.* xxi. 182 D. *brevis ac contractus mundus.* vii. 560 E. *alter mundus; ipsius cum priori analogia.* xxii. 1289 G. *qua ratione mundus.* xii. 490 H. *mundus mundi.*

39. On the first Sunday of the month, and besides on the great solemn festivals, they celebrated

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xxvii. 299 F." "Propter hoc homo dicitur minor mundus quia omnes creaturæ mundi quodammodo inveniuntur in eo." Aquin. *Summ.* I. qu. 91. art. 1. § 4. Cf. Ritter, viii. 307, Goclenius s. v. *Mundus*. The Cabbalists and Paracelsians were zealous supporters of the doctrine. "Est autem præter tres quos narravimus quartus alius mundus, in quo et ea omnia inveniuntur, quæ sunt in reliquis; hic ipse est homo, qui et propterea, ut catholici dicunt doctores, in evangelio omnis creaturæ appellatione censetur."—Joann. Pic. Mirandul. *Pref. in Heptapl.* 8. (Opp. Basil. 1557.) Cf. Paracels. *Paragran.* 24, 31, Fludd's *Historia macro- et microcosmi*, Ebert's dissertation (referred to by Walch) *de homine microcosmo*, Leipz. 1709, Van Helmont's *Paradoxal discourses concerning the macrocosm and microcosm*, Lond. 1685. 8vo., Henry More's *Moral Cabbala*. The Rev. Churchill Babington enables me to supply an additional illustration from the stores of his botanical knowledge. "Invaluit apud primos Botanices restitutores symbolica naturæ contemplatio s. *physiognomistica*, a Neapolitano *Porta* in systema absoluta, per quam naturæ ipsius, ut ita dicam, *homœopathia* plantarum vires eruere studuerunt. Inde ortæ sunt perhibitæ vires *Peltigeræ aphthosæ*, ob soledia, contra aphthas, *Pelt. caninæ* contra hydrophobiam, *Usneæ barb. hirtæ* ad capillos firmandos, *U. b. plicatæ* contra plicam polonicam, *Lichenum citrinorum* contra icterum e. s. p., quarum fontes ideo tantum aperire placuit, quod ad nostrum usque ævum in scriptis philanthropico-botanicis repetuntur. Ex idearum sympathetarum connubio cum superstitiosi ævi, *Paracelso* duce, ortæ sunt portentosæ vires '*Musci cranii humani*;' nec longe abest vis venenata *Everniæ vulpinæ*, septentrionalibus tantum cognita, cum apud eos in templis tantum obveniat."—Fries, *Lichenographia Europæa*, cxiii, cxiv, § 59. Cf. Rennie's *Introduction to Montagu's Ornithological Dictionary* (London, 1831), xxxviii.

the holy communion without fail, and the Saturday afternoon before was employed by the careful master of the house in explaining that sacred mystery to the younger and in exhorting the elder and in preparing them all for the best and noblest entertainment of such holy souls. Upon communion-days the servants that feasted with them at church were not thought unworthy to eat in the parlour with them ; it was their custom to sit at the lower end of the high table where they dined that day.

40. On week-days they employed themselves thus. They all got up as early at least as on Sundays ; then, after their prayers in secret by themselves, they came into the great chamber above-mentioned, where the younger nephews and nieces repeated to Mr. Ferrar himself some of the psalms or chapters they had learnt that week : this done, they retired awhile every one to their closets. At six o'clock, the bell tolling, all of them came again into the common room, and the company that had the charge began the psalms appointed for that hour (for each hour of the day had such a proportion of psalms allotted to be said in it by some part or division of the family, and they all knew their order and time of attendance, so that the whole psalter was duly said over by them verse by verse interchangeably within the compass of the twenty-four hours. Then one of them repeated without book one of the heads of the concordance or harmony which they had made on the four evangelists

(of which more anon). This book was so divided into heads or chapters, and so many of those heads assigned to each hour of the day, that, beginning still on the first day of each month and ending on the last, the gospels were all said over in every month: that was twelve times in the year. A short hymn also was sung each hour, the organs playing to it: the hymn was commonly this,

So angels sing, and so sing we,  
To God on high all glory be:  
Let Him on earth His peace bestow,  
And unto men His favour shew.

The services for every hour, though they were very solemn, yet were they so framed, as that the collects the psalms the gospels and all lasted but a quarter of an hour.

41. This done, they went all in the order that has been described to prayers in the church, where Mr. Ferrar officiated according to the liturgy, without adding or diminishing a word. By this time the hour of seven was come, which had such another portion of collects psalms portions of the gospel and a hymn ready for it: this was performed by the second company. Then all the children breakfasted and went to the school-house with their masters. The old gentlewoman took her chair inspecting her daughters and grandchildren (*like the olive-branches round about her table*<sup>1</sup>) as they sat at their books or other good employments in great

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<sup>1</sup> Psal. cxxviii. 4 (Prayer-book Version).

silence, or at least avoiding *all vain talking and jesting that was not convenient*<sup>1</sup>. No hour but had its business, for so their wise uncle had contrived, who used to tell them that *the golden mean, if one could light upon it, was the only way to effect great things with ease and pleasure*, and this he prayed them to observe even in their spiritual exercises. Some therefore spent part of the day in perfecting their harmony on the scripture or getting it by heart, others practising their singing or playing on instrumental music, some learning to write fair hands or else to cipher, some of them exercising their humility and diligence in gilding and binding of books, for he desired every one that would should be taught a trade. Accordingly he entertained a Cambridge bookbinder's daughter that bound rarely, to shew them that piece of skill<sup>2</sup>. To justify their allowing a part of their time to such mechanic arts, he put them in mind of that passage in the Psalm<sup>3</sup>: *Blessed are all they that fear the Lord and walk in His ways, for thou shalt eat the labour of*

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<sup>1</sup> Ephes. v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Basire, writing (Aug. 10, 1636) to his future wife, to whom he had sent the *Introduction to a devout life and Marrow of the oracles of God*, says, "The first of them (and so were those of your sisters) were bound by those virgins I once told you of. Who knows but the prayers they might bestow at the binding may do you good at the reading of them?"—*Life and Correspondence* (8vo. 1831), 22. On Dr. Basire's intimacy with the Ferrars see Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> cxxviii. 1, 2.

thine hands. Whereas the world (says he) thinks the living upon rents and other men's labours to be their honour and happiness, David here makes the contrary an effect and sign of blessedness. He instructed them, that this was Adam's punishment, but it was also his medicine to cure him of sloth and luxury. He assured them, that to handle some intervenient occasions, when one hath consecrated himself to God, doth no more dismount him from his first pitch, than tent-making did St. Paul, even in the midst of his itinerary preaching, or basket-making the most holy recluse men of old, whose holiness amazes posterity<sup>1</sup>. But to proceed. At

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<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian monks also appealed to St. Paul's example (Epiphan. *Hær.* lxxx. § 6. Cassian. *Inst.* x. 7, 8, &c.). They had a memorable proverb, *The busy monk is assaulted by one devil, the idle is a prey to a legion* (Cassian. *ibid.* 23). Compare the words of Jerome to the monk Rusticus: "Facito aliquid operis, ut te semper diabolus inveniatur occupatum. Si Apostoli habentes potestatem de Evangelio vivere, laborabant manibus suis, ne quem gravarent. . . . cur tu in usus tuos cessura non præpares? *Vel fiscellam texe junco, vel canistrum lentis plecte viminibus: sarriatur humus: areolæ æquo limite dividantur; in quibus quum olerum jacta fuerint semina vel plantæ per ordinem positæ, aquæ ducantur irriguæ. . . . Inserantur infructuosæ arbores. . . . Apum fabricare alvearia. . . . Texantur et lina capiendis piscibus; scribantur libri ut et manus operetur cibum et animus lectione saturetur. Ægyptiorum monasteria hunc morem tenent, ut nullum absque operis labore suscipiant, non tam propter victus necessitatem quam propter animæ salutem.*"—*Epist.* 125, § 11 (i. 939, 940). "Simulque *fiscellas junco texens æmulabatur Ægyptiorum*

eight nine and ten o'clock they did as at other hours. Just after their office for ten it rung to church, where only then the litany was said every day in the week, as their bishop had given them leave. At eleven o'clock the set for that hour did as the rest had done. Such was their business on working-days in the morning.

42. About this time was their dinner-time and as the meat was bringing in and setting on the table below, in the large parlour they sung a hymn to the organ. When grace was said and they all had taken their places, one of the youths whose turn it was read to them out of some English history; for silence at meals they thought unpleasant, and common discourse they thought unprofitable. It was therefore agreed, that *something delightful and easy, as stories of sea-voyages, descriptions of foreign countries and accounts of revolutions that happened in them, should be reserved for a time when men do not willingly admit of any*

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monachorum disciplinam et Apostoli sententiam dicentis, *Qui autem non operatur, non manducet.*—Id. *Vit. Hilarionis*, § 5. (ii. 16.) “Si aut fiscellam junco texerem, aut palmarum folia complicarem, ut in sudore vultus mei comederem panem, . . . nullus morderet. . . Pro flabello calathis sportellisque, munusculo monachorum, spiritualia hæc et mansura dona suscipite.”—Id. *Pref. ii. in Job* (x. 47). Cf. Theodoret. *Relig. Hist.* iii. 827 B, Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 32 (in Meurs. *Opp.* viii. 442). There is a lively picture of the Egyptian monks of Nitria and Scepsis in Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* i, and another in Mr. Kingsley's *Hypatia*.

*very serious and deep speculations.* This was a way not only to refresh, but also to enrich their minds, especially with examples innumerable tending to stir up generous and good affections. For the better retaining in memory what should be read, it was ordered that *a summary collection should be taken of all the passages worthy their observation*: the drawing of this abstract was one of the schoolmasters' tasks, and the transcribing fair was put upon some of the scholars. Besides this, every noon presently after collation a repetition was made of something formerly read, the same matter, only dressed up in another form: that is, one of the boys, whose course it was that meal, repeated a story compiled on purpose for him and fitted to his capacity by Mr. Ferrar. It was short, pleasant, the language good, the matter better, and always drawn into consequence, to increase their abhorrence of vice and promote virtue. This practice brought the youths to deliver any speech with a becoming assurance, and not only taught them a graceful pronunciation but inured them to express themselves handsomely and without affectation, when they spoke or wrote after such excellent copies of a chaste and clean style as Mr. Ferrar had set them. This made them men betimes, and even acquainted the women with the histories ancient and modern. And thus a family sequestering itself from the world could not be thought to despise the world for want of understanding it, for they knew the past and present state of empires and were more learned

in the great affairs of human life, than many that live in the throng of business, yet have little insight into things and less into themselves, notwithstanding the great scuffle in the dark, which they are ever engaged in and never the wiser.

43. They kept a fair correspondence with their neighbours and the gentlemen of the county, yet seldom or never made any idle excursions abroad to see them: for at their entering upon this estate at Gidding it was the plague time, and because they came from London, that did (according to their own wishes) put a stop to much intercourse with their neighbours all that year. And by that time all within view of them understood their design of living very retired, and so they dispensed with them in those punctilios of ceremony; yet had they no provocation to censure them as morose or uncivil, for, whenever they were pleased to afford their company at Gidding (which for the novelty of the thing many did frequently), they were received with all the obligingness and treated with all the respect, that according to the rules of decency and discretion was to be observed towards them. A glass of wine or a tankard of ale was offered to all comers of any note; but though many of greater quality lingered there, as if they had a mind to stay their meals<sup>1</sup> or take up their lodging with them, yet they took it not amiss at their departure to the

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<sup>1</sup> So Lenton; see his letter in the preface.

towns adjoining, that no invitation was given them, finding it was not their custom to entertain strangers at that rate, unless their intimate acquaintance or in cases of necessity and charity. Had they done otherwise, they would have been overladen with such a multitude of guests, as they could not civilly, nor indeed possibly, have avoided. Yet some men of birth and fortune (as they discovered themselves by their gentle behaviour and discourses, and as they were known to be afterwards), led by a longing desire of seeing this wonderful person and the orders of his family, have sent their servants into the neighbouring villages to wait them there next morning; whilst themselves strayed all alone in the dark to Gidding, pretending they lost their way and entreating a night's lodging. Such adventurers as these were quickly set down to an extemporary supper, such as their oven supplied, of warm baked meats, of which they were seldom unprovided. This I was told by one of those wandering guests, who often celebrated that night's entertainment.

44. His seat at Gidding stood hard by the northern road, which drew great numbers, as well of the gentry as clergy, to call upon him, as they passed and repassed that way: many that were perfectly unknown to him, but knew his merit, found one pretence or other to introduce themselves. Several persons of honour and many great scholars of other persuasions (Romish priests and the like) addressed themselves to discourse with him and discover his opinions, in which he had no reserves

as one exactly well set in his principles for the most apostolical church of England. He, without inquiring who they were, always entertained them with a generous freedom and calmness in their debates and with all the hospitable courtesy suitable to the condition in which they appeared. The next gentleman in the neighbourhood was a Roman catholic, yet he and his lady visited often at Gidding without any pressing expectations to be paid those respects in the same kind by a family so constantly better employed than in returning compliments; besides, the master of their morals used to warn them all, but especially the younger people under his care, that *he is wise and good and like to continue so, that keeps himself out of temptation.*

45. One day this neighbouring gentleman brought along with him to Gidding three learned priests (one of whom a famous writer for the church of Rome) all of them full of curiosity to sound a man of such reaching parts and of so remarkable a devotion, as fame had rendered Mr. Ferrar to be. He declined not engaging with them, in which he was upon a vast advantage above ordinary managers of our controversy, having in his travels with his own eyes seen their practices and made it so much his business to compare them with their pretences. The conference spun itself out to a great length, and was carried on all hands with equal temper, and with such acuteness too, as not to leave the question where they found it. They traversed every considerable point in difference

between us and them, and parted upon such terms as were proper for such as desired maintenance of communion, or at least of charity, with one another. One of them afterwards related with much ingenuity that *he had been at Little Gidding, the place so much in everybody's mouth; that they found the master of the house another kind of man than they expected, a deep and solid man, of a wonderful memory, sharp-witted and of a flowing eloquence, one who besides his various reading spoke out of experience, with insight into things, as well as books.* In conclusion he was heard to say, that *this man (if he lived to make himself known to the world) would give their church her hands full to answer him, and trouble them in another manner than Luther had done.*

46. I have given this larger account of him and his other recluses as to their openness and easiness of conversation to prevent the common objection against this way of living, that *it is pity such holy men should deprive the world of their company and example.* It was not then so necessary for so illustrious a saint to go out into the troublesome world (though he intended it one day, as shall be related anon<sup>1</sup>), when the world came after him, hundreds

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<sup>1</sup> This does not appear in our life; perhaps the design was that confided by N. F. to Copeland, a minister in the Somer Islands, who "informed sir E. Sandys and others of the company, that *he verily believed Mr. Ferrar was determined sometime to leave the old world and settle in Virginia, and there*

and thousands at several times, hardly one day passing in which some considerable person (either friend or stranger) did not come to pay him reverence, as of old they did to the Anthonys<sup>1</sup> and the Hilarions<sup>2</sup> and others the fathers of the church and desert. And careful as he was of spending his precious time to the highest advantage, yet he always gave order, that *if any came to speak with him, though he were at his study, they should let him know it, for he well hoped they came for his good or their own, and the whole design of his life was to make himself or others better.* Seldom any parted

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*employ the extraordinary talents with which God had blessed him and spend his life in the conversion of the natives or other infidels in that country; adding, If he should do so, I will never forsake him, but wait upon him in that glorious work.*—Peckard, 106, 107.

<sup>1</sup> “Audiens autem tunc celebre nomen Antonii, quod per omnes Ægypti populos ferebatur, incensus visendi ejus studio, perrexit ad eremum. . . Porro frequentiam eorum, qui ad eum ob varias passiones aut impetus dæmonum concurrebant, ultra non ferens, nec congruum esse ducens, pati in eremo populos civitatum.”—S. Hieronym. *Vit. Hilarion.* § 3.

<sup>2</sup> See his life in St. Jerome, ii. 13 sq. “Necdum enim tunc monasteria erant in Palæstina nec quisquam monachum ante sanctum Hilarionem in Syria noverat. Ille fundator et eruditor hujus conversationis et studii in hac provincia fuit.”—19, 20. § 14. “Concurrebant episcopi, presbyteri, clericorum et monachorum greges, matronarum quoque Christianarum (grandis tentatio) et hinc inde ex urbibus et agris vulgus ignobile: sed et potentes viri, et judices, ut benedictum ab eo panem vel oleum acciperent. At ille nihil aliud nisi solitudinem meditabatur, &c.”—29. § 30. Cf. Tillemont, vii. 564 sq.

from him but with satisfaction, and it can hardly be imagined what lasting fervours of devotion many carried away with them, that spent but a few hours in that happy society. For it was one establishment in this family, which had set itself thus heartily for heaven, whatever strangers were in the house (though some perhaps of a different communion), yet that they would keep their set times of going to prayers in the church. And if such as came to see their devotions were pleased to join with them, they were a great deal the more welcome on that account. Some indeed, who came only to gaze, with no great design to improve by his example, have taken upon them to tell him their grave judgement, that *he lived too retired, exacted too much of his own infirm body, studied too hard, whereas a life of pleasure and recreation would better preserve him in health.* He gave those to know, that *what the world called living gallantly and most like a gentleman, to eat and drink well (as they call it), to keep as irregular hours as they please of rising and going to bed, to have their time so lie upon their hands as to spend a considerable part of it in hunting or hawking, carding or dicing, riding abroad upon visits and doing all things accordingly; —he protested such a life to him (whatever it be to others) would be so dangerous as, if it were put to his choice, and he must instantly choose, whether he would enter upon that course of life or presently suffer death, he would forthwith embrace the latter rather than accept the former.*

47. But now I am mentioning how they received a world of visits, I must not forget what honour was coming toward them by a visit the queen intended them, if she had not been hindered accidentally, because the ways were impassable cross the country, and the orders issued out for making a way thither ill observed. Whereupon (she fancying the king had all the while but rallied her with a story of a protestant family that outdid the severest monastics abroad) the queen was pleased to dispatch a gentleman<sup>1</sup> to Little Gidding, commanding him to take exact notice of what he found and bring her a clear account of their manner of life ; which he did so much to the admiration of the queen, that she very much regretted the disappointment of her own journey. But at the breaking out of the late rebellion, as his majesty was marching into the north, when he set up his royal standard at Nottingham, the most excellent king, being told that he was not far from Gidding, was so gracious as to strike out<sup>1</sup> of his way, and rode directly thither accompanied with the prince of Wales (his sacred majesty that now is) together with his highness prince Rupert, the duke of Richmond, and many others of the valiant and loyal nobility that attended him in that expedition. The king took a view of all with a curious eye and in the midst of his perplexed affairs spent a good deal

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Newton, says Dr. Turner.

of time in reading their harmonies on the gospel, while the prince and the lords refreshed themselves with such plain entertainment as their house in so great a surprise afforded. They humbly presented his majesty and his royal relations with some devout books, which they had bound so neatly with their own hands, that the king was pleased to say, *he never saw such workmanship*. At parting, he prayed *the blessing of God might be upon them*, and he desired their hearty prayers; wherein they never failed him at the public offices in their little chapel, till by the fury of the oppressor they were driven away.

48. It was upon the second of November (then Friday<sup>1</sup>) that he first began to feel some weakness and faintness upon him, but without any pain; so he went to church that morning and officiated as he used to do. But the same day he sent for his friend the minister of Great Gidding, whom he then requested to come every day and read prayers for him. *For*, said he, *that's my first care, that the service of my God be not one day neglected by those that can go to the church; for I know*, said he, *that I shall not be able to perform my part there any more*. At this his family had very sad and dreadful apprehensions, which being discernible in their looks, he preached to them patience and resignation. Some urging him to tell them *upon what reasons*

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<sup>1</sup> Friday was the *third* in 1637.

he seemed to be so confident that the time of his dissolution was at hand ; To satisfy you, said he, I shall tell you one ; in all former sicknesses I have ever had a strong desire to live and an earnestness to pray God to spare me, which He hath hitherto done when all hopes of life were passed by the judgement of most skilful physicians : and I may farther say to the glory of His Great Name, I never earnestly set myself to beg anything of God but He fulfilled the petition of His most unworthy servant : but now of late I have not any inclination to beg longer life of God ; nay, I rather desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ<sup>1</sup>.

49. About three days before his death, as he lay in his sick-bed about eight o'clock in the morning, he called for his brother John and his other relations and thus he spoke. *Brother, I would have you go to the church and at the west end, at the door where we go into the church, I would have you measure from the half-pace of stairs that you tread upon seven feet to the westward, and at the end of that seven feet there let my grave be made.* His brother looking extremely sad upon him and almost drowned in tears (as were all the standers-by), he went on, saying : *That first place of the length of seven feet I leave for your own burying-place ; you are my elder brother ; God I hope will let you there take up your resting-place till we all*

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<sup>1</sup> Philipp. i. 23.

rise again in joy. When you have measured out the place for my grave, then go and take out of my study those three great hampers full of books, that stand there locked up these many years (for so they were at his first coming to Gidding, that nobody might make use of them or see them; they were not only many scores but many hundreds in several languages, which he in all places had procured with great search and at no little cost: they were comedies, tragedies, love-hymns, heroical poems, novels and the like). Carry the hampers, said he, to the place of my grave, and upon it see you burn them all: and this he spoke with some vehemence and indignation. Go, let it be done, let it be done, and then come again all of you to me. He was obeyed. The bonfire flaming out upon the hill where the church and house stood, many from the towns adjoining and the men that were at their labour in the fields came running up to the house, imagining some great fire had happened at Little Gidding. When they saw what was done, they went away and reported that abundance of books was burnt, and that Mr. Ferrar lay a-dying. Within a few days it was spread about the market-towns that he could not die till he burnt all his conjuring-books; and this, to blast his reputation, was by some factious wretches confidently written and dispersed as far as Virginia and Bermudas among his old acquaintance, who notwithstanding never believed the fable. Indeed in his youth he had found them very bewitching, though no conjuring-books, there-

fore he would execute a judgement of zeal upon them, as some of those early converts to Christ did at Ephesus<sup>1</sup>; *many of them that used curious arts brought their books together and burnt them before all men.* Sure I am that renowned Italian wit Æneas Sylvius<sup>2</sup> (that was afterwards pope of Rome by the name of Pius the second) having in his youth set forth some immodest things, he retracted them in his old age, entreating all men *to prefer his latter advices before his former madness and rashness.* And as our noble Sydney<sup>3</sup> on his death-bed

<sup>1</sup> Acts xix. 19.

<sup>2</sup> "Tractatum de amore olim sensu pariterque ætate juvenes cum nos scripsisse recolimus, Carole fili dilectissime, pœnitentiam immodica pudorque ac mœror animum nostrum vehementer excruciant: quippe qui sciamus quique protestati expresse fuimus, duo contineri in eo libello, apertam videlicet, sed heu lascivam nimis prurientemque amoris historiam, et morale, quod eam sequitur, ædificans dogma. . . De amore igitur quæ scripsimus olim juvenes, contemnite, o mortales, atque respuite, sequimini quæ nunc dicimus, et seni magis quam juveni credite. Nec privatum hominem pluris facite quam pontificem: Æneam rejicite, Pium suscipite."—ÆN. Sylv. *Epist.* 395. The *Historia de Euryalo et Lucretia se amantibus* (*Epist.* 114), seems however to have been written when the author was nearly forty (*Epist.* 113).

<sup>3</sup> "In that memorable testament of his he bequeathed no other legacy, but the fire, to this unpolished embryo."—Fulke Grevile's *Life of Sydney* (ed. Brydges), 13. "He was not so fond of his *Arcadia* as the bishop Heliodorus of his amorous book, for he desired when he died (having first consulted with a minister about it) to have had it suppressed."—

gave order that *his Arcadia should be suppressed and consumed to ashes, lest it should prove an incentive to amorous passions*, as many since have found it, and wished they had never seen it, as it spoiled their dying quietly : so did our dying saint at Gidding (who long ago was dead to the censure of the world and had no longer any human thoughts about him) take the generous shame which St. Ambrose calls *rationabilis ardor*. When his brother and the company that was to do the execution by fire upon his plays returned to his bed-side, assuring him *they had done the deed*, then he suddenly raising himself sat up in his bed, and gave God most hearty thanks, and upon the same subject he wrote the following meditation.

50. That *the idolatry of the heathens is more shamefully and injuriously to the Divine Majesty practised among profane Christians under the name of love, than in old time to Venus and Adonis*. And in another place, *We sill; Christians, saith he, hold the least taint of lust such a defiling as should be washed off with the hot water of tears, and these elevated spirits esteem it a gallantry to set their lasciviousness out in prospective to men and angels*.

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Leigh's *Treatise of Religion and Learning*, &c. (fol. 1656.)  
324.

“Fontaine and Chaucer, dying, wished unwrote  
The sprightliest efforts of their wanton thought;  
Sydney and Waller, brightest sons of fame,  
Condemn the charm of ages to the flame.”

Young's *Second Epistle to Pope*.

*But this is nothing in respect of that transcendent blasphemy they use with God, investing their mistress with those attributes, which we tremblingly lift up our eyes to look upon. As for their souls, because they are their own, they think they may dispose of them as they please, when they offer them in vassalage to filth and rottenness; for no better is the beauty and pleasure they professedly adore. And for epigrams satires and comedies, they are much of the same nature, girding and scoffing at all persons under a pretence of correcting vice, railing on authority and traducing of virtue upon some colours of inconvenience that follows upon some great and good men's actions and opinions, or at least upon some incongruity they observe in themselves.*

51. A general decay of spirits grew upon him, but all the powers and faculties of his soul were as active and lively as at any time of his most vigorous health. On Sunday morning he received with great desire and affection the holy communion, making a most solemn confession of his faith and trust in Jesus, renouncing all pretence of meriting anything, and saying, *when men had done all, they must truly acknowledge themselves to be unprofitable*<sup>1</sup>. The divine who ministered to him declared *he never heard so excellent a discourse, and he thought he never should hear the like expressions again.* He passed the days and nights in heavenly counsels to

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<sup>1</sup> Luke xvii. 10.

the family, representing to them that *he was going to God to give an account of what he had taught them, assuring them it was according to His holy word; exhorting them to rely upon God and to serve Him in sincerity both of soul and body, for, said he, God made both, and both must worship Him with reverence; persuading them to adhere to the doctrine of the Church of England, to persevere in that good old way* (which were his very words, for, having set up for primitive Christianity, he counted popery as well as puritanism arrant novelty); admonishing the younger sort, whom he looked upon as suns in the high-noon of their Christian course, and who had compassed much of heaven already, that *there was as much more of it before their eyes, which must also be the travail of their souls; and, stooping to the capacities of the very children (his sister's children), he strove to leave deep impressions of the love and fear and service of God upon their tender dispositions, reminding them to keep their psalms and gospels<sup>1</sup> in their hearts, setting before their eyes how many blessings God would return upon them, and fervently calling upon God to keep them in His holy protection.*

52. Many divines in the neighbourhood came to visit the sick, or rather to learn of him how to behave themselves with an humble greatness in the like visitation. First he would entreat them to

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<sup>1</sup> See § 76.

join in some short collects with him, then to proceed with such discourse as was fit for dying men. One of them began after this manner: *Sir, what joy may you now have of the many almsdeeds you have done;* and then he would have gone on to number them, but the good man presently cut him off thus: *What speak you of such things? it would have been but a suitable return for me to have given all I had, and not to have scattered a few crumbs of alms here and there: God forgive, I most humbly beseech Him, my too much carnal love to my friends in this kind.* Another day one entertaining him out of the church's office<sup>1</sup>, *whether*, said he, *that sickness be for the trial of your patience, or for your sins, or for our punishment.* At the addition of that word he was much displeas'd, beseeching him *to speak at that rate no more, for he was a most miserable sinner.* Once in his sickness overhearing his elder brother bemoaning his and the family's infinite loss, if God should take from them this man of God, and in his excess of grief concluding thus: *Alas! what shall become of us poor sheep, if the shepherd be taken away?* his profound humility was so wounded, that they should put so much of their trust in him, that presently calling his elder brother to his bed-

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<sup>1</sup> "For what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you; whether it be to try your patience for the example of others, . . . or else it be sent unto you to correct and amend in you whatsoever doth offend the eyes of your heavenly Father."—*Exhortation in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.*

side, *O my brother*, said he with some passion, *what mean you to use that undue expression? Go, I pray you, go to the church and fast this day, and beg of God to forgive you.* Sunday being come again, he found himself more and more declining, and heartily wishing to be released, he fervently prayed, saying, *Why stay I here longer, Lord, who can do little now but take my ease and sleep? Lord, in Thy good time receive my soul;* and amongst other divine sentences out of the Psalms, this<sup>1</sup> he repeated almost in every breath, *Haste Thee, O God, to deliver me; make haste to help me, O God.* This Sunday was the first Sunday of the month<sup>2</sup>, the constant day for their monthly communion, therefore he entreated the minister that *after he had celebrated at the church, he would come home and consecrate again for him, since now the heavenly table was his only support, for he had done with the earthly.* When the priest advanced to give him the sacrament, he first entreated his priestly absolution, having again made a full and lively confession of his faith and state of soul. *Shall I give you absolution,* said the divine, *in the words of the book*<sup>3</sup>? *Aye,*

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<sup>1</sup> Psal. lxx. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dec. 3. Advent Sunday.

<sup>3</sup> "Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."—*Absolution in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.*

aye, said he, *nothing better, nothing better.* Then with an exalted affection he received the sacrament, and afterwards offered up his most humble thanks for that most inestimable benefit, uttering to the same purpose many powerful and divine words, as one that had no longer any human thoughts about him. But afterward he applied himself again to the work in which he resolved to live and die, and that was, confirming his family in the ways of piety, more particularly directing this last sermon of his to his most beloved nieces, his two virgin disciples, that *they should be stedfast and commit themselves to the guidance of their Lord God and Jesus Christ their Master.*

53. After midnight, having lain still a good while, he spake a little, and observing those about him, that they did not hear him, he said with a loud voice, *What, doth my speech fail? O sweet Jesus, let it not fail me to the last, I beseech Thee.* Then being asked *if the divines should be called* (who not long before had been gone out of his chamber, supposing him asleep), he said, *Entreat them to come and pray together.* When they came in, he desired them *to say that prayer for a dying man;* which ended and they inquiring *how he did?* he said, *Pretty well, I thank my God and you, and I shall be better.* Then he lay very still about half an hour, all standing about his bed, supposing him to be in a fine slumber, but he on a sudden casting his hands out of bed with great strength, looking up and round about him with a strong and cheerful

voice said, *Oh! what a blessed change is here! What a change is here! What do I see! O let us come and sing and praise the Lord and magnify His Name together. I have been at a great feast. O magnify the Lord with me.* One of his nieces presently said, *At a feast, dear father? Yea,* replied he, *at the Great King's feast,* with a sound and perfect accent, as if he had ailed nothing. While all stood somewhat amazed and loth to interrupt him, if he should say more, he laid himself down quietly, and, putting his hands into the bed, he stretched them out by his side and closed his eyes. The clergy went again to prayers, and after a while they said that prayer, all kneeling round about his bed, that *God would be pleased to send His holy angels to carry his soul to heaven.* Whilst these very words were saying, he opened his lips and gave one gasp, after which, not once moving or stirring hand or foot, he rendered his soul to be carried in their hands into the arms of the Lord Jesus. And at that instant the clock struck one<sup>1</sup>, the hour that he constantly rose every morning to praise God and to pray unto Him:—that very hour God called him to His heavenly kingdom, to praise Him *with an innumerable company of angels and with the spirits of just men made perfect*<sup>2</sup>. And, as one of the company said, *he ended the Christian sabbath here upon earth to begin the everlasting one in heaven.*

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<sup>1</sup> Monday, Dec. 4, 1637.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. xii. 22, 23.

54. His body was kept till the Thursday after<sup>1</sup>, during which time it never swelled nor purged at all, but was a fair corse and inoffensive ; no doubt an effect of his extraordinary temperance. But one thing was very observable to all, that his right arm hand and fingers were as flexible and limber as those of a living man, and continued so at his putting into the coffin ; whereas his other arm and the rest of his body was stiff and not to be bended as this was, which one might take and turn like a hand in which the blood circulated freely, to the wonder of many that saw it. But one that beheld and admired it was heard to say, *Well may that hand not grow stiff, that was so liberal in giving alms continually to the poor and needy.*

55. He was buried in a vault of brick at the west end of the church, before the entering into it, as he had appointed. His worthy friend and kinsman Mr. Robert Mapletoft<sup>2</sup>, the late reverend dean of Ely, preached his funeral sermon and performed the office at his burial.

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<sup>1</sup> Dec. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Rt. M. of Queen's B.A. 1628-9, M.A. 1632 : of Pembroke, B.D. 1639, D.D. 1664. See above, 109.



*The Concordance of Mr. Ferrar's making.*

56. The book was divided into a hundred and forty heads. He every day spent one hour in contriving it, and directed his nieces that attended him, in what manner they should cut the pieces out of the Evangelist, and so and so to lay them together as to make and perfect such a head or chapter. When they had first cut out those pieces with their knives or scissors, then they did neatly and exactly fit each verse that was so cut out to be pasted down on sheets of paper; and so artificially they performed it, that it looked like a new kind of printing to all that saw the books, when they were finished; so finely were all the pieces joined together, and with great presses for that purpose pressed down upon the white sheets of paper. The frontispiece and title of the book was this:

The actions &c. [as above, 111, 112.]

But the work grew daily into greater perfection by the care and judgement of Mr. Ferrar; nay, the old gentlewoman herself became a handicraft-woman to help it forward.

57. The fame of this performance was so great, that the king in his progress, lying at Apethorp seven miles from Little Gidding, dispatched a gentleman, one of his servants, to *entreat* (which was the very word of that gracious prince) *a sight of that concordance, which he heard was so great a rarity; promising to send it back again ere many*

days passed, after he should have perused it. Mr. Ferrar being at that very time by an extraordinary necessity of business called up to London, the family consulted and concluded *his majesty's pleasure ought to be readily obeyed, though they thought so mean a piece unworthy the sight of a king.* The gentleman, apprehending some demur about the delivery of the book, protested, *if he had it not then, he knew the king before he slept would send him again for it.* So he carried it with him to court; but it was not a few days, but several months, before the same gentleman brought back the book from the king, who was pleased to send him with it on purpose from London to Gidding. He acquainted them at his coming, that *he had many things in charge from the king his master to say to them: first, to give them his majesty's hearty thanks for lending him the book; then to signify his great goodliking of it, as of a thing that exceeded the report of it or his expectation; then to excuse him for returning it no sooner, and for apostyling<sup>1</sup> or writing his own remarks upon it in many places*

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<sup>1</sup> From the Fr. *Apostiller*, to make a marginal note (see Mozin's *Dict. Fr. Allem.*) The form *postill* is more usual in English (Richardson and Todd's Johnson). Menage's derivation (*posita, posta, postilla, or apposta, appostilla*, 'a small note written by the side—on the margin,') is much more probable than Vossius's *post illa*, 'comments written after the text.' "All which are apostilled in the margin with the king's own hand."—Laud's *Troubles and Tryal*, 524. The substantive *apostills* occurs *ibid.* 525.

*of the margin.* The gentleman added that *the king took such delight in it, that no day passed wherein he did not spend some time in reading or noting it. Lastly, said he, I am to request you from his majesty, that he may have one of those books for his own use.* Whereupon the gentlewomen set about it, and in a year's time they finished one for the king, binding it with their own hands after a fashion altogether new and extraordinary. Which being presented by the lord archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Laud) and Dr. Cosins the then master of Peterhouse in Cambridge, the king admired the rare contrivance for the mechanical part within and without and for the curious pictures, but most of all for the exquisite method, that brought the gospel story into the most perfect harmony that ever was framed. After a full view he was pleased to say, *it was a present for the greatest king upon earth.*

58. And then turning to my lord of Canterbury, *What think you, said he, my lord? shall I obtain a second favour from these good people? I have another suit to them: the matter is this. I often read over the lives and actions of the kings of Judah and of Israel in the books of Kings and the Chronicles; the latter was a supply to the former, and in them I find some difficulties in the reconciling them together. I should desire that these good people would make me such a book, as would bring these two books into one full and perfect history, and yet so as I may see them each several and apart at the same time to be read; they will easily under-*

*stand my mind, I know. Will you let them know my pleasure? And so my lord's grace and Dr. Cosins assured the king, it should be done. And intimation hereof being sent to Gidding, they presently fell to their work, which was completely finished<sup>1</sup> in another year, bound up in purple velvet richly gilt, and by Mr. John Ferrar's own hand presented to the king, who in the mean time had often demanded when his book would be ready? The king upon the sight and perusal of it expressed himself most graciously in these words. This book in all kinds far surpasses my hopes and is done in a far more excellent way of composure, than I conceived it could have been: I shall make it my companion. Herein I shall daily behold God's infinite mercies and His just judgements, His rewards of the good kings, His punishing of the evil kings, His promisings and threatenings surely accomplished. Now, I must needs say, I have gained a second treasure; their care their skill and their cost have been superlative. And so let them know my esteem of it. After much discourse about it and about their way of living, the king concluded thus: How happy a prince were I, if there were many such families in my kingdom, that would employ themselves as those do at Gidding. The title of the book was this:*

The history &c. [as above, 112.]

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<sup>1</sup> In the Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5903 is the Concordance of the books of Kings and Chronicles made by the Ferrars in 1637.



*Various passages relating to Mr. Nicholas Ferrar.*

59. The glebe at Little Gidding had been alienated time out of mind, and one of those wicked compositions that are now so frequent was agreed to be paid the minister as a compensation for glebe and tithes, £20 a year for both. But this wise purchaser, who meant to have the kingdom of heaven into the bargain, after a long search, at length discovered how many acres had once been glebelands; but it was impossible to find where those acres lay before the inclosure, which was made a hundred years before their coming thither. Therefore Mr. Ferrar was never at rest, till he procured a decree in chancery for allotting and laying out in their lordship the same number of acres for glebe in the most convenient places<sup>1</sup>.

60. As he went sometimes to wait upon bishop Williams as their diocesan at Bugden, so the bishop, as his old acquaintance<sup>2</sup> and as the visitor of their little academy, gave them the honour of his company several times at Gidding. Once he had a solemn invitation and accepted it, in order to a solemn confirmation not only of the many young

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<sup>1</sup> "The larger glebe is about seventeen acres and a half, the less, five acres and one rood as measured for me, W. Robinson."

<sup>2</sup> § 30.

people in the family, but of the gentry and others in the neighbourhood who desired so great a blessing. His lordship was entertained at the church with cathedral music, and care was taken that most of the choir of Peterborough came over on purpose. The bishop preached himself before the confirmation, and after, with all the retinue and neighbouring divines and strangers, which were very numerous, he was treated with a noble dinner in the manor-house. The master of the house, notwithstanding his exemplary temperance and frugality, was not so strait-laced, as not to be a lover of hospitality: he knew there was a time for feasting, as well as fasting. Yet I have been assured scarce any one of the servants were left at home; for only their great ovens were employed, a fine cheap easy way he brought with him out of Holland of dressing meat, and such meat as the most curious palates there applauded, but admired how they cooked it. The bishop surveyed the house; their orders and manner of living he understood before, and highly approved them. At his departing he gave them all his paternal benediction again, and, straitly embracing Mr. Ferrar, took his leave of him with this hearty good-wish and prayer: *Deus tibi animum istum et animo isti tempus longissimum concedat.*

61. At length he had brought his habits of body as well as of mind even to obey him as he pleased, so that he was able to spend eighteen hours of the twenty-four in useful business serious study devout prayers or heavenly meditations. He would

seldom sit by a fire, or sit at all in his study; walking or standing at a desk to read or write was commonly his posture, and many things he penned all the while kneeling upon his knees.

62. Whilst his good mother was alive, she laboured him often to abate of his rigours in watching, till he satisfied her abundantly, that *as it was the greatest refreshment and highest advantage to his soul, so it did his body no harm*; and that *he had such a constitution by himself, as the least excess in sleeping or eating<sup>1</sup> endangered him more than anything*. But after the death of his mother, who, as the venerable foundress and governess of their religious house, overruled him into a little more indulgence to himself, then he seldom went to bed above once a week only. He lay down upon the floor, and a bear-skin under him, wrapping himself in a great shag gown of black frieze. Yet he felt no decay of his strength in the last seven years of his life, and all this while his health was rather improving than impairing in the midst of his austerities.

63. Though he was far from one of the volatile or *bird-witted* (as one ingeniously calls that sort of men, that are ever hopping from bough to bough and can never fix upon anything), yet he would

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<sup>1</sup> When Cornaro, at the entreaty of his friends, increased his daily allowance of food from twelve to fourteen ounces, his health so rapidly failed him, that he was forced within a fortnight to return to his former stint. See Herbert's *Remains*, 125 seq.

never be long in any of his studies or in any employment, but keep (as exactly as his many accidental occasions would give him leave) such and such hours for such and such affairs; and out of doubt this was best for his body and mind. 'Tis certain he found a real advantage in shifting the scenes, besides a new pleasure and refreshment at every turn, though, if occasion were, he could set himself day and night to any task and never give over, till he could say, *'Tis perfect.*

64. And that we may not imagine this house was the house of mourning; as the master of it had ever an air of sweetness and cheerfulness in his very aspect, so he took care to provide them useful and delightful entertainments. If any pitied them (as one did the primitive Christians in Minucius Felix<sup>1</sup>), because they saw no plays nor ever were seen upon the theatres, yet, without the danger of being at all corrupted, they were equally diverted and instructed by divine interludes dialogues and discourses in the Platonic way, that admirable way of drawing the truth out of another's ignorance. These innocent and profitable entertainments and recreations he introduced to wean the family off

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<sup>1</sup> "Latebrosa et fugax natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula."—Oct. 8, § 5. "Vos vero suspensi interim atque solliciti, honestis voluptatibus abstinete: non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis."—12, § 5. Cf. 37, § 11. Many parallels from other apologists may be found in the commentators or in Le Nourry's *Dissertation*, c. xiii. art. 1.

from the Christmas games<sup>1</sup> and wilder sports, which could hardly subsist without riot and extravagant license. Therefore he bid them *call those things as they were, carnal excesses and spiritual prejudices*; saying, that *sure it must be some other deity they intended to honour by those means; and though their heart and flesh too should rejoice, saith David<sup>2</sup>, on this score, yet take it with what follows, it is in the Living God that such mirth and jubilees are to be exercised: that the allowance of better cheer on festivals should be only so far, as might serve to the increase of this ascending joy.* On All-Saints'-

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<sup>1</sup> Prynne complains that the English "for the most part spend the Christmas season with other solemn festivals in amorous, mixed, voluptuous, unchristian, that I say not, pagan dancing, to God's, to Christ's dishonour, religion's scandal, chastity's shipwreck, sin's advantage, and the eternal ruin of many precious souls."—*Histriom.* 225. "What pious Christian heart bleeds not with tears of blood, when he beholds the sacred Nativity of his spotless Saviour transformed into a festivity of the foulest devils? when he shall see his blessed Jesus...entertained, courted, served like a devil, yea rather crucified and nailed to His cross again with nought else but desperate notorious sins, by an unchristian crew of Christians (I might say pagans or incarnate devils), who during all the sacred time of His Nativity, when they should be most holy, are more especially, and that professedly too, a most impure people, zealous of nothing but of stage-plays, dicing, dancing, healthing, rioting."—*Ib.* 744.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxxiv. 2 (Prayer-Book version). This passage occurs word for word in a *Conference in the time of Advent* ap. Hearne *Cant. Vind.* 785.

day<sup>1</sup> they began, and at Christmas on every holiday they proceeded in gracefully repeating and acting their Christian histories, taken both out of ancient and modern historians, in opposition to the *Golden-wooden Legends*<sup>2</sup> in the church of Rome. These he formed into colloquies, with forcible applications of all to their own circumstances; and for that very reason (because they are so adapted to the private constitution of this family) the books themselves (which are two or three large folios) are not fit to be published<sup>3</sup>, though they are well and properly, that is, eloquently, worded. Mr. Ferrar himself compiled and wrote them with his own hand, to be transcribed by the actors that had parts in them. His main scope and aim is, to discover and confute

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<sup>1</sup> Nov. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Legenda aurea, legenda lignea*, is a saying as familiar as a proverb; but I cannot now trace it to its source. See however *Legenda Lignea; with an answer to Mr. Birchley's* [i. e. John Austen's] *Moderator, (pleading for a toleration of popery) and a character of some hopefull saints revolted to the church of Rome.* By D. Y. 8vo. Lond. 1653.

<sup>3</sup> Some portions of them, from Hearne's *Cui Vindicæ*, may be seen in the Appendix. From various passages in these dialogues it appears that the matter of the stories was supplied by N. F. but that they were repeated by the sisters in their own words. "You shall have it, said the Patient [764], neither of mine nor of any other's composing, but in the very words of St. Augustine himself; for so did our Visitor [N. F.], giving me the story in writing, advise, if ever occasion were that I should recount it." Sometimes (772) they had leave to read their parts.

the vulgar errors evil surmises or worse practices of this sinful age and nation, notwithstanding the many forms and visors of godliness in which the men and women of all conditions and qualities disguise themselves to themselves as to others;—and then, to represent and press upon his family the true knowledge and practice of things truly Christian, however disused and decried, that is in one word, the great comprehensive duty of mortification, especially of the affections and appetites, meaning by affections all kinds of pride, ambition, envy, covetousness and anger; and by appetites all inordinate pleasures, as gluttony drunkenness lust and sloth.

65. Upon his expressing a hearty detestation he conceived against the Roman mass out of his pure affection to God's honour and worship, which he (having been many years conversant in popish countries) sadly observed to be mortally wounded by many of them, adoring what he thought they could not, and did not, believe to be the Body and Blood of Christ, he chanced to say, that *such a sacrifice profaned the very place where it was celebrated*. Whereupon one of the company replied, *Why, sir, what if a mass should be celebrated in your house without your leave or knowledge? what would you do? I will tell you a story*, said he: *a peer of France, that had long been a pensioner of Spain, being discovered and flying to the Spanish court for refuge, the king upon his arrival instantly dispatched his secretary to a certain duke and*

grandee of Spain, entreating him to lend a palace of his for the fugitive nobleman's accommodation. "Tell the king," said he, "my house shall ever be at his majesty's service;" and when the secretary was returning to court with this obliging answer,— "Nay," said he, "stay and hear me out. As soon as ever the house is mine again, to do what I will in it, I will purge it with such a vengeance that all the world shall ring of it; for I will burn it down to the very ground, rather than it shall be said hereafter, there I harboured a traitor under my roof." But, sir, said one that administered to Mr. Ferrar the occasion of such a warm discourse, *do you account the mass so great a traitor, that you would burn your house, if it was said there? I say not so,* said he, *for I have not a purse to build another. But I tell you, since you put me to it, I would pull down that room, though I build another.* This was a sally of his zeal<sup>1</sup>, and I would not omit it, as it is one confutation of that obloquy, which malice as impotent as virulent endeavoured to fasten upon him, because he was so much a friend to a retired way of living, that he was no enemy to popery.

66. And though it was bruited abroad, that I know not how many of his nieces had by their uncle's advice entered into a formal and solemn vow of perpetual virginity<sup>2</sup>, which was reported only to

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<sup>1</sup> Above, 80, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Above, 105.

brand him and them with the character of monkery and a nunnery (names odious and dishonourable in this country merely because of papal abuses among us heretofore, and still in our neighbour countries), yet this was so perfect a forgery, that I find him in some of his papers declaring himself against such vows of single life with such earnestness as I did not expect in him. Nay, when their reverend diocesan had declared himself, without anybody's seeking to him, *ready to accept a vow (not absolute and unconditional, as it were in spite of heaven and hell, but) a vow of sincere endeavour, if God should continue to them the grace, in a single state to withstand the temptations of the world the flesh and the devil*, the foremost of them all in any of their generous and religious undertakings was not forward to take any such engagement upon her, but kept the middle way betwixt vowing and slackness, arriving at that which St. Paul<sup>1</sup> calls *steadfastness of heart and power over her own will*. But as all (except two or three of them, who resolved to spend their lives in a severer retirement and mortification) were intended one day to be matched unto the clergy<sup>2</sup>, so they were bred accordingly, with so many dictates given them and received by them relating to the duties of humility and obedience to their husbands, of industry and pure devotion, to keep their souls always on the wing,

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 37.

<sup>2</sup> § 35.

that they were rare examples to all who lived in view of them.

67. His friends would often say, *he knew them a good deal better than they knew themselves*. If he conversed but a few days with any, that did not disguise themselves on purpose, he would see far into their dispositions and find how to work upon their passions; and then he would gently ply them with such effectual persuasives to better things, and would use such apt medicines to dissuade and reclaim them if they were out of the way, that, though minds are as different as bodies and several kinds of physic are as necessary for those as for these, yet, either in their temporal or in their spiritual affairs, he seldom failed in some measure to gain his point and his good ends upon them. Besides he was a man without fear in an honest cause and without any partial affection, and would not strain his conscience, though all the world might immediately be applied to heal it. In these he used, not the greatest and weightiest, but the most proper and effectual arguments that could be brought.

68. If any one attended him for his advice in a thing of moment (as he was the oracle of his friends), if the time and place would bear it, he would write down in brief the substance of what they propounded; then he would set down his answer, his advice and reasons, why he liked or disliked the proposition. He found by experience, delivering his mind in a short written note, especially to his country tenants, when they came to treat with him,

saved a great deal of time, preventing impertinent talking and passions and misunderstandings.

69. And as for his letters of any consequence, though addressed to an ordinary friend, such was his extraordinary care and diligence, that he wrote out a copy of them and kept it by him. Such a master he was of insinuation for the good of souls, that he would scarce indite a letter, though a very short one, without something in it tending to promote the most excellent ends; and that with such a prudence and civility, besides weight and seriousness, as must needs be very obliging. He would usually say, *the world was in a great error in not taking the right way to do itself good by a diffusive charity; that it was our Saviour's proverb*<sup>1</sup>, 'Tis better to give than to receive, *but that the devil was the author of the selfish proverb (in the sense 'tis commonly spoken)*, Charity begins at home.

70. Their alms, besides their charity upon casualties and at the door, were so much every day to poor housekeepers in the towns round about the lordship, who all were admitted into a lower room, whither Mr. Ferrar himself came to see them served, to administer ghostly as well as bodily comforts to them all, and to inquire who were sick in any of the neighbouring villages, that he might send to relieve them. As he had a singular dexterity in reproving, which he commonly did by telling

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<sup>1</sup> Acts xx. 35.

them some story, the application of which to themselves was easy<sup>1</sup>, and as he had an admirable faculty of advising others by way of asking their advice; so it is well known that he made the point of applying the best remedies to wounded consciences one great and main end of his studies, and with his most affectionate pains would assist others in these distresses, till he had, as it were, begotten them anew to God. He understood it the better as having undergone himself, in his own tender age, many and grievous temptations.

71. Whilst he was in Italy, a young gentleman<sup>2</sup> fled thither out of England, having unhappily killed another in a duel, and being a stranger at Padua, he was noted there as a man desperately melancholy; till, in a good hour for him, he fell by chance into company with Mr. Ferrar, and found so much goodness in him, that he made him his confessor. He, finding the poor soul's hearty repentance and sorrow for what he had done, so applied the mercies of God to him, that he was well satisfied and much comforted. *Yet, he would say, he was never well but in Mr. Ferrar's company; whom thenceforward he loved and esteemed above all the world.*

72. Bishop Linsell, once his tutor and ever his admirer, observing how daily more and more refined and exalted was his practice of all Christian virtues, would ask him, *Whither he would go? what examples*

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<sup>1</sup> Above, 91, 92.

<sup>2</sup> Garton. § 15.

he would set them? Nay, sir, he would answer, you are to answer this: Why did you set me at the college to read the lives of the fathers, and of later saints in England, if not to follow them?

73. Accordingly he ordered several choice texts<sup>1</sup> of scripture to be texted up in his study, that he must of necessity cast his eyes upon one or other of them; and over the outer door of his house he caused to be engraven on a plate of brass: FLEE FROM EVIL AND DO GOOD AND DWELL FOR EVERMORE<sup>2</sup>. In the great dining-room too, which was also the receptacle for strangers, there were divers tablets, fairly written in great letters, hung round the room; which were of the same use with the travellers' table-books, to receive any sentence their friends and visitants had a mind to insert or by way of good counsel bestow upon them.

74. He frequently penned excellent good prayers for several occasions, some only short, as collects, others of extraordinary length upon some great account. And he employed a dear nephew of his

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<sup>1</sup> "Even the walls are not idle, but something is written or painted there, which may excite the reader to a thought of piety; especially the 101st psalm, which is expressed in a fair table, as being the rule of a family."—*Country Parson*, c. x. See the extract from Bacon in Wordsworth, *Eccl. Biogr.* iv. 195 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxxvii. 27. With this text Mrs. Collett concludes a letter to her son Edward, writing in Nov. 1628. It is also engraved on the back of the brass formerly on John Ferrar's tomb.

in translating out of Italian those of Mynsinger, a large collection in folio, for all sorts and conditions of men. In those of his own composing, whilst he begged new blessings with all imaginable acknowledgements of the old which he had already received, he always interwove such clear instructions as might teach every one their duties in all good works. *As for extemporary prayers*, he used to say, *there needed little other confutation of them, than to take them in short-hand, and shew them sometime after to those very men, that had been so audacious to vent them. Ask, saith he, their own judgements of them (for I think they will hardly know them again), and see if they do not blame them.*

75. What an affection and veneration he had for our liturgy, appeared by his own daily and devout use of it<sup>1</sup>: to use it constantly and reverently

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<sup>1</sup> "Mr. F. though he ever honoured their [i. e. the puritans'] persons (that were pious and learned) and always spoke of them with much Christian respect, yet would he bewail their mistakes, which (like mists) led them in some points back again to those errors of Rome which they had forsaken. To instance in one: He that says, preaching in the pulpit is absolutely necessary to salvation, falls into two Romish errors [Hooker *E. P.* v. 21, 22]: 1. That the Scripture is too dark; 2. That it is insufficient to save a man [*u. s.* 22 § 14]: and perhaps a third, advancing the man of Rome, more than they intend him, I am sure. But the chief aim of Master F. and this author, was to win those that disliked our liturgy, catechism, &c. by the constant, reverent, and holy use of them: which, surely, had we all imitated, having first imprinted the virtue of these prayers in our own hearts, and

he justly supposed and believed was one of the likeliest expedients to gain its adversaries. No man was better pleased with a decent splendour in the House of God, nor was more elevated with our solemn service performed with very good and grave cathedral music, of which his travels into Italy made him a perfect judge. He had it in his house, and he built in the church a gallery to set up an organ.

76. He made it his great endeavour to promote the learning of all the psalter<sup>1</sup> without book, not

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then studied with passionate and affectionate celebration, (for voice, gesture, &c.) as in God's presence, to imprint them in the minds of the people, (as this book teaches,) our prayers had been generally as well beloved as they were scorned. And for my part, I am apt to think, that our prayers stood so long, was a favour by God granted us at the prayers of these men, (who prayed for these prayers as well as in them :) and that they fell so soon, was a punishment of our negligence, (and other sins) who had not taught even those that liked them well, to use them aright." Barnabas Oley's *Life of Herbert*, c. ci.

<sup>1</sup> "It would much trouble me if I had but a thought that you would forget those psalms that you have learned. Nay, I hope you will not content yourself in the only keeping of them in your memory, but learn much more and in particular that book of the proverbs, which both I desired, and you promised me to do; and do not say with the sluggard, *there is a lion in the way*, you have now so much business that you can intend nothing else, without the neglect of performing your service to your master, which God forbid you should do. No, my son, that time which you shall spend in this kind, borrow it from those hours that others take, and yourself

only by the young people, but the elder sort, and he would even hire the poorer sort, parents as well as children, to this easy task, on purpose to redeem

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may have liberty to spend, in their own pleasures. But if you will say, there are none such allowed you, though I can hardly believe that, then take it from those which are allowed for your rest, and assure yourself, if with a good heart you shall so do, undoubtedly you shall find your mind much strengthened for the performance of all your duties, and the strength of your body no whit impaired. I might say much more, but I assure myself and praise God for it, you shall not want better counsel than I can give you: for your dear uncle will see you shortly."—Mrs. Collett to her son Edward. Nov. 1628. To her son Nicholas she writes (Sept. 26. 1631): "My son, would you enjoy both [prosperity here and happiness hereafter], you have long since learned, as we use to say, *by heart* (God grant it may be deeply grounded in your heart) the infallible way in the first psalm." Writing to her daughter Susanna Mapletoft (Jan. 28, 1632-3) she rejoices in "little Mall's memory to repeat without book seven psalms." See too a note endorsed, "From my dearest little cousin Mr. Barnard Brocas," being the boy's first literary attempt.

"For my honoured dear cousin Mrs. Collett this present from her humble servant.

Dear Cousin

I give you great thanks for your remembrance of me in my mother's letter, and for so great a favour, I could not be so rude but to present you with a scribbled paper, to let you know how much I am your servant and will be while I am

Stretham. 28 Oct.

Barnard Brocas.

Pray cousin remember my service to my cousin and my cousin Jude and my other cousins, though I know them not. I have learnt seventeen verses out of the book you was pleased to give me."

them from their vain thoughts and conversation, and to make the repetition of those sacred hymns (without hindering the performance of any other necessary duty, honest employment, or innocent recreation) the subject of their mutual discourses. So he would earnestly recommend getting without book the Gospel of our Blessed Saviour, and what more they could of the New Testament<sup>1</sup>. *This, he would say, was as needful food to our souls, as meat is to our bodies, which a man is yet to get by the sweat of his brows. For who knows, said he, how he may be disposed of before he dies? Suppose blind, suppose in a prison, or travelling where he can have no help but from his memory<sup>2</sup>. No man, till he has tried, said he, can imagine the comforts and pleasures he may derive from such a good treasure in his heart.*

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<sup>1</sup> "They [the sisters] were able to repeat by heart both the book of the Psalms and most part of the New Testament." Hearne, *Cavi Vind.* 714. See above § 51 fin.

<sup>2</sup> § 15.

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*Slight those who say amidst their sickly healths,  
Thou livest by rule. What doth not so but man?  
Houses are built by rule, and commonwealths.  
Entice the trusty sun, if that you can,  
From his ecliptic line ; beckon the sky.  
Who lives by rule then, keeps good company.*

Herbert's Church-Porch, st. 23.