

Articulating Community and Constructing the Church in the Manuscript Writings of Lucy
Hutchinson (1620-1681)

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Abstract

This thesis offers the first study of ecclesiology in the manuscript writings of Lucy Hutchinson (1620-1681). I argue that we can gain a new understanding of Hutchinson as a writer by focusing on the various ways in which she articulated associative practices. She did not write purely for her own spiritual benefit but imagined a context in which her manuscripts would intervene. Thus, this project asks three key questions: 1) How did Hutchinson transform her theological reading into her own expressions of ecclesiastical association? 2) How does the form and content of each text reflect the various contexts in which Hutchinson articulated her nonconformist ecclesiology? And 3) How far did the distinct forms of women's textual and material cultures facilitate Hutchinson's participation in the ecclesiastical debates of seventeenth-century England?

I am the first to give a comprehensive account of Hutchinson's career across the seventeenth century from the Royalist miscellany of her youth to her final published poem, *Order and Disorder* (1679). I argue that Hutchinson did not transform into a different kind of writer following the Restoration. Rather, we can trace continuities between her texts across the century. Furthermore, her later texts are not monolithic in their expressions of dissent; Hutchinson's ecclesiastical commitments were constantly developing, and she articulated different, and at times contradictory, notions of the church. In this thesis, I also posit a more precise dating and chronology for Hutchinson's post-1660 texts. Through this we can gain a clearer sense of the tensions within her own ecclesiastical convictions and explore how Hutchinson's texts were shaped by a precise, and determinable, set of socio-cultural influences. This study of Hutchinson's distinct articulations of God's Church, thus, helps to uncover the multifaceted and truly reactive nature of late-seventeenth-century nonconformity.

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Introduction

*Two sovereign champions here we find,
Satan and Christ contending for mankind.
Dividing all in two societies:
The little Church and the World's larger State
Pursuing it with ceaseless spite and hate.
Each party here erecting their own walls,
As one advances, so the other falls.¹*

In these lines of her epic biblical poem, *Order and Disorder*, Lucy Hutchinson (1620-1681) presents a world which has been completely divided from the very moment that God spoke the Protoevangelium recorded in Genesis 3:15: 'And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel'. Glossed in the Geneva Bible as 'Satan shall sting Christ and his members, but not overcome them', from the time of the Reformation this passage was believed to carry the implicit promise of Calvinist predestination and the final triumph of God's elected saints.² However, in Hutchinson's poem this promise manifests itself more tangibly, not simply in the spiritual distinction between the elect and reprobate according to God's providential plan, but in the physical distancing of God's saints. In this passage, that is, Hutchinson moves from discussions of a theological principle - predestination - into how that principle underpins a certain kind of ecclesiastical formation, God's church 'erecting their own walls' to separate themselves from earthly corruption.

¹ Lucy Hutchinson, *Order and Disorder*, ed. David Norbrook (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 5.85-89.

² Genesis 3:15, *Geneva Bible*. References to the marginalia of the 1599 Geneva Bible will be taken from the edition available online via <https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/1599-Geneva-Bible-GNV/>. This online edition is a replica of *The Bible translated according to the Ebrew and Greek* (London: Christopher Barker, 1599) with slightly modernised spelling following the 2006 Tolle Lege Press edition.

This thesis offers the first extensive study of the ways in which Hutchinson's theological texts transform doctrinal sentiments into ecclesiastical principles. It is the first project to explore not just the doctrines that Hutchinson drew from her extensive theological studies, but the use she put them to in her attempts to articulate new forms of church settlement in the late-seventeenth century. As such, my thesis raises questions concerning the relationship between theological and ecclesiastical beliefs in the seventeenth century as well as investigating the ways in which the distinctive textual culture of seventeenth-century England facilitated lay participation in the development of nonconformity. Turning to several generically distinct texts Hutchinson wrote between 1636 and 1675, from private notebook to published poem, the project will also explore the link between the forms of association that her different texts articulate and the precise material and socio-cultural context of Hutchinson's writing. As such, this project will demonstrate the truly reactive nature of late-seventeenth century dissenting ecclesiology as, at various times, Hutchinson reworked, adapted, and revised her ecclesiological beliefs in an ongoing attempt to define a nonconformist church settlement.

Lucy Hutchinson: Life and Texts

Born in the Tower of London in 1620, Lucy Hutchinson is now one of the best known female writers of the seventeenth century. A member of a Royalist family, Hutchinson lived in Richmond in her youth before her marriage to the Parliamentarian army officer, John Hutchinson, in 1638.³ Stationed in Nottingham during the Civil War, the couple were

³ Hutchinson's father, Allen Apsley (1566-1630), was the Lieutenant of the Tower of London under Charles I, and her brother - also Allen (1616-1683) - was a royalist army officer.

committed Republicans. John was one of the Regicides who supported the execution of Charles I. However, according to Hutchinson's own account, when Cromwell lost sight of the true Godly aim of the war and became too fixated on 'Tirannicall impositions' of his own during the Interregnum, the couple retreated into a secluded life on their Owthorpe estate.⁴ They were dragged back into public life with the return of Charles II; originally forgiven under the Act of Oblivion, John was imprisoned on suspicion of mounting a new plot against the Crown in 1664. He died in prison in September that year. Between 1664 and her death in 1681 Hutchinson lived between Nottinghamshire and London; it was during this later stage of her life that she composed most of the texts for which she is now so well-known.⁵

Dating Hutchinson's compositions has proved difficult. However, a rough chronology of her texts can be pinned onto this short summary of her life. In the mid-1630s, during her years living in Richmond, Hutchinson was involved in the social and textual network of the musician and member of the Court, Charles Coleman. At this time, and through her contact with this network, she began to compile her manuscript miscellany, DD/Hu1.⁶ In the mid-1640s Hutchinson wrote an account of John's 'services' to the county of Nottinghamshire, much of which would form the basis for the later *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel John Hutchinson (Memoirs)*.⁷ She then turned her attention to a translation of Lucretius' *De rerum Natura (DRN)*, most likely penned in the mid-1650s although not dedicated to Arthur Annesley, the Earl of Anglesey, until 1675; a poem denouncing a 'Lady who hath been

⁴ Lucy Hutchinson, autograph notebook, 'The Life of John Hutchinson of Owthorpe in the County of Nottingham esquire', DD/Hu4 (Nottinghamshire Archives), 253.

⁵ For a fuller biographical account of Hutchinson see, David Norbrook, 'Hutchinson [née Apsley], Lucy (1620-1681)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Online, 2004), and Norbrook's forthcoming biography of Hutchinson.

⁶ Lucy Hutchinson, 'commonplace book', DD/Hu1 (Nottinghamshire Archives).

⁷ Lucy Hutchinson, autograph notebook, 'The Biography of Colonel Hutchinson, Including Copies of Correspondence', Add. MS 25901 (British Library). Further fragments of this text can be found in Add. MS 39779, ff.42r-47v, Add. MS 46172, ff. 93r-96v (British Library), and NCR 1912-59 (Nottingham Castle Museum).

about' a translation of the poem appeared in a 1658 volume of verse.⁸ After John's death in 1664 Hutchinson wrote a series of *Elegies* (DD/Hu2), and the *Memoirs* (DD/Hu4).⁹ The next work we can date with some certainty is *The Principles of the Christian Religion* (PCR) a text addressed to her newly married daughter, Barbra.¹⁰ Barbra Hutchinson married Andrew Orgil in 1668, before they sailed for a new life in the West Indies. Hutchinson's other texts have proven harder to date with much more precision than simply 'post-1660'. This includes her translation of John Owen's complicated theological Latin text, *Theologoumena pantodapa, sive, De natura, ortu progressu, et studio verae theologiae, libri sex*, which she may have completed sometime after 1661 when the text was first printed, although there is a chance she had access to an early manuscript copy as her translation is not straightforwardly faithful.¹¹ Some texts in Hutchinson's theological notebook (DD/Hu3) are dated between 1667 and 1673, but others may exceed this boundary.¹² Her composition of her biblical epic *Order and Disorder* (OD) has been variously dated between 1664, when critics agree she started the work, and 1679 when the first five cantos appeared in print.¹³ With two chapters focused on the religious notebook and the final on OD, this thesis hopes to further our understanding of the order in which Hutchinson composed her post-1660 texts.

⁸ Lucy Hutchinson, scribal copy, 'On the Nature of Things', Add. MS 19333 (British Library). Aston Cokayne, 'To my ingenious Friend Mr. Alexander Brome on his Essay to translate Lucretius', in *Small poems of diverse sorts* (London: William Godbid, 1658), 204

⁹ Lucy Hutchinson, scribal copy, 'Elegies', DD/Hu2 (Nottinghamshire Archives).

¹⁰ Lucy Hutchinson, autograph manuscript, 'On the Principles of the Christian Religion', Fitzwilliam Collection, misc., volume 793 (Northamptonshire Record Office).

¹¹ John Owen, *Theologoumena pantodapa, sive, De natura, ortu progressu, et studio verae theologiae, libri sex* (Oxford: Henry Hall, 1661). For Hutchinson's translation of *Theologoumena* see David Norbrook, Elizabeth Clarke and Jane Stevenson (eds.), *The Collected Works of Lucy Hutchinson, Volume 2: Theological Writings and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 327-432. Henceforth *Works2*.

¹² Lucy Hutchinson, autograph notebook, 'Theological Notebook', DD/Hu3 (Nottinghamshire Archives).

¹³ Lucy Hutchinson, *Order and Disorder* (London: Margaret White, 1679). References to OD will be taken from Norbrook's edition unless otherwise stated. Critical opinions on the composition date of OD will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Broadly, however, as David Norbrook has noted, it was post-1660 when Hutchinson turned her attention to what we might term her ‘theological writings’.¹⁴ While this thesis will start with a discussion of Hutchinson’s earliest manuscript - her manuscript miscellany begun in the mid-1630s - as a means of illuminating the links between Hutchinson’s socio-cultural milieu and the texts she composed, these post-1660s texts will be the focus of the remaining chapters. The texts dealt with in full in this project are, thus, Hutchinson’s manuscript miscellany, the *Memoirs*, the theological notebook, and *OD*. The later texts are united by their Puritan theology, Hutchinson’s own doctrinal sentiments clearly having developed from her reading of Reformation texts. In each text Hutchinson articulates an adherence to Calvinist predestination, trinitarianism, millenarian beliefs, and a strict understanding of God’s divine providence. Most crucially for this thesis, however, in these texts Hutchinson also expresses her distaste for existing ecclesiastical structures: in the *Memoirs*, she depicts John’s rejection of the national church as he ‘neuer stir[ed] out of his own house’ for religious worship; in her notebook she ‘vtterly disowne[s]’ ‘parochiall and national Churches’; and in *OD*, organised worship is constantly depicted as corrupt, with God better worshiped in a field than a church.¹⁵ I have brought these texts together in this thesis as, in each one, Hutchinson not only rejects ‘incorrect’ forms of church settlement but articulates a new one.

Hutchinson’s other major theological text, the *PCR*, is not given its own chapter in this thesis. Written for her daughter in the genre of a ‘mother’s legacy’, *PCR* is the most theologically conservative of Hutchinson’s post-1660s texts. Elizabeth Clarke has noted that ‘there is very little in this theological treatise that is specifically designed for a political interpretation; it is

¹⁴ David Norbrook, ‘Introduction’, in David Norbrook and Reid Barbour (eds.), *The Works of Lucy Hutchinson Volume 1: Translation of Lucretius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), cviii. Henceforth *Works I*.

¹⁵ DD/Hu4, 382. DD/Hu3, 100-101. See, for example, *OD*, 15.15-20.

a very personal theology'.¹⁶ In it, Hutchinson advises her daughter not to shun organised worship and to 'exercise vniversall loue to euery member of Christ vnder what denomination soeuer you find them'.¹⁷ Furthermore, we are now missing, or Hutchinson never wrote, the second part of the treatise in which she would have discussed ecclesiastical practices. *PCR* is also the most critically discussed of Hutchinson's religious texts, even more so than *OD*; in this thesis I wanted to give space to the lesser studied theological notebook. This is not to say that *PCR* is unimportant to this study. On the contrary, it will be woven into the exploration of the other texts and discussed alongside them. This is especially true in Chapters 3 and 4 as much of the text in *PCR* arose from the theological studies Hutchinson documented in her theological notebook. In this way, *PCR* is important throughout this thesis as a demonstration of the ways in which Hutchinson reused and adapted her ideas within different material settings.

1806-2021: Critical attention

Hutchinson's works were first brought to our attention with the publication of the *Memoirs* in 1806.¹⁸ Edited by her great-great nephew, Julius Hutchinson, who had discovered the manuscripts in his family home, Hatfield Woodhall, the *Memoirs* was popular among its nineteenth century audience. Sadly, the same cannot be said for the *Principles of Christian Religion and On Theology* that Julius published eleven years later.¹⁹ The work was deemed too Calvinist, the 'notions of religion ... sufficient to eclipse the brightest and stagger the

¹⁶ Elizabeth Clarke, 'Contextualizing the Woman Writer: Editing Lucy Hutchinson's Religious Prose', in *Editing Early Modern Women*, ed. Sarah C. E. Ross and Paul Salzman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 86.

¹⁷ Hutchinson, 'PCR', in *Works*2, 191.

¹⁸ Lucy Hutchinson, *The Memoirs of the Life of Colonel John Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle and Town ... Written by his Widow, Lucy*, ed. Julius Hutchinson (London: Longman, 1806).

¹⁹ Lucy Hutchinson, *On The Principles of the Christian Religion ... and On Theology*, ed. Julius Hutchinson (London: Longman, 1817).

plainest understanding'.²⁰ Despite her original popularity Hutchinson remained a somewhat obscure figure until 1999 when Norbrook, the preeminent Hutchinson scholar, identified her as the author of the epic biblical poem, *OD* (1679).²¹ Producing an edited version of the poem in 2001, Norbrook sparked the scholarly interest in Hutchinson that has burgeoned since. This discovery, alongside that of Kate Narveson's that *On Theology* was a translation of John Owen's *Theologoumena Pantodapa* (1661), transformed our understanding and expectations of Hutchinson as a writer.²² Christopher Hill wrote in 1984 that he was 'disappointed not to be able to find any woman who left adequate evidence of her experience of defeat'; 'Lucy Hutchinson should have been a candidate, but in her *Memoirs* of her husband she is far too concerned to cover up the Colonel's weaknesses to allow her own views to come through.'²³ The identification of *OD*, the discovery of Hutchinson's close social or textual links with Owen, and growing scholarly understanding of the importance of manuscript texts, have laid to rest Hill's disappointment, and highlighted the importance of Hutchinson to our understanding of Republican experiences of the late-seventeenth century. Furthermore, the large body of scholarship on the *Memoirs* in recent years has disproved Hill's belief that the text does not allow Hutchinson to express her own views. The text is now considered to show Hutchinson - not just her husband - engaged in the central religio-political issues of her age, the text a product of a nonconformist writer rather than simply a loving wife. Even Hutchinson's self-deprecating depiction of herself being but a 'shade' of her husband has

²⁰ *Monthly Review* 86 (August, 1818), 434-5.

²¹ David Norbrook, "'A devine Originall': Lucy Hutchinson and the 'woman's version'", *Times Literary Supplement* (19 March, 1999), 13-15. John Burrows and Hugh Craig used computational methods to prove Hutchinson's authorship in 2001: "'Among the untrodden ways": Lucy Hutchinson and the Authorship of Two Seventeenth-Century Poems', *The Seventeenth Century* 16 (2001), 259-282. The poem had previously been attributed to Hutchinson's brother, Allen Apsley, following the account of Anthony Wood: *Fasti Oxonienses, or Annals of the University of Oxford ... from the year 1641 to the year 1691* (London: Lackington, 1820), 271.

²² Kate Narveson, 'The Source for Lucy Hutchinson's *On Theology*', *Notes and Queries* (March 1989), 40-41.

²³ Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (London: Verso, 2016), 9.

been newly understood as the result of her specific conception of scriptural truth, a deployment of a specifically post-Restoration political rhetoric.²⁴

Thus, four hundred years after her birth we have come to understand Hutchinson's texts as more than, as her first editor wrote, the expressions of a 'wife, a mother, a mistress of a family'.²⁵ As Robert Wilcher recently noted, 'Robert Walker's painting of Lucy Hutchinson, designed as a companion to his portrait of Colonel Hutchinson in armour, fittingly depicts her with a child at her knee and a poet's laurel wreath in her hands'.²⁶ The literary and theological depth of Hutchinson's writing has now been appreciated, and she has taken her place among the canon of seventeenth-century writers. Alongside a growing body of critical essays, Hutchinson's texts can now be found in anthologies of women's writing, including the 2001 collection, *Early Modern Women Poets: an Anthology*, and in the more recent, *Women Poets of the English Civil War*.²⁷

Interest in Hutchinson has only grown with the recent publication of the first two volumes of a four volume Oxford edition of her works edited by Norbrook.²⁸ The first volume republished her translation of *DRN* while the second contains her theological writings,

²⁴ See, Katherine Gillespie, 'Shades of Representation: Lucy Hutchinson's Ghost and the Politics of the Representative', in *Milton Now: Alternative Approaches and Contexts*, ed. Catherine Gray and Erin Murphy, 195-214 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), and David Norbrook, 'But a Copie': Textual Authority and Gender in Editions of *The Life of John Hutchinson*, in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. W. Speed Hill, 109-130 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004).

²⁵ Julius Hutchinson, 'Introduction', in *The Memoirs*, ed. Julius, xiv.

²⁶ Robert Wilcher, 'Lucy Hutchinson', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 373. This painting is in a private collection, but an engraving is held at the National Portrait Gallery: Samuel Freeman, stipple engraving, 'Lucy Hutchinson', c.1825-1850, NPG D19953.

²⁷ Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson (eds.), *Early Modern Women Poets: an Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Sarah C.E Ross and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (eds.), *Women Poets of the English Civil War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

²⁸ *Works1, Works2*, David Norbrook and Martyn Bennet (eds.), *The Works of Lucy Hutchinson Volume 3: The Memoirs of the Life of Colonel John Hutchinson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming), and David Norbrook (ed.), *The Works of Lucy Hutchinson Volume 4: Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming).

including new editions of *PCR* and *On Theology* alongside sections from her theological notebook published for the first time. The large introductions to these volumes have done much to situate Hutchinson's texts within the contexts in which they were written, detailing the socio-cultural details of her life - work which will be furthered by Norbrook's forthcoming biography. The first monograph on Hutchinson is also forthcoming: Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille's *Lucy Hutchinson and the English Revolution: Gender, Genre and History-writing*.²⁹

My thesis, then, comes at a time when the intellectual complexity and depth of Hutchinson's writing has been appreciated in scholarship, her place among early modern women writers established, and the ramifications of her writing to our broader understanding of seventeenth century dissent acknowledged. However, there has been a focus on Hutchinson's texts which has somewhat overlooked the materiality of her writing. This has been exacerbated by, and has encouraged, a scholarly focus on Hutchinson's more 'complete' texts, the *Memoirs*, *PCR*, and *OD*, while her 'messier' manuscript texts, noticeably her theological notebook, have been overlooked. This has had the double effect of skewing scholarship away from an attention to Hutchinson's texts as material objects, and of narrowing our focus onto the texts she composed post-1660. Hutchinson has, thus, not been viewed as a key figure in scholarship's growing understanding of female manuscript culture.³⁰ My thesis hopes to address this imbalance, firstly by exploring Hutchinson's career across the seventeenth century, from the compilation of her early manuscript miscellany in 1636 to the publication of *OD* in 1675.

²⁹ Title subject to revision.

³⁰ Hutchinson's admission that she had 'not time to point[punctuate]' *PCR* forms the title of Alice Eardley's chapter on manuscript verse, but Hutchinson's texts are not further considered: "'I haue not time to point yr booke ... which I desire you yourselfe to doe'": Editing the Form of Early Modern Manuscript Verse', in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Scott-Baumann and Ben Burton, 162-178 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Other recent studies of women's manuscript cultures include Patricia Pender and P. Smith (eds.), *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), and Jonathan Gibson and Victoria E. Burke (eds.), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/ Trent Colloquium* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016).

Furthermore, I will bring precise attention to the materiality of her texts, arguing that their physical forms and the contexts in which they were composed are inseparable from their contents.

There has been a focus too, on the theology of Hutchinson's texts. This has proved a fertile ground for study, engaging scholarship on Hutchinson in the wider debates of female bible reading, and the role of women's religious writing in early modern England.³¹ Yet, from the first, Hutchinson has been viewed as 'fiercely Puritan', her writings all expressing more or less the same theological principles if in different forms.³² My thesis will intervene in the scholarly picture we have of Hutchinson as a committed Puritan in two ways. Firstly, exploring the ecclesiology that grew from her theological principles, I argue that we can find distinctions between Hutchinson's works, even those composed post-1660. Secondly, focused on the materiality of her texts, I will explore how that ecclesiology has emerged in response to certain socio-cultural influences, her articulated theological notions not simply the outcome of deeply held personal convictions.

As such, my thesis intervenes in three main areas of scholarship: the study of early modern women's literary culture; the study of material texts; and the study of the development of nonconformity in seventeenth-century England. In this thesis I will work across these different areas of study, demonstrating not simply Hutchinson's importance to them, but the ways in which her texts can develop, or even reconfigure, our scholarly understanding.

³¹ See, Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 'Lucy Hutchinson, the Bible and *Order and Disorder*', in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680*, ed. Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 170-201 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Shannon Miller, *Engendering the Fall: John Milton and Seventeenth-Century Women Writers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), chapter 4, and Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 180-208.

³² David Norbrook, 'The Poem and its Contexts', in *Order and Disorder*, xii.

From the detailing of her compositions above, we can see that Hutchinson's oeuvre is stylistically and generically eclectic in a fashion we have come to expect from early modern writers. Hutchinson's surviving texts support Helen Wilcox's assertion that 'early modern women wrote in a variety of literary forms - a much wider and more ambitious range, in fact, than previous generations of critics have assumed'.³³ In the selection of texts chosen to include in this thesis we will encounter Hutchinson writing biography, history, religious polemic, Confessional documents with their roots in the early years of Christianity, and epic poetry. While I would not argue, as Lara Dodds does of Hutchinson's contemporary, Margaret Cavendish, that she was playful with genre, 'purposefully demonstrating and erasing the boundaries between' them, this thesis will seek to explore Hutchinson's chosen genre in each case, arguing that it has been picked with care to underpin the content or purpose of each text.³⁴

Similarly, this thesis will pay close attention to the materiality of Hutchinson's texts. Her works, excluding the first five Cantos of *OD*, were never published during her lifetime. Her Lucretius translation, a further 12 Cantos of *OD*, and *PCR* were disseminated in manuscript, while her other works were, perhaps, never shared at all. Handwritten, often unfinished - especially to a modern eye - and some only existing in nineteenth century print editions, to study Hutchinson's works is to study what Julia Coffey has termed 'the scattered textual

³³ Helen Wilcox, "'Free and Easy as ones discourse'?: Genre and Self-Expression in the Poems and Letters of Early Modern Englishwomen", in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (New York: Ashgate, 2007), 17.

³⁴ Laura Dodds, 'Margaret Cavendish's Domestic Experiment', in *Genre and Women's Life-Writing in Early Modern England*, 143.

remains left by female authors'.³⁵ It was this kind of fragmentation, both stylistic and often literal, that pushed scholarship to re-evaluate women's writing before 1800. From the mid-1990s, it was recognised that women's writing often did not align with modern 'concepts of authorship and modes of production' but, by being so, was no less valuable.³⁶ Indeed, the historicist focus of much current scholarship, alongside the burgeoning studies of material texts and book history, has encouraged us to bring this same re-evaluation to male-authored works of the same period, re-examining our expectations of manuscript circulation in general.³⁷ We have moved far beyond the expectation that unpublished means private, or that manuscript texts are simply works that never made it to publication by virtue of being too politically dangerous. As Victoria Burke argued in her 2013 article, recent attention to manuscript writing has led to a 'canon' of women writers which is more representative of 'common literary practice'.³⁸

Previous scholarly work reclaiming the importance of both women's writing and manuscript production allows this thesis a certain freedom - not to ignore these issues, but to push beyond them. In writing about Hutchinson, I pursue an 'androgynous' focus as defined by Ezell, a focus made possible as the act of 'reclaiming' Hutchinson as a female writer has already been performed.³⁹ In no way does this mean that I seek to ignore her status as a woman, and the effect this will have had on her engagement with both literary and

³⁵ Julia Boffey, 'Women Authors and Women's Literacy in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 159.

³⁶ Danielle Clarke, 'Nostalgia, Anachronism, and the Editing of Early Modern Women's Texts', *Text* 15 (2003), 190. A leading work in this re-evaluation was Margaret Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (New York: John Hopkins University Press, 1993).

³⁷ Harold Love led the way in re-examining the efficacy of manuscript circulation, arguing that the work could be published - made public - while not printed. Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), Harold Love, 'Scribal Texts and Literary Communities: The Rochester Circle and Osborn b. 105', *Studies in Bibliography* 42 (1989), 219-235.

³⁸ Victoria Burke, 'Women and Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Culture: Four Miscellanies', *The Seventeenth Century* 12, no. 2 (2013), 135.

³⁹ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, 24.

ecclesiological culture. Rather, this is a reflection of the fact that we can now move beyond explorations of the limiting effect of gender to explore the concept that early modern women's literary culture may have been as complex and intellectually rich as men's.

This approach is possible thanks to many years of scholarship which has unpicked the gendered ramifications of Hutchinson's writing and placed her among the growing canon of early modern women writers. Hutchinson and Anne Clifford have been brought together in Mihoko Suzuki's edited volume for the Ashgate series on early modern women, the chapter titles demonstrating the collection's focus on gender: 'Lucy Hutchinson, women's writing, and the Civil War', 'textual authority and gender in editions of the Life of John Hutchinson', 'Lucy Hutchinson's response to patriarchal theory in *Order and Disorder*', 'Lucy Hutchinson's Elegies and the Situation of the republican woman writer'.⁴⁰ These essays illuminate the influence Hutchinson's gender may have had on her writing, while also broadening our understanding of the versatility of early modern women's textual culture. That is, Hutchinson has been used among others to shift our expectations of the cultural engagement of early modern women, creating a broader picture of their 'discursive horizons'.⁴¹ Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, for example, has studied the poetic form of *OD*, to argue for a broader understanding of women's 'close engagement with their literary and intellectual culture', while studies of *DRN* have frequently stressed the translation's ability to push at our expectations of women's engagement in materialism and Epicurean philosophy.⁴²

⁴⁰ Mihoko Suzuki (ed.), *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700, Volume 5: Anne Clifford and Lucy Hutchinson* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016).

⁴¹ Kate Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), chapter 5 (119).

⁴² Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement: Women, Poetry and Culture 1640-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3. Cassandra Gorman has explored Hutchinson's engagement with Lucretian materialism in 'Lucy Hutchinson, Lucretius and Soteriological Materialism', *The Seventeenth Century* 28, no. 3 (2013), 293-309. Jonathan Goldberg has similarly placed Hutchinson among a group of materialist writers - male and female - in *The Seeds of Things: Theorizing Sexuality and Materiality in Renaissance Representations* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2021).

The introductions to the new Oxford editions of Hutchinson's works frequently explore the light the texts can shed on women's reading practices citing, for example, the influence of other Epicurean works on Hutchinson's Lucretius translation or that of William Perkins on her original statements of faith in DD/Hu3. Works such as these, then, use a focus on Hutchinson's gender to re-evaluate long held convictions about the engagement of women in particular literary forms and modes.

Material Texts and Manuscript Circulation

Our interest in early modern women's writing has burgeoned as our understanding of manuscript circulation developed. Harold Love was among the first to posit the suggestion that our binary understanding of print versus manuscript may have been misconceived. He proved that manuscript texts were not necessarily private and that 'published' should not only apply to printed texts; rather, the textual networks of the early modern period were well suited to the dissemination of texts in manuscript, and it was more than possible for works to be 'scribally published'.⁴³ We have contemporary evidence for the public nature of manuscript texts in Roger L'Estrange's (Licenser of the Press for Charles II) complaint against them in 1675. Giving testimony to the House of Lords on the dangers of scribally produced libels, L'Estrange stressed that

The Question of Libells, extends it selfe (I conceive) to manuscripts, as well as Prints; as being the more mischevious of the Two for they are commonly so bitter, and dangerous, that not one of forty of them ever comes to y^e Presse, and yet by y^e help of Transcripts, they are well nigh as Publique⁴⁴

⁴³ Love, *Scribal Publication*, 33.

⁴⁴ 'Mr L'Estrange, 'Proposition concerning Libells, &c,' 11 November 1675, paraphrased in HMC, 8th Rep., App., p. 66b.

Our reassessment of scribal publication has resulted in a new understanding of the possibly public nature of women's writing, much of which remained in manuscript. No longer is this seen simply as the result of the confines of gender, print deemed too risky a way for women to disseminate their texts for fear of 'being thought a monster'.⁴⁵ Rather it can be seen as the result of a deliberate choice, the autograph manuscript or scribal copy conceptualised as a 'published' text. Hutchinson, her texts almost solely surviving in manuscript, has been brought into this reassessment as several of her texts were clearly designed for an audience: *PCR* is addressed to her daughter, her translation of *DRN* was dedicated to Sir Arthur Annesley, and a presentation copy of *OD* given to Anne Rochester sometime after 1664.⁴⁶ While manuscript copies, these texts are not private in any strict sense.

This conception of manuscript circulation, then, has led to a renewed understanding of several of Hutchinson's texts. Hutchinson's reply to Waller's panegyric, which survives in a manuscript in the Hyde family papers, is better understood in the light of Love's assertions about scribal publication; Norbrook has shown an understanding of manuscript culture allows for a fuller picture of Hutchinson's social circle to emerge from a study of this poem.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Norbrook has also demonstrated that fuller understanding of the conventions of manuscript dedication allows for a new reading of her dedication of *DRN* as one which 'reinforces her authority even when it appears to undermine it': 'the more she emphasises her error in translating Lucretius, the less she needs to adopt the conventional stance of inadequacy in relation to the author translated'.⁴⁸ Reid Barbour similarly posits the dedication as a gloss to the whole poem, a crafted piece of prose 'on how the poem should be read,

⁴⁵ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Hogarth Press, 1935), 87.

⁴⁶ Lucy Hutchinson, scribal copy, 'Order and Disorder', MS fb. 100 (Beinecke Library).

⁴⁷ See Norbrook, 'Lucy Hutchinson verses Edmund Waller: an Unpublished reply to Waller's *A Panegyric to my Lord Protector*', *The Seventeenth Century* 11, no.1 (1996), 61-86, and Norbrook, 'Introduction', in *Works I*, cxiii.

⁴⁸ Norbrook, 'Introduction', in *Works I*, cxvii.

namely, in refutation of the poem's own doctrine and by extension those Restoration libertines who live without regard for God or grace'.⁴⁹ Clarke pays equally close attention to manuscript conventions in her introduction to *PCR*, raising the suggestion that Hutchinson may have intended a wider audience than just her daughter and, indeed, that she may have bequeathed a copy to the Earl of Anglesey in a move 'which would be characteristic of an instinct to use every piece of writing in the most profitable way'.⁵⁰ It is only through the steps made to unpick the conventions of manuscript circulation that Hutchinson's texts can be seen in this light.

Scholarship is less forthcoming on the ways in which - conversely - Hutchinson's texts can further illuminate our growing understanding of 'scribal publication'. Her writings, for example, make no appearance in Jonathan Gibson and Victoria E. Burke's, *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing* (2004).⁵¹ While the second volume of her collected works acknowledges Hutchinson's importance in helping us to further understand 'the manuscript medium of household publication', it loses something by presenting 'texts Hutchinson originally wrote in three different manuscripts', and - understandably in an edited collection - omitting some sections of her religious notebook, 'most of whose sources remain to be determined and whose abbreviations and lack of context made for hard reading'.⁵² As has been well explored, the shift into an edited collection makes a writer's work much more accessible, but often belies the complexity of 'messy volumes', removing clues that 'the volume was intended to be read by others and was used by women for a much more complicated life record than its classification suggests'.⁵³ Jennifer Louis Heller does include

⁴⁹ Reid Barbour, 'Between Atoms and the Spirit: Lucy Hutchinson's Translation of Lucretius', in *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700*, 347.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Clarke, 'Introduction: on the Principles of the Christian Religion', in *Works2*, 158.

⁵¹ Gibson and Burke (eds.), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing*.

⁵² Norbrook, 'Introduction', in *Works2*, xx-xxi.

⁵³ Margaret Ezell, 'Domestic Papers: Manuscript Culture and Early Modern Women's Life Writing', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, 41-2.

PCR in her study, *The Mother's Legacy in Early Modern England*, a work in which she explores both how the emergence of the genre demonstrates women's creative flexibility and that their texts were public - even if in a somewhat limited sense - as they were addressed to children. Heller treats both manuscript and print texts in her study, understanding both to have been disseminated and therefore neither form to have been private.⁵⁴ Heller uses Hutchinson's suppression of her classical learning in favour of religious piety in *PCR* as one means to argue for a distinct genre of 'mother's legacy', the conventions of which had to be met. However, Heller is somewhat rare in her inclusion of Hutchinson in a volume which seeks to reassess women's manuscript writing in this overarching way. Arguably Hutchinson is an author who, like Katherine Phillips, can aid scholarly understanding of the public nature of manuscript texts. Furthermore, an acceptance of the 'messiness' of her texts seems imperative to a full understanding of the context of their composition and possible wider purpose. This is work I hope to continue in this thesis as I explore some of Hutchinson's manuscripts which remain viewed as private copies with an eye to the possibility that they were either disseminated more widely or, at least, *intended* to be - I will treat these manuscripts, as far as possible, as whole volumes, material objects, whose physical makeup as much as content can help us understand their purpose.

Early Modern Devotion and Theology

While scholarship always acknowledges the Puritanism of Hutchinson's writing, she is noticeably missing from studies of religious writing in the early modern period. The only

⁵⁴ Jennifer Louise Heller, *The Mother's Legacy in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 1. On Hutchinson see 28-35, and 151-2.

dedicated study of Hutchinson's theological writings is included in the second volume of her collected works. Norbrook's general introduction, alongside the introductions to the separate texts, detail her doctrinal convictions and situate these within her contemporary experience of Puritanism and against the longer legacy of the Reformation.⁵⁵ The excellent work done in this volume is yet to encourage the wider inclusion of Hutchinson in volumes alongside other examples of lay or female religious writing despite Norbrook noting that the texts 'throw light on what Narveson has described as the 'quiet revolution' of lay self-education in the mysteries of theology ... and more particularly on the role of women in this process'.⁵⁶ As such, Erica Longfellow and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann are still rather singular in dedicating a whole chapter to Hutchinson in books concerned with women's religious writing. Longfellow includes a chapter on Hutchinson in her book, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England*, a work which 'challenges critical assumptions about the role of religion in shaping women's experiences of authorship'.⁵⁷ In her chapter on Hutchinson's *Elegies*, Longfellow argues that a precise reading of Hutchinson's 'theological hierarchy' can aid in scholarly explorations of the extent to which 'it was possible for women to conform to ... conventional models of wifely inferiority and submission and yet still develop an outspoken voice'.⁵⁸ Scott-Baumann, in her collection on *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680* co-edited with Johanna Harris, explores Hutchinson's use of scripture in *OD* to ask how she responds to the intellectual culture of the 1660s which had seen developments in biblical interpretation.⁵⁹ Yet Hutchinson is frequently omitted from studies of religious texts in early modern England, even those which focus on women's writing, for example, Anne Kimberly Coles' 2010 *Religion, Reform and Women's Writing in Early Modern England*,

⁵⁵ *Works2*, xv-xxi, 3-49, 157-188, and 277-326.

⁵⁶ Norbrook, 'Introduction', in *Works2*, xix, citing Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*, 70.

⁵⁷ Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing*, i.

⁵⁸ Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing*, 180.

⁵⁹ Scott-Baumann, 'Lucy Hutchinson, the Bible and *Order and Disorder*', 176-189.

which contains chapters on Anne Askew, Katherine Parr, Mary Sidney Herbert, Anne Lok, and Aemilia Lanyer.⁶⁰ Indeed, of the five works listed on Hutchinson's CEMS page concerned with the theology of *PCR*, it is notable that two do not mention her writing but rather provide context for her text.⁶¹

Yet, with scholars such as Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe rightly noting the lack of 'extant personal spiritual writing', and stressing even thirty years ago that what we have now must be 'but a remnant of what must have been a large body of literature', it seems odd that more attention from scholars of religious writing has not been turned to Hutchinson's theological notebook, *PCR*, or even *OD*.⁶² Lack of extant evidence of lay religious writing continues to be noted by scholars such as Francis Bremer who has worked to detail the experience of the laity through explorations of their spiritual testimonies, and the problem becomes more acute when we search for surviving texts by female writers.⁶³ Indeed, given that we estimate that women heavily outnumbered men in most nonconformist congregations, 'sometimes by two to one', evidence of their participation - whether sermon notes or original theological writings - are relatively scarce.⁶⁴ And yet, Hutchinson can provide us with both.

Arguably there are two binaries which have aided in the exclusion of Hutchinson's works from studies of religious texts: 1) an assumption that women's religious writing of the period is devotional rather than theological, and 2) that theological works with influence were

⁶⁰ Anne Kimberly Coles, *Religion, Reform, and Women's Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁶¹ 'Bibliography of Lucy Hutchinson', CEMS, University of Oxford, accessed 23 September 2021, <https://earlymodern.web.ox.ac.uk/bibliography-lucy-hutchinson>.

⁶² Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth Century New England* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982), 188.

⁶³ Francis Bremer, "'To Tell What God Hath Done for Thy Soul': Puritan Spiritual Testimonies as Admission Tests and Means of Edification", *The New England Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (December, 2014), 625-665, and *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁶⁴ Patricia Crawford, 'Historians, Women and the Civil War Sects, 1640-1660', *Parergon* 6 (1998), 24.

printed texts penned by theologians. ‘Devotional’ texts have been those perceived to aid private religious practice, or piety, written for the writer’s own spiritual growth or that of their family. Thus, devotional has often been synonymised with domestic or private as in Marco Faini and Alessia Meneghin’s study of *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World*, or Alec Ryrie and Jessica Martin’s *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern England*.⁶⁵ Martin and Ryrie define their edited collection of essays as concerning ‘how people in early modern England and Scotland prayed when they weren’t in church’.⁶⁶ Broadening from this focus on prayer, Andrew Cambers has shown that devotional practices can also be traced through the reading materials of early modern households, with chapters in his book *Godly Reading*, on ‘Domestic spaces and private reading’, and ‘Reading in the family’.⁶⁷ Similarly Hambrick-Stowe explores the more active form of ‘self-examination’, texts written by individuals which charted their repentance and ‘the further salvific role of God in the soul’.⁶⁸ Arguably sermon notebooks are also testament to private devotional practices as, while not original compositions, the notebooks themselves supported personal engagement with the works of ministers. Indeed, as Arnold Hunt notes, repetition of sermons could be a very active form of private devotion as ‘it enabled the hearer to encounter the sermon all over again, or even to preach it over again to themselves’. This need not be an individual activity but could be ‘collaborative ... [as] groups of hearers came together to compare notes on the sermon they had just heard ... with a copy of the Bible ready at hand to check the scriptural proofs’.⁶⁹ While studies of devotional practices often include both men

⁶⁵ Marco Faini and Alessia Meneghin (eds.), *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie, *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

⁶⁶ Martin and Ryrie, *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, 1

⁶⁷ Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript, and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 39-118.

⁶⁸ Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety*, 168.

⁶⁹ Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 73.

and women, the focus on devotion as a household activity has made it fertile ground for the study of women's writing in particular.

Certainly, an assumption that women were particularly involved in devotional forms of writing is not wrong, nor is the belief that these private forms of participation in religion allowed women to engage in literary culture in new ways. This kind of 'personal spiritual writing' has been defined by Hambrick-Stowe as that which 'recorded ordinary events and remarkable providences', 'which could provide clues to God's plan for the soul', and which kept 'track of public worship and private devotional activity'.⁷⁰ Yet, Hutchinson's writing - except, perhaps, *PCR* - does not fit into this pattern of devotional literature. The OED defines 'devotion' as 'the fact or quality of being devoted to religious observances and duties; religious devotedness or earnestness; reverence; devoutness', or as 'Religious worship or observance; prayer and praise; divine worship'.⁷¹ Theology, on the other hand, it defines as 'the Study or science which treats of God, His nature and attributes, and His relations with man and the universe; 'the science of things divine (Hooker); divinity'.⁷² That is, devotion is *practical*, theology *intellectual*; the former to do with practice, the latter concerned with knowledge and ways of knowing. Hutchinson's writing, as this thesis will demonstrate, is theological in a manner unexpected of early modern women's writing, not detailing her own spiritual journey or religious practices, but engaging intellectually with theological questions and ideas. This has been acknowledged in the title of the second volume of her collected works: *The Theological Writings*.

⁷⁰ Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety*, 187.

⁷¹ 'Devotion, n.', 1.a and 2.a, *OED Online* (2021).

⁷² 'Theology, n.', 1.a, *OED Online* (2021).

Hutchinson has also been overlooked in studies of theology in early modern England. This is generally true of women writers in general - excluding, perhaps, the Quaker women surrounding Margaret Fell.⁷³ Studies detailing the development of nonconformist theology have in general omitted texts by women. This is in part due to the acknowledged lack of surviving materials, but also perhaps due to the assumption that women's religious writing, when it does survive, is devotional. There has also been a real focus in studies of nonconformist theology on printed works, which also skews the focus in favour of men. Christopher Hill and N. H. Keeble cannot be blamed for their omission of Hutchinson from their leading texts on the development of theology in the seventeenth century, their works published before much of her writing had been discovered. Yet, their texts demonstrate the accepted canon of 'theologians' or 'theological writers' from which our understanding of early modern dissent had emerged: the ministers John Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Richard Baxter, George Fox and James Nayler, the poets John Milton and Andrew Marvell.⁷⁴ This focus is repeated in more contemporary works such as Tim Cooper's, *John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity* and George Southcombe's *The Culture of Dissent in Restoration England* which focus on the works of (male) ministers.⁷⁵

With this focus comes the assumption that the laity, while involved in religious life, were not active in the formation of nonconformist theology. Bremer has been something of a lone voice in tackling this assumption with his monograph *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism*, in which he challenges the belief that Puritanism was shaped

⁷³ For an overview of recent scholarship on Quaker women see Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill, 'Introduction', in *New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650-1800*, eds. Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill, 1-12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁷⁴ Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries*, N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth Century England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987).

⁷⁵ Tim Cooper, *John Owen, Richard Baxter, and the Formation of Nonconformity* (New York: Routledge, 2013); George Southcombe, *The Culture of Dissent in Restoration England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2020).

entirely by the clergy, and argues that ‘at times in England during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries it was the laity that drove the movement forward insisting on reforms where some clergymen were willing to temporize’⁷⁶ Yet, even in Bremer’s study, texts *written* by women are barely acknowledged, his arguments for their involvement in the formation of Puritanism stemming from reports written by male ministers, judicial cases, and sermons which commemorated female lives.⁷⁷ He cites just three printed works by women, Katherin Chidley’s *Justification of the Independent Churches*, Katherine Sutton’s *A Christian Womans Experiences of the glorious working of Gods free grace* and Anna Trapnell’s *A Legacy for saints: being several experiences of the dealings of God with Anna Trapnell*, conforming to his own experience that scholarship has looked ‘at various ways in which laymen (and some women) played a role in the religious history’ of England.⁷⁸

The omission of lay texts noted by Bremer, and women’s writing in particular, seems to stem from the search for historically significant texts, the reaction to which can be traced in polemical replies, further literary engagement or readership (traceable in owned copies and commonplace books); Cooper’s study of Owen and Baxter, for example, focuses often on their texts which reply to the other. But Hutchinson was not, as Owen and Baxter were, a renowned theological figure in her own day. We cannot, then, to the same degree, look outwards from her own works expecting to discover her contemporary influence on the thoughts and writings of others. Yet, as part of this thesis, I hope to demonstrate the ways in which more private forms of writing can be incorporated into our study of theology.

⁷⁶ Bremer, *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism*, 178.

⁷⁷ Bremer, *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism*, 118-120.

⁷⁸ Bremer, *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism*, 3 He cites, Katherin Chidley *Justification of the Independent Churches of Christ being an answer to Mr. Edwards his booke* (London: William Larnar, 1641); Katherine Sutton’s *A Christian Womans Experiences of the glorious working of Gods free grace* (Rotterdam: Henry Goddaeus, 1663); and Anna Trapnell, *A Legacy for saints: being several experiences of the dealings of God with Anna Trapnell* (London: T. Brewster, 1654).

This means, in a sense, reclassifying how we think of the significance of a text. While much work has been done to uncover the wide reach and social and literary influence of what we would term unpublished texts, it remains hard to argue that Hutchinson's theological works had much contemporaneous resonance. This is not to say that we do not have evidence of the dissemination of Hutchinson's texts. But this was limited in scope, at times to the smallest level of her family and, in the case of her theological notebook, we have no proof that it was shared at all.

I suggest that, in our study of women's writing, we at times need to almost to reverse our methods, exploring the details of the text, and its material form, to reconstruct the intended audience. The texts discussed in this thesis do not appear to be examples of introspective writing composed purely for the intellectual exercise of the writer. Rather, as this project will argue, each text - or rather, manuscript - even if privately kept, was written and designed with a particular purpose in mind; each text discussed here, in form and content, allowed Hutchinson to articulate and construct new forms of association, real or imaginary. Though this thesis I will suggest some new ways of exploring the significance of a text to the benefit, I hope, of our understanding of Hutchinson's engagement in both early modern literary culture and the development of nonconformity.

This positing of Hutchinson's texts as significant in this performative way, relies on a recognition that her post-1660 texts, while deeply theological in content, step beyond this and *use* the theological doctrines they contain to argue for a new ecclesiastical settlement. It is this which moves the texts beyond examples of a layperson engaging intellectually in theological matters, to texts engaged fundamentally with the construction of the

nonconformist church in the late-seventeenth century. Simply put, ‘theology’ concerns the nature of God, with ‘theological’ writing detailing the doctrinal principles which underpin certain modes of belief; ‘ecclesiology’, concerns the nature of the church or churches, with ‘ecclesiastical writing’ - or ‘ecclesiastic’ writing to use the seventeenth-century term - ‘concerned with the affairs of the church’.⁷⁹ The two concepts are inextricably linked, the addition or removal of certain theological principles able to radically change the ecclesiological makeup of the church as the Root and Branch petition of 1640 demonstrates. The petition, which called on Parliament to abolish episcopacy, complained of ministers’ failure to preach ‘The doctrine of predestination, of Free-grace, of Perseverance, of Originall since [sic] remaning after Baptism, of the Sabbath, the Doctrine against universal Grace, Election, for faith fare-seene, free will, against Antichrist, Nonresidents, humane Interventions of Gods worship’ because these doctrines were not ‘relishing to the Bishops’.⁸⁰ Yet, it could also be the case that the same theological principles could be used to underpin different church structures. Calvin’s doctrine of predestination, for example, was used to support the ecclesiastical structures of the Church of England, the Presbyterian church, and Congregational churches.

Nonconformist Ecclesiology

The kind of church settlement Hutchinson favoured has often been overlooked in explorations of her theological sentiments. As noted, Hutchinson is always referred to as a Puritan, but this is a complicated term. Richard L. Greave’s essay reflecting on the ‘Puritan-Nonconformist Tradition in England, 1560-1700’, expresses the common sentiment that

⁷⁹ ‘ecclesiastic, adj. and n.’ 1.a., *OED Online* (2020).

⁸⁰ ‘The Root and Branch Petition’, in *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. Henry Gee and William John Hardy, 537-8 (New York: Macmillan, 1896).

‘Puritan’ and ‘Puritanism’ are difficult terms to use given the ‘multiplicity of meanings’ each word has embodied from the early seventeenth century. In his *Church-History of Britain* (1655) Thomas Fuller (1608-1661) states that he wishes ‘the word *Puritan* were banished [from] common discourse, because so various in the acceptions thereof’. Having first been used to define the ‘*Opposers of the Hierarchie and Church-services*’, it had come to be used to ‘abuse pious people, some of them so far from opposing the *Liturgie*, that they endeavoured ... *to accompany the Minister with a PURE heart*’.⁸¹ Hutchinson herself, equally rebuffed the term Puritan, writing in her *Memoirs* that it could apply to anyone who stood against the king even if they ‘conformed to ...superstitious worship’: ‘whoever could endure a sermon, modest habits of conversation, or anything that was good, all these were Puritans’.⁸² Describing Hutchinson as simply ‘Puritan’, then, although doctrinally she upholds many of the key principals that we now class as such, is problematic both by working against her own distaste of the word and by being a rather wide descriptive term. Scholarship has come to prefer the sharper drawing of distinctions between different nonconformist sects: Independent, Congregationalist, Baptist, Separationist etc.

When it has been discussed, critics have disagreed over the precise classification of Hutchinson’s nonconformist allegiance. Mark Burden has drawn attention to the similarities between her statements of faith in DD/Hu3 and Baptist confessions of faith and has noted, among others, the Baptist-leaning of Hutchinson’s refusal to baptise her children.⁸³ However, Gribben argues that her ‘identification with Baptists is misplaced’.⁸⁴ Norbrook tends to

⁸¹ Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year M.DC.XLVIII* (London: John Williams, 1655), 8.76.

⁸² DD/Hu4, 100.

⁸³ Mark Burden, ‘Lucy Hutchinson and Baptist Confessions of Faith’, *Dissenting Experience Blog* (2016), <https://dissent.hypotheses.org/1618>. Mark Burden, ‘Lucy Hutchinson and Puritan Education’, *The Seventeenth Century* 30, no. 2 (April, 2015), 163-178.

⁸⁴ Crawford Gribben, ‘Lucy Hutchinson’s Theological Writings’, *The Review of English Studies* 71, no. 299 (April, 2020), 300.

describe Hutchinson and her husband as Independent or Congregationalist, terms listed as synonymous in the OED.⁸⁵ In this thesis, I agree with Gribben that her expressions of distaste for paedobaptism do not support her involvement with a Baptist sect, but also find it necessary to define her post-1660 ecclesiology in different ways, noting that her Congregationalism often reaches such extremes of nonconformity that she is better defined as a Separatist.

Distinguishing between these sects can be particularly challenging but is imperative for the work this thesis aims to do in teasing apart the development of Hutchinson's dissenting ecclesiology in the later-seventeenth century. This thesis will follow Greaves, Michael Watt and Murray Tolmie in distinguishing between the Congregational and Separatist traditions.⁸⁶ Recently Congregationalism was defined by Michael P. Winship: 'A foundational principle of Congregationalism was that they insisted that only individual congregations were real churches. Spiritually there was no such thing as the collective Church of England'.⁸⁷ In insisting upon individual congregations, Congregationalists did separate themselves from the state church, yet ministerial and often civil authority were still accepted facets of this ecclesiastical structure. Separationists, on the other hand, believed that 'a new church is founded when believers voluntarily come together, profess their corporate faith, enter into a covenant of allegiance to Christ ... and then promise to be continuously bound together by divine laws. No official, ecclesiastical or civil, has the authority or right to force a church to be gathered'.⁸⁸ Essentially, the former seeks to reform the Church along new ecclesiological

⁸⁵ 'independent, adj. and n', 2, *OED Online* (2021).

⁸⁶ See Michael Watt, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), and Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London 1616-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

⁸⁷ Michael P. Winship, *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America* (New York: Yale University Press, 2019), 85.

⁸⁸ Slayden A. Yarbrough, 'Henry Jacob, a Moderate Separatist, and his Influence on Early English Congregationalism', PhD diss., Baylor University (1972), 10.

lines, the latter seeks to separate entirely from ecclesiastical control and form autonomous groups of God's elected saints. Despite its rejection of ecclesiology, Separationism can still be said to seek a new kind of ecclesiastical settlement as it looks to the formation of the true Church of God.

Across Hutchinson's later writings we see both ecclesiological positions articulated, Separationism often in its extreme form as Hutchinson seeks the physical separation of the elect into the 'wilderness'. The aim of this thesis is to understand how Hutchinson's ecclesiological position oscillated between these two church forms at different times and to explore why these changes in her ecclesiological outlook took place. Charting her ecclesiological rather than theological commitments, I argue, allows for a more nuanced understanding of Hutchinson as she is revealed to be a much less static writer post-1660 than the label 'Puritan' suggests. Furthermore, showing Hutchinson's own ecclesiology to be intrinsically reactive can aid in the uncovering of the contingent nature of late-seventeenth century dissent more generally.

It may seem counterintuitive to chart this development of nonconformity using the works of a single woman, and it bears noting that I do not intend to suggest that Hutchinson's developing ecclesiological position offers a blueprint for the development of nonconformity more widely. That said, charting her individualism, I engage with other scholars who call for a more nuanced understanding of dissent in the seventeenth century and who argue, against Hill and Keeble, for *languages* of nonconformity rather than a monolithic experience of dissent. I hope to broaden the kinds of texts scholarship explores to gain an understanding of late-seventeenth century ecclesiology by looking here at genres as diverse as biography, unfinished notes, original prose, and poetry, and to include, for the first time, an exploration

of how the nuances of women's textual cultures could influence expressions of dissenting religion.

Research Questions and Chapter Outline

Hoping to enhance our understanding of the reactive nature of late-seventeenth century dissent and to disrupt the notion that Hutchinson's ecclesiastical commitments were the same across these years, this thesis will ask what kind of church settlement she articulates in her different texts and, most crucially, why? How has the ecclesiology in each case been shaped by Hutchinson's social-cultural milieu at the time of composition, and the context of English nonconformity more widely? Equally concerned with studying Hutchinson as a literary writer, I will ask who the intended audience for each text were, and how this has shaped both the content and the material form of the composition. As such, the following chapters will explore the continuities and discontinuities across Hutchinson's oeuvre, arguing that generic distinctions between her texts not only alert us to her familiarity with an 'increasingly textual world', but to the different strategies she employed to reach different readers.⁸⁹ With attention turned to her readership, we can begin to ask the wider question of how we should best understand the impact of women's writing during this period; for whom did Hutchinson write her heterodox expressions, and with whom - and how - did she share these texts? In this way, this thesis will explore the ways in which the distinct forms of women's textual culture facilitated Hutchinson's participation in the ecclesiastical debates of late-seventeenth century England.

⁸⁹ Dowd and Eckerle (eds.), *Genre and Women's Life-Writing in Early Modern England*, 1.

The first chapter will explore Hutchinson's manuscript miscellany compiled between the mid-1630s and c.1655. Partly, this text is crucial as it allows us to disrupt the long-held assumption of Hutchinson as a life-long committed Puritan by placing her in the Royalist circle surrounding Queen Henrietta Maria in the 1630s and 1640s. Stretching into the 1650s, the materials collected also help us to question our notion of a divided England post-Civil War in which the 'language of nonconformity' developed in opposition to Royalist literary styles. Most crucially, however, DD/Hu1 demonstrates the influence of Hutchinson's socio-cultural circle on her writing. She did not statically uphold certain views. Rather, as a writer, she developed dynamically in response to her situation at different times and her interest in a wide range of literary traditions. It also allows us to recognise the ways in which Hutchinson returned to previous works, reworking, and adapting them even as her principles developed. In this way, the miscellany offers a blueprint for how this thesis will approach Hutchinson's later theological texts.

The second chapter explores Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, the first of her texts in which she articulated her views on ecclesiastical settlement. Detailing the differences between the *Memoirs* and the earlier account she wrote of John's time as Governor of Nottinghamshire, this chapter will explore the ways in which Hutchinson develops her depiction of John, from one framed by his political allegiances, to one in which he is simply - and only - one of God's elected saints. Centrally, this chapter will ask what kind of ecclesiastical settlement this depiction of John allows Hutchinson to articulate and, using the multitude of biblical proofs in the reverse of the manuscript, how this idealised settlement has arisen from the couple's shared scriptural exegesis. Exploring the material form of these biblical proofs, this chapter also argues that the manuscript functions as a codification of this ecclesiology designed to preserve ecclesiological 'precepts' for future generations.

The third and fourth chapters are focused on Hutchinson's theological notebook compiled in the late-1660s and 1670s. Its 'messiness' - with unfinished notes, undated tracts, and fragments of verse - simultaneously explains the lack of scholarship on this document and underlines its importance in Hutchinson's canon. Here we can see her beliefs literally under construction, being reworked and expanded upon as she encountered - through reading and attending a congregation - other expressions of nonconformist ecclesiology. The first of these chapters explores Hutchinson's encounters with key Reformation texts, notably Calvin's *Institutes*, as recorded in notes and two original pieces of prose writing in which she documents what she 'belieues'. The central question of this chapter is why Hutchinson returned to relatively orthodox Reformed texts in the late-1660s, but the chapter will also explore her prose writing for what it can reveal about Hutchinson's congregational affiliation at that time. I argue for the first time that these statements should be read as Confessional documents concerned with ecclesiastical formation rather than as straightforward statements of theological belief. The fourth chapter focuses on the remaining texts in the notebook to explore more contemporary influences on Hutchinson's ecclesiology. In so doing, I will explore for the first time how the two halves of the notebook relate to one another, arguing that the later materials were compiled in a direct attempt to clarify certain issues raised by Hutchinson's earlier engagement with Reformation texts. I argue this notebook demonstrates a realisation among the 'hotter sort of Puritan' that a simple reliance on Reformed doctrines could not create the kind of ecclesiastical settlement they desired. This chapter will further the work done by Norbrook and Gribben which places Hutchinson in the social network, and

perhaps the congregation of, John Owen by offering more precise dating of the materials in the notebook and offering further evidence for the authorship of one of the texts it contains.⁹⁰

The final chapter offers a close reading of Hutchinson's final work, *OD*, and the first comparative study of the poem with Hutchinson's theological notebook; I argue that the poem has arisen from, and responds to, the theological and ecclesiological studies evidenced in DD/Hu3. However, I also argue that Hutchinson's ecclesiological beliefs continued to develop in the 1670s, her position on the right kind of church formation expressed in the poem distinct from that of DD/Hu3 in this formally distinct text. In some ways, this chapter will argue, the articulation of ecclesiastical settlement in the poem is closer to that of the earlier *Memoirs* - it is crucial to explore why Hutchinson's beliefs were subject to such a revision as well as how they are expressed in poetic form.

By way of conclusion, I will question why Hutchinson chose to adapt her ecclesiological writings into an epic poem. A poem, I argue, centrally concerned with the formation of God's church, in many ways *OD* presents itself as the capstone of a coherent body of writing. Yet, in its literary style, and its publication, the poem also presents Hutchinson as a different kind of writer, one who was searching for a wider audience, to leave a legacy as both theologian and writer. While this thesis in many ways seeks to show that early modern women writers outside of courtly culture were not restricted in their socio-literary engagement, the conclusion will trace some of the ways in which Hutchinson disseminated her texts which do gesture to the fact that the Royalist connections of her youth still offered the most productive framework for publication. However, rather than demonstrating a reversion in Hutchinson's

⁹⁰ See, Crawford Gribben, 'John Owen, Lucy Hutchinson and the Experience of Defeat', *The Seventeenth Century* 30, no. 2 (2015), 179-190, Norbrook, 'Introduction', in *Works1*, cxiii-cx, and Norbrook, 'Theological Notebook Introduction', in *Works2*, 24-37.

heterodoxy, I suggest that her existence in these social networks in the 1670s gestures to the need to revise our own expectations of the rigidity of late-seventeenth century literary culture.

Essentially in this thesis I want to ask what kind of writer Hutchinson was. Key to this seems to be her ability to adapt her ideas across different genres and modes of writing throughout the seventeenth century. She reworked her own texts, bring pieces of her writing together in new ways to suit different contexts - of both composition and dissemination - and to support her own, oscillating, beliefs concerning forms of association. With the first chapter demonstrating the ways in which the deeply republican *OD* emerged in part from a royalist collection of poetry compiled in the 1630s, and Hutchinson's later works frequently revising and repositioning her ecclesiastical sentiments, this thesis will not posit 1660 as a 'line in the sand'.⁹¹ Yet, nor do I hope to demonstrate as Norbrook argues, 'a fundamental continuity between the post-1649 writings of poets sympathetic to the republic, and their earlier works'.⁹² Rather, I will ask how we might better understand Hutchinson's literary and ecclesiological articulations as the outcome of a life's worth of textual influences and social interactions, and nonconformity as movement which developed in conversation with other strands of late-seventeenth century literary culture.

⁹¹ Steven N. Zwicker, 'Is There Such a Thing as Restoration Literature?', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (September, 2006), 425.

⁹² David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 14.

Textual Networks and Literary Adaptation: The Legacy of Hutchinson's Miscellany

Introduction

The earliest extant composition by Hutchinson is contained in a little studied manuscript miscellany, DD/Hu1 held at the Nottinghamshire Archives. A quarto sized volume of 277 pages written from both ends, the first page contains the attribution, 'The Works of Lucy Hutchinson' alongside a doodle and the enigmatic note (or perhaps instruction) 'Read'.¹ However, while much of the manuscript is in Hutchinson's hand, almost none of the materials are original compositions. Indeed, the only item we can assume is an original composition by Hutchinson herself is the very first in this notebook: a draft letter to a grieving woman. Rather than a notebook of original compositions, DD/Hu1 is a miscellany which houses a range of materials written by others. While these works are somewhat eclectic, it should be noted that the authors, where identifiable, are men who would go on to have very different allegiances to Hutchinson during, and after, the Civil War. These include writers with links to the court of Charles I and his Catholic Queen, Henrietta Maria: the poets Thomas Carew (1595-1640) and John Cleveland (bap. 1613- 1658), and the Jesuit translator Thomas Hawkins (d.1640). Also included in the miscellany are two translations of Virgil's *Aeneid*, one by John Denham (1614/15- 1669), the other co-authored by Sidney Godolphin (1610-1643) and, after his death, Edmund Waller (1606-1687).² These secular works and translations penned by Royalists are hardly what we might expect to find within a notebook

¹ DD/Hu1, 1. As was common, this book has been written in from both ends, reversed and inverted to be written in from the back. The pagination moves from 205 in the middle, to 206 on the reverse flyleaf. In line with usage on documents and letters of the seventeenth century, 'Read' is most probably in the past tense.

² For a full list of contents see appendix A.

owned by the ‘fiercely Puritan’ Hutchinson.³ Despite this obvious discrepancy in content with her later manuscript works, DD/Hu1 is - in part - Hutchinson’s earliest manuscript, and so a logical starting point from which to trace her development as a writer. As this chapter will argue, it is also a manuscript which Hutchinson continued to use well into the 1650s. As such, we should not simply dismiss it as presenting the interests of a young woman yet to be alerted to the realities of the religio-political world but see it as a notebook in which she continued to write even as her attention turned to her original theological compositions.

The content of this manuscript may also suggest that it should lie outside the scope of a thesis concerned with Hutchinson’s developing articulations of ecclesiology. However, in giving us a glimpse of a woman a far cry from the deeply engaged theologian Hutchinson would become, this manuscript is crucial to allowing us a more dynamic understanding of her development as a writer than has hitherto been acknowledged in scholarship.⁴ The central question of this chapter is what role this seemingly outlying manuscript can play in helping us to understand the development of Hutchinson’s radical ideas. The answer, I would argue is twofold. Firstly, interests demonstrated by this miscellaneous collection - such as her obvious engagement in translations of epic Latin texts - are not displaced in her more widely studied original compositions. Many scholars have argued for a ‘literary culture of nonconformity’, suggesting that the religio-political turbulence of seventeenth century England was articulated through opposed literary aesthetics.⁵ This assumption of a link between

³ Norbrook, ‘The Poem and its Contexts’, xii.

⁴ Wesley Garey offers the only study of the influence of this manuscript in his paper, ‘Rewriting Epic and Redefining Glory in Lucy Hutchinson’s *Order and Disorder*’, *Christianity and Literature* 69, no. 3 (September, 2020), 399-417. However, his paper focuses on the wider influence of epic poetry rather than DD/Hu1 particularly.

⁵ Christopher Hill and N. H. Keeble have defined recent critical approaches to the study of radical seventeenth century literature, arguing that there was a ‘conflict between the cultural worlds’ of orthodoxy and heterodoxy which shaped two distinct cultural movements. See Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), and *The World Turned Upside Down* (London: Penguin, 1972), and Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth Century England*. Nicholas McDowell’s more recent scholarship has sought to question this aesthetic binary; see, McDowell, *The English Radical*

nonconformist ideology and certain literary aesthetics has been drawn thanks to a perception of a burgeoning ‘language of nonconformity [which] could not conform to a model which expressed values from which it dissented’.⁶ Even as attention has turned away from authorial intention and towards the ‘individual reader engaging with a particular text at a particular moment’, as in Kevin Sharpe’s *Reading Revolutions*, a focus on, and acceptance of, the political implications of the style, genre, and form of seventeenth-century literary works has persisted: as Sharpe argues, ‘political division politicised all literary genres and forms’.⁷ DD/Hu1 asks us to reconsider such notions of a joint political and aesthetic binary as it presents Hutchinson - at two points in her life - engaged in textual networks which facilitated the sharing of ostensibly Royalist materials and, furthermore, how these same materials were to influence her later articulations of religious association.

Secondly, in studying this manuscript as the result of textual networks and writerly collaboration, DD/Hu1 can act as a blueprint for understanding how Hutchinson’s intimate social setting, rather than simply her overarching religio-political beliefs, could shape her textual compositions. A realisation that Hutchinson’s texts were the outcome of her socio-cultural world, were documents shaped for, and from, a particular readership, will have a bearing on our understanding of her articulations of biblical history in the *Memoirs*, and of ecclesiastical governance in her theological notebook and last composition, the printed poem *OD* (1679); these works are better understood when we explore their purpose within the tighter context of Hutchinson’s immediate social world. Following the work of Helen Hackett, this thesis will favour ‘network’, ‘circle’, or ‘social setting’ rather than ‘coterie’ to

Imagination: Culture, Religion and Revolution, 1630-1660 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003) in which he neatly summarises Hill’s arguments, 1-12.

⁶ Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, 246.

⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: the Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New York: Yale University Press, 2000), 158.

describe Hutchinson's social milieu as 'coterie' carries connotations of 'exclusivity and enclosure', suggesting that the group's identity was static. As Hackett argues, and Hutchinson demonstrates, often the boundaries of textual networks are much more flexible as 'members come and go or communicate with outsiders'.⁸ DD/Hu1 is the perfect starting point for a study of the literary results produced by these kinds of interpersonal relationships as, containing several different hands, it is the most obviously collaboratively produced of Hutchinson's manuscripts.

The Manuscript

While DD/Hu1 is more generally referred to as Hutchinson's 'commonplace book', it is perhaps best described as a 'miscellany'.⁹ This term has proved notoriously difficult to define. Calling up a 'miscellany' in an archive can produce many kinds of texts: a notebook in a single hand (scribal or autograph); a collaboratively produced notebook or collection of separates bound together; even a box containing an almost overwhelming collection of loose sheets. As Adam Smyth has noted, 'where commonplace books end and where other textual forms begin (the note-book, pocket-book, miscellany, table-book, diary, thesaurus...) is often difficult to define'.¹⁰ Eckhardt and Smith offer, perhaps, the most helpful definition of the sixteenth and seventeenth century miscellany as a collection of 'gathered material from a range of different sources and textual traditions ... copied or bound ... into a single volume

⁸ Helen Hackett, 'Afterword: Writing Coterie, Reading Coterie', in *Re-evaluating the Literary Coterie, 1580-1830*, ed. Will Bowers and Hannah Leah Crummé (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 205-206.

⁹ See Jerome de Groot, 'John Denham and Lucy Hutchinson's Commonplace Book', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 48, no. 1 (Winter, 2008), and Erica Longfellow, 'Perdita woman: Lucy Hutchinson', *Perdita Project*, University of Warwick: https://web.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/html/pw_HUTC01.htm.

¹⁰ Adam Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture: A List of Sixteen Traits', in *Women and Writing, c. 1340-c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. Anne Lawrence-Matthers and Philippa Hardman (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), 93.

over a period of time'.¹¹ Arguably, what sets miscellanies apart from the commonplace book is the reason for which the texts were collected. Commonplace books are viewed as manuscripts with a sense of purpose, with texts gathered, in the words of Fred Schurink, to help readers 'prepare themselves for action ... to gather information ... to acquire linguistic resources for different forms of speech and writing'.¹² Yet it would be wrong to assume that miscellanies were passive documents in contrast. Rather, as James Daybell notes, the action of a text being collected together among others has often been seen to change, or at least develop, the original text, 'achieving meanings different from that of the initial historically specific moment of composition and application'.¹³ It is also arguable that the 'efficacy' of miscellanies lies outside of the texts collected within them. As Harold Love and Mary Hobbs have both shown, miscellanies were created from the process of textual transmission based on, or used to forge, social connections.¹⁴ Each miscellany attests to modes of textual transmission as 'user publication' (Love's term for personal copying of scribal texts), was 'never an isolated activity since it always involved a transaction between at least two individuals - the copyist and the provider of the exemplar'.¹⁵ Love has shown how these networks of transmission were both created by, and could create, communities of like-minded individuals.¹⁶ The efficacy of miscellanies, then, could be said to rest in the forging, or upholding, of such communities.

¹¹ Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith (eds.), *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 17.

¹² Fred Schurink, 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature and Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no.3 (September, 2010), 455-6.

¹³ James Daybell, 'Early Modern Letter-Books, Miscellanies and the reading and reception of scribally produced copy letters', in *Manuscript Miscellanies*, 60.

¹⁴ Love, *Scribal Publication*; Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992); Mary Hobbs, 'An edition of the Stoughton Manuscript (an early seventeenth century poetry collection in private hands, connected with Henry King and Oxford), seen in relation to other contemporary poetry and song collections', PhD diss., London University (1973).

¹⁵ This 'provider' need not be the author of the text as there could be many links in the 'chain of acts of publication' between the author and the compiler of a manuscript miscellany: Love, *Scribal Publication*, 79-80.

¹⁶ Love, *Scribal Publication*.

DD/Hu1 certainly passed through several different hands and is undeniably the result of the collaborative endeavour of a textual network. I have identified four other hands alongside Hutchinson's in this manuscript. My attribution of the hands differs to that of Jerome de Groot in his essay on this manuscript. He believes that the same hand is responsible for a sonnet translation of Théophile and the two poems by Cleveland.¹⁷ Conversely, I would suggest that the sonnet presents the only example of Hand 4, and that the Cleveland poems, along with an extract of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, are in a 5th hand. Hand 5 helpfully has a very distinctive majuscule W found in all three poems.¹⁸ Hand 2 takes over from Hutchinson midway through the Denham translation of the *Aeneid*. Providing the only examples of erasing in the manuscript, there is the possibility that this hand belonged to a trained scribe. Hand 3, responsible for the genealogy of the Boteler family is the only identifiable hand, belonging to Julius Hutchinson, Hutchinson's nephew. Julius had an ongoing engagement with his aunt's manuscripts after her estate passed into his parent's hands in 1672.¹⁹ It is Julius who attributes the notebook to Hutchinson, marking the first item as 'writ by' her.²⁰ He marks her other manuscripts (DD/Hu3 and 4) in the same way, giving the date of his involvement as '1716' in the religious notebook.²¹ As with these other manuscripts, I would suggest that Julius' involvement long post-dates Hutchinson's own. This is supported by the placement of the genealogy in the centre of the manuscript. It could easily have been written on the remaining blank central pages *after* the other materials, even those in the reverse end.

¹⁷ de Groot, 'John Denham and Lucy Hutchinson's Commonplace Book', 149-150.

¹⁸ See appendix B for examples of the hands.

¹⁹ 'Mortgage of Owthorpe Manor by L. Hutchinson to Charles Hutchinson for £200', M/701 (Nottinghamshire Archives).

²⁰ DD/Hu1, 3.

²¹ DD/Hu3, 278.

Aside from Hutchinson's own hand and that of Julius, I am yet to identify the other hands of DD/Hu1. However, even unidentified, their presence certainly attests to a textual and social network. They also place Hutchinson *within* this network rather than as an external receiver of texts as the notebook appears to have been bound before the works were written into it - that is, the notebook itself was passed around rather than Hutchinson receiving separates which she then bound into a collection. We can assume this as different hands appear on the reverse sides of the same folio, as in the case of Hutchinson's copy of a 'Ballard' and the poem by Théophile (Hand 4).²²

In a 2011 conference paper on DD/Hu1, Elizabeth Clarke explored the dangers of attempting to establish a relationship between a manuscript and a textual circle as 'the contents of a manuscript may lead us to project or even fantasise a particular coterie context'. However, ignoring the possible social conditions of the production of a manuscript may 'impede interpretation of its contents'.²³ While scholarship on Hutchinson has been happy to explore her textual influences, it has been reticent - as demonstrated by studies of *DRN* - to explore the more everyday influences which may have shaped Hutchinson as a writer.²⁴ Patricia Pender believes that our desire for an Author (with a capital 'a') has both restricted our search for, and skewed our understanding of, female writing in the early modern period, encouraging us to ignore the myriad of different influences on a writer in favour of

²² DD/Hu1, 241-2.

²³ Elizabeth Clarke, 'What's in a Name? Lucy Hutchinson's Religious and Non-religious Commonplace-books', paper presented at *Early Modern Female Miscellanies and Commonplace Books* symposium (University of Warwick, 22 July, 2011), discussed in Hackett, 'Writing Coteries', 205.

²⁴ Reid Barbour, Jonathan Goldberg, Hugh de Quehen, Cassandra Gorman, and David Norbrook have all considered Hutchinson's translation. Most scholarship on *DRN* has studied the poem as either an extension of Hutchinson's existing beliefs or antithetical to them. Jonathan Goldberg, 'Lucy Hutchinson writing matter', *ELH* 73, no.1 (2006), 275-301; Reid Barbour, 'Lucy Hutchinson, Atomism, and the Atheist Dog', in *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500-1700*, ed. Lynett Hunter and Sarah Hutton, 122-137 (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997); Hugh de Quehen, 'Ease and Flow in Lucy Hutchinson's Lucretius', *Studies in Philology* 93, no. 3 (1996), 288-303.

demonstrating their original genius.²⁵ While we must be wary of creating imaginary literary networks for Hutchinson to inhabit, DD/Hu1 arguably presents easily discernible contexts in which to situate her literary engagement: Richmond in the 1630s, and the Royalist poetic circles of the 1650s.

'A greate deale of good young companie': 1630s Richmond

De Groot, who has conducted the only full study of this miscellany, views the materials gathered in DD/Hu1 as linked by early-seventeenth century university culture; Carew, Jonson, Denham, Godolphin, Cleaveland and Waller, were, he says, 'staples of commonplace collections throughout the 1630s and 1640s particularly associated with students ... while the inclusion of French, biblical, and Latin translations again give the collection something of the flavour of a university collection'.²⁶ He sees this as evidence for the miscellany being the result of a connection between Denham and Hutchinson's brother Allen Apsley (1616-1683), who were contemporaries first at Trinity College and then at Lincoln's Inn in the 1630s. However, the manuscript evidence for this male pedagogical connection deserves interrogation. Carew's poems in DD/Hu1, cited by de Groot as widely circulated in university collections of the 1630s and 40s, are also extant today in the miscellanies of Nicholas Burghe (MS Ashmole 38, Bodleian Library), Edward Michell (Rawl. poet. 160, Bodleian Library), and one in an unidentified scribal hand, known as the 'Wyburd manuscript' (MS Don. b. 9, Bodleian Library).²⁷ We know very little about the latter except for its composition date in

²⁵ Patricia Pender, 'Introduction: Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration', in *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, ed. Patricia Pender (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 3.

²⁶ de Groot, 'John Denham and Lucy Hutchinson's Commonplace Book', 150.

²⁷ Nicholas Burghe, miscellany, MS Ashmole 38 (Bodleian Library), ff. 4, 7, 9, 25, 30-31, 36, 68-71, 98-99, 137, 151, 154, 155-6. Edward Michell, miscellany, Rawl. poet. 160 (Bodleian Library), ff. 54r-55v, 77r-78r, 106r-106v, 110v, 113v-115r. Unidentified, miscellany, MS Don. b. 9 (Bodleian Library), ff. 50-55v, 59-61v.

the 1630s: it could, thus, conform to de Groot's assertion. However, while Burghe's manuscript is dated '3rd June 1638', it is likely that he continued to compile this work well in to the 1660s, and for the most part this manuscript is defined by an interest in 'elegiac and funerary poetry'.²⁸ Rawl. poet. 160 (which does not have any overlap in terms of particular psalms with Hutchinson's own) includes the name of the now unidentifiable Edward Michell, and was, again, compiled at least in part in the 1630s. However, no critic – including Gary Taylor who has performed an extensive study of the manuscript – has linked it to university culture.²⁹ Thus, two of the extant manuscripts fail to corroborate de Groot's assertion of a pedagogical context, while a third offers only scant evidence.

Hutchinson's *Memoirs* offers proof of her independent presence in a different network in the late-1630s. While residing in Richmond at this time, the unmarried John Hutchinson frequented the house of the musician, Charles Coleman (d.1664).³⁰ Hutchinson's description of the social circle around Coleman is very illuminating:

and soe he went to Richmond, where he found a greate deale of good young companie, and many ingenuous persons, that by reason of the court, where the young princes were bred, entertained themselues in that place and had frequent resort to the house were Mr Hutchinson tabled; the man being a skillful composer in Musick, the rest of the Kings Musicians often mett at his house to practice new ayres, and prepare them for the king, and divers of the gentlemen & Ladies y^t were affected with Musick, came thither to

²⁸ Harold Love and Arthur F. Marotti, 'Manuscript transmission and circulation', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature*, ed. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 73.

²⁹ Gary Taylor, 'Rawlinson Poet 160: The Manuscript Source of Two Attributions to Shakespeare', in *The New Oxford Shakespeare Authorship Companion*, ed. Gary Taylor and Gabriel Egan, 218-230 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

³⁰ Ian Spink, 'Coleman, Charles (d.1664)', *ODNB* (Online, 2004): <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5869>. For more on Coleman, and his musical circle see Stephanie Louise Carter, 'Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700', PhD diss., University of Manchester (2010), and Alan Howard, 'Manuscript Publishing in the Commonwealth Period: A Neglect Source of Concert Music by Golding and Locke', *Music & Letters* 90, no.1 (February, 2009), 35-67 (53-54).

heare, others that were not, tooke that pretence to entertaine themselues with the companie³¹

This was, through proximity to the young princes, Charles and James, a courtly circle with frequent visitation from members of the King's own household. As such, it played host to courtly poets and players presumably on their way to, or from, the now demolished Richmond Palace. One member of this household in 1637 was Hutchinson's sister, Barbra, 'tabled for the practise of her lute' during her mother's absence while a (failed) marriage match was arranged for Lucy. The Apsley's house was near enough to Coleman's for Barbra to walk between the two homes with ease. 'One day', while at Coleman's, John heard an original composition by Hutchinson herself, an 'answer' to a song 'which had bene lately sett' - Hutchinson describes it as a 'sonnet, beyond the customary reach of a she witt'.³² This scene presents Hutchinson as an active member of this textual network, as both receiver (of the original score), and transmitter (of her reply) of manuscript works.

I would argue that the first half of this manuscript is the result of this courtly Richmond network of musicians and poets. It appears that this period - 1637-38 - was when Hutchinson began writing in DD/Hu1. The very first item it contains, the only one we might call an original composition by Hutchinson, arguably dates from this time. It is a draft letter to a grieving woman which Hutchinson has corrected and edited herself: 'cannot be more too sensible', for example, becomes 'receive not too deep a sense'.³³ The opening of this letter is typical of its style throughout:

It were arrogance in me to belieue my self able to administer any christian comforts to your Ladyship whos whole life hath bene the best example of pietie and holy patience

³¹ DD/Hu4, 49. 'Mrs Apsley' is Lucy Hutchinson, 'Mrs' being used for both married and unmarried women at this time: 'Mrs, n', 1b, *OED Online* (2018).

³² DD/Hu4, 51.

³³ DD/Hu1, 3.

with this age (that hath giuen more occasion then any former time to practice it) can afford³⁴

While this appears to be a stock letter, the kind we might find in collections of letters composed for ‘emulatory’ or ‘literary’ reasons (thus distinct from ‘letter books or entry-books’), the corrections suggest that, while the letter may not have been written to a specific woman, it was composed by Hutchinson herself.³⁵ Thus, an allusion to ill health can suggest a date for the beginning of this manuscript. In the letter Hutchinson alludes to the ‘death I haue so often this yeare approacht, and turned from with some reluctancie’ which would have ‘hid this sorrow from’ her eyes’.³⁶ From the *Memoirs*, we know that Hutchinson suffered from Smallpox in 1638, just preceding her marriage to John: she was still pockmarked on their wedding day.³⁷ As with the rest of the letter, this may be a platitude expected of writing of this kind, but it is worth considering as a possible indication of when this manuscript was begun.³⁸

The notes Hutchinson has made from the fourth tomb of *The Holy Court* also support this dating of the manuscript. A translation of Nicholas Caussin’s late-sixteenth century, *La Cour Sainte*, made by Thomas Hawkins (1575-1640?), the four volumes of *The Holy Court* were dedicated respectively to Queen Henrietta Maria (1626), Edward Sackville, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen (1631), Lady Frances, Countess of Portland (1634), and Katherine Villiers, the Duchess of Buckingham (1638).³⁹ It is from this fourth volume that Hutchinson

³⁴ DD/Hu1, 2.

³⁵ Daybell, ‘Early modern letter-books’, 60, 65.

³⁶ DD/Hu1, 3.

³⁷ DD/Hu4, 57.

³⁸ In tone the letter resembles several letters printed in seventeenth-century compilations expressly designed for emulation; it contains the hint of chastisement for being upset by God’s will found in the 29th letter of *The Secretary of Ladies* (1638), and ‘To a Lady on the death of her Child’ in the later, *The Female Secretary* (1671).

³⁹ *The Holy Court or The Christian Institution of Men of Quality. With Examples of those who in court have Flourished in Sanctity* By Nicolas Caussin of the Society of Jesus written in French & Translated into English by T. H (Paris, 1626); *The Holy Court Second Tome. The Prelate The Souldier The States-man The Lady.* By Nicolas Caussin of the Society of Jesus written in French & Translated into English by T. H (Paris, 1631); *The Holy Court in Three Tomes Written in French by Nicolas Caussin S. J. Translated into English by S^r T. H ...*

has made her notes, belying de Groot's claims that she was making these notes as early as 1636. As an educated young woman, Hutchinson would, of course, have been capable of translating from the French herself, but her notes show her to have been using Hawkins' translation, copying his language directly, even as she renders it in a noted form.⁴⁰

While the *Holy Court* is a theological text, with Hawkins' preface to this fourth volume stating that it concerns 'the powerfull predominance of Reason ouer Passuons, not taught in Epictetus, or Senecas prophane Schoole, but dictated from the Trueth-teaching sacred Oracles of Christian Piety', the way that Hutchinson has used the text in this miscellany points not to a religious use of any kind, but to one more pressing for a young woman, and particularly for Hutchinson in 1638: preparation for marriage.⁴¹ With the volume of the *Holy Court* from which Hutchinson has taken these notes not published until 1638, her interaction with this text could perhaps span the divide between her unmarried and married life. There are hints that Hutchinson found this text instructive in matters of the heart, with marginal marks appearing, for example, alongside several of the means of rendering 'ones selfe amiable': '1 to loue what he loueth', '9 To oblige him 10 To prayse him to others 11 To bear with his humors 12 To Trust him with secrets'.⁴² Indeed, while Caussin's text does frequently discuss religious matters, Hutchinson's marginal notes remain almost entirely fixed on these kinds of practical issues, as she marks 'Things that breake friendship' and other issues concerning

The Third Tome now first published in English: The first and second newly renewed, and much augmented according to the last Edition of the Authour (Paris: John Cousturier, 1634); *The Holy Court The Command of Reason over the Passions. Written in French by F. N. Caussin of the Society of Jesus and Translated into English by S^r T.H.* (Paris, 1638).

⁴⁰ For example, Hawkins translates, 'Love when it is well ordered is the soul of the universe, which penetrateth, with animateth, which tieth and maintaineth all things: and so many millions of creatures aspire and respire this love, would be but a burden to Nature were they not quickened by the innocent flame, which gives them lustre, as to the burning Bush, not doing them any hurt at all', and Hutchinson writes, 'Loue when it is well ordered is the soule of the Vniverse wch penetrates, animates, ties & maintains all things; & so many millions of creatures as aspire & respire this loue would be but a burthen to nature were they not quickened by the innocent flame which giues them lustre as to the burning bush not doing them any hurt at all': Hawkins, *The Holy Court*, 3, and Hutchinson, DD/Hu1, 148.

⁴¹ Hawkins, *Holy Court*, a2r.

⁴² DD/Hu1, 151-152.

love: ‘a godly man says concerning loue By treating it ill I endanger my life’, ‘Loue is feignd to be engerderd between the wind & the rainebow’.⁴³ Moreover, Hutchinson has passed over many of the more theological sections of her source text, focusing instead on how the passions manifest themselves in the world. Her notes jump, for example, from a discussion of the remedies to oppose the passion of ‘Sensuall loue’ to the beginning of Caussin’s treatise on Hatred, a gap of some 40 pages in which Caussin writes in detail on ‘The Nature of Divine Love’.⁴⁴

David Pearson has demonstrated that the Jesuit, Caussin’s, texts transgressed ideological boundaries in an interesting counter to critical assumptions of a direct correlation between personal ideology and literary interests. In his essay on five, purposefully ideologically diverse, seventeenth-century book owners, Pearson finds this translation of the *Holy Court* in each library.⁴⁵ However, Marie-France Guénette has also convincingly shown how the dedications of each translated volume demonstrate Thomas Hawkins’ links to the court of Henrietta Maria and that he was a member of the ‘transnational Jesuit print network’ who aimed to reinforce ‘English recusant families’ faith in the Queen to champion the religious cause of Catholics.⁴⁶ Moreover, the dedications show that the women surrounding the Queen also played important roles in the translation and circulation of French Catholic materials. Despite Pearson’s suggestion of the popularity of Caussin crossing ideological boundaries and Hutchinson’s eschewing of the more theological content of the text, studying these notes

⁴³ DD/Hu1, 154, 159, 162.

⁴⁴ Hawkins, *The Holy Court*, 49-84. Hutchinson, DD/Hu1, 163.

⁴⁵ David Pearson, ‘Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth Century England’, *The Library* 7, no. 2 (2010), 149.

⁴⁶ Marie-France Guénette, ‘Channelling Catholicism through Translation: Women and French Recusant Literature around the Court of Queen Henrietta Maria (1625-42)’, *Status Quaestionis* 17 (2019), 137; Marie-France Guénette, ‘Agency, Patronage and Power in Early Modern English Translation and Print Cultures: the Case of Thomas Hawkins’, *TTR* 29, no.2 (2016), 23, 16.

in light of what we already know of the textual network at Richmond, they appear to place Hutchinson firmly within this courtly culture surrounding Queen Henrietta Maria.

Other texts in this notebook link Hutchinson to this courtly, Richmond-based, network. The miscellany also includes psalm translations by the court poet, Thomas Carew. Carew's psalms were not included in his collected poems published in 1640 or 1642 and were, with the exception of the first, only circulated in manuscript until 1670.⁴⁷ Their presence, then, attest to Hutchinson's role within a textual network in the mid-1630s and early 1640s. A court poet during the reign of Charles I, and described posthumously by Charles II's Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, as the 'greatest Manifestation of Christianity', Carew's psalms are marked by their orthodox Anglicanism.⁴⁸

Hutchinson has included psalms 1, 2, 51, 90 and 113 in her notebook. These are psalm translations in which we can see an articulation of this Anglicanism as Carew calms the themes of divine retribution to be more in line with the Church of England's views of justification by works. In his translation of psalm 1 Carew softens the sense of the reprobate being unable - by divine decree - to join the congregation of the holy before God to an unwillingness: 'therefore att the last iudgement day/ the trembling sinfull soul shall hide/ his confused face nor shall he stay/ where the elected troopes abide'.⁴⁹ Expressly changing passive (will not rise) to active (shall hide), Carew imbues this psalm with a sense of personal

⁴⁷ Thomas Carew, *Poems by Thomas Carew Esquire One of the Gentlemen of the Privie-Chamber, and Sewer in Ordinary to His Majesty* (London: Thomas Walkley, 1640). The psalms Hutchinson has transcribed can be found in the following manuscripts: anonymous, 'Verse Miscellany', MS Don. b. 9 (Bodleian Library) contains 2, 51, 91, 104, 113, 114 and 119; Nicholas Burgh, 'Verse Miscellany', MS Ashmole 38 (Bodleian Library) contains 1, 2, 51, 113, 114, 137, 91, 104; and Edward Michell, 'Verse Miscellany', Rawl. poet. 160 (Bodleian Library) contains 91, 104.

⁴⁸ Edward Hyde, *The life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon ... written by himself*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), 1.34.

⁴⁹ This can be compared with the Geneva Bible which renders the same verse, 'therefore the wicked shall not stand in the judgement, nor sinners in the assembly of the righteous', or to the Vulgate, 'ideo non resurgent impill in iudicio neque peccatores in consilio iustorum' (Psalm 1.5).

responsibility for one's own fate come the day of judgement. Carew's psalms similarly quieten the anti-monarchical strain in the second psalm as he writes:

Thy rod of iron shall if kings rise
Against thee bruise them into dust
Like potts of clay therefore be wise
Yee princes & learne iudgement iust
Serue god with feare, learne, tremble, & yet trust⁵⁰

Adding in the conditional 'if', Carew lessens the impact of this psalm, which Calvin read as a direct refutation of monarchical rule: his second proposition taken from the psalm is, 'conuenerunt Reges terrae, & Principes congregati sunt simul contra Iehouam, & contra Christum eius'.⁵¹ The Westminster Annotations (1646) similarly state that the 'conspiracies of the Gentiles, the murmuring of the Jews, and power of kings cannot cannot prevail against Christ'.⁵²

While not linked to Coleman's network directly, Carew was a close acquaintance of 'the prolific Caroline dramatist and poet', James Shirley (1596 - 1666), who himself had links to Coleman and his son. Shirley's *An Ode Upon the Happy return of King Charles II.* was 'Composed into Musick by Dr. Coleman', while Coleman's son, Edward, provided musical settings for a song in Shirley's *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the Armour of Achilles* (1659), among other verses.⁵³ While these compositions were made much later than the

⁵⁰ Compare to, 'Thou shalt crush them with a sceptre of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel'

⁵¹ John Calvin, *In Librum Psalmorum, Ioannis Caluini Commentarius* (Geneva: Nicholas Barbirius & Thomas Couteau, 1564), 4r. Arthur Golding gives the English translation, 'The kings of the earth band themselves and the princes are assembled together in counsel against the Lord & against his Christ', *The Psalms of David and others. With M. john Caluins commentaries* (London: Thomas East & Henry Middleton, 1571), 3.

⁵² *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament...by the Joynt-Labour of certain Learned Divines* (London: John Legatt, 1645), Psalm II, verse 1.

⁵³ James Shirley, *An Ode Upon the Happy return of King Charles II. To his Langvishing Nations, May 29. 1660* (London: 1660). Edwards' involvement in *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the Armour of Achilles* and other works by Shirley is attested to by several manuscript copies of his works: MS Lt, 91 (Leeds University Library), ff. 144r-66v, MS Conservatoire Rés. 2489 (Bibliothèque Nationale) f. 44r and f. 46r.

1630s, in her study of Shirley's involvement in literary coteries, Sandra A. Burner has argued convincingly that social connections made by the poet often only came to collaborative fruition many years later.⁵⁴ Shirley also had a strong working connection with Carew, the two men attending Gray's Inn at the same time in the 1630s. Studying Shirley's 1646 collection of poems, Burner notes that Carew's own work shows 'striking similarities to Shirley's', inferring that the two had a close working relationship throughout the late-1630s and 1640s.⁵⁵ Shirley, then, provides one node through which to connect Carew with the network based at Coleman's Richmond home, although Carew may well have independently found his way there, matching as he does with Hutchinson's depiction of an artistic network with strong links to Richmond Palace. Another possible other source of the Carew materials has been noted by Elizabeth Scott-Baumann in her study of Hutchinson's use of poetic allusion in her later *Elegies*. Focused on a section in those poems in which Hutchinson appears to quote directly from the Godolphin *Aeneid* translation also found in DD/Hu1 Scott-Baumann notes that Hutchinson 'follows the only other extant manuscript, Bodleian MS Malone 13, which also includes four choruses by Carew which Hutchinson transcribed into her commonplace book, and a poem by 'P.Apsley' (fol. 101r)'.⁵⁶ Peter Apsley was Hutchinson's half-brother (from her father's first marriage), and so the Carew poems may have come to be in her possession through a closer familial connection rather than the Richmond circle.

The Anglicanism of Carew's psalms, and the Jesuit-inflected Catholicism of Caussin's *Holy Court* are a far cry - theologically - from the nonconformist puritanism for which Hutchinson is known. We have seen that Hutchinson's interest in Caussin lay outside of the theology he supported, focused instead on his descriptions of earthly love. Even so, these texts of Caussin

⁵⁴ Sandra A. Burner, *James Shirley: A study of Literary Coteries and Patronage in Seventeenth Century England* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1988).

⁵⁵ Burner, *James Shirley*, 167.

⁵⁶ Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement: Women, Poetry and Culture 1640-1680*, 164-165.

and Carew can perhaps kickstart our understanding that Hutchinson's theological engagement was shaped by her social world - at this time, the courtly circle of Henrietta Maria. Scholars, including Nicholas McDowell have begun to question earlier critical conceptions of an inherent link between the ideology espoused in a text and that text's readership, especially pre-1640. In his study of the young Milton, for example, McDowell questions a reading of his baroque poetry of the 1640s as expressing either his support or rejection of the Laudian regime, finding instead, through a comparison with two of Milton's contemporaries at Cambridge, that 'the practice of baroque devotional poetics in the earlier 1630s ... cannot be said with certainty to have any intrinsic relation to late Laudian doctrine or discipline'.⁵⁷ Studying the reading list for Cambridge students at the time, moreover, McDowell finds that 'Counter-Reformation eloquence was part ... of orthodox academic culture, and even, it seems, orthodox Puritan culture in Early Stuart England'.⁵⁸

Hutchinson's commonplace book, too, appears to support these notions that the culture of the 1630s and 1640s lacked the stark ideological partisanship of the Civil War years. This is not to say that Carew's poems, for example, were lacking in religio-political bias, but that a more fluid social situation aided in the dissemination of texts beyond those who brought into their ideology. What this means, therefore, is that this manuscript need not force us to recognise that Hutchinson made a sudden change from Royalist to Parliamentarian after her marriage to John, but that it was possible for her - and many others - to read and collect texts at this time without adopting their religio-political implications. Certainly, it seems very unlikely that, as de Groot has suggested, Hutchinson was collecting these texts precisely because she disagreed with them. He wonders briefly if Hutchinson assembled these materials to

⁵⁷ Nicholas McDowell, 'How Laudian was the Young Milton?', *Milton Studies* 52 (2011), 5. The two poets to which McDowell compares Milton are the Laudian (then Catholic) Crashaw and the radical nonconformist Saltmarsh.

⁵⁸ McDowell, 'How Laudian was the Young Milton', 10.

‘interrogate them’, but DD/Hu1 is marked by very few of the traditional signs of textual interrogation common in early modern notebooks and the ‘edifying margins’ of printed texts.⁵⁹

If, as I have argued following Love and Hobbes, the efficacy of miscellanies such as DD/Hu1 lies in community building, we can view Hutchinson’s transcription of these texts as a means of upholding her position within her textual network rather than as a means of adhering to - or indeed questioning - the ideological positions they articulate. Thus, an inextricable link between what Hutchinson wrote, any *why* she wrote it begins to emerge. Whether we perceive a theological inflection to these works or view them as a reflection of certain seventeenth century reading habits, what remains crucial is that Hutchinson’s initial engagement with them is the result of the social circle in which she found herself. The focus of this notebook - literary or theological - should be seen as a reflection of her socio-cultural milieu and, more importantly, as a means of articulating or confirming her place within this network.

The final item to consider from this early stage of composition is the *Aeneid* translation of John Denham. It is for this text that the miscellany has received critical attention. The verse forms the focus of de Groot’s essay, while mention of DD/Hu1 is made in the introduction of Theodore Howard Bank’s edition of Denham’s poetic works, Lawrence Venuti’s essay on translation during the Interregnum, L. Proudfoot’s *Dryden’s Aeneid and its Seventeenth Century Predecessors*, Brendan O’ Hehir’s monograph on the poet’s life, and John Stubb’s chapter reassessing Denham’s status as a ‘Cavalier’ poet.⁶⁰ The version included in DD/Hu1

⁵⁹ de Groot, ‘John Denham and Lucy Hutchinson’s Commonplace Book’, 152. William E. Slights, ‘The Edifying Margins of Renaissance English Books’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (Winter, 1989), 685-6.

⁶⁰ Theodore Howard Banks (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham* (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969), 41-42; Lawrence Venuti, ‘*The Destruction of Troy*: translation and royalist cultural politics in the Interregnum’,

ends ‘Finis Denham Virgily Aeneis’ and, as Banks notes ‘a collation of the MS. with the versions of books II and IV printed in the 1668 edition, shows that the texts are too close to be the work of someone else’.⁶¹ These revised sections of the translation were published in 1656 and 1668 as *The Destruction of Troy* and *The Passion of Dido for Aeneas* respectively. However, the frontispiece of the 1656 edition states 1636 as the actual period of composition.⁶² Quite when and how Hutchinson came into possession of this draft is somewhat unclear – DD/Hu1 offers no precise date for either the time of acquisition or of transcription into this miscellany. De Groot and O’Hehir assent to the declaration on the 1656 edition as the truth, and both suggest that Hutchinson could have also acquired a copy of Denham’s text at this time either through her husband or brother, or independently during the 30s, as Richmond could have provided ‘a convenient way-stop on [Denham’s] journeys between Egham and London’.⁶³

John Stubbs also believes the 1630s to be the time of composition, but states that Hutchinson actually transcribed the poem in the 1650s: ‘many years later [Hutchinson] copied Denham’s translation ... this must have been a few years after Denham returned to the work himself, and published a revised version’.⁶⁴ That is, he believes, the time of acquisition was not that of transcription. While convinced of the time of translation, de Groot does question whether a ‘conjectural manuscript’ copy of it may have ‘arrived in Lucy Hutchinson’s hands in the mid-1650s’ through her brother’s continued connection to Denham.⁶⁵ A retarded date of

JRMS 23 (1993), 197-219 (212-3); L. Proudfoot, *Dryden’s Aeneid and its Seventeenth Century Predecessors* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), 159; Brendan O’Hehir, *Harmony from Discords: A Life of Sir John Denham* (LA: University of California Press, 1968), 11-13; John Stubbs, ‘Denham as Cavalier’, in *Sir John Denham (1614/15-1669) Reassessed: The State’s Poet*, ed. Philip Major (New York: Routledge, 2016), 12-30.

⁶¹ Banks, *The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham*, 41.

⁶² John Denham, *The Destruction of Troy, an Essay Upon the Second Book of Virgils Aeneis* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656), frontispiece.

⁶³ O’Hehir, *Harmony from Discords*, 12.

⁶⁴ Stubbs, ‘Denham as Cavalier’, 29.

⁶⁵ de Groot, ‘John Denham and Lucy Hutchinson’s Commonplace Book’, 156.

transcription, however, assigns Hutchinson a passive role, casting her as the scribe of a complete, even if unpolished, copy-text. This is a role which certain palaeographic and textual details – which attest to moments of retrospective correction and the continuing acquisition by Hutchinson of multiple, developing, translations – cannot support. Thus, I would like to argue that, when Hutchinson came to acquire a copy of this poem, the translation was still underway; counter to the suggestions of de Groot and Stubbs, the translation by Denham, acquisition of the poem by Hutchinson, and the following act of transcription into this manuscript must have all occurred concurrently.

This translation is far from complete, missing long sections such as Aeneas joining the fight for Troy and the death of Priam, both from Book II.⁶⁶ For the former, Hutchinson leaves an empty page, anticipating correctly how much space she could need for the addition: a page in Hutchinson's hand contains on average 25 lines of verse; the missing Latin runs to 19 lines; and in Denham's published translation the missing section is 22 lines.⁶⁷ On this blank page, in the left (outside) margin are 20 marks which resemble two 'c's, that form a column in the left margin. It is unclear precisely what these marks signify. Most obviously, they could be line markers - Hutchinson estimating how much space she would need to leave for the number of lines omitted. However, these marks are so close together that this would mean Hutchinson radically underestimating the, usually consistent, size of her own writing. Whatever these marks signify, this blank page means that this was not a purposeful omission on Hutchinson's part, but rather one driven by the necessity of missing text. As Jonathan Gibson notes, 'if a copy-text is incomplete ... scribes will often leave gaps, anticipating later access to a fuller text'.⁶⁸ I would disagree, then, with de Groot's assertion that 'the gaps

⁶⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, ll.316- 335 and ll.150-580.

⁶⁷ DD/Hu1, 16.

⁶⁸ Jonathan Gibson, 'Casting off Blanks: Hidden Structures in Early Modern Paper Books', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture*, 213.

suggest a break in transcription rather than translation'.⁶⁹ Rather, the breaks suggest the exact opposite; at the very least, if they do not represent gaps in Denham's own process of translation, they are gaps in Hutchinson's copy-text. These examples suggest both a desire to retrospectively return to the work and complete it by filling in the gaps *and* the possibility of doing so – that is, to a close relationship between copyist and translator.

Minor corrections in this text imply that Hutchinson was right to assume the acquisition of further copies: they are markers of retrospective editing, implying the receipt of a different, extended, or corrected copy-text. These corrections include, for example the following section in which 'dreadful' is crossed out and changed to 'brandisht: 'now landing from their ~~dreadful~~^brandisht^ tongues there was / A dreadfull hisse'.⁷⁰ Inserted above the original word, this must be a retrospective correction, with at least the next word having been written before the mistake was corrected. As noted by de Groot, a second hand (Hand 2) is responsible for most of Book 6. It is important to note, in regard to these ideas of this translation as a *developing* text, that Hutchinson's own hand returns alongside Hand 2 to offer corrections and fill in gaps. These include both minor corrections – '&' crossed out and replaced by 'the' – and major additions where Hand 2 has purposefully left a gap.⁷¹ The following italics are an addition in Hutchinson's hand:

O Virgin tell then thus she doth declare
Great Troian prince desire to approach
*This place the gates no righteous sole must [...]*⁷²
But Hecate to mee declar'd their paine⁷³

⁶⁹ de Groot, 'John Denham and Lucy Hutchinson's Commonplace Book', 158.

⁷⁰ DD/Hu1, 12.

⁷¹ DD/Hu1, 116.

⁷² This word is too far in the margin to read.

⁷³ DD/Hu1, 124. For a further correction of this type see, DD/Hu1, 129.

Hutchinson's corrections of the second hand attests to retrospective revision and the receipt of a different, more complete, version of the text. All of this, I would argue, demonstrates that this text is not the result of a single moment of transcription from one copy-text, but attests to the acquisition *over time* of either a developing translation, or different manuscript copies. This further undermines assumption that Hutchinson acquired the text in the 30s but did not transcribe it until the 1650s.

As with Carew, I can find no proof that Denham was a part of the courtly coterie centred around Coleman's house. Yet, as with Carew, he would not have been out of place within their ranks. He was at the Inns of Court at the same time as Carew and Shirley, and, as de Groot notes, Richmond may have provided a convenient place to stay on his trips between London and his family estate at Egham at this time. What this manuscript does prove, is either a close and ongoing relationship between Hutchinson and Denham, or a shared acquaintance who ferried these different versions of the translation while it was still underway between the two. Thus, this copy of Denham's translation is testament to an ongoing chain of textual transmission in which the republican Hutchinson was not just a receiver, but an active participant in the circulation of multiple manuscript versions of what was eventually to become a famously polemical, Royalist, text.

It has been argued that Denham did not actually translate the *Aeneid* until the 1650s, that the 1636 date on the frontispiece is a fabrication. This is supported by the biographer, John Aubrey (1626-1697). In his short account of Denham's life, he notes that it was when Denham returned from exile in 1652 that he began his translation. Aubrey stresses his personal acquaintance with the poet at this time:

Anno, 1652, he returned into England, and being in some straits was kindly entertayned by the earle of Pembroke at Wilton, where I had the honour to contract an

acquaintance with him. Here he translated the ... booke of Vergil's Aeneis, and also burlesqu't it ⁷⁴

Indeed, in support of a later composition date, O'Hehir does note that no other 'original poetic compositions by Denham can be dated with security earlier than about 1641'.⁷⁵ Venuti also argues that Denham's *Aeneid* owes much to French styles of translation, which thus dates this translation to his exile in Europe in the 40s and early 50s.⁷⁶ Furthermore, it has been noted that there were 'moments during the 1650s when [Denham's] loyalty to the crown was questioned' and that he had 'friendly relations' with some members of the Council of State during the Interregnum, increasing the possibility of personal contact between him and Hutchinson at this time.⁷⁷

The Denham text, however, comes between Hutchinson's draft letter and the psalm translations of Carew, both of which, as I have argued, appear to have emerged from Hutchinson's social connections in the late 1630s. The same cannot be said for the materials in the reverse end of this manuscript which we *can* date to the mid-seventeenth century and assign to a different network of textual transmission - we should bear in mind here that, aside from Hutchinson's own, no hand appears in both ends of the manuscript. As such, while I would argue that there are two different periods of composition for DD/Hu1, Denham's text appears to have been compiled at an earlier time than the materials in the reverse.

Turning to the materials in the reverse of DD/Hu1, we can perceive a consistency to Hutchinson's links to Royalist, courtly, culture in the 1650s. This is a much more troubling time for Hutchinson to be engaging with such works and the textual and social networks which supported their proliferation. While in the 1630s Hutchinson may still have been under

⁷⁴ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, 2 vols., ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), 1.216-221.

⁷⁵ O'Hehir, *Harmony from Discords*, 11

⁷⁶ Venuti, 'The Destruction of Troy', 200.

⁷⁷ Major, 'Introduction', in *Sir John Denham (1614/5-1669) Reassessed*, 2.

the influence of her Royalist family, a young woman embroiled in the social circle nearest to her, seeing her engagement with the same kinds of texts - and to a large extent the same kinds of people - uninterrupted by the Civil War is much more disruptive to our notions of her progression into a Puritan writer. This latter part of the miscellany does, however, continue to illuminate Hutchinson's concerns and interests beyond the scope of theological engagement: namely translations and epic poetry. It is important to explore these interests, and the context in which they were fostered, as they continue to have a bearing on her later works which is often overlooked in favour of a more straightforward study of her republican inflected Puritanism.

'A Lady that hath been about': Hutchinson's literary world in the 1650s

There is evidence, offered by both DD/Hu1, and what we know of Hutchinson's life and writings, that she was also a member of a textual community in the 1650s. In 1658, the Catholic writer, Aston Cokayne (1608-1684), published a collection of poems which included a poem of advice written to his friend Alexander Brome.⁷⁸ This concerned Brome's translation of *De rerum natura*:

I know a Lady that hath been about
The same designe, but she must needs give out:
Your poet strikes too boldly home sometimes,
In geniall things, t'appear in womens rhimes,
The task is masculine, and he that can
Translate Lucretius, is an able man.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Martin Garrett, 'Cokayne, Sir Aston, baronet (1608-1684)', *ODNB* (Online, 2004): <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5819>.

⁷⁹ Cokayne, 'To my ingenious Friend Mr. Alexander Brome on his Essay to translate Lucretius', in *Small poems of diverse sorts*, 204.

The ‘Lady’ here is almost certainly Hutchinson, then at work on her own translation of the Epicurean poem. This Cokayne poem has been studied for what it tells us of the perception of Hutchinson, especially in regard to her gender.⁸⁰ Hutchinson’s *DRN* was, by her own admission, translated in private, ‘in a roome where my children practizd the severall qualities they were taught, with their Tutors’; how did Cokayne come to know of the poem?⁸¹ There are two, related, possible answers. Beginning on the same page of Cokayne’s *Small poems of diverse sorts* is one addressed to ‘my dear Cousin-Germans Mrs. Anne, Mrs. Elizabeth, Mrs. Phillipia, and Mrs. Dorothie Stanhope, Sisters’. This poem begins:

Lincolne was, *London* is, and *York* shall be
 The most renowned City of the three,
 Is an old saying: but now I must tell
Limbay (near *Nottingham*) doth all excel:
 Where live four Stanhopes of the female sex⁸²

The Stanhopes have strong familial connections to the Hutchinsons; Thomas Hutchinson, John’s father, married Katherine Stanhope following the death of his first wife, and their daughter Isabella (d. 1669) – rather scandalously – married her first cousin, the poet and translator, Charles Cotton (1630-1687): his mother, her aunt, was Olive Stanhope.⁸³ Related, and living geographically close to John and Lucy Hutchinson in the 1650s, perhaps the Stanhope sisters present a possible means of Cokayne’s knowledge of the Lucretius translation. Yet, Norbrook has also linked Cokayne to Cotton directly thanks to records of the poet borrowing books from Cotton’s extensive library (the two men were also cousins).⁸⁴ DD/Hu1 contains a sonnet by the French poet Théophile de Viau and an English paraphrase

⁸⁰ Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, ‘Lucy Hutchinson, gender, and poetic form’, *The Seventeenth Century* 30, no. 2 (2015), 279.

⁸¹ Hutchinson, ‘To the Right Honourable Arthur Earle of Anglesey’, in *Works I*, 6.

⁸² Cokayne, *Small poems*, 204-205.

⁸³ Paul Hartel, ‘Cotton, Charles (1630-1687)’, *ODNB* (Online, 2010).

⁸⁴ David Norbrook, ‘Introduction’, in *Works I*, xxiii. Cokayne writes in the preface to *A Chain of Golden Poems* that ‘my noble friend and kinsman Mr. Charles Cotton, sent me that single Play in Manuscript’ (London: Isaacs Pridmore, 1658), apology to the reader.

of the same by Charles Cotton. Although this paraphrase was not published until 1689, well after Hutchinson's death, it appears here between other items written in her own hand.⁸⁵ This item does not appear in a large gap: it is written on the verso 242 and recto 243, sandwiched between a ballad in Hutchinson's hand and a section of Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair' (hand 5) on recto 241 and verso 244 respectively.⁸⁶ As stated earlier, this manuscript is not the result of a retrospective collection of separates. I would suggest, therefore, that this would be an odd space – in a manuscript with a number of empty pages in the middle – to return to much later. As such, DD/Hu1 demonstrates that Cotton's paraphrase was in circulation earlier than its publication in the late 1680s, and that – through networks of textual communication – Hutchinson, or a member of the circle which compiled DD/Hu1, was in receipt of Cotton's manuscript materials. This is a suggestion supported by McDowell's recognition that the Théophile translations by Cotton 'were likely composed in the 1650s'.⁸⁷ The presence of this poem, while it may not attest to a direct social affiliation between Hutchinson and the royalist Cotton in the 1650 or early 60s, certainly implies that these writers were members of overlapping literary circles.⁸⁸ Combining this with Cokayne's knowledge of Hutchinson's *DRN* translation, which might, therefore have been circulated - whole, or in part - in manuscript, we are once again presented with a picture of Hutchinson within a network of manuscript textual transmission in the 1650s.⁸⁹ Norbrook's discovery of

⁸⁵ Charles Cotton, *Poems on Several Occasions Written by Charles Cotton* (London: Thomas Bassett, 1689), 574-575.

⁸⁶ Hutchinson's hand appears later in the manuscript, transcribing Waller's 'A Panegyrick to My Lord Protector' attesting to her ongoing involvement with DD/Hu1 after the Théophile translation: DD/Hu1, 251-158.

⁸⁷ Nicholas McDowell, 'Towards a Redefinition of Cavalier Poetics', *The Seventeenth Century* 32, no. 4 (2017), 421. This essay includes a copy of Cotton's translation found in DD/Hu1: 422.

⁸⁸ McDowell's essay, 'Towards Redefinition of Cavalier Poetics', links Cotton, Brome, Shirley, and John Denham as members of Thomas Stanley's post-war (1646) London circle of associates. Using the example of John Hall, who went on to be 'one of the leading propagandists of the Commonwealth regime', McDowell argues that 'politics was seemingly not the deciding factor of membership': 415-6.

⁸⁹ Hutchinson protests, in the dedication of *DRN* to Anglesey, that the text had 'by misfortune bene gone out of my hands in one lost copie'; her existence in these textual networks in the 1650s perhaps suggests that this plea should be read more as a trope of dedicatory writing than the truth; 'To the Right Honourable Arthur Earle of Anglesey', in *Works I*, 5.

Hutchinson's reply to Waller's *Panegyrick* in Add. MS 17018 (British Library) – volume one of the papers of Laurence Hyde (d.1711) – further supports her presence within a network of manuscript transmission which continued into the post-war years.⁹⁰

Indeed, it is thanks to the inclusion of Waller's *Panegyrick* that we know Hutchinson was still part of the composition process of this manuscript until at least 1655, when Richard Lowndes published a quarto version of this poem; Hutchinson's use of numbered stanzas and the title (which is different to that of the folio published in the same year) attest to her copying this particular version.⁹¹ While there is the possibility that this poem circulated in manuscript earlier than 1655, Norbrook has noted that gaps left by Hutchinson in the final lines of stanza 27 demonstrate that she was working from a printed version. The Lowndes's edition reads, 'Our neighbour-Princes trembled at their roar/ But our Conjunction makes them tremble more'. These are the final two lines on page six (a verso), placing them in a position where damage to the page could be localized, while the way in which this edition was printed means that tearing away of this bottom section would not leave the stanzas on the previous page unreadable. Hutchinson both attempts a reconstruction and leaves a gap demonstrating to Norbrook that 'she was clearly working from Richard Lowndes's quarto edition':⁹²

The Belgick princes trembled att their rore

action makes them tremble more⁹³

⁹⁰ Norbrook, 'Lucy Hutchinson Verses Edmund Waller', 61-86. For more details about this manuscript see 'The British Library: Additional MSS, numbers 17000 through 17999', *CELM* (Online): http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/british-library-additional-17000.html#british-library-additional-17000_id648033.

⁹¹ Edmund Waller, *A Panegyrick to my Lord Protector, of the present greatness and joynt interest of his Highness, and this nation. By E.W. Esq* (London, Richard Lowndes, 1655). A further copy was also printed in 1655: Edmund Waller, *A panegyrick to my Lord Protector, by a gentleman that loves the peace, union, and prosperity of the English nation* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1655).

⁹² Norbrook, 'Lucy Hutchinson Verses Edmund Waller', 62.

⁹³ DD/Hu1, 257.

This poem by Waller, however, is not the latest of his printed works copied by Hutchinson. His poem to Lady Morton, while dated ‘1650’, was only published as a broadside in 1661 and in Waller’s collected *Poems* in 1664.⁹⁴ Other manuscript copies of this poem suggest that it was not in circulation until the late 1650s at the earliest but offer no certainty as to the earliest possible date of composition.⁹⁵ Interestingly Hutchinson does not copy the final stanza of this poem into DD/Hu1. Aside from Denham’s *Aeneid*, no other poems in this manuscript have been copied incompletely and so this omission, rather than an act of choice, may be a mistake. This could possibly show that this copy was made from the 1664 printed edition of Waller’s poems, in which this final stanza begins a new page. To assume this would be conjecture, however, especially as Hutchinson follows the 1661 version in a few textual details. And so, it seems best to say that, due to the *Panegyrick*, we know Hutchinson to have been involved in the creation of this manuscript until at least 1655, but the *possibility* remains that her involvement continued into the 1660s.⁹⁶

Thus, I would suggest that there were two periods of composition for this manuscript: the late-1630s and the 1650s. The materials in the first half of the manuscript were compiled, most probably, within the textual and social network facilitated by Coleman and the Court at Richmond, the items in the reverse through Cotton and perhaps more remote forms of textual transmission. This positing of two periods of composition is supported by the fact that, aside from Hutchinson’s, no other hand appears in both halves of the manuscript. Yet, neither group – even that which she may have been part of during the Interregnum – supports the

⁹⁴ *To My Lady Morton on New-years-day, 1650 At the Louver in Paris* (London: Henry Herringman, 1661); Edmund Waller, *Poems &c. Written Upon several Occasions, and to Several Persons* (London: Henry Herringman, 1663/4), 178-180. DD/Hu1, 236-7.

⁹⁵ MS Locke e. 17 (Bodleian Library), compiled in part by John Locke, cannot be dated more certainly than ‘late 17th century’, while Rawl. poet. 84 (Bodleian Library) contains two dates, 1659 and 1663, but neither correspond directly to the date at which this poem was copied.

⁹⁶ In two textual differences between the 1661 and 1664 editions, Hutchinson follows the 1661: ‘titles’ rather than ‘Titles’, and ‘Nymph’ rather than ‘Nymph’.

critical assumption expressed by Kevin Sharpe, and supported by many others, that ‘these circles were rightly seen to share values as well as texts’.⁹⁷ Rather they suggest a more complicated relationship between both royalists and republicans, and between the world of politics and literary or artistic aesthetics. The ‘royalist’ materials gathered in DD/Hu1 are far from what we might expect, and an exploration of the social networks which aided in its creation present a challenge to our understanding of a bipartisan England divided by differing literary aesthetics. The next section of this chapter will briefly cover what kinds of literary interests this manuscript demonstrates; this is crucial as, this begins to show the ways in which Hutchinson adapted texts throughout her life, transforming previous compositions into new projects. Furthermore, the transformation of materials in DD/Hu1 into *OD* demonstrates that Hutchinson could separate a text from its original context and meld it to suit new ideological concerns.

‘As riper acorns from the shaken oaks’: the legacy of DD/Hu1

Most notably, DD/Hu1 reveals Hutchinson’s early interest in translation. Of the fifteen separate materials collected within its pages, six are translations, or notes compiled from a translation: the two *Aeneid* texts, Carew’s psalms, the translation of Théophile, and the notes made from Caussin’s *Holy Court*. The *Aeneid* texts take up most of the manuscript between them. The flyleaves of the notebook also contain Hutchinson’s own attempts at translation.⁹⁸ There, she writes some lines from Ovid’s *Heroides* in Latin before translating them on the facing page, and under that, her own translation of a Latin epigram by the Polish poet,

⁹⁷ Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, 60.

⁹⁸ DD/Hu3, DD/Hu4, and Add. MS 25901 also contain translation notes on their flyleaves.

Mathias Casimir (1595-1640).⁹⁹ The Casimir epigram is the only work in this manuscript which is referenced, Hutchinson titling the work, ‘Casimire. Epig. lib vnus p. 243 Ep. XXXIV’, and so we know her to have been working from the 1632 Antwerp edition of his works. It is arguable that these original translations have emerged from the same context as Hutchinson’s notes out of the *Holy Court* as they appear chiefly concerned with descriptions of love. Certainly, in her cherrypicked lines from Ovid, love - or the departure of love - seem to be the focus as she gives us the couplets, ‘yet if you love to wearinesse encline/ Rather my death then absent life enioyne’ and ‘Tis not your love that I implore/ Permitt me but mine Ile aske more’.¹⁰⁰ The Casmir epigram focuses on a conversation, finally arbitrated by God, as to whether Death or Love is the stronger force:

Once love and death about their triumphs stroue
 Death brought his quiver forth & so did Loue
 All bodies fall (sayd Death) by my sure darts
 My flaming shafts (sayd loue) doe vanquish hearts
 My victory greater is sayd death then thine
 Yet is (sayd loue) thy glory lesse then mine
 Darts had persued but that God vmpiring sayd
 Both equall Victors were, both vanquished.¹⁰¹

Hutchinson’s translation here is written in the same closed couplets of the other translations we find within DD/Hu1. Denham’s poem conforms to the heroic couplet, his translation of Book 4 beginning, ‘The Queen within her veines struck with desire/ Foments her wound & burns with secret fire’.¹⁰² Godolphin’s Book 4 similarly begins ‘Meane while the Queen fanning a secrett fire/ In her owne breat revolues her deep desire’.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ DD/Hu1, 208-207. She gives the Latin and translates Ovid, *Heriodes*, epigrams IV. 19-24, III. 139-40, XX. 35 and XV. 96. Casimir’s epigram is number XXXIV in, Mathias Casimir, *Lyricorum Libri IV* (Antwerp: Banm Moretus, 1632), 243.

¹⁰⁰ The latter is a rather loose translation of Ovid’s ‘non vt amas oro, verum vt amare sinas’ which translates more strictly as ‘not to love but permit yourself to be loved’.

¹⁰¹ DD/Hu1, 208.

¹⁰² DD/Hu1, 42.

¹⁰³ DD/Hu1, 206.

While Scott-Baumann rightly notes that across her works Hutchinson embraced ‘tetrameter and pentameter couplets, [and] three- and four- line stanzas of various meters’, this form of rhyming couplet is one Hutchinson favoured in her original compositions, *DRN* and *OD*.¹⁰⁴ That Hutchinson chose to write her biblical epic in couplets has been perceived to be at odds with the radical politics of the poem - the poem’s fixed structure is often viewed unfavourably in the light of Miltonic free-verse which has been perceived to better capture the radical nature of the ideology expressed.¹⁰⁵ Scott-Baumann has demonstrated that Hutchinson’s use of the style is freer in *OD* than in the examples provided in *DD/Hu1*, Hutchinson contracting or expanding some lines and frequently employing enjambement and ‘metrical irregularity to represent a disordered universe’.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Norbrook has argued that Hutchinson use of ‘open pentameter couplets, the syntax of which is often hard to confine within the boundaries of modern punctuation conventions’ aims in the direction of ‘sublimity’ as Milton’s free verse does.¹⁰⁷ That is, they both argue for an intentionality behind Hutchinson’s poetic form rather than perceiving irregularities in the rhyme or meter as mistakes. Scott-Baumann notes an historic reticence to assign intentionality to such playfulness in the writings of women, with scholarship only recently beginning to ask ‘not whether but *how* women used’ different poetic forms.¹⁰⁸ Later in her article, Scott-Baumann points to the discrepancy with how we have studied male writers:

When we read Wyatt, Donne or Milton - or even Waller or Crashaw or Cowley - we do usually start from the assumption that everything they do with rhyme or metre is

¹⁰⁴ Scott-Baumann, ‘Lucy Hutchinson, gender and poetic form’, 265.

¹⁰⁵ See particularly the work of Robert Wilcher; “‘Adventurous song’ or “presumptuous folly”: The Problem of “utterance” in John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and Lucy Hutchinson’s *Order and Disorder*”, *The Seventeenth Century* 21, no. 2 (2006), 304- 314, and ‘Lucy Hutchinson and *Genesis*: Paraphrase, Epic, Romance’, *English* 59, no. 224 (2010), 25-42.

¹⁰⁶ Scott-Baumann, ‘Lucy Hutchinson, gender and poetic form’, 266-272 (268).

¹⁰⁷ Norbrook, ‘John Milton, Lucy Hutchinson, and the Republican Biblical Epic’, in *Milton and the Grounds of Contention*, ed. Mark R. Kelley, Michael Lieb, and John T. Shawcross, 37-63 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003), cited in Scott-Baumann ‘gender and poetic form’, 265.

¹⁰⁸ Scott-Baumann, ‘gender and poetic form’ 265.

for aesthetic effect and probably our readings are the richer for this premise... Most readers today would probably find their readings of Wyatt's and Milton's effects more rewarding for being positive (looking for the effect these almost peerlessly talented poets were creating) rather than negative (looking for a correct solution to what must be stylistic errors).¹⁰⁹

Viewing *OD* and *DRN* in concert with this early notebook can encourage us to look positively at Hutchinson's own discrepancies - or playfulness - with form as it shows us a younger writer well versed in the practice of heroic couplets, transcribing examples from the works of others, and writing her own attempts at the form in translation.

A similar argument can perhaps be made regarding Hutchinson's use of Virgilian style in *OD*. Writing in the epic style of the classics, as with writing in heroic couplets, was often seen as the reserve of Royalist writers, especially post-Restoration. After 1660, as Tanya M. Caldwell argues, a classical, model was often used to align the stability created by the return of Charles II with Aeneas' founding of Rome. Dryden's poems, for example, 'rely upon Virgil to offer the finality that recent history cannot by promising the return of Justice and demonstrating the continuation, after disruption, of sacred history'.¹¹⁰ A Virgilian influence on Hutchinson's epic, therefore, might seem at odds with her vehement rejection of monarchical rule expressed in the poem. In *OD*, Satan is frequently depicted as an earthly ruler, guiding the reprobate communities as their 'tyrant', while the stabilising order Royalist poets ascribed to the Restoration is reserved for God alone:

¹⁰⁹ Scott-Baumann, 'gender and poetic form', 272-273.

¹¹⁰ Tanya M. Caldwell, *Virgil Made English: The Decline of Classical Authority* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 5. The relative scarcity of editions of Virgil's works in the mid-seventeenth century testifies to this perceived link between his declining popularity and the rise of the Republican movement; after 1632 there is no recorded publication of his works until John Ogiby's translation in 1649. Even after this, Virgil's works were mostly reproduced only in fragments - like those of Denham and Waller/ Godolphin - until Dryden's full translation in 1697. Caldwell argues that these fragments lacked threat as 'if Virgil works only in fragments, then the wholeness of sacred history (which he promises in the Servian tradition) is itself a myth', 31.

Th' unbounded fire breaks forth with dreadful light
And horrid cracks which dying nature fright,
Till that high Power which all powers regulates
The disagreeing natures separates,
The like to like rejoining as before,
So the world's peace, joy, safety doth restore.¹¹¹

And yet the influence of Virgil on Hutchinson's poem is undeniable, demonstrated not only in her chosen form, which matches with that of the mid-seventeenth century Virgilian translations we find in her miscellany, but also in her narrative style, choice of metaphor, and modes of description. For example, the fall of Sodom described in Canto 11 owes much to Virgil's description of the fall of Troy in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*. In an inverted version of Hector's advice to Aeneas to flee Troy, the young men of Sodom are roused by a speech to move to the battlefield to face their foe. This foe approaches 'with the fury of a violent flood', the mutilated bodies of the losing citizens falling 'as riper acorns from the shaken oaks' as they 'at first stood like firm rocks/ Amongst the raging waves'.¹¹² Hutchinson then describes the people of Sodom as they view the destruction of their city:

...for their minds were yet
Lost in amazement which their sad souls filled
When from the stately turret they beheld
The battle's loss, their vanquished friends, some dying
Some prisoners, some from fierce pursuers flying.¹¹³

In these descriptions Hutchinson has woven together different sections of *Aeneid* II. 290-320, focusing especially on Aeneas' first view of his falling city, translated in Denham's version as

I roused from slumber speedily ascend
The house top & listening there attend

¹¹¹ *OD*, 3.283-288.

¹¹² *OD*, 11.261, 272, 278-9.

¹¹³ *OD*, 11.298-302

As flames rowld by ye winds conspiring force
 Ore filleard corne or Torrents lappid course
 Beare downe th'opposing oakes the field destroys
 And all the oxens toyle th'onlookt for noyse
 From neighbouring rocks th'amazed sheep heard heares
 Such the eruption of their fraud appears ¹¹⁴

This description comes within a section of *OD* which, as Wesley Garey has noted, plays with the conventions of the epic form; he argues that Hutchinson uses the form of a messenger's speech to 'highlight the differences between the heroic value of the messenger's narrative and the providential perspective expressed by the rest of her poem'.¹¹⁵ Garey argues, following David Hopkins, that the process of adapting classical literature 'offered early modern poets the opportunity to engage in dialogue not only with the classical past, but also with rival responses to it by their immediate predecessors and contemporaries'.¹¹⁶ He sees Hutchinson's poem as conversational, therefore, partaking in a dialectical relationship with other seventeenth-century classical translations.

Furthermore, as God reminds his chosen people of their promised election and salvation, his speeches recall those of Jove in the *Aeneid*, drawing on Roman notions of 'imperial apotheosis'.¹¹⁷ In the first book of the *Aeneid*, Jove assures Venus of the security of Aeneas' line and the glory which will 'bear [her] great-hearted Aeneas up to the stars'. On them, he promises, 'I set no limits, space or time/ I have granted them power, empire without end' which is secured in his bloodline: 'From that noble blood will arise a Trojan Ceasar,/ His

¹¹⁴ DD/Hu1, 15. For a modern translation see Robert Fagles (trans.), *The Aeneid* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 84-85.

¹¹⁵ Garey, 'Rewriting Epic', 404.

¹¹⁶ Garey, 'Rewriting Epic', 404. See David Hopkins, *Conversing with Antiquity: English Poets and the Classics from Shakespeare to Pope* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹¹⁷ Garey, 'Rewriting Epic', 411.

empire bound by the Ocean, his glory by the stars'.¹¹⁸ In Canto 11, Hutchinson renders God promise to Abraham from Genesis 12.1-3 in an echo of this Virgilian model:

Come, leave these shores: I'll lead thee to a place,
Where thou, engendering an illustrious race,
Shalt be a blessing to the earth. In time
Thy glorious nephews by my grace shall climb
To starry seats. Delay not then, nor fear
To quit thy country and relations here¹¹⁹

In the later Cantos of *OD* this promise is frequently repeated, each time reflecting the language of Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹²⁰ As with Hutchinson's contrasting types of martial heroism in her messengers speech, here she seems to be using the Virgilian model to contrast the imperial glory of Aeneas with biblical understandings of true glory supplied by God as she 'simultaneously draws on the imaginative power of classical epic and redirects it'.¹²¹ As David Quint has noted of Milton's use of the epic style, Hutchinson appears to be reclaiming 'the Virgilian typology for God alone', presenting Him as the 'only true bestower of an intelligible historical narrative'.¹²²

However, these allusions to Virgil are not reserved to specific moments of *OD* in which Hutchinson inverts her classical model but are woven through the whole of the biblical epic. The very form of the poem is, as we have seen, a reflection of contemporary modes of classical translation, but Hutchinson also litters the text with smaller nods to Latin texts. One mode of doing so is her use of descriptive epithets which personify natural phenomena such

¹¹⁸ Fagles, *The Aeneid*, 1.310, 333-4, 342-3. For this speech see, *Aeneid* 1.250-300.

¹¹⁹ *OD*, 11.9-14. This sense of movement away from a perceived homeland towards the one that is actually promised is also writ large in the *Aeneid*. Garey notes that 'starry seats' here is a direct rendering of the Latin, 'sidera caeli' 'sublimenque ferres ad sidera caeli/ magnanimum Aenean'.

¹²⁰ See *OD*, 12.24-26, 15.288-9, 17.419-424.

¹²¹ Garey, 'Rewriting Epic', 413.

¹²² David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 45.

as the dawn, as, for example in the second Canto in which ‘perfumed morning opes her purple gates’ to reveal the sun ‘like a fresh bridegroom’, or in the 17th in which she describes sunrise again: ‘Next day, when bright Aurora did disclose/ Her purple rays, she with more splendour rose’.¹²³ These descriptions can be compared to Denham’s own translation: ‘Aurora then had left Tythonis bed/ An on ye earth her blushing rays had spread’, ‘when to ye world Aurora shall display/ with her bright rays the 9th desired day’.¹²⁴ These allusions are arguably different from her ‘pessimistic’ readings of the *Aeneid* visible in her adaptation of the fall of Troy and the messenger’s speech. Hutchinson undoubtedly recognised ‘another Virgil ...an alternative one that was available ... as a way to envision a society that was different in one or more ways from the one in which they lived’.¹²⁵ However, *OD*, perhaps, also moves beyond Kallendorf’s binary of modes of Virgilian imitation, Hutchinson accepting and engaging with the rich tradition of English classical translation and its stylistic features even as she pivots other sections of her text to undermine her classical source text.

As with the discussion of Hutchinson’s playful use of the heroic couplet, these arguments rest on an assumption of Hutchinson’s familiarity with the Virgilian text. This assumption is supported by the poem itself, by the allusions Hutchinson makes, but is bolstered when we bring *OD* alongside DD/Hu1. If the poem shows her in conversation with other classical translators, the notebook shows us who these contemporaries were. It is in the light of Hutchinson’s ongoing relationship with acts of classical translation that we can best understand the ways she uses adaptation within *OD* to, on the one hand, express her alternative world view, whether she is undermining the stability that was perceived to have arisen following the Restoration, or contrasting models of heroism or inspiration through

¹²³ *OD*, 2. 212, 215, 17.453-4.

¹²⁴ DD/Hu1, 63, 70.

¹²⁵ Craig Kallendorf, *The Other Virgil: ‘Pessimistic’ Readings of the Aeneid in Early Modern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 14.

conscious allusion to the Virgilian model, and, on the other, engage with the English tradition of classical imitation she inherited from the likes of Denham and Godolphin. Writing about the agency of female translators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jamie Goodrich explores the concept of ‘habitus’ (a word borrowed from the French scholar Pierre Bourdieu).¹²⁶ This ‘habitus’, Goodrich argues, ‘makes possible a cast range of attitudes and behaviours that are constituted within a specific cultural context’. Thus, ‘without knowledge of the proper habitus, or conventions, that govern a given field, individuals lack the ability to participate successfully in that field’.¹²⁷ With scholarly attention frequently drawn to Hutchinson’s use of classical allusion within the poem and how this works alongside the biblical narrative, to omit DD/Hu1 from our considerations would seem to miss out a crucial step in our understanding of the depth of Hutchinson’s engagement with modes of adapting and translating classical works.

A study of DD/Hu1, then, first and foremost gives us a more dynamic understanding of Hutchinson’s ‘discursive horizons’, both presenting us with a clear (if partial) record of what she read and, with a little digging, those with whom she shared a social or textual network at two different points in her life.¹²⁸ Exploring these horizons, Kate Narveson argues, allows us to ‘shift the focus from the text’s voice as personal expression to its rhetoric and cultural engagement’ - a crucial shift in the study of women’s writing which has been troubled by ‘notions ... of a direct authorial utterance unmediated by culture’.¹²⁹ In situating the composition of DD/Hu1, and, by extension, Hutchinson herself, within the courtly circle of Queen Henrietta Maria, or the network of Royalist-supporting writers of the 1650s and 1660s

¹²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990), 53-55.

¹²⁷ Jamie Goodrich, *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (Evanston: Northwest University Press, 2014), 9-10.

¹²⁸ Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*, 119.

¹²⁹ Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*, 119-120.

I do not seek to belie the independent radicalism of Hutchinson's other compositions. Indeed, as we have seen, a more dynamic understanding of the scope of Hutchinson's 'discursive horizons' can actually aid our comprehension of the anti-royalist stance of *OD* by unearthing her long-standing engagement with the form she has adapted to her republican purpose. Yet, within this must come a reassessment of sorts, both of Hutchinson and of radical seventeenth century writing more generally. This reassessment has been encouraged by McDowell who, in *The English Radical Imagination*, set out to offer a 'reconstruction of the various relationships between the orthodox intellectual and literary culture of early modern England and the development and expression of heterodox belief in the mid-seventeenth century'.¹³⁰ In opposition to Hill and Keeble, McDowell believes that radical belief was the 'product of dialogue between orthodoxy and heterodoxy' and, as such, did not spring into being as a 'sudden response to the regicide or a counter-cultural phenomenon'.¹³¹ The relationship between DD/Hu1 and *OD* offers, perhaps, a small example of this process of cultural exchange and transformation. Using the example of Milton's early poetry, McDowell has also argued that we should not necessarily study works of the early-seventeenth century with an expectation of partisanship. This period was, it seems, one actually defined by a certain aesthetic flexibility, a time before 'political division politicised all literary genres and forms'.¹³² Hutchinson's miscellany presents us with an example of literary engagement and personal association across ideological boundaries, the Anglican writing of Carew sitting alongside the Jesuit Caussin in a notebook the purpose of which was the formation and upholding of social connections through shared literary endeavour. By 1679, Hutchinson's engagement with Virgil's *Aeneid* had transformed from literary exercise into political engagement, and the early draft of Denham's own translation, recorded in DD/Hu1, alerts us

¹³⁰ McDowell, *The English Radical Imagination*, 1.

¹³¹ McDowell, *The English Radical Imagination*, 9, 12.

¹³² Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, 158.

to a similar transformation in the Royalist writer. Denham's concern in the 1630s/40s appeared to be linguistic fidelity to his source material. In contrast, the published excerpt from the mid-century focuses on the death of Priam and culminates in an obviously partisan depiction of the events of 1649: 'On the cold earth lies th' unregarded King/ A headless Carkass, and a nameless thing'.¹³³ Both writers, then, alert us to a mid-century shift in the understanding of one's engagement with literary texts.

DD/Hu1 also demonstrates, the fundamental importance of situating Hutchinson's writings within their specific contexts, of viewing them as social compositions with intended audiences even if they remained in manuscript. It demonstrates the crucial intersect between *what* Hutchinson was writing, *who* that writing may have been for, and, thus, the purpose or efficacy of the manuscript or printed text. This intersect is something to which this thesis will frequently return as it seeks to understand Hutchinson's ecclesiastical articulations in context.

¹³³ Denham, *The Destruction of Troy*, 31.

‘A favourer of separatists’: Codification of familial belief in *The Memoirs of Colonel John*

Hutchinson

Introduction

The first chapter argued that Hutchinson, in the 1630s, 1640s and 1650s, was relatively free in her social associations, her literary life driven by intellectual interest and the desire to cement social affiliations even across ideological boundaries. Certainly, as Norbrook writes in his own exploration of the context of her Lucretius translation, Hutchinson’s ‘own intellectual profile up to [the 1650s] was far from emphatically puritan’.¹ Manuscript circulation was clearly a key part of Hutchinson’s social world and an important influence on her literary development from 1636-1660. DD/Hu1 is an expression of Hutchinson’s multifaceted social networks, but also a demonstration of how she upheld these affiliations. In 1664/5 we find Hutchinson composing a different kind of manuscript, one which was designed for a very different community: the *Memoirs*.²

Love notes that manuscript circulation bonded ‘groups of like-minded individuals into a community, sect, or political faction, with the exchange of texts in manuscript seeming to nourish a shared set of values and enrich personal allegiances’.³ This is undoubtedly

¹ Norbrook, ‘Introduction’, in *Works I*, xxv.

² The mid-1660s is generally believed to be the composition date of the *Memoirs*. It must have been written after John’s death, probably quite soon after. C. H. Firth offers the most compelling evidence for the latest possible date of composition, noting that when Hutchinson relates the imprisonment of Captain Wright and Lieutenant Franck, she writes as though they were still in prison: ‘where they are yet prisoners, and to this day knowe not why’. Wright was discharged on lack of evidence in July 1671, and so the *Memoirs* must have been written before this time. Firth, ‘Introduction’, in *Memoirs* xiv. See also, P. R. Seddon, ‘The Dating of the Completion of the Composition of the *Memoirs of Colonel John Hutchinson*: The Evidence of the Imprisonment of Captain John Wright and Lieutenant Richard Franck’, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* 120 (2016), 113-20.

³ Love, *Scribal Publication*, 177.

demonstrated by both DD/Hu1 and DD/Hu4, but the scale of exchange gestured to by these two texts is remarkably different. The associative network of DD/Hu1 was wide, shifting between the 1630s and 1650s, and seemingly not defined by political or religious allegiance. DD/Hu4, on the other hand, composed after the Restoration, was written specifically for Hutchinson's family. Not only that but, as we shall see, the manuscript itself exhorts the narrowest forms of association based not on shared literary interest, but a precise understanding of the Word of God which, in turn, fosters an ecclesiology that rejects earthly association almost entirely.

We are aided in our comparison of Hutchinson's pre- and post-Restoration articulations of association by the earlier account of John's 'services' to Nottingham during the Civil War written in 1645.⁴ Much of this manuscript account forms the basis for the early part of the *Memoirs* but there are significant differences to Hutchinson's depiction of John's loyalty and associative practices. Hutchinson's depiction of John changes from a man defined by his political sensibilities to one utterly divorced from earthly forms of allegiance; as Giuseppina Iacono Lobo has noted, Hutchinson's 'recycling of text ... was not without revision, reframing and in some case, rewriting'.⁵ The first section of this chapter will ask why Hutchinson radically shifts her depiction of John's loyalty in this way and what this change implies for her post-Restoration understanding of the intersect between religion and politics. Exploring this change in emphasis, this chapter will interrogate the assumption that republicanism and nonconformity were inextricably linked in the mid-seventeenth century. In

⁴ Henceforth, 'the Services'.

⁵ Giuseppina Iacono Lobo, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Revisions of Conscience', *English Literary Renaissance* 42, no. 2 (Spring, 2012), 324.

answer to Glenn Burgess' question, 'can religion be properly separated from politics?', Hutchinson's *Memoirs* appears to answer positively.⁶

It is crucial to explore the scriptural exegesis which underpins Hutchinson's description of John. In the *Memoirs* Hutchinson depicts John's commitment to Scripture as absolute: 'in matters of faith his reason allwayes submitted to the word of God and what he could not comprehend he would belieue because twas written'.⁷ Jeremy Schildt has argued that 'reading and making sense of life were intimately connected in the early modern period, and no more so ... than in the context of Bible reading'.⁸ How did scriptural exegesis allow Hutchinson to reconceptualise the links between sacred history and recent events and, furthermore, to reimagine forms of association through a new understanding of the Old Testament church?

Centrally, this chapter will interrogate the ways in which the *Memoirs* articulates a Separationist ecclesiology. This requires attention to the central text in DD/Hu4, 'the life of John Hutchinson of Owthorpe ... esquire', but also to the long lists of biblical passages organised under headings which are found after this account. These 'commonplaces' have largely been overlooked by scholars, but I argue that they are central to an understanding of the *Memoirs* - they are part of the same textual venture and have arisen from the same context of familial scriptural study. Bringing these notes to the fore for the first time, we can ask: what is the relationship between the narrative and these 'commonplaces'? Arguing that the retrospective editing of John's allegiances and the emphasis on his role as a scriptural exegete

⁶ Glenn Burgess, 'Introduction: Religion and the Historiography of the English Civil War', in *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited*, ed. Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (London: Routledge, 2011), 4.

⁷ DD/Hu4, 11.

⁸ Jeremy Schildt, 'Protestant Bible Reading' in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, edited by Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 191.

are intimately related to the purpose of this manuscript, I will ask how the biblical notes encourage true ecclesiastical reform by acting as written record of John's beliefs. Their inclusion transforms DD/Hu4 from a biographical account of John's life into a manuscript, which functions as a codification of the family's idiosyncratic kind of Puritan belief, a manifesto of Hutchinson's imagined form of religious association.

Republican hero or Puritan Saint: Changing forms of Association 1640-1660

Hutchinson first wrote a biographical account of her husband's role during the Civil War in 1645/46.⁹ The manuscript begins very simply with the first 'service' performed by John:

The first service M^r John Hutchinson under tooke in this County was to accompany a petition which the well affected of the County had made to his M^{tie} y^t he would be pleased to returne to his Parliament which petition was carried to Yorke by ~~the~~ some of the men of best quallitie whose hands were to it and deliuered in the spring of 1641¹⁰

'The Services' manuscript was written specifically to defend John from attacks against his governance which were appearing in print during the 1640s. As I have argued elsewhere, it is best understood in the context of the burgeoning pamphlet culture of the 1640s, as a text intended as a public document even if it was never published.¹¹ The key purpose of this earlier manuscript was to present John's loyalty to Nottingham, even in the face of personal loss, to 'dispel the notion that John had acted in self-interest, or for private gain'.¹² Therefore, in this opening we are presented with John acting in the service of his 'county',

⁹ Lucy Hutchinson, autograph manuscripts, biography of John Hutchinson, Add. MSS 25901, 37997 and 46712 (British Library), and NCR 1912-59 (Nottingham Castle Museum).

¹⁰ Add. MS 39779, 42r.

¹¹ Anna Wall, "'Not so much open professed enemies as close hypocritical false-hearted people": Lucy Hutchinson's manuscript account of the services of John Hutchinson and mid-seventeenth-century factionalism', *The Seventeenth Century* 36, no.4 (June, 2020), 623-651. On 'the Services', see Norbrook, "But a Copie".

¹² Wall, 'Lucy Hutchinson's manuscript account of the services of John Hutchinson', 640.

Nottinghamshire. Throughout the account, Hutchinson stresses John's unfailing loyalty to his fellow men, even in the face of opposition from within his own forces. The narrative focuses on a religious divide, pitting the Puritan John against his fellow Presbyterian committee members, but always as a means of demonstrating his utmost commitment to the Republican cause: his religious and political allegiances intersect. As such, John's actions in 'the Services' are always defined in relation to his political loyalty - his affiliation with the Parliamentary army is his defining feature. By the mid-1660s, when Hutchinson reused many sections of 'the Services' in the construction of the *Memoirs*, she radically reframed John's loyalty at the expense of these inter-personal associations.

Lobo, the only scholar to have offered a comparative reading of the *Memoirs* and 'the Services', argues that the changes Hutchinson makes to the later biographical account, transform 'her husband's character into a consistent man of conscience'.¹³ Studying the moments in which Hutchinson reframes John's decision-making process, Lobo notes that Hutchinson's depiction of John in the *Memoirs* allows her to create an 'inextricable bond between her husband's dedication to a 'free Republic' and his sense of himself as a good Christian'.¹⁴ Lobo is not alone in positing the depiction of John in the *Memoirs* as one which suggests that his republicanism and his nonconformity are inseparable. Erica Longfellow describes how Hutchinson furthers 'the republican cause both she and her husband fought for... demonstrat[ing] that John Hutchinson's cause is in fact God's cause', while many argue that the depiction of John's religious commitment was a means of securing his legacy as a republican.¹⁵ However, I would argue that rather than enhancing John's loyalty to his

¹³ Lobo, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Revisions of Conscience', 328.

¹⁴ Lobo, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Revisions of Conscience', 329.

¹⁵ Erica Longfellow, 'The Transfiguration of Colonel Hutchinson in Lucy Hutchinson's elegies', in *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England*, 191. See especially Derek Hirst, 'Remembering a Hero: Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs of her Husband', *The English Historical Review* 119 (2004), 682-91, and Katherine Gillespie, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Ghost and the Politics of Representation'.

fellow republicans, the changes between ‘the Services’ and Hutchinson’s post-1660 account often distance him from them, refiguring his loyalty beyond any political ties; in the *Memoirs* John’s Christianity comes at the expense of his republicanism. John’s cause is undoubtedly ‘God’s cause’, but, in her retrospective account, Hutchinson separates this cause from any specifically political aims.

For example, both manuscripts contain an account of Sir Richard Byron’s demands that John give up command of Nottingham castle to Royalist forces in the mid-1640s. John refused, calling witnesses for his response. In ‘the Services’ John’s reply is marked by loyalty to his fellow men, rejecting Byron on the grounds that he (John) was not ‘soe base & unworthy as y^t it were possible for rewards to make him a traitor ...he did not find himselfe prone to such treacheries ... [and] basenesse’.¹⁶ His refusal here is couched in the language of political allegiance, stressing his loyalty to other men. Conversely, when the same incident is recounted in the *Memoirs*, John’s response is framed by his religious conviction:

the grounds he went on were such that he very much scornd so base a thought as to *sell his faith* for base rewards or feares and therefore could not consider the losse of his estate which his wife was willing to part with as himselfe in this cause wherein he was resolut to *persist in the same place in which it had pleasd god to call him to the defence of*¹⁷

Defined by his political commitment in 1640, in the 1660s Hutchinson revises this section to promote John’s loyalty not to men, but to God.

In the *Memoirs*, then, Hutchinson clearly defines the boundary between earthly and godly loyalty, and where, ultimately, John’s true allegiances lay. Early on in the war, John was willing to overlook the behaviour of his Parliamentarian associates towards him - the very

¹⁶ MS 25901, 20r.

¹⁷ DD/Hu4,150. Emphasis added.

reason for the writing of ‘the Services’ - so long as they upheld the same religious values: ‘so did not their weakenesses censures ingratitude and discouraging behaviour with which he was abundantly exercised all his life make him forsake them in any thing wherein they adhered to iust and honorable principles or practizes’.¹⁸ However, when these values were ‘apostatized from ... none cast them off with greater indignation, how shining soever the profession were that guilt not a temple of living grace but a Tomb which only held the carcase of religion’.¹⁹ John’s ultimate aim is the reformation of religion - only if his fellow men held the same principles, could he fight alongside them. Indeed, in this same section, in which Hutchinson explains how John did not wear his hair in the typical roundhead fashion, she expressly states that ‘Mr Hutchinson chose not them but the god they served’.²⁰ In the 1640s, the physician, Dr Huntingdon Plumtre (1601-1660), fell afoul of this distinction.²¹ Hutchinson records a street argument between John and his fellow committee member. Plumtre, expressing distaste at the men John has decided to keep with him in the castle - ‘a company of Puritanicall prickeard rascalls’ - is told by John that he has, in fact, kept with him ‘the most faithfull friends to the Cause’:

Plumtre replied he was as honest to the Cause as the Governor No sayd the Governor (who was not ignorant of his Atheisme) that you cannot be for you goe not vpon the same Principles²²

Being a Presbyterian (atheist), Plumtre cannot possibly be fighting for God’s righteous cause - the same ‘principles’ - as the Hutchinsons. While the difficulties between John and his Presbyterian colleagues is writ large in ‘the Services’ narrative, it is rooted in the physical problems they cause John: his loss of income, mutiny among his soldiers, the questioning of his political loyalty. While they are divided by religious differences, *political* infighting is the

¹⁸ DD/Hu4, 104.

¹⁹ DD/Hu4, 104. ‘guilt’ may either be a slip of the pen, Hutchinson meaning to write ‘built’, or she may mean gilt - to have gilded, decorated. ‘Temple of living grace’ comes from II Corinthians 6:16.

²⁰ DD/Hu4, 104.

²¹ C. Batey, ‘Plumtre [Plumtre], Huntingdon’, *ODNB* (Online, 2004).

²² DD/Hu4, 138.

reason for their fractured relationships; in his refusal of Byron discussed above, John's concern is that he may be branded a 'traitor' of the army, rather than apostatising from God's 'principles'. 'Atheisticall' is reserved, in 'the Services', for the Royalist forces, Lord Newcastle and his 'papisticall armie'.²³ In the 1640s account John still fights for the 'public good', but there is a sense that this is separate from his personal religious aims.

In the *Memoirs*, however, John is not presented as a man loyal to the Parliamentary cause, but to his own religious principles and his conscience, his greatest wish being to lead England towards a true reformation. The text argues retrospectively against the assumption that 'religious parties became in the Civil War surrogates for political parties'.²⁴ Hutchinson depicts John as a true independent, supporting the act of regicide, not for the army's sake but for the people and, most importantly, God. Urging action against the King, John argues that his return to power would be both 'vnconsistent with the liberty of the people' but also, more importantly, 'false to the covenant of their God which was to extirpate prelacy not to lease it'.²⁵

As Hutchinson writes in the description of John's virtues, he would 'cheerfully' set all other concerns 'att the hazard' of Christian principles and would 'part with them all att gods call and for gods cause': 'when god turnd the greate wheele in this nation he re-examined all his former ways and actions and the lord gaue him comfort conformation and great advancement'.²⁶ Standing in opposition to the Presbyterians, John at this time 'was soone taken notice of for one of the Independent faction', but Hutchinson is clear to maintain John's distance from any of this infighting. Instead, John rests secure in his own principles: 'to speak

²³ Add MS 25901, 16v.

²⁴ Burgess, 'Introduction: Religion and the Historiography of the English Civil War', 5.

²⁵ DD/Hu4, 284.

²⁶ DD/Hu4, 9.

the truth they very little knew him that could say he was of any faction for he had a strength of iudgement able to consider things himselfe and propound them to his conscience'.²⁷ As Hutchinson also writes in her description of John's virtues, 'every pretender to that glorious family [of Christians] which has no tincture of it is an imposter and a spurious brat'.²⁸ On this basis, John remained faithful to the army 'so long as [they] resisted the vniust impositions and remaind firme to their first pious engagement'.²⁹ The divide between godly and ungodly is absolute and cannot be overlooked for political gain. John's conscience is led by God, his one loyalty not to earthly political reformation, but true reformation of the church. By the 1660s Hutchinson presents the two as incompatible.

These two causes - political and religious - had, in retrospect for Hutchinson, been incompatible for a very long time. The historical framework of the *Memoirs* stretches as far back as the Reformation, an event which, Hutchinson makes clear in her text, did very little to achieve reform. In a section which draws on Thomas May's *The History of the Parliament of England* (1647), Hutchinson recounts the history of England from the time of Luther to the beginning of the Civil War, which begins,

here I must make a short digression from our particular actions to summe up the state of the kingdome at that time ... I shall only mention what is necessary to be ~~knew~~ remembered for the better carrying on of my purpose... When the dawne of the Gospell began to breake vpon this Isle, after the darke midnight of Papacy the morning was more cloudy here then in other places, by reason of the state interest, which was mixing and working itself into the interest of religion and which in the end quite wrought it out ...there wanted not many, who discerned the corruptions that were reteind in the Church, and eagerly applied their endeavours to obtaine a purer reformation³⁰

²⁷ DD/Hu4, 252.

²⁸ DD/Hu4, 7.

²⁹ DD/Hu4, 253.

³⁰ DD/Hu4, 63-64.

Unlike her focused account of John's services recorded in the 1640s, in the *Memoirs* Hutchinson felt it imperative that she record the wider history of sixteenth-century Europe. That she 'must' make this digression from her central narrative alerts us to the inseparable relationship between the personal events of their lives in the mid-seventeenth century and the European religious crisis of the sixteenth. In Hutchinson's mind, these attempts to 'obtaine a purer reformation' failed. The Reformation under Henry VIII was a failure which only swapped 'forreigne yoake for homebread fetters'.³¹ Apostacy continued unchecked in mid-sixteenth century England as the emerging brand of Christianity 'was nothing but a falling away from the pure spirituall worship of god and the acknowledgement of the ~~same~~ ~~Jesu~~ kingdome power and glory of the Lord Jesus to the superstitious idolatries of the gentiles and the abrogated cerimonies and finisht types of the Jewes'.³² Hutchinson concludes of Henry VIII that she 'cannot subscribe to those who entitle the King to the honor of beginning a reformation all that he made was a little rout'.³³ Unlike her source material, May, Hutchinson views negatively the interlocking of Church and state which continued well after the Reformation - she rejects his 'more conciliatory view'.³⁴ As Hutchinson writes that state interest was 'mixing and working itself into the interest of religion', so May's text begins with a discussion of Queen Elizabeth who 'had woven the interest of her own State so inseparably into the cause of Religion it selfe, that it was hard to overthrow one without the ruine of the other'.³⁵ Yet, while this interweaving of religion and politics is praised in May (God 'not onely hold [Elizabeth] up from sinking, but lift[ed] her above the heads of all her enemies'), it is condemned in Hutchinson's prose as the beginning of the final downfall of

³¹ DD/Hu4, 64.

³² DD/Hu4, 63.

³³ DD/Hu4, 64.

³⁴ Norbrook, 'But a copie', 113.

³⁵ Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England: Which began November the third, M.DC.XL With a short and necessary view of some precedent yeares* (London: Moses Bell, 1647), 3.

true religion.³⁶ Hutchinson admits their difference of interpretation as she urges her reader to consult May but remain wary of ‘some little mistakes in his owne iudgement and more indulgence to the kings guilt than can justly be allowed’.³⁷ I am not, here, suggesting that May goes so far as to articulate a Royalist support for the monarchy in opposition to Hutchinson. Rather, my reading aligns with Gary Rivett’s assertion that his history was ‘part of a broader [Parliamentary] attempt to create a usable past for institutional purposes’, a body of work which ‘sought to identify Parliament with responsible governance and protection of the kingdom’.³⁸ As Rivett notes, Elizabeth I had May’s support because of her ‘successful collaboration with Parliament in a number of policy areas’.³⁹ May’s project was fundamentally different to Hutchinson’s as he stressed the triumph of the religious Reformation and the continued success of Parliament to uphold peace and prosperity.

Hutchinson, on the other hand, believed that the Reformation had, ultimately, failed. John Spurr notes this as a common feeling among English Puritans and ascribes it to the ‘unusual nature of England’s break from the Church of Rome’ which was more ‘an act of state’ than an evangelical movement.⁴⁰ For Hutchinson, even in the mid-seventeenth century, the English church had not been reformed, but was still in the process of reformation, a process which was being continuously disrupted: ‘the former sort of these, in zeale to reduce the whole land ~~into one form of worship~~ from their idolatrous practices procurd lawes, did invent oaths to suppress popery w^{ch} they little thought, but *wee now sadly find*, are the bitterst engines to batter downe the pure worship, and destroy the pure worshipers of God’.⁴¹

³⁶ May, *The History of the Parliament of England*, 3-4.

³⁷ DD/Hu4, 88.

³⁸ Gary Rivett, ‘Peacemaking, Parliament, and the Politics of the Recent Past in the English Civil Wars’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (Winter, 2013), 593, 594.

³⁹ Rivett, ‘Peacemaking, Parliament’, 603

⁴⁰ John Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 8.

⁴¹ DD/Hu4, 64. Emphasis added.

Hutchinson continues, in a passage she later excised, to write of God's displeasure with 'the building of his temple vp with humane inventions'.⁴² This displeasure is the same that faced Uzzah, one of the men chosen to escort the Ark of the Covenant in 2 Samuel 6: 'and it may not very vnfitly be applied to Vzzahs zeale who fell himselfe for his presumption in thinking to vphold gods Arke in a way that God had not prescribed'.⁴³ John's break away from his political ties aligns with the army's turn away from the Godly principles for which they had stood towards the same intermixing of the church and state which had defined the pre-war period. Having obtained glory 'for the advantage of Gods and their countries interests', the Presbyterians then magnified their own role in the success: 'God that was the principall author was not lookd vpon and gaue them therefore vp to become their owne and others Idolls and so to fall'.⁴⁴ Caught up in their own 'Tirannicall impositions', the Presbyterian party separated from the true means of reform and had to be 'humbled ... againe beneath their conquerd vassalls'.⁴⁵

True reformation is, for Hutchinson, an idea to be discussed in the future tense: 'it pleased God to cause that light to breake forth about Luthers time which hath euer since bene encreasing and notwithstanding all the attempts of Sathan and his ministers will in the end grow vp to a glorious flame that will quite deuoure that bloody city'.⁴⁶ While the turn away from Popery was to be applauded, England was grossly misguided as to the means of achieving this shift. Hutchinson articulates this idea in a paraphrase of Paul's letter to the Ephesians (6:11-17): 'we haue spirituall weapons giuen vs for spirituall combates and those who goe about to conquer subiects for Christ with swords of steele shall find the false mettall

⁴² DD/Hu4, 65.

⁴³ DD/Hu4, 65.

⁴⁴ DD/Hu4, 253.

⁴⁵ DD/Hu4, 253.

⁴⁶ DD/Hu4, 65.

breaks to shivers when it is used'.⁴⁷ In the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson shows John gravitating towards the correct means of achieving reform. The resituating of John's loyalty away from his political associations shows him adopting the true - spiritual - method of reform, rather than participating in yet another failed attempt founded on human action.

John's rejection of those who do not share his 'principles', thus, fits in to the wider schema of the *Memoirs* as a text which seeks the true ecclesiastical reformation of England. It is not political change which John hopes to bring about, but 'a purer reformation' which, Hutchinson makes very clear, cannot be achieved by human imposition. Readings of the *Memoirs* have, however, so far been shaped by an understanding that the text presents John as both an unbending Puritan *and* a loyal Republican. Readings of this kind have often been focused on Hutchinson's account of her role in forging the letter which asked for John's pardon after the Act of Oblivion. Lobo, for example, views the section of the narrative as part of a wider depiction of John's unwavering political commitment as she 'seeks to further the republican cause through this portrait of her husband's revised conscience'.⁴⁸ Damned by both sides after his attempt to gain pardon, yet now safe in death, Hutchinson could use the *Memoirs* to restore John's reputation with at least one side.

However, considering what we have already seen of Hutchinson's efforts to separate political from religious aims - the incompatibility of earthly politics and divine providence - I would like to offer a rereading of the forgery of John's letter. Exploring the biblical precedents for Hutchinson's account of wifely disobedience, the next section of this chapter will study how the forgery enhances John's separation from earthly association - physically as well as more

⁴⁷ DD/Hu4, 65.

⁴⁸ Lobo, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Revisions of Conscience', 319.

metaphorically - and works alongside the wider depiction of John across the manuscript as an Old Testament patriarch. Through this, Hutchinson is able to depict him as the founding father of a new kind of Church, his actions as the first step on the way to 'a purer reformation'.

'Singled ... out for preservation': divine providence and the forgery

In the *Memoirs*, John's independence of conscience in the matter of the regicide separates him from the multitude who after the Restoration 'belied themselves and [sayd] they we[re] vnder the awe of the Armie and ouer perswaded by Cromwell and the like yet it is certaine that all men herein were left to their free liberty of acting neither perswaded nor compell'd'.⁴⁹ These men, desperate to save themselves, 'restreated not for conscience but for feare' and thus 'fullfilld' Christ's saying: 'he that will saue his life shall loose it and he that for my sake will loose his life shall saue it'.⁵⁰ This depiction of John as unwavering in his principles, in fact, requires some retrospective editing on Hutchinson's part. For, a letter was sent to Charles II begging for John's pardon in the exact terms dismissed by Hutchinson in the *Memoirs*. The letter states that John was misled by the 'subtile arts of those men, who deduced not only me, but thousands more in those unhappie dayes... to haue fallen into their pernicious snares, when neither my owne mallice avarice or ambition, but an ill guided iudgement led me'.⁵¹ John was driven to his decision to apologise by the same 'conviction of [his] conscience' that Hutchinson depicts as so important in his decision to support, and even promote, the regicide. In the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson tells us that the letter was forged, written by her as a wife's attempt to save her husband's life. Seeing that John was 'ambitious of

⁴⁹ DD/Hu4, 288.

⁵⁰ DD/Hu4, 289. Luke 17:33.

⁵¹ 'Col. John Hutchinson to the Speaker of the House of Commons', 1660, SP 29/3 (The National Archives), f.45.

being a publick sacrifice', she 'resolud to disobey him': 'she writt her husbands name to the letter and venturd to send it in being usd sometimes to write the letters he dictated and her character not so much different from his'.⁵²

That Hutchinson presents this letter as her own, penned against the wishes of her husband, has been much discussed. Most accept Hutchinson's claim that she did indeed forge the letter; it is, after all, almost certainly in her hand.⁵³ Dereck Hirst is the only scholar to radically stray from this position, arguing that archival evidence suggests that John had undergone a Royalist conversion pre-1660; his arguments have since been rebuffed by Norbrook's rereading of the archival materials.⁵⁴ However, the possibility does remain that John was well aware, and in support, of the letter asking for his pardon - that it was a collaborative endeavour by wife *and* husband to clear his name. C. H. Firth, the second editor of the *Memoirs*, cites a second letter to the House of Lords, six weeks after the letter to the speaker, in which John also offers an apology. This letter, and the endorsement of the first ('a copy of my letter to ye house of Commons') do seem to be in John's hand, offering evidence of his involvement in seeking his pardon.⁵⁵ Whatever the exact truth of the matter, in the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson works hard to resituate John's pardon as the result of her own betrayal. Lobo, along with Hurst, argues that the *Memoirs* is a 'very anxious text. The language of conscience throughout is insistent and reiterated precisely because Lucy Hutchinson has something to hide'.⁵⁶ Once again, though, she attributes Hutchinson's concern to her

⁵² DD/Hu4, 348-49.

⁵³ See appendix C for a transcription of this letter.

⁵⁴ Derek Hirst, 'Remembering a Hero'. David Norbrook, 'Memoirs and Oblivion: Lucy Hutchinson and the Restoration', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (Summer, 2012), 233-82.

⁵⁵ Firth, *Memoirs*, xx-xxiv.

⁵⁶ Lobo, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Revisions of Conscience', 318.

perceived need to present John as a committed republican: the account of this forgery enables Hutchinson to transform John into ‘a martyr for the republican cause’.⁵⁷

Yet, we have seen that John’s loyalty to the republican cause only stretched so far, his political affiliation ending when the religious ‘principles’ of his allies no longer matched his own. In her account of the forgery, Hutchinson argues against the need for John to become a martyr - ‘a publike sacrifice’ for the republicans. Instead, Hutchinson demonstrates her understanding of God’s providential plan which required John to stay alive in order to turn his attention to scriptural study. As Erin Murphy is correct to point out, the concept of true providence discovered by a disobedient wife is one which finds precedence in the story of Rebecca and Isaac. Murphy draws a comparison between Hutchinson’s deceit and that of Rebecca as it is presented by her in *OD* (Canto 18): ‘in both cases, female duplicity gets redefined as pious when it is understood as part of sacred history’.⁵⁸ In the section recounting the forgery Hutchinson is careful to stress the providence which marks her deception. Deliberating the delivery of the letter, Hutchinson is met by some gentlemen who ‘were not of the friends she relied on but God to shew that it was he not they sent two common friends who had a good success’.⁵⁹ Many more ‘providentiall circumstances concurr’d’ in the success of Hutchinson’s venture including the good humour of the House, and the support of Allen Apsley and other men who ‘iustified [John’s] cleare & vpright carriage’.⁶⁰ Even so, Hutchinson does not attribute the success of her venture to these men, but to the ‘ouer-ruling power of him that orders all mens hearts who was then pleasd to reserue his servant euen by the good and true testimony of some that afterwards hated him’.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Lobo, ‘Lucy Hutchinson’s Revisions of Conscience’, 319.

⁵⁸ Erin Murphy, “‘I remaine, an airy phantasm’” Lucy Hutchinson’s Civil War Ghost Writing’, *ELH* 82, no. 1 (Spring, 2015), 103.

⁵⁹ DD/Hu4, 349.

⁶⁰ DD/Hu4, 350-51.

⁶¹ DD/Hu4, 351.

In Genesis, Rebecca, aware of the providential role designed for her younger son, creates the deception which leads to Jacob's mistaken blessing.⁶² In this comparison though it is not just Hutchinson who is afforded a role with a biblical precedent: as she is transformed into Rebecca, John becomes Isaac. As Isaac was overruled by God's providence, so John slowly comes to accept the role designed for him:

[his wife] had much adoe to perswade him to be contented with his deliuerance which as it was eminently wrought by God he acknowledge it with thankfullnesse but while he saw others suffer he sufferd with them in his mind and had not his wife perswaded him had offerd himselfe a voluntary sacrifice but being by her conuincd that Gods eminent appearance seemd to haue singled him out for preservation he with thanks acquiesced in that ⁶³

It is not just John's commitment to 'conscience' that Hutchinson is desperate to prove; rather, the whole section surrounding the forgery of the letter allows her to depict John adhering to the will of God. I would argue, then, that the resituating of John's loyalty and the account of the forgery work together to present him fulfilling his role within a providentially designed history. To fulfil his role within this history, John must eschew the ultimate political act of becoming a 'publike sacrifice' and follow the providential path which leads him away from political engagement into solitary retreat. Indeed, after 1660, John retreats entirely from earthly forms of association and settles in retirement at their family estate.

This stage of John's life was marked by a renewed period of exegetical study: 'and from that time sett himselfe to a more diligent study of the scriptures whereby he attained confirmation in many principles he had before and dayly greater enlightnings concerning the free grace and loue of God in Jesus Christ and the spirituall worship under the Gospell and the gospel

⁶² Genesis 27.

⁶³ DD/Hu4, 355-56.

liberty which ought not to be subjected to the wills and ordinances of men in the service of God'.⁶⁴ God's true purpose for John was that he 'sitt still and wish his prosperity in all things that were not destructive to the interest of Christ and his members on earth'.⁶⁵ The exegesis to which John turns at this time encourages millenarian principles as he 'discovered the doctrine of the Kingdome of Christ *to be sett vp* in visibility and glory ouer all the nations as well as ouer his saints in the Church'.⁶⁶

Thus, this section of the narrative creates the impression that, after the Restoration, political allegiance no longer mattered. What mattered was securing one's place within God's holy community into which entrance was granted through biblical study. Lobo is correct to assert that the forgery of the letter allows the *Memoirs* to focus on John as a man of conscience, but the true efficacy of this narrative manoeuvre does not end there; following his conscience as it is dictated by God, illuminated through 'dilligent study of the scriptures', opens John up to new forms of association which counterintuitively spring from a retreat from the world.

While Hutchinson expresses concern in the *Memoirs* when others label John a 'favourer of separatists', the narrative actually often works to present him as such.⁶⁷ Hutchinson articulates this through a number of sustained comparisons of John with the Old Testament patriarchs - we have already begun to explore this in his similarity to Isaac. These patriarchs were all aware of the providential role God had decreed for them. Once he accepted his own role within the divine plan, the *Memoirs* shows how John, too, set about the reformation of the church, leading his own small band of Christians into the 'wilderness': the couple's estate at Owthorpe.

⁶⁴ DD/Hu4, 356.

⁶⁵ DD/Hu4, 357.

⁶⁶ DD/Hu4, 356.

⁶⁷ DD/Hu4, 195.

'Parallel of that greate Hebrew Prince': the founding of God's Church

After the Act of Oblivion, John retreated from London to Owthorpe, and 'liud with all imaginable retirednesse at home'. As Line Cottegnies has noted, in this section Hutchinson offers a revision of the Royalist *topos* of retirement, 'the motif of pastoral retreat, as popularized by new translations from Horace or Virgil'.⁶⁸ Never using the word 'garden', Hutchinson presents John not in the passive retirement of Royalist texts, but actively at work on his 'plantations':

because his active spiritt could not be idle nor very sordidly employed tooke vp his time in opening springs and plating trees & dressing his plantations and these were his recreations wherein he relieud many poore labourers when they wanted worke which was a very comfortable charity to them⁶⁹

Isaac, similarly cast out in his own time by famine, left Egypt and set to digging wells in his ancestral lands: 'and Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham ... and Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of springing water'.⁷⁰ His elected son Jacob, sent away for his own safety from the reprobate Esau, is also rewarded with his own land to farm (literally and more metaphorically) in Genesis 28:13-14.⁷¹ At this point Hutchinson also recounts the story of their son's secret marriage, on the grounds of which John 'was so discontented that he once more resolud to have banish them

⁶⁸ Line Cottegnies, 'The Garden and the Tower: Pastoral Retreat and Configurations of the Self in the Auto/Biographical Works of Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson', in *Mapping the Self: Space, Identity, Discourse in British Auto/biography*, ed. Frédéric Regard (Saint-Étienne: Publication de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2003), 129.

⁶⁹ DD/Hu4, 366. John here appears in contrast to Lord Fairfax, described by Marvell in retirement at home still preoccupied with the activities of war: 'Who, when retired here to peace,/ His warlike studies could not cease;/ But laid these figures out in sport/ In the just figure of a fort': Andrew Marvell, 'Upon Appleton House', in *Miscellaneous Poems* (London: Robert Boulter, 1681), 86.

⁷⁰ Genesis 26:18-19.

⁷¹ 'I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the Land whereon thou liest, to thee I will give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the West and the East'.

foreuer', which mirrors the concerns of Isaac and Rebecca that Jacob should not wed a woman of Canaan.⁷²

John's retreat even inspires a dream, like that of Jacob's in Genesis 28, in which John, riding in a boat which is struggling against the tide, 'layd downe in the boate and appliing his brest to the head of it gently shooud it allong till he came to land on Southworke' where he discovers a 'most pleasant' Edenic landscape where his father presents him with words 'which he could not read'.⁷³ Hutchinson interprets this dream herself: the struggling boat is the commonwealth, beset by 'plotts and designes', helmed by the wrong people who tried to carry it on 'without strength or counsell or vnity'; John's success signifies the 'advancement of the Cause' made possible through the 'patient suffering of the Martyrs'; the garden is his final rest in death, the words from his father 'fortold his final triumphs which he could not read in his mortall estate'.⁷⁴ Thus, John in 'retreat', tending to his garden, is the very model of the Old Testament patriarchs, Isaac and Jacob. Recognising the 'symbolic cohesiveness among the Hebrew texts', Hutchinson weaves together these stories in her depiction.⁷⁵

That this period of retreat prompts a new period of scriptural study also finds a precedent in the Old Testament, most specifically aligning John with Moses. Fleeing from the Pharaoh into the desert, Moses finds himself the spiritual leader of his 'congregation' of Israelites, interpreting the commands of God, and acting as arbiter in matters of spiritual interpretation:

And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the people: and the people stood by Moses from the morning unto the evening. ...And Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people come unto me to enquire of God: When they have a

⁷² DD/Hu4, 366. Genesis 28:1.

⁷³ DD/Hu4, 370-1.

⁷⁴ DD/Hu4, 371.

⁷⁵ Robert Alter, 'Introduction to the Old Testament', in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 31.

matter, they come unto me...and I do make them know the statutes of God, and his laws.⁷⁶

Like Moses, John in his time of retirement became the spiritual authority for his small group of Christians: 'his businesse was serious revolving the law of God wherein he laboured to instruct his children and servants'.⁷⁷ Hutchinson introduces the comparison between John and Moses early in the *Memoirs*. Acknowledging that to do so is to compare small things with great, Hutchinson enters into a long section which compares John's retreat from worldly pleasures to 'the preparation of Moses in the wilderness, with his father in law',

where it is thought he writt the booke of Genesis, & some belieue that of Job; certaine it is he was sequestered from Pharrohs Court, allowd the consolation of a wife, and blest with two sons in this retirement, and had more pleasure in the contemplation of gods greate workes, then in all the enioyment of the worlds vaine pomps, before he was thus prepard to be a leader of Gods people out of bondage, and afterwards ~~to receiue~~ when he had seene the fall of his enemies, passing safe & dire-shod through that sea where all their proud ~~enemies~~ ^foes^ were drownd, amidst the sorrows and difficulties of passing through a barren wilderness, with a murmuring discontented people, in the holy mount & wilderness Tabernacle, received more full & glorious instructions from God, and discoveries of him yett after all, was but allowd a Pisgah sight of Canaan.⁷⁸

In this comparison, Hutchinson notes not simply the similarity of John's behaviour with that of Moses, but the facts of his physical existence in the early 1640s: he lived with his mother-in-law, had two sons, 'was sequesterd from a wicked court and country', and 'exercisd himselfe in contemplation'.⁷⁹ Like Moses, John 'beheld the burning bush still vnconsumed' and felt bound to return and deliver his country from the 'spiritiall & civill bondage'. The only differences Hutchinson finds in their situation is that of the mode of calling and the number of those called; Moses was called alone by a 'visible miraculous power', John,

⁷⁶ Exodus 18:13-16.

⁷⁷ DD/Hu4, 366.

⁷⁸ DD/Hu4, 60.

⁷⁹ DD/Hu4, 60.

among many others, by ‘the silent whisper of the spiritt’.⁸⁰ For both men, the true development of the church was to happen after their deaths, both only ‘but allowd a Pisgah sight of Canaan’.⁸¹

At the end of his life, John is also compared to Moses and, in their ungratefulness, the English people to the Israelites:

The greate deliuerance of Gods people, their unthankfullnesse and miscarriages after it, no lesse then theirs of old, is too sadly knowne to all, what grieffe and exercise of spiritt this was to the Moseses of our times, those that haue bene witnesses of it, can not but with bleeding hearts remember, in this whose considers the following history shall find that Mr Hutchinson againe might often take vp the parallel of the greate Hebrew Prince and if wee may allegorize the eminent place of suffering into which god calld him vp att last, there it was in the bleake ~~high towers where they shut him up close~~ mountaines of affliction, that the lord instructed him in his law, and shewd him a patterne of his glorious tabernacle and gaue him a fuller discouery of his person⁸²

Changing ‘high towers’ to ‘mountaines of affliction’, Hutchinson creates a more direct parallel between John and Moses, emphasising that from both their periods of retreats, a new form of church settlement arose. As Moses was presented with the Ten Commandments, John, too, is shown the ‘patterne of [God’s] glorious tabernacle’. Understood in this light, the possible double meaning of John’s ‘recreations’ in his period of retreat can perhaps come to the fore. Framing John in this way, Hutchinson demonstrates her cyclical understanding of sacred history: deliverance is eventually followed by ungratefulness which then, in turn, spurs the true separation of God’s elect. As the biblical precedents show, times of persecution and retreat are the precursors to the renewal of God’s true church of elected saints. From the pattern of John’s life - persecution, retreat, study - a new church may also emerge, upheld by

⁸⁰ DD/Hu4, 60-61.

⁸¹ A reference to Deuteronomy 34:1-4: ‘I have let you see it with your eyes but you will not cross over into it’.

⁸² DD/Hu4, 61.

a small number of select Christians Thus, within Hutchinson's pessimistic view of humanity lies an optimistic view of God's justice; sacred history had proved time and time again that, in periods of trouble, God will step in and draw His elected people into the wilderness as a means of both safeguarding his Church, and of reforming it more in line with his Word.

Killed before the true Reformation - granted just a 'Pisgah sight of Canaan' - John has, nevertheless been instrumental - a 'martyr' - in laying the groundwork of a new form of religious practice, the true result of which will only be realised with the second coming of Christ. He becomes a 'martyr' rather than a 'publike sacrifice' by - like Isaac - dying at the right time. In his final apotheosis John, at last, joins the community of the saints: 'whose murder the Lord will not forget when he makes inquisition for the blood of his saints but what they tended for his destruction the Lord turned to his advantage who dying in & for the Lord is translated into happiness and blessed rest from those labours which employ the living saints'.⁸³ One player in a much larger game, John's death, like the Restoration, does not mark the defeat of God's cause. Indeed, in 'life and death' John was 'victorious over the Lor[ds] and his enemies'.⁸⁴ This victory comes from John's unbending adherence to his principles founded upon God's word which spurs a rejection of the wider community of Christians - in favour of the less tangible congregation of Saints - and forms of external control, whether religious or political. The turning of the elect community away from hierarchical church systems is nothing new; Hutchinson articulates a sense of sacred history in which the defining feature of the elect is separation guided by God.⁸⁵

⁸³ DD/Hu4, 419

⁸⁴ DD/Hu4, 419.

⁸⁵ Alan Heimert and Peter N. Carroll have both considered the Puritan settlement of New England as the physical manifestation of this urge for separation into a 'wilderness': see Heimert, 'Puritanism, the Wilderness, and the Frontier', *England Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (September, 1953), and Carroll, *Puritanism and the Wilderness: the Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier, 1629-1700* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

Thus, John's retreat from political affiliation becomes not an abandonment of the cause for which he stood, but the true means of achieving it. As these biblical precedents were times of narrow forms of association, founded on a shared understanding of scriptural truth, so is his time at Owthorpe. A while later, when facing imprisonment, John was questioned by Secretary Bennet about this time. Asked 'Where he went to Church to heare devine Service Common prayer', John replies 'nowhere for he neuer stirrd out of his owne house'.⁸⁶ John's time at Owthorpe not only, then, mirrors the 'wilderness' periods of early Christians, but undermines the external control of the Church of England. Religious association through church attendance is unimportant; household study of Scripture was not an augmentation of traditional worship but placed in its stead. Like the Patriarchs, John's access to God is unmediated; he stands at the head of 'his church', the recipient of significant dreams and direct interpreter of God's Word.

In the *Memoirs*, then, Hutchinson imagines a new form of ecclesiastical organisation based on very old precedents. As Adam Smyth has stated, 'the pursuit of precedent is a vital form of life-writing'. Exploring the commonplace book of Sir John Gibson, Smyth notes his constant invocation of the lives of 'individuals who represented ... the tribulations of the good man'. These invocations 'amount to the reiteration of what is essentially a single narrative' and placing his life within this 'established pattern' allows Gibson to make it more 'comprehensible'.⁸⁷ The same is arguably true of the *Memoirs*, as the Old Testament figures allow Hutchinson to make sense of her husband's suffering at the end of his life. Yet, Hutchinson appears to be using these comparisons more actively, not simply as a means to understand, but as a way of offering up a truly reformed notion of Christianity. The

⁸⁶ DD/Hu4, 382.

⁸⁷ Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 139-40.

‘invocations’ of the patriarchs allow Hutchinson to explore how John, too, worked to develop a new form of religious association rather than simply offering a prism through which to understand John’s life.

Thus, Hutchinson’s *Memoirs* offers a direct challenge to the ecclesiastical modes being imposed post-1660. Her system of biblical hermeneutics, which sees the Old Testament separation of the elect being constantly repeated, challenges all forms of earthly association albeit passively - the new, true Church of the saintly elect springs from such passivity.

Burgess has argued against the use of the word ‘radical’ in discussions of early modern sects as these groups were, by and large, quite passive, deniers of the role of human agency in the achievement of God’s aims.⁸⁸ Viewing ‘radical’ as a political term, he finds it hard to apply it ‘to groups who’s understanding of the nature of the world devalued the political’: ‘men or women can achieve nothing positive; they can destroy corrupt worldly institutions, recognise their homelessness in the world; perhaps build temporary shelter for themselves, and wait for something better’.⁸⁹ We can trace the shift from opposition to a *type* of politics to opposition to all politics in John’s transformation from a loyal Parliamentarian actively working to overthrow the monarchy in ‘the Services’, to Godly subject in the *Memoirs*, passive in his disobedience, defined by his separation from - and rejection of - all forms of earthly allegiance.⁹⁰

I would now like to turn to the question of whether this manuscript had an active role to play in this reformation of God’s church. In the second half of this chapter, bringing the biblical

⁸⁸ Glenn Burgess, ‘A Matter of Context: ‘Radicalism’ and the English Revolution’, *Cromohs - Cyber Review of Modern Historiography* (July, 2006).

⁸⁹ Burgess, ‘A Matter of Context’, 80, 77.

⁹⁰ Burgess does not argue that the idea that political settlement was redundant wasn’t radical in its way, just that we must take care not to anachronistically ascribe these sects political agency. Often, they were not seeking structural transformation but, like John, a means of escaping these structures entirely.

notes contained in the back of DD/Hu4 into conversation with the narrative for the first time, I will explore how the manuscript constitutes a codification of John's beliefs, the result of his scriptural exegesis performed in 'the bleake mountains of affliction' where, in his final days, John was 'instructed ... in [God's] law' and had the 'patterne of his glorious tabernacle' revealed to him.⁹¹ These notes make up about a tenth of the manuscript and yet there has never been a study of their relationship to the main narrative. Despite the growing emphasis on the material features of manuscripts, the biblical notes have been overlooked by scholars, perhaps, due to the number of easily accessible edited versions of the *Memoirs* in print. The accessibility of these printed editions has certainly encouraged the amount of critical attention received by the *Memoirs*, and they should not be dismissed out of hand. However, as Margaret Ezell writes in relation to the manuscript diaries of Elizabeth Freke, '[a]s good as the printed edition is in identifying people and events and making the text possible to read in a more or less chronological narrative sense, it cannot convey the effect of the handwritten volume's manipulation of space'.⁹² Even the more theologically based studies of Hutchinson's *Memoirs* have long neglected the biblical notes. Only David Norbrook's 2004 study of 'Textual Authority and Gender in Editions of *The Life of John Hutchinson*' gives any real consideration to the notes, describing them as 'full denunciations of tyranny and warnings that idolatry will never go long unpunished'.⁹³ This is presumably due to the published versions of the *Memoirs* consistently excising these notes from the main body of the text. Julius Hutchinson does not mention them at all in his 1806 edition; Charles Firth's otherwise much more detailed edition similarly omits any mention of the notes; and N. H. Keeble's 1995 Everyman edition only mentions them briefly in the 'Note on the Text' - 'The *Memoirs* occupy pp.1- 419 and are followed by the 'Final Meditation', here printed for the

⁹¹ DD/Hu4, 61.

⁹² Ezell, 'Domestic Papers: Manuscript culture and Early Modern Women's Life Writing', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing*, 43. Ezell is discussing MSS add. 45718 and 45916 (British Library).

⁹³ Norbrook, 'But a copie', 115.

first time, and by 57 pages of biblical texts, transcribed and arranged under topical headings'.⁹⁴ Each editor's decision to excise the biblical passages has, undoubtedly, shaped scholarly responses to these notes, their presence either ignored or given the most fleeting of mentions. Showing that the biblical notes constitute not an inert list of commonplaces, but the articulation of theological principles, the next part of this chapter will argue that DD/Hu4 records John's revealed truth, safeguarding it for future generations, and, thus, plays a crucial role in defining and defending the Church of saints.

'[E]xamples and precepts to light vs through the darke world': the biblical commonplaces

We saw in the first chapter the fruitfulness of studying the purpose of a manuscript text - in the case of DD/Hu1 the forging of a community based upon shared literary interests. The efficacy of 'the Services' manuscript was to present John as fiercely committed to the Parliamentary army even in the face of opposition from his own allies, adverse to bribery, loyal to the Republican cause above all else. These two manuscripts were both 'public' although in different ways: DD/Hu1 was physically shared among a community, 'the Services', although never published, generically resembled a printed pamphlet gesturing to Hutchinson's intended purpose and audience.⁹⁵ The *Memoirs*, conversely, is depicted as a private text, expressly designed for John's children. Before the account of 'the life of John Hutchinson' the manuscript contains descriptions of John and his virtues addressed directly, 'To my Children'.⁹⁶ In this moving address, Hutchinson writes of the link which still exists

⁹⁴ Keeble (ed.), *Memoirs*, xxx. Given the attention to material features offered by the first two volumes the newest volume of *The Collected Works of Lucy Hutchinson*, which will publish the *Memoirs* once more, should redress this problem and readers will soon be able to access these biblical notes more easily. Norbrook's 'But a copie' gives an excellent overview of the editorial practices of each print edition.

⁹⁵ Wall, 'Lucy Hutchinson's manuscript account of the services of John Hutchinson'. Reading 'the Services' in this way I diverge from Norbrook who, in 2001, considered the manuscript as a legal defence designed to be shared in court: Norbrook, 'But a copie'.

⁹⁶ DD/Hu4, 1.

between John and his family: ‘our coniunction, if wee had any wit[h] him, was vndissoluble: if wee were knit together by one spiritt into one body of Christ, wee are so still: if wee were mutually vnited in one loue of God, good men, and goodnesse, wee are so still’.⁹⁷ They may mourn his passing, she writes, ‘and yett, if our own teares did not putt out our eies, wee should see him, euen in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of virtuous examples and precepts to light vs through the darke world’.⁹⁸ At the very end of the narrative Hutchinson returns to the same language of ‘precepts’ left for future generations. DD/Hu4 is not simply a record of John’s life, but a manuscript designed to guide their children in moral and religious issues through the ‘darke world’ and into the ‘light’.

We can perhaps see, within the context of the modes of ecclesiastical affiliation Hutchinson explores in the main body of the text, why this purpose was crucial; physical separation and independence of scriptural understanding go hand-in-hand in the narrative as means of being saved by God from mixed communities. As the embodiment of the Old Testament patriarchs, towards the end of his life, separated in the ‘wilderness’, John’s true role as religious instructor to his small band of fellow Christians (in this case his household) began. This manuscript continues his work offering as it does a record of his beliefs and exegetical endeavours.

Paramount to John’s theological beliefs - as presented by Hutchinson - is an understanding that scripture can be accessed independently, illuminated to the elect through God. Through independent exegetical study everything becomes clear: John’s predestined role and death, the counterintuitive necessity of the defeat of the Puritan cause, the coming glory that God

⁹⁷ DD/Hu4, 3.

⁹⁸ DD/Hu4, 4.

shall grant to his separated Church of true believers. Thus, at every turn, Hutchinson stresses the importance of exegetical study in John's life. In the description of his virtues, Hutchinson focuses on John's 'Christianity' which 'began to worke very early in him & vpon him ... euen in childhood'.⁹⁹ This is a depiction of 'natural theology', an innate knowledge of God which needs no study to be understood.¹⁰⁰ Hutchinson is quick to qualify John's original knowledge, however: 'Assonne as he had improoud his naturall vnderstanding with the acquisition of learning, the first studies he exercisd himselfe in, were principles of religion ... the knowledge ^of god^ which by a diligent examination of the scripture, and the seuerall doctrines of greate men pretending that ground he at length obtaind'.¹⁰¹ While John's studies do encompass texts other than the Bible, these are only included when they offer the same truth as the Bible, 'pretending' here used in the now obsolete sense of 'to offer, present, or put forward for consideration' rather than the pejorative modern sense.¹⁰² In a further stress on the primacy of biblical truth, Hutchinson has excised the following sentence which states that John, 'for the doctrinall principles of religion was convinced and establish much in the way of M^r Calvin'. Yet, even here she qualified the statement: 'but not as his way by the way of God'.¹⁰³ In the 1640s it is 'serious examination of both principles and comparing them with the Scriptures' which helps John settle himself to predestination rather than 'the Arminian iudgement' and, when settling the matter of paedobaptism, while the couple consulted with ministers and printed texts, it was comparison with Scripture which formed

⁹⁹ DD/Hu4, 8.

¹⁰⁰ On 'natural theology' see, Scott Mandelbrote, 'Early Modern Natural Theologies', in *The Oxford Handbook of Natural Theology*, ed. John Hedley Brooke, Russell Re Manning and Fraser Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹⁰¹ DD/Hu4, 8.

¹⁰² 'pretend, v', 2.a., *OED Online* (2021). This can be compared with Milton's use of 'pretending' in *Paradise Regained*: 'My heart hath been a storehouse long of things/ And sayings laid up, pretending strange events': 'Paradise Regained', in *John Milton the Major Works*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008), II.103-4.

¹⁰³ DD/Hu4, 8.

their main defence: ‘except they were convinced of the warrant of that practise from the word they sinnd in doing it’.¹⁰⁴

John’s final days were marked by an intense period of scriptural study. During his imprisonment he read the *Dutch Annotations* on the Bible and wrote a ‘verse out of the 43rd Psalm’. Towards the very end, although his wife ‘brought downe some bookes to entertaine him in his solitude he thankd her and told her that if he should continue as long as he liud in prison he would reade nothing there but his bible’.¹⁰⁵ John continually ‘markd’ his Bible during this time, but this was not a new habit. Even before his imprisonment, Hutchinson records an incident during which John was flattered by some former enemies: ‘whereupon in a bible he carried in his pocket and markt upon all occasions he markd that place prov.[16:7] when a mans ways please the Lord he maketh his enemies to be at peace with him’.¹⁰⁶ What changed in his final days was Hutchinson’s active participation in this exegetical endeavour. Just nine days before his death, Hutchinson depicts John studying Scripture in his prison cell:

when he was vp vsd to read much in his bible[,] he had appointed his wife when she went away to send him the Dutch Annotations of the bible and she sent it down with some other things which he presently causd to be brought to him though he was in his bed and some places in the Epistle to the Romans read which having heard these Annotationers sayd he are short[,] and then looking ouer some notes upon that Epistle which his wife had left in a booke which she had gatherd from him I haue sayd he discovered ~~many more~~ much more of the mistery of truth in that Epistle and when my wife returns I will make her set it downe ... she shall collect severall observations I have made of this Epistle since I came into prison.¹⁰⁷

The collaboration of husband and wife is clear here. The notes are John’s, but they have been recorded by Hutchinson; in the example of the Epistle to the Romans, ‘looking ouer’ these

¹⁰⁴ DD/Hu4, 58, 256.

¹⁰⁵ DD/Hu4, 394, 399.

¹⁰⁶ DD/Hu4, 376. Hutchinson has left a gap where the chapter and verse should be.

¹⁰⁷ DD/Hu4, 408.

notes enables John to cement his ideas, ideas which will then also be set down by his wife in turn.

The outcome of this shared exegetical endeavour is recorded in the final folios of DD/Hu4 in the lists of scriptural proofs which proposit to have been taken from John's biblical marginalia. This leaves us, and the Hutchinson children more directly, a precise record of John's exegetical studies. These passages are introduced by a single page which Norbrook terms a 'bridge into the biblical excerpts'.¹⁰⁸ Here, Hutchinson offers a much more emotional account of John's death than that found in the central narrative. She presents herself as Lot's wife, safely removed from his sight so as not to tempt him back from death. This page offers an introduction of sorts to the lists of passages which Hutchinson describes as 'precepts':

death his memory will neuer perish while there ^{are} any good men surviving who desire to preserue one of the fairest copies in the ~~book~~ exemplary booke of honor & virtue by the gracious precepts he left with his children to tranferre to their posterity he will preach truth and holinesse to succeeding generations¹⁰⁹

In this quotation we can see that the biblical passages are not simply an addition to the retelling of John's life, but an intrinsic means of securing his legacy; the passages, as much as the narrative which has come before them are a record of John's life and beliefs.

While I would like to argue that the biblical notes are intrinsic to a full understanding of the *Memoirs*, it must be admitted that the full manuscript of DD/Hu4 appears to have been formed from several discrete units, sections of which must have originally been written on loose sheets then bound together after the period of composition. There are none of the tell-tale signs of the difficulties of writing in a prebound notebook - the writing becoming more

¹⁰⁸ Norbrook, 'But a copie', 114.

¹⁰⁹ DD/Hu4, 420.

cramped, or angling upwards, in the inside margins - and so we can presume that the text was not bound before writing.¹¹⁰ The manuscript begins with the address to her children and a description of John and his virtues which covers 21 pages. While three sections, this text was clearly written as a complete unit: new sections begin on the same pages, and before the title 'His Description' Hutchinson writes, 'I would put his picture in the front of his booke but my unskilful hand will iniure him yet to such of you as haue not seene him to remember his person I leaue this'.¹¹¹ Hutchinson ends this section with a dismissal of the text: 'All this & more is true but I so much dislike the manner of relatiting [sic] it that I will ~~att~~ make another assay'.¹¹² The reverse of this page is blank, and marked by two black dots in the outside margin - one top, one bottom - which look like wax; these marks suggest that this was once the back page of a loose collection of sheets. There follows another, untitled, 'assay' at describing John and his virtues, which finishes mid-sentence: 'he kept vp all his...'.¹¹³

Pages 30 to 419 contain the central narrative titled, 'The Life of John Hutchinson of Owthorpe in the County of Nottingham Esquire'. This does seem to have been bound together with the preceding second attempt at describing John as, where the prose breaks off mid-sentence, there has been a page (or more) ripped out as is revealed by an inspection of the inside margin.¹¹⁴ This account of John's life ends on page 419, with what at least resembles an 'ending': 'Let vs blesse the Lord for him and for the signall and eminent mercy shewed vnto him which made him in life and death victorious ouer the Lord and his enemies'.¹¹⁵ There then follows a sentence which Hutchinson has rather judiciously crossed

¹¹⁰ We can see this difficulty in DD/Hu3 which is discussed in the following chapters.

¹¹¹ DD/Hu4, 4. Add MS. 25901 has a doodled face, seemingly by Hutchinson herself, on the first page. With his high forehead and prominent chin, it may well be John. If so, Hutchinson was arguably correct that her hand was 'too unskilful' to truly capture his likeness in drawing!

¹¹² DD/Hu4, 21.

¹¹³ DD/Hu4, 9.

¹¹⁴ DD/Hu4, 29-30.

¹¹⁵ DD/Hu4, 419.

out, but which Norbrook has deciphered as ‘he hath not left yet one like him in the world nor able to make him a worthy epitap He lies withou[t] an Epitaph because my deaded spirites can’.¹¹⁶ The lower half of this page has been ripped away but, as far as we can tell, contained no more text (the reverse is also blank).

The single page of prose which refers to John’s ‘precepts’ left for succeeding generations then begins the 57 pages of scriptural notes. This page of prose, and the four following, all have heavy burn marks to the top outside margin which are not found on the preceding final pages of the narrative. The final page of the biblical notes is also very yellowed on the reverse, suggesting that it was originally the back page of an unbound collection of sheets. The different signs of damage to these final folios suggest that they were kept as an independent unit for some time. This implies the disconnect between these pages and Hutchinson’s narrative of her husband’s life - their existence as a separate document. However, we can simultaneously recognise their importance in relation to the main text if Hutchinson did choose to have them bound together. This is not just a case of using space in an unfilled manuscript - a repurposing - but rather an act of purposeful curation.

DD/Hu4 was bound in the seventeenth century in undecorated light brown calf. We cannot prove for certain that Hutchinson was the one to bind the pages together into the volume which we now hold.¹¹⁷ However, certain features do point to the whole manuscript being envisioned as a single project by its composer. Firstly, each section is written on the same paper stock, cut to the same size, 22.4 by 17 cm. A watermark with a quatrefoil and fleur-de-

¹¹⁶ Norbrook, ‘But a copie’, 113.

¹¹⁷ Sydney Race argues that the fact that there is ‘no break in the numbering’ offers proof that the work was bound under Hutchinson’s supervision. However, there is no indication that the page numbering was done by Hutchinson or is, indeed, in an early modern hand. Sydney Race, ‘The British Museum MS. Of the Life of Colonel John Hutchinson, and its Relation to the Published Memoirs’, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* 18 (1914), 11.

lis design, topped with a Maltese cross is visible in each of the ‘units’.¹¹⁸ Moreover, Hutchinson is consistent in her page layout throughout, leaving wide margins (of about a fifth to a quarter of the page width) to the left of her prose in all of the sections; alongside the biblical notes this wide margin is used to note Book, Chapter, and Verse. Only a single page, which records the Psalms John marked while he was in prison, deviates from this design. Even if the pages were bound *after* composition - as seems to be the case from the damage noted above - it appears that Hutchinson herself imagined them as part of the same project. The biblical notes then, despite seeming to have been kept separate initially, appear to have been written at approximately the same time, and envisioned as part of the same project as the main body of the *Memoirs* and Hutchinson’s attempts at describing her husband and his virtues.

Sarah Heller Mandelson has written of the importance of acknowledging the ‘products of hindsight’ which have been added by writers to their manuscript memoirs.¹¹⁹ While she refers to efforts to create a continuous narrative - prefaces, tables of content etc - I would argue that the same argument can be made in this case; just because the scriptural passages disrupt *our* notions of a continuous narrative, they should not be dismissed as separate from the main text. Furthermore, Meredith Marie Neuman, in her study of seventeenth-century manuscripts produced in New England, has acknowledged the benefits of exploring the relationship between often divergent materials within the same notebook:

seventeenth-century notebooks demonstrate the permeability of divergent genres of reading and writing ... John Hull, for example, recorded his private memoirs in one direction of his notebook, chronicling public matters in the other... Hull’s

¹¹⁸ I have been unable to trace this watermark.

¹¹⁹ Sarah Heller Mandelson, ‘Stuart Women’s Diaries and Occasional Memoirs’, in *Women and English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (Rutledge, 1985), 136.

interlocking texts are materially bound up with each other partly for practical reasons ... clearly, though, the texts inevitably enter into dialogue with each other.¹²⁰

In the preceding reading of the *Memoirs*, I have argued that the purpose of the text was not to protect John's standing as a committed republican, but to present him as the ideal Christian, freed from the ties of earthly allegiances, secure in his conscience led by God, and resigned to the role predestined for him. It is his removal from all quarrels other than the fight for the true divine reformation that allows him to perform his role as Old Testament patriarch, aligned by God with those who share the same 'principles', separated by his elected status from anyone else, and able to create his new community of Christians. In the sections which mention John's 'precepts', Hutchinson further shows that it is not only important that John himself cleaved to his 'principles', but that these theological beliefs were recorded and passed on for the benefit of further ecclesiastical reformation. This language of 'precepts' has a biblical precedent and is used frequently in the Geneva Bible to describe divine commandments (Psalm 119). In the Old Testament these 'precepts' are God's rules as taught by the patriarchs: 'for Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the Law of the Lord, and it do it, and to teach the precepts and judgements in Israel'.¹²¹ In Hebrews 9:19 Paul describes Moses as having 'spoken every precept to the people'. Yet, stressing his absence from his community, Hutchinson also presents John as a Pauline figure, preaching to future generations, guiding them in the right religious practices. Paul's letters are marked by his physical absence - 'remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things' - which is overcome by the written word.¹²² In lieu of his physical presence, the letters act as codifying objects, securing the longevity and practice of correct theological beliefs. Can these

¹²⁰ Meredith Marie Neuman, *Jeremiah's Scribes: Creating Sermon Literature in Puritan New England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 174.

¹²¹ Ezra 7:10. See also Nehemiah 9:14 and Jeremiah 35:18.

¹²² II Thessalonians 2:5.

scriptural passages be said to function in the same way? Placed into ‘dialogue’ with the central narrative, can they become the means of securing John’s theological legacy, of safeguarding the family during their time of separation?

‘For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept’¹²³

We have seen that Hutchinson’s second mention of John’s ‘gracious precepts’ is contained on the single folio which precedes, and appears to have always been bound to, the scriptural passages. As such, this page appears to offer an explanation for the passages rather than a continuation of the narrative.¹²⁴ Thus, I would like to suggest that the ‘gracious precepts’ preached to posterity are not in reference to the general following of a father’s footsteps encouraged in their children, but rather a direct reference to the passages recorded in the following folios. This understanding of the notes aligns with Norbrook’s belief that, through them, Hutchinson ‘provides inspiration and guidelines for her children and other sympathetic readers of the manuscript’.¹²⁵ For these passages to function as ‘precepts’, however, they must be more than simply a list of biblical commonplaces. A ‘precept’ is a ‘a rule for action or conduct’.¹²⁶ A precept, that is, generally embodies a command - a meaning illuminated by the biblical precedents above. For example, although now obsolete, ‘the ten precepts’ was an alternative name for the Commandments.¹²⁷ If they are ‘precepts’ in this sense, the passages must convey a cohesive doctrinal meaning.

¹²³ Isaiah 28:10.

¹²⁴ Norbrook refers to this page as a ‘bridge’ between the narrative and the notes: ‘But a copie’, 114.

¹²⁵ Norbrook, ‘But a copie’, 113.

¹²⁶ ‘precept, n.’, 1.a *OED Online* (2021).

¹²⁷ See for example, John Cowell, *Divine Oracles: or A Testimony to Establish Truths in a Declining Day wherein is proved that the Ten Precepts Recorded Exod. 20. And the Six Principles Recorded, Heb. 6 Do immediately concern the sons and Daughters of Men in this day as they did in the Primitive Times, and will to the End of the World* (London: 1664). In the preface to his text on Christian practice, minister John Jackson references Cartwright, ‘who hath referred every Proverbe of Solomon to one of the ten Precepts of the morall Law’: John Jackson, *The key of Knowledge which is, a little booke intended to bee of good use, as for all degrees of Christians* (London: Felix Kingston, 1640).

There are over 700 scriptural passages contained in the final 57 pages of DD/Hu4 which have been collated under headings.¹²⁸ These folios are, perhaps, best described as a list of commonplaces; textual extracts, organised under headings, which illuminate certain topics. The categories under which the scriptural passages are organised are wide-ranging. Some are pertinent to John's experiences: 'Psalms he had markd when he first began to be persecuted', 'His selected psalms in the prison', 'Vpon occasion of Robinsons lies told at Court'.¹²⁹ Other categories are more general, yet still applicable to the epoch: 'In reference to the Presbyterian party & other Apostates', 'for the 30th of January'.¹³⁰ Many others, however, lack this pertinence, ranging from theological matters - 'Promises to the Church', 'Triumphs of faith' - to the rather prosaic, 'Reputation', 'Concerning Sloth', 'Concerning Drunkenness'. These last categories gesture away from a focus on John's specific situation and towards the prevalent practice of early modern commonplacing. For example, the extensive theological commonplace book of the Puritan, Brilliana Harley, written between 1622 and 1643, contains distinctly theological categories, 'of the knowledge of God', 'of Christ as God', 'of conscience', but also the more general: 'of Riches', 'Of Marriage'.¹³¹

Of just over 700, 450 of the passages are taken from the Old Testament. By far the most cited books are the psalms and proverbs but, of the others, Isaiah is the most frequently quoted.¹³²

¹²⁸ These pages of DD/Hu4 are unnumbered. I have made clear in each case the heading under which each biblical passage is placed.

¹²⁹ Sir John Robinson (1615-1680) was Lieutenant to the Tower of London during John's imprisonment. Hutchinson makes frequent reference to his maltreatment of John and reports a lie he told at court concerning John's support for other regicides: 'Robinson told the king that when Mr Henningham and others were carried out of the Tower to be shipt away Mr Hutchinson looking out of his wondore [sic] bad them take courage they should yet haue a day for it': DD/Hu4, 391.

¹³⁰ The latter is obviously in reference to the anniversary of the Regicide.

¹³¹ Brilliana Harley (née Conway), 'Commonplace Book', PL F1/4/1 (Nottingham University Archives), 1r, 23v, 84r, 115r and 176r. Unlike Hutchinson's manuscript, Harley quotes from many devotional and theological works, not just the Bible.

¹³² Isaiah, 55, Jeremiah, 47. Most other books are not cited more than 20 times each.

Quotations from the Gospels are most often taken from Luke, with only four references to Mark.¹³³ Obvious, but worth noting, is the fact that the Bible is the only source used. Adam Smyth has noted the dangers of searching for meaning in the juxtaposition of disparate passages: ‘recent scholarship is largely suspicious of an autobiographical link between compiler and commonplace book ... any attempt to connect the commonplace book’s materials with the compiler’s life appears naïve, overlooking the borrowed and therefore autobiographically inauthentic nature of the compiler’s sentences’.¹³⁴ However, some scholars, most noticeably Kevin Sharpe, have shown the benefits of exploring the underlying logic of certain commonplace books as a means of understanding the reader/writer’s worldview.¹³⁵ Robert Darnton in his essay for the NYRB, ‘Extraordinary Commonplaces’, also comes to the conclusion that certain ‘commonplace books bore the stamp of ... consciousness’.¹³⁶

Studies such as these, however, tend to look at the accumulation of passages rather than the particular order in which they are placed. They demonstrate that we can gain an insight into the writer’s beliefs from commonplaces, but not that the commonplaces themselves can work to forge such beliefs or instruct future readers. This is because traditional commonplace books were designed to be composed in the order of the compiler’s reading. Harley’s book is a clear example of this: each topic begins on a new page, many of which remain blank or only partially filled in. Harley clearly picked her topic headings in advance of her reading and added relevant passages to her commonplace book as and when she came across them.¹³⁷

¹³³ A similar pattern emerges in the marginalia of *Order and Disorder*, with Isaiah and the Psalms the favoured Old Testament sources and Mark’s Gospel all but overlooked. This will be further explored in chapter 5.

¹³⁴ Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England*, 129

¹³⁵ Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, 170-125.

¹³⁶ Robert Darnton, ‘Extraordinary Commonplaces’, *NYRB*, 47 (2000), 82-87.

¹³⁷ Harley was following the advice of figures such as Nicholas Byfield to have a ‘little paper booke’, writing on the ‘toppe of euery leafe the title for that that thou wouldest obserue in reading’: *Directions for the Private Reading of the Scriptures* (London: E. Griffin, 1618), sig. A10r.

This formal design meant she could - and did - use the same notebook over a twenty-year period. However, the specific order in which she compiled the passages reveals little more to us than the order in which she read her books. Extracts from texts, when they appear under the same headings, follow one another in textual order.¹³⁸ While this can be a very fruitful area of study, it has limitations for how much we can glean about the writer's specific beliefs; Harley's own Puritan sympathies can be noted from her choice of headings such as, 'of predestination' and 'of the providence of God', and the sources from which her chosen excerpts come, including John Calvin and William Perkins (1558-1602).¹³⁹ From her commonplace book we can discover details of Harley's reading practices, and growing theological confidence. For example, extracts from Perkins appear in her earlier hand, while unattributed, original phrases, are written in her later hand.¹⁴⁰ We can also tell that Harley returned to Calvin's *Institutes* at different times in her life. However, their order shaped by her reading practices, these kinds of commonplaces cannot function as 'precepts', generating rules for conduct or issuing commands; the passages remain a somewhat static reflection of Harley's beliefs rather than generating meaning through their order.

It is possible, of course, that Hutchinson's own notes were transformed into precepts through the practice of what Andrew Cambers calls 'family reading', in the vein of John's preaching to his children and servants during his retirement at Owthorpe.¹⁴¹ Cambers argues that as Christianity moved from meaning 'a body of people' to a 'body of beliefs' familial devotional practices became more prevalent, encouraged 'in the pulpit and in print from the

¹³⁸ This is particularly clear in her use of Calvin's *Institutes* under 'of the providence of God': Harley, 'Commonplace Book', 23.

¹³⁹ Harley, 'Commonplace Book', 65, 23.

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, Harley, 'Commonplace Book', 26.

¹⁴¹ Cambers, *Godly Reading*, 84.

1650s'.¹⁴² From a young age, according to her own autobiographical fragment, Hutchinson was encouraged to 'remember and repeat' sermons 'exactly', and used to 'exhort [her] mother's maids much' on religious subjects.¹⁴³ John too was encouraged in 'family reading', his maid reading to him from the *Practice of Piety* 'even before he could read'.¹⁴⁴ Practices of familial reading could include laying out Bibles in public spaces in the home, communal reading, or preaching to children and other members of the household as John did.¹⁴⁵ As Cambers argues, this kind of domestic religious practice 'was not just an idealized model of household piety but a communal and social practice which had the potential to tap into a more radical religious subculture and to harden the divide between the godly and their enemies'.¹⁴⁶ We have seen this radical potential realised in John's refusal to worship in a parish church; viewed alongside the depiction of John's religious retreat, home exegetical study could have been the result of - and functioned as a means of - the separation of the Hutchinsons from their ungodly neighbours. While most examples of family devotion involve reading the Bible or other canonical godly authors, or repeating sermons, it could also involve the collecting and reciting of scriptural passages.¹⁴⁷ The Puritan minister, Philip Henry (1631-1696), for example, encouraged his children to read Scripture together, and 'gather out such Passages as they took most notice of, and thought most considerable, and

¹⁴² Cambers, *Godly Reading*, 85. Examples given by Cambers include, Phillip Goodwin, *Religio Domestica Rediviva: or, Family Religion Revived. Or A Treatise as to Discover the Good Old way of Serving God in Private Houses: so to Recover the Pious Practice of those Precious Duties unto their Primitive Platform* (London, 1655), and Arthur Dent, *The plaine mans path-way to heaven* (London, 1601).

¹⁴³ Hutchinson, 'Autobiographical fragment', in *Memoirs*, ed. Keeble, 14, 15.

¹⁴⁴ DD/Hu4, 40.

¹⁴⁵ Examples of these practices can be seen in the households of John Bruen and Mary Rich; see William Hinde, *A Faithfull Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death, of John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford* (London, 1641), And Anthony Walker, *Eureka Erreka, The Virtuous Women found her Loss Bewailed, and Character Exemplified in a Sermon Preached at Felsted in Essex, April, 30, 1678*, London, 1678). See Cambers, *Godly Reading*, 88-90.

¹⁴⁶ Cambers, *Godly Reading*, 89.

¹⁴⁷ For example, see Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998).

write them down'.¹⁴⁸ This manuscript may, then, have performed a role in such 'family reading' guided by Hutchinson, the proofs transformed into 'precepts' through her teaching.

However, there are very few signs that the manuscript was used in this way. Primarily, the introductory page seems to explain the passages which would, thus, retain their efficacy without external instruction. Similarly, examples of marginalia appear to explain the relevance of certain passages without the need for oral teaching: 'Princes and priests are here putt together' alongside Micha 3:11, or 'Dignities viz the kingdome & laws of Jesus Christ' with II Peter 2:10.¹⁴⁹ There are very few signs of use, such as the highlighting of certain passages which we might expect if the manuscript was used in the course of group pedagogy. Most importantly, however, I would argue that the passages *can* stand alone as precepts without the need for external explanation.

The tabular format of Harley's notebook, with blank spaces on every page and some pages titled but left entirely blank, is a far cry from the folios in DD/Hu4. Hutchinson's notes are not, like Harley's, 'raw' commonplaces, copied out under predesigned headings as they were encountered. Hutchinson clearly collected all the passages relating to a topic before moving on to the next rather than working her way through her husband's Bible and adding passages to the correct pre-designed page; the sections follow directly on from one another, often on the same page demonstrating that Hutchinson finished one section before moving on to the

¹⁴⁸ Matthew Henry, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr Philip Henry* (London: Thomas Pankhurst, 1698), 61-2. The Henry family letters are a testament to a culture of religious reading and devotion among the family. Katherine Henry frequently began her letters with devotional advice - 'mind you to keepe in with God ... by solom secret dayly prayer' - while the siblings frequently wrote to each other about sermons they had attended. In one letter to her brother, Matthew, Sarah Henry records the gifting of 'a Bible ... & Catechise' to a young Quaker boy in their care. See MS Eng. Lett. e.29 (Bodleian Library), May 7, 1686.

¹⁴⁹ 'The heads thereof judge for rewards, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof prophesy for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord and say, Is not the Lord among us? no evil can come upon us.': 'But chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government. Presumptuous are they, self-willed, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities'.

next. More minutely than this, the individual lists pay no heed to biblical order, whether by book or even by chapter and verse within the same book, as this list of proofs, ‘Applicable Scriptures to the Prelates’, demonstrates:

Ezekiel 34:3-5, Ezekiel 35:20-21, Jeremiah 50:6, Jeremiah 6:14, Zephaniah 3:4, Isaiah 29:9-15, Jeremiah 6:7, Matthew 15:3, Mark 7:9, 7, Matthew 15:9, Jeremiah 19:5, Micah 3:2, 3, 5, 6, 11, Micah 7:3, 1 Peter 4:4, 2 Peter 2:1-2, 10, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 2 Peter 3:3-4, Jude 8, Hosea 9:14, Amos 6:3-6, Amos 5:18, Habakkuk 2:4

Were Hutchinson to simply have gone through John’s Bible excerpting the passages he had marked, the most obvious order would have been one which matched the scriptural narrative, especially when marked passages were so close to one another (Jeremiah 6:14 and 6:7 for example). Rather, it seems that Hutchinson has created her own structure for John’s marked passages, excerpting them from his marginal marks in a specific order. Disorder of passages was, of course, often a result of the other form of commonplacing in which one wrote down passages as they were encountered. In Harley’s notebook, for example, Romans 4:3 precedes Ephesians 1:22 and Ecclesiastes 7:16 under the heading ‘God in generall’.¹⁵⁰ However, this was the result of Harley reading at different times, adding passages at later stages rather than an organisational principle expressly designed. As we have seen, Hutchinson’s layout left no room to return as scripture was reread. The passages must have been placed in this order by design.

We saw in the opening of this section Hutchinson’s self-depiction of her role as organiser of John’s chosen proofs into ‘observations’. One section heading for these passages is ‘a Conclusion gathered vpon all this from other places he had marked’. Like ‘observation’, the depiction of Hutchinson gathering of a ‘conclusion’ from John’s marginal notes suggests that she had a role in curating these passages. Conversely, Hutchinson also stresses that her notes

¹⁵⁰ Harley, ‘Commonplace Book’, 2.

were taken from John's reading directly and, thus, presents the exegetical understanding as his own. These passages are clearly - at least in part - organised under headings of *his* choosing. It seems that, when 'marking' his Bible, John devised a kind of key which Hutchinson has followed in her collation. Just above passages in reference to an 'ungratefull Peere & others', Hutchinson writes 'The whole tenth psalme is markd with C'. Turning to the list of 'his selected psalms in the prison', Hutchinson has marked a 'C' over the tenth psalm (a psalm concerning 'the wicked in his pride'), while over the 60th she has marked an 'x', above the 64th, two dots, and above psalms 35, 37, 71, 86, 103, 123 and 143, she has placed a single dot.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, under 'Vpon other circumstances of his persecutors', between passages from Isaiah and Psalms Hutchinson has written 'This belongs to the prelates These two following places were also intended for them', and when II Peter 3 is listed under 'some additional places pertaining to preachers & preaching' rather than copying out the passage Hutchinson has simply written, 'most part of it is markd concerning false teachers'. These gestures to John's system of coding the different parts of scripture show that, at least in part, these passages were copied out from his personal bible.¹⁵²

But it does seem that Hutchinson has played a more hands-on role in the compilation of the scriptural proofs. At times she seems to have extrapolated uncoded but marked passages and placed them into categories herself. This supposition of Hutchinson's independent engagement is supported by the note underneath the explanation that the tenth psalm is marked with a 'C': 'In reference to an vngratefull Peere & others these *might* be marked'.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Psalm 10:2. See Appendix D.

¹⁵² Marginal notes in Bibles were quite common in the early modern period, but most readers appear to have favoured the simple additions of crosses, 'NB's, or manicules. John's own coding system was clearly more detailed than this. For an example of another more elaborate, personal, coding system see the Van Liesvelt Bible, LP VH 30 C (Royal Library, Brussels), where the reader has used 'b's and 'e's to perhaps indicate the beginnings and endings of certain doctrinal passages. My thanks to Renske Hoff for alerting me to examples of biblical coding.

¹⁵³ Emphasis mine.

Furthermore, while most of the passages are written as they are translated in the King James Bible, some are given in the phrasing of the Geneva Bible. Her transcription of John 17:20 on the first page, for example, reads, 'I pray not for these alone but for them alsoe which shall belieue in me through their word', rather than the KJV's, 'Neither pray I for these alone but for them also which shall believe in me through their word'. Similarly, her transcriptions of verses from Romans 8 on the same page are copied from the Geneva Bible not the KJV. Either John had, himself, made notes in two different Bibles, or, perhaps more likely, Hutchinson was happy to note from memory.¹⁵⁴ This again may point to Hutchinson's augmentation of John's original notes with passages of her own choosing.

It is not only in the phrasing of some passages that the Geneva Bible makes an appearance, however. The marginal addition alongside Micah 3:2-11 - 'Princes and priests are here putt together' - mirrors that of the Geneva Bible's gloss of the whole chapter which also includes princes within this discussion of priests: 'against the tyranny of princes and false prophets'.¹⁵⁵ In the introduction to *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England*, Femke Molekamp traces the ownership of a number of Geneva Bibles positing - if indirectly - that it was the Bible favoured by female readers in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. Indeed, across her text, 'the Bible' is synonymous with the Geneva Bible.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, Kate Narveson's study of female biblical engagement also finds a prevalence of the Geneva Bible

¹⁵⁴ Zoe Braccia and Whitney Trettien note that the commonplace book of Susanna Collet (1582-1657) similarly quotes from different Bibles and draw the conclusion that 'Collet may also have been excerpting from memory or even translating herself from the Latin Vulgate': 'Interpretation', *The Digital Edition of Susanna Collet's Commonplace Book*, <https://digitalbookhistory.com/colletscommonplace/index.html>. The manuscript is PML 128838 (Morgan Library & Museum).

¹⁵⁵ Geneva Bible, Micah 3, gloss. The Dutch Annotations which Hutchinson mentions John reading in prison, states 'Governors' only; *The Dutch annotations upon the whole Bible ... this translation by Theodore Haak* (London: Henry Hills, 1657).

¹⁵⁶ Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Her implicit suggestion is that the Geneva Bible, with its 'interpretative paratexts' was more suited to private and domestic reading practices and, thus, to a female readership, 32.

rather than the KJV.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, in her autobiographical fragment, Hutchinson records how her own mother, staying in Jersey, ‘contracting a dear friendship with [a] holy man and his wife ... was instructed in their Geneva discipline, which she liked so much better than our superstitious service’.¹⁵⁸ In chapter 5, we shall see that her mother’s preferences may have had a lasting influence on Hutchinson as the Geneva Bible often shaped her own scriptural understanding as she wrote *OD*.

Furthermore, while Hutchinson writes of John’s engagement with the *Dutch Annotations* during the final weeks of his life, when the organisational principle of the notes matches with that of another source, it is, in fact, the *Westminster Annotations*. For example, under ‘Promises to the Church’ are included Isaiah 30:26, 32:15-18, Joel 2:28-30 and Isaiah 35:3-5. In its note for Isaiah 32:15, the *Westminster Annotations* lists Joel 2:28 as a comparable passage.¹⁵⁹ While there are further moments of similarity to the *Westminster Annotations*, they are not consistently used and so they cannot be said to be the only guiding principle behind the organisation of the passages - nor, indeed, can the Geneva Bible. In support of Hutchinson being the one to design this order, however, it should be noted that the *Annotations*, like, the Geneva Bible often shape her exegetical understanding as demonstrated in *OD*.

There is no reason, of course, why the passages may not be the result of collaborative endeavour between wife and husband. From the *Memoirs*, we know that Hutchinson spent many hours with her husband during his imprisonment aiding him in his exegetical study: these notes may be the result of such practice. Hutchinson wrote in the introductory sections

¹⁵⁷ Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*.

¹⁵⁸ Hutchinson, ‘Autobiographical fragment’, in *Memoirs*, ed. Keeble, 10.

¹⁵⁹ *Annotations*, Isaiah 32:15.

of DD/Hu4 that ‘it is time that I ~~disclose the~~ open the shutt[ers] and lett it in to your knowledge that splendor which while it cheares and enlightens your heavie sences ~~remem~~ let vs remember to giue all his and all our glorie to god alone’.¹⁶⁰ This articulates the idea of the manuscript as a joint venture, one in which she is the scribe, recording John’s knowledge. It may be that the notes were copied from, a now lost, notebook - that John chose the order in which the passages now appear as well as having marked them in his Bible. It may be that the ordering is all Hutchinson’s, the notes based on John’s scriptural marginalia, but curated by his wife. Or the answer may lie somewhere between these two extremes, the notes the result of collaborative exegetical study. Whichever of the Hutchinsons curated the order, I would argue that the ordering of the passages is transformative. It has been noted that scribal miscellanies placed literary works in new contexts thus ‘producing new interpretive possibilities’, that the juxtaposition between two texts can create a meaning which is not inherent in either text alone.¹⁶¹ In the messy practice of commonplacing, is the same generation of meaning possible through the ordering of proofs? I would suggest that the scriptural passages in DD/Hu4 encourage us to answer this question positively; these notes not only put into practice the independent scripturalism which secures John’s separation and status as elect but, through specific ordering, they function as precepts, defining the doctrinal beliefs which will secure the salvation of future generations.

To demonstrate what I believe to be the creation of doctrinal beliefs through the dissonant layering of scriptural passages, I would like to offer a close reading of the passages recorded

¹⁶⁰ DD/Hu4, 4. N. H. Keeble renders the incomplete ‘shutt’ as ‘the shut [eyes]’ but this would make more sense if the preceding article was ‘your’ as Hutchinson uses later in the sentence (‘your knowledge’). Both Julius Hutchinson and Firth correct the sentence to ‘It is time that I let in to your knowledge ...’. Keeble (ed.), *Memoirs*, 18; Julius (ed.), *Memoirs*, 3; Firth (ed.), *Memoirs*, 31. This sense that Hutchinson is only reflecting John’s greatness has been read, conversely, as an expression of wifely subservience: N. H. Keeble, “‘The Colonel’s Shadow’: Lucy Hutchinson, Women’s Writing, and the Civil War”, in *Literature and the Civil War*, ed. T. Healy and J. Sawday, 227-247 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹⁶¹ Eckhardt and Smith (eds.), *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, 17.

as ‘applicable to Prelates’ listed above. The passages are taken from a mix of Old and New Testament books, with little attention paid to biblical order: two passages from Matthew 15 are interrupted by Mark 7:9, while passages from Ezekiel precede those from Jeremiah. Yet, from this ordering of the passages, a *doctrinal* sense emerges. The first seven proofs offer Old Testament examples of God’s various promises to destroy the ungodly among the people of different places: Israel, Babylon, Jerusalem, Ariel.¹⁶² In each example, God speaks directly to his chosen prophet, and each attacks the actions of the city rulers or priests. In Jeremiah 50:6, for example, it is the ‘shepherds’ which ‘haue cause them to goe astray, they haue turned them away on the mountains’, while Zephaniah 3:4 records how the ‘Priests haue polluted the Sanctuary, they haue done violence to the law’ of Jerusalem. This section of the passages culminates in Jeremiah 6:10 with the warning that the people of Jerusalem ‘cannot hear’ the Word of God and ‘haue no delight in it’; the negative behaviour of the priests has created a society which cannot comprehend the Word of God.

The passages then turn to the New Testament and the example of Christ chastising the Pharisees as recorded in Matthew 15 and Mark 7. Disrupting the biblical order, Hutchinson places the passage from Mark, which reiterates Matthew 15:3, before Matthew 15:9. Clearly here, Hutchinson ascribes Jesus’ condemnation of the Pharisees to Prelates - they too, ‘transgress the commandement of God by your traditions’ and teach according to the ‘commandements of men’. Following these passages are two further examples of God’s wrath against Zion from Jeremiah and Micah, the first a direct example of acting according to the precepts of men: ‘They have built alsoe the high places of Ball to burne their sons with fire for burnt offerings unto Baal which I commanded not’. The long section from Micah lists

¹⁶² Ezekiel 34:3-5, 34:20-21 (listed by Hutchinson as 35:20-21), Jeremiah 50:6, 6:14, Zephaniah 3:4, Isaiah 29:9-15, and Jeremiah 6:7.

the failings of the princes, priests, and prophets, Hutchinson making it clear that these failings are shared among the powerful with the marginal note, 'Princes and priests are here putt together'. In this return to the Old Testament, the focus changes to how God will respond to these failings rather than, as in the earlier list, simply detailing the failings, as Hutchinson supplies the example of Micah 3 ('and the sun shall goe down ouer the Prophets').

This sense of narrative cohesion continues as her attention turns once again to the New Testament, now the Epistles of Peter. In these proofs Peter first looks back to the time of the Old Testament passages listed before, alluding to the destruction of Sodom (2 Peter 2) in his depiction of current heresies: 'there shall be false teachers among you who privily shall bring damnable heresies euen deniing the Lord'. These are passages from Peter in which he encourages an awareness of the past as a means of avoiding current pitfalls - this is the past which Hutchinson has already recorded in the passages above. The sense of this ever-present danger is enhanced in the last passage from 2 Peter in which he notes that even 'in the last dayes' there will be 'scoffers walking after their own lusts'. This is then followed by another return to the Old Testament, but now passages which also speak of the final day of recompense: Hosea 9:14, Amos 6:3, Amos 5:18 and Habakkuk 2:4.

Thus, despite the seeming dissonance, the sense of these passages becomes clear: the danger presented by mistaken and unlawful prelates has always been, and will always be, present. Furthermore, their presence, as it did in the time of the Old Testament, will always lead to the separation of communities into those who follow the precepts of men and those who follow the Word of God. Arguably this sense would not be as clear if the passages were presented in strict biblical order. The passages warning of the final destruction are given more contemporary resonance, coming as they do, after the New Testament warnings of Peter and condemnation of Jesus in the Gospel. Similarly, Hutchinson creates a strong link between the

inept priests of Old Testament Israel and the New Testament Pharisees through her use of juxtaposition. The negative effect of hierarchical ecclesiology is clear - across the scope of biblical history, it has led people into damnation. This is not a list of commonplaces concerning *how* a priest or prelate is supposed to behave, but a doctrinally pointed amalgamation of passages demonstrating the destructive outcome of misguided church ministry. The doctrinal sense of these passages arises not simply through accumulation, then, but is underpinned by the order into which they have been placed; this list has been curated to generate a meaning which is greater than its component parts.

Limitations of space prevent such a full exploration of all the lists which seem to work in this way, and it should be acknowledged that some of the list function as more straightforward collections of commonplaces. This is especially true of the shorter, more worldly based categories: 'Reputation', 'Concerning Sloth', 'Concerning Drunkenness', 'servants' etc. These lists do seem to have gathered proofs which are applicable to their subjects in a more traditional style. 'Against witchcraft', for example, lists a single proof, Deuteronomy 18:10-12, which simply offers a scriptural refutation of magical practices.¹⁶³ Many do offer more complicated doctrinal conclusions, however, and, as with the passages explored above, appear to work in concert with Hutchinson's understanding of scriptural history articulated in the central narrative of John's life. The passages collected under the headings of 'concerning magistracy and magistrates For the choyce of them', 'magistrates duties' and 'concerning subjects', for example, work together to define a certain, restrained, kind of ecclesiastical leadership which, like John's retirement, offer a challenge to the emerging church hierarchy of late-seventeenth century England.

¹⁶³ 'There shall not be found among you - or that vseth devination or an observer of times or an enchanter or a witch or a charmer or a consulter with familiar spiritts &ct For these nations hearkened vnto Observers of times & vnto deviners &ct.'

The former list compiles examples of Moses who, suffering under the stress of being a lone ruler, appointed others to share his burden. This list offers specific rules for the ordination of magistrates, namely their close relation to those they would rule: they will come from ‘out of the people’ and ‘among your tribes’, be men ‘wise ... and knowne’, and be chosen directly by Moses (‘whom thou knowest’). These passages stress the attributes of these men, namely that they are ‘wise’ and most importantly that they come ‘from among thy brethren’.¹⁶⁴ Thus, they highlight a specific form of Magistracy which is allowable due to the suitability of the man chosen and his close relationship to the people he would lead. Therefore, when the passages culminate in Peter’s exhortation to ‘submit’ to the leadership of Governors ‘for the punishment of evill doers and for the prayse of them that doe well’ Hutchinson’s list has set out its own limits to such obedience. It should also be noted that Hutchinson gives 1 Peter 2:14 which exhorts obedience to ‘Governors’, but not 1 Peter 2:13 which lists obedience to Kings.¹⁶⁵

What should also be noted in this example, is the precise link between the selection of these passages and the presentation of John in the biography. We have seen that John is frequently compared to Moses, with Hutchinson especially focused on the passages in Exodus when the prophet, under the guidance of his father-in-law, appoints deputies to ease his burdens. I argued that this depiction of John works to imply that he was the father of a new kind of religious congregation based on an Old Testament model in a direct challenge to any legally enforced modes of ecclesiastical community. In this list, as in the narrative, Hutchinson does

¹⁶⁴ The examples Hutchinson lists are Exodus 18:21, Numbers 11:16, and Deuteronomy 1:13 and 17:14.

¹⁶⁵ The two passages run into each other as one sentence: ‘Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme: or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well’.

not deny the importance of religious leaders, but stresses the model on which they should be appointed.

This sense of a dialectical relationship between magistrate and people is clear when Hutchinson turns her attention more directly to ministers. ‘Concerning Ministry and Ministers’ is given as a large title before the subsections, ‘the end of their ministry’, ‘the commission of the ministers’, the qualifications requisite in ministers’, ‘the duties of ministers’, duties of Christians concerning ministers’, ‘concerning false teachers’, and ‘other texts referred to preaching and preachers’. In her return to questions of hierarchy, once again Hutchinson does not deny its importance - ‘the end of the Ministry’ begins with Ephesians 4:11-13 which explains how God ‘gave some Apostles and some prophets and some Evangelists and some pastors & Teachers For the perfecting of the Saints’. This is qualified in the 13th verse, however: ‘Till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ’. Hutchinson has chosen here a passage which gestures to the temporary nature of ministry. In their list of ‘duties’ the emphasis is on how their power is constrained: they are ‘overseers’ appointed by the Holy Spirit (Acts 20:28), they do not have ‘dominion’ over faith but should aid in the acquisition of joy (2 Corinthians 3:24), they are an ‘ensample’ not ‘lords over God’s heritage’ (2 Thessalonians 3:9 and 1 Peter 5:3). As under ‘concerning magistracy’, the proofs offered for the ‘Duties of Christians concerning Ministers’ alert us to a reciprocal relationship between leader and led. The congregations have an equal duty to exhort one another and to weed out false doctrine from true (Hebrews 13:7 and 10:25, 1 John 4:1). These proofs, taken together support a specific kind of ministry, one chosen by, and on equal footing with, the wider congregation of Christians.

These passages present the biblical precedent for John's behaviour in the second half of the *Memoirs*. He was chosen by God based on his merit as a biblical scholar to preside over his small community of Christians until the coming of Christ: he 'discovered the doctrine of the Kingdome of Christ to be sett vp in visibility and glory ouer all the nations as well as ouer his saints in the Church'.¹⁶⁶ As a Moses figure, his role was to instruct his family in the ways of God so they, too, could fulfil their providential roles, taking their place among God's separated elect. As much as the depiction of John in the *Memoirs*, then, these lists work to forge a different kind of ecclesiastical hierarchy than the one imposed in England in the 1660s. Hutchinson does not deny the importance of religious instructors but wants their position to be based upon the principles of the Old Testament communities.

Other lists of proofs work in concert with Hutchinson's depiction of the cyclical nature of sacred history which has led in turn to her focus on the primary need for the elect to separate themselves physically from the reprobate. This is most obvious when we turn to the proofs which are particularly related to John's specific circumstances: 'Concerning his enemies', 'Vpon the occasion of Robinsons lies told at Court', 'In reference to the Presbyterian party & other Apostates', 'Vpon other circumstances of his persecutors', and 'For the 30th of january'. The most immediately noticeable fact about the biblical proofs which make up these sections is that they come almost entirely from the Old Testament. Of the 75 passages given, just seven come from the New Testament, six of these under 'Concerning his enemies'. This scriptural framing of contemporary events, then, is almost exclusively Old Testament.

The list in reference to John's enemies begins with general warnings against the unholy taken from the Psalms: 'the Lord will abhorre the bloody and decietfull man' (Psalm 5:6).

¹⁶⁶ DD/Hu4, 356.

Hutchinson then lists a long selection of proofs from the Old Testament prophets - Habakkuk, Malachi, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah, Ezekiel - which focus on the destruction of enemies and the preservation of the elect. The first two (Habakkuk 1:16 and Malachi 3:13-15) detail the sins which have led to such destruction before passages from the Psalms contextualize the coming punishment: 'When I thought to know this it was too paynefull for me vntill I went into the Sancturary of the Lord then I vnderstood their end', 'When the wicked doe spring vp as grasse ... it is that they shall be destroyed for euer'.¹⁶⁷ The following proofs from Isaiah and Jeremiah then detail the punishments that God shall bring, typified by Isaiah 23:9 - 'The Lord of hosts hath porposed it to staine the pride of all glory and to bring into contempt the honorable of the earth'.¹⁶⁸ The final of these, from Zephaniah scorns those who 'say in their heart the Lord will not doe good neither will he doe euill' which is then followed by proofs from the Psalms which show the righteousness of God behaviour: 'so that a man shall say verily there is a reward for the righteous Verily he is a God that iudgeth in the earth'.¹⁶⁹ Once again, a pattern emerges in this section, with the Old Testament prophets supported and proved by the passages from the Psalms.

More importantly, when considering the relationship between these proofs and the narrative, these Old Testament passages are not general examples of God's punishment of the reprobate. Rather they are passages which depict God's anger against unclean cities: Tyre, Egypt, Jerusalem, Babylon, Damascus. In them, God speaks to his prophets promising the downfall of the unbelieves and the preservation of his elect: 'My people Goe yee out of the middst of her and deliver euery man his soule from the fierce anger of the Lord ... Babilon sinke and shall not rise from the euill that I will bring vpon her' (Jeremiah 51:45, 64).

¹⁶⁷ Psalm 73:17 and 92:7.

¹⁶⁸ Hutchinson has listed this passage as 'Esa 26' leaving a gap for the verse number showing her to be working from memory.

¹⁶⁹ Zeph 1:12, Psalm 58:9-11, Psalm 62:3, Psalm 64:8.

Relating these passages to John's enemies - rather than enemies in general - specifically transforms post-Restoration England into a city such as Babylon, and John into a patriarchal Old Testament figure. The danger of England's own position is brought home as Hutchinson turns to New Testament proofs which imbue this section with a millenarian sense of destruction near at hand: I Thessalonians 5:3, James 5:3, I Peter 4:17-18, II Peter 3:7.¹⁷⁰ Once again a narrative structure emerges for these passages - England, trapped in the same context as the Old Testament cities shall be cleansed and destroyed as the final day of judgement is at hand. These are examples primarily concerned with 'a universal catastrophe in the midst of which one group is saved'.¹⁷¹ These examples of destruction do not depict nation against nation, but one group saved from within a single nation and are, as such, much more applicable to the internally divided situation of late-seventeenth century England in which opposing factions sought to demonstrate the primacy of their position under God. There is a specificity to the passages which works alongside the depiction of John's life in the *Memoirs* as a recapitulation of previous experiences. They work in concert with Hutchinson's optimism that, far from fleeing in defeat, the Puritans, survivors of their own civil war, will be separated in order to be saved. The disappointment of the Restoration simply provides the impetus for the 'retirement' of the elect and, thus, secures their eventual salvation.

¹⁷⁰ 'For when they shall say, Peace and safely; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape', 'Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days', 'For the time is come that judgement must begin at the house of God ... And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?', 'But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgement and perdition of ungodly men'.

¹⁷¹ Luis Alonso Schökel, 'Isaiah', in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, 178.

Conclusion

Thus, these passages then have two claims to our attention, two functions which make them inseparable from the central narrative. On the one hand they illuminate the events of the *Memoirs* and Hutchinson's particular way of articulating them. They underpin and highlight her beliefs about the continuing cycle of sacred history and John's particular role within the new cycle of seventeenth-century England. They offer the biblical basis for Hutchinson's optimism following the 'defeat' of the Restoration. The passages also provide scriptural support for the new kind of church which emerges from John's rejection of earthly loyalty and separation into his own wilderness at Owthorpe. They show on what basis this church should be formulated, based on Old Testament models of exclusivity and shared congregational responsibility. The notes enact, and encourage, the kinds of behaviour which - from the beginning of sacred history - have secured the longevity of the elect.

In this way, the passages form a set of rules for inclusion in the exclusive community of elected Christians. Acting as 'precepts' they can function as a kind of guidebook to the Separatist congregation created by John. As Moses came bearing the Ten Commandments, John's own legacy is these biblical notes. The efficacy of DD/Hu4 lies in its articulation of a new kind of Separatist congregation, a new form of ecclesiastical settlement. By the mid-1660s John's loyalty to the Republican cause was not what Hutchinson chose to stress; rather, it was his commitment to God's community of saints, and his key role within the formation of this congregation. The biblical notes form a crucial section of the manuscript as they define the kind of Christianity that will secure the family's entry into the community of the elect both by encouraging the kinds of independent scriptural engagement which cements

one's status as sanctified, and by explaining the key precepts of correct ecclesiastical practice.

While generically different ventures, the two halves of DD/Hu4 both work towards the forging of new kinds of restricted association underpinned by a reimagining of God's earthly church as a small community of the sanctified. In this manuscript, the Separatist ecclesiology is inseparable from Hutchinson's particular view of sacred history as a repeating cycle. The notes reveal the full efficacy of the *Memoirs* as a text written not to protect John's honour, but to show him as a model of redirected loyalty, the first among many, who will eventually 'obtaine a purer reformation'. Hutchinson brings biblical proofs together in new ways to exhort a specific kind of Separatist church settlement. DD/Hu4 demonstrates Hutchinson's perception of the ecclesiastical possibilities of the literary form of commonplacing. She used the manuscript to secure her husband's legacy not as a republican hero, but as the founding father of a new church. Written for her family, DD/Hu4 is transformed by the inclusion of the notes into an ecclesiological manifesto designed to be shared with future generations.

We can see a great shift, then, in Hutchinson's conception of association between the Civil War years and 1660 demonstrated through a comparison of 'the Services' manuscript and DD/Hu4. In this way, Hutchinson appears to work against Norbrook's 'wager' there is a continuity within the writings.¹⁷² Hutchinson's concerns have transformed, and she presents a society defined by a lack of flexibility; to her mind there are insiders and outsiders in this world, their status reliant entirely on their religious principles. Post-1660 Hutchinson came to a new understanding of acceptable forms of association which were based upon a reconceptualization of the Church, emerged from the context of familial exegetical study, and

¹⁷² Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 14.

were codified in DD/Hu4. After the Restoration, Hutchinson's conception of what the church *is* and how it should be formed has become crucial in a way which is not visible in her earlier texts. Writing retrospectively more than a decade after the Civil War - a war that was 'within - inside the walls of the great house, inside its natural landscape, inside the minds of those who have experienced it' - Hutchinson exhorts her family to retreat from earthly association entirely, to follow the models of the Old Testament and pursue ecclesiological Separationism.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Nicholas McDowell, 'Towards a Poetics of Civil War', *Essays in Criticism* 65, no. 4 (Oct., 2015), 349.

‘Many doctrines mistaken and questionable’: Reformation Texts and the Search for a Church

Settlement

Introduction

After writing the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson embarked on a new period of reading and study, a time of theological engagement which is attested to by her notebook, DD/Hu3. This notebook is an octavo volume, measuring 150 by 93mm, bound in brown calf ‘very typical of the mid to late seventeenth century’.¹ The cover is framed by double fillets, 2-3mm from the edge on the top, bottom, and outside edge, and 17mm from the spine. While this binding could be contemporaneous with the composition, Jonathan Gibson believes that ‘the binding has been repaired and the book rebound’.² This would explain why the leaves have been cropped removing half a letter’s width from the outer edges and the tops of each page. While it is possible that some texts fall outside of this range, the earliest date recorded in the notebook is 1667, and the latest, June 1673.³ The notebook is inverted and filled in from the reverse end, the text meeting with the final pages of two sermons from April 1673 on facing pages which are inverted from each other.⁴

The contents of the notebook are all theological but generically distinct: it contains translations, notes from reading, original prose writing, and sermon notes. This was clearly a personal notebook, with source texts and preacher’s names left un-noted, and one which was

¹ Jonathan Gibson, ‘Textual Introduction’, in *Works2*, 54.

² Gibson, ‘Textual Introduction’, 54.

³ The translations of Calvin, for example, precede the text dated 1667. Yet, it seems that Hutchinson did not begin DD/Hu3 until after she wrote the *Memoirs* in the mid-1660s. Norbrook dates the notebook as ‘kept from 1667 to at least 1673’, ‘Theological Notebook Introduction’, in *Works2*, 3.

⁴ For a list of contents, see Appendix E.

adapted to different projects over several years. The book begins with notes on Calvin's *Institutes*, before they are cut short for two pieces of original writing in 1667 and 1668; in June 1673, this small volume became a sermon notebook, carried to church by Hutchinson.

In its theological focus, DD/Hu3 resembles the *Memoirs*. However, the content and context of this manuscript is radically different to the biography of her husband. The writing, and the doctrines it expresses, emerge not from familial exegesis, but from Hutchinson's active engagement with both Reformed and early-seventeenth century attempts at ecclesiastical codification: Calvin's *Institutes*, William Perkins' *A Golden Chaine*, and the *Westminster Confessions of Faith*, to name just a few. With the notebook focused on these texts of 'high Calvinism' a contradiction emerges - Calvinism was increasingly unpopular in the late-seventeenth century. England at the time was, on the whole, 'unreceptive' to strict Calvinism for, as Tim Cooper states, 'after the Restoration ... growing numbers of English thinkers and theologians felt that it was improper and distasteful to pry into hidden mysteries such as predestination and election, and preferred to leave in the past any memory of religious enthusiasm'.⁵ Arguably, Hutchinson's apparent fascination with Reformation texts should not be read as a whole-sale acceptance of their authority, and this chapter will firstly explore Hutchinson's reception and transformation of John Calvin's *Institutio christianae religionis*, first published in 1536.⁶ Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti have noted that 'texts are historically contingent, both in their original circumstances of production and reception and

⁵ Tim Cooper, 'Calvinism Among Seventeenth-Century English Puritans', in *The Oxford Handbook of Calvin and Calvinism*, ed. Bruce Gordon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 326

⁶ John Calvin, *Christianae Religionis Institutio* (Basil, 1536). Calvin reedited his own text frequently, and it continued to be republished after his death. For an overview of the different editions and the adaptations Calvin made during his lifetime see, Richard A. Muller, 'Establishing the *Ordo docendi* The Organisation of Calvin's Institutes, 1536-1559', in *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 118-139. When not my own, translations of Calvin's text will be taken from *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols., ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Kentucky: WJK Press, 2006), henceforth, Calvin, *Institutes*.

in their subsequent reproductions, transformations, and receptions'.⁷ Aware of Calvin's 'inability to address all of the issues that faced [Christians] in altered contexts and other times', how, and most crucially, why, does Hutchinson accommodate this text and the ideas it contained into the changed world of late-seventeenth century England?⁸

From this process of translation and notetaking, Hutchinson then forged two statements of faith. They are undeniably 'original' pieces of prose, yet these texts are forged from a patchwork of orthodox Reformed texts. Why did Hutchinson construct her statements in this way? While the *Memoirs* exhorted Separationism, the ecclesiology of these two statements appears to be much more Congregational. Reconsidering the generic form of these statements, this chapter will also ask: why was Hutchinson more accepting of a Congregational church settlement in the late 1660s? This chapter and the next seek to demonstrate that the answer to this question lies in an understanding of the context in which this manuscript was written. DD/Hu3 has generally been viewed as a private notebook, a space for intellectual theological study only. I want to consider the possibility that the statements were designed for a more public audience. I argue that Hutchinson reconceptualized her ecclesiology as her idealised view of a Christian community, articulated in DD/Hu4, faced the realities of congregational worship post-1660.

This chapter will be the first of two which will explore this notebook. In this pair of chapters I have split the materials in DD/Hu3 into two sections: 1) the texts compiled in the late 1660s which demonstrate Hutchinson's interest in Calvin and other late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century expressions of orthodox Puritanism, and 2) the texts which show

⁷ Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (eds.), *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), 1.

⁸ Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin*, 138.

Hutchinson engaged in the more contemporary arguments which emerged as Puritanism developed in the later-seventeenth century.⁹ These texts were compiled by Hutchinson between 1668 and 1673. I hope in this way to not only explore the influence of Reformation texts on Hutchinson's own writing, but to interrogate the ways in which these texts - and the doctrines they exhorted - were, perhaps, unsuited to the realities of late-seventeenth century dissent.

'[T]he way of Mr Calvin': Calvinism in the late-seventeenth century

Whichever way the notebook is turned it begins with Calvin's *Institutes*. From one end, Hutchinson has translated the Aphorisms which condensed the argument of the *Institutes* into 100 numbered points. From the other, she has written 'Notes out of the Institutions of John Calvin' in English. I would suggest that these two items were complimentary activities, this inversion a marker of 'reverse blank casting-off'.¹⁰ This practice of 'sectionalizing' a manuscript might be used if a 'two part structure is necessary' or if the writer didn't know how much space might be needed for each item; it allows the two sections to 'evolve in parallel'.¹¹ The construction of the notebook suggests that the Aphorisms and the Notes on Calvin were originally the only materials it was designed to contain. While they are unfinished, it seems that Hutchinson continued - or at least planned to continue - her work on the notes into the 1670s; the presence of two blank pages before a sermon from June 1673 in the reverse end, suggests Hutchison was attempting to leave as much space as possible to

⁹ Splitting the materials in this way, these chapters will leave unexplored two short texts in this notebook: 'arguments to prooue the Scriptures the word of God', and 'the loue of God'. Covering just three pages, these items offer lists of proofs about their relative topics. This is not to say that they are unimportant, but in form they lack the discursive complexity of the other materials. These items are printed in *Works*2, 152-153.

¹⁰ Jonathan Gibson, 'Casting off Blanks', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture*, 209

¹¹ Gibson, 'Casting off Blanks', 209, 221

complete her notes on Calvin before deciding to abandon that project and include the June sermons instead.¹² While the Aphorisms and the notes are undated, verse fragments on the boards and first pages at each end clearly post-date John's death, giving us a composition date of between 1664 and 1667 (the date she gives to the item following the Aphorisms).¹³

At some point in the mid-1660s, then, Hutchinson turned her attention to Calvin's *Institutes*, perhaps first to the easily digestible Aphorisms, before then making notes from the main body of the text. While the notes are unfinished, they still demonstrate a sustained and detailed engagement with Calvin's text, Hutchinson translating from the Latin herself. Calvin's popularity in late-sixteenth and early seventeenth-century England was unparalleled. As Bruce Gordon explains, 'by the 1580s he outsold all other Protestant reformers combined, making him the most influential voice in the kingdom. Between 1564 and 1600, sixty-five editions of his complete works, mostly in folio, were available in England ... the *Institutes* became the definitive statement of doctrine'.¹⁴ Yet, Calvin's legacy in post-Restoration England was far from straightforward. As we saw in Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, Hutchinson retrospectively removed reference to John's own engagement with 'M^r Caluin', preferring to present John's studies as entirely focused on the Bible.¹⁵ Richard A. Muller has dedicated much of his work to separating out Calvin from the Calvinists, demonstrating that his legacy changed over time, and stressing that 'the later reformed tradition drew on and appealed to Calvin as one founding teacher among others'.¹⁶ This does not mean, on the other hand, that

¹² The sermon preceding the April one in the reverse end appears to be complete, and so these pages were not left to finish this.

¹³ Following a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are some fragments which mirror the language of Hutchinson's elegies, written to mark John's death. The same rhyme is found in, 'Hee's fixt about I by the wild winds tost/ Am only in the hazard to be lost', and Hutchinson's *Elegies*, 'Recovery' and 'The Night', DD/Hu2, xxvii, xxiii.

¹⁴ Bruce Gordon, *John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion: A Biography* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 57.

¹⁵ DD/Hu4, 8.

¹⁶ Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition*, 69.

later reformed writers rejected Calvin (what Muller refers to as ‘Calvin against the Calvinists’), but that the doctrinal principles which he supported were subject to transformation as they were reiterated by future writers: it is a ‘matter of identifying both the place of a particular thinker in his own context and in relation to various trajectories or traditions of thought’.¹⁷

In sixteenth-century Geneva, Calvin’s aim was to posit one ecclesiastical system against that of Rome, believing ‘his own theology as an expression of catholic truth’.¹⁸ Calvin rejected the Pope and the institutions of Catholic religion but not ecclesiastical governance entirely and, as Muller frequently reminds us, he intended to teach the doctrine of the Church not his own. Considering this, his inclusion in a late-1660s notebook which, as we shall see, expresses deep distrust for existing ecclesiastical hierarchical systems, seems odd - especially so, when we consider Calvin’s status as an influential force in the foundation of the Church of England. Despite this popularity, Muller’s warnings about placing Calvin as the sole founder of pan-European Reformed religion hold true. For example, Jean Louis Quantin differentiates the English Reformation as a ‘kingly reformation’, in which religious developments had to work within a national system of monarchical rule.¹⁹ As such, the Calvinist doctrines that reached English shores had to be further tested for their applicability to the existing monarchical system, meaning that English Calvinism was, in its beginning, more accepting of ecclesiastical and monarchical authority than its European cousin. If Hutchinson was searching for a simple form of Christianity founded on, as she wrote in the

¹⁷ Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition*, 40. See also, Richard A. Muller, ‘Calvin and the ‘Calvinists’: Assessing Continuities and Discontinuities Between the Reformation and Orthodoxy’, *Calvin Theological Journal* 30, no.2 (1995), 345-375.

¹⁸ Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition*, 42.

¹⁹ Jean Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 157. Quantin takes the phrase, ‘Reformatio Monarchica’, from a 1624 sermon given by Bishop Joseph Hall: *Columba Noae oliuam adferens iactatissimae Christi arcae* (London: Per Guil, 1624), 18.

Memoirs, the ‘pure spirituall worship of god ... and the acknowledgement of the ... kingdom power and glory of the Lord Jesus’ rather than forms of external authority, Calvin was not, perhaps, the ideal starting point.²⁰ Nor, in the late-1660s was Calvin the most relevant source. Cooper and many others have noted Calvin’s demise as the seventeenth century wore on.

Why, then, did Hutchinson study Calvin in the years following John’s death, and how did she respond to his doctrines? We have seen that Muller argues for the transformation over time of some of his arguments, achieved most immediately by the ‘apparatus’ of marginalia, prefaces, and indexes, that surrounded his printed works and which offered a re-conceived depiction of his doctrines. Muller believes that this created a visible disjunct between Calvin’s ideas and ‘Calvinism’ in the following century:

the late-sixteenth-century apparatus, with its disputative and even scholastic overtones, moves Calvin’s thought ever so slightly into the early orthodox frame of the next generation of Reformed thought, rather than merely giving the next generation a thoroughly valid sense of continuity between its own theological enterprise and Calvin’s patterns of thought and argument²¹

Muller’s argument here rests on a distinction between the authorial text and later edited copies. But, as Sasha Roberts noted in her overview of the problems which face us when we study early modern reading, ‘an attachment to notions of textual authority enshrined in one authoritative text would seem anachronistic’.²² The extent to which a sixteenth or seventeenth century reader would have distinguished between the ‘apparatus’ and Calvin’s own authorial intention is perhaps not as great as Muller’s argument suggests. This is attested to by Hutchinson’s own notes as, working from the 1590 Geneva edition published by Johannes Le Preux, at times Hutchinson has copied the marginalia in this version rather than making her

²⁰ DD/Hu4, 63.

²¹ Muller, *Unaccommodated Calvin*, 75.

²² Sasha Roberts, ‘Reading in Early Modern England: Contexts and Problems’, *Critical Survey* 12, no. 2 (2000), 8.

notes from the main text, making no distinction between the two.²³ For example, Hutchinson imbeds references to marginal biblical passages in her notes: ‘thus David the best interpreter of his own meaning sense expounds it in ye 20th psal.11 & ye 36.2’, or ‘which alsoe Austin on the 144th psalme notes’.²⁴

Thus, I would argue against the suggestion that textual impositions disrupted a ‘sense of continuity between’ later Reformed thought and Calvin’s own theological enterprise; later editions may have in fact created a ‘valid sense of continuity’ by silently shifting Calvin’s arguments to be more in line with contemporary theological beliefs. This is a similar argument to the one concerning the Geneva Bible’s marginal notes made by William W. E. Slights who believes that conversations took place between the notes and the text with ‘dialogic tensions growing out of this conversation [which] generate meanings that are not strictly resident in either place’.²⁵ Arguably, while editorial impositions certainly could - and did - transform Calvin’s doctrines, they did so by interweaving his ideas with their own and presenting them within a new interpretative framework.

I would argue that Hutchinson’s own treatment of Calvin continues this trend of renewed interpretation in the ‘softer’ way I have posited against Muller’s. Her notebook subtly changes his language to directly reflect late-seventeenth century Puritan attitudes rather than intervening in Calvin’s text more obviously. By interweaving Calvin’s ideas with more

²³ John Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Geneva: Johannem le Preux, 1590).

²⁴ DD/Hu3, 264, 252. See Calvin, *Institutio*, 3v and 5v. Hutchinson’s use of the marginalia is what allows us to pinpoint her use of this edition. At one point she copies over a mistaken biblical reference from the margin and embeds it in her translation: ‘4 by the simplicity of the stile that declares such wonderful misteries in such familiar and easie language 1 Cor. 2.4’. The referenced passage in Calvin is actually I Corinthians 2:5; Calvin, *Institutio*, 10r.

²⁵ William W. E. Slights, ‘Marginall Notes that Spoile the Text’: Scriptural Annotation in the English Renaissance, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (Spring, 1992), 258.

contemporary ones through the act of translation, Hutchinson grants his authority to her much more radical doctrinal principles.

Accommodating Calvin?

The ‘Centum Aphorismi’ with which Hutchinson’s notebook begins, broke down the first four Books of the *Institutes* into 100 short points.²⁶ These Aphorisms were not actually penned by Calvin but are based on the ‘epitome’ of the *Institutes* written by the French exile, Gulielmus Launeus (William Delaune), published in 1583.²⁷ Launeus’ text was ‘augmented slightly as demanded by syntax’ and then included in most of the following editions.²⁸ As Hutchinson offers them, they begin with ‘the true wisdom of men, is sited in the knowledge of God, the creator and the Redeemer’, and end with the separation of civil power from magistrates: ‘the obedience prescribed to private persons hinders not that there may be popular Magistrates in whose power it may be to suppress Tirants’.²⁹ An English version of these Aphorisms was available to Hutchinson as they had been translated by Robert Hill in 1596, but Hutchinson has translated from the Latin herself.³⁰ This allows us to see a number of decisions Hutchinson has made which alert us to her particularly mid-seventeenth-century take on her sixteenth-century source.

²⁶ I have termed this end of the manuscript the ‘front’ based on the dating of the materials which follow the studies of Calvin in either end: following the Aphorisms the materials are dated 1667 and 1668, following the notes, the sermons are dated 1673. As stated above, the two studies of the *Institutes* may well have been complimentary activities.

²⁷ Gulielmus Launeus, *Institutionis christianae religionis a Ioanne Calvino conscriptae, Epitome in qua adversariorum obiectionibus breves ac solidae responsiones annotantur per Gulielmum Launeum* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1583). A second edition was published just a year later, and the work translated into English first by Christopher Featherstone in 1585, and then by Robert Hill in 1596.

²⁸ Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin*, 66.

²⁹ DD/Hu3, 7 and 50.

³⁰ Robert Hill, ‘An Hundredth Aphorismes, Short sentences ...of Maister Calvines Institutions...taken out of the last and best edition’ in *The Contents of Scripture* (London: 1596).

For example, Hutchinson consistently translates the ‘Christian life’ into Christian ‘conversation’ as in the 48th aphorism where ‘vita sanctitas’ is rendered ‘holiness of conversation’, or in the 49th where ‘Vitae Christianae partes duae constituuntur’ becomes ‘There are 2 parts of a Christian conversation’. The same change is made to ‘Summa vitae Christianae est nostri abnegatio’ (aphorism 50). ‘Conversation’ was an accepted way of referring to Puritan worship in the mid-seventeenth century reflecting, in the words of Joanne J. Jung, the Puritan belief that ‘engaging in conference furthered one’s understanding of Scripture and its application ... One’s knowledge and discernment of God’s Word was foundational to one’s relationship with God through His Son and in His Spirit’.³¹ This emphasis on a collection of godly believers superseded the importance of the church; worship could be simply defined as an active conversation between believers. As such, Hutchinson’s translation here interferes with Calvin’s text, redirecting his writing in support of a more Congregational system in which the ‘vita christiana’ revolves around - and is synonymous with - conversations between believers.

There are also moments at which Hutchinson stresses the language of election beyond the Latin, translating ‘Dei summus’ as ‘elected of God’. In the same aphorism (64) she uses the word ‘effectually’, another theologically inflected term missing in the Latin (‘vocantur’), to describe the calling of the elect.³² This idea of ‘effectual’ calling, like that of ‘conversation’ would have been one frequently encountered by Hutchinson in her own time. Often referred to as the ‘formal cause’ of salvation, this concept of ‘effectual calling’ (preaching) came into common use in the later sixteenth century to tackle the question of, if the elect and reprobate all attended preaching - and so attended to the calling of the Word - why only some were

³¹ Joanne J. Jung, *Godly Conversation: Rediscovering the Puritan Practice of Conference* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2011), 16.

³² DD/Hu3, 36.

saved.³³ The answer lay in the active role of the Holy Spirit which prepared the elect individual to hear their calling - the benefit of preaching lay within the individual hearing the word rather than in the preaching itself.

‘Effectual calling’ further redefines the role of the church from Calvin’s day by limiting the possibility that preaching alone could have an effectual role in salvation; while preaching could ‘quicken’ the spirit of the elect, it had no power of conversion for the reprobate. This is in some ways a logical extension of Calvin’s principles of free grace and predestination, yet effectual calling carries within itself the possibility of ineffectual calling, a principle far from Calvin’s own. Calvin believed that preaching had an effectual role in salvation for *all* people - it could be a source of conversion to Christianity. As Muller explains, for Calvin ‘whereas both the preaching of the gospel and salvation have their source in the election of God, preaching is an outward call that is presented to the elect and reprobate alike’.³⁴ He writes of the first Apostles, for example, that ‘no set limits are allotted to them, but the whole earth is assigned to them to bring into obedience to Christ’.³⁵ This language of ‘effectual calling’ to describe the presence of the spirit in the individual post-dates Calvin, and Hutchinson may have encountered it in the *Westminster Confessions of Faith* (a text which she turns to frequently in the writing of her two statements of faith). Chapter X lays out ‘effectual calling’, describing it as ‘of God’s free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who [once] ... renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call’.³⁶

³³ The first use recorded in the *OED* for ‘effectual calling’ in English is from J. Northbrooke’s 1571, *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi: Breefe Summe Christian Faith* (London: W. Williamson, 1571), 18.

³⁴ Muller, *Calvin and the reformed Tradition*, 176.

³⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.III.4.

³⁶ The *WCF* was first published as *The Humble advice of the Assembly of Divines Now by Authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, Concerning A Confession of Faith: With the Quotations and Tests of Scripture annexed* (London: Evan Tyler, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie, 1647), X.ii. The *WCF* can be accessed online: <https://www.fpchurch.org.uk/about-us/important-documents/the-westminster-confession-of-faith/>.

Hutchinson's notes at the other end of DD/Hu3 also contain several moments at which we can perhaps see the influence of her contemporary moment on her translation. She begins her notes, 'The whole summe of that w^{ch} can truly be accounted wisdom in vs is comprehended in these two parts the knowledge of God and the knowledge of our selues', omitting the qualifying second word of the Latin, 'ferè' (nearly).³⁷ While this is a small moment, in the same section, Hutchinson continues to stress the inadequacy of anything but the divine, translating 'tenuiate' as 'nothingness': 'but so many drops that lead us to the fountaine of life and blessednesse the discouery of our owne notingnesse in our selues'.³⁸ We can perhaps see a similar impulse at work as she writes, 'for no man can consider himselfe but he must be raysd up to the view of a god', changing the active 'conuertat' into the passive 'must be raysd up'.³⁹ In the Aphorisms, Hutchinson similarly translates 'collocare' as 'repose' to render part of the 5th aphorism, 'wee may learne to repose all our confidence in the goodnesse power and wisdom of God'.⁴⁰ This again makes the role of the individual particularly passive, as 'repose' carries means of cessation of exertion rather than an application or an active turn to God.⁴¹ A more direct translation was offered by Robert Hill: 'learne to put our trust in the goodness, power and wisdom of God'.⁴²

Theologians of the Reformation, including Calvin, left space in their soteriology for the efficacy of works. They could not secure one's place in heaven, which had been pre-ordained and was only the outcome of God's grace through Christ, but the believer could still 'strengthen [their] faith by signs of the divine benevolence towards him'. Works could be of

³⁷ DD/Hu3, 271.

³⁸ DD/Hu3, 271. A more direct translation is 'poverty'.

³⁹ DD/Hu3, 271. Calvin, *Institutio*, 1r.

⁴⁰ DD/Hu3, 8.

⁴¹ 'repose, n.', 1.a, *OED Online* (2021).

⁴² Hill, 'An Hundredth Aphorismes', 316.

value when ‘taken *a posteriori*’ as signs of election.⁴³ As the battleground shifted in the later-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Puritans faced the threat of Arminianism, they became further entrenched in their belief in predestination, supralapsarianism, and the limited efficacy of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross. Debates concerning the universal salvation (albeit *hypothetical* universal salvation) granted by Christ’s death, that is, post-date Calvin.⁴⁴

Hutchinson’s highlighting of the passivity of the elect appears to be a later reaction to the threatened imposition of universal salvation and the merit of works which her opponents may also have drawn from Calvin. Here, then, it appears that we can see Calvin’s writing meeting the concerns of seventeenth-century Puritanism and being forced to bend slightly to the newer theology.

This is a consistent thread in Hutchinson’s translations which she litters with more contemporary expressions of Puritan theology, from ‘profession of religion’ (‘studium... religionis’), to ‘belieuers and saints’ (‘fidelium pectoribus’).⁴⁵ In Calvin’s third chapter, he discusses the absurdity of the idea that religion was created and upheld by men, adding the caveat, ‘fateor quidem plurima in religione commentos esse astutos homines quibus reuerentiam plebeculae iniicerent’. Hutchinson is particularly free in her translation here, offering ‘pollititans’ for ‘astutos homines’ and ‘fictions’ for ‘plurima’.⁴⁶ Most starkly, in a return to the marginalia, Hutchinson turns to the contemporary issue of ‘conscience’.

Calvin’s prose in chapter VII.5 reads,

That those whom the Holy Spirit has inwardly taught truly rest upon Scripture, and that Scripture indeed is self-authenticated; hence, it is not right to subject it to proof

⁴³ Calvin, *Institutes*, III.XIV.19.

⁴⁴ For more on hypothetical universalism see, Jonathan D. Moore, ‘The Extent of Atonement: English Hypothetical Universalism versus Particular Redemption’, in *Drawn into Controversie: Reformed Theological Diversity and Debates Within Seventeenth-Century British Puritanism*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Mark Jones (Gottingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 124-160

⁴⁵ DD/Hu3, 263, 261. Calvin, *Institutio*, 4r.

⁴⁶ Calvin, *Institutio*, 2v. DD/Hu3, 269.

and reasoning. And the certainty it deserves with us, it attains by the testimony of the spirit. For even when it wins reverence for itself by its own majesty, it seriously affects us only when it is sealed upon our hearts though the spirit.⁴⁷

The marginalia for the same section glosses that ‘the next unavoidable conclusion of the testimony of the spirit, the authority of the scripture first seals on the heart’ (‘postrema & necessaria conclusio spiritus s. testimonio scripturae s. autoritatē cordibus piorum obsignari’). Hutchinson’s notes start off in the main text, before moving over to the marginalia:

Let us therefore remaine fixt with the godly that the word is autopiston and ought not to be subiected to humane reasons & demonstrations but we are to acquiesce in the testimony of that spirit which gaue it forth which is the same that ~~assures vs of its authority~~ confirms it in our consciences⁴⁸

Two attempts have been made here to render ‘scripture first seals on the heart’. Hutchinson has first given the Word ‘authority’, before changing this to assert its grip upon the ‘conscience’. That the Word can ‘confirm’ itself internally rather than just support its own authority, has clear links to Hutchinson’s insistence on effectual calling - the pre-existing presence of the spirit within God’s elected people. Yet the change of ‘heart’ for ‘conscience’ has further cultural currency within late-seventeenth century England and plays into Puritan arguments against the authority of the church. The reformed Church of England defended what John Spurr terms, ‘reasonable religion’ where a believer with a *reasonable* understanding of the Word of God would then ‘submit to clerical guidance and instruction’.⁴⁹ The dangerous opposite to this, they perceived, was an assumption that religion was mystical - or irrational - which would leave Christianity with no foundation, and open to the whims of individual beliefs based only on the spirit. Many sects, including the Quakers, were charged

⁴⁷ Calvin, *Institutes*, I.VII.5.

⁴⁸ DD/Hu3, 245-44.

⁴⁹ John Spurr, “‘Rational Religion’ in Restoration England”, *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 49, no.4 (Oct.-Dec., 1988), 569.

with undermining Christianity in this way, and Spurr notes that this kind of ‘enthusiasm’ was a charge also levelled at Puritans.

Proponents of a more Puritan system favoured rather ‘rational religion’, in which the rationality of each believer could be trusted to interpret and understand the Word of God. The emerging anticlericalism was, thus, not founded on a mystical belief in the spirit, but on a firm reliance on human rationality which balanced human capability with a firm adherence to predetermined salvation; scriptural truth was, after all, only confirmed in the conscience of the elect. Furthermore, rationality was used to argue for greater toleration in matters of religion. As Spurr argues, “‘rational religion’ served in itself to indict the Church of England and her clergy for maintaining an irrational, because intolerant, religion”.⁵⁰ This is made explicit in Charles Wolseley *Liberty of Conscience* (1668), a tract published as part of the 1667-1668 nonconformist campaign for toleration, in which he claims that ‘nature abhors compulsion in Religious things as a spiritual rape upon Conscience’.⁵¹ As Hutchinson was translating Calvin, the Church of England was pushing for ‘comprehension’ (a system which creates such a broad church that it can encompass the different nuances of belief), dismissing calls for toleration.⁵² In her move away from an emotional understanding of scripture working in the ‘heart’ towards a rational, conscious, comprehension of God’s Word, Hutchinson’s translation ties itself to this context which was so removed from Calvin’s own.

⁵⁰ Spurr, ‘Rational Religion’, 569. For more on ‘rational religion’ in early modern England see, Christopher J. Walker, *Reason and Religion in Late Seventeenth-Century England: The Politics and Theology of Radical Dissent* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

⁵¹ Charles Wolseley, *Liberty of conscience the magistrates interest, or, To grant liberty of conscience to persons of different perswasions in matters of religion is the great interest of all kingdoms and states and particularly of England, asserted and proved by a Protestant, a Lover of peace and the prosperity of the nation* (London: 1668), 27.

⁵² On toleration and comprehension see, John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558-1689* (New York: Routledge, 2000), especially chapter 3, ‘The Protestant Theory of Toleration’, and Chapter 7, ‘The Restoration, 1660-88’, and John Spurr, ‘The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689’, *Historical Review* 104, no.413 (Oct., 1989), 927-946.

Norbrook suggests that Hutchinson ‘presumably worked from the Latin to familiarize herself with the standard terminology of international Puritanism’.⁵³ Yet, again and again, she has strayed from direct translation of Calvin’s Latin, favouring the terminology of late-seventeenth century dissent which post-dated the *Institutes*.

While these changes are perhaps obvious to us, Hutchinson has made them ‘silently’, doctoring Calvin’s text as she translates rather than drawing attention to these corrections. Thus, while they alert us to a particular disjunct between the writer and the translator, these changes, conversely, create a sense of continuity. Instead of seeing this as an example of Calvinism butting-heads with the various confessional problems of post-Restoration England and losing, we could see it instead as Hutchinson working hard to find the basis for contemporary practices in the sixteenth-century text. In her role as translator, by choosing to express Calvin’s doctrines in particularly contemporary language, Hutchinson implies an applicability of Calvin’s doctrines to the world of late-seventeenth-century England. These silent changes imply that Calvin himself was a supporter of a more Congregational kind of Christianity which relied on the conscience of individual believers and effectual calling, and that he rejected the efficacy of works; this ‘accommodation’ of Calvin creates a sense of continuity between sixteenth-century Geneva and post-Restoration England.⁵⁴

However, this accommodation of Calvin’s doctrinal principles can only stretch so far. On a single page following the Aphorisms, Hutchinson openly rejects several of his arguments:

The three first bookes are all sound doctrine conformable to the scriptures although in these days of light there is more spirituall discovery and application of the same truth

⁵³ Norbrook, ‘Introduction’, in *Works*2, 13.

⁵⁴ On ‘accommodation’ as a translation practice see, Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theory and Applications*, fourth edition (New York: Routledge, 2016), 181 and 202-3, and Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond: revised edition* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 267-8.

but in the ~~third booke~~^{fourth} are many doctrines mistaken and questionable and not sufficiently cleared from severall objections yet I [...]

72 In this I doubt concerning the imposition of hands now because the guift that then accompanied it is not giuen with it

74 I am not satisfied concerning the lay Elders as now in vse in the presbyterian & other Churches

78 I doe not fully vnderstand that Iurisdiction to be of Gods ap[pointment]

82 Baptisme of infants is doubtfull

92 Magistrates should be such and they that are not I know not whither to be accounted Legitimate Magistrates or vsurping powers. Some other doubts may remaine but obedience to lawfull magistrates is one & so granted.⁵⁵

That Hutchinson found the most to disagree with in this fourth Book, shows a particular interest in matters of church governance and sacramental religious practices, and matches with the anticlerical bent of her translation; the introductory page to this Book in the 1590 edition states that it ‘defends the sanctity of the Catholic church and the community of the saints’.⁵⁶ Thankfully, Hutchinson is precise in her objections here, listing, and answering, those Aphorisms with which she most disagreed. These disagreements have two focuses: ecclesiastical and civil power, and outward signs of sanctification.

She rejects ‘lay Elders’ who were one strand of the ‘ancient Church’ for Calvin: ‘Presbyters Elders Deacons who devided the Ecclesiasticall revenues’.⁵⁷ While Hutchinson levels her charge expressly at Presbyterians (Aphorism 74), lay preaching had, in fact, been a central strand of Puritan congregations since the 1640s, compelled by their turn away from the

⁵⁵ DD/Hu3, 51.

⁵⁶ The chapters are summed up as follows: ‘of the study of the church’ (i, ii), ‘of the direction or management of the church’ (iii-vii), ‘of church rule’ (viii-xi), ‘of church discipline’ (xii, xiii), ‘of sacraments in general’ (xiv), ‘of baptism’ (xv, xvi), ‘of the lord’s supper’ (xvii), ‘the same violated’ (xviii), ‘of false sacraments’ (xix), and ‘of administration in general’ (xx). This final head is broken down into ‘of magistrates’, ‘of laws’, and ‘of society’.

⁵⁷ DD/Hu3, 40.

ecclesiology of Catholicism and the Church of England. Indeed, conversely, the earlier Presbyterian church was seen as strongly opposed to the introduction of lay preachers. Crawford Gribben notes that, in at least one example, this Puritan turn towards lay preaching was almost accidental, and occurred by virtue of opposition to other sects rather than open support for the practice. In his biography of John Owen, Gribben suggest that in the 1640s ‘Owen’s developing ecclesiology may have had unintended consequences: he set out to defend the church from Arminianism, found himself sidestepping the traditional role of the bishops, and ended up legitimizing the preaching of the laity’.⁵⁸ It appears that support of lay preaching rather snuck in while the Puritans were busy attacking existing church structures. By the 1660s, however, there was great concern about the rise of lay preaching within diverse religious sects, namely the Quakers. Their focus on divine inspiration had led to a boom in printed material which discussed the right of laypeople - including women - to speak in Church.⁵⁹ As we saw in Hutchinson’s turn towards a more rational religion, in the post-Restoration years, there was a new threat which Calvin had not tackled: ‘enthusiasm’ and God speaking directly through the individual rather than through his Word. We should notice here Hutchinson’s use of ‘now’ in her objection to the 74th Aphorism.

In what may seem to be a contradiction to this concern, Hutchinson also opposes traditional church ministry. The ‘Jurisdiction’ of ecclesiastical control - which includes ‘private and publike admonitions’ and ‘excommunications’, she does not find to be of ‘Gods

⁵⁸ Crawford Gribben, *John Owen and English Puritanism: Experiences of Defeat* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 60.

⁵⁹ Perhaps the most famous example is Margaret Fell’s *Womens Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed of by the Scriptures* (London, 1667). That this was an ongoing polemical argument is visible from complimentary tracts such as *A Vindication of the Preacher sent, or A Warrant for publick Preaching without ordination*, and *Quo Warranto, or, a Moderate Enquiry into the Warraentableness of the Preaching of Gifted and Unordained Persons*, both published in 1659, the latter under the hand of the Presbyterian, Matthew Poole (1624-1679). Frederick Woodall, *A Vindication* (London: J. T. Lovewell Chapman, 1659); Matthew Poole, *Quo Warranto* (London: J.H., 1659).

ap[pointment]’, imbuing her ‘doubts’ with a rejection of the imposition of church tradition.⁶⁰ Reformed sources, including Calvin, generally agreed that ecclesiastical authority was a cornerstone of the Christian faith. From Calvin and his contemporaries to English theologians of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, the belief was that priests and magistrates were God’s anointed representatives on earth. This view was supported by the somewhat circular argument that such positions were holy, and therefore anyone chosen to be such would also be holy. As Muller reminds us, Calvin was writing from within a system of episcopal hierarchy - one from which he benefitted. Moreover, Bruce Gordon notes that ‘Calvin had written his work to educate those preparing for the ministry of the church’.⁶¹ To have denied the legitimacy of priests would have hardly been profitable for Calvin. Nor would it have aligned with his other doctrinal principles. Calvin and his fellow Reformers believed that everyone could - and should - have independent access to Scripture. However, much like the Church of England’s belief in ‘reasonable religion’, the success of this unmediated access relied on the church and her ministers:

Since, however, in our ignorance and sloth ... we need outward helps to beget and increase faith within us ... God has added these aids that he might provide for our weakness. And in order that the preaching of the gospel might flourish, he deposited this treasure in the church. He instituted ‘pastors and teachers’ though whose lips he might teach his own; he furnished them with authority⁶²

In contrast to Hutchinson, the Reformed writers believed that an insistence upon unmediated access to Scripture and an adherence to existing ecclesiastical structures could go hand in hand.

⁶⁰ DD/Hu3, 42.

⁶¹ Gordon, *John Calvin’s Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 51.

⁶² Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.I.1.

Having rejected clerical authority, Hutchinson turns to secular authority, questioning the role of magistrates as she finds some of them to be illegitimate ‘vsurping powers’. She questions Calvin’s declaration of utmost faith in the divinely ordained legitimacy of magistrates: ‘the Magistrate is Gods substitute The Father of the country The guardian of the Law the president of Iustice the nurse of the Church’ (Aphorism 92).⁶³ Hutchinson’s concern here is not that magistrates should not be these things, but that many of them are not: she admits that obedience to ‘Lawfull magistrates’ is good. Calvin did devote time to ‘unlawful magistrates’ and bad kings, but only to qualify that they, too, deserved respect: God ‘declares ... that whoever they may be, they have their authority solely from him’.⁶⁴ Calvin went on to state that even the worst of kings and magistrates had been ordained by God:

In a very wicked man utterly unworthy of all honour, provided he has the public power in his hands, that noble and divine power resides which the Lord has by his Word given to the ministers of his justice and judgement. Accordingly, he should be held in the same reverence and esteem by his subjects, is so far as public obedience is concerned, in which they would hold the best of kings if he were given to them.⁶⁵

Calvin navigates the difficulty of a divinely ordained ruler acting unjustly, by stating that such men are sent as a judgement of God. He also added the qualifier of inferior magistracy, the doctrine whereby a ruling magistrate can be opposed *if* the action is supported by other - perhaps lower - magistrates.⁶⁶ It was this principle, in 1622, which was used to exhort resistance to tyranny in the form of regicide. The Oxford student, John Knight, gave a sermon that year - most probably on 1 Kings 19:9 - in which his subject was ‘viz. whether subjects se defendendo in case of Religion might take up Armes against theyre Sovereigne, w^{ch} [Knight] resolved in the Affirmative’.⁶⁷ For this, Knight was imprisoned and the sermon brought to the

⁶³ DD/Hu3, 48.

⁶⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, IIII.XX.25.

⁶⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, IIII.XX.25.

⁶⁶ Calvin cites the examples of the kings in Daniel and Samuel, and the specific example of ‘that abominable and cruel tyrant’, Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremy 27: Calvin, *Institutes*, IIII.XX.26-27.

⁶⁷ ‘Relation’ MS Wood D.18 (Bodleian Library), 45r. Other accounts of this sermon can be found in a letter by the Dutch Scholar George Rattaler Doubleth, and accounts by Simonds D’Ewes, the Justice of the Peace, Walter

attention of Archbishop Laud.⁶⁸ Knight maintained throughout his trial that the basis for his sermon could be found in orthodox Reformed writings including the works of the German theologian, David Pareus, whose work was in turn influenced by Calvin's views on inferior magistracy.⁶⁹ Hutchinson was not the first, then, to use Calvin's writing to launch attacks against the existing ecclesiastical and monarchical hierarchy.

We can see in these objections an anticlerical turn which is a distinct reaction to Hutchinson's current cultural moment. Hutchinson focuses her disagreements with Calvin around questions of orthopraxy, reflecting contemporary reactions to the re-established polity between church and state, and her anxieties surrounding a return to sacramental practices. On the other hand, she works hard to accommodate Calvinist orthodoxy into her expression of late-seventeenth century nonconformity, allowing his text to express new - or adapted - doctrines more applicable to a Congregational ecclesiological system.

The presence of Calvin's *Institutes* continues in DD/Hu3 even as Hutchinson switches from translation into original prose writing. In these original compositions, his Reformation text sits alongside other sixteenth and seventeenth century works. Next, exploring the generic conventions of MFA and Breifer summe, I hope to answer the second part of the question underpinning this chapter. We have seen how Hutchinson worked with Calvin's text, accommodating his doctrines - as much as possible - into the language of late-seventeenth

Yonge, and Peter Heylyn: MS Rawl. letters 80 (Bodleian Library); 22r, D'Ewes, 'Diary', MS Harley 481 (British Library); 13v, Yonge, *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esp., Justice of the Peace and M.P. for Honiton*, edited by George Roberts (London, 1848), 61-62; Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus: or the History of the Life and Death of ... William ... Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1668), 95.

⁶⁸ William Laud, 'Diary', in *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols., ed. James Bliss (Oxford: 1847-60), iii.138 (16 April, 1622).

⁶⁹ In May, an ordinance for the burning of Pareus' book was announced. For more on this, and Knight's sermon, see Richard Serjeantson, 'Preaching Regicide in Jacobean England: John Knight and David Pareus', *The English Historical Review* 134, no. 568 (June 2019), 553-588. For more on Knight's sermon see, Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, 163-4.

century Congregationalism. Turning our attention to the patchwork nature of her original compositions as well as their generic ties to sixteenth and seventeenth-century confessional documents, I hope to answer *why* Hutchinson began to engage with the key texts of pan-European Protestantism - to demonstrate what this accommodation and adaptation of orthodox Reformed texts allowed her to achieve in her original compositions.

Authoritative voices in MFA and Breifer summe

Directly following the Aphorisms are two original pieces of prose writing, dated a year apart from one another: 'My faith and attainment' (1667), and the shorter 'a breifer summe of what I belieue' (1668). These statements present the clearest documentation we have of Hutchinson's beliefs. They appear to be very personal, written in the first person and containing phrases like 'therefore I firmly belieue'. Indeed, given the title of the first statement, we might expect the following text to be a demonstration of Hutchinson's personal journey to - and through - her Christian faith in the style of a spiritual autobiography.⁷⁰ Yet, if we scratch at the surface of these statements, we uncover very little that is Hutchinson. Instead, almost every sentence is a patchwork of both Reformation and seventeenth-century sources, woven together to forge a new, personal, theological framework. This is perhaps to be expected. It has become a commonplace that 'originality' had a different meaning in the early modern age with commonplace books, and other forms of notetaking encouraging frequent recourse to the words of others.⁷¹ Yet, the mix of materials here and how seamlessly

⁷⁰ 'Spiritual Autobiographies' have frequently been the topic of critical discussion. See, for example, Owen C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), and D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). On Women's spiritual autobiographies more specifically see, Effie Bottonaki, 'Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting and Account Keeping', *SCJ* 30 (1999), 3-21, and Hilary Hinds, *God's Englishwomen: Seventeenth Century Radical Sectarian Writing and Feminist Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

⁷¹ On the question of 'originality' in early modern England see, H. O. White, *Plagiarism and Imitation during the English Renaissance: a Study in Critical Distinctions* (New York: Frank Cass, 1963), and H. Børnstad (ed.),

Hutchinson moves from one to the other, still presents a startling wide knowledge of the Reformed tradition. The title of the second statement perhaps gives a better indication of the genre of these pieces of writing; these statements are not, in fact, personal accounts of Hutchinson's attainment of faith in the style so popular among early modern women, but statements of ecclesiastical belief, written in the style of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Confessions which sought to define and codify doctrinal orthodoxy.⁷²

While these two documents have been studied as declarations of Hutchinson's faith, they have not, before now, been viewed as confessional documents in their own right. Norbrook has convincingly demonstrated the stylistic similarities between these statements and the *WCF*, but I would like to ask if these seemingly private documents were not only an endeavour to express individual belief, but articulations a vision of ecclesiastical settlement intended for a wider audience.⁷³ In exploring these documents as active documents of codification - much like the *Memoirs* - I believe we can answer why Hutchinson wove together such a patchwork of Reformation texts in her writing. As with the accommodation of Calvinistic principles that Hutchinson achieved through her translations, by constantly gesturing to works of the past - specifically other codifying documents - Hutchinson grants authority to her own work, creating a sense of continuity within Protestant belief and a basis for her own principles, even as she combines these ideas into a new expression of ecclesiastical belief.

Borrowed Feathers: Plagiarism and the Limits of Imitation in Early Modern Europe (Oslo: Oslo Academic Press, 2008).

⁷² On the popularity of works of spiritual attainment among early modern women, see Julie A. Eckerle, *Romancing the Self in Early Modern Englishwomen's Life Writing* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

⁷³ The fullest account of these statements is given in Norbrook's 'Theological Notebook Introduction', *Works* 2, 18-24. See also Crawford Gribben, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Theological Writings', *The Review of English Studies* 71, no. 299 (April 2020), 292-306.

In his introduction to his collection of sixteenth-century Confessions, Arthur C. Cochrane describes them as works which ‘seek to explain and clarify the ancient creeds in the face of new problems, heresies, and errors’.⁷⁴ Confessional documents were, he explains, more complex than the confessions contained in the Bible itself (I Corinthians 15:3-7, Philippians 2:6-11, or I Corinthians 11:23), and the later Creeds which ‘confined themselves to naming the ‘That’ of the divine saving act ... The creed does not set down the Church’s view of Christ but the uninterrupted facts about Christ’. Confessions, ‘on the contrary set down God’s redemptive acts in history ... in the early confessions of faith the Church established *who* Jesus Christ is, and what he did’.⁷⁵ This is clearly demonstrated when the simple statements about Christ’s life (‘born of the Virgin Mary’, ‘ascended into heaven’) expressed in the Apostle’s Creed are contrasted with the *WCF*’s Trinitarian unpicking of his precise nature:

The Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one substance and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of time was come, take upon Him man’s nature ... So that two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person⁷⁶

Reformed confessions emerged in great numbers in sixteenth century Europe (twelve, written between 1523 and 1566, appear in Cochran’s volume) as each Reformed nation, from Geneva to Scotland, sought to codify not just the new religious practices, but the new structure of the church now free from Rome. Even in the twenty-first century there is still no single, unifying confession for the Reformed Church leading twentieth century theologian, Otto Weber to suggest that E.F.K. Müller should have titled his *The Confessions of the Reformed Church*, ‘Confessions of Reformed Churches’.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Arthur C. Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 26.

⁷⁵ Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions*, 25

⁷⁶ *WCF*, 8.2.

⁷⁷ This is in contrast, for example, to the Lutheran church ‘which looks upon their sixteenth-century confessions with finality and completeness’: Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions*, 18

Despite their differences, these sixteenth-century Confessions, and the seventeenth-century ones they inspired, do share certain features. The aim of such Confessions was to persuade national governments of the veracity, and orthodoxy, of particular doctrines: ‘Reformed Christians needed to affirm openly what they believed in order to convince the governmental authorities that they were not seditious, nor intending to overthrow civil authority’.⁷⁸ This is equally true of seventeenth-century reiterations. For example, Ryan Kelly argues that the Savoy Declaration (1658), sought to demonstrate the Congregationalists’ ‘doctrinal unity with their Presbyterian countrymen’ and to undermine the main criticism levelled against them - that Congregationalist polity ‘had no hope of providing any kind of theological stability for the nation’.⁷⁹ Each Confessional document, then, aimed to set out a system of theology, reforming the existing ecclesiastical settlement in their favour. While Muller frequently denies that Calvin’s *Institutes* set out a ‘systematic theology’, it nevertheless similarly intended to set out the new doctrines of the church in contrast to Catholic principles.⁸⁰ Thus, these works existed as active documents, written not simply to document belief, but to persuade others of the doctrinal truths they contained.

With similar intentions, each Confession worked to a recognisable ‘historical structure’.⁸¹

Ryan M. McGraw defines this structure as one which ‘moves readers from Genesis through revelation’ as it

begins with the prolegomena, the doctrine of Scripture, the doctrine of God. After laying such foundational issues, the system of theology moved through creation, the

⁷⁸ Jack Rogers, ‘New Introduction’, in Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions*, iv.

⁷⁹ Ryan Kelly, ‘Reformed or Reforming? John Owen and the Complexity of Theological Codification for Mid-Seventeenth Century England’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to John Owen’s Theology*, ed. Kelly M. Kapic and Mark Jones (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), 15, 16.

⁸⁰ See Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin*, and *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition*.

⁸¹ Ryan M. McGraw, *John Owen: Trajectories in Reformed Orthodox Theology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 172.

fall, the promises of Christ's coming, his person and work, the doctrine of the church and eschatology.

This structure, which 'characterized high orthodox confessional statements such as Westminster and Savoy' was clearly widely accepted as the correct manner to express and codify Protestant beliefs in the mid-sixteenth century and continued to be into the mid-seventeenth.⁸² Hutchinson's own statement follow this essential structure almost exactly. While she starts with a discussion of the knowledge of God, once she turns her attention to Scripture, both MFA and Breifer summe follow this structure in varying levels of detail.

As Norbrook has noted, given the linguistic similarities between Hutchinson's statements and the *WCF*, she may have copied this structure from there. Certainly, the debt this work owes to the *WCF* is undeniable. A product of the Westminster Assembly (1643-1653), which had been 'summoned by the rebel Parliament to reform the structures of the Church of England', the *WCF* laid out, in 33 chapters, an agreed norm of theological belief.⁸³ Hutchinson's section on the veracity of Scripture in MFA, for example, appears to have been copied directly from this earlier document as she writes of the arguments which 'induce' us to believe that it is, in fact, the Word of God:

the Testimony of the Church in all ages the heavenlinesse of the matter the consent of the parts the scope of the whole to giue glory to God the efficacy of the Doctrine the maiesty of the Stile the accomplishment of the prophecies the antiquity of the history and many more motiues of the same kind yet our full perswasion that it is the word of God and assurance of the infallible truth and devine authority of it is from the inward worke of the Spiritt bearing witsnesse by and with it in our hearts⁸⁴

⁸² McGraw, *John Owen*, 172. This structure was not reserved for Confessions and can also be seen in 'theological systems' such as Calvin's *Institutes* and Perkins' *A Golden Chaine*.

⁸³ Chad Van Dixhoorn, 'God's Physicians: Models of Pastoral Care at the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1653', in *Church Life: Pastors, Congregations, and the Experience of Dissent in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Michael Davies, Anne Duncan-Page and Joel Halcomb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 83.

⁸⁴ DD/Hu3, 54-55. Compare to *WCF*, 1.5.

Yet, even within this passage, copied almost verbatim from the *WCF*, Hutchinson has intermixed another source, returning to Calvin's *Institutes* which offered the further proofs of 'the accomplishment of the prophecies' and the 'antiquity of History' in the eighth chapter of the first Book.⁸⁵ Hutchinson was clearly not slavishly working from the *WCF*, but combining different parts of her reading into an independent piece of writing.

Indeed, the beginning of MFA demonstrates the patchwork nature of these statements, showing Hutchinson to be a consummate theologian, her reading encompassing key Reformation texts. The continued influence of Calvin is apparent from Hutchinson's very first statement, 'that the chiefe felicity of man consists in the true knowledge and enioyment of God in communion with whom all light life and blessednesse is only to be found'.⁸⁶ This is distinctly similar to the opening of the fifth chapter of the first Book of the *Institutes*: 'Ad hęc vltimus beatae vitae finis in Dei cognitione positus est'.⁸⁷ Hutchinson translates this in her notes as 'the chiefe felicity of life consisting in the knowledge of God'.⁸⁸ Hutchinson continues to discuss the inexcusability of not worshipping God when faced with the material proof of his existence:

Although the invisible things of God are to be clearely scene in those things that are made, euen his eternall power and Godhead, so as to leaue men vnexcusable who doe not render him due thankes and adoration and although God hath sett vp a wittnesse of himselfe in the soule and conscience of euery man yet lamentable experience teacheth vs that by these alone no man euer yett attaind to a right knowledge of God⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Calvin, *Institutio* 10r-v.

⁸⁶ DD/Hu3, 53.

⁸⁷ Calvin, *Institutio*, 4r.

⁸⁸ DD/Hu3, 261.

⁸⁹ DD/Hu3, 53.

The first clause here appears to have been drawn directly once again from the marginalia of the 1590 *Institutes* - ‘Dei essentia invisibilis & comprehensibilis, se in operibus suis visibilem modo quodam’ - but also follows the sentiment of the main text, which reads in translation,⁹⁰

[God] revealed himself and daily discloses himself in the whole workmanship of the universe. As a consequence, men cannot open their eyes without being compelled to see him ... he shows his glory to us, wherever and whenever we cast our gaze⁹¹

However, in Hutchinson’s use of ‘vnexcusable’, a further source is worked into her text: the *WCF*. There, the first chapter, ‘Of the Holy Scripture’ begins,

Although the light of nature and the works of creation and providence do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God, as to leave men unexcusable yet are they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of His will, which is necessary unto salvation.⁹²

The sentiments here are similar to Hutchinson’s. Yet, in the *WCF*, the physical manifestations of God’s power do not allow men to attain all that is ‘necessary to salvation’. Hutchinson instead retains her original focus on knowledge, stressing that, by the outward signs, no man has attained ‘a right knowledge of God’. Despite the influence of the *WCF*, Hutchinson continues to tweak its language as her discussion turns to the clarity of Scripture. Here, for example, is *WCF* 1.7, ‘on scripture’:

All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all: yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them⁹³

Hutchinson acknowledges that, ‘although there are many things in [Scripture] misterious and darke euen to the most penetrating vnderstandings yet all things necessarie to salvation are cleare’. However, she then adds a final clause which qualifies the *WCF*’s general statement

⁹⁰ Calvin, *Institutio*, 4r.

⁹¹ Calvin, *Institutes*, I.V.1.

⁹² *WCF*, 1.1

⁹³ *WCF*, 1.7

of who may attain ‘sufficient understanding’; Scripture, for Hutchinson is ‘perspicuous euen to the most uulgar capacity of *those who are sanctified*’.⁹⁴ For Hutchinson, Scripture is not self-evident to all, but only to the elect. These two small differences alert us to two important strands of Hutchinson’s personal theological beliefs which run throughout these statements. Firstly, the primary importance of individual cognitive action - what she terms ‘diligence’ - as necessary for salvation rather than the physical demonstration of good works. Secondly, how this true understanding is only available to the already sanctified, the elect. These two strands link back to her translation of Calvin, and both play an intrinsic part here, as they did there, in her rejection of ecclesiastical authority.

In another single word, we are alerted to the influence of a further source for these statements - one which sits chronologically between Calvin and the *WCF* - William Perkins’ *A Golden Chain, or the Description of Theologie*, first published in English in 1591.⁹⁵ Perkins (1558-1602), termed the ‘prince of Puritan theologians’ by Patrick Collinson, continued to influence theological thought well in to the seventeenth century as attested by the writings of William Ames and John Robinson among many others.⁹⁶ As Calvin before him, he was a theologian who believed strongly in the power and necessity of the church. Yet, Hutchinson was clearly familiar with his work. In her discussion of the Trinity in MFA, Hutchinson states that she is following the Athanasian Creed as, indeed, she is. The Creed states:

So likewise the Father is Almighty; the Son Almighty; and the Holy Ghost Almighty. And yet they are not three Almighties; but one Almighty. So the Father is God; the

⁹⁴ DD/Hu3, 54.

⁹⁵ William Perkins, *A golden chaine, or the description of theologie containing the order of the causes of saluation and damnation, according to Gods woord. A view of the order wherof, is to be seene in the table annexed. Written in Latine by William Perkins, and translated by an other. Hereunto is adioyned the order which M. Theodore Beza vsed in comforting troubled consciences* (London: Edward Alde, 1591).

⁹⁶ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 125.

Son is God; and the Holy Ghost is God. And yet they are not three Gods; but one God.⁹⁷

Hutchinson quotes this section almost verbatim, following the wording of both the Creed and the *WCF*. However, she then writes, ‘the persons are distinct and haue their incommunicable personall properties which are in the father to begett, in the Sonne to be begotten and in the holy Ghost to proceed’.⁹⁸ In his notes on these statements Norbrook picks up on the incongruity of the word ‘incommunicable’ as ‘the word does not appear in *WCF* or, in this context, in Ames’ *Marrow*’, and he points the reader to Edward Leigh’s *A System or Bodie of Divinitie* (1654) as a possible source.⁹⁹ However, this unexpected word does appear in Perkins: ‘the persons are they which, subsisting in one Godhead, are distinguished by incommunicable properties’.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, while Hutchinson’s following explanation of begetting and proceeding corresponds to the Creed, that the property ‘in the Sonne [is] to be begotten and in the holy Ghost to proceed’ is Perkins’ phrasing, and does not appear in the Creed.¹⁰¹

More widely, *The Golden Chain* explored the order of salvation as laid out in Romans 8:28-30. Perkins’ text offered, in the words of Muller, ‘in effect, large-scale workings out of the implications of the passage’.¹⁰² The *ordo salutis* comprises of the doctrines of calling, regeneration, faith, justification, sanctification, perseverance, and glorification. However, as

⁹⁷ Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols., (New York: Harper Brothers, 1877), 2.66-71.

⁹⁸ DD/Hu3, 59.

⁹⁹ Norbrook, *Works2*, 524. Leigh wrote that the persons of the Trinity differ in the ‘personal property unchangeable and incommunicable, which is called personality’. ‘Ames’ *Marrow*’ is William Ames’ *The Marrow of Christian Divinity* (London: Edward Griffin, 1643), a translation of *Medulla s. s. theologiae* (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium, 1627). Norbrook traces the possible influence of Ames on Hutchinson’s statements in his commentary (*Works2*, 441-541), and ‘Introduction’ in *Works2*, 21-23.

¹⁰⁰ Perkins, *Golden Chain*, 181. ‘Incommunicabile’ is used by Calvin when discussing the Trinity in the context of the different roles of God, Christ and the Spirit, but the phrase seems to come much more directly from Perkins; ‘Ter tiò quicquid singulis proprium est, incommunicabile esse assero, quia in Filium competere vel transferri non potest quicquid ad notam discretionis tribuitur Patri’, Calvin, *Institutio*, 15.

¹⁰¹ Perkins, *Golden Chain*, ‘the property of the son is to be begotten’, ‘The incommunicable property of the Holy Ghost is to proceed’, 182-3.

¹⁰² Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition*, 140.

Muller argues, this was not given a temporal framework by Reformation writers (including Calvin and Perkins) who ‘did not move to develop a strict order of salvation much beyond what they found in Romans 8’.¹⁰³ In the biblical verse, linear progression can be inferred, but is not mentioned expressly: ‘Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified’.¹⁰⁴ From this, Reformed theology did, however, insist upon a *causal* framework, in so much as union with Christ (predestination) had to precede sanctification or regeneration. This chain, and the kind of causal theology it created, aided in the step away from a Catholic insistence on works; faith was regarded as the result of prior election and union with Christ, not as a means of achieving union. Perkins’ writing reflects this causal framework. In chapter 15 of the *Golden Chain*, Perkins explores, ‘election, and of Iesus Christ the Foundation thereof’ in direct response to Romans 8:28-30.¹⁰⁵ While Perkins is clear that Christ is the Foundation of the ‘decree’ of predestination, he adds no further qualifiers to the order in which an individual passes through their journey to faith.

Hutchinson was clearly interested in the chain of salvation, writing in MFA, ‘the grace of iustification by the blood of Christ which is alwayes *accompanied* with the spirit of regeneration & adoption vnto God and sanctification of the inward man’.¹⁰⁶ This appears to support Muller’s understanding of the concurrent nature of the *ordo salutis* as upheld by the Reformed tradition. However, also in MFA, Hutchinson notes that we are ‘effectually called to faith in Christ by the working of his spirit, *in due season* iustified adopted and sanctified and by his power kept through faith vnto salvation’.¹⁰⁷ Harking back to her insertion of

¹⁰³ Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition*, 116.

¹⁰⁴ Romans 8:30.

¹⁰⁵ Perkins, *Golden Chain*, D2v.

¹⁰⁶ DD/Hu3, 83. Emphasis added.

¹⁰⁷ DD/Hu3, 62. Emphasis added.

‘effectual calling’ into her notes on Calvin, the phrasing here implies a certain linear progression between the calling of the faithful and their subsequent justification, adoption, and sanctification. Hutchinson’s phrasing here, and the linear framework, comes directly from the *WCF*, which reads,

Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by His Spirit working in due season, are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by His power through faith unto salvation.¹⁰⁸

As noted in the discussion above, ‘effectual calling’ was a distinctly early modern addition to Reformed theology, one introduced to navigate the problem of separating the elect from the reprobate. By the mid-seventeenth century, a temporal framework had been added to the *ordo salutis*; sanctification was not just reliant on our union with Christ but followed from this union. Similarly, in ‘Breifer Summe’, Hutchinson imbues her writing with a sense of a temporal framework: ‘and those who are thus calld, are made partakers of the grace of iustification, sanctification and adoption, and all the benifits which flow from, or accompany the graces’.¹⁰⁹

Again, we can see the pressures of infra-protestant controversy in this ‘update’ of Reformed doctrine. While, as Muller states, the *ordo salutis* and its placement of Christ as the foundation of faith aided in the Reformed separation from the Catholic tradition of merit through works, by the mid-seventeenth century the new threat of antinomianism had emerged. A contemporary movement particularly popular in New England, antinomianism used predestination to stress that the moral law was non-obligatory under the Covenant of Grace.¹¹⁰ Adding a temporal nature to the chain of salvation allows a kind of middle-ground

¹⁰⁸ *WCF*, 3.6.

¹⁰⁹ DD/Hu3, 121.

¹¹⁰ On the Arminian view of predestination see Jacobus Arminius, ‘A Declaration of the sentiments of Arminius’, in *Arminius and his Declarations of Sentiments: An Annotated Translation*, ed. Stephen W. Gunter (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2012), 107-120.

to emerge between a merit-based system of works, and a denial of human responsibility. This allows both Hutchinson and the *WCF* to respond to both perceived threats against the true Puritan way in the seventeenth century: Antinomianism and Arminianism.¹¹¹ Thus, in sections seemingly indebted to Perkins, Hutchinson tweaks her language, both in line with the *WCF* and beyond it, to allow her own writing to respond to the issues of confessional division in her own time.

These statements then, while rooted in the language of past texts, are simultaneously idiosyncratic expressions of Hutchinson's particular doctrines designed to meet the challenges of her current moment. On the surface, Hutchinson appears to be 'accommodating' sixteenth and seventeenth century texts and the doctrines they contain into her own expressions of belief. However, as with her translations of Calvin, she tweaks the wording of these past authorities to allow them to express support for a new doctrinal system. These source texts lend authority to Hutchinson's own writing even while she strays from their doctrinal statements by combining them in new ways, curtailing and expanding upon their doctrinal statements to change their focus.

However, Norbrook is correct to note that as the statements continue Hutchinson strays further from her source texts: 'Hutchinson's tone becomes polemically anticereemonial ... she airs doubts about matters which the [*WCF*] takes as settled, taking up reservations she had voiced about Calvin's *Institutes*'.¹¹² Arguably, sections of the statements demonstrate just as

¹¹¹ Norbrook argues that Hutchinson may have been particularly aware of the danger of being branded an antinomian as 'when Hutchinson was reading the polemical literature of the mid-1640s, in which she encountered discussions of baptism, she is likely to have come across her namesake ... as an example of the terrible consequences of the loss of godly discipline'; Norbrook, 'The Theological Notebook Introduction', in *Works2*, 8. This is in reference to Anne Hutchinson who was eventually banished from her New England colony for her antinomian beliefs. See, 'Anne Hutchinson: the Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson', in *The Puritans in America a Narrative Anthology*, ed. Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbanco (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 154-163.

¹¹² Norbrook, 'Introduction', in *Works2*, 20.

clearly as Hutchinson's 'objections' to the fourth Book of the *Institutes*, that her acceptance of existing orthopraxy was far from straightforward. Her rejection of the existing ecclesiastical settlement is underpinned by a deeply millenarian strand which runs through the latter half of MFA. It is as she discusses Christ's second coming that Hutchinson moves further away from her source materials.

As we saw in the *Memoirs*, and in Hutchinson's objections to Calvin's *Institutes*, her main complaint against the Reformed tradition was that it allowed too much space for the 'types and shadows' which, 'after the exhibition of the substance' - Christ - she believes to be 'wholly abrogated'.¹¹³ It was a mistake, Hutchinson believed, to retain ceremonial practices after Christ had made them redundant in an attempt to establish the kingdom of Christ before his return. Hutchinson explores this idea in depth in MFA:

these believers some of them making hast to sett vp the kingdome of Christ before his comming to make a restitution of all things lost in the Apostacy whither he will doe it in person or in spiritt, and rather labouring to imitate the pure primitiue apostolique Church then haveing the gifts of those dayes, severall of them ... set vp some more grossely reteining Antichristian rites and some more approaching Apostolicall practises but all of them falling short of the infallibillity and the glory and the gifts which were giuen to the primitiue Church, which made it the Citie sett vpon a hill¹¹⁴

As in her objections to Calvin, here Hutchinson perceives the problem as a temporal one.

Gifts given to first century Christians have been revoked - the best that even

Congregationalist Christians can do is 'imitate' the primitive church - and so any attempt to set up a church in Christ's absence are futile. Hutchinson perceives the reformation of the church on a grand scale as pointless, if not irreligious and misguided, as the true reformation of the Church can only happen with the second coming of Christ.

¹¹³ DD/Hu3, 93.

¹¹⁴ Matthew 5:14: 'ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid'.

Hutchinson's millenarian fervour reaches its peak in a discussion of Christ as 'the rightfull king of the world'. As, through scriptural study in the *Memoirs*, John 'discovered the doctrine of the Kingdome of Christ to be sett vp in visibility and glory ouer all the nations as well as ouer his saints in the Church', in these statements Hutchinson writes at length about the second coming of Christ:¹¹⁵

[Christ] shall in due time haue a visible vniversall Monarchy vpon the earth and shall subdue all the Kingdomes of Antichrist and Sathan but I thinke them too forward that goe about to set vp his Kingdome by ways contrary to his commands: he will doe it himselfe and wee are to waite and to pray for it ... and from the 20th of the Revelations wee may gather that it shall last 1000 yeares wherein I belieue the greate effusion of the spiritt promist in scripture to be powred on all flesh will be then fullfilld ... rising by degrees till it arriue to the promist fullnesse.¹¹⁶

The passivity Hutchinson imbued into her translation of Calvin begins to make sense in light of her millenarian understanding of divine history. Indeed, these sections bear marked similarities to the writing of mid-seventeenth century 5th Monarchists, such as John Tillinghast. In a sermon on 'the fifth Kingdom founded upon the new Covenant', Tillinghast explains his views on the current situation of Christians: 'we are to waite as Idlers do for helpe in a ditch, and cry God helpe us, but we are to wait as if we would have it in by our very striving and struggling yet notwithstanding there must be a quiet waiting on God ... for this new covenat for mercy'.¹¹⁷ In an echo of Hutchinson's passage above, he continues to explain that 'our work is waite, seek, pray, and wait in these days'.¹¹⁸ Hutchinson's engagement with this sect is made especially clear in her reference to the 1000 years of

¹¹⁵ DD/Hu4, 356.

¹¹⁶ DD/Hu3, 112-113.

¹¹⁷ John Tillinghast, *Mr. Tillinghast's eight last sermons to which is added The idols abolished, being his notes on Isa. 2, 18* (London: Livewel Chapman, 1656), 38

¹¹⁸ Tillinghast, *eight last sermons*, 39.

Christ's rule.¹¹⁹ A central belief for 5th Monarchists was that the coming kingdom of Christ would not be purely spiritual, but that he would be, once again, physically present on earth. Indeed, Tillinghast perceived the devil to be misleading current Christians: 'saith the Devill looke onely to the spirituall kingdome, as if the outward and spirituall kingdome could not stand together, as if the glory of the bodys and soules of the Saints could not stand together'.¹²⁰ We can see this belief manifested in Hutchinson's faith in Christ's coming 'visible vniversall Monarchy vpon the earth'.¹²¹

The physicality of Hutchinson's expected kingdom is markedly different from the view of the last judgement expressed in the *WCF* which is much more vague in its description of the final days: 'all persons that have lived upon the earth shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their thoughts, words, and deeds'.¹²² Calvin, on the other hand, expressed views more akin to Hutchinson's, describing how Christ 'will come down from heaven in the same visible form in which he was seen to ascend. And he will appear to all with the ineffable majesty of his Kingdom'.¹²³ Yet, even while Calvin offers firmer precedent for this return of Christ to earth, he does not believe that this will last a thousand years. Calvin expressly debunks this principle in the third Book of the *Institutes*. Referencing the precise biblical passage Hutchinson uses to support her own argument, Calvin attacks millenarian beliefs:

But a little later [than Paul's day] there followed the chiliasts, who limited the reign of Christ to a thousand years ... the Apocalypse, from which they undoubtedly drew a pretext for their error does not support then. For the number 'one thousand' does not

¹¹⁹ See for example Christopher Feak's preface to Tillinghast's volume: 'A sabbatisme, so the Word is, an holy, solemne Rest, and it hath reference, to the World to come, even the state of the Saints in the Thousand yeares': Tillinghast, *eight last sermons*, 'To the Reader'.

¹²⁰ Tillinghast, *eight last sermons*, 39.

¹²¹ Tillinghast, *eight last sermons*, 39.

¹²² *WCF*, 33.1.

¹²³ Calvin, *Institutes*, II.XVI.17.

apply to the eternal blessedness of the church but only to the various disturbances that awaited the church while still toiling on earth.¹²⁴

This is the understanding of Revelation more in line with orthodox Puritan beliefs. The Geneva Bible, for example reads verse six, ‘but they shall be the Priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years’, with an understanding that the fourth verse - ‘and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years’ - offers a vision of what *was* (‘history’) not what will be.¹²⁵ Hutchinson expressly writes against this when she later glosses the 20th chapter of Revelations as seeming ‘to hold forth first of the saints and shall reign with the Lord glorifying him in his righteous iudgement of the world’.¹²⁶

This millenarian hope in the *Memoirs* resulted in John’s retreat into the wilderness and his rejection of all kinds of ecclesiastical formation wider than his household. In DD/Hu3, turning to more contemporary sources, Hutchinson similarly undermines the efficacy of ecclesiastical reformation in Christ’s absence. And yet, even within the turn to ‘polemical anticlericalism’ noted by Norbrook, Hutchinson does offer a vision of what the church might look like in these texts, even turning her attention to questions of orthopraxy as they progress. It is Hutchinson’s turn towards a discussion of ecclesiastical formation which makes me believe that these documents are better approached as traditional Confessional documents. Despite the seemingly personal tone, they are not simply expressions of theological belief, but rather expressly pointed towards the undermining of the current ecclesiastical settlement, and - most importantly - the forging of a new, Congregationalist, one even during the time of Christ’s absence.

¹²⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, III.XXV.5. See Revelations 20:4-7. Chiliasts is another name for millenarians.

¹²⁵ Geneva Bible, Revelations 4-7, marginal gloss for verse 7.

¹²⁶ DD/Hu3, 113-4. Even in the context of the whole paragraph, this sentence seems grammatically confused. For an overview of the arguments surrounding the physical coming of the kingdom of Christ see Bernard McGinn, ‘Revelation’, in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, 528-530.

Both the *WCF* and - Herman A. Speelman argues - Calvin sought the construction of a national, state-supported, Church. As Speelman says of Calvin, 'his intention was not to try and form a separate community of believers within the Genevan population as a whole; religion was not a private matter for him, but one that concerned all the members of society as they stood under the leadership of government'.¹²⁷ Thus, while he believed in predestination, Calvin also believed that the church should encompass both the elect and the reprobate as individuals were corrupt rather than the church itself. Hutchinson, on the other hand separates the 'universal catholic church' from endeavours to create a national church, writing very firmly,

But as for parochiall and national Churches embodied by the commands of men and not gathered by the ministry of the word I vtterly disowne them as ^{^noe^} true ~~Chur~~ Churches of Christ erected according to his institution.¹²⁸

Clearly a key moment for Hutchinson, this sentence stands on its own in a single paragraph and is unusually punctuated by a full stop at the end. Hutchinson usually left her work unpunctuated and, thus, as Norbrook says of *PCR*, 'the passages she did find time to punctuate heavily may be considered those on which she wished to place especial affective weight'.¹²⁹ She wants utter clarity here, crossing out the first attempt at the word Churches so that it does not split over the line break – an informality she allows frequently elsewhere.

¹²⁷ H. A. Speelman, *Calvin and the Independence of the Church* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 83-84.

¹²⁸ DD/Hu3, 100-101.

¹²⁹ Norbrook, 'Introduction' in *Works2*, xxv; Alice Eardley more generally notes that sparseness of punctuation in early modern manuscripts 'revealed the significance of the punctuation that does exist': 'Editing the Form of Early Modern Manuscript Verse', in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Ben Burton and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 162-178.

This is not to say, however, that Hutchinson dismisses the institution of the church out of hand or eschews any discussion of ecclesiastical formation, but it is true that this church is rather differently imagined in these statements than in her source texts. Primarily, Hutchinson's system is expressed in typically Congregationalist language. She never uses the word 'church' to define meetings of Christians but reserves it for the whole community of God's elect. This contrast is clear as she defines suitable forms of Christian gatherings in MFA:

I thinke it very convenient for believers that liue so neere as that they by that neighbourhood haue oportunity should enter into a league with God and each other to giue themselues vp to the service of God and the endeavour of the advance of his kingdome and glory in their generation each according to his severall calling watching ouer one another in loue exhorting instructing comforting and reprooving each other and taking care of the good of their brothers soules as their owne blessing and magnifijng the name of the Lord together and comunicating all the guifts and graces they haue receiud of him for the benefitt of each other and the whole Church¹³⁰

As the congregation meeting does not constitute the church physically, so the buildings they meet in are not churches. Instead, Hutchinson refers to 'meeting houses for the congregations', or 'publique assemblies', and emphatically 'denie[s] any holiness to be in' buildings in which worship takes place, believing that it is in the congregation itself in which holiness resides.¹³¹

In these statements, then, it is clear to see the distinction between congregating - or covenanting - as a community of elected saints, and a congregation within a physical church building. As noted by Michael Davies, Anne Duncan-Page, and Joel Halcomb, this revised conception of 'church' lies in 'a reformed understanding of the New Testament Greek word

¹³⁰ DD/Hu3, 100.

¹³¹ DD/Hu4, 101, 100.

ekklesia’ which, William Tyndale noted, should be translated into English not as ‘church’, but as ‘congregation’.¹³² In these statements, then, Hutchinson reflects the trend in Dissenting Christians of the seventeenth century who sought a return to the simplicity of the scriptural definition of a church as described in Matthew 18:20: ‘For when two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them’. As long as these ‘two or three’ were convinced of their status as members of God’s sanctified elect, the ‘assembly’ was a holy one. In his study of Reformation Puritans, John S. Coolidge contrasts the Conformist belief that ‘edification was subsequent to order’ with the Puritan way, in which ‘order in the church’ follows naturally from the ‘process of edification’.¹³³ That is, for Conformists, church polity defined what it was to be - and edify - a church; Puritan churches were only defined by the existence of the congregation which made up the abstract fabric of the church. This new understanding of *ekklesia* creates space for a rejection of the systematic control of ministerial hierarchy. As Davies et al note, from this reading ‘a complex and powerful series of shifts could be effected, conceptually and politically: away from ‘church’ as just a building ... and, more crucially, as something other than an organization governed by an elite hierarchy of learned professionals’.¹³⁴

Arguably, Reformed writers also depict this shift - with Tyndale’s Bible printed in 1526, we can hardly claim that this was not an issue before the seventeenth century. Moreover, quite what defined a church was an issue with which the *WCF* was dealing directly. However, as Muller noted of Calvin, the *WCF* was working within existing ecclesiological structures - a factor inherent in its very conception as a document designed to create a system of theology

¹³² Davies, Duncan-Page and Halcomb, ‘Introduction’, in *Church Life*, 11.

¹³³ John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 60.

¹³⁴ Davies, Duncan-Page and Halcomb, *Church Life*, 11.

and ‘to reform the structures of the Church of England’.¹³⁵ The *WCF* could hardly dismiss the function of the parish church as Hutchinson does. Rather the *WCF* states that,

This catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less visible. And particular Churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in them¹³⁶

It was not an insurmountable problem for the members of the Westminster Assembly that different churches were a ‘mixt multitude like a heape wherein there is more chaffe then corne’ (to use Hutchinson’s own phrase). This partial impurity did not call for the displacement of worship from such churches, or for ‘congregating’ as groups of the securely elect. Rather, it instilled a more active role for the minister of such churches, a fact supported by the Westminster Assembly’s role in examining ministers and determining their suitability to preach the word of God. Joel Halcomb estimates that between 1643 and 1653 the Assembly ‘conducted as many as 5,000 examinations - an astonishing number considering that there were 8,600 parishes in England and perhaps 10,000 ordained clergy in England and Wales’.¹³⁷ While the emphasis was shifting in the mid-seventeenth century, the *WCF* hardly suggested - or supported - a rejection of organised worship or ecclesiastical hierarchy.

While Hutchinson endorses congregations of the elect only, rejecting the wider implications of ‘the church’, we should note that her depiction of these communities is wider in scope than the household community at Owthorpe described in the *Memoirs*. Her imagined congregation of local believers contrasts with her depiction of John in the *Memoirs* who, in reply to Secretary Bennet, stressed that he worshiped ‘nowhere for he neuer stirrd out of his owne

¹³⁵ Dixhoorn, ‘God’s Physicians: Models of Pastoral Care at the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1653’, 83.

¹³⁶ *WCF*, 25.4.

¹³⁷ Chad Van Dixhoorn (ed.), *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1653*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), I. 218.

house'.¹³⁸ In her statements, Hutchinson stresses that those who live in the same 'neighbourhood' should gather together for worship and may even do so under the guidance of a minister:

Although I see not clearnesse in the manner of outward calling of ministers to dispence the Ordinances and governe the Churches of these dayes yet is it cleare to me that none are true ministers of Iesus Christ but such are sent by him and those are all indued by him with some guifts of his spiritt enabling them to teach and to dispence the grace they haue receiud and stirring vp in them a willingnesse of mind to labour in the word and doctrine with a zeale to the setting vp the kingdome of the Lord not preaching by constrein to gett maintenance for their famelies but out of a ready mind to serue the Church, and these are to be honord and attended to and maintaind by the flock by whom they are chosen and by all that communicate of their spirituall guifts, but none of them to be relied on in matters of faith further then their doctrine is conformable to the word of God which is to be examined and tried by that sure touchstone and not to be receiud for the authority of any man without the seale of the spiritt witnessing therevnto.¹³⁹

Hutchinson's imagined church is not devoid of hierarchy or ministerial guidance, but here she is clear that this hierarchy is collectively decided upon by the congregation rather than imposed via external control. She admits that some ministers are 'sent by [Christ] ... enabling them to teach and dispense the grace they haue recieved'. Even so, only ministers who are decided upon by their congregation are allowed within Hutchinson's ecclesiological system. Furthermore, the congregation retain ultimate control over their own beliefs and practices, testing what the minister tells them against the 'word of God', and their own sense of spiritual truth.

When Hutchinson writes positively of this kind of religious congregating, she does so in the language of the Pauline epistles. Her imagined congregation all have their roles, namely

¹³⁸ DD/Hu4, 328.

¹³⁹ DD/Hu3, 103.

calling watching ouer one another in loue exhorting instructing comforting and reprooving each other and taking care of the good of their brothers soules as their owne blessing and magnifijng the name of the Lord together and comunicating all the guifts and graces they haue receiud of him for the benefitt of each other and the whole Church¹⁴⁰

This ‘ideal of the worshipping community’ as one which ‘places a premium on the exercise of a diversity of the ‘gifts’ of the Spirit by individual church members’ is ‘especially Pauline’.¹⁴¹ When Hutchinson writes that God placed Christ as ‘the sole head Governor and king of the Church’, we should view ‘head’ both metaphorically and in a more literal sense. In Pauline scripture, the church was presented as a body, with Christ as the head but in which every single member had a crucial role:

From [Christ] the whole body fit joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love¹⁴²

Building on this idea, nonconformist communities emphasized congregational responsibility, creating churches of the elect in a way which was both ‘collective and collectively empowering’ - we need only look to Hutchinson’s description of members ‘taking care of the good of their brothers soules as their owne’, to see this collectivity in action.¹⁴³

Hutchinson positions her own Pauline structure in opposition to other established Churches which have strayed from the direct teaching of the Apostles and, ‘rather [than] labouring to imitate the pure primitiue apostolique Church ... set vp some grossely reraining Antichristian rites’.¹⁴⁴ It is not simply in the formation of these churches that they have strayed, but the

¹⁴⁰ DD/Hu3, 100.

¹⁴¹ Stephen C. Barton, ‘The Communal Dimension of Earliest Christianity: A Critical Survey of the Field’, *The Journal of Theological Studies* 42, no. 2 (Oct., 1992), 402. As a comparison with this particular passage in Hutchinson, see I Corinthians 12.

¹⁴² Ephesians 4:16.

¹⁴³ Davies, Duncan-Page and Halcomb, *Church Life*, 2.

¹⁴⁴ DD/Hu3, 95-96.

grounds on which they have designed their formation are faulty. Rejecting plain scriptural truth, they have instigated their own rules and traditions:

by his holy prophetts & apostles hath giuen vs a compleate rule for all things that wee are to belieue and practise, but the subtile serpent creeping in among carelesse professors hath by degrees poysond the most part of the visible Church so that they are become apostates from the pure doctrine which Christ taught by his Apostles¹⁴⁵

While her depiction of John in the *Memoirs* most obviously aligned him with the Old Testament patriarchs, we saw, in her depiction of his role as teacher - especially in his absence - that Hutchinson also placed him as a Paul-like figure, leading his family towards the right kind of ecclesiastical formation through his teaching of scriptural truth. Her posited form of ecclesiastical settlement articulated in DD/Hu3, then, is built upon similar grounds - a retreat away from the imposed traditions of the established church - but reaches a different ecclesiological conclusion.

While John's adherence to strict scripturalism led him to seemingly eschew all outward forms of Christian practice, Hutchinson acknowledges the importance of certain ceremonies and sacraments in these statements as long as they are 'not to be directed therein by the precepts of men but only by the commands of God'.¹⁴⁶ We have seen that Hutchinson finds space for congregational worship, and she even allows for some differences in practices among different congregations: 'for particular churches of what denomination soeuer they be I dare not so owne any of them as to exclude all other but hold them some more and some lesse erronious and fallible allthough not in necessary fundamentalls'.¹⁴⁷ Following this, she writes of the utmost importance of 'assembling themselues together especially on the Lords day for the dispensation of the word and publique prayer and other Ordinances wherein they can in

¹⁴⁵ DD/Hu3, 95-96.

¹⁴⁶ DD/Hu3, 95.

¹⁴⁷ DD/Hu3, 99.

faith participate'.¹⁴⁸ While she retains the sense of autonomous decision making, an admission that 'assembling' and the following of 'ordinances' is important marks a departure from her depiction of John's rejection of any kind of worship in the *Memoirs*. Indeed, in Breifer summe she writes,

The true worship of God is only of his owne institution, and consists more in vniversall obedience, to his comands then in outward cerimonies, yet such as are of God ordinance are religiously to be performd.¹⁴⁹

She finds it important to uphold the sabbath, 'satisfied in [her] owne [mind] of that day which is now generally sett apart', but will not stipulate which day must be set aside: 'I conceiue the force of the command to lie in the appropriation of a seventh part of our time ... rather than in the precisenesse of the day'.¹⁵⁰ In line with the importance she gives Scripture in the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson upholds the 'reading expounding and preaching of the scriptures', but also the 'Singing of psalmes' which she holds to be 'an ordinance of God'.¹⁵¹

In MFA, Hutchinson writes more circumspectly of other ordinances. 'Baptism was an Ordinance of Christ', but whether it has continued to be so, she is 'not fully resolud in', and she rejects infant baptism completely.¹⁵² The 'breaking of bread', while it has 'bene made so greate an Idoll', is 'not only a bare empty signe' and ought to be undertaken. So too should fasting and holy feasting, when 'accompanied with the most earnest prayer'.¹⁵³ In Breifer summe she covers these same topics much more quickly, omitting her doubts surrounding

¹⁴⁸ DD/Hu3, 99.

¹⁴⁹ DD/Hu3, 127.

¹⁵⁰ What Hutchinson does reject is any suggestion that there should be two sabbath days - 'they erre and breake the command who celebrate two in seven' - following Thomas More in her refutation of this practice suggested by Tyndale. See William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialigue made by Williyam Tindle* (Antwerp: S. Cock, 1531), lix, and Thomas More, 'The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer Books 1-4', in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 8.1, 321.

¹⁵¹ DD/Hu3, 105-6.

¹⁵² DD/Hu3, 106-7.

¹⁵³ DD/Hu3, 110, 111.

them: ‘washing of water and breaking of bread are conformable ordinances’, ‘the observation of the lords day is an Ordinance very necessary to the holding vp the worship of God’, and ‘Publick Assemblies are very desirable, and it is our duty to frequent them’.¹⁵⁴

Thus, despite her anticlericalism and insistence on the spiritual autonomy of individual believers, these statements don’t simply reject ecclesiastical practices but, in fact, outline a new form of ecclesiastical settlement. Hutchinson doesn’t reject outward forms of religious observance but works them into her statements in a form she finds palatable. In this way, the sense of community she articulates in DD/Hu3 appears to be much broader than that which she imagined in DD/Hu4. Copying the structure of Confessions, Hutchinson’s own texts generically resemble previous attempts to reach and define a church settlement. Echoing the language of Calvin, the *WCF*, and other Reformed texts, and so granting her statements the authority of over 100 years of Protestant theology, Hutchinson forges a brand new, Congregational, ecclesiology.

Conclusion: congregational affiliation

Why, though, did Hutchinson write these Congregational Confessions in 1667 and 1668? The writing of spiritual testimonies was hugely popular in early modern England, and a genre especially favoured by women. As Eckerle notes, these kind of texts reflect ‘a woman’s desire to take account of herself, to conduct the kind of self-examination encouraged by many Protestant faiths at the time’.¹⁵⁵ The titles of Hutchinson’s Confessions, especially MFA, suggest that these texts might contain this kinds of spiritual testimony, one that Hillary Hinds finds to be so prominent among seventeenth-century texts: ‘The author recorded his or her

¹⁵⁴ DD/Hu3, 128.

¹⁵⁵ Eckerle, *Romancing the Self*, 12.

journey through sin, false confidence, doubt, conviction, faith, temptation and assurance'.¹⁵⁶

Yet, despite the titles, Hutchinson's texts detail none of this personal sense of a journey to God: the first person pronoun is, if anything, misleading. These texts much more concerned with defining orthodoxy and, most importantly, orthopraxy rather than Hutchinson's own experience. To term these items 'spiritual testimonies' disregards their uniqueness among the surviving canon of early modern female writing, the preparatory study that has gone into their composition, and the generic style they represent. In DD/Hu3, Hutchinson engaged in an extended study of Calvinism, translating, and adapting Reformed texts before transforming them into individualised Confessional documents.

Furthermore, Hutchinson redrafts the materials of MFA in Breifer summe. As Mark Burden asks, 'Why would Hutchinson have abridged her own text so dramatically in the same manuscript only a few months later if it had been compiled solely as a private record of her faith?'¹⁵⁷ The second statement appears to have been edited for public consumption, omitting, as we have seen, some of Hutchinson's fiercer rejections of ceremonial practices, and calming her suspicions of the 'visible church' to the point that she accepts it in some - limited - form:

The visible Church is a mixt multitude like a heape wherein there is more chaffe then corne, and many times so abounding with corruptions, that the pure seed is not discernable among them, yet is the society of saints so profitable, and delightfull, that it is the duty of euery one to vphold it so farre as they are able.¹⁵⁸

Considering this, more recently, scholars have begun to consider these texts as applications to a congregation, such as those 'copied into nonconformist church books during the later Stuart

¹⁵⁶ Hinds, *Gods Englishwomen*, 12.

¹⁵⁷ Mark Burden, 'Lucy Hutchinson and Baptist Confessions of Faith', *Dissenting Experience Blog*: <https://dissent.hypotheses.org/blog/5-lucy-hutchinson-and-baptist-confessions-of-faith-mark-burden> .

¹⁵⁸ DD/Hu3, 128.

period'.¹⁵⁹ Individuals often were expected to make a declaration of their beliefs before joining Puritan congregations. We have proof of this practice from America, for example the conversion narratives recorded by Thomas Shephard in the mid-century, or the account given by Richard Mather that candidates for the church were examined in 'faith and good knowledge in the principles of religion',

'witnessing (as they were able) the main fundamental points of religion'; answering questions about that knowledge; 'condemning the course of sin which they once lived in'; 'acknowledging the good mercy and grace of God in receiving them to his grace'; and accepting the covenant¹⁶⁰

Furthermore, *The Profession of Faith of that Reverend and Worthy divine Mr John Davenport* from 1642, mirrors the structure of Hutchinson's statements almost exactly and declares itself a speech 'made publicquely before the congregation at his Admission into one of the Churches of God in New-England'.¹⁶¹

Closer to home, John Bunyan's Bedford congregation clearly required prospective congregation members to make a declaration of their beliefs. Their church book codified this application process in 1657:

We do also agree that such persons as desire to joyne in fellowship, if upon the conference of our friends with them ... our saide friends be satisfied of the truth of the worke of grace in their heartes, then they shall desire them to come to the next church-meeting, and to waite neare the place addigned for the meeting, that they may be called in.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Burden, 'Lucy Hutchinson and Baptist Confessions of Faith'.

¹⁶⁰ The testimonies of Shephard's congregation have been transcribed by George Selement, 'The Means to Grace, A Study of Conversion in Early New England', PhD diss., University of New Hampshire (1970). Mather is quoted in Bremer, 'Puritan Spiritual Testimonies', 644-5.

¹⁶¹ John Davenport, *The Profession of the Faith of that Reverend and worthy Divine Mr. J.D. Sometimes Preacher of Stevens Coleman-street London* (London: John Handcock, 1642), frontispiece.

¹⁶² H. G. Tibbutt (ed.), *The Minutes of the First Independent Church (Bunyan's Meeting) at Bedford* (Luton: White Crescent Press, 1976), 24.

To view Hutchinson's original writing in DD/Hu3 in light of these documents, shows her not imagining a community of Christians - as she did in the *Memoirs* - but seeking to join an already existing one. However, Hutchinson's own texts are different in style and scope to all these documents. She does not detail her spiritual conversion, as the American congregations were expected to do, and the scope of her own confession far outstrips that of Davenport's which is only eight pages and so lacking much of the theological complexity of MFA. As Francis Bremer notes, Joel Halcomb's 2009 study of Congregationalism in England 'concluded that while all such churches tested for grace, the actual texts varied and there is little evidence that elaborate conversion narratives were required'; when proof can be found of congregational application, the system appears to be one of simple question and answer, testing understanding of the basics of belief, rather than expecting a full theological unpicking of doctrinal points.¹⁶³ These documents are a far cry from 'the intellectual sophistication of Hutchinson's self-examination and its carefully weighted consideration of alternative points of view'.¹⁶⁴

Through a contextual understanding of DD/Hu3, a third option presents itself. Despite my reservations that these texts were written as an application, the influence of a congregation still seems to supply the most likely answer. In his study of the codification of Quaker belief, Matthew Horn notes that, the larger a group becomes, the greater the need for 'the group to anchor its identity in some sort of communally accepted grounding'.¹⁶⁵ He explains how the

¹⁶³ Francis J. Bremer, 'To Tell What God Hath Done for Thy Soul': Puritan Spiritual Testimonies as Admission Tests and Means of Edification', *The New England Quarterly* 87, no.4 (Dec. 2014), 660; Joel Halcomb, 'A social history of congregational religious practice during the puritan revolution', (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2009). Davenport produced such a document for his congregation at New Haven which lists questions and the expected answers: '*Qu. What its faith in God? Answ.* It is the first act and means of spirituall life, whereby the soul believing God, resteth in God, as the only Author and principle of life', John Davenport and William Hooke, *A Catechisme Containing the Chief Heads of Christian Religion ... for the use of the Church of Christ at New-Haven* (London: John Brudenell, 1659), sig. A3.

¹⁶⁴ Burden, 'Lucy Hutchinson and Baptist Confessions of Faith'.

¹⁶⁵ Matthew Horn, 'Texted Authority: How Letters Helped Unify the Quakers in the Long Seventeenth Century', *The Seventeenth Century* 23, no.2 (Oct., 2008), 291.

survival of any group ‘entails a formation of a code of essential beliefs and actions that is placed over the individual members’.¹⁶⁶ Laying out a depiction of what constitutes orthopraxy rather than - as their titles would suggest - Hutchinson’s own spiritual testimony, these statements appear to function as such a code. These Confessions show Hutchinson participating in the construction, or codification, of a new ecclesiastical settlement suitable for a group larger, and more diverse, than her immediate family. In light of this, I would argue that these Confessions were not written as an application to a congregation but were written *for* a congregation as an expression of their more communally held beliefs. They present, like DD/Hu4, a manifesto of ecclesiology which rejects the national church. However, in their more Congregational tone - the proposition of an alternative settlement - these Confessions support the existence of a larger group of Christians.

Scholarship has long posited a relationship between Hutchison and ‘the foremost expositor of high Calvinism in England in the second half of the seventeenth century’, John Owen (1616-1683).¹⁶⁷ In his assessment of the different ways Puritans responded to the demise of Calvinism, Copper offers Owen as an example of the third kind: ‘A third response was to hold the line and to defend Calvinism for all it was worth’.¹⁶⁸ In the late-1660s Owen was leading a select congregation of just thirty or so loyal supporters including a number of Hutchinson’s associates. While we can say that the ways in which Hutchinson has engaged with Calvin in this notebook are idiosyncratic, her decision to study Calvin in the late-1660s may not, therefore, have been without an external impetus. Nor, perhaps, was her decision to transform that engagement into Confessional documents. This is not to say that, in undertaking such an extensive study of Reformed texts, and in transforming that study into

¹⁶⁶ Horn, ‘Texted Authority’, 289.

¹⁶⁷ See Gribben, ‘John Owen, Lucy Hutchinson and the Experience of Defeat’, 179-190, Norbrook, ‘Introduction’, in *Works1*, cxiii-cx, and Norbrook, ‘Theological Notebook Introduction’, in *Works2*, 24-37.

¹⁶⁸ Cooper, ‘Calvinism Among Seventeenth-Century English Puritans’, 329.

individualised Confessions, that Hutchinson was not highly unusual. The surviving body of female manuscript texts reveals nothing akin to DD/Hu3. If these Confessions were written for Owen's congregation, they present a startling addition to studies of 'the role played by countless named and unnamed men and women in the story of shaping Puritanism'.¹⁶⁹

The materials in the second half of DD/Hu3 support Hutchinson's existence within the Congregation of Owen and the textual network which surrounded him, forcing us to question Gribben's assertion that none 'of the period's diverse range of religious movements maintained the same articles of faith she advanced in her private doctrinal writing'.¹⁷⁰

Studying the later materials gathered in DD/Hu3, the next chapter will explore this relationship between Hutchinson and Owen in more detail. If the materials in this chapter have allowed us to trace Hutchinson's *reading*, those of the next place her right at the centre of contemporary efforts to adapt Calvinism to the needs of late-seventeenth century nonconformity. Turning to the later materials in DD/Hu3 allows us to explore the troublesome legacy of the Reformed tradition. Hutchinson's process of translation and transformation has already demonstrated some of the 'inevitable adaptation' that was required to accommodate Calvin into a late-seventeenth century ecclesiological system.¹⁷¹ Arguably, in her switch to more contemporary sources Hutchinson's theological notebook also highlights the limitations of Calvinism, demonstrating the ways in which Reformed orthodoxy was unsuited to the forging of a post-Restoration settlement.

¹⁶⁹ Bremer, *Lay Empowerment*, 1.

¹⁷⁰ Gribben, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Theological Writings', 299.

¹⁷¹ Cooper, 'Calvinism Among Seventeenth-Century English Puritans', 329.

‘[F]ull assurance through Christ’: Navigating Providential Calvinism in DD/Hu3

Introduction

Neither ought this doctrine to deterre but to stirre vp all men to obedience and holynesse and the loue of God forasmuch as whosoeuer attains these in sincerity may from them receiue certeine evidences of the grace of God who giues glory to all whom he giues true grace and giues true grace to none but those whom he hath elected vnto glory. and although all the grace wrought in vs is meerely of his free giift yet God giues it to vs in the vse of his owne appoynted meanes and ordinances which wee are to waite vpon in faith.¹

While her more Separationist principles have been tempered in Hutchinson’s Confessions, the system she constructs from her Calvinist engagement is still rigorously based on a providentialist understanding of the different potentials of the elect and reprobate. The church she imagines in these Confessions takes as its foundation the Calvinistic principle alongside which she has made marginal markings in her translation of the Aphorisms: ‘the iust election of some and reprobation of others’.² As we can see in this section from MFA, Hutchinson writes that ‘this doctrine’ should not be a source of despair but is one which bolsters the commitment of the believer to live in ‘obedience and holynesse’. Hutchinson, that is, does not seem to find that double predestination ‘locks the believer in a sense of despairing impotency’.³ However, there is an inertia created by this doctrine that even Hutchinson’s optimism struggles to navigate. Here, before moving swiftly on to discuss creation, she

¹ DD/Hu3, 65.

² DD/Hu3, 36.

³ David Norbrook, ‘Lucy Hutchinson: Theology, Gender, and Translation’, *The Seventeenth Century* 30, no. 2 (2015), 155.

finishes with an exhortation to believers to ‘waite ... in faith’, a sentiment she repeats throughout MFA and Breifer summe.⁴

Calvin was one of the earliest Reformation theologians to expound the doctrine of predestination but, as we have seen, ‘his’ church did not rely upon it as an organisational principle; for Calvin and his orthodox followers, the elect and reprobate could worship together. However, Hutchinson’s Pauline conception of the church as a living body cannot be reconciled with the mixed churches of Calvin and the *WCF* as it relies on the beneficial participation of every member. That is, her Congregationalism requires each believer to be sure of their own salvation. While Hutchinson can hardly be said to be ‘despairing’, her Confessions do little to clarify how a believer may know that they are in a position of sanctification or quite what it means to ‘waite in faith’; in her efforts to articulate a church settlement based on Calvin’s doctrine of predestination, Hutchinson’s Confessions do not deal in any depth with the doctrine of assurance.⁵

A rigorous understanding of predestination of this kind also undermines the importance of Christ’s role in the sanctification of saints: he becomes simply an object designed to achieve God’s will. Stressing providentialism to a greater degree than her source materials, Hutchinson, arguably, does not offer a redefinition of Christ’s role to balance this out. We can see that any mention of him is missing in her articulation of the doctrine of predestination above, while her explorations of Christ’s role - as separate from God - focus either on the past or the future as these two quotations show:

Christ ... merited that life for vs which was due to his perfect obedience ... that ...
wee might be sett free from feare and from the spiritt of bondage which reignd by the

⁴ See DD/Hu3, 85, 110, 112.

⁵ In MFA and Breifer summe she only uses ‘assurance’ four times, and only once in the doctrinal sense: DD/Hu3, 85.

law in the consciences of men till the redeemer came and made vs free to duty according to that Scripture ⁶

I belieue that when Christ hath finisht his greate assizes and executed iudgement on all his enemies and has cast sathan and all his wicked Angells and adherents into hell there to be eternally tormented together he shall resigne his mediatoriall kingdome to God to whom he shall gather vp all the elect from the beginning till the end of the world and they shall remaine with him in heaven in the eternall enioyment of the presence & favour and glory of God ⁷

Hutchinson's turn to contemporary millenarian ideas enables her Confessions to articulate an important - and imminent - future role for Christ, yet she struggles to articulate a convincing individual role for him in the present. That a strict adherence to predestination created this problem for later, seventeenth-century, Puritans has long been recognised, the system of 'limited atonement' rendering not only individual Christians but Christ himself inert in the shadow of God's eternal foreknowledge: 'the function of Christ is to carry out something already fixed and definitive ... Christ is merely the exhibitor of a decision already made in an eternity in which He has Himself been ... inoperative'.⁸

Arguably then, when articulating her Congregationalist system based on Calvinist doctrines of predestination, Hutchinson's Confessions left some theological problems unsolved. Under a strict system of election and damnation how is a believer to have assurance of their sanctification and what role do they play in their own salvation? Furthermore, what precise part does Christ play in this salvation aside from his role as the immediate conduit for God's predestined bestowal of grace at his crucifixion?

⁶ DD/Hu3, 90.

⁷ DD/Hu3, 114.

⁸ J. K. S. Reid, 'The Office of Christ in Predestination', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 1, no. 2 (1948), 16.

In this chapter I would like to offer a reassessment of the remaining materials in DD/Hu3 as a collection of texts gathered in a targeted attempt to clarify these issues. Working to define the role of Christ within a providential system, and precisely what it means to ‘waite in faith’, Hutchinson turns to several contemporary sources - sermon notes and a long tract. I argue that these texts are all concerned with matching a strictly defined doctrine of predestination with a Christological focus and a role for the individual believer which did not lead ‘either to despair or to presumptuous libertinism’.⁹ If we have seen that the early materials in this notebook focused on the transformation of Calvinist providentialism into an ecclesiastical system, the later texts appear to be an endeavour to study the precise relationship between Christ and the assurance of grace.

The later texts gathered in DD/Hu3 show that Owen was the main source Hutchinson turned to in her endeavour to refine her understanding of these doctrinal issues. Owen has been noted as one of the key figures in the late-seventeenth century reconfiguration of the relationship between Christology and the doctrine of limited atonement, with Dewey Wallace arguing that, in reaction to the Arminian controversy, Owen imbued his texts with a ‘Christocentric emphasis’: ‘In all his discussions of the work of Christ we can see that his main concern is that Christ’s work may become central in any discussion of God’s grace or man’s piety’.¹⁰ Owen has frequently been used to rebuff Knappen’s influential claim that the ‘Puritans did not possess a high Christology’, most recently by Richard W. Daniels in 2014.¹¹ Moreover, Daniels argues that ‘Owen’s views on the Church’s nature, composition, authority, mission, ministry, and worship have strong direct ties to Christology’, meaning that

⁹ Norbrook, ‘Introduction’, *Works*2, 9.

¹⁰ Dewey D. Wallace Jr., ‘The Life and Thought of John Owen to 1660: A Study of the Significance of Calvinist Theology in English Puritanism’, PhD diss., Princeton University (1965), 276.

¹¹ Marshall M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 376; Richard W. Daniels, *The Christology of John Owen* (Michigan: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014).

Hutchinson's own redirection into these soteriological issues need not necessarily depict a turn away from the ecclesiastical focus of the earlier sections of DD/Hu3.¹² Rather, like her growing acceptance of communal worship, and the ceremonies which uphold such a practice, the later materials, which detail Christ's role and resolve questions of assurance, can also be said to cement Hutchinson's conception of Congregational church settlement.

Although not materials composed by Hutchinson, this chapter will continue to explore the ways in which the doctrinal concerns of the texts mark developments of the sixteenth-century Reformed tradition and to what localised pressures those developments might respond. Noting that the sermons place Hutchinson within the textual network and congregation of John Owen allows us to explore the precise context of these texts. This chapter will ask: what role did this network play in the continuing development of her theological beliefs? The final section of this chapter will turn to the most puzzling text in DD/Hu3: the long tract, 'Concerning self-examination whether wee haue an interest in Christ' (CSE). This is a text which, as evidenced in the title, draws together the issues of personal assurance and the extent of Christ's salvific role. Revisiting the issue of this text's authorship, I will ask if the same impulses that underpinned Hutchinson's engagement with Reformation texts have, once again, created a hybrid text in which she has intervened at key moments to redirect doctrinal focus. As such, this chapter will offer a new interpretation of the intersection between the different materials in this manuscript, but will also continue to explore Hutchinson's textual practices, showing how in her engagement with both sixteenth century Reformed texts and contemporary ones, Hutchinson valued independent synthesis based on accommodation and adaptation as a means of achieving doctrinal clarity.

¹² Daniels, *The Christology of John Owen*, 260.

DD/Hu3 contains notes of eight sermons recorded in different styles by Hutchinson. Four sermons sit between 'Breifer Summe', which we know to have been written in 1668, and the undated tract on 'selfe examination'.¹³ The longest of these, on John 15:8, only runs to six pages, while the other three are as short as only two or three pages each. The same is true of two sermons from April 1673 which sit in the middle of the notebook.¹⁴ The brevity of these notes show that, as textual records, they are far removed from the 'event' of the sermon as it was preached.¹⁵ Their relative neatness do not suggest that Hutchinson made these notes while in church. They have, therefore, either been written up from notes made in attendance (perhaps in shorthand), or are 'some haphazard recollections upon [her] return home' of the kind that so frustrated Charles F. Mullett due to their 'characteristic of leading nowhere in particular'.¹⁶ That Hutchinson compiled these notes retrospectively is also supported by the fact that the two April sermons meet - having been written in opposite directions in the notebook - exactly on facing pages, suggesting that Hutchinson knew how many pages the second would need before she started writing.¹⁷

This act of retrospective 'writing up' suggests the importance of these sermons to Hutchinson, and their purposeful inclusion in DD/Hu3. The final sets of sermon notes, from June 1673, however, were arguably written in attendance. These sermons are more messily

¹³ DD/Hu3, 130-148.

¹⁴ DD/Hu3, 190-205.

¹⁵ Mary Morrissey deals at length with the distinction between the sermon 'event' and 'text' in, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', *The Historical Journal* 42, no.4 (December, 1999), 1111-1123.

¹⁶ Charles F. Mullett, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Sermon Memoranda', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (April, 1939), 305. On the regularity of early modern shorthand see Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, 140-144.

¹⁷ As stated in the last chapter, the placement of these sermons appears to be an endeavour to leave as much space as possible for the completion of her notes on Calvin before this project was finally abandoned and the two June sermons included.

transcribed than the two from April, with Hutchinson managing just 140 words a page rather than her more usual 220.¹⁸ Hutchinson's writing is generally messier on the verso side, a quirk which may arise from writing without a table, and her use of contraction and shorthand is much more noticeable. For example, she frequently contracts the final syllable of words, writing 'elect', 'sante' and 'regener' rather than election, sanctification, and regeneration. In the summer of 1673, then, it seems likely that this notebook accompanied Hutchinson to congregational worship.

But why have these particular sermons - especially the ones added after the act of preaching - been included in DD/Hu3? In her rereading of John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666) as a Pauline epistle rather than a straightforwardly autobiographical work, Rebecca S. Beal utilised a phrase used by the literary theorist, E. D. Hirsch: 'intrinsic genre'.¹⁹ The 'intrinsic genre' of a literary work is that 'sense of the whole by which an interpreter can correctly understand any part in its determinacy'.²⁰ As was proved by the first chapter's study of Hutchinson's miscellany, an exploration of manuscripts with an eye to how seemingly disparate materials can unveil a 'sense of the whole' can be fruitful. I would argue that these sermons have an 'intrinsic genre'; as noted in the introduction, they are marked by a Christological focus - as a set, they interrogate the doctrine of assurance through a focus on Christ's saving grace.

The first set of sermon notes records preaching on John 15:8, John 10:10, 1 Peter 2:7 and Matthew 13:20. The first three are distinctly Christocentric in their doctrine, focused on 'the

¹⁸ The sermon from 14 June occupies 13 pages and contains 1900 words. 20 June fills 10 pages with 1400 words. In comparison the two April sermons fit 1280 and 1770 word in 6 and 8 pages respectively.

¹⁹ Rebecca S. Beal, 'Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners: John Bunyan's Pauline Epistle', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 21, no.1 (Winter, 1981), 88.

²⁰ E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 86.

mystery of the S^{ts} implantation into Christ' (John 15:8), 'the glorious designe of [Christ's] loue in coming into the world to saue his people' (John 10:10), and how 'Scripture sets Christ forth to vs by various metaphors of a stone' (1 Peter 2:7).²¹ The first deals expressly with the problems created by a belief in predestination by tackling the merits of 'good works'. It takes pains to demonstrate that good works have no efficacy in salvation but rather reflect the individual's elected status and their 'vltimate end', to glorify God: 'S^{ts} must not doe their workes to be seene of men yet their workes must be seene of men for gods glory'.²² Works are, thus, 'acceptable to God not meritorious for the blood of C[hrist] is only meritorious', they are only 'pleasing by reason of the conformity & compliance with [God's] owne designe'.²³ As in Hutchinson's Confessions, we can trace the influence of contemporary religious divisions as the speaker takes care to rebuff both the Antinomian position - imagining the question arising from this order of faith, 'I may then liue as I list' - and the Arminian belief in justification through works: 'some haue a secret opinion of merit though wee renounce it outwardly yet we thinke to be accepted with god for it'.²⁴

In the theology it displays, I suspect the second sermon, also based on a passage from John, was given by the same preacher and, perhaps, comes from the same series of sermons. It, too, focuses on Christ's mediation for our sins, how 'the only way of life is C[hrist]', but also how Christ 'came not only to saue soules but to make them instruments of his glory'.²⁵ Again, supposing believers to be reflections of God's glory, the speaker gives the uses of this biblical passage: 'to shame vs that wee doe not liue in crosses in performances &ct as C[hrist]t designd'.²⁶ The second 'vse' of this passage then turns our attention onto assurance,

²¹ DD/Hu3, 130, 137, 140.

²² DD/Hu3, 130, 132.

²³ DD/Hu3, 134.

²⁴ DD/Hu3, 135.

²⁵ DD/Hu3, 138.

²⁶ DD/Hu3, 138.

as it instructs us to ‘betake our selues more to the Lord Jesus when we lack life’. This sense of assurance in times of trouble then ends the sermon as the imagined questioner observes that ‘my affliction is vnparalleld’ and asks, ‘but is it not too late’. To this, and to finish the sermon, the minister notes the example of Naaman the Syrian who ‘wrangling against the free grace in C[hrist] he yet found himself ‘cleansd as if he had neuer wrangled att all’ by taking the good council of his servants and having a ‘hearing eare’.²⁷

The third sermon, as Hutchinson has noted it, is very hard to follow: sentences are rambling and unfinished, while numbered lists often have no clear referent. However, in this retrospective editing, Charles Lloyd Cohen argues, we can perhaps see Hutchinson’s own preoccupation: ‘the laity ... introduced small changes reflective of individual preoccupations ... a sermon fragment... testifies to a personal act of choice’.²⁸ This sermon focuses again on Christ and his frequently alluded to position as the foundation stone of the Church: ‘God hauing a greate building to rayse chose a pretious stone to lay a sure foundation’.²⁹ As we saw in relation to Hutchinson’s sense of a congregation in the last chapter, for later Puritans order arose naturally from the edification of each individual member growing in strength through their conviction of their own salvation through Christ. This would, quite literally ‘edify’ the church of God, which was not a building, but a body of believers.³⁰ In opposition to the later Puritan understanding of Christ as the foundation of a living universal church of the elect, Calvin understood that the depiction of the ‘living temple’ supported the need for ministerial hierarchy to create order.³¹ English conformists adopted this simpler reading of

²⁷ DD/Hu3, 139. Naaman is written about in 2 Kings 5.

²⁸ Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God’s Caress: the Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 188.

²⁹ DD/Hu3, 140.

³⁰ See DD/Hu3, 100. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible*, 60.

³¹ See Sheldon S. Wolin, ‘Calvin and the Reformation: the Political Education of Protestantism’, *The American Political Review* 51, no.2 (1957), 431-432.

‘edify’ and could accept - like Calvin before them - mixed churches of the elect and reprobate.³² The intrinsic relationship between Christ’s salvific role and the edification of the church expressed in the third sermon, on the other hand, articulates a narrower conception of the church, more in line with Hutchinson’s own insistence on the elect status of every member that we saw in her Confessions. The Christological outcome of this sense of ‘edification’ is clear in this sermon which states, ‘there could haue been no other way [than Christ] to bring in righteousness ... a belieuer Knows that all the good things wee haue are from C[hrist]’.³³

These sermons, then, are intrinsically focused on a denial of good works as a means of securing salvation and a demonstration that Christ secures election even in those who ‘wrangle’ against him or doubt their own sense of assurance. The first sermon in particular demonstrates the efficacy of a Christological focus in discussions of predestination, tackling the hopelessness the doctrine may instil in the believer. Christ’s intervention allows the preacher to rebuff the amoral conclusions drawn from the doctrine of predestination by the Antinomians: good works, while not a means of securing election, reflect the sanctification implanted in the believer through Christ. While still ‘Calvinist’ in a general sense, in these sermons Hutchinson has encountered more contemporary ideas concerning Christ’s role and the universality of the church of saints than she would have read in Calvin and his Reformed followers.

The temporal efficacy of Christ’s salvific role expressed in the second sermon also exceeds previous Reformed articulations. Naaman, an Old Testament figure, is depicted as existing

³² Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible*, 49.

³³ DD/Hu3, 141.

under the ‘free grace’ of Christ, able to ‘wrangle’ against his elect status before his attention to the Word of God assures him of his salvation. The understanding of this Old Testament story as expressing the covenant of Grace is not found in Reformation writing. Indeed, Calvin expressly denies that Naaman ‘was instructed concerning the Mediator’, in a section in which he discusses the Old Testament figures, Naaman and Cornelius, who could ‘scarcely grasp what was known only obscurely to the Jews, and not to all of them’. Calvin separates Old from New Testament examples of turning to God - all conversion happens through faith, but only in the New Testament is this ‘fulfilled in’ Christ.³⁴ While it is ‘inconceivable to suppose’ that the Old Testament figures had no knowledge at all of Christ, they were primarily driven by faith which was, in this earlier time, not so explicitly linked to his role as mediator. Calvin distinguished between the New and Old Testament figures in his discussion of faith fulfilled by Christ, with the former used exclusively to argue ‘that no one is loved by God apart from Christ’, the latter as examples of those who have ‘some taste... of Christ’.³⁵ For Calvin, Naaman could not ‘wrangle’ against the free grace of Christ, because temporally, Christ had not come. The minister of Hutchinson’s sermon, however, views the promise of salvation through the mediation of Christ as applicable to Old Testament figures such as Naaman. This points to a reconceived notion of Christ’s place in time. While the minister does not believe that Christ was eternal, stating ‘*when* he came into the world’, the promises implicit in Christ’s coming have taken on a more eternal nature than can be found in the writing of the Reformers.³⁶ This kind of preaching encourages a belief in the eternal nature of Christ’s promise and a figurative reading of the Bible which exceeds Calvin.

³⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, III.II.32.

³⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, III.II.32.

³⁶ DD/Hu3, 138.

While these three sermons are intrinsically Congregational in outlook, stating heterodox opinions concerning the temporal efficacy of grace and purity of churches, the fourth sermon in this set appears to offer a more conformist understanding of the church. Using Matthew 13:5, this sermon takes preaching as its focus, using the image of seed sown on ‘stony ground’ to discuss how ‘stony hearted hearers may for a time receive the word with ioy’.³⁷ This belief that Scripture can be *heard* by all, does not necessarily run counter to Hutchinson’s own views on the limited efficacy of Scripture as the minister is clear to define how far these ‘stony hearted hearers’ can ‘goe on’. Furthermore, the true efficacy of God’s word - that it ‘may take impression and abide in you[r] meanes’ - is reserved for ‘soft hearted hearers’.³⁸ However, the impression that this gives of mixed congregations of the elect and reprobate would be at odds with Hutchinson’s own insistence on congregational purity. The strict Puritan understanding of ‘edification’ to which Hutchinson adhered was couched not just in positive terms, but it was believed that ‘whatever does not build destroys’ - a truly ‘edifying’ church would expunge all that was not pure.³⁹ The speaker in this sermon, however, believes that the perceived - if ultimately false - attention reprobates give to God’s Word, ‘is so ordered by the providence of God who suffers reprobates to make faire shews that his owne may be hidden til the day of his revelation’.⁴⁰ In stressing the aural nature of the reprobate’s interaction with the Word, this sermon implicitly implies their presence in communal worship. This sermon, then, appears to contradict the Pauline sense of edification expressed in the one preceding it, articulating instead a more strictly Calvinist impression of a mixed church of ‘wheat and chaff’. It shows Hutchinson to be attending - or at least recording - preaching which was more orthodox than her own beliefs as expressed in the Confessions. Yet, as a sermon concerned with the different potentials of the elect and reprobate, perhaps it

³⁷ DD/Hu3, 144.

³⁸ DD/Hu3, 146-6.

³⁹ Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England*, 47.

⁴⁰ DD/Hu3, 144-6.

earns its place among a group of sermons which describe the efficacy - and reach - of Christ's salvific purpose.

This is the only sermon in which we can see Hutchinson in disagreement with the minister.

While we can never know what passages of the sermons Hutchinson may have omitted, or glossed - we can never truly judge her fidelity to what was spoken in the pulpit - here, in a neat curling line, she has crossed out four words which she had originally transcribed:

all men naturally delight in knowledge if the light of the sunne be so delighfull to our outward sences knowledge which is the light of the soule must needs be much more pleasant to the mind and the word of God ~~without Greeke and Latin~~ hath in it farre more excellent knowledge then all other bookes and writings in the world.⁴¹

This is the only instance in the sermons in this notebook in which a crossing out appears to be anything more than a correction of a misspelling or a confusion in the course of transcription.

These are the only words, that is, which are transcribed in full, and subsequently crossed out.

The minister appears to have been extoling the virtue of reading Scripture in vernacular only - an idea which Hutchinson, with her Latin, Greek, and smattering of Hebrew - has clearly

disagreed; here we have an example of how she 'resisted the hostility to learning found amongst some religious radicals'.⁴² With this sermon visibly chafing at the edges of

Hutchinson's own beliefs, we should perhaps not assume that everything included in DD/Hu3 is there because Hutchinson adhered strictly to it and the doctrines it expounded. We have,

after all, seen her clearly expressed 'objections' to sections of the *Institutes*, and her

combining of often opposing points of view into new doctrinal sentiments. With the notebook

acting as a discursive space in which Hutchinson's ideas were developing, it is perhaps not so

⁴¹ DD/Hu3, 144.

⁴² Norbrook, 'Introduction', in *Works*2, 5. My reading of this sermon differs from Norbrook's, who sees in this section that 'the minister apparently expected his congregation to read the Old Testament not in Hebrew but in the Tremellius-Junius Latin translation, and the New Testament in Greek', 5. To my mind, 'without' could mean opposingly 'lacking' or 'beyond', the preacher either extolling the virtues of the Scripture in English, or pushing his congregation towards the Hebrew original. The former is the more usual usage.

surprising to see this sermon which articulates an alternative view of the Church. On the other hand, this sermon offers a further exploration of the extent of salvation possible for the elect and the reprobate befitting our expectation of the intrinsic genre of this collection of sermons.

John Owen's Preaching: Christ and Assurance

The more orthodox nature of this fourth sermon suggests that it may have been preached by a different minister to the first three. As stated, the first and second may well have been preached by the same minister, possibly as part of a series. However, Hutchinson has not noted dates or named the preachers of these sermons and so the minister, or ministers, remain untraceable. However, of the two sermons recorded in the centre of the manuscript - on Hebrews 6:1 and 2, and Revelations 14:13 - we know for certain that the first was preached by John Owen as the text matches with sections of his printed work: *A Continuation of the Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews* (1680).⁴³

Hutchinson's record of this sermon shows, along with other sermon notes now held at the Dr William's Library, that Owen was at work on his vast exposition of Hebrews in the early 1670s.⁴⁴ Norbrook notes that, as this work did not appear in print until 1680, 'Hutchinson either took these words down before Owen had published them or had access to

⁴³ John Owen, *A continuation of the exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews viz, on the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters : wherein together with the explication of the text and context, the priesthood of Christ ... are declared, explained and confirmed : as also, the pleas of the Jews for the continuance and perpetuity of their legal worship, with the doctrine of the principal writers of the Socinians about these things, are examined and disproved* (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1680). This sermon covers pages 18-21. Norbrook identified this source and *Pneumatologia* in his 'Introduction' to the theological notebook, *Works*2, 26-27.

⁴⁴ John Hartopp, autograph manuscript, 'Sermons of John Owen', MS L6/2 (Dr William's Library). This manuscript contains several sermons given by Owen which, like Hutchinson's records, correspond to his later published work on Hebrews.

manuscripts'.⁴⁵ The sermon and section of the *Continuation* to which it aligns are not identical, with sections paired down or reordered, and Hutchinson's record is marked by flourishes of a spoken performance: 'Wee haue gone through y^e priciples of y^e dc of Ct Repentance', 'but you will say these things are true but they are past'.⁴⁶ Hutchinson's record of the sermon on Hebrews 6 also includes a discussion of the nature of the covenantal agreement between God and Christ which makes no appearance in the printed text. However, much of the sermon either provided the basis for, or has been extracted from, the printed text as these short extracts, in which the 'conjunction' between faith and repentance is explored, show:

The coniunction shewes us how inseperable they are but where either is wanting there is neither. All pretend to faith &ct Besides this there is something in y^e order Repentance from dead works doth not in order *proceede* faith but there must be some faith before there can be repentance⁴⁷

Neither ought they to be, nor can they be severed. Where the one is, there is the other, and where either is not, there is neither whatever be pretended... And in this expression where *Repentance* is first placed and *faith in God* afterwards, only the distinction that is between them, but neither an *order of Nature* in the thing themselves, nor a necessary order in the teaching of them is intended. For in *order of Nature* Faith towards God must precede Repentance from dead works⁴⁸

In her turn towards texts which might help to clarify the relationship between Christ and the elect and settle the precise nature of salvation, it is unsurprising that Hutchinson made a record of this sermon which went on to be part of a text 'predominated by a Christological thrust'.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Norbrook, 'Theological Notebook Introduction', *Works*2, 27.

⁴⁶ DD/Hu3, 190, 193.

⁴⁷ DD/Hu3, 190.

⁴⁸ DD/Hu3, 190. Owen, *A Continuation*, 18.

⁴⁹ John W. Tweeddale, 'John Owen's Commentary on Hebrews in Context', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to John Owen's Theology*, ed. Kelly M. Kapic and Mark Jones (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 57.

The sermon certainly goes to great lengths to align a believer's faith in God with faith in the accomplishment of his promise to send Christ; in answer to the question, 'what is faith', Owen states 'tis not faith in God in general' but 'faith with a speciall eie to the accomplishment of y^e greate promise of J.C'.⁵⁰ At the same time, Owen focuses on the *ordo salutis*, denying a meritocratic salvific system, stressing that 'Repentance from dead works doth not in order proceede faith but there must be some faith before there can be repentance'.⁵¹ While repentance and a 'profession of y^r faith towards God' are imperative for entry into the Church ('no man is bound to belieue y^w or receiue y^w into Church communion without'), these actions simply act out Christ's presence within a Christian rather than inviting him in: 'that an evidence be given of the Power and Efficacy of the Doctrine of Christ in the Souls of men that his Disciples may be visibly separated by their own profession from the world that lies in Evil, and be fitted for Communion among themselves in love'.⁵² This sermon supports Daniel's assertion that Owen's Christological focus links with his articulations of ecclesiastical settlement as faith in Christ is imperative not simply for the individual believer, but for the survival of the Church. Indeed, ignorance of this doctrine had been the ruin of the Church in the past:

want of this faith y^t god had accomplisht his proimise in sending his sonne Joh 8.17 to saue sinners was y^e ruine Rom 15.8 of the church of y^e Hebrews and hath bene so this 1600 yeares while they yet lie in darknesse concerning the fulfilling of it.⁵³

Thinking that the promise of salvation through Christ lies in the future has been a key mistake of the Church. Rather, Owen states, this promise was 'signalizd' in Genesis 3:16, and 'God layd the weight of all ye rest upon this', 'this promise hang longest upon the file of all others before it was at all accomplisht ... Abrahams faith was exercised ... Jacob had great

⁵⁰ DD/Hu3, 190-91.

⁵¹ DD/Hu3, 190. In *Continuation* Owen defines 'dead works' as 'the sins of unregenerate persons whereof Repentance was to be expressed before Baptism', 11

⁵² DD/Hu3, 190. *Continuation*, 18.

⁵³ DD/Hu3, 191.

exercise in the faith of this when he fled from Esau'.⁵⁴ Owen here does not state that Christ's promise was *accomplished* in the time of Abraham, but that assurance was given of its future accomplishment and that this belief held Christians secure: 'it was *All that the true Church of God had to live upon* during that long season, the sole foundation of its Faith, Obedience and Consolation. It is true, in progress of time God added other Promises, Precepts and Institutions, for the direction and instruction of the Church; but they were all built on this one Promise, and all resolved into it'.⁵⁵ Within Owen's deeply providential system then - in which faith is a prerequisite of repentance - Christ takes on a crucial, not subsidiary role, the promise of his assurance being the grounds upon which the church is formed.

This figuring of Christ's promise and its applicability to the Old Testament figures aligns with the discussion of Naaman raised by the earlier sermon. In the sermon and *Continuation*, Owen seeks to define 'Faith in God', realising that it cannot be meant in a general sense as 'euery here by y^e law of his creation is bound to belieue in god'.⁵⁶ On the contrary,

It is therefore *Faith in God as accomplishing the promise unto Abraham in sending Jesus Christ, and granting pardon or remission of Sins by him*, that is intended. The whole is expressed by, *Repent and believe the Gospel, Mark 1. 15*. That is the tidings of the Accomplishment of the Promise made to the Fathers, for the deliverance of us from all our Sins by Jesus Christ.⁵⁷

In this way, Old and New Testament Christians share a definition of faith, the former waiting in the expectation of Christ, the latter living in its fulfilment. However, Owen's wording here points to the appearance of Christ's salvific promise from the beginnings of Christianity, if not its applicability. In this way, this sermon appears more orthodox than the one which discussed Naaman which presented salvation as applicable to the Old Testament King.

⁵⁴ DD/Hu3, 192.

⁵⁵ Owen, *Continuation*, 20.

⁵⁶ DD/Hu3, 190.

⁵⁷ Owen, *Continuation*, 19. Emphasis original.

Richard Daniels notes how, in instances like this, Owen's Christocentric understanding of the biblical past shows 'that when they are allowed to speak for themselves, these Scriptures unmistakably promise, and with ever increasing certainty describe, a coming Messiah who provided ... the foundation of faith of the Old Testament people'.⁵⁸ Owen's figuring of Christ in this way grants the whole Bible a cohesive unity, showing that the practice of regarding the 'Old Testament [as] needing completion by the New is not only well justified, but actually indicated in the Old Testament itself'.⁵⁹ Yet, this understanding of Christ still ran the risk, within a system of predestination, of turning him into a tool by which God achieved his desired outcome. A trinitarian turn in Owen's sermon works to counteract this problem as he 'endeavour[s] to draw aside y^e curtaine & shew you a little of the transaction between y^e father and y^e son with reference to y^e salvation of sinners' by explaining the nature of a covenant.⁶⁰ A covenant, Owen explains, is 'an agreement between distinct persons of things y^t are in their power voluntarily enterd into for the mutuall benefit of both parties'.⁶¹ In this way, it cannot be 'of one but of distinct persons', with God and Christ fulfilling different roles: 'there must be a superiority of him y^t prescribes to him what is prescribd'. However, Owen is quick to qualify this within a trinitarian understanding of God and Christ, as this superiority is 'not in nature yet in order'. Therefore, in reference to the covenant, God is 'called y^e God of Christ'. This relationship was misunderstood in the past by 'the antiens because they had to doe with Arrians'; they 'interpret it as of the humane nature of Christ but the true meaning of it is nothing but that God would be a God unto Christ to carrie him on & furnish him for y^e work he had undertaken wherein God though not in nature yet in order of

⁵⁸ Daniels, *Christology of John Owen*, 9.

⁵⁹ Daniels, *Christology of John Owen*, 9.

⁶⁰ DD/Hu3, 193.

⁶¹ DD/Hu3, 193.

y^e [Covenant] was superior to Christ'.⁶² As such, Christ is not simply a vessel for God's will, but an active participant.

However, this sermon also works to further the role of Christians within the covenant. As an agreement between two people, 'it must be of things that are in a mans owne power to dispose of'. Using the example of a son or daughter marrying without their father's consent, Owen argues that, 'If god had not undertaken to worke that in vs which he requires of vs it had bene voyd because wee had not power of our selues to fullfill y^e termes'.⁶³ While this appears to stray close to the kind of inertia that many perceive arises from a system of predestination, Owen here states that Christians have something in them (given from God) that allows them to meet his requirements.

As such, here - from a Christological focus - Owen's discussion moves towards the believer's role in their own sanctification. At the end of this sermon Owen lists the uses of the doctrinal understanding of faith he has expounded as they 'concerne our selues': 'Justification by remission of sins 2 santification of our persons'.⁶⁴ As we saw in Hutchinson's Confessions, early modern theologians had begun to separate justification and sanctification temporally from eternal election. As he does here, Owen - in the remaining sermons contained in DD/Hu3 - offers a nuanced understanding of the relationship between these different parts of the *ordo salutis*, separating justification, which comes from Christ through his satisfaction for sin, from sanctification, which happens internally and - most importantly - progressively as the believer comes to understand their own sense of assurance.

⁶² DD/Hu3, 195. Throughout this text Hutchinson uses a symbol to express the word 'covenant'.

⁶³ DD/Hu3, 194.

⁶⁴ DD/Hu3 195. Hutchinson notes that these are 'reduced to 3 heads' and writes the number 3 but then leaves a gap. The third is presumably adoption, those three terms commonly appearing together, but could also be 'Promises concerning the life to come' as just after this Hutchinson has written 'Promises concerning the life to come are under two heads', perhaps in referent to the missing third head, 195.

The importance of a wavering sense of assurance is detailed in the second sermon from April 1673, given on Revelations 14:13, ‘And I heard a voice from haven saing blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth Yea saith the spirit that they may rest from their labours &ct’. Unlike the Hebrews sermon, we have no proof that this was preached by Owen. Yet it follows and precedes sermons we know to have been given by him, and offers nothing, doctrinally, which would contradict his other preaching.⁶⁵ Focused on the role of the Holy Spirit at the time of death, the sermon examines the promise of election: ‘there is a *promise* of god that he will giue some *saints* y^e *prevelledge* that they shall soe die & therefore wee are to pray for it’.⁶⁶ Detailed in the sermon, however, are examples of biblical figures who faced ‘great afflictions’ before their deaths, including Jacob, (banished for twenty years), Esau (the villainy of his two sons), and Judah (his children slain), yet who died blessed by the Lord.⁶⁷ Thus, while a man’s elected status is not subject to change, his sense of security in his election may waver:

Suppose a man hath had doubtings & wants assurance & is not able to say whiter he hath savingly repented he hath repented but knows not whither that or his faith be true & now coming to doe it he knows not whither it be more true y^t y^e former he now comes to throw the die for his life ... this poore man casts hismelfe vpon God and renews his faith & repentance then y^e *Holy Ghost* comes in & turns all this smoke into flame and giues him assurance & cleares vp all his former faith &ct is not this blessed Suppose a man y^t hath assurance sometimes [sic] it comes vnder a cloud but say he hath none yet he is like one y^t hath one foote in heaven & another in the mud here one foote helps the other & settis him quite out of danger is not this a blessed thing ⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Norbrook describes this sermon as ‘likely also to record a sermon by Owen’; ‘Theological Notebook Introduction’, in *Works*2, 29.

⁶⁶ DD/Hu3, 203.

⁶⁷ DD/Hu3, 198-9.

⁶⁸ DD/Hu3, 198.

That a believer's sense of assurance may waver, and that sanctification is a 'progressive work' in which a Christian is an active participant, are the topics focused on in the remaining sermons noted by Hutchinson in DD/Hu3. Again, the remaining sermons appear to have been recorded in an endeavour to tackle a theological principle to which Hutchinson had not given enough attention in her Confessions: the role of human action within a system of predestination.

As with the sermon on Hebrews, we know the two sermons given on I Thessalonians 5:27 in June 1673 were preached by Owen. They are almost exact copies of a section of Owen's *Pneumatologia, or, A discourse concerning the Holy Spirit*.⁶⁹ The first sermon, which discusses the progressive work of sanctification, occupies the second chapter of the fourth book of *Pneumatologia*, 'Sanctification a Progressive Work', beginning at section 9.⁷⁰ This sermon was clearly part of a longer series from which more materials ended up in *Pneumatologia*. Owen begins the sermon by recapping the last:

I haue shewd y^w
That God himself is the author of our sanctification by his Spt
And theres why God in this work is calld y^e God of peace in reference to the peace
made by J.C.
I raysd some observation from ye doctrine y^e last was y^t y^e work of santification is a
progressiue work⁷¹

In this sermon Owen carefully separates regeneration from sanctification and so maintains a soteriology which is based on election: 'santification ...is not like regeneration that is perfected at once[.] this continually increases. It is not carried in to such such [sic]

⁶⁹ John Owen, *Pneumatologia, or, A discourse concerning the Holy Spirit wherein an account is given of his name, nature, personality, dispensation, operations, and effects : his whole work in the old and new creation is explained, the doctrine concering it vindicated from oppositions and reproaches : the nature also and necessity of Gospel-holiness the difference between grace and morality, or a spiritual life unto God in evangelical obedience and a course of moral vertues, are stated and declared* (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1676).

⁷⁰ Owen, *Pneumatologia*, 338. The part covered in the sermon runs from page 349-354.

⁷¹ DD/Hu3, 233.

attainments & yⁿ ceases pro 4.18 ... but it is still encreasing as a streame fed by a living spring'.⁷² Separating these two concepts, a believer's sense of sanctification can fluctuate even while they remain safe in a sanctified state. 'It is one thing to haue y^e work of sanctification' he explains, '& another to know it'.⁷³ Owen, in both text and sermon, addresses only those who have been 'regenerated' through Christ not a mixed audience of elect and reprobate as sanctification is only progressive in those who are already sanctified: 'I intend no such person as by a little search may know that they haue not y^e work... But in humble persons holinesse may be thriving & they not know it & there are certaine seasons wherein belieuers are to believe *what* they see not in themselves ... If I lay no knowne obstructions God will performe his promise'.⁷⁴ As such, this sermon demonstrates how a providential system can leave room for the need for assurance.

It is in the progressive work of sanctification, and the search for assurance, that the believer can perform their own active role. That we can lack assurance in our state of sanctification is because its progression is a 'secret work' to be 'compared to the growth of trees that are fed at their roots' (I Corinthians 4:16).⁷⁵ Despite this, however, Owen exhorts his congregation to pay close attention to their 'growth of sanctification':

Nothing is more necessary then diligent enquirie into this he that makes it not walkes but adventures with God. He is set out but knows not whither he does right or wrong and is in danger of missing his end if he looke not better into his way David was very diligent in this and beggs gods assistance ps 139.2 Last. If I could perswade you to make this search there is nothing would be of more advantage to your soules not a more effectuall meanes to promote the growth of holinesse.⁷⁶

⁷² DD/Hu3, 233-32. See *Pneumatologia*, 384.

⁷³ DD/Hu3, 227.

⁷⁴ DD/Hu3, 227.

⁷⁵ DD/Hu3, 226.

⁷⁶ DD/Hu3, 225.

This language of ‘diligence’ often makes appearance in Hutchinson’s own writing. In MFA she writes that ‘Our first duty is to yeild dilligent attention to that word, and to search the scriptures’, while John ‘improoud his naturall vnderstanding’ through ‘a diligent examination of the scripture’ in the *Memoirs*.⁷⁷ Yet here, the ‘diligence’ is not expressly linked to reading the Word of God, but to a broader effort to reflect the grace of God through action. The work a believer must do as depicted in this sermon does not simply revolve around scriptural study, but something approaching good works: ‘Our sanctification as it is the grace of God so it is our deuty he hath commanded vs & promised to giue vs power if we neglect not the appointed meanes to father our owne growth but if we applie not our endeavours to the meanes the worke will not thriue’.⁷⁸ Indeed, Owen includes ‘known duties’ and ordinances in a list of ‘certaine things prescribed’ without which there can be no ‘growth of holiness’.⁷⁹ Moreover, Owen perceives that the progression of sanctification can be stunted by the wrong practices: as a baby can grow ‘if cherish & fed’, so if it is starved, ‘it grows not’.⁸⁰

Despite exhorting a strict understanding of predestination, then, Owen’s articulations of the doctrine of sanctification carve a space for individual endeavour as a means of achieving perfection. The active role of the saint is emphasised in the second sermon which leads straight on from the first, beginning,

That *which* I last insisted on in these words was taken from y^e generall designs of them to manifest y^t y^e *work* of sanctification was a graduall progressiue *work* There remained one use I could not then speake to *which* is y^t from y^e nature of sanctification wee may learne our duty in obedience the life of all our obedience hangs vpon this one *instruction* to answer y^e *work* of sanctification by our dilligences⁸¹

⁷⁷ DD/Hu3, 127, DD/Hu4, 8.

⁷⁸ DD/Hu3, 222.

⁷⁹ DD/Hu3, 221-20.

⁸⁰ DD/Hu3, 228.

⁸¹ DD/Hu3, 219.

Owen links this participation in the progressive work of sanctification explicitly to questions of assurance in these sermons. Most prominently, as a gift given only to the elect, a sense of the work of sanctification in oneself offers proof of the assurance of grace. More importantly, however, wavering in a sense of one's assurance actually aids the growth of salvation. The second sermon details how men can 'slacken in their dilligence' when 'they haue a secret perswasion that being securd from euerlasting ruine there is not so much need as when their state was dubious'. Conversely, diligence 'preuailes in any one so much vncertainty is there that any worke of sanctification is at all wrought sincerely vpon them'.⁸² As in the sermon on Revelations, our recognition of our role to play in sanctification is counter intuitively heightened when we lack assurance of our elected status.

As such, these sermons work together to merge the doctrines of limited atonement and predestination with a Christological focus, exploring them with an eye to assurance and sanctification which enables the believer to be more than simply an inert bystander to their own election. Addressed only to the elect, they are aimed at helping them to navigate periods of doubt based on a gradual process of sanctification underpinned by their eternal justification through Christ. Thus, these sermons offer a more doctrinally cohesive explanation of what it means to 'waite in faith' than Hutchinson herself had hitherto articulated. Separating assurance from faith, these sermons allow the former to fluctuate while the latter - the saint's elected status - remained secure. This separation is not a doctrine Hutchinson would have found in her reading of Calvin. In the third book, Calvin attacks 'the schoolmen [who] go completely astray, who in considering faith identify it with a bare and simple assent arising out of knowledge, and leave out confidence and assurance of heart'.⁸³

⁸² DD/Hu3, 218.

⁸³ Calvin, *Institutes*, III.II.33.

Later in the third book, while Calvin accepts that one's sense of assurance may falter, his work ties assurance to faith so tightly that one could not be lost without the other:

faith is tossed about by various doubts, so that the minds of the godly are rarely at peace ... But whatever siege engines may shake them, they either rise up out of the very gulf of temptations, or stand fast upon their watch. Indeed, this assurance alone nourishes and protects faith.⁸⁴

The separation of assurance from faith was a more recent development and found expression in the *WCF*: '[t]his infallible assurance doth not so belong to the essence of faith, but that a true believer may wait long, and conflict with many difficulties before he be partaker of it'.⁸⁵ This departure from Calvinist orthodoxy created a newer doctrine of assurance which argued that, 'through introspection ... as well as through the commission of moral works, one might strive towards personal knowledge of assurance'.⁸⁶

While the two April sermons are arguably copies of another written source, the two sermons from June appear to have been written in attendance by Hutchinson. Perhaps Hutchinson had received copies of Owen's preaching and then decided to attend in person armed with her own notebook, or perhaps this notebook was simply the one she picked up before attending church in June 1673. Beginning in the midst of what was clearly a sequence of sermons, however, we can suggest that Hutchinson had pre-knowledge of the contents of the sermons that she chose to document; Owen would often preview the next week's sermon just as he would recap the previous. Hutchinson's engagement with Owen and his social and textual networks was almost certainly broader than is hinted at by her attendance at a handful of sermons, as Norbrook and Gribben have both argued.⁸⁷ Before turning to the text in DD/Hu3

⁸⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, III.II.37.

⁸⁵ *WCF*, 18.3.

⁸⁶ Paul Cefalu, *The Johannine Renaissance in Early Modern English Literature and Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 136. For more on this early modern development from Calvin see pp. 131-140.

⁸⁷ Both have written extensively about the possible links between Hutchinson and Owen. See in particular, Norbrook, 'Introduction', 24-31, Gribben, 'John Owen, Lucy Hutchinson', and Gribben, *John Owen*, 213-215.

which draws the two doctrinal strands - Christology and assurance - together it is important to consider Owen's ministry in the late-1660s and early-70s as it seems likely that his was the congregation in which Hutchinson's strict separationism was softened, and her providential Calvinism reconfigured, through the influence of more contemporary doctrinal principles.

'[E]xhort one another, look among you, lest any of you seem to fall': the Bury Street congregation

Owen was, and remains, one of the most renowned nonconformist ministers of the seventeenth century. A leading 'architect of the Cromwellian Church', Owen rose to prominence in the 1640s and, the day after the execution of Charles I in January 1649, he was chosen to preach before Parliament.⁸⁸ By 1651 Owen was Dean of Christ Church College (a position he retained until 1660) and, throughout the 1650s, he was connected to a circle of important army officers including Charles Fleetwood (1618-1692), John Desborough (1608-1680) and Thomas Pride.⁸⁹ It is easily to imagine that John Hutchinson may also have crossed paths with the minister before or during the Civil War.

Gribben has noted a perceptible decline in Owen's interest in matters of ecclesiology during the 1650s, 'a period in which his principal writings make little reference to the benefits of church membership, and in which Owen's own ecclesiastical affiliation cannot be traced'.⁹⁰ However, as Gribben argues, and the sermons recorded in DD/Hu3 bear out, his interest in

⁸⁸ Blair Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', in *Persecution and Toleration: Papers Read at the Twenty-Second Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Third Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Historical Society*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 205. This sermon was printed the same year: John Owen, *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable House of Commons, in Parliament Assembled: On January 31. A day of Solemn Humiliation. With a Discourse about Toleration* (London: Matthew Simmons, 1649).

⁸⁹ Richard L. Greaves, 'Owen, John (1616-1683)', *ODNB* (Online: 2013),

⁹⁰ Crawford Gribben, 'The experience of dissent: John Owen and Congregational life in revolutionary and Restoration England', in *Church Life*, 120-121.

‘church life’ was renewed in the 1660s as he endeavoured to turn ‘local church principles into local church practice’.⁹¹ This renewed interest arguably arose as Owen was, once again, the head of a congregation of Christians, initially based at his home in Stadhampton, then at Charles Fleetwood’s London home and various locations around Bury Street, before finally ministering to a large congregation based in Leadenhall Street, London.⁹² The sermons recorded in DD/Hu3 place Hutchinson’s own involvement in Owen’s community both pre- and post the point at which Owen’s London community merged with the congregation of the deceased Joseph Caryl in June 1673.⁹³ This merger tripled the size of Owen’s congregation.⁹⁴

The Bury Street congregation was very select; an eighteenth-century record notes just thirty-five members.⁹⁵ Among this select group of ‘disappointed revolutionaries, many of whom had a direct link to the Cromwell family’, were Lord Charles Fleetwood (1618-1692) and his wife and son; James Berry (presumably not until 1672 when he was released from prison) and Colonel John Desborough (d.1680), both important Parliamentarians; William Steele (1610-1680), the Serjeant-at-Law chosen by the High Court in 1649 to present the case against the King, and his wife; three members of the Doyle family, including Dorothy (d.1704), who later became Owen’s wife; and John Hartopp (bap.1637-1722) and his wife, Elizabeth.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Gribben, ‘The experience of dissent’, 121.

⁹² See Gribben, *John Owen*, 218-244. In the early 1670s, we have proof of Owen preaching in three distinct - non-ecclesiastical - locations: White’s Alley in Morefields, most probably in the house of a Widow Holmes; Leatherseller’s Hall in St. Helen’s Place; and Thomas Knight’s House in Leadenhall Street. MS L6/2 also suggests a fourth location, recording a sermon being given ‘att the Glasshouse’ - most probably on Goswell Street just a few minutes north of Owen’s Charter House Square home.

⁹³ This union took place on, or around, the 5th of June; MS L6/2 records Owen preaching a sermon on the 5th in which he spoke of how ‘now those two Societys are one ^we endeaouour to promote^ the glory of god the honur of the Gospell and edification of this church’, 170-191.

⁹⁴ Isaac Watts, ‘Register of the members of the Church of Christ assembling for Religious Worship on Bury Street in Dukes Place’, MS II.a.38 (Dr William’s Library) records the names of Owen’s congregation both pre and post this union. On Caryl, see P. S. Seaver, ‘Caryl, Joseph (1602-1673)’, *ODNB* (Online, 2008).

⁹⁵ MS II.a.38.

⁹⁶ For a study of this manuscript see, T. G. Crippen, ‘Dr Watt’s Church Book,’ *Transactions of the*

Reading like a who's who of Parliamentarians, C. Whiting termed it 'one of the most aristocratic of the London Nonconformists congregations'.⁹⁷ Hutchinson is not recorded among their number, and it must be admitted that her presence among them is not easy to align with certain parts of the *Memoirs*. According to Hutchinson, John always stood in opposition to the attempted overthrow of Cromwell and his son Richard by the Wallingford House plot. Originally lead by General John Lambert (1619-1684), who opposed moves to grant Cromwell the title of monarch in 1657, the New Model Army's attempts to take over the Parliament were originally opposed by Charles Fleetwood (the son-in-law and close friend of the Lord Protector). However, following Cromwell's death in 1658, Fleetwood appears to have changed sides, offering his own home, Wallingford House, as the base for the attack against Richard Cromwell. It was this same group which eventually forced the resignation of Richard Cromwell in May of the same year.⁹⁸ Of their plots, Hutchinson writes that they set 'up their army court at Wallingford House [where] they ... begun their arbitrary reign, to the joy of all the vanquished enemies of the Parliament and to the amazement and terror of all men that had any honest interest'.⁹⁹ In opposition to the New Model Army, she writes that John was 'more persuaded that the people's freedom would be best maintained in a free republic, delivered from the shackles of their encroaching slaves, the army'.¹⁰⁰

Wallingford House was, as Gribben notes, the first site of Owen's Independent church gathering.¹⁰¹

Congregational Historical Society, 21 vols., ed. G. Curries Martin and T. G. Crippen (Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969): I.38. Christopher Durston, 'Berry, James (d.1691)', *ODNB* (Online: 2008), Aiden Clarke, 'Steele, William (1610-1680)', *ODNB* (Online: 2004).

⁹⁷ C. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism* (London: SPCK, 1931), 78.

⁹⁸ Gribben, *John Owen and English Puritanism*, 200. For more on the 'Wallingford House plot', Cooper, *John Owen, Richard Baxter*, 248-252.

⁹⁹ DD/Hu4, 320.

¹⁰⁰ DD/Hu4, 318.

¹⁰¹ Gribben, *John Owen*, 200.

It may seem unlikely that, fifteen years later, Hutchinson would choose to associate with this group. However, despite their differences, John and Fleetwood maintained a relationship, John warning Fleetwood of a Lambertonian plot against Oliver Cromwell in 1658, Fleetwood working to protect John and his Owthorpe estate in 1659.¹⁰² Hutchinson herself, also appears to have been on friendly terms with Bridget Fleetwood (née Cromwell), describing her warmly a number of times in the *Memoirs*.¹⁰³ She also has a number of other connections to this congregation in the late 1660s and early 70s; Hartopp was one of the purchasers of her Lowesby estate in 1668, while she sent her son, Lucius, to the school of the Scottish divine, Robert Ferguson - Owen's assistant from 1674.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, despite their political differences, Hutchinson clearly had a close connection with Owen's friend Arthur Annesley, the Earl of Anglesey (1614-1686).

Just a few years after we see her attending sermons by Owen, Hutchinson dedicated her translation of *DRN* to Annesley - then Charles II's Privy Seal - and included a dedicatory epistle to him in her own hand.¹⁰⁵ He recorded his acceptance of this as 'Given me June 11. 1675 by the worthy author Mrs Lucy Hutchinson'.¹⁰⁶ As Norbrook notes, 'presenting him with the Lucretius manuscript was itself a gesture of great trust, given her own strong ambivalence about the poem'.¹⁰⁷ Annesley worked hard to protect Owen in the early 1670s after the Declaration of Indulgence was revoked and the two were clearly friends; Annesley's

¹⁰² Hutchinson explains how John came by knowledge of a plot to 'come with a petition to Cromwell and while he was reading it ... to cast him out of a wondore at Whitehall ... where others should be ready to catch him vp in a blanket if he scapd breaking his neck and carrie him away ...to kill or keep him aliue as they saw occasion and then sett vp Lambert', DD/Hu4, 319. 325.

¹⁰³ Hutchinson appears to have intimate knowledge of the situation of her marriage to Charles Fleetwood, and later commends her for her difference to the rest of the Cromwell family in not wanting to rise above her current position at the time he tried to announce himself King. DD/Hu4, 251, 256.

¹⁰⁴ In a letter dated 27th of April, 1674, Hutchinson apologies to Ferguson for the late payment of fees for her son, and address him in friendly terms; Hutchinson, autograph letter, PRO SP 29/361/11 (National Archives).

¹⁰⁵ 'On the Nature of Things', Add. MS 19333 (British Library).

¹⁰⁶ Add. MS 19333, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Norbrook, 'The Poem and its Contexts', xix.

diary for the early 1670s records instances of ‘Dr owen and his wife comeing to us in the euening’.¹⁰⁸ It is not unimaginable that Hutchinson may have met Owen, if not before then via her close relationship with Annesley.

We know much about Owen’s preaching at this time, and the kind of congregation to which he was giving these sermons, thanks to another contemporary sermon notebook, MS L6/2 (Dr William’s Library).¹⁰⁹ This notebook was compiled by Hartopp and contains 38 of Owen’s sermons given between August 1669 and June 1674. The majority form three extended series of sermons on Hebrews 3:13-18 (from August 1669 until February 1670), John 3:3 (from February to October 1670), and Hebrews 12:14 (from November 1671 until August 1673).¹¹⁰ As with Hutchinson’s own notes, these sermons are relatively free of discussions of ceremonies and sacramental piety. Indeed, in them Owen frequently denies the efficacy of orthopraxy, replacing an emphasis on practice with a more abstract sense of holiness. He denies the salvific and even honorific purpose of ‘ordinance’: ‘pure ordinances administered will neuer keep pure Churches ...it is the life of practice y^t must preserue the purity of Churches: for purity in outward administrations will not do it of itself’.¹¹¹ When Owen does instruct his congregation in orthopraxy, it is in language which echoes Hutchinson’s Confessions. His preaching is Pauline in the way in which it exhorts congregational responsibility:

godly iealousie one of another, watching ouer another least there be in any of us a begining of a declension from God, is the duty of euery Church, and of all the members of it, if the Apostle may be beleiued; Take heed Bretheren least any among you, exhort one another, look among you, least any of you seem to fall ¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Arthur Annesley, ‘Diary, 1667-1675’, Add. MS 40860 (British Library), 6r.

¹⁰⁹ MS L6/2. Like many early modern notebooks, MS L6/2 works inwards from each end and so page numbers are repeated. To avoid confusion page numbers from the reverse end will be preceded by ‘r’.

¹¹⁰ The long date range of the final series can be explained by Owen’s period of ill health discussed above.

¹¹¹ MS L6/2, 274-5.

¹¹² MS L6/2, 11-12.

In line with Hutchinson's own expressions of Pauline edification, Owen explained - in the sermon given at the joining of his own congregation with Caryl's - that 'now these two Societys are one ^we endeauour to promote^ the glory of god the honor of the Gospell and edification of this church. consider all of you in your places must giue an account as well as I'. This edification is a joint venture, reliant on all congregants, not just the minister, who are bought together in 'neer relation ... upon the common account of their faith in the Gospell'.¹¹³ Despite his role as their minister Owen's sermons reflect Hutchinson's less orthodox views of the ministerial role as one of spiritual guidance rather than strict instruction. If Hutchinson's own Confessions were written in reaction to the realities of Congregational worship, Owen's select community, to which he preached sermons focused on individual diligence within a system of communal responsibility, may have provided this reality.

We need not assume that Hutchinson joined the larger, less select, congregation after the merger of Owen's and Caryl's even though her copies of the June sermons appear to have been made in attendance. Even after this, Owen continued to preach beyond his ministerial duties to the united congregation as, in a sermon given in July 1673, he states '[m]y way vpon these occasions is to speake very familiarly, and not after the course of my more publique ministry and I shall do so unto you this day'.¹¹⁴ The 38 sermons recorded by Hartopp took place on different days of the week, only one being preached on a Sunday. Of the sermons Hutchinson has recorded precise dates for, two were given on a Wednesday and one on a Tuesday; Owen clearly preached in different ways, perhaps to different groups, throughout the week.

¹¹³ MS L6/2, 190, 248.

¹¹⁴ MS L6/2, 191.

Most crucially for our purposes, Hartopp's notebook offers evidence not simply of Owen's congregation, but of a textual network which surrounded the minister and his preaching. Hartopp's notes have, like the majority of Hutchinson's, been written retrospectively, most likely written up from shorthand copies made in attendance: the hand of MS L6/2 is legible, and the sermons read fluidly from beginning to conclusion, contents pages at each end of the volume suggest pre-ordered composition, and the sermons follow one another in series rather than date order. Like DD/Hu3, Hartopp's notes appear to have been curated and should not be viewed as a straightforward record of the totality of Owen's preaching at this time. A further similarity is the doctrinal cohesiveness of MS L6/2; while Hutchinson's sermons appear to have been gathered to clarify issues of limited atonement and assurance, Hartopp's notebook focuses on those concerned with a Pauline understanding of congregation and edification.¹¹⁵ Arguably, MS L6/2 offers a written record of the sermons which defined the Congregational stance of Owen's community at a time when we know the minister was frequently absent due to ill health.¹¹⁶

Further evidence of a textual network within Owen's congregation can be gleaned from corrections made in Hartopp's notebook. These corrections attest not only to the retrospective 'writing up' of the sermons, but to the existence of other sets of notes that Hartopp could consult. For example, in a sermon given on Philippians 3:17, Hartopp revises the following text:

¹¹⁵ Of the 38 sermons, 27 take their inspiration from a passage of Pauline scripture.

¹¹⁶ Acknowledging a year long break between sermons, Hartopp notes that Owen 'fell sick', MS L6/2, r182. In 1674 Owen was clearly very ill, assuming that he would not recover; in a letter to Charles Fleetwood, he wrote that he may soon have to 'lay downe this Tabernacle', and his published works at this time frequently acknowledge his imminent death. See for example, Owen, *The Nature of Apostacie From the Profession of the Gospel* (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1676), Preface. 'Letter from John Owen to Charles Fleetwood', MS L6/1/9 (Dr William's Library).

and it is a particuler manner a preceit that by us is ~~peculierly Incumbent I teach~~ vpon the more ag^d sister of ye church y^t they should be an example to the younger Titus.2.3. the aged woemen likewise y^t that be *in behaiour as becomes holyness not false accusor not giuen to much minetracions of good things if they may teach y^e young woeman to be sober* tis peculierly incumbent on ye more aged sisters of y^e Church these are gospel rules wee must preach them. tis peaclierly incumben upon them to walk to as to giue example to y^e younger ¹¹⁷

Using an asterisk that guides the reader to the margin, Hartopp replaced this portion of text with the following:

x I should haue added vpon the first head giue me leaue to recall it that there is in a particuler manner and a preceit lye upon the more aged Sisters of the Church that they should be examples unto the younger, The Apostle seeing how things go with us and what we haue need of 2. Titus aged woemen likewise that they be *in behaiour such as becomes holynes not giuen to much wine, teachers of good things that they may teach the younger woemen* tis peculierly incumbent vpon the more aged sisters of the Church, these are gospel rules, we must speak them and preach them peculierly incumbent so to walk as to giue examples to the young Tit. 2. 2.3.4.5. ¹¹⁸

The same biblical proof is present in both versions (italicized). However, the ‘in-text’ version is more faithful to the biblical text which reads ‘[t]he aged women likewise, that they be in behaviour as becometh holiness, not false accusers, not given to much wine, teachers of good things’.¹¹⁹ Assuming, as would be conventional, that the marginal note was added later, this implies that, confused by the jumbled nature of his own notes, initially Hartopp turned to the Bible to corroborate what Owen said. Another notetaker, on the other hand, had recorded Owen’s own rendition of the passage more directly. The sense that the later version is more representative of Owen’s actual preaching is heightened by the rhetorical flourish of ‘give me leaue to recall’.

¹¹⁷ MS L6/2, 271, emphasis added.

¹¹⁸ MS L6/2, 271-2, emphasis added.

¹¹⁹ Titus 2:3.

That more than one set of notes was taken at Owen's preaching is also corroborated by a further surviving manuscript: Sloane MS 3680 (British Library).¹²⁰ This notebook records three of the sermons on Hebrews 12:14 given on the 11th and the 25th of February and the 12th of August 1673.¹²¹ It must be noted that Sloane MS 3680 is written in a later hand (early eighteenth century) and, thus, is not a direct record of notes made in attendance at Owen's preaching. However, as these sermons are not exact copies of the sermons recorded in MS L6/2, nor notes made directly from the sections of *Pneumatologia* with which they align, it seems that the eighteenth-century writer of Sloane MS 3680 was working from a further set of notes made at Owen's preaching.

There are some hints of textual collaboration in Hutchinson's own notes. In the first Thessalonians sermon, she appears to have retrospectively added a clause, squeezing it in between two lines she had already written: 'At first he kindles a bright flame of loue &ct then *wee are lookd upon as thriving* after a while y^e Sovereigne disposer of our liues thinks fit to sett the soule a work'.¹²² Taking out the italics, the sentence is still complete. The messiness of these notes attests to them having been made in church, and so we cannot, unlike with similar additions to the other sermons, align this to Hutchinson misreading her own notes in the act of transcription. While a small moment, it bears considering that Hutchinson may have had access to another's notes as Hartopp did.

Thus, not only might the congregation at Bury Street have been the catalyst for Hutchinson's reconsideration of Separatism, but her notebook offers proof of her participation within the

¹²⁰ 'Sermons by Dr. Owen, Mr. Perrott and Others: 1672-1675', Sloane MS 3680 (British Library).

¹²¹ Sloane MS 3680. The second of these sermons is dated to February 24th - a Friday - in MS L6/2. However, as the rest of this sermon series were all given on a Saturday, I believe that MS 3680 records the true date.

¹²² DD/Hu3, 223.

textual community around Owen.¹²³ Owen was a minister who encouraged his congregation, using Pauline scripture, to pursue their own understanding of the Bible for the benefit of the whole community. In a work published after his death, Owen even congratulated his congregation - to whom the text was addressed - on their own textual engagement in theological matters: 'Some [people], of more refined parts and notional minds, do arise unto a sedulous meditation on the works of creation and providence. Hence many discourses on that subject, adorned with eloquence, are published among us'.¹²⁴ Seth Andrew Wright even wonders - tentatively - if this might be a direct reference to Hutchinson's *OD*, the longer title of which terms it a 'meditations upon the creation and the fall'.¹²⁵ Can we, then, assume that the final work in DD/Hu3 was also a text delivered into Hutchinson's hands through this textual network?

The authorship of CSE

'Concerning selfe examination whither wee haue interest in Christ' appears between the first four sermon notes, three of which were perhaps preached by Owen, and the April sermon we know to have been given by him. This places Hutchinson's interaction with this text sometime between 1668 and April 1673. The title brings together the two issues Hutchinson was clearly interested in at this time and which echo the themes of Owen's sermons: assurance and Christ's role in our salvation. The central role of Christ is established early on:

¹²³ Gribben's forthcoming paper on the shared literary culture of Hutchinson and Owen promises to be a welcome addition to this exploration of the links between the two writers: Crawford Gribben, 'Lucy Hutchinson, John Owen's congregation, and the literary cultures of nonconformity', *Review of English Studies* (Accepted/in press).

¹²⁴ John Owen, *Meditations and Discourses on the Glory of Christ, in his person, office, and grace with the differences between faith and sight: applied unto the use of them that believe* (London: A. M. and R.R, 1684), 52.

¹²⁵ Seth Andrew Wright, 'Meditative Poetry, Covenant Theology, and Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder*', PhD diss., Baylor University (2014), 305. Hutchinson, *Order and Disorder*, frontispiece.

Concerning this in the first place wee are to lay in as a ground worke of our beliefe that our faith repentance and obedience are effects of our free iustification by Christ & no meritorious causes or previous conditions to our obtaining of Christ who is freely given vnto vs of God the father & freely communicates life & glory to vs from the father without respect to anything wee are or doe but worketh all our workes in vs & for vs of his mere mercy & free grace ¹²⁶

This tract also places an emphasis on a sense of assurance which, unlike justification, may not be constant even in the elect. As in the sermons, a lack of assurance pushes the believer towards Christ: ‘Seeing this [pollution] wee loath our selues ... and therefore flie out of our selues into Christ’. ¹²⁷ This tract also works to align a doctrine of assurance with a providential system in which, despite election, sanctification is a progressive work in which the believer is involved:

If the lord deferre [grace] it is to shew vs that his grace when it comes is of his mere free gift and proceeds not from any naturall power or goodnesse in vs That which we obtaine easily wee are apt to entertain slightly but when graces is given vs in answer of many prayers & teares and sighes & is the fruite of many spirituall conflicts with vnbeliefe ... O how sweete & pretious it is to our soules how doe we cherish it & feare to loose it & search dayly whither wee haue it safe or noe ¹²⁸

The inclusion of CSE among the other materials in DD/Hu3 then, fits within our understanding of the intrinsic genre of the later materials in the manuscript. But who wrote it? Gribben, while admitting that the text is ‘difficult to date and attribute’, terms it ‘her text’ and grants the text the status of the high point in Hutchinson’s radicalism. ¹²⁹ Norbrook is more cautious in attribution, noting that this tract explores the same ‘spiritual dilemma that Owen had considered in a passage from which Hutchinson had taken notes in his commentary on Hebrews: that of those who, finding grace to be less active in them than in

¹²⁶ DD/Hu3, 150.

¹²⁷ DD/Hu3, 155-6.

¹²⁸ DD/Hu3, 175.

¹²⁹ Gribben, ‘Lucy Hutchinson’s Theological Writings’, 305.

the past, conclude that true holiness may not be progressive'. He suggests that it is 'possible that it represents an otherwise unknown discourse by Owen or some other divine'.¹³⁰

The theological register of CSE is certainly more elaborate than in Hutchinson's own writings in this notebook, utilising distinct theological turns of phrase to explain the complex network of ideas surrounding free justification through Christ. While her Confessions are theologically complicated and do use the language of Reformed religion - adoption, justification, sanctification, free grace, contingency - the writing here is more theologically precise, as the discussion of 'two degrees of faith' will demonstrate. In MFA Hutchinson writes:

But faith in the godly hath difference in degrees the lowest of which is resignation with adherence to god and the highest is full assurance through Christ who is the sole author and finisher of our faith¹³¹

Hutchinson here is expressing the idea, so central to Reformed religion that a sense of 'assurance' only comes through Christ.¹³² While accurately describing the two states, Hutchinson's writing here lacks the theological precision of CSE. There, 'resignation' becomes 'a faith of recumbency', the state in which a believer 'casts it selfe wholly vpon the mercy of God in *Christ* & waites for a fuller and more evident revelation ... *which* is the higher degree of faith called the faith of assurance'.¹³³ While 'resignation' expresses the same idea, 'recumbency' was a specifically theological term in the mid-seventeenth century, used expressly to describe this state of faith.¹³⁴ References to the 'double seal', 'foreseen cause',

¹³⁰ Norbrook, 'Theological Notebook Introduction', in *Works*2, 32. Norbrook argues that the sermon notes may be notes made from a printed source as she 'sometimes took notes from written sources in the abbreviated form one might expect of notes taken during or immediately after a sermon', 27.

¹³¹ DD/Hu3, 86.

¹³² 'Assurance' is detailed in the *WCF*, 18.

¹³³ DD/Hu3, 167.

¹³⁴ 'Resignation' to express reliance on God had been in use since the early sixteenth century. The earliest use recorded by the OED for 'recumbency' in this meaning in 1640. For other mid-seventeenth century discussion of 'recumbency', see Thomas Goodwin, 'Of Christ the Mediator', in *The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D... the Third Volume* (London: T.G, 1681-1704), 396; Edward Leigh, *A System or body of Divinity* (London, A.M,

and ‘restreining’ and ‘operating’ grace, while phrases in use from the Reformation, also seem to be from a higher theological register than Hutchinson generally uses in her writing.¹³⁵

Furthermore, CSE offers a direct contradiction of Hutchinson’s conception of ‘rationall perswasion’ as articulated in her Confessions. In MFA ‘rationall perswasion’ is only the basis of faith for the ‘devills and hipocrites’; true belief comes only from ‘a supernaturall worke of God wrought by the Spirit through the ministry of the word... is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things vnseene’.¹³⁶ Conversely, in CSE the same ‘rational perswasion’ is allowed efficacy for the true believer: ‘Now the spiritt workes in this rational perswasion when it is heightned & confirmd according to the increase of spirituall knowledge ... no lesse then it doth in immediate perswasion’. Indeed, CSE directly refutes Hutchinson’s own statement calling it a ‘mistake concerning faith’ to believe that what they ‘argue their soules into vpon a rationall vrging ... is not a right faith but that there is a more immediate revelation requisite’.¹³⁷

Arguably, Hutchinson’s engagement with contemporary theological discussions evidenced by her sermon notes may have already boosted her confidence in tackling the doctrine of assurance. Furthermore, as with her developing view of Separationism, her views on the ‘supernaturall’ relationship between God and the believer may have been tempered slightly by the realities of congregational worship. However, with the text clearly a copy from

1645), 213 and William Strong, *A Discourse of the Two Covenants wherein the Nature, Difference, and Effects of the Covenant of Works and of Grace are distinctly, rationally, spiritually and practically discussed* ... (London: Francis Tyton, 1678), 245.

¹³⁵ DD/Hu3, 167, 153 and 169. See Calvin’s discussions of the types of grace, *Institutes*, II.II.9 and II.III.7 (he also terms it *prevenient* grace).

¹³⁶ DD/Hu3, 84.

¹³⁷ DD/Hu3, 178.

another source (more of which below), it does seem worth considering that the original tract was penned by Owen.

As we have seen in the sermons, this doctrine of assurance is also one which found frequent expression in the writing of Owen. In Owen's work, we find the same sense that, while faith is predestined, our cognition of it in ourselves may not be stable. Furthermore, as stated by C. F. Allison, the question of our union, or 'interest in', Christ was one which dominated Owen's corpus: 'Owen places more explicit emphasis on this union with Christ than ... perhaps ... anyone of the period with the exception of John Donne'.¹³⁸ It also bears considering that Owen wrote a text specifically addressed to his congregation which was published after his death: *Meditations and Discourses on the Glory of Christ, in his Person, Office & Grace* (1691).¹³⁹ In the preface Owen refuses to apologise for the text which was 'intended first for the exercise of my own mind, and then for the Edification of a private Congregation', and the text deals expressly - as the title suggests - with Christ, but with an eye to assurance: 'the Beholding of the Glory of Christ, is one of the greatest Priviledges and Advancements that Believers are capable of in this World, or that which is to come. It is that wherby they are first gradually conformed into it, and then fixed in the Eternal enjoyment of it'.¹⁴⁰ This work bears no marked textual similarities to CSE, but does show that Christological teaching was a key part of Owen's ministry and something in which he sought to educate his specific congregation.

While Norbrook suggests a similarity with Owen's writing (and as we have seen, preaching) on Hebrews, this sense of fluctuating assurance is also central to another of Owen's works,

¹³⁸ C. F. Allison, *The Rise of Moralism: the Proclamation of the Gospel from Hooker to Baxter* (London: SPCK, 1966), 175.

¹³⁹ Owen, *Meditations and Discourses*.

¹⁴⁰ Owen, *Meditations*, A3v, 5.

printed in 1669: *Practical exposition on the 130th Psalm wherein the nature of forgiveness of sin is declared, the truth and reality of it asserted, and the case of a soul distressed with the guilt of sin and relieved by a discovery of forgiveness with God is at large discoursed*.¹⁴¹

Owen's nineteenth-century editor, Goold, notes that it is 'probable' that the *Exposition*, 'is the substance of discourses which he preached on his recovery from affliction, under the influence of enlivened faith in the mediation of Christ'.¹⁴² As we can perhaps see from the title, the main similarities with CSE come in the third section of this long printed work.

In the *Exposition*, explaining how we can come to a secure understanding of God's forgiveness mediated by Christ, Owen dismisses those who 'are confident in the *profession of this faith*', who 'never found the *least difficulty* in this matter ... never *doubted of it*' and as such have not spent many hours in 'prayer or meditation about it'.¹⁴³ For Owen, an unquestioning sense of assurance is unfounded, suggesting a compliance between the understanding of human nature and the Gospel that degrades the latter. Rather, true believers do not come so easily to a sense of their own assurance: 'Alas, saith *one*, these *twenty years* have I been following after God, and yet I have not arrived unto an *abiding Chearing perswasion* of it'.¹⁴⁴ 'Selfe examination' is thus a crucially important, and ongoing, part of true Christian faith - never more so than when the believer is plagued by insecurity or suffering (whether spiritual or earthly). This sense of personal endeavour to discover the truth of the doctrine of grace and how each person participates in that doctrine is central to CSE which asks the reader directly to 'Put then these questions to your soule to trie whither you

¹⁴¹ John Owen, *Practical exposition on the 130th Psalm wherein the nature of forgiveness of sin is declared, the truth and reality of it asserted, and the case of a soul distressed with the guilt of sin and relieved by a discovery of forgiveness with God is at large discoursed* (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1669).

¹⁴² William H. Goold, 'Prefatory Note', in *The Works of John Owen D.D., Volume 6* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1862), 324.

¹⁴³ Owen, *Exposition*, 233-4.

¹⁴⁴ Owen, *Exposition*, 234.

haue receiued Christ'.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, as in the *Exposition*, this self-doubt is the means by which God brings us to a realisation of our true interest in Christ as 'when we see nothing but deadnesse & vnbeliefe & hardnesse in our owne hearts He that quickens the dead ... reckons our faith whereby wee persue the righteousnesse of Christ finding none in our selues'.¹⁴⁶

This journey towards sanctification is marked not only by doubt, but by the realisation that one lives in a state of sin. We must believe ourselves to be in this state, writes Owen, as a man cannot 'believe *forgiveness in God*, unless in a due manner he be convinced of *sin in himself*. If the *fallow ground* be not broken up, it is to no purpose to sow the seed of the Gospel'.¹⁴⁷ We can find not only the same doctrine expressed in CSE, but also the same scriptural proof: Hosea 10:12. The passage is used, it must be admitted, to present the individual as much more active - not the fallow ground itself, but the breaker of it - but the idea expressed is very similar:

That soule that feares it hath not receiud the seed should not consume the seed time in discouragement but should according to the scripture phraze be more dilligent in breaking vp the fallows rowzing itselfe with all its endeavours opening & begging the Lord that he by his spirit would open & breake into the hard heart & cause the word to take roote in it ¹⁴⁸

In both cases, doubt, and the belief that one is in a state of sin, is a driving force towards the right manner of uncovering our justification or election: simple faith in God's grace matched with reading of the Scripture.

In the face of this insecurity, both tracts turn to the principle of a total faith in God, almost to the point of passivity. Drawing on Isiah 50:10, CSE states that, if a Christian finds that they

¹⁴⁵ DD/Hu3, 161.

¹⁴⁶ DD/Hu3, 176.

¹⁴⁷ Owen, *Exposition*, 238.

¹⁴⁸ DD/Hu3, 174.

are living in ‘darknesse’, they should ‘take the councell of the prophet in this case & waite for the Lord and stay himselfe vpon his God’. In this way, a Christian ‘may be in darknesse vniversall darknesse’ but their duty remains ‘to trust in the Lord and to relie on God as his God vnder all withdrawals inward & outward’.¹⁴⁹ Yet again, we find an echo of this idea, using the same scriptural passage in the *Exposition*:

But if the *name* of God be indeed made *known* unto us by the Holy Ghost, what can hinder why we should not repair unto him. So Isa. 50:10 ... *Darkness* of state or condition, in the Scripture denotes every thing of *disconsolation* and trouble ... this seems an overwhelming condition: yet sinners in this estate are called to *trust in the name of the Lord*.¹⁵⁰

A further moment of particularly noticeable doctrinal parity matched by scriptural proof occurs as the writer of CSE discusses those who, while convinced of Christian truths, ‘fear that they rather assent to those & other truths of God through the prevalency of education then through any experimentall work of the Spirit’. The reply to this draws on John’s account of the Samaritans: ‘godly education may be a meanes of manifesting those truths at first to vs which the spiritt may afterwards seale on our hearts as the womans reports drew the city of Samaria out to Christ who after belieud him vpon their owne sence’.¹⁵¹ In the *Exposition*, Owen similarly seeks to comfort those who ‘not knowing how to resolve their faith of [grace] into its proper principles, are not able to answer the Objections that lye against it in their own Consciences’. Again, education mixed with experience will offer the answers, as

with the Samaritans, who first gave credit to the report of the woman John 4. They had but a report before, but now they find all things to be according unto it, yea to exceed it. A little experience of mans own unbelief, with the Observations that may

¹⁴⁹ DD/Hu3, 166.

¹⁵⁰ Owen, *Exposition*, 53.

¹⁵¹ DD/Hu3, 164-5.

easily be made of the uncertain progresses and fluctuations of the spirits of others, will be a sufficient conviction of the necessity of the work we are engaged in.¹⁵² Those who place their assurance on anything but the justification of Christ, are dismissed in CSE as they are by Owen in his *Exposition*. Human nature, diverted from that ‘way of reconciliation which the Lord only hath appointed by I.C.’, seeks assurance from ‘reformations and duties in its owne power and builds vpon these its satisfaction & comforts which when the storme of temptation cometh prooveth but a sandy foundation’.¹⁵³ This is ‘not only the error of all false religions but of the Papists, Quakers and many others formall Christians in all wayes’.¹⁵⁴ As in Owen’s *Exposition*, alternative ways of seeking assurance and justification are but ‘invented fopperies’.¹⁵⁵ This idea is hardly one singular to Owen, however - indeed, it had been central to the diverging Protestant religion from the time of the Reformation. Calvin discusses Christ’s role as mediator in the *Institutions* Book III, chapters 18, 19 and 20, based on his belief that ‘Christ is constituted the only Mediator, by whose intercession the Father is for us rendered gracious and easily entreated’.¹⁵⁶

Yet, it is not just in this doctrine that this tract echoes Owen. In a return to the false convictions held by Papists concerning their justification, much later in the *Exposition*, Owen similarly questions the strength of their foundations:

Such Persons may have good Hopes themselves that they are Holy, they may appear to the World so to be, and be accepted in the Church of God as such, and yet really be utter strangers from true Gospel Holiness. And the Reason is, because they have missed it in the Foundation; and not having in the first place obtained an Interest in Christ, *have built their house on the sand*, whence it will fall in the time of trouble¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Owen, *Exposition*, 79-80.

¹⁵³ DD/Hu3, 157-8.

¹⁵⁴ DD/Hu3, 158.

¹⁵⁵ IDD/Hu3, 158.

¹⁵⁶ Calvin, *Institutes*, III.XX.19.

¹⁵⁷ Owen, *Exposition*, 364. Emphasis mine.

Taken from Matthew 7:26-7 ('and everyone that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon sand'), the parity of the image with CSE's 'sandy foundation' may be a coincidence. Yet, it must be noted that it is deployed in these two examples in a very similar fashion. Thus, while expressing some fairly commonplace late-seventeenth century Puritan beliefs, which could, as in Hutchinson's Confessions have come from any number of sources, CSE bears marked similarities to the language of Owen's *Exposition*. The tract is also focused on an issue which we know fascinated Owen and occupied much of his writing from 1668-1675.

Hutchinson could, of course, have been constructing her own tract in much the same way as her Confessions, using parts of Owen's *Exposition* in her own composition. CSE offers two counter arguments. Firstly, it is certainly a tract copied into DD/Hu3 from another source. The tract ends with a closing paragraph which begins, 'To close vp all since I haue no space left to adde more...'.¹⁵⁸ As Norbrook notes, this claim does not make sense within the context of this manuscript. Following this tract directly are two shorter items concerning the veracity of Scripture and the 'Loue of God', and a set of sermon notes. Items after these have been inserted from the other end of the notebook which has been inverted. As such, unless the two shorter pieces and the sermon notes were somewhat randomly placed, Hutchinson having left a gap of some 50 pages, this would have left another 10 pages in which to finish this tract (even if the items in the reverse had already been included).¹⁵⁹ This, of course, does not stop the text from being an original composition as Hutchinson could have drafted the material elsewhere before copying it into DD/Hu3.

¹⁵⁸ DD/Hu3, 183.

¹⁵⁹ Norbrook, 'Commentary on Sections from the Theological Notebook (DD/Hu3)', in *Works2*, 183.

The second counter argument is the voice of the writer. In a few moments of self-reflection, the composer speaks of a period of personal doubt - and their recovery - as examples of the freely given grace of God and the inefficacy of human action:

It was some refreshment to me when once in a spirituall trouble all the satisfaction I could receiue was to be exhorted to belieue and having done what I could to worke my soule into a closure with the saving promises I could not find that I had faith; at length I found I was to belieue the Lord would giue aswell faith as life promised through faith to true believers & I resolud to depend on him for faith which in some measure I received from him & this is the greate exercise of faith¹⁶⁰

More briefly, the writer makes mention of a period during which they were for ‘a long time troubled with a feare that I had not a true faith’.¹⁶¹ While it is not inconceivable that

Hutchinson once wavered in her religious commitment, this, across all her works, is the only mention of such a failing. She certainly makes no allusion to such troubles in either *Confession* and, in the one autobiographical fragment we have, presents herself as an unwavering Puritan whose very birth was accompanied by auspices of divine approval.¹⁶²

While these protestations of personal insecurity could be seen as generic tropes of spiritual writing, it is worth considering that Owen, famously, had a moment of doubt in his own faith, which later manifested itself, by his own admission, in a renewed focus on preaching on ‘drawing near to God through the mediator’.¹⁶³ His crisis of faith came in the late-1630s as Owen wavered between Presbyterianism and Puritanism, wrestling, in the words of Joel R. Beeke, with his ‘five year struggle for personal assurance’.¹⁶⁴ This struggle came

¹⁶⁰ DD/Hu3, 176-177.

¹⁶¹ DD/Hu3, 168.

¹⁶² Hutchinson, ‘Autobiographical Fragment’, in *Memoirs*, ed. Keeble, 14.

¹⁶³ This is from a conversation between Owen and Richard Davis reported by Goold; *The Works of John Owen D.D., Volume 6*, 324.

¹⁶⁴ Joel R. Beeke, ‘John Owen on Assurance’, https://www.johnowen.org/media/beeke_owen_on_assurance.pdf, 21. This is an edited version of Joel R. Beeke, ‘John Owen’, in *The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1999), 165-213.

to an end in 1643 when Owen heard a sermon on Matthew 8:28, ‘Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith’, but found expression in much of his writing in the 1660s and 70s.¹⁶⁵

Owen is, then, arguably the most obvious author for this tract. We know that Hutchinson was part of his select congregation in the 1670s and that this congregation most likely formed a textual network, sharing sermon notes and engaged in theological writing of their own. However, it must be admitted that parts of CSE do not seem to fit with Owen’s authorship. It contains several references to other, published, works in a fashion most unlike Owen. Owen, like most early modern ministers - and, indeed, writers in general - was not averse to bringing in other texts, particularly those of the church Fathers, to support his arguments: in the opening pages of his *Exposition*, he cites Chrysostom and Augustine. However, he rarely, unless in direct polemical refutation, quoted from other contemporary writers. There are moments in *CSE*, however, where the writer appears to be quoting from other contemporary sources. One particularly noticeable moment is a stand-alone section focused on the relationship of Christ with the elect: ‘All the elect of God are given to Christ to be his seed his members his spouse his people &ct & he is giuen to them to be their Saviour their head their king their husband’.¹⁶⁶ This sentence is written as a separate paragraph, following an exploration of the ‘select number of men ... capable of vnderstanding’ who shall ‘heare and belieue the Gospell’, and preceding an explanation of what the Gospel is: ‘nothing but the message of salvation by I.C.’.¹⁶⁷ Yet, this sentence stands out in more than just its physical detail; while it does not contradict, it does not build into the argument being made. The use of ‘&ct’ frequently marks Hutchinson’s use of quotation, as in MFA when she references a

¹⁶⁵ John Asty, ‘Memoirs of the Life of John Owen’, in *A Complete Collection of the Sermons of the Reverend and Learned John Owen*, ed. John Asty (London, 1721), iv. Beeke, ‘Owen on Assurance’.

¹⁶⁶ DD/Hu3, 154.

¹⁶⁷ DD/Hu3, 154.

biblical passage: 'I will giue them a new heart and a new spiritt &ct'.¹⁶⁸ However, if quoting, in this example Hutchinson is not doing so from the Bible. While these descriptions of Christ's relationship to man are all common, Hutchinson's phrasing here bears a marked similarity to that of the Presbyterian minister Francis Roberts (1609-1675) in his work *Mysterium & medulla Bibliorum* (1657):

We have union unto Christ by Faith immediately. For accepting him by Faith as our Mediatour, Root and Representative; we Actually become his Seed, his Spouse, his Members: who before were only such intentionally by Gods Decree¹⁶⁹

Similarly, the second clause here can find a basis in Roberts' text, in which he variously describes Christ as 'their head and Saviour', 'Head and Husband', and 'Head and King'.¹⁷⁰ These are all common descriptions of Christ, but this is the only text in which I can find them combined in this way. While a Presbyterian, and later conformer to the Church of England, Roberts's text expresses many ideas germane to Hutchinson's own doctrinal beliefs. This text, as the title suggests, offers a biblical exposition of 'God's covenant with man in the first Adam before the fall and in the last Adam, Iesvs Christ'. Moreover, Hutchinson would have found little to disagree with in Roberts' understanding of justification as he takes Bellarmine to task, for making 'congruous merit by works of repentance ... an *Antecedent Meritorious Cause* or *Condition* of Justification'.¹⁷¹

Later in CSE there is also a reference to the poetry of Thomas Carew which seems out of place within a work penned by Owen: 'The corne before it grow lies as dead in the furrowes in the winter when the trees are bare no life appears in them the pretty flowers sleepe in their

¹⁶⁸ DD/Hu3, 87. Ezekiel 36: 26.

¹⁶⁹ Francis Roberts, *Mysterium & medulla Bibliorum the myserie and marrow of the Bible, viz. God's covenant with man in the first Adam before the fall, and in the last Adam, Iesvs Christ, after the fall, from the beginning to the end of the world: unfolded & illustrated in positive aphorisms & their explanation* (London: R.W. for George Calvert, 1657), 113.

¹⁷⁰ Roberts, *Mysterium*, 631, 796, 822.

¹⁷¹ Roberts, *Mysterium*, 113.

causes vnder the earth while the winter lasts'.¹⁷² This is taken from Carew's, 'A Song' - 'for in your beauties orient deepe/ these flowers as in their causes sleep' - a text to which Hutchinson returns it in the first canto of *OD*: 'Darkness the deep, the Deep the solid hid:/ Where things did in unperfect Causes sleep'.¹⁷³ We know that Hutchinson had an early interest in Carew as her miscellany contains a number of his psalm translations.¹⁷⁴

More troublingly, the tract contains a moment of real radicalism which exceeds any doctrinal expression of Owen's that we have recorded either in manuscript or print. Accepting the tract to have been authored by Hutchinson, Gribben notes the heterodoxy of its 'construal of the doctrine of justification'.¹⁷⁵ In its beginning, CSE lays down a fairly traditional understanding of free grace which undermines the efficacy of works: 'faith, repentance and obedience are effects of our free justification by Christ and no meritorious causes or previous conditions'.¹⁷⁶ Yet, this insistence on election soon passes into heterodoxy as the tract denies that the elect were ever in a state of sin:

in the eternall immutable loue of God all the elect are iustified before him & *neuer are vnder his wrath* but God beholding them in Christ loues them euen before their conversion & sees not sin in them but lookes on their sin as that for which Christ hath made full satisfaction and on their persons as accepted in the beloved, because God sees not by succession of time as wee doe but he at one view beholds all that are were or euer shall be in an vnspeakable manner so that his beloved are neuer in a state of wrath as to him¹⁷⁷

This denial of a temporal field in which election takes place reverses the usual order of imputation of righteousness and justification, and so does away with the *ordo salutis* entirely; in the words of Carl Trueman, it creates 'the idea that the elect were not only elected in

¹⁷² DD/Hu3, 171-2.

¹⁷³ *OD*, 1.306-7. Carew, *Poems*, 181.

¹⁷⁴ DD/Hu1, 139-146.

¹⁷⁵ Gribben, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Theological Writing', 303.

¹⁷⁶ DD/Hu3, 150.

¹⁷⁷ DD/Hu3, 153.

eternity, but were also justified in eternity'.¹⁷⁸ This is in contrast to the more orthodox position of the *WCF* which stated in XI.6 that, 'God did, from all eternity, decree to justify all the elect, and Christ did, in the fulness of time, die for their sins, and rise for their justification: nevertheless, they are not justified, until the Holy Spirit doth, in due time, actually apply Christ unto them'.¹⁷⁹ This places justification on a temporal plane, and is phrasing that Hutchinson copied in her Confessions.¹⁸⁰ However, in CSE, believers are both righteous and justified (and sanctified and faithful) from eternity. The tract similarly displaces faith within the system of sanctification, stating that 'faith in Christ is a sign of Gods electing loue but is not the forseen cause'.¹⁸¹ In this view, 'faith [becomes] the realization of one's prior justification, the acknowledgement of one's eternal status before God, and not in any way, constitutive or otherwise, a part of that justification'.¹⁸² The suggestion that justification took place in eternity 'caused a firestorm of debate among Reformed theologians, particularly because of the potentially Antinomian implications of the doctrine'.¹⁸³ CSE does seem to acknowledge its own heterodoxy: 'wherefore *euen* faith is an effect of eternall loue & we haue it not of our selues'.¹⁸⁴

Owen was generally more orthodox in his opinions about justification, placing faith as a requisite for justification, as the title of the 1677 work suggests: *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith Through the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ, Explained, Confirmed and*

¹⁷⁸ Carl Trueman, *Claims of Truth: John Owen's Trinitarian Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998), 28. This belief was marginal during the seventeenth century, its main proponents being Tobias Crisp, John Eaton, and John Saltmarsh who were publishing in the 1640s. Tobias Crisp, *Christ Alone Exalted*, 2 vols. (London: 1690 [1643]); John Eaton, *The Honey-Combe of Free Iustification by Christ Alone* (London: 1642); John Saltmarsh, *Free Grace* (London: 1646); Saltmarsh, *Sparkles of Glory* (London: 1647).

¹⁷⁹ *WCF*, 11.6.

¹⁸⁰ DD/Hu3, 60-61.

¹⁸¹ DD/Hu3, 152.

¹⁸² Trueman, *The Claims of Truth*, 28.

¹⁸³ Mark Jones, *Why Heaven Kissed Earth: The Christology of the Puritan Reformed Orthodox Theologian, Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680)* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 230.

¹⁸⁴ DD/Hu3, 153. Emphasis added.

Vindicated.¹⁸⁵ In that text belief in Christ and the act of faith are constantly aligned ('The Lord Jesus Christ himself is asserted to be the proper Object of Justifying Faith'), but faith is always seen as a qualification for justification.¹⁸⁶ While Owen writes, 'Wherefore as Faith may be allowed to be the *condition of our Justification*, if no more be intended thereby, but that it is what God requires of us that we may be justified; so to confine the declaration of its *Use* in our Justification unto its being the *condition of it*', he never goes so far as to suggest that justification is from eternity.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, he expressly denies that believers might 'have their *efficacy* upon them before they truly believe'.¹⁸⁸ Owen never seemed to slide so far into heterodoxy as CSE does, upholding instead 'a mainstream Reformed Orthodox doctrine of justification by faith, whilst also maintaining that faith is a gift of God, purchased by Christ and applied through Christ'.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, in Owen's direct refutation of Baxter's accusation, *Of the Death of Christ* (1650), 'Owen notes that Scripture places all humans, prior to faith, in the same condition: guilty and under God's wrath': 'The Scripture plainly placeth all men in the same State and Condition before Conversion, and Reconciliation ... the Condition of all in *Unregeneracy*... *He that believeth not the Son, the wrath of God abideth on him*, Joh. 3.36'.¹⁹⁰ It may, of course, be possible that Owen revised his doctrines in later life, or that, in the private network of his own select congregation, he was comfortable to expound less orthodox doctrines. However, in general, as demonstrated by Matthew W. Mason, Owen always insisted that although Christ 'purchased all that was required for the salvation of the elect, including faith' it was only at 'God's appointed time [that] the Holy

¹⁸⁵ John Owen, *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith Through the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ, Explained, Confirmed and Vindicated* (London: R. Boulter, 1677).

¹⁸⁶ Owen, *The Doctrine of Justification*, 115.

¹⁸⁷ Owen, *The Doctrine of Justification*, 158.

¹⁸⁸ Owen, *The Doctrine of Justification*, 553.

¹⁸⁹ Matthew W. Mason, 'John Owen's Doctrine of Union with Christ in Relation to His Contributions to Seventeenth Century Debates Concerning Eternal Justification', *Ecclesia Reformanda* 1, no.1 (2009), 46.

¹⁹⁰ Mason, 'John Owen's Doctrine of Union', 56. John Owen, *Of the death of Christ, the price he paid, and the purchase he made. Or, the satisfaction, and merit of the death of Christ cleared, the universality of redemption thereby oppugned: and the doctrine concerning these things formerly delivered in a treatise against universal redemption vindicated from the exceptions, and objections of Mr Baxter* (London: Peter Cole, 1650), 29-30.

Spirit unites elect sinners to Christ by faith'; justification was never depicted as having taken place in eternity in any of Owen's printed works.¹⁹¹

Conclusion

If there is one thing clearly demonstrated by DD/Hu3, it is Hutchinson's confidence to intervene in theological texts, her freedom to adapt and augment the writing of others, sometimes to the point that the doctrinal emphasis changes. These interventions, then, need not supplant Owen as the author of CSE. Rather, they may demonstrate once again how Hutchinson's theological engagement in the later-seventeenth century was marked by an independence of thought as she sought to formulate her own doctrines. Glancing outside of this notebook briefly, a translation Hutchinson made of Owen's 1661 text, *Theologoumena Pantodapa*, shows similar impulses of adaptation.¹⁹² Editing Hutchinson's text Jane Stevenson noted that Hutchinson cut Owen's text to the point of abridgement.¹⁹³ Norbrook lists some of the changes she made to the original text: '[t]he second sentence is condensed to the point of obscurity; from the third, in her stress on the divine will she omits *amantis*, loving'.¹⁹⁴ More pertinently to our purposes, Stevenson also discovered a long paragraph which expresses a particularly fixed view of predestination and has no basis in the original text.¹⁹⁵ The imposition is made obvious by the writer breaking the 'frame of the preceding discourse', beginning the passage, 'I cannot but in this place take notice...', and moving the focus of the text away from a discussion of Cicero to the present day in a move that would be most uncharacteristic of Owen's writing.¹⁹⁶ After condemning the patronising attitudes many

¹⁹¹ Mason, 'John Owen's Doctrine of Union', 69.

¹⁹² Owen, *Theologoumena pantodapa*. The work was titled in Greek, Θελογουμένα παντδαπα.

¹⁹³ See Stevenson's introduction to this text in *Works2*, 277-321.

¹⁹⁴ Norbrook, 'Lucy Hutchinson: Theology, Gender, and Translation', 152.

¹⁹⁵ Lucy Hutchinson, 'On Theology', in *Works2*, 297-98.

¹⁹⁶ Norbrook, 'Lucy Hutchinson: Theology, Gender and Translation', 154.

‘sursingle men’ - ministers - display in restricting the involvement of the common man in the practices of religion, the passage concludes in true Calvinist form:

now when wee centre in lower ends, and our good and righteous actions flow from an unrighteous spring, selfe-love and desire of ease, the greatest vertues are but appearing good. all the good wee doe can never make us good, but when by contemplating and embracing the grace of God, that hath made us good by grafting us into a good stock, then wee are capable of bring forth good fruite ¹⁹⁷

Norbrook notes that the ‘opening paradox’ of the Calvinistic statement with which the passage ends, is a ‘form of antimetabole that is characteristic of Hutchinson’s formulations on the question of predestination’.¹⁹⁸ This appears, then, to be an imposition made by Hutchinson, a writer who, we have seen throughout these chapters, was more than happy to blur the lines between original composition and copied text.

Adaptation of texts was clearly a key strategy employed by Hutchinson. In DD/Hu3 we can see how she translated Calvin to grant his authoritative support to more contemporary Puritan doctrines, before weaving his text together with several other works of Reformed orthodoxy into individualised expressions of ecclesiology. As she accommodated Calvin, she may well have freely adapted Owen’s tract, incorporating her own conceptions of justification and faith which were developing as she engaged with contemporary expressions of dissent. Hutchinson did not see the act of copying a text as being beholden to its doctrinal expressions - she freely cut, augmented, and adapted to suit her own purposes. This manuscript clearly demonstrates how the ‘standard practice of piecing together manuscript writings from other sources could develop into more independent speculation’.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Hutchinson, ‘On Theology’, in *Works2*, 289.

¹⁹⁸ Norbrook, ‘Lucy Hutchinson: Theology, Gender and Translation’, 155.

¹⁹⁹ Norbrook, ‘Introduction’ in *Works2*, xix.

DD/Hu3 was also an active space in which Hutchinson brought together texts by other theologians as a discursive means of securing her own theological beliefs. Through the accumulation of different sources Hutchinson first cemented her ecclesiology in her orthopractic Confessions forged from a Calvinist system of double predestination, before turning her attention to more strictly doctrinal questions, unpicking precisely how the doctrine of assurance and a Christological focus could be incorporated into her imagined ecclesiological system. In their Christological focus, these materials support Richard Muller's belief that far from the later-Puritan emphasis on predestination superseding the Calvinist Christological focus, followers of Calvin reconciled the two ideas:

one of the central issues in the positive development of Reformed theology was to demonstrate the continuity of God's saving will with its effects in the temporal order and the consequent unity of the entire soteriological structure. In this unified structure, predestination does not oppose Christology, nor does it reduce Christology to a mere function of the divine will, a means of effecting an already decreed salvation ²⁰⁰

Hutchinson's notebook shows that this reconciliation of different doctrinal concerns was not always straightforward, that late-seventeenth century Puritans worked hard to merge their Calvinist understanding of predestination and their belief in the intrinsic importance of Christ through new articulations of the doctrines of assurance and salvation. This manuscript does not mark the final stage of Hutchinson's independent 'speculation'. In *OD* Hutchinson's providential system of ecclesiastical formation set out in her Confessions and Christological understanding of assurance and salvation are brought together in her final articulation of her ecclesiastical beliefs. In the preface to her last work, Hutchinson writes, 'I have not studied to utter anything that I have not really taken in'.²⁰¹ A full understanding of the discursive space

²⁰⁰ Richard A. Muller, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 10.

²⁰¹ *OD*, 5.

of DD/Hu3 shows Hutchinson in the act of ‘taking in’ the doctrines of others, combining and transforming them, before *OD* gives these utterances their final, poetic, form.

Introduction

While the works we have explored so far exist only in single manuscript copies, towards the very end of her life, Hutchinson did publish one text: *Order and Disorder: or, The World Made and Undone. Being Meditations Upon the Creation and the Fall; As it is recorded in the beginning of Genesis*. This five Canto poem, narrating events up to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, was published anonymously in 1679.¹ A further 15 Cantos exist in a scribally produced copy of the poem once owned by Hutchinson’s cousin, Anne Rochester (née St John), and now held in the Beinecke Library at Yale.² This extended version of the poem covers the events of Genesis up to chapter 32, ending, rather abruptly, with Jacob and Laban camped in the mountains preceding their reconciliation.

OD is remarkable for many reasons. It is one of the first pieces of long poetry by an English woman writer; it is politically and theologically radical; and, if not constantly, at least ‘at its best’ (as Norbrook says) it contains some confident, stylish, even beautiful, sections of verse.³ More often than not *OD* is treated as something of an exception within Hutchinson’s oeuvre. This is understandable given the poems apparent differences to the rest of Hutchinson’s works: it is the only text to have been printed, and her only extended example of original verse. Textual similarities to her other works, including *DD/Hu3*, have been traced in the footnotes of Norbrook’s 2001 edition of the poem, and the more recent Oxford editions of her works. Yet, wider conceptual comparisons in scholarship have, thus far, mostly been

¹ *Order and Disorder: or, The World Made and Undone. Being Meditations Upon the Creation and the Fall; As it is recorded in the beginning of Genesis* (London: Margaret White for Henry Mortlock, 1679).

² Hutchinson, Osborn fb100. References to Norbrook’s edited *OD* will be in text.

³ Norbrook, ‘The Poem and its Contexts’, xii.

restricted primarily to either the *PCR*, in studies of the gender politics of the poem, or to *DRN* as a means of either asserting, or questioning, a reversal in Hutchinson's literary concerns.⁴ Wright's recent PhD, 'Meditative Poetry, Covenant Theology, and Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder*', for example, sets the poem in dialogue with *DRN* to 'challenge accounts claiming Lucretian atomism and Republican politics as the poem's intellectual foundation'.⁵ Equally frequently, *OD* is seen in comparison to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in essays such as Shannon Miller's 2005 study of seventeenth-century patriarchal theory, or Robert Wilcher's study of the two writer's opposing narrative styles.⁶ The most recent essay published on *OD* does take Hutchinson's notebook output as a source of comparison but studies her much earlier interest in Virgil as evidenced in DD/Hu1.⁷

Thus, existing scholarship demonstrates a preference to compare the poem with Hutchinson's more polished, 'finished', works than with the contents of her theological notebook. The two may appear to be separate ventures, the long narrative retelling of Genesis a far cry from the messy, often unfinished, prose which records Hutchinson's developing beliefs. We have seen, however, that DD/Hu3 was far from a passive document, with Hutchinson using it in later years as a space in which to tackle some of the 'problems' raised by her independently articulated Congregationalist system forged from the Calvinist doctrine of predestination.

While the last chapter argued that Hutchinson collected materials with a Christological focus

⁴ For comparison with *DRN* see, Scott Baumann 'Lucy Hutchinson, Gender and Poetic Form', and Suzuki Mihoko 'Animals and the Political in Lucy Hutchinson and Margaret Cavendish', *The Seventeenth Century* 20, no.2 (2015), 229-247, and with *PCR* see, Shook, "Pious Fraud".

⁵ While acknowledging the poem's debt to the works of Owen, Wright does not place *OD* in dialogue with DD/Hu3. Wright, 'Meditative Poetry', Abstract.

⁶ Shannon Miller, 'Maternity, Marriage, and Contract: Lucy Hutchinson's Response to Patriarchal Theory in 'Order and Disorder'', *Studies in Philology* 102, no.3 (Summer, 2005), 340-377. Robert Wilcher, "'Adventurous song" or "presumptuous folly": the Problem of "utterance" in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder*', *The Seventeenth Century* 21, no. 2 (2006), 304-314. Hutchinson and Milton are also compared in Joad Raymond, 'Milton's Angels', in *The Cambridge Companion to Paradise Lost*, ed. Louis Schwartz, 138-151 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁷ Wesley Garey, 'Rewriting Epic and Redefining Glory in Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder*', *Christianity and Literature* 69, no. 3 (September, 2020), 399-417. Garey re-explores *OD* in comparison with the *Aeneid*.

in the second half of the manuscript, in DD/Hu3 she does not offer a truly independent expression of her providentialist system balanced out by her renewed focus on Christ and assurance. In this chapter I would like to ask if *OD* might function as such an expression, a poetic articulation of an ecclesiology in which the Christological materials Hutchinson gathered are brought into conversation with providentialism. Thus, this chapter will study certain key moments at which we can see that *OD* has been influenced by Hutchinson's theological encounters recorded in the notebook.

Yet, this chapter does not aim to argue that *OD* is the recipient of theological commitments already expressed in DD/Hu3, but that it offers further development of Hutchinson's ideas. In fact, as well as expanding on the doctrinal principles of DD/Hu3, arguably the ecclesiology of the poem contradicts some of the developments we have seen Hutchinson making in the late-1660s and early-70s, a fact which becomes increasingly clear when the underlying Separationist doctrine of the poem is compared more directly with the *Memoirs*. As such, this chapter hopes to demonstrate once again that Hutchinson's later texts do not present a unified response to the singular event of the Restoration, believing that to see Hutchinson's theological development as a straight trajectory is to close ourselves off to the 'contingent and reactive nature of late-seventeenth century dissent'.⁸ This thesis has positioned each of Hutchinson's later compositions as texts which seek to articulate a new interpretation of nonconformist ecclesiology. Placing *OD* alongside the *Memoirs* and DD/Hu3, we can position the poem as a further manifesto articulating another possible mode of church settlement.

⁸ Gribben, *John Owen and English Puritanism*, 186.

As such, this chapter will ask two key questions: 1) How does the poem function as more than a narrative retelling of Genesis - as an articulation of ecclesiastical and soteriological beliefs? 2) What is the ecclesiastical outlook of the poem and how does this relate to the *Memoirs* and DD/Hu3? Classifying the poem's ecclesiology as one which builds on the theological notebook, this chapter will also reconsider the lingering scholarly question of when *OD* was composed. Firstly, however, I would like to explore some verse fragments found in the end leaves of DD/Hu3. These fragments act as a blueprint for *OD*'s relationship to the theological notebook more widely, showing how the ideas in the latter have been adapted and developed in the poem.

'[F]raile delights' and 'inferior joys': adaptation and expansion from notebook to poem

Preceding the notes on Calvin in DD/Hu3 is a short section of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* translated by Hutchinson.⁹ In the other end of the notebook she has translated another section of Latin verse, this time from George Buchanan's tragedy, *Baptistes*.¹⁰ Written in the 1540s, and published thirty years later, Buchanan's play was translated into English as a repost against 'evil-counsellors' and titled *Tyrannicall Government Anatomized*; the play was translated as Charles I 'fled London at the outset of the civil wars'.¹¹ With Buchanan described by Milton as one of 'the sworn foes of tyrants', it is perhaps little wonder that

⁹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Anthony S. Kline: <https://ovid.lib.virginia.edu/trans/Metamorph.htm>, l.89-110.

¹⁰ George Buchanan, *Baptistes, siue calumnia tragoedia, auctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto* (London: Thomas Vautroller, 1577), 54-55.

¹¹ Dermot Cavanagh, 'Political Theology in George Buchanan's *Baptistes*', in *Early Modern Drama and the Bible*, ed. A. Streete (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012); 90. *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized: or A Discourse concerning Evil-Counsellors Being The Life and Death of JOHN the Baptist and Presented to the KINGS most Excellent Majesty by the Author* (London: John Field, 1642). The section translated by Hutchinson can be found on pages 22-23. In 1740 Whig scholar Francis Peck believed this translation to be the work of John Milton, a theory which has since been disproved; see Martin Dzelzainis, 'Milton's Politics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Milton*, ed. Dennis Danielson, 70-83 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999).

Hutchinson was familiar with his work.¹² However, it was not depictions of tyranny or political opposition that Hutchinson chose to translate on the flyleaves of DD/Hu3, but an imagined scene of peace, free from these constraints:

Where the hoarce trumpetts sound noe more allarme
Nor Pirate his strong barke for rapine armes
~~No robber son the shade [...]~~ Pray
No robbers lurk in the thick treacherous wood
Ambition wades not through the peoples blood
To the affected glory of a throne
No cruell man that he may reigne alone
~~The poore out of their natiue seats~~
Depopulates the country where he dwells
The pooer out of their natiue seats expels
And their childrens mouths forces that bread
With which his ilde lusts & days are fed
No proud aspirer there ~~doth~~^with^ sacrifice
pretious liues ~~and~~^had^ empty titles buyes
No terror stricking names off right me there ¹³

Ovid's verse is similarly focused on 'golden ages', and also depicts a time 'unconstreind/ By lawes or Lords iustice', and so a world free from 'dread', 'penalty' and 'yoakes'.¹⁴ While Ovid's verse reflects on a time in the past, the speech in Buchanan's poem, given by the Chorus, describes Heaven which men have forgotten in favour of earthly delights - as Hutchinson translates, 'the heauen-descended mind bound with these charmes/ Lies slumbing in the low worlds beauteous armes'.¹⁵

¹² Eugene J Strittmatter (ed.), 'Joannis Miltoni Angli Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda', in *The Works of Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson et al, VIII.76-78 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), 78.

¹³ DD/Hu3, 1.

¹⁴ DD/Hu3, 276.

¹⁵ DD/Hu3, 3.

While Hutchinson simply offers a translation of the Ovid, her interaction with *Baptistes* transforms from translation into adaptation as she also writes what can be considered an original composition. In a new section of verse, Hutchinson retains Buchanan's focus on the ways in which earthly delights can distract man from higher things. For example, she drafts the following section twice, the second version of which reads,

Persuing angrie titles wealth & state
Which loud ye soule y^t they should recreate
But if some soe discerning are & wise
They can these empty sounds & shewes despise
For them thou hast charmses [sic] of another kind
To captivate the heaven aspiring mind ¹⁶

While thematically close to Buchanan's verse, this cannot be considered translation, nor can Hutchinson's continuation of verse following this, which first describes an Edenic scene, 'the ground with flowry carpets spread/ And pleasant boughs embracing overhead/ Present their guests a shadie canopie/ When y^e hot rayes enflame y^e gawdie skie', before bemoaning how we often forget these delights.¹⁷ However, this verse does appear to be an adaptation, focused, like Buchanan's poetry, on the intransitory nature of life on earth when compared to the glory of life everlasting. Hutchinson employs the same technique of negative description found in Buchanan - 'here feare no needlesse spies nor vaine guards keepes' - and reflects on the ways we are distracted from heaven, transforming his instruction to 'Quit all the fraile delights that charmd thee here', into the negative explanation of how 'these inferior ioyes beguile/ our feeble sence forgetting our exile'.¹⁸

The idea of the inadequacy, and distraction, of earthly pleasures and artifice finds frequent expression in *OD*, the earliest example of which can be found in Canto 2. There, Hutchinson

¹⁶ DD/Hu3, 4.

¹⁷ DD/Hu3, 4.

¹⁸ DD/Hu4, 4, 5.

advises Princes to ‘scorn ... embroidered canopies/ And painted roofs’ as the poor are much more fulfilled by the scenes which ‘sail o’er th’ unhousèd head’ (2.21-6).¹⁹ The longest section focused on the theme of enticement of earthly pleasure is in Canto 5, in which Hutchinson describes those things which ‘we admire in a low paradise’ as ‘our fetters, yokes and poisons are’, ‘light airy shadows, unsubstantial dreams’ when compared to Eden or heavenly glory (5.623-648). Nor are these similarities only to be found in the published Cantos - in Canto 12 Hutchinson describes Sarah’s predicament: ‘Frail is the state of all our earthly joys:/ What comforts one hour brings, the next destroys’ (12.91-2).

There are further, more direct parallels of language, for example, in Hutchinson’s depiction of Eden. In a clear readaptation of her drafted verse in DD/Hu3, Hutchinson writes that, the pre-inhabited world, was empty, ‘though flowery carpets spread the whole earth’s face/ And rich embroideries the upper arch did grace’ (2.225-6), while later, after the creation of man, although we have not many descriptions of that world, we know the following:

there was a pleasant and noble shade
 which the tall-growing pines and cedars made,
 And thicker coverts, which the light and heat
 Even at noonday could scarcely penetrate.
 A crystal river ...
 ... the spreading roots with moisture fed. (3.159-166)

In DD/Hu3, this section of verse finishes with the couplet describing how we forget these pleasures. However, at the end of Canto 4, Hutchinson inverts this final couplet, encouraging her reader to ‘pause on our lost joys a while/ Before we enter on our sad exile’; what was a verse of condemnation, has been transformed into one of recommendation (4.387-8). The

¹⁹ She writes in DD/Hu3 how ‘vndrest beauty scorns art’, 4.

same depictions of Paradise are used, but in prelapsarian setting of *OD* we are instructed to concentrate on them rather than chastised for our forgetfulness.

The sections of *Metamorphoses* and *Baptistes* in DD/Hu3 have, thus, fed into Hutchinson's own descriptions of Paradise and condemnations of earthly artifice. These fragments have influenced *OD* both thematically and linguistically, and, as such, the early pages of the theological notebook can be said to contain draft materials for the poem. Yet, the poetry of Ovid and Buchanan has not simply been inserted into the biblical epic. Rather, Hutchinson has transformed the verses to suit her poetic needs; in the case of *Baptistes*, *OD* presents a stage twice removed from the original, comparisons having been already filtered through Hutchinson's initial adaptation in DD/Hu3. The relationship between these fragments and *OD*, I argue, is representative of the relationship between the poem and the theological notebook more widely. DD/Hu3 provides the groundwork for the poem, but it is not a simple case of arguing that *OD* transforms the ecclesiology of the notebook into verse. Rather, the ecclesiological principles themselves are transformed.

In *Grammar and Grace* Brian Cummings warns us away from viewing poetry 'as a passive recipient of doctrine that has already been formulated' and encourages instead a view which understands poetry as 'as active participant in belief and doctrine': 'the poem', he writes, 'shows theology in the making'.²⁰ Heeding Cummings' warning, *OD* can be approached in the same manner. Arguing that the poem takes inspiration from DD/Hu3, I do not mean to suggest that *OD* is simply a literary reiteration of the materials Hutchinson gathered. Rather, it is crucial to see these texts as distinct ventures not only because they are generically

²⁰ Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 301.

diverse, but because the ecclesiastical conclusions Hutchinson comes to in *OD* are different to that of her Confessions in DD/Hu3.

‘The rise of everything’: the poem’s biblical scope

To argue that the poem functions as an expression of ecclesiology is to see *OD* as more than simply a narrative retelling of Genesis. The title of the print edition presents the reader with a juxtaposition, depicting the work as narrative - ‘as it is recorded in the beginning of Genesis’ - but also as something more complex and less linear: ‘meditations’. Hutchinson uses this word ‘meditate’ in *Breifer Summe* as part of her exhortation to biblical study. There, she explains, that we must ‘yeild diligent attention to that word’, ‘search the scriptures’ and ‘meditate day and night in the law’.²¹ This final phrase comes from Psalm 1 - ‘but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate day and night’ - with ‘law’ glossed in the Geneva Bible as ‘the holy Scriptures’, a reading Hutchinson appears to follow.²² ‘Meditations’, then, implies something wider reaching than a narrative retelling, suggesting a work which encompasses the whole scope of scriptural truth which has been ascertained by careful reading and life-long study. This sense of scope is supported by both the linguistic style of the poem and its material form in both the print edition and manuscript version.

The poem begins with a reflection on God’s wider role in governing the earth:

My ravished soul a pious ardour fires
To sing those mystic wonders it admires,
Contemplating the rise of everything
That with Time’s birth flowed from th’eternal spring:
And the no less stupendous Providence

²¹ DD/Hu3, 127.

²² Geneva Bible, Psalm 1:2, c.

By which discording natures ever since

Have kept up universal harmony (1.1-7)

Along with the 'rise of everything' - the creation - Hutchinson takes as her topic Providence, and the role this story of the creation has played 'ever since'. This scope is expressed as Hutchinson continues her invocation for divine aid, asking God to 'give utterance and music to my voice/ Singing the works by which thou are revealed' (36-7). This implies not a narrative retelling, but a systematic unpicking of what the Old Testament stories reveal about the being and nature of God; wrapped up in this poem on Genesis is a wider depiction of God's ongoing relationship with the world and humanity. Hutchinson, then, appears to have taken the framework of the biblical narrative as a springboard for a much wider theological discourse. It is worth noting here, as Wright explains in his thesis, the first Canto does not actually narrate the events of Genesis - turning to the creation of light only in line 301 of 350 - but functions as a 'theological prolegomenon to the entirety of *Order and Disorder*'.²³ In the first Canto Hutchinson explores the trinity, the relationship between time and motion, and the creation and fall of the Angels, none of which actually occurs in Genesis 1.

In his study of *OD* and *Paradise Lost*, Wilcher contrasts a moment of linguistic similarity, comparing Hutchinson and Milton's discussions of 'natural tears'. Hutchinson's couplet, 'Natural tears there are which in due bound/ Do not the soul with sinful sorrow drown', Wilcher writes, is an acknowledgement that 'there is nothing reprehensible in honest grief' (5.657-8). Milton uses the same two words - and to describe the same situation of Adam and Eve leaving paradise - 'but embeds them within his narrative so that they become part of the imagined experience of Adam and Eve': 'They looking back, all the eastern side beheld/ Of Paradise ... Some natural tears they dropped, but wiped them soon'.²⁴ Wilcher notes the

²³ Wright, 'Meditative Poetry', 15. 'The earth at first was a vast empty place,/ A rude congestion without form or grace', 1.301-2.

²⁴ Wilcher, 'The Problem of 'utterance'', 305. Milton, 'Paradise Lost', in *The Major Works*, XII.641-5.

contrast between ‘Milton’s *description* of the ‘natural tears’ shed by the fallen pair and Hutchinson’s *moral justification* of ‘natural tears’ as a human response to sorrow in this world ... typical of the different literary approaches taken by these two writers towards their biblical source’.²⁵ This difference, Wilcher goes onto explain, lies in Hutchinson’s continual shift from narrative to commentary. While Milton concerns himself with the story of Genesis, upon which he is happy to adlib, Hutchinson displays a ‘method of elaborating on the bare text of the Bible ... which continually processed the concrete into the abstract and the particular into the general’.²⁶ Thus, despite her claims - which many have seen as directly levelled at Milton - to tell nothing ‘but what [God] himself hath given forth’, Hutchinson frequently stretches beyond the bounds of her scriptural narrative.²⁷ Unlike Milton, however, this is not a journey into imagined description, but into scriptural exegesis in the search for ‘moral justification’.

This transformation of the ‘particular into the general’, of narrative into exegesis, is most strikingly obvious in the marginalia which surrounds the first five Cantos of *OD*. These notes allow the narrative events of Genesis to be illuminated by, and to illuminate, the rest of the Bible. Accompanying the first 5 Cantos are 639 marginal notes which all reference Scripture - this is an average of a biblical note for every three lines of verse. In reality, of course, the notes are not so equally spaced, with some sections of verse left unglossed, while other pages almost drown in the weight of marginalia.²⁸ Generally, the marginalia are more prevalent when Hutchinson’s verse is focused on theological concepts rather than narrative; the first Canto, with its discussions of our knowledge of God, the trinity, and time, contains 128 marginal notes, the second Canto, which describes the creation of animals and birds, just 43.

²⁵ Wilcher, *The Problem of ‘utterance’*, 305, emphasis original.

²⁶ Wilcher, *The Problem of ‘utterance’*, 312.

²⁷ See Shannon Miller, ‘Maternity, Marriage, and Contract’, 341.

²⁸ See Appendix F for examples of the marginalia.

These notes do not simply keep track of the narrative, gesturing to where in Genesis the event described can be found, but come from the whole scope of both the Old and New Testaments. Indeed, references to Genesis are the second most populous (55), with the Psalms the most referenced biblical book in the notes (79). Frequent reference is also made to the Gospels (John - 40, Luke - 23, Matthew - 45, Mark -1) and to Romans (32) and Revelations (32). Aside from Genesis and the Psalms, Isaiah is the most frequently referenced Old Testament text (40).²⁹

These notes work in several different ways. At times Hutchinson has fed the language of the biblical passage directly into her poetry. For example, Hutchinson versifies the first two notes in Canto 2: Genesis 1:6 and Psalm 104:2-3. The first helps simply to locate the action within the Bible alongside Hutchinson's poetic account: 'Again spoke God; the trembling waters move' (2.1). The second gives the basis for Hutchinson's choice of metaphor which she has borrowed from the Psalm. Psalm 104 describes the creation, as God covered 'himself with light, as with a garment, and spreadeth the heavens like a curtain'. Hutchinson transforms this into the couplet, 'Th'all-forming Word stretched out the firmament/ Like azure curtains round his glorious tent' (2.5-6).³⁰ However, at other times the links are exegetical, helping to create a relationship between the events of the Old and New Testaments through juxtaposition. For example, in the section in the fifth Canto with which this thesis began, Hutchinson describes the ongoing war between 'the little Church and the World's larger State', which had its beginning in the promise God made in Genesis 3:15:

The great war hath its first beginning here

²⁹ We find these same patterns in the biblical precepts at the back of DD/Hu4 where Psalms by far the most numerous, and Isaiah the second most common Old Testament text (53). These notes are also lacking in references to Mark.

³⁰ Genesis 1:6: 'Again God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the water'; Psalm 104:2-3: 'which coverth himself with light, as with a garment, and spreadeth the heavens like a curtain. Which layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters, and maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the winds of the wind'.

Carried along more than five thousand year
With various success on either side
And each age with new combatants supplied.
Two sovereign champions here we find
Satan and Christ contending for mankind. (5.81-86)

The passages listed in the margin here come from the full range of the Bible from Genesis 6:2-5, to the Psalms, the Gospels, Paul's letters, and Revelation, each one of which alludes to this great war. John 15:18-19 and Luke 12:32, for example, are verses of reassurance addressed to God's chosen people. Ephesians 2:2, conversely, addresses the reprobate who 'in times past ... walked, according to the course of this world'. Isaiah 9:6-7 offers the promise of Christ, 'for unto us a child is born, and unto us a son is given ... the Prince of Peace', while Revelations 12:12 warns that 'the devil is come down unto you, which hath a great wrath'. This final reference can be found directly alongside the couplet, 'By this certain oracle they know/ Their war must end in final overthrow' (5.95-6). Hutchinson has turned to the very end of the Bible, Revelations which tells of events still to come, supporting her claim that this war, begun in Garden of Eden, is still ongoing.

As we saw in the study of the *Memoirs*, this use of scriptural accumulation and juxtaposition allows Hutchinson to transform proofs into theological 'precepts', the biblical examples speaking to one another to create new meaning. Writing of the poem's 'political margins', Elizabeth Scott-Baumann notes how Hutchinson, 'disconnects biblical passages from their immediate context, and forms a new reading in relation to her own text'.³¹ Disconnected from their contexts, arguably the passages also gain a new meaning in relation to one another as they did in DD/Hu4. Given the sheer number of biblical proofs offered across *OD* and DD/Hu4, there is a surprising lack of cross-over, a fact perhaps indicative of Hutchinson's

³¹ Scott-Baumann, 'Lucy Hutchinson, the Bible, and *Order and Disorder*', 186.

theological independence following John's death, and that the notes recorded in the *Memoirs* manuscript were, indeed, the result of John's own exegetical study.³² Yet both texts demonstrate Hutchinson's frequent recourse to the bolstering of a theological concept with a multitude of scriptural proofs as a means of transforming the particular into the general. This was, however, not a practice idiosyncratic to Hutchinson, and is reminiscent of the style of theological polemic, early modern sermons, and post-Reformation Bibles. We saw in the study of John's 'precepts' how Hutchinson's reading had at times been shaped by her engagement with the Geneva Bible. Here, her engagement with the Bible which 'had provided a paradigm and marked a radical change in reading practices since the sixteenth century' goes a step further; in the text's physical design, Hutchinson aligns her poem visually with the Geneva edition, a book which offered a systematic theological exploration of the entirety of God's Word.³³

Like the first five Cantos of *OD*, the text of the Geneva Bible rarely stands alone. Instead, 'verse numbers and cross-references move the reader and student from continuous reading towards what might be called concordant reading, a verse in one part of the Bible directing the reader not to its surrounding verse but to another some distance away'.³⁴ This further encouraged an understanding of the dialectical relationship between the Old and New Testaments. Positively framed, in this view the Old and New Testament are inextricably linked, constantly reflecting on one another. More negatively framed, this understanding 'assumes that [the Old Testament] ... is not complete in itself', that while the New Testament is 'validated by' the Old, it 'also contains and transcends it'.³⁵ Hutchinson's use of marginalia

³² From a sample of 60, just four references appear in both manuscripts.

³³ Scott-Baumann, 'Lucy Hutchinson, the Bible, and *Order and Disorder*', 186.

³⁴ David Norton, *The King James Bible: a Short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 21.

³⁵ Frank Kermode, 'Matthew', in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, 388-9.

arguably, at different times, supports both understandings. It gestures, at times, to the interrelatedness of Scripture and, at other times, to the unfinished promise of the Old Testament as, for example, in the turn towards Revelations when she narrates the events of Genesis 3:15.

Marginalia such as that contained in the Geneva Bible did not, however, only aid in the articulation of theological doctrine, but played a part in its creation. William W. E. Slights notes how the annotations in the Geneva Bible were just as often negatively formed, expressing what the text did *not* mean, as they were positive: ‘the divine intrusion at Babel is said *not* to be about special immanence. The babble of strange tongues in St. Paul’s epistle are *not* to be silenced, but *neither* are they to be allowed to rage without order and interpretation’.³⁶ This conversation between text and margin helped to circumscribe the meaning of an often unclear text to match the religio-political aims of the producer by transforming a univocal text into a polyphonic one. At times, Hutchinson’s marginalia equally seeks to direct readers and to curtail possible interpretations of her verse rather than simply illuminating meaning. The fourth marginal note, for example, guides the reader to Genesis 45: 4-5 in which Joseph returns to his brothers. As Norbrook notes, this passage is one Hutchinson’s contemporaries would have recognised as a ‘standard parallel to the return of Charles II’.³⁷ As such, Hutchinson’s in-verse claim that ‘They must be broken who with power contend’, is moved from the general into the particular, the meaning confined by the marginalia (1.17).

³⁶ William W. E. Slights, ‘Marginall Notes that spoile the Text’, 270. Emphasis original.

³⁷ Norbrook, ‘The Poem and its Contexts’, xxvii.

Hutchinson's visual alignment of her poem with one of the base texts of early modern Puritanism was almost certainly intentional. At times, we can see that the marginalia of the Geneva Bible has inspired the wording of *OD*. For example, in the second Canto, Hutchinson describes the creation of water ways:

Springs, lakes, streams, and broad rivers are from these,
 Branched, like life-feeding *veins*, in every land,
 Yet wheresoe'er they seem to flow or stand,
 As all in the vast ocean's bosom bred,
 They daily reassemble in their head,
 Which thorough secret conduits back conveys
 To every spring the tribute that it pays (2.59-64, emphasis added)

The marginal note here is Ecclesiastes 1:7, a passage which describes how 'all the rivers go into the sea, yet the sea is not full: for the rivers go unto the place whence they return and grow'. This offers an obvious precedent for Hutchinson's own description. However, the explanation of this passage in the Geneva Bible more directly echoes Hutchinson's language: 'The sea which compasseth all the earth, filleth the *veins* thereof, the which pour out *springs*, and rivers into the sea again'.³⁸ The same seems to happen in Hutchinson's description of hatred which can 'set the world on fire'; James 3:6 describes how the 'tongue is fire', but it is in the Geneva note to this passage that we are told that 'it is able to set the whole world on fire' (3.104).³⁹

Thus, while resolute that she will tell nothing 'but what [God] himself hath given forth' and so not exceed the bounds of Scripture, Hutchinson frequently exceeds the bounds of the specific section of Scripture that she is relating, moving, as Wilcher noted, from description into 'moral justification' by means of cross-referencing marginalia.⁴⁰ This marginalia - and

³⁸ Geneva Bible, Ecclesiastes 1:7, f. Emphasis added.

³⁹ Geneva Bible, James 3:6, i.

⁴⁰ 'preface', in *OD*, 3.

further biblical cross-referencing that happens ‘in text’ - is, as we shall see, often imperative to an understanding of Hutchinson’s theology; as in the Geneva Bible, these passages are not just suggestions for further reading - combining them allows God’s truth to emerge. It is perhaps true, then, that Hutchinson lacks the narrative daring of Milton, who takes his reader to the depths of Hell and the heights of Heaven. But *OD* is hardly lacking in theological daring, the opportunity for which arises precisely because Hutchinson refuses to exceed the bounds of her source text, even if this boundary takes on the scope of the whole Bible in the margins of the poem. The cross-references turn the narrative poem into to a much wider, more theologically complex project, enabling Hutchinson to perform an in-depth exegetical reading of the Genesis story as it relates to the entirety of God’s Word.

More explicitly as a means of transforming the *OD* into more than a narrative account, the poem begins with Hutchinson using the first Canto to set out her ideas surrounding the nature of the Trinity and the purity of Heaven, ‘the saints’ most sure inheritance’ (1.205).

Hutchinson’s articulation of these beliefs appears to have arisen from the study she performed in DD/Hu3, synthesising the notebook’s focus on predestination and the role of Christ alongside his Father. Turning now to Hutchinson’s articulation of her Triune beliefs we can begin to explore how successfully Hutchinson reconciled these two ideas through the poetic expression of her doctrinal sentiments demonstrating, as Muller argues, that later Puritans managed to balance these principles by allowing a providential system to emerge from their ‘interpretation of the person of Christ’.⁴¹

⁴¹ Muller, *Christ and the Decree*, 2.

One of the clearest moments at which we can trace the presence of Hutchinson's notebook, and the development of the ideas it contained, is in the discussion of the Trinity in Canto 1 (1.42-116). Hutchinson's key belief in the nature of the Trinity is neatly summarised in the couplet, 'This most mysterious triple Unity,/ In essence one, and in subsistence three' (1.123-4). This couplet mirrors the language of MFA directly: 'that in the devine Essence there are these three distinct subsistences commonly called the three persons in the Trinity'. Despite this division, she clarifies, that there are 'not 3 Gods nor 3 lords but one Almighty Lord God ... the three are but one God'.⁴² In *OD*, this becomes, 'Yet all the three are but one God most high,/ One uncompounded, pure Divinity' (1.89-90).⁴³ Stemming from Augustine, this language of one substance was a common formulation in seventeenth-century discussions of the Trinity and is used by the *WCF*: 'In the unity of the Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity'.⁴⁴ 1 John 5:7 was commonly used as the proof text for this belief and has been described by Paul C. H. Lin as 'the locus classicus for antitrinitarian and protrinitarian exegetical disputes'.⁴⁵ Hutchinson proves no exception, noting this passage in the margin here.⁴⁶

While there is one 'essence', each part of the Trinity has their distinct role to play.

Hutchinson explains this in MFA in the section which, as we have seen, draws heavily on Perkins' *The Golden Chain*: 'vnited in one devine Essence ... the persons are distinct and

⁴² DD/Hu3, 58.

⁴³ DD/Hu3, 59.

⁴⁴ 'we should say that there are not three Gods in that Trinity, but one God and one substance': St. Augustine, *On The Trinity*, trans. Arthur West Haddan (Veitatis Splendor Publications, 2012), Book VII.

⁴⁵ Paul C. H. Lin, *Mystery Unveiled: The Crisis of the Trinity in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4. 1 John 5:7: 'For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one'.

⁴⁶ This passage is noted by the *WCF* and was also used by Benjamin Needler in his sermon refuting Socinianism and dedicated to the Trinity in the 1659 collection *Morning Exercise Methodized* (London: Ralph Smith, 1659).

haue their incommunicable personal properties which are in the father to begett in the Sonne to be begotten and in the holy Ghost to proceed'.⁴⁷ This is directly turned to verse as Hutchinson clarifies that 'this parity order admits:/ The Father first eternally begets,/ Within himself, his Son, ... and their third/ The ever blessed Spirit is, which doth/ Alike eternally proceed from both' (1.96-102). Thus, while the Father, Son and Spirit 'cooperate in all works done/ Exteriorly', each has a different role to play (1.104-5). In MFA Hutchinson expressly defines these roles as 'creation' (the Father), 'Redemption and Restoration' (the Son), and 'Sanctification and Application' (the Spirit).⁴⁸ These roles are defined with less clarity in *OD*; while the Father is the 'principal', and responsible for 'the Creation', she more simply defines Christ's role as the producer of those acts, which are then 'wrought up to perfection' by the Spirit (1.112). However, two marginal notes here - Ephesians 1:11 and 2 Tim 1:9 - do seem to return us to Christ's redemptive and restorative role, as they focus on predestination and Christ as the means by which grace is imputed into the elect.⁴⁹ Similarly, although the precise phrasing is different, she describes how, by the Spirit, 'all parts were/ Fitly disposed, distinguished, and rendered fair' (1.119-120).

What has been lost, is Hutchinson's quibble over the terms with which to refer to the parts of the Trinity. In MFA she worries over the use of the word 'person', as 'the name of person is not so aplyed in scripture except it be in the Hebrewes where Christ is sayd to be the brightnesse of his fathers glorie and the express image of his person'.⁵⁰ However, seeing it used there, she concludes that she shall 'make no scruple to acknowledge the 3 persons in the

⁴⁷ DD/Hu3, 59.

⁴⁸ DD/Hu3, 60.

⁴⁹ 'In whom also are we chosen when we were predestinated according to the purpose of him, which worketh all things after the counsel of his own will', 'Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given to us through Christ Jesus before the world was'.

⁵⁰ DD/Hu3, 58.

Godhead'.⁵¹ Hutchinson raises no such scruples in the poem, using the word 'person' twice in this short section. This confidence might encourage us to separate this poetic expression from her Confessions of faith. However, the similarities in phrasing (despite the change in form), strongly suggest that Hutchinson used her earlier doctrinal statements to shape her verse. We find a similar reworking of MFA in *PCR* in which Hutchinson writes, in 'all the workes of God, both Father, Sonne, and Spirit co-operate each in his owne manner of working, and the worke in Scripture is attributed chiefly to that Person whose distinctt manner of working appeares chiefly in that worke'.⁵² MFA, written in 1667, was almost certainly written before *PCR*, but it is hard to know which statement Hutchinson took as her basis when reworking her Trinitarian ideas into verse. A marginal note alongside 'Distinguished, not divided ... all the three are but one God most high' takes us to the baptism of Christ in Matthew 3:16-17, a text which can be found within this section of MFA (1.87-8):

Three that beare record in heaven the father the word & the Spirit and these three are one. Christ being baptized the spirit descended as a Doue and a voyce came from the Father this is my beloved sonne &ct. Christ commanded his disciples to Baptize the nations in the name of the father Sonne and Holy Ghost⁵³

Yet, the inclusion of the Hebrew word *Elohim* which begins and ends this trinitarian section, is found in *PCR* not MFA: 'Some thinke the plurall word Elohim, by which God is namd in the creation, ioyned to the singular verb created, intimates the Trinity'.⁵⁴ The marginal notes in *OD* include the Hebraic phrase, '*Bara Elohim*', suggesting that Hutchinson's reading is based on the *Westminster Annotation's* understanding of 'God created' in Genesis 1:1: 'In the Hebrew the word for God is *Elohim* of the plurall number ... and for created, the Hebrew

⁵¹ DD/Hu3, 58-59. This scruple may have arisen from the antitrinitarian very literal understanding of 'person', evidenced by John Biddle's insistence that God 'is the name of a person', and a person could not be more than one; Biddle, *Twelve Arguments drawn out of the Scripture wherein the commonly-received opinion touching the deity of the Holy Spirit is clearly and fully refuted* (London, 1647), 6, 7.

⁵² *PCR*, in *Works2*, 25.

⁵³ DD/Hu3, 58.

⁵⁴ *PCR*, in *Works2*, 26.

word is *Bara* of the singular number; whence some learned and pious Expositors have deduced the doctrine of the trinity'.⁵⁵ This note in the *Annotations* also explains how God uses 'we' and 'us', not as a King might - the royal 'we' - but to refer to the three parts of himself, an idea to which Hutchinson returns in her depiction of the creation of man: 'God ... Did in himself a sacred council call ... 'Let us', said God ... Make man after our own similitude'.⁵⁶ From this introduction of Triune ideas, then, we can recognise that when Hutchinson refers to God 'without particularization', she refers to the entire Trinity, a feature Muller has noted of Calvin's own writing.⁵⁷

While Socinians argued against this reading as incomprehensible - how could anything be one and also three, united, but distinct? - Trinitarians believed that the nature of God could not be split: if any of his essence was passed onto the Son this had to be his *entire* essence as God was indivisible.⁵⁸ Essentially, this concept was beyond the realm of human understanding, but this did not make it impossible. Hutchinson acknowledges the difficulty of the doctrine in MFA as something which 'cannot be fully comprehended by poore earthly wormes' who should 'not prie too boldly into that which is not permitted vs, which many attempting to doe haue been stricken blind'.⁵⁹ There is none of this caution in this section of *OD* (though it can be found frequently elsewhere in the poem), as Hutchinson describes the relationship between the parts of the Trinity with, what Norbrook terms, 'doctrinal

⁵⁵ *Annotations*, Genesis 1:1. 'The argument follows that if God were one being, *Bara Eloah* would have been used instead'.

⁵⁶ This is clarified in the annotation on Genesis 1:26 (the verse Hutchinson references here), which states 'the word of plurality [*us*] may intimate the *Trinitie*, distinctly notes in the first Epistle of John Chap.5.vers.7. in this manner (that is, plurally) God speaketh of himself foure times in Scripture, as besides this place, of this Booke, Chap. 3.22 & Chap. 11.7, & Isa 6.8', *Annotations*, Genesis 1:26.

⁵⁷ Muller, *Christ and the Decree*, 18.

⁵⁸ So dangerous was this alternative position perceived to be, that the Westminster Assembly made antitrinitarianism a capital offence in 1648: Lin, *Mystery Unveiled*, 39.

⁵⁹ DD/Hu3, 60. Norbrook doubts that this comment is in direct reference to Milton, citing instead Romans 11:25: 'For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, least ye should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in': 'My Faith and Attainment Are', in *Works2*, 524.

explicitness'.⁶⁰ This section, lines 85-124, repeats the central idea with increasing complexity which can be traced through the description of three-in-one. This is first expressed as 'in this One are Three' (86), which becomes first 'all coeternal, all coequal are' (97), and then, 'These three distinctly thus in one divine ...essence shine' (103-4), as three passages which define the same relationship follow one another.⁶¹ In each, the principle of three-in-one is stated followed by a description of the cooperation of the distinct parts. The same form of repetition is used to describe the different roles of the parts of the Trinity in two sections - ll.109-112, and ll. 113-122 - with the Father described first as 'the principal' and then as responsible for the creation. This comes before the final, clinching, couplet which returns to 'in essence one, and in subsistence three'.

The cumulative effect of these passages suggests a security in her doctrinal understanding of the Trinity which far exceeds the reticence in MFA to 'passe our bound'.⁶² As Norbrook has noted, this surety is also in contrast to Milton's position in *Paradise Lost* which has proved notoriously difficult to pin down.⁶³ We find nothing of the simple, and repeated, three-in-one formulation in Milton's epic to the extent that since the late-seventeenth century *Paradise Lost* has been viewed as antitrinitarian.⁶⁴ This surety also works against Hutchinson's repeated claims not to 'prie' too far into that which was not made clear in Scripture such as

⁶⁰ Norbrook, *Order and Disorder*, 9, footnote 20.

⁶¹ The second of these quotes verbatim from the Athanasian Creed.

⁶² DD/Hu3, 60.

⁶³ On Milton's anti-trinitarianism, see Martin Dzelzainis 'Milton and Antitrinitarianism', in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. S. Achinstein and E. Sauer, 171-85 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁶⁴ See particularly Milton's placement of the election of Christ in time - 'this day' - in the fifth book. His depiction of Christ's election certainly has similarities to the heretical statement of John Biddle, that Christ 'by reason of his eminency and intimacy with God, is singled out of the number of other heavenly Ministers or Angels': *A Confession of Faith Touching the Holy Trinity, According to Scripture* (London: 1648), 44. Vladimir Brljak offers an overview of early readings of Milton's antitrinitarian views, citing Charles Leslie's *History of Sin and Heresie Attempted* (1698) and the commonplace books of Abraham Hill. See Brljak, 'Early Comments on Milton's Anti-Trinitarianism', *Milton Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (March, 2015), 44-50.

the creation of the Angels (1.291-294), or into the secret workings of God's mystery which she writes about in the same language of 'blindness' used in MFA:

When his great hand appears, we must conclude
All that he does is wise, and just, and good;
Though our poor, sin-benighted soules, are blind
Nor can the mysteries of his wisdom find (5.449-452)

Often viewed in contrast to *Paradise Lost*, in which Milton 'allows the reader to soar beyond human confines and see the cosmos from the divine point of view', *OD* is deemed to keep its feet on the ground, to avoid depicting that which we cannot know.⁶⁵ Indeed, as in all her works, Hutchinson frequently recourses to characteristic terms which reflect her belief that true knowledge has been lost: shadows, veils, clouds. Hutchinson's discussion of the Trinity runs counter to this more general impression, repeating with conviction ideas normally perceived as veiled in mystery.

Hutchinson's avoidance of a recourse to the mysticism of the Trinity may have been in answer to the main charge levelled against Trinitarians by Socinians and other antitrinitarian groups: that 'such invocation of the mystery was a clear sign of the illogicality and unscriptural nature of the Trinity'.⁶⁶ Yet, even the staunchest Puritans, Owen among them, favoured a retention of the mysticism inherent in the existence of the Trinity, as, Lin argues, it was the basis for the Christological focus in his works.⁶⁷ The ejected Puritan minister, Thomas Jacombe (1622-1687), summed up the importance of mysticism to Trinitarian doctrine in 1672:

This is that ineffable, incomprehensible union ... between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the same common nature of the Godhead ... this is a mystery to be adored, not to be fathomed; a mystery much too deep for the plummet of reason to reach; he

⁶⁵ Norbrook, 'The Poem and its Contexts', xxxiv.

⁶⁶ Lin, *Mystery Unveiled*, 321.

⁶⁷ Lin, *Mystery Unveiled*, 187.

thereby reason would go about to grasp it, is as foolish as he that would attempt to put the ocean into a bucket, or to grasp the universe in the hollow of his hand ⁶⁸

In putting ‘the ocean into a bucket’, then, Hutchinson may have been responding to contemporary concerns, reflecting her own worry of being, along with Owen, maligned as an Enthusiast.⁶⁹ Despite her earlier wavering concerning the possibility of understanding the Trinity, Hutchinson remained a steadfast Trinitarian; in *OD* she rejects a mystical understanding of the doctrine, presenting instead a resolute depiction of the Trinity which bolsters the status of Christ.

As Wright notes, the first Canto functions as a ‘theological prolegomenon’ to the poem. This seems to be the correct understanding of the Canto which introduces key doctrinal principles that offer a frame for, and can direct our understanding of, the events to be narrated. In the first Canto, Hutchinson clearly articulates her Triune beliefs and demonstrates their Christological outcome. For her, Christ is divine and, more crucially, existed from the beginning of time not inactively, but as a creative force alongside God: ‘The fabric by th’eternal Word was made/ Not as th’instrument, but joint actor’ (1.116-7).⁷⁰ Muller, following the work of Paul Jacobs, argues that

the trinitarian ground of [Calvin’s] doctrine serves to unite the predestinarian and Christological motifs ... Indeed, once the trinitarian ground is recognized, the seemingly variant views of Calvin’s thought as focused on the sovereignty of God, on

⁶⁸ Thomas Jacomb, *Several Sermons Preach’d on the whole Eight Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans* (London: W. Godbid, 1672), 44-45.

⁶⁹ Lin raises the question as to whether there was a turn away from mysticism in the Trinity after the Restoration once Puritans were no longer backed up by civil authority: *Mystery Unveiled*, 209.

⁷⁰ The word ‘instrument’ can be read as a particularly pointed attack on the Arian depiction of the other facets of the Trinity as ‘instruments’ of God and so not one and the same being with him. This came from Arius’ reading of John 14:28 - ‘for my Father is greater than I’ - from which he drew his belief that the Father was superior to the Son. In early modern texts, see, for example, Biddle, *Confession of Faith Touching the Holy Trinity According to the Scripture*, 6: ‘these Scriptures plainly intimate that the Spirit was but the instrument of God in creating things, since God is said to have garnished the heavens by him’. For a rejection of the Arian position see John Wallis, *A Fourth Letter, Concerning the Sacred Trinity; In Reply to what is Entitled, An Answer To Dr Wallis’s Three Letters* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1691).

predestination, on Christology, or on the work of salvation performed by Christ and the Spirit, all begin to impinge upon a common interest and appear as related epicentres in the trinitarian structure of the *Institutes* ⁷¹

Muller's language offers, I believe, a way of framing our own understanding of Hutchinson's doctrinal formulations. In *OD*, the Trinity is, indeed, the 'epicentre' around which the other doctrines circulate and frequently intercept. While Hutchinson's poem does not offer the reader a 'system' of theology in a traditional sense associated with method and *loci*, here, in the first Canto, she offers an in-depth explanation of the principle which functions as keystone of her doctrinal arch - the doctrine which unifies the rest into a recognisable soteriological system unexpected in a narrative epic poem. Spanning out from this central Triune doctrine are Christological ideas regarding the nature of Christ and his promise of Salvation, and the eternal promise of Grace. It is to these corollary - but no less important - strands that we should now turn our attention.

'Steadfast in his holy fixed decree': justification before Christ

Having established Christ's eternal existence, Hutchinson's poem arguably moves onto more heterodox ground as she articulates a system of eternal justification which blurs the traditional distinction between the time of the law and the time of grace. As we have seen, one of the most crucial proof-texts for Trinitarians was John 1:1: 'In the beginning was that Word, and that Word was with God, and that Word was God'. While fundamentally in agreement that the 'Word' was Christ and so he was in existence from eternity, there was disagreement between Trinitarian sects surrounding the temporal efficacy of Christ's salvific purpose. In the late-1660s, while Hutchinson did not deny the eternal nature of Christ, she was careful to stress that his salvific role as the mediator of God's grace was temporal. She

⁷¹ Muller, *Christ and the Decree*, 18.

wrote in MFA that Christ was introduced ‘After Adam was fallen’, when ‘God of his owne free mercy and grace was pleasd to exhibite Christ Iesus as second roote of mankind’.⁷² Similarly, God’s grace to mankind was promised ‘Assoone as Adam had sinnd’, not before.⁷³ While these passages need not deny the eternal existence of Christ - ‘exhibit’ meaning to show or demonstrate something rather than to bring into existence - they do suggest a temporal gap between the creation of the world and the entrance of Christ. Furthermore, her Confessions remain orthodox in their expression that salvation through God’s grace was not actually achievable until after Christ’s crucifixion: he made ‘peace by his crosse’, ‘perfectly satisfied [God’s] iustice, and fullfilld all righteousness becoming obedient euen to death of the crosse’, and believers are ‘quickend to the life of Christ, crucifying their former lusts and affections vpon his crosse’.⁷⁴ This implies that, although promised from eternity, salvation and justification happen in time - ‘in due season’ as Hutchinson wrote in MFA.

In *OD*, however, Hutchinson appears to equate ‘the eternal decree to justify with actual justification’ in a way which moves her beyond the ‘bounds of seventeenth century orthodoxy’.⁷⁵ This begins with her description of the Fall which appears to be the result of the pre-existence of God’s grace manifested in Christ. In the poem, grace does not enter the world with Christ’s sacrificial death - which obviously happens outside of the scope of the narrative - but with the Fall of man. Indeed, she moves the promise of ‘redemption by Christ’ back in time to the very creation of Eve which mirrors the creation of the Church: ‘So from the second Adam’s bleeding side/ God formed the Gospel Church’ (1.467-8). Through this, Hutchinson creates a sense that the Fall was the inevitable outcome of the pre-existing

⁷² DD/Hu3, 72.

⁷³ DD/Hu3, 73.

⁷⁴ DD/Hu3, 74, 119, 125.

⁷⁵ Robert J. McKelvey, ‘That Error and Pillar of Antinomianism’, in *Drawn into Controversie: Reformed Theological Diversity and Debates Within Seventeenth-Century British Puritanism*, 225, 237.

promise of grace through Christ, writing in Canto four how God ‘permitt[ed] some to fall’, ‘That th’rest ... might stand’, ‘That th’ever-blessed Redeemer might take place/ To illustrate his rich mercy and free grace’, ‘That virtue might in its clear brightness shine’ (4.2, 3, 11-12, 15). These beneficial outcomes are not the result of the Fall, but the Fall was permitted (so) ‘that’ God’s grace might thus be demonstrated. The word ‘illustrate’ seems particularly important here, suggesting as it does a revealing of Christ’s nature which already existed (as ‘exhibite’ does in MFA), but further, that the Fall *had* to happen so that Christ could demonstrate his pre-existing mercy and free grace.⁷⁶

Presenting the Fall as the result of Christ’s pre-existence, *OD* appears to express the same heterodox sentiment as CSE in Hutchinson’s theological notebook: that God’s elect ‘neuer are vnder his wrath but God beholding them in Christ loues them euen before their conversion’.⁷⁷ The statement in CSE implies a world view in which humanity never lacked the saving promise of justification through Christ, even before his actual coming in the form of man or his death upon the cross - it undercuts any sense of a temporal gap between the promise of the decree and the enactment of the decree. Gribben is correct to assert that Hutchinson ‘never retracted’ this statement of eternal justification which ‘collapsed the distinction between time and eternity, [and] undercut the agreed conclusion of the Reformed churches’.⁷⁸ However, in *OD* she arguably reapproaches the concept in poetic form, forging a clearer, more coherent articulation of this doctrine and its ramifications for ecclesiastical organisation. After CSE, Gribben notes a ‘reversion towards orthodoxy’ in Hutchinson’s

⁷⁶ Norbrook glosses ‘illustrate’ as ‘render illustrious’, (OED ‘illustrate, v. 2) rather than in the sense of giving an example of an already existing phenomena. This is in line with Hutchinson’s use of the same word in her description of the human face - ‘if the front be the glory of man’s frame/ Those lights which in the upper windows flame/ illustrate it’. However, used with the repeated ‘that’, a sense of contingency is created which makes this other reading possible. See also her use of ‘illustrates’ in 4.18.

⁷⁷ DD/Hu3, 153.

⁷⁸ Gribben, ‘Lucy Hutchinson’s Theological Writings’, 304.

writing in a move which, I believe, is to overlook the radicalism of her depiction of the very earliest Christians in her biblical epic.⁷⁹

The Old Testament figures of *OD* do not appear to live under the promise of grace applicable at some future date. Rather, they live under grace; Hutchinson collapses the usual dichotomy between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. As with the promise of justification through Christ, the covenant of grace was generally accepted as existing from the time of the Fall but inoperative until the time of Christ's death on the cross. The *WCF* ties the new covenant clearly to the crucifixion: 'This covenant of grace is frequently set forth in Scripture by the name of a Testament, in reference to the death of Jesus Christ the Testator'.⁸⁰ The *WCF* also articulated the orthodox belief that Old and New Testament believers, despite the *promise* of the covenant of grace being universal, lived under the different covenants of the law and grace. This is not to say that Old Testament figures were all damned, but that their way of achieving salvation was different. As Hutchinson explains in MFA,

The law was administred to the Church of old vnder a Covenant of workes with threats and promises annex to it, yet conteind it a Gospell veild vnder types and cerimonies and misterious prophesies which being vnfolded by Christ remains an evangelicall rule to vs the administration being now vnder a Covenant of Grace.⁸¹

Hutchinson's Confessions took a step into heterodoxy when she stated that 'This Covenant of Grace is the same for substance to all belieuers from the beginning of the world till now although it hath bene in severall ages diversely administred', building on the *WCF*'s description of the different administration of the covenant.⁸²

⁷⁹ Gribben, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Theological Writings', 305. Gribben does not suggest that Hutchinson completely abandoned this doctrine but notes that she 'omits reference to such themes as justification and millennial theory' in *PCR*.

⁸⁰ *WCF*, 7.4.

⁸¹ DD/Hu3, 89.

⁸² DD/Hu3, 74, *WCF*, 7.5.

Arguably, this distinction between the means God used to demonstrate his grace in the times of the Old and the New Testament is missing in *OD*, with the very first Christians appearing to live under the ‘administration’ of the new Covenant. Hutchinson first introduces discussions of the eternal presence of grace during God’s judgement of Adam and Eve. God is first the fearful judge of mankind, who ‘at [his] righteous bar was cast/ And set for judgement by’ (5.57-8). Yet, it is not Adam and Eve who meet their punishment under this judge, but Satan, ‘sentenced first’, in the words of Genesis 3.15: ‘Thou’, said the Lord, ‘above all beasts accursed,/ Shalt on thy belly creep ... Between thee and the woman, and her seed/ And thine, I will put lasting enmity’ (5.61-65). ‘Here’, Hutchinson explains, is ‘irrevocable vengeance’ (5.69). And yet, with Satan punished, God the judge seems to fade from view, transforming into the God of Mercy and free Grace: ‘Here Mercy cures by kind and gentle wounds, / The Father here the gospel first reveals,/ Here fleshly veils th’eternal Son conceals’ (5.74-7). Reading this biblical passage concerning the punishment of Satan as foretelling the victory of Christ is hardly unusual, but the immediacy of grace’s entrance into the world is less typical - ‘the law of life and spirit *here* takes place’ (5.78). Having made this eternal promise of the gospel, God’s punishment of Adam and Eve somewhat loses its sting as he is depicted, not as the terrible Old Testament judge of the Law, but the merciful giver of grace:

But God, having th’amazèd sinners doomed,
 Put off the judge’s frown and reassumed
 A tender father’s kind and melting face,
 Opening his gracious arms for new embrace
 Taught them to expiate their heinous guilt
 By spotless sacrifice and pure blood spilt,
 Which, done in faith, did their faint hearts sustain
 Till the intended Lamb of God was slain (5.267-74)

While Hutchinson does not go as far as to suggest that Christ is present here - there is still the time to wait 'Till' he comes - she does suggest that Adam and Eve are safe in the promise of his coming. This is matched by a proliferation of New Testament biblical proofs in the margin which gesture to the everlasting nature of salvation in Christ (John 1:29, 1 John 2:2, Revelations 1:5 etc and 1:9-10, Romans 5:10 and 5:19), and even, in the case of Colossians 2:14, the abolition of the Law: 'and putting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, he even took it out of the way, and fastened it upon the cross'. This is not to argue that Hutchinson was atypical in seeing these Old Testament moments as prefiguring the coming promise of grace, but I would argue that the extent to which she sees the promise of grace as *applicable* to these Old Testament figures is rather more singular.

As Adam and Eve act 'in faith', so too does Noah in the seventh Canto. When a weaker man may have questioned choosing the painful, hard life over 'quick ease', Noah 'without dispute the Lord obeyed':

But upright Noah's firmer faith kept out
Such sinful murmurs and such carnal doubt.
He did with faith the means of life embrace,
As thankful for the precept as the grace (7.292, 285, 313-316)

While living in the time before Christ, and therefore only illuminated by types and shadows of his eventual coming, these figures all live steadfastly in their faith. This principle appears to be based upon the 11th Chapter of Hebrews, which begins with a sentence frequently quoted by Hutchinson: 'Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen'.⁸³ This chapter then lists Old Testament figures who lived 'by faith', including Noah, Abraham, and Sara. These figures, the 13th verse explains, 'all died in faith, not having

⁸³ See, DD/Hu3, 84.

received the promises, but having seen them far off, and were persuaded of *them*, and embraced *them*'. The following Chapter of Hebrews is very firm that Christ is only the 'author and finisher of *our* faith'.⁸⁴ In this way, Hebrews 11-12 stays clear of suggesting that these Old Testament figures lived under the Covenant of Grace; instead, they lived in faith under the *expectation* of Grace. Thus, the more orthodox reading of this section of Hebrews created a disparity between the time of the decree, and the time of its enactment. The twentieth Aphorism taken from Calvin's *Institutes*, for example, explains the dichotomy between the means of accessing salvation, based on the principle that Old Testament figures can live *in* faith, but not in the security of faith in the means open to those after Christ: 'And the law was therefore giuen that it might keep their minds in suspense till the coming of Christ'.⁸⁵

Yet, we have already seen that Hutchinson depicts Adam, Eve, and Noah as living under the covenant of Grace. Building on the heterodox proposition made in CSE that justification precedes faith, these Old Testament figures are safe in their own faith as members of God's elect. Again, Hutchinson removes any sense of a temporal distinction between the promise and the receipt of faith. In Canto seven, as Hutchinson describes the terrible vengeance that God will unleash on the world, Noah again appears to be under the protection of grace as Mercy, 'its gracious view on pious Noah fixed/ Who when all others did degenerate/ Is yet preserved in an unblemished state/ And in his upright soul its own work crowned for which he grace before th'Almighty found' (7.218-24). 'Degenerate' and 'unblemished' here clearly refer to the damnation or election of people according to God's foreknowledge and predestination and Noah's epithet, 'pious' does seem to gesture to his existence under Old

⁸⁴ Hebrews 12:2.

⁸⁵ DD/Hu3, 14.

Testament rules - that he is chosen for his adherence to good works under the Law. Yet the repetition of grace ('gracious', 'grace') makes it hard to pin down where Noah's election has arisen from.

This is not the only instance in *OD* in which the following of the Law is maligned in favour of a more mysterious sense of election which seems to exist entirely at God's pleasure. To stay with Noah, in Canto 9 Hutchinson recounts the story of his drunkenness and the ensuing banishment of Ham's son Canaan. A story which was most frequently read by Republicans as an example of the lewdness of the Restoration court, Hutchinson renders this an example of the elect verses the reprobate, with the damning of Canaan not related to right and wrong, but rather the result of God's eternal judgement.⁸⁶ Noah and Ham are condemned equally in Hutchinson's verse, Ham for being the 'lewder son', and Noah for indulging in wine: 'Noah, the new world's monarch, here lies drunk,/ His awful dread is with his temperance sunk' (9.199, 187-8). Indeed, the Canto seems turned against Noah, containing a long section on the dangers of excess drinking, and a condemnation of Noah's own role in encouraging Ham's sin:

Were not the governors first guilty by
Foolish remissness or harsh tyranny,
Or weak vice which betrays their impotence
And gives occasion to the next offence
Of those who formal majesty despise
When sin's base slave struts in the great disguise (9.228-33)

Yet, despite this, Hutchinson writes of the inescapability of Ham's punishment as decreed by God: 'God's pure laws are with such firm sanctions made/ That, howe're broke, the forfeit

⁸⁶ My reading of this section contrasts with Sarah C. E. Ross, who views the description of Noah's drunkenness as a straight 'condemnation of the dissolute English Restoration King': 'Epic, Meditation, or Sacred History', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700*, ed. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 495.

must be paid' (9.154-5). Hutchinson comes close to suggesting that Noah should also have been punished, 'for where the law/ Unexecuted is, reverence and awe/ Sink in contempt and untamed hearts no more/ The empty name of royalty adore' (9.249-53). Yet, this section culminates in a repetition of the fixity of God's decrees: 'though men indulge each other's crimes, yet he/ Will not a partial judge to any be... steadfast in his holy fixed decrees/ Who all sin with most just abhorrence sees' (9.256-263). Indeed, Ham is described as 'The special instance of [God's] just severity' at the end of the Canto as Hutchinson turns her attention towards the benefits of swift punishment as 'Indulgence but augments the fatal heap' (9.289, 305). Despite, then, the negative depiction of Noah as the world's first drunken king, this Canto leaves the reader with an image of God's divine justice, linked not to good and bad behaviours, but to his 'fixed decree' and 'just severity'. The moral law seems to be of little importance even in this Old Testament setting when compared to God's promise of grace to some and damnation to others. While it appears that the first covenant has not been abolished, and Noah ideally should not have committed his crime, he, as elect, does not actually live under the Law.

This is not to say that Hutchinson was entirely heterodox in her depiction of the Old Testament experience of faith and justification, as can be seen in her retelling of the birth of Cain in Canto 6. Hutchinson depicts Eve's misconceived delight in the birth of her son as 'exultingly she thought/ She had into the world her champion brought' (6.33-4). This, however, is a mistaken belief as 'Th'entail of life and victory was not/ To earthly man, of earthly man begot', but must be 'set into a nobler root' than the seed of Adam (6.39-40, 44). Rather, in the birth of Cain, Eve 'learned that such as live on faith must wait/ To have the promises whereon they stay/ Performed alone in God's own time and way' (6.46-8). Emily Griffiths-Jones notes that, in this moment, 'Eve is the first character in the poem to

misunderstand the scope of the divine romance, imagining that its temporality is restricted to her life span'.⁸⁷ In fact, the promise of Christ lies thousands of years in Eve's future. And yet, by alluding to Christ in the birth of Cain, Hutchinson both delays the moment of glory, *and* demonstrates that this promise is 'operative for Eve's living descendants'.⁸⁸ This sense of waiting in faith is repeated at the birth of Isaac as God explains to Abraham how 'from him the godly nations shall descend', but 'first a long a various tract of time/ Must be expired'; during this time Abraham must 'yet here steadfast rest/ Thy faith' (14.301-2, 113-4). Isaac, like Cain, is not the true *telos*.

Yet, Hutchinson's articulation of eternal justification, in which the divine decree and the enactment of it both take place in eternity, gives God's grace towards his elect a timeless quality. These Old Testament figures are safe not only in the *promise* of Christ's coming, but in the actuality of salvation through him and the covenant of grace; Christ not only exists from eternity according to God's providential plan, but he is active in it, securing salvation for all the elect. The description of Christ and the Trinity introduced in the first Canto enables the rest of *OD* to argue for the same controversial depiction of eternal justification that Hutchinson first encountered or articulated in *CSE*. Under this system of eternal justification, which pushes beyond the orthodox configurations of the *WCF*, the characters of the narrative are separated by their salvific status, defined by God's 'fixed decree', and guaranteed by Christ in eternity. There is no sense that these Old Testament figures are beholden to good works to guarantee their election, rather each - elect or reprobate from eternity - fit into their role in God's providential plan, designed to ensure the longevity of His church. It is through His 'fixed decree' concerning the elect and the reprobate that God creates ecclesiastical

⁸⁷ Emily Griffiths Jones, "My Victorious Triumphs Are All Thine": Romance and Elect Community in Lucy Hutchinson's "Order and Disorder", *Studies in Philology* 112, no. 1 (Winter, 2015), 186.

⁸⁸ Griffiths Jones, 'Romance and Elect Community', 186-7.

order. Nowhere is this clearer than in Hutchinson's depiction of the sets of brothers, whose narratives make up the bulk of the remaining poem.

'[D]ividing all in two societies': the first Churches of God

The first set of brothers offered in the Genesis narrative are Cain, Abel, and Seth. At their birth, Hutchinson demonstrates her knowledge of the Hebraic significance of their names as Eve names Cain, 'for God ... gives us possession', and Abel, 'whose riper age/
Accomplished what his sad name did presage' (6.26, 6.29-30). From the very moment of their birth, then, Cain and Abel's natures have been decided in their naming. This is an orthodox understanding of their names, as we can see in the *Westminster Annotations* for Genesis 4:1 and 4:2:

I have gotten] Obtained, or possessed a man; for *Kana*, (whence the name *Cain* or *Kain* is derived) signifieth a possession

Abel] Hebr. *Hebel*. There is a double writing of this name: the one with *Aleph* ... signifying *mourning* ... The other with *He*, *Hebel*, signifying *vanitie* ⁸⁹

The sense of their predestination is also found in the *Annotations*, as Abel's name is said to 'point by way of prophecie to the untimely end which afterward befell him'⁹⁰ Although the elder son, in a pattern which is repeated throughout *OD*, Cain is not elected of God, but is usurped by the younger, elected, son: Seth. Hutchinson is clear that Seth is the true 'founder of the Holy state', born when 'the holy seed [was] extinguished' by the death of Abel (6.427, 424). This is not simply a case of separate individuals however, one reprobate and one elect, but of bloodlines stretching down the generations. Just as Seth is linked to future glory from his birth, Cain, from his exile, becomes the founder of the 'Worldly State' (6.351). This

⁸⁹ *Annotations*, Genesis 4:1-2.

⁹⁰ *Annotations*, Genesis 4:1-2.

‘Worldly State’, Hutchinson has earlier introduced as the antithesis of the true Church of God as, in her reading of Genesis 3:15, she depicts the beginning of a timeless war:

Two empires here, two opposite cities rise,
Dividing all in two societies:

The little Church and the World’s larger state (5.85-89)

Depicting Cain and Seth as representatives of the ‘little Church and the World’s larger state’ has the implication of directly supporting communities of elected Christians who separate themselves away from the influence of the state-controlled Church. Seth’s community is defined by lack of artifice and earthly concerns: ‘No cities built for God was their defence;/ No arts, no sensual pleasures did invent’. Instead of searching for earthly glory, Seth’s bloodline ‘Left to the world terrestrial low delight/ While their more noble spirits did unite/ In the pursuit of high and heavenly things’ (6.402-407). Hutchinson contrasts this directly with Cain ‘Who, hardened in his pride and arrogance/ Raised him a city with aspiring walls’ (6.356-7). As depicted by Hutchinson, Cain is aware of the gulf between his family and the elected bloodline of Seth, and seeks to compensate for the loss of heavenly glory through earthly pleasures:

The favoured saints with whom we must not mix
May heaven ascend, here we on earth will fix.
Let them a trade of contemplation drive,
While we for conveniences for life contrive (6.361-4)

Thus, Cain’s settlement pursues ‘various arts’ to make their life more comfortable - the making of tents and instruments, forging iron and brass - and yet, without ‘God’s grace’, these actions are futile. Furthermore, these innocuous forms of human invention lead swiftly to more sinful ones; ‘lustful bigamy’, ‘impudence’, and ‘murder’ are all given their beginning ‘here’, in Cain’s city (6.386-8).⁹¹ Here again, then, we can see Hutchinson’s shift from description into ‘moral justification’, or indeed, moral judgement, as Cain becomes the first

⁹¹ ‘Here’ is repeated at the beginning of three consecutive lines.

example of the hypocritical Church goer - the chaff among the corn - who must be cast out of the true Church of God:

So for a while the formal hypocrite
Lies in the Church till he be found to light
God's strict and various shiftings to endure
When he comes to separate th'impure
Which from the heap the Holy Spirit drives (6.331-5)

The focus has shifted here, from the specific Cain, whose events are related in the past tense, to the general 'formal hypocrite' who exists in the present - 'lies', 'drives'. This shift to the more generalised present is further emphasised as Hutchinson describes the 'fugitives' guided by Satan: 'Then they who first walked down *now* headlong fall;/ Who kept some duties up, *now* leave off all' (6.339-40). She uses the example of Cain here as, what Sarah C. E. Ross terms, an 'emblematic vignette' - as a means of reflecting on the present using examples from the past.⁹² Weaving together the narrative of the past with a broader understanding of the current state of the reprobate, Hutchinson shifts from narrative to exegesis, depicting Cain and Seth as the opposing forces in the holy war which still continues. Thus, even when writing of the specific in the past tense, the poem is imbued with a sense that what was true for Cain or Seth, remains true for the contemporary Christian.

Placing the relationship between the brothers onto the scale of the holy war between Christ and Satan heightens this sense of the eternal difference between the elect and the reprobate. So too does the continuation of this relationship in the various sets of brothers Hutchinson depicts. In Canto 12 Hutchinson shows Abraham concerned at his lack of 'posterity', willing to accept that his heir 'must be a son born in [his] family' - that is household - rather than his son directly (12.16-17). God is quick to correct this belief, coming to Abraham directly to

⁹² Ross, 'Epic, Meditation, or Sacred History', 495.

reassure him that his issue will be in ‘equal, infinite, amount’ as ‘those stars which grace the skies’ (12.24-7). Abraham quickly accepts this promise as, once again, Hutchinson shows the benefits of waiting in faith, even for these first Christians, as ‘God for faith his righteousness received’ (12.28). Yet, the first son born to Abraham - like Cain - is not the elected representative of God. Ishmael, born of the handmaid, Hagar, is not damned as a wanderer - indeed, God promises that he, ‘in my favour shall have place/ And I will multiply his prosperous race’ - but he is not the promised continuation of Abraham’s blessed line: ‘Yet not from Hagar’s but from Sarah’s womb/ The children of the covenant shall come’ (12.185-6, 169-70). Once again, it is not from the first-born son that lasting posterity shall come, but the son specifically given from God as a sign of his covenant.

The union of Isaac and Rebecca leads to the final pair of brothers whose animosity reflects the eternal war between reprobate and elect. During pregnancy an angelic visitation (Hutchinson’s own invention), informs Rebecca - in the words of Genesis 25:23 - of the coming strife that her pains signify:

Two male twins struggle in thy pregnant womb:
 There their dissensions in the gate of life
 Are the beginnings of no private strife.
 From them two mighty nations shall descend,
 And with each other evermore contend
 The people born of them shall be as far
 From concord as the light and darkness are (17.124-8)⁹³

Here Hutchinson mixes the language of Genesis with an exhortation to separatism found in 2 Corinthians 6:14: ‘Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?’.

⁹³ ‘And the Lord said unto her, Two nations *are* in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels: and *the one* people shall be stronger than the *other* people and the elder shall serves the younger’.

This merging of the biblical passages allows us to see the link Hutchinson creates between the first oppositions between Christians and the meaning this has for later Puritans. These brothers, and the others of *OD*, act not simply as depictions of the elect and the reprobate, but as calls to Separationism, distinguished by their predestined status but also by physical separation guided by God. In this way Hutchinson once again uses her understanding of central doctrines to articulate an ecclesiastical system. I am not the first to note that these later sections of *OD* engage in contemporary debates concerning ecclesiology. Wright argues in his own PhD thesis on the poem's theological method that Hutchinson 'configures her narration of the Holy State to argue for an Independent understanding of the nature and membership of the Church'.⁹⁴ Wright does not, however, frame his own discussion around Hutchinson's earlier manuscript, seeking rather to demonstrate internal coherence within Cantos 6-20 and, on a larger scale, to demonstrate Hutchinson's 'original meditative purpose for *Order and Disorder*' and how the poem functions as an 'antidote to the Lucretian 'infection' of her thinking'.⁹⁵ As such, these arguments bear further exploration here, as we seek to understand the formulation of Hutchinson's ecclesiological beliefs as they developed from - and beyond - DD/Hu3.

'In the prepared ark thou shalt survive': exhortations to Separationism

We can see in the poem the merging of Christological and providential doctrines, Hutchinson circumnavigating the difficulty of including Christ in God's plans by introducing the doctrine of eternal justification. Assured in their faith through justification, the Old Testament figures live under Christ even before his coming. However, while stemming from the theological

⁹⁴ Wright, 'Meditative Poetry', 302.

⁹⁵ Wright, 'Meditative Poetry', 217. See chapter 7, '*Order and Disorder* and contemporary ecclesiological debates'.

engagement displayed in her notebook, her understanding of these doctrines appears to lead Hutchinson away from the kinds of Congregational ecclesiastical practices she articulated in the late-1660s, and towards a strict Separationism more reminiscent of the *Memoirs*; as the brother's indicate, it is from separation that God creates order.

In Hutchinson's depiction, the Genesis narrative is punctuated by periods of retreat and separation, the elect constantly breaking away from the reprobate to form the church anew. Seth's people, 'with the bare necessities content', separate themselves from Cain's city-building people, and the emerging governments of the early world: 'while the world in civil leagues combined/ Their souls in pious exercise joined' (6.451-2). However, Seth's 'house' is more than simply his people, they are the Church of God:

As single grains spring up in ears of corn,
So in one martyr's bed a church is born.
Though Abel childless died, yet God's house stood
Soon glorious up, sown in his precious blood (6.433-6)

Equally, when we meet Noah in Canto 7, his family are more than individual people, they are the Church: 'The Church alone in Noah's house remained' (7.241). Noah too, sets off in a period of retreat, safe physically in the ark, and less tangibly, under God's grace: 'Only to thee I will indulgence grant,/ With thee confirm the gracing Covenant ... In the prepared ark thou shalt survive' (7.275-9). Returning to the metaphor she used in MFA - that 'the church is the ark of God out of which there is no salvation' - Hutchinson depicts the story of Noah as the separation of the Church from the sinful world.⁹⁶ Again, this 'retreat' is contrasted with worldly luxury, as 'stately piles, raised to immortalize/ Their airy names' become the 'foolish builders' buried sepulchre' (7.397-400). Although the 'church that's figured by this ark' may contain 'Impure and pure together', when faced with 'earthly joys', some will soon forget the

⁹⁶ DD/Hu3, 98.

dangers of the world, and the safety of the church. This much becomes clear in Hutchinson's unusual depiction of the raven and dove sent by Noah as the reprobate and elect; the raven, who does not return, is like ungodly souls who, 'utterly forsake/ What in distress their did their shelter make', while the dove returns for 'succour and was taken in' (8.97-98, 120). While in theory, the church can be mixed, the reprobate will quickly separate themselves. Hutchinson depicts the end of the floods as a time of ecclesiastical restoration, asking 'What will the full Restoration be, if this/ the first daybreak of God's favour is?' As with Cain's cities, this restoration is interrupted by human architectural endeavour - the levelling of land, the construction of great buildings - which culminates in the building of the tower of Babel (10.65-112). This failure is, again, spurred on by the 'mixing' of different people and can only be rectified with the separation of God's holy people, now led by Abraham.⁹⁷

Abraham's creation of the Church is framed in the language of early modern Puritanism, his 'congregation' marked out by circumcision (12.163). His people gather in 'devout assemblies' which have again retreated from the material world:

No stately temples in this infant age
 Were for the worship of the great God raised
 But men in woods and fields their maker praised;
 Yet near whatever spring or shady oak
 Devout assemblies did the Lord invoke,
 That place holy esteem from thence obtained
 And was no more with common use profaned (12.18-24)⁹⁸

Wright notes how, in *OD*, Hutchinson gives the first Hebrew Church 'three basic characteristics...that constitute all other particular churches': that the members 'evinced deep internal acceptance of the covenant', that they engage in private devotion', and that they 'join

⁹⁷ Canto 11 begins 'The sons of Shem, with other nations mixed'.

⁹⁸ Isaac, too, constructs an altar in the wilderness where he 'pitched his tabernacle': 17.426-29.

in particular congregations with the purpose of public worship'.⁹⁹ In these three ways, the first congregations are 'virtually identical to an Independent congregation of the 1670s'.¹⁰⁰ In this depiction of churches in *OD* we can see Hutchinson reflecting her vehement statement in MFA that she 'vtterly disown[s]' 'parochiall and national Churches ... as ^noe^ true Churches of Christ', and the distinction she there created between congregating as a community of elected saints and the attending of church worship.¹⁰¹

In her poetic expression of this central doctrine, however, Hutchinson appears to exceed her insistence on such practice that she articulated in DD/Hu3, insisting on the absolute purity of the separated congregation. As noted by Griffiths-Jones, in the poem, the success - or otherwise - of relationships following Adam and Eve's hinges on the matched lineage of those involved.¹⁰² Hagar is a 'young Egyptian' who, thus, with Abraham produces a 'proud Egyptian boy'. On the other hand, while Hutchinson does not at first give genealogical details of Sarah (in Canto 11 she is simply Abraham's 'wife'), twice she gives details of her successfully pretending to be Abraham's sister. Hutchinson uses these episodes not just to further the narrative, but to reflect on the true nature of Godly marriage. Even before the first deception, Abraham addresses Sarah as 'my wife/ And sister', and, when he is accused of the deception by King Abimelech, he defends the trick as the truth:

Yet when I said she is my sister, I
Did but affirm the truth: our nuptial tie
Is added to our natural bond, for she
And I the children of one father be.
Though we our births from several mothers took (14.213-7)

⁹⁹ Wright, 'Meditative Poetry', 267-8.

¹⁰⁰ Wright, 'Meditative Poetry', 269.

¹⁰¹ DD/Hu3, 100-101.

¹⁰² Emily Griffiths Jones, "'My Victorious Triumphs Are All Thine'", 188-189.

Here Sarah and Abraham's genealogies are revealed to be the same. Unlike the Egyptian Hagar, Sarah can bear Abraham a son whose 'blessing was designed for the whole earth' (14.255). Hutchinson's issue with Hagar and Ishmael is not their race per se, but that they are not from the same lineage as the patriarch, Abraham; any child Hagar has physically cannot be purely of the elected people of God. As with the sets of brothers, this pattern repeats in the marriage of Isaac, as, in Canto 16, Abraham stipulates the stock from which his wife should come: 'that he should not link the holy seed/ To any of the Canaanitish breed ... he/ Must only out of his own family/ Elect his wife' (16.22-5). This instruction follows the wording in Genesis 24:3-4, with the addition of the loaded word, 'elect'.¹⁰³ In *OD* Hutchinson also gives her reader prior knowledge of just how closely Isaac and Rebecca are related, placing the lineage of the latter in Canto 15, and so giving the reader prior knowledge that the two are in fact cousins: 'of Milcah's [Abraham's sister-in-law] eight sons Bethuel was one, The father of Rebecca' (15.305-6). This information comes after the servant is sent to find Isaac a wife in Genesis.¹⁰⁴ While a small moment of narrative disruption, it seems important that Hutchinson chose to switch around these details pertaining to the appropriateness of the marriage between Isaac and Rebecca - they are the next stage in the continuation of the 'holy seed'. It is not an added detail that Rebecca is also descended from Abraham, but a crucial factor within Hutchinson's exegetical understanding.

Griffiths-Jones links Hutchinson's description of successful marriages back to the description of Paradise in Canto 3. God creates woman as, just as animals can only associate according to their species, 'Tis only like desires like things unite/ In union likeness only feeds delight'

¹⁰³ 'And I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of Heaven, and the God of earth, that thou shalt not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell: But thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son Isaac'.

¹⁰⁴ Genesis 24:15.

(3.263-4).¹⁰⁵ As God arranged like with like among animals in the Garden, so he arranges like with like within marriages from which will come the successful continuity of His elected people. This is in great contrast to what Hutchinson terms, 'mixed marriages'. From these - in the time of Cain - were 'produced a brood/ That stained the earth with violence and with blood:/ Men of prodigious valour, strength and size/ Whose monstrous crimes were no less prodigies' (6.541-4). Hutchinson is very clear that it is the mixing of bloodlines which causes these reprobates to turn from God, a point she emphasises as she turns her attention to Godly unions: 'There were a few that yet continued pure/ Nor these polluted mixtures would endure' (6.559-60).

In the poem, each time a community becomes corrupted through mixing - in a system in which mixed marriages represents the wider mismatch between elect and reprobate - God's elect physically remove themselves, refusing to admit the reprobate (the chaff) at all. This perhaps makes sense of the marginalia's frequent focus on Isaiah; referenced nearly as often as Genesis itself, this book of the Bible 'responds to the historical situation of the Exile, anticipating the return of Zion' and the saving of an elected people.¹⁰⁶ Through her insistence on 'like with like' - of pure unions of the elect - and the constant removal of elected patriarchs from intermixed communities, Hutchinson appears to be endorsing a truly Separationist Church. In this way, the providential and patrilineal election which takes place in *OD* rejects the Congregationalism of Hutchinson's earlier Confessions and returns to the ecclesiological formation she endorsed in the *Memoirs*. Indeed, the second chapter argued that retaining the purity of the elect through Separation is the impulse which underpinned Hutchinson's gathering of John's 'precepts' in DD/Hu4.

¹⁰⁵ Griffiths-Jones, 'Romance and Elect Community', 173-175.

¹⁰⁶ Louis Alonso Schökel, 'Isaiah', in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, 165.

Furthermore, stressing their existence under grace, Hutchinson aligns the situation of the *very first* Christians with those who came after Christ, displacing them from their usual position as unfulfilled types and presenting them - and their experiences - as aligned with Puritans in her contemporary world. Their expectations sometimes jump the gun - as Eve believes Cain to be Christ himself - but they are constantly rewarded for their faith-inspired patience, enabled to create true communities of the elect separated from the 'pollutions' of the world. As Shook argues, 'Hutchinson casts the Restoration as a postlapsarian Genesis [but] it is not necessarily a world where the elect suffer. Indeed, the elect triumph'.¹⁰⁷ Although the *telos* lies - as it does for Eve, Abraham, Isaac - far in the future, it is secure, if unachieved. In this way, the poem creates a sense of an unended (as opposed to unending) restoration. This is, as Griffiths-Jones notes in her comparison of the poem with John Dryden's *Astraea Redux* (1660), in contrast to Royalist Restoration literature which viewed the return of Charles II as the 'harmonious telos to the turbulent national story'.¹⁰⁸ For Dryden, the Restoration marked a new period in history in which unity had been achieved: 'And now Time's whiter series is begun,/ Which in soft centuries shall smoothly run'.¹⁰⁹ Hutchinson, on the other hand, views the process of restoration as a constant cycle which cannot end until the final return of Christ on the day of judgement. She articulates this continuous process in one of the most striking similes in the poem, as she describes the flood waters receding in Canto 8:

As women with their proud fantastic care
 Ne're satisfied, set and unset their hair
 A thousand times ere they themselves can please:
 So played the soft gales on the varied seas (8.19-22)

¹⁰⁷ Shook, 'Pious Fraud', 184.

¹⁰⁸ Griffiths Jones, 'Romance and Elect Community', 167.

¹⁰⁹ John Dryden, 'Astraea Redux', in *The Poetical Works of John Dryden*, ed. W. D. Christie (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1900), 2.292-3.

There is no fixed *telos* to the process of restoration depicted here - the fortunes of the elect shall be 'set and unset' seemingly forever. Indeed, this simile ends with the question of when this end point shall finally come: 'What will full Restoration be, if this/ But the first daybreak of God's favour is?' (8.27-28). Hutchinson's carefully constructed alignment of the first Christians with those who come after Christ's crucifixion - achieved through her theological system in which grace is ever present and thus the rules unchanging - leaves the late-seventeenth century Puritan asking the same question.

Hutchinson finishes her poem with yet another exhortation to have faith in God to protect, and separate, his elect:

But Jacob only on the Lord relies,
And well he might: for God at first did send
An unseen guard of angels to attend
His servant home, though yet he knew it not,
And Bethel's certain vision had forgot.
These Laban and his troops could have delayed
Or led them to wrong paths and while they strayed
Carried Jacob off safe. (20. 142-149)

Here the final Canto ends *in medias res*. The last line appears to be incomplete at just six syllables, and this final Canto is only 150 lines long, about half the length of the others. As such, Wilcher and Norbrook both describe how the poem 'breaks off', while Shook, Griffiths Jones and Scott-Baumann all call the poem 'unfinished'.¹¹⁰ The manuscript does contain another folio which has been lined with margins, seemingly in preparation for further text.¹¹¹ Yet, finishing with God's physical removal of Jacob, Hutchinson's poem ends fittingly with a

¹¹⁰ Wicher, 'Lucy Hutchinson and *Genesis*', 26, and Norbrook, *Order and Disorder*, 258; Shook, 'Pious Fraud', 180, Griffiths Jones, 'Romance and Elect Community', 164, and Scott-Baumann, 'Lucy Hutchinson, the Bible and Order and Disorder', 172. It should be noted that Canto 10 is also noticeably shorter than the others, containing just 112 lines, and yet does not appear to be unfinished.

¹¹¹ Osborn fb100, 322-back flyleaf.

final depiction of God's unfailing care for his elect, and our human inability to understand this care; Jacob, 'knew not' that God had sent his angels and, more importantly had forgotten the 'certain vision' which promised his safety. Hutchinson's use of subjunctives makes it clear that God can act in whatever way he pleases but will sometimes increase our hardship - because we have not yet been 'carried off safe' does not mean that God has forsaken his elect. Thus, the poem ends with an exhortation to trust in the unseen promise of God. Christians must, like Jacob, remember the 'certain visions' of Bethel which promised the final separation of the elect from the world. In Canto 19 she explains the 'mysteries' of the vision of Bethel; 'This ladder as to Jacob signifies/ His mortal progress, which from th'earth doth rise/ Till he Heaven's archèd palaces ascend' (19.128, 129-31). Yet, as she stresses, this applies to Jacob, 'but not to him alone':

By this the pilgrimage of all saints shown
 Informs us that while Christians climb on high
 By the harsh steps of crosses, poverty,
 Scorn, persecution, self-denial, hate
 The austere progress of a Christian state,
 God is still present (19.141-47)

Moreover, 'the ladder is the Christian's only way,/ The blessed Messiah ... by whom/ The saints into his Father's glory come' (19.162-4). Thus, the poem is, perhaps, not unfinished, but ends suitably with an exegetical reading of Genesis 32 which reminds the reader to remember the promised final - and eternal - separation which awaits the elect ('those perfect joys which never cease'). Furthermore, we are reminded that this can only be achieved through God's divine intervention based upon the foundational promise of Christ's eternal grace. It should be noted that Hutchinson compared John to Jacob - and his enemies to Laban - in the *Memoirs*. As her husband was marched through Newark, 'he expected far worse treatment from the generality of the town' than he met with. He viewed this favourable treatment during his persecution as a sign of God's providence:

The Coll. regarded all these civilities from the Towne ... not as of themselves but as from God who at that time overawed the hearts of his enemies as once he did Laban's and Esau's and he was much confirmed in the favour of God thereby and nothing at all daunted at the malice of his prosecutors but went as cheerfully into captivity as another would have come out of it ¹¹²

Perceiving the special providence of God even in his persecuted state, John was the model Christian as depicted in this closing verse of *OD*, once more suggesting that Hutchinson viewed the practices and promises of the very first Church as being re-enacted in her own contemporary moment. As Wright notes, John 'stands as an exemplar of a contemporary member of the Holy State who could live in obedience to the covenant in the face of unjust opposition from the Worldly State because his meditative habit permitted him to perceive special Providence in the most unlikely situations'.¹¹³ He, unlike Jacob, has not forgotten the promises of Bethel's vision and so depicts the security of self which can arise from a true understanding of God's relationship with his elect as it is depicted in the poem. Far from unfinished, then, the poem ends with a final demonstration of God's constant separation of his elect, faith in which comes from a complete understanding of doctrinal truths - the correct interpretation of Jacob's dream. *OD* is, at its heart, a treaty on church governance, albeit one which argues not only for its removal, but the utter futility of such hierarchical systems in the face of God's unfailing will. Through the examples of the brothers and God's continuing protection of his elect, Hutchinson removes any sense that the 'true reformation' will require human intervention. Far from striving to create new Confessions to define ecclesiastical methods, the Saint's role is purely one of interpreting the truth of God's Word.

This reading of *OD* supports Mark Burden's belief that 'Hutchinson does not recognise any easy distinction between theological doctrine and church government' but 'perceives that the

¹¹² DD/Hu4, 380. Laban appears to be a slip of the pen for 'Jacob'.

¹¹³ Wright, 'Meditative Poetry', 302.

‘common principles and grounds’ of religion lead in and of themselves to Congregational beliefs’.¹¹⁴ While I would quibble that her doctrines lead rather to *Separationist* beliefs in *OD*, it is undeniable that this ecclesiology has arisen from her developing theological beliefs surrounding the trinity - and within that Christ’s eternal existence and promise - God’s grace, and His relationship with His elect. These doctrines, formulated within the pages DD/Hu3, have been adapted and augmented, transformed into verse, in a poetics which offers a new ecclesiastical settlement founded on a fierce rejection of the ‘world’s larger state’.

Conclusion

Positioning the *OD* as the outcome - but not a reproduction - of Hutchinson’s studies in the 1670s facilitates a more precise dating of the poem than has previously been possible. Scholars have placed the composition of *OD* anywhere between 1664 and 1679.¹¹⁵ These dates present themselves as - obviously - the first five Cantos must have been written when they were printed in 1679, while Rochester’s manuscript contains the date ‘1664’ on the back flyleaf.¹¹⁶ However, this note is in the reverse of the book, inverted from the scribal copy of the poem, and so this may signify not a date for the poem, but perhaps the date of acquisition of the manuscript. It may even indicate that the manuscript was intended for a different purpose before being commandeered to contain *OD*. Furthermore, a note at the start of Canto 10 in this scribal copy reads, ‘There [sic] were copied out of the old notes after they were

¹¹⁴ Burden, ‘Lucy Hutchinson and Puritan Education’, 167.

¹¹⁵ Shook’s ‘Pious Fraud’, supports a dating of the poem to 1664 (180), as does Boyd Berry in ‘Conversation in Hutchinson’s *Order and Disorder* and Milton’s *Paradise Lost*’, in *Renaissance Papers 2005*, ed. Christopher Cobb and M. Thomas Hester (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 87. In ‘Maternity, Marriage, and Contract’, Miller implicitly dates *OD* to post-1667 through her argument that the poem ‘is an intertextual engagement with Milton’s poem about the Fall’, 347. Gorman only dates the poem as later than *DRN* in ‘Lucy Hutchinson, Lucretius and Soteriological Materialism’. Scott-Baumann argues that Hutchinson may have composed the poem ‘over a fifteen-year period’, from 1664 to 1679: ‘Lucy Hutchinson, the Bible and *Order and Disorder*’, 172.

¹¹⁶ Osborn fb100, reverse flyleaf.

dead' - if the 'they' here is Hutchinson, this copy was not finished until 1681, if Rochester, the final date for this manuscript may be 1696. Either one would present an astonishingly long copy-time for the manuscript if 1664 is believed to be the start date for inscription.

Norbrook argues that many 'aspects of the poem seem to belong to a context considerably later than the early 1660s', noting in his introduction to *OD* textual similarities between the poem and *PCR* (written in 1668), and the possible influence of *Paradise Lost*, first printed in 1667.¹¹⁷ Yet, from the verse fragments, to the bringing together of providentialism and Christocentrism, this chapter has argued that the earliest date for composition cannot have been before 1674/5, after the compilation of DD/Hu3. As such, this thesis has positioned *OD* as the last of Hutchinson's works, the culmination of a lifetime of literary engagement, and fifteen years of studied engagement with the issue of ecclesiastical settlement.

What is, though, the precise nature of *OD*? Given its full title, the poem appears to pull in different directions, both a poetic 'narrative' account of the events in Genesis, and a 'meditation'. In criticism the poem is generally not referred to by either of these terms, but rather as a 'biblical epic'.¹¹⁸ Wright has offered the most recent reconsideration of the poem. He does not deny its epic form, but, though an endeavour to separate 'meditative poetry' from the 'lyric mode', argues that the poem is best understood as 'meditative': 'if ... meditative poetry is a discursive site in which poets engage in theological reflection in an artistic and personally significant way, then *Order and Disorder* is ... an exemplar of meditative poetry'.¹¹⁹ Wright, in a move indicative of the criticism on the poem, is quick to identify the poem's concerns as 'theological'. While Norbrook notes, drawing a distinction

¹¹⁷ Norbrook, 'The Poem and its Contexts', xvii.

¹¹⁸ Norbrook, 'The Poem and its Contexts', xii.

¹¹⁹ Wright, 'Meditative Poetry' 20.

between Hutchinson and Milton, that her poem shows ‘recurrent interest in the godly as a church’, he restrains his discussion to the internal matters of the poem, exploring how Hutchinson argues for the corruption of the first communities.¹²⁰ I have shown, however, that it is not the case that individual moments of *OD* should be considered to reflect upon ecclesiology: I argue that the whole poem is best understood as a poem about the contemporary church, an ecclesiological manifesto. The poem is centrally concerned with how God creates ‘order’. Time and time again in the poem, Hutchinson’s exegetical understanding of Genesis reveals the first book of the Bible to be one which demonstrates God’s separation of his elect. Furthermore, it is through this separation, the eschewing of ‘unlike natures in conjunction’, that the Church emerges (3.180). The poem not only advocates a strict providentialist understanding of sacred history, but articulates how, through His providence, God creates ecclesiastical order in a disordered world.

¹²⁰ Norbrook, ‘The Poem and its Contexts’, xxxviii.

Conclusion

My thesis has demonstrated Hutchinson's intrinsic concern with matters of ecclesiology. From 1660-1679 she crafted texts which articulate a conception of the church. Yet, in each text she seems to express a different notion of the way in which God's elect should set about 'erecting their own walls'.¹ As this thesis has shown, even *OD* articulates an ecclesiological framework which is distinct from the ecclesiology she constructs in her prose manuscripts - this fact marks Hutchinson out as unique among early modern writers. This is not to say that other writers, including other *female* writers, were not producing ecclesiastical texts at this time, but they did not do so in verse. From the Quaker, Margaret Fell (1614-1702), to the Leveller, Katherine Chidley (1616-1653), we are now aware of a rich culture of women's polemical ecclesiological writing. Fell's *Women's Speaking Justified* (1666) offers an exegetical reconsideration of the role of women within the church, while in, *The Justification of the Independant Churches of Christ* (1641), Chidley embarked on a long-running polemical argument with the minister, Thomas Edwards, over the correct form of ecclesiastical settlement.² Owen, and countless other seventeenth century ministers, produced tracts in their thousands which laid out nonconformist conceptions of a church settlement, while Milton stands out as another early modern literary writer who was also fiercely engaged with ecclesiological matters.

Yet, there is a perceived split in the case of Milton between his ecclesiastical writings and his literary texts. Milton's poems have been richly studied as deeply engaged theological and political works, *Paradise Lost* and the poems of the 1671 volume long considered as complex

¹ *OD*, 5.87.

² *Womens Speaking Justified, proved and allowed of by the Scriptures* (London: 1666), Katherine Chidley, *The Justification of the Independant Churches of Christ* (London: William Larnar, 1641).

articulations of Milton's views on grace, the Trinity, and providence, and expressions of political dissatisfaction in the aftermath of the Restoration.³ However, it is generally to Milton's prose that scholars turn to study his ecclesiological convictions. As George H. McLoone notes, *De Doctrina* is often the 'primary source' used to discuss Milton's nonconformist ecclesiology.⁴ Indeed, George H. McLoone, Elizabeth Sauer and Ken Simpson are some of the few scholars who have considered that 'Milton's ecclesiastical nonconformity, his Puritan Independence, had important uses in his poetic art'.⁵ Yet, these critics explore a 'consistent theology of the church' expressed in both prose and poetry.⁶ Simpson, for example, offers *Paradise Regained* as the culminating expression of Milton's 'systematic ecclesiology' outlined in *Areopagitica* and *De Doctrina*, while Sauer explores how *Lycidas* 'anticipates' Milton's tracts 'in its censure of the bishops and then reflects back on their ruination in its second printing'.⁷ These studies explore Milton's poetry as an expression of his pre-existing ecclesiological beliefs - beliefs we can discover in his tracts and then rediscover, or unearth, in poetic form.

Conversely, I have argued that there is an inconstancy to Hutchinson's conception of the church noticeable even in her poem. In the chronology I have offered in this thesis, *OD* is the capstone of Hutchinson's body of work, but that does not mean, therefore, that the notion of the church articulated in the poem matches with the works which precede it. Rather, it is more Separationist than the Confessions, Hutchinson's developing notion of eternal grace

³ On Milton's Protestantism and political convictions see, Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*; Michael Lieb, *Theological Milton: Deity, Discourse and Heresy in the Miltonic Canon* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2006); and Michael Fixler, *Milton and the Kingdoms of God* (London: Faber, 1964).

⁴ George H. McLoone, *Milton's Poetry of Independence: Five Studies* (Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 1999), 1.

⁵ McLoone, *Milton's Poetry of Independence*, 1.

⁶ Ken Simpson, *Spiritual Architecture and 'Paradise Regained': Milton's Literary Ecclesiology* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007), 1.

⁷ Simpson, *Spiritual Architecture*, 18; Elizabeth Sauer, *Milton, Toleration, and Nationhood* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 30.

enabling a conception of the church built upon the same foundations as that of the very first Christians. In some sense, this offers a reversion to the ecclesiology of the *Memoirs* but, again, we cannot say that the two works are united by a shared conception of the church nor by the ways in which that conception is articulated. *OD* offers continuity within Hutchinson's oeuvre in so much as it is centrally concerned with ecclesiology, but it is not simply a poetic expression of Hutchinson's 'consistent theology of the church'. Indeed, this thesis has shown that Hutchinson had no such thing.

I have argued that - post-1660 - Hutchinson's ecclesiology was in constant flux, that she articulated different, and at times contradictory, notions of the church. These ecclesiological convictions arose in response to different influences, both social and textual, and were articulated in different ways: the closed network of familial exegesis in the direct aftermath of the Restoration led to the articulation of a strictly Separatist notion of a church settlement in a manuscript designed for her family; her engaged study of the Reformed tradition and the influence of John Owen to a more Congregationalist stance articulated in a notebook which gestures to a wider readership. In suggesting the chronology of her texts laid out in this thesis, I have argued for something of a bell curve in Hutchinson's conception of the church, her final poetic ecclesiological expression retracting some of the concessions she had made towards a more inclusive church found in her theological notebook. This sense of Hutchinson's continuous ecclesiastical development - albeit, not in a straight trajectory - runs counter to Gribben's assertion that her involvement with Owen evidenced in DD/Hu3 presents 'the end of a narrative arc in which Hutchinson recovered from her radicalism and individualism within the fellowship of a congregation that was committed to maintaining the achievements of the confessional tradition'.⁸ Yet, even without this strict chronology, I hope

⁸ Gribben, 'Lucy Hutchinson's Theological Writings', 305.

to have shown that we should not approach *OD* with the surety expressed by Norbrook that the ‘poem’s political and theological outlook matches Hutchinson’s precisely’.⁹ In part, the aim of this thesis was to use Hutchinson’s ecclesiology to disrupt scholarly notions of the ‘coherence’ of her religious ideas.¹⁰ In many ways then, this thesis joins scholarly reconsiderations of Restoration as a great ‘line in the sand’, the singular event to which all articulations of nonconformity in the late-seventeenth century were responding.¹¹

Articulations of ecclesiology, even those expressed by the same writer, could differ and develop in response to their personal circumstances, their socio-cultural influences, and the trials and different threats faced by nonconformists across the later-seventeenth century.

We can, in fact, bring this same attention to the social contexts of Owen’s texts to discover variance in his own articulations of a church settlement in the later-seventeenth century.

Gribben has noted high points in Owen’s Separationist sentiments in the early-1660s and mid-1670s. Distraught by the Restoration, in 1660 Owen had something of an ‘intellectual breakdown’ as he became pessimistic about the ‘current and future prospects of England and English Dissent’.¹² In *Theologoumena*, his first text published after the Restoration, Owen argues, using the example of Enos, that when the church has become ‘mixed with and corrupted by the apostate route’ there is no other option but physical separation: ‘There is then no way left for the godly but a secession and collection into separate assemblies ... by a visible separation from the rest of the world’.¹³ Gribben suggests that the arguments Owen espoused at this time ‘represented a significant methodological reversal for Owen’s work, a

⁹ Norbrook, ‘The Poem and its Contexts’, xiii.

¹⁰ Norbrook, ‘The Poem and its Contexts’, xiii.

¹¹ Zwicker, ‘Is There Such a Thing as Restoration Literature?’, 425.

¹² Gribben, ‘John Owen, Lucy Hutchinson’, 183. Gribben, ‘John Owen and Congregational Life’, 133.

¹³ Hutchinson, ‘On Theology’, 430. Hutchinson’s translation of this section is faithful: Owen, *Theologoumena*, 148.

... reconsideration of his previously held opinions'.¹⁴ Returning to his ministerial duties, Owen then articulated a more Congregationalist view in the late-1660s and early-70s. In March 1674, however, we find Owen once again exhorting Separationism in a sermon recorded in Hartopp's notebook:

our sin is that that notwithstanding all the uiolence that hath bin showne us in the nation, the feare and perplexity that we haue undergon, yet we haue not bin willing to come from among them and to be separte but have cleauer greatly unto the unclean thing, there maybe a tyme and is a tyme when god calls his people unto a locall separation, as he doth vpon Babilon ... be separate and more holy in our conuersations and to keep from the abominations of the world ¹⁵

This ebb and flow between these different ecclesiological positions seems to align with Hutchinson's own oscillation. Hutchinson and Owen's staunchest definitions of their 'community and its boundaries' was expressed at times when the boundaries of that community were most 'undermined ... or otherwise weakened'.¹⁶ Both appear to retreat into Separationism in the direct aftermath of the 'experience of defeat', and then again in the mid-1670s as the Declaration of Indulgence (1672) was revoked, and the Test Act (1673) made clear the establishment's preference for Anglican citizens.¹⁷

Even in the mid-1670s, however, Owen's ecclesiology was not static. In one sermon, recorded as being on the 'Duty of Church Members' in May 1674 - just two months after his exhortation to 'locall separation' - Owen spoke on the importance of 'promoteing Faith, obedience and holiness in all the members of the Church', stressing the need to codify practices for the benefit of the congregation:

¹⁴ Gribben, 'John Owen, Lucy Hutchinson', 182.

¹⁵ MS L6/2, 254.

¹⁶ A. P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Routledge, 1985), 50.

¹⁷ Stephen A. Timmons offers a detailed study of the effect of these laws on nonconformist sects in the West Country: 'From Persecution to Toleration in the West Country, 1672-1692', *The Historian* 68, no.3 (Fall, 2006), 461-488.

That one great end of Church society is that by the actings of the whole body and euery member of the body the whole maybe increased in faith, loue & obedience These are things Bretheren w^{ch} you haue heard and known but giue me leaue to say I would beg of you particularly to consider them because we are designing to reduce them unto practice ¹⁸

It is by paying close attention to the potential audiences for these sermons that we can begin to make sense of this contradiction. As mentioned in chapter three, Hartopp records Owen giving sermons in different locations in the mid-1670s and includes a comment Owen made on his different styles of preaching and audiences for such events. In a sermon given in July 1673, just after his take-over of Caryl's congregation, Owen stated, 'My way vpon these occasions is to speake very familerly, and not after the course of my more publique ministry and I shall do so unto you this day'.¹⁹ In this particular sermon Owen's preaching has a particularly heterodox millenarian bent as he talks about the 'neer approaching dissolutions' signalled by 'plague fire and some bloud'.²⁰ The more orthodox Congregationalist sermon given in May 1674, however, is recorded as given 'att a Church meeting', suggesting that Owen was preaching to the wider Congregation of over 100 that he took over from Caryl.²¹ As we have seen with Hutchinson, then, there seems to be an intersection in Owen's preaching between the ecclesiology articulated and the intended audience. This is not to say that either Hutchinson or Owen pandered to their audiences, articulating notions of the church that they were not committed to. But an attention to the material and social contexts of expressions of dissenting ecclesiology can, perhaps, aid in our understanding of the true complexity of late-seventeenth century nonconformity.

¹⁸ MS L6/2, 256-7.

¹⁹ MS L6/2, 192.

²⁰ MS L6.2, 201-202.

²¹ MS L6/2 256.

Therefore, were it that the only texts Hutchinson had written were her theological manuscripts, she would still be important. Hutchinson was not, like Owen, an ordained minister and, as such, a study of the *Memoirs* and DD/Hu3 can radically widen our perception of lay involvement in the search for a church settlement in seventeenth-century England, in the development of nonconformity and nonconformist congregations, and the possibilities of women's 'discursive horizons'.²² With women recognised as so important, numerically, within dissenting communities, a reappraisal of their role within the formation of nonconformity is overdue. Aligning with Molekamp who believes that 'female religious reading culture fostered hermeneutic and literary agency', this study of Hutchinson's manuscripts shows how one woman directly engaged with and responded to the religio-political culture of post-Restoration Britain.²³ Hutchinson, along with figures such as Chidley and Fell, demonstrates that the ecclesiastical culture of seventeenth-century dissent was not completely closed to women. On the one hand, then, Hutchinson demonstrates that Puritanism was a 'movement highly supportive of women's direct and influential involvement in their intellectual surroundings'.²⁴ However, while Hutchinson's texts, in some ways, might aid the endeavours of Bremer to discover the lay experience of nonconformity, what she really demonstrates is that there was no such thing as the 'ordinary lay folk', or a singular experience of defeat.²⁵ We have nothing to compare to the depth of Hutchinson's studied engagement in the ecclesiastical culture of nonconformity demonstrated by DD/Hu3, or the ways in which she could conceive of the ecclesiastical potential of traditionally literary genres - life writing, commonplacing - evidenced in the *Memoirs*, surviving in the archives of early modern women's texts.

²² Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*, 119.

²³ Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England*, 1.

²⁴ Scott-Baumann and Harris (eds.), *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women*, 2.

²⁵ Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*, 12-13

Furthermore, Hutchinson didn't simply write these notebooks - she also wrote an epic biblical poem. She did not choose to engage polemically with issues of church governance: she did not publish the Confessions. Hutchinson *did* publish *OD*. Why? And what does the addition of this poem to Hutchinson's canon do to our conception of her as a writer? Arguably one answer to the first of these questions is, simply, *Paradise Lost*. Even if Hutchinson began *OD* before 1667, she published the work in the shadow of Milton's great epic, 'the crowning laurel in the contribution of the Reformation to the English language and its literature'.²⁶ Many have read in Hutchinson's condemnation of those who 'pry/ Too long on things wrapt up in mystery' a not particularly covert attack against Milton's poetic additions to the biblical text.²⁷ The parity between the poems is such that Norbrook uses *Paradise Lost* as the earliest date of composition for *OD*, 'unless one writer had access to the other's in manuscript - which, given their mutual friendship with Anglesey, is not wholly implausible'.²⁸ The parallels between the texts are frequent but also frequently fractious. Hutchinson condemns 'truths wrapt up in many lies' which 'gross poetick fables are/ Saturn's extrusion, the bold giants war/ Division of the universal realm', in apparent answer to Milton's depiction of Satan in Book 1: 'in bulk as huge/ As whom the fables name of monstrous size,/Titanian or Earth-born, that warred on Jove'.²⁹ So too, can Hutchinson's closing description of Jacob be compared to Milton's Book 12 depiction of Christ; while Hutchinson's Jacob is 'carried ... off safe', protected in the world, Milton's Christ guides 'long-wandered Man/ Safe to eternal Paradise of rest'.³⁰

²⁶ Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, 431.

²⁷ *OD*, 1.291-2. See C. A. Moore, 'Miltoniana (1679-1714)', *Modern Philology* 24 (1927), 321; Norbrook, 'The Poem and its Contexts', xxv; and John T. Shawcross, *Milton: A Bibliography for the Years 1624-1700* (New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1984), 251.

²⁸ Norbrook, 'The Poem and its Contexts', xvii.

²⁹ *OD*, 4.48-51, Milton, 'Paradise Lost', I.196-198.

³⁰ *OD*, 20.149, Milton, 'Paradise Lost', XII.314-5.

Moreover, we have seen in this thesis that Hutchinson's biblical verse was as rooted in the classical tradition as *Paradise Lost*. Placing *OD* in concert with DD/Hu1 reveals Hutchinson's use of rhyming couplets not to be a rejection of the influence of classical literature, but an imitation of it. Both writers wrote in what they conceived of as a classical style, Milton in an 'English Heroic Verse without Rime, as that of *Homer* in *Greek*, and of *Virgil* in *Latin*', Hutchinson in the style of the English translations that so clearly fascinated her.³¹ While they diverge in their chosen meter, both writers, thus, embarked on the composition of a biblical poem written in imitation of classical epic. Acknowledged by Dryden as 'one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems which this Age or Nation has produced', the writing of an English biblical epic was, if not inconceivable before *Paradise Lost*, arguably lacking in cultural currency.³² Following Milton, however, Hutchinson produced and published a poem that, arguably, the literary culture of late-seventeenth century England would welcome.

In Hutchinson's shift to epic poetry then, we perhaps lose sight of her as a strictly ecclesiological writer composing texts to secure the theological legacy of her family and congregation. A new picture emerges: one of a poet, writing for a public audience, concerned with her literary legacy. If we did not have *OD*, Hutchinson would appear to be a writer of 'household publications' written within and for her familial context, the dedication of *DRN* to the Earl of Anglesey an idiosyncrasy in an otherwise fairly consistent career. I have argued that Hutchinson's texts before *OD* were written for sharply specific, and distinct, contexts: for her literary circles in the 1630s and 1650s; for her children directly following the double

³¹ Milton, 'The Verse', in *Paradise Lost a poem in ten books* (London: S. Simmons, 1668).

³² John Dryden, *The State of Innocence and fall of man an opera* (London: T.N, 1677), sig. Br. Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas has been viewed as an English epic; John Louis Lepage, 'Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' *Les Semaines* and the development of English poetic diction', PhD diss., University of Glasgow (1982). *Du Bartas his deuine weekes and works translated* (London: Humfrey Lounes, 1611). On Milton's revitalizing of English poetics Cummings, 'Revolutionary English', in *Grammar and Grace*, 421-431.

‘experience of defeat’ of the Restoration and John’s death; for her daughter’s marriage; and from and, perhaps, for the congregation surrounding John Owen in 1670s London.

Hutchinson had in mind a close and determinable set of readers for each of these texts even if, as might be the case with DD/Hu3, they were not literally readers of the text.

The publication of *OD*, however, shows that Hutchinson had radically reconceptualised her notion of her audience by 1679. She addresses her readers in the preface to the 1679 edition:

If anyone of no higher a pitch than myself be as much affected and stirred up in the reading as I have been in the writing, to admire the glories and excellencies of our great Creator, to fall low before him ... it will be a success beyond my hopes ³³

Unlike her other texts, this is an unknown reader, one beyond Hutchinson’s direct reach.

While the previous chapter on *OD* considered the whole 20 canto poem as a finished work, the details of the 1679 edition should not be overlooked. As we realise that the poem was intended to reach a much wider audience, so too should it be noted that the printed poem is less overtly radical than the copy contained in Rochester’s manuscript.

The poem was approved for publication by Roger L’Estrange, the King’s licenser, suggesting that it was not perceived to be expressly heterodox. Moreover, the poem was printed by Margaret White for Henry Mortlock, two figures whose outputs, if anything, show a tendency towards conformist texts. White, and before her, her husband, Robert White, were the primary printers for the Bishop, Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699), and Mortlock, although he also published the works the nonconformist ministers, Samuel Cradock (1621-1706) and Edward Reyner (1600-1668), was the publisher of choice for Stillingfleet. In further proof that *OD* was not viewed as particularly radical, White and Mortlock do not seem to have been

³³ *OD*, 4.

inclined to publish Hutchinson's poem for any ideological reasons.³⁴ With no obvious ideological impetus, the involvement of White and Mortlock also implies that *OD* was viewed as a financially viable text which, again, suggests there was an appetite for biblical epics among the readers of late-1670s England.

Hutchinson did seem to make some concessions to have the poem published. Most obviously she omits 15 cantos which, as the last chapter demonstrated, offer a particularly radical exegetical reading of Genesis. Hutchinson also took care to include dedicatory tropes in the poem's printed preface which could protect the work from condemnation. Hutchinson references her own inabilities as a writer: 'I cannot expect my work to find acceptance in the world ... nor am I much concerned how it be entertained, seeking no glory by it but what is rendered to him to whom it is only due'.³⁵ This preface works hard to position the text as orthodox. She stresses that the poem aligns with the 'consenting testimony of the whole Church' and - as she does frequently in the verse - how she has not stepped beyond the bounds of Scripture.³⁶ From the study of the final chapter of this thesis, we know these claims are false. The marginalia may also have been a concession made to a wider readership.

Writing about the 1671 volume of *Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes*, Stephen B. Dobranski argues that Milton 'exploits' the potential of the errata 'to complicate the poem's conclusion'.³⁷ The marginalia of *OD* functions in the same way, the radical undertones of the poem buried in the margins waiting to be reconstructed by an engaged reader.³⁸ While more work needs to be done on the precise context of the 1679 publication, I would argue that

³⁴ In contrast, from 1668-1674, Nathaniel Ponder was Owen's printer of choice, printing all his new works including the works Owen published anonymously. During this time Ponder's print output appears to have been ideologically restricted, limited to Owen, the Interregnum politician, Charles Wolseley (1630-1714), the Puritan minister, Thomas Brooks (1608-1680), and Andrew Marvell.

³⁵ *OD*, 3.

³⁶ *OD*, 5.

³⁷ Stephen B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 55 (41-61).

³⁸ See Scott-Baumann, 'Lucy Hutchinson, the Bible, and *Order and Disorder*'.

these concessions to her public audience demonstrate that Hutchinson did not publish the poem to intervene in polemical arguments concerning the structure of the church, but for literary recognition. While the ecclesiological focus of the poem is discoverable through a study of the marginalia and now through engagement with the whole twenty canto poem, the publication of the 1679 edition appears to have been an attempt to secure a literary rather than ecclesiastical legacy.

The securing of this legacy appears to have been on Hutchinson's mind in the 1670s and was facilitated by an engagement in the courtly networks which had formed her literary world in the 1630s and 1650s. Having composed the poem around 1658, Hutchinson dedicated *DRN* to Arthur Annesley in a demonstration of their friendship across the ideological boundaries of late-seventeenth century England. A man 'generally known to be extremely curious in collecting whatever occasionally was offered to him', it has been noted that this dedication was perhaps a strategy to have the poem published.³⁹ The gift of a scribal copy in early modern England, as Love notes, demonstrates 'a surrender of control over the future use' of the text akin to actual publication.⁴⁰ Wilcher suggests that the preface, with its plea for Annesley to 'include her repudiation of its atheistic contents 'whereuer your Lordship shall dispose this booke'', implies that Hutchinson did not 'expect the new copy to sit unopened on Anglesey's shelves'.⁴¹ Furthermore, Annesley had already played an important role in the composition and publication of Andrew Marvell's *The rehearsal transpros'd* (1672).⁴² We know Hutchinson gifted Annesley at least one more of her texts as he recorded a day in

³⁹ *Bibliotheca Angleseiana, sive, Catalogus variorum librorum in quavis linguâ & facultate insignium quos cum ingenti sumptu & summa diligenti sibi procuravit honoratiss* (London: Thomas Philip, 1686), sig. A2.

⁴⁰ Love, *Scribal Publication*, 40.

⁴¹ Robert Wilcher, 'Lucy Hutchinson', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 372.

⁴² Annabel Patterson and Martin Dzlzainis, 'Marvell and the Earl of Anglesey: A Chapter in the History of Reading', *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 3 (Sep., 2001), 703-726.

October 1682 during which in ‘the morning [he] was much delighted in reading pious Mrs Hutchesons diary and put thereby in mind of close walking wth God as she did’.⁴³

Hutchinson’s textual gifts to Annesley were, perhaps, successful; he records *DRN* as given to him by the ‘worthy author Mrs Lucy Hutchinson’.⁴⁴ When compared, the prefaces to *DRN* and *OD* gesture towards a wider knowledge of Hutchinson’s authorship of both texts. The preface to *OD* contains a direct refutation of her Lucretius translation as Hutchinson describes how ‘the vain curiosity of youth had drawn me to consider and translate the account some old poets and philosophers gave of the original of things’.⁴⁵ This suggests both that her translation of *DRN* was distributed in some way - a fact supported by Cokayne’s 1658 poem - and that her readers would recognise that *OD* was written by the same author despite the anonymity of the published edition. Hutchinson not only sought, but had, perhaps, garnered a literary reputation by 1679 and there is scope for future research in identifying further readers of her texts.

Hutchinson’s gift of *OD* to Rochester, alongside the copy of *DRN* gifted to Annesley, suggest something of the fluid nature of society in late-seventeenth century England. As a writer Hutchinson was still, in the 1670s, able to place herself within the literary networks of powerful Royalists and to share with Rochester a deeply political heterodox poem; her gifted texts do not suggest that, post-1660, ‘the great period of movement and freedom of thought was over’.⁴⁶ However, Hutchinson’s own freedom appears rooted in the literary connections she had made in the 1630s and 1650s. Stressing that her poetry is the legacy of the literary

⁴³ Annesley, Add. MS 18730, 100v. This ‘Diary’ is almost certainly not *OD* or *DRN*. Clarke suggests it might be *PCR*, but it may be a further work which is now lost: ‘Introduction to the Principles of the Christian Religion’, in *Works*2, 158.

⁴⁴ Add. MS 19333, 1.

⁴⁵ *OD*, 3.

⁴⁶ Hill, *World Turned Upside Down*, 306.

circles in which she moved in the 1630s I do not, like Norbrook, seek to ‘demonstrate a fundamental continuity between the post-1649 writings of poets sympathetic to the republic, and their earlier works’.⁴⁷ The kind of ecclesiological writing Hutchinson turned her attention to after the Restoration was arguably inconceivable pre-1660. Yet, nor does her canon suggest the sudden emergence of a ‘language of nonconformity’. If her works demonstrate that there was no harmonious overarching culture in the late-seventeenth century - one comparable to the courtly Caroline tradition of the 1620s and 30s - they also show the ways in which even dissenting writers could position their work to fit into different sections of the society that emerged after the Restoration. Hutchinson’s texts suggest that we should look again at our conception of late seventeenth century society as one which did not offer ‘a kind of political sphere for women’ equivalent to the 1630s Court.⁴⁸ The dissemination of her texts demonstrates the different strategies women could employ to engage in religious or literary culture across the seventeenth century.

As such, this thesis shows the importance of considering Hutchinson’s works across the sweep of the seventeenth century as, if Hutchinson had not turned her attention to *OD* in her later years, the record we would have of her as a writer would be, for many reasons, completely different. Without *OD* a great shift appears to take place in Hutchinson’s writing post-1660 as she abandoned the Royalist and courtly literature of her youth and the Interregnum in favour of scriptural exegesis and study of Reformation writers. However, with the poem as the culmination of her career, we can view Hutchinson as a much more adaptable writer, one for whom - like Milton - exegesis and classical literature could work hand in hand. She is a writer who, while deeply affected by the Restoration, could produce texts

⁴⁷ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 14

⁴⁸ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 20.

which offered a synthesis of different textual cultures. Hutchinson was also more varied in her associations than has been recognised, not simply a hard Puritan, unable after the ‘experience of defeat’ to engage with anything other than oppositional literary culture. Hutchinson’s texts, which conceptualise new forms of association based on her involvement in several different textual and social networks, thus, allow us to question ‘claims that puritanism was anti-literary, inward looking and iconoclastic’.⁴⁹

As such, we should, perhaps, not be surprised that other ecclesiastical writers of the seventeenth-century, including Fell, Chidley, and Owen, did not produce texts akin to Hutchinson’s. Her texts are the outcome of a precise and complex set of individual circumstances and influences. This thesis has shown that, while Hutchinson’s different works should not be read as glosses on one another, so different are they in their conception and articulation of associative practices, the texts cannot be read in isolation. This is even true of texts as diverse - generically and temporally - as DD/Hu1, DD/Hu3, and *OD*. As the notes on Calvin fed into Hutchinson’s Confessions, each of her texts is reliant on those that preceded it, the socio-cultural influences that Hutchinson was exposed to at each period of her life, and the literary and ecclesiastical cultures of which she was a part.

Furthermore, unlike these other nonconformist figures, by the 1670s Hutchinson was concerned with securing her literary legacy. The gifting of her texts in the years towards her death and the publication of *OD* demonstrate the urge to create a body of work. So too does the ‘performative’ nature of Hutchinson’s manuscript texts that this thesis has posited. Hutchinson composed texts that had a life beyond her. The *Memoirs* and *PCR* were composed to secure a familial ecclesiological legacy, her Confessions were edited for public

⁴⁹ Scott-Baumann and Harris (ed.), *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women*, 2.

consumption, and the compilation of DD/Hu1 shows Hutchinson securing her place within a literary network. The survival of Hutchinson's archive is almost certainly not accidental. Hutchinson's 'Elegies', *OD*, and *DRN* exist today in scribal copies, two of which were gifted perhaps aiding in their survival. But the survival of Hutchinson's manuscript notebooks also shows care being taken to preserve the works; the loss of at least two of her manuscripts reveals the ease with which such materials can go missing. Even then, these materials survived into the nineteenth century.⁵⁰

One final point to consider in light of this emerging conception of Hutchinson as a writer, is the process of adaptation which underpins all her works. The 1640s account was transformed into the *Memoirs*, while the poems recorded in DD/Hu1 combined with her Confessions - formed themselves from the adaptation of key Reformation texts - provide the literary and ecclesiological backbone of *OD*. Linking her texts in this way, Hutchinson shows a desire to have them recognised as a body of work despite their generic and stylistic disparities. Furthermore, this impulse to adaptation also underpins her relationships with other people's works. Hutchinson seems to have never just read a text but adapted it: John's biblical marginalia into commonplaces which exhort a Separatist ecclesiology; Calvin's *Institutes* and other Reformation texts into her own Confessions; she intervened in Owen's *Theologoumena* and, perhaps, CSE; and adapted Genesis into an epic poem. This shows an impulse to never 'utter anything that [she had] not really taken in', to make each work her own, expressed in her own voice.⁵¹ It has been often noted that, in the one surviving portrait we have of Hutchinson, she appears 'with a laurel wreath, emblem of poetic achievement', clasped in her hands' and it certainly appears true that Hutchinson was concerned with the securing of her

⁵⁰ In the introduction to the 1806 *Memoirs*, Julius lists five texts, only three of which we have remaining. Lost are 'a fragment, giving an account of the early part of her own life' and one of 'two books treating entirely religious subjects': Julius, 'Introduction', in *Memoirs*, i-ii.

⁵¹ *OD*, 5.

reputation as a literary writer.⁵² However, this does not come at the expense of her ecclesiological convictions - even post-1660. Hutchinson was both a theologian and a writer, the literary and ecclesiological contents and circumstances of her texts constantly reinforcing, shaping, and transforming one another.

⁵² Norbrook, 'The Poem and its Contexts', xv.

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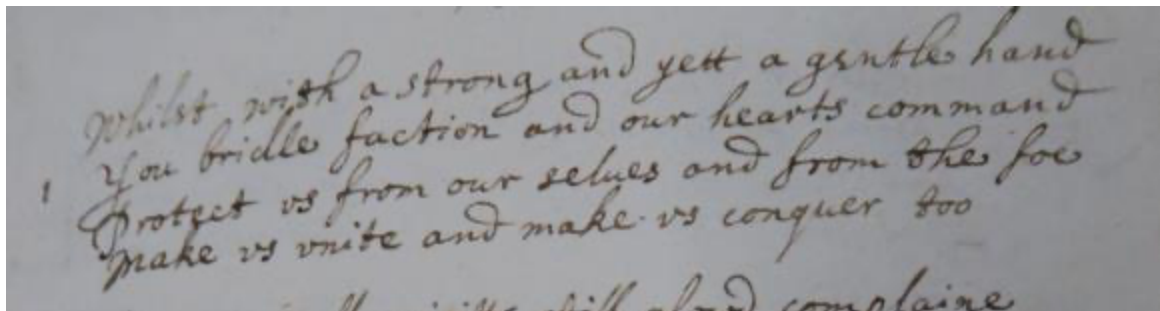
Appendix A: DD/Hu1 contents.

1. 1: 2 x signatures 'Lucy Hutchinson', 'The works of Lucy Hutchinson' (Lucy Hutchinson's Hand: LH). 'Read' (Julius Hutchinson's Hand).
2. 2-3: Draft letter to a grieving woman (LH): 'Madam It were arrogance in me to belieue my self able to administer any Christian comforts to your Ladyship...'. 'Writ by Lucy Hutchinson' (Julius Hutchinson).
3. 5-135: Books 2-6 of John Denham's *Aeneid*, incomplete (LH and Hand 2): 'While all intent with heedfull silence stand ... Along ye shore his ships at anchor ride'.
4. 139-146: Thomas Carew psalms 1, 2, 51, 90, 113 (LH): 'Happie the man that doth not walke', 'Why rage the heathen wherefore swell', 'Good God unlock the magazine', 'Make the greate God thy fort and dwell', 'Yee children of the lord that waite'.
5. 147-163: notes made from Nicholas Caussin *The Holy Court*, 1638 (LH).
6. 192-204: 'An abstract out of y^e Pedegree or Genealogy of y^e Noble family of y^e Botelers' (Julius Hutchinson).

Reverse end.

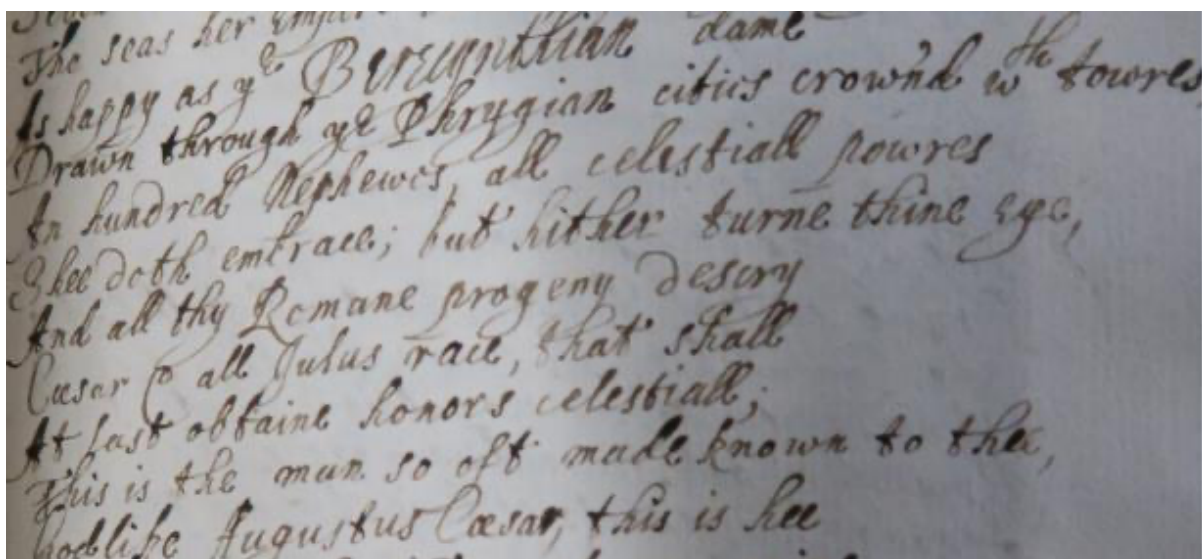
7. Flyleaf: Sections in Latin of Ovid *Heroides* IV.19-24; III.139-40; X.35; XV.96 (LH).
8. Flyleaf: Translation of Mathias Casimir, 'Epig. Lib unus p.243 Ep XXXIV Love is strong as death Can. 8.6' (LH).
9. 206: Horace quotation: 'Aut prodesse solent [sic], aut delectare poeta. Hotat' (LH).
10. 207-230: Sidney Godolphin's *Aeneid* Book 4 (LH): 'Mean while the Queen fanning a secret fire ... Which done her whole life vanish into ayre'.
11. 231-235: Verses of Thomas Carew (LH): 'Chorus of Jealousie', 'Chorus female honor betraid', 'Chorus Seperation of lovers', 'Incommunicability of love'.
12. 236-237: 'To My Lady Morton on New Years Day 1650, ascribed to E[dmund] W[aller], incomplete (LH): 'New Years may well expect to find ... Her princely burthen, to the Gallique shore'.
13. 238-9: 'To his Mrs Sent out of the north', unidentified verse (LH): 'Why dost thou faire persue me still.. And sweetend though not end my payne'.
14. 239-241: 'A Ballad upon the lamentable death of Anne Greene & Gilbert Samson', unidentified verse (LH): 'What a pittifull age is this ... committed by impotent men'.
15. 242-3: 'Sonnet' of Théophile de Viau and the same 'Paraphrased', translation by Charles Cotton (Hand 4): 'Thy beauties dearest Isis have ... Could all their powers have made thee sin'.
16. 244-5: Song from act 3 scene 5 of *Bartholomew Fair* by Ben Jonson (Hand 5): 'My masters and friends & good people draw near ... Then live to be hangd for cutting a purse'.
17. 147-49: 'The Hue & Cry after Sir John Presbiter', by John Cleveland (Hand 5): 'With haire in characters and Lugs in text ... His fingers thicker then the Prelates Ioynes'.
18. 249-250: 'The Antiplatonick', by John Cleaveland (Hand 5): 'For shame thou everlasting Woer ... With a nice Caution of a sword betweene'.
19. 251-258: 'A Panegyrick to My Lord Protector', by Edmund Waller (LH): 'Whilst with a strong and yet a gentle hand ... Like Josephs sheaues pay reverence & bow'.

Appendix B: hands of DD/Hu1.



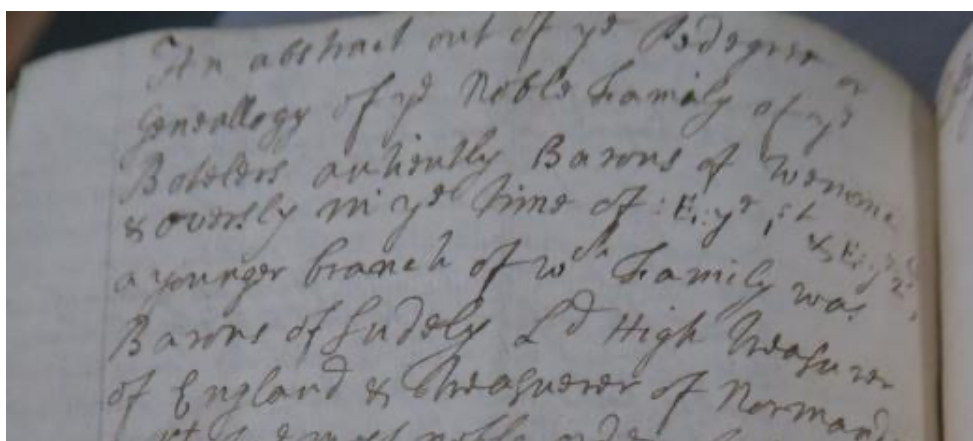
Whilst with a strong and yett a gentle hand
 You bridle faction and our hearts command
 Protect vs from our selues and from the foe
 Make vs unite and make vs conquer too
 ... will ... complaine

Lucy Hutchinson (251)



The seas her ...
 Is happy as y^e B...
 Drawn through y^e Phrygian cities crownd wth towers
 In hundred Nephews, all celestiall powres
 Glee doth embrace; but hither turne thine eye,
 And all thy Romane progeny Descry
 Caesar & all Julius race, that shall
 At last obtaine honors celestiall;
 This is the man so oft made knowne to thee,
 Goodlike Augustus Caesar, this is hee

Hand 2 (111)



An abstract out of y^e Pedigree or
 Genealogy of y^e Noble Family of y^e
 Bolsters antiently Barons of ...
 & courtly in y^e time of ...
 a younger branch of w^{ch} Family was
 Barons of Sudely & High Treasurer
 of England & Treasurer of Normandy
 ... noble order

Julius Hutchinson (192)

Paraphras'd.
 Thy beauties, Dearest Jsis, have
 Disturbed Nature at their sight:
 Thine eyes to Love his blindness gave;
 Such is their vigour of their light.

Hand 4 (242)

What though she be a Dame of Stone
 The widow of Pigmation
 As hard & unrelenting she
 As the now rusted Nicks
 In what else more of statue ranky
 A Nunne of the Platonish Quakky
 Love melts y^e Rigour wth the Dicks howe broad
 A flint will break upon a feather bed

Hand 5 (249)

Appendix C: John Hutchinson's letter to the speaker.

SP 29/3 ff.45-46, 'Col. John Hutchinson to the Speaker of the House of Commons', 5 June 1660 (The National Archives).

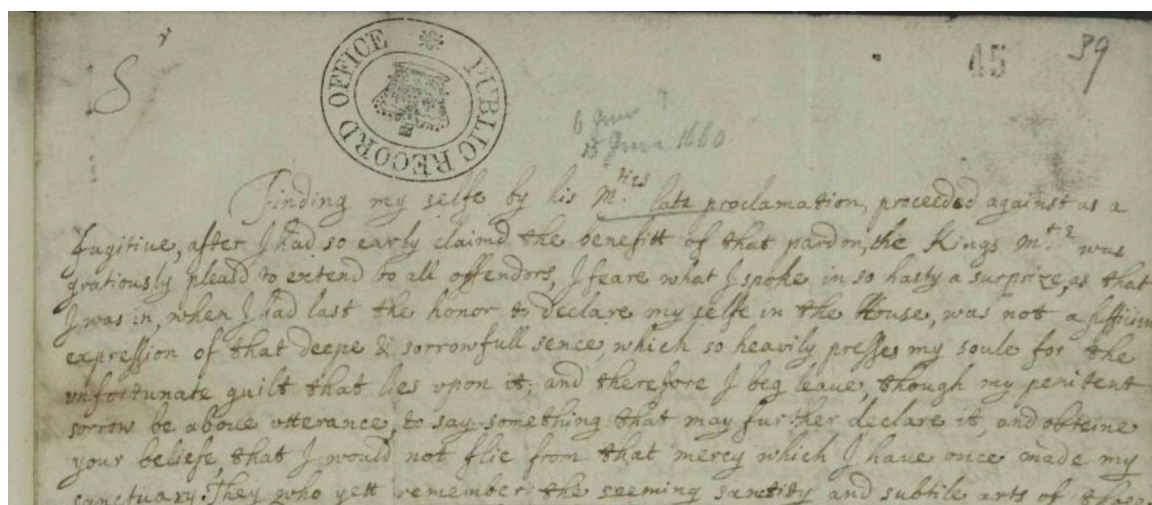
S^r

Finding my selfe by his m^{ties} late proclamation; proceeded against as a fugitive, after I had so early claimed the benifit of that pardon, the Kings m^{tie} was graciously pleasd to extend to all offenders, I feare what I spoke in so hasty a surprise, as that I was in, when I had last the honor & declare my selfe in the House, was not a sufficient expression of that deepe & sorrowfull sence which so heavily presse my soule for the unfortunate guilt that lies upon it; and therefore I beg leaue, though my penitent sorrow be aboue utterance to say something that may further declare it, and obtaine your beliefe that I would not flie from that mercy which I haue once made my sanctuary They who yet remember the seeming santity and subtile arts of those men, who deduced not only me, but thousands more in those unhappie dayes, cannot if they haue any christian compassion, but ioyned with me in bewailing my wretched misfortune, to haue fallen into their pernicious snares, when neither my owne mallice avarice or ambition, but an ill guided iudgement led me. Assone as euer my eies were opened to suspect my deceivers, no person with a more perfect abhorency detested both the heinous fact and the authors of it, and I was as willing to hazard my life and estate to redeeme my crime, as I had bene unfortunate through a deplorable mistake to forfeit them by it For this cause euer before Cromwell broke up the remaining part of the ~~Parliament~~ ^House^ when his ambition began to [...] it selfe iealous of those sins I did not sooner discerne I stopt and left of acting wth them As his usurpation made it more manifest my repentance grew greater and begott in me a most earnest desire to repaire as much as was possible, the miserie I had undesigningly run my selfe & others into, and to returne to that Loyall subiection to the right prince, from which I had bene so horridly misled There upon I sett Cromwells honors and his friendship att that defiance, that I neuer could be drawne to accept aniething from him, to make or ioyned in any addresse to him, or so much as to giue him me civill visitt; for which I was watcht with iealous eies and designd to be secured as a person disaffected to him, and desireous to serue the king; which how really I was both then & since there are yet diuerse honorable persons as the Lord Biron, Sr Robert Biron Sr Allen Apsley Mr Stanhope Mr Brodrick & others can testifie, & the Earle of Rochester could say more if he were now living neither was I driuen to this through feare, but the conviction of my conscience that I ought so to act though I then run greate hazards in it, being a time when not only these three kingdoms but all the neighbouring nations courted that vsurper as a glorious & stablisht monarch, nor was it animositie against him for hauing displaced me with the rest, but when he ceast the same desires combined in me, when being summoned to returne among the members of the house I had not sitten there, but that I was advised I might thereby haue a better opportunity to serue his M^{tie}, then by refrining & accordingly I freely & openly acted as farre as the persons and times would then beare. Before Sr G. Booth was in arms I refused ~~and so~~ taking my selfe & withstood the imposing upon others; of that engagement to be constant to a Commonwealth & whateuer I acted as looking that was but, as much as was then possible to redeeme the power out of the souldiers hands, att least into some face of civill authority, but that it neuer was my intention to rest there, I appeale to my after actings, when I hinderd the oath of renuntiation, endeavoured the release of Sr G. Booth & all his party from confiscation, and the restoring of the seclused members and the freeing of his Excellency the now Ld Generall from the yoake of fellow Comm~~issioners~~, in all which I appeale to Sr Anthony Ashly Cooper Sr George Booth & other worthy persons in this House, who know how I haue demeand my selfe Sr By all this I hope my repentance will appeare to

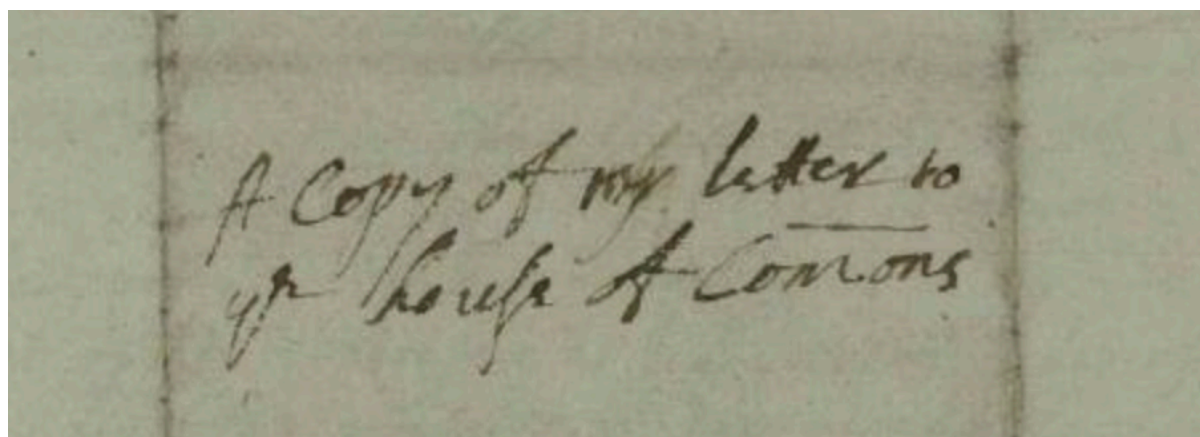
haue bene long since, and not of late expresst, that it was reall rather declar'd by deeds then words that it was constant through severall changes of affaires that it was ^through gods greate mercy thorough^ conviction of my former misled iudgement and conscience and not a regard of my particular safety that droue me to it: all which if you please to communicate to the house, and they please to honor me with their patience to heare it, I shall not dispaire, but if mercy be to be mixt with iustice I may become an oniect of it, & therefore as I did before I desire againe to testifie my resolution of abiding the commands of the Honorable house humbly begging as an earnest of greater favour that I may be att liberty ^upon my parole ^ til they shall determine of me, who though I acknowledge my selfe involued in so horrid a crime as meritts no indulgence, yet hauing a miserable famely that must though innocent, share all my ruine, I cannot but beg the honorable House would not exclude me from the refuge of the Kings most gracious pardon, and pluck me from the horns of that sacred altar, to become his sacrifice and if I thus escape being made a burnt offering I shall make all my life, all my children, & all my enioyments a perpetuall dedication to his M^{ties} service bewailing much more my incapacitie of rendring it, so as I might else haue done, then any other wretchednesse my most deplorable crime hath brought upon me in whom life will but lengthen an insupportable affliction that to the graue will accompany

Your most obedient & most humble servant

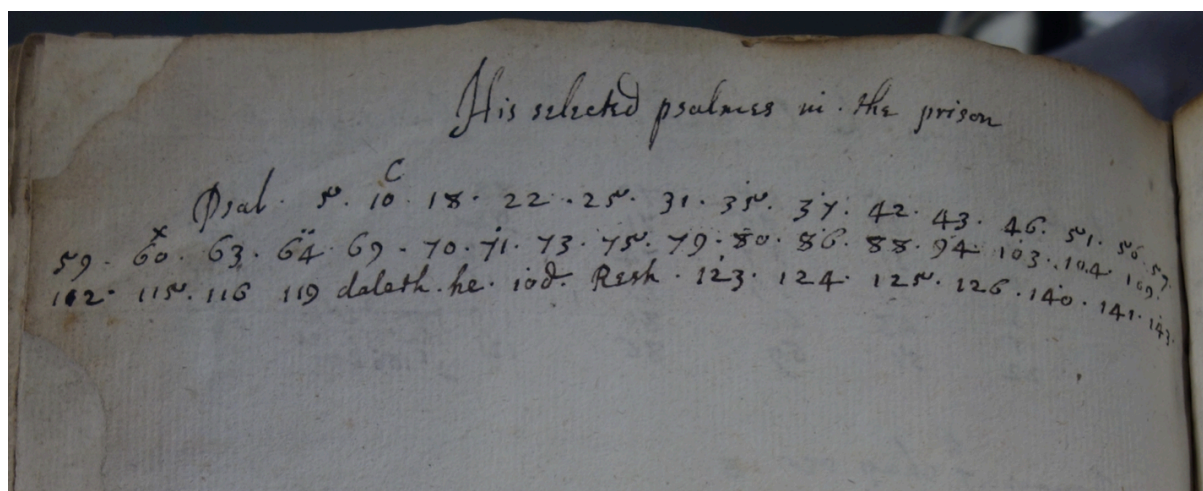
The letter appears to be in Hutchinson's hand (45r):



However, this endorsement is in John Hutchinson's hand (46v):



Appendix D: the marked psalms in DD/Hu4.



DD/Hu4, unfoliated.

Appendix E: DD/Hu3 contents.

1. Flyleaf - 5: verse translation of Buchanan's *Baptistes* and original verse adaptation of the same.
2. 7 – 48: Translation of the Aphorisms of Calvin. 'The true wisdom of men is sited in the knowledge of God... But wee are so to obey earthly Magistrates that the prerogative of the supreme King may be always kept entire and inviolable'.
3. 49: Hutchinson's objections to Calvin.
4. 55- 114: 'My owne faith and attainment are', 1667.
5. 116-129: 'A breifer summe of what I believe', 1668.
6. 130-136: Sermon notes, John 15:8.
7. 137-139: Sermon notes, John 10:10.
8. 140-142: Sermon notes, I Peter 2:7.
9. 144-148: Sermon notes, Matthew 13:20.
10. 150-184: 'Concerning selfe examination whither wee haue interest in Christ': 'In this greate duty some are too secure and resolute themselves that they are Christians ... If you be in Christ you must loue all the brethren and not cut your selfe off from communion with any Christians wherein you may haue conuersion with Christ'.
11. 185-186: 'Arguments to prooue the scripture the word of God'.
12. 186-188: 'The Loue of God'.
13. 190-196: Sermon notes, Hebrew 6:12, April 5 1673.

Reverse end.

14. Flyleaf: fragments of original verse and Latin words. 'Mrs Hutchinsons belief ... 1716' in the hand of Julius Hutchinson.
15. 277-276: fragments of original verse and translation of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.89-110.
16. 274-235: 'Notes out of the Institutions of M^r John Caluin', Book I chapters 1-11: 'The whole summe of that w^{ch} can truly be accounted wisdom in vs is comprehended in these two parts ... the Heathen themselves did not believe the image to be God but that the gods inhabited heaven and only their power and efficacy resided in these'.
17. 233-220: Sermon notes, I Thessalonians 5:23, 14 June 1673.
18. 219-209: Sermon notes, I Thessalonians 5:23, 20 June 1673.
19. 205-197: Sermon notes, Revelations 14:13, April 1673.

Appendix F: example of the marginalia in *Order and Disorder*.

(4)	(5)
<p>Unite, centring in his Perfection, Eph. 4. 5. Whose Nature can admit but only One; Divided Sovereignty makes neither great, Wanting what's thar'd to make the sum compleat, The Tri- And yet this sovereign sacred Unitie nity. Is not alone, for in this one are three, 1 Joh. 5. 7. Distinguisht, not divided, so that what Mat. 28. 19. One person is, the other is not that; Mar. 3. 16. Yet all the three, are but one God most High, 17. One uncompounded, pure Divinity, Wherein subsist so, the Mysterious three, That they in Power and Glory equal be; 1 Joh. 14. 10. Each doth himself, and all the rest possesse Prov. 8. In undisturbed joy and blessedness, 22, 30. There's no Inferiour, nor no Later there, Jo. 1. 1. All Coeternal, all Coequal, are, Phil. 2. 6. And yet this Parity Order admits, Joh. 5. 18. The Father first, eternally begets, Within himself, his Son, substantial Word, 1 Joh. 1. 14. And Wisdom, as his second, and their third 14. The ever blessed spirit is, which doth Joh. 16. Alike eternally proceed from both. 13, 14. These three, distinctly thus, in one Divine, Joh. 15. 16. Pure, Perfect, Self-supplying, Essence shine Joh. 5. 17. And all cooperate in all works done Exteriorly, yet so, as every one, In a peculiar manner suited to His Person, doth the common action do. Heb. 12. Herein the Father is the Principal, 19. Whose sacred counsels are th' Original Ef. 4. 4. Of every Act; produced by the Son, Joh. 5. 26. By the Spirit wrought up to perfection, 1 Cor. 8. 6. In the Creation thus, by the Fathers wife decree, Joh. 5. 19. The Creation thus, by the Fathers wife decree, Eph. 1. 11. Such things should in such time, and order be, 2 Tim. 1. 9. The</p>	<p>The first foundation of the world was laid. The Fabrique, by th' Eternal Word, was made Not as th' instrument, but joynt actor, who Joy'd to fulfill the counsels which he knew. By the concurrent Spirit all parts were Fittly dispos'd, distinguisht, rendred fair, In such harmonious and wise order set, As universal Beauty did compleat. This most mysterious Triple Unitie, In Essence One, and in subsistence Three; Was that great Elohim, who first design'd, Then made the Worlds, that Angels and Mankind Him in his rich out-goings might adore, And celebrate his praise for evermore; Who from Eternity himself supplied, And had no need of any thing beside, Nor any other cause that did him move To make a World, but his extensive Love, It self delighting to communicate; Its Glory in the creatures to dilate, While they are led by their own excellence T' admire the first, pure, high Intelligence, By all the Powers and virtues which they have, To that Omnipotence who those Powers gave; By all their glories and their joys to his, Who is the fountain of all joy and blifs; By all their wants and imbecillities, To the full magazine of rich supplies, Where Power, Love, Justice, and Mercy shine In their still fixed heights, and ne're decline. No streams can shrink the self-supplying spring, No retributions can more fulness bring To the eternal fountain, which doth run In sacred circles, ends where it begun, B And</p>

Lucy Hutchinson, *Order and Disorder* (London: Margaret White for Henry Mortlock, 1679), 4-5.