

# **JOHN FERRAR OF LITTLE GIDDING**

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## JOHN FERRAR OF LITTLE GIDDING

by D.R. Ransome

For a century and a quarter Little Gidding was home to the Ferrars. When they came there in 1625 the family consisted of old Mrs Ferrar, her married daughter Susanna and her family, and two of Mrs Ferrar's sons. The younger was Nicholas, who is famous, but the elder, John, is undeservedly less well known. This article is an attempt to redress the balance and tell something of John's life.

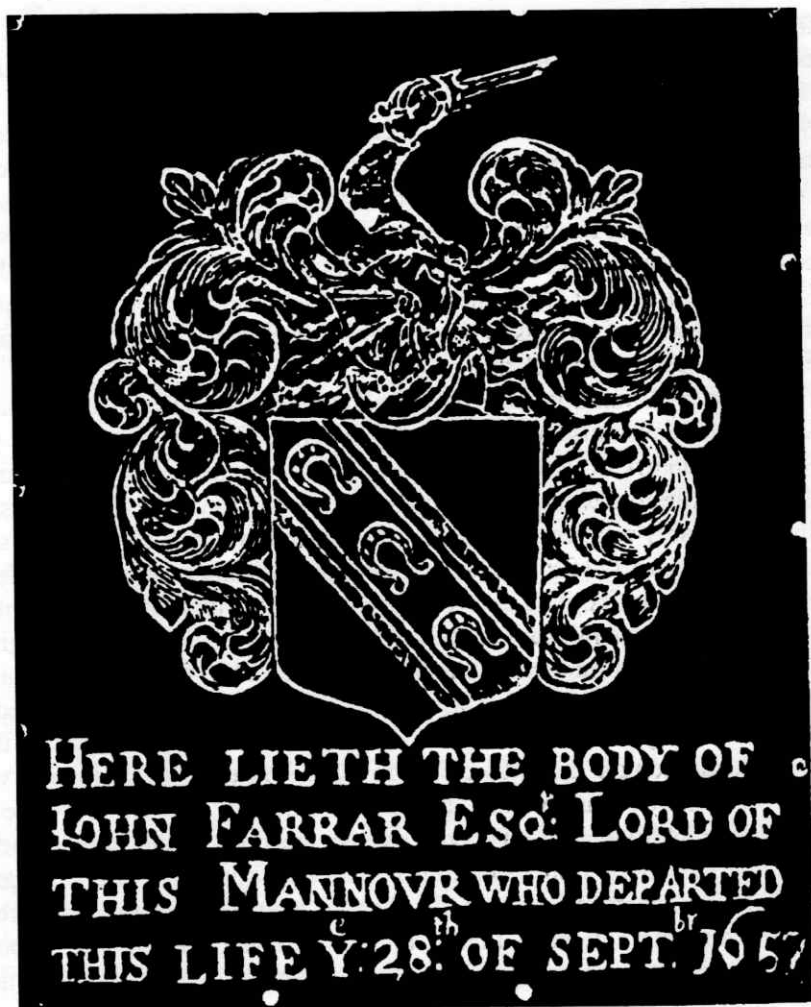
His parents were a formidable pair. His father Nicholas was born in 1544 or 1545 at Hertford, the son of a draper who died when Nicholas was 12 or 13.<sup>1</sup> Seven years later, in 1564, Nicholas was apprenticed in London to John Harby, a Skinner and Merchant Adventurer, being made free of the Company on 13th December 1574.<sup>2</sup> He prospered and moved up through the Company, being elected a warden in 1591, 1596, 1598 and 1601, and Master in 1613-14.<sup>3</sup> His prosperity was based on the Merchant Adventurers' cloth trade with Hamburg, but once war with Spain had begun in 1585 his wealth came chiefly from sugar. In other words he was engaged in privateering, capturing raw Spanish sugar on its way from the Caribbean and processing it in his Mincing Lane refinery.<sup>4</sup> He was a founding member of the East India Company in 1599 and in 1609 he joined the Virginia Company of London, another of the great joint-stock companies of the period.<sup>5</sup> His will made on 23rd March 1620, nine days before his death on 1st April, reveals his wealth: his son John received the London house in St Sithes Lane south of Cheapside and his son Nicholas the house he had inherited in Hertford. After bequests of rings and silver and gold plate and some £1200 he divided his goods into three parts, one part to his sons Nicholas and Richard whose debts he forgave, one part to all three of his surviving sons, John, Nicholas and Richard, and one part to his wife – to whom, he said, he left no more because he had already settled on her an income of £200 a year, representing in all probability a capital of £4000.<sup>6</sup>

Whereas Nicholas Ferrar's ancestry cannot be traced back beyond his father with any certainty, there is no such difficulty in the case of his

wife. She was born Mary Wodenoth, probably in 1554, to an old established family from the gentry of Cheshire.<sup>7</sup> How she met her future husband is unknown, but she had married him by the end of 1578. At first they lived in the parish of St Gabriel Fenchurch, where five of their children were christened: Mary in 1579, Susanna in 1582, John (I) in 1583, Joyce in 1584 and Erasmus in 1586.<sup>8</sup> Some time after this the family moved to Mark Lane in the parish of St Mary Staining where John (I), Mary and Joyce were presumably buried and where the subject of this article, another John (c.1588), William (c.1590) and Richard (c.1595) were presumably christened. Nicholas, we know from John's biography of him, was certainly christened there on 28th February 1593.<sup>9</sup>

While old Nicholas busied himself with the creation of the family's fortune, Mary saw to the formation of their character. In this task she was only partly successful. Of the six children who reached maturity, Susanna, probably Erasmus, John and her favourite, Nicholas, were the successes. William probably and certainly Richard were the failures. Among the sons a further distinction could be made: John, like all his brothers, attended a school in Berkshire kept by Rev Robert Brooks, a friend of their parents,<sup>10</sup> but unlike Erasmus, William and Nicholas, John and Richard were given not the further training suitable to gentlemen but that of merchants. Erasmus the heir was sent to Oxford and the Middle Temple but died in 1609 before being called to the bar.<sup>11</sup> William went first to Cambridge then to the Middle Temple and was called in 1618, but died the following year either on his way to Virginia or immediately on arrival.<sup>12</sup> Nicholas, precociously intelligent and the most overtly religious of the sons, gained a Cambridge BA in 1609-10 and in 1610 became a Fellow of Clare College.<sup>13</sup>

John on the other hand, as did Richard later, went from Berkshire to Hamburg and there learned Low German.<sup>14</sup> There too he met Thomas Sheppard, already a Skinner and Merchant Adventurer.<sup>15</sup> They struck up a friendship: on 16th February 1613 John married Thomas's sister Anne<sup>16</sup> and ten days later was admitted a Skinner by patrimony.<sup>17</sup> Then or thereafter John became Thomas's partner and in the following year, on 29th August, took as his first apprentice Thomas's younger brother Ferdinando.<sup>18</sup> Before that, however, on 12th July 1613 after only five months of marriage, Anne had died. In his parish church of St Benet Sherehog her grieving husband set up a monument to her which perished in the Great Fire of 1666,



The memorial brass to John Ferrar in Little Gidding church. On the back of the brass is an inscription from Psalm 37, v. 27: "Flee from Evill and doe ye thinge yt is good and dwell for evermore". The text was probably hung up in the community at Little Gidding and then re-used for John Ferrar's memorial. (Information from Peter Hesletine, *The Brasses of Huntingdonshire* (1987) p. 25)

but a copy of it with its memorial verses had already been published in the 1633 edition of Stow's *Survey of London*.<sup>19</sup>

John returned briefly to Hamburg<sup>20</sup> but was soon back in London where on St Valentine's Day 1615 he married Bathsheba, a daughter of Israel Owen, Grocer, and his first wife Bathsheba, herself a daughter of Alderman Richard Gourney.<sup>21</sup> The date had been chosen carefully. It was newly fashionable, for two years earlier the Princess Elizabeth had married the Elector Palatine on that day. John's marriage took place at St Olave's, Hart Street, neither his parish church nor Bathsheba's, but that of Mrs Mary Robinson. She was Bathsheba's childless aunt by marriage: born Mary Ramsey, a niece of the 1577 Lord Mayor of London, she had first married John Wanton who died in 1592 and then as his second wife John Robinson, a customs official who died in 1609.<sup>22</sup> Israel Owen had meanwhile married as his second wife another Mary, John Robinson's sister.<sup>23</sup> Under the wing of their aunt no fewer than three of his daughters by his first wife were married at St Olave's: Elizabeth in 1612, Bathsheba on 14th February 1615 and Jane exactly a year later.<sup>24</sup>

After their fashionable wedding John and Bathsheba lived with his parents in the large house in St Sithes Lane. There Bathsheba enjoyed her status as the wife of a coming man, for by now John was a member of the Irish (1611), East India (1614) and Somers Islands (1615) Companies.<sup>25</sup> There, probably in 1617, a short-lived daughter Mary was born, who survived just long enough to be portrayed with her mother;<sup>26</sup> and there, shortly before his grandfather's death, a son Nicholas.<sup>27</sup>

In 1619 John was an adventurer in the New River Company that brought water to London,<sup>28</sup> and in May that year became the Deputy of the Virginia Company of London,<sup>29</sup> a measure of his prosperity – and expectations, for on the death of Erasmus in 1609 he had become his father's heir. His appointment as Deputy occurred just when a decisive change was made in the Virginia Company's management. Since its foundation in 1606 Sir Thomas Smith had been its treasurer. Increasing unhappiness at the Company's drift had led by 1617 to change: Sir Edwin Sandys then became Sir Thomas's Assistant,<sup>30</sup> and in the spring of 1619 to further change: in a seemingly friendly move Sandys replaced Smith as Treasurer and John replaced Smith's son-in-law as Deputy.<sup>31</sup> Sandys devised policy and Ferrar saw to the day-to-day administration of the

Company. Whereas Smith had thought in terms of trading profits, Sandys emphasized colonisation and the development of natural resources. John meanwhile moved the running of the Company from Smith's house in Philpott Lane to St Sithes Lane.<sup>32</sup> To Sandys and Ferrar it was soon clear that Smith's accounts were inadequate; Sandys and Ferrar by contrast were unusually record-conscious, a fact which led to bitterness between Smith and the new leadership.<sup>33</sup>

As the Company's Deputy John was wanted in the Parliament of 1621.<sup>34</sup> Nominated to a seat at Newtown, Isle of Wight, by the earl of Southampton, Sandys's successor in 1620 as Treasurer of the Company, and by Lord Paget, a member of the Company's council in London, to one at Tamworth, John chose to sit for the latter. He was assigned to the committee for the bankruptcy bill and in April spoke twice in defence of Virginian tobacco imports. He was apparently ill in the summer, but though he had recovered by 1st October<sup>35</sup> he took no recorded part in the second session of the Parliament late in the year.

By the terms of the Company's charter the Deputy could hold office for only three years. In May 1622 therefore John was succeeded by his brother Nicholas.<sup>36</sup> Nicholas had returned from his European travels in 1617<sup>37</sup> and had been persuaded by his elderly parents to stay in London, where he had given John ever-increasing aid in the running of the Company.<sup>38</sup>

Nicholas wielded a more skilful pen than John and minutes drafted by him are masterly in the way they smoothly present what were in reality occasions of high emotion and animosity; but even after John had given way to Nicholas in May 1622 Sandys, who was still the *de facto* head of the Company, consulted John rather than Nicholas.<sup>39</sup>

By this time John's carefree days were over. It is unclear why he originally concerned himself with Virginia but by 1622 he was deeply involved, not to say obsessed, with the colony's fate. And by 1622 the colony was in trouble. In 1621 the king had suspended the lotteries that underpinned the Company's finances.<sup>40</sup> In London faction was tearing the Company apart: the earl of Warwick, who had supported Sandys in 1619, quarrelled with him and made common cause with the now resentful Smith, seeking a revision of the Company's charter.<sup>41</sup> And in Virginia in March 1622 the Powhatans, though failing to wipe out the English

invaders, nevertheless killed some 300 colonists and severely damaged the colony's economy.<sup>42</sup> John was aware of all these facts but preferred to blame the colony's misfortunes on the Spanish ambassador, a view to which he held for the rest of his life.<sup>43</sup>

In addition John's personal fortune was at risk. Thomas Sheppard was sued for debt and in an age without limited liability John Ferrar as his partner was equally responsible for payment.<sup>44</sup> Meanwhile the king in late 1623 demanded the surrender of the Virginia Company charter. The Company fought the case but lost and in May 1624 the charter was cancelled.<sup>45</sup>

As Deputy Nicholas Ferrar was in the thick of that fight, while simultaneously negotiating to save his brother's estate. In the latter he was successful: using his mother's dowry, in her name he bought in 1625 for £6000 the bankrupt Sheppard's manor of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire,<sup>46</sup> on condition that John's creditors accepted from him only part of what they might otherwise have received. There was, however, a further price to pay: absence from London. John, his wife and son Nicholas, together with old Mrs Ferrar and Nicholas, went to live at the previously dispeopled manor.<sup>47</sup> There John and Bathsheba had another daughter and son: Virginia, born on Christmas Eve probably in 1627,<sup>48</sup> and John, most probably born in April 1630.<sup>49</sup> There too they were joined by John's elder sister Susanna, her husband John Collett (c.1572-1650) and many of their 14 children; and there they formed an extended family whose only shrilly dissident member was Bathsheba, John's wife. She disliked the isolation and the poverty (as she saw it: the estate income was in fact between £400 and £500 annually,<sup>50</sup> but was Mrs Ferrar's until her death in 1634), and especially Bathsheba resented the way in which her husband, the eldest son, deferred to his junior, Nicholas.<sup>51</sup> This deference was only in part the consequence of Nicholas's recent rescue of John. It derived also from John's consciousness of Nicholas's superior intelligence and education, and perhaps from an inherent diffidence in John which seems to manifest itself in a portrait painted as a companion to the portrait of Bathsheba and their daughter even before his tribulations.<sup>52</sup> John also knew that his mother by her 1628 will intended to leave Little Gidding to Nicholas.<sup>53</sup> Chiefly, however, John's deference grew from his admiration and love for Nicholas.



At Gidding the estate was entirely let to farm.<sup>54</sup> The women ran the household.<sup>55</sup> Nicholas created a complex educational and religious programme for the family, their friends and the nearby villagers,<sup>56</sup> and John oversaw its implementation, especially since Nicholas was often away, most often in London. When the Little Academy, the family's discussion group, met, Nicholas "the Visitor" spoke infrequently; John "the Guardian" intervened more often.<sup>57</sup> Nicholas devised biblical harmonies, John oversaw their creation and continued the programme after Nicholas's death.<sup>58</sup> And at nearby Leighton Bromswold, though Nicholas suggested, it was John who supervised the rebuilding of the church for its prebendary George Herbert.<sup>59</sup> John was now in his mid-40s and about now was described by a visitor as "a short blacke Complexioned man, his apparrell and haire soe fashioned as made him shewe Preiste like."<sup>60</sup>

Unlike Nicholas John was rarely away from Gidding but his links with London were not entirely severed. In June 1630 he was elected Third Warden of the Skinners Company but managed to decline the office without paying the customary fine.<sup>61</sup> In the following year there was a fruitless attempt to revive the Virginia Company. Both John and Nicholas were appointed to the commission charged to make recommendations but, though Nicholas was certainly in London at that time, there is no evidence that either of them attended meetings.<sup>62</sup>

When Nicholas died on 4th December 1637, John inherited Little Gidding and there was an end to Bathsheba's quarrels with her husband. The educational schemes probably ceased but the making of harmonies continued. In Nicholas's lifetime two had been made for the king and more were made for the royal family thereafter. Created by John's son Nicholas they now differed from earlier ones in being multilingual.<sup>63</sup> At the same time John and his 12-year-old daughter Virginia created a much simpler one, now at Ickworth.<sup>64</sup> On 2nd April 1640 John and Nicholas presented Nicholas's volumes to the king at Whitehall. Like the king Nicholas stammered and the two discussed their affliction. Charles indeed was so pleased with the volumes that he told Archbishop Laud that he would take Nicholas into his service and maintain him at university.<sup>65</sup> But it was not to be. Two days later Nicholas fell ill and after lying in bed for six weeks died on 19th May.<sup>66</sup> Two years later one last volume, a concordance of the Pentateuch, was in preparation when John received the



king, the Prince of Wales and the king's nephew, the Elector Palatine, at Little Gidding in March 1642,<sup>67</sup> an event that must have marked the family as royalist sympathisers.

In August 1642 hostilities began. Royalists at Cambridge tried to send the colleges' plate to the king at Nottingham and more than 60 years later John's son alleged that his father had taken part in this episode, claiming that it was for this reason that the family had gone into exile.<sup>68</sup> Although there is no contemporary evidence of John's involvement in these events he may well have taken part, for Barnabas Oley of Clare College was well known at Little Gidding and certainly conducted the shipment.<sup>69</sup> At all events in 1643 John with his son John, his daughter Virginia and niece Mary Collett (but without his wife) left Gidding and spent the next two years in Holland.<sup>70</sup>

It has often been stated that Little Gidding was sacked during the Civil wars<sup>71</sup> but there is no contemporary evidence that this happened and some indications that it did not. The family papers survived (we have them still).<sup>72</sup> The family itself returned to the manor in late 1645 or early 1646<sup>73</sup> and no surviving estate documents or letters refer to destruction or the need for repairs. There was an attempt at sequestration but John visited London in the winter of 1647-48 and secured its removal.<sup>74</sup> During his absence parliamentary troops came to the house demanding shelter but a payment of money persuaded them to go elsewhere.<sup>75</sup>

In the last decade of his life John was still busy. He ran the estate, not with the help of his wife and son but with that of Mary Collett and Virginia.<sup>76</sup> He sought a wife for John and was at last successful in 1657.<sup>77</sup> And he resumed his interest in the colony for which his daughter was named. In 1650 Virginia and Mary joined him in an unsuccessful attempt to market copies of *Eikon Basilike* bound at Little Gidding.<sup>78</sup> More successfully he persuaded Virginia to cultivate silkworms at Gidding<sup>79</sup> and to undertake with Virginians of all ranks a correspondence which he drafted.<sup>80</sup> He also created a map of Virginia<sup>81</sup> and no less than eight pamphlets and broadsheets promoting the colony that have normally gone unrecognised as his work, since most of them were either anonymous or published, explicitly or implicitly, in Virginia's name.<sup>82</sup> Under a pseudonym he also began a correspondence with those seeking to colonize Carolana,<sup>83</sup> as the region to the south of Virginia was then called. Marginalia in his copy of Thomas Gage's *The English-American* contain

his thoughts on Cromwell's Western Design and reveal his continuing concern with America in the last year of his life.<sup>84</sup> He died and was buried on 28th September 1657,<sup>85</sup> a victim of the flu epidemic sweeping England that also killed at Little Gidding his sister Susanna on 9th October and her daughter Su on 31st October.<sup>86</sup> His wife Bathsheba left for London shortly after his funeral but was herself buried at Little Gidding in the autumn of 1659.<sup>87</sup>

John had been no great leader but he was a splendid second-in-command. He lacked the charm and educated intelligence of his brother Nicholas but he was not without intelligence himself. The humility that enraged his wife seemingly served him well as an administrator, whether as Deputy of the Virginia Company or as the overseer of his brother's projects at Little Gidding and Leighton Bromswold. What is more, his persistence in promoting Virginia in the last decade of his life, when he was in his 60s, argues that there was in him an underlying continuity of vision and a quiet sense of purpose that we can acknowledge even if Bathsheba couldn't.

kind. Who so is wife will ponder these things, and they shall find the wonderful good and benefit to themselves, with the best of my wishes to attend them, who will by their leaves subscribe my self, a true lover of all honest and Noble-minded Planters and Plantations.

VIRGINIA.  
FERRAR

*The admirable Cures that are to be effected by the Tobacco-Leaf,  
as followeth.*

**T**AKE the green leaf of Tobacco, and stamp and bruise it, and then wring out the juyce of it, and take this juyce and powre it into any green wound or cut, or into an old wound that is festered, or upon any old festered fore, whatsoever in the body, venomous Carbuncles, Ulcers, or where any venomous Beast hath bitten, or in a wound

Part of John Ferrar's 1650 pamphlet *Virginias Health and Wealth proposed by Virginia in England, to Virginia in America*. This unique copy of the pamphlet includes the evidence of Ferrar's authorship – he has added “FERRAR” in ink to the printed pseudonym “VIRGINIA”; but note that the pamphlet was the work of John Ferrar, not Virginia. [Magdalene College, Cambridge, Old Library LE 122 (2), reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.]

**NOTES** *An asterisk against the note denotes a supplementary note following this section added in February 2019*

1. For Nicholas Ferrar's birth at Hertford see his will, made on 23rd March 1619/20 and proved the following 4th April, printed in J.E.B. Mayor, *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century, Part I: Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge, 1855) p. 343: ". . . there shall be no blacks given for me unto any of my friends, but unto my sons and daughter and her children: but to the poor three score and fifteen gowns, which is my age; whereof I would have [twenty] given to twenty poor men free of the worshipful company of skimmers, and ten unto ten poor men in Hertford where I was born . . ." John Farrer of Hertford, linendraper, made his will on 29th October 1555; it was proved on 21st June 1557 (Archdeaconry of Huntingdon registers, vol. ii, 1557-58, f. 82v)
2. Guildhall of London MS 30719/1: Skinners' Company Apprentices and Freedoms book, 1496-1602 ff. 124v, 162r [numbers taken from foot of page].
3. Guildhall of London MS 31693.
4. Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering* . . . (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 114, 116, 184-5, 197, 207, 208, 268.
5. Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire* . . . (Cambridge MA, 1967), p. 290.
6. Mayor, pp. 340-44.
7. George Ormerod, *History of Cheshire* (2nd edition, 1882), vol. iii, pp. 505-8.
8. St Gabriel Fenchurch register of baptisms.
9. Of the four chief editions of John Ferrar's life of his brother Nicholas, the earliest and least reliable is Peter Peckard, *Memoirs of the life of Mr Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge, 1790). In 1855 Mayor offered two versions, one version taken from the Baker MSS in the Cambridge University Library, the other by Dr Jebb, in effect a variant of the life as compiled by Bishop Turner. B. Blackstone in *The Ferrar Papers* (Cambridge, 1938) gave another version of Baker's MSS, amplified by interpolations from the Jones and Almack MSS. *Materials for the life of Nicholas Ferrar*, edited by Lynette R. Muir and John A. White (Leeds, 1996) is the most recent and most complete of these editions. Readers should be warned that the pages of this last have two varied sets of numbers, since this edition was first published as *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section*, vol. xxiv, part iv, pp. 263-428. When cited, the numeration used in this paper is that of the independent volume: here, p. 42.

10. Mayor, pp. 4-5.
11. J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, ser. I, vol. ii, p. 486: admission to Queen's College, Oxford, 7th May 1602, aged 15, as "arm. fil. nat. max." of Nicholas Farrer; H.A.C. Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the . . . Middle Temple* (1949), p. 81: 20th March 1603/4 as son and heir of Nicholas Ferrar citizen of London, gent. His death in 1609, aged 24, is recorded on a plaque in Bourn church, Cambs: *VCH Cambridgeshire*, vol. 5, p. 15.
- 12.\* Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, ser. i, vol. ii, p. 134: matriculated pensioner at Clare College, Easter 1607; Sturgess, *op cit*, p. 95: admitted to Middle Temple on 10th May 1610 as "third son" of Nicholas Ferrar, and called to the bar on 19th June 1618. He sailed for Virginia with Lord Delaware in the *Neptune*: Ferrar Papers, Magdalene College, Cambridge (hereafter FP), 99 & 100, the last communications to him in January 1618/19. The numeration devised for this collection in the 1930s by A.L. Maycock, and extended by Noel Malcolm in 1979, has been abandoned and a more nearly chronological numeration adopted; for which see the handlist to *The Ferrar Papers 1590-1790* (Wakefield, 1992) prepared by the editor, D.R. Ransome. Here and hereafter the new numeration is used: FP.
13. Venn and Venn, ser. i, vol. ii, p. 134.
14. FP 33, of 10th June 1612; for his knowledge of Low German, FP 62; for Richard Farrar in Hamburg, FP 64, 736, 65, 73, 78, 87.
15. Guildhall of London MS 30719/1: apprenticed from Michaelmas 1590 for nine years; R. Ehrenberg, *England und Hamburg in Zeitalter der Konigin Elisabeth* (Jena, 1896).
16. IGI: at King's Walden, Herts.
17. Guildhall of London MS 30719/2.
18. *Ibid.*
19. John Stow, *The Survey of London*, 1633. p. 277.
20. For John Ferrar in Hamburg in 1614, FP 2212 p. 24.
21. St Michael, Crooked Lane marriage register: 5th August 1583. She had been baptised in the same church on 1st January 1565/6.
22. Mary Ramsey was the niece of Sir Thomas Ramsey, the childless Lord Mayor in 1577, the daughter of Sir William Ramsey (d. 1590) and the wife of John Wanton (d. 1592) and of the widower John Robinson (d. 1609). She herself died in 1618. Her life is most easily pursued through various PCC wills: her father's is PCC 39 Drury; John Wanton's is PCC 66 Harrington; John Robinson's estate was administered by his son Henry (*PCC Administrations* vol. iv, p. 180); her own will is PCC 88 Meade.
23. Neither the location nor the date of this marriage have been found, but Mrs Mary Owen's burial at St Christopher le Stocks took place on 27th May 1622.

24. St Olave, Hart Street marriage register: Elizabeth m. Henry Butler on 2nd July 1612; Bathsbeba m. John Ferrar on 14th February 1614/15, and Jane m. John Weedon on 14th February 1615/16.
25. Rabb, p. 290.
26. In private possession.
27. Mayor, pp. 144-46 cites his epitaph, in which he is said to be in his 21st year on 19th May 1640, the day of his death; *ibid* p. 342 shows that he had been born by 23rd March 1619/20, the date on which his grandfather left him £100 in his will.
28. Rabb, p. 290.
29. Susan Myra Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington DC, 1906-35), vol. i, p. 213; Ferrar was also Deputy of the Somers Islands Company 1621-23; Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (Cambridge MA, 1890), p. 890.
- 30.\* *Sir Thomas Smith's Misgovernment of the Virginia Company*, by Nicholas Ferrar, edited by D.R. Ransome (Roxburghe Club, 1990), p. 6, citing also Kingsbury, vol. iv, p. 140 and Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (New York, 1969) p. 243.
31. Alderman Robert Johnson: W.F. Craven, *The Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (Gloucester MA, 1964), p. 34, names Johnson as Smith's son-in-law but gives no authority for the statement.
32. From 12th May 1619: Kingsbury, vol. i, p. 215.
33. For the continuing unhappiness see Kingsbury, vol. ii index *sub* Accounts – with individuals – Sir Thomas Smith, p. 546.
- 34.\* By the kindness of Dr Andrew Thrush of the History of Parliament Trust, I was able to see draft lives of John and Nicholas Ferrar. Details in this paragraph, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the life of John Ferrar.
35. Kingsbury, vol. iii, p. 509.
36. *Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 29.
37. Nicholas Ferrar is normally said to have returned from his continental travels in 1618 [e.g. A.L. Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (1963), p. 61], but a letter from his cousin, young John Wodenoth [FP 80] indicates that he was back in England in 1617.
38. Kingsbury, vol i, *passim*.
39. *Ibid*, vol. iii, pp. 676-77, 679-80, 690-92; vol. iv, pp. 22-6, 106-10, 110-11.
40. 8th March 1620/21: Kingsbury, vol. iii, pp. 434-5.
41. Craven, pp. 105-47, chapter v: "Factional Strife over Accounts, Patents, and Piracy".
42. For Edward Waterhouse's 1622 account of the massacre, Kingsbury, vol. iii, pp. 550-71.

- 43.\* Mayor, pp. 207-9, and note the quotation, p. 207 n. 2, from *A perfect description of Virginia*, published in 1649. This essay, though published anonymously, was in fact by John Ferrar. For which, see an unpublished paper by D.R. Ransome, "An Old Man's Dream: John Ferrar and the Promotion of Virginia".
- 44.\* The story of Sheppard's debts, pieced together from FP, is contained in an as yet unpublished paper by my wife, Joyce Olson Ransome.
45. 24th May 1624: Kingsbury, vol. iv, pp. 397-8.
46. The details are taken from Oxfordshire Archives: Annesley collection, E6/12/13D/6-15; and Muir and White, p. 60.
47. Muir and White, p. 65.
48. *Ibid*, p. 115: John Ferrar here says that Virginia was born on Christmas Eve and christened the next day "the year after he came to Gidding". He came in 1625, thus by this account, created in the 1650s, Virginia was born in December 1626. However, he and Virginia created a biblical Harmony now at Ickworth which states in his handwriting that it was made by her in 1640, when she was aged 12. I have preferred the detail given by John Ferrar at the earlier date.
- 49.\* John junior's tomb plaque in Little Gidding church states that he died on 23rd February 1719/20, aged 89. Bathsheba went up to London in the spring of 1630, presumably to give birth in either her father's or brother's house there: FP 718-19, 722, for the first and last of which, see Blackstone, pp. 254-5.
50. FP 1064 gives a figure of 1637 "in Mony and Corne"; in the Huntingdon Record Office an undated page of particulars of Little Gidding manor c.1760 gives a rental of £411 – 5s. See also Muir and White, pp. 86, 128.
- 51.\* Maycock, Blackstone and an unpublished paper by Joyce Olson Ransome.
52. In private possession.
53. Made on 29th July 1628, proved 12th July 1634: PCC 71 Seager.
54. Muir and White, p. 86.
55. *Ibid*, pp. 86-7.
56. *Ibid*, pp. 70-3, 82-3.
57. E. Cruwys Sharland, *The Story Books of Little Gidding* (1899); Blackstone, *op cit.*, and A.M. Williams, *Conversations at Little Gidding* (Cambridge, 1970) between them print the record of the Little Academy.
58. Muir and White, pp. 76-81; Mayor, pp. 123-49.
59. Maycock, pp. 273-5; Mayor, pp. 48-50; Muir and White, pp. 93-4, 97-8; [Canon] Charles Smyth, "Little Gidding and Leighton Bromswold" in *Church Quarterly Review*, July–Sept. 1964, pp. 290-305.
60. FP 939; Muir and White, p. 128, give the passage in modern spelling.



61. Guildhall of London MS 30708/3: Skinners Company Court Book 1617-51 f.127r, 128r; FP 727.
62. PRO, CO 1/6/14. 30-32, 43.
63. Mayor, pp. 123-49.
64. Mr and Mrs Allen, then the curators at Ickworth, kindly allowed me to see the volume.
65. Mayor, pp. 126-40.
66. *Ibid*, p. 146.
67. *Ibid*, pp. 149-54; Muir and White, pp. 138-40.
68. Huntingdon Record Office MS M49/1/3, and FP 1646.
69. According to the old *Dictionary of National Biography*; but F.J. Varley, *Cambridge during the Civil War 1642-1646* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 79-83, offers considerable evidence to show that the transfer of plate never occurred.
70. That John was absent is suggested by FP 1122, which shows "B. Ferrar" collecting rents in 1644 and 1645. Bathsheba was the only "B. Ferrar" at this time.
71. e.g. Maycock, pp. 139-40.
72. The Ferrar Papers at Magdalene College, Cambridge include a thousand and more pre-dating the civil wars.
73. FP 1106.
74. PRO, SP 20/4 ff. 25, 92, 146, 235 (ink).
75. FP 1118.
76. FP 141.
77. FP 1221, 1238-48, 1257, 1267-8, 1272, 1278-81, 1283.
78. FP 141
79. e.g. *The Reformed Virginian Silk-worm* (1655).
80. FP 1167, 1176, 52 from VF; to VF FP 1133, 1153, 1190, 1200, 1202-3, 1205, 1230, 1250, 1261.
81. Coolie Verner, "The Several States of the Farrer Map of Virginia" in *Studies in Bibliography*, ed. by Fredson Bowers (Charlottesville VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia), vol. iii (1950-51), pp. 281-4.
- 82.\* They are specified in an unpublished paper, "An Old Man's Dream: John Ferrar and the Promotion of Virginia" by D.R. Ransome.
83. FP 141, using the pseudonym John Smith.
84. This volume is now in the library of the Virginia Historical Society.
85. Little Gidding burial register.
86. Charles Creighton, *A history of epidemics in Britain* (1965), vol. i, pp. 568-70; Little Gidding burial register.
87. Blackstone, pp. 309-11; Little Gidding burial register.



**SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES**

12. The Ferrar Papers since 2005 have been available online by subscription: Adam Matthew Publications, Marlborough, Wilts.
30. Smith himself spelled his name 'Smythe', under which spelling he is to be found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
34. Dr Thrush's articles now published in *History of Parliament. The House of Commons, 1604-1629*, iv (2010), pp. 245-7.
43. The paper by D.R. Ransome under the modified title, "John Ferrar: a half-hidden propagandist for Virginia" now on offer to *The Seventeenth Century*.
44. Now published as *The Web of Friendship: Nicholas Ferrar and Little Gidding* (2011).
49. But see also *Web of Friendship*, p.199.
51. Joyce Ransome, *Web of Friendship*.
82. The paper by D.R. Ransome under the modified title, "John Ferrar: a half-hidden propagandist for Virginia" now on offer to *The Seventeenth Century*.