



The earliest Little Gidding concordance

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The Earliest Little Gidding Concordance

THE 'Concordances,' or harmonies of scriptural passages, made in the seventeenth century at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire hold a unique place in the history of English book production, with a special interest attaching to the earliest of them, both by reason of its significance as a prototype and because of its historic connection with King Charles I. In recent years the general features of the Little Gidding community have become well known, through the publication of much of the surviving contemporary manuscript material, through biographical studies, and through allusions in widely-read fiction and poetry. The founder of the community, Nicholas Ferrar, a graduate of Clare College, Cambridge, after some years of foreign travel, followed by a career of business and politics in London (including a prominent role in the affairs of the Virginia Company during the critical period preceding its dissolution), retired from the world in 1625, taking with him his mother, his brother John and his wife, his sister Susanna and her husband John Collet, a number of nephews and nieces, and certain others. This band of Ferrars and Collets, about thirty in all, gave themselves to unceasing prayer and good works. Ferrar was ordained deacon by Laud in 1626, and the community received the sanction of the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese it was located, but there was no intention of establishing an order; the conduct of a full religious life, in the terms of the Anglican faith, and removed from the increasing stresses of the day, seemed purpose enough.

The book production for which Little Gidding became famous arose out of the simple needs of the community, the first Concordance¹ being designed for use at the family devotions, and to provide a pleasant and instructive occupation for the young people who made it. Little did the members of the community foresee that their

¹ The term 'Concordance' is always employed in the Little Gidding manuscripts, and is therefore used throughout this account, although the word has in modern times assumed a different meaning, 'Harmony' being the usual term now employed for a collation of parallel passages from different writings.

book would attract royal notice and thus lead to the series of more elaborate Concordances which they later made for the king, Prince Charles, Archbishop Laud, and others.

'A Cambridge bookbinder's daughter that bound rarely'² was invited to Little Gidding to teach the family the arts of binding, gilding, lettering, and pasting-printing. It was just at this time that a series of unusual bindings was being produced in Cambridge, apparently for the University printers Thomas and John Buck, in a style and with tools which were closely imitated at Little Gidding.³ It seems likely that this lady had been trained in this bindery.⁴ One of the nieces of Nicholas, Mary Collet, became particularly noted as a bookbinder — to such a degree, indeed, that many have ascribed, perhaps romantically, all Little Gidding bindings to her workmanship.

The following account, based on John Ferrar's life of his brother, gives details of the method adopted in the making of the first Concordance:

By this assistance he composed a full Harmony, or Concordance of the four Evangelists, adorned with many beautiful pictures, which required more than a year for the composition, and was divided into 150 heads or chapters. For this purpose he set apart a handsome room near the oratory. Here he had a large table, two printed copies of the Evangelists, of the same edition, and great store of the best and strongest white paper. Here he spent more than an hour every day in the contrivance of this book, and in directing his nieces, who attended him for that purpose, how they should cut out [*sic*] such and such particular passages out of the two printed copies of any part of each Evangelist, and then lay them together so as to perfect such a head or chapter as he had designed. This they did first roughly, and then with nice knives, and scissars so neatly fitted each passage to the next belonging to it, and afterwards pasted them so even and smoothly together, upon large sheets of the best white paper,

² According to the 'Jebb' version of John Ferrar's life of his brother Nicholas, edited, with Thomas Baker's version, by J. E. B. Mayor in *Nicholas Ferrar: Two Lives* (Cambridge, 1855); see p. 243. The 'Jebb' version is apparently merely a re-touching of an account by Francis Turner (1638?–1700), Bishop of Ely, drawn in its turn from the basic life by John Ferrar. For the best summary of the various 'lives' of Nicholas Ferrar and their manuscript sources extant or lost see B. Blackstone, *The Ferrar Papers* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. xvii–xx.

³ Cf. Cyril Davenport, 'Little Gidding Bindings,' *Bibliographica*, II (1895), 129–149; G. D. Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 122–124.

⁴ The fact that Thomas Buck was the printer of the first five editions of Herbert's *Temple*, the manuscript and preface for which were supplied by Nicholas Ferrar, underlines the close relations between the Bucks and Little Gidding.

by the help of the rolling-press, that many curious persons who saw the work when it was done, were deceived, and thought that it had been printed in the ordinary way.⁵

This Concordance was used for training the community in the repeating 'without book' of Gospel heads or chapters at the week-day hourly services, the heads of the Concordance being so apportioned that the entire book was repeated once every month. The way of life of the community was of great interest to King Charles, and in due course he heard rumors of the Concordance. What followed is best told in the words of John Ferrar,⁶ and in full, for its bearing upon the subsequent history of the book:

His Sacred Magesty Ann^o 1631⁷ Having heard, of some rare contrivements as he was pleased to terme them of Bookes donn at Littell Gidding in Hunt-

⁵ Peter Peckard, *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge, 1790), pp. 203-204. Peckard reproduced, with modifications both deliberate and unintentional, an original manuscript of John Ferrar's which, though subsequently lost, was apparently the ultimate source of all the manuscript and printed versions of the life now extant.

⁶ Quoted from an account of the Concordances, in John Ferrar's hand, preserved in Lambeth MS 251; this account was first printed (in modernized spelling) by Christopher Wordsworth in *Ecclesiastical Biography* (London, 1810), V, 206-208. See also Mayor, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-161. Wordsworth says that the manuscript was probably written in 1653, presumably upon the following reasoning. In the last paragraph of the manuscript John Ferrar, referring to a polyglot Bible, 'prepared, but not begun,' details of which are given in the preceding paragraph, says, 'of this eighth piece the model and form was contrived as you have seen on the foregoing page in that manner. But these sad times coming on amain gave an obstruction to the proceedings and attempt, so that it hath lain still till this year 165- . . . And now it hath so fallen out that . . . the printing of the holy Bible in eight several languages is designed here in England.' Wordsworth comments, 'The printing of the Polyglot . . . began in 1653, and was finished in 1657. The first printed proposals respecting it were issued in the year 1652.'

⁷ '1634' was originally written in the manuscript, but the last figure of this date has been altered, probably by the same hand from which the rest of the manuscript comes. Peckard, *Memoirs*, p. 218, gives the year as 1634. Neither date is entirely satisfactory, for reasons which will become apparent as this account progresses. However, we know from Rushworth (*Historical Collections*, London, 1659-1701, II, 178) that Charles visited Little Gidding in person 13 May 1633. The sending for the Concordance would more logically occur before the 1633 visit than after, since if a novelty the Concordance (assuming its existence at that time) would have been a feature of the 1633 visit. Further, we know from Nicholas Ferrar's correspondence (e.g., Blackstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-263) that he was in London during June and July 1631. Finally, the date 1631 presents fewer difficulties with respect to the interrelationship (partly conjectural, to be sure) of the early Concordances (see pp. 330-331 below).

ingtonshire (in an unusuall way and manner for there owne private uses and imployments and that the younger sorte learned them with out Booke and houerly made repetition of some parts of them, that so booth there hands and minds might be partakes in what was good and usefull) It soe happened that beinge at Apethorpe at the Earle of Westmorlands house in his progresse some 7⁸ miles off Gidding He sent a gentellman of his Court (welbeloved of him) to Gidding: whoe came and declared that the King his mayster deseired that there might be sent him by him: A Booke (but he knew not the name of it) that was made at Gidding and some what of it every houer repeated by them: The tidings was much unexpected and N F at london, leave was Craved that the deferring of the sending of it might be Respited one wecke and the king might be informed that the Booke was holy unfitting every way for a kings eye and those that had givinge him any notice of such a thing had much misinformed his Maj^{ty}: and when he should see it would con them noe thanke⁹ made only for the use of the younge peopell in the Family. But all excuses would not satisfie this gentellman; he said if we inforced him to goe wth out it, he knew he should be a gaine sent for it that night and noe nays he would have, soe necessity inforced the delivery and the gentellman seimed greatly contented tooke the Booke saing not his man but himselfe would carry it; he knew it would be an acceptable service to his Mayster and Ingaged his faith that at the kings departure from Apthorpe he would bring it againe But a quarter of a year passed¹⁰ then came the gentellman a gaine but brought noe Booke but after much Complement said the king soe liked the worke itselfe and the contrivement of it in all kinds that there had not a day passed but the king in the middest of all his progress and sports spent one houer in the perusing of it, and

⁸ Actually much farther away. Another underestimation of distance is to be found in his statement that George Herbert's 'prebend of Leighton lay within two miles of Nicholas Ferrar.' It is in fact about three times that distance. See Mayor, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁹ Here some words have been scribbled out with the pen. The first few words thus erased are quite indecipherable, but it looks as if the last three words were 'slight piece Booke,' the word 'Booke' having been substituted for 'slight piece' and then crossed out. Similar disparaging references to this book are made in MS Jones B 87, VII (in Dr Williams's Library): 'It was thought however the Booke was not worthy of the King's sight, being made but for their own dayly use, & that sure the king had been misinformed by somebody or other for so they told the gentleman that the king's pleasure should be rather at present obeyed, though to their own shame they should permit so poore a piece to have ye sight of a king, or he of it: The gentleman at first seeing some demurr made in the delivery of it, & that they would rather give the king an Intimation first of the meanness of it, than to send it presently as he required; protested if he had it not then, he knew before the king slept he would send him agayn for it, so it was delivered him. . . .' (The literal transcripts of the Lambeth and Jones manuscripts quoted in this article have been made by Muriel Craig.)

¹⁰ The king exercising what has been called 'the divine right to stick to borrowed books' (M. D. Forbes, *Clare College 1326-1926*, Cambridge, 1928-30, II, 521).

that would apparently be seine by the notations he had made upon the Margents of it wth his owne hand; and that his Mayster would not upon noe termes parte with it; Except he brought him a promise from the Family that the would make him one for his daily use w^{ch} he should esteime as a Rich Jewel; some monethes after the Gentellman acquainting the king what he donn in obedience to his command, Brought backe the Booke from London to Gidding; sayinge upon the condition that with in the space of 12 monethes the king might have one made him he was to render backe that a gaine and soe wth many courtely termes he parted wth intimation from N F that his Magestys commande should be obeyed. The Booke being opened there was found as the gentellman had said the kings notes in many places in the margent w^{ch} testified the kings diligent perusiall of it: and in one place w^{ch} is not to be forgotten to the eternall Memory of his Magestys superlative humilty (noe small Vertue in a king) having written some thing in ~~it~~ one place he putts it out a gaine very neatly with is pen but that it seimes not contenting him; voutesafes to underwrite I confess my error it was well before; (an exampell to all his subiects) I was mistaken. But before the yeare came about such diligence and Expedition was used: That a Booke was presented to his Magesty (being bound in crimson velvett and richly gilded upon the Velved a thing not usiall) The king gratusly wth a Cherefull Countenance received it and after a curious preuseall after having asked many questions concerning the Worke and the partys that had donne it: said to the Lords grace of Canterbury and divers other lords that stoude a bouthe him, (Doctor Cusens beinge alsoe there that was his Chaplian for that moneth) Truly my lords I prize this as a raire and Rich Jewell and worth a kings Acceptance: The Substance of it is of the best Alloye in the world and ought to be the only deseirable Booke: And for the Skill, Care, Cost used in it there is noe defect, but a suparlative diligence in all a bouthe it, I very much thanke them all and it shalbe my Vade mecum How happy a king were I if I had many more such worke men and women in my kingdome gods blessing one theire harts and painfull hand: I know they will receive noe reward for it. Then he gave the Booke to the Lords to peruse saing there a fine pictures in it: The Lords said they beleiued the like Booke was not in the world to bee seine it was a pretious Gem and worthy of his Cabinet.

The king's book, richly gilded indeed, but upon morocco rather than velvet, with title-page dated 1635, is now to be found in the British Museum, whither it came with the rest of the Old Royal Library given by George II.¹¹ By about 1930, eleven other bound Concordances, with materials for a twelfth, had been located and described,¹² but of the earliest, from which all the others derived, there

¹¹ B.M. C. 23. e. 4. A curious confusion seems to have attended from the beginning the descriptions of the materials and colors of the Little Gidding bindings, as an examination of the pertinent literature will show. (See also note 28 below.)

¹² Cf. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

had been no record since its return by the king, and it was accounted lost, perhaps destroyed by the pillage of Little Gidding by parliamentarians in 1646.

Three hundred years later, in January 1934, the late Mr Bernard George Hall¹⁸ of Knutsford, Cheshire,¹⁴ while engaged in preparing a new edition of Herbert's poems, received by post a returned book loan, the inner wrapping of the parcel being a bookseller's catalogue. A true bibliophile, he always examined such publications carefully, hoping to find rare books and sources for the subjects of his studies; and, fortunately, although the catalogue had been issued the previous year, he scrutinized all its pages. On one of them he found an item advertised simply as a 'Binding' which, though damaged, 'would make an excellent blotting pad.' Certain details, however, had other connotations:

102 *Binding* — Portions of the Four Gospels taken from an old Black Letter English Testament cut-out and mounted in a folio volume on hand-made paper, ruled in red, 85 pp., illustrated with a series of 53 large wood-engravings cut-close, the title of each plate being pasted on the top of the page, bound in contemporary red morocco, gilt floral ornaments on each side, size 14½ x 10, 25/-. 18th Cent. [*sic*]. The back is broken but the sides are in good condition and would make an excellent blotting pad, inside is an inscription — Johannes Collet, filius Thomas [*sic*] Collet, pater, etc., dated 1633.

Mr Hall immediately sent for the book, although, in view of the interval since the appearance of the catalogue, there did not seem much likelihood of securing it. The book, however, had escaped notice, and was still unsold. The bookseller even offered it at a lower price than that at which it had been advertised.

A glance at the interior was enough to assure the purchaser that here was indeed a Little Gidding Concordance. The general arrangement of the text and illustrations was similar to that in most of the Concordances already known. The 'inscription' turned out to be an engraved bookplate, reading as follows:

¹⁸ Formerly on the staff of the *Manchester Guardian*. Some of the fruits of his research into the text of Herbert were communicated to the *Times Literary Supplement* of 26 October 1933; and some of his ingenious conjectural emendations of obscure lines in Herbert have been recorded by Canon F. E. Hutchinson in *The Works of George Herbert* (Oxford, 1941). His father was Professor Theophilus Hall, M.A., Classical Tutor in the Lancashire Independent College.

¹⁴ The 'Cranford' of Mrs Gaskell.

Johannes Collet,/ Filius/ Thomæ Collet,/ Pater/ Thomæ, Gulielmi, & Johannis,/ Omnium superstes,/ Natus,/ Quarto Junij 1633,/ Denasciturus,/ Quando DEO visum fuerit,/ Interim hujus proprietarius./ John Collet./

This bookplate is found in another Concordance;¹⁵ also in each of the three volumes of the 'Story Books' produced by the community which are preserved at the British Museum;¹⁶ and a detached copy of the same bookplate is to be found inserted in MS Jones B 87, VII, in Dr Williams's Library. 'Johannes Collet,' the John Collet born on 4 June 1633, was the son of Thomas Collet (born *ca.* 1597), and grandson of another John Collet (born 1578), who married Nicholas Ferrar's sister Susanna. As Mary Collet had been so closely concerned in the making of the greater books, she would be a natural guardian for them. Mary later settled with her brother Thomas at Highgate, London, and any books which she possessed might readily pass into his keeping or that of his son John.¹⁷ This John's three sons, Thomas William, and John, all died young; so that the Concordance would presumably go to some other relative. Many Little Gidding treasures seem to have descended through the Collets to the Mapletoft family, as was indeed the case with the other works already mentioned bearing John Collet's 'ex libris,' but there is no evidence that the present Concordance ever formed part of the Mapletoft collection, which seems to have been carefully preserved as a unit.¹⁸

¹⁵ B.M.C. 23. e. 2, i.e., the 'Mapletoft' Concordance, bound in stained vellum; see Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 122, no. XII; reproduction, *Bibliographica*, II, 147, plate 4 (X).

¹⁶ B.M. Add. MSS 34657, 34658, 34659. E. Cruwys Sharland, in *The Story Books of Little Gidding* (London, 1899), p. li, records the wording of the bookplate as an 'inscription' appearing at the beginning of the first Story Book. It is however a bookplate, which appears in all three volumes. The Concordance and the Story Books in which the bookplate appears were for generations owned by the Mapletoft family. The Story Books, five folio volumes of which are known, are largely in Nicholas Ferrar's own handwriting, and are religious exercises cast in the form of Platonic dialogues, designed for the edification of the community, and compiled for the sessions of the study-circle later christened by Peckard the 'Little Academy.'

¹⁷ It is possible that the present Concordance was given first to Thomas Collet. There were special reasons why he should have received a souvenir of Little Gidding. Although he and his wife had left the community in 1630, after only two years' residence, he was held in great affection there; and in the critical days of the Virginia Company he had rendered valuable service to Nicholas Ferrar, being one of his chief assistants in copying the Court Book. From him the Concordance would naturally pass to his son John.

¹⁸ Mr Hall learned that immediately prior to the advertisement of the Concordance in the dealer's catalogue it had been the property of a retired naval surgeon named Vaudin, who had come from Jersey to settle at Saltash near Plymouth, and

A glance at the arrangement of text and illustrations having established the book as a Little Gidding Concordance, the discovery of certain marginalia on the recto and verso of the fourteenth leaf of the text suggested at once that here was actually the first Concordance, annotated by Charles I, recovered after three hundred years. This leaf contains the greater part of the Sermon on the Mount in the King James version. On the recto, the left-hand column gives first Luke VI. 16b-20a and then Matthew V. 2-10. At this point the sequence of the Sermon according to Matthew is abandoned, and the following composite passage occurs:

22 Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and when [t]hey shall separate you from their company, *when men shall reuile you*, and cast out your name as euill, *and shall persecute you, and shall say all manner of * euill against you † falsely for my sake.*

23 Reioyce ye in that day *and bee exceeding glad*; and leape for ioy: for behold, your reward is great in heauen for *so did their fathers persecut the prophets. which were before you.*¹⁰

In the left margin, level with Luke VI. 22-23, where the more familiar sequence from Matthew is interrupted, are written the words: 'Heere ye should not breake off but put all the Sermon in together as S^t Mathew hath it'. This marginal note has been struck through with a pen; and below, in the bottom margin, the writer apologizes for his error, thus: 'I confess that I was too hastie for it is verrie well, but two littell omissions that I haue marked' (Plate Ia). On the verso of the leaf these omissions are pointed out. The first annotation, in the lower left margin, reads: '† heere add Bee ye therfore perfect as your Father in Heauen is perfect' (Plate Ib). This verse, Matthew V. 48, is marked to follow Matthew V. 47 in the text, and of course should not have been omitted. The second annotation, standing between the two columns, midway down the page, is as follows: 'oad: breake throw & steale' (Plate Ic). This is marked to complete Matthew VI. 19 in the text: 'where moath and rust doeth corrupt, and where theeues. . . ,'

had died there. His library contained a number of books either dating from or relating to the seventeenth century, some of which (e.g., a copy of Juan de Valdés' *Divine Considerations*, translated by Nicholas Ferrar and published with a preface by Herbert, Oxford, 1638) suggest that their owner had a special interest in the Ferrars. He may have been a descendant of the community.

¹⁰ Luke VI. 22-23, with portions, here printed in italics, inserted from Matthew V. 11-12.

the end of the sentence having been inadvertently omitted in the pasting in.

Turning back to John Ferrar's account of the king's marginalia in the first Concordance,²⁰ we find an accurate description of the annotations on the recto of this leaf and strikingly similar wording in the portion of the marginalia quoted:

. . . and in one place w^{ch} is not to be forgotten to the eternall Memory of his Magestys superlative humilty (noe small Vertue in a king) having written some thing in ~~th~~ one place he putts it out a gaine very neatly with is pen²¹ but that it seimes not contenting him; voutesafes to underwrite I confess my error it was well before; (an exampell to all his subiects) I was mistaken.²²

Such discrepancies in the wording as appear might easily be explained if John Ferrar was writing from memory.²³ But even if he had the Concordance before him, the deferential attitude which characterizes all his references to the king might well have induced him to draw attention, not to Charles's confession of hastiness, but rather to the 'superlative humilty' which prompted the apology. And in any case exact reproduction of the original in quotation is a principle for a later day.

Obviously the handwriting called for scrutiny. A careful comparison with authentic specimens of Charles's hand seems to make it certain that the annotations are by him, for the formation of letters and of entire words coincides perfectly; while an examination under a microscope reveals no evidence of tracing or other sign that the writing in the Concordance might be an imitation. The occurrence of both the secretary and the Italic forms of the letter 'e' should be noted, particularly in the two instances where they appear together in the same word, as in 'heere add' and 'therfore.' Charles, the first English sovereign to write a good running hand, used the modern Italic characters

²⁰ P. 315 above.

²¹ 'Very neatly': probably because the strokes are made vertically (i.e., parallel to the nearest ornamental lines ruled in red ink), rather than in the more natural way, horizontally.

²² Cf. the parallel passage in MS Jones B 87, VII: 'And, sayd the Gentleman, you shall find my Master's rare Humility in one of the Margents, where he had written something, & then put it out agayne, acknowledging under his own Hand, as you may see it, he was much mistaken in that poynt (and certainly it was an act of great Humility in a king, & worthy to be noted, & the Booke itself mightily graced by it).'

²³ See note 6 above. John Ferrar was born about 1590 and died in 1657. As already indicated there is good reason to believe that the Lambeth MS account was written between 1652 and 1657.

almost exclusively, but, as was characteristic of the period in such cases, vestiges of the old secretary style remained. The use of the two 'e's in the same word may also be seen in an annotation by Charles in a letter to him from Secretary Windebank, dated 7 October 1635,²⁴ the word in this instance being 'honestie.' Another conjunction of earlier and later forms in the Concordance marginalia appears in the word 'verrie,' with its two kinds of 'r'; an exact parallel for this, also in the word 'verrie,' may be found in a letter written by Charles to the officers of the Exchequer on 1 August 1627.²⁵

John Ferrar's account of the first Concordance, quoted above, speaks of 'the kings notes in many places in the margent.' The Jones manuscript also says: 'He had in many places in the Margent made Notes in it.' Peckard, presumably following his original manuscript of the life by John Ferrar, makes a similar statement.²⁶ Actually, there are only the four annotations already discussed. It may be that John Ferrar, with his deferential attitude towards the king, would feel justified in describing these four as 'many.' Or, again, and perhaps more likely, the discrepancy may have arisen because in both instances John Ferrar was writing from memory. It is not impossible that, the book having become so much more precious to the Ferrar household because of the king's marginal notes, these notes should seem, in an oldish man's retrospect,²⁷ more numerous than they actually were. In any case, the discrepancy might be taken as evidence — if evidence were needed — of the genuineness of the annotations in the present work, since a forger would naturally (though not inevitably) follow the indications given him by John Ferrar. The same argument might be based on the discrepancy, already alluded to, between the note as quoted by John Ferrar and as actually written in the Concordance.

Another possibility is that John Ferrar confused this Concordance with another early one made by the community; and although this supposition requires a reconstruction of the sequence of events differ-

²⁴ In the Harvard College Library. Yet another example appears among the annotations quoted in note 33 below (second annotation: 'hence').

²⁵ In the Public Record Office; reproduced in W. J. Hardy, *The Handwriting of the Kings & Queens of England* (London, 1893), p. 116.

The writer is much indebted to Mr G. W. Cottrell, Jr, editor of the *HARVARD LIBRARY BULLETIN*, for the information in the foregoing paragraph, as well as for much kindness.

²⁶ *Memoirs*, p. 219; cf. note 5 above.

²⁷ See notes 6 and 23 above.

6 Blessed are they which doe hunger and thirst after
righteousnesse: for they shall be filled.

7 Blessed are the mercifull: for they shall obtayne
mercy.

8 Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

9 Blessed are the peace makers: for they shall be called
the children of God.

10 Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousnesse
sake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen.

11 Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and when
they shall separate you from their company, when men shall
slandere you, and shall call you the child of the devill, and shall
persecute you, and shall say all manner of evill against you
falsely for my sake.

12 Rejoyce ye in that day, and be exceeding glad: and
saye for joy: for beholde your reward is great in heauen: for
so did they persecute the prophetes, which were of
you.

*Be ye pure
of heart
that all the
heavenly
treasures
may be
yours*

*I confess that I was too hasty
for it is never well, but some
small corrections that I have marked*

PLATE Ia

33 And if ye doe good to them that doe good to you,
what thank have ye? for sinners also doe even the same.

34 And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive,
what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to
receive as much againe.

35 But love ye your enemies, and doe good and lend
hoping for nothing againe: and your reward shall be
great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest: for he so
kindeth unto the unthankfull, and to the unrighteous.

36 Be ye therefore mercifull, as your father also is
mercifull.

XLV.
Of doinge Prayers and
Forgivinge.

The heere that you doe not praye almes before men, in
the sight of them: otherwise ye have no reward of
your father which is in heauen.

2 Therefore when thou doest thine almes, doe not
sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites doe, in the

*Here will
be written
perfect as your
father in heaven
is perfect.*

PLATE Ib

LXII.
Of the lettinge of God and Mammon.

1 Lay not up for you treasures upon earth, where
moth and rust doeth corrupt, and where thieves
breake through and steale.

2 But lay up for you treasures in heauen,
where neither moth nor rust doeth corrupt, and where
thieves doe not breake through nor steale.

3 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be
also.

4 The light of the bodie is the eye: if therefore thine
eye be single, thy whole bodie shall be full of light.

5 But if thine eye be evill, thy whole bodie shall be full
of darkness: if therefore the light that is in thee be dark-
nesse, how great is that darknesse?

*and breake
through and
steale*

Matthew

PLATE Ic

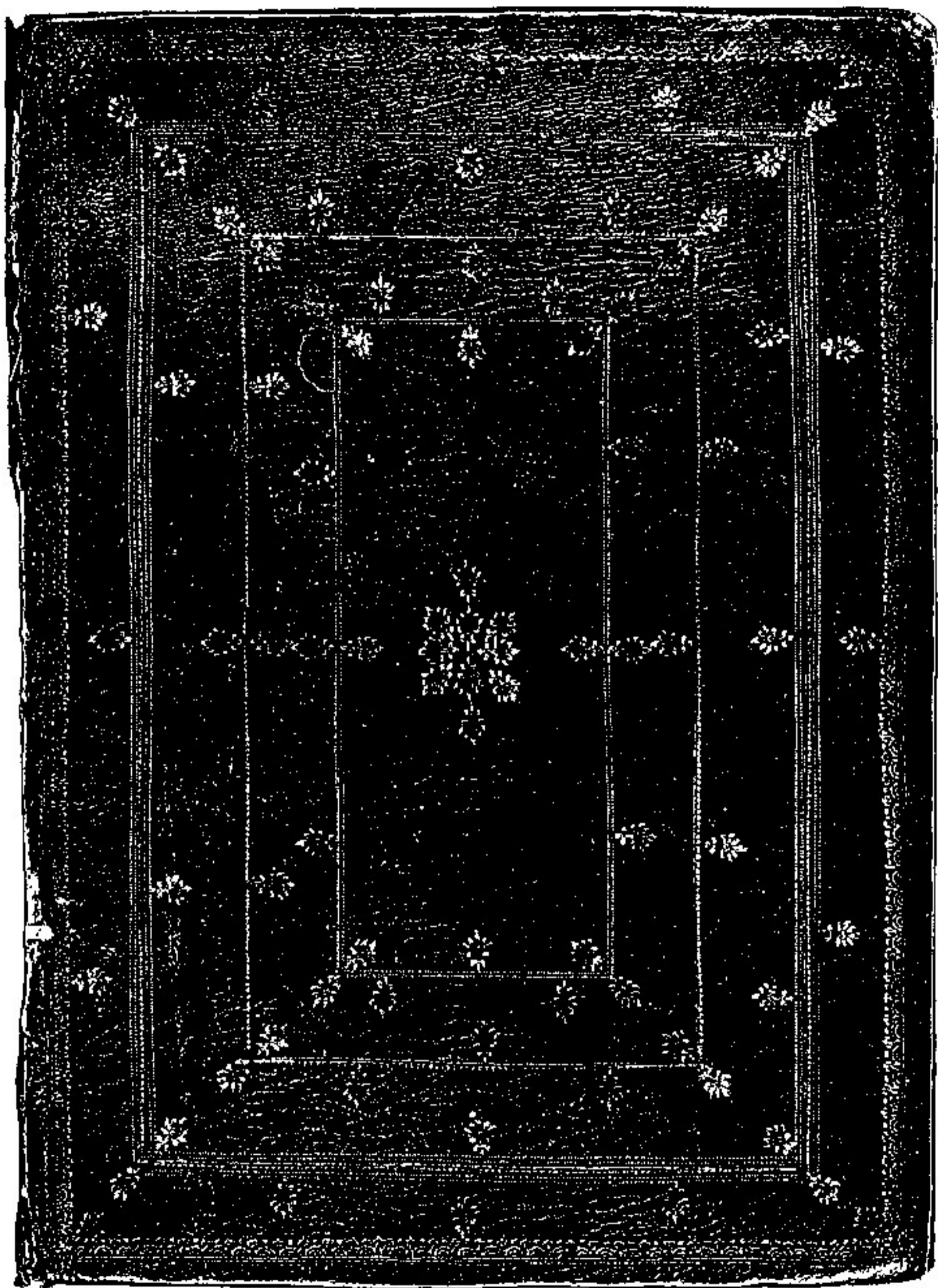


PLATE II

HARVARD CONCORDANCE (upper cover)

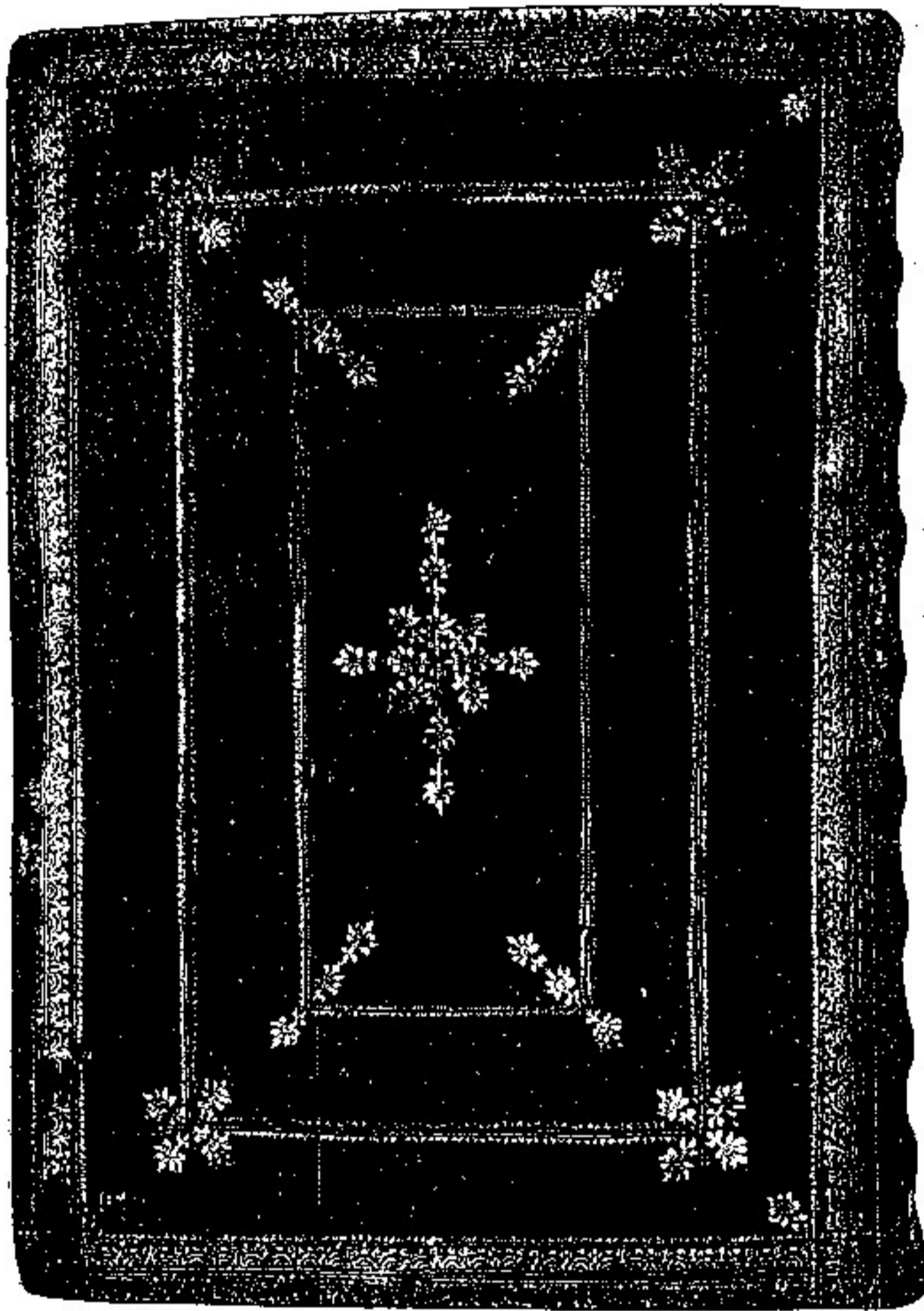


PLATE III.

HIDDLEIAN CONCORDANCE, ARCH. A. d. 3 (lower cover)

A 128 ¶ Ye have heard that it hath bene said, * An eye
for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.
129 ¶ But I say unto you, * that ye resist not evil: but
whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turne
to the other also.
130 ¶ And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take
away thy coat, let him have thy cloake also.
131 ¶ And whosoever shall compell thee to goe a mile,
goe with him twaine.
132 ¶ Give to him that asketh thee: and * from him
that would borrow of thee, turne not thou away.
133 ¶ And when he smiteth thee on the one cheek,
turne also the other: and him that taketh away thy
coat, forbid not to take thy cloake also.
134 ¶ Give to every man that asketh of thee,
and of him that taketh away thy goods, alke them
not againe.
135 ¶ And as ye would that men should doe to you,
doe ye also to them likewise. (MATTHEW 5. 38-48)

C 136 ¶ And when he smiteth thee on the one cheek,
turne also the other: and him that taketh away thy
coat, forbid not to take thy cloake also.
137 ¶ Give to every man that asketh of thee,
and of him that taketh away thy goods, alke them
not againe.

A 138 ¶ Ye have heard that it hath bene said, * Thou
shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy:
139 ¶ But I say unto you, * Love your enemies, blesse
them that curse you, doe good to them that hate you,
and pray for them which despitefully use you.
140 ¶ But I say unto you which hear, Love your ene-
mies, do good to them which hate you.
141 ¶ Blesse them that curse you, and pray for them
which despitefully use you. (MATTHEW 5. 43-48)

C 142 ¶ But I say unto you which hear, Love your ene-
mies, do good to them which hate you.
143 ¶ Blesse them that curse you, and pray for them
which despitefully use you.

A 144 ¶ What ye may bee the children of your father
which is in heaven: for he maketh his sunne to rise
on the evill and on the good, and sendeth raine on the
just and on the unjust.
145 ¶ For if ye love them that love you, what re-
ward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same?
146 ¶ For if ye love them which love you, what thank
have ye? for sinners also love those that love them.
147 ¶ And if ye doe good to them which doe good to
you, what thanks have ye? for sinners also doe even
the same.
148 ¶ And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to re-
ceive, what thanks have ye? for sinners also lend to
sinners, to receive as much againe.
149 ¶ But if ye salute your brethren onely, what doe
ye more then others? Doe not even the publicans so?
150 ¶ But love your enemies, and doe good, and
lend, hoping for nothing againe: and your reward
shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the highest:
for hee is kinde unto the unthankfull, and to the un-
just.
151 ¶ Be ye therefore mercifull, as your father also is
mercifull. (MATTHEW 5. 43-48)



As ye therefore perfect even as
your father
which is in heaven, is perfect



WHOEVER LOOKETH ON A WOMAN TO INSTITUTE HER

PLATE IV

BRITISH MUSEUM CONCORDANCE, C. 23. e. 4 (columns 123 and 124)

ing from that given by John Ferrar it seems much more likely. In any case, as will be shown, some such reconstruction is needed. John Ferrar certainly did confuse the Concordances which he described in the Lambeth manuscript, both as to the material and color of their bindings.²⁸ It seems likely also that he confused the remarks made by their recipients when they were presented. His accounts of these occasions, in the Lambeth manuscript and elsewhere, are noticeably stereotyped. The phrase 'rich jewel' is applied to a Concordance by King Charles (on nine different occasions), and by Prince Charles,²⁹ and yet again by George Herbert.³⁰ John Ferrar himself says that the 'eighth piece,' when finished, will be 'a jewel.'³¹ How frequently also in such descriptions recurs a phrase about the 'hearts and hands' and even the 'heads' of the members of the community: it is used by Charles three times, by Laud, and by Herbert, John Ferrar having already used a similar phrase on his own account in his reference to the original volume. It seems unlikely that these identical phrases would be used on widely separated occasions by different people. Moreover, in his description of the 'first worke' in the Lambeth manuscript he sets down — though not quite accurately — the title of the 1635 volume made for the king, but states that it was 'Done at Littell Gidding Anno 1630.' This may be a slip, but it seems probable that he confused the king's book with the earliest and actually gave the date of the volume recovered by Mr Hall (hereinafter referred to as the Harvard volume, in accordance with its permanent repository, as will be set forth below). Possibly the numbering adopted for the special purpose which he had in hand, namely a description of books made for the royal house, was so new to him that he confused the volume designated in it as the 'first worke' with the one he had customarily thought of as the first. John Ferrar's confusion of the Harvard volume with yet another Concordance is therefore not to be ruled out as an impossibility.

²⁸ E.g., as quoted above he describes the 1635 volume made for the king as 'bound in crimson velvett and richly gilded upon the Velved,' whereas it is in fact bound in reddish-brown morocco (not black, as has been more than once reported). The brown morocco in which the Kings-Chronicles Concordance is bound is, according to John Ferrar, purple velvet (Lambeth MS 251).

²⁹ See Lambeth MS 251.

³⁰ In Bodleian MS Rawlinson D 2 is preserved a transcript of a passage by John Ferrar in which he writes of Herbert's pleasure on receiving a Concordance from Little Gidding.

³¹ See conclusion of Lambeth MS 251.

The suggestion now to be made is of course conjectural, but it does offer an explanation of matters unmentioned by John Ferrar which need to be accounted for. It seems likely that he confused the Harvard volume with the Concordance which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library.⁸² As will appear, it is a volume similar in some respects to the one at Harvard, but it shows an advance in craftsmanship, design, and textual arrangement. Its most interesting feature for the purpose of this discussion is its marginalia, which do not seem to have been reported hitherto, and a number of which are in the handwriting of Charles I. The marginalia (as distinct from notes of direction to the reader in the text itself in the manner usual in the Little Gidding Concordances) appear on pages 16, 18, 38, 47, 69, 74, 245, and 258; and those which appear on pages 18, 69, 74, 245, and 258 at least are in Charles I's hand.⁸³

According to John Ferrar the most noteworthy feature of the book lent to Charles was the king's confession of error, an obvious allusion to the annotation in the Harvard volume, for there is no such apology in the Bodleian marginalia. If we take the marginalia in the king's hand in both volumes together we have the 'many' annotations, as well as the confession of error, required by John Ferrar's narrative. In view of the confusion, already noticed, which is characteristic of his descriptions of the Concordances, it does not seem unlikely that John Ferrar's

⁸² Arch. A. d. 3 (renumbered since Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 122, reported it as Arch. Bodl. C. IX. 15). This Concordance appears to have reached the Bodleian somewhere between 1910 and 1920. It is a Gospel Harmony divided into the usual 150 'heads or chapters,' bearing the simple title 'The evangellicall history,' and with an inscription at the end which reads: 'This Booke was Finished the Thirde of December Añ.^o 1631 by Mary Ferrar. Junior At Litle Gidding.' Its dimensions are 11¼ by 7¼ inches. A detailed description of this volume will appear in a comparative study of the Little Gidding Concordances which the present writer is completing.

⁸³ Viz.:

p. 18: 'In my mynd this first verse may be omitted'

p. 69: a marginal note, now indecipherable, is heavily struck out, and beneath is written: 'From hence, vnto the end of the 80: Page, should bee all but one Chapter becaus it is our Sauiors continued Sermon in the Mount.'

p. 74: 'In my mynd the last verse would come better in heere'

p. 245: 'From this vnto the middell of the 254: Page should be but one Chapter; it being Christes last Sermon'

p. 258: 'the word then may be left out'.

It may be noted that the comments are such as might be made upon a work submitted for criticism. The handwriting is very close to that in the Harvard annotations, exhibiting many of the same special features (cf. pp. 319-320 above).

account confuses the Harvard and Bodleian volumes. Nor would such a telescoping of two volumes into one be impossible in the memory of a man who was aging as John Ferrar was when he wrote of events of about twenty years before, and who had suffered many things in the meantime.

There is evidence of a connection between both of these early volumes and the 1635 Concordance made for the king; indeed, it is clear that their marginalia influenced the arrangement of the king's volume, at one point at least. In the Harvard volume, alongside the text, 'And if ye salute your brethren onely, what doe you more then others? Doe not euen the Publicanes so?' (Matthew V. 47), the king writes, as we have seen, 'heere add Bee ye therefore perfect as your Father in Heauen is perfect.' In the Bodleian volume, page 74, at the same place, Matthew's sequence being interrupted, the annotator writes: 'In my mynde the last verse would come better in heere.' The 'last verse' to which reference is made is on page 75, and is 'Be yee therefore perfect, euen as your Father which is in heauen, is perfect.' In the 1635 volume, in column 124, side by side with Matthew V. 47, which appears in column 123, the text 'Be ye therefore perfect. . .' is prominently displayed in type slightly larger than the ordinary text, in a space $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ inches otherwise blank (Plate IV).⁸⁴ Both the type chosen for this text and the space and care devoted to its display (the verse being cut into nine separate sections and arranged in three lines, well spaced) reveal the designer's anxiety to ensure that it should stand forth prominently on the page. As there is no instance of a similar procedure elsewhere in the 1635 Concordance,⁸⁵ its employment at this particular point suggests an attempt to pay a subtle and graceful compliment to the king in acknowledgment of his correction and comment in the two prior volumes.

The royal annotations illuminate certain aspects of Charles's personality. One of these has been duly emphasized by John Ferrar. Here it may be noted also that only a careful reader, and one familiar with the very sequence of the verses in the Sermon on the Mount, could have made these notes. Sensitiveness to the interruption of a familiar sequence, revealed in the Harvard volume by an indication of the omission of a verse, is revealed also in the Bodleian volume by the sug-

⁸⁴ Reproduced here through the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

⁸⁵ Nor in any of the Concordances which the present writer has so far been able to examine.

gestion of a change of position for the same verse. Consideration for this sensitiveness is shown by the unique display of the verse in the 1635 volume. With the further evidence of the marginal note on page 69 of the Bodleian volume, 'From hence, vnto the end of the 80: Page, should bee all but one Chapter because it is our Sauiors continued Sermon in the Mount,' one is led to the conclusion that Charles probably knew Matthew's version of the Sermon on the Mount by heart.

It will be obvious that some reconstruction of the sequence of events, different from that reported by John Ferrar, is needed; but before any suggestion, however tentative, is made, it will be well to examine the relationships of the Harvard, Bodleian, and 1635 volumes. Their internal evidence seems to establish the priority of the Harvard volume. First, there is the matter of title. The Harvard volume at present has no separate title-page, and probably never had one, since the first page of the text is headed by a large composite illustration, with a space left blank in the center, presumably for the insertion of a title. The Bodleian volume likewise is without a separate title-page, but does possess a brief title at the head of the text.⁶⁶ In contrast to these two possibly 'primitive' stages stands the elaborate title of the 1635 volume, which on a separate page, and in Nicholas Ferrar's hand, sets forth the scope and arrangement of the text in the following words:

THE / ACTIONS & / DOCTRINE & / Other PASSAGES touching / Our Lord & Sauio^r IESVS CHRIST, as they are Related by the FOURE EVANGELISTS, / Reduced into one Complete Body of HISTORIE, wherein / That, w^{ch} is SEVERALLY Related by them is Digested into ORDER: / And that, w^{ch} is IOINTLY Related by all or any twoe or more of them / Is, First Expressed in their own Words by way of COMPARISON, / And Secondly brought into one Narration by way of COMPOSITION, / And thirdly Extracted into one cleare Context by way of COLLECTION / Yet so, as whatsoeuer is Omitted in the Context, / is inserted by way of SUPPLEMENT in / another Print. In such manner as all the / FOVRE EVANGELISTS may / be read SEVERALLY from First / to Last. / To w^{ch} are added / Sundry PICTVRES EXPRESSING [*sic*] / Either the FACTS themselues / Or their TYPES & Figures / Or other MATTERS appertaining thereunto / AN^o M, DC,XXXV.

It has been generally assumed that the volume originally lent to the king had an elaborate title-page and a complex textual arrangement closely paralleling those of the 1635 volume.⁶⁷ The confusion between

⁶⁶ See note 32 above.

⁶⁷ As, for example, by Mayor, *op. cit.*, p. 352; J. E. Acland-Troyte, 'An Account of the Harmonies Contrived by Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding,' *Archaeologia*,

the two volumes is plainly due to a misinterpretation of John Ferrar's statements in the Lambeth manuscript.³⁸ As we have seen, he there states that the volume which he designates as the 'first worke,' bearing the title quoted, was 'Done at Littell Gidding Anno 1630.' Further, in his discourse on the 'first worke' he deals at some length with the volume originally lent to the king. A careful reading of the manuscript, however, will show that the only books enumerated in his account are books made for the royal family. He is not attempting to give an exhaustive catalogue of Concordances made at Little Gidding during the period covered by his account. There is, for example, no mention of the Bodleian Concordance, of the Herbert Concordance,³⁹ or of those made for Lord Wharton and Thomas Jackson.⁴⁰ The manuscript opens with a description of the title-pages of the Concordances to be dealt with. That of the 'first worke' relates to the title of the 1635 volume, and only inadvertently receives the confusing 1630 date. Next comes the title of the Kings-Chronicles Concordance of 1637, which is designated the 'second worke.' The 'Monotessaron' is the 'third worke,' and so on. After six descriptions of titles come the 'discourses' on these various books, telling how they were presented to the king and the prince. In the discourse on the 'first worke' the original Concordance is mentioned simply as incidental to the making of the 1635 volume. It is the latter Concordance which he regards as the 'first worke.' The next discourse, on the 'second worke,' relates to the Kings-Chronicles Concordance, and so on. Later, referring to the 'Novum Testamentum' (in twenty-four languages), he says: 'This we call the fifth worke,' the phrase suggesting that the book is so called for the special purpose in hand, being the fifth book made for a member of the royal house, and not necessarily the fifth made at Little Gidding. There is therefore no evidence in the Lambeth manuscript

LI, pt. 1 (1888), 192; J. F. M. Carter, *Nicholas Ferrar* (London, 1892), pp. 183-184; H. P. K. Skipton, *The Life and Times of Nicholas Ferrar* (London, 1907), p. 103; Forbes, *Clare College*, II, 498 (with other erroneous details concerning the original volume).

³⁸ The confusion apparently was in existence at an early date, since the Turner life of Nicholas Ferrar already contained it (as exemplified in B. M. Add. MS 34656 and the Jebb version printed by Mayor, *op. cit.*, p. 266; see note 2 above).

³⁹ See note 30 above.

⁴⁰ The Wharton Concordance is mentioned by John Ferrar himself in a letter to Dr Isaac Basire (Mayor, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-362); for the Jackson Concordance see Peckard, *Memoirs*, p. 209.

that John Ferrar ever said that the original volume bore the title 'The Actions, Doctrines . . . ,' nor indeed is there any evidence in that manuscript that that volume ever bore any title. Similarly the idea that the volume lent to the king had a complex textual arrangement is not justified by the statements of John Ferrar upon which it has been based. All John Ferrar's evidence points to the fact that the original Concordance was of a simple and even primitive character.

The Harvard volume conforms to this evidence. It has no such elaborate arrangement as had been suggested. It is such a book as might have been made 'only for the use of the younge peopell in the Family.' There is no division of text into three sections of 'comparison,' 'composition,' and 'collection': the single text runs along with only very general indications, placed in the margins, of the varying Gospel sources. The textual arrangement of the Bodleian volume, while simpler than that of the 1635 volume and other Gospel Concordances, having no tripartite division, represents an advance on the Harvard volume, for it provides for 'comparison' by pasting the parallel passages which are omitted from the main text in very small type — and consequently in minute pieces — alongside the main text. The Bodleian volume also indicates an advance on the Harvard one in that detailed designation of the sources of the various passages collated — lacking in the Harvard volume — is indicated by prefacing each verse or complete passage with the letters A, B, C, and D, for Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John respectively. A further indication that the Harvard volume represents a primitive stage is the fact that there are no page or column numbers, and no table of contents. The 150 'heads' themselves are comparatively crudely designated, and exhibit some defects of arrangement at the beginning of the book. The rulings in red ink which frame the pages are far from neat, and the trimming of the various headings and passages pasted in is often uneven and their arrangement unsystematic. The general effect of the pages is much less elaborate, much less finished, than in the Bodleian and other volumes, where the pasting in and the rulings are generally very neatly done.⁴¹ It may be noted also that the type used for the main text in the Bodleian volume is handsomer, and incidentally that it is nearly always identical

⁴¹ It is only fair to state that when Mr Hall obtained the volume many portions of the text had come unpasted and were lying loose between the leaves, while a few had disappeared entirely. Those lying loose have since been repasted, perhaps not always with full accuracy in placement.

with the type used for the main text in the 1635 volume. The illustrations in the Harvard volume, most of them large and many of them apparently cut from a single series of plates, reveal (except on the first page) none of that ingenious splicing so characteristic of certain illustrations in some of the other volumes. The Bodleian volume has no illustrations.

When one turns to the binding, the parallels between the Harvard and Bodleian volumes are striking (Plates II and III).⁴² Apart from the close similarity in design, the outer roll and the floral stamp are identical, and the 'cat's-tooth' or 'fern-tip' line on the innermost panel but one of the Harvard volume resembles that forming the intermediate panel on the Bodleian volume. Both volumes are bound in morocco, the Harvard volume in reddish-brown, the Bodleian in black, both colors being characteristic of the early part of the seventeenth century.

In view of the apparent derivation of Little Gidding binding from that of Cambridge, one hesitates to pronounce categorically that these bindings are the work of the community. It is true that the bindings of all previously recorded Concordances, including the Bodleian one, have been assigned to Little Gidding.⁴³ On the other hand, a check has been made of all but one of the Concordances listed by Hobson, as well as of all five of the Story Books now known,⁴⁴ and there are no tools in common between any of these bindings and those of the Harvard and Bodleian volumes. Both these latter bindings have a 'primitive' appearance in comparison with other Concordances, although the Bodleian volume, here as in other respects, represents an advance over the Harvard one. The contrast of the Harvard and Bodleian bindings with that of the 1635 volume in the British Museum⁴⁵ is particularly marked. It is clear that if the Harvard and Bodleian Concordances are to be regarded as Little Gidding bindings (at least on the basis of previous definitions of such bindings) a change came over the binding practices

⁴² Plate III is reproduced through the courtesy of the Bodleian Library.

⁴³ As by Hobson, in the most thoroughgoing study of the subject (*op. cit.*, pp. 122-123).

⁴⁴ It has not yet proved possible to trace Concordance no. VII of Hobson's list. Two volumes of Story Books are in the possession of the Honorable Lady Langman.

⁴⁵ The colored reproductions appearing in W. Y. Fletcher, *English Bookbindings in the British Museum* (London, 1895), plate XLVIII, and in Davenport, *Bibliographica*, II, 129, plate 1 (VII), well show its extremely elaborate ornamentation, highly complicated in its symmetry and executed with great care. The material, as already indicated, is reddish-brown morocco. The dimensions are 19 by 14 inches.

of the community after the production of the Bodleian volume (presumably 1631). Yet such a change might very naturally accompany the preparation of the 1635 volume for the king, when the community would be prompted to enlarge its stock of binding tools, improve its technical procedures, and seek for greater elaboration in design.

Further evidence, though not conclusive either way, may be adduced in the similarity, if not the identity, of the Harvard-Bodleian roll with that which forms the outer border of a *Notitia Dignitatum*, Lyons, 1608, bound in blue velvet, gold-stamped,⁴⁶ which, like three of the Little Gidding Concordances, came to the British Museum with the Old Royal Library. The *Notitia* binding Hobson attributes to Cambridge,⁴⁷ with others including the old binding of the Luttrell Psalter, which has a very similar roll.⁴⁸

The Harvard volume is bound with an excessive number of bands,⁴⁹ a feature characteristic of Little Gidding work, but also of Cambridge work, though perhaps to a less extreme degree. The Bodleian volume has only nine bands, possibly another indication of a slightly more advanced stage, though still an excessive number for a book of its size. But unquestionably the strongest evidence for the execution of the Harvard binding by the community, as perhaps its first undertaking, is the appearance of amateurish, immature craftsmanship. The tooling is noticeably shaky: stamps overlap or are out of alignment; lines undoubtedly intended to be straight are broken or crooked, to an extent which cannot be accounted for by the perishing or ruckling of the

⁴⁶ Reproduced by Davenport, *Bibliographica*, II, 139, plate 3 (IX), who thinks it may have been executed at Little Gidding, because of the indirect relationship of certain other features to Little Gidding work.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 116, no. III.

⁴⁸ For the purpose of this article the *Notitia* itself was examined, together with the old binding of the Luttrell Psalter. The writer would like to make acknowledgment to Mr H. M. Nixon of the British Museum, and to Mr Hobson, for their courtesy and expert opinion, which greatly helped in reaching the tentative conclusions stated. The old Luttrell Psalter binding, detached from the manuscript, is preserved separately in the British Museum. It has two of Hobson's Cambridge stamps (*op. cit.*, plate XLI, nos. 25 and 39), and the center-piece resembles that in Hobson's plate XLII; see E. G. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), introduction. It is tempting to suppose that the roll used on these volumes may have travelled to Little Gidding via the young lady 'that bound rarely.' The roll, however, is merely a variant of a type which, possibly originating in France, became widely distributed during the seventeenth century.

⁴⁹ Apparently thirteen, which may be one reason for the present damaged condition of the spine.

leather after the work was done. Here again, while irregular tooling appears on the Bodleian volume, the Harvard volume obviously represents an earlier stage.⁵⁰ It may be noted also that the Harvard volume does not reveal any signs, such as appear on the Bodleian volume, that it originally had ribbons or strings as fasteners.

The design itself, composed of panels within each other, is characteristic of Cambridge bindings of the second quarter of the seventeenth century, though it also resembles at least one binding attributed to Little Gidding;⁵¹ but the monotonous repetition of the single floral tool, producing a spotted effect, can scarcely be compared with the professional Cambridge work or with later productions of the community itself. Once more, although the same roll and stamp are used on the Bodleian volume, and although the design is similar, the style of the latter volume is better and the execution more perfect.⁵²

The workmanship exhibited in the Harvard volume makes it clear that the reluctance with which the book was loaned to the king was not altogether due, as some have supposed, to its value to the community, or to Nicholas Ferrar's absence from home, or to excessive modesty. John Ferrar's account is well borne out:

. . . the Booke was holy unfitting every way for a kings eye and those that had givinge him any notice of such a thing had much misinformed his Maj^{ty}: and

⁵⁰ It should be remembered that professional Cambridge work of the period also exhibits immature craftsmanship of this kind, though not to the same degree as the Harvard volume.

⁵¹ Viz., the Kings-Chronicles Concordance, British Museum MS Royal Appendix 65; the type of design is well illustrated in Hobson, *op. cit.*, plate XLVI.

⁵² By way of completing a description of the Harvard volume, it may be noted that the end-papers prove, upon examination, to be contemporary. They are marbled in soft blue and red, with a combined drawn and combed pattern, similar to end-papers appearing in other Concordances thus far examined. The paper used for the text bears an armorial watermark similar to the crown and shield, though not to the arms, of the Württemberg-Monbéliard mark, early seventeenth-century, recorded by Heawood as no. 6 ('Papers Used in England after 1600,' *The Library*, XI, 1930, 269). There have been tipped in, at the beginning and end of the volume, flyleaves with the watermark of the City of Amsterdam (countermarked R W), recorded by Heawood as no. 102, ca. 1700 (*The Library*, XI, 1930, 467). The engraved bookplate of John Collet, described above, has been mounted on the first of these flyleaves.

It is apparent that a detailed comparative study of the Little Gidding Concordances, both in their composition and binding, would be highly desirable. The present writer's catalogue, now in preparation, will, it is hoped, supply much of the existing deficiency.

when he should see it would con them noe thanke . . . made only for the use of the younge peopell in the Family.

But the king thought otherwise, and in his enthusiasm set in train the activity which produced the entire later series of more elaborate, more skilfully-wrought productions.

Clearly, then, internal evidence points to the priority of the Harvard volume. It is equally clear that the Bodleian volume exhibits relationships with both the Harvard and 1635 volumes. Indeed, the superior workmanship of the Bodleian volume, the type of text used, and even the absence of illustrations, may indicate that it was made as a try-out for the 1635 volume, while its annotations may also indicate that it was submitted to the king for his criticisms.⁵⁸ It is plain that, in any reconstruction of the sequence of events, we must proceed on the assumption that two Concordances were annotated by the king prior to the production of the 1635 volume. Whether they were submitted to him on the same occasion or not is a matter for conjecture. The suggestion here made, and that of course tentatively, is that the Bodleian Concordance was made after the first had been borrowed by the king, its production being begun at once as a substitute for the absent volume, or more likely started when the messenger returned without the original book but with an intimation that the king desired a copy for his own use. This, according to John Ferrar, was 'a quarter of a year' after the original volume was borrowed.

For dates, there is only John Ferrar's word for 1630 for the original volume, given in apparent confusion with the 1635 volume.⁵⁴ If 1631 is the correct date of the Bodleian volume, as internal evidence seems to show,⁵⁵ then 1630 seems a reasonable date for the Harvard volume. Admittedly, if we accept the three dates 1630, 1631, and 1635 for the three related volumes it is difficult, if not impossible, to fit them into

⁵⁸ See note 33 above.

⁵⁴ See p. 321 above. Peckard, whose work is purportedly based on lost originals by John Ferrar, may reflect this particular confusion when he says, *Memoirs*, p. 270, that the first of the Concordances was finished in 1630 and presented to the king in 1635; elsewhere (pp. 218-222) Peckard distinguishes between the two Concordances.

⁵⁵ The inscription at the end of the Bodleian volume (see note 32 above), if actually in Mary Collet's hand, would of course be almost decisive. Such individual traits as appear through the formalized style of the writing could well be hers. We know, further, that she used 'Ferrar' for 'Collet' at least as early as 1630 (see A. L. Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding*, London, 1938, p. 163, n.; signature to a letter of 3 May 1630: 'Mary Farrer younger'), and possibly much earlier, since she was brought up by her Ferrar grandparents.

John Ferrar's account. On the basis of his chronology, and assuming that the suggestion made above corresponds to the facts, the Bodleian volume might have been finished by December 1631. But on this reasoning it is impossible to fit the 1635 date into the facts as John Ferrar presents them, since a period of less than a year is supposed to elapse between the return of the original volume and the presentation of the king's book in 1635. Possibly the king kept the second book submitted to him even longer than he had kept the original one. Whatever the explanation may be, John Ferrar's account can only be regarded as a very generalized one of the whole procedure.

Mr Hall died in April 1934, shortly after his signal discovery. He was anxious in his last days to ensure that the book, which he felt was too valuable to remain in his own possession, should be placed where it would be properly preserved and made accessible to students of Ferrar. He would have been happy to know its ultimate destination. His widow sold the volume in August 1938 to William H. Robinson Ltd., of London, from whose hands it passed to the Harvard College Library, after exhibition by the British Government in the 'Royal Room' of the British Pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1939.⁵⁸

Many libraries, English ones among them, must envy the good fortune of Harvard in acquiring this great literary and historical treasure; but it will be a consolation to Englishmen to know that discerning Americans have placed in so worthy a repository this unique souvenir of one whom, in a phrase Hakluyt used of Virginia, they 'richly value,' namely Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding.

C. LESLIE CRAIG

⁵⁸ At Harvard, the Concordance is on permanent exhibition in the main entrance hall of the Houghton Library, shelved with a representative selection of the George Herbert Collection presented by George Herbert Palmer in 1912. This collection, lacking only four Herbert items according to Palmer's *Herbert Bibliography* of 1911, has subsequently been augmented not only by the acquisition of these items but by several others not known to Palmer at the time, as well as by certain special association pieces such as the present Concordance.

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