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Winner: ISCH annual essay competition

The Watchful Spirit: Religious Anxieties towards Sleep in the Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington (1598–1658)

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Therefore let us not slepe as do other, but let us watch and be sober.
(1 Thessalonians 5: 6)

But oh ~~vs~~ marke the goodnes of God which never slumbers nor sleepes.
(Nehemiah Wallington, 1629)

Within the humoural system of medicine that dominated English medical theory and practice well into the seventeenth century, sleep was one of six ‘non-natural’ factors that was crucial to preventing illness. Alongside diet, environment, exercise, excretion, and the passions of the mind, sleep helped determine whether or not one’s body was in a healthful equilibrium and could be adjusted in order to promote better physiological functioning.² Sleeping, doctors believed, helped restore the body’s moisture, lubricating the brain and aiding digestion, while waking dried the faculties and made the mind sharper.³ As with all aspects of humoural medicine, physiology and psychology were highly interrelated when it came to matters of sleep, meaning that how much one slept (not to mention at what time of day or in what position) could have significant implications for the health of both body and mind. Despite this emphasis on holism, however, not everyone in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England was entirely comfortable with the role sleep might play in daily life. Although ancient writers such as Hippocrates held that man’s life force did not sleep when the body did, instead maintaining ‘cognizance of all things’, some early modern writers worried that the literal slumber of

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the body might invite a corresponding sleeping of the conscience and soul.⁴ Such anxieties, this article suggests, had their root in the shared language people used to describe physical and spiritual lethargy (as well as its opposite, watchfulness), resulting for some writers in a blended understanding of sluggishness, sleepiness, and sinfulness that had implications for the way in which they approached bodily sleep in their lives.

This article examines this process of metaphysical blending from a literary and a behavioural point of view, looking at the ways in which one man, a stoutly religious London turner named Nehemiah Wallington (1598–1658), monitored impulses towards literal and spiritual sleep in his writings. While many seventeenth-century diarists recorded anxiety about drowsy behaviour, often reading it as a mark of spiritual slackness – such as Samuel Ward (1577–1640), who lamented his ‘dullness at [*sic*] sleepiness at sermon’, or John Gere (1599/1600–49), who observed the Sabbath by redeeming it from ‘superfluous sleep’⁵ – few accounts are as thorough as those of Wallington, who filled no fewer than fifty notebooks during his lifetime with thoughts and instructions designed to aid his spiritual development. Seven of these volumes survive today, offering unique and intimate glimpses into the private life of a seventeenth-century working-class man.⁶ Though objection might be made to the extent to which sentiments presented in Wallington’s notebooks can be taken as representative, given the intensely religious worldview of their writer and the very unusual nature of the notebooks themselves, the article highlights how material recorded in Wallington’s writings (while no doubt very particular to his own life and perspective) also draws on and relates to ideas put forth in other contemporary writings, illustrating its connection to a broader network of godly beliefs and practices in the first half of the seventeenth century. In the sections that follow I consider the ways in which Wallington addresses the issue of sleeping and watchfulness in his notebooks, paying attention to the language he uses, the social practices he follows, and the cultural texts he draws on as he constructs his own understanding of what certain kinds of sleep might mean for the spiritual life. As we will see, the picture that emerges is of a man highly attuned to the possibility of spiritual failure through physical behaviour, to the total merging of metaphysical experience.

Watchfulness and ‘the drousie disease’

In the early 1620s Henry Cockeram (*fl.* 1623–58) compiled a dictionary of ‘hard English words’ that included the term ‘*Insomnie*’, a then

unusual word which he glossed as ‘Watching, want of power to sleepe’.⁷ Unlike the Latinate ‘insomnia’, ‘watching’ was a familiar term in seventeenth century English parlance: it had been present in the language for over six hundred years and it could be found in a variety of contemporary medical, literary, religious, and personal writings dealing with the issue of sleeplessness.⁸ Like ‘insomnia’, ‘watching’ could refer to the inability to sleep, but it could also refer to the purposeful action of staying awake: the doctor Thomas Cogan (c.1545–1607), for instance, warned his studious readers that ‘to watch and to study in the night, is to strive against nature, and by contrary motions to impaire both the body and minde’.⁹ The field of meaning invoked by ‘watching’ did not stop there, either; in addition to this sense of being physically awake, ‘watching’ and ‘watchful’ could also refer to the act or state of being careful, attentive, vigilant, or observant, to keeping the watch through the day as well as through the night.¹⁰

Upon first consideration we might be tempted to describe these two early modern versions of ‘watchful’ as homonyms, or words that have separate meanings despite being pronounced and spelled identically, but it would be more accurate to call them polysemes, or words with the same spelling and pronunciation but with distinct yet related meanings. While writers in Wallington’s time did not have a specific word for polysemy, they were aware of how words or ‘equivokes’ could signify a range of meanings, often with the result of blurring or confusing sense through ambiguous phrasing. According to rhetoricians such ‘amphibology’ or ‘amphiboly’ most often arose from imprecise grammatical constructions, but it could also emerge from the inherent ‘double-mindednesse’ of certain words, whose meanings shifted, expanded, contracted, and blurred depending on the way in which they were used.¹¹ The potentially connected meanings of ‘watchful’ become apparent if we look to other words from Wallington’s time (as well as our own) that rely on both the idea of wakefulness and of alertness for their full senses, such as ‘watchman’ or ‘vigil’. In each case, these words refer to jobs that require staying awake (often through the night) and behaving in an attentive and observant way, effectually merging the idea of being physically awake with that of being mentally and even morally alert. The opposition view of sleep that emerges from this metaphysical configuration is that of a dull, negligent, and forgetful state in which not only the body becomes insensible, but also the mind and soul.

These linguistic and conceptual tensions were not lost on early modern English speakers, particularly those like Wallington who evidenced a heightened interest in the relationship between mental,

physical, and spiritual experience. One had only to look to the Bible to see the concepts of watching and sleeping referred to in richly metaphorical terms: 'Watche therefore: for ye knowe nether the day, nor the houre, whene the Sonne of man wil come' (Matthew 25: 13); 'How long wilt thou slepe, o sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy slepe?' (Proverbs 6: 9); '*... it is* now time that we shulde arise from slepe: for now is our salvation nerer, then when we beveled it' (Romans 13: 11); 'Awake thou that slepest, & stand up from the dead, & Christ shal give thee light' (Ephesians 5: 14).¹² Wallington uses such metaphorical language concerning sleep in his own writings, recording on one occasion in 1642 that although he is experiencing extreme doubt and guilt about the possibility of his election (he describes his 'accusing contience' as 'a littel hell on earth'), he finds comfort in the idea that such unease may reflect God's desire to keep his soul watchful and alert: 'the Lord will not let me sleepe and snort in any sine and soe goe smouthly and quiet to hell'.¹³ Eight years later he uses a very similar formation, writing in a letter to one of the preachers in his parish that he 'feere[s] some may sleepe and lye snorting in their sinnes for many yeers';¹⁴ on another occasion he likewise laments the 'spirit of slumber and securitie' that he feels pervades even 'the godly in this land', invoking Isaiah 64: 7 in his claim that 'There is none that stirreth up himselfe to take hold of thee [i.e. God] and call upon thy Name'.¹⁵ Nor does he omit himself from such censure; at another time he bemoans his own 'deadnes and backwardness in duty' when he goes to take the Eucharist, urging himself 'to stirre and rouse up' his drowsy soul in order to feel the benefit of 'the blessed sacrament'.¹⁶

This positive valuation of the stirred up, wakeful soul corresponds in Wallington's notebooks with the goodness of the daytime, in which people are physically (and hopefully morally) awake, and the threats of the night-time, when various misfortunes might befall a sleeping household. Multiple times in his notebooks he observes the literal dangers that threaten people during the night, and while he does not suggest that people should not sleep (an assertion that would be in direct opposition to medical belief, not to mention a sheer impossibility), he does indicate that at night people are more vulnerable due to their decreased sensitivity and as a result are not in their ideal form. Twice in quick succession he records how a candle falls over in his house at night, resulting in a potentially deadly fire that sleeping members of the household wake up and extinguish: on both occasions he praises 'the great goodnes of my God which never slumbers nor sleepes', thanking Him for waking them up in these moments of crisis, again suggesting an alignment between

watchfulness, alertness, divinity, and good fortune.¹⁷ On several other occasions he reports how fires in London spread while people are sleeping, or how invasions by Royalist forces during the Civil War often come at night.¹⁸ Such literal threats seem to influence the way in which Wallington views the significance of night's darkness and day's light more generally, be it in terms of security, health, or spiritual progress. When his young son, for instance, survives the night after suffering a serious illness, Wallington uses the language of Psalms 30: 5 to cast this literal, temporal event in a more metaphysical, spiritual context: 'For Though sorrow may abide in the evening yet Joy comes in the morning'. On two other occasions he aligns the idea of darkness with negativity and spiritual corruption, noting how England lives in a 'palpable darknesse worse then the darknes of Egypt', and asking what is the use of man's soul, which he likens to a candle, 'but to give light to see all darke sluttish and filthy corners where dust and rubbish is?'¹⁹ Such metaphorical and symbolic utterances help establish an imaginative framework in which the night, dark, and sleep all link to potential dangers and moments of vulnerability, while day, light, and wakefulness correspond not only to consciousness but also conscientiousness, as well as alertness, vigilance, and strength.

Still, the presence of such metaphorical and symbolic resonances does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Wallington saw literal sleep as bad, especially when enjoyed during the appropriate times and in the appropriate place. In his discussion of the literal threats of the night he never indicates that physical sleep should be avoided or even lessened, just that it is a state in which man is not at his strongest. When he discusses sleep at other times of the day, however, his judgment of physical sleep is far more disapproving and severe. Such an attitude was not unusual; medical considerations of sleep in the period consistently warn against daytime sleeping, claiming that 'Sleeping at nooneday is very dangerous, and maketh all the body heauie and blowne up'.²⁰ Wallington very rarely records being in bed during the day, reserving such behaviour only for when he is ill, and even when he is unwell he sometimes resists staying in bed once the night is gone. On 20 August 1654 he records how he suffers during the day and night from 'a paine in my head and a burning heat on my body', but how he nonetheless rises 'neere five a clocke' ('in some helth') to pray and prepare for the day.²¹ When he is well the possibility of sleeping during the day is never raised; although Wallington notes daytime fatigue at several points in his notebooks, he never discusses the possibility of taking a nap.

The few incidences of daytime sleeping that do occur in the notebooks appear in an extremely negative context: that of sleeping during church. In such instances the established medical disapproval of daytime sleeping is magnified many times over by the particular spiritual setting in which such sleep arises, with such dozing in church heightening the sense that the drowsiness of the body may reflect a corresponding sleep of the soul. Unsurprisingly, Wallington is extremely critical of any impulses towards sleeping during church services, reading such sensations in himself and others not as physical weakness, but as a form of spiritual corruption. '[S]ome make the church their bead to sleep', he writes on one occasion, adding on another that when he is 'heavi and drowsi in hearing' of sermons, he knows that it is the Devil that 'tempes mee to sleepe'.²² Anxieties about maintaining concentration and cognizance in church were not unique to Wallington; indeed, one seventeenth-century text, fully entitled *The Drousie Disease; or, An Alarme to Awake Church-sleepers*, devotes itself entirely to the issue of church sleeping. Though in the introduction the anonymous author notes that proper, or literal, sleep is natural and ordained by God, throughout the rest of the book he casts sleep in a negative light by consistently comparing it metaphorically to sinning. Both sleep and sin, he warns, lull an individual into oblivion, erasing knowledge of personal responsibility and the need for self-governance.²³ When we are asleep, he writes, we fear 'no danger, bee it never so neere, never so great', and this results in a state that he sees as directly comparable to spiritual slumber, in which 'the mind never thinketh seriously of God: the conscience never or seldome accuseth for sinnes committed'.²⁴ This sustained metaphorical comparison ultimately leads to the total fusion of spiritual and physical sleeping, with the author suggesting that slumbering in sin can manifest itself outwardly in acts of real sleep, particularly in highly charged situations such as church. In such moments people give into Satan, who 'encline[s] them to drowsinesse . . . [and] diligently rock[s] the cradle', lulling them into a literal, bodily sleep that reflects the slumbering sinfulness of their souls.²⁵

Thus, while sleep was considered a natural human need, when it occurred in inappropriate contexts it could take on a new interpretation, moving from a metaphor for sin to a sin in and of itself. So shameful is church sleeping that the author of *The Drousie Disease* rejects even the most pitiable excuses as insufficient grounds for drifting off during sermons. In his text, he gives voice to church sleepers, running through a list of common explanations: I am old and I find it difficult to stay awake, I work hard during the week and have

little time to rest, I am hard of hearing and the preacher's voice is soft, I have to walk far to get to church and the journey wears me out. Men like Wallington might have also put forward the fact that they attended a large number of sermons every week, increasing the likelihood that physical fatigue might catch up with them during church services (in one instance Wallington writes that he attends nineteen sermons in one week, in another thirty in one month).²⁶ In every case, the author of *The Drowsie Disease* refuses to sympathise with the sleeper, rejecting physiological excuses and reminding him 'that as God sleepeth not for our good, and the divell sleepeth not for our hurt; So if we should sleepe at Church, God would leave us, and the divell would make a prey of us'.²⁷ Invocations of bodily need or desire are rejected outright, regardless of the particular age, profession, or situation of the sleeper. Though contemporary medical texts indicated that certain people might need to sleep more depending on their humoural makeup, which was in turn influenced by age and levels of physical exertion, no allowances are made in *The Drowsie Disease*, or indeed in Wallington's notebooks, for individuals who succumb to sleep in church.²⁸

The prescribed remedies for the 'disease' of church sleeping are at once spiritual and physical in nature. The author of *The Drowsie Disease* recommends that before the sermons people pray to God for attentiveness and meditate on His Grace in an effort to avoid sleep, while also offering more practical advice such as avoiding big meals before church and taking care not to oversleep at night, which he suggests may cause additional sleepiness.²⁹ Along these lines Richard Rogers (1551–1618), in his best-selling *A Garden of Spirituall Flowers* (a book that Wallington would have certainly known), suggests practical tasks the godly can do during sermons to avoid 'idle wandering' and 'weariness', including maintaining eye contact with the preacher, reading along in the Scripture, and folding down the corner of key pages in the Bible that link to the sermon.³⁰ Wallington's own struggles with fatigue at church also blend spiritual and physical remedies, again breaking down boundaries between body and soul, literalism and metaphor. In a section most likely written during his late twenties or early thirties, he observes that 'There is another sinne which raines in mee and grives me very much . . . I have many times slept at chruuch heering of Gods word',³¹ and he goes on to list things he can do to prevent such sleepy lapses in the future. Of the eight methods Wallington lists, six might be described as moral or spiritual: prayer, reflection, focusing on scripture, respecting the preacher and his relationship with God, and reminding himself that it was the Devil that encouraged him to sleep.³² Despite this emphasis on spiritual

solutions, however, Wallington's own battle with church sleeping is eventually won through 'outward meanes' rather than inward, moral disciplining. After listing the remedies noted above, Wallington closes with two, more pragmatic possibilities:

when I found myselfe sleepe at chruce I would prick myselfe with a pin
sometim I would bite my tongue sometime I would pinch myself: but
because nature wil favour itselfe in these things, therefore I tooke
another meanes which is this:

Lastly I would take with mee to chruce some peper or ginger or some
cloves and when I found myselfe sleeppie I would bite some of them and
so I have by the goodnesse of God I got some victorie over this sinne.³³

Just as Wallington conflates his physical sleepiness at church with spiritual weakness, he infuses these 'outward' or material methods of staying awake with divine significance. The Devil might encourage spiritual negligence by lulling his body to sleep, but God can similarly exploit physical objects, such as a pin or a clove, to help His followers achieve spiritual victory.³⁴

It was important for Wallington to find some way to curb sleepy lapses in church, for in his notebooks the consequences of unchecked church sleeping are essentially the same consequences of unchecked sinning. In one of his notebooks entitled 'A Memoriall of Gods Judgments', Wallington records the story of Mistress Adkinson, a notorious church sleeper, highlighting the fearful punishment she finally receives for her sinning. According to Wallington, during a service at Cree Church in London on 22 May 1642 the preacher gave a sermon encouraging his parishioners 'not to sleepe but to sterr themselves up', most likely as an exegesis of the biblical passages on spiritual drowsiness noted above. Unfortunately, Adkinson was literally illustrating the embarrassment of slumber as she dozed in her pew, and in an effort to save her from further scandal her pewfellow, Mistress Clarke, with a 'joging of her knee in a gentel maner did awake her'. Rather than thank her, however, Adkinson unleashed a torrent of abuse at Clarke, 'saying O you bould drunken slutt doe you kicke me and suchlike reviling words'. What followed after the service was a tense argument between the two women, their husbands, and the preacher. Mistress Adkinson refused to admit any fault, continuing to slander Mistress Clarke, and her husband joined in, attacking Mr Clarke as well. As they all exited the church, argument unresolved, Wallington indicates that God demonstrated His providence by striking the unrepentant Mistress Adkinson down, punishing her for her sinfulness

in front of a crowd of onlookers. As she lay dying, Adkinson issued a final curse to Mistress Clarke – ‘a poxe take you’ – at which moment her tongue turned black in her mouth and she died, an event that Wallington reads as a material, bodily sign of wickedness (like physical church sleeping) that reflects Adkinson’s internal, spiritual corruption and sinfulness.³⁵

While this extraordinary episode might strike modern, more sceptical audiences as beyond literal possibility, Wallington treats it with great seriousness in his notebook, adding that he is a personal acquaintance of Mistress Clarke and suggesting that the event is an outward manifestation of God’s disgust for those who sleep both spiritually and literally in sin. Versions of the story very likely circulated among the godly community in London, first as local gossip and eventually in printed form; in 1643 the story appeared in John Vicars’ (1580–1652) *A Looking-glasse for Malignants*, a book that offered a series of terrible anecdotes about god-haters and blasphemers in order to illustrate ‘Gods most evident and immediate wrath’.³⁶ Wallington owned this book, later writing that he had it bound up with one of his now-lost notebooks, suggesting that he drew on it when writing his own account (there are notable similarities between his phrasing and Vicars’³⁷). Whatever the provenance of the story, however, Wallington obviously believed in the ability of God to demonstrate His will through events in the human world, and the link between Mistress Adkinson’s wickedness and her church sleeping is clear. In direct opposition to the preacher’s decree, Adkinson insists on ‘sleeping in carnall security’, both physically and spiritually, and her eventual punishment sets a fearful example for others who dare to doze in church.³⁸ Such a story illustrates the ways in which metaphorical discussions of spiritual slumber, so common in religious writing, could ultimately give way to an understanding of moments of literal, physical sleep as potential manifestations of sin.

Early rising and private prayer

It is probably not so difficult for modern readers, however distanced from evangelical religion, to understand the scandal that church sleeping could cause, both in the early modern period and today. More foreign, perhaps, are the effects Wallington’s anxiety about watchfulness sometimes had on his daily sleep patterns. As noted earlier, nightly sleep was widely regarded as natural and divinely ordained, but such commonly accepted beliefs did not stop Wallington from sometimes trying to limit the number of hours he slept each night by rising very early in the morning (in extreme cases as early as

one o'clock), thereby reclaiming additional hours for more watchful activities such as prayer. Although the extant notebooks do not consistently include information about Wallington's daily routine, instead favouring discursive forms of religious meditation and spiritual self-scrutiny, in certain sections they do offer considerable information about sleep patterns and rising times precisely because Wallington sees them as an important part of his personal practice of piety. Contemporary religious literature encouraged the godly to engage in private prayer at the beginning and end of each day, advising them to practice self-examination during quiet hours and in private places, 'where we may be most secret, and freest from distractions'.³⁹ Throughout his life Wallington adopts such advice by seeking out periods of time for private prayer when the rest of his household is sleeping or otherwise occupied. When he is twenty, he buys a copy of the Geneva Bible and takes up the habit of reading 'a chapter every night after my Father and all the family was gone to bed asleepe',⁴⁰ and later in his life he includes notes in his writings about periods of evening 'Examination' in which he reflects upon the events of the day, reviewing them within a providential framework, and also reading and praying alone or sometimes with his family.⁴¹

In addition to making time for quiet reflection at the end of the day, Wallington also frequently notes how he begins each day with private prayer, sometimes very early in the morning (indeed, so early that we might be inclined to call it the middle of the night). Though he certainly enjoys the pleasures of sleep, in his mid-forties he remarks that foregoing morning rest for God is an easy sacrifice to make: 'And so of everything eles as rising in the morning brecking my sweete sleepe burning of fire and candel when I consider it is for God: I then count it as nothing'.⁴² In an entry written a couple of months earlier he likewise notes that he feels that he is at his spiritual best in the morning, when the worldly cares of the day have not had the chance to weigh down his soul. Rising to pray in his study around two o'clock in the morning on 23 December 1641, he observes, 'never did I know an hower so soune gone as that hower that I spent there so that I came down much refreshed', but unfortunately such effects lessen in strength over the course of the day, reinforcing his conviction that rising early to pray is the most effective way for him to seek God: 'in the morning by myselfe I am golde and in prayer with my servants silver and afterwards with the rest brasse, but at night then in all good duties I am lead both heavie and drowsie the good Lord be mertifull unto mee'.⁴³ While some might be inclined to interpret Wallington's 'golden' morning state as a result of his being refreshed by physical

sleep, thereby indicating that he should not attempt to skimp on his hours in bed, Wallington seems to have taken a different approach, interpreting his spiritual aptness at this time as a sign that he should try to elongate the morning hours as much as possible, rising early in order to enjoy as much of this special state as possible. In a related entry he notes how his intense, private prayers in the morning allow him to go deep into himself and his relationship with God, resulting in a meditative 'astonishment' that is almost like being 'in a trance'.⁴⁴

Just how often Wallington rose this early in the morning is difficult to deduce from the notebooks, but some estimation is possible. In the years 1641–3 and 1654 Wallington keeps more detailed records of his daily routine than usual, offering a day-by-day chronicle of his spiritual journey in an effort to record and analyse his progress. Though his entries in these journals do not follow a standard format, he often begins them by noting the time at which he rises and describing his thoughts and prayers during these early hours. On fast days, the Sabbath, and also some working days, he frequently reports that he wakes up sometime between one and four in the morning, often spending up to an hour thinking in bed before rising and going to his study to pray. In the first week of April 1643 he describes one o'clock as his 'ordinary [waking] time', but later in the year he describes four o'clock as his 'wantedt houre', indicating that his rising patterns could change throughout the year. Judging by most entries in 1641–3, his most typical rising time seems to have been between three and four o'clock, allowing him at least a couple of hours of private prayer, meditation, and also writing before he takes up the day's duties.⁴⁵ In 1654, as his health worsens and he nears the end of his life, his average rising time moves a bit later, falling more often into the four to five o'clock range.⁴⁶ It is unclear if Wallington keeps up such practices every day during the periods documented; as noted, he tends to focus in particular on fast days and the Sabbath, suggesting in several instances that he sees very early rising and extended prayer as part of a more rigorous spiritual regimen intended especially for these days. Such physical self-denial registers with Wallington as an act of devotion that distinguishes him from other men and better prepares his body and soul to receive both the word and sacrament of God. He yearns to 'prayer when others curse', to 'fast when others fest', and to this list might be added to watch while others rest, both spiritually and (on special days at least) physically.⁴⁷ Although he never criticises any of his household for sleeping while he prays (indeed, it is not always clear from the notebooks whether or not some of them might also be awake⁴⁸), he does suggest that for him, personally, it is important to

abstain from sleep at such times and thus to enact a form of piety that involves both physical and spiritual watchfulness, a total alertness and devotion of both body and soul.

Several pragmatic questions arise when surveying Wallington's attempts to rise early and likewise interpreting their religious significance: what time did he generally go to bed, what was a 'normal' waking hour in seventeenth-century London, and just how much sleep did people in this period expect to get? Though Wallington notes his waking hour many times, he is less interested in recording the time at which he goes to sleep. On three occasions he lists his bedtime as nine o'clock, on another night he indicates that he completes his evening meditation at around the same time, and on another night he remarks that he is up until eleven.⁴⁹ It is unlikely that he ever went to bed much earlier than nine; one day he records that he was trading in his shop as late as seven o'clock, and on another that he does not finish dinner until about nine.⁵⁰ Such evidence generally accords with Ekirch's study of pre-modern sleeping patterns, which suggests that 'the standard time for retiring to bed fell between nine and ten o'clock',⁵¹ as does another entry Wallington makes in his notebooks about a large explosion that occurs near Tower Hill around nine o'clock at night on 4 January 1650. In his description of the accident he notes that some of the victims were still out and about on London's streets when the explosion occurred, whereas others were getting ready for bed or already asleep, again suggesting that while bedtimes no doubt varied, many people, most likely including Wallington, went to sleep by ten.

Trying to assess typical waking hours in this period is more difficult, perhaps because they varied according to an individual's trade. On 29 May 1642 Wallington reports that he is awoken between three and four in the morning by the shouts of a fish vendor, leading him to write a condemnation of those who break the 'royall law of God' by working on the Sabbath.⁵² Making his own living as a turner, Wallington does not give a standard time for when he goes to work, although on some occasions he indicates that he takes up his 'duty' shortly after he finishes his morning meditations, perhaps suggesting that his start time varied according to the day. Ekirch reports how a London resident in 1729 suggested that 'a careful honest man ... goes to bed by 10 and is at work by 5 or 6', and it is possible that people a few generations earlier tried to abide by a similar schedule.⁵³ Still, such evidence does not offer a clear sense of when the morning started for most people, and how this might influence our understanding of Wallington's sleep practices. More promising is to try to figure out the

number of hours people usually slept, and then to work forward from the given bedtime. Seventeenth-century medical books generally include detailed discussions of sleep that cover the optimal positions, times, and conditions for healthful sleep. As already noted, sleeping during the day was considered very unhealthy, as was going to sleep too soon after dinner. Furthermore, the amount of sleep required varied according to an individual's humoural complexion, with the drier temperaments needing around seven hours and the wetter ones as many as nine.⁵⁴ Of course, medical theory does not always accord with popular practice, but historical accounts from this period collected by Ekirch and Karl H. Dannenfeldt generally suggest that people tried to get something between six and nine hours' sleep.⁵⁵ If, on a typical night, Wallington went to sleep at nine and, needing only six hours, arose at three o'clock, then perhaps his sleeping habits were based more on natural rhythms than religious conviction. If he fell asleep at ten, however, and functioned best on something more like eight hours' sleep, then rising before six would have presented a greater challenge, and indeed a greater sacrifice.

Another interesting possibility is that raised by recent historical and scientific studies of 'segmented' sleep. According to Ekirch, before the advent of artificial light, most people did not sleep through the night in one consecutive block. Instead, after having a deep 'first sleep', they spent 'up to an hour or more of quiet wakefulness' in bed or around the house, eventually falling back to sleep and enjoying a lighter 'second sleep'.⁵⁶ While the exact patterns of first and second sleep were not fixed, it seems likely that first sleep generally finished in the early morning hours, and it is possible that, upon awaking, Wallington sometimes tried to forgo his second sleep. Ekirch notes that people often used the break between sleeps for meditation and contemplation (as well as other, more practical concerns), and on holy days and during times of particularly rigorous devotion Wallington may have attempted to stretch this watching hour until the dawn. He would not have been alone in this practice; as Ekirch remarks, another seventeenth-century religious man, Bishop Thomas Ken (1637–1711), 'reputedly "rose generally very early, and never took a second sleep"'.⁵⁷

Regardless of the exact nature of Wallington's early rising, we can be sure that he frequently dedicated this practice to God and that it did not always come easily. He often notes the difficulty of getting up on cold, dark winter mornings, remarking on one day in late November that he wakes at three o'clock, but finds that he is 'afraid of the cold' and reluctant to get out of bed.⁵⁸ On other days, when he is 'somewhat loth to arise', he allows himself to go back to sleep for a period of time,

but just as often he forces himself to get up despite his drowsy body, goading himself with thoughts of how his 'sweet Saviour did arise earely for my redemption' and then asking himself, 'shall not I arise early to wright of his marcy?'.⁵⁹ In linking divine vigilance with physical wakefulness, both linguistically and behaviourally, Wallington again draws the multivalent meanings of 'watching' and 'sleeping' closer together, blurring the distinction between the words' literal and metaphorical resonances. Such blending of meaning becomes most evident, and most tense, on the days when Wallington fails to rise at his desired time, an act that in his eyes constitutes a shirking of his religious duties and thereby provokes feelings of guilt. When he wakes after five o'clock one morning in March 1643, his frustration with himself is exacerbated by the shouting and laughter he can hear in the streets: 'it grived me to here that men could be up earely and reddier and cherefulleir in the sarvice of the Divel then I can be in the sarvice of my God'.⁶⁰ Several years later, 'haveing for some days been dead and dull in dutys', Wallington sleeps until six o'clock, and this perceived indulgence seems to spur a miniature spiritual crisis. When he finally begins his prayers, he speaks 'a corse of words of my barrenesse my deadnes and saplesnesse and drynes and listynesse to any holy dutys'.⁶¹ Though he eventually receives some comfort from God on this matter, he does not forgive himself for sleeping so late. In both cases of oversleeping, it is clear that he sees his drowsy behaviour not as a reflection of a physical need, but as an indication of spiritual impoverishment, illustrating the extent to which the sleep of the body suggests to him a corresponding slumber of the soul.

When Wallington does rise successfully, he sometimes recognises that this is a somewhat unusual act, and he thanks God for giving him the strength to remain wakeful and alert throughout the day. On one morning, after rising relatively easily at three o'clock, he marvels at the physical strength his faith in God gives him:

☞ And one thing I obsarve and wonder at Gods grat marcy towards mee that although I rise so earely in coulde mornings sometimes at tow three and foure a cloke ordinaryly, being to to much carlis of my poore carkisse that God should so presarve my health have not so much as a coffe or touthach, and so to carrey mee through the day without sleepeing at his ordinances: exsepte sometimes drouisie towards Night which I should be if I had lien longer.⁶²

In both his morning watchfulness and his overall physical health, Wallington sees evidence of God's favour and power. For him, physical well-being comes not so much through medicine or a healthful

regimen, but through divine grace and spiritual fortitude. '[M]y God can keepe me waking all the day', he writes, adding that the inward, spiritual warmth God provides makes him insensible to any outward cold.⁶³ When he does find himself tired or physically unwell he is inclined to blame his own spiritual negligence, for while contemporary medical theory taught that the body and the soul were dependent on one another for mutual strength, Wallington consistently views physical health as subordinate to the growth of the soul. Spiritual watchfulness, he believes, will ultimately lead to total alertness, thereby reducing the need for natural sleep.

In its most extreme form, Wallington's early rising directly contradicts medical injunctions towards moderation and 'diligent temperance' in all things, a potential problem to which he seldom refers⁶⁴: 'it never repented me in rising earely', he writes, quickly adding, '(but often that I have risen no sounner)'.⁶⁵ In referring to his body as a 'poore carkisse', he reflects an ascetic contempt for physical need, seeing such inclinations as obstacles to be overcome rather than natural impulses to follow. It is important to note, however, that Wallington does not uniformly condemn the needs of the body, and that he does sometimes emphasise the importance of physical provision in order to support spiritual needs. One morning in January 1644 he notes how he wakes at about two o'clock but then fears he 'mite be drousie in duty', causing him to decide to 'lye a bead till almost foure'.⁶⁶ Recognition of how physical deprivation might hinder spiritual activity comes out even more strongly in his interactions with a troubled godly woman in his parish that he goes to visit. The woman's mother tells him how her daughter often goes to church all day to pray, 'eat[ing] nothing' and then spending another 'two howers alon late at night in prayr'. She often gets up in the middle of the night to pray, avoids the company of others, and weeps for her inability to serve God better – all things that Wallington also does at different points in his notebooks. Wallington is clearly moved by the extremity of her devotion, writing that 'she spake so understandingly and heavenly . . . that I could have wished my soule in her soules stead', but he also warns her 'to take heed of weekening her body', telling her that by refusing food and sleep she may make herself 'unfit for the sarvice' of God.⁶⁷ In such moments Wallington recognises the reality of bodily need, falling more into line with received medical belief, but it is striking that he cannot muster such sentiments in support of amending his own physical regimens.

Aspects of his notebooks may even suggest that he tried to keep his most extreme sleep practices a secret from others, indicating an

element of awareness of how they might have been out of line with medical (and indeed moral) beliefs. In a letter to his preacher Henry Roborough, dated 8 January 1641, he praises God for keeping him physically and spiritually watchful throughout the day, writing, 'Although I did arise at five a clocke in the morning and went to bed about nine yet did I fele no heavines that day'.⁶⁸ What is notable about this entry is the very reasonable sleep times Wallington records (in bed at nine, up at five), especially considering that the letter is written at the same time he is beginning his notebook on 'The groth of a Christian', which includes information about many of the more extreme sleep patterns described above. On 19 January 1641, for instance, about a week and a half after he writes the letter, he records that he rises at two o'clock in the morning,⁶⁹ perhaps suggesting that he was somewhat reluctant to reveal his more excessive sleep practices with others who might admonish him for them, just as he ultimately admonished the godly woman he went to visit.⁷⁰ Though in many moments of personal reflection and meditation Wallington suggests that physical sleep is not as important as spiritual vigilance, leading him to devalue the needs of the body, when he returns to the society of others he is often forced to recognise a stronger distinction between literal and metaphorical forms of sleep. In such moments he encourages others, and inadvertently himself, to avoid going too far in breaking down the boundaries between physical and spiritual watchfulness, revealing a lingering awareness of the hazards of blurring too completely the differences between bodily and soulful experience. Although parts of the notebooks are clear in their alignment of certain moments of physical sleep with spiritual sinning, Wallington does still recognise that normal, nightly sleep is a necessary, natural part of being a human, with 'God requier[ing] no more of us then what we [can] do'.⁷¹

Conclusions

In this article, I have argued that Wallington's records of his sleep habits, both in the public world of church-going and the private realm of his bedchamber, illustrate the tensions that were at work in his understanding of the relationship between natural, bodily need and spiritual monitoring and growth. While medical texts during Wallington's time emphasised the integration of mind, body, and soul, very religious members of seventeenth-century society could sometimes take this model a step further, essentially collapsing the distinction between physical and spiritual weakness and insisting on the total integration of metaphysical experience. Of course, the extent to which we can fully extrapolate historical conclusions from a source

like Wallington's notebooks is open to question; in his religious zeal, and especially in his devotion to his writing, he clearly stood out from the majority of his peers. His thoughts, acts, and writings exemplified the stereotype of the Puritan as 'odd, strange and precise', wilfully leading him to exclude himself from mainstream society and to prefer instead to devote his life to the study of God's word.⁷² Still, it would be wrong to assume that Wallington was a historical anomaly, completely alien to his time. He was part of a community of godly people, and his notebooks suggest that he was generally well liked and respected. While some people no doubt found his religious attitude severe, such as one apprentice who left Wallington by the end of his first day, deeming him too 'strict',⁷³ others appreciated his honesty and piety and even thanked him for the spiritual correction he sometimes offered. In his later life he visited troubled members of his parish, helping them to work through their spiritual doubts, and from 1646 until the final years of his life he served as an elder in the Fourth Presbyterian Classis.⁷⁴

All this suggests that, while his personal convictions were undoubtedly strong, Wallington was a valued, esteemed, and to some extent typical member of a godly community that was growing in strength and influence during the first half of the seventeenth century. As Margo Todd has convincingly shown, Puritanism in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries was a 'fundamentally communal' identity 'conditioned by scriptural authority and models', a point reflected in Wallington's notebooks, which actively draw on contemporary sermons and religious treatises that would have been heard or read by many English Protestants, and it is reasonable to assume that these texts would have made a similarly deep impression on others.⁷⁵ Of course, such an impact would have been most evident on those actively identifying as among the godly, but it is also likely that more moderate members of the Protestant community would have been affected to some degree as well. As Alexandra Walsham has argued in her study of providential thinking in Wallington's time, 'the difference between their [the godly's] beliefs about divine activity and those of their neighbours and peers was essentially one of temperature rather than substance'.⁷⁶ When Wallington frets over his sleep habits, often interpreting them as a sign of God's displeasure and of the weakness of his soul, we should keep in mind that, though his views might have been more extreme than many of his peers, they were not necessarily different in kind.

As we have seen, in many moments in Wallington's notebooks, as well as other documents of the period, the related meanings of

'watching', 'watchful', 'sleep', and 'slumber' not only overlapped or blended, but converged almost to the point of unification. Although the potency of the idea of spiritual watchfulness has no doubt diffused among religious groups in England, it still has some presence in modern iterations of Anglican and Episcopal worship. Since 1914, for instance, many editions of the Book of Common Prayer have included prayers for Compline, the final church service of the evening, which finishes with an antiphon that gently evokes the sense of watchfulness so present in Wallington's life: 'Guide us waking, O Lord, and guard us sleeping; that awake we may watch with Christ, and asleep we may rest in peace'.⁷⁷ Even in our far more secular and far less literal times, sleeping and waking remain bodily states that are richly woven into the religious beliefs and practices of certain social and cultural groups, their polysemous or 'equivocal' meanings shaping the way some English speakers conceptualise the interplay between physicality and morality, bodily need and spiritual growth. In the case of Wallington, the powerful implications of remaining watchful were all too clear, very often leading him to chastise himself for his desire to sleep. Occasionally, he did acknowledge the material needs of the body, particularly when the subject in question was not himself. More often, however, he downplayed the demands of the body, either ignoring them entirely or viewing them through a religiously-inflected lens. Like Samuel Ward, a fellow diarist who fretted over his great desire for fruit, Wallington saw physical inclination and appetite as a sign of spiritual infirmity.⁷⁸ Best then was to rein in the physical longing to sleep, keeping both body and soul watchful as he persisted in his spiritual journey towards God.

Notes

1. Many thanks to Dr Andrew Wear, Dr Michael Neve, Dr Will Sharpe, and the anonymous reviewers who each helped improve this article with his/her perceptive comments and suggestions. Initial research for this article was carried out during a period of funding from the Wellcome Trust.
2. The term 'non-natural' was in use since before Galen's time as a way to describe things over which man could exert his influence (as opposed to 'natural' things such as the organs, humours, or spirits). For more on renaissance hygiene and the non-naturals, see Mikkeli, Heikki (1999), *Hygiene in the Early Modern Medical Tradition*, Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, pp. 19–23, 54–68; Wear, Andrew (2000), *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550–1680*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 155–8.
3. See for instance Boorde, Andrew (1547), *A Compendious Regyment or a Dyetary of Healthe*, Montpellier, pp. B3v–B4r; Cogan, Thomas (1636), *The Haven of Health*, London, pp. 268–71, 275. For an examination of the influence of English

- vernacular medical texts in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, including information about the multiple reprints books like Boorde and Cogan's went through, see Slack, Paul (1979), 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Use of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England', in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 237–73.
4. Dannenfeldt, Karl H. (1986), 'Sleep: Theory and Practice in the Late Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 41:4, pp. 415–41, at p. 417. All birth, death, and flourished dates are from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–11), Oxford: Oxford University Press, www.oxforddnb.com.
 5. Quoted in Todd, Margo (1992), 'Puritan Self-Fashioning: The Diary of Samuel Ward', *Journal of British Studies* 31:3, pp. 236–64, at p. 253, and Durston, Christopher and Jacqueline Eales (1996), 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560–1700', in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 15. Tom Webster also notes briefly that watchfulness is 'a recurring theme' in Richard Rogers's diary; see Webster, Tom (1996), 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality', *The Historical Journal*, 39:1, pp. 33–56, at p. 49.
 6. The surviving notebooks are split among the British Library, the Guildhall Library, Tatton Park archives, and the Folger Shakespeare Library. For more information on these notebooks, as well as the ones that have been lost, see Booy, David (2007), 'Introduction', in David Booy (ed.), *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618–1654: A Selection*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 7–8; Seaver, Paul S. (1985), *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London*, London: Methuen, pp. 2–4, 199–202.
 7. Cockeram, Henry (1623), *The English Dictionarie: Or, an Interpreter of Hard English Words*, London, p. F8v.
 8. See for example *Oxford English Dictionary* (2011), Oxford: Oxford University Press, www.oed.com, 'watch, n.', I.1.a, 'watch, v.', I.1.a, 'watchful, adj.', I, 'watchfulness', I, and 'watching, n.', 2.
 9. Cogan, *The Haven of Health*, p. 18.
 10. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'Watch, n.', I.3, II.6.e, 'watch, v.', I.3.a–b, 'watchful, adj.', 2–3, and 'watchfulness', 2.
 11. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'equivoque', *adj.* and *n.*, A–B, 'amphibology, n.', 1–2, 'amphiboly, n.', 1–2.
 12. All biblical quotations are from *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition* (2007), Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.
 13. Booy, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington*, pp. 165–6. This quotation and all subsequent quotations from Wallington's notebooks in this article are from Booy, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington*, hereafter *Notebooks*. I have silently incorporated Booy's editorial emendations concerning punctuation and syntax.
 14. *Notebooks*, p. 261.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–4.
 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 90–2, 100, 112–13, 128, 195. Such fears about the dangers of the night were not unusual; A. Robert Ekirch devotes a chapter of his study on the night in pre-industrial times to the threat of 'plunder, violence, and fire' after dark. See Ekirch, A. Roger (2005), *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past*, New York: Norton, pp. 31–56.

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19. *Notebooks*, pp. 69, 116, 166.
20. The physician André du Laurens (1558–1609) quoted in Dannenfeldt, ‘Sleep: Theory and Practice’, p. 424. See Dannenfeldt for further examples.
21. *Notebooks*, pp. 320–1.
22. *Ibid.* pp. 187, 246.
23. For another contemporary discussion of ‘Sinfulnessse . . . [as] sleepe’, this time in the form of a sermon, see Adams, Thomas (1629), *The Workes of Thomas Adams*, p. 269.
24. Anonymous (1640), *An Alarme to Awake Church-Sleepers*, London, pp. 12, 17–18. The first edition, published in 1638, uses the full title mentioned above.
25. *Ibid.* p. 44.
26. *Notebooks*, pp. 51, 299
27. Anonymous, *An Alarme*, pp. 95–104, 135.
28. See for example Elyot, Thomas (1610), *The Castle of Health*, London, pp. 70–1.
29. Anonymous, *An Alarme*, pp. 122–8.
30. Rogers, Richard et al. (1625), *A Garden of Spirituall Flowers*, London, pp. G5v–G6r. The book was first published in 1609 and was frequently reprinted throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.
31. *Notebooks*, p. 46.
32. *Ibid.* p. 46.
33. *Ibid.* pp. 46–7.
34. Historians of early modern medicine have similarly noted that physical ‘means’ (i.e. medical physic) were often interpreted as an extension of divine will. For more on the interaction between religion and medicine, see Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, pp. 29–34, and Wear, Andrew (1985), ‘Puritan Perceptions of Illness in Seventeenth Century England’, in Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 55–99.
35. *Notebooks*, pp. 102–3.
36. Vicars, John (1643), *A Looking-Glasse for Malignants*, London, p. A2r. The Adkinson story appears on pp. 17–18.
37. See Booy’s note in the commentary to Wallington’s notebooks, p. 102 fn. 27.
38. Abernethy, M. J. (1622), *A Christian and Heavenly Treatise. Containing Physicke for the Soule*, London, p. 84.
39. Quoted in Booy, ‘Introduction’, p. 16, from Brinsely, John (1611), *True Watch, and Rule of Life*, London, which was a book that Wallington owned (note the title).
40. *Notebooks*, p. 267.
41. *Ibid.* pp. 319–43.
42. *Ibid.* p. 157.
43. *Ibid.* pp. 154–5. It is not entirely clear from the notebooks how Wallington kept track of the time. Ekirch suggests that it was common practice throughout early modern Europe for night-watchmen to call out the time on the hour, but he does not offer specific evidence for London in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; Ekirch, *At Day’s Close*, pp. 77–8. Wallington himself writes little on this issue but he does refer in one instance to ‘hereing it strike but three a cloke’ (p. 188), suggesting some form of ringing. It is very possible that he owned a clock (he would have certainly valued its assistance in keeping track of time), or he might have been referring to the sound of a parish church bell ringing on the hour through the night. Again, the evidence for this is not absolute, but see Garrioch,

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- David (2003), 'Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns', *Urban History*, 30, pp. 5–25.
44. *Notebooks*, p. 158.
 45. *Ibid.* pp. 188, 201, 148–246.
 46. *Ibid.* pp. 309–35.
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
 48. On 25 October 1654, for instance, Wallington notes that he wakes up at four o'clock, spends time in bed meditating on Psalm 42, and then talks to his wife in bed about 'good things' until about six o'clock, at which time he gets up and goes to his closet (*Notebooks*, p. 332). It is certainly possible that on other days his wife is also awake, participating in various forms of religious and personal reflection with Wallington.
 49. *Notebooks*, pp. 188, 204, 247, 332, 309.
 50. *Ibid.* pp. 198, 204.
 51. Ekirch, A. Roger (2001), 'Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-Industrial Slumber in the British Isles', *The American Historical Review*, 106:2, pp. 343–87, www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/106.2/ah000343.html.
 52. *Notebooks*, p. 165.
 53. Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, 266.
 54. Dannenfeldt, 'Sleep: Theory and Practice', p. 424. See also Elyot, *Castle of Health*, pp. 70–1.
 55. Dannenfeldt, 'Sleep: Theory and Practice', p. 430, Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost', p. 4.
 56. Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost', pp. 20, 1; *At Day's Close*, pp. 300–23.
 57. Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost', p. 13. Recent scientific research on sleep has suggested that 'segmented' sleep may in fact be more natural to the body, but that various aspects of modern life, including the ever-increasing use of artificial light, have altered these natural patterns. See Brown, Walter A. (2006), 'Acknowledging Preindustrial Patterns of Sleep May Revolutionize Approach to Sleep Dysfunction', *Applied Neurology*, 2:5, <http://appneurology.com/showArticle.jhtml?articleId=188500785>.
 58. *Notebooks*, p. 178.
 59. *Ibid.* pp. 188–9, 192.
 60. *Ibid.* pp. 185–6.
 61. *Ibid.* p. 322.
 62. *Ibid.* p. 186.
 63. *Ibid.* p. 178.
 64. Elyot, *Castle of Health*, p. 71.
 65. *Notebooks*, p. 183.
 66. *Ibid.* p. 213.
 67. *Ibid.* pp. 210–11.
 68. *Ibid.* p. 247.
 69. *Ibid.* p. 148.
 70. Any suggestion of total concealment is untenable given the fact that Wallington certainly shared the contents of his notebooks with others, particularly his family (pp. 10–11). Still, he held seniority and authority over those in his family who saw the books, perhaps limiting the possibility of chastisement, and this would not have been the case with his preacher. For more on the public dimension of spiritual journals see Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy', pp. 38–40; Cambers, Andrew

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(2007), 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, Circa 1580–1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46:4, pp. 796–825.

71. *Notebooks*, p. 211.
72. The quotation comes from a 1615 sermon by Samuel Ward, cited in Durston and Eales, 'Introduction', p. 2.
73. *Notebooks*, p. 316.
74. For fuller accounts of Wallington's life, see Seaver's entry for Wallington in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, his book-length study in *Wallington's World*, or Booy's short biography in Booy, 'Introduction', pp. 2–7.
75. Todd, 'Puritan Self-Fashioning', p. 252.
76. Walsham, Alexandra (1999), *Providence in Early Modern England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 2.
77. Episcopal Church (2001), *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church*, New York: Church Publishing, p. 135.
78. Todd, 'Puritan Self-Fashioning', pp. 247–8.