

THE PILGRIM'S BOOK:

Henry Ainsworth's

ANNOTATIONS UPON THE BOOK OF PSALMS

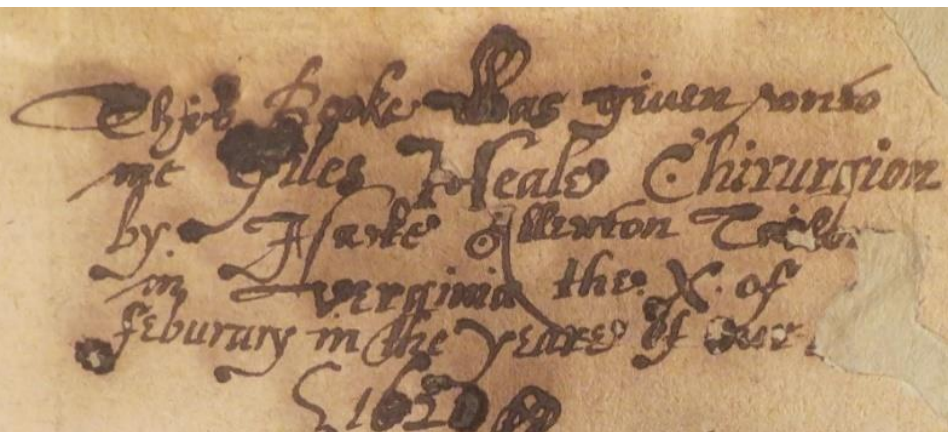
*With special consideration of Isaac Allerton's copy
gifted to Giles Heale, surgeon aboard the Mayflower**

By David P. Russo

Isaac knelt on one knee next to an exhausted Giles Heale and resting his hand on his shoulder saying:

“Giles, I can't thank you enough for your compassion and care of my poor wife these past two months. It took so much out of her when she gave birth to our child and you have been right there for her through that difficult time and now that she's suffering with this illness. Giles, you have become as family to us. Your great skill in taking care of all of us has been a heroic effort. I can't even begin to imagine how you could have been prepared for dealing with the death and sickness that has overwhelmed us all. I'll tell you this, I will never forget you and the care you gave us. I want you to have something as a small token of our love for you. You have watched our congregation praying the Psalms and singing them throughout this voyage. The Psalms never cease to give us strength, comfort and hope. This particular book is Henry Ainsworth's Psalter, he is one of our company in Holland. I hope it will bring you that same strength, comfort and hope as you go about your work here and in your future.”

The truth of this extraordinary gift of the Ainsworth Psalter from Isaac Allerton to Giles Heale the *Mayflower's* surgeon emerged in the late 1880's when this exact Psalter was discovered in a London bookstore with Heale's inscription reading:



*This Booke was given unto
me Giles Heale Chirurgion
by Isaac Allerton tailor
in Virginia the X of
February in the year of our Lord
1620*

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The 16th & 17th Century Religious England

The Ainsworth Psalter, was translated and set down by a fellow Separatist and friend of the Pilgrims in Holland, Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622). The necessity that brought its intention and design was in the making for some time. The religious climate in England was chaotic while the crown's authority over religious matters proved merciless. This period in which the Reformation came to England was turbulent and extremely violent as allegiances shifted in just a short thirty years from the Roman Catholic Church to the newly formed Church of England back to Catholicism and eventually back to the state church. Beginning with **Henry VIII**'s rejection of the Pope and Catholicism and with his *Act of Supremacy* (1534), he proclaimed himself the *Supreme Head of the Church of England*.

Under the strict reign of Protestant **Edward VI**, Henry's son who began his 6-year reign at 6 years old, the country renounced anything Catholic. The crown removed any Catholic bishops and clergy that would not submit to the new church order. Edward introduced the new English prayer book. Resistance to this new denomination was met with imprisonment or death.

Mary I (Daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon), a devote Catholic succeeded Edward and the Pope became head of the church and Catholic practices again prevailed with mass conducted in Latin. Any defiance was met with imprisonment and torture. Under "Bloody Mary" almost three-hundred people were burned at the stake for their opposition, including a Ralph Allerton of Suffolk, a possible relative of Isaac. (see David Furlow's article: The Allerton Family Journal of the Pilgrim Isaac Allerton Society, Spring 2018 Vol. 6, NO. 1.)

Elizabeth I (Daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn) followed Mary and although Protestant, took a more moderate position in regard to the practice of faith. Instead of being recognized as the *head* of the church she took the title, *Supreme Governor of the English Church*. Elizabeth died without an heir for the throne.

James VI of Scotland/ James I of England, the only son of Mary, Queen of Scots and a great-great-grandson of Henry VII became king of and united both Scotland and England.

HENRY VIII (reigned 1509-1547) **Roman Catholic** to **Church of England**

EDWARD VI (reigned 1547-1553) **Church of England**

MARY I (reigned 1553-1558) to **Roman Catholic**

ELIZABETH I (reigned 1558-1603) to **Church of England**

JAMES VI/I (reigned 1603 -1625) **Church of England**

In addition to just how the nation should practice, Catholic or Protestant, and who one was to follow, the pope or the king, there was an incredible backlash that occurred after each reversal that frequently resulted in imprisonment, torture and often the cruelest death. There was also considerable dispute over how the church should practice its faith. Such customs, particularly in the Protestant swing included debates over the proper prayer book to use, the clergy use of vestments, infant or adult baptism, and even the idea of a national church

to begin with. This was a time of brutal intimidation and dreadful persuasions, played out both politically and religiously, all in the name of how one was supposed to worship God.

The political and religious unrest experienced in England was also taking place on the continent. It was a time of awakening in Europe coinciding with the relatively new printing of books - Johannes Gutenberg had invented the use of movable type print in mid-15th century. One of his first undertaking was the printing of a Latin Vulgate edition Bible. By 1466 the first Bible in the German language was published by Johannes Mentelin. Printing exploded across Europe; it came at a time when the Bible previously only recorded by hand in Latin and had been closely guarded by the church was now being published in the vernacular and accessible across wide populations. For the first time folks could read for themselves the words from the Bible. Initial publications were translated into German and eventually into English by 1535.

Together with the Protestant Reformation that began in the early 16th century, the advent of the printing press transformed religious instruction and practice. The effect was a shift in practices from that of “clergy centered” to “congregation centered.” The practices included the shift from the Latin Catholic Mass to services in the vernacular, the rise in free churches where lay persons, teachers and elders gained an increasing role in the church, and the use of the language of the common people in written materials, especially the Bible and hymn books. The result of these developments ushered in a time of novel theological thought and debate among common people.

It is in this context that the people of England struggled to define themselves within this newly imposed Protestant faith and in the many sects competing for recognition from both the people and the crown. These diverse factions held quite different beliefs, particularly how much of the popish (Catholic) traditions to keep or to do away with. These views ranged from whether to keep bishops, use vestments, the correct version of the prayer book, and which sacraments to sanction. The emerging doctrines of these various factions being at odds with the national church led to varying degrees of persecution. One such faction, the Puritans, wished to reform (purify) the English Church from within. Another sect, the Separatists were English Protestants who:

wished to separate from the perceived corruption of the Church of England and from independent local churches. A fundamental belief of the Separatists was the idea of the “gathered church” founded by the Holy Spirit, not man or the state. Believing that true Christian believers should seek out other Christians and together form their churches, Separatists emphasized the right and responsibility of each congregation to determine its own affairs, without having to submit those decisions to the judgment of any higher human authority. That notion stood in contrast to the territorial basis of the Church of England, in which everyone in a certain area was assigned to the parish church, and each local parish submitted to the oversight of the larger church hierarchy. The Separatist movement was initially illegal in England, and many of its adherents were persecuted by the state and its church. Often labeled as traitors, many Separatists fled England for more tolerant lands. One such group left England for Holland in 1608, and in 1620 some of them, the Pilgrims, famously settled in Plymouth, Massachusetts.¹

Just as radical and incendiary for the English Separatist was the conviction that, in the words of John Robinson their pastor that the Christian must have no king but Christ and his rule, and no "Caesar may or ought to impose any law to the least prejudice of the same, neither are they therein (if they should) to be obeyed.¹ The only true church was the one founded by Jesus and the apostles – no hierarchy, no rituals, and no prayer books of “babble.” The one true faith was to be establish only through the word of God – the Scriptures. The only authority was God, through His son Jesus. That any nation could impose a religion over all its members was

¹ Selement, George, *The Covenant Theology of English Separatism and the Separation of Church and State*, Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Mar., 1973), p 70.

corrupt in the beliefs of the Separatists. That the true church “is a holy community while a church that incorporates the entire population is neither holy nor a community.”²

Tomkins writes, “that the Separatist experience was of a great deal more freedom than other puritans enjoyed. This included the choice of congregation and election of pastors and elders and had developed to the point where lay readers could pray in their own words, preach to one another and even create a new church through a communal act of covenant.”³ The Separatists conviction was based on covenant among members.

A Brief History of Biblical Translation

As theological reflection progressed, the basis as to what constituted the starting point of one’s faith was certainly of utmost regard. For the developing Protestant faith, that meant an inquiry into the ground of their faith - the Bible. The Bible in the vernacular was a recent phenomenon and the theological question arose as to how to translate and interpret the Word of God in one’s native language when it was understood that the Old Testament had been written in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek. How were people to know if the words in the Bible that they could now read for themselves was a faithful translation? For an authentic faith one required an authentic translation.

By the early 17th century there were hundreds of translations in dozens of languages available. Translating from a source language to a target language often rests on the translator’s sense of “translation” verses “interpretation” and “accuracy” verses “esthetics.” The challenges of translation included: word choices, idioms, play-on-words, rhyming, syntax, grammar, in addition to the understanding of the source material and unique cultural peculiarities.

The question arose as to which source one would translate from. The predominant Bible translation prior to the time of the Reformation was translated in Latin by Jerome in the 4th century. There were dozens of possible sources of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. In terms of the Hebrew texts, the Hebrew Bible (8th century - 1st century B.C.E.) and the Greek Septuagint 300 - 150 B.C.E) were the predominate sources. Even at the present time new discoveries of ancient texts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, are providing unprecedented text comparisons, as well as new perspectives on how translation occurred over time of these sacred texts.

The Hebrew Scriptures became standardized between the first century B.C. and second century A.D. By the first century A.D. approximately one million Jews resided in Egypt (now under Greek influence) and the first translation of the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek around the 3rd century B.C.E. Greek had become the official language of Egypt, and the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea during the same period that Hebrew ceased being a spoken language. This Greek translation, called the *Septuagint* after the seventy-two - albeit rounded off number of translators.

The scribal work on the Hebrew text ended around the sixth century A.D. The work of the scribes was taken over by that of the Masoretes who were Jewish scholar-scribes of the 6th to the 10th century C.E., writing in Hebrew, they developed a system of pronunciation and grammatical guides including adding vowels in the form of marginal notes. The earliest complete Hebrew Bible dates to around 1000 A.D.

Jerome translated the Bible into Latin about 382 C.E. known as the *Latin Vulgate* that was used by the Catholic Church for 1,000 years. The first translation of the entire Bible into English was by John Wycliffe around 1380.

² Tomkins, Stephen, *The Journey to the Mayflower*, Pegasus Books, New York, 2020. 267.

³ Ibid. 109.

His version came from the *Latin Vulgate* rather than Hebrew and Greek. William Tyndale completed the first English translation from the original Greek in 1525 and became the basis for later versions, such as those of Miles Coverdale (1535), the Great Bible (1539), the Geneva Bible (1560).

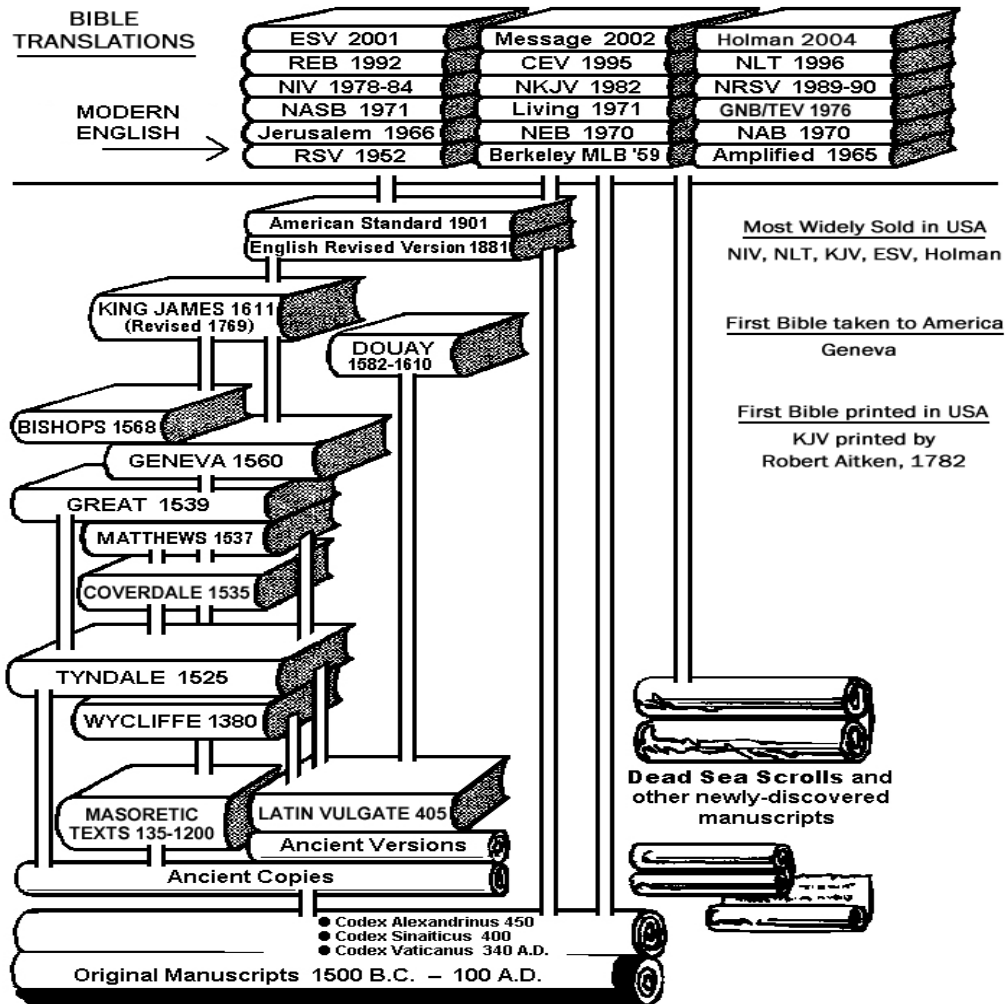
Prior to 1536, it was forbidden by Rome to produce a Bible in English. The “Word of God” was controlled by those who could read and understand Latin, that is the Catholic Church. At that time, a church law the *Constitutions of Oxford*, established in 1408 was still in effect, that forbade the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, with the exception of specific ecclesiastical permission. Under Henry VIII the Parliament of England passed *The Act for the Advancement of True Religion*, which restricted the reading of the Bible to clerics, noblemen, the gentry and richer merchants. Women of the gentry and nobility were only allowed to read the Bible in private. Religion functioned politically in England, as *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, loyalty to the new church was analogous with loyalty to the king.

Henry VIII had originally opposed the English Tyndale translation (mainly due to unflattering remarks made about the monarchy) and decided to support Coverdale’s translation into English from the Dutch (German) and Latin into English in 1535 believing the people would support him in his break with the Rome if they could read the Bible for themselves. Tyndale was eventually captured and burned at the stake while working on his translation of the Old Testament. His last words were reportedly, “Lord! Open the King of England's eyes.” In the end, the final translation approved by Henry became known as the Great Bible in 1539.

When Mary succeeded Edward, reading the Bible in English became a crime punishable by being burned at the stake! With the accession of Mary in 1553 the reforming policy of her brother Edward’s reign was reversed. Several great reformers/religious leaders like John Rogers and Thomas Cranmer were executed and Bibles were burned. With Elizabeth’s accession, one of her first commands was that “one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English” should be procured and set up in every parish church within three months.”

During the reign of Queen Mary, a number of Protestant scholars fled from England to Geneva, Switzerland. Here, William Whittingham, Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, Anthony Gilby, John Knox, and Thomas Sampson, produced the Geneva Bible, based on Greek and Hebrew manuscripts. It was the first Bible to use chapters and numbered verses and became the most popular version of its time because of its extensive marginal notes intended to help explain and interpret the Scriptures for the average reader. This was the Geneva Bible of 1599 and the one that was brought to the New World by the Pilgrims in 1620.

In 1604, King James I of England authorized that a new translation of the Bible into English. The *King James Version* was completed in 1611, and remains the most widely published text in the English language. Such was the political entanglement with Holy Scripture.



Charted adapted, corrected and updated from Thompson Chain Reference Study Bible by David Ahl, 2015, www.BibleStudyMen.com

When considering how differences in words and concepts are handled when translating from one age, language, and culture to another - thousands of years later, it is not difficult to appreciate the inherent challenges the translator faces in making an interlingual rendition that is not only understandable but preserves the same power, impact, and authority as the original text. Biblical research has identified nearly 25,000 different ancient Biblical manuscripts (although many of these manuscripts come to us as only fragments), the most familiar and recent example being the Dead Sea Scrolls. In addition, throughout the course of history over 450 various translations have been made. Today there are over 60 different translations of the Bible - just in English! The need for a translation is simple. For example, understanding the first line of Psalm 23 in Hebrew: יהוה רעי, לא יִפְּרֹץ, or Greek: ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ποιμαίνει με καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει, or Latin: *Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit* (The LORD is my shepherd, I shall not want) would not be possible for most of us. So not only was there this emerging need to read the Bible in one's own language, there was also the issue of discerning the meaning of the text. Who decides that?

Holladay suggests that the emphasis on the study of the biblical texts emerged out of the study of the New Testament in Greek, the comparison of the texts of various earlier manuscripts recently discovered, and the hunger for knowledge of Hebrew. This led scholars to explore the original texts and become aware of the differences between and within the various translations of both the Hebrew Scriptures and Greek Septuagint (Bible).

Luther translated the Bible into German from the original Greek and Hebrew in 1534. He cautioned that, "Translating is not an art that everyone can practice. It requires a right pious, faithful, diligent, God-fearing, experienced, practical heart."⁴

How would one consider the exercise of translating the Biblical text? Would one consult the Greek and/or the Hebrew text? Does one translate literally or stylistically? Are there denominational/faith considerations? What are the political considerations? Not to mention, how fluent in the source language(s) is the translator?

Consideration of the *Book of Psalms*

The *Book of Psalms* is the collection of the prayers that were used liturgically in song by the people of Israel. A psalm (from the Greek psalmô, means: "play stringed instrument") is a poetic piece composed to be chanted.⁵ In ancient and later Jewish tradition, the book is known in Hebrew as *Tehillim* or "Praises." In Christian tradition the *Book of Psalms* is often referred to as the Psalter, a name taken from the psaltery, a stringed instrument that accompanied the singing of the psalms. Similarly, the word *psalter* moreover implies that the *Book of Psalms* is used as a hymnal – a formal collection of religious songs.

A brief study into the anatomy of the psalms shows musical superscriptions to individual psalms, the term *selā*, which recurs 71 times in 39 psalms may have meant to denote a pause, or a place to offer a prayer. The term *mizmōr*, occurs in the titles of 57 psalms and signifies 'a hymn sung to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument.'⁶ Psalm 150 names 7 instruments and also includes one's voice and dance in which to accompany the psalm:

*Praise him with **trumpet** sound;
 praise him with **lute and harp!**
 Praise him with **tambourine** and dance;
 praise him with **strings and pipe!**
 Praise him with clanging **cymbals**;
 praise him with loud clashing **cymbals!**
 Let everything that breathes praise the LORD!
 Praise the LORD!*

The 150 Psalms (Psalm 151 was discovered in 1956 among the Dead Sea Scrolls) are divided into five books, akin to the Jewish Torah (the first five books of the Hebrew Scriptures): the first book consists of Psalms 1–41; the second Psalms 42–72; the third Psalms 73–89; the fourth Psalms 90–106; and the fifth book, Psalms 107–150.

⁴ Holladay, William, *The Psalms Through Three Thousand Years*, Fortress Press, p. 193-195.

⁵ *The Encyclopedia of Christian Theology*, Vol 3. 1315.

⁶ Weiser, Artur, *The Psalms: A Commentary (The Old Testament Library)*, Westminster John Knox Press, 1962. Kindle Edition. 356.

Additionally, the Psalms have been classified as to their intent in terms of either *communal* psalms for example Psalm 74: “O God, remember your congregation, which you acquired long ago,” as well as *individual* psalms such as Psalm 18: “I love you, O LORD, my strength. The LORD is my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer.” The Psalms are also categorized as to its intention, such as:

Psalms of *thanksgiving* (Ps 30):

O LORD my God, I cried to you for help, and you have healed me.

Psalms of *trust* (Ps 37):

Trust in the LORD, and do good; so you will live in the land, and enjoy security.

Psalms of *lament*, the most numerous type (Ps 3):

O LORD, how many are my foes! Many are rising against me;

Psalms of *praise* God (Ps 8):

O LORD, our Sovereign, how majestic is your name in all the earth!

Wisdom Psalms (Ps 1):

Happy are those who do not follow the advice of the wicked,

Royal Psalms were performed in the presence of kings or dignitaries (Ps 18):

*Great triumphs he gives to his king, and shows steadfast love to his anointed,
to David and his descendants forever.*

Artur Weiser writes that the point of most of the psalms of lamentation which comprise half of all the psalms, is one’s separation from God and the yearning for the restoration of our lost contact with God’s living power, with the hope to find again in the evidence of God’s presence and in the grace and help which God may grant us. He notes, “It is at this point that the Old Testament psalms have risen to the highest level of spirituality and have developed their religious power to the utmost.”⁷ Although most often we cannot discern exactly the nature of the psalmists’ distress, the brilliance of the psalms is that thousands of years later, we can apply them to our present circumstance and express our own pain and sorrow not only with a profound sense of depth but also with a continuity with the ages. The words and feelings of the psalmist become our own.

Walter Brueggemann, writes “The Psalms (and especially the most poignant of them) present human persons in situations of regression: when they are most vulnerable in hurt, most ecstatic in naïve joy, most sensitized to life, driven to the extremities of life and faith . . . Human experience includes those dangerous and difficult times of dislocation and disorientation when the sky does fall and the world does indeed come to an end . . . The times of disorientation are those when persons are driven to the *extremes* of emotion, of integrating capacity, and of language. As in the company of Isaiah, we are “undone” (Isa 6:5). There is no speech, and there is no safe reality about which to speak.”⁸ The Psalms are the spoken words of the heart.

The majority of the Psalms are attributed to David, but also to that of Asaph, Heman, Ethan and the sons of Korah. The words ‘sing’ and ‘song’ occur very frequently in psalms of all five books. Musical instruments are mentioned in the texts of fifteen psalms, which are distributed throughout the five books. Musical directions are

⁷ Ibid, 1412.

⁸ Bruggman, Walter, *The Psalms & the Life of Faith*. Minneapolis, Fortress press 1995. 7-9.

given in the titles of many psalms, especially in the first three books: often the directions simply say ‘for the chief musician/choirmaster’ (mēnatsēah).⁹

Today we refer to the *Book of Psalms* as the sacred text intended to be read. *Psalters*, on the other hand, have become known as *liturgical books* – books of sacred texts set to music to be utilized in religious services. In the early church the Psalms were adopted for formal worship, and would have been a core of these services. Apart from a few fragmentary bits of earlier evidence, musical notation applicable to Western Church psalmody survives only beginning with the 9th century, as reflected in the earliest Frankish chant books.¹⁰

Henry Ainsworth and the Book of Psalms

Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622/23) emerged as a leading biblical scholar and translator of the Hebrew text. He was born in Swanton Morley in Norfolk. He enrolled in St. John’s College, Cambridge, as a pensioner (that is, a student who pays his own tuition and board), where he had as his tutor Ralph Furness, whom Moody identifies as “a member of the college’s strong godly faction.” A year later he transferred to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he studied for three and a half years under Dr. Stephen Perse even though he left without a degree in 1591. Ainsworth soon found himself associated with the ecclesiastical Separatists, known as Brownists and suffered incarceration for his views, and eventually fled England; after some time in Ireland, he settled into exile in the relative safety of Amsterdam, probably in the late 1590’s.¹¹ Ainsworth like many of his time struggled with his allegiance to the Church of England and seems to have spent time oscillating between the Church of England and the Brownist persuasion - before eventually settling into Separatists beliefs.

He joined Francis Johnson’s Church in Amsterdam known as the “Ancient Church” and was elected as their teacher. Together with Johnson wrote the treatise: *An Apology or Defense of Such True Christians as are Commonly but Unjustly called Brownists*. Following a falling out with Johnson, Ainsworth founded and ministered to his own church for twelve years. He referred to himself as, “teacher of the English exiled Church in Amsterdam.” During this time, he was in constant connection with John Robinson of the Leiden Church.

A revealing 1607 exposé entitled: *The Confession of Faith of Certain English People living in Exile, in the Low Countries. Together with a Brief Note of the Special Heads of Those Things Wherein we Differ from the Church of England*, suggests the crucial need and struggle for justification in order not only to defend their church but to further differentiate it.

By all accounts Ainsworth was a very private person, with a personality much more suited to his intellectual pursuits rather than dealing with his church’s growing pains, i.e. conflicts. With these individual faith communities contemplating and defining emerging doctrine, the turmoil would often result in distress for Ainsworth as he was much better constituted to being left alone to his scholarly work. Although church leadership would have been expected from Ainsworth – and he persevered, his greater contribution was that as an academician. Accordingly:

Most seventeenth-century Nonconformists revered Henry Ainsworth as a learned scholar and model minister. Indeed, William Bradford, the Pilgrim father, regarded him as "a man of a Thousand. To one of Ainsworth's own followers, he was "yea, worthy of the ranke of them

⁹ Beckwith, Roger T., *The Early History of the Psalter*, Tyndale Bulletin 46.1 (1995), p. 2.

¹⁰ Levin, Neil W., *The Book of Psalms and its Musical Interpretations*, Psalms and Supplications, Vol. 18.

¹¹ Blacketer, Raymond, *Henry Ainsworth Harried Hebraist 1570 – 1622*, <https://www.academia.edu/7125610/>. 37.

that are to be preferred before ten thousand." These enthusiastic appraisals were based on personal acquaintance with Ainsworth, familiarity with his many writings, and direct knowledge of his labors first as teacher of the famous "Ancient" Separatist Church at Amsterdam and later as leader of his own congregation¹².

Samuel White writes of Ainsworth: *But for the life of the man, my selfe being an eye witsesse (living somewhat with him in Amsterdam) of his humility, sobriety, and discretion, setting aside his preposterous zeale in the point and practise of Separation; hee lived and died unblameable to the world.¹³*

William Bradford's description of Ainsworth continues - he described Ainsworth:

as a diligent scholar who was "reddy and pregnant in the Scriptures," and "Amiable and sociable in his ordinary Course and Carriage." Furthermore, Bradford related, he was "of an Inocent and unblamable life and Conversation, [and] of a meeke speritt and a Calme temper, void of passion and not ezely provoked"¹⁴

Ainsworth's reputation as a Hebrew scholar was renowned. In Amsterdam he lived near the Jewish district and he used this proximity to sharpen his own skills of the Hebraic language and religious understanding. His translations include many of the books of the Hebrew Scriptures from the "ancient Greeke and Chaldee versions" of the original texts. His work included translating and annotating the books of *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, the Psalms*, and the *Song of Soloman*. A list of Ainsworth's works is illustrated in John Bellamie's 1627 bookstore advertisement:

Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses, the booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs, or, Canticles VVherein the Hebrevv vvords and sentences, are compared with, and explained by the ancient Greeke and Chaldee versions, and other records and monuments of the Hebrewes: but chiefly by conference with the holy Scriptures, Moses his words, lawes and ordinances, the sacrifices, and other legall ceremonies heretofore commanded by God to the Church of Israel, are explained. With an advertisement touching some objections made against the sinceritie of the Hebrew text, and allegation of the Rabbines in these annotations. As also tables directing unto such principall things as are observed in the annotations upon each severall booke. By Henry Ainsworth. (London : [by M. Flesher and J. Haviland] for Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop in Cornehill, at the signe of the three Golden Lions neere the Royall Exchange, 1627)

Moody concludes that Bradford was probably correct in his assessment of Ainsworth when he averred that ". . . the times and place in which hee lived were not worthy of such a man."¹⁵

When offering his own translation of the Word, Henry Ainsworth did not imitate the King James Bible or rely on the Geneva Bible, he explains: *I differ somewhat in phrase from our former Englished Bible, not because I*

¹² Moody, Michael E., "A Man of a Thousand": *The Reputation and Character of Henry Ainsworth, 1569/70-1622* Huntington Library Quarterly, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Summer, 1982), 200-214.

¹³ White, Samuel, *The Orthodox Fovndation of Religion, Long Since Collected by that Iudicious and Elegant man M^r HENRY AINSWORTH, for the benefit of his private company: And now divulged for the publike good of all that desire to know that Cornerstone, Christ Jesus crucified.*

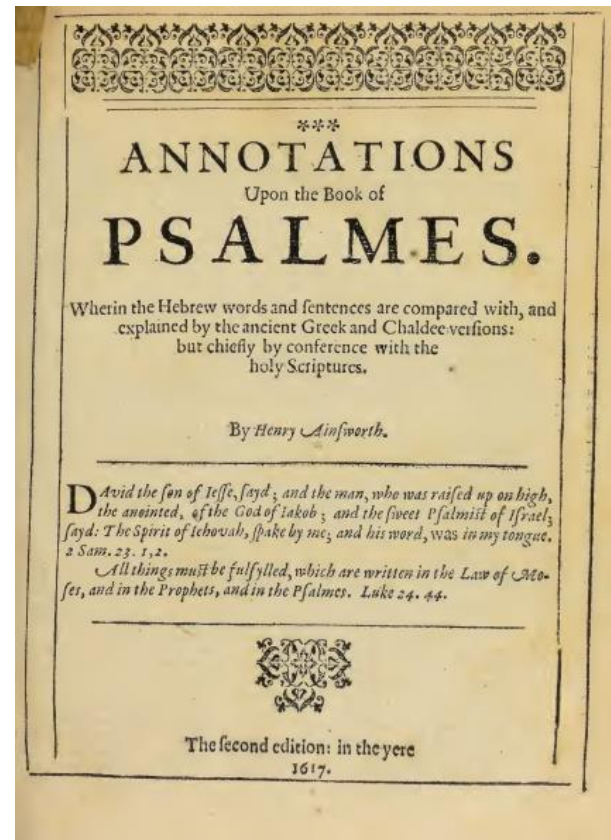
¹⁴ *Ibid.* Moody.

¹⁵ Moody, *Ibid.*, 209.

*affect novelty, but in Christian libertie (which is not tyed to words,) I use what I judge best, without prejudice to other.*¹⁶

It is Answorth's 1617 (second edition) translation and annotation of the *Book of Psalms* that will claim our further consideration. In addition, this study will examine a particular copy of this book that came to America on the *Mayflower*. The *Annotations Upon the Booke of the Psalmes* was especially significant as it was the Pilgrims' prayer book and hymnal consolidated into a single volume. We know that Allerton and Brewster brought copies of this Psalter with them to the New World. According to Earle, there were copies of the Ainsworth Psalter brought to Plymouth by Isaac Allerton, William Bradford, William Brewster, Miles Standish and John Carver. It is likely that there were others.¹⁷

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Just how significant is the Book of Psalms for Ainsworth? He writes in the *Preface*:

*And hereof this booke of Psalmes (most whereof David made) is a glorious testimony; wherein by manifold Psalmes, and Hymnes, and spirituall Songs,
he set forth the praises of God, his owneaith in his Word, exercise and delight in his Law, with narrations of Gods former and present mercies, and prophesies
of future graces to be fulfilled in Christ, whom he (being a Prophet) knew that hee should be the fruit of his loines concerning the flesh, and should sit upon
his throne; whose incarnation, afflictions, death, resurrection, ascension, and eternall glorious kingdome and priesthood, he sang by the Spirit, with such
heavenly melody, as may not only delight, but draw into admiration every understanding heart, and comfort the afflicted soule with such consolation
as David himselfe was comforted of the Lord.*

¹⁶ Morris, Amy, *The Art of Purifying: The Bay Psalm Book and Colonial Puritanism*, Early American Literature, Vol. 42, No. 1 (2007), pp. 107-130 Published by: University of North Carolina Press, 122.

¹⁷ Earle, Alice Morse, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, 1891, Seventh Edition, Chapter 11.

¹⁸ Earle, Alice Morse, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, 1891, Seventh Edition, Chapter 11.

Henry Ainsworth's Translation

Ainsworth translated the Book of Psalms in 1612. He explains the rationale for this undertaking in his preface:

in all this labour, I desire the furtherance and stirring up of people in the study and understanding of Gods law . . . that any words may be used, which expresse the true meaning of the text unto our understanding. Adding, The Lord open all our eyes, that we may see the marveilous things of his Law.

Blacketer notes that Ainsworth was, “the celebrated commentator on Holy Scripture” who was perfectly fluent in the language of the Hebrew Scriptures and that of the rabbis. Ainsworth was exceptionally adept at the interpretation of difficult passages, explicating them by comparison with other biblical texts, and drawing heavily from the Greek and Chaldean (Aramaic) versions and rabbinic writings.¹⁹ As a Separatist it was vital for Ainsworth to use only the most accurate translation of scripture in prayer and in song. He writes:

The literall sense of Moses Hebrew, (which is the tongue wherein he wrote the Law,) is the ground of all interpretation; and that language hath figures and propeties of speech, different from ours: those therefore in the first place are to be opened; that the naturall meaning of the scripture being knowne, the mysteries of godlinesse therein implied, may the better be discerned . . . It is needfull for us to understand, that as the scriptures are of God, so whatsoever is written in them, is written unto all of us: this will increase our faith, and our odedience.

Many of the available Biblical translations of his time were translated and then copied over and over so that misinterpretations and errors were possible. One such area of controversy in regards to translating the Hebrew Scriptures was that originally the Hebrew Scriptures had no marks or vowel points to indicate vowels. Over centuries, scribes would use their discretion in providing these vowel points either in the *line* or *margin* of the text. Determining which approach was most accurate was critical to translators. In typical Ainsworth fashion, he states that he, “conjoyneth both line and margine in his translation” making the most faithful translation possible.

And yet, despite of his expertise in the Hebrew and Greek languages, Ainsworth showed his willingness to engage his Jewish contemporaries as to better understand the nuances of the Hebrew language and Jewish culture. He had a remarkable capacity to translate not only words but their context and meaning. Ainsworth issues his counsel regarding how folks should approach his work. Of his attention to detail he writes in his Preface, “*the exquisite scanning of words and phrases, which to some may seeme needlesse, will be found, (as painfull to the writer) profitable to the reader.*” He warns/ encourages his readers that:

But forasmuch as my portion is small, in the knowledge of holy things; let the godly reader try what I set downe, and not accept it, because I say it: and let the learned be provoked unto more large & fruitfull labours in this kinde . . . Let the discreet Reader approve of what liketh him best . . . let not the varietie of phrase, or sundry interpretations trouble any, but let discretion choose out the best.

¹⁹ Ibid, Blacketer. 129

He writes, “let discretion [of the reader] choose out the best” of his work. Ainsworth’s brilliance as a teacher is that he provides the reader with as accurate translation of the Bible as possible, providing any notations that will assist the reader in understanding the text, even sharing dissimilarities that may be present, and then leaving it up to the individual to make for themselves *their* best interpretation of the text. That Ainsworth empowers his readers to choose for themselves the meaning of the text is quite the radical praxis in religious teaching in his day.

In his An Advertisement to the Reader, found at the conclusion of his *Fifth Booke of Moses*, called *Deuteronomie*, Ainsworth once again takes humble account of his knowledge and skill as a Hebrew scholar: “*To me therefore it is not strange, that being the least of Gods servants, and having so many ignorances and infirmities, such things have befallen mee.*”

Ainsworth also describes the languages he will be translating from. In his *Preface to the Annotations upon the Pentateuch Or the Five Books of Moses*, Ainsworth says:

Next this main helpe of the scriptures themselves. I compare the Greek & Chaldee versions, the first of them being in the world before Christs coming in the flesh; the other, soon after: both of great authority of best esteeme for learning, as Maimony, or Rabbi Moses ben Maimon

I will set downe the reasons of my contrary judgement.

He then concludes his twenty-two-page description of his methodology of translating with an apology:

For things wherein I have missed, I humbly crave pardon of God, and of his people; to such as have the spirit in them that lusteth after envie, I wish a better minde; to such as love the truth, encrease of knowledge and grace: and for ought that is good and profitable in my labours, the praise therefore be unto him that is Authour of every good gift and worke; the benefit thereof unto those that love his Name, which be blessed for ever, Amen.

Ainsworth invites the reader “into the dilemmas of translation by printing his own literal prose translation in parallel with his metrical versions, and appending annotations after each psalm. As a result, the reader is faced not with one single authoritative version of each psalm, but with a set of options culminating in a discussion that often unravels rather than pins down the translation.”²⁰ In a like manner, the present reader is encouraged to examine the examples of Ainsworth’s annotations and explore his world of the “unraveling” of the textual meaning.

Ainsworth’s translations have been highly regarded as playing a pioneering role in opening the world of Jewish biblical scholarship and exegesis to European Christendom, and particularly to the English-speaking world.²¹

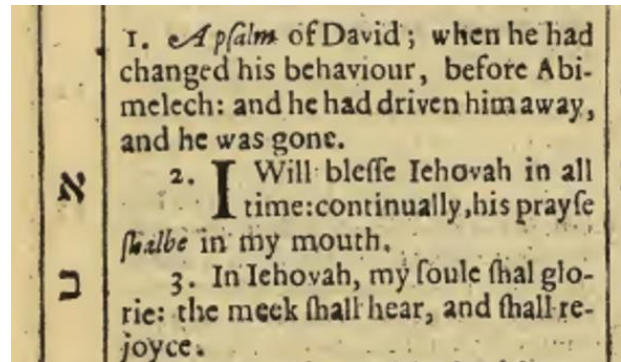
The Acrostic Psalms. In the *Book of Psalms* there is a particular literary device used in nine of the Psalms identified as acrostic. An acrostic psalm is recognized by a verse or pattern of verses in which the first letter, then succeeding letters, follow sequential (sometimes always not so perfectly) for each verse in the order of the 22 letters that make up the Hebrew alphabet. Reading these nine psalms in English, or any other language for

²⁰ Morris, Amy. "The art of purifying: the Bay Psalm Book and colonial puritanism." *Early American Literature*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2007.

²¹ *Ibid*, Blacketer, 155.

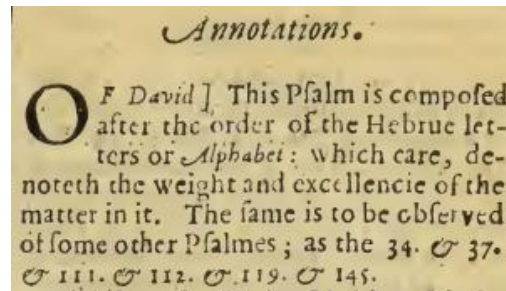
that matter, this pattern would not be recognizable. These acrostic psalms are composed of Psalms 9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145. The acrostic tool is presumed to be possibly of artistic design, a mnemonic device, and/or intended to convey the psalm covers the topic from A to Z (or in Hebrew, from *Aleph* [א] to *Tav* [ת]).

In Ainsworth's translation, Psalms 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145 all are printed with the Hebrew Letter corresponding to the verse. Ainsworth interestingly omits any mention of the acrostic nature nor includes the Hebrew letters for Psalms 10 and 11 even though they are acrostic. Whereas Psalm 34 has no notation of the acrostic pattern yet includes the Hebrew letters. The remainder of the acrostic psalms: 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145 each contain a notation in the *Annotations* section as well as the Hebrew letters.



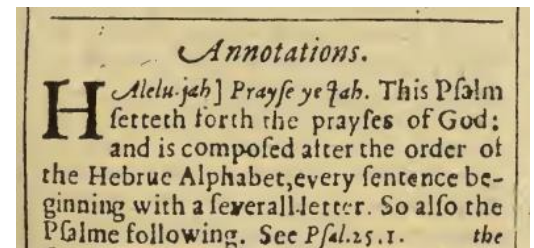
In the Annotations of Psalm 25, Ainsworth writes:

OF David] This Psalm is composed after the order of the Hebrue letters or *Alphabet*: which care, denoth the weight and excellencie of the matter in it. The same is to be observed of some other Psalmes; as the 34. & 37. & 111. & 112. & 119. & 145.



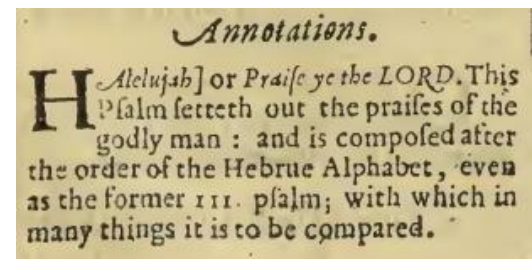
The Annotations of Psalm 111:

HAlelu-jah] *Prayse ye Jah*. This Psalm setteth forth the prayers of God: and is composed after the order of the Hebrue Alphabet, every sentence beginning with a severall [different] letter.



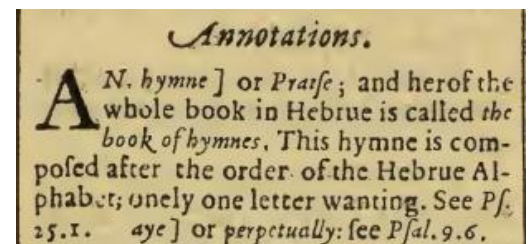
The Annotations of Psalm 121:

HAlelu-jah] *Prayse ye LORD*. This Psalm setteth out the praises of the godly man: and is composed after the order of the Hebrue Alphabet, even as the former 111. Psalm, with which in many things it is to be compared.



The Annotations of Psalm 145:

AN. hymne] or *Praise*; and herof the whole book in Hebrue is called *the book of hymnes*. This hymne is composed after the order of the Hebrue Alphabet; only one letter wanting.



Psalm 199 is somewhat different. Being the longest psalm with 176 verses, the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet fit nicely into patterns of 8, that is verses 1-8 are designated with the first letter Aleph [א], verses 9-16 are designated with the second letter of the alphabet bet [ב], the next 8 verses with the third letter gimel [ג], as so on through all 22 letters.

Examples of the use of Hebrew letters (in the margins) forming an acrostic text:

PSALM 34

PSALM 119 (pattern of eight)

PSALME XXXIIII.

V. 21. in him] Chaldee, in his word.

PSALME 34.

David praifeth God for his deliverance, and exhorteth others thereto by his experience. 9. They are blessed that trust in God. 12. He exhorteth to the fear of God. 16. The privileges of the righteous, and miseries of the wicked.

1. A Psalm of David; when he had changed his behaviour, before Abimelech: and he had driven him away, and he was gone.

2. I Will bleffe Iehovah in all time: continually, his prayse shall be in my mouth.

3. In Iehovah, my soule shall glorie: the meek shall hear, and shall rejoyce.

4. Magnify ye Iehovah with me: and let us extoll, his name together.

5. I fought Iehovah and he answered me: and ridd-me-free, from all my fears.

6. They looked to him and flowed: and their faces, be not ashamed.

7. This poor-afflicted man called, and Iehovah heard: and saved him, out of all his distresses.

8. The Angel of Iehovah pitcheth a camp; about them that fear him; and releaseth them.

9. Taste ye and see, that Iehovah is good: & blessed is the man, that hopeth-for-safetie in him.

10. Fear Iehovah, ye his saints: for there is no want, to them that fear him.

11. The Lions, are empoverished and an hungred: but they that seek

Iehovah, shall not want any good.

12. Come sonns, hearken to me: I wil learn you, the fear of Iehovah.

13. Who is the man, that willeth life: that loveth dayes, to see good?

14. Keep thy tongue from evil: and thy lips, from speaking guile.

15. Eschew evil, and doe good: seek peace, and pursue it.

16. The eyes of Iehovah, are unto the just: and his ears, unto their out-cry.

17. The face of Iehovah, is against them that doe evil: to cut-off, their memorial from the earth.

18. They cryed, and Iehovah heard: and ridd-them-free, out of all their distresses.

19. Iehovah is neer, to the broken of hart: and the contrite of spirit, he wil save.

20. Many, are the evils of the just: and out of them all, Iehovah wil ridd-him free.

21. He keepeth all his bones: one of them, is not broken.

22. Evil shall slay the wicked: and they that hate the just, shall be condemned as guiltie.

23. Iehovah redemeth, the soule of his servants: and they shall not be condemned-as-guiltie, all that hope-for-safetie in him.

Annotations.

H is behaviour] or his sense, reason, properly the just; as in verse 9. Job, 5. 6. and often other where: which is used both for ones inward sense or reason, and outward gesture, and demeanour, (as the Greek here translateth it face,) because by it, a man is discerned and judged to be

PSALME CXVIII. CXIX.

into Jerusalem, singing Hosanna the son of David, that is, praying God most hie, to save the King (Christ) who then came in the name of the Lord.

V. 16. he that cometh] that is, the King (Christ) that cometh in the name (power and authority) of the Lord, Luk. 19. 38. we blest you] these seem to be the Priests words: whose office was to blest Gods people in his house, Num. 6. 23, Deut. 10. 8. 1 Chron. 13. 13.

V. 27. the feast-offerings] or festivitie. This word often used for a festival day, as Psal. 81. 4. is sometime figuratively used for the sacrifices offered at those feasts, as Exod. 23. 18. Isa. 29. 11. & so the Chaldee explaineth it here. Thus Christ is called our Paschal-lamb, 1 Cor. 5. 7. that is, our Paschal-lamb with cords] This word is sometime used for thick twisted cords, Iudg. 15. 13. sometime for thick branches of trees, used at some feasts, Ezek. 19. 11. Levit. 23. 40. Hereupon this sentence may two wayes be read; bind the feast with thick branches, or bind the sacrifices with cords; both mean one thing, that men should keep the festivity with joy and thanks to God; as Israel used at their solemnities. unto the horns] that is, all the Court over, until you come even to the horns of the altar: intending hereby many sacrifices, or boughes. The Chaldee interpreteth it, as he have offered him, and poured the blood at the horns of the Altar.

PSALME 119.

This Psalme conteyneth manifold praifes of the Law of God, and effects of the same: with sundry praies, and professions of obedience.

O Blessed, are they that are perfect in way: they that walk, in the law of Iehovah. 2. O blessed, are they that keep his testimonies: they shall seek him with all the hart. 3. Also, they that work not iniquitie: but walk in his wayes. 4. Thou, hast commanded thy precepts; to be observed vehemently. 5. Oh that my wayes were directed; to observe thy statutes. 6. Then shall I not be ashamed: when I have respect, unto all thy commandements. 7. I will confesse thee, with righteousness of hart: when I shall learn, the judgments of thy justice. 8. I will observe thy statutes: forsake thou me not, very much.

9. Wherewith shall a yong-man cleanse his way? by taking-heed, according to thy word. 10. With all my hart have I sought thee: let mee not wander from thy commandements; 11. In mine hart, have I hid thy sayings: that, I might not syn against thee. 12. Blessed, art thou Iehovah; learn me thy statutes. 13. With my lipps have I told: all the judgments of thy mouth. 14. In the way of thy testimonies, have I joyed: as above all store-of-riches. 15. In thy precepts will I meditate: & will have respect, unto thy wayes. 16. In thy statutes will I delight my self: I will not forget thy words.

17. Bounteously-reward unto thy servant, that I may live, and observe thy word. 18. Uncover mine eyes that I may see: the marvelous-things of thy law. 19. A stranger I am, in the earth: hide not thou from me, thy commandements. 20. My soule is broken-small with desire: unto thy judgments in all time. 21. Thou hast rebuked, the proud accursed: that wander, from thy commandements. 22. Turn thou from me, reproch and contempt: for I have kept thy testimonies.

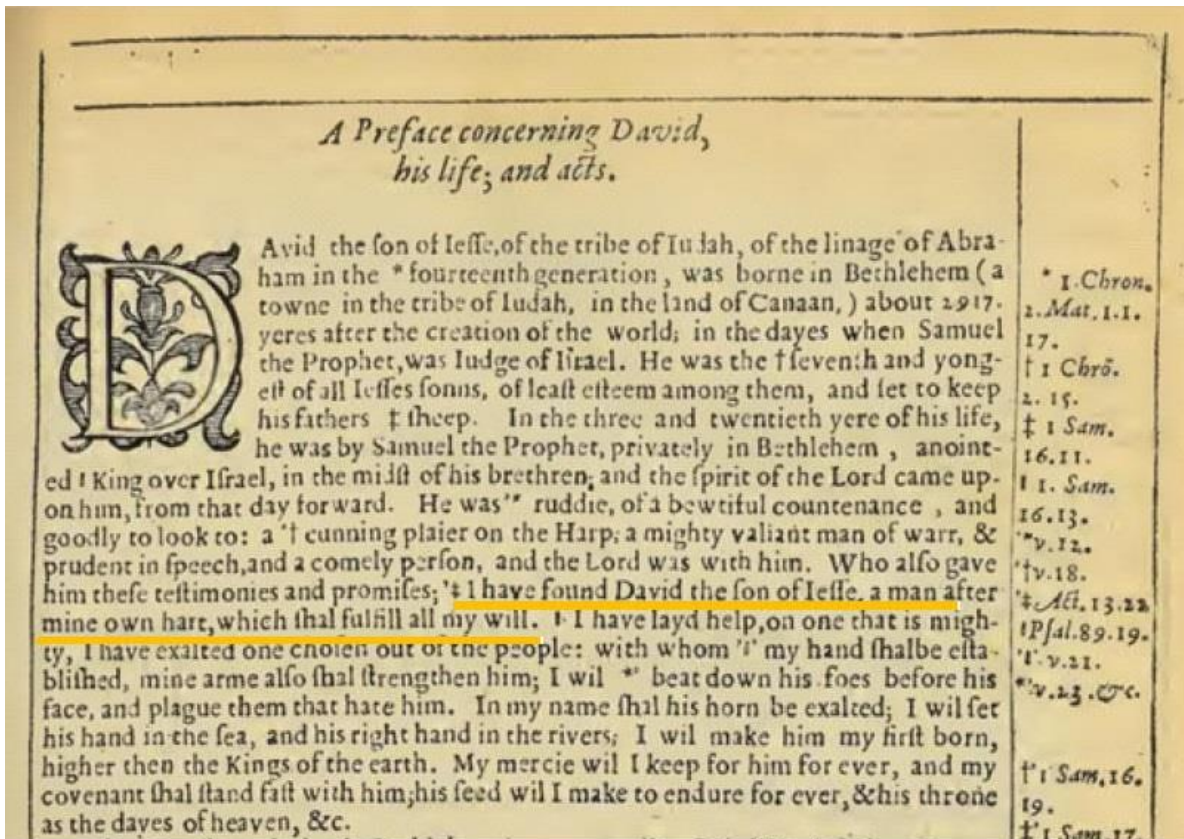
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Henry Ainsworth and King David. Henry Ainsworth's awe and reverence of the *Book of Psalms* and its' most predominate author, is evident the title page subscript which he dedicates to King David:

David the son of Jesse, sayd; and the man, who was raised up on high, the anointed, of the God of Jacob; and the sweet Psalmist of Israel; sayd: the Spirit of Jehovah, spake by me; and his word, was in my tongue. 2 Sam. 23. 1,2.

All things must be fulfilled, which are written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms. Luke 24,44

I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my own hart, which shall fulfill all my will. I have laid help, on one that is mighty, I have exalted one chosen out of the people . . . In my name shall his horn be exalted . . . My mercy will I keep for him forever, and my covenant shall standfast with him . . .



Preface to the *Annotations Upon the Booke of the Psalmes*

Ainsworth adds:

And these his Psalms, have ever since, by the Church of Israel, by Christ and his Apostles, and by the Saints in all ages, been received and honored as the oracles of God; cited for confirmation of true religion, and sung in the public assemblies, as in God's Tabernacle and Temple, where they sang praise unto the Lord, with the words of David, and with the instruments which he had made, over their burnt-offerings and sacrifices.

A Study of the Book of Psalms, the Prayer Book of the Pilgrims

This study of the *Annotations Upon the Booke of the Psalmes* will explore the *Book of Psalms* from the viewpoint of small group of exiled persons taking an incredibly dangerous journey to a completely unknown land – the Pilgrims. It is vital to consider how the impact of how this particular form of scripture shaped their understanding of their intention, allowed them to endure the unimaginable challenges – cold, hunger, illness and death, and reconciled the hardships of their journey with God’s manifest as they understood it.

The Pilgrims had never experienced the challenges and dangers of an ocean voyage. Consider riding out a raging storm in the middle of the unknown ocean in an insignificant stack of wood nailed questionably together as twenty-five-foot waves crash over the ship pounding it with incredible and frightening force. Bracing yourself against the bulkhead with your children clinging to you, looking up to you in sheer dread. This tiny ship shuddering, rocking precariously back and forth at such a tremendous angle that it seems impossible to come back from, freezing water is coursing down around you from the cracks of the top deck, and the sound – the sound is the most terrifying as the wind blast the sides of the ship, sweeps across the hold, adding even more of a cutting chill. The wind relentlessly howling like the vilest monster that only the devil could have conceived, and the timbers eerily creak under the strain, adding to the fear that “Certainly, we are going to die.” You sneak a glance around to see everyone else cowering and huddled together with the same terrified look in their eyes!

Then, from somewhere within this fearful and trembling congregation you hear, first in a soft voice and than gradually growing stronger and you recognize that it is the Elder’s voice lifting up us all in a prayer:

*When the waters saw you, O God,
when the waters saw you, they were afraid;
the very deep trembled.
The clouds poured out water;
the skies thundered;
your arrows flashed on every side.
The crash of your thunder was in the whirlwind;
your lightnings lit up the world;
the earth trembled and shook.
Your way was through the sea,
your path, through the mighty waters;
yet your footprints were unseen.
You led your people like a flock
by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

Ps. 77

And this frightened people, one by one, until even the children begin to repeat the words: “*You led your people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron. Yes, indeed Lord, You led your people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*”

Such is the power of the psalms: God, *Your way was through the sea, your path, through the mighty waters; yet your footprints were unseen. You led your people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron!* Perhaps this time God did not still the seas, yet we can take heart that God stilled their hearts!

The Pilgrims were not reading poetry from some distant time. They found themselves living out these psalms in their miraculous faith journey. Much more than that, they found God living out the covenant of old, with them in this most very present moment!

These people understood their faith journey as an exodus. There was *The Exodus* in which Moses led the people out of Egypt into the land of promise and a later Exodus in which the Hebrews made their way back to Jerusalem from captivity in Babylon.

For the Pilgrims this was another faith exodus coming after suffering a long period of persecution, having been held captive by the Catholic Church, the Church of England, popes & bishops, and kings & queens . . . and ultimately having to leave their homeland under penalty of death. Their God, the God of the Hebrews who freed the slaves in Egypt and led them across a great sea on a long and grueling journey to the promised land and also returned the people from Babylon, was also *their* deliverer. This is how this band of exiles understood their relationship to God and even more crucial, God's relationship to them.

Theirs was an exodus in the most biblical sense. First, crossing the North Sea from England to Holland, and then crossing an ocean to a new land- also a land of promise. This event solidified, albeit collectively, this faith community as God's chosen people. This was much more than a voyage to some new world. The Pilgrims were called by their God to a promised land where they could worship the God the way that they understood. This exodus was more than just recollecting or identifying with a narrative from the Bible, this was a present-day exodus experience. This was not just about how God had worked in the distant past but how God was shaping the Pilgrims' present – and future deliverance.

The Psalms are understood to have been written at an even earlier cataclysmic season of Israel's faith life. It was the time after the fall of the Davidic dynasty, followed by Jerusalem's destruction and the Jewish people captured and held in slavery in Babylon. The psalmists wrote these remarkable prayers to remind their people of their God: the God of Abraham, Jacob, David and Moses – their God of *hesed* - the Jewish word for God's *steadfast love*.

Throughout Jewish history, the theme of *Heilsgeschichte* prevails. This German word, translated as "salvation history" captures the experience of the Hebrew people as they developed a greater and greater awareness of God's saving work throughout history. Often these moments of faith development that so profoundly shaped the "salvation history" identity of the Hebrew people occurred at their most profound times of utter hopelessness. These moments reverberate throughout the Hebrew Scriptures. Two particular themes that illustrates such moments involve the sense of *exile* and *exodus*.

Exile and *Exodus* are defined as:

exile: (noun)

- expulsion from one's native land by authoritative decree.
- the fact or state of such expulsion: *to live in exile*.
- a person banished from his or her native land.
- prolonged separation from one's country or home, as by force of circumstances

<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/exile>

exodus (noun)

- a going out; a departure or emigration, usually of a large number of people
- **the Exodus**, the departure of the Israelites from Egypt under Moses.
- the second book of the Bible, containing an account of the Exodus.

<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/exile>

In Jewish history, exile and exodus, have origin in their darkest moments. Adam and Eve were exiled from the Garden of Eden; Abraham was exiled from his homeland; the Israelites were exiled to Egypt for some 400 years in the 2nd millennium B.C.E.; the Northern Kingdom of Israel was exiled to Assyria around 720 B.C.E, and the Southern Kingdom was exiled to Babylon in 586 B.C.E. Each time it was God that led the people back through way of exodus.

The Pilgrims had long discussed the helplessness and hopelessness of being exiled in Holland. Like the psalmist, they too cried out: *How could we sing the LORD's song in a foreign land?* (Ps 137:4) They were mindful that salvation history of their ancestors' experience was to become their own experience. Just as with their ancestor, the Pilgrims could experience God's assurances as it has been throughout the ages; they could take trust in God's steadfast relationship with them. They surely studied the following passages and took hope:

But I have said to you: You shall inherit their land, and I will give it to you to possess, a land flowing with milk and honey. I am the LORD your God. (Leviticus 20:24)

And they told him, "We came to the land to which you sent us; it flows with milk and honey, and this is its fruit. (Numbers 13:27)

You shall go to the priest who is in office at that time, and say to him, . . . you shall make this response before the LORD your God: "A wandering Aramean was my ancestor; he went down into Egypt and lived there as an alien, few in number, and there he became a great nation, mighty and populous. When the Egyptians treated us harshly and afflicted us, by imposing hard labor on us, we cried to the LORD, the God of our ancestors; the LORD heard our voice and saw our affliction, our toil, and our oppression. The LORD brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with a terrifying display of power, and with signs and wonders; and he brought us into this place and gave us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. (Deuteronomy 26: 3-6)

On that day I swore to them that I would bring them out of the land of Egypt into a land that I had searched out for them, a land flowing with milk and honey, the most glorious of all lands. (Ezekiel 20:6)

Along with the assurance found in the exodus theme, a second powerful motif would contribute to the Pilgrims' sense of trust in God in bring them through this perilous journey: God had ultimate power over the waters. From the very act of Creation, to Noah, to the parting of the Red Sea, through crossing the Jordan River, to the baptism of Jesus, and to Jesus stilling the sea – God was in control: *When the waters saw you, O God, when the waters saw you, they were afraid; the very deep trembled* (Psalm 77) - and as always, God led the way through the unknown waters.

The Pilgrims would have not only grasped the similarity of their exodus with that of their faith's salvation history, they would also have fully identified with this experience. They would have reminded themselves of God's mighty works throughout their 66 days crossing the treacherous waters. On their own exodus, these Pilgrims would have looked to the psalms:

for deliverance:

Save me, O God, for the waters have come up to my neck, I sink in deep mire, where there is no foothold; I have come into deep waters, and the flood sweeps over me. Psalm 69: 1,2

Stretch out your hand from on high; set me free and rescue me from the mighty waters, Psalm 144:7

for thanksgiving:

Acknowledge that the Lord is God! He made us, and we are His. We are His people, the sheep of His pasture.

Enter His gates with thanksgiving; go into His courts with praise. Give thanks to Him and praise His name.

For the Lord is good. His unfailing love continues forever. Psalm 100

for praise of God:

The voice of the LORD is over the waters; the God of glory thunders, the LORD, over mighty waters. The voice of the LORD is powerful; the voice of the LORD is full of majesty. Psalm 29:3,4

Therefore, let all who are faithful offer prayer to you; at a time of distress, the rush of mighty waters shall not reach them. You are a hiding place for me. Psalm 32:6,7

Some went down to the sea in ships, doing business on the mighty waters; they saw the deeds of the LORD, his wondrous works in the deep. For he commanded and raised the stormy wind, which lifted up the waves of the sea. They mounted up to heaven, they went down to the depths; their courage melted away in their calamity; they reeled and staggered like drunkards, and were at their wits' end. Then they cried to the LORD in their trouble, and he brought them out from their distress; he made the storm be still, and the waves of the sea were hushed. Psalm 107:23-29

Praise the LORD from the earth, you sea monsters and all deeps, fire and hail, snow and frost, stormy wind fulfilling his command! 148:7,8

for remembrance:

I will call to mind the deeds of the LORD; I will remember your wonders of old. I will meditate on all your work, and muse on your mighty deeds. Psalm 77:11,12

Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, who alone does wondrous things. Blessed be his glorious name forever; may his glory fill the whole earth. Amen and Amen. Psalm 72:18,19

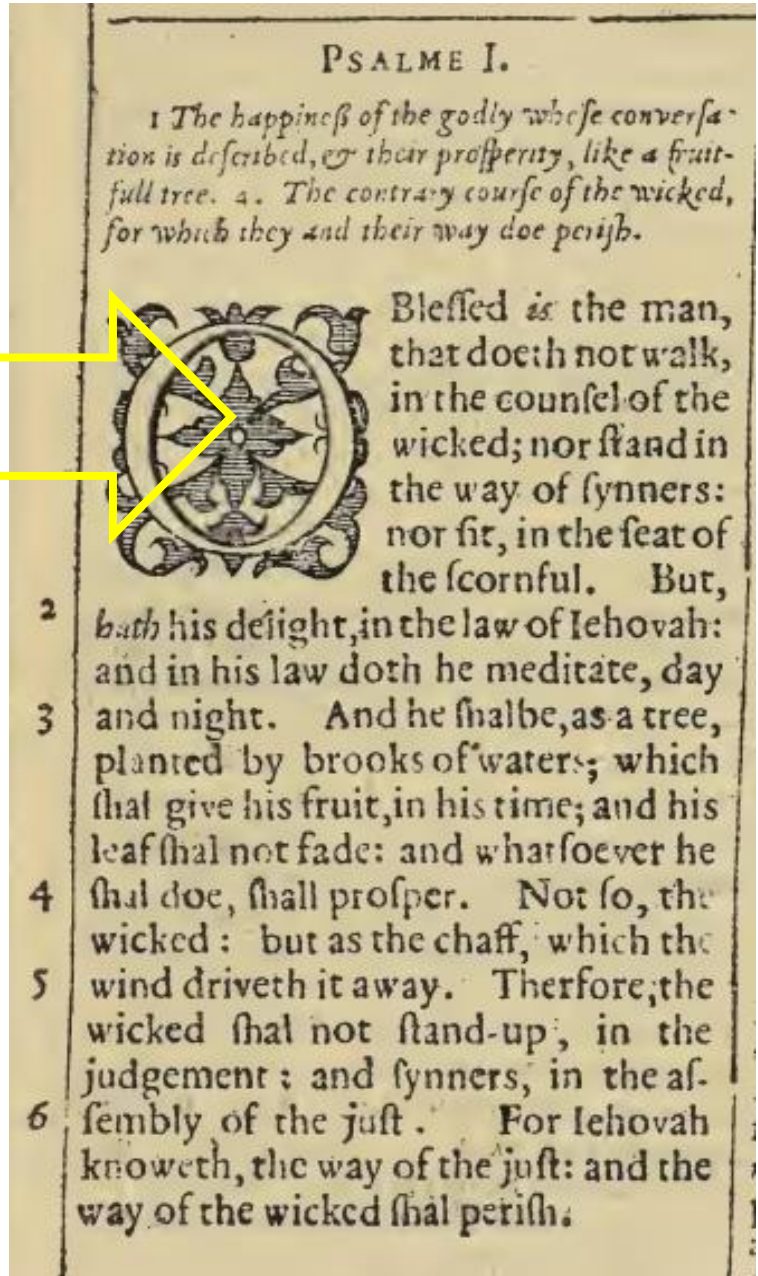
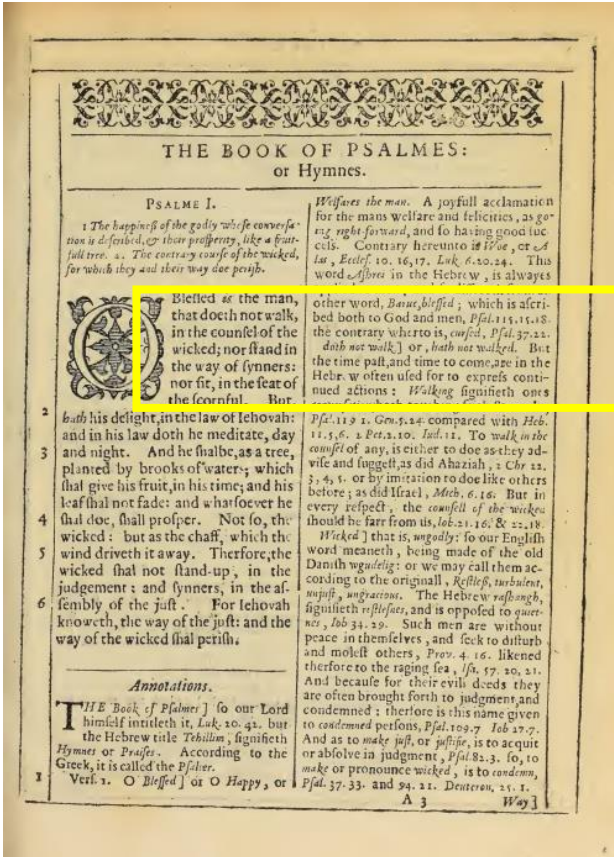
and for hope for their future in a new home:

You brought a vine out of Egypt; you drove out the nations and planted it. You cleared the ground for it; it took deep root and filled the land. Psalm 80:8,9

Ultimately, it was the Psalms that had so much to do in reminding the Pilgrims who they were in relation to their God.

Study of Psalm 1 of the Ainsworth Psalter

Transcription to follow



The Comparison of Four Translations of Psalm 1

Geneva Bible 1599

¹ Blessed *is* the man that doth not walke in the counsel of the wicked, nor stand in the way of sinners, nor sit in the seat of the scornfull.

² But his delite *is* in the Law of the Lord &, in his Law doth he meditate day and night.

³ Foe shal be like a tre planteed by the ri- uers of waters, that wil bring forthe her frute in due season: whose leafe shal not fade: so whatsoeuer he shal do, shal prosper.

⁴ The wicked *are* not so, but as the chaffe, which the winde driueth away.

⁵ Therefore the wicked shal not stande in the Judgement, nor sinners in the assemblie of the righteous.

⁶ For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, and the way of the wicked shal perish.

King James Version 1611

¹ Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

² But his delight is in the law of the LORD; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.

³ And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.

⁴ The ungodly are not so: but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.

⁵ Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

⁶ For the LORD knoweth the way of the righteous: but the way of the ungodly shall perish.

Annotations Upon the Book of Psalmes

¹ O Blessed is the man, that doth not walk, in the counsel of the wicked; nor stand in the way of synners: nor sit, in the seat of the scornful.

² But, hath his delight, in the law of Jehovah: and in his law doth he meditate, day and night.

³ And he shallbe, as a tree planted by brooks of waters; which shal give his fruit, in his time;and his leaf shal not fade: and whatsoever he shal doe, shall prosper.

⁴ Not so, for the wicked: but as the chaff, In which the wind driveth it away.

⁵ Therefore, the wicked shal not stand-up; in the judgement: and synners, in the assembly of the just.

⁶ For Jehovah knoweth, the way of the just: and the way of the wicked shal perish.

New Revised Standard Version Bible

¹ Happy are those who do not follow the advice of the wicked, or take the path that sinners tread, or sit in the seat of scoffers;

² but their delight is in the law of the LORD, and on his law they meditate day and night.

³ They are like trees planted by streams of water, which yield their fruit in its season, and their leaves do not wither. In all that they do, they prosper.

⁴ The wicked are not so, but are like chaff that the wind drives away.

⁵ Therefore the wicked will not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous

⁶ for the LORD watches over the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked will perish.

The Annotations

The “Annotation” portion of Ainsworth’s Psalter is where Ainsworth offers an explanation or commentary on a particular word, phrase or verse following the biblical passage. The *Annotations* allows Ainsworth to put an archaic and/or Greek or Hebrew word or phrase in an English or modern context; illuminate a word, phrase or concept lost over the millennium; or provide alternative translation possibilities, all in the service of providing the reader with the tools to better understand the WORD of GOD. In commenting on the necessity of including annotations along with his translations in his *A Preface Concerning Moses Writings, and These Annotations Upon Them*, Ainsworth writes:

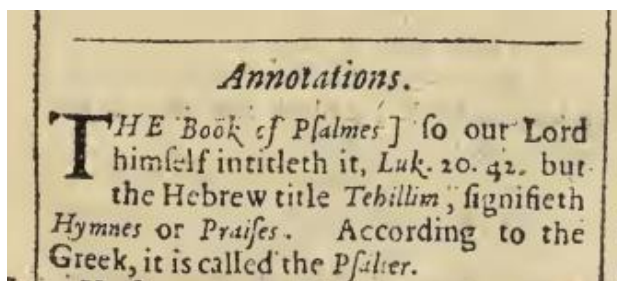
For these causes, I have chiefly laboured in these annotations upon Moses, to explaine his words and speeches, by conference with himselfe, and the other Prophets and Apostles, all which are commenters upon his lawes, and do open unto us the mysteries which were covered under his veile: for by a true and sound literall explication, the spirituall meaning may the better be discerned . . .

I desire the furtherance and stirring up of people in the study and understanding of Gods law. Wherein though some things are briefe, some things darke and hard to bee undedstood, yet many things are by a little direction, made easie to the prudent . . .

Behold, the holy Ghost translateth one Hebrew word, by many Greeke, to teach us both the ample wisdomed comprised in that mother tongue; and that any words may be used, which expresse the true meaning of the text unto our understanding.

The length of each annotation may vary. For example, Psalm 1 contains 21 printed lines of sacred text whereas the following annotation contains 182 lines of commentary - 9 times longer than the Biblical text. An example of just how Ainsworth devises his annotation is shown in Psalm 1, verse 1.

Annotations: Psalm 1: verse 1



Annotations.

The Book of Psalmes] so our Lord himself intitlesh it, Luk. 20.42 but the Hebrew title: Tehillium, signifirth Hymnes or Praises, According to the Greek, it is called the Psalter.

Here Ainsworth describes the title given to the Psalms and writes that even Jesus used this term. Our Lord, himself, he writes, use the word “Psalms” as in Luke 20:42 when Jesus teaching, says, “For David himself says in the book of Psalms . . .” although Ainsworth notes Jesus would have used the Hebrew word Tehillim (תְּהִלִּים), “praises” whereas the New Testament was written in Greek so that psalmoí (ψαλμοί) “psalms” would have been the word used in the Greek translation. In his Annotations, Ainsworth notes differences in the Hebrew and Greek words; references to Hebrew and New Testament passages; and even “contrary” words or phrases to illustrate his point.

Psalm 1 with Annotations

Psalm 1

¹*The happiness of the godly whose conversation is described and their prosperity, like a fruitfull tree. 4. The contrary course of the wicked, for which they and their way do perish.*



Blessed is the man,
that doeth not walk,
in the council of the
wicked; nor stand in
the way of synners:
nor sit, in the seat of
the scornful. But,
in the law of Jehovah:

² and in his law doth he meditate, day
³ and night. And he shall be, as a tree,
planted by brooks of waters; which
shal give his fruit, in his time; and his
leaf shal not fade: and whatsoever he
⁴ shal doe, shall prosper. Not so, the
wicked: but as the chaff, which the
⁵ wind driveth it away. Therefore, the
wicked shal not stand-up; in the
judgement : and synners, in the as-
⁶ sembly of the just. For Jehovah
knoweth, the way of the just: and the
way of the wicked shal perish.

Annotations

T*he Book of Psalmes*] so our Lord himself intituled it, *Luk. 20:2* but the Hebrew title *Telillrim*, signifieth *Hymes* or *Praises*. According to the Greek, it is called the Psalter.

Vers. 1. **O Blessed**] or *O Happy.*, or

Welfares the man. A joyfull acclamation for the mans welfare and felicities, as going *right forward*, and so having good success. Contrary hereuntois *Woe*, or *A las*, *Eccles. 10: 16,17*, *Luk. 6:20,24*. This word *Asbrei* in the Hebrew, is alwayes applied to men, and so differeth from an other word, *Barne, blessed*; which is ascribed both to God and men. *Psal. 115:15,18*. The contrary wherto is cursed, *Psal. 37:22*.

doth not walk] or, *hath not walked*. But the time past, and the time to come, are in the Hebrew often used for to express continued actions: *Walking* signifieth ones *conversation*, both touching faith & works, *Psalme 119:1*, *Gen. 5:24* compared with *Heb. 11:5*, *6*, *2 Pet. 2:10*, *Jud. 11*. To *walk in the counsel* of any, is either to doe as they advise and suggest, as did Ahaziah, *2 Chr. 22: 3,4,5* or by imitation to doe like others before; as did Israel, *Mich. 6:16*. But in every respect; the *counsell of the wicked* should be farr from us, *Job 21:16 & 22:18*.

Wicked] that is, *ungodly*: so our English word meaneth, being made of the old Danish *wgudelig*: or we may call them according to the originall, *Restless, turbulent, unjust, ungracious*. The Hebrew *rasbangb*, signifieth *restless*, and is opposed to *quietnes*, *Job 34:29*. Such men are without peace in themselves, and seek to disturb and molest others, *Prov. 4:16* likened therefore to the rageing sea, *Isa. 57:20, 21* And because for their evil deeds they are often brought forth to judgment; and *condemned*: *Psal. 109:7*, *Job 27:7* And to make *just* or *justifie*, is to acquit or absolve in judgment, *Psal. 82:3* so, to make or pronounce *wicked*, is to *condemn*, *Psal. 37:33* and *94:21*, *Deuteron. 25:1*.

A₃

Way]

Way] track, or trode. This word also signifieth any *religion, doctrine, manners, actions, administration, or course of life*, *Psal. 5:9 and 25:4 and 86:11, Act. 18:25,26 and 22:4, Pet. 2:15,21.* **Synners] or misdoers, erroneous, enormous.** Though there is no man just on earth, that doeth good and sinneth not, *Eccl. 7:22.* Yet such are usually called sinners, as be given to vice, and have the course of their life, evil, *Gen. 13:13, I Sam. 15:18, Psal. 26:9 and 104:36, Mat. 26:45, Luk. 7:37, Job 9:16,31.* In this respect, they that are born of God, are sayd, *not to syn, Job 3:9* and Solomon opposeth the *sinner* to the *good man*, *Eccles. 9:2* See the note on *Psal. 4:5.* **Not sit in the seat] or, and hath not sitten, &c.** To sit is to *abide, continue, dwell, Psal. 2:4 and 101:6,7 and 132:14* or to *company*, and *have familiarity* with any, *Psal. 26:4,5.* And the originall *moshab* here Englished *seat*, is diversly used, as, for a *seat* or *chayr* to sit on, *I Sam. 20:25, Job 29:7.* (which noteth authoritie;) sometime, an *habitation* or *dwelling*, *Psal. 107:4,7.* and *132:13.* sometime an *assise, session, or assemblie*, *Psal. 107:32.* And so may it be here taken, for the *assemblic of the scornful*, and their *societic*, as the Chaldee version explaineth it.

The scornful] Proud-rhetorical mockers: Losels. The word importeth *pride*; as, the Lord scorneth the *scorners*, *Prov. 3:34.* That is, resisteth the *proud*, *Jam. 4:6, I Pet. 5:5.* It implieth also eloquence, often used in mocks, *Job 16:20.* The Greek translateth them *pestilent*: they are of the worst sort of sinners, which admit of no reproof; therefore it is sayd, *Rebuke not a scorner, lest he hate thee, Prov. 9:7,8.*

Vers. 2. Hath his delight] or his pleasure is. law] or doctrine. See the notes of *Psal. 19:8* **Jehovah] or the Lord;** as the Greek, and the new Testament usually expresseth it. The opening of this name, see on *Psal. 83:19* and *Gen. 2:4.*

doth meditate] or shall meditate: that is, *usually meditateth.* This word importeth, studie and exercise of the mind, which often bursteth out into voice. It is used

for *musings* in the mind or hart, *Prov. 24:2, Isa. 33:18.* for *muttering* with the mouth, that which the hart mindeth, *Psal. 2:1.* and *37:30, Prov. 8:2, Isa. 59:3.* but with a low imperfect voice, *Isa. 8:19,* **day and night]** or, *by day and by night*, that is, *continually.*

Vers. 3. Brooks] or, *becks, riverets*; in Hebrew called *Plagim*, that is *divisions* or *partitions*; being little streames derived, either from a great river, as *Psal. 46:5,* or from well or fountain, as *Prov. 5:16,* or from any other head, *Job 29:6.* In hot countries they use to plant gardens, neer wel-springs of water; from which the husbandma deriveth many litle becks or reverets, to run on the roots of the trees set in a row; wherby they are moistned and made fruitfull. See *Ezek. 31:3,4, Eccles. 2:6.* According to this, Christ is called the *fountain of the gardens*, that is, of the Churches, *Song 4:15.* Also in *Jer. 17:8.* The godly man is likened to a tree planted by waters, which thrusteth out his roots by the river, and feelth not when the heat commeth, and careth not for the year of drought, nor ceaseth from making (or yielding) fruit. **in his time]** that is, *in due time* or *season*; so *Psal. 104:27 and 145:15. Levit. 26:4.* The Chaldee translateth, *whose fruite is ripe in his time.*

whatforever he shall doe] or *all, that it shall make;* or *yield:* meaning the tree, the resemblance of the man. For a tree is sayd to *make fruit*, when it *beareth* or *yieldeth it*, *Jer. 17:8.* So in *Mat. 3:8,10,* where men are trees, and their works *fruites*, which they *make* or *yield.* **Shall prosper]** or *thrive:* and to be *of good use.* And this is in a tree, when the fruit is for meat: and the leaf, for medicine: as *Ezek. 47:12.* *The just mans fruit,* is the *fruit of the tree of life*, *Prov. 11:30.* So the Chaldee (in the Masorites Bible) calleth this tree here spoken of, *the tree of life.*

Vers.4. Driveth it away] or *tosseth away:* therefore the Chaldee, for *wind*, translateth *whirlwinde* or *tempest*; and in *Job 21:18.* it is sayd, such are *as chaff that the tempest stea-*

leth away. Compare also *Psal. 35:5. Hos. 13:3.* The word *it*, is added for vehemencie sake, and may be omitted in our English, as it is sometime in the Hebrew, *2 Chron. 28:3.* Compared with *2 Kin. 16:3.* yet such manner of speeches the Greek also in the new testament useth, *Rev. 7:1,9.*

Vers. 5. *Stand.up*] or *rise up*; consist, stand-
sure: opposed to *bending* or *falling down*,
Psal. 18:39 and *20:9.* God is he the ri-
seth up to judgment, *Psal. 76:10* and men
doe *stand* or *fall* therein, when they are ju-
stified or condemned. See *Mat. 12:41.*
Rev. 6:16. So the Chaldee (in the Mos-
orettes Bible) expoundeth it, *they shall not*
be justified in the great day of judgment.

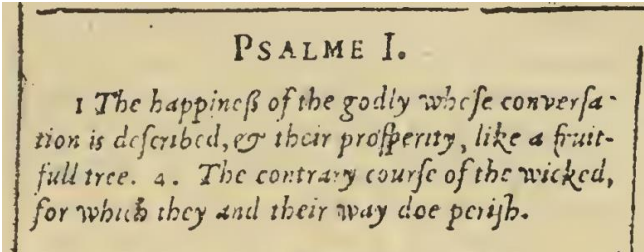
and sinners] to weete, *shall not stand up.*
The former denyall, *not*, is again to be
understood: as in *Psal. 9:19.*

Vers. 6. *Knoweth*] or *acknowledgeth.*
This word also importeth *regard* and *care*
of: as, the just man *knoweth*, (that is, *re-*
gardeth) his beasts life, *Prov. 12:10*
of the wicked, Implyeth their *rejection*,
Mat 25:12 and *7:23.* ***Shall perish***] or,
be doen away, decay, be lost. To this way of
the wicked, which *perisheth*, is opposed the
good way, which is *everlasting*: wherein. So *Job. 9:*
21, 1 Thes. 5:12. Also to *approve*, or *a-*
llow; as *Psal. 101:4. Rom 7:15, 1 Job 3:2.*
And as Gods' *knowledge* of his, implyeth
their *election* *2 Tim. 2:19.* So his not *knowing*
Da-
vid desired God *to lead him*, *Psal. 139:24.*

An Ainsworth's Editorial Device

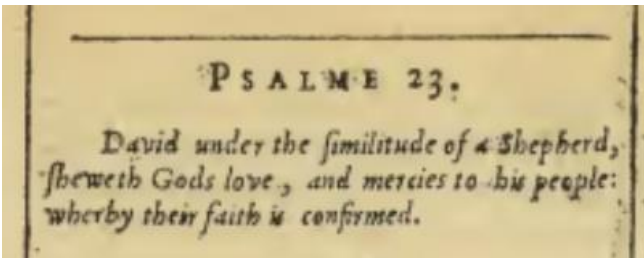
In the **preface** to each Psalm, Ainsworth introduces, the theme of each Psalm, often citing the particular verse that express such. For example, in Psalm 1 Ainsworth sets forth the premise of the Psalm as reflected in verses 1 and 4:

PSALME I.



1 The happiness of the godly whose Conversation is described & their prosperity, like a fruitfull tree. 4. The contrary course of the wicked, for which they and their way doe perish.

In another example of the familiar Psalm 23, *The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want . . .* Ainsworth's preface to the Psalm reads:



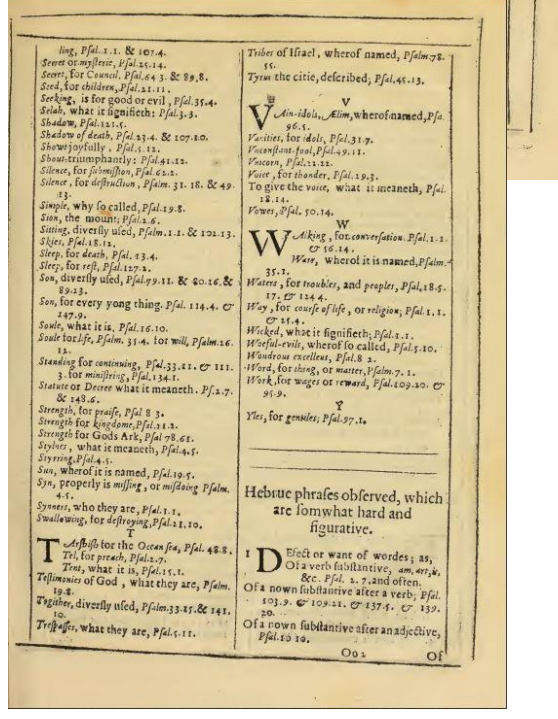
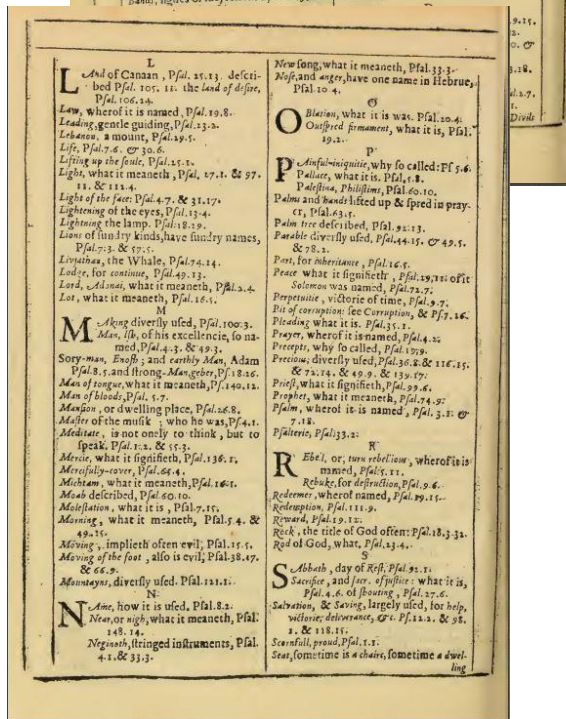
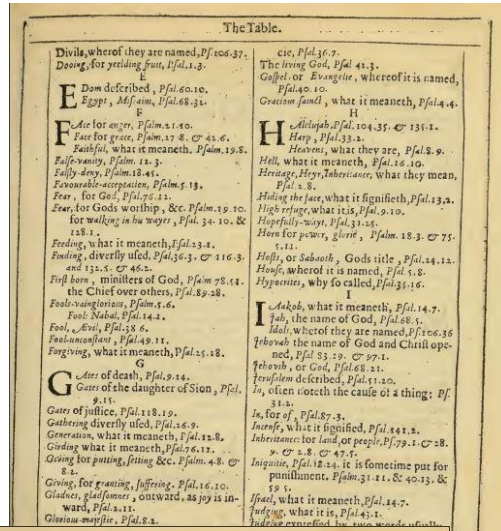
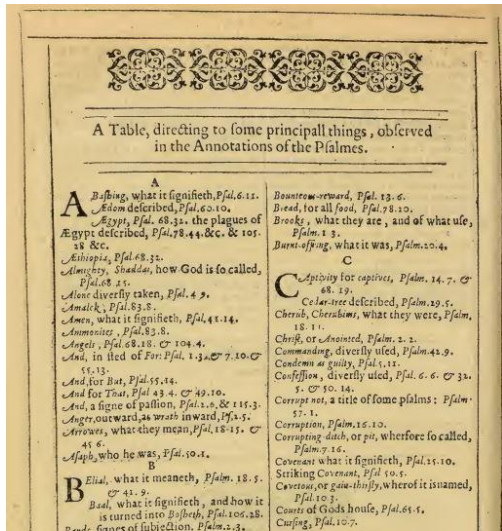
PSALME 23.

David under the similitude of a shepherd, sheweth God's love, and mercies to his people: whereby their faith is confirmed.

At the conclusion of the Book of Psalms/Annotations, Ainsworth includes a number of study aids:

Appendices of the Ainsworth Psalter:

The Table, directing to some principall things, observed in the Annotations of the Psalmes and Hebrue Phrases Observed, Which are Somewhat Hard and Figurative



Appendices Subject Titles:

- *Of the Music Israel had in the Temple*
- *General Observations Touching the Psalmes*
- *Of the Titles of the Psalmes*

Of a verb generally, *Pfal. 69. 11. & 18. 7. 29.*
 Of a pronoun, *Pfal. 45. 4. & 59. 14. & 68. 36. & 69. 2. & 71. 18. & 115. 12.*
 Of a preposition, *Pfal. 5. 4. & 2. 8. & 9. 12. & 42. 3.*
 Of a part of a sentence, *Pfal. 6. 4. & 89. 36.*
 2. Overplus or redundance of some final words, *Pfal. 1. 4. & 46. 7. & 118. 14. & 137. 3.*
 3. Change, or putting one for another, as of number, *foale for foales, Angel for Angels &c. Pfal. 8. 9. & 34. 8. & 78. 2. 4. & 79. 2. and often.*
 Of person, *Pfal. 59. 10. & 65. 7. & 80. 7. & 115. 9. & 144. 10.*
 Of time, *Pfal. 2. 1. and 18. 7. and often.*
 Of gender, *Pfal. 45. 17. & 79. 8.*
 Of an active verb; for a passive, *Pfal. 32. 9. & 36. 3. & 109. 15. & 49. 15.*
 4. Questions or expostulations, used for affirmations, *Pfal. 16. 9. & 14. 4. For denials, Pfal. 24. 20. For prayers, Pfal. 10. 11. For wishes, Pfal. 4. 7. and 14. 7.*
 5. Words used in the plural number for excellencie &c. *Pfal. 103. 6.*
 One word singular and another plural, used for exactnes, *Pfal. 64. 3.*
 6. The myserie of the holy Trinitie, *Pfal. 11. 7. & 3. 3. & 149. 2.*
 7. A verb indefinite, of like signification with that which went before, *Pfal. 49. 15.*

17. psalmes, to the 107.
 5. The first conteyneth the 44. last psalmes.

Every of these bookes is ended with *Amen*, or *Halelu Jah*. But being all joyned together, they are usually counted one book, and so the Apostle Peter speaketh of them, *Act. 1. 20.*
 The indices of these Psalmes are expressed five; *Moses, David, Asaph, Heman, and Aethan.*

Of the titles of the Psalmes.

The Psalmes; many of them have no title at all: others have titles, but very divers. Some signifie the writers, as *David, Asaph &c.*: some the instruments, as the *sons of Korach, Jeduthan &c.*: some the instruments whereto they were sung, as *Negineth, Nebeloth &c.*: some the nature of the D.tty, as a *Psalm, an Hymn, &c.*: some the use of it, as an *instruſting Psalm &c.*: some the occasion of making it, as *David being from Absalom, his going in to Bathshebah &c.*

Five and twentie psalmes are without any title: namely, the 1. 2. 10. 33. 43. 71. 91. 95. 94. 95. 96. 97. 99. 104. 105. 107. 114. 115. 116. 119. 118. 119. 136. 137. & 147. Yet of some of these the holy Ghost witnesseth that *David* wrote them, *Act. 4. 25. Heb. 4. 7.* & so we may judge of the rest.

David's name is prefixed unto 74. psalmes; but diversly.

Five & thirte are intituled, a *Psalm of David*, as, the 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 29. 31. 38. 39. 40. 41. 51. 62. 63. 64. 70. 101. 109. 110. 113. 139. 140. 141. 143.

Three are intituled, *A Psalm a song of David*, *Pfal. 30. & 65. & 68.*

One is intituled, *A song, a psalm of David*: *Pfal. 108.*

Fourteen are intituled, *Of David*; understanding the word *Psalm* or *Song* as the 18. 25. 26. 27. 38. 34. 35. 36. 37. 61. 69. 103. 138. 144.

One

General observations touching the Psalmes.

The Psalter is in the Hebrue divided into five books.

1. The first conteyneth the 41. first psalmes.
2. The second conteyneth the next 31. psalmes, to the 73.
3. The third hath the next 17. psalmes, unto the 90.
4. The fourth conteyneth the next

One is intituled, *An hymn of David*: *Pfal. 145.*

Two are intituled, *A prayer of David*: *Pfal. 17. & 86.*

Six are intituled, *Michiam of David*: *Pfal. 16. 56. 57. 58. 59. & 60.*

Five are named *instruſting psalmes of David*: *Pfal. 32. 52. 53. 54. 55.*

One is called *An instruſting psalm of David, a prayer &c.*: *Pfal. 142.*

One is intituled, *Shigajon of David*: *Pfal. 7.*

Five are intituled, *A song of degrees of David*: *Pfal. 122. 124. 126. 131. 133.*

Asaph: name is set to 12. psalmes as written by him, or at least comitted unto him.

Seven are intituled, *A psalm of Asaph*: *Pfal. 50. 73. 77. 79. 80. 81. & 82.*

Two are intituled, *A psalm of Asaph, a song*: *Pfal. 75. & 76.*

One is named, *A song a psalm of Asaph*: *Pfal. 83.*

Two are called, *instruſting psalmes of Asaph*: *Pfal. 74. & 78.*

One is named, *An instruſting psalm of Heman*: *Pfal. 88.*

And one, *An instruſting psalm of Aethan*: *Pfal. 89.*

Fourteen others have this title, *An instruſting psalm, or Maskil*: *Pfal. 42. 44. 45. 45. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 142. 74. 98. 88. 89.*

One of these is called, *An instruſting psalm, a song of the wellbelov'd virgins*: *Pfal. 45.* So the title of *instruſtion*, is set in all, over 24. psalmes.

Four have this title before them, *Corrupt not, or Al Tahshith*: *Pfal. 57. 58. 59. 75.*

Two are intituled, *for to record*: *Pfal. 38. & 70.*

One is intituled, *A prayer of Moses the man of God*: *Pfal. 90.*

One is intituled only, *A psalm*: *Pfal. 98.*

Two have this title, *A psalm a song*: *Pfal. 67. & 89.*

One is intituled, *A song a psalm*: *Pfal. 66.*

One is intituled, *A psalm for confession*: *Pfal. 100.*

One, *A psalm a song for the Sabbath day*: *Pfal. 92.*

One, *psalm for the afflicted &c.*: *Pfal. 102.*

Fifteen are intituled *Songs of degrees, as first*: *Pfal. 120. to the 134.*

Two have the titles *For Solomon*: *Pfal. 72. & 127.*

Five and thirte are intituled *To the maister of the musk*; as *Pfal. 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 31. 36. 39. 40. 41. 42. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 75. 76. 77. 80. 81. 84. 85. 88. 109. 139. 140.*

Two are intituled *To Jeduthan*: *Pfal. 59. & 77.*

The *sons of Korach*: have eleven psalmes directed unto them. Of which,

Four are intituled, *A psalm to the sons of Korach*: *Pfal. 47. 49. 84. 85.*

Two thus, *A song a psalm to the sons of Korach*: *Pfal. 48. 88.*

One thus, *To the sons of Korach, a psalm, a song*: *Pfal. 87.*

One thus, *To the sons of Korach on Alamoth a song*: *Pfal. 46.*

Three are named, *instruſting psalmes to the sons of Korach*: *Pfal. 42. 44. 45.*

Nine psalmes have before them *Halelu-lab*: *Pfal. 106. 111. 112. 113. 135. 146. 148. 149. 150.*

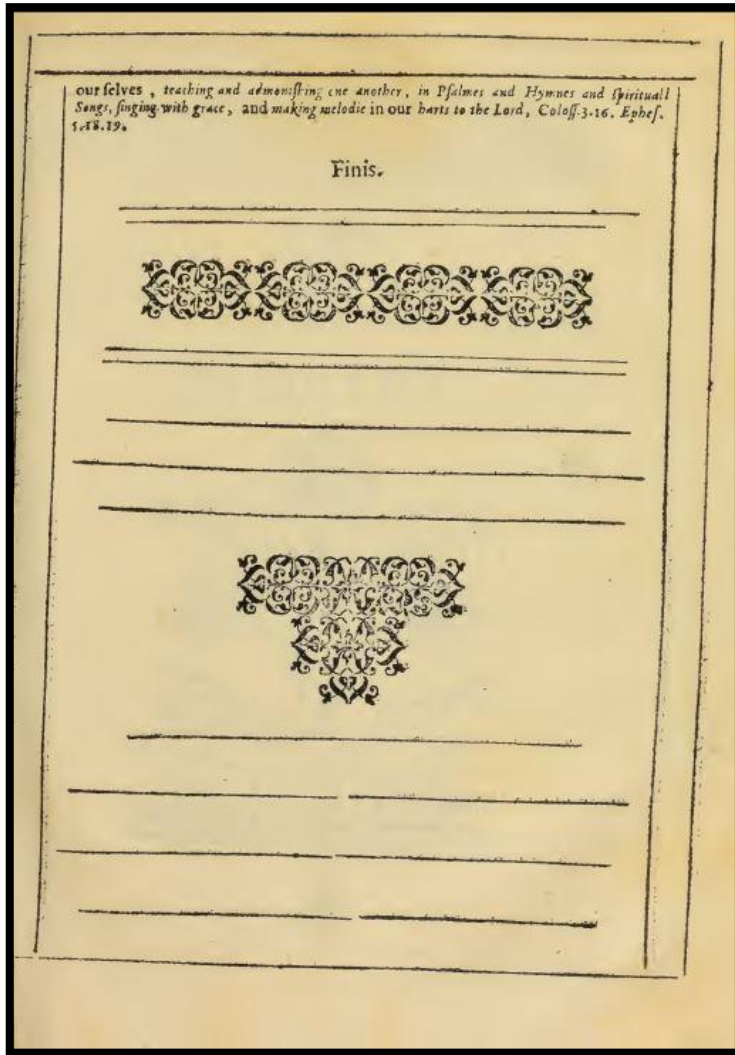
Of the Musick that Israel had in the Temple.

AS Musickall instruments were used with songs of old, when Israel first came out of Egypt, *Exod. 15. 20.* and *Trompetes* were appointed of God at mount Sinai, which the Priests should blow over the Burnt-offerings & sacrifices, which was an ordinance forever, *Num. 10. 8. 10.* To David, the sweet Psalmist of Israel, by the Spirit of God made Hymnes and Songs, with Cymbals, Harps, and Psalteries, which the Levites in their courses should sing and play upon continually in the Sanctuary. Which melodie was heard, when the Ark of God was brought into the Tent which David had pitched for it, *1 Chron. 15. 1. 16. 19. 20. 21.* then all Israel brought:

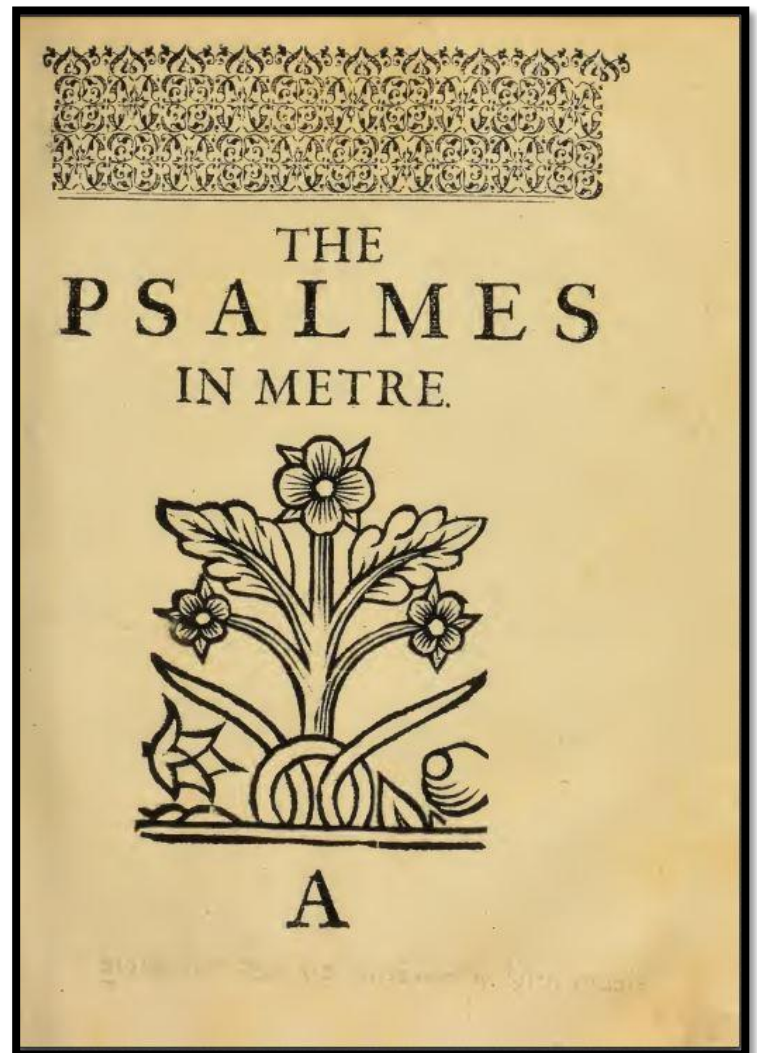
brought up the Ark of the covenant of the Lord, with shouting, and with found of the Cornet, and with Trompet, and with Cymbals, making a noise with Psalteries and harps; *1 Chron. 15. 28.* The Trompet which Moses made, were of Silver, *Numb. 10. 22.* Davids Cymbals were of Brass, *1 Chron. 15. 19.* the Harps and Psalteries were of fine wood, *2 Chron. 9. 11.* These are called the instruments of musick (or of the song) of the Lord, *2 Chron. 7. 6.* and David appointed them to be used continually before the Ark, *1 Chron. 16. 4. 5. 6.* and divided by lot, the Levites which were musicians, into foure and twentie wards, *1 Chron. 25.* and they were by their courses, to stand every morning, to confess and to praise the Lord, and likewise at evening, *1 Chron. 23. 30.* And when Solomon had builded the Temple, he continued therein the order set by David his father, so that the Levites singers & musicians, being arrayed in white linen, having Cymbals and Psalteries and Harps, stood at the east end of the Altar, and with them, an hundred and twentie Priests, sounding with Trompet; and the Trompetists and Singers were at one, to make one found to be heard in praying and confessing to the Lord, *2 Chron. 5. 12. 13. and 7. 6. and 8. 14.* This order when it was interrupted by the syn of the Jewes, *K. Ezekias* restored, *2 Chron. 30. 21.* that when the Burnt offering began, the song of the Lord began also, with the Trompet & with the instruments ordain'd by David King of Israel, and all the Congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the Trompetists sounded: all this continued until the Burnt offering was finished, *2 Chron. 29. 27. 28.* The same order of song and musick, continued in the second Temple after their returne from Babylon, as appeareth by *Ezra. 3. 10. 11.* and *Nehem. 12. 24. 27. 35. 36. 42. 45.* In the Psalmes of David, we finde mention also of Flutes (or Pipes) and Timbrell, and other instruments used with songs of praise unto God, *Pfal. 149. 3. and 150. 3. 4. 5.* The Hebrew doctors have recorded some things more particularly thus, *They sayd the song over all the Burnt-offering of the Congregation which they were bound to offer, & over the Peace-offering of the Soleme assemblie, at the time when the wine [the dring-offering] was poured out. But the voluntarie Burnt-offerings which the congregation offered, and the thank-offerings brought for them, they sayd not the song over them. A Levite that mourned, might sing, or sing. And there might not be fewer then twely Levites standing upon the bank (or stage,) every day, to say the song over the sacrifice: but they might alwayes have more so many as they would. And they sayd not the song, but by mouth, without instrument. For the root (or foundation) of the musick, that is in a service by mouth. And there were others standing there, playing with instruments of Musick. And they played on Psalteries, and Pipes, and Harps, and Trompet, and Cymbal. There might not be fewer then two Psalteries, nor more then twely: not fewer then two Pipes, nor more then a hundred and twentie. [So many as were at the dedication of the Temple, 2 Chron. 5. 12.] Not fewer then nine Harps, but as many more as they would: and but one Cymbal onely. In all the dayes of the Jewem fasts, and at the new Moones, there were Priests blowing with Trompet, in the house of the sacrifice, *Numb. 10. 10.* and the Levites sayd the song. The Trompet were of silver; and it was not lawfull to have them of other metall. The Pipes which they played on, were of Cane (or Reed.) The Psalterie (Nebel) was an instrument like a bottel, and it had strings, and they played thereon. Twelve dayes in the yere they played on the Pipe before the Altar; at the killing of the first Passover, and at the killing of the second Passover, and in the first good day of the Passover, and in the first good day of the Retention (or Pentecost,) and in the eight dayes of the Feast (of Tabernacles.) *Maimony in A. S. tom. 3. in Cle ham-mikdash chap. 3. and Tralmund Bab. in Erachin chap. 2.* These ordinances being ended by the coming of Christ, (who was to destroy the Citie and the Sanctuary, and to cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, *Dan. 9. 26. 27.*) it remaineth that now the word of Christ dwell in us richly in all wisdom, and that we be fylled with the Spirit, speaking to our*

The Transition to Book Two: *The Psalmes in Metre*

**End Page of Book One:
*The Booke of Psalmes***




**Cover Page of Book Two:
*The Psalmes in Metre***



Book Two
The Psalmes in Metre

THE PSALMES
in Metre.

PSALME 1.

1  Blessed man, that doth
not in the wicked
council walk: nor stand in synners way;
2 nor sit in seat of Icorasul-folk. But set-
teth in Iehovahs law, his pleasureful de-
light: and in his law dooth meditate,
by day and eke by night.
3 And he shalbe, like-as a tree,
by water brooks planted;
which in his time, shall give his fruit;
his leaf eke shall not fade;
and whatsoever he shall doe,
it prosperously shall thrive.
4 Not so the wicked: but as chaff,
which wind away-doth-drive.
5 Therefore, the wicked shall not in
the judgement stand-upright:
and in th'assemblie of the just,
nor any synful-wight.
6 For, of the just, Iehovah he
acknowledgeth the way:
and way, of the ungracious
shall utterly-decay.

PSALME 2.

Sing this as the 18. Psalm.

WHy doe the hea-
thens rage tumultuously:
and peoples, me-
ditate on vanity?
1. Kings of the earth,
themselves presenting, set:
and Princes for
to plor together-get:
against Ieho-
vah, 'gainst his Christ also.
3. Break we, their bands;
and their cords from us throw.
4. He laugheth, that
in heavens doeth reside:
the Lord, he them
doth mockingly-deride.
5. Then in his an-
ger speak to them will hee:
and in his wrath,
them trouble-suddainlie.
6. And I, anoynt-
ed-have my King: upon
the mountayn of
my holynes, Sion.
7. Tel wil I the
decree: IAH sayd to mee,
thou art my son;
this day begat I thee.
8. Ask me, and I
wil-give thyne heritage,
hethens: and earths
ends, thy firm-retenance.
9. Thou shalt them rough-
ly-rule with yron rod:
as Potters ves-
sel scatter them abroad.
10. And now .ye Kings
be wise: be nurtured,
ye earths Iudges.
11. Iehovah serve with dread:
and joy, with tremb-
ling. Kyfs the Son, lest he
be wroth, and pe-

A 2

Note that Psalm 1 is presented with a melody while Psalm 2 is instructed to “Sing this as the 18 Psalm.”

The Music of the Pilgrims. As the Pilgrims gathered in Leyden for their sendoff in the *Speedwell* to meet up with the *Mayflower* in England, Winslow tells us:

They that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house, [it] being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.

Hypocrisie Unmasked (1646)

The singing of psalms became a fixed part of the Christian liturgy since the fourth century onward. From the end of the fifth century, psalms were sung in celebrations of the Eucharist, either in response or as accompaniment. Responsively, a psalm or part of a psalm was selected to respond to the preceding Hebrew or Christian lesson and to interpret it. It was sung by the cantor, with the congregation answering. From the eighth century onward, the antiphon gradually came to the fore, and the psalm was reduced on entry to the first verse, disappearing completely at the offering and during communion. By the 16th century little remained of the psalmody. The same psalms were usually sung at the canonical hours (psalms for the saint's days); at the Lord's Supper only one verse was sung on entry, and a few were read or sung between the lections. At the same time however, metrical psalms were coming into use in the Reformation churches.²²

The Protestant Reformation brought about the versification of the Psalms as they were set hymns. Versification is the term used to transform the words of a psalm into a song. The Genevan Psalter published in 1562 by Calvin, was a metrical psalter in French for liturgical use by the Reformed churches of the city of Geneva. Composers of the Psalms as hymns during this time included Calvin, Clément Marot, Théodore de Bèze and Louis Bourgeois.

The singing of psalms was an integral part of the Puritans' ordinary public worship which consisted of a passage of scripture read and explained by the teacher or minister, a psalm sung by the congregation, a sermon preached by the minister, and a concluding prayer and blessing by the minister or teacher. When the service was expanded to include, for example, the administration of baptism or the public hearing of offenses, another psalm was often added. Even when catechizing and readings were omitted from weekday services, the singing of psalms was not.²³

Songs of holy Scripture are to be sung in the Church; first, because God hath given his Word partly in prose to be read, partly in meter to be sung. The rules of singing Psalmes are: (1) The glory of God, and celebrating his name; (2) Teaching, instructing and comforting ourselves, and one another; (3) The allaying of our inordinate affections, of sorrow, griefe, care. (4) The stirring up of good affections in us as zeale, fervencie; (5) Faculty and ease to learne the Lawes of God with delight.²⁴

Insisting on a scriptural foundation for all elements of worship, they [the Separatists] recognized the necessity of preserving the integrity of scripture itself, and to many, if not most, of the Puritans [*sic*], integrity meant literalness. The English Bible, including the psalms, had to correspond as closely as possible to the original

²² *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, Vol. 4. 409

²³ J. H. Dorenkamp, *The "Bay Psalm" Book and the Ainsworth Psalter*, Early American Literature, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring, 1972) University of North Carolina Press. 3

²⁴ White, Samuel. The Orthodox Fovndation of Religion, Long Since Collected by that Iudicious and Elegant man M^r Henry Ainsworth, for the benefit of his private company: And now divulged for the publike good of all that desire to know that Cornerstone Christ Jesus Crucified. 1641. *Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership*, 2011, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/e/eebo/A69521.0001.001>. 71-72.

Hebrew text. It is not surprising, therefore, that these Puritans [sic] were dissatisfied with the metrical psalter then available in English.²⁵

In Amsterdam, Henry Ainsworth published *The Annotations Upon the Booke of the Psalmes* in 1612. Ainsworth is now most remembered because of his Hebrew scholarship. His various commentaries on the Old Testament were collected in 1627 and have often been republished. He died in [late 1622 or] 1623, somewhat over fifty years old. Ainsworth's Psalter is an octavo volume of iv, 342 pages, set up and printed with notable care. Its significance as the first real competitor of Sternhold and Hopkins is attested by the fact that later editions came out in 1617, 1626, 1639, 1644 and 1690.²⁶

Pratt explains that this book has interest in four distinct directions, each of which might claim extended exposition. In the first place, it presents a completely new translation in prose, which is important because made by a competent scholar at almost exactly the same time with the 'King James' or 'Authorized' Version of 1611. In the second place, the rendering of each Psalm is accompanied by many pithy notes or comments [the Annotations] on the text, illustrating the author's commonsense as a Biblical critic. In the third place, side by side with the prose renderings are metrical arrangements of them, adapting the entire translation for use in common song. In the fourth place, there is a series of nearly forty tunes, quaintly set forth in melody only, after the fashion of the time.²⁷

Because the Separatist congregation in Holland was in close contact with the French and Dutch Reformed Churches in the Low Countries “we are not surprised to find a unique blend of styles, including a large proportion of French forms. It was this unique blend that was conveyed across the Atlantic in 1620.”²⁸

In order to fit the text of the psalm to music, the versification of the Psalms could only approximate the actual Hebrew texts. The versification in Ainsworth is uniformly iambic, Pratt writes, as in all the early English metrical Psalters, though with some license that slightly relieve the monotony. In reading the stanzas aloud, it is important to remember that in 1612 English pronunciation was probably no more absolutely fixed than was English spelling. Some words of French origin may have retained at least a Gallic accent, if not a Gallic vocalization. Many longer words were often split up into all the syllables possible as 'salvati-on and even 'cogitati-on famil-i-ar' (Ps. 139). 'Jehovah was certainly called 'Jehovay', 'Jah' 'Jay' and 'Selah' 'Selay'.²⁹ These “syllable” variations were all in the service of fitting the words (by syllables) matched with the hymn notes.

John Cotton, the distinguished pastor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, unfairly criticized the Ainsworth Psalter – particularly his word choice to fit each melody. This perhaps was for political reasons as much as for translation criticism. At the time when the Separatists who rejected the Church of England and had their own psalter in Plymouth Colony, the Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony whose aim was to purify the Church of England from within were using the *Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter* that was designed for music and singing of the Psalms and not by a Hebrew translation. For the Bay Colony to use the *Ainsworth Psalter* would mean an unwelcomed association with that religious faction and dissatisfaction from the Church of England, so they published their own – the *Bay Psalm Book* in 1640. Cotton particularly ridiculed Ainsworth's translation of the word for God. The Hebrew Scriptures used the tetragrammaton of four Hebrew letters, and when vowelized is the sacred name *Yahweh*. Cotton wrote in his *Singing of Psalmes A Gospel-Ordinance* in 1647 of his objection of those translators who, “Sometimes breake the Attributes of God, and for verse sake put *Jah* for *Jehovah*:

²⁵ Ibid, Dorenkamp. 5

²⁶ Pratt, Waldo Selden, *The Music of the Pilgrims*. Boston, 1921. 8.

²⁷ Ibid, 9.

²⁸ *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, Vol. 4, 409.

²⁹ Ibid.

which Cotton describes as a mangling of the word.”³⁰ Apparently, what Cotton the “pastor” did not understand was that Ainsworth “the Hebrew scholar” actually was correct in his use of *Jah* for *Jehovah* in the *Psalmes in Metre*.

Atlas Laster referring to Byatt (1987) writes that Ainsworth was the earliest English writer to have used *Jehovah* regularly in biblical works in places where the Hebrew Scriptures used the tetragrammaton of four Hebrew letters (*YHWH*), and when vowelized is the sacred name *Yahweh*. Laster goes on to describe how the Old English “*Jah*” comes from an archaic form of “*j*,” which has the sound of “*y*.” Thus, *Jah* is the English form of the Hebrew “*Yah*,” which is seen in *hallelu-Yah*, or, praise you *Yah*. Consequently, “*Jah* [*Yah*] is not a ‘mangling’ of *Jehovah*, as John Cotton suggested, but is a unique Hebrew word and is not merely an abbreviation of *Jehovah* [*Yahweh*].”³¹

Although Ainsworth’s objective in his *Psalmes in Metre* was to “bend” his Hebrew translation of the Psalms to fit particular hymns. An analysis of Psalm 2 illustrates just how Ainsworth translates verse 7 in prose and then in meter using both *Jehovah* and *Jah* [*Yah*] in order to fit his purpose:

for Prose:

*I wil tell, the decree: **Jehovah**, sayd unto me
thou art my Son; I this day begat thee*

for Metre:

*Tel will I the decree: **Jah** sayd to mee,
thou art my son; this day begat I thee.*

Clearly, as influential and important as a theologian for the Bay Colony was, Cotton must not have understood that “*The first rule of translation: make sure you know at least one of the bloody languages!*”³² And, in Cotton’s occasion, at least Hebrew.

Regarding the sources of the music Ainsworth has this to offer:

Tunes for the Psalms I find none set of God; so that each people is to use the most grave, decent and comfortable manner of singing that they know. The singing-notes, therefore, I have most taken from our former Englished Psalms, when they will fit the measure of the verse. And for the other long verses I have also taken (for the most part) the gravest and easiest tunes of the French and Dutch Psalmes.

There are forty-eight tunes, scattered about without much plan. For a Psalm in which no music is given, there is a cross-reference, like “Sing this as the 18 Psalm”. But the forty-eight prove to include nine duplicates, so that the actual number of hymns in this collection is thirty-nine. At least half of them, as is implied in Ainsworth’s Preface, can be found in one or both of the two Sternhold and Hopkins versions. It is safe to assume that much more than a majority of all are of French origin, since many melodies already in English use were taken from the Genevan Psalters.³³

In tracing the origins of the 39 different tunes that Ainsworth uses in his psalter, Inserra and Hitchcock have identified that they are all from the second half of the 16th century. Fifteen appear in English psalters only, 4 appear in the French Psalter only; 6 appear in both French and Dutch psalters; 5 appear in English, French and Dutch psalters; 4 appear in both French and English psalters; and 2 appear in both English and Dutch psalters.

³⁰ Ibid. Dorenkamp. 3-16.

³¹ Laster, Atlas, Jr. *Henry Ainsworth and the Sacred Name*, info@bsodyesharimfoundation.org, December 16, 2012.

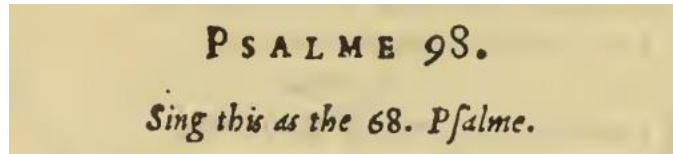
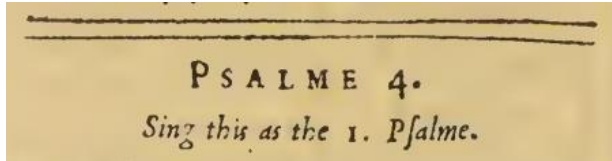
³² Grant, Robert M. President of the *Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*

³³ *The Music of Henry Ainsworth’s Psalter (Amsterdam, 1612)*. Inserra Lorraine, Hitchcock, H. Wiley, Institute for Studies in American Music, Number 15, New York. 198. 8

These authors conduct a detailed analysis of various components of the tunes, including meters (the most common being the *Common Meter Double*- 15 tunes), rhythmic phrase-patterns (such as A B B A), and mode (*Dorian*-10 tunes, *Ionian*, *Phrygian*, *Lydian*, *Mixolydian*, *Aeolian* and *Locrian*).

Interestingly, these authors suggest that they have found no “precise interchangeability between the assignments of psalms to duplicate tunes- we cannot explain this.” They note that for example the tune for Psalm 1 is assigned to Psalms 4, 11, 19, and 144 as “Sing this as the 1. Psalme.” While Psalms 76, 98, 110, 121, and 127 are assigned as: “Sing this as the 68. Psalme.” All the while tunes for Psalm 1 and Psalm 68 are the same!³⁴

Examples of: *Sing this as the “-” Psalme.*



The tunes chosen by Ainsworth for the *Psalms in Metre* are printed on a five-line staff, in white mensural notation. Except for the final note of each tune, which is conventionally expressed as a *longa*, only diamond-shaped semibreves and minims are used. The only time signature to appear is - *alla breve*. The melodies are unbarred (except for a double-bar following the last note of each). At the end of each staff line (except the last of each tune) is a “direct (*custos*) showing the pitch of the first note on the following line.”³⁵

Ainsworth’s musical notations:

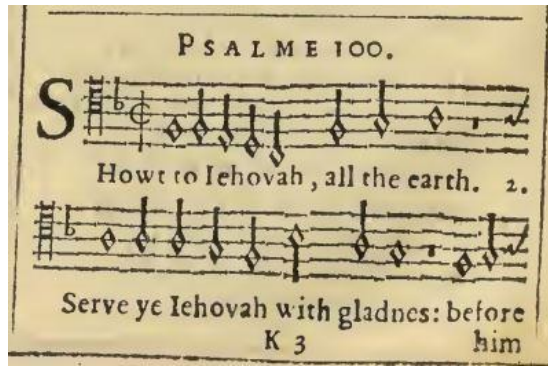


³⁴ Ibid. Note 13, 32

³⁵ Ibid. Note 1, 32

Ainsworth's hymns often use a four-line pattern typical of the 'old' psalmody, such an example as found in familiar "Old Hundredth" (or *Doxology*), usually attributed to the French composer Louis Bourgeois (c. 1510 – c.1560), and first appeared in the 1551 edition of the Genevan Psalter. In addition, this hymn utilizes the Long Meter of 8.8 8.8 - lines of eight syllables each, with the first and second and the third and fourth lines rhyming:

The patterns of meter and 8 syllable construction of Psalm 100- the "Old Hundredth" or *Doxology*:



*Praise God from whom all blessings flow;
Praise him, all creatures here below;
Praise him above, ye heavenly host:
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Praise God, from Whom all blessings flow;
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Praise Him, all creatures here below;
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host;
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

In Ainsworth fully half of the Psalms are in eight-line stanzas, while thirty-four of the remainder have six lines and eleven have five lines. Three actually have twelve lines. There was a prejudice in favor of the syllable-formula 8-6-8-6 (the 'ballad meter' or 'common meter') that was somewhat firmly seated before 1600, and that during the 17th century practically all tunes came to be adjusted to this meter or one of its near relatives.³⁶

Of metric psalms says Michael Morgan: "The nature of a metrical Psalm automatically puts it into the category of a "paraphrase" rather than a "translation"— not a literal, word-for-word transfer from one language to another but rather a figurative, meaning-for-meaning interpretation, whether from one language to another, or within the same language."³⁷

As in all other early Psalters, there is little care for beauty of verbal effect. Many passages seem rough and awkward to our ears, and not a few of the rhymes are harsh. The one aim was to get the whole substance of the prose text into meter without abridgment and with all possible brevity.³⁸

In "A Preface, declaring the reason and use of this Book," in the 1612 edition, Ainsworth indicates some of the principles followed in his translation. His first concern is fidelity to the Hebrew text. Nevertheless, in the metrical version of each psalm, he explains that he uses:

some what more liberty, partly for playnness sake, as putting "words," for "mouth," Psal. 49, 14. chiefest for head, Psal. 137.6. and sundry the like which in sense are the same, and easier for the simple: partly for necessitie, adding sometime words, which yet are included in the Hebrue; as to bless thankfully, Psal. 103.1,2. wheras in the prose, I use onely bless; but the scripture proveth thanks to be included in our blessing of God The like I doo in many other epithetes, taken from the force of the Hebrue word, as the skilful in that tongue know; and the notes hereafter manifest. Such

³⁶ Ibid, 11-12.

³⁷ Michael Morgan, *A Joyful Noise: English Metrical Bible Versions*, (Bible Editions Versions, Jan/Mar 2001).

³⁸ Ibid, Dorenkamp. 3.

alterations are not, in Ainsworth's view, without scriptural warrant since they derive from the force of the Hebrew tongue. Other difficulties arise from the demands of meter and rhyme, but faithfulness to the text, in theory at least, is Ainsworth's guide in such cases:

Yet rather than I would stray from the text, I streyn now and then, with the rules of our English poesie in the just ending alike of both verses, & sometime in the quatitie of a syllable; which in a work of this sort, I trust al sincere minded wil forgive.

As Ainsworth explains in the preceding quote, *partly for playnness sake, as putting words, for mouth*. In Psalm 49 he changes “mouth” to “words” and in Psalm 103 he changes “bless to “thankfulness” for the added syllables to match the number of notes in the tune he selected.

A comparison of Psalm 49 and Psalm 103 both in prose and in meter.

Psalm 49:14 Prose:

Psalm 49:14 Meter

silenced . . . This their way is unconstant-folly to them : and their posteritie, like-well of their mouth Selah . . . As sheep they are put in hell,

14 This their way, folly is to them: yet they that them succeed, like-well their words, Selah.

This their way is unconstant-folly to them: and their posteritie, like-well of their *mouth*

This their way, folly is to them: yet they that them succeed, like-well their *word*,

He describes the change in wording found in Psalm 103: 1-2 in meter, Ainsworth explains: *to bless thankfully, wheras in the prose, I use onely bless; but the scripture proveth thanks to be included in our blessing of God.*

Psalm 103:1-2 Prose

Psalm 103:1-2 Meter

MY soule, blefs thou Iehovah: & all my inward-parts, the name of his holynes . My soule, blefs thou Iehovah: & forget not, al his rewards.

MY soule, blefs thou Iehovah thankfully: and all my inward-parts his holy name. My soule, blefs thou Iehovah thankfully: and his rewards,

My soule. *bless* thou Iehovah: & all my inward-parts, the name of his holynes. My soule, *bless* thou Iehovah: & forget not, al his rewards,

My soule. bless thou Iehovah *thankfully*: and all my inward-parts his holy name. my soule, bless thou Iehovah *thankfully*: and his rewards,

For Psalm 137, Ainsworth substitutes **chiefest** in the meter for *head* in the prose translation.

Psalm 137:6 Prose

6 forget. Let my tongue cleave to my palate, if I doe not remember thee: if I preferr not Ierusalem, above the head of my joy. Remember Ie-
7

Let my tongue cleave to my palate,
if I doe not remember thee: if I preferr
not Jerusalem, above the *head* of my joy.

Psalm 137:6 Meter

6 Cleave let my tongue to my palat,
if I doe not in mind thee bear:
if I Ierusalem doe not,
above my chiefest joy, prefer.

Cleave let my tongue to my palat,
if I doe not in mind thee bear: if I
Jerusalem doe not, above my *chiefest* joy, prefer.

Pratt observes that “It may be guessed that the tempo originally was not slow or heavy but lively and sparkling, and that the accents were full and hearty. Thus, regarded and handled, these old tunes prove anything but monotonous or dolorous, or even very strange to our taste. Many of them turn out to be true works of simple art.”³⁹ Examples of this music being performed may be found at the end of this article.

The singing of psalm tunes was the only musical performance permitted in the church at this time, and this music would have been offered in a solemn fashion. More easily memorized psalms and tunes would have been sung in unison while more unfamiliar or longer psalms would have been led by a cantor or song leader singing a verse followed by a congregational response, although all sung monophonically. While the singing of the psalms, often in harmony, in one’s home would have been a routine activity of these faithful.

Henry Longfellow writes of John Alden on his way to visit Priscilla Mullens on behalf of Miles Standish. John Alden opened the door and:

*He beheld the form of the maiden seated beside her wheel,
the carded wool like a snow-drift
Piled at her knee, her white hands feeding the ravenous spindle,
While with her foot on the treadle she guided the wheel in its motion.*

Open wide on her lap lay the well-worn psalm-book of Ainsworth,
Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,
Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a churchyard,*

*Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses.
Such was the book from whose pages she sang the old Puritan anthem.⁴⁰*

*Author’s emphasis

³⁹ Ibid, Pratt. 19.

⁴⁰ Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, 1858.

Highlights in the History of the English Psalter

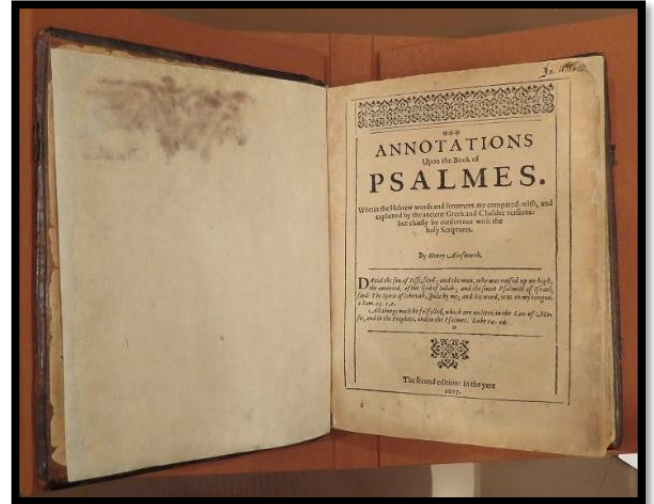
- 1524 Luther, Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn (A spiritual Song Booklet)
- 1539 Marot and Calvin, Aulcons Pseaumes (Psalms done onto Metre)
- 1539 Coverdale, Goostly Psalmes (prohibited by Henry VIII)
- 1549 Thomas Sternhold (37 Psalms)
- 1562 First complete French Psalter
- 1562 Sternhold psalms completed by John Hopkins and other Genevan exiles - brought to NE by Puritans (273 editions by 1640).
- 1612 Henry Ainsworth, The Book of Psalms**, englished (Amsterdam) - adapted by Leyden Congregation and brought to NE by Pilgrims.
- 1621 Ravenscroft ed. of Sternhold and Hopkins; John Milton the elder contributes three settings.
- 1624 Milton's paraphrases of Psalms 114 and 136
- 1631 The Psalmes tr. by King James
- 1634 Milton's Psalm 114 in Greek hexameter (nonnus)
- 1636 George Sandys, Paraphrase upon the Psalmes
- 1638 Francis Rous (Rotterdam)
- 1640 Bay Psalm Book
- 1643 Convening of Westminster Assembly
- 1644 William Barton, The Book of Psalms in Metre - supported by Lords, refused by Commons.
- 1644 Preface to Bay Psalm Book printed in Homes, Gospel Musick
- 1646 Commons order for the singing of Rous (Westminster) in all churches rejected by the General Assembly, Church of Scotland
- 1647 Printing of Bay Psalm Book in London
- 1647 Assembly of Scotland order to revise Westminster April
- 1648 Milton's Psalms 80-88
- 1648 Henry and William Lawes, Choice Psalmes Put into Music, dedicated to King Charles
- 1650 Scottish Psalter
- 1651 The Psalmes hymns and spiritual songs (Revised Bay Psalm Book: New England)
- 1651 Bishop Henry King, The Psalms of David in Meeter
- 1653 Milton's Psalms 1-8⁴¹

⁴¹ Hannay, Margaret P., *Psalms Done Into Metre: The Common Psalms of John Milton and of the Bay Colony*, Christianity and Literature, Vol. 32, No. 3 (SPRING 1983), pp. 19-29 The Johns Hopkins University Press, 26-27.

The Allerton Copy of the Ainsworth Psalter brought to the New World aboard the *Mayflower* in 1620.



Inscription on the frontpiece



reverse of the inscription/
title page



The inscription reads:

*This Booke Was given unto
me Giles Heale Chirurgion
by Isacke Allerton Tailor
in Virginia the X of
February in the Yeare of Our Lorde
1620*

According to the State Library of Virginia, sometime before 1888 this book was advertised for sale in London. An anonymous person purchased the book and sent it to the Virginia State Library presumably due to the inscription that places the book in “Virginia.” This book is Henry Ainsworth’s *Annotations Upon the Booke of the Psalmes* published in 1617. This is a second edition printing, the first was in 1612. The book is in pristine condition, its’ leather bond covers have a beautiful pressed design and the inner pages look almost new, not 400 years old. The straps of the metal clasps are missing. The book measures 8 ½ inches by 6 ¼ inches. It is actually two related books bond together. The first book is Ainsworth’s translations of each psalm followed by his annotation of that psalm. The second book, although without a preface, contains each psalm set to music for use in worship. The printer was Giles Thorpe a Deacon in Ainsworth’s church in Amsterdam.



Isaac Allerton's *Annotations Upon the Booke of the Psalmes*, Library of Virginia
Photo Credit: Randy Reynolds

There are two inscriptions, one by Giles Heale and a second by Mary Heale. A subsequent owner of the book, Da: Williams writes his name on three pages of this volume. The inscription on the front flyleaf is written by Giles Heale and notes that this volume was presented to him, the *Mayflower*'s chirurgion (surgeon) by Isaac Allerton on tenth of February, 1620 in Virginia.

Obviously, certain elements of this inscription need explanation. The *Mayflower* didn't set sail to the New World until September 6, 1620 and never sailed to what we now consider “Virginia,” yet it was indeed the area of “northern” Virginia of the 1600's that the Pilgrims had set out towards – thus, Heale's description. This gift was presumably in return for the medical care Isaac's wife, Mary (Norris) Allerton received following the stillborn death of a son on December 22, 1620 until her death nearly two months later on February 25, 1620/1.

Prince documenting Bradford's accounts, records:

*February 21. Die Master William White, Master William Mullens; with two more. And the 15th die Mary, the wife of Isaac Allerton. This month Seventeen of our number die.*⁴²

*And in three months past, die Half our Company. The greatest part in the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy and other diseases which their long voyage and unaccommodate condition bring upon them. So as there die sometimes two or three a day. Of one hundred persons, scarce 50 remain. The living scarce able to bury the dead; the well not sufficient to tend the sick; there being in their time of greatest distress but six or seven who spare no pains to help them . . . The like disease fell also among the sailors; so as almost Half their company also die, before they sail.*⁴³

⁴² Prince, Thomas. (1887-88). *A chronological history of New-England in the form of annals*. Boston 1736. Vol. 3. 32.

⁴³ Ibid, 38-39.

The tremendous loss of life of the Pilgrims during the winter of 1620 – 1621 from the “general illness” included: 6 deaths in December, 8 deaths in January, 17 deaths in February, and 13 deaths in March. The health care of the passengers and crew would have involved around-the-clock attention. During this time of overwhelming loss, Heale would have cared for nearly 70 people who died including not only the Mayflower passengers but half of the Mayflower’s crew.

In regard to the date, the discrepancy involves the method of dating in the 17th century. At the time of the Pilgrims the Julian calendar was in use in Great Britain and its’ colonies. The Gregorian calendar introduced by Pope Gregory in 1582 was adopted by the Catholic countries at that time and not by the Protestant countries until 1752. In the former, the year began on the 1st of March, the latter on January 1st. The difference in the two calendars arose when a mistake was realized in the Julian calendar that added in extra leap years resulting in incorrect dates. In England, it was not until the *Calendar Act of 1750* changed the beginning of the year to January 1st and went into effect Wednesday, September 2, 1752.

Accordingly, to adjust the date of Giles Heale inscription from the *Old Style* to *New Style* requires the addition of 10 days to adjust the date to February 20th rather than the 10th. Also, while occurring in February – the second to the last month of the Julian calendar, requires shifting the stated year of 1620 to the new year of 1621 *New Style* - that began in January of the Gregorian calendar.

Thomas Prince citing Bradford's register of births and deaths in his, *A Chronological History of New-England*,⁴⁴ reports that Mary Allerton died on February 25, 1621 *N.S.* Therefore, Allerton presented his *Book of Psalms* to Giles Heale on February 20, 1621 *N.S.*, just five days before Mary died.

Isaac Allerton. Isaac Allerton was born at East Bergholt, Suffolk about 1586/7 and “belonged to the same recusant community as *Mayflower* passenger Elizabeth (Barker) Winslow.”⁴⁵ In 1665 he did testify in New Amsterdam as being from Suffolk.⁴⁶ Leslie Mahler presented the Court Minutes of the Blacksmiths of London that declare that in 1609 “Isaac Allerton, son of Bartholomew Allerton late of Ipswich, county Suffolk, tailor has bound himself apprentice by indenture to James Glyn citizen and blacksmith.”⁴⁷ Mahler points out the Isaac-Bartholomew name connection as well as Bartholomew being a tailor points to a connection to this Isaac Allerton. Of interest is that Isaac Allerton’s own son Bartholomew return to Suffolk county and settled there as a minster.

Isaac Allerton immigrated to Amsterdam and made a freeman Leiden, Holland on February 7, 1614, only he, Degory Priest and Governor William Bradford were accorded this honor. Allerton married Mary Norris of Newbury, England on November 4, 1611 in Leiden. In his list of Mayflower passengers Bradford includes “Mr. Isaac Allerton and Mary his wife, with three children, Bartholomew, Remember, and Mary. And a servant boy John Hooke.”⁴⁸ Allerton was the fifth signer of the Mayflower Compact on November 11, 1620.

⁴⁴ Prince, Thomas, *A Chronological History of New-England, in the form of annals, being a summary and exact account of the most material transactions and occurrences relating to this country, in the order of time wherein they happened, from the discovery of Capt. Gosnold, in 1602, to the arrival of Governor Belcher, in 1730.* Cummings, Hilliard, and Company, 1826. 184.

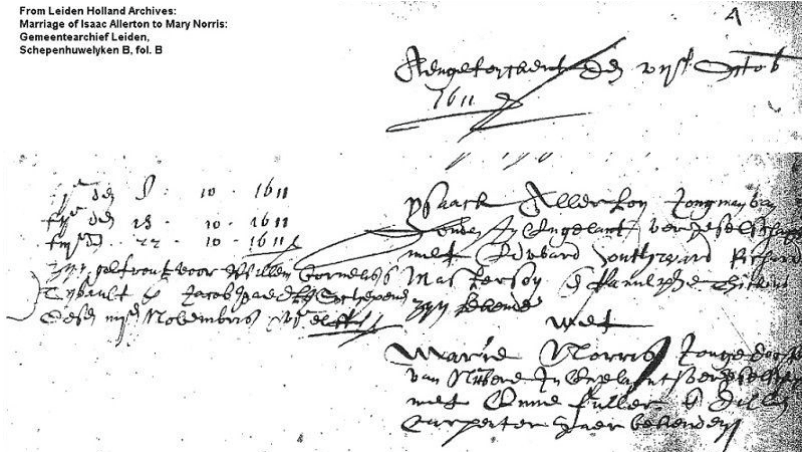
⁴⁵ Johnson, Caleb; Allen, Sue; Neil Simon, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 173 (Summer 2019): 197--205.

⁴⁶ New York State Archives. New York (Colony). Secretary of the Province. Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1642-1660. Series A0270-78. Volume 3, documents 137e, page 2 - 137f, page 1.

⁴⁷ Mahler, Leslie, *A Clue to the Parentage of Isaac Allerton*, *The Mayflower Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 1, March 2009, 54.

⁴⁸ Bradford, *Ibid*, 441.

From Leiden Holland Archives:
 Marriage of Isaac Allerton to Mary Norris:
 Gemeentearchief Leiden,
 Schepenhuwelijken B, fol. B



Marriage of Isaac Allerton and Mary Norris
 Leiden
 November 4, 1611

1621, William Bradford was elected as the colony's new governor and Allerton was chosen as his assistant governor. Allerton subsequently made five voyages to England on behalf of the colony's business. While in England, Allerton negotiated "the leveraged buyout that won Plymouth's economic autonomy."⁴⁹ Isaac first settled in what is now the town of Kingston, MA on the bank of the Jones River in the north of Plymouth Harbor. He married for the second time Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William Brewster around 1626 and had two children, Sarah and Isaac, Jr. Fear died about 1634 in the great illness that swept through the colony at that time.

Allerton founded the fishing outpost in Marblehead, trading outposts on the Kennebunk and Penobscot Rivers in Maine, and his later trading activities ranged from Machias, Maine to Barbados and Curaçao.

He was an influential Mayflower pilgrim, who lived in North America from 1620 until he died in 1659. In those thirty-nine years, Allerton established a trade network that encompassed at least eight colonies in North America and the Caribbean and extended across the Atlantic to Europe. He owned property in five North American colonies, and he lived in four different colonies; moreover, he held public office in Plymouth Colony and in New Netherland.⁵⁰

Allerton owned land in Virginia, New Amsterdam and New Haven. was "elected by the common people of New Netherland to serve on the *Acht Man*, or Eight Man Board of Manhattan, he led a rebellion against Willem Kieft, a cowardly and corrupt West India Company governor. Isaac Allerton was second signer of the October 28, 1644 *Remonstrance of the Eight Men of Manhattan*, the first petition demanding the right of self-government for settlers in any Dutch colony."⁵¹ Allerton eventually remarried a third time to Johanna Swinnerton and settled in New Haven where he died in 1659.

Allerton had many identities. He was an influential Mayflower pilgrim, who lived in North America from 1620 until he died in 1659. In those thirty-nine years, Allerton established a trade network that encompassed at least eight colonies in North America and the Caribbean and extended across the Atlantic to Europe. He owned property in five North American colonies, and he lived in four different colonies; moreover, he held public office in Plymouth Colony and in New Netherland.

⁴⁹ Furlow, David A., <https://www.themayflowersociety.org/blog/item/410-pilgrim-isaac-allerton-society>.

⁵⁰ Fubk, Elisabeth Paling and Shattuck, Martha Dickinson, Editors: *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place*, Selected Rensselaerwijck Papers, Volume 2, State University of New York Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵¹ Ibid. Furlow.

Allerton traded in furs, tobacco, food stuffs, credit, favors, and information. Allerton emphasized different identities. His trading vessels, for instance, traveled sometimes as English and sometimes as Dutch, depending on who controlled the territory through which he traveled.

Alternating his cultural identities and political allegiances enabled Allerton to play off English, Dutch, and Swedish rivalries to his own advantage.

They also relied on Allerton's familiarity with different colonial courts, often appointing him as their attorney to conduct business on their behalf in New Netherland and other jurisdictions. Dutch colonists and officials, for their part, sought to use Allerton's contacts with neighboring English political and commercial powers, particularly New England. Allerton had the ability to operate according to the demands of different cultural settings more or less simultaneously. He often was appointed as an official arbitrator of disputes, and he continued to be exceptionally adept at pursuing his own interest.

Allerton mixed his identity as an Atlantic world merchant with that of a seasoned negotiator, diplomat-at-large—acting in one venue for New Netherland, in another for New Haven and New England interests. As such, he was extremely useful in resolving conflicts between parties of different cultures, especially conflicts that heightened tensions between colonies.

Allerton put forward his own influence and reputation as a means of diffusing cross-cultural and political tensions. He was able to do so, because he had an established reputation and was trusted in both communities. New England colonists knew that Allerton understood English culture and New England political and economic concerns, and New Netherland colonists knew that Allerton understood Dutch culture and New Netherland political and economic concerns. He continued to mix the roles of merchant and ambassador, working

to diffuse intercolonial tensions in order to keep the lines of trade open.⁵²

⁵² Ibid, Rensselaerwijck Papers.

Allerton's political and business dealings are very well known. As for his religious life we are able to glean a number of facts. Being from County of Suffolk in particular, he would have been keenly aware of the extreme religious persecution that went on in the vicinity of his home for the previous five decades, as well as throughout all of England. It is quite possible that he was a relative or even a descendant of Ralph Allerton, a Marian martyr who was burned at the stake on 18 September 1557.⁵³

We do know that at about 23 years old Allerton left England for Holland in 1609, and joined the Separatist congregation in Amsterdam and later Pastor John Robinson's church in Leyden. What would cause a young man from a small village who recently began his apprenticeship in the city of London to leave for Holland? It would seem most probable that Allerton felt the atmosphere of religious intolerance around him. There certainly was a sense of religious rebelliousness in his soul – enough to leave his country and move to a foreign land.

He joined the Leyden church, married Mary Norris and along with his very young family and pregnant wife ventured out to the wilderness of New World. He was an important leader of the Pilgrims where politics and religion were so intertwined. Allerton would have been an active religious participant in both Leyden and Plymouth.

In 1628, on one of his many voyages to England on behalf of Plymouth Allerton decided to bring back with him a minister. Bradford writes that it was “without the churches sending” and regrettably they found him “crazed in the brain.” (that is the minister)⁵⁴

His second wife (about 1626) was Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William Brewster, the spiritual leader of the Pilgrims. Allerton's son Bartholomew returned to England and served as a pastor in Bramfield, Suffolk. His daughter Mary married Thomas Cushman, the successor of William Brewster as Elder of the Plymouth church. Thomas' father was Robert, who helped arrange for the Mayflower voyage. He was author of *The Cry of a Stone*, that justified the Pilgrims separation from the Church of England. Robert arrived in Plymouth in the *Fortune* in the fall of 1621 and preached the first sermon ever printed from the colony, “The Sin and Danger of Self-Love.” Allerton's son-in-law, Moses Maverick's father John was the first minister of the First Parish Church of Dorchester, Massachusetts. Allerton and his 3rd wife, Johanna (Swinnerton) were assigned pews in the New Haven Meeting House on 10 March 1647. Finally, we know Allerton carried with him on the *Mayflower* voyage a copy of Henry Ainsworth psalter and gifted that book to Giles Heale, surgeon aboard the *Mayflower*.



The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo & Richard Roth at Islington.
Print made by: Thomas Bowles II
The British Museum

⁵³ Ibid, Furlow.

⁵⁴ Bradford, Ibid, 210.

Giles Heale and the Allerton copy of the Ainsworth Psalter

It was at the Prerogative Court of Probate of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Somerset House in London that the second half of this story unfolds. In 1883 the New England Historical Genealogical Society sought to make an “exhaustive search of English Records” as concerned the family history of the early settlers of this country. Selected for this mission was “eminent antiquary” Henry Fitz Gilbert Waters (1833-1913). Waters left for England on May 5th and in a one year examined over 600 wills related to America. It was at the Prerogative Court of Probate of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Somerset House in London that Waters made the particularly exciting discovery of Mayflower passenger William Mullins’ will.⁵⁵

This was an oral or “nuncupative” will dated April 2, 1621 and made known by Mullins who had died at Plymouth on February 21, 1620/1. This document is historically important on a number of fronts. First, it was the first known will made in New England; second, it was transported back to England for execution; third, has the only known signature of John Carver on a document; fourth, it definitively identified the *Mayflower’s* Captain as “Christopher” Jones (Bradford had only identified him by his surname) thus, positively connecting him to the already known part-owner of the *Mayflower*; and fifth, it left us with a previously unknown name of Giles Heale.

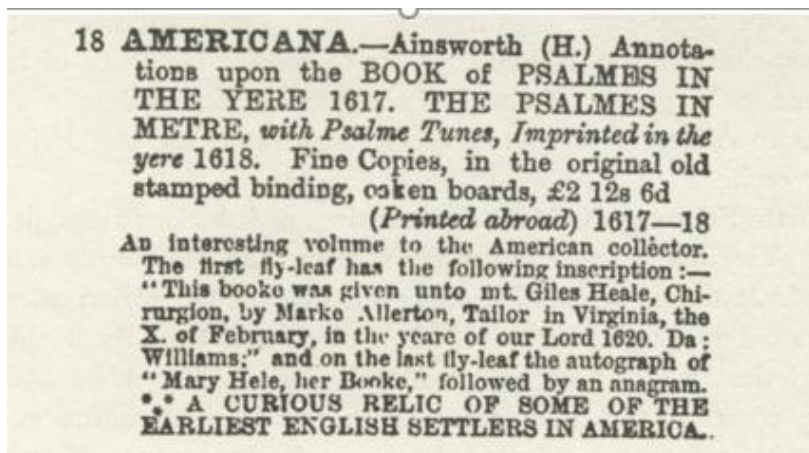
Waters reports he recognizes Carver and Jones names and interestingly takes no account of the name of Giles Heale. As a signatory to Mullin’s will, Heale had to be present in Plymouth at Mullin’s death. He certainly is not listed as a member of the Pilgrim congregation, thus leaving him as a member of the *Mayflower’s* crew. How is it that a heretofore unknown crew member ends up signing the same document as the colony’s governor and the ship’s captain on the will of one of the more prominent members of these faithful? Bradford never mentions a Giles Heale in any of his writings. Heale does not appear in *Mort’s Relation* or Nathaniel Morton’s history of the early colony, *New England Memorial*. Until 1883 when Waters uncovers Mullen’s will there appears no mention on this person. Then in 1888 Henry Morton Dexter wrote to George Ernest Bowman of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants:⁵⁶

I had not noticed until this evening the will of William Mullins among Mr. Water’s invaluable contribution, the name Giles Heale among the three signers struck me as having a familiar sound, and on examination I find the following note upon a copy of Henry Ainsworth’s Psalms of the edition 1617, viz: “This book was given unto Mr. Giles Heale, Chirurgion, by Marke Allerton, Tailor in Virginia, the X of February in the year of our Lord, 1620. Da: Williams” That memorandum is a clipping pasted in my copy by some former owner extracted from a catalogue advertising the copy which did contain it.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Waters, H. F., *New England Historic Genealogical Society*. (188589). *Genealogical gleanings in England*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society. Vol 3.

⁵⁶ Bowman, George E., *A Genuine Mayflower Relic, The Mayflower Descendant*, Vol 34, No 1, January 1937, 1-7.

⁵⁷ Banks, Charles, E., *Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings*, October, 1926 – June, 1927, Vol 60



Dexter's "clipping" (found in his copy of Ainsworth's book) of the advertisement of the Allerton copy of the Ainsworth Book of Psalms by Edwin Parsons and Sons Booksellers of London in the 1880's.⁵⁸

Interestingly, in today's U.S. dollars the sale of this book as advertised (£2 12s 6d) would be approximately \$400. Quite the deal for such a historical book!

In a second letter to Mr. John Ward Dean, of July 31, 1889, Dexter wrote how he agreed with Bowman that the name "Marke" Allerton actually referred to that of "Isacke" Allerton and this implied Heale was in Plymouth. Dexter read a paper regarding the Mullin's will at the Massachusetts Historical Society on October 10, 1889 which was subsequently printed in the Society's Proceedings 1889-1890. And Bowman adds this" probably is the first mention in print (except in the bookseller's catalogue) of this gift by Isaac Allerton to Giles Heale on February 10, 1620 (O.S.) [February 20, 1621 N.S.]. Bowman gives credit to Dexter and Dean for "discovering and publishing" that this witness to William Mullins will, this heretofore unknown Giles Heale, was in fact the surgeon on the *Mayflower*.⁵⁹

At the February 1889 meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society Dexter read a short paper where he reported on the discovery by Henry Waters of the Mullin's will that was attested by John Carver, Christopher Jones and a Giles Heale. In his address that evening, Dexter asked of the name Giles Heale, "Who was he? Dexter then related as he had in his earlier letter to Bowman that in his own copy of the Ainsworth Psalter there was a "clipping from some antiquarian bookseller's catalogue" with the description of an Ainsworth Psalter with the inscription:

This booke was given unto Mr. Giles Heale, Chirugion, by Marke Allerton, Tailor in Virginia, the X. of February, in the year of our Lord 1620 : Da. Williams.

He claims that the reference as to "Marke Allerton" was a misreading of the name "Isaac Allerton" (from the handwritten inscription) and Dexter continues: "Giles Heale was a *chirurgion*, and I submit was the surgeon of the *Mayflower*."

Dexter suggests that according to the advertisement of the bookseller that it appears that the inscription was "witnessed" by a Da. Williams. He speculates that the "Da" that the persons first name is Davis and that "Williams" was an abbreviation for "Williamson" who acted as the Merchant Adventurer's business agent onboard the *Mayflower*. It must be noted that Dexter had only the copy of the clipping of the advertisement to

⁵⁸ Rucker, M. Pierce, Bulletin of the History of Medicine, Vol. 20, No. 2, July 1946. 219.

comment on and had not seen the actual psalter in the Virginia Library which offers more information as to “Da. Williams.” A further discussion of the identity of “Da. Williams” will follow.

It should be noted here that the three references in these documents to “Virginia;” first, in William Mullin’s will; second, that in the Mayflower Compact of November 11, 1620, the Pilgrims, “Having undertaken for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia;” and third, Heale’s inscription of his gift from Allerton as having taken place in “Virginia” all recounts that in the early 17th century most of the East coast of the United States was referred to as “Virginia.” Thus, these three references to “Virginia,” indicate the Pilgrims settlement at Plymouth.

In 1927, Colonel Charles Edward Banks reported on the Mullins’ will to the Massachusetts Historical Society in the 1926 – 1927 *Proceedings*⁵⁹ in which he discusses Waters discovery of a registered copy of the will and the subsequent discovery of the original document in the records of the Probate records of the Archdeaconry of Surrey where Mullins children resided.

Banks continues his address with a history of Giles Heale. Banks references the earlier article on the Ainsworth Psalter by Henry Dexter. Comparing the 1621 signature on the Ainsworth Psalter with the April 1652 signature on the will of Giles Heale, chirurgeon, of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, Col. Banks was able to determine that this was the same person. In the records of the London Barber Surgeons, Banks found the 1619 apprenticeship of Giles Heale to Edward Blaney and was admitted to the freedom of the company on August 3, 1619. Banks notes: “exactly one year prior to the sailing of the *Mayflower*.” Banks explains that it was required to have a medical person as one of the ship’s company. He quotes Captain John Smiths, *Accidence for Young Seaman* (1626):

The *Chirurgion* is exempted from all duty but to attend to the sicke and cure the wounded; and good care would be had that he have a certificate from the *Barber-Surgeons* Hall for his sufficiency, and also that his [medical] Chest bee well furnished both foe *Physicke* and *Chirurgery*, as so near as may be proper for the clime you go for, which neglect hath beene a losse of many a mans life.⁶⁰

Banks suggests that Heale may have been employed by Thomas Weston of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-fields. Weston was a Merchant Adventurer who helped financed the *Mayflower* voyage. Heale returned to England on the return trip of the *Mayflower* in April of 1621. His name appears in a Subsidy role of 1641, taxed as “Geiles Heale Surgian in Dury Lane.” In 1651 he signed a petition of Freeman of the Guild of Companies of London. Banks points out that is significant that Drury Lane is in the same parish as St. Giles-in-the-fields (that of Thomas Weston). On April 4, 1652, Giles Heale, chirurgeon, “being infirme and weake of Bodie” made his last will and testament naming his wife Mary his “sole Executrix.” He was buried on February 3, 1652/53.

Bowman also discussed that learning of the witnesses of William Mullin’s will was also instrumental in learning the full name of the captain of the *Mayflower*, previously only named by Bradford as “Mr. Jones” as Christopher Jones.

Bowman relates how he next went to the Yale library where Dexter had donated this book upon his death in 1890 to examine the clipping that Dexter had referenced. Here he discovered the label Dexter had referred to

⁵⁹ Ibid, Banks. 5

⁶⁰ Smith, John, *The Accidence of a Young Seaman*, 1626. 3-4 <http://name.umd.umich.edu/A12455.0001.001>.

that listed the bookseller of Edwin Parsons & Sons of London. Bowman wrote to them inquiring as to any information in the matter of the purchaser of this book. He was told that those sales records did not exist. [A search by this author revealed that the Edwin Parsons & Sons Booksellers ceased to exist sometime in the 1950's].

It is not clear as to how Bowman learned of the Allerton copy of the Ainsworth Psalter – the book that was carried on the *Mayflower* on its' historic voyage in 1620, in possession of the Virginia State Library. Was Bowman directed by the booksellers to the Commonwealth of Virginia? If as Bowman reports, upon contact with the booksellers that they kept no records of sales for that time, how would they have known about the buyer and his intention to send it to the United States nearly 50 years earlier? Nevertheless, in 1936 George Ernest Bowman (1860-1941) visited the Virginia State Library to examine the Allerton/Heale copy of the Ainsworth Psalter and recognized it as *A Genuine Mayflower Relic*.⁶¹

Mary Heale. On the endpiece of this Ainsworth Psalter is the inscription by Giles Heale's wife:



**Mary Heale
Her Booke
Exe G H M Testes**

**February the xxiii in the yeare of our lord
1621**

Here on the last page of this Psalter, Mary Heale (Hele) inscribes that it is (now) her book with her name and her (and perhaps her husband's) initials and monogram:

H
G M

She writes the date of February 24th in the year of our Lord 1621(O.S.) or March 6, 1622(N.S.). In the 17th century the notation: *Exe Testes* would have referred to *witness*. According to *Black's Law Dictionary*, "teste" is of Latin origin and refers to "I myself being a witness" and evidences the act of witnessing and often includes a date as does Mary in her inscription.⁶²

Mary Heale's endpiece inscription is an appropriate "bookend" to her husband's inscription on the frontpiece and leaves a fitting tribute to the great importance of this psalter for the Heale family. The next clue to the ownership of this Psalter is that of Da: Williamson.

Mr. Williamson the Overseer of the William Mullins will and **Da: Williams** of the Allerton/Heale Psalter.

⁶¹ Bowman, George E, *A Genuine Mayflower Relic*, The Mayflower Descendant, Vol. 34, January 1937.

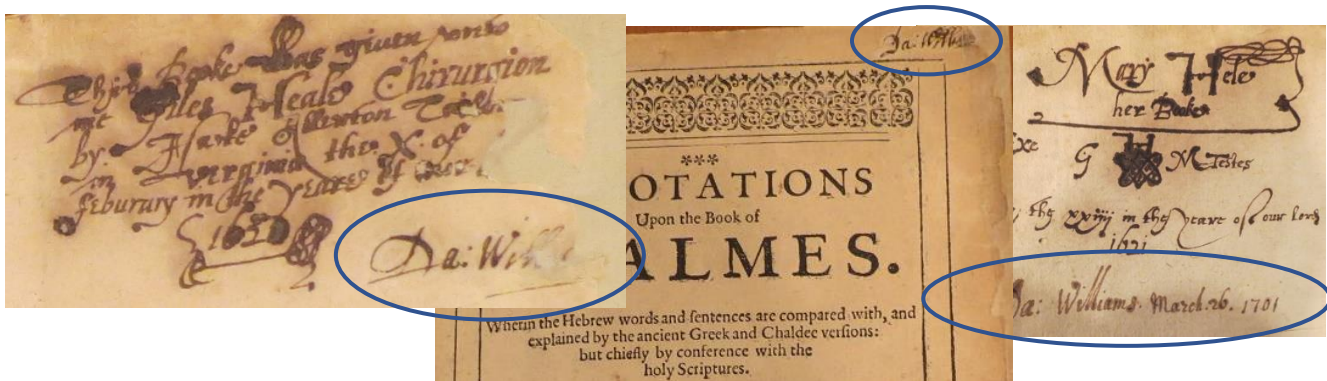
⁶² Bryan A. Garner, *Black's Law Dictionary*, Abridged, 9th Edition, West Publishing, 2010. 1269.

There are two characters in this drama whose identities are yet to be discovered and curiously have similar names. “Mr. Williamson” was named by William Mullins as an “overseer” of his will along with John Carver. With family both in Plymouth and in England it would make sense for Carver to “oversee” Mullins’ family’s financial interest in Plymouth and Williamson who would soon be leaving for England on the Mayflower’s return trip, would serve as “overseer” for Mullins’ remaining family in England.

In *A Relation or Journal of the Proceedings of the Plantation Settled at Plymouth in New England*⁶³ Edward Winslow writes: “...Captain Standish and Master Williamson met the king [Massasoit] at the brook, with half a dozen musketeers. They saluted him and he them...”

Could this be the same Mr. Williamson? Both roles, as overseer of Mullin’s will and ambassador to Chief Massasoit would certainly fit the role of the Merchant Adventurer’s financial and diplomatic representative onboard the *Mayflower*.

The second person is that of “Da: Williams” whose signature appears on three pages of the Allerton copy of the Ainsworth Psalter: below Heales’ inscription on the book’s front flyleaf; at the top of the title page; and on the end flyleaf below Mary Heale’s inscription. It is quite unlikely that “Williamson” and “Da: Williams” is the same person as Williamson would have been an adult at the time of Mullins will in 1621 while Da: Williams inscribed this psalter three times using “Da: Williams,” including the date of March 26, 1701. The difference in the date of the will (suggesting Williamson was born in the later quarter of the 16th century) and that of Da: Williams inscription suggests he would have been born in the middle of the 17th century implies an age difference of nearly a hundred years.



There is no record of this book’s ownership between Da: Williams in 1701 and when it appeared in the catalogue of Edwin Parsons & Sons Booksellers in the 1880’s.

The Psalter next surfaces at the State Library of Virginia, purchased by an anonymous buyer in London and donated to the Commonwealth of Virginia, presumably due to the reference to “Virginia” in Giles Heale’s inscription. When Bowman inspected it, in Virginia, the Ainsworth Psalter was incorrectly labeled:

“Colonial relic. This book was presented to Dr Giles Heal of Va. in 1620 – only 13 years after the settlement of the Colony [a reference to Jamestown⁶⁴] – and has remained within the limits of the present state since.”

⁶³ Winslow, Edward, *A Relation or Journal of the Proceedings of the Plantation Settled at Plymouth in New England*, Mort’s Relation, Applewood Books, Cambridge/Boston. 1986

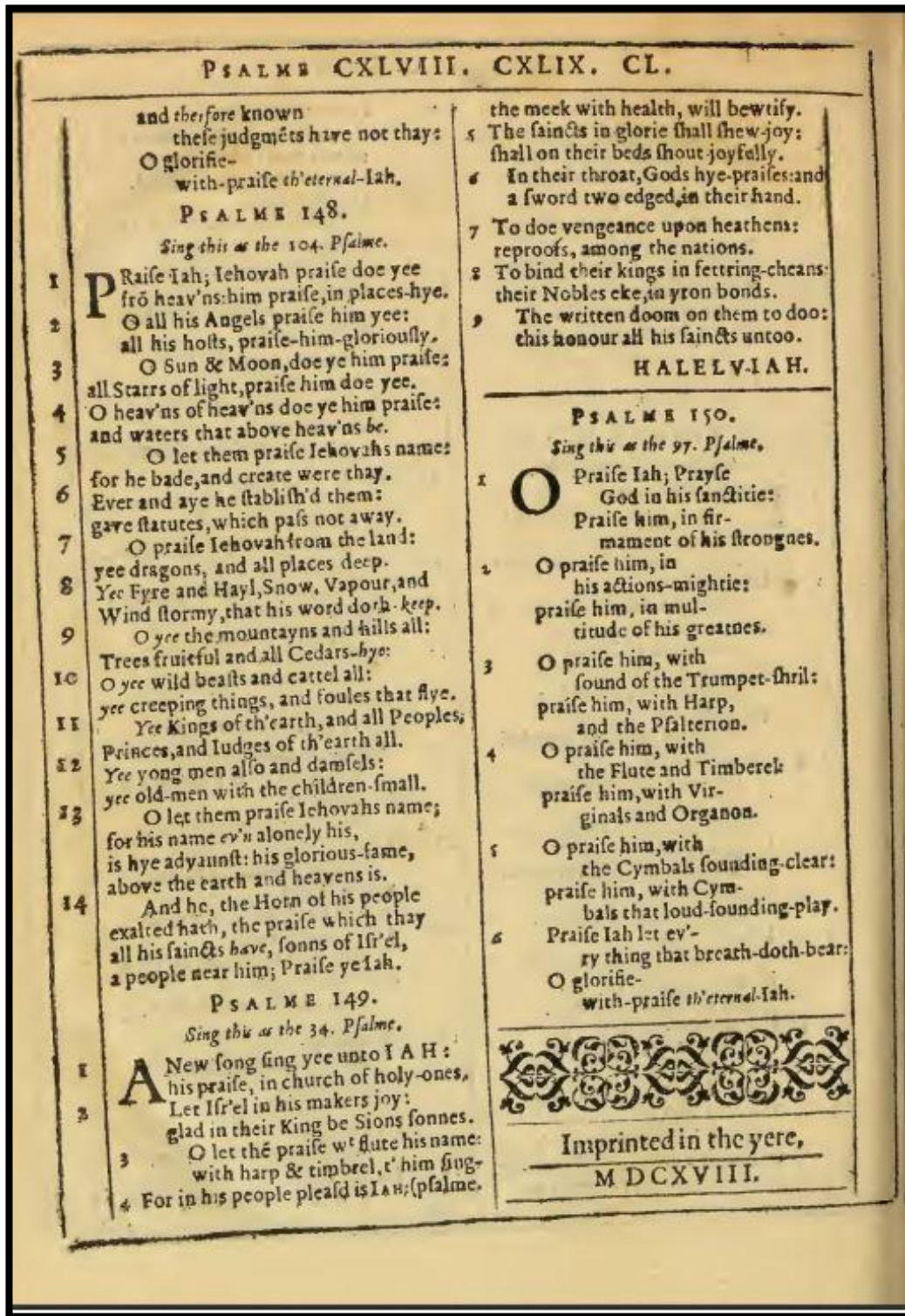
⁶⁴ Author’s notation

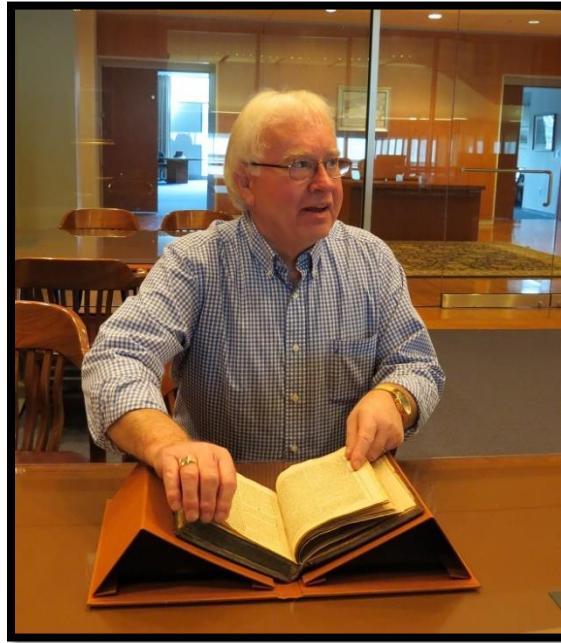
Unfortunately, the library does not record of the extraordinary person who recognized the historical significance of this Ainsworth Psalter (although, not exactly the full extent of its history) and so graciously purchased this book in London and donated to the Virginia State Library – thus preserving a small piece of the Pilgrim faith life, a small piece of Pilgrim history, and a remarkable tribute to the *Mayflower's* surgeon who we now know served the Pilgrims so well under the most unmerciful conditions.

Timeline on the discovery of the Isaac Allerton copy of the *Annotations Upon the Booke of Psalmes*

- **1883:** Henry Waters sent to England to examine probate records, discovers William Mullins' will with Giles Heale's signature.
- **Late 1880's:** Allerton copy of the Ainsworth Psalter advertised At Parsons & Sons Bookseller.
- **Late 1880's:** An anonymous person recognizes the psalter's historical significance, purchases it and donates it to the Commonwealth of Virginia Library.
- **1889:** Morton Dexter reports the connection between Giles Heale's name in a copy of the Parson's Booksellers advertisement and William Mullins' will, writes to Charles Bowman; presents to the Massachusetts Historical Society (*Proceedings of the MHS* 1889-1890, Second Series, Vol. 5, 33-37).
- **1927:** Charles Banks addresses the MHS regarding the Mullins will and identity of Giles Heale (*Proceedings of the MHS*, Vol. LX, October 1926-February 1927, 144-150).
- George Bowman visits Yale Library to examine the Dexter copy of the Psalter with the "clipping" [copy] of the Parsons Booksellers' advertisement.
- **1936:** George Bowman visits the State Library of Virginia to examine the Psalter.

The Last Page of the
ANNOTATIONS: PSALMES IN METRE
 Dated 1618





The author examining the Isaac Allerton copy of the *Annotations Upon the Booke of Psalmes*, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia

Photo Credits:

Isaac Allerton's copy of the: Ainsworth, Henry, *Annotations Upon the Booke of Psalmes (Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia)*: David P. Russo

Ainsworth, Henry, *Annotations Upon the Booke of Psalmes, Wherein the Hebrew Words and Sentences are Compared with, and Explained by the Ancient Greek and Chaldee Versions: but Chiefly by Conference with the Holy Scriptures*, 1617: [annotationsuponb0000ains.pdf](#), Digital Copy of the 1617 Edition.

Resources:

Ainsworth, Henry, *Annotations Upon the Booke of Psalmes, Wherein the Hebrew Words and Sentences are Compared with, and Explained by the Ancient Greek and Chaldee Versions: but Chiefly by Conference with the Holy Scriptures*, 1617: [annotationsuponb0000ains.pdf](#), Digital Copy of the 1617 Edition.

Ainsworth, Henry, *Annotations Upon the Booke of Psalmes, Wherein the Hebrew Words and Sentences are Compared with, and Explained by the Ancient Greek and Chaldee Versions: but Chiefly by Conference with the Holy Scriptures*, 1617/18. Early English Books Online (EEBO): Print Edition.

Contemporary musical performances of 17th century Psalms:

Bucke, Marye, Psalm 100 – Ainsworth Psalter, YouTube, September 8, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xr__qFLb3gs.

The Chancel Choir of Plymouth Church, Shaker Heights, OH, *Harps of Joy*,
Heritage Society, Turner Falls, New Jersey, 1979. LP

Music of the Genevan Psalter, Calvin College, 1999, CD.

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