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Called by Thy Name, Leave Us Not:
The Case of Mrs. Joan Drake,
A Formative Episode in the Pastoral Career of
Thomas Hooker in England

George Huntston Williams

(Concluded)

II. THE IDENTITY OF THE RELATOR:
JASPER HARTWELL OF PRESTON DEANERY, NORTHANTS

Our narrative, *Trodden Down Strength*, has a memorial page set in lines that expand in length and in the size of the font until the final line consists of a single black word:

To the memorie of that ever memorable mercy shewed unto that late worthy gentlewoman of famous memory Mrs. Ioane Drake in escaping Satans many mighty and in shew invincible TEMPTATIONS.⁶²

We have now reached the point where some curiosity may have been aroused as to the identity of the Relator of the Narrative of Mrs. Drake's conversion and final ecstasy. The Relator had introduced himself thus:

By what strange meanes, and way, the Lord made the Relater an unworthy Instrument, to have compassion on her, and finde her out, helping to furnish her with the Instrument and meanes of her recovery [will be hereinafter recounted]; and what entertainment shee gave that meanes at his first coming unto her, and after, untill the time that shee revealed the Devils counsell, was contented to live, and use the meanes having any hope to be saved.⁶³

From this initial statement it is evident that the Relator was an instrument in providing Mrs. Drake aids for extricating herself from the toils of the devil. The reference to "what entertainment shee gave that meanes" is no doubt a charitable allusion to the abuse which in her

⁶² This memorial page is reproduced as a cover illustration, Williams, "Pilgrimage," No. 2, *loc. cit.*

⁶³ Narrative, p. 5.

intellectual desperation she heaped upon even her most solicitous comforters.

In the first edition of the work in 1647 the author is said to be Hart On-hi. George Thomason, a seventeenth-century English bibliographer, on whom subsequent authorities depend, indicated that this strange name was a pseudonym of John Hart.⁶⁴ In the second edition by another publisher under the somewhat different and longer title there is no indication of authorship. To John Hart have been ascribed a large number of imprints about this time.⁶⁵ He has been identified with the pastor of the second parish in Hamilton in Scotland.⁶⁶ But the internal evidence of *Trodden Down Strength* clearly indicates another person; and it will be possible to explain the faulty seventeenth-century ascription of authorship after we have presented the other evidence.

From the Narrative we learn that the Relator knew Mrs. Drake over the whole decade of her cure to her death in 1625 and that she "gave him leave to publish and make known after her death so much of her case as might in some such misery be usefull unto others."⁶⁷ In general, in view of the extended and close relationship to her of the "eye-witness Actor in all her Tragic-Comedy," one could advance as a possible candidate for the authorship her husband, her mother, her father, one of the two women in waiting,⁶⁸ and conceivably a physician or other close attendant. The physiological, medical, and psychological details, along with the very personal exchanges and asseverations, are of such an intimate character that one could expect them from the pen only of another woman, a close relation, or a doctor: less likely, one of the attendant ministers.

But the husband, Francis Drake, has to be ruled out because he is referred to so often in the third person as to preclude his identification with the Relator. He is referred to, for example, as having invited Dod and the Relator from the latter's chamber in London "unto his house";

⁶⁴ Thomason, *Catalogue* 1, 490. He has been followed by Donald Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue, 1641-1700*, II (New Haven, 1948), 165, item 960. There are 48 entries under his name there between 1647 and 1699.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 164 f.

⁶⁶ *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticae*, revised and enlarged edition, III (Edinburgh, 1920), 262. Cf. below, note 102 on a Scottish connection of the Relator.

⁶⁷ Narrative, pp. 44, 157.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15. Mrs. Drake "opened herself in a strange presaging manner," the contents of the confidence being reported to the Relator, *ibid.*, p. 8.

as one whom Mrs. Drake "did not love," having been the marital choice unwisely imposed by dotting parents; and at an appropriate place as Francis Drake "late of Esher," that is, as recently deceased when the Relator and/or editor set his notes together for publication.⁶⁹

It is also clear that the Relator could not have been Mrs. Drake's father or mother, Mr. and Mrs. William Tothill of Amersham, who were frequently at Esher with their ailing daughter and who attended to her final needs in Amersham, whither she returned to die, because at several points in the Narrative the direct quotations or communications from Mrs. Drake are expressly and plausibly said to have come from one or another parent to the Relator.⁷⁰

As for the two devoted waiting women, also characterized sometimes as gentlewomen, we cannot be certain that the same two, and only they, continued to the end. Waiting women feature quite often in the Narrative as confidantes and comforters; but only once is such a person named and incidentally: Sarah Herreis, addressed by Mrs. Drake as "cousin."⁷¹ We know, of course, that another waiting woman was Susanna Garbrand (Hooker). She presumably came from near Amersham, where her marriage with Thomas Hooker was solemnized.⁷² It is not stated by the Relator that Mrs. Hooker returned with her husband to Mrs. Drake at Amersham during the extraordinary last fortnight of the Firebrand's life; but one would have expected her to accompany him on the visit to her dying mistress. One cannot therefore put aside the possibility that Mrs. Hooker or other waiting-women had something to do with the preservation of the record of Mrs. Drake's progress and her final ecstasy. But waiting-women are always clearly distinguished in the Narrative, as informants and sympathetic friends, from the Relator himself. Moreover, against the direct authorship of the Narrative by Mrs. Hooker is the minimization therein of the role of Master Hooker in the cure of Mrs. Drake.

Thus, though a woman is the most plausible source of such a narration and though a woman could easily have masculinized references to herself as the Relator in order to conceal her identity, the fact is that the personality of the Relator and circumstantial clues about him come through in such a way as to make certain that the author of the Nar-

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 9.

⁷⁰ *E.g.*, *ibid.*, pp. 12 f.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 160. A possible relation of the Puritan preacher, Dr. Robert Harris.

⁷² Above at note 54.

rative was not a woman. That the Relator was a man is indeed clear from the fact that he rented a chamber in the White Friars district in London⁷⁴ and there received Master Dod, that he rode off frequently on missions by himself, that he undertook a secret mission for Mrs. Drake as far off as Dedham in Essex, that he frequently resorted to the martial imagery of fortresses and battles, and that he occasionally used a Latin or Greek phrase suggestive of an education to which a woman would not generally have had access.⁷⁴

The most plausible explanation, therefore, of the duration and the intimacy of the relationship recorded in the Narrative would be that the Relator was the physician secured by Francis Drake to watch over his distraught spouse, who at the beginning was ever on the lookout to commit suicide.⁷⁵ Yet the Relator was not a physician, although he does supply much physiological and medical data and uses a number of medical metaphors.⁷⁶ For, when Mrs. Drake was preparing for death at her family's seat in Shardeloc in Amersham, two physicians were called from far-off London for nothing more than to cope with the terminal weakness and insomnia of Mrs. Drake,⁷⁷ a condition remedied at length by the fast and prayer of the three attending divines, Preston, Dod, and Hooker. If the Relator, who was very prominent in the great spiritual event of the last fortnight of Mrs. Drake's life, had been any kind of a physician, even unregistered with the London College of Physicians and Surgeons,⁷⁸ surely the household in Amersham would not have summoned two doctors from London, seventy-five miles away as the crow flies.

There remains the possibility that one of the two ministers most involved could have written or edited the Narrative, John Dod or Thomas Hooker. That the case deeply concerned Dod is evidenced

⁷⁴ Narrative, p. 19.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 48, 99.

⁷⁶ For some time I worked with the hypothesis that the Relator might have been the attending physician; and the only person that came into consideration was John Burgess, M.D., son of the Puritan divine Dr. John Burgess (1563-1635), who was at the Scudamore manor of Isteuorth (or Town house?) when the case of Mrs. Drake came up during the table conversation. The physician son is referred to in *DNB*. A James and a Thomas Skidmore (variant spelling for Scudamore) are mentioned in John Winthrop's letter to his son, Boston, 1637. *The Journal*, ed. by James Savage (Boston, 1853), I, 468.

⁷⁷ E.g., Narrative, pp. 10, 31, 38, 40, 127, 132, 180, 185.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 159 f.: "hoping by their advice to have made her rest."

⁷⁹ No plausible figure appears in William Munk, *College of Physicians*.

independently of our Narrative⁷⁹ and he kept in touch with Mrs. Drake throughout the last decade of her life. As for Hooker, he was brought to the spiritual case by Dod and was directly involved himself only at the middle and end; but his wife could have supplied him with many of the more intimate details and recollections from the earliest phase of the case.

Yet the fact is that the constant figure amid the changing ministers and the personality behind the anonymous Relator was, almost certainly, Jasper Hartwell (Hertwell, Heartwell), Esq., unknown apart from our Narrative and from one or two entries in archival records, and of a branch of the family that became extinct in the seventeenth century. Jasper Hartwell was the son of Sir Robert Hartwell of Preston (Deanery) in Northamptonshire and grandson of Jasper Hartwell, the elder, who was registered in 1550 as a student in the Inner Temple,⁸⁰ and died in 1585.⁸¹ His heir, Sir Robert, apparently a Cambridge alumnus,⁸² acquired the advowson of the Preston church. It would appear that the father and grandfather of Jasper Hartwell the younger were impecunious. They sold the lead and the bells of their church. Having turned the church to a profane use, Sir Robert, still under financial duress, was finally obliged to sell the whole estate about 1620, leaving his son, our Jasper, without a fixed abode.⁸³ Jasper of our Narrative acquired a chamber in London and was admitted to the Middle Temple on 1 March 1615 as an apprentice lawyer "bound with" two eminent barristers, Sir Robert Tanfield⁸⁴ of Gayton (Northants) and Sir Richard Lane (1584-1630), later Lord Keeper.⁸⁵ The minutes of the parliament of the Middle Temple identify him as "Jasper Hartwell, esq. son and heir-apparent of Robert Hartwell of Preston, Nor-

⁷⁹ See above at note 31.

⁸⁰ *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660* (London, 1877), p. 8.

⁸¹ *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Northamptonshire*, IV (London, 1937), 280.

⁸² A "Robert Hartwell of Northants" is listed as having matriculated at the age of seventeen in University College 12 April 1587, while one of that name is known to have been knighted in 1603. John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I (Cambridge, England, 1922).

⁸³ John Bridge, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* (Oxford, 1791), I, 264. Sir Clement Edmonds was in possession of the estate at his death in 1623. The family tree of the Hartwells, *ibid.*, does not include Jasper, the younger. *Victoria History, loc. cit.*, 280.

⁸⁴ Anne Elizabeth Baker, *Glossary of Northamptonshire* (London, 1854), II, 275 f.

⁸⁵ *DNB*.

thants, knt.”⁸⁶ He was admitted “specially” and paid a “fine” (fee) of four pounds. When a law apprentice was admitted “generally” it was when he was about sixteen. But Jasper Hartwell was admitted “specially” at a later age as a “special” student or gentleman in residence.⁸⁷ A “general” apprenticeship would ordinarily have lasted six or seven years. As a “special,” Jasper would have become utter barrister (c. 1621 or 1622). But before that time the family estate at Preston was sold (1620). And in fact there is no further record of Jasper Hartwell in the records of the Middle Temple.

From the Narrative we know that our Relator had a chamber in the White Friars district,⁸⁸ which bordered on the Inner Temple. It was to this chamber that Dod came from Canons Ashby in Northants (a dozen miles from Preston) to stay with our Relator. Thither Francis Drake, himself once a member of the Inner Temple, came to talk over the Relator’s epistolary proposal that Dod become the first spiritual counselor for Mrs. Drake. And it was from this (law apprentice’s) chamber that the two men of Northants accompanied Drake back to nearby Esher to begin the decade of counseling relationship with Mrs. Drake, recounted in the Narrative. It is evident that the Relator was frequently in the Town (London). Presumably he retained his chamber there in White Friars.

It was from London on 22 June 1616, on 12 March 1617, and again on 9 July 1618 that a “J. Heartwell” is known to have addressed three letters to his “very dear friend” James Ussher, in the first two imploring him, as we have already noted, to find occasion to visit Mrs. Drake.⁸⁹ In the first letter J. Heartwell referred without name to the spiritual patient as “a dear friend of mine.” But he mentioned Dod as the means by which the lady had already been brought a little “from Satan’s most horrible delusions.” J. Heartwell then refers somewhat obscurely in the letter to the fact — otherwise known only in the Narrative —⁹⁰ that Mrs. Drake had herself proposed that she be given the opportunity

⁸⁶ Charles Henry Hopwood, ed. *Middle Temple Records* (Charles Trice Martin, translator and editor, *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple*), II, 1603-1649 (London, 1904), 604.

⁸⁷ There are Heartwells (Hartwells) among the sixteenth-century alumni of both Oxford and Cambridge (e.g. his father) but no Jasper.

⁸⁸ Narrative, p. 19.

⁸⁹ Above at notes 37 and 38.

⁹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 96 f.

"to have or to hear"⁶¹ Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, that is, to be allowed to room with his family in order to be as close as possible to this great divine, but that for "divers reasons, it is impossible."⁶² From the Narrative we know more specifically that Mrs. Drake's husband and parents alike forbade such an unheard of move, although the Relator and another, Mr. [Ezekiel] Culverwell,⁶³ had initially supported the project and offered to accompany her thither. In the second letter J. Heartwell names the patient and adds that "Of all my cares, it is one of the principal to procure her peace; therefore it maketh me send everywhere for help unto her."⁶⁴ No phrases could more aptly characterize the extraordinary solicitude of our Relator and his successful procurement of the services, first of Dod and then of a whole series of notable divines, who either visited Esher or wrote the distraught lady of the manor. The third letter, in response to one from Ussher 17 March 1618, received 9 July, is given over to extensive news in the capital of interest to the Irish prelate, and to J. Heartwell's efforts to publish some of Ussher's sermons from notes. It does not mention the situation at Esher.

In all three letters, J. Heartwell refers to a number of persons mentioned also by the Relator of the Narrative. Of the eighteen surnames or names of the peerage adduced or addressed by J. Heartwell in the course of his three letters, including Ussher and John Dod, seven are common to our Narrative, Dod's name appearing in the correspondence five times, Mr. [Ezekiel] Culverwell five times, John Forbes three times, "my lady Scudamore" (Shedmore, Skidmore) twice, Dr. John Burgess of Gray's Inn twice, and John Rogers once.⁶⁵

Ussher's correspondent J. Heartwell, the Jasper Hartwell of the Inner and Middle Temple tradition in that family, and the Relator of our Narrative are surely one.

There are supplementary indications. Although the Relator gave

⁶¹ The relevant part of the letter is quoted in full above, at note 37.

⁶² Above in note 37; cf. Narrative, pp. 96 f.

⁶³ One of two sons of Pastor Nicholas Culverwell of London. The younger son was Samuel. One of their sisters was married to Laurence Chaderton of Emmanuel College; another to William Whitaker of St. John's. *DNB*. Ezekiel Culverwell is mentioned several times in Morgan, *The Godly Preachers*, pp. 116 f., 127, 172.

⁶⁴ The relevant part of the letter is quoted in full above, note 38.

⁶⁵ The other names appearing in J. Heartwell's three letters are Francis Burnett, bookseller (once), the "Boiall race" (once), Bradish (thrice), Buckingham (once), Darcy (once), Mr. and Mrs. Moore (five times), Tonyle (Tanfield?), Pike, Shrewsbury, Smith, and Temple (all once each).

abundant physiological and psychological data — good and concerned observer of the cure and conversion that he was — he also occasionally used the manner or the metaphor of the lawyer, most notably when he spoke of Satan's final eviction from the "tenement" which was Mrs. Drake "with the writ of ejectment,"⁹⁶ and when he proceeded at the end to summarize the "case." Legal language, including an occasional Latin quotation, would comport with what we know of the profession and activity of J. Heartwell outside Esher. There are comparable (simple) Latin phrases in J. Heartwell's correspondence and the Relator's Narrative.

J. Heartwell's three extant letters refer also to his activities in editing and publishing sermon notes and other papers.⁹⁷ He sends books to Ussher and receives papers from him and solicits others from Dr. John Burgess, presumably for publication. He refers to Francis Burnett, a bookseller frequently mentioned in Ussher's *Works*.⁹⁸ He expressly assigns to Ussher the preparation of a sermon or two on Galatians 2:20 ("no longer I who live but Christ") on which "my friend is very desirous to be satisfied."⁹⁹ The friend is quite plausibly Mrs. Drake who was in the Narrative long incredulous about the possibility of Christ's ever entering the "brazen doors" of her hard heart. Moreover, it was just such homiletical material that the Relator did obtain from the Scottish divine Robert Bruce, an excerpt of whose message expressly for Mrs. Drake is printed in our Narrative as "A Specch to Satan."¹⁰⁰

The Scottish connections of J. Heartwell and his anti-Popish (anti-Jesuit) sentiments¹⁰¹ comport well with the Relator's preface of the Narrative and the quite unexpected appearance in the Narrative of two Scottish divines, Robert Bruce and John Forbes.¹⁰²

Less compelling supplementary evidence that the Relator and Jasper Hartwell, esq. were the same person is the extraordinary range of acquaintance of the Relator, who felt free to enlist, for the cure and

⁹⁶ Narrative, introduction.

⁹⁷ *Apud* Ussher, *loc. cit.*, 399, 355.

⁹⁸ Narrative, p. 338. Burnett is not listed, alas, in R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England . . . 1557-1640* (London, 1910).

⁹⁹ J. Heartwell's second letter to Ussher, *Works*, XVI, 340.

¹⁰⁰ *Op. cit.*, 110-115.

¹⁰¹ *Apud* Ussher, *loc. cit.*, 355 f.

¹⁰² J. Heartwell indeed calls Forbes of Middelburg and by origin of Aberdeenshire "our countryman" (i.e. a fellow Scot?, perhaps on his mother's side). *Apud* Ussher, *loc. cit.*, 356.

case of Mrs. Drake, the support: of John Dod; of James Ussher, eventually Anglican primate of Ireland; of John Forbes of Aberdeenshire and the Merchants Church of Middelburg; of John Rogers in Dedham; of Robert Bruce, sometime moderator of the Assembly of Kirk of Scotland and anointer of the queen; of Thomas Hooker; and of Dr. John Preston, chaplain to Prince Charles. In this connection attention should also be drawn to the fact that once in the Narrative, when Mrs. Drake spoke out blasphemously, the Relator, to chastise her and put a little fear into her, not only withdrew from her company for a month but also threatened to report her serious case to Archbishop Abbot for condign punishment (though the Relator confided to one of the waiting women that he did not intend to carry out his threat).¹⁰³ All these clerical contacts would have been plausible for a religiously motivated resident of a chamber in the Middle Temple with a wide London circle of friends and for a zealous comforter of the witty and irrepressible challenger of the whole system of Puritan divinity, granddaughter and heiress both of the Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer and of a very successful London law-book printer.

More compelling supplementary evidence of the identity of the Relator and Jasper Hartwell is the special relationship that the Relator had to one of the aforementioned divines, John Dod. The Hartwells, one of the county families, would have known Dod at Canons Ashby a dozen miles from Preston. Sir Erasmus Dryden, "a rare mixture of piety and learning," is known to have been especially kind to Dod.¹⁰⁴ That Dod knew our Relator sufficiently to abide with him on a visit to London after his being silenced in Canons Ashby comes out twice in the Narrative, where the Relator expresses his joy that he had been made by God "an unworthy instrument" for the recovery of stricken Mrs. Drake by providing and sending "one of a thousand unto her."¹⁰⁵ Now by "the one of a thousand" the Relator meant the first divine for whose coming to Esher he was responsible, John Dod. To be sure, he had first heard of the strange case of Mrs. Drake at a dinner at the house of Lady Scudamore,¹⁰⁶ at which time the company concluded "that if Mr. John Dod of Ashby could be entreated" to take an interest in the

¹⁰³ Narrative, p. 100.

¹⁰⁴ Samuel Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologic . . . Whereunto are added, The Lives of Sundry Modern Divines* (London, 1651), "The Life of Master John Dod," pp. 406 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Narrative, pp. 16, 167.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

case, the distraught lady might be spiritually and physically healed. But it was the Relator who carried through the idea: "After a fortnight it wrought so strangely, day and night upon the Relator, that he could have no rest until hee had moved the businesse unto Mr. Dod then in Town [London]." ¹⁰⁷ At the time Francis Drake was "a stranger unto him"; ¹⁰⁸ but it is possible that Mrs. Drake was a relation of the Relator, for in the Narrative she once addressed him as "cousin." ¹⁰⁹ Without some acquaintance with her beforehand, the Relator's sustained concern for Mrs. Drake is hard to explain. In any case he succeeded in getting Dod and himself invited by Francis Drake to Esher. In his letter to Ussher, J. Heartwell stresses the promising advances made under Dod and associates himself with this progress ("we"), as he appeals to Ussher to come to Esher at Mrs. Drake's request and "upon my report." ¹¹⁰ At the time of this letter, 22 June 1616, Dod had been a month at a time, off and on, for a year at Esher, according to the Narrative, and would be back every once in a while for two more years. The letter of J. Heartwell to Ussher is exactly what one would have expected from the Relator at this time in his effort to enlist a powerful preacher and curer of souls for Mrs. Drake.

The Relator, Jasper Hartwell, esq., was inexplicably involved in the spiritual life of the wife of another man, in both this husband's home at Esher and in that of his parents-in-law at Amersham. That the Relator's motivation was devoutly religious is evident from the care with which he chronicled Joan Drake's spiritual progress and the care with which he recorded the theological and scriptural arguments of all the visiting or corresponding divines. Moreover, he himself, far more than being only the instrument of providing Mrs. Drake with spiritual counsel, was directly involved in the moral and theological casuistry and was a mediator of love, which the recipient belatedly but very fully acknowledged as her death approached. He had long discerningly urged upon her Psalm XXX ("O Lord, thou hast brought up my soul from Hell" — verse 2) as belonging "unto her"; ¹¹¹ and it was this Psalm that she chose at the last to chant with him over and over again during the extraordinary ten sleepless but rapturous days and nights when members of the family, the servants of the manor, at least three

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹¹⁰ Above, at note 37.

¹¹¹ Narrative, p. 151.

famous divines, and two doctors took turns keeping Joan Drake spiritual company before death.

Such was the Relator of our Narrative, gentleman resident of the Middle Temple (1615–c. 1620), bold and far-ranging correspondent, amateur editor of religious pieces, (bachelor) socialite among the gentry and peerage families of Northamptonshire, Esher, Amersham, and London. He had at least twice promised Mrs. Joan Drake to record the essentials of the case for the benefit of others.

It is not certain that *Trodden Down Strength* was written down as late as the first edition of the Narrative (1647). From internal evidence it would appear more likely that it was composed from notes and reminiscences occasionally *hysteron proteron*, as the Relator himself remarks, about a dozen years after the death of Mrs. Drake (1625), that is, if one may draw anything as to date from three references to persons lately dead: the “late” Francis Drake (d. 1633),¹¹² the “late” Dr. John Burgess the elder (d. 1635),¹¹³ and the “late thundering preacher of Dedham,” John Rogers (d. 1636).¹¹⁴ From this evidence one might date the composition of the Narrative c. 1640. A writer would not persist much longer after that date in calling persons familiar to the reader “late.”

The first edition of the Narrative entitled *Trodden Down Strength* was published by R. Bishop for Stephen Pilkington, 28 January 1647/48. The Narrative is said to be related by Hart On-hi. As we noted at the outset of this section, George Thomason identified this strange name as a pseudonym for one John Hart. The pseudonym did not survive in the second edition, entitled *The Firebrand*, printed for Thomas Matthews at the Cock in St. Paul’s Churchyard, 1654. But even in 1647/48 Thomason’s “John Hart” was only a conjecture for “Hart On-hi.” In some way the name was either a pseudonym of, or a mistake for, Jasper Hartwell, esq., of Preston. He may well have been also the author or editor of one or two other works mistakenly ascribed to the obscure Scottish divine, John Hart.¹¹⁵

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1. He died 17 April 1633 and was buried at Walton-on-Thames; Drake, *Drake Family*, p. xi, Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, III, 154. The Relator also speaks of Hooker “then at Cambridge, now in New-England” (since 1633). Narrative, p. 117.

¹¹³ Narrative, p. 17; *DNB*.

¹¹⁴ Narrative, pp. 96 f.; *DNB*.

¹¹⁵ Of the items 924 to 961 in the *Short-Title Catalogue*, some were clearly by the Scotsman, John Hart (cf. above notes 64, 102). *The Everlasting Joys of Heaven* (London, 1656) is the most plausibly reassigned to Jasper Hartwell.

Although the Narrative was expressly composed in England after the departure for Boston of Thomas and Susanna Garbrand Hooker with their daughter Joan in 1633, one may still suspect that the former woman-in-waiting of Mrs. Drake had something to do with the composition and the endorsement of its publication in London in the same year as Thomas Hooker's death in Hartford (7 July 1647). It is relevant to this hypothesis that the Hooker's eldest son, John, sailed thereafter from Hartford to study divinity in Emmanuel College (1650) and then Magdalen College, Oxford, dying as rector of Marsworth in Buckinghamshire in 1684.¹¹⁶ Almost six months elapsed between the earliest possible date for John's sailing and the printing of the Narrative at the end of January 1648 (new style).

It is even possible that Thomas Hooker himself had something to do with the editing of Hartwell's manuscript of a narrative so important in his own career. In that case the name Hart On-hi might be some obscure reference either to Hartwell deceased or to Mr. and Mrs. Hooker's final home, Hartford. In view of the prominence of Hooker on the title-page of the Narrative, one cannot rule out the possibility that something from Hooker survives therein. It is noteworthy that the final messages of Mrs. Drake are recorded as addressed to the Relator and to but two of the three divines in attendance at the end — Dod and Preston. To Hooker, clearly a most important figure in her spiritual career, Mrs. Drake is not recorded as having otherwise said anything special at the last. Could the fervid words to the Relator have been directed to Hooker, as perhaps recalled by Mrs. Hooker?

Whether or not the Relator or original diarist (Hartwell) is to be distinguished from a posthumous compiler or editor of the notes, it is significant that in the (Tothill and) Drake Chapel in the church of St. Mary, Amersham, the fashioner of the Latin memorial plaque for Joan Tothill Drake found occasion in the brief compass of the compact inscription to allude not only to our Narrative (*Liber*) but also to its "Idoneo Auctore, non magis quam Teste."¹¹⁷ Although the inscription

¹¹⁶ On John Hooker (c. 1629-1684) who took the Oxford Oath in 1666 and died (by suicide?), see further, Williams, "Pilgrimage," No. 2, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12 f.

¹¹⁷ Above, n. 58. The speech in the Narrative addressed to the Relator but perhaps actually to Hooker is given above divided into two parts at notes 59 and 60. But even if the speech thus recorded was addressed to Hartwell as sole Relator, one might still connect with Hooker the concluding pages 168-193, which, though evidencing close familiarity with the preceding narration, suggest a certain didactic distance from the scene in their compilation of thirteen "uses of the Case."

would thus suggest that contemporaries did not distinguish between one who was a "Witness" and the "Fitting Author," still the prominence in the commemorative plaque of references to Joan Drake's *charitas* and *pietas* and to our Book and Author/Witness cries out for some further identification with the Hookers — Susanna: woman-in-waiting; Thomas: curer of a tormented soul; Joan: namesake of the ecstatic convert and recipient of a legacy from Francis Drake (on becoming married in New England) in 1640; and John: secondary namesake and bachelor rector in Marsworth, ten miles from Amersham.

III. JOAN DRAKE'S MYSTICAL CONVERSION: THE MODEL OF HOOKER'S THEOLOGY OF PREPARATION

It was Cotton Mather in *Johannes in eremo* (Boston, 1695) who wrote the first sketch of Hooker's life (reprinted in *Magnalia Christi*, London, 1702) and who first published what may have been known earlier only by common report that there was a close parallel between the temperaments and perhaps the experience of Thomas Hooker and Joan Drake. Writing a half century after the death of Hooker and quite possibly without a copy of *Trodden Down Strength*, Mather observed:

Mr. Hooker being now well got through the storm of soul, which had helped him unto a most experimental acquaintance with the truths of the gospel, and the way of employing, and applying those truths, he was willing to serve the Church of God in the ministry, whereto he was devoted. At his first leaving of the university, he sojourned in the house of Mr. Drake, a gentleman of great note, not far from London; whose worthy consort being visited with such distresses of soul, as Mr. Hooker himself had passed through, it proved an *unspeakable advantage unto both* of them, that he had that opportunity of being servicable; for indeed he now had no superiour, and scarce any equal, for the skill of treating a troubled soul. When he left Mr. Drake's family, he did more publickly and frequently preach about London; and in a little time he grew famous for his ministerial abilities, but especially for his notable faculty at the wise and fit management of *wounded spirits*.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ *Magnalia Christi Americana or the Ecclesiastical History of New England*, book iii, "The Life of Mr. Thomas Hooker," Sec. 4 (Hartford ed., 1853), I, 334. (Italics mine.) Cotton Mather continues in the same paragraph:

However, he was not ambitious to exercise his ministry among the great ones of the world, from whom the most of preferment might be expected; but in this, imitating the example and character of our blessed Saviour, of whom 'tis noted, that according to the prophesie of Isaiah, by him, The poor had the gospel preached unto them; he chose to be where great numbers of the poor might receive the gospel from him.

It is possible that the foregoing material comes not only from John Eliot as expressly acknowledged at one point, but also ¹¹⁹ from the Hartford tradition by way of the Thomas and Joan Shepard family in Cambridge. In any case it is prime evidence in New England itself of the acknowledged influence of Mrs. Drake's experience in the theology of a major New England divine.

Some time before the final raptures of Mrs. Drake which he returned to share in Amersham along with Preston and Dod, Hooker had accepted the lectureship in Chelmsford and had been in contact with John Rogers in Dedham. In Little Baddow he conducted a school with John Eliot as assistant. Before his departure for Holland in 1630 and his sailing for Boston with John Cotton and Samuel Stone in 1633, Hooker printed several pieces, at least three of them containing palpable evidence of the tremendous theological impact of the Esher-Amersham experience on him. The first writing was Hooker's *Poor Douting Christian*, the second was his brief introduction to *The Doctrine of Faith* by John Rogers, and the third was his *Farewell Sermon*. The clearest evidence of Hooker's abiding concern with the problem of Joan Drake is that which deals directly with the powerful doubt that he had so long coped with in that would-be reprobate mistress of the manor. In *Poor Douting Christian drawne unto Christ* (1629) Hooker refers to the sin against the Holy Spirit ¹²⁰ and deals extensively with temptations of this kind as assaults of Satan. Clearly he is alluding, among others, to Joan Drake's condition which he had come to know so well, writing:

Take heed of judging thy Estate by carnal Reason without the Rule which is commonly the Fashion and the Fault of poor distressed Spirits, who pass fearful Sentences against themselves upon groundless Arguments, and say, I never found it, I feel no such Thing, and I fear it is not so. But in this we hear but carnal Pleas, coming out of Satan's Forge, and by his Help, from ourselves, against ourselves, for we judge ourselves by them. But, I say, Take heed of this Wile of Satan's and make Conscience of this as much as of any other Fault, as much as of Swearing, Stealing, Whoring or Murder; for it is as truly Sin as those, tho' not great; yet a far greater Sin than you imagine.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 335. The "manuscript, written by the hands of our blessed Eliot," is expressly concerned only with the school at Little Baddow, where Eliot served Hooker as usher; but it may have contained material on Chelmsford, Esher, and Emmanuel College.

¹²⁰ Edition of Boston, 1743, p. 10.

¹²¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 42.

If the foregoing passage is a palpable generalization of what Hooker had learned about the troubled unbeliever from his counseling of Mrs. Drake, the following passage from the conclusion of the book affords evidence of his being still so immersed in the recollection of experimental divinity at Esher and Amersham that a recalled ejaculation of Joan Drake presses itself into print at a point in the conclusion where the reader would expect a masculine rather than a feminine reference. In connection with the parable of the Prodigal Son and the long period of his turmoil and indecision before he would return to his Father, Hooker concludes the *Poor Doubting Christian* thus:

At last the Will saith "Amen" to the Promise; and further saith, "O that Mercy I will have." And thus the soul is come home to God by *Vocation*. Now the Prodigal is come home to his Father; and the Father's Heart leaps within his Breast, when he sees him lie at the Door. And as the Father rejoiceth, so the Angels in Heaven rejoice; and all the Faithfull shall rejoice, and say, "Oh *my Husband*, Oh my Father, Oh my Child (and Oh my Wife), that was a sinful *Woman*, who is come home again to her first and best Husband." You that have found it thus in yourselves, be comforted: You that know it in others, rejoice.¹²²

Although Hooker was here trying to universalize the experience of Joan Drake, he was so much enthralled by the aural recollection of an episode which he witnessed at Amersham that he only partly altered what must have been Joan Drake's exclamation of rapturous joy, and he simply left "Husband" and "sinful Woman" in what purports to be a generalization about the conversion of the will and where the un-alerted reader would normally expect the interpersonal relations to be rendered from the point of view of a prodigal male.¹²³

Throughout the tract of which we have now read a tell-tale concluding section, Hooker deals with other basic problems presented to Puritan casuistical and experimental divinity by sensitive and intelligent members of the ever more exacting religious society. For example, he deals with any person who relieved unbearable mental tension by perversely appropriating the basic categories of the oppressive theological system, and who in despair but also for relief, cast his or her lot with the outcasts or the eternally decreed reprobates. There are many places

¹²² *Loc. cit.*, p. 139. I have put in crotchets what seems to have been added by Hooker in an effort to transform a resounding ejaculation of a real conversion experience into a generalization.

¹²³ A possible objection to my surmise, namely that conjugal metaphors are often used in describing the religious experience, does not weaken the point that while "true Husband" refers to Christ, the heavenly Bridegroom of the soul, all the other references are clearly to specific human relations. Cf. above on p. 126.

in the booklet where Hooker uses arguments with which he will certainly have first plied Mrs. Drake.¹²⁴ He uses effectively, for example, the Canaanitish woman who acknowledged herself to be a dog (Matthew 15:27) and whom yet Jesus blessed. Hooker deprecates anybody who, instead of listening to the comforting texts proffered, studies cunningly how to retort to the minister — another sketch of Mrs. Drake — “who sparkles with false fire!”¹²⁵

Among Hooker's many intertwining rules, helps, and counsels in *Poor Doubting Christian* is the firm admonition not to leave the main thoroughfare and get dragged off into the wilderness of the problem of election and reprobation far from the normal human succor that can be extended by other wayfarers toward the heavenly Jerusalem.¹²⁶ Again we see would-be reprobate Mrs. Drake. There are two major difficulties for a poor doubting Christian, says Thomas Hooker in the middle of his tract, that of the overscrupulous person who perversely stops the stream of grace, and that of the religiously indifferent who in despair opens on himself the floodgates of corruption. Mrs. Drake in the Narrative was many times admonished for just these excesses by both Dod and Hooker.

The second Hooker writing in which the influence of Mrs. Drake's experience is perceptible is the brief epistle “To the Reader” in the third edition (1629) of *The Doctrine of Faith* of John Rogers of Dedham (whom Mrs. Drake had vainly sought to visit).¹²⁷ In an earlier edition Rogers¹²⁸ had provided his own preface, which is retained but now supplemented by Hooker's. In this preface Hooker defines faith in a manner suggesting the influence of medieval mystical theology on his Calvinism, for he assigns a quite active role to the soul in preparation for grace:

Faith being nothing else, but the going out of the soule to God through Christ, to fetch a principle of life which in Adam we lost and now need.

He goes on to enjoin the reader of Rogers on this kind of faith not to be misled into confusing the degrees of salvation:

¹²⁴ See in edition cited, pp. 51–56.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 48 f.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹²⁷ See above, at note 49.

¹²⁸ I have examined a copy of the first edition in Houghton Library. In the revision of the *Short-Title Catalogue* being prepared by Houghton Library this edition and a second will be added to the entry for the third edition alone noted in the 1926 issue of the *Catalogue*.

Let not that deceive thee (good Reader) which is a common conceit, but a common error, to wit, that every saving worke upon the heart is a sanctifying worke, which in strictnesse of speecch . . . cannot stand by the verdict of Scripture. For [in] Rom. 8. 30. the spirit speakes plainly, "whom God called, them he justified, whom he justified, them he glorified." Here is the order of God's owne work, of purpose described by his owne spirit[;] and by those last words, "and them he glorified," by the best Interpreters is meant not only the perfection of it in heaven, but the beginning of it here in grace, *sanctification* and *glorification* differing but in degrees one from another, whence the cōclusion is thus undeniably collected; *Vocation is not a sanctifying worke*, because they are there distinguished one from another, set in order of nature one before another. But *Vocation is a saving worke*. . . .

I am not sure that Hooker in the foregoing passage from his preface to Rogers on faith is so clear as he will later become about the anatomy and the motions of the soul. Important at this point is to underscore his determination to recognize several stages in conversion about which he will become increasingly expert through observation and analysis; but the original impetus toward this kind of psychological observation and introspection was occasioned by the obdurate case of Mrs. Drake. Having distinguished between saving vocation and justification from merely sanctifying glorification, Hooker was at pains to recognize that contrition or sorrow constituted a moment alike in preparation for justifying grace and in sanctification. He asked the reader "not to bogle or start at the former, as implying a contradiction." He called them "both saving" motions of the soul. The "sorrow of preparation" he identified as the "one *upon us*, wherein we are patients of the worke of the spirit bringing us into Christ: the other [sorrow of daily sanctification] is wrought *by us*, through the spirit given to us, and dwelling in us when we have received Christ." Then going back to the small and seminal beginnings of faith, he observed:

. . . in the hungerings and thirstings of the soule there is as it were the spawne of Faith, not yet brought to full perfection, the soule is coming towards God, but not yet so fully and wholly on him as hereafter it will.

It will be this "spawne of Faith" and its protracted maturation towards glorification (= ultimate sanctification) that will be increasingly the object of Hooker's notable reflections in moral theology and experimental divinity. (It is of further interest that in *Vnbelievers Preparing for Christ*, London, 1638, printed after his establishment in Hartford, Hooker could still remark: "[B]ut this is most true, that those whom

God doth call, it is most commonly in their middle age." Joan Drake's deathbed ecstasy came at age forty.)

Of the three writings antedating Hooker's departure from England that clearly show the impact upon him of the experience with Mrs. Drake, the last is his farewell sermon (1633) entitled *The Danger of Desertion*.¹²⁰ It is from its text, Jeremiah 14:19 that I have taken the title of my own interpretation of Hooker in the English phase of his career: "Called by Thy Name, Leave us Not." At a solemn moment for him as a minister about to depart in exile from his native land, Hooker turned from the inner life of devoutly strenuous preparation, saving justification, and sanctifying glorification to the public life of the nation and the established church thereof.

Himself about to depart for New England, Hooker chose as his great theme how God might very well also depart from a people once beloved, as long ago from Israel, as currently from Reformation Germany in the throes of religious war (1618-1648), so now imminently from insufficiently reformed England. It was Hooker's impassioned prophetic proposition "That God may justly leave off a People, and unchurch a Nation." He lamented that England was dying of her wickedness and that God was departing from her in combined anger and sorrow. Hooker gave three indications of how God does on occasion depart from a people: 1) when he takes away his love from among the people; 2) when he dismantles the great walls of social safety, the magistrates and ministers; and 3) when instead of counselling, there is bribing, instead of teaching there is "daubing."¹³⁰ In the vivid, importunate language of a Jeremiah, Hooker pictures God thus departing from England:

Learne therefore to heare and feare, God can be a God without England. Do not say there are many Christians in it[;] can God be beholding to you for your Religion? . . . He will rather goe to the Turks, and say you are my people,

¹²⁰ It was not printed in London until 1641 along with *Ten Particular Rules to be practised every day by converted Christians*. The *Rules* may well be of a different date. There is no reference to the *Rules* in the Epistle to the Reader.

I have calendared and situated a few other writings of Hooker composed while in the Old World, though in some cases printed after his departure, in "Pilgrimage," No. 1, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8-14. *The Soules Preparation for Christ* (1632) stresses means; and of special interest is his Answer in 1630 to John Paget in Amsterdam with its theory of "a double repentance, the first of preparation," printed by Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands . . . 1621-1635* (Chicago, 1940), p. 113.

¹³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

and I will be your God. . . . Oh England plead with your God! and let him not depart.¹³¹

Hooker argues that God is generally present, as once with the Ark,¹³² whenever and wherever his ordinances are rightly observed. Hooker knows there are those in his congregation who cannot abide moral preaching "but stand on thorns to have the sermon done." Yet he will not cease from prophecy and with the extraordinary metaphor of the divine peddler of precious goods who is about to quit his English rounds, Hooker warns, hoping against hope:

For this is our misery, if that we have quietnesse and commodity we are well enough, thus we play mock-holy-day with God, the Gospell we make it our packhorse: God is going, his glory is departing, England hath scene her best dayes, and now evill dayes are befalling us: God is packing up his Gospell, because no body will buy his wares, nor come to his price. Oh lay hands on God! and let him not goe out of your coasts, he is going, stop him, and let not thy God depart, lay siege against him with humble and hearty closing with him, suffer him not to say . . . farewell, or fare ill[,] England.¹³³

After exhorting the faithful to use the neglected or perverted divine ordinances or appointed means as God intended in personal and public life, he concludes:

You that live under the means [sacraments or ordinances and covenants], and will not walk in them, what great condemnation will be to you, over to them that have not the meanes . . . Thou England which wast lifted up to Heaven with meanes [at the Reformation] shalt be abased and brought downe to Hell; for if the mighty works which have been done in Thee [cf. Matthew 18] [had been done] in India or Turkey, they would have repented ere this. . . .¹³⁴

It is good to be able thus to overhear Hooker as he called for public virtue, for civic accountability was destined to become a major theme in his career in Hartford.

But it is also important to see how closely Hooker linked this political and ecclesiastical sobriety with personal discipline and piety. In the prophetic vein Hooker stressed the nation from which the glory of God seemed to be departing, but even as he prophesied doom, he implored England to repent; and near the conclusion he even alluded once again to a basic religious experience and observation in the house-

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹³² On the competing imagery of Ark and Altar, see David Clark, "The Altar Controversy in Early Stuart England," Harvard Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1967.

¹³³ *Op. cit.* (n. 129), p. 7.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

hold of a wayward mistress of the manor whose impudent strength was likewise downed by the God of strength. So when calling all England to repent, Hooker could recall what finally became of Mrs. Drake at Esher and Amersham: "[W]hen people refuse mercy, he [God] sends the contrary judgement . . . but that man that will bid God welcome to his heart, *may goe singing to his grave.*"¹⁸⁵ Writing large, as it were, the experience of recalcitrant and wayward Mrs. Drake, Hooker still harbored the hope that, on the eve of his own departure, England would yet repent of her ways and proceed with solemn hymns toward the heavenly Jerusalem. The *Rules* in the appendix of this sermon, whatever their date, are full of instructions on how the believer must daily use "means" to "enlarge and enflame his affections" and "receive grace through the Ordinances, which are the conduit-pipes(;) or instrument of conveying the same into the soul from Christ."¹⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

It has been the seemingly limited purpose of an inquiry into the English career of Thomas Hooker, centering in his ministrations to the lady of Esher and Amersham and finally in three writings that were composed before his departure from England, to suggest that the prolonged turmoil and extraordinary vivification of Joan Drake was a major formative factor in Hooker's distinctive version of Puritan divinity. More and more we are coming to recognize the religious diversity in what has long seemed to retrospective generations a homogeneous and inwardly consistent and firm body of New England divinity.

Anne Hutchinson, carrying justification by faith alone to an anti-nomian extreme, declared that she had been profoundly influenced by John Cotton. There is no doubt but that the reverse was also true; and, although Cotton was eventually obliged to disavow her, precisely as a result of the synod of Cambridge in 1637 presided over by Thomas Hooker¹⁸⁷ and prayed for by his eventual son-in-law, Thomas Shep-

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁸⁷ In a letter of Thomas Hooker, a paragraph of which is preserved by Cotton Mather, we have recorded the only surviving saying of Mrs. Susanna Garbrand Hooker; and it by chance is an unfavorable allusion to the faction of Anne Hutchinson after the Cambridge synod of 1637. While Hooker and his wife were musing about the issue, what must have been an earth tremor shook the house for about eight

ard, Cotton continued to minimize means in his stress upon free grace and the initiative of the Holy Spirit in the soul's redemptive union with Christ.

Hooker, in contrast to Cotton, stressed these ecclesiastical and pious means, although he was most circumspect in avoiding the theological appearance, if not the substance, of carving out for the will, the affections, and the reason enough space and surely ample time in which to dispose the elect soul for the reception of the divine assuagement. I believe the evidence substantiates the hypothesis that Joan Drake was a factor in Hooker's divinity comparable to Anne Hutchinson in Cotton's.

Mrs. Drake for much of the last decade of her life could not but have appeared to all as an obvious member of the company of the reprobate. She not only professed to be of that company herself but she also by her conduct and conversation painfully substantiated the obvious surmise for all her sorrowing and troubled household. That there should be at least one palpable member of Satan's company in the Esher household would have been normal in any Augustinian-Calvinist-Puritan calculation that presupposed the true elect to be a minority over against the huge mass of perdition. And yet in the presence of a self-avowed reprobate, pretty and nimble as a sparrow-hawk, husband and parents, untold servants, and a dozen divines struggled against all evidence to the contrary to try to bring out in that physically and spiritually harassed unbeliever what they ardently hoped might yet be there — the spawn of faith. The final success of their combined ministrations, and notably perhaps those of Hooker himself, convinced him that the godly Puritan divine should consider even the most wayward and obstinate sinner elect until in God's time proved reprobate and that in that perhaps protracted period of uncertainty the minister should use every pious means.

Perry Miller in an article on " 'Preparation for Salvation' in Seventeenth-Century New England," declared: ¹²⁸

We should not be surprised that Thomas Hooker, the virtual dictator of Connecticut and one of the most socially minded among the early ministers, should be also the greatest analyst of souls, the most exquisite diagnostician of the

minutes, whereupon Mrs. Hooker said: "It is the devil that is displeas'd that we confer about this occasion." *Magnalia*, II, 519 f.

¹²⁸ *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV (1943), 253-286.

phases of regeneration, and above all the most explicit exponent of the doctrine of preparation.

Most recently Norman Pettit, devoting himself in *The Heart Prepared* (1966) wholly to an analysis of the pre-conversion phase in Puritan experimental divinity, has observed of Hooker:

Hooker, it is safe to say, wrote more on preparation than any other pastor in New England. What is more, he applied himself to the needs of the unregenerate with extraordinary vigor.¹³⁹

Out of his pastoral experience, the same writer takes care to note, Hooker recognized the diversity of the divine approach in salvation, God sometimes moving imperceptibly into the heart, sometimes by "grappling with the heart." In the latter case said Hooker:

If a man have been an outrageous, rebellious wretch, alas it is not a little matter will do the deed, it is not now and then a gracious promise that will break his heart; but the Lord must come down from heaven and break open the door by strong hands, by awakening his conscience, *that all the country rings of him.*¹⁴⁰

Or of *her*, we might add, recalling the *Firebrand*.

A third recent writer, Edmund Morgan in *Visible Saints*, has noted that in taking the large view of diverse approaches of the divine and in resisting the tendency in and about Boston to restrict church membership by experiential test, Hooker for a while stood alone. In offering an explanation of why Hooker left the Bay Colony for Connecticut, Morgan quotes from a contemporary account "that Hooker alone believed in 'any preparation in a Christian soule before his unyon with Christ' and that 'the rest of the Ministers do not concurr with him: Cotton and the rest of the contrary opinions are against him and his party in all.'" ¹⁴¹

As women are often behind men, for good or ill: Eve behind Adam, Anne Hutchinson behind John Cotton, Joan Drake behind Thomas Hooker, we conclude: it is not surprising indeed that Thomas Hooker should have been the most concerned with the various stages in the religious life of each troubled personality from preparation, through

¹³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁴⁰ *The Unbelievers Preparing for Christ* (London, 1638), II, 70; *The Soules Preparation*, pp. 180-181, quoted by Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life* (New Haven/London, 1966), p. 95.

¹⁴¹ From a document received in England in October 1637, preserved in the British Public Record Office and quoted from a microfilm by Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 97, note 58. See further, Williams, "Pilgrimage," No. 2, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

vocation, justification, regeneration, adoption, sanctification, and glorification,¹⁴² because he had learned much from the case of Mrs. Drake, and as a prophetic Puritan in piety and in politics he came to pray for and ministered to all God's children and their children's children, that, "called by His name, He leave them not."

¹⁴² Cf. the sequence in Miller, *loc. cit.*, p. 260.