

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

# **A Critical Edition of John Beadle's**

**A Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian**

**Germaine Fry Murray**



*Routledge Revivals*

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**GERMAINE FRY MURRAY**



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# THE RENAISSANCE IMAGINATION

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TEXTS FROM THE LATE MIDDLE AGES  
THROUGH THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

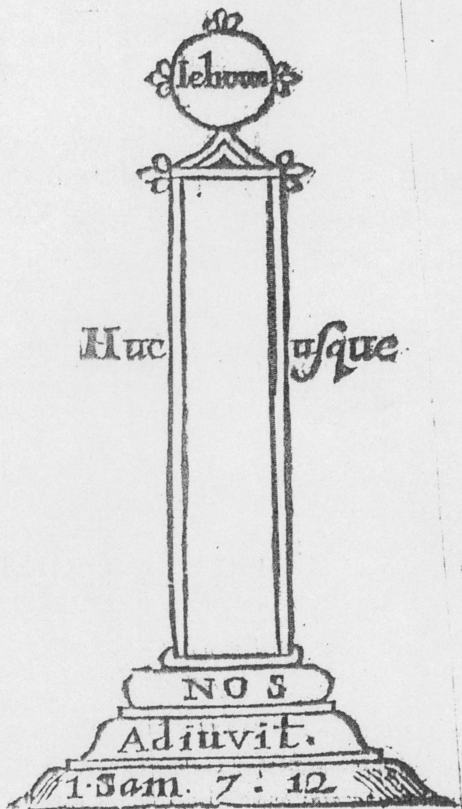
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STEPHEN ORGEL  
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Deo plane, quod debet, retribuere nemo potest; quod  
tam copiose supra nos accumulaverit misericor-  
diam; quod tam multa deliquerimus, quod tam  
fragiles & rēbil' sumus; quod tam plenus ille,  
sufficiens sibi, nec bonorum nostrorum egens.

Bern. Serm. 3. De adventu Domini.



Curatorem mei rerumq; mearum ex pacto Deum  
habeo; illi bene notum est quid mihi sufficit, &  
quando conduceret; hactenus non fefellit, quando  
dubitare inciperem, & non simul ingratus esse inci-  
perem. Foxius.

To

A CRITICAL EDITION  
OF JOHN BEADLE'S  
*A Journall or Diary of a  
Thankfull Christian*

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GERMAINE FRY MURRAY

GARLAND PUBLISHING, INC.  
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The  
Journal  
or  
Diary  
5 of a

THANKFUL CHRISTIAN

Presented in some Meditations upon

NUMB. 33.2

10 *And Moses wrote their goings out, according to their  
Journeys, by the commandment of the Lord.*

By J.B. Master of Arts, and Minister of the Gospel at  
Barnstone in Essex.

15 *Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they  
shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord, Psal.  
107.43*

*Who hath despised the day of small things? Zach. 4.10.  
Nihil tam conveniens Deo quam beneficentia, nihil autem  
alienum quam ut sit ingratus homo. Lactan. de ira Dei ad  
Donat. cap. 16.*

20 *For this is the genuine thanksgiving, when we do those  
things whereby God is sure to be glorified, and flee  
from those from which we have been set free. Chrysost.  
Rom. Hom. 18.*

25 *London, Printed by E. Cotes, for Tho. Parkhurst, at the  
Three Crowns over against the great Conduit at the lower  
end of Cheapside, 1656.*



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# Introduction

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

1656.

*Title:* THE | JOURNAL | OR | DIARY | OF A | THANKFUL  
CHRISTIAN. | Presented in some Meditations upon | NUMB.  
33.2. | *And Moses wrote their goings out, accor- | ding to their*  
*Journeys, by the comman- | dement of the Lord.* | [rule, 83 mm  
wide] | By J. B. Master of Arts, and Minister of the | Gospel at  
Barnstone in Essex. | [rule, 83 mm wide] | *Whoso is wise, and*  
*will observe these things, even they shall | understand the*  
*loving kindness of the Lord, Psal. 107. 43. | Who hath despised*  
*the day of small things? Zach. 4. 10. | Nihil tam conveniens*  
*Deo quam beneficentia, nihil autem tam alienum | quam ut sit*  
*ingratus homo. Lactan. de ira Dei ad Donat. cap. 16. |*

*"Αυτη γάρ η εύχαριστία η άκριβής, όΤαν*  
*Ταύτα πραττωμενδιών | όθεος δοξάξεσθαι*  
*μέλλει όΤαν έκετνα φύγωμεν ών άπηλλάγωμεν |*

Chrysost. Rom. Hom. 18. | [rule, 82 mm wide] *London, Printed*  
*by E. Cotes, for Tho. Parkhurst, at the | Three Crowns over*  
*against the great Conduit at the lower | end of Cheapside,*  
1656.

*Collation:* Octavo. A<sup>8</sup>, a-b<sup>8</sup>, B-N<sup>8</sup>. 120 leaves. Leaves of each  
gathering are signed except, A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, and the last three leaves of  
all gatherings.

*Pagination:* A<sup>1r</sup>- A<sup>8v</sup>, a<sup>1r</sup>-b<sup>8v</sup> are not foliated or paginated. B<sup>1r</sup>-  
N<sup>8v</sup> are paginated. Errors in pagination: 128 for 125; 112 for 128.

*Contents:* A<sup>1r</sup> [blank]. A<sup>1v</sup> [single band of type ornaments,  
Imprimatur, *Edmund Calamy.* [single band of type ornaments].  
A<sup>2r</sup> [Title]. A<sup>2v</sup> [woodcut 93 mm high of pillar on three-tiered  
pedestal containing the words "NOS Adiuvit 1 Sam. 7-12." The  
pillar is flanked by the words "Huc usque," and is crowned by a  
sphere containing the word "Iehova."] A<sup>3r</sup>-A<sup>4r</sup> [double band of  
type ornaments, 72 mm wide]. *The Epistle Dedicatory.* a<sup>4v</sup>  
[blank]. a<sup>5r</sup>-b<sup>6r</sup> [double band of type ornaments, 70 mm wide] TO

THE READER. b<sup>6v</sup> [blank]. b<sup>7r</sup> [double band of type ornaments, 70 mm wide, Latin dedicatory poem by C.G.]. b<sup>7v</sup> [blank]. b<sup>8r</sup> [single band of type ornaments, 70 mm wide, advertisement of T[homas P[arkhurst]. b<sup>8v</sup> [single band of type ornaments, 70 mm wide] ERRATA. [single band of type ornaments, 70 mm wide]. B<sup>1r</sup>-B<sup>7r</sup> CHAP[TER]. I. B<sup>7v</sup>-D<sup>8v</sup> CHAP[TER]. II. D<sup>8v</sup>-F<sup>1v</sup> CHAP[TER]. III. F<sup>1v</sup>-H<sup>3v</sup> CHAP[TER]. IV. H<sup>3v</sup>-I<sup>8r</sup> CHAP[TER]. V. I<sup>8v</sup>-L<sup>3v</sup> CHAP[TER]. VI. L<sup>4r</sup>-M<sup>2r</sup> CHAP[TER]. VII. M<sup>2v</sup>-N<sup>4v</sup> CHAP[TER]. VIII. [woodcut tailpiece of shield containing two pomegranets and two bells, flanked by "Exod. 28.34."; underneath shield there is a scrolled band containing the proverb, "Thankfulnes A way to thriue"]. N<sup>5r</sup> [band of type ornaments, 70 mm wide]. N<sup>5r</sup>-N<sup>8r</sup> The Contents:. N<sup>8r</sup> [curved woodcut device, 28 mm wide]. N<sup>8v</sup> blank].

*Notes:* The first word of chapter 1 begins with a decorative woodcut "S." The text of the Dedicatory Epistle, To the Reader, and each of the chapters is printed in roman type, except where italics is used to set off proverbial, classical, scriptural, or historical material. The Dedicatory poem and the Contents are printed in italics.

*Running Titles:* *The Epistle Dedicatory.* A<sup>3v</sup>-A<sup>8v</sup>. *TO THE READER.* a<sup>5v</sup>-b<sup>6r</sup>. *The Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian.* B<sup>1v</sup>-N<sup>4v</sup>. *The Contents.* N<sup>5v</sup>-N<sup>8r</sup>.

*Copies used:* B, the copy text, is a photostat of the copy in the British Library (Wing STC B1557). O is a microfilm of the copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. F is a microfilm of the copy in the Folger Library. P is a microfilm found in the Princeton Theological Seminary Library. U is a microfilm of a copy in Union Theological Seminary, New York. UB is a microfilm of the copy found in the University of Illinois Library at Urbana. UB2 is a microfilm copy of a second copy at the University of Illinois Library at Urbana.

*Stop Press Corrections:* Two stop press corrections were revealed by collating these seven copies of the book. The first is in the *sidenote* appearing on p. 1. line 13, sig. A<sup>3r</sup>:

B	Rom. 4.20.
O	Rom. 4.20
F	Rom. 4.10
P	Rom. 4.10
U	Rom. 4.10
UB	Rom. 4.20
UB2	Rom. 4.20.

The second stop appears on p. 203, line 14, sig. L<sup>2r</sup>:

B	heaven
O	heaven
F	beaven
P	beaven
U	heaven
UB	beaven
UB2	beaven

### THE LIFE OF JOHN BEADLE

John Beadle was born to Samuel Beadle and Abigail Collins at Bramford, Suffolk in September, 1595, and was baptised on September 28, 1595.<sup>1</sup> John's father, Samuel, was born March 19, 1555, to John Bedle of St. Georges in Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> Samuel

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<sup>1</sup>See Suffolk Record Office, Bramford Parish register, fiche #2, p. 70, for Beadle's baptismal record: "Baptized Anno 1595, John Bedle Sonne of Samuel 28 of September." Until now Beadle's date of birth was thought to be September 29, 1595, because it is recorded as such in James Strother, *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, "Families of Catelyn and Beadle," ns 4 (1884): 418; and A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised, Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Minsters and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934) 41. According to the Essex Record Office there was no statutory registration of births in England before the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup>James B. Strother, *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, "Families of Catelyn and Beadle," ns 4 (1884): 418.

Beadle was an Anglican who attended Corpus Christi College at Cambridge matriculating during the Easter term of 1577. Four years later he earned his B.A., and in 1584 took his M.A. He married Abigail Collins on August 16, 1586, at Bramford.<sup>3</sup> On March 30, 1594 he was ordained deacon and priest and was beneficed as vicar at Woolverstone, Suffolk in 1597.<sup>4</sup>

During their twenty-nine year marriage, Abigail and Samuel had seven children of whom John was the second oldest. According to a transcription of the family tree in the family Bible, their oldest son, William, was born on October 22, 1587; a daughter, Abigail was born not long after and soon died; Thomas Beadle was born on May 1, 1599, and buried in Kent on February 27, 1624; Nathaniel Beadle was baptized at Woolverstone on January 1, 1602; Arthur Beadle was baptized on January 26, 1603 and died July 22, 1625 in London after contracting the plague; and Dorothy Beadle, was born June 15, 1606 and baptized two days later.<sup>5</sup> On March 19, 1608, John's mother, Abigail, died and was buried in Woolverstone; Samuel died seven years later on Sunday January 18, 1615 "about 2 of the clocke in the afternoone."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Strother, 418.

<sup>4</sup>John Venn, comp., *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees: a Catalogue of those who have been Matriculated or been admitted to any Degree in the University of Cambridge from 1544 to 1659* (Cambridge: University Press, 1913) 52; John Venn, comp., *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 10 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1922) 1: 115. See also, R. Freeman Bullen, "Catalogue of Beneficed Clergy of Suffolk, 1551-1631," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 22 (1936): 296.

<sup>5</sup>Strother, 418-419.

<sup>6</sup>Strother, 418. Samuel Beadle's will was proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich in 1616; a copy of the will can be gotten from the Norfolk Record Office, reference no. 47 Sayer. Very little is known about Samuel Beadle's siblings, parents, or relatives. It is probable, however, that Samuel was related as an uncle or a cousin to the well-known William Bedell (1571-1642), Bishop of Kilmore, the son of John Bedell, a small

Like his father, John Beadle attended Cambridge University matriculating sizar at Pembroke College during the Easter term on July 8, 1613.<sup>7</sup> He earned his B.A. in 1617, was ordained deacon in the Church of England on May 11, 1618, at the age of twenty-two, and received his M.A. in 1620.<sup>8</sup> Shortly after his graduation he married Rose who was born in Braintree, Essex on December 21, 1598.<sup>9</sup> After their marriage, they stayed in Braintree where their first two children were born: George was born on January 12, 1621, and baptised four days later; Agnes was born on October 11, 1623, and baptised eight days later.<sup>10</sup>

On December 13, 1623 at the age of twenty-seven, Beadle was made rector of Little Leighs by his patron Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick.<sup>11</sup> *Lees-parva*, as the parish was called, was the

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farmer, descended from William le Bedell, who held Bedels Hall and other farms in Writtle, Essex in 1251. John Bedell held a small farm at Black Notley, Essex, since known as "Bedalls." William Bedell and his brother were educated at Braintree, Essex. William's father and grandfather were loyal Puritans and friends of Sir Walter Mildmay of Chelmsford, a prominent Puritan Essex businessman and aristocrat who founded Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Throughout his life, John Beadle maintained a friendship with Hervey Carew Mildmay, a relative of the Mildmay family, who was a church elder in Romford, Essex, and a member of the Braintree Classis (See Essex Record Office, document D/DMS C3, "To my much honoured [----] freinde Carew Harvy Myldmay Esqir . . . Romford).

<sup>7</sup>John Venn, comp., *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees*, 52; John Venn, comp., *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1: 115; see also, T.W. Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex* (London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, 1863) 41.

<sup>8</sup>*Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1: 115; *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees*, 52; *Calamy Revised*, 41.

<sup>9</sup>Strother, 419.

<sup>10</sup>Strother, 419.

<sup>11</sup>See *Calamy Revised*, 41; Richard Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 2 vols. (London: Printed by Benjamen Motte, 1710) 2: 388; *DNB* 1, 1379; Barbara

small parish to which his friend John Fuller refers when he observes of Beadle in the "To the Reader" section of *A Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian*: "As for this author's painfulnesse, and faithfulnessse, it's well known to all that know him, how greatly they shined forth in him, whilst in a very small place, and how since advanced by the bounty of his truly Noble and Honorable Patron". During his nine years as rector he and his wife had five more children. Thomas was born February 1, 1624 and died in June 1631; Dyonisius was born between 1624 and 1626 and died in November of 1627; Abigail, their second daughter, was born October 28, 1627; Susanna was born September 2, 1629, and Samuel, the last to be born at Little Leighs, entered the world on January 26, 1630.<sup>12</sup>

While rector at Little Leighs, Beadle became associated with the renowned Thomas Hooker who settled in Essex in 1626 as a guest lecturer<sup>13</sup> at St. Mary's Chelmsford and served as curate to John Michaelson then rector of that parish.<sup>14</sup> Also during his stay in Little Leighs, Beadle and John Fuller<sup>15</sup>

Donagan, "The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich, Second Earl of Warwick 1619-1642," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120.5 (1976): 417.

<sup>12</sup>For birth dates and baptismal dates of most of Beadle's children see Strother, 419. Unfortunately, no parish registers for Little Leighs survive before 1680 and so it was not possible to verify the dates given in the transcription of the family tree in Beadle's family bible.

<sup>13</sup>In his *Ecclesiastical History of Essex Under the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth* (Colchester: Benham and Company Limited, 1932) 31, Harold Smith explains that the lectures at Chelmsford were held on Tuesdays and in former times had been delivered by neighboring beneficed clergy; however, because of Hooker's reputation any modern knowledge of the Lecture is in connection with Thomas Hooker, from 1626 to 1629 or 1630.

<sup>14</sup> Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, 151.

<sup>15</sup>John Fuller wrote the commendatory preface for Beadle's book. According to T.W. Davids, Fuller originally settled in Great Waltham, Essex, but "later removed to London" in 1656

became friends. According to Fuller "we oft breathed and powred out our souls together in Prayer, Fasting, conferences . . . Fuller suggests that Beadle's relationship with Hooker was more than acquaintance when he compares their relationship to that of Elisha and Elijah: "he had the happinesse of a younger *Elisha* . . . to be watered by the droppings of that great *Elijah*, that renowned man of God in his generation Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hooker*."

Hooker's ministry and his preaching in Essex against conformity to some liturgical rites of the Church of England became widely known throughout the county and adjacent counties. Moreover, his "great popularity and influence especially with young ministers, to whom he [was] a great oracle, and their principal library"<sup>16</sup> concerned not only the conservative clergy in the county, but the ecclesiastical authorities in London—especially Bishop Laud. Consequently, Hooker was asked by the Archbishop Laud to lay down his ministry and lectureship in 1629.<sup>17</sup> The somewhat heated controversy was briefly quelled by a kinsman of Beadle's, Samuel Collins, who was at that time a close friend of Bishop Laud's.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, Hooker continued to preach

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(541). After the Act of Uniformity, he was ejected from his living at St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane, in London (541).

<sup>16</sup>See the summary of Samuel Collins's letter to Dr. Arthur Duck, Bishop Laud's Chancellor, in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1628-1629*, 554.

<sup>17</sup>*DNB* 9: 1189.

<sup>18</sup>Samuel Collins became vicar of Braintree in Essex on February 15, 1610, on the presentation of Robert Lord Rich who would later become Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. He retained his living until he died in 1657 See *DNB* 4, 830-831, for brief details of his life. Also, see T.W. Davids, *Annals of Nonconformity in the County of Essex*, 150; Thompson Cooper, "Dr. Samuel Collins, Provost of King's College, Samuel Collins, Vicar of Braintree," *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series 10 (1860): 42; and Richard Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 2: 89. A summary of Collins's written mediation of the Hooker affair with Laud's Chancellor, Dr. Arthur Duck, is

nonconformity and opened a school in Little Baddow with the future missionary to the American Indians, John Eliot. Again, complaints about Hooker's extreme nonconformity were made to Bishop Laud on November 3, 1629,<sup>19</sup> triggering a petitionary written response sent to Laud by forty-nine beneficed, pro-Hooker clergymen on November 10, 1629. It was a response fashioned to prevent any type of disciplinary action, including imprisonment, against Hooker. Beadle was the ninth signer of this petition which urged Laud "to understand that we all esteeme and knowe the said Mr. Thomas Hooker to be, for doctryne, orthodox, and life and conversation honest, and for his disposition peaceable, no wayes turbulent or factious, and so not doubting but he will contynue that good course, commending him and his lawfull suite to your lordship's honourable favor, and entreating the continuance of his libertye and paines there, we humbly take our leave, and remaine your honour's humbly at command."<sup>20</sup> The entire controversy was rendered moot in 1630, when Hooker peacefully left England for Holland, briefly returned, and then traveled to the American colonies to become pastor in Hartford, Connecticut. It should be noted that as a

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found in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1628-1629*, 554, 567. According to Barbara Donagan, Collins's participation in the Hooker affair is notable because he represented "an older generation of Puritans which found the radicalism of younger men like Hooker and Beadle antipathetic not merely because it disturbed the settled tenor of their lives, stirring up conflict with the authorities and among the Puritans themselves, but because it cast into doubt their acceptance of the duty of obedience to the state church, which to their just post-Elizabethan minds was after all the true Protestant church, and to the king who embodied the Protestant state" ("The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich," 412).

<sup>19</sup>See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1628-1629*, 87.

<sup>20</sup>For a reprinted text of the petition see Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, 153-158. Also, see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1629-1631*, 92, for a summary of the petition.

result of Beadle's relationship with Hooker and his written defense of his person and teachings, Archbishop Laud and the ecclesiastical powers in London seemed then to have deemed Beadle, along with 10 other ministers, one who was "not conformable in preaching or practice."<sup>21</sup>

Despite Beadle's very public agitation, on May 31, 1632, he became pastor at Barnston in Essex upon the resignation of the previous pastor William Wright.<sup>22</sup> Beadle attained the appointment because of the intercession of his kinsman Samuel Collins<sup>23</sup> with Bishop Laud. According to a letter from Samuel Collins to Bishop Laud, Collins himself had been offered the position at Barnston by Robert, Earl of Warwick, but turned it down because of his attachment to his parish and flock in Braintree. Nonetheless, he used his influence with Laud to help his relative in obtaining a respectable benefice, probably also hoping to mitigate the more nonconformist religious and political positions which John seemed to be enthusiastically embracing at the time. Collins believed that an appointment to a parish and "pastoral" visit with the Bishop himself would help foster an attitude of conformity in his younger more radical friend, who had been easily impressed by Hooker's nonconformist doctrines. He wrote to Laud:

My good lord, I am come with a kinsman of  
mine to your lordship, whom I humbly desire  
may be admitted into the rectory of  
Barnston, which my lord [Robert, Earl of  
Warwick] offered me. But I desire your  
honour, when we come before you, to let him

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<sup>21</sup> *The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1629-1631*, #104.

<sup>22</sup> See Richard Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 2: 39. Also, see Edmund Calamy, *The NonConformist's Memorial; Being An Account of the Lives, Sufferings, and Printed works of the Two Thousand Ministers Ejected from the church of England, chiefly by the Act of Uniformity Aug. 24, 1662*, 3 vols. (London: Printed by J. Cundee, Ivy-Lane, 1802) 2: 188.

<sup>23</sup> Collins was probably a brother or close relative of John Beadle's mother, Abigail (Collins) Beadle.

know that you expect from men some account upon what terms I am settled at Brayntree. I also humbly pray your lordship to give me charge, in his presence, to prevent and suppress to the utmost of my power all conventicles of both sexes in my parish, and to be careful to keep all my people, or what quality soever, to conformity in receiving the sacrament. And withall, to intimate that your lordship hath so watchful an eye over us in Brayntree, as that few things can be spoken of or done but they come to your lordship's eare. These things spoken at this present, will both settle this young man in the conformable way wherein he now is, and may procure me much peace.<sup>24</sup>

For Beadle the move from Little Leighs proved to be a modest financial windfall, since at Barnston the Earl of Warwick supported the pastor at £90 a year as opposed to £50 a year at Little Leighs.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, by the time Beadle and his expectant wife moved to Barnston with their seven children in 1632, he was in need of a more substantial living so that he could properly care for his growing family. According to Fuller, despite the more generous benefice, Beadle's modest living at Barnston still never enabled him to enjoy financial security; ". . . his outward estate is not overmuch, (he being rich especially in *Asher's* blessing, many children)." In the next thirteen years, John and Rose had seven more children: Hannah was born on September 30, 1632; Mary on June 29, 1634; John was baptized on September 8, 1636; Dorothy was baptized on December 27, 1638; Lucy on October 22, 1640; the second son to be named Thomas was

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<sup>24</sup> T.W. Davids, *Annals*, 346-347. For a summary of the letter to Laud see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1631-1633*, 341.

<sup>25</sup> Barbara Donagan, "The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich," 403. Also, Fuller refers to Beadle's financial step upwards when he observes how he had since "advanced (by the bounty of his Truly Noble and Honorable Patron to a higher, and but necessary subsistence . . ." (14).

baptized on September 25, 1642; and Joseph, the youngest of the twelve surviving children, was born on April 4, 1644.<sup>26</sup>

Clearly, Beadle's family life was very eventful. This can also be said about his public life as an outspoken nonconformist minister. During his thirty-year tenure at Barnston, Beadle actively dissented from Church norms and openly supported the institution of presbyterial government throughout England. In addition, he was an avid and loyal apologist for Cromwell's government, even when it became clear that Cromwell would fall. As early as 1633, only a year after Beadle had come to Barnston, Archbishop Laud disciplined him for "omitting some parts of divine service, and refusing conformity. But upon his submission and promise of reformation, I dismissed him with a canonical admonition only."<sup>27</sup> Apparently, the influence of Thomas Hooker's doctrines was not easily exorcized from Beadle's thinking because in 1638, he was again in danger of being severely admonished by the Archbishop for preaching nonconformity. In the "Account of His Province To the King, for the Year 1638," Laud describes the incident:

The[re] was one Bedle a minister of Essex, came into this diocese, and at Harbledown near Canterbury . . . preached very disorderly, three hours together at a time, and got himself many ignorant followers. But so soon as ever he was enquired after by my

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<sup>26</sup>Beadle himself entered into the parish register the baptismal dates of his children who were born at Barnston. However, he did not specify their dates of birth. In Strother, "The Families of Catelyn and Beadle," 419, the children's dates of birth and baptism are listed. Interestingly, the transcription of the family tree in Beadle's family bible does not mention four of Beadle's children; namely, John, Dorothy, Lucy, and the second Thomas. Moreover, another discrepancy between the bible and the parish register occurs in the date of Joseph Beadle's baptism. Beadle lists it as April 10, 1645, and the bible entry lists it as April 6, 1644.

<sup>27</sup>William Laud, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud*, 7 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1854) 5 part II: 318.

officers, he fled the country, and I purpose, God willing, to speak with the chancellor of London concerning him.<sup>28</sup>

Whether Beadle was "convented" as a result of his "disorderly" preaching in Canterbury we do not know; however, we do know that throughout his thirty years at Barnston, he continued to openly dissent from the authority of the Church of England by participating in nonconformist associations and by signing and helping to disseminate statements in favor of presbyterial government.

The first such statement Beadle lent his support to was the "Protestation of 1641," a petition drafted by a committee of the House of Commons asking Charles to refuse the help of Irish troops in suppressing his opponents in England. John Pym, a member of the House of Commons, stirred that assembly to action because he was personally persuaded that the Catholics wanted to subvert and overthrow reformed religion in England. As a result, he called for unity among the members of the House of Commons and the entire nation, while insisting that the "protestation" contain a promise to maintain "the true reformed Protestant religion" in England. This solemn declaration was adopted by a large majority of that house on Monday, May 3, 1641, and was accepted by the Protestants in the House of Lords on Tuesday, May 4. On May 5, the clergy, the citizens of London, and citizens of adjacent counties were called upon to sign the protestation. Copies were sent to all parishes, with instructions that the minister should read it and ask the parishoners to sign it on some Sunday in the afternoon, after the sermon.

In Barnston, on July 11, 1641, Beadle presided over the public reading of the document, the gathering of signatures, and the final signing of the protestation; his signature is the first of 63 signatures on Barnston's copy of the document.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>William Laud, *The Works*, 5 part II: 355. The chancellor referred to here is Arthur Duck, a friend of Samuel Collins.

<sup>29</sup>See Andrew Clark, "Barnston Notes, 1641-1649," *Essex Review* 25 (1916): 59. This article contains the full text of the Barnston copy of the "Protestation of 1641" and the names of the men who signed it. Also Clark alludes, as he does

Again, in 1643, Beadle helped in the promulgation of the "Solemn League and Covenant," another affirmation of presbyterian rejection of episcopacy which the Scottish leaders and divines expected the English parliament to accept if it wanted Scotland's aid in defeating the Royalists. The English Parliament at Edinburgh publicly assented to the "Solemn League" in September 1643; however, it was not until October that it was sent to any parishes in the country for signatures. The Barnston version of the "Solemn League" was read and signed on July 13, 1643. John Beadle's name appears as the first of 49 signatures.<sup>30</sup>

As a result of Parliament's full embracing of the "Solemn League," the establishment of "classical presbyteries" throughout England was initiated in 1645. Essex was one of the first counties to petition for permission to organize for the swift

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elsewhere in the article, to Beadle's "business aptitudes" and his exactness in record keeping (59). For a written text of the Protestation see Harold Smith, *The Ecclesiastical History of Essex*, 94-95; *Wing STC* P3867; and Samuel Rawson Gardiner, ed., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906) 155-156. For a discussion of the reason for the Protestation see Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *The History of England*, 10 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884) 9: 351-357.

<sup>30</sup>See Andrew Clark, "Barnston Notes, 1641-1649," *Essex Review* 25 (1916): 63-64. As with the "Protestation of 1641," this article contains the Barnston text of the "Solemn League," as well as the names of the men who signed it. Also, Clark points out that the text of this document was not written by "Bedel, but by another hand." One can also find the text of the "Solemn League and Covenant" in S.R. Gardiner, ed., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 267-271; *Wing STC* S4441; Edinburgh, 1643; and Harold Smith, *The Ecclesiastical History of Essex*, 1932, 95-99. S.R. Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, 4 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1965) 1: 226-236, provides the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the "Solemn League."

and effective implementation of presbyterial government.<sup>31</sup> And by 1648, Essex county was divided into fourteen "classes."<sup>32</sup> John Beadle belonged to the eighth Classis, the Dunmowe and Freshwell Classis, made up of approximately 62 elders and ministers.<sup>33</sup>

It was because of the organization of Essex, and the effective communication it facilitated that what was called "The Essex Testimony" was swiftly disseminated and became widely known throughout the country, especially in London. Once again Beadle unequivocally supported its aims, and his signature heads the list of signers.<sup>34</sup> The document appeared in May, 1648, and was signed by 129 ministers. The full title of the testimony is "A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex to the Truth of Jesus Christ and to the Solemn League and

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<sup>31</sup>Harold Smith discusses particulars of the guidelines for county *classis* organization in *The Ecclesiastical History of Essex*, 191-193.

<sup>32</sup>According to Harold Smith, in his article "The Presbyterian Organisation of Essex," *Essex Review* 28 (1919): 15, the idea behind the classis system "was that at least one elder . . . should be chosen from each parish; these and the approved ministers of the district should constitute the 'classis,' which was supposed to meet monthly for purposes of discipline, while the ministers would have also the function of ordination."

<sup>33</sup>In William Shaw's classic, *The History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and Under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900) 2: 383-384, he lists alphabetically the elders and ministers who belonged to the Dunmowe Classis. His list is more complete than the official document and list printed in 1648, which was essentially the blueprint for the presbyterial organization of the Essex county. The official name of the document was *The Division of the County of Essex into severall Classes Together With the names of the Ministers and others fit to be of each Classis* (Wing STC D1738; London, 1648) B3r. Beadle's name heads the Dunmowe list. A more incomplete list of Dunmowe Classis members appears in T.W. Davids, *Annals*, 281-282.

<sup>34</sup>See Harold Smith, *The Ecclesiastical History of Essex*, 103.

Covenant, as also against the Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of these times and the Toleration of them."<sup>35</sup> Its audience was the London ministers; its function was to serve as a manifesto for orthodox Presbyterianism and to unswervingly promulgate the work of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. In effect, it was Essex county's unqualified support for the aims stated in the "Solemn League" five years earlier. In substance, it flatly repudiated Roman Catholicism and other "carnal doctrines," stringently demanded the suppression of such "doctrines," forcefully rejected certain conformist worship practices, and unbendingly defended nonconformity and the primacy of conscience.

Beadle's staunch belief in Puritanism undoubtedly aided him in acquiring his positions at Little Leighs and Barnston, since his patron, Robert Rich, Second Earl of Warwick, was "the most visible and consistent supporter of the Puritan cause among the English nobility in the first half of the seventeenth century."<sup>36</sup> To entrench the Puritan way of life more firmly in Essex, Rich deliberately assigned nonconformist ministers to his parish holdings.<sup>37</sup> In all probability, one of the reasons why Beadle was not more seriously disciplined by Archbishop Laud was because Rich's high degree of lay control in the county

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<sup>35</sup>It is interesting to note that "The Testimony" is found in the *Wing Short Title Catalogue* under the name of John Biddle, London, 1648; *Wing STC* B2878. For a discussion of the impact of the "The Essex Testimony," see Harold Smith, *The Ecclesiastical History of Essex*, 102-103.

<sup>36</sup>Barbara Donagan, "The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich," 388. Throughout this article Donagan emphasizes the role that the clerical patronage of the Rich family played in influencing the widespread dissent to Anglicanism which characterized the religious landscape of Essex county.

<sup>37</sup>In many cases Warwick even defended and in fact protected such "troublesome" Puritans as Thomas Hooker, Hugh Peter, and Edmund Calamy (see Donagan, "The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich," 394).

made "Laudian efforts at reform even more difficult."<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, Beadle's penchant for nonconformity was not the only qualification Warwick expected of his ministers. He also demanded that his appointees be religious, zealous men of "good report and godly conversation;" "they were not to be pluralists, but vigorously controversial men;"<sup>39</sup> they were to be university educated;<sup>40</sup> furthermore, he emphasized that his ministers be not only highly competent preachers but that they also aspire to be publishing preachers.<sup>41</sup> With regard to the preaching abilities of Beadle, he was "returned as an able preacher" in 1650<sup>42</sup> by the ecclesiastical authorities in London.

And as for his publishing ability, it was just six years later that he wrote his first and only book, *A Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian*. In Arthur Wilson's "Autobiography," in which he describes his experiences as friend and confidant of Robert Rich, he fondly recounts a sermon of Beadle's which he heard in Leez on the Sunday morning of July 21, 1644. He recalls the inspiration the sermon provided him to record more religiously the providential occurrences, either trivial or important, which characterized his daily life. On that occasion Beadle chose his text from Numbers 33.1., the same

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<sup>38</sup> Barbara Donagan, "The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich," 391.

<sup>39</sup> Barbara Donagan, "The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich," 396.

<sup>40</sup> According to Barbara Donagan, Warwick gave special consideration to Cambridge men; "it seems that of sixty-five incumbents of Rich livings between 1619 and 1658, some forty-eight had been Cambridge undergraduates, of whom eighteen were appointed by Warwick before 1642" (Donagan, "The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich," 396).

<sup>41</sup> As Donagan points out, Essex clergy were not as productive as London clergy; however, they still managed to leave behind a respectably large body of work. The Warwick appointee usually published one or two works and failure to do so was frowned upon (Donagan, "The Clerical Patronage of Robert Rich," 397).

<sup>42</sup> *DNB* 1: 1379.

text on which he based his handbook on diary writing almost twelve years later. Wilson summarizes the sermon and attests to the persuasiveness of its rhetoric by acknowledging that hearing it urged him to "run backe to the beginning of my life, assisted by my memorie & some small notes; wherein I have given a true, though a meane deleniation, of eight & forty yeares progresse in the world."<sup>43</sup> According to Wilson's account Beadle proclaimed,

that every Christian ought to keep a record of his owne actions & wayes, being full of dangers & hazards; that God might have the glorie. For this command was given to Moses, as in the second verse, by God himselfe; that there might be a remembrance to posteritie of the deliverances which God had & would worke for that people. And soe everie man, though of the meanest qualitie, may see the hand of the Divine Goodnes Workinge for him in the many occurrences of life. Which, as it may be a register to his owne memorie, so it may bee an example of gratitude to those who shall read or heare it, when they shall reflect upon themselves; & make a like collection of God's mercie towards them; some more, some lesse, according as it pleases God to distribute his blessings.<sup>44</sup>

This is an invaluable entry; first, because it clearly indicates that as early as 1644, Beadle had largely developed the idea of the diary which would later become *A Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian*; second, it is a contemporary reference to his persuasive style of preaching. But, most importantly, this testimony more than hints at the commitment Beadle maintained throughout his career to announcing the need for

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<sup>43</sup> Arthur Wilson's "Autobiography" is found in *Desiderata Curiosa: or a Collection of Divers Scarce and Curious Pieces relating Chiefly to Matters of English History*, ed. Francis Peck, 2 vols. (London: Printed for Thomas Evans in the Strand, 1779) 2: 475.

<sup>44</sup> Arthur Wilson, "Autobiography," in *Desiderata Curiosa*, 2: 475.

keeping a diary. As his name implies, and as his good friend John Fuller observes, Beadle saw himself, both in giving the above sermon and in writing *A Journall or Diary*, as delivering a message, as "executing a mandate of an authority,"<sup>45</sup> with that authority being God; "Well and timely then ought his Stewards and Bailiffs to demand, and call for by new rentals, those old Quit-rents and arrears long agoe due; which if denyed, we may well fear his straining for his right, and taking forfeit of all". In a sense, he viewed himself as God's baillif and messenger of justice in urging his audience and congregation to record what troubles had befallen them, what blessings had been bestowed on them, and then what praise and thankfulness were owed to God in return.<sup>46</sup> Beadle, seeing himself as a sacred clerk, "demands" that people render just praise and thanksgiving due to God by "chalk[ing] up his loving kindnesses" (Beadle, 228), and by keeping honest spiritual accounts.<sup>47</sup>

Beadle's concern for precision in spiritual accounting carried over into the care of his parish. Beadle was a conscientious rector who conducted his parish duties with efficiency and charity. His parish account books or registers hold evidence of both a thorough knowledge of business principles and a well-formed accounting ability. For example, with regard to Fast-Day collections, a notable feature of the Puritan period during the seventeenth century, Beadle took special care in recording and distributing alms. On these days special sermons were preached, the content of which was usually highly ideological. Collections were then taken up for the poor and

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<sup>45</sup>See *OED*, 2nd ed.

<sup>46</sup>See the sidenotes on page 21 of *A Journall or Diary*, which discuss the meaning of Beadle's name.

<sup>47</sup>His demand for diary keeping is early outlined in *A Journall or Diary's* "Dedicatory Epistle" he proclaims that, "There is a book of three leaves thou shouldest read dayly to make up this Diary; the black leaf of thy own and others sins with shame and sorrow; the white leaf of Gods goodnesse, mercies with joy and thankfulness; the red leaf of Gods judgments felt, feared, threatned, with fear and trembling".

other "strangers" or foreigners. From his meticulously kept records, it is clear that immediately after receiving the collection he distributed the money to the poor among the parish.<sup>48</sup> "The business-like Rector," as Clarke calls Beadle, also kept careful records of all gifts made to refugees from Ireland who came through Barnston. It is obvious from these records that Beadle was trained in bookkeeping methodology; in fact, the title of "clerk"<sup>49</sup> was assigned to him when his will was registered and probated in 1667.<sup>50</sup>

In essence, Beadle's life as pastor and preacher spanned the most tumultuous decades in the seventeenth century. His public life was daily impinged upon by the revolutionary events of the day. Undoubtedly, his active commitment to nonconformist doctrine, his support for theological presbyterianism, his complete loyalty to Cromwell's government, and his daily exertions as rector of Barnston parish were not responsibilities he held lightly or without personal cost. According to Edmund Calamy, whose "imprimatur" is found in Beadle's book, his friend struggled daily with his health; "He was long exercised with great weakness, which he bore with much faith and patience."<sup>51</sup> In a March 4, 1655, letter to his friend Colonel

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<sup>48</sup>In his article, "Barnston Notes," Andrew Clark transcribes several records taken from Beadle's parish account books. One particular record is a transcription of a balance sheet listing the fast days from 1641 to 1645 and their collections. In his discussion about the balance sheet, Clarke adds that Beadle's "notes as to the distributions are very minute" *Essex Review* 25 (1916): 65.

<sup>49</sup>According to the *OED*, the designation of "clerk" not only refers to the scholar or student, but also to a "keeper of accounts," and one who kept track of the "transaction of all business involving writing."

<sup>50</sup>See Essex Record Office, *Wills at Chelmsford (Essex and East Hertfordshire)* (London: British Record Society, 1958) 29. According to the Suffolk County Council Archives, John's father, Samuel Beadle of Woolverstone, was also a clerk and trained in bookkeeping methodology.

<sup>51</sup>See Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist Memorial*, 2: 188.

Carew Hervey Mildmay, Beadle refers at length to his sickness and gently apologizes for not writing sooner; "it hath pleased my good God to [letter torn] a longe and a sharpe sickness."<sup>52</sup> He indicates throughout that his health is poor and recounts that "once I confess I [---] [---] to aske Dr. Wright [a] question or two about the shape of my body." Beadle, however, survived the illness and continued to work as pastor of Barnston until he was ejected for nonconformity in 1662, as a result of the Act of Uniformity of 1660.<sup>53</sup>

Five years later, in 1667, at the age of seventy-two, Beadle died and was "buried on May 11, 1667;"<sup>54</sup> and his body was interred "beginning at the east end and north side" of the church.<sup>55</sup> Before Beadle died he had made out a brief will in which "all his goods" were bequeathed to his wife Rose. The will was registered on May 5, 1666<sup>56</sup> and later probated in September, 1667. Rose survived John for nine more years and

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<sup>52</sup> See Essex Record Office document D/DMS C3 or "To my much honoured . . . freinde Carew Harvy Myldmay Esquire, Romford." This is the only letter by Beadle which the Essex Record Office owns. Carew Hervey Mildmay was a member of the famous Essex Mildmay family, whose land holdings rivaled those of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. He was also a member of the Becontree Classis, and was an elder in Rumford parish, Essex (*The Division of the County of Essex into severall Classes Together With the names of the Ministers and others fit to be of each Classis* (London, 1648; *Wing STC D1738*) A2r.

<sup>53</sup> Beadle's successor at Barnston, John Smith, was installed on December 13, 1662 (Richard Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 2: 40. Also, see A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 41.

<sup>54</sup> Beadle's burial record is listed in the parish register, Essex Record Office, document D/P 153/1/1. On that same page of the parish register of burials is indicated the death of Beadle's third daughter, Susanna Beadle, who was buried on April 10, 1668.

<sup>55</sup> *DNB* 1: 1379.

<sup>56</sup> See Essex Record Office, document D/ABR 8/97.

then died in 1676 and was buried July 14, 1676.<sup>57</sup> She, too, prepared a will which she registered on October 13, 1672.<sup>58</sup> The will is approximately 2 1/2 folio pages long and is quite detailed in its stipulations. Moreover, it indicates how many of the Beadle children survived their parents and how many grandchildren were alive in 1672. According to the will, only six children of fourteen survived: Samuel, the oldest living son; Abigail, the oldest daughter, who married Thomas Watson; Mary, who married George Perry; Lucy, wife of John Mead; Dorothy, the youngest girl; and Joseph Beadle, the youngest son who later took Anglican orders in 1666-1667 and distinguished himself by serving as chaplain (c. 1679) to Charles II.<sup>59</sup> Like his father, Joseph published once. In 1679 he published *A Sermon Preached in S. Lawrence-Jewry Church on the Fifth of November, Anno Dom. 1678*, commemorating the Gunpowder Plot.<sup>60</sup> As for the Beadle grandchildren, only six are mentioned in Rose's will: Abigail's two sons, Samuel and James; Mary Perry's two children, Frances and Mary; Lucy's son, John; and Joseph's son, John.

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<sup>57</sup> Essex Record Office, document, D/P 153/1/1.

<sup>58</sup> Essex Record Office, document, D/ABR 9/S44. Also, see Essex Record Office, *Wills at Chelmsford*, 29.

<sup>59</sup> Joseph was educated at Felstead School in Essex. At the young age of sixteen, he matriculated sizar at Gonville and Caius College, June 26, 1661. Joseph was awarded his B.A. between 1664 and 1665, and was ordained deacon in 1666, after which he served as a curate in Dunmowe, Essex. In the year his father died, 1667, he was ordained an Anglican priest at Ely, and three years later became vicar of Great Burstead, Essex, until he was given a rectorship at Chipping Ongar, Essex in 1680. He died in 1692 (*Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, comp. John Venn, part I, 1, 115).

<sup>60</sup> See *Wing STC B1675* (London: Printed by R. Everingham for W. Kettilby, 1679).

## ANTECEDENTS

The book Beadle produced, *A Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian*, is essentially a manual, a how-to book about how to write a spiritual diary; moreover, it is the only one of its kind written in seventeenth-century England. No religious or spiritual writer before Beadle's publication had extensively or systematically documented any rubric or tradition for diary-keeping. However, several religious writers did recommend keeping a journal of sorts, as part of daily devotional practise for the purpose of facilitating a complete examination of conscience, and an awareness of the movements of the soul and heart.<sup>61</sup> For example, Richard Baxter, in *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, (1650), suggests that when one begins to take stock "it would not be unuseful to write out some of the chief and those Scriptures withall which hold them forth, and so to bring this Paper with you when you come to the Examination."<sup>62</sup> Baxter further suggests that after one has studied these written observations and has arrived at a conclusion concerning his application to life, one should permanently document his truth to stave off future backsliding:

"be sure to Record this Sentence, so passed, write it down: or at least write it in thy Memory: At such a time upon thorough Examination, I found my state to be thus or thus: This Record will be very useful to thee hereafter. If thou be ungodly: what a damp will it be to thy presumption and security, to go and read the Sentence of thy Misery under thy own hand? If thou be godly: what a help will it be again the next Temptation to

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<sup>61</sup>In her thorough treatise on the history of diary writing in England, entitled *Les Journaux Privès en Angleterre de 1600 à 1660* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1976) 355-359, Elisabeth Bourcier briefly discusses the place of Beadle, his predecessors (with the exception of Richard Baxter), and his successors in puritan devotional practice.

<sup>62</sup>(London, 1650; *Wing STC* B1383) Kkk4v, p. 428.

doubting and fear, to go and read under thy hand this Record?"<sup>63</sup>

Another Protestant devotional tract which discussed the efficacy of journal keeping as a vehicle for confession was Isaac Ambrose's *Prima, the First Things in reference to the Middle & Last Things*, (1654).<sup>64</sup> In a section called "Of the time of our Self-tryal," Ambrose, like Baxter, recommends that the sinner examine himself; "After supper, when you lie down, and are ready to sleep, and have great quietnesse and silence, without presence or disturbance of any, then erect a Tribunal for your own Consciences."<sup>65</sup> He goes on to suggest that the conclusions or "accounting" of "tryals" be recorded in a diary in order that the penitent may refer back during the year to his dealings with God and God's dealings with him:

To this purpose we read of many Ancients that were accustomed to keep Diaries or Day-books of their actions, and out of them to take an account of their lives: Such a Register (of Gods dealings towards him, and of his dealings toward God in main things) the Lord put into a poor creatures heart to keep in the year 1641. ever since which time he hath continued it, and once a year purposes (by Gods grace) to examine himself by it . . .<sup>66</sup>

A third contemporary of Beadle's who wrote and spoke about the necessity of journal keeping was Edmund Staunton, a Puritan divine. In *A Sermon preacht at Great Milton in the county of Oxford at the funerall of Mrs. Elizabeth Williamson, late wife of Dr. Henry Williamson principall of Magdalen College. Whereunto is added a narrative of her godly life and death*, December 9, 1654, Staunton spoke much in the same terms as Ambrose, Baxter and Beadle concerning the purpose of keeping

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. Ll12v, p. 432.

<sup>64</sup> London; *Wing* STC A2962.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87. Ambrose then provides a 2 1/2 page example of a "daily Register of a weak unworthy servant of Christ" (pp. 88-90).

a diary; "She kept a Diary of Gods dealings with her soule, and of those various dispensations she met withall."<sup>67</sup> Again, Mrs. Williamson used her diary as an aid to self-examination and as a tool for better understanding God's intentions for her. It helped her to "account" for various vicissitudes of her spiritual progress and the "returns" of grace with which God had chosen to reward her.

It is quite probable that Beadle had read about both Baxter's and Ambrose's instructions for journal keeping and decided to expand on them more completely. However, as I have already noted, Beadle's ideas on journal keeping pre-date both Baxter's and Ambrose's recommendations by many years as is evidenced by the eyewitness account of Arthur Wilson, a contemporary of Beadle, who witnessed Beadle preaching on the subject of diary-keeping on July 21, 1644. During that sermon Beadle's proof text was Numbers 33.2: "And Moses wrote their goings out, according to their Journeys, by the commandment of the Lord." In this text Beadle sees God setting a precedent for every Christian concerning the keeping of a journal. According to Wilson's own journal account, Beadle insists that

every Christian ought to keep a record of his owne actions & wayes, being full of dangers & hazards; that God might have the glorie. For this command was given to Moses . . . by God himself; that there might be a remembrance to posteritie of the deliverances which God had & would worke for his people And soe everie man though of the meanest qualitie, may see the hand of the Divine Goodnes workinge for him in the many occurences of his life. Which, as it may be a register to his owne memorie, so it may bee an example of gratitude to those who shall read or heare it, when they shall reflect upon themselves . . . <sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Oxford, 1659; *Wing STC S5343*, sig. E24, p. 24. The sermon was preached in 1654 and printed in 1659.

<sup>68</sup> Francis Peck, ed., *Desiderata Curiosa, or a Collection of Divers Scarce and Curious Pieces Relating chiefly to Matters of English History*, 2 vols. (London: For Thomas Evans in the Strand, 1779) 2: 475.

Hence, for Beadle, the keeping of a journal was not simply a matter of preference, but an issue of obedience to God typified in His command to Moses. Furthermore, in the "To the Reader" section of *The Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian*, Beadle's friend, John Fuller, is even more explicit about the precedent underlying this obligation when he observes that God himself has "kept a Diary in the Creation of the world, Gen. I. to president this practise to us. Yea he keeps a Book of Remembrance for us that think upon his name . . . Registers our names in heaven, and shall we write down his name, works, love in water . . .". Coupled, then, with the obligation to obedience, was the obligation to imitate God's example as *the* Record Keeper, and Author of Scripture, the ultimate record; as Beadle says at the end of his book, "God himself seems to keep a Journall by him of all the care he hath of us, the cost he bestows upon us, and the good things he gives to us. He hath a book of remembrance of every passage of providence that concerns us. And indeed, the Scripture for a great part is little else but a history of his goodnesse to his people". Moreover, if the Puritan believed that God himself keeps a record of every gracious soul's journey, then on judgment day the soul's journal must somehow mirror or match God's record. In essence, the soul faces God with a written record of his life, containing both the evil committed and the charity bestowed, with the judgment depending somewhat on how closely the solitary soul's diary corresponds to God's. Hence, the compelling issue for the solitary soul is whether or not he has kept an accurate record and whether or not he has been an industrious and faithful steward over the blessings of "God's goodnesse, [and] mercies with joy and thankfulness" evident in his life.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>This theme of stewardship runs throughout the book and is most evident in the way in which Beadle and Fuller discuss the contemporary duties of a steward. First, Fuller says with regard to the diarist: "A Christian that would be exact hath more need, and may reap much more good by such a Journall as this. We are all but Stewards, Factors here, and must give a strict account in the great to the high Lord of all our ways . . .

Clearly, Beadle was not unique in his belief that Christians should keep a written record of both their offenses against God and the benefits received from him. Spiritual diaries of the kind Beadle prescribes were written before Beadle's time, and we possess many manuscripts and printed examples of them.<sup>70</sup> Yet, it was not until the early to middle seventeenth century that the practise became prevalent, especially within the nonconformist community.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, Beadle's detailed treatise

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Again, only a page later, Fuller observes, "then ought his Stewards and Bailiffs to demand, and call for by new rentals, those old Quit-rents and arrears long agoe due; wich if denyed, we may well fear his straining for his right and taking forfeit of all." Both examples undoubtedly allude to the "stewards" in the parable of the talents, Matthew 25.15-30, where each is given a certain number of talents, which the "lord" entrusts to them, in hopes that each may reap a return on what he has been asked to invest. Likewise, Beadle sees the diarist as a "steward" whose "returns must be greater then his ventures or he cannot live." Also, in another place, Beadle observes of Solomon, "God gave him wisdome, and moreover riches and honour more then any King had before him, or sould have after him, so that his returne was far above his venture."

<sup>70</sup> See M.M. Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries by Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward* (Chicago: The American Society of Church History, 1933), for two representative examples of Tudor Puritan diaries. For many other examples of pre-1656 Puritan religious diaries see William Matthews, comp. *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written between 1442 and 1942* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 3-26; and Patricia Pate Havlice, *And So to Bed: A Bibliography of Diaries Published in English* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1987) 12-16.

<sup>71</sup> According to Elisabeth Bourcier, diary keeping bourgeoned during the seventeenth century, crossing generational and class lines: "On assiste en Angeleterre, au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle, à une étonnante floraison de journaux religieux. Des hommes et des femmes, de tous âges et de toutes classes, profondément convaincus de leur nature pécheresse, tentent de s'améliorer, en

was possible because he lived at a time when he was able to take full advantage of a variety of societal influences and cultural circumstances which made the codification of rules governing Puritan spiritual diary-writing both possible and necessary within the context of Puritan life. In brief, Beadle's instructional manual helped to popularize the already well-known practise of diary-writing among every level of the faithful and also to emphasize it as an important component of Puritan spirituality and Christian devotion.<sup>72</sup> He himself asks, with regard to the number of faithful keeping diaries, "Where is the man that makes conscience of private fasting and prayers, that shuts himself up in his closet, and wrestles with God in secret, that his Father that seeth in secret may reward him openly? To conclude, how few are there that keep a Diary by them of all Gods gracious dealings with them?"

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faisant un inventaire régulier de leurs fautes, de leurs manquements, mais aussi des bénédictions divines. Si le puritanisme, en mettant l'accent sur le combat spirituel que le chrétien doit livrer en lui-même, contribue dans une large mesure au développement et à la popularité de ce genre d'écrits, la nécessité de scruter sa conscience, d'en observer attentivement les fluctuations, n'est pas une idée nouvelle" (*Les Journaux Privés en Angleterre de 1600 à 1660*, 353).

<sup>72</sup>Robert A. Fothergill claims that the influence of Beadle's book is "widely attested to," and he further deduces that because it appeared "comparatively late in the day it must be regarded as summing up and re-iterating precepts which were already common and had been followed for at least a half a century (*Private Chronicles: A Study of English Diaries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974) 17.