UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_172451

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

By George H. Palmer.

THE ENGLISH WORKS OF GEORGE HERBERT. Newly arranged and annotated, and considered in relation to his life by G H. Palmer. 3 volumes. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, $6.00, *net*. Postage extra.

THE NATURE OF GOODNESS. 12mo, $1.10, *net*. Postpaid, $1 21.

THE FIELD OF ETHICS. 12mo $1 10, *net* Postpaid, $1.21.

THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER Books I-XII The Text and an English Prose Version 8vo, $2 50, *net*

THE ODYSSEY Complete. An English Translation in Prose Crown 8vo, $1.50
Students' Edition. Crown 8vo, $1.00, *net*

THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES Translated into English With an Introduction 12mo, 75 cents.

A SERVICE IN MEMORY OF ALICE FREEMAN PALMER Edited by George H Palmer With Addresses by James B. Angell, Caroline Hazard, W. J Tucker, and Charles W Eliot With Portraits 8vo, 75 cents, *net* Postpaid, 82 cents

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO.
BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

THE ENGLISH WORKS OF

GEORGE HERBERT

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I





Pencil drawing on vellum by R. White, probably the original of all known portraits of Herbert. *See Vol. I, p. 50.*

THE ENGLISH WORKS OF

George Herbert

NEWLY ARRANGED AND ANNOTATED AND CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO HIS LIFE

BY GEORGE HERBERT PALMER

VOLUME I

ESSAYS AND PROSE

BOSTON AND NEW YORK

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

MDCCCCVII

COPYRIGHT 1905 BY GEORGE HERBERT PALMER
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Published October 1905

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

IN this edition, called for unexpectedly soon, many small changes have been made, a few errors corrected, two title-pages added, —completing the list of the original title-pages of Herbert's English works, — two indexes changed in position, and two new ones introduced. One of these indexes, placed at the end of the first volume, catalogues Herbert's biblical allusions ; the other, for which I am indebted to Mrs. Grace R. Walden, at the end of the third volume, gives access to the extensive notes, essays, and prefaces.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
April 3, 1907.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

PAGE

CHRONOLOGY 1

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS

I. THE LIFE 15

II. THE MAN 47

III. THE POETRY 85

IV. THE STYLE 121

V. THE TEXT AND ORDER 169

HERBERT'S PROSE WORKS

THE COUNTRY PARSON 193

CORNARO ON TEMPERANCE 329

VALDESSO'S DIVINE CONSIDERATIONS 359

LETTERS 387

HERBERT'S WILL 413

NOTES 417

INDEXES 431

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

White's Drawing — frontispiece

White's Engraving in The Temple, 1674 — page 14

Sturt's Engraving in The Temple, 1709 — 46

Page of the Bodleian Manuscript — 84

English Poem from the Williams Manuscript — 120

Latin Poems from the Williams Manuscript — 168

Title-Page of The Country Parson — 203

Portrait of Louis Cornaro — 328

Title-Page of The Temperate Man — 337

Ferrar's Church at Little Gidding — 358

Title-Page of The Divine Considerations — 366

Interior of Ferrar's Church — 386

Title-Page of Jacula Prudentum — 412

PREFACE

Perfection The Elixir

Lord teach mee to set store
All things I doe to thee
That what I only may not erre
But also pleasing bee.

A man that looks on glass
On it may stay his eye:
Or if he pleaseth through it passe
And then the Heaven espy.

He that doth ought for thee
May by thy deed for thine,
And when the Jewel shall be tride
Then shall this fruit be mine.

All may of this pretend
Nothing can be so [illegible] meane
Who[illegible] his time true (for the sake)
Will not do [illegible]

A servant in this clause,
Makes drudgery divine:
Who sweeps a room as for thy laws
Makes that, and the action fine.

But this fair Inne a prayer gives:
Enter: they that do
Let in the Light to all their actions
And show what and they are.

This is the famous Stone
That turneth all to gold
For that which God doth touch and own
Cannot for less be told.

The poem THE ELIXER (PERFECTION), *from the Williams Manuscript, showing handwriting of a copyist, and also Herbert's hand in corrections.* *See Vol. I, p. 177–182.*

PREFACE

THERE are few to whom this book will seem worth while. It embodies long labor, spent on a minor poet, and will probably never be read entire by any one. But that is a reason for its existence. Lavishness is in its aim. The book is a box of spikenard, poured in unappeasable love over one who has attended my life. When I lay in my cradle, a devotee of Herbert gave me the old poet's name, so securing him for my godfather. Before I could well read, I knew a large part of his verse, — not its meaning, but (what was more important then) its large diction, flexible rhythms, and stimulating mysteries. As I grew, the wisdom hidden in the strange lines was gradually disclosed, and in daily experience,

> *His words did finde me out, and parallels bring,*
> *And in another make me understood.*

For fifty years, with suitable fluctuations of intimacy, he has been my bounteous comrade. And while his elaborate ecclesiasticism has often repelled me, a Puritan, and his special type of self-centred piety has not attracted, he has rendered me profoundly grateful for what he has shown of himself, — the struggling soul, the high-bred gen-

tleman, the sagacious observer, the master of language, the persistent artist. I could not die in peace, if I did not raise a costly monument to his beneficent memory.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that an elaborate edition of a subordinate poet is excusable only on grounds of personal devotion. There are public reasons too. The tendencies of an age appear more distinctly in its writers of inferior rank than in those of commanding genius. These latter tell of past and future as well as of the years in which they live. They are for all time. But on the sensitive, responsive souls, of less creative power, current ideals record themselves with clearness. Whoever, then, values literary history will be glad to seek out the gentle and incomplete poet, be willing for a while to dwell dispassionately in his narrow surroundings, without praise or blame will examine his numbered thoughts, and never forget that even restricted times and poets work out necessary elements of human nature and appropriately further its growth. A small writer so studied becomes large. So would I study Herbert, laying chief stress on his psychological, social, and literary significance, and marking his connection with the world-movements of his age.

That there is room for such a study, a brief sketch of the present condition of Herbert-scholarship will show. His poetry has had two periods of popularity and a century of neglect. He has been

revived after an interval, and even now has not quite come to his own. Between his death, in 1633, and 1709 thirteen editions were published. He so immediately hit the taste of his day that in the first year a second edition of his book was called for, and in 1670 Walton estimated that twenty thousand copies had been sold. But between 1709 and 1799 not a single edition appeared. Herbert was despised, and only here and there a Cowper admired him. At the opening of the nineteenth century Coleridge called attention to him again; and in 1835 Pickering began to publish editions of his works more complete than had ever before appeared. The period of Romanticism was at hand, the Oxford ecclesiastical movement, and the interest in our early literature, — all influences favorable to Herbert. In 1874 Dr. Grosart brought to light the important Williams Manuscript and edited his two elaborate editions. Unhappily he left a worse text than he found; and when he attempted a reprint of Ferrar's first edition, he seriously damaged its worth by careless proof-reading. In 1899 Dr. Gibson was more successful in reproducing the original text and in adding the readings of the Williams Manuscript. During the last quarter century a new edition of Herbert has appeared almost every other year.

Yet in this period of Herbert's second popularity he is more bought than read. Half a dozen of his poems are famous; but the remainder, many of

them equally fitted for household words, nobody looks at. They lie hidden beneath ancestral encumbrances which editors have not had the courage to clear away. A fairly accurate text has been established, but the arrangement of the book preserves its original chaos. No attempt has ever been made to set the poems in intelligible order. The many religious, artistic, and personal problems which they involve remain unexamined. Probably no other poet except Donne stands so much in need of elucidation. Yet only half a dozen editions of Herbert have any notes, and these are generally slight and copied from book to book. Perhaps editors have feared to come to close quarters with him, knowing how much there is to do. How loosely he is published appears in the fact that his book is still without an index of first lines. Present means of access to him are, in short, elementary.

It is these defects, then, which I would meet. Let there be applied to Herbert those comparative and encyclopædic methods which have already been accorded to Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Byron, Wordsworth, Shelley, Tennyson, and Browning. No one man can accomplish so much. But a beginning may be made, and to it I seem to be called by a long and enriching intimacy. This book will not supersede the many handy editions which are issued for devotional purposes. They will still serve their hallowed ends. My aim is different. I am attempting a kind of critical diction-

ary of Herbert, in which his meaning may be systematically fixed with reference to the text itself, to the facts of the author's life, and to the literary conditions under which his poetry arose.

My plan is this: After a chronological survey of his age, such matters as are essential to a general understanding of his poetry are discussed in a series of Introductory Essays. These deal with the events of his life, the traits of his character, the type of his religious verse, the technique of his expression, and our means of knowing what he wrote. The most important of them for an understanding of my book — and the one which should be read by whoever can read but one — is the last, on the text and order. It there appears that no exact chronological arrangement of the poems is possible. By using, however, certain broad indications of time, and combining them with the subject-matter, I am able to form twelve significant Groups. To the Groups brief Prefaces are prefixed, giving the reasons for putting together these particular poems, and indicating the features of Herbert's life which they involve. By this association of Essays, Prefaces, and Groups of poems I hope my poet may find that opportunity for self-portraiture which a prose writer usually obtains in a Life and Letters.

Desiring the book to be a Variorum Edition, I have gathered into it whatever of importance has been proposed by previous commentators, and

have myself steadily turned toward fulness of comment; but a simple classification renders the voluminous notes easy of reference. All are not intended for any one person. They are of five sorts: explanations of words, of phrases, of connections of thought, similar passages in Herbert, and similar passages in his contemporaries. Some notes are for beginners, who want to know what this antique and cloudy poet is talking about. For them I try to *copie fair what time hath blurr'd*, and offer a paraphrase of every sentence at which a fairly intelligent person might hesitate. Others are for those who already know Herbert so well that they would like to apply a microscope and develop his minuter beauties. For them I treat of subtler matters, and especially for them are intended the cross-references, showing Herbert's curious tenacity of thought and even of phrase. By these he is made to comment on himself, and out of his own mouth to explain his peculiar locutions. Wherever, too, in his prose writings similar thoughts or words occur, I quote the passages; as I also bring out of Ferrar, Oley, or Walton whatever illustration those early eulogists afford.

To trace the external sources from which Herbert derived material is uncertain business. I have ventured on it sparingly. Wide as his learning is, he has fully assimilated it, and rarely quotes or directly mentions other writers. Yet his incessant allusion to the Bible is so evident that I have felt

obliged to refer to such Biblical phrases as he probably had in mind. And rarely as he mentions contemporary poets, I have thought it instructive to cite parallel passages from those who immediately preceded him; but I offer no opinion about the nature or degree of his debts. Donne, however, may fairly be called his master, and to Donne his obligations are of a more palpable sort. Among those who came after him, Henry Vaughan was in so special a sense his follower, besides being himself a delicate and highly individual poet, that I have felt justified in calling attention to his longer imitations. To trace his smaller ones would be tedious, as Vaughan seldom writes a dozen lines without remembrance of Herbert.

In the photographic illustrations I attempt to exhibit whatever portions of Herbert's visible world have survived the centuries. Here are the homes of his childhood, youth, and maturity; here the many churches with which in divers ways his life was connected; here are his portraits, the original drawing and the two early engravings from it; here the handwriting of his ordination subscriptions, preserved in the Record Office at Salisbury; and here that hand may again be traced in pages of the manuscripts of his poems. While these things can afford no such pleasure to one who finds them in a book as to him who has gathered them by pilgrimage to every spot where Herbert's feet have stood, I believe they will all

be looked at with interest; and some, especially the handwriting and White's drawing, will throw fresh light on problems of the verse.

My first plan was to publish only the poems, and I still desire to concentrate attention on them, paying little regard to anything else. THE COUNTRY PARSON, however, itself almost a poem, has such intimate relations with THE TEMPLE that each suffers in the other's absence. The letters, too, can hardly be omitted. Better than anything else they show Herbert in his every-day dress, especially in the years before he became a priest. The beauty of the translation of Cornaro, and the theologic interest of the notes on Valdesso, justify their inclusion. When these are added, we have the complete English works of Herbert; for nothing is his in the JACULA PRUDENTUM except the collection, and at least two thirds of that is the work of later editors.

I cannot bring myself to include the Latin verse. It would double the size of my book and halve its quality. Unless Latin verse is excellent it is worthless; and surely no one will call Herbert's excellent. The reasons for its inferiority are obscure. With his lifelong practice in Latin, with his love of refinement, condensation, and verbal elegance, one might expect from Herbert as exquisite Latin poetry as Milton wrote. But unless my judgment is at fault, it is ordinary and conventional. He would be a hardy adventurer who should read five successive pages of it. But Herbert wrote a

hundred pages, and added more in Greek. The Latin orations, also, and the Latin letters are too stilted and official for ordinary mortals. When Herbert touches Latin, he leaves simplicity behind. I omit these pieces, then, not merely because they are uninteresting, but because they reveal so little of the man.

While I have derived much from those who have previously written about Herbert, especially from Coleridge, Willmott, Macdonald, Palgrave, Grosart, and Beeching, my most stimulating aid has come by word of mouth. In the ten years during which my book has been growing, friends have made generous gifts of suggestion and criticism. Especially large are my obligations to Mr. Lewis Kennedy Morse of Boston, the best Herbert scholar of my acquaintance and my perpetually watchful helper; to Miss Lucy Sprague of the University of California, who, in pursuance of studies in Herbert, subjected the whole body of my notes to a searching revision; to my brother, Rev. Frederic Palmer of Andover, who so freely placed at my disposal his minute knowledge of ecclesiastical conditions under the Stuarts that parts of my discussion, especially the seventh section of the second Essay, may be said to have been supplied by him; to Professor A. V. G. Allen of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, for similar guidance in the broader fields of church history; to Professor J. B. Fletcher of Columbia Univer-

sity, for help in comparative literature; to Professor Charles Eliot Norton for many valued consultations, besides the loan and gift of precious books; and to the late Dr. Horace E. Scudder of Cambridge, for granting me during long years a share in that sober judgment of literary products and that imaginative guidance of inexperienced writers on which he was ever wont to expend himself.

All this aid, however, is insignificant compared with that furnished by my wife, Alice Freeman Palmer. In reality the book is only half mine. It was begun at her instance, enriched by her daily contributions, sustained through difficulties by her resourceful courage, the tedium of its mechanical part lightened by her ever ready fingers. When she was dying she asked for its speedy publication. Alas, that she should not see what through more than half her married life she eagerly foresaw, and that the book must miss that ultimate perfection which her full coöperation might have secured!

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
March 19, 1905.

CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY

The dates of this list are stated according to the New Style of reckoning. Those printed in small capitals refer to Herbert and his immediate circle; those in italics, to political and public events; those in ordinary type, to literature.

1580. Montaigne's Essais, Bks. I, II.

1581. Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata.

1583. EDWARD HERBERT, GEORGE HERBERT'S ELDEST BROTHER, BORN.

1584. Giordano Bruno's Della Causa, and Dell' Infinito Universo.

1585. Pierre de Ronsard dies.

1586. Sir Philip Sidney killed at Zütphen.

1588. G. Fletcher, Hobbes, and Wither born. *Defeat of Spanish Armada.*

1589. *Henry IV King of France.*

1590. Sidney's Arcadia. Spenser's Faerie Queene, Bks. I–III.

1591. Sidney's Astrophel and Stella. Shakespeare's Plays begun. Herrick born.

1592. Quarles born. Montaigne dies.

1593. APRIL 3. GEORGE HERBERT BORN AT MONTGOMERY CASTLE, NORTH WALES.

Ferrar and Walton born. Marlowe dies.

1594. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Bks. I-IV.

1595. Sidney's Apology for Poetry. Spenser's Colin Clout. Tasso dies.

1596. EDWARD HERBERT MATRICULATES AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.
Spenser's Faerie Queene, Bks. IV–VI.

1597. RICHARD HERBERT, GEORGE HERBERT'S FATHER, DIES.
Bishop Hall's Satires. Bacon's Essays.

1598. LADY HERBERT MOVES TO OXFORD.
Chapman's Iliad. Jonson's Every Man in His Humor.
Edict of Nantes. Philip II of Spain dies.

1599. Globe Theatre built. Davies' Nosce Teipsum. Spenser dies.

1600. MONUMENT TO RICHARD HERBERT ERECTED IN MONTGOMERY CHURCH.
G. Bruno and Hooker die.

1601. John Donne marries Anne More.

1602. *Bodleian Library founded.*

1603. LADY HERBERT MOVES TO LONDON.
Elizabeth dies, James I succeeding. Plague in Oxford.

1604. *Hampton Court Conference.*

Melville's Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria.

1605. HERBERT ENTERS WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.
Bacon's Advancement of Learning. Sir T. Browne born. Cervantes' Don Quixote.
Gunpowder Plot.

1606. Waller and Corneille born. Lyly dies.

1607. *Jamestown, Virginia, founded.*

1608. EDWARD HERBERT GOES ABROAD.
Beaumont and Fletcher's Philaster. Milton born.

1609. LADY HERBERT MARRIES SIR JOHN DANVERS. HERBERT APPOINTED KING'S SCHOLAR AT TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MAY 5; AND MATRICULATES DECEMBER 18.
Shakespeare's Sonnets published.
Douai Translation of the Bible.
Robinson's Puritans settle at Leyden.

1610. HERBERT'S SONNETS TO HIS MOTHER.
John Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess. Giles Fletcher's Christ's Victorie.
The Great Contract. Henry IV of France assassinated, Louis XIII succeeding.

1611. King James' Translation of the Bible.

1612. HERBERT TAKES B. A. DEGREE. HIS TWO LATIN POEMS ON THE DEATH OF PRINCE

HENRY PRINTED IN CAMBRIDGE COLLECTION OF ELEGIES.

Webster's White Devil. Samuel Butler born.

Death of Prince Henry.

1613. Drayton's Polyolbion. Browne's Britannia's Pastorals. Crashaw and Jeremy Taylor born.

The Princess Elizabeth marries Frederic V, Elector Palatine. Death of Sir T. Overbury.

1614. HERBERT APPOINTED MINOR FELLOW.

Ralegh's History of the World. Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, born.

1615. Wither's Shepherd's Hunting. Baxter and Denham born.

1616. HERBERT TAKES HIS M. A. DEGREE, AND IS APPOINTED MAJOR FELLOW.

Shakespeare and Cervantes die.

Condemnation of Somerset. Rise of Buckingham.

1617. HERBERT APPOINTED SUBLECTOR QUARTAE CLASSIS AT TRINITY.

Cudworth born. Donne's wife dies.

1618. HERBERT APPOINTED PRAELECTOR IN RHETORIC.

Cowley and Lovelace born.

Execution of Ralegh. Beginning of Thirty Years' War.

1619. HERBERT APPOINTED PUBLIC ORATOR AT CAMBRIDGE. HIS LATIN POEM ON DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE PRINTED IN CAMBRIDGE COLLECTION OF ELEGIES. EDWARD HERBERT APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE. Visit of Ben Jonson to Drummond of Hawthornden. Campion and Daniel die.

1620. HERBERT WRITES THANKING THE KING FOR HIS BASILIKON DORON, AND BACON FOR HIS INSTAURATIO MAGNA.

Marvell born.

Plymouth in New England settled.

1621. Donne becomes Dean of St. Paul's. Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.

Fall of Bacon.

1622. Vaughan and Molière born. Andrew Melville dies.

1623. HERBERT RECEIVES FROM THE KING THE SINECURE LAY RECTORSHIP OF WHITFORD. ORATIO QUA AUSPICATISSIMI SERENISSIMUM PRINCIPIS CAROLI REDITUM EX HISPANIIS CELEBRAVIT GEORGIUS HERBERT. ORATIO DOMINI GEORGII HERBERT HABITA CORAM

DOMINIS LEGATIS CUM MAGISTRO IN ARTIB. TITULIS INSIGNIRENTUR. HIS BROTHER HENRY APPOINTED MASTER OF THE REVELS AT COURT AND KNIGHTED.

First folio of Shakespeare published. Pascal born.

Duke of Richmond dies.

1624. EDWARD HERBERT RECALLED FROM PARIS, AND PUBLISHES HIS DE VERITATE.

George Fox born. Duke of Lenox dies.

1625. BACON DEDICATES TO HERBERT CERTAIN PSALMS.

Milton matriculates at Christ's College, Cambridge. Grotius' De Jure Belli et Pacis. John Fletcher and Lodge die.

Plague in London. King James dies, Charles I succeeding. Marquis of Hamilton dies.

1626. HERBERT APPOINTED PREBENDARY OF LEIGHTON ECCLESIA IN DIOCESE OF LINCOLN. LATIN POEM ON BACON'S DEATH.

Ferrar settles at Little Gidding. Bishop Andrewes, Bacon, and Sir J. Davies die.

War declared against France.

1627. HERBERT'S MOTHER DIES. HE RESIGNS THE ORATORSHIP. HIS PARENTALIA (LATIN

AND GREEK POEMS) APPENDED TO DONNE'S SERMON IN COMMEMORATION OF LADY DANVERS.

Bossuet born.

1628. HERBERT, THREATENED WITH CONSUMPTION, VISITS HIS BROTHER HENRY AT WOODFORD, ESSEX. SIR JOHN DANVERS MARRIES ELIZABETH DAUNTSEY.

Bunyan born.

Petition of Right. Wentworth President of Council of North. Laud Bishop of London. Assassination of Buckingham.

1629. HERBERT LIVING AT DAUNTSEY, WILTS, WITH THE EARL OF DANBY, SIR JOHN DANVERS' ELDEST BROTHER. MARRIES JANE DANVERS, MARCH 5. EDWARD HERBERT MADE BARON OF CHERBURY.

Parliament dissolved for eleven years.

1630. HERBERT INSTITUTED AT BEMERTON, APRIL 26. ORDAINED PRIEST, SEPTEMBER 19. WILLIAM, EARL OF PEMBROKE, DIES, APRIL 10, HIS BROTHER PHILIP SUCCEEDING.

Settlement of Boston, Massachusetts.

1631. Dryden born. Donne and Drayton die.

1632. HERBERT SENDS NOTES ON VALDESSO TO

FERRAR. HIS NIECE, DOROTHY VAUGHAN, DIES AT BEMERTON.

Locke and Spinoza born.

Battle of Lützen and death of Gustavus Adolphus.

1633. HERBERT BURIED AT BEMERTON, MARCH 3. HIS WILL PROVED MARCH 12. THE TEMPLE PUBLISHED AT CAMBRIDGE, SOME UNDATED COPIES AND TWO EDITIONS. (THE OTHER EDITIONS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ARE 1634, 1635, 1638, 1641 WITH SYNAGOGUE, 1656 WITH TABLE, 1660, 1667, 1674 WITH PORTRAIT AND LIFE, 1679, 1695.)

Laud Archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth Lord Deputy of Ireland. Galileo abjures Copernican system.

1634. A TREATISE OF TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETY TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF LUD. CORNARUS BY HERBERT, AND PUBLISHED WITH A TRANSLATION OF LEONARD LESSIUS' LATIN HYGIASTICON, AND A TRANSLATION OF AN ANONYMOUS ITALIAN DISCOURSE ON TEMPERANCE.

Crashaw's first publication, Epigrammata Sacra. Milton's Comus acted. Chapman and Marston die.

1637. HERBERT'S WIDOW MARRIES SIR ROBERT COOK OF HIGHNAM COURT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Nicholas Ferrar dies.

1638. FERRAR'S TRANSLATION OF THE DIVINE CONSIDERATIONS OF JOHN VALDESSO, CONTAINING A LETTER AND NOTES BY HERBERT.

1640. OUTLANDISH PROVERBS SELECTED BY MR. G. H.

1645. HIGHNAM COURT BURNED. R. WHITE, ENGRAVER OF HERBERT'S PORTRAIT, BORN.

1652. HERBERT'S REMAINS, CONTAINING A LIFE BY B. OLEY, A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE, JACULA PRUDENTUM (WITH TITLE-PAGE DATED 1651), PRAYER BEFORE AND AFTER SERMON, THE LETTER TO FERRAR ON VALDESSO, TWO LATIN POEMS TO BACON AND ONE TO DONNE, WITH AN ADDITION OF APOTHEGMES BY SEVERALL AUTHOURS.

1655. SIR JOHN DANVERS DIES.

1662. GEORGII HERBERTI, ANGLI MUSAE RESPONSORIAE AD ANDREAE MELVINI, SCOTI, ANTI-TAMI-CAMI-CATEGORIAM, APPENDED TO ECCLESIASTES SOLOMONIS, PER JA. DUPORTUM.

1665. Lady Cook dies at Highnam.

1670. The Life of Mr. George Herbert written by Izaak Walton. To which are added some letters written by Mr. George Herbert at his being in Cambridge, with others to his mother, the Lady Magdalen Herbert. (Six not before printed. The Life of Herbert was added to the other Lives written by Walton, and all were published together in the same year.)

1671. A Priest to the Temple. The second edition, with a new Preface by B. Oley. (The first separate edition.)

1764. Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, first published by Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill Press. (Best critical edition, edited by Sidney Lee, 1886.)

1818. Epistolary Curiosities, edited by Rebecca Warner, containing four additional letters.

1835. Pickering's Edition of Herbert's Works, containing Coleridge's annotations, adding seventeen Latin letters from the Orator's book at Cambridge,

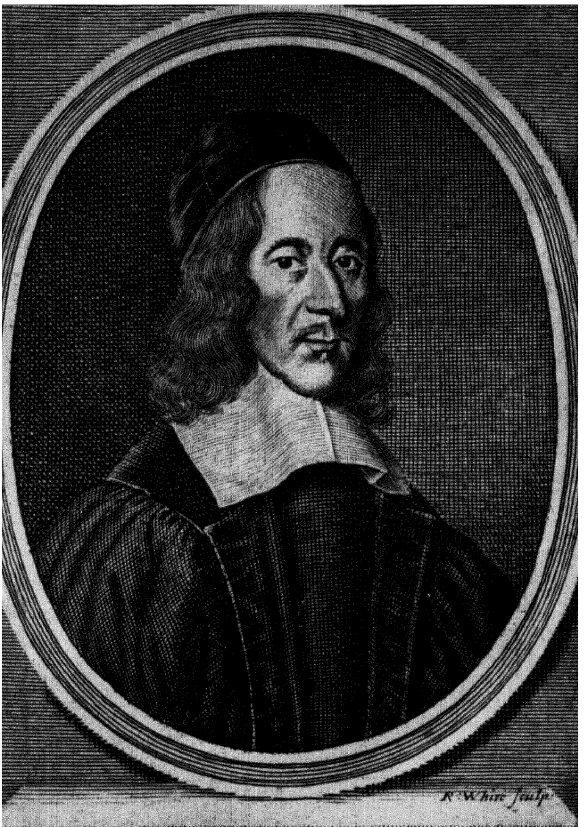
several Latin poems, and an English poem supposed to be by Herbert.

1874. Rev. A. B. Grosart's Edition of Herbert's Works, adding six English poems and two groups of Latin poems (entitled Passio Discerpta and Lucus) from the Ms. in the Williams Library, also seven Psalms possibly by Herbert.

1893. Life of George Herbert, by J. J. Daniell, published by The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (Revised edition in 1898.)



Portrait engraved by R. White for THE TEMPLE, *1674.*
See Vol. I, p. 50.



The Effigies of M^r George Herbert: Author of those Sacred Poems called The Temple.

I

OUTLINES OF THE LIFE

OUTLINES OF THE LIFE

I

THE brief period of Herbert's life forms a turning-point in English history. Whatever occurred before it seems ancient; whatever after, modern. Within its compass of forty years are included nearly a quarter of Elizabeth's reign, the whole of that of James, and a third of that of Charles. While the third centennial of Herbert's birth was passed twelve years ago, he being born but a century after Columbus set sail and but five years after the Armada, he lived through half of the Thirty Years' War. He saw the beginning of the religious colonization of America, and almost its end. During his life the institutions of England and the temper of its people underwent radical change; a novel religious spirit appeared, soon showing revolutionary power; from healthy objectivity men's minds turned to introspection, personal interests taking the place of national. At his birth English literature was in its infancy; at his death it had become one of the great literatures of the world and was already in decline. Enumerating all the notable English writers who died before Herbert was born, we arrive at little more than a

dozen. There is far-away Chaucer and his immediate group, Wiclif, Gower, Lydgate, and the author of Piers Plowman. In another century come Malory, Skelton, and the Balladists. Just preceding Herbert's birth appear Tyndale, Coverdale, More, Foxe, Ascham, Wyatt, Surrey, Gascoigne, Sidney. All the rest of our vast company of writers were either the contemporaries or successors of Herbert. In his childhood the plays of Lyly, Greene, Peele, and Nashe were still being printed, the first books of Spenser's Faerie Queene had just appeared, those of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity being issued in Herbert's second year. Shakespeare was busy with his poems and his early plays. Neither Marlowe's Edward II, nor Sidney's Apology for Poetry, nor Chapman's Iliad, nor Bacon's Essays were yet printed. But when Herbert died, the period of constructive development in the drama, the lyric, the sonnet, was over. Locke and Dryden were born; Davenant, Randolph, and Shirley were in vogue upon the stage; Cowley's and Crashaw's first works were being published. Most of the great Elizabethans were in their graves; where Donne, the leader of the new poetry, had recently joined them. Milton's Hymn On the Nativity, his Allegro and Penseroso, were written, and in the following year his Comus was acted. A period of equal length more markedly transitional cannot be found in English history.

Living at a time when our literature reached

such sudden and briefly sustained eminence, Herbert enjoyed the society of a wonderful company of Englishmen. An anonymous reviewer has gathered his associates into a few picturesque groups: "Herbert was a resident of London before the glorious names which have made the reign of Elizabeth bright to all generations had become names only, — when Camden, Selden, Ralegh, Sackville, Drayton, most of our great dramatists, and Shakespeare himself walked our streets. He was at Cambridge when Herrick, Giles Fletcher, Fanshawe, Jeremy Taylor, Milton, Cromwell, were fellow students; and was a visitant at a court to whose pleasures Inigo Jones, Marston, Middleton, and Ben Jonson ministered, — a court where Andrewes, Wotton, Donne, Coke, Bacon, held high place. All these he must have looked upon, and with many he must have exchanged formal courtesies and quaint compliments."

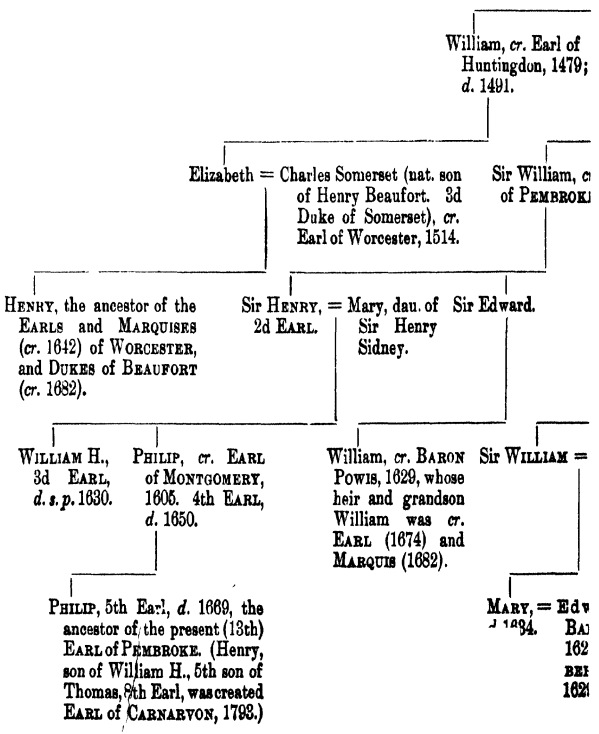
His life divides itself most naturally into four unequal periods, those of Education, Hesitation, Crisis, and Consecration: the first carrying him up to his twenty-sixth year and to his application for the Cambridge Oratorship, about 1619; the second extending through the next eight years, to the death of his friends, his resignation of the Oratorship, and his plans for rebuilding Leighton Church in 1626–27; the third covering the time of illness and uncertainty till his taking orders in 1630; and the fourth, his three years as a priest at Bemerton. To each

of these periods I devote a section of this essay, and add a final section on his early biographer, Walton.

II

GEORGE HERBERT (the name was pronounced and often written Harbert) was born April 3, 1593, at Montgomery in North Wales. There his father owned two estates, Montgomery Castle and Black Hall. In which of them the poet was born is uncertain. Since Montgomery Church has no record of his baptism, he may have been born, like his brother Edward, at Eyton in Shropshire, his mother's maiden home, or he may have been baptized at the Castle itself. Montgomery Castle belongs to that line of fortresses which extends along the eastern boundary of Wales, "The Marches," built to hold the rebellious Welsh in awe. It lies on the borders of Montgomeryshire and Shropshire, in an agricultural region, hilly rather than mountainous, the town small and with woodland in its vicinity; "a pleasant romancy place" in Anthony Wood's time, and in ours also. The eminence on which the castle stood was known as Primrose Hill, and is commemorated in Donne's lines entitled The Primrose. In 1644 Edward Herbert surrendered the Castle to the Parliament, who destroyed it in 1649. Little more than the outline of its wall is now visible.

The Herbert family is one of the oldest, stateliest,


William, cr. Earl of Huntingdon, 1479; d. 1491.
Elizabeth = Charles Somerset (nat. son of Henry Beaufort. 3d Duke of Somerset), cr. Earl of Worcester, 1514.
Sir William, c
of Pembroke
Henry, the ancestor of the Earls and Marquises (cr. 1642) of Worcester, and Dukes of Beaufort (cr. 1682).
Sir Henry, = Mary, dau. of Sir Henry Sidney.
2d Earl.
Sir Edward.
William H., 3d Earl, d. s. p. 1630.
Philip, cr. Earl of Montgomery, 1605. 4th Earl, d. 1650.
William, cr. Baron Powis, 1629, whose heir and grandson William was cr. Earl (1674) and Marquis (1682).
Sir William =
Philip, 5th Earl, d. 1669, the ancestor of the present (13th) Earl of Pembroke. (Henry, son of William H., 5th son of Thomas, 8th Earl, was created Earl of Carnarvon, 1793.)
Mary, = Edw
1684. Ba
162
Bei
1621

and most extended in England. Three earldoms — Pembroke, Carnarvon, and Powis — still remain in the family. It begins with a chamberlain of William the Conqueror, establishing itself both in England and in Wales. At the thirteenth generation, in the middle of the fifteenth century, it divides: the elder brother, William, then made first Earl of Pembroke, becoming the ancestor five generations later of the famous brothers, William and Philip, successively Earls of Pembroke in George Herbert's time; while through his younger son, Richard, the Earl became the ancestor also in the fifth generation of George Herbert's father, Richard, the lord of Montgomery. These two parts of the family always kept in close relation with each other; the English as the older, richer, more intimately connected with the Court and with letters, being regarded by the Welsh branch as its strong ally and patron.

The Herberts of Montgomery were more noted for courage than for intellect. They were a race of soldiers, tall, handsome, black-haired, who lived roughly, quarrelled easily, were sensitive in matters of honor, and with a strong hand dealt out justice over their turbulent domains. But they were trained as gentlemen too. Of George Herbert's father his son Edward records that "his learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue and being well versed in history." Yet the soldierly blood was in them all. George

was the fifth son among ten children, seven sons and three daughters, "Job's number and Job's distribution." His brothers, Richard and William, died as officers in the Flemish wars. Thomas commanded a vessel in the navy. George himself laments that feeble health compelled him to the scholar's life,

> *Whereas my birth and spirit rather took*
> *The way that takes the town;*

that is, the martial career. The eldest brother, Edward, created in 1629 Baron Herbert of Cherbury, — from his manor, four miles from Montgomery, — was at once soldier, statesman, historian, poet, and religious philosopher. A younger brother, Charles, who died while at the University, also wrote verses.

Perhaps the literary and artistic tendencies which thus appear a little incongruously in this contentious stock were contributed by the mother. Magdalen Newport was the daughter of one of the largest landed proprietors of Shropshire. She was granddaughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, Chief Justice under Henry VIII and an executor of the King's Will. Even in that age, prolific in powerful women, she was notable; for she combined in herself beauty, piety, intellect, passion, artistic and literary tastes, business ability, social charm. Walton gives a winning account of "her great and harmless wit, her chearful gravity and her obliging

behaviour." An accomplished musician, she trained all her children in music. One of her intimates who deeply affected her son was Dr. Donne, the poet, and the eloquent Dean of St. Paul's. At a critical period in his affairs she assisted him and his large family. He wrote to her one of his Verse-Letters, his lines The Autumnal, and his sonnet on St. Mary Magdalen. Over her he preached one of the greatest of his funeral sermons. "Her house was a Court in the conversation of the best, and an Almshouse in feeding the poore. God gave her such a comelinesse as, though she were not proud of it, yet she was so content with it as not to goe about to mend it by any Art. And for her Attire, it was never sumptuous, never sordid, but alwayes agreeable to her quality and agreeable to her company." With this sermon George Herbert printed his PARENTALIA, a series of Latin poems in honor of her who, as he says, *brought him into one world and shaped his course for another.* The second of these poems gives a vivid picture of her orderly domestic life.

Her husband, Sir Richard Herbert, dying in 1597, when George was but four years old, the care of her estate and the education of her children fell into her highly competent hands. About a year later she removed to Oxford, where Edward had entered the University. Here George lived with her about four years preparing under tutors for more advanced classical training. The remainder

of her life was spent in London and Chelsea. Her loveliness was of the unfading sort. It enabled her in 1609 to enter into a daring yet happy second marriage with Sir John Danvers, the younger brother of the Earl of Danby. At this time she was, as Donne says in his funeral sermon on her, over forty years old and already the mother of ten children. Sir John was barely twenty, but as handsome as she. "His complexion was so exceedingly beautiful and fine," says Aubrey, "that people would come after him in the street to admire. He had a very fine fancy, which lay chiefly for gardens and architecture." He proved a kind stepfather to George Herbert. A genial, irresponsible man he was, whom everybody liked so long as he was young, and who had no difficulty in marrying well three times; but who after the death of his masterful first wife fell into debt and bewilderment. Though he had been one of the gentlemen attending the King, yet "being neglected by his brother," says Clarendon, "and having by a vain expense in his way of living contracted a vast debt which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak man," he became one of the Regicides. When he died, in 1655, "he was to both political parties as great an object of scorn and detestation as any man in the kingdom."

With such a double inheritance of soldierly force and intellectual refinement, with decided originality and freedom from convention on both

sides, and with wealth, eminent family, and great traditions, George Herbert in 1605 entered Westminster School. Lancelot Andrewes was the Dean and Richard Ireland, Master. During his four years there his literary bent declared itself. He was admired for his classical scholarship. Here he made his first essays in verse, in Latin, and in ecclesiasticism, — the three fields in which he was subsequently to win distinction. Though but a boy, he attacked Andrew Melville (1545–1622), the scholarly leader of the Presbyterian party, in a number of Latin Epigrams, which were judged good enough to be passed from hand to hand and to encourage their author to continue them after entering the University. In 1609 he won a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and took his Bachelor's degree three years later. In the year of his entrance he wrote the first of his English poems which have been preserved, two sonnets addressed to his mother. In them he expressed his intention of becoming a religious poet. In the year when he took his degree, 1612, Prince Henry died, the popular heir to the Crown. The grief of the nation was deep, and was sung by all the poets of the day, — by Browne, Chapman, Donne, Drayton, Drummond, Heywood, Sylvester, Wither. With these men Herbert joined. His first printed pieces were two Latin Elegies on the Prince, contributed to a volume issued by the University of Cambridge. Two years later he became a Fellow of his College,

and an instructor in rhetoric. At the same time he began the systematic study of divinity. To the scholar's life and the priesthood he had been destined from early youth. His mother selected the priesthood for him, and his own better judgment approved.

But during these years, while he was winning *academick praise* as a clerical scholar and man of letters, he shone in other things as well. The passion for perfection was in his blood. This, joined with his love of beauty and his pride of birth, lent distinction to whatever he produced, though limiting its amount. "He was blest with a natural elegance both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen," says Walton. "If during this time he exprest any error, it was that he kept himself too much retir'd and at too great a distance with all his inferiours, and his cloaths seemed to prove that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage." Herbert shared heartily in the temper of a time which, delighting in every species of intellectual complexity, made its clothes as fantastic as its verses. In 1615, when the King visited Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor was obliged to set bounds to personal display and issued the following order: "Considering the fearful enormitie and excess of apparell seen in all degrees, as namely, strange pekadivelas, vast bands, huge cuffs, shoe-roses, tufts, locks and topps of hair, unbecoming that modesty and carridge of students in so renowned a

University, it is straightly charged that no graduate or student presume to wear any other apparell or ornaments, especially at the time of his Majestie's abode in the towne, than such only as the statutes and laudable customs of this University do allow, upon payne of forfeiture of 6 shillings and 8 pence for every default." That Herbert himself was not averse to pekadivelas and shoe-roses, either in these or in later days, is hinted by Oley in his Preface to THE COUNTRY PARSON: "I have not offerred to describe that person of his, which afforded so unusual a contesseration of elegancies and set of rarities to the beholder."

For such *genteel humour*, and for tastes no less elegant in books, Herbert's income proved insufficient. The eldest son, Edward Herbert, had granted each of his brothers an annuity of £30 from their father's estate, and George had also the income of his Fellowship. But in 1617 he writes two letters to his stepfather, begging for more money, urging the expenses of a university life, his great need of books, the cost of sickness with its special articles of diet, and proposing the *doubling my annuity now upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I enter'd into a benefice.* He promises if this is done that he *will for ever after cease* his *clamorous and greedy bookish requests.* During these years he kept a riding horse and apparently also a small country house, at Newmarket, the racing town near Cambridge.

III

HITHERTO throughout this period of Education Herbert has been aiming, delayingly and through much dallying with social display and graceful literature, at the priesthood. Now this deeper aim, which gave his life the little steadiness it had hitherto possessed, becomes shaken, and he enters that second period of his career which I have ventured to call his period of Hesitation. For eight years dreams of political eminence sway him, subordinating though never altogether destroying his plan to become a priest. Only when these glittering hopes have failed is there a recurrence to the earlier and more vital purpose.

In 1619 Sir Francis Nethersole resigned the Oratorship of Cambridge University. Herbert eagerly sought to become his successor, and brought to bear on the appointing powers the solicitations of influential friends. Sir Francis, however, had suggested that *this place being civil may divert me too much from Divinity, at which, not without cause, he thinks I aim. But I have wrote him back that this dignity hath no such earthiness in it but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for aught I yet knew.* The attractions of the office he thus describes in a letter to his stepfather:

The Orator's place is the finest place in the University, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be

about 30l per an. But the commodiousness is beyond the revenue; for the Orator writes all the University letters, makes all the orations, be it to King, Prince, or whatever comes to the University; to requite these pains, he takes place next the doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the proctors, is regent, or non-regent at his pleasure, and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.

Herbert obtained the Oratorship, and held the place eight years. Two of his orations and many of his official letters have come down to us. They show him to have been a skilful courtier, but do him little credit as a moral or intellectual man. Adulation was common in that day. One can only say that Herbert practised it with the force and audacity habitual in his undertakings. The year in which he was seeking the Oratorship he selected as the piece to be read with his rhetoric class an oration of King James, instead of one by Cicero or Demosthenes, and this "he analyzed, showed the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move the affections, the style utterly unknown to the ancients, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence was; in respect of which those noted demagogi were but hirelings and tribolary rhetoricians." (Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, I, 175.) He first attracted the notice of the King by a letter written in 1620 in acknowledgment

of the gift to the University of the King's book, Basilikon Doron. "This letter was writ in such excellent Latin," says Walton, "was so full of conceits and all the expressions so suted to the genius of the King that he inquired the Orator's name and then ask'd William, Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was, 'That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he lov'd him more for his learning and vertue than for that he was of his name and family.' At which answer the King smil'd and asked the Earl leave 'That he might love him too; for he took him to be the Jewel of that University.'" Thereafter, when the King went to hunt at Royston, near Cambridge, Herbert was much in his company. "A laudible ambition to be something more than he then was drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King wheresoever the Court was; and he seldom look'd towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never fail'd; and at other times left the manage of his Orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike," i. e. to his secretary.

Such assiduity soon brought its rewards, the most honorable among them being the powerful friends acquired. The Duke of Lenox, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hamilton, became his patrons. In the train of the King in 1620 was Lord Bacon. In that year Herbert had written him an official letter thanking him for the gift

to the University of his Novum Organum and also a subsequent letter begging him to check the London booksellers who, *having an eye to their own advantage rather than to that of the public, are longing for certain monopolies; from which circumstance we fear that the price of books will be increased and our privileges diminished.* This was the beginning of a friendship which continued with increasing closeness till Bacon's death.

In the year that Herbert became Orator, 1619, he printed a Latin Elegy on the death of Queen Anne. In 1623 Walton says the King presented him the lay Rectorship of Whitford with an income of £100. No duties were attached to the place. It was a sinecure which had formerly been held by Sir Philip Sidney. It should be said, however, that Herbert's name does not appear as Rector in the Whitford Church records.

Herbert was now aspiring to something far higher than his Oratorship. Sir Francis Nethersole, the preceding Orator, had become secretary to the Queen of Bohemia, the much loved Princess Elizabeth. Sir Robert Naunton, who held the Oratorship before Nethersole, had become one of the English Secretaries of State. To become such a Secretary himself was Herbert's ambition from 1620 to 1625. Nor was it improbable that he would reach it. From 1619 to 1624 his brother Edward was the English Ambassador at the French Court. In 1623 his brother Henry became

Master of the Revels to King James. Few nobles were more influential than Herbert's great kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke. Herbert accordingly turned aside from divinity to master French, Spanish, and Italian. He even inclined to abandon altogether the scholar's life and go abroad. But the strong will of his mother would not allow this final abandonment of the priesthood, and Herbert remained in England.

When Prince Charles and Buckingham came home from Spain in 1623, unsuccessful in forming a Spanish alliance, Herbert delivered and published a long oration of welcome in which, while as adulatory as ever, he had the courage to protest against the war to which the party of Buckingham now inclined. The historian S. R. Gardiner believes that this courageous stand destroyed Herbert's prospects of promotion. Oley says that the secretaryship was once within his grasp. But in 1623 died the Duke of Richmond; in the following year, the Duke of Lenox; in 1625 the King and the Marquis of Hamilton; and in 1626 Lord Bacon. His mother died a year later. Herbert resigned the Oratorship, and his period of Hesitation, *gaynesses*, and ambition was at an end. In 1626 he took deacon's orders, but another period of inner turmoil was necessary before he could bring himself to the priesthood.

IV

FROM this point onward Herbert's life is best studied in connection with his poetry. That is not the case with its two earlier periods, those of Education and Hesitation. In regard to the many years included in these, his writings give little information. Groups I–V of the poems were probably for the most part written during the second of these periods. They report his early thoughts and ideals, but not the incidents of his life. When we turn to Groups VI–XI, covering the last two periods of Crisis and Consecration, the verse becomes strongly biographic. Through it alone can the significance of what is happening be followed. The events that occur, though few, are weighty. It is they which finally bring the man to adequate expression. Without constant reference to those events the later poetry is unintelligible, nor can the events be understood without the poetry. Any account, accordingly, of these two most important periods in the life of Herbert must be merely preparatory to the poems and Prefaces of Groups VI–XI.

Had Herbert died at the point to which we have now brought him, he would have left no name in letters, state, or church. A few Latin poems and orations, not quite half his English verse, — the portion least interesting and which ultimately received most alteration, — would alone show the

tendencies of this fastidious scholar, courtier, and churchman. None of his prose was written, nor had he yet adopted his priestly calling. Whatever distinguishes him to-day had no existence then. Yet more than four fifths of his life were gone. Of these ineffective years we may say, what he has himself said in another connection, that *he ranne, but all he brought was fome.*

The remaining six years were Herbert's blossoming time. Forces which had long been at work in him blindly, slackly, and inconsistently, now under the pressure of affliction gradually took control, and shaped his formless life into a thing of beauty. That dilatoriness which seems ever a sad and necessary part of a poet's equipment had done its work. It had brought him enrichment, training, and perhaps at the last a quickening terror.

> *Fain would I here have made abode,*
> *But I was quicken'd by my houre,*

he says of his Cambridge days. Herbert saw life slipping away in pleasant Cambridge, and suddenly wondered if there still were time to accomplish his twin projects. We have seen how early he had resolved to be a poet and a priest. A beginning had been made at the one, and he had steadily evaded the other. In his last six years he was to become both in a notable degree. The crisis in his affairs was induced by the following circumstances.

In 1626 Laud's opponent, Bishop Williams of Lincoln, appointed Herbert a Prebendary of the parish of Leighton, ten miles from Huntington. The appointment was apparently intended, like the previous one at Whitford, to yield a stipend without duties; but it was accepted in a different spirit. The parish was small, the church itself in ruins. No service had been held in it for twenty years. Its roof had fallen, its walls were crumbling, its interior was decayed. It has been asserted that Herbert never visited the place. But the adjoining manor had belonged to his friend the Duke of Lenox; and five miles away lived one who was subsequently to be closely associated with him, Nicholas Ferrar. Through these or other agencies, now unknown, Herbert became deeply interested in the rehabilitation of the church. He solicited, he contributed, funds. He tried to induce Ferrar to take his place as Prebendary. Failing in this, he persuaded him to take charge of the long labors of reparation. These continued till after his own death. In his Will he leaves £15 to Leighton Church. The building is a large and beautiful one. The additions made by Herbert and Ferrar in windows, roof, and furnishings have a plain solidity and suitableness which is very attractive. One of Herbert's ecclesiastical arrangements noted by Walton is of decided interest as indicating a sympathy with the Puritan estimate of sermons. "By his order the reading pew and pulpit were

a little distant from each other and both of an equal height; for he would often say, *They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren.*" It is not easy to see why on a church with which he apparently had little connection, Herbert should have spent so much of his love, his thought, and his means. Perhaps the undertaking, expressing as it did increased interest in religious matters, quieted his conscience for the long evasion of sacred work.

The year after Leighton Church was begun, Herbert resigned his Oratorship and withdrew from the University. This grave step immediately followed the death of his mother. In memory of her he published a series of Latin verses full of careful appreciation and respect, though not remarkable for either affection or piety. The only human being who ever perceptibly swayed his life was removed; but her remembered influence proved quite as compulsive as her imperious presence. It was she who originally chose the priesthood for him; she who maintained his purpose during periods of slackness; she who hindered his going abroad and finally abandoning that calling. Now she was dead, her purpose unfulfilled. His own courtly hopes were ended, his health was seriously impaired. He was engaged, too, with her approval, in a work of church building which brought him into contact with Ferrar, a man of extreme

religious originality. Many influences without him and within coöperated, and at the end of three years produced their ripening effect. These bitter years of solitude, self-examination, search after health, and reinstatement of early resolve are depicted in the sixth Group of his poems. They were years spent in retirement. Sometimes he was at his mother's home in Chelsea, where he would meet Dr. Donne, who had hesitated almost as long as himself about taking orders; sometimes at Woodford in Essex, his courtly brother Henry's country place; sometimes at Dauntsey in Wiltshire, the estate of the Earl of Danby. At the neighboring town of Baynton, in 1629, when health and spirits were somewhat restored and he was just entering his thirty-sixth year, he suddenly married Jane Danvers, a relative of the Earl of Danby, a woman of beauty and independent means. She brought him no children, but the marriage was a happy one. After Herbert's death she married Sir Robert Cook of Highnam Court, Gloucestershire. How long she remained a widow is uncertain. Walton thought it "five years," or in another edition, "about six." But as Sir Robert Cook himself died only ten years after Herbert, and she had borne him three sons and a daughter, her period of widowhood must have been brief. She died in 1663.

V

ALMOST as suddenly as he had married, Herbert in the following year accepted the living of Fuggleston-cum-Bemerton and began his brief period of Consecration. The greatness of the change is well stated by Charles Cotton, who in 1672, commending Walton for the volume of his Lives which had recently appeared, describes Herbert as

> " He whose education,
> Manners and parts, by high applauses blown,
> Was deeply tainted by Ambition,
>
> " And fitted for a court, made that his aim;
> At last, without regard to birth or name,
> For a poor country cure does all disclaim;
>
> " Where, with a soul composed of harmonies,
> Like a sweet swan, he warbles as he dies
> His Maker's praise and his own obsequies."

In excuse for Herbert's long hesitation and secular ambition, it should be borne in mind that in his day, as Cotton hints, the priesthood was not regarded as altogether suitable for a gentleman of birth. In THE COUNTRY PARSON, Ch. XXVIII, Herbert speaks of *the generall ignominy which is cast upon the profession.* Donne, in his Lines to Mr. Tilman After He Had Taken Orders, congratulates him on putting aside "the lay-scornings

of the ministry." Walton quotes Herbert's remark that *the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued and the sacred name of priest contemptible.* And Oley says in his Preface to THE COUNTRY PARSON: "I have heard sober men censure him as a man that did not manage his brave parts to his best advantage and preferment, but lost himself in an humble way. That was the phrase. I well remember it."

Herbert was instituted to the Rectorship by John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, a leader of the Puritan party, on April 26, 1630, five months before he was ordained priest. Even then he was not able at once to reside in his parish. The Rectory was so out of repair that it had not been occupied by his predecessor, Dr. Curle, who had a house fifteen miles away. With this arrangement Herbert was not content. He would live among his people. He reconstructed the Rectory at a cost of £200. Aubrey says: "The old house was very ruinous. Here he built a very handsome house for the minister of brick and made a good garden and walks;" and Walton, that "he hasted to get the Parish Church repair'd, then to beautifie the Chappel (which stands near his house) and that at his own great charge."

Less than three miles from Salisbury, in its extensive Park, stands Wilton House, one of the stateliest mansions in England. It was built on the foundations of an ancient Abbey, from the

designs of Hans Holbein. Its owner, William Herbert, the great Earl of Pembroke, died a fortnight before Herbert was instituted, and was succeeded in the Earldom by his brother Philip. This house of his kinsman must have been a frequent visiting place for Herbert during the few years of his priesthood. At its gate stood the considerable church of Fuggleston or Fulston St. Peter. Around the church in Herbert's day there was probably something of a hamlet. Here lived and ministered Herbert's Curate, Nathaniel Bostock. But the parish embraced also the villages of Quidhampton and Bemerton, the three together having a population of not more than three hundred souls. At Bemerton was the small chapel of St. Andrew, forty-six feet long by eighteen wide, seating rather more than fifty people. With this chapel Herbert's ministry is particularly identified. Aubrey writes: "George Herbert was chaplaine to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. His lordship gave him a benefice at Bemmarton, a pittifull little chappell of ease to Foughelston." The chapel is almost a part of the Rectory, which stands opposite it and only forty feet away. On this chapel he looked from his study window; in it he read prayers every day; during the time of his feeble health he must have preached oftener here than at Fulston; and here, in the floor beside the altar, he was buried. Though many changes have been made in the little building since he died, they are not such as disturb its

main features. Herbert would recognize it to-day. What his income at Bemerton was, I am unable to ascertain. I find it stated that one of his successors in 1692, John Norris, the Platonist and poet, received £70. But Herbert was not dependent on the income of his parish.

The Rectory across the road has doubled its size since Herbert lived there, and most of its rooms are changed. His study remains and his large garden, which slopes pleasantly down to the small river Wiley. An old medlar-tree is connected by tradition with his planting. Across a mile of intervening meadows rises the spire of Salisbury Cathedral. At the Rectory the household consisted of himself, his wife, three nieces, daughters of his sister Margaret Vaughan, — one of whom, dying a year before himself, left him £500, — and, as appears in his Will, two men-servants and four maids. In this house were spent the three years which give significance to Herbert's life.

Cut off as he now largely was from the companionship to which he had been accustomed, and with little opportunity for other forms of outward action, his energies turned within. Things of the mind claimed him with an absorption to which hitherto he had been a stranger. With unwonted persistence he now pursued three lines of ideal construction, — music, writing, and the services of the church, — and in them obtained a needed relief from isolation, loneliness, and disappointed hopes.

The neighboring Salisbury afforded two varieties of music. A private club of musicians drew him each week into its friendly and melodious company; and listening to the mighty harmonies at the Cathedral, he could

Without a bodie move,
Rising and falling with their wings.

Then at Bemerton his lute was always ready to aid his voice in giving fuller expression to his own songs. In short, music seems to have been his one diversion.

How elaborately he undertook to extract from the ritual of his church every power and beautiful significance, Walton has explained, Herbert's own COUNTRY PARSON shows, and in the Preface to Group VII I have discussed. No man ever entered more profoundly into the priesthood. These brief years were indeed a Consecration. Herbert endeavored to empty himself, to discharge his former desires, and to become a colorless medium through which the divine reason, austerity, and radiance might healingly shine. The conception of the preacher which with his usual ardor, elaboration, tenderness, and frequent rebellion too, he sought during these bleak years to attain he has announced in his poem of THE WINDOWS:

Lord, how can man preach thy eternall word?
He is a brittle crazie glasse,

Yet in thy temple thou dost him afford
This glorious and transcendent place
To be a window, through thy grace.

But when thou dost anneal in glasse thy storie,
Making thy life to shine within
The holy Preachers, then the light and glorie
More rev'rend grows, and more doth win.

The full record of this failing and triumphant time will be found in the poems and Prefaces of Groups VII–XI.

But if Herbert now pressed eagerly forward to attain in a time which he knew must be brief that priestly ideal which he had cherished throughout his dilatory life, no less eager was he to complete the literary ambitions of his youth. Toward these aims much was already accomplished. Bacon, Donne, Ferrar, his intimates, knew before he came to Bemerton that he was a skilful poet of the special type which he had early resolved to become. But the amount of his verse hitherto produced was small, only occasionally was it vitalized with personal experience, and none of it was as yet published. He had much more to say. His art was never so subtle or harmonious as now. The deeper religious life he was leading illuminated his old topic and revealed its finer shades. Yet he felt clear premonitions of his approaching end.

The harbingers are come. See, see their mark!
White is their colour, and behold my head!

But must they have my brain? Must they dispark
Those sparkling notions which therein were bred?
Must dulnesse turn me to a clod?
Yet have they left me, "Thou art still my God."

Under such pressure, he who was not naturally productive, but by temperament meagre, critical, and postponing, forced from his fading powers an amount of delicate literature which would have been creditable to the most robust of writers. Not only do something like half of his poems come from these three years, but during them his COUNTRY PARSON also was written. Possibly to this time is due his exquisite translation of CORNARO ON TEMPERANCE. Only five months before his death he read and elaborately annotated Ferrar's translation of The Divine Considerations of Valdesso. How much more he wrote we do not know. Walton says of Herbert's widow: "This Lady Cook had preserv'd many of Mr. Herbert's private writings which she intended to make publick; but they and Highnam House were burnt together by the late Rebels, and so lost to posterity." To this should be added Aubrey's remark: "He also writt a folio in Latin which, because the parson of Highnam could not read, his widowe (then wife to Sir Robert Cooke) condemned to the uses of good houswifry. This account I had from Mr. Arnold Cooke, one of Sir Robert Cooke's sons, whom I desired to ask his mother-in-law for Mr. G. Herbert's MSS."

When one adds to his manifold literary undertakings the care of his scattered parish and the beginnings of family life, it is evident that these were busy years. Were they too busy? Might not those *rheumes and agues* to which his frame, feeble from childhood, had always been disposed, have been checked in their onward movement toward consumption by a less rigorous life? It cannot be known; and in view of what that rigor accomplished, there is little room for regret. The exact date of his death is not known, but he was buried on March 3, 1633.

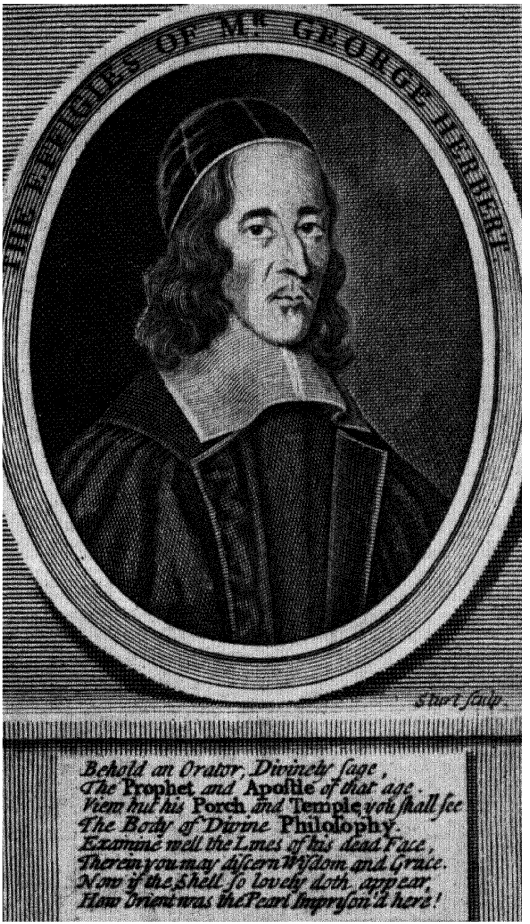
VI

THE Herbert whose contrasted periods of life are here exhibited, and who is studied in minuter detail hereafter, will be found to differ considerably from him who appears in Walton's Life. My account may consequently be received with distrust. Walton's book is one of the glories of our literature. It is true he had no acquaintance with Herbert. He saw him only once, at Lady Herbert's funeral. But he had documents which have now perished. Out of them and out of his own attractive personality he has woven a Life of Herbert which few pieces of biography exceed in unity, vividness, and convincing power. The ease of Walton's account and its apparent waywardness add to its charm and the impression of its veracity. In spite of some

petty inaccuracies, especially in dates, I believe that what Walton says is substantially true. But there is much which he does not say; and in general, his book should be judged rather as a piece of art than as even-handed history. In painting a glowing picture an artist selects a point of view, and to what is visible from that point subordinates all else. So Walton works. He paints us the Saint of Bemerton. And while too honest to conceal discordant facts from him who will search his pages, he contrives to throw so strong a light on Herbert's three consecrated years that few readers notice how unlike these are to his vacillating thirty-six. Walton's fascinating portraiture has taken so firm a hold on the popular imagination that it may truly be said to constitute at present the most serious obstacle to a cool assessment of Herbert. To refer to the more secular and literary sides of that complex character seems a kind of sacrilege. Yet Walton himself furnishes material for his own correction. To this I have directed attention, supplementing it with the statements of Oley, Lord Herbert, Aubrey, and other contemporaries, and making large use also of Herbert's own estimates of himself contained in his poems and prose writings. By turning to these original sources I hope my readers will be able to perceive the romantic coloring of Walton, to allow for it, and to enjoy that skilful portraiture the more.



Portrait engraved by White's pupil, J. Sturt, for THE TEMPLE, *1703. See Vol. I, p. 50.*


THE PEECHES OF Mr GEORGE HERBERT
Sturt sculp.
Behold an Orator, Divinely sage,
The Prophet and Apostle of that age.
View but his Porch and Temple you shall see
The Body of Divine Philology.
Examine well the Lines of his dead Face,
Therein you may discern Wisdom and Grace.
Now if the Shell so lovely doth appear,
How Orient was the Pearl Imprison'd here!

II

TRAITS OF THE MAN

TRAITS OF THE MAN

WITH these events in the life of Herbert before us, let us examine those features of his complex character which if misconceived prevent an understanding of his writings. A character is interesting about in proportion to the opposing traits which it harmonizes. And nowhere are such interesting characters so common as among the men who met the conflicting forces of the later Renaissance. Every part of their being responds to a multitude of calls, and yet they impress us as highly individual men. I shall trace the rich and harmonious diversity of Herbert in his physical structure, his temperamental habits, his intellect, and his religious nature.

I

WE do not certainly know how Herbert looked. No contemporary portrait of him exists. If one was ever painted, it has perished. An allusion to a portrait has been sought in a line of THE POSIE, where, speaking of his intended motto, he says, *This by my picture, in my book, I write.* But a gracefully turned phrase is no evidence of historic fact. An early engraving, however, has come down to us, preserved in a triple form. In

Walton's Lives (1670) there was printed a portrait of Herbert, signed R. White. In the tenth edition of Herbert's poems (1674), the first to include Walton's Life, this picture appeared again, changed slightly, but bearing the same signature. In the twelfth edition (1703) is a coarse reëngraving of White's plate by John Sturt (1658–1730), White's pupil. All later portraits of Herbert are fanciful modifications of these early prints. Hitherto these have been our only means for arriving at a knowledge of his face. What assurance of authenticity do they possess?

Walton and the men of his day knew Herbert's appearance and would certainly demand a picture of some verisimilitude. We must suppose that the likeness of Herbert here presented rests on some accredited original. The engraver, Robert White, says the Dictionary of National Biography, "was the most esteemed and industrious portrait engraver of his age. His plates number about four hundred. He was celebrated for his original portraits, which he drew in pencil on vellum with great delicacy and finish." An original portrait of Herbert this cannot be; for White was not born until 1645, twelve years after Herbert died. But it may still be an accurate likeness, for White engraved from paintings also.

I believe, however, we can now carry the traditional engraving a step nearer to its original. In 1902 I learned that there was an early drawing of

Herbert in private hands in Salisbury, and I procured an introduction to its owner, George Young. Most generously he allowed me to examine his picture and even to photograph it for this book. It has not been published before. It is drawn in pencil on vellum with a delicacy of line impossible to reproduce. The size is substantially as it appears in the frontispiece of this volume. For many generations the picture has been in Mr. Young's family, a family descended in a collateral line from Izaak Walton. Of its origin and history nothing is known. In the clear space by Herbert's left shoulder stands the inscription "R. White delin," in White's handwriting. Is this, then, the original drawing made by White from some painting, the drawing from which the two pictures for Walton were afterwards engraved? Whoever compares it with those engravings will have little doubt of it. The position, the clothing, and the features are identical. There is the same curl of the collar, the same indentation of cap and gown. I notice only three small points of difference: in the drawing a few straggling hairs appear at the top of the forehead below the cap, the line of the collar is slightly open below the chin, and the body of the gown where the right sleeve joins it is visible all the way down. But these are just such changes as might naturally occur in the coarser work of engraving. The fundamental difference, and that which stamps the

drawing as prior in date, is its superior subtlety in the interpretation of character. Indeed, I know no written criticism of Herbert which exhibits him with such fulness, complexity, and likelihood. Here is high breeding, scholarship, devoutness, disappointment, humor, fastidiousness, pathos, pride. This priest has moved in courtly circles and convinces us that he was once alive; the engravings, while reporting the same general features, have little play of life. They present a meagre ascetic. In the process of engraving, whether conducted by White or by some journeyman, the vitality of the drawing has disappeared. The lines have stiffened. Perhaps a nature so subtle as Herbert's lends itself more readily to the pencil than to the burin. Yet I think no one can fail to see that the three pictures have a single source.

What that source was we can only surmise. The style of portraiture is strikingly like that of Van Dyck, like him in both his strength and his limitations. Van Dyck was in England in 1621, probably in 1629, and certainly early in 1632, in the latter year being knighted by King Charles. He painted many portraits both at the Court and at Wilton House. Wilton House is to-day full of the Pembrokes who associated with Herbert, fixed in perpetual and elusive charm by the witchery of Van Dyck. Herbert himself, as a kinsman of the house, already a man of note, and living but a mile away, might naturally enough have been painted too.

A memorandum of Aubrey's, contained in his Lives, shows that a portrait of him was then believed to exist: "George Herbert — (ask) cozen Nan Garnet pro (his) picture; if not, her aunt Cooke." Whether the painter was Van Dyck or some other lover of human refinements, in this frontispiece we have for the first time a singularly vivid and subtle representation of Herbert drawn by one selected for the task by Walton himself.

White's portrait accords well with verbal descriptions of Herbert. The consumptive face is long and gaunt, with prominent cheek-bones. Abundant curly hair falls to the shoulders. A high brow strongly overarches widely parted eyes. The nose is large and with a Roman curve, the mouth markedly sensitive. In some verses printed in THE TEMPLE of 1674, the first edition containing a portrait of Herbert, the unknown author writes:

> *Examine well the Lines of his dead Face,*
> *Therein you may discern Wisdom and Grace.*

That is the combination noticeable in the drawing. Walton says of him that "he was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very strait, and so far from being cumbred with too much flesh that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was chearful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a Gentleman." In his poem THE SIZE, Herbert has this portrait-like stanza:

A Christian's state and case
Is not a corpulent, but a thinne and spare
Yet active strength; whose long and bonie face
Content and care
Do seem to equally divide.

Oley notices the elegance of his person, and Aubrey says that "he was a very fine complexion and consumptive." That he was consumptive, inclining, too, from childhood to indigestion, colds, and fevers, both he himself and Walton repeatedly declare. But his face, like his writings, reveals an intellect somewhat excessive for the body that bears it. This prominence in Herbert of the nobler traits gave to his total appearance an exaltation above the ordinary. Mr. Duncon told Walton that "at his first view of Mr. Herbert he saw majesty and humility so reconcil'd in his looks and behaviour as begot in him an awful reverence for his person."

II

WITH his fragility, too, and insufficiency of bodily stock was associated great refinement of the senses. In Herbert's constitution there was nothing dull, stolid, or inclining to asceticism. Sight, hearing, taste, smell, have all left in his verse their record of swift response. Out of an odor Herbert has constructed one of his daintiest poems.

His BANQUET is perfumed throughout. In ten other poems fragrances are mentioned. It indicates his revival from illness that he can *once more smell the dew and rain.* With him the word *sweet* is more apt to indicate sweetness of smell than of taste. Twice he gives details about the pomander, an Elizabethan substitute for our scent-bottle. *Dust* he finds peculiarly offensive. One of his descriptions of the bad man is that he is *guiltie of dust and sinne.* This sensitiveness of smell appears equally in THE COUNTRY PARSON, where we are repeatedly warned to *keep all sweet and clean.* The Parson's house is to be *very plain, but clean, whole, and sweet — as sweet as his garden can make;* and his clothes are to be *without spots or dust or smell.* He is to call at the *poorest cottage, though it smell never so lothsomly.* And this insistence on smell as the final token of nicety is idealized in a maxim of THE CHURCH-PORCH:

> *Let thy minde's sweetnesse have his operation*
> *Upon thy body, clothes, and habitation.*

Clothes were always matters of importance to Herbert. Their proprieties are discussed at some length in THE CHURCH-PORCH, and Herbert's *genteel humour* for them is repeatedly referred to by Walton and Oley.

Herbert, too, was far from dull of taste. Vivid allusions to food and drink abound. He knows the temptations of both, but dreads more those of food.

He knows how to *stay at the third glasse;* but with his delicate digestion and strong appetite, the quantity to be eaten is harder to regulate. He studies diet; he translates CORNARO ON TEMPERANCE; he has numberless precepts of restraint, none of which would be necessary if he were not constitutionally inclined to excess. The tightness of the rein shows the mettle of the horse.

How alert is his eye, even the casual reader perceives. His many pictures of natural objects have each their individual character, and he records facts with a startling sharpness. Birds *sip and straight lift up their head. Frost-nipt sunnes look sadly. Flowers depart to see their mother-root when they have blown. In terram violae capite inclinantur opaco.* Somebody *comes puffing by in silks that whistle.* Of painted windows we hear how *colours and light, in one when they combine and mingle, bring a strong regard and awe.* And of leaves, *The wind blew them underfoot, where rude unhallow'd steps do crush and grinde their beauteous glories.* Or again,

> *We are the trees whom shaking fastens more,*
> *While blustring windes destroy the wanton bowres,*
> *And ruffle all their curious knots and store.*

Herbert has none of Vaughan's mystic brooding over nature. Physical and mental facts are seldom blended. But while chiefly occupied with inner states, he casts keen glances over the world with-

out, delights in its beauty, and by some unusual word marks an observation as his own.

The training of Herbert's ear is more generally known than that of his other senses. He sang, played on the viol or lute, and was fond of the organ. Music was at that time a regular part of the education of a gentleman. Milton was trained in it. Poetry was still thought of as song. Herbert's lines were intended to be accompanied by an instrument. Though in consumption, he sang them until a few days before he died. Throughout his life — as Oley, Walton, and his own poems testify — music was his passion. He counts it his chief means of escaping bodily pain.

Sweetest of sweets, I thank you! When displeasure
Did through my bodie wound my minde,
You took me thence, and in your house of pleasure
A daintie lodging me assign'd.

This sketch of Herbert's exquisite physical organization, a necessary equipment for poetic work, will have disclosed that his senses were more fine than full, that it is rather the intellectual than the sensuous aspect of objects which appeals to him. Each of our senses reports to us in double terms. We both see and observe; we hear and listen; we smell or taste and perceive. Some minds fasten on one of these sides of experience, some on the other. Different mental types arise accordingly. To Herbert the immediate moment is never the

rapturous affair it is to Giles Fletcher or William Browne. While feeling it, he is looking beyond, correlating it, studying its significance, and judging how far it will serve the purposes of a life. The pure senses are consequently subordinate powers in Herbert's world, and never receive that honorable training nor are trusted with that large control which is theirs in the poetry of Chaucer, Sidney, and Spenser.

III

THE only temptations which he mentions with anything like terror are those of idleness and women. *Lust*, a common word with him both in prose and verse, does not mean what it often does in writings of his time, a general desire for pleasure. It means the specific inclination toward women. This in his eyes is always evil. He married late, after a life spent partly in the cloister and partly among the gay and loose. His brother Edward made a mercantile marriage, and was boastfully unfaithful to it. He himself never conceived love in our fashion as a mysterious power uniting the two worlds of sense and spirit. These remained in his thought steadily hostile. *Flesh, though exalted, keeps his grass, and cannot turn to soule.* To him woman is always a temptation and disturbance; and this opinion is as deeply embedded in THE COUNTRY PARSON, written after

his marriage, as in his verse. His discussion of marriage in Chapter IX, on The Parson's State of Life, is essentially monastic. Marriage is for man a mere escape from worse ills, though it may be *the good instrument of God to bring women to heaven.* No honorable mention of a woman occurs in his writings, if we except the somewhat artificial laments for his mother in the Latin PARENTALIA, and Walton's statement that when he was dying he said: *These eyes shall see my master and Saviour Jesus, and with him see my dear mother.* Even the Virgin Mary he thinks of as but an instrument in effecting the birth of Christ, not as possessing distinctive virtues of her own (ANAGRAM, and TO ALL ANGELS AND SAINTS, l. 11). Allusions in the third stanza of THE PILGRIMAGE and elsewhere make it probable that once at Cambridge Herbert found *the wilde of passion* to be *a wasted place, but somctimes rich.* This experience forms the subject of one of his two poems on VANITIE, and it remained with him long as a terrifying remembrance. In one of his last and most anguished poems he cries as if pursued, *What is this womankinde which I can wink into a blacknesse and distaste?*

Such inability to comprehend the worth and place of woman is the more remarkable when we recall the great influence which his mother exercised over his life. A marvellous woman she must have been, combining in herself many excellences of both man and woman. Donne speaks of her as

having "that perplexing eye which equally claims love and reverence." From her Herbert obtained much of his refinement, much, too, of his stimulus to action. In return he gave her abundant respect and obedience, but not apparently intimate affection. *Severa parens*, he calls her. *Tu radix, tu petra mihi firmissima mater.* Through her he never learned to honor womankind.

IV

TO estimate justly his second temptation, that of sloth, is more difficult; for vigor was in his stock on both sides. His fighting fathers reproduced themselves in his contentious brothers; and he himself, though checked by lassitudes, introspection, and physical frailty, certainly possessed a virile temper. This has left its mark in such poems as EMPLOYMENT, BUSINESSE, and CONSTANCIE. Though living in an age by no means listless, he warns his countrymen that their greatest danger is sloth, and bids his reader

> *When thou dost purpose ought, (within thy power,)*
> *Be sure to doe it, though it be but small.*

That he is able to go through a large amount of work in a brief time, and under adverse circumstances, is evident from what he accomplished in literature and parish labor during his three years at Bemerton.

But continually in Herbert double tendencies appear. He believed himself disposed to indolence, — *A slack and sleepie state of minde did oft possesse me.* Of no danger does he more frequently warn himself than of this. Was it real? I think so. It is true such reproaches sometimes spring from the exactions of a high standard, and may thus reveal a character the opposite of that which they assert. Being normally energetic, though subject to frequent weakness, Herbert may have felt with peculiar shame those low states where it is impossible to know how much of our slackness is attributable to an unresponsive body and how much to a feeble will. But when we recall how little able he showed himself, before he went to Bemerton, to fix on a task and adhere to it, how easily he accepted a life of elegant dependence, I believe we shall see that inaction was in some strange way a genuine, and not a mere poetic, temptation of this forcible man.

Lord Herbert in praising his brother George says: "He was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject; but that excepted, without reproach in his actions." The hastiness of temper in social relations here asserted beset Herbert also in the formation of plans. Speaking in AFFLICTION of the early proposition that he should become a priest, he says:

My sudden soul caught at the place,
And made her youth and fiercenesse seek thy face.

His soul was sudden, his first feeling about a plan hot and fierce. He repeats the adjective in THE ANSWER: *my fierce youth.* Walton's story of his marriage confirms the trait. He married Jane Danvers three days after he first saw her. I do not give the tale full credit. The lady was the daughter of his stepfather's cousin, her family — even according to Walton's account — being well known to him. She lived at Baynton, but a few miles from Dauntsey, where he frequently visited. Yet Walton's story must be substantially true, published, as it was, uncontradicted among those who knew the facts. Herbert certainly married but a few days after his engagement, and the headlong act was characteristic of him. He entered the priesthood in much the same way, years of hesitation ending with a sudden burst of decision. Thus it was throughout his life: precipitancy and irresolution, energy and delay, went ever hand in hand, each suspicious of its dangerous mate. He hesitated to act because he knew how prone he was to rashness; but he finally acted rashly in order to escape his besetting sin of delay. A vivid picture of this double temperament he has given in THE ANSWER, where he acknowledges to those

> *Who think me eager, hot, and undertaking,*
> *But in my prosecutions slack and small,*

that he is like an exhalation steaming swiftly up from some damp ground, as if hastening to the sky;

but *cooling by the way*, it soon dissipates itself in drops which weep over its lack of accomplishment. So Herbert was frequently called to mourn the slackness of his prosecution. Yet I think he does himself injustice in counting this slackness due to indolence. There is no idle fibre in his mind. It is *ever in warres*, delighting in difficulties, and moves with an instinctive aversion to the easy course. This, in fact, is its perpetual danger. *Thousands of notions in his brain do run;* and he cannot, like the rude practical person, promptly discover and discharge the unimportant ones. Time and energy are accordingly wasted. Years slip by, and this abnormally forcible man stands irresolute, bewildered by irreconcilable claims.

This strenuosity of temperament, dissipation of energy, and comparative ineffectiveness of result appear strikingly in the two main events of Herbert's life, as narrated in my first Essay. Early he proposed to become a priest and a poet. He held to both purposes for more than twenty years. He attained both, reaching such distinction in each as to become a pattern to after ages. Yet in each he conveys the impression of exceptional powers only half used. One hundred and sixty-nine short poems and less than three years in a small country parish represent his accomplishment. Ceaselessly working over his little roll of poems, he never brought them to perfection; and though he lived in one of the most formative periods of English

history, when new thoughts about church, state, and society were pouring in like a flood, the ferment left no trace in his writings, which might have been composed about equally well on a desert island. For the most part, he is concerned with the small needs of his own soul.

Rightly does Walton characterize him as "a lover of retiredness," for he was essentially unsocial. Acquainted though he was with many men and many minds, "His soul was like a star, and dwelt apart." It did not accept the interests of other men nor invite others to its own. Something of this was no doubt due to his sense of high birth and his consequent detachment from the crowd. He is always an aristocrat, free from vanity and not indisposed to oblige, but he does not turn toward the affairs of others. As I shall show in my next Essay, there were tendencies in his age inclining men to political abstention. The holy and scholarly of those days were prone to withdraw from the world for study and religion, and took the ties lightly which bound them to their fellows. The field of human interest was becoming more and more an internal one, the individual soul and its analysis calling for much attention from its anxious possessor. Herbert felt and helped to form this tendency. He allied himself with no cause, if we except his youthful attacks on Melville. He took few public responsibilities. To individuals he was strongly drawn, and he seems

to have formed warm friendships with able men. One gets the impression that he was incapable of anything selfish or petty, and that everything about him was instinctively noble. All felt him to be rare and exalted, and gave him instantly the reverence for which his nature called. But pride was in him, fastidiousness, and a dignity which little disposed him to accept the ways of others.

V

MIDWAY between Herbert's temperamental disposition and his intellectual acquirements lie his incisive humor and his anxious optimism. So detached and serious a nature is apt to lack humor. Milton lacked it; so did Wordsworth. Herbert is not without it, though his subject limits its amount and its kind. He at least knows *what mirth and musick mean.* He perceives how large a part merriment plays in human affairs, devotes to it considerable sections of THE CHURCH-PORCH and THE COUNTRY PARSON, and sagaciously warns us that *a pleasantness of disposition is of great use, men being willing to sell the interest and ingagement of their discourses for no price sooner then that of mirth; whither the nature of man, loving refreshment, gladly betakes it selfe.* The Country Parson is accordingly advised to interpose in his conversation *some short and honest refreshments which may make his other dis-*

courses more welcome and lesse tedious. Herbert holds that

> *All things are bigge with jest. Nothing that's plain*
> *But may be wittie if thou hast the vein.*

Pretty evenly distributed throughout his book runs his own peculiar form of humor, a form largely shaped by his love of epigram. There is in it an acid enjoyment of intellectual neatness, shrewd observation, an inclination to approach a subject from an unexpected quarter, and a playfulness too grave for outright laughter. Yet THE QUIP and THE QUIDDITIE almost dance. PEACE and THE BAG are gay. In single lines elsewhere he smiles at the *man of pleasure, a kinde of thing that's for itself too dear;* at him *whose clothes are fast, but his soul loose about him;* declares that *kneeling ne're spoil'd silk stocking;* is amused at the astronomer who peers about the heavens and *surveys as if he had designed to make a purchase there;* calls skeletons *the shells of fledge souls left behinde;* tells how at Doomsday *this member jogs the other, each one whispring, "Live you brother?"* and how in barren lives *we freeze on until the grave increase our cold.* Turns like these abound in Herbert. They connect themselves with his fondness for embroidered verse; and while far from full-blooded humor, they resemble it in intellectual pungency, freedom from conventionality, and grim sport. They indicate a

temperament which, if never exactly merry, could never have been morose, rigid, or over-reverential to fixed mental habits. Except in THE CHURCH MILITANT Herbert seldom indulges himself in sarcasm.

In asking whether Herbert is an optimist or a pessimist, we must remember that all religious writers incline to a sort of disparagement of human affairs. Certainly one who without this in mind should read DOTAGE, GIDDINESSE, HOME, MISERIE, MORTIFICATION, THE ROSE, THE SIZE, and the five poems on AFFLICTION, might well suppose their author a thorough pessimist. He would be confirmed in this belief by hearing elsewhere that *man is out of order hurl'd*, that *the condition of this world is frail*, that *here of all plants afflictions soonest grow*, that *thy Saviour sentenc'd joy, at least in lump*, that *terram et funus olent flores*, and that — as Herbert says in his PRAYER BEFORE SERMON — *we are darknesse and weaknesse and filthinesse and shame. Miserie and sinne fill our days.* Such expressions are familiar to every reader of Herbert, and they seem to assert that this world is rootedly evil, controlled rather by the Devil than by God. But in reality that is not Herbert's belief. This is God's world, a place of great order, intelligence, and beauty.

All things that are, though they have sev'rall wayes,
Yet in their being joyn with one advise
To honour thee.

Yet this divine order is confessedly hidden and much overlaid with afflictive circumstance. In disparaging things of time in view of those of eternity, the religious mind has large justification. We make, as Herbert says in THE COUNTRY PARSON, *a miserable comparison of the moment of griefs here with the weight of joyes hereafter.* Everybody perceives that *things present shrink and die.* However cheerful we may be, we cannot fail to feel a pathetic poignancy in nature's rude transitoriness. *We are but flowers that glide,* and often must wish that *we past changing were.* Accordingly, in Herbert's case, as in that of Plato and many another world-worn soul, longing looks are frequently cast forward beyond mortality's bound.

> *Who wants the place where God doth dwell*
> *Partakes already half of hell.*

In moments of illness and disappointment, too, this longing may pass over into something like complaint. *After so foul a journey death is fair.* But such words draw no indictment against the universe. Fundamentally, there is no evil in its structure. Herbert's constant doctrine is that in its design and *originally,* each part of us and of our earth is rich in blessing. *At first we liv'd in pleasure.* In MAN and PROVIDENCE we see how marvellous is creation, which we alone, the crown of it, can understand and enjoy. God has *his glorious law embosomed in us.* The two ANTIPHONS bid us

continually to join with God and angels in glad rejoicing. Except sin, nothing can separate us from God; and not even that cuts us off from his love.

For sure when Adam did not know
To sinne, or sinne to smother,
He might to heav'n from Paradise go
As from one room t' another.

But precisely here is the trouble. The misery of the world is not grounded in the badness of its make or the harshness of its maker. Sin, and only sin, has brought it about. *Lord, thou createdst man in wealth and store, till foolishly he lost the same.* And though Herbert, with many others, is pleased to figure sin as typified and finished in Adam's wilfulness and finally curbed by Christ's self-sacrifice, he does not fail to recognize that in these two types are summed up processes always open to man for bliss or woe. Whenever we turn from wilful sin, something of *our sweet originall joy* is restored; and in THE ELIXER, EMPLOYMENT, and many other glad songs, we are shown the method of still finding delight and dignity everywhere. On the whole, then, while Herbert as a dualist, who separates spiritual and natural things pretty sharply, is sometimes inclined to blacken earthly conditions for the glory of the divine, he always knows that we are living in our Father's house, that we ourselves are that house, and that neither

it nor we are accursed. In spite of his quivering sense of sin, fundamentally Herbert is an optimist.

VI

HERBERT'S mind was a capacious and disciplined one, which had the amplest opportunities and drew from them all they were fitted to yield. Many contemporaries record their admiration of his wide reading and fully assimilated knowledge. According to his brother, "He was master of all learning, human and divine."

He has left a large body of Greek and Latin poems. He knew French, Italian, and Spanish. He was preëminently a student of divinity and poetry. With the law and the medicine of his age he was well acquainted. In natural science he had read and observed; he turned often and hopefully to astrology and alchemy; he was a connoisseur in manners, dress, and the refinements of life. In short, his intellectual curiosity was unceasing, broad, and minute. He followed persistently his own precept,

> *To take all that is given; whether wealth,*
> *Or love, or language; nothing comes amisse.*

Yet this comprehensiveness was ever attended by its needful counterpoise, mental independence. Richard Burton, the author of the Anatomy of Melancholy, is the stock example of a man lost in

learning. He cannot write a page without quoting the opinions of many writers. He must lean, or he cannot walk. Herbert stands on his own feet, and seldom quotes. Whatever he utters is his own, wherever he may have found it. Gathering knowledge on every side, he so incorporates it into his own mind that its original sources are not easily discovered. What is not fit for such incorporation he rejects, not with scorn, — with respect oftentimes — yet with entire indifference. Although, as is shown in the next Essay, he was probably acquainted with most of the poetry of his time, his style gives no echo of any other poet except Donne, and of Donne he is no close imitator. The two strongest intellectual forces of that age were Lord Bacon and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Herbert was in the closest relations with them both, yet neither contributed anything to his mental structure. Since his intimacy with these two men well illustrates his mode of limiting himself and accepting only such intellectual influences as fit his special requirements, I will trace his relations with them somewhat in detail.

Baron Edward Herbert of Cherbury was George Herbert's eldest brother. To us he is chiefly notable for his posthumously published Autobiography, one of the most amusing accounts in our language of a roving ambassador, lover, duellist, and man of fashion, who in his most improbable escapades never loses his courage, vanity, or hold

on his reader's interest. He was a poet, among other things, and in An Ode upon a Question Moved Whether Love Should Continue Forever employed, perhaps for the first time, the stanza of In Memoriam; using it, too, to express the same class of emotions for which Rossetti and Tennyson afterwards judged it fit. A volume of his verse has been well edited by J. Churton Collins. He wrote also a history of Henry VIII, and of the English expedition to the Isle of Rhé. But his serious work was in religious philosophy. His De Veritate may be said to have founded English Deism; for in it he attempts to identify natural and revealed religion, to show that the truths which we usually trace to the Bible are of wider origin, are indeed involved innately in the human constitution. Man is by nature a religious animal. Now although Lord Herbert's book was printed in 1624, and probably written some years earlier, although it related to the very subject which chiefly engaged his brother, that brother never mentions it. It encountered a storm of indignation which George Herbert could have only partially approved, so similar are certain of his own beliefs. But neither its spirit nor method was his; and he let it entirely alone, as if he had never heard its name. I find no reference to it in his writings, either in the way of acceptance or aversion.

Herbert first met Lord Bacon in the King's company at Royston in 1620. I have already mentioned how in his capacity as Orator he wrote

Bacon several official letters, acknowledging the receipt of his book and soliciting his aid for the University. The friendship of the two men seems to have ripened rapidly. Walton says that "Bacon put such a value on his judgment that he usually desir'd his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed." And Archbishop Tennison writes that after some unsuccessful attempts by others to translate Bacon's Advancement of Learning into Latin, the version was performed by "Mr. Herbert and some others who were esteemed masters in the Roman Eloquence." What this work of translation was, Mr. Spedding has been unable to discover. That it was considerable appears from Bacon's words, when in 1625 he dedicated to Herbert A Translation of Certain Psalms into English Verse:

"The pains that it pleased you to take about some of my writings I cannot forget; which did put me in mind to dedicate to you this poor exercise of my sickness. Besides, it being my manner for dedications to choose those that I hold most fit for the argument, I thought that in respect of divinity and poesy met—whereof the one is the matter, the other the stile of this little writing—I could not make better choice; so with signification of my love and acknowledgment, I ever rest

"Your affectionate Friend,

"Fr. St. Albans."

Notwithstanding this personal friendship, Herbert remained totally uninfluenced by Bacon. That he had read Bacon's books, and clearly understood his place and importance, is evident from the three Latin poems addressed to him, besides the lines of lament for his death; but Herbert went on his own way, a way which he knew to be different from that of the great innovator, and did not allow himself to be turned aside.

Herbert's failure to connect with Bacon and Herbert of Cherbury brings out an important intellectual trait which might easily be mistaken for a lack of ideas. Fundamental ideas he certainly does lack. He is not a philosopher. He never concerns himself to search for basal principles. Bacon and Lord Herbert are questioners of the existing order, reformatory minds, who cannot rest in the world that is given them. They desire to probe it for principles through whose aid it may be brought to clearer knowledge. Herbert's mind was of an opposite type, the mind of the artist rather than that of the philosopher: the artist, who takes whatever material is given and out of it contrives forms of beauty. The application or development of ideas is his work, not the discovery of them. Some men are always challenging what they hear with the question, "Is it true?" I cannot imagine such an inquiry entering the mind of Herbert. There are others, however, and they are often men of force, who searchingly ask, "What

does it mean?" And this is everywhere Herbert's question. He draws out of all that is around him its richest significance. Accepting the world as he finds it, he studies what it contains which fits his need, and then constructs, often out of forbidding material, a beautiful intellectual lodging.

VII

THESE intellectual peculiarities must be borne in mind on coming to estimate Herbert's attitude toward divinity and the Church. In both he accepts all that is offered him; but he keeps his independence, his practical rationality, and is indisposed to fundamental questions. For philosophic theology he has neither aptitude nor interest. About the ultimate natures of God or man he does not concern himself. A few simple precepts, he tells us in DIVINITIE, are all the doctrines necessary for our guidance. There is usually a philistine tone in Herbert when fundamental problems press. But in harmonizing what is traditional with present needs and in making dead matter live, he is at his best, and often positively creative. The current religious notions of his time are accordingly all adopted without criticism; but all are rendered rational, humane, exquisitely fitted to men's requirements, and even to their delight and playfulness. Hell, for example, is accepted; but nothing is said of its torments. It means banishment

from God, perpetuity of evil. The name Satan does not occur in his poetry. The Devil is mentioned once, when we are told that *he hath some good in him, all agree.* Devils appear three or four times, most incidentally, except in the little poem SINNE, which is written to show how *devils are our sinnes in perspective.* Heaven is no place of idle reward, but the opportunity to know and serve Him who is now obscurely dear. Christ has made atonement for us; how, is not stated. No forensic explanation is allowed, but love alone triumphs in his death. Sin is self-assertion and alienation from God; salvation, union with Him and affectionate adoption of righteousness. The Trinity is adored; it renders God accessible on so many sides. And all through these accepted and transformed theologic notions runs a play of fancy, intimacy, passion, with subtle intellectual diversifications and artistic adjustments, until the total effect is not that of a mind bound by a traditional system, but of one freely finding its own singularly real and triumphant entrance into a divine order.

Just so he is devoted to his Church, and has rightly become one of its saints. Oley and Walton, with most of his subsequent biographers, have put him forward to exalt the glories of episcopacy and the abominations of dissent. And well would he be pleased to be employed in such a service; for he assailed the enemies of his Church in his youth, sang her ordinances throughout his life, elaborately

ministered them during his closing years, and left a hand-book explaining how they might be exercised with the utmost efficiency. Her doctrine and discipline he never questioned. It is no wonder, then, that he has usually been classed as an extreme High Churchman ; and that those who are episcopally-minded, but have only a slight acquaintance with his writings, accept him as the convincing prophet of their cause. Coleridge thought that "THE TEMPLE will always be read with fullest appreciation by those who share the poet's devotion to the Dear Mother whose praises he has undertaken to celebrate."

Yet enthusiastic students of Herbert are confined to no one communion. The majority of those I have happened to meet have been drawn from his old enemies, the Puritans and Presbyterians. Many Unitarian devotees I have known too, and several Agnostics. Catholics are more apt to find him distasteful. Herbert's extreme insistence on individual responsibility, and his inclination to set the soul in solitary communication with God, are rather Puritan than "Churchly." He was indeed a loyal follower of the English Church, but the grounds of his allegiance bring him within the sympathy of the Church Universal. In his day, and still more in ours, the English Church has found support among men of two contrasted types, — the obedient souls, who love subjection to authority, and are only at ease under the shelter of a com-

manded institution; and the free beings who find other sects narrow, and so turn to a historic ritual as the naturally selected and fit means by which the total spirit of man may piously express itself. Herbert, when closely questioned, declares himself one of the latter sort.

Bancroft, Laud, and other ecclesiastical leaders of Herbert's time held that a fixed form of both Church and State had been divinely established. Christ, it was believed, had in mind a single system of organization, doctrine, and ritual, to be set up in the world forever. This He intrusted to his Apostles. The Roman Church, by virtue of St. Peter's headship, claimed to be in possession of this system. The Anglican leaders claimed that it was theirs. The question was not primarily as to the truth of the doctrines held, or the fitness of the one Church or the other to minister best to spiritual life; it was one of historic fact: which Church did Christ have in mind? And this belief that Christ had authorized a particular ecclesiastical system found a readier acceptance because a similar belief in regard to the State was already in possession of men's minds. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, those who were disposed to regard institutions not so much as a means but as ends in themselves held unquestioningly to the twin beliefs of divine right in Church and State.

Another view, however, of the position of the Church of England after the Reformation was

that episcopacy was desirable on account of its reasonableness, its decency, its power of ministering to men's wants. Christ announced the principles which underlie every Church rather than the complete model of some particular one. This theory was set forth in its clearest and most profound form by Richard Hooker (1554–1600) in his Ecclesiastical Polity. Throughout his second and third Books Hooker maintains that law, whether in nature, in the mind and heart of man, or in the constitution of society, is as much a revelation of God as is the Bible. That which discerns and applies this widely revealed and revealing law is reason. Accordingly "the necessity of Polity and Regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all." As a matter of history, episcopacy has descended from the apostles, but it is not on that account to be considered an indispensable necessity of Church life. That form of government and ritual which bears within itself the marks of reasonableness, order, and edification is stamped thereby as ordained by Christ as truly as if there had been an express command of his for it. "Inasmuch as law doth stand upon reason, to allege reason serveth as well as to cite Scripture. . . . For men to be tied and led by authority as if it were a kind of captivity of the judgment, and though there be reason to the contrary not to listen unto it but to follow like beasts the first in the herd, they know

not nor care not whither, this were brutish. That authority of men should prevail with men either against or above reason is no part of our belief."

The opposing views here stated in regard to the divine origin of the Church continue to distinguish its loyal adherents in our day. We know the two parties as High Churchmen and Broad Churchmen. The one hold the Church to be divine because it embodies a command of Christ; the other, because of its adaptation to human needs. Through nearly all communions there runs a similar line of cleavage. The authoritative mind and the rationalizing mind are probably inherent in humanity itself. To which type did Herbert belong?

Judged by his devotion to the Church of England, by his hostility to her foes, and by his insistence on elaborate ritual, Herbert is a High Churchman; but there is no indication that he held the tenet distinctive of High Churchmanship, the belief that his ecclesiastical system had been designed and established by Christ. He never defends his position by maintaining for it an injunction of Christ or an Apostolic model. On the contrary, he employs tests much more verifiable.

> *Give to thy Mother what thou wouldst allow*
> *To ev'ry Corporation.*

In Chapter XIII of THE COUNTRY PARSON, where he explains how the church and altar should be arranged, he says that all this is done not *as out*

of necessity, or as putting a holiness in the things, but as desiring to keep the middle way between superstition and slovenlinesse, and as following the Apostle's two great and admirable Rules in things of this nature: The first whereof is, "Let all things be done decently and in order;" the second, "Let all things be done to edification." For these two rules . . . excellently score out the way, and fully and exactly contain, even in externall and indifferent things, what course is to be taken. To the same effect he speaks in his poem on THE BRITISH CHURCH, where he finds the justification of that Church to lie in the fact that she is *a mean* between the Roman and the Genevan, — neither *painted* like the former nor *undrest* like the latter. He never asserts that the Churches he opposes have departed from a primitive pattern, or that his own conforms to it. The decadence of the Roman Church, which he traces with much detail in THE CHURCH MILITANT, is found in its lapses into moral evil, and not in any alteration of prescribed usage. Marriage, he urges in THE CHURCH-PORCH (l. 19), is holy because man would have been obliged to institute it himself if God had not. Lent is commended because fasting is wholesome, beautiful to practise in company with others, in imitation of Christ, and as a part of a holy plan for the year. Nor can *authoritie, which should increase the obligation in us, make it lesse.* In baptism his Country Parson *willingly*

and cheerfully crosseth the child, and thinketh the Ceremony not onely innocent but reverend. In matters so uncertain as praying to the Saints, we should consider that *all worship is prerogative,* and not engage in it *where His pleasure no injunction layes.* He celebrated the Communion infrequently; *if not duly once a month, yet at least five or six times in the year* (THE COUNTRY PARSON, XXII). He, Ferrar, and Donne all used on occasion in their services prayers written by themselves, side by side with those taken from the Prayer Book.

On the whole, then, it is evident — as Walton alleges in his long explanation of Herbert's use of ritual — that he joyously accepted his Church's order through a conviction of its beauty and serviceability, and not because of its antiquity or its externally authoritative character. He regarded it as a means, not an end; a tool to be used, not a legal ordinance to be obeyed. He had no hesitation in shaping it this way or that, as occasion seemed to demand. That many of its parts were ancient might endear them, but was not the ground of their acceptance. A practice which could claim an express command of Christ, he welcomed for that reason. Practices not having such command, and which seemed not favorable to edification, he refused. Everywhere a lover of beauty and of subtle suggestion, he valued an elaborate ritual. *Nothing could seem too rich to*

clothe the sunne. An extreme Ritualist he might well be called; only that Ritualists rarely, like Herbert, base their ritual on grounds of beauty and serviceability. With them, as with High Churchmen, the moving principle is generally conformity to an ancient command. For Herbert the appeal was to an internal need.

VIII

THIS paper presents no picture of Herbert. We do not see him here as he walked among men. The many features to which I have separately called attention are not drawn together naturally into a whole. As was said at the beginning, Herbert is interesting through uniting in himself traits which are usually found opposed. More than in most men *his words and works and fashion too* are *all of a piece.* By psychologically detaching his conditions of body, temperament, intellect, and religion, I falsify him. To make him live, these must be put together again, and so all be brought into that ordered beauty which Herbert everywhere prized. But this singleness of the harmonized Herbert can be best read in his poems.

*

A page of the Bodleian Manuscript, showing the handwriting of a copyist. *See Vol. I, p. 176.*

Loue

Loue bad mee welcome yet my soule drew backe
Guilty of dust & sin.
But quick eyd Loue observing mee grow slacke
From my first entrance in,
Drew nearer to mee sweetly questioning,
If I lacked any thing.

A guest I answered, worthy to be here:
Loue said, you shall be he.
I the unkind, ungrateful? Ah my Deare
I cannot look on thee.
Loue took my hand & smiling did reply,
Who made the eyes but I?

Truth Lord, but I have marred them: Let my shame
Go, where it doth deserue.
And know you not sayes Loue, who bore the blame?
My Deare, I said, I will serue.
You must sit down sayes Loue, & taste my meat.
So I did sit & eat.

Finis.

III

THE TYPE OF RELIGIOUS POETRY

THE STYLE AND TECHNIQUE

I

IN his poem of PROVIDENCE, praising God for his wonderful world, Herbert says:

> *And as thy house is full, so I adore*
> *Thy curious art in marshalling thy goods.*

Herbert's own curious art we must now examine, and inquire how he marshals his poetic resources in constructing his stately meditations and religious love-lyrics. How does he build his line, his stanza, and the general plan of his poem? Moreover, how does it happen that he is so difficult to comprehend, and to what extent does he adopt the more extreme literary fashions of his time? These are problems which only slightly concern the general reader, and are of interest chiefly to the student of poetry. But Herbert himself was a student. To these matters he gave much thought. Those who like to think his thoughts after him will desire to accompany him to his workshop and to watch his manipulations there.

Rightly to observe him, we should keep in mind what he designs. It is an error to demand from all poets the same sort of excellence. Each has his own

gospel, and looks out upon life in some special way. That way we must comprehend, and for the moment make it our own, if we would obtain the enjoyment which each is fitted to furnish.

To Herbert poetry did not appeal primarily as a sensuous affair, rich in harmonious sounds and mental visualizations. So it had appealed to the idyllic Spenser and his followers, Giles Fletcher, William Browne, George Wither, and the young Milton. Herbert, it is true, was not unacquainted with *the sweet strains, the lullings and the relishes of it.* The joyous aspects of idealized nature moved him too, and he could on occasion coin a magic phrase; but this is not his proper work. He is but slightly romantic, receptive, and pleasing. He has turned his back on the Spenserians and follows the new realistic and intellectual school of Donne, men whose minds are in revolt against graceful conventionalities, and whose ears are tired of "linked sweetness long drawn out." What they seek is veracity, full individual experience, surprise, freshness of phrase, intellectual stimulus. At a moment's call their flexible wits turn in any direction, and enjoyment for them is measured by the abundance of the material their minds receive. The meagre, the dull, the usual, are their detestation. He who can turn up some new aspect of our many-sided world is their benefactor. The pleasure which an American takes in physical action, these vigorous creatures feel in action of

the mind. They love intellectual complication and difficulty, and turn to verse because more subtlety and suggestion can be packed into it than prose admits. We must not, then, demand that these poets, "as they sing, shall take the ravished soul and lap it in Elysium." That is just what they avoid. They are determined to keep the soul free, interested, and observant. Nor is it necessary to inquire whether their aims are the best. Poetry has many varieties. It is enough to know that one type of it can be had when all its agencies are studied with reference to aims as energetic as these. I hope to show that Herbert did so study it, and that he chose the appropriate means to reach his ends.

II

LET us first consider, then, the formation of his line; and under this heading I will include whatever relates to the foot employed, its regularity or variation, and its "enjambement," assonance, alliteration, rhyme. To effect his purposes the most familiar foot is the best. A movement of an unusual, swift, or melodious sort might distract attention from the thought, where all the pleasure is intended to be found. Feet of three syllables are accordingly discarded. There is no dactylic or anapaestic line in Herbert. And though half a dozen feet of this type are scattered through his

book, they come in cases where an elision occurs, e. g. *And much of Asia and Europe fast asleep,* or where a break in the rhythm makes the meaning more emphatic, e. g. *With noises confused frighting the day.* His working foot is the common iambic, two syllables with an accent on the second. In this rhythm all but eleven of his poems are written, these eleven being trochaic, i. e. two syllables with an accent on the first. THE INVITATION and THE BANQUET are his most ambitious poems in this kind, PRAISE his loveliest. Everywhere his rhythm is of extreme regularity. I know no other poet of his time so constantly exact. Jonson said of Donne that "for not keeping of accent he deserved hanging." Herbert does not follow his master in carelessness of rhythm. In all his verse I count only a dozen irregular lines; and most of these are due either to coalescence of vowels, or to the greater expressiveness thus given to the thought.

But though regular, his line is far from mechanical. He has a feeling for its texture, and is skilful in varying it. Now he shifts its pauses; now he employs the familiar substitution of a trochee for an iambus, especially in the first foot; now he clogs an unaccented syllable with many consonants or with long vowels; now stops the sense at the end of a line, or again runs it over into the next. Here is a well-managed stanza from THE FLOWER:

Who would have thought my shrivel'd heart
Could have recover'd greennesse? It was gone
Quite under ground, as flowers depart
To see their mother-root when they have blown;
Where they together
All the hard weather,
Dead to the world, keep house unknown.

The variety of pauses here, the many "substitutions," especially those of the last two lines, the frequent "running over" of the line, and the "clogging" by such syllables as *nesse*, *hard*, and *keep* well illustrate Herbert's skill in varying his rhythms. But he is seldom so swift in movement. By delaying his line he often brings out pensive emotion:

My feeble spirit, unable to look right,
Like a nipt blossome, hung
Discontented;

or still more commonly blocks its passage and renders it rugged in places where he wishes the thought to linger.

The question of "enjambement" has attracted much attention among scholars. In the poets immediately preceding Herbert it is an important verse-test. The proportion of "run-over" lines in Shakespeare, for example, has been found to be a convenient means of discriminating the later from the earlier plays. But in the poets of Herbert's generation this practice is so fully estab-

lished as to have lost its value as a verse-test. In parts of Webster and Massinger "enjambement" has gone so far that the normal line has almost disappeared. In this matter, as elsewhere, Herbert is sober. He uses about one "run-over" line to three "end-stopped" in his Cambridge poems; and somewhat more, though not so many as one to two, in those of the Bemerton time. The number of "light" and "weak" endings, never considerable, is rather less in the later poems than in the earlier.

In accordance with the largely intellectual cast of his verse, Herbert employs little vowel color. In BUSINESSE, the rhyme is carried throughout in *e* and *o*, both sounds being significant and effective. In HOME, nine of the thirteen stanzas have a rhyme in *a*. The sharp vowels *i* and *e* are favorites with him; and in poignant poems, like THE SEARCH, one suspects that they are intentionally employed. The broad calm vowels *a* and *o* do not so frequently suit his theme, though they dominate an occasional stanza.

Tempests are calm to thee. They know thy hand,
And hold it fast, as children do their father's,
Which crie and follow. Thou has made poore sand
Check the proud sea, ev'n when it swells and gathers.

But all this is elementary. I know no group of lines in Herbert of which we can certainly say, as we can of passages in Spenser or Tennyson, that

its vowel effects are an important part of the poetry. Keats speaks of the

> "Spenserian vowels that elope with ease,
> And float along like birds o'er summer seas."

None of this sort have taken refuge with Herbert.

Seldom, too, does Herbert strengthen a line with alliteration. We have in EASTER WINGS, *Then shall the fall further the flight in me;* in THE CHURCH-PORCH, *Bring not thy plough, thy plots, thy pleasures thither;* in TRINITIE-SUNDAY, *That I may runne, rise, rest in thee;* in THE GLANCE, the beautiful phrase, *His swing and sway;* and similarly in THE STORM, *Do flie and flow;* in FAITH he has changed an unalliterative reading of the Williams Manuscript into *Our flesh and frailtie, death and danger.* But how far are these occasional collocations from the splendors of Spenser! How strange in view of the alliterative exuberance of Southwell, Giles Fletcher, and other contemporaries with whom Herbert must have been familiar! While brief passages of Herbert yield felicitous sounds both of vowels and consonants, a good prose writer generally shows more sensuous feeling. In a poet so fond of music one suspects that this failure to appeal to the ear was not wholly due to dulness, but was part of a deliberate plan to push thought into the foreground and fix attention on harsh, intricate, and veritable experience.

Verses, ye are too fine a thing, too wise
For my rough sorrows. Cease, be dumbe and mute,
Give up your feet and running to mine eyes,
And keep your measures for some lover's lute,
Whose grief allows him musick and a ryme.
For mine excludes both measure, tune, and time.

In view of his intellectual aims, Herbert avoids, too, the long and melodious lines prized by his predecessors. The fourteen-syllabled line, the Alexandrine with its twelve syllables, played a great part in the musical Elizabethan verse; but there is no instance of either in Herbert. This is not because he makes two short lines out of what his predecessors might have written as a single long one. In the two instances where his added lines would make fourteen syllables, and in the other two where they would make twelve, each line has its independent life and its own rhyming word. His longest line is ten syllables, his shortest three, except in refrain. The frequent use of refrain might seem to conflict with his avoidance of the mellifluous; but I think he is attracted to it for the sake of its iteration of thought, and not for its value as sound. For driving home the dominant note of a poem it serves him admirably.

As regards rhyme, Herbert follows the practice of his age in making it a necessary factor, not an occasional adjunct, of verse. Heroic blank verse was first used by the Earl of Surrey for translating

the Aeneid, and was then shaped by Marlowe for dramatic dialogue. Its first considerable use for other purposes was in Milton's Paradise Lost. There is no instance of it in Herbert. Nor was he misled in another direction. Sidney, G. Harvey, Webbe, Puttenham, Fraunce, Campion, and others, mostly of the Pembroke connection, had been experimenting with hexameters and other delicate and rhymeless rhythms. They sought to introduce classical measures, and to attune the English ear, long accustomed to accentual stress, to a quantitative. Herbert does not follow them. His classical training, his love of refinement, his use of these measures in Latin verse, his disposition to experiment, all exposed him to the false fashion. But the themes with which he dealt were too serious, and the intellectual bent of his poems too distinct, to let him be turned toward dilettantism. Perhaps, too, he was protected by a certain indifference to the niceties of verbal sounds. Whatever the cause, he writes no unrhymed stanza.

Modern poets often content themselves with rhyming alternate lines, allowing the remainder to go unrhymed. Herbert, like most of his contemporaries, tolerates nothing so loose. To his mind, a poem is a thoroughgoing system of rhymes. Everything within it must have its echo. Two lines at the opening of JOSEPH'S COAT are the only pair left unrhymed in all his verse. So exceptional a case is, I suspect, due to an error of the copyist,

and I have proposed an emendation. In THE SIZE, too, where a line occurs with nothing to match it, Ernest Rhys and Dr. Grosart very properly believe that a line has dropped out, which they undertake to rewrite. Herbert often uses an unrhymed line as a refrain. By this means he increases the effect of the refrain as a disjointed cry. Occasionally, too, as strikingly in DENIALL, he conveys a sense of incompleteness and dissatisfaction by a final line left unrhymed. But absences of rhyme in refrain or abortive ending are not an abandonment of the rhyming principle. They presuppose it. If rhyme were not practically universal, such intentional omissions would be ineffective.

Yet while Herbert's rhyme is universal, it is rude and subordinate. Poets who rhyme largely usually care little for "perfect" rhymes. That is Herbert's case. He rhymes *friend* and *wind*, *feast* and *guest*, *Lord* and *stirr'd*, *mud* and *food*, *much* and *crouch*, *blisse* and *Paradise*, *wedding* and *reading*, *matter* and *water*, *creation* and *fashion*, *runnes thin* and *coming in*, *unhappinesse* and *sicknesses*, *traveller* and *manner*, *school-masters* and *messengers*. Such sounds serve well enough to mark an ending line, and are found on every page of his book. Stranger still to a modern ear is his use of identical rhyme,—*pleasure* and *displeasure*, *please* and *displease*, *does* and *undoes*, *hold thee* and *withold thee*, *write* and *right*, *lies* and *lyes*, *know* and *no*; while the words *art*, *hour*, *power*, *round*, are each repeatedly made

to rhyme with themselves. Rhymes like these were not unusual then; nor even, in the abundant rhyme employed, objectionable. Herbert has his favorite rhymes too. *Treasure* and *pleasure* occur eleven times; *glorie* and *storie* ten; and *one* and *alone* eight.

When we turn from his employment of single rhymes to his combination of them, the same rough method is apparent. It would be alien to his purpose to study effects of contrast or intensification through neighboring rhyme. In the following examples accidental similarity to associated rhymes lowers the worth of an entire group: *here, are, cleare, spare;* or in another four-lined stanza of the same poem (THE ROSE), *choose, oppose, refuse, rose.* In a five-lined stanza of OBEDIENCE he has *bleed, need, thee, agree, deed.* How the two sets of rhymes, which should be contrasted, jar in their similarity! In SION, two successive couplets have *things, wings, sing, king.* In JORDAN and AFFLICTION, six-lined poems, we have the following unpleasing combinations: *ascend, sense, friend, pretence, penn'd, expense;* and again, *ours, more, bowres, store, no, bow.* Of course instances occur where the chief sounds of a poem are not left to accident. I have already called attention to BUSINESSE and HOME. How pleasing, too, is the parallelism of the tenth and eleventh stanzas of THE SEARCH, where the repeated thought is accompanied by partial recurrence of the same rhyme!

This brief exhibit of Herbert's practice will sufficiently show that his rhyming is managed, as it should be, by his intellect and not by his ear. That each line be brought into correspondence with some other line is a part of his poetic plan, a plan not suggested by the sensuous demands of his nature, but accepted with much else from the customs of his time. Once accepted, it is worked with the energetic and resourceful ingenuity which characterize him everywhere. But we have seen how in all his rhythmic work mystery has no place. Mind and matter are kept distinct. Compact and trenchant thought is what he prizes, and from this nothing is allowed to draw off the reader's attention. Those concords of sweet sound which in the great poets are of equal moment with the rational meaning, and ever inseparable from it, are not for him. His lines do not cling in the ear like strains of music. We recall them gladly, but only for their crowded significance. He did not feel those wide and romantic suggestions which lend untraceable magic to Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, Shelley, and Tennyson. Such mysticism would have been incongruous with his purpose.

III

IN turning from the qualities of Herbert's line to consider those of his stanza, this should be noted: a poet was then expected to fashion his metre almost as much as his subject. Few standard measures were at hand. Poetry was for the most part plastic, and only to a small extent had it settled into fixed forms. In this there was both gain and loss. It encouraged originality, and left many paths open which are now closed; but from what was already done a poet could learn little about the carrying power of different metres. He must try his own experiments. The principal forms already tested were these: In iambic five-foot verse, couplets, alternate rhymes, and heroic blank verse; then the heroic quatrain, or four-lined stanza with alternate rhyme, used by Surrey in his lament for Wyatt, and most familiar to us in Gray's Elegy. A couplet added made a favorite six-lined stanza. Chaucer and Spenser had used effectively a stanza of seven lines, rhyming *a b a b b c c;* and Wyatt and Surrey had acclimatized the fourteen-lined sonnet, with two accredited rhyming systems. Spenser built up a gorgeous stanza of nine lines ending in an Alexandrine; and this line of six iambics was often used in alternation with one of seven to form "the poulter's measure." Couplets of seven iambics were common, as were those of four iambics used largely by Gower.

These latter were often grouped into stanzas of four lines with alternate rhyme, our long metre. In ballads, our common metre — four iambics followed by three — was of frequent occurrence. Beyond these few measures each poet was left pretty much to his own devices.

Of these dozen accepted forms Herbert employs but half. As has been said already, he has no blank verse, Alexandrines, nor lines of seven iambics. He does not use Chaucer's stanza, nor Spenser's. While he is fond of the sonnet, he confines himself either to the Shakespearian form or to one peculiar to himself, and never employs in a sonnet less than seven rhymes. The great sonneteers divide their sonnet into two parts, the octave and the sestette, to each of which they assign a different function: the octave describing a situation or stating facts whose significance is then drawn out in the sestette. Herbert's seventeen sonnets show no such inner logic. The majority of them do not even come to a full pause at the end of the octave, and their reflective or applicatory portion is usually contained in the last two or three lines.

Yet if he rejects so much, it is only that he may create the more. He invents for each lyrical situation exactly the rhythmic setting which befits it. How rich his invention is, and how flexibly responsive to the demands of distinguishable moods, may be seen in this: of his one hundred

and sixty-nine poems, one hundred and sixteen are written in metres which are not repeated. Two out of every three are unique. I may exhibit the same fact in greater detail by saying that while forty-one cases occur of four-lined iambic stanzas, these present twenty different types. Nineteen of the twenty are used but once; six of them twice; two three times; and only one as many as four times. The different effects are secured by varying the number of feet in a line, and by varying the rhyming scheme in all its three possible ways: *a a b b*, *a b a b*, and *a b b a*. Herbert's twenty-two poems written in five-lined iambics are also all unique. Of his eleven poems in trochaics, seven are unique and only two repeated. Such variety of practice is not exactly experimentation, for it does not result in fixing forms for subsequent use. But it strikingly exhibits the scope of his metric power and his delicate persistence in fitting form to thought. Each set of his emotions he clothes in individual garb; and only when what is beneath is similar is the same set of clothing used a second time. So characteristic a feature of Herbert's poetry is this ceaseless variety that it has seemed well to call attention to it in the notes. At each poem it is stated whether and where Herbert uses the metre again.

Herbert has no favorite stanza. One type only does he employ as many as five times. Yet perhaps his inclination to long stanzas, and to those

with widely spaced rhymes, deserves notice. He has forty-six varieties of six-lined stanza; four, of seven-lined; eight, of eight-lined; and five, of ten-lined. In JUSTICE, SEPULCHRE, AN OFFERING, and THE GLANCE, one of the rhymes jumps to the fourth line away; in COMPLAINING, SIGHS AND GRONES, and UNGRATEFULNESSE, to the fifth; and in THE COLLAR there are rhymes as wide as the seventh and even the tenth. THE COLLAR is his only irregular and stanzaless poem, but formlessness was essential there. Indeed, his sense of form is so insistent that sometimes a long succession of couplets or alternate rhymes wearies him; he craves some sort of pause and separation. THE CHURCH MILITANT and LOVE UNKNOWN are broken up into sections, almost like long stanzas, by the repetition of a line. The value of repetition he fully understands, and, besides the refrain, employs it in a multitude of covert forms.

IV

IN calling attention to Herbert's ability to shape a poem as a whole, we may claim for him a high degree of originality. Little had been done in this kind before. Our early lyric poetry is more remarkable for vividness than for form. Its writers feel keenly and speak daringly. By some means or other they usually succeed in stirring in their reader's heart feelings similar to their own. But

not often do they show that sense of order and coherence which is expected in every other species of Fine Art. Perhaps words are easier material than paint, stone, or sound, and lend themselves more readily to caprice. Of course without a certain sequence no lyric could picture a poet's feeling. Near the beginning the occasion of the feeling is announced; then follow its manifestations, and at the close it is usually connected in some way with action, resolve, or judgment. Such an emotional scheme is often unfolded with much delicacy and evenness in the songs of Campion, and in both the songs and sonnets of Sidney and Shakespeare.

But these are vague divisions, the second especially so. They do not alone give firmness of form. They make poetic writing rather than finished poems. Stirred by some passion, real or imaginary, the poet begins to write, pours forth his feeling until the supply or the reader is exhausted, and then stops. He has no predetermined beginning, middle, and end. *Part with part has* no *private amitie.* The place and amount of each portion is fixed by no plan of the whole, but rather by the waywardness of the writer. In most early lyrics, even the best, stanzas might be omitted, added, or transposed, without considerable damage. Each stands pretty much by itself. In the two stanzas of Ben Jonson's stirring song, "Drink to me only with thine eyes," neither is necessary to the other.

Those of his "Queen and huntress chaste and fair" might about as well have taken any other order. This is the more remarkable because into the drama Jonson carried form in much the same conscious way that Herbert carried it into lyric poetry. But if in the early lyrists the desire for closely knitted structure is slight, it is feebler still in the writers of reflective verse. These men wander wherever thought or a good phrase leads, and are rarely restrained by any compacted plan. In short, we read most of the early poetry for the sake of splendid bursts, vigorous stanzas, pithy lines. To obtain these, we willingly pass through much that is formless and uninteresting. Seldom do we get singleness of impression. Sidney in his Defence of Poesie complained of the poets of his day that "their matter is *quodlibet*, which they never marshall into any assured rank, so that the readers cannot tell where to put themselves." Until Herbert appeared, unity of structure was little regarded.

To such articulated structure Herbert devoted himself, and what he accomplished forms one of his two considerable contributions to English poetry. In his pages we see for the first time a great body of lyrics in which the matter and the form are at one. Impulsive and ardent though Herbert seems, he holds himself like a true artist responsive to his shaping theme. Not that he acquires power of this sort at once, or has it always. THE CHURCH-PORCH is loose, and in many of the

ecclesiastical poems of his Cambridge years, there is only such general structure as springs from announced theme, emotional development, and moral ending. But the demand for form is deep in him, and more and more he puts himself at its service. In something like a quarter of his work he attains a solidity of structure hitherto unknown. That his achievements in this field exercised little influence over his immediate successors is true, and surprising. But he set the most difficult of examples. Strong form is not catching. Only a man of energy and restraint is capable of it. Other qualities, too, of Herbert's style obscured his form. So rich is he in suggestion, so intellectually difficult, so tender in religious appeal, that attention is easily withdrawn from his structure and becomes fixed on details. Whatever the cause, the poets who follow him, and are most affected by his invention of the religious love-lyric, have small regard for his second invention, — structural plan. C. Harvey, Vaughan, Crashaw, Traherne, are conspicuously lacking in restraint. They do not appear to notice the artistic weaving of Herbert's verse, which has brought it through the rough usage of nearly three centuries; while their own often more brilliant work now lies largely neglected. Even to-day few think of Herbert as one of our pioneers in poetic structure.

Briefly to present the evidence for this solidity of form is not easy. The point to be proved is

not that Herbert exercised remarkable skill in building certain poems. Occasional fine structure was not unknown before. What Herbert did was to vindicate unity of design as a working factor of poetry. He showed how by its use much may be said in little. He made it plain that any theme, if fully and economically embodied, will not lack interest. It is therefore the frequency of his work in this kind which I wish to show. This I think I can do most effectively by dividing his one hundred and sixty-nine poems into four groups, according to the prevalence in them of the principle of form. There appear to be fifty-eight in which there is no wandering from a predetermined plan. But recognizing that judgments may differ on a matter so delicate, I print the list; throwing out, however, the seventeen sonnets, as a species of verse where form would more naturally be found; and also the half-dozen curiosities, like THE ALTAR and EASTER WINGS, whose form is usually supposed to be their all. The corrected list (1) is then the following: AARON, TO ALL ANGELS AND SAINTS, THE BRITISH CHURCH, BUSINESSE, CLASPING OF HANDS, OUR LIFE IS HID, DECAY, DENIALL, DIALOGUE, DOTAGE, FRAILTIE, THE GLANCE, HUMILITIE, A TRUE HYMNE, the second JORDAN, JUDGEMENT, LIFE, LOVE UNKNOWN, MAN'S MEDLEY, THE METHOD, MORTIFICATION, THE PEARL, THE PILGRIMAGE, the second PRAYER, THE PULLEY, THE QUIDDITIE, SINNES ROUND,

SUBMISSION, UNGRATEFULNESSE, THE WINDOWS, THE WORLD. I do not assert that these are Herbert's best poems. In many cases they are not. But let any one read ten of them, drawn at random, and he will be convinced that Herbert was the master of a method which had not been practised in English poetry before.

If we attempt to catalogue (4) those of his poems which are most lacking in form, I suppose they will be these: CHARMS AND KNOTS, THE CHURCH-PORCH, THE DISCHARGE, DIVINITIE, THE ELIXER, GRIEVE NOT, FAITH, HOME, LENT, LONGING, MAN, MISERIE, the third PRAISE, THE PRIESTHOOD, PROVIDENCE, THE SEARCH, SIGHS AND GRONES, SUNDAY, the first TEMPER, the first VANITIE. Yet how remarkable is the list! Though less completely formed than anything else in Herbert, these twenty poems are superior in structure to most of the verse of Herbert's day, or indeed of ours.

Between these extreme lists (1) and (4) I find two others, one (2) of sixty poems, in which there is an evident plan adhered to throughout, a plan, however, which lacks the rigidity of outline which marked list (1); and another (3) of thirty-four, in which, while unity has not disappeared, there are considerable digressions from the proposed theme. Examples of (2) are ASSURANCE, THE BAG, THE CHURCH MILITANT, THE CHURCH-FLOORE, CONSCIENCE, THE CROSSE, DULNESSE,

THE FAMILIE, THE FLOWER, THE FORERUNNERS, GIDDINESSE, GRATEFULNESSE, OBEDIENCE, THE ODOUR, PEACE, THE ROSE, THE SACRIFICE, THE SIZE, VERTUE, UNKINDNESSE, — all poems of admirable texture, and in most cases working out their purpose better than if they had been more severe. Examples of (3), where the form is more broken, are the AFFLICTIONS, THE BANQUET, THE CALL, CHURCH-RENTS AND SCHISMES, COMPLAINING, CONSTANCIE, CONTENT, THE GLIMPSE, GRACE, GRIEF, MATTENS, REPENTANCE, THE STORM. It will be noticed that these, which are less completely formed, are often designedly so either for the sake of expressing the incoherence of grief, or, in reflective poems, to afford ampler range for thought. The general result of our inquiry must be astonishment that in the beginning, when firm form was first discovered by our poetry as an important element of its power, it should have been introduced on such an extensive scale by a single writer.

But though whoever reads the poems of lists (1) and (2) will feel their solidity, it is well to examine the means by which such structural firmness is secured. One simple means distinguishes Herbert's work from that of most of his brother poets, — he knows when to stop. Each poem takes up a single mood, relation, or problem of divine love, and ends with its clear exposition. His poems are, accordingly, at once short and adequate. Only

four of them exceed one hundred and fifty lines. Ten are between fifty and a hundred; sixty, between twenty-five and fifty; and the remainder, nearly a hundred, are less than twenty-five. Such brevity is the more significant when we remember that Herbert is no epigrammatist, like Herrick, but is handling subjects of unusual range and profundity.

Three stanzas make one of his favorite lengths. The theme is announced in the first, and is then seen to divide; one of the divisions being treated in the second, the other in the third stanza. This plan is followed with more or less precision in two of the AFFLICTIONS, H. BAPTISME, THE CALL, CHURCH-LOCK AND KEY, CHURCH-MUSICK, CHURCH-RENTS AND SCHISMES, DOTAGE, FRAILTIE, THE GLANCE, the two JORDANS, JUDGEMENT, LIFE, LOVE, MARIE MAGDALENE, NATURE, THE POSIE, THE QUIDDITIE, SINNES ROUND, THE STORM, TRINITIE-SUNDAY, THE WINDOWS. At times, however, the opposing aspects of the subject are so evident that a stanza can be given to each without the need of introduction, an arrangement very satisfactory to Herbert's economical and antithetic soul. Examples are the second ANTIPHON, BITTER-SWEET, CLASPING OF HANDS, THE DAWNING, EASTER WINGS, THE FOIL, the first JUSTICE, the first SINNE, THE WATER-COURSE.

In a few instances narrative directs the order, as

in the great AFFLICTION, THE BAG, THE CHURCH MILITANT, HUMILITIE, LOVE UNKNOWN, THE PILGRIMAGE, PEACE, THE SACRIFICE. Here the plan permits looseness, and the poems are less shapely. When the time-order followed is of a more subtle kind, almost unobservedly accompanying the development of an inner mood, Herbert reaches his climax of easy and inevitable structure. Cases are ARTILLERIE, ASSURANCE, THE COLLAR, CONSCIENCE, THE CROSSE, DIALOGUE, THE FLOWER, GRATEFULNESSE, THE METHOD, MORTIFICATION, THE PRIESTHOOD, THE PULLEY, SION, THE STARRE.

Apart from solidity of general structure, Herbert is ingenious in making minor modifications of form bring out peculiarities of his subject. Baldly stated, these may appear artificial contrivances; but they appear so only because we do not at once notice that inherent union of subject and form which was in Herbert's mind. He will make everything meaningful, and altogether banish wilfulness. *Let me not think an action mine own way* is ever his artistic prayer. Accordingly he tries to supply every intellectual subtlety of his subject with its appropriate means of outward expression. Sometimes this is furthered by an adjustment of rhyme. In AARON and CLASPING OF HANDS, where each stanza is to present different aspects of a single thought, the stanzas have identical rhymes. In MAN, which is dedicated

to showing the range and variety of man's nature, almost every stanza has a different rhyming-system. By rhyming together the first and last lines of each long stanza of THE ODOUR, a curiously shut-in yet pervasive quality is given to that fragrant poem. And when it is desired to show how in the vicious circle of SINNE one step leads to another, the final line of each stanza becomes the first of the next, and the closing line of the poem is identical with the beginning. I have already noticed the broken rhymes of DENIALL, which accord so beautifully with the inner failure of the poem; and perhaps I should mention the successive pruning of the rhymes in PARADISE, and the triplicity of everything in TRINITIE-SUNDAY.

But Herbert has a final group of poems which have done much to alienate from him the sympathy of modern readers, though they commended him to his own generation. They are poems whose eccentricity of form seems to have no inner justification. Of course we know that every species of elaborate artificiality was then in fashion. Embroidery pleased. Probably Herbert himself did on occasion enjoy a ruffled shirt. I will not attempt fully to defend him. I merely say the number of such poems is small. I count but nine: THE ALTAR, AN ANAGRAM, EASTER WINGS, HEAVEN, HOPE, JESU, LOVE-JOY, OUR LIFE IS HID, A WREATH. And are these all artificial? I am willing to throw over AN ANAGRAM, HEAVEN, and

JESU, as badly marked with the time-spirit. But I maintain that the others are at worst pretty play, while often their strange forms are closely connected with their passionate matter. One who was ever accustomed to let significance dictate structure has here certainly pushed his principle to a fantastic extreme. Our feeling does not easily accompany his. But this is largely due to dulness. We let ourselves be repelled by outward strangeness, and do not notice how in most of these cases Herbert has made his start from within. In the notes I have endeavored to show that many of these are veritable poems, which could not be more appropriately fashioned. Let any one study sympathetically HOPE, PARADISE, A WREATH, EASTER WINGS, LOVE-JOY, and he will discover how exquisite poetry can be when most remote from present habits of thought.

V

ONE striking peculiarity of Herbert's style remains to be considered, its obscurity. To this his antique diction is often thought to contribute, and no doubt modern readers do find some of Herbert's words unfamiliar. He lived three hundred years ago. Words, it is true, are strangely durable, more so than the everlasting hills; but a series of centuries has its effect in superseding some and transforming others. Her-

bert's language has worn remarkably well. He had an instinct for the firm, clear, well-rooted, and richly significant words, and no inclination like Spenser or Browning for words of an antique, fanciful, local, or half-built sort. His diction, therefore, belongs in general to no special age. Less than fifty of his words would appear strange in a book of to-day. But of these fifty something like half are altogether dead, and when met with in his pages convey to an ordinary reader no meaning whatever. Such words are these: *bandie, behither, eyens, demain, glozing, handsell, imp, indear, ingross, jag, licorous, lidger, optick, perspective, pomander, quidditie, quip, rheume, sconse, snudge, sommers, stour, vizard.* Yet these, after all, occasion little practical difficulty. They occur only once or twice, and are then easily explainable. More trouble is likely to arise from a second small group of misleading words, i. e. familiar and frequent words used by Herbert in senses which differ in some particular from those current to-day; e. g. *complexion* with him=disposition or temperament; *consort*=concert; *his* often=its; *move* often=propose, request; *neat*=refined, subtle; *owe* often=own; *pretend*=seek to obtain; *sphere* often=rather the heaven than the earth, i. e., the concave inclosure of the universe assumed in the Ptolemaic astronomy; *stay* often =be absent; *store*=abundance; *storie*=history; *still*=always; *sweet* usually=sweet-smelling; *then*

often = than ; *thrall* = bondage ; *whenas* = while. Through these deceptive words a modern reader is likely enough to miss Herbert's meaning. When several of them occur together, they may altogether destroy the understanding of a line; e. g. line 53 of PROVIDENCE: *Nothing ingendred doth prevent his meat.* He will often miss the rhyme too, unless he remembers that the Irish pronunciation of English is much nearer to Herbert's than is our own. For example, in a stanza of CONSTANCIE, lines 2, 3, and 5 rhyme:

Whom none can work or wooe
To use in any thing a trick or sleight,
For above all things he abhorres deceit.
His words and works and fashion too
All of a piece, and all are cleare and straight.

But when it appears that time has damaged his words but slightly, and that he more than any of his predecessors or contemporaries studied the sequence of his thought and avoided caprice, Herbert's prevailing obscurity becomes the more puzzling. What can have made a writer whose diction is on the whole sound, and who is ever alert, artistic, and highly rational, so difficult to read? For difficult he is. No other English poet, not even Donne or Browning, gives his reader such frequent pause. Nearness of acquaintance does not remove the intricacy. It is perpetual. Or if at times poems like THE ELIXER, GRATEFULNESSE,

THE METHOD, SUBMISSION, the second TEMPER, UNKINDNESSE, show that he might have been as simple in verse as he regularly is in prose, the moment's lucidity merely makes the prevailing darkness deeper. A trait of style so marked in a man of unmistakable power is apt to be connected with his genius. What at first appears a surface blemish, — and a strange one, — traced intimately, runs down to the sources of strength. I believe the intricacy of Herbert is not a matter to be denied, ignored, or condoned, but to be studied, sympathized with, loved. It has been induced by what is most distinctive of him. This jangled utterance is his true tone. He could not have spoken so well if he had spoken more clearly.

A considerable cause of both the obscurity and the value of Herbert's verse is to be found in its private character. None of his English poems received public criticism. That they were written with a purpose of ultimate publication appears in the direct appeals to a reader in THE DEDICATION, THE CHURCH-PORCH, SUPERLIMINARE, THE ROSE, and perhaps THE CHURCH-FLOORE. The corrections made during the time between the Williams Manuscript and the Bodleian point in the same direction, as do the many references to his art which are scattered throughout his book. The kind of private circulation which his poems obtained is shown by the Williams Manuscript itself. They were handed about among his friends. But a writer's mental

attitude is of one kind when he is directly preparing matter for the press; it is widely different when year after year he goes on analyzing his inner life, with only a general notion that perhaps some day the public may be informed. In the first case, the expected judgment of readers is sure to be a weighty influence, steadily constraining toward intelligibility. In the second, a writer is left very much to himself. Individuality of diction, accuracy and fulness of record, now become the qualities sought. What makes for display and for swift solicitation of other minds is neglected. Notable examples of private verse are Shakespeare's Sonnets and Mrs. Browning's Sonnets from the Portuguese. Every one will see that these would have been written differently if designed immediately for the public eye. In such poems we have the advantage that the writers

> *Admit us to their bed-chamber, before*
> *They appeare trim and drest*
> *To ordinarie suitours at the doore.*

Yet for such intimate disclosures we pay heavily. We are left to find our own way to the right point of view. Connections of thought which existed in the poet's mind are not worked out. If we do not at once catch his mood, all is blind. Transitions and allusions are abrupt, not calculated with a view to our comprehension. And such is the poetry of Herbert, precious in its very obscurity. We hear

its writer thinking. These verses were written for himself, and require imagination on our part. We must know where to stand, and observe. In one mood all will be clear which in another was hopelessly tangled. Such imaginative difficulties will be eased by the arrangement of the poems here adopted, and by the brief statement of the Subject prefixed to each.

Perhaps, too, in this connection the strangeness of Herbert's titles is partially explainable. If he had prepared his book for the press, he would not have been likely to give to five poems the same title, AFFLICTION. And what does ARTILLERIE mean, or THE BUNCH OF GRAPES, CHURCH-LOCK AND KEY, CLASPING OF HANDS, THE COLLAR, THE DISCHARGE, DOTAGE, THE ELIXER, GIDDINESSE, THE GLANCE, JOSEPH'S COAT, MAN'S MEDLEY, MORTIFICATION, THE PULLEY, THE QUIDDITIE, THE QUIP, THE SIZE, THE WINDOWS? These titles convey little information. To understand them one must read the poem of which they form an integral part. With its emotion they are filled, and from it they derive their significance. When the poem is read, and one has come into sympathy with it, how fully and with what originality they epitomize it! Here, as ever, Herbert demands his reader's patience and imagination, himself doing little to smooth the path of approach. For gaining a hearing, this is an error; but it is one to which a solitary soul is liable, and

one which, revealing that soul more fully, increases the permanent worth of the utterance.

But a second sort of intricacy in Herbert's verse publicity could not have cured. It is inherent in his theme, for his is a poetry of struggle. It deals with clashing desires. Herbert himself called it *a picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul.* For such conflict the general reader is unfortunately not prepared. The epithet "Holy" early became attached to Herbert's name. Vaughan uses it in his Preface to Silex Scintillans, and again in his poem The Match. Oley adopts it in his second Preface to THE COUNTRY PARSON, as does Walton in the fifth chapter of The Complete Angler. It thus became established; but a more misleading epithet could not have been devised. The thoughts which it suggests hide Herbert from our view. By a holy man we mean a whole man, i. e. one for whom the partition between divine and human things has been broken down. He is one in whom the pain of obedience is ended, and whose feelings and acts now naturally accord with God's. The mystics are of this holy, monistic type: Crashaw, Traherne, Madame Guyon. Herbert is steadily dualistic. For him there is ever a contrast between God's ways and man's, and his problem is how to bring the two together without undue loss to either. To the last he never settles the question. God's law has worth, but so have his own desires, his own ambitions.

His stuffe is flesh, not brasse; his senses live,
And grumble oft that they have more in him
Then he that curbs them.

He always remains

A wonder tortur'd in the space
Betwixt this world and that of grace.

The story of the clash within his own breast of these mighty opposites is too real and typically human to be told with smoothness. Smoothness and ease of comprehension characterize the poets of the eighteenth century, men far more artificial than the men of the seventeenth. Indeed, I believe it will be found that the most lucid periods of our language are the least sincere, and that writers peculiarly intricate are often at the same time peculiarly sweet, tender, and veracious. What startling insights into reality has Donne! And how inevitably we distrust the lucidity of Pope! These metaphysical poets often seem artificial because they observe profoundly and speak individually.

Yet privacy and lack of inner harmony were only subordinate causes of Herbert's obscurity. Its fundamental ground lies in the mental exuberance of his age, to which I alluded at the beginning of this essay. The joy in eventful living which marks the age of Elizabeth did not pass away with her. It remained, though in a changed field. The soul of man took the place of the outer world, while the old delight in daring and

difficult deeds appeared in this new sphere as a kind of intellectual audacity and an ardent exploration of mental enigmas. To how many strange theories did the England of the first half of the seventeenth century give rise! To exploit a new doctrine became more exciting than a voyage to the Spanish Main. Play is pleasure in one's own exertions. Accordingly, ages and individuals that have not lost the heart of boyhood always enjoy obstacles. Herbert certainly did, only that his exceptional artistic restraint enabled him to refine and ennoble the extravagances of this temper. For system-building and the labors of the theologian he did not care. But with equal energy as a poet he threw himself into expressing complex human passions and the deep realities of his own life. Ingenuity he enjoyed. Anything like "smoothness" would have been thought by him and all his friends to defraud them of one of their chief pleasures:

He who craves all the minde,
And all the soul, and strength, and time,
If the words onely ryme,
Justly complains that somewhat is behinde
To make his verse, or write a hymne in kinde.

A frequent form in which this enjoyment of difficulty manifests itself is condensation. To put as much meaning as possible into a given compass is a difficult feat. He is the master who can force words to carry a little more significance than is

their wont. In this Herbert was peculiarly skilful. His compactness has seldom been equalled. It was one of the chief reasons for the popularity of his book with the generation which followed him, and one of the chief sources of the obscurity which is felt by his readers to-day. Herbert loved proverbs, his own or those of others. He formed an extensive collection of them, published after his death under the title of JACULA PRUDENTUM. To his mind sententiousness was ever honorable. But taste has changed. We like our mental nutriment more loosely mixed. Even to his contemporaries Herbert seemed hard in the grain. What Walton makes him say of his body is equally true of his style: *He had too thoughtful a Wit, a Wit like a penknife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body.*

Herbert's style, then, is difficult because of the compact abundance of his thought, because in it we hear the jarring of moods only half harmonized, because it has not been studied with immediate reference to the public eye, and because of historic changes in our language. But such defects are virtues, too. Calling on a reader, though they do, for a large amount of study, for time and sympathetic attention, they reward him with the disclosure of a rich, pathetic, and individual personality. In Herbert's most intricate obscurity there is no carelessness or clumsiness, no vagueness or wilfulness. Undoubtedly he does occasionally exhibit violence

and bad taste. But I believe that, tried by the standard which had then been reached, he has exceptional restraint of style. The last section of this paper shall be devoted to the negative task of showing how his artistic sense saved him from the worst enormities of his unlicensed age. Let us see what Herbert did not do.

VI

I HAVE already remarked how, during the first half of the seventeenth century, language and its accompanying refinements of thought were studied by the Western nations as they never had been studied before. Following the increase of comfort and splendor in the appointments of daily life came the desire for elegance of speech. The great creative periods, too, of literature were drawing to a close, and the decadent tendency to magnify the literary instrument was asserting itself. Under many forms this tendency appeared. It sprang up in England just before Herbert's birth as Euphuism; during his life it ravaged Italy as Marinism; six years before his death Gongora died, who set the fashion in Spain; and shortly after his death it appeared in France as Préciosité. Each time and country shows its own variety of the common movement, but all alike aim at fashioning a literary language which shall be removed from that of the vulgar. Poetry fosters

such aims. No poet except Wordsworth was ever willing to call a spade a spade, though most poets avoid the worse vulgarity of calling it an agricultural implement. These men did not. Even the greatest of them inflates his phrase. Milton talks of hens as "tame villatic fowl" (Samson Agonistes, l. 1695). In a sophisticated time paraphrases, antitheses, inversions, paradoxes, — every form of language is welcome which puts a gulf between the common man and the man of culture. These linguistic exquisites are in love with the unexpected.

Now it would be manifestly absurd to censure in all its forms this inclination to intellectual and verbal nicety. Provided it yields an adequate return for thinking, a poem which makes us think is none the worse on that account. Our fathers judged it better. Later, as the liking for mental exertion declined, a term of abuse was invented which has ever since lent aid and comfort to thoughtless attacks upon thought. A poet who packs his phrase is said to be full of "conceits." That is the word. I have sought far and wide for a definition of it, but can find nothing precise. Perhaps it is incapable of precise definition, a kind of word of degrees, meaning merely that the writer is more ingenious than his critic likes, and that he sees in his subject wider relations than altogether suit modern taste. But there are base conceits and noble ones. By the base I mean

those where ingenuity is sought for its own sake. These disregard the feeling which should run deep and formative throughout a poem. They draw attention from the whole and fix it on the parts, the writer meanwhile obtruding himself at the expense of his subject. These faults are most manifest in illustrations. Without the ever-present words "as" and "like," a poet cannot proceed; for it is his business not so much directly to describe as to let us see into the heart of things, and there discover the feelings which agitate his breast. But a poet who is in pursuit of novelty, and is pleased with intellectual play, is in danger of tracing similarities so remote or superficial that they part company with what should be illustrated; and these are base conceits.

But there are noble ones, too. A mind aglow with meditative feeling finds its mood reflected from every object that meets its sight or remembrance. Emotional association has a wonderful power of transforming small things to great, remote to near, things rarely thought of to luminous expositors of the customary. Just in proportion to a poet's power will be his readiness for such wide-ranging insight. An unimpassioned reader, who has not brought himself into full sympathy with the emotion described, may judge much to be artificial which is in reality tenderly exact. A passage of pregnant unusualness, whose full import cannot be caught at once, is easily denounced

as a conceit. I would not defend the substitution of puzzles for poetry; but the test for a conceit is, after all, simple. Does it by thought exclude feeling, or does it through thought embody feeling in some new, individual, and subtle way?

That Herbert occasionally indulges in conceits of the baser sort — mental escapades, unprompted by emotion — is undeniable. So did every poet from Shakespeare to Dryden, with the possible exception of Herrick. Herbert's master, Donne, has half a dozen to every page. Quarles has as many. Crashaw systematizes them. He writes a poem to the weeping Magdalen, in each of whose thirty-three stanzas her tears are contemplated from some fresh angle. John Cleveland, of whose poems five editions were published in 1647, thus laments Edward King, Milton's Lycidas:

"In thee Neptune hath got an University.
We'll dive no more for pearls; the hope to see
Thy sacred reliques of mortality
Shall welcome storms and make the seaman prize
His shipwreck now more than his merchandize."

In his poem of EASTER Herbert himself writes:

Awake, my lute, and struggle for thy part
With all thy art;
The crosse taught all wood to resound his name
Who bore the same;
His streched sinews taught all strings what key
Is best to celebrate this most high day.

Another Herbertian example, and one quite in the spirit of Crashaw, is from MARIE MAGDALENE:

When blessed Marie wip'd her Saviour's feet,
(Whose precepts she had trampled on before,)
And wore them for a jewell on her head,
Shewing his steps should be the street
Wherein she thenceforth evermore
With pensive humblenesse would live and tread.

And one more I take from THE SACRIFICE:

Behold, they spit on me in scornfull wise
Who by my spittle gave the blinde man eies,
Leaving his blindnesse to mine enemies.

These are pretty bad. The thought is certainly forced. But it would be a mistake to suppose such cases common. In general, Herbert's artistic sense saves him. He is too much interested in welding together form and matter to allow such vagaries. And on reflection these may seem examples not so much of conceits as of bad taste,—a frequent fault with Herbert, and one due in part to what I have called the privacy of his composition. Abstracting attention from this, we may detect even in these extravagant lines brooding feeling. The emotional sequence is not untrue. In the worst sort of conceits it is. When Laërtes first hears of Ophelia's drowning, Shakespeare makes him say:

"Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,
And therefore I forbid my tears."

Of course we know that no such words ever came from the lips of a loving brother. Herbert is incapable of such perversity. He never quite departs from truth of feeling. In the instances cited, it is not impossible to feel that all subsequent wood sympathizes with the wood of the cross; or to imagine that the hostile spittle of his foes recalls to Jesus his pity for the blind. Even the notorious couplet of THE DAWNING,

Christ left his grave-clothes that we might, when grief
Draws tears or bloud, not want an handkerchief,

is not untrue or really capricious. Christ's grave-clothes are not mentioned as picturesque pieces of accidental linen. They have in Herbert's mind an essentially healing connection with our griefs.

Seldom, however, does Herbert venture into these perilous regions, familiar as they are to most of his contemporaries. What are called his conceits are usually cases of condensed imagination. They need no apology. On the contrary, they show a restraint and coherence of mood which were exceptional three hundred years ago. The following stanza from EMPLOYMENT well illustrates their method, their difficulties, and the grounds for admiration which careful reading discloses:

Man is no starre, but a quick coal
Of mortall fire;

Who blows it not, nor doth controll
A faint desire,
Lets his own ashes choke his soul.

Here we have the frequent trouble of words whose ancient sense has changed, *quick* formerly meaning *living*, and *faint*, *fainting*. But when it is clear what the words mean, how fresh and subtle is the figure! The powers of man are not fixed and permanent like those of the star; but, tending of themselves to decay, perpetually need rekindling. Or take the last stanza of SION:

And truly brasse and stones are heavie things,
Tombes for the dead, not temples fit for thee.
But grones are quick and full of wings,
And all their motions upward be.
And ever as they mount, like larks they sing.
The note is sad, yet musick for a king.

How permeated by a single feeling are all these well-considered phrases! Or take from LONGING an example which shall indicate Herbert's compactness as well:

From thee all pitie flows.
Mothers are kinde because thou art,
And dost dispose
To them a part.
Their infants them, and they suck thee
More free.

I do not deny that everywhere in Herbert there is

intellectual effort, and that he demands a corresponding effort on his reader's part. That was the enjoyment of his age, and might well be more largely our own. *As flames do work and winde when they ascend, so does he weave himself into the sense.* But I believe that whoever scrutinizes carefully will agree that to an extent unusual in his time Herbert maintains the character of a poet and refuses that of a "wit." His weaving is not executed for elegance or display, but is a subtle tracing of religious passion in words which, though compact with thought and sometimes too forceful, are plain, veracious, and of highly individual quality.

Nor is Herbert's sobriety notable merely in the matter of conceits. It extends to other literary extravagances then in vogue. There is no acrostic among his poems, and but a single emblem poem, — one of exceeding beauty. He has but one anagram. At a time when poets prided themselves on puns, he uses few, and none of them jocosely. Verbal relationships arouse his curiosity, but never stir his mirth. The following is, I believe, a complete list: *dispark* and *sparkling* in THE FORERUNNERS; *do thee right* (write) in PROVIDENCE; *heaven* and *haven* in THE SIZE; *holy* and *wholly* in HEAVEN; *I ease you* in JESU; *raise* and *race* in THE TEMPER and THE SACRIFICE; *rest* and *restlessness* in THE PULLEY; *strokes* and *stroking* in THE THANKSGIVING; *sonne* and *sunne* several

times repeated and once discussed at length. Until within the last two hundred years, few writers of our language have abused it so little.

There is a similar abstinence in classical allusions. According to the taste of that day a poet was expected continually to refer to the gods and history of ancient Greece and Rome. Milton does so, as much when he deals with sacred subjects as with secular. Herbert's Latin poems, his Latin letters and orations, abound in such allusions. In the whole TEMPLE I find only these few instances: in ARTILLERIE the music of the spheres is mentioned; in DISCIPLINE Love's bow; in DIVINITIE the Gordian knot; in HOME the apple may be thought of as the lover's fruit; in THE INVITATION the dove appears as the bird of love; in THE PEARL there is mention of a labyrinth and a clue; in THANKSGIVING Ovid's Art of Love may be referred to; in THE SONNE possibly Plato's torch-race is hinted; and in TIME possibly Homer's picture of the Guide-god Hermes. Several of these are decidedly questionable; but even if all are admitted, how astonishing small is the list! What sobriety and harmonious taste appears in the almost complete refusal on Herbert's part to conform to an incongruous literary fashion which his education peculiarly fitted him gracefully to accept!

On the whole, then, we may say that Herbert chooses wise means for reaching his special ends. He is the first of our lyric poets who can fairly

be called a conscious artist: the first who systematically tries to shape each of his short poems by a predetermined plan, and that, too, a plan involved in the nature of his subject. He is the first who tries to cut off the extravagances of an over-luxuriant age. That he did not fully succeed is evident. He was a pioneer. He was working in private, on themes expressive of conflict, while knowing very fully and sharing to a large degree the ideals of his contemporaries. But he was in possession of a new method, and one of enormous importance. That he was able to apply it so widely is one of his two great achievements.

Latin poems from the Williams Manuscript in Herbert's own hand
See Vol I. p. 179, and compare with the handwriting of Vol III, p. 6 and 64.

In spatum Xti Amicia

O barbaros! sic os expendistis sanctum
Visum quod vni prebet omnibus vitam
Sputando, pedicando! sic Aquas vitæ
Contaminatis, alveosq; cælestes
Sputando, blasphemando! numpi nè hoc fiat
In posterum, maledicta Ficus, arescens
Cùm tota fisti, atq; vtinq; plicteris
Parabi situlas Ethnici, lagenasq;
Graves lagenas, Victor est Aquæ-ductus.

In Coronam spineam

Christe dolor tibi supplicio mihi blanda voluptas
Tu spinâ miseris pungeris, ipse Rosâ.
Spicula mutemus capiti? Tu sexta Rosarum
Qui Caput es, spinas Xti tua Membra tues.

V

THE TEXT AND ORDER OF POEMS

THE TEXT AND ORDER OF POEMS

NONE of the English poems of Herbert were printed during his life. All have been transmitted to us through an intermediary. Who this intermediary was, what were his character and competence, and what the circumstances attending his peculiar charge, must first be made clear before the grave textual problems of Herbert's little volume can be understood.

I

ABOUT a month before Herbert's death, his friend, Nicholas Ferrar, sent a messenger to Bemerton to obtain an account of his condition. Herbert was already weak and lying on a couch. At the messenger's departure, says Walton, "Mr. Herbert with a thoughtful and contented look said to him, *Sir, I pray deliver this little Book to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus, my Master. Desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor Soul, let it be made publick. If not, let him burn it; for*

I and it are less than the least of God's mercies. Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent Book, which now bears the name of THE TEMPLE: OR SACRED POEMS AND PRIVATE EJACULATIONS, of which Mr. Ferrar would say that it would enrich the World with pleasure and piety. And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first Impression;" i. e. in less than forty years.

Nicholas Ferrar, to whom Herbert thus entrusted the fortunes of his verse, was born in the same year as Herbert and Walton, and was the son of a wealthy London merchant. He took his Bachelor's degree at Cambridge two years before Herbert, travelled on the Continent, acquired much skill in language and literature, succeeded his father as Deputy Manager of the Virginia Company, was for a year a member of Parliament, preferred celibacy to a brilliant marriage, and in 1625 withdrew from the world, establishing himself, his aged mother, his brother, his sister and her eighteen children, on a large estate which he purchased at Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire. On account of its extreme conventual regimen, this place soon acquired the name of The Protestant Nunnery. Each member of the household had a fixed assignment of work and worship. Religion, study, music, and handicraft filled every hour of the day, and a considerable portion of the night. Apart from prayer, book-binding was the

favorite occupation. Several "Concordances," or Harmonies of the Gospels and of Jewish history, made at Gidding and bound in sumptuous style, have survived to our time.

The temper of Ferrar — at once a religious devotee and a strong man of affairs, who sought in an original fashion to establish a little Heaven upon earth where he and his might dwell in peace, order, and beauty — was singularly congenial to Herbert. He himself, it is true, had little of Ferrar's ascetic disposition. He did not practise fasts and vigils. But he admired Ferrar's devotion to God and his own soul, he felt the sanity of mind which Ferrar preserved through all his pious exercises, and he understood the business ability which made that daring experimental life successful. Like Herbert, too, Ferrar had become a deacon, but still withheld himself from priest's orders. During the last seven years of Herbert's life, Ferrar and he were close friends, — friends indeed more of heart and mind than of outward intercourse. Oley says that the two "saw not each other in many years, I think scarce ever, but as Members of one Universitie." Walton writes that "this holy friendship was long maintain'd without any interview, but only by loving and endearing Letters." That the friendship was quite so impalpable as these statements assert is unlikely. Herbert and Ferrar had been fellow students at the University, where Herbert remained when

Ferrar settled at Gidding, less than twenty miles away. The year following that settlement, Herbert became a Prebendary of Leighton, about five miles from Ferrar's door, and for the rebuilding of its church raised among his friends a fund of £2000. To this fund Ferrar was a contributor. Herbert repeatedly begged Ferrar to relieve him of the prebend; but, true to his plan of retirement, he refused, though he promised to oversee the work of reconstruction. Herbert may never have visited the church for which he labored seven years and which he also remembered in his will. No visit is recorded. But such persistent absenteeism is difficult to believe, especially during the years before the Bemerton priesthood. Probably during the Leighton period meetings did occur and the real intimacy of the two men became established, letters and the exchange of literary products keeping the friendship warm during the isolation of Bemerton. Five months before his death Herbert annotated Ferrar's translation of Valdesso's Divine Considerations, and in his last illness prayers for him were said at Gidding. When the poems, long circulated in manuscript, finally sought the press, no sponsor of more sympathetic temper, or of finer or firmer judgment, could be found than Nicholas Ferrar.

Ferrar acted promptly, applying at once for a license. But a curious delay occurred. The official censor, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, was

unwilling to sanction these lines of THE CHURCH MILITANT:

> *Religion stands on tip-toe in our land*
> *Readie to passe to the American strand.*

Ferrar, however, refused to alter anything that Herbert had written, and finally obtained the required license. The book was issued soon after Herbert's death in 1633, a few copies being printed without date, and was so successful that a second edition appeared in the same year. To the sixth edition, that of 1641, Harvey's Synagogue was unhappily added. Corruptions of the perplexing text crept in early and continued long. It was not until 1874 that critical revision of the text can be said to have begun.

II

FOR fixing a text, three original sources are available. First and most authoritative is Ferrar's edition. I shall refer to this as the edition of 1633. Wherever this gives sense, even inferior sense, I follow it. Ferrar had Herbert's latest manuscript, he had literary perception, and that he had a literary conscience is shown by his stern treatment of the censor's objections. The book is a piece of careful printing. Departure from its text requires large justification.

But there is a second authoritative source, so

tending to corroborate the first as to be almost one with it. In the Bodleian Library at Oxford is a manuscript (Tanner Manuscript, 307) which was apparently at one time in the possession of Archbishop Sancroft (1617–1693). On the title-page is written in his hand, "The Original of Mr. George Herbert's Temple, as it was at first licenced for the presse. W. Sancroft." The title-page bears also the signature of B. Lany, the Vice-Chancellor, and of four other persons, presumably the judges to whom the book was submitted. That it is the "little Book" brought by Ferrar's messenger has been thought improbable both on account of its folio size and because it is too clean to have passed through the printer's hands. But I cannot count these objections formidable. Just how clean printers' hands at that time were, we do not know; and a pretty adjective used by so picturesque a writer as Walton is not a matter to pin one's faith to. The word "little" may well have been used to indicate the small number of poems which the book contained, only one hundred and sixty-nine. It may have been equivalent to "brief," and have had no reference to the size of the volume's sheets. The five signatures make it almost certain that this is the copy submitted for license; and if so, it is probably the copy used for printing. For it is unlikely that a censor so careful as Vice-Chancellor Lany showed himself to be would allow a book to be printed which might differ from the one he had

licensed. The character of the manuscript, too, favors the supposition that this copy was prepared for the printer. It is not in Herbert's handwriting, but has been drawn up by a good copyist, who uses throughout an ink generally black and clear. In yellowish ink many small changes have been made, chiefly of punctuation, spelling, capitals, and the numbering of the stanzas in THE CHURCH-PORCH. This last revision looks as if it were made for the printer, and by some one else than the original writer. But whether this is the very manuscript sent by Herbert to Ferrar or not, the differences between it and Ferrar's edition are so few that its influence in determining a true text is chiefly collateral and confirmatory. In the notes I refer to it as B, or the Bodleian Manuscript, and give all its variations of reading.

Until recently these two, the edition of 1633 and the Bodleian Manuscript, have been our sole means of knowing what Herbert wrote. That untiring, if often whimsical, explorer of the poetry of Elizabeth and James, Dr. Grosart, has added a third. In 1874, when preparing an edition of Herbert for the Fuller Worthies' Library, he drew from its hiding-place in the Williams Library, Gordon Square, London, a manuscript which up to that time had remained unused (Jones Manuscript, B, 62). Little is known about it now. The fly-leaf bears the inscription "Doñ: Jni. Jones Cler. e museo V. Cl. D. H. M. Verrantodum, qui ob. 1730," which has

been translated, "A gift to John Jones, Clerk, from the library of the celebrated Dr. H. Mapletoft, Huntingdon, who died 1730." On the next leaf, in the same hand, presumably that of Mr. Jones, is written, "This book came originally from the family of Little Gidding and was probably bound there. Q. Whether this be not the Ms. copy that was sent by Mr. Herbert a little before his death to Mr. Nic. Ferrar? See Mr. Herbert's Life." Who, then, is John Jones, and who is H. M.?

Rev. John Jones (1700–1770) was an Oxford graduate, who was for a time Vicar of Alconbury, near Huntingdon, and died as Vicar of Sheephall, Herts. At his death his papers came into the possession of Dr. Thomas Dawson, a dissenting minister, and they are now in the Williams Library. The only reason I can discover for supposing that H. M. stands for Henry Mapletoft is that the name occurs again in manuscript 87 of the Jones papers. Another Mapletoft, Dr. John (1631–1721), was a son of Susanna Collet, Nicholas Ferrar's niece. He was Ferrar's godson, brought up at Little Gidding, became an eminent Professor of Physic at Gresham College, and later a clergyman of wide influence. Neither of his two sons was named Henry, nor have I been able to learn how the H. M. of the manuscript was related to him. But whether its former owner was or was not a kinsman of Ferrar, at least so much is clear: John Jones derived the manuscript from some library

in Huntingdonshire to which he supposed it came from the neighboring Little Gidding. Probably, therefore, it was at one time in the possession of Nicholas Ferrar.

This cannot, however, be the manuscript obtained by Ferrar from Herbert just before the latter's death. While its size, duodecimo, accords well with Walton's description, it contains but seventy-three of the one hundred and sixty-nine poems of the Bodleian. It has also many poems which are found neither in the Bodleian Manuscript nor in the edition of 1633, viz., six English poems, and two series of Latin poems, entitled PASSIO DISCERPTA and LUCUS. Preceding the Latin poems is the pencil note, "The following supposed to be Mr. Herbert's own writing. See the Records in the custody of the University Orator at Cambridge." That the writing is Herbert's is unquestionable. The English poems are written by a different hand, though the hand which has corrected them is the same as that of the Latin poems.

The departures of this manuscript from the received text are great and numerous. Few poems are without them. In THE CHURCH-PORCH ninety-four of the four hundred and sixty-two lines vary from the received text. This mass of fresh material Dr. Grosart treats as no less worthy of respect than the traditional readings, and he has formed the text of his two editions from this manuscript or from the edition of 1633, according as his poetic

taste approves the one or the other. I do not venture so far. In my notes I have recorded all the Williams and Bodleian readings, indicating the former by the letter W, the latter by the letter B; but I have held to Ferrar's text, retaining even its spelling and capitals, and changing only its punctuation.

I agree, however, with those who count the Williams Manuscript of capital consequence in Herbert scholarship, and dissent from them merely in my judgment of where that consequence lies. They find it in the poetic worth of the readings, I in their indications of date. Neither they nor I have any doubt of its genuineness, or that it represents a state of the poems earlier than the Bodleian. It was a common practice with the poets of those days to circulate their verses in manuscript, and one which had many advantages. It allowed continual alteration till death fell on the unsatisfied poet and stopped further improvement. Few of Donne's poems were published during his life; none of Sidney's Sonnets to Stella. Shakespeare's Sonnets were long circulated in manuscript before being surreptitiously printed. Undoubtedly it is to this custom of private circulation that the Williams volume owes its existence. It is a manuscript lent early in its writer's life to a friend, probably to Mr. Ferrar, containing most of Herbert's verse which was written at the time of its lending. But its poems were still undergoing con-

struction, and the process did not cease with the departure of this particular copy from its author's hands. Its lines were subsequently filed. Stanzas appear in it which in the Bodleian Manuscript were thought superfluous. Conceits and dubious constructions are permitted here more frequently than afterward. Let any one read the beautiful EVEN-SONG of the Bodleian, and then the awkward verses in the Williams Manuscript which it supplanted; let him read the double version of the opening of THE CHURCH-PORCH, of the ELIXER, or of SUNDAY; the closing verses of JORDAN, of CHARMS AND KNOTS, or of WHITSUNDAY; and he will be convinced that it is the Bodleian and not the Williams Manuscript which represents the maturer taste of its writer. That is certainly the impression given by these longer variations. But the general inferiority of the Williams readings becomes increasingly evident when we test them in a connected group of brief examples. Such a group I draw from THE CHURCH-PORCH. In each case I give the Williams reading first and then the Bodleian:

2. *The price of thee, and mark thee for a treasure.*
   Thy rate and price, and mark thee for a treasure.

57. *Lust and wine plead a pleasure, cheating gaine.*
    Lust and wine plead a pleasure, avarice gain.

91. *O England! full of all sinn, most of sloth.*
    O England! full of sinne, but most of sloth.

200. *Learn this, it hath old gamesters dearly cost.*
Learn this, that hath old gamesters deerely cost.

265. *When base men are exalted, do not bate.*
When basenesse is exalted, do not bate.

317. *Truth dwels not in the clouds ; that bow doth hitt*
No more than passion when she talks of it.
Truth dwels not in the clouds ; the bow that's there
Doth often aim at, never hit the sphere.

326. *Need and bee glad and wish thy presence still.*
Both want and wish thy pleasing presence still.

347. *Who say, I care not, those I give for gone ;*
They dye in holes where glory never shone.
Who say, I care not, those I give for lost ;
And to instruct them, 't will not quit the cost.

Nobody can fail to see that between the first and second of each of these pairs, time and a smoothing artist have intervened. The very delicacy of some of the changes, and of many more which limited space forbids me to quote, shows that the critic has been at work, contriving means to ease the reader's attention, while at the same time filling the line with ampler and more precise significance.

I, accordingly, altogether reject the readings of the Williams Manuscript, and conform my text entirely to that of the edition of 1633. The Williams Manuscript, I believe, represents a state of Herbert's poetry which had been outgrown. To adopt its text is to set up our judgment against that

of its author. But though discarding its readings, I still count it of capital importance in Herbert criticism. Poetically superseded, it is nothing less than epoch-making chronologically; for if we can prove that the Williams Manuscript was written before the Bodleian, we may find in it a means of sorting the poetry of Herbert and of distinguishing an earlier and a later portion. Let me, then, establish this all-important fact through three converging lines of evidence.

III

AN obvious indication of early date is found in the fewness of the Williams poems and the position these few occupy in the edition of 1633. If all Herbert's poems were in existence when the Williams Manuscript was written, it is strange such a selection was made, copied, and elaborately corrected. The selection was certainly not made on grounds of the excellence of the poems included, nor because of any unity in their topic. They have no more inner connection than the same number taken accidentally from any other part of the book. And while there are a dozen of them which rank high among Herbert's poems, the majority are of an average sort, poems more marked by Herbert's peculiarities than by the traits which commend him to all time. If we may assume that the manuscript includes the bulk of what had then been

written, all is clear. In that case also we could understand why these poems, being early, stand early in the arrangement of the Bodleian. In that manuscript, and in the edition of 1633, no Williams poem appears between the seventy-ninth and the one hundred and fifty-sixth place. Though among the seven which in the traditional order are usually printed after the one hundred and fifty-sixth, six are from the Williams Manuscript, the position of these final poems is evidently due to their general subject, — Death and the Last Judgment. It is true that out of the first seventy-nine, eighteen are not Williams poems. But many of these, e. g. THE AGONIE, SEPULCHRE, ANTIPHON, THE WINDOWS, probably owe their places to their congruity with neighboring poems. It should be remembered, too, that in asserting, as I believe we must, that all the poems of the Williams Manuscript are early, we do not necessarily say that every one found elsewhere is late. Single poems may have existed at the time this manuscript was lent which did not happen to be copied into it.

But the early date of the Williams Manuscript is still more plainly shown by the character of its readings. To these I have already called attention. Their very inferiority is what gives the manuscript worth, for it justifies us in using it as a document for dating. Strangely enough, this has not been generally perceived. The readings have been treated as weighty, though the manuscript is

counted early. But the two things are incompatible, unless indeed Herbert was a bad critic. There is no evidence that he was. Accordingly, when of two manuscripts one shows on almost every page duller or more wayward readings, we may fairly conclude that it belongs to its writer's earlier years. That the Williams readings are prevailingly duller, I have already proved in the case of THE CHURCH-PORCH. Let any one examine the shorter poems as they stand in the printed text and as they appear in the Williams version, given in my appendix, and they will lead him to the same conclusion. We have before us in the one case a finished result, in the other, a preliminary draft.

A third sort of evidence, even more important for fixing the early date of the Williams Manuscript, is found in a hitherto unobserved fact of its subject-matter. In 1630 Herbert became a priest. Now no Williams poem contains any hint that its author is a priest. Many distinctly state that he is not. A large part of the non-Williams poems deal with the joys and perplexities of the priesthood. It is impossible, then, that the Williams Manuscript can have been written at Bemerton. And this peculiarity of its contents, coinciding, as it does, with the character of its readings and the position which the much-corrected Williams poems occupy in the Bodleian Manuscript, assures us that Herbert wrote poetry long before he went to Bemerton. It has sometimes been carelessly

asserted that the seclusion of his last three years made him a poet. But Bacon knew him to be a notable religious poet eight years before his death. The Williams Manuscript proves that when Herbert went into retirement, he took with him nearly half his poetic work. At this time, he had both written and elaborately altered a large body of verse which he was still farther to perfect in the Bemerton parsonage. *I often*, he says in JORDAN, *blotted what I had begunne*. Herbert must hereafter stand forth not as a sudden rhapsodist, but as an intentional, long-continued, and ever-revising workman.

How much earlier than 1630, the year when Herbert took priest's orders, the Williams Manuscript was written, is uncertain. In the great AFFLICTION, *When first thou didst entice to thee my heart*, the laments on the death of friends, and on Herbert's severe illness and mental perplexity, indicate that this poem was written in the Crisis years between 1627 and 1629. With this period Walton also connects it. Several other Williams poems contain hints that they were born in the same time of disappointment and struggle. But most of those which refer to this period (and it was one likely to leave its mark on whatever was produced in it) are found among the non-Williams poems; for example, THE PRIESTHOOD, in which he is still hesitating about taking orders. A decision, however, appears to be reached in THE

PEARL and OBEDIENCE, both included in the early manuscript. Most probably, then, the Williams Manuscript was drawn up about 1629, but not all the poems written during this and the preceding year were copied into it. Since the history of the manuscript connects it with Little Gidding, my own conjecture is that these poems were lent to Ferrar after he and Herbert became intimate through the building of Leighton Church. This would also justify Ferrar's prompt publication of the final work. Many of the poems he already knew, and he had no need of taking time to determine their worth.

IV

ASSUMING, then, that through the Williams Manuscript we know that as early as 1628–29 nearly half of Herbert's work was in existence, we are able to rearrange the poems and give them an order more advantageous for study and enjoyment. In justification of the traditional order no grounds are known. Ferrar found it in the Bodleian Manuscript, and followed it in his own printing. The Williams Manuscript does not preserve it. The poems do not require it. Probably it was originally accidental. Occasionally, little groups of poems may give indication of a natural tie, the later members of a group being possibly drawn after the earlier by some inner similarity, some dependence

of subject, or some expansion of a phrase once used. But such connection is rare and uncertain. After the first start, the poems were apparently jotted down without plan. In the traditional order there is, therefore, nothing sacred, probably nothing expressive of Herbert's mind or wish, nothing to forbid whatever new arrangement is more luminous. The most instructive order for all poetry, it is agreed, is the chronological. Though the evidence in Herbert's case, whether drawn from the Williams Manuscript or from the style and statements of the poems themselves, is too slender to establish a thoroughgoing chronological sequence, I believe it is ample for distinguishing three great Divisions of poems corresponding to the three periods of Herbert's life marked out in my first Essay. We shall accordingly have poems of the Cambridge period, extending from the beginning of his writing through his Oratorship to 1627; of the Crisis period, from that date through the years of stress and strain to the time of his taking orders in 1630; and poems of the Bemerton period, when as a priest he served his little parish from 1630 until his death. In the first of these three Divisions will be included the great majority of the Williams poems; in the second, such Williams and non-Williams poems as contain a reference to Herbert's uncertainty about his coming career; in the third, the majority of the non-Williams poems. Knowing that much which was written at an early

date might first appear in a late manuscript, I have sometimes been tempted on grounds of style to refer a non-Williams poem to the Cambridge Division. On the whole, I have considered that placing it there is too hazardous an exercise of conjecture, and I have finally allowed no poem to enter this Division which is not contained in the Williams Manuscript. Thinking it well, too, to give the reader some defence against my meddling hand, I print an index of titles arranged according to the traditional scheme.

So much chronological sorting into three broad Divisions, the use of the Williams Manuscript seems to me to render possible. Within the limits of the Bemerton Division, and to a less extent elsewhere, further time-indications may be found. But these are too few and of too uncertain a nature to permit a conservative critic to venture on a full chronological arrangement. Within the great Divisions I have preferred a topical order, which may still throw light on the processes of Herbert's mind, and illuminate the poems by what is known of their writer through other sources. All the poems of the Crisis period are naturally placed together. Within each of the other two Divisions I have drawn up five subordinate sections or Groups, and furnished them with suitable explanatory Prefaces. In the first Division, covering the Cambridge years, the sententious morality of THE CHURCH-PORCH naturally stands first, for Herbert apparently de-

signed it as an introduction to his whole poetic work; next we see Herbert planning to become a religious poet; those ecclesiastical poems follow which, with little personal reference, celebrate the feasts and institutions of the Church; in a fourth Group are gathered those profound meditations on abstract themes to which the Cambridge period gave rise; while in a fifth are placed those highly characteristic poems in which the vicissitudes of human and divine love are traced with all the passionate delicacy which marked the secular love-poetry of the time. The second Division, written during Herbert's unsettled years, includes all the poems of the Crisis time, at the close of which Herbert brought himself to accept orders. It forms, therefore, but a single Group, the sixth. In the third Division fall the five Groups, VII–XI, which were written at Bemerton, the first showing his gladness in knowing himself at last a priest; the second giving those reflective poems which were slowly compacted there, as similar ones had been at Cambridge; then doubts arise whether little Bemerton affords sufficient scope for his powers; doubts which are deepened, perhaps caused by, the feelings of grief and bodily pain which occupy the next Group; the whole Division being concluded by a set of poems in which he calmly surveys his approaching death. I believe that such a classification according to the subject-matter of the poems, a classification which is also largely chronological, will be found more

generally convenient than the ancient arbitrary order; and I even hope that it may render the consecutive reading of Herbert instructively evolutionary and agreeable. Probably, however, those who are approaching THE TEMPLE for the first time will be wise to begin their reading with the sixth or even the seventh Group; the poems of the last six Groups being much more plainly marked with Herbert's personality than are those of the first five.

THE COUNTRY PARSON

PREFACE

THIS piece first appeared in 1652, in a volume entitled HERBERT'S REMAINS, OR SUNDRY PIECES OF THAT SWEET SINGER OF THE TEMPLE, MR. GEORGE HERBERT. With it were printed the JACULA PRUDENTUM (already published in 1640, and here dated 1651), Herbert's two PRAYERS, his LETTER TO FERRAR (already published in 1638 with Ferrar's Translation of Valdesso), two Latin poems addressed to Bacon and one to Donne, and an ADDITION OF APOTHEGMES BY SEVERALL AUTHOURS. The volume contained also A Prefatory View of the Life and Virtues of the Authour and the Excellencies of this Book, by Rev. Barnabas Oley. Oley (1602–1686) was for a time President of Clare Hall, Cambridge, was ejected from his Cambridge Fellowship by the Parliament, for over fifty years was Vicar of Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire, and Prebendary of Worcester Cathedral for twenty-five. He was an ardent Royalist, an extreme High Churchman, a friend of Nicholas Ferrar, and a rambling, heated, naively attractive writer. In 1671 he published the first separate edition of THE COUNTRY PARSON, with a new Preface.

In both editions the book has a double title: A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE: OR THE COUNTRY PARSON, HIS CHARACTER AND RULE OF HOLY LIFE. But only the second of these titles has been generally used, the first being tacitly dropped. Walton approves the usual title thus in 1670: "That Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be ought to observe; and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might show him his variations from this year's resolutions; he therefore did set down his rules then resolved upon in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little Book call'd THE COUNTRY PARSON . . . a Book so full of plain, prudent, and useful Rules that that Country Parson that can spare 12 d. and yet wants it is scarce excusable." Herbert himself seems to sanction this second name, and to be ignorant of any other. He opens thirty-four of the thirty-seven chapters with the words *The Country Parson*, printed in capitals. And though throughout the book he uses the word *priest* as freely as he does *pastor* or *minister*, it nowhere has the prominence of *The Country Parson*. I suspect, therefore, the title A Priest to the Temple is a happy invention of Oley's. When he edited the book, six editions of THE TEMPLE were already in circulation. Apparently hoping that the popularity of the poems might help to float the prose, he emphasized the relation-

ship. Walton, however, and most modern writers have preferred the more exact designation.

That Herbert intended publication is evident from his words in THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER, dated 1632. Why the book remained so long unpublished is unknown. One might suppose the delay due to a belief that so vivid a picture of a punctilious priest would be unwelcome and unsalable at a season of Puritan domination. But the time of its unopposed and successful issue was the culmination of the Puritan triumph, three years after the execution of the King, and a year before Cromwell became Protector. Oley's long first Preface, devoted more to abuse of Puritanism than to description of Herbert, seems to have aroused no hostility. The causes of delay must, therefore, have been of a private nature.

There are two hardly reconcilable accounts of the history of the manuscript. Walton writes in 1670, "At the death of Mr. Herbert this Book fell into the hands of his friend, Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who publisht it." But in his Preface of 1671, Oley states that it is his design "to do a Piece of Right, an office of Justice to the Good man that was possessor of the Manuscript of this Book and transmitted it freely to the Stationer who first printed it. He was Mr. Edmund Duncon, Rector of Fryarn-Barnet." If we accept this account of Oley's, it would seem that the volume of Herbert's

REMAINS was edited by Duncon, and that Oley's work was confined to preparing the Preface.

The book has throughout a certain double aim. Like Herbert's poetry, THE COUNTRY PARSON is primarily a study of his own conditions. It is written to ease and clarify his own mind and to regulate his future conduct. But in these conditions of his own he also perceives universal types, and so is led, in almost scientific fashion, to codify his experience for public use. I have already remarked the low estimate which in Herbert's time was put upon the ministry of the Church of England, especially on the country ministry. Herbert, having disappointedly accepted this, will make the utmost of it, developing all its capacities, and showing how it may become a field fit for intelligent, energetic, stately, and holy living. As usual, he looks at it with his own eyes, and treats it as a field hitherto unexplored. He regards himself as laying the foundations of a novel science, and hopes that those who come after him may *add to those points which I have observed untill the Book grow to a compleat Pastorall.* Every feature of the country minister's life is accordingly studied. Nothing is counted trivial. Each slightest habit may help or hinder the Parson's aim *of reducing Man to the Obedience of God.* The humorous understanding of the stolid countryman here displayed; the keenness and range of vision in detecting modes of access to him; the interest, zeal, and

sense of dignity employed in his pursuit; the poetic beauty of the quotations of Scripture; the readiness to carry principles into homely detail; and the ability to sketch the outlines of an entire life from a single point of view, give the book a unique power and adaptability. It is doubtful if the same number of pages in any modern volume will bring to the country minister of to-day an equal amount of ennobling good sense. Changes in belief, in social usage, in civilization itself have not antiquated this ardent, candid, original, and solid little treatise.

Such a work, however (as indeed the words just quoted from Herbert's Preface imply), is at no time complete. It cannot, therefore, possess shapely structure. Herbert is not attempting here to fashion a rounded work of art. Like Bacon, he is gathering observations. Whatever new aspects of the Parson's business present themselves are successively added, and such additions may go on indefinitely. The book is, therefore, without clear plan. Its scheme was not fixed beforehand. Probably, like most of Herbert's writings, it was still growing when death supplied it with an end. Yet it is far from chaotic. After discriminating the work of the Country Parson from that of other pastors, Herbert takes up the conditions of success in the Parson's own nature, then his duties in relation to the Church services, to the people of his parish, to men in general, and finally considers

cases of conduct where, though there is no clear duty, tactful and devout treatment will yield results which would be missed by carelessness. In Oley's editions the table of contents is printed so as to divide the chapters into related groups of three or four each. This method of printing I preserve, though I regard the suggested divisions as too minute and without precise boundaries.

Every reader of THE COUNTRY PARSON must be struck with the contrast between its neat style and the intricacy of the poems. This book is drawn up for a business purpose; accordingly it is written plainly, instructively, and in a thoroughly manly fashion. Here are no affectations. Few sentences occur whose full meaning will not be gained at a glance, few where any felicity of phrase diverts attention from the matter. Often there is skill in bringing out delicacies of thought, but the long linked sentences run swift and straight, and are guided rather by the reader's needs than by the writer's emotions. In this plainness and insistent rationality there is charm. A reader does not begin one of these pithy chapters without continuing to the end.

A piece of writing so lucid has small need of comment. Mine hardly extends beyond marking changes in the meaning of words. Like Herbert himself, I wish to withdraw attention from the form and fix it upon the substance. Parallel passages in the poetry I do not cite. They are noted

in my commentary on the poems. Only when a whole poem deals with a subject discussed here, have I referred to it.

Other annotators of THE COUNTRY PARSON are R. A. Willmott in his single volume of Herbert's works, published by Routledge; A. B. Grosart in his three quarto volumes in the Fuller Worthies' Library; and H. C. Beeching in his excellent edition of THE COUNTRY PARSON, published by T. Fisher Unwin. From their notes I have brought over whatever I judged helpful.

Title-Page of THE COUNTRY PARSON.

A PRIEST To the TEMPLE,

OR,

The Countrey PARSON HIS CHARACTER, AND Rule of Holy Life.

The AUTHOUR, Mr G.H.

LONDON,
Printed by T. Maxey for T. Garthwait, at the little North door of St Paul's. 1652.

THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER

BEING desirous (thorow the Mercy of God) to please Him for whom I am and live, and who giveth mee my Desires and Performances, and considering with my self That the way to please him is to feed my Flocke diligently and faithfully, since our Saviour hath made that the argument of a Pastour's love, I have resolved to set down the Form and Character of a true Pastour, that I may have a Mark to aim at; which also I will set as high as I can, since hee shoots higher that threatens the Moon then hee that aims at a Tree. Not that I think, if a man do not all which is here expressed, hee presently sinns and displeases God, but that it is a good strife to go as farre as wee can in pleasing of him who hath done so much for us. The Lord prosper the intention to my selfe, and others who may not despise my poor labours, but add to those points which I have observed untill the Book grow to a compleat Pastorall.

GEO. HERBERT.

1632.

A TABLE OF CONTENTS TO THE COUNTRY PARSON

CHAP. 1. *Of a Pastour* - - - - p. 209.
2. *Their Diversities* - - - p. 211.
3. *The Parson's life* - - - - p. 213.
4. *Knowledges* - - - - p. 215.
5. *Accessary Knowledges* - - p. 218.
6. *The Parson Praying* - - - p. 220.
7. *Preaching* - - - - - p. 223.
8. *On Sundays* - - - - p. 228.
9. *His State of Life* - - - p. 231.
10. *In his house* - - - - p. 235.
11. *The Parson's Courtesie* - - - p. 242.
12. *Charity* - - - - - p. 244.
13. *Church* - - - - - p. 247.
14. *The Parson in Circuit* - - - p. 249.
15. *Comforting* - - - - p. 253.
16. *A father* - - - - - p. 255.
17. *In Journey* - - - - p. 256.
18. *In Sentinell* - - - - p. 258.
19. *In Reference* - - - - p. 260.
20. *In God's stead* - - - - p. 263.
21. *Catechizing* - - - - p. 265.
22. *In Sacraments* - - - - p. 270.
23. *The Parson's Compleatnesse* - - p. 274.
24. *The Parson Arguing* - - - p. 279.

CHAP. 25. *Punishing* - - - - p. 281.
26. *The Parson's Eye* - - - - p. 282.
27. *The Parson in mirth* - - - p. 288.
28. *In contempt* - - - - p. 289.
29. *With his Church-wardens* - - p. 292.
30. *The Parson's Consideration of Providence* - - - - - p. 294.
31. *The Parson in Liberty* - - - p. 297.
32. *His Surveys* - - - - p. 300.
33. *His Library* - - - - p. 307.
34. *His Dexterity in applying Remedies* - - - - - p. 310.
35. *Condescending* - - - - p. 316.
36. *Blessing* - - - - - p. 318.
37. *Concerning detraction* - - - p. 321.

The Author's Prayer Before Sermon p. 325.
Prayer After Sermon - - - p. 328.

A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE: OR, THE COUNTREY PARSON, HIS CHARACTER, &c.

Chapter I

Of a Pastor

A PASTOR is the Deputy of Christ for the reducing of Man to the Obedience of God. This definition is evident, and containes the direct steps of Pastorall Duty and Auctority. For first, Man fell from God by disobedience. Secondly, Christ is the glorious instrument of God for the revoking[1] of Man. Thirdly, Christ being not to continue on earth, but after hee had fulfilled the work of Reconciliation to be received up into heaven, he constituted Deputies in his place, and these are Priests. And therefore *St. Paul* in the beginning of his Epistles professeth this, and in the first to the *Colossians*[2] plainly avoucheth that he *fils up that which is behinde of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh for his Bodie's sake, which is the Church.* Wherein is contained the complete definition of a Minister. Out of this Chartre of the Priesthood may be plainly gathered both the Dignity[3] thereof and the Duty: The

Dignity, in that a Priest may do that which Christ did, and by his auctority and as his Vicegerent. The Duty, in that a Priest is to do that which Christ did and after his manner, both for Doctrine and Life.

Chapter II

Their Diversities

OF Pastors (intending mine own Nation only, and also therein setting aside the Reverend Prelates of the Church, to whom this discourse ariseth not) some live in the Universities, some in Noble houses, some in Parishes residing on their Cures. Of those that live in the Universities, some live there in office, whose rule is that of the Apostle: Rom. 12. 6. *Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophecy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministring; or he that teacheth, on teaching,* &c. *he that ruleth, let him do it with diligence,* &c. Some in a preparatory way, whose aim and labour must be not only to get knowledg, but to subdue and mortifie all lusts and affections; and not to think that when they have read the Fathers or Schoolmen, a Minister is made and the thing done. The greatest and hardest preparation is within. For, *Unto the ungodly, saith God, Why dost thou preach my Laws, and takest my Covenant in thy mouth? Psal.* 50. 16. Those that live in Noble Houses are called Chaplains, whose duty and obligation being the same

to the Houses they live in as a Parson's to his Parish, in describing the one (which is indeed the bent of my Discourse) the other will be manifest. Let not Chaplains think themselves so free as *many of them do*, and because they have different Names think their Office different. Doubtlesse they are Parsons of the families they live in and are entertained to that end, either by an open or implicite Covenant. Before they are in Orders, they may be received for Companions or discoursers; but after a man is once Minister, he cannot agree to come into any house where he shall not exercise what he is, unlesse he forsake his plough and look back. Wherfore they are not to be over-submissive and base, but to keep up with[1] the Lord and Lady of the house, and to preserve a boldness with them and all, even so farre as reproofe to their very face when occasion cals, but seasonably and discreetly. They who do not thus, while they remember their earthly Lord, do much forget their heavenly; they wrong the Priesthood, neglect their duty, and shall be so farre from that which they seek with their over-submissivenesse and cringings that they shall ever be despised. They who for the hope of promotion neglect any necessary admonition or reproofe, sell (with *Judas*) their Lord and Master.

Chapter III

The Parson's Life

THE Countrey Parson is exceeding exact in his Life, being holy, just, prudent, temperate, bold, grave in all his wayes. And because the two highest points of Life, wherein a Christian is most seen, are Patience and Mortification: Patience in regard of afflictions, Mortification in regard of lusts and affections, and the stupifying and deading of all the clamarous powers of the soul, therefore he hath throughly studied these, that he may be an absolute Master and commander of himself for all the purposes which God hath ordained him. Yet in these points he labours most in those things which are most apt to scandalize his Parish. And first, because Countrey people live hardly, and therefore as feeling their own sweat, and consequently knowing the price of mony, are offended much with any who by hard usage increase their travell,[1] the Countrey Parson is very circumspect in avoiding all coveteousnesse, neither being greedy to get, nor nigardly to keep, nor troubled to lose any worldly wealth; but in all his words and actions slighting and disesteeming it, even to a wondring that the world should so much value wealth, which in the day of wrath hath not one

dramme of comfort for us. Secondly, because Luxury is a very visible sinne, the Parson is very carefull to avoid all the kinds thereof, but especially that of drinking, because it is the most popular vice; into which if he come, *he prostitutes himself* both to shame and sin, and by having *fellowship with the unfruitfull works of darknesse* he disableth himself of authority *to reprove them.* For sins make all equall whom they finde together; and then they are worst who ought to be best. Neither is it for the servant of Christ to haunt Innes, or Tavernes, or Ale-houses, *to the dishonour of his person and office.* The Parson doth not so, but orders his Life in such a fashion that when death takes him, as the Jewes and *Judas* did Christ, he may say as He did, *I sate daily with you teaching in the Temple.* Thirdly, because Countrey people (as indeed all honest men) do much esteem their word, it being the Life of buying and selling and dealing in the world; therfore the Parson is very strict in keeping his word, though it be to his own hinderance, as knowing that if he be not so, he wil quickly be discovered and disregarded; neither will they beleeve him in the pulpit whom they cannot trust in his Conversation. As for oaths and apparell, the disorders thereof are also very manifest. The Parson's yea is yea, and nay nay; and his apparrell plaine, but reverend and clean, without spots, or dust, or smell; the purity of his mind breaking out and dilating it selfe even to his body, cloaths, and habitation.

Chapter IIII

The Parson's Knowledg[1]

THE Countrey Parson is full of all knowledg. They say it is an ill Mason that refuseth any stone; and there is no knowledg but, in a skilfull hand, serves either positively as it is or else to illustrate some other knowledge. He condescends even to the knowledge of tillage and pastorage, and makes great use of them in teaching, because people by what they understand are best led to what they understand not. But the chief and top of his knowledge consists in the book of books, the storehouse and magazene of life and comfort, the holy Scriptures. There he sucks and lives. In the Scriptures hee findes four things: Precepts for life, Doctrines for knowledge, Examples for illustration, and Promises for comfort. These he hath digested severally. But for the understanding of these the means he useth are first, a holy Life; remembring what his Master saith, that *if any do God's will, he shall know of the Doctrine, John* 7; and assuring himself that wicked men, however learned, do not know the Scriptures, because they feell them not, and because they are not understood but with the same Spirit that writ them. The

second means is prayer, which if it be necessary even in temporall things, how much more in things of another world, where the well is deep and we have nothing of our selves to draw with? Wherefore he ever begins the reading of the Scripture with some short inward ejaculation, as, *Lord, open mine eyes, that I may see the wondrous things of thy Law*, &c.[1] The third means is a diligent Collation of Scripture with Scripture. For all Truth being consonant to it self and all being penn'd by one and the self-same Spirit, it cannot be but that an industrious and judicious comparing of place with place must be a singular help for the right understanding of the Scriptures. To this may be added the consideration of any text with the coherence thereof, touching what goes before and what follows after, as also the scope of the Holy Ghost. When the Apostles would have called down fire from Heaven, they were reproved, as ignorant of what spirit they were. For the Law required one thing, and the Gospel another; yet as diverse, not as repugnant; therefore the spirit of both is to be considered and weighed. The fourth means are Commenters and fathers who have handled the places controverted, which the Parson by no means refuseth. As he doth not so study others as to neglect the grace of God in himself and what the Holy Spirit teacheth him, so doth he assure himself that God in all ages hath had his servants, to whom he hath revealed

his Truth as well as to him; and that as one Countrey doth not bear all things, that there may be a Commerce, so neither hath God opened or will open all to one, that there may be a traffick in knowledg between the servants of God for the planting both of love and humility. Wherfore he hath one Comment at least upon every book of Scripture, and ploughing with this and his own meditations he enters into the secrets of God treasured in the holy Scripture.

Chapter V

The Parson's Accessary Knowledges

THE Countrey Parson hath read the Fathers also, and the Schoolmen, and the later Writers, or a good proportion of all, out of all which he hath compiled a book and body of Divinity, which is the storehouse of his Sermons and which he preacheth all his Life, but diversely clothed, illustrated, and inlarged. For though the world is full of such composures, yet every man's own is fittest, readyest, and most savory to him. Besides, this being to be done in his younger and preparatory times, it is an honest joy ever after to looke upon his well spent houres. This Body he made by way of expounding the Church Catechisme, to which all divinity may easily be reduced. For it being indifferent in it selfe to choose any Method, that is best to be chosen of which there is likelyest to be most use. Now Catechizing being a work of singular and admirable benefit to the Church of God, and a thing required under Canonicall obedience, the expounding of our Catechisme must needs be the most usefull forme. Yet hath the Parson, besides this laborious work, a slighter forme of Catechizing, fitter for country people;

according as his audience is, so he useth one or other, or somtimes both, if his audience be intermixed. He greatly esteemes also of cases of conscience, wherein he is much versed. And indeed herein is the greatest ability of a Parson to lead his people exactly in the wayes of Truth, so that they neither decline to the right hand nor to the left. Neither let any think this a slight thing. For every one hath not digested when it is a sin to take something for mony lent, or when not; when it is a fault to discover another's fault, or when not; *when the affections of the soul in desiring and procuring increase of means or honour, be a sin of covetousnes or ambition, and when not; when the appetites of the body in eating, drinking, sleep, and the pleasure that comes with sleep, be sins of gluttony, drunkenness, sloath, lust, and when not,* and so in many circumstances of actions. Now if a shepherd know not which grass will bane, or which not, how is he fit to be a shepherd? Wherefore the Parson hath throughly canvassed al the particulars of humane actions, at least all those which he observeth are most incident to his Parish.

Chapter VI

The Parson Praying[1]

THE Countrey Parson, when he is to read divine services, composeth himselfe to all possible reverence: lifting up his heart and hands and eyes, and using all other gestures which may expresse a hearty and unfeyned devotion. This he doth, first, as being truly touched and amazed with the Majesty of God before whom he then presents himself; yet not as himself alone, but as presenting with himself the whole Congregation, whose sins he then beares and brings with his own to the heavenly altar to be bathed and washed in the sacred Laver of Christ's blood. Secondly, as this is the true reason of his inward feare, so he is content to expresse this outwardly to the utmost of his power; that being first affected himself, hee may affect also his people, knowing that no Sermon moves them so much to a reverence, which they forget againe when they come to pray, as a devout behaviour in the very act of praying. Accordingly his voyce is humble, his words treatable[2] and slow; yet not so slow neither as to let the fervency of the supplicant hang and dy between speaking, but with a grave livelinesse, between fear and zeal,

pausing yet pressing, he performes his duty. Besides his example, he, having often instructed his people how to carry themselves in divine service, exacts of them all possible reverence, by no means enduring either talking, or sleeping, or gazing, or leaning, or halfe-kneeling, or any undutifull behaviour in them, but causing them when they sit, or stand, or kneel, to do all in a strait and steady posture, as attending to what is done in the Church, and every one, man and child, answering aloud both Amen and all other answers which are on the Clerk's and people's part to answer; which answers also are to be done not in a hudling, or slubbering[1] fashion, gaping, or scratching the head, or spitting even in the midst of their answer, but gently and pausably, thinking what they say; so that while they answer, *As it was in the beginning*, &c. they meditate as they speak that God hath ever had his people that have glorified him as wel as now, and that he shall have so for ever. And the like in other answers. This is that which the Apostle cals a reasonable service, *Rom.* 12. when we speak not as Parrats, without reason, or offer up such sacrifices as they did of old, which was of beasts devoyd of reason; but when we use our reason, and apply our powers to the service of him that gives them. If there be any of the gentry or nobility of the Parish who sometimes make it a piece of state not to come at the beginning of service with their poor neighbours, but at mid-

prayers, both to their own loss and of theirs also who gaze upon them when they come in, and neglect the present service of God, he by no means suffers it, but after divers gentle admonitions, if they persevere, he causes them to be presented.[1] Or if the poor Church-wardens be affrighted with their greatness, notwithstanding his instruction that they ought not to be so, but even to let the world sinke so they do their duty; he presents them himself, only protesting to them that not any ill will draws him to it, but the debt and obligation of his calling, being to obey God rather then men.

Chapter VII

The Parson Preaching

THE Countrey Parson preacheth constantly, the pulpit is his joy and his throne. If he at any time intermit, it is either for want of health or against some great Festivall, that he may the better celebrate it, or for the variety of the hearers that he may be heard at his returne more attentively. When he intermits, he is ever very well supplyed by some able man who treads in his steps and will not throw down what he hath built; whom also he intreats to press some point that he himself hath often urged with no great success, that so in the mouth of two or three witnesses the truth may be more established. When he preacheth, he procures attention by all possible art, both by earnestnesse of speech — it being naturall to men to think that where is much earnestness there is somewhat worth hearing — and by a diligent and busy cast of his eye on his auditors, with letting them know that he observes who marks and who not; and with particularizing of his speech now to the younger sort, then to the elder, now to the poor and now to the rich. This is for you, and This is for you; for particulars ever touch and

awake more than generalls. Herein also he serves himselfe of the judgements of God, as of those of antient times so especially of the late ones, and those most which are nearest to his Parish; for people are very attentive at such discourses, and think it behoves them to be so, when God is so neer them and even over their heads. Sometimes he tells them stories and sayings of others, according as his text invites him; for them also men heed and remember better than exhortations, which though earnest yet often dy with the Sermon, especially with Countrey people; which are thick, and heavy, and hard to raise to a poynt of zeal and fervency, and need a mountaine of fire to kindle them, but stories and sayings they will well remember. He often tels them that Sermons are dangerous things, that none goes out of Church as he came in, but either better or worse; that none is careless before his Judg, and that the word of God shal Judge us. By these and other means the Parson procures attention; but the character of his Sermon is Holiness. He is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but Holy. A Character that *Hermogenes*[1] never dream'd of, and therefore he could give no precepts hereof. But it is gained first, by choosing texts of Devotion not Controversie, moving and ravishing texts, whereof the Scriptures are full. Secondly, by dipping and seasoning all our words and sentences in our hearts before they come into our mouths, truly affecting and cor-

dially expressing all that we say; so that the auditors may plainly perceive that every word is hart-deep. Thirdly, by turning often and making many Apostrophes to God, as, Oh Lord blesse my people and teach them this point; or, Oh my Master, on whose errand I come, let me hold my peace and doe thou speak thy selfe; for thou art Love, and when thou teachest all are Scholers. Some such irradiations scatteringly in the Sermon carry great holiness in them. The Prophets are admirable in this. So Isa. 64: *Oh that thou would'st rent the Heavens, that thou would'st come down*, &c. And *Jeremy*, Chapt. 10, after he had complained of the desolation of *Israel*, turnes to God suddenly: *Oh Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself*, &c. Fourthly, by frequent wishes of the people's good and joying therein, though he himself were with Saint *Paul* even sacrificed upon the service of their faith. For there is no greater sign of holinesse then the procuring, and rejoycing in another's good. And herein St. *Paul* excelled in all his Epistles. How did he put the *Romans* in all his prayers! *Rom.* 1. 9. And ceased not to give thanks for the *Ephesians*, *Eph.* 1. 16. And for the *Corinthians*, *chap.* 1. 4. And for the *Philippians* made request with joy, *chap.* 1. 4. And is in contention for them whither to live or dy, be with them or Christ, *verse* 23; which, setting aside his care of his Flock, were a madnesse to doubt of. What an admirable Epistle is the second to the

Corinthians! how full of affections! he joyes and he is sorry, he grieves and he gloryes, never was there such care of a flock expressed save in the great shepherd of the fold, who first shed teares over *Jerusalem* and afterwards blood. Therefore this care may be learn'd there and then woven into Sermons, which will make them appear exceeding reverend and holy. Lastly, by an often urging of the presence and majesty of God, by these or such like speeches: Oh let us all take heed what we do. God sees us, he sees whether I speak as I ought or you hear as you ought; he sees hearts as we see faces; he is among us; for if we be here, hee must be here, since we are here by him and without him could not be here. Then turning the discourse to his Majesty: And he is a great God and terrible, as great in mercy so great in judgement. There are but two devouring elements, fire and water; he hath both in him. His voyce is as the sound of many waters, *Revelations* 1. And he himselfe is a consuming fire, *Hebrews* 12. Such discourses shew very Holy. The Parson's Method in handling of a text consists of two parts: first, a plain and evident declaration of the meaning of the text; and secondly, some choyce Observations drawn out of the whole text, as it lyes entire and unbroken in the Scripture it self. This he thinks naturall and sweet and grave. Whereas the other way of crumbling a text into small parts, as, the Person speaking or spoken to, the subject and

object, and the like, hath neither in it sweetnesse, nor gravity, nor variety; since the words apart are not Scripture but a dictionary, and may be considered alike in all the Scripture. The Parson exceeds not an hour in preaching, because all ages have thought that a competency, and he that profits not in that time will lesse afterwards; the same affection which made him not profit before making him then weary, and so he grows from not relishing to loathing.

Chapter VIII

The Parson on Sundays

THE Country Parson as soon as he awakes on Sunday Morning presently falls to work, and seems to himselfe so as a Market-man is when the Market day comes, or a shop-keeper when customers use to come in. His thoughts are full of making the best of the day and contriving it to his best gaines. To this end, besides his ordinary prayers, he makes a peculiar one for a blessing on the exercises of the day: That nothing befall him unworthy of that Majesty before which he is to present himself, but that all may be done with reverence to his glory and with edification to his flock, humbly beseeching his Master that how or whenever he punish him it be not in his Ministry. Then he turnes to request for his people that the Lord would be pleased to sanctifie them all, that they may come with holy hearts and awfull mindes into the Congregation, and that the good God would pardon all those who come with lesse prepared hearts then they ought. This done, he sets himself to the Consideration of the duties of the day; and if there be any extraordinary addition to the customary exercises, either from the

time of the year, or from the State, or from God by a child born or dead, or any other accident, he contrives how and in what manner to induce[1] it to the best advantage. Afterwards when the hour calls, with his family attending him he goes to Church, at his first entrance *humbly adoring and worshipping the invisible majesty and presence of Almighty God*, and blessing the people either openly or to himselfe. Then having read divine Service twice fully, and preached in the morning and catechized in the afternoone, he thinks he hath in some measure, according to poor and fraile man, discharged the publick duties of the Congregation. The rest of the day he spends either in reconciling neighbours that are at variance, or in visiting the sick, or in exhortations to some of his flock by themselves, whom his Sermons cannot or doe not reach. And every one is more awaked when we come and say, Thou art the man. This way he findes exceeding usefull and winning; and these exhortations he cals his privy purse, even as Princes have theirs, besides ther publick disbursments. At night he thinks it a very fit time, both sutable to the joy of the day and without hinderance to publick duties, either to entertaine some of his neighbours or to be entertained of them, where he takes occasion to discourse *of such things as are both profitable and pleasant, and to raise up their mindes to apprehend God's good blessing to our Church and State; that*

order is kept in the one and peace in the other, without disturbance or interruption of publick divine offices. As he opened the day with prayer, so he closeth it, humbly beseeching the Almighty to pardon and accept our poor services and to improve them that wee may grow therein, and that our feet may be like hindes' feet, ever climbing up higher and higher unto him.

Chapter IX

The Parson's State of Life

THE Country Parson considering that virginity is a higher state then Matrimony, and that the Ministry requires the best and highest things, is rather unmarryed then marryed. But yet as the temper of his body may be, or as the temper of his Parish may be, where he may have occasion to converse with women and that among suspicious men, *and other like circumstances considered*, he is rather married then unmarried. Let him communicate the thing often by prayer unto God, and as his grace shall direct him so let him proceed. If he be unmarried and keepe house, he hath not a woman in his house, but findes opportunities of having his meat dress'd and other services done by men-servants at home, and his linnen washed abroad. If he be unmarryed and sojourne, he never talkes with any woman alone, but in the audience of others, and that seldom, and then also in a serious manner, never jestingly or sportfully. *He is very circumspect in all companyes, both of his behaviour, speech, and very looks, knowing himself to be both suspected and envyed. If he stand steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath*

power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep himself a virgin, he spends his dayes in fasting and prayer and blesseth God for the gift of continency, knowing that it can no way be preserved but only by those means by which at first it was obtained. He therefore thinkes it not enough for him to observe the fasting dayes of the Church and the dayly prayers enjoyned him by auctority, which he observeth out of humble conformity and obedience, but adds to them, out of choyce and devotion, some other dayes for fasting and hours for prayers; and by these hee keeps his body tame, serviceable, and healthfull; and his soul fervent, active, young, and lusty[1] *as an eagle. He often readeth the Lives of the Primitive Monks, Hermits, and virgins, and wondreth not so much at their patient suffering and cheerfull dying under persecuting Emperours, (though that indeed be very admirable) as at their daily temperance, abstinence, watchings, and constant prayers, and mortifications in the times of peace and prosperity. To put on the profound humility and the exact temperance of our Lord Jesus, with other exemplary vertues of that sort, and to keep them on in the sunshine and noone of prosperity he findeth to be as necessary, and as difficult at least, as to be cloathed with perfect patience and Christian fortitude in the cold midnight stormes of persecution and adversity. He keepeth his watch and ward night and day against the proper and peculiar temptations of his state of Life,*

which are principally these two, Spirituall pride, and Impurity of heart. Against these ghostly enemies he girdeth up his loynes, keepes the imagination from roving, puts on the whole Armour of God, and by the vertue of the shield of faith he is not afraid of the pestilence that walketh in darkenesse, [*carnall impurity,*] *nor of the sicknesse that destroyeth at noone day,* [*Ghostly pride and self-conceit.*] *Other temptations he hath which, like mortall enemies, may sometimes disquiet him likewise; for the humane soule being bounded and kept in in her sensitive faculty, will runne out more or lesse in her intellectuall. Originall concupisence is such an active thing, by reason of continuall inward or outward temptations, that it is ever attempting or doing one mischief or other. Ambition, or untimely desire of promotion to an higher state or place, under colour of accommodation or necessary provision, is a common temptation to men of any eminency, especially being single men. Curiosity in prying into high speculative and unprofitable questions is another great stumbling block to the holinesse of Scholers. These and many other spirituall wickednesses in high places doth the Parson fear, or experiment,*[1] *or both; and that much more being single then if he were marryed; for then commonly the stream of temptation is turned another way, into Covetousnesse, Love of pleasure, or ease, or the like. If the Parson be unmarryed and means to continue so, he doth at least as much as hath been said.* If he be

marryed, the choyce of his wife was made rather by his eare [1] then by his eye; his judgement, not his affection, found out a fit wife for him, whose humble and liberall disposition he preferred before beauty, riches, or honour. *He knew that (the good instrument of God to bring women to heaven) a wise and loving husband could out of humility, produce any speciall grace of faith, patience, meeknesse, love, obedience,* &c. *and out of liberality make her fruitfull in all good works.* As hee is just in all things, so is he to his wife also, counting nothing so much his owne as that he may be unjust unto it. Therefore he gives her respect both afore her servants and others, and halfe at least of the government of the house, reserving so much of the affaires as serve for a diversion for him; yet never so giving over the raines but that he sometimes looks how things go, demanding an account,[2] but not by the way of an account. And this must bee done the oftner or the seldomer according as hee is satisfied of his Wife's discretion.

Chapter X

A Parson in his House

THE Parson is very exact in the governing of his house, making it a copy and modell for his Parish. He knows the temper and pulse of every person in his house, and accordingly either meets with[1] their vices or advanceth their vertues. His wife is either religious, or night and day he is winning her to it. In stead of the qualities of the world, he requires onely three of her: first, a trayning up of her children and mayds in the fear of God, with prayers and catechizing and all religious duties. Secondly, a curing and healing of all wounds and sores with her owne hands; which skill either she brought with her or he takes care she shall learn it of some religious neighbour. Thirdly, a providing for her family in such sort as that neither they want a competent sustentation nor her husband be brought in debt. His children[2] he first makes Christians and then Common-wealths-men; the one he owes to his heavenly Countrey, the other to his earthly, having no title to either except he do good to both. Therefore having seasoned them with all Piety, not only of words in praying and reading, but in actions, in visiting other sick chil-

dren and tending their wounds, and sending his charity by them to the poor, and sometimes giving them a little money to do it of themselves, that they get a delight in it and enter favour with God, who weighs even children's actions, 1 *King.* 14. 12, 13; he afterwards turnes his care to fit all their dispositions with some calling, not sparing the eldest, but giving him the prerogative of his Father's profession, which happily [1] for his other children he is not able to do. Yet in binding them prentices (in case he think fit to do so) he takes care not to put them into vain trades and unbefitting the reverence of their Father's calling, such as are tavernes for men and lace-making for women; because those trades for the most part serve but the vices and vanities of the world, which he is to deny and not augment. However, he resolves with himself never to omit any present good deed of charity in consideration of providing a stock for his children; but assures himselfe that mony thus lent to God is placed surer for his children's advantage then if it were given to the Chamber of *London.*[2] Good deeds and good breeding are his two great stocks for his children; if God give any thing above those and not spent in them, he blesseth God and lays it out as he sees cause. His servants are all religious; and were it not his duty to have them so, it were his profit, for none are so well served as by religious servants, both because they do best and because what they do

is blessed and prospers. After religion, he teacheth them that three things make a compleate servant: Truth, and Diligence, and Neatnesse or Cleanlinesse. Those that can read are allowed times for it, and those that cannot are taught; for all in his house are either teachers or learners or both, so that his family is a Schoole of Religion, and they all account that to teach the ignorant is the greatest almes. Even the wals are not idle, but something is written or painted there which may excite the reader to a thought of piety; especially the 101 *Psalm*, which is expressed in a fayre table as being the rule of a family. And when they go abroad, his wife among her neighbours is the beginner of good discourses, his children among children, his servants among other servants; so that as in the house of those that are skill'd in Musick all are Musicians; so in the house of a Preacher all are preachers. He suffers not a ly or equivocation by any means in his house, but counts it the art and secret of governing to preserve a directinesse and open plainnesse in all things; so that all his house knowes that there is no help for a fault done but confession. He *himselfe* or his *Wife* takes account of Sermons,[1] and how every one profits, comparing this yeer with the last; and besides the common prayers of the family, he straitly requires of all to pray by themselves before they sleep at night and stir out in the morning, and knows what prayers they say, and till they have learned them makes

them kneel by him; esteeming that this private praying is a more voluntary act in them then when they are called to others' prayers, and that which when they leave the family they carry with them. He keeps his servants between love and fear, according as hee findes them, but generally he distributes it thus: to his Children he shewes more love than terrour, to his servants more terrour than love, but an old good servant boards a child.[1] The furniture of his house is very plain, but clean, whole, and sweet, as sweet as his garden can make; for he hath no mony for such things, charity being his only perfume, which deserves cost when he can spare it. His fare is plain and common, but wholsome; what hee hath is little, but very good; it consisteth most of mutton, beefe, and veal. If he addes anything for a great day or a stranger, his garden or orchard supplies it, or his barne and backside;[2] he goes no further for any entertainment lest he goe into the world, esteeming it absurd that he should exceed who teacheth others temperance. But those which his home produceth he refuseth not, as coming cheap and easie, and arising from the improvement of things, which otherwise would be lost. Wherein he admires and imitates the wonderfull providence and thrift of the great householder of the world. For there being two things which as they are are unuseful to man, the one for smalnesse, as crums and scattered corn and the like; the other for the foulnesse, as

wash and durt and things thereinto fallen; God hath provided Creatures for both: for the first, poultry; for the second, swine. These save man the labour and doing that which either he could not do or was not fit for him to do, by taking both sorts of food into them, do as it were dresse and prepare both for man in themselves, by growing themselves fit for his table. The Parson in his house observes fasting dayes; and particularly, as Sunday is his day of joy so Friday his day of Humiliation, which he celebrates not only with abstinence of diet but also of company, recreation, and all outward contentments; and besides, with confession of sins and all acts of Mortification.[1] Now fasting days containe a treble obligation: first, of eating lesse that day then on other dayes; secondly, of eating no pleasing or over-nourishing things, as the Israelites did eate sowre herbs: thirdly, of eating no flesh, which is but the determination of the second rule by Authority to this particular. The two former obligations are much more essentiall to a true fast then the third and last; and fasting dayes were fully performed by keeping of the two former, had not Authority interposed; so that to eat little, and that unpleasant, is the naturall rule of fasting, although it be flesh. For since fasting in Scripture language is an afflicting of our souls, if a peece of dry flesh at my table be more unpleasant to me then some fish there, certainly to eat the flesh and not the fish is

to keep the fasting day naturally. And it is observable that the prohibiting of flesh came from hot Countreys where both flesh alone, and much more with wine, is apt to nourish more then in cold regions, and where flesh may be much better spared and with more safety then elsewhere, where both the people and the drink being cold and flegmatick, the eating of flesh is an antidote to both. For it is certaine that a weak stomack, being prepossessed with flesh, shall much better brooke and bear a draught of beer then if it had taken before either fish, or rootes, or such things; which will discover it selfe by spitting, and rheume, or flegme. To conclude, the Parson, if he be in full health, keeps the three obligations, eating fish or roots,[1] and that for quantity little, for quality unpleasant. If his body be weak and obstructed, as most Students are, he cannot keep the last obligation nor suffer others in his house that are so to keep it; but only the two former, which also in diseases of exinanition (as consumptions) must be broken: For meat was made for man, not man for meat. To all this may be added, not for emboldening the unruly but for the comfort of the weak, that not onely sicknesse breaks these obligations of fasting but sicklinesse also. For it is as unnatural to do any thing that leads me to a sicknesse to which I am inclined, as not to get out of that sicknesse when I am in it by any diet. One thing is evident, that an English body and a Student's body are two

great obstructed vessels; and there is nothing that is food, and not phisick, which doth lesse obstruct then flesh moderately taken; as being immoderately taken, it is exceeding obstructive. And obstructions are the cause of most diseases.

Chapter XI

The Parson's Courtesie

THE Countrey Parson owing a debt of Charity to the poor and of Courtesie to his other parishioners, he so distinguisheth that he keeps his money for the poor and his table for those that are above Alms. Not but that the poor are welcome also to his table, whom he sometimes purposely takes home with him, setting them close by him and carving for them, both for his own humility and their comfort, who are much cheered with such friendlineses. But since both is to be done, the better sort invited and meaner relieved, he chooseth rather to give the poor money, which they can better employ to their own advantage and sutably to their needs, then so much given in meat at dinner. Having then invited some of his Parish, hee taketh his times to do the like to the rest, so that in the compasse of the year hee hath them all with him; because countrey people are very observant of such things, and will not be perswaded but being not invited they are hated. Which perswasion the Parson by all means avoyds, knowing that where there are such conceits there is no room for his doctrine to enter. Yet doth hee often-

est invite those whom hee sees take best courses, that so both they may be encouraged to persevere and others spurred to do well, that they may enjoy the like courtesie. For though he desire that all should live well and vertuously not for any reward of his, but for vertue's sake, yet that will not be so; and therefore as God, although we should love him onely for his own sake yet out of his infinite pity hath set forth heaven for a reward to draw men to Piety, and is content if at least so they will become good; So the Countrey Parson, who is a diligent observer and tracker of God's wayes, sets up as many encouragements to goodnesse as he can, both in honour, and profit, and fame; that he may, if not the best way, yet any way make his Parish good.

Chapter XII

The Parson's Charity

THE Countrey Parson is full of Charity; it is his predominant element. For many and wonderfull things are spoken of thee, thou great Vertue. To Charity is given the covering of sins, 1 *Pet.* 4. 8; and the forgivenesse of sins, *Matthew* 6. 14, *Luke* 7. 47; the fulfilling of the Law, *Romans* 13. 10; the life of faith, *James* 2. 26; the blessings of this life, *Proverbs* 22. 9, *Psalm* 41. 2; and the reward of the next, *Matth.* 25. 35. In brief, it is the body of Religion, *John* 13. 35, and the top of Christian vertues, 1 *Corin.* 13. Wherefore all his works rellish of Charity. When he riseth in the morning, he bethinketh himselfe what good deeds he can do that day, and presently[1] doth them; counting that day lost wherein he hath not exercised his Charity. He first considers his own Parish, and takes care that there be not a begger or idle person in his Parish, but that all bee in a competent way of getting their living. This he affects either by bounty, or perswasion, or by authority, making use of that excellent statute which bindes all Parishes to maintaine their own. If his Parish be riche, he exacts this of them; if poor, and he

able, he easeth them therein. But he gives no set pension to any; for this in time will lose the name and effect of Charity with the poor people, though not with God. For then they will reckon upon it, as on a debt; and if it be taken away, though justly, they will murmur and repine as much as he that is disseized of his own inheritance. But the Parson having a double aime, and making a hook of his Charity, causeth them still to depend on him; and so by continuall and fresh bounties, unexpected to them but resolved to himself, hee wins them to praise God more, to live more religiously, and to take more paines in their vocation, as not knowing when they shal be relieved; which otherwise they would reckon upon and turn to idlenesse. Besides this generall provision, he hath other times of opening his hand: as at great Festivals and Communions, not suffering any that day that he receives to want a good meal suting to the joy of the occasion. But specially at hard times and dearths he even parts his Living and life among them, giving some corn outright, and selling other at under rates; and when his own stock serves not, working those that are able to the same charity, still pressing it in the pulpit and out of the pulpit, and never leaving them till he obtaine his desire. Yet in all his Charity he distinguisheth, giving them most who live best, and take most paines, and are most charged. So is his charity in effect a Sermon. After the consideration

of his own Parish he inlargeth himself, if he be able, to the neighbourhood; for that also is some kind of obligation. So doth he also to those at his door, whom God puts in his way and makes his neighbours. But these he helps not without some testimony, except the evidence of the misery bring testimony with it. For though these testimonies also may be falsifyed, yet considering that the Law allows these in case they be true, but allows by no means to give without testimony, as he obeys Authority in the one, so that being once satisfied he allows his Charity some blindnesse in the other; especially since of the two commands we are more injoined to be charitable then wise. But evident miseries have a naturall priviledge and exemption from all law. When-ever hee gives any thing and sees them labour in thanking of him, he exacts of them to let him alone and say rather, God be praised, God be glorified; that so the thanks may go the right way, and thither onely where they are onely due. So doth hee also before giving make them say their Prayers first, or the Creed and ten Commandments, and as he finds them perfect rewards them the more. For other givings are lay and secular, but this is to give like a Priest.

Chapter XIII

The Parson's Church

THE Countrey Parson hath a speciall care of his Church, that all things there be decent and befitting his Name by which it is called. Therefore, first he takes order that all things be in good repair: as walls plaistered, windows glazed, floore paved, seats whole, firm, and uniform; especially that the Pulpit and Desk, and Communion Table and Font, be as they ought for those great duties that are performed in them. Secondly, that the Church be swept and kept cleane, without dust or Cobwebs, and at great festivalls strawed, and stuck with boughs, and perfumed with incense.[1] Thirdly, that there be fit and proper texts of Scripture every where painted, and that all the painting be grave and reverend, not with light colours or foolish anticks. Fourthly, That all the books appointed by Authority be there, and those not torne, or fouled, but whole; and clean, and well bound; and that there be a fitting and sightly Communion cloth *of fine linnen, with an handsome and seemly Carpet of good and costly Stuffe or Cloth, and all kept sweet and clean, in a strong and decent chest, with a Chalice and Cover, and*

a Stoop or Flagon, and a Bason for Almes and offerings; besides which he hath a Poor-man's box conveniently seated, to receive the charity of well minded people and to lay up treasure for the sick and needy. And all this he doth not as out of necessity, or as putting a holiness in the things, but as desiring to keep the middle way [1] between superstition and slovenlinesse, and as following the Apostle's two great and admirable Rules in things of this nature: The first whereof is, *Let all things be done decently and in order;* The second, *Let all things be done to edification*, 1 Cor. 14. For these two rules comprize and include the double object of our duty, God, and our neighbour: the first being for the honour of God, the second for the benefit of our neighbor. So that they excellently score out the way, and fully and exactly contain, even in externall and indifferent things, what course is to be taken; and put them to great shame who deny the Scripture to be perfect.

Chapter XIV

The Parson in Circuit

THE Countrey Parson upon the afternoons[1] in the weekdays takes occasion sometimes to visite in person now one quarter of his Parish, now another. For there he shall find his flock most naturally as they are, wallowing in the midst of their affairs; whereas on Sundays it is easie for them to compose themselves to order, which they put on as their holy-day cloathes, and come to Church in frame, but commonly the next day put off both. When he comes to any house, first he blesseth it, and then as hee finds the persons of the house imployed so he formes his discourse. Those that he findes religiously imployed, hee both commends them much and furthers them when hee is gone, in their imployment: as, if hee findes them reading, hee furnisheth them with good books; if curing poor people, hee supplies them with Receipts and instructs them further in that skill, shewing them how acceptable such works are to God, and wishing them ever to do the Cures with their own hands and not to put them over to servants. Those that he finds busie in the works of their calling, he commendeth them also: for it is a good and

just thing for every one to do their own busines. But then he admonisheth them of two things: first, that they dive not too deep into worldly affairs, plunging themselves over head and eares into carking and caring; but that they so labour as neither to labour anxiously, nor distrustfully, nor profanely. Then they labour anxiously when they overdo it, to the loss of their quiet and health; then distrustfully, when they doubt God's providence, thinking that their own labour is the cause of their thriving, as if it were in their own hands to thrive or not to thrive. *Then they labour profanely, when they set themselves to work like brute beasts, never raising their thoughts to God. nor sanctifying their labour with daily prayer; when on the Lord's day they do unnecessary servile work, or in time of divine service on other holy days, except in the cases of extreme poverty, and in the seasons of Seed-time and Harvest.* Secondly, he adviseth them so to labour for wealth and maintenance as that they make not that the end of their labour, but that they may have wherewithall to serve God the better and to do good deeds. After these discourses, if they be poor and needy whom he thus finds labouring, he gives them somewhat; and opens not only his mouth but his purse to their relief, that so they go on more cheerfully in their vocation, and himself be ever the more welcome to them. Those that the Parson findes idle, or ill employed, he chides not at first, for that were neither civill

nor profitable; but always in the close, before he departs from them. Yet in this he distinguisheth. For if he be a plaine countryman, he reproves him plainly; for they are not sensible of finenesse. If they be of higher quality, they commonly are quick and sensible, and very tender of reproof; and therefore he lays his discourse so that he comes to the point very leasurely, and oftentimes, as *Nathan* did, in the person of another, making them to reprove themselves. However, one way or other, he ever reproves them, that he may keep himself pure and not be intangled in others' sinnes. Neither in this doth he forbear though there be company by. For as when the offence is particular and against mee, I am to follow our Saviour's rule and to take my brother aside and reprove him; so when the offence is publicke and against God, I am then to follow the Apostle's rule, 1 *Timothy* 5, 20, and to *rebuke openly* that which is done openly. Besides these occasionall discourses, the Parson questions what order is kept in the house: as about prayers morning and evening on their knees, reading of Scripture, catechizing, singing of Psalms at their work and on holy days; who can read, who not; and sometimes he hears the children read himselfe and blesseth, encouraging also the servants to learn to read and offering to have them taught on holy-dayes by his servants. If the Parson were ashamed of particularizing in these things, hee were not fit to be a Parson; but he holds

the Rule that Nothing is little[1] in God's service. If it once have the honour of that Name, it grows great instantly. Wherfore neither disdaineth he to enter into the poorest Cottage, though he even creep into it and though it smell never so lothsomly. For both God is there also and those for whom God dyed; and so much the rather doth he so as his accesse to the poor is more comfortable then to the rich; and in regard of himselfe, it is more humiliation. These are the Parson's generall aims in his Circuit; but with these he mingles other discourses for conversation sake, and to make his higher purposes slip the more easily.

Chapter XV

The Parson Comforting

THE Countrey Parson, when any of his cure is sick, or afflicted with losse of friend, or estate, or any ways distressed, fails not to afford his best comforts, and rather goes to them then sends for the afflicted, though they can and otherwise ought to come to him. To this end he hath throughly digested all the points of consolation, as having continuall use of them, such as are from God's generall providence extended even to lillyes; from his particular to his Church; from his promises, from the examples of all Saints that ever were; from Christ himself, perfecting our Redemption no other way then by sorrow; from the Benefit of affliction, which softens and works the stubborn heart of man; from the certainty both of deliverance and reward, if we faint not; from the miserable comparison of the moment of griefs here with the weight of joyes hereafter. *Besides this, in his visiting the sick or otherwise afflicted, he followeth the Churches counsell, namely, in perswading them to particular confession, labouring to make them understand the great good use of this antient and pious ordinance, and how necessary it is in some*

cases. He also urgeth them to do some pious charitable works as a necessary evidence and fruit of their faith, at that time especially; the participation of the holy Sacrament, how comfortable and Soveraigne a Medicine it is to all sinsick souls; what strength and joy and peace it administers against all temptations, even to death it selfe, he plainly and generally intimateth to the disaffected or sick person, that so the hunger and thirst after it may come rather from themselves then from his perswasion.

Chapter XVI

The Parson a Father

THE Countrey Parson is[1] not only a father to his flock but also professeth himselfe throughly of the opinion, carrying it about with him as fully as if he had begot his whole Parish. And of this he makes great use. For by this means when any sinns, he hateth him not as an officer but pityes him as a Father. And even in those wrongs which either in tithing or otherwise are done to his owne person hee considers the offender as a child and forgives, so hee may have any signe of amendment. So also when after many admonitions any continue to be refractory, yet hee gives him not over, but is long before hee proceede to disinheriting, or perhaps never goes so far, knowing that some are called at the eleventh houre; and therefore hee still expects and waits, least hee should determine God's houre of coming; which as hee cannot, touching the last day, so neither touching the intermediate days of Conversion.

Chapter XVII

The Parson in Journey

THE Countrey Parson, when a just occasion calleth him out of his Parish (which he diligently and strictly weigheth, his Parish being all his joy and thought) leaveth not his Ministry behind him, but is himselfe where ever he is. Therefore those he meets on the way he blesseth audibly, and with those he overtakes or that overtake him hee begins good discourses, such as may edify, interposing sometimes some short and honest refreshments which may make his other discourses more welcome and lesse tedious. And when he comes to his Inn he refuseth not to joyne, that he may enlarge the glory of God to the company he is in by a due blessing of God for their safe arrival, and saying grace at meat, and at going to bed by giving the Host notice that he will have prayers in the hall, wishing him to informe his guests thereof, that if any be willing to partake, they may resort thither. The like he doth in the morning, using pleasantly the outlandish proverb,[1] that *Prayers and Provender never hinder journey.* When he comes to any other house, where *his kindred or other relations give him any authority over*

the Family, if hee be to stay for a time, hee considers diligently the state thereof to Godward, and that in two points: First, what disorders there are either in Apparell, or Diet, or too open a Buttery, or reading vain books, or swearing, or breeding up children to no Calling, but in idleness or the like. Secondly, what means of Piety, whether daily prayers be used, Grace, reading of Scriptures, and other good books, how *Sundayes, holy-days, and fasting days* are kept. And accordingly as he finds any defect in these, hee first considers with himselfe what kind of remedy fits the temper of the house best, and then hee faithfully and boldly applyeth it; yet seasonably and discreetly, by taking aside the Lord or Lady, or *Master* and *Mistres* of the house, and shewing them cleerly that they respect them most who wish them best, and that not a desire to meddle with others' affairs, but the earnestnesse to do all the good he can moves him to say thus and thus.

Chapter XVIII

The Parson in Scntinell

THE Countrey Parson, where ever he is, keeps God's watch: that is, there is nothing spoken or done in the Company where he is but comes under his Test and censure.[1] If it be well spoken or done, he takes occasion to commend and enlarge it; if ill, he presently lays hold of it, least the poyson steal into some young and unwary spirits and possesse them even before they themselves heed it. But this he doth discretely, with mollifying and suppling words: This was not so well said as it might have been forborn; We cannot allow this. Or else if the thing will admit interpretation: Your meaning is not thus, but thus; or, So farr indeed what you say is true and well said, but this will not stand. This is called keeping God's watch, when the baits which the enemy lays in company are discovered and avoyded. This is to be on God's side and be true to his party. Besides, if he perceive in company any discourse tending to ill, either by the wickedness or quarrelsomenesse thereof, he either prevents it judiciously or breaks it off seasonably by some diversion. Wherein a pleasantness of disposition is of great

use, men being willing to sell the interest and ingagement of their discourses for no price sooner then that of mirth; whither the nature of man, loving refreshment, gladly betakes it selfe, even to the losse of honour.

Chapter XIX

The Parson in Reference

THE Countrey Parson is sincere and upright in all his relations. And first, he is just to his Countrey: as when he is set at[1] an armour or horse, he borrowes them not to serve the turne, nor provides slight and unusefull, but such as are every way fitting to do his Countrey true and laudable service when occasion requires. To do otherwise is deceit, and therefore not for him, who is hearty and true in all his wayes, as being the servant of him in whom there was no guile. Likewise in any other Countrey-duty he considers what is the end of any Command, and then he suits things faithfully according to that end. Secondly, he carryes himself very respectively[2] as to all the Fathers of the Church, so especially to his Diocesan, honouring him both in word and behaviour and resorting unto him in any difficulty, either in his studies or in his Parish. He observes Visitations, and being there makes due use of them, as of Clergy councels for the benefit of the Diocese. And therefore before he comes, having observed some defects in the Ministry, he then either in Sermon, if he preach, or at some other time of the

day, propounds among his Brethren what were fitting to be done. Thirdly, he keeps good Correspondence with all the neighbouring Pastours round about him, performing for them any Ministeriall office which is not to the prejudice of his own Parish. Likewise he welcomes to his house any Minister, how poor or mean soever, with as joyfull a countenance as if he were to entertain some great Lord. Fourthly, he fulfills the duty and debt of neighbourhood to all the Parishes which are neer him. For the Apostle's rule, *Philip.* 4, being admirable and large, that *we should do whatsoever things are honest, or just, or pure, or lovely, or of good report, if there be any vertue, or any praise;* and Neighbourhood being ever reputed, even among the Heathen, as an obligation to do good, rather then to those that are further, where things are otherwise equall, therefore he satisfies this duty also. Especially if God have sent any calamity either by fire or famine to any neighbouring Parish, then he expects no Briefe;[1] but taking his Parish together *the next Sunday* or *holy-day* and exposing to them the uncertainty of humane affairs, none knowing whose turne may be next, and then when he hath affrighted them with this exposing the obligation of Charity and Neighbour-hood, he first gives himself liberally and then incites them to give; making together a summe either to be sent, or, which were more comfortable, all together choosing some fitt day

to carry it themselves and cheere the Afflicted. So if any neighbouring village be overburdened with poore and his owne lesse charged, he findes some way of releeving it and reducing the Manna and bread of Charity to some equality, representing to his people that the Blessing of God to them ought to make them the more charitable, and not the lesse, lest he cast their neighbours' poverty on them also.

Chapter XX

The Parson in God's Stead

THE Countrey Parson is in God's stead to his Parish, and dischargeth[1] God what he can of his promises. Wherefore there is nothing done either wel or ill whereof he is not the rewarder or punisher. If he chance to finde any reading in another's Bible, he provides him one of his own. If he finde another giving a poor man a penny, he gives him a tester for it, if the giver be fit to receive it; or if he be of a condition above such gifts, he sends him a good book or easeth him in his Tithes, telling him when he hath forgotten it, This I do because at such and such a time you were charitable. This is in some sort a discharging of God as concerning this life, who hath promised that Godlinesse shall be gainfull; but in the other, God is his own immediate paymaster, rewarding all good deeds to their full proportion. *The Parson's punishing of sin and vice is rather by withdrawing his bounty and courtesie from the parties offending, or by private or publick reproof, as the case requires, then by causing them to be presented or otherwise complained of. And yet as the malice of the person or hainousness of the crime may be, he*

is carefull to see condign punishment inflicted; and with truly godly zeal, without hatred to the person, hungreth and thirsteth after righteous punishment of unrighteousnesse. Thus both in rewarding vertue and in punishing vice, the Parson endeavoureth to be in God's stead, knowing that Countrey people are drawne or led by sense more then by faith, by present rewards or punishments more then by future.

Chapter XXI

The Parson Catechizing

THE Countrey Parson values Catechizing highly. For there being three points of his duty, the one to infuse a competent knowledge of salvation in every one of his Flock; the other to multiply and build up this knowledge to a spirituall Temple; the third to inflame this knowledge, to presse and drive it to practice, turning it to reformation of life by pithy and lively exhortations; Catechizing is the first point, and but by Catechizing the other cannot be attained. Besides, whereas in Sermons there is a kind of state, in Catechizing there is an humblesse very sutable to Christian regeneration, which exceedingly delights him as by way of exercise upon himself, and by way of preaching to himself for the advancing of his own mortification. For in preaching to others he forgets not himself, but is first a Sermon to himself and then to others, growing with the growth of his Parish. He useth and preferreth the ordinary Church-Catechism, partly for obedience to Authority, partly for uniformity sake, that the same common truths may be every where professed; especially since many remove from Parish to

Parish, who like Christian Souldiers are to give the word and to satisfie the Congregation by their Catholick answers. He exacts of all the Doctrine of the Catechisme: of the younger sort, the very words; of the elder, the substance. Those he Catechizeth publickly, these privately, giving age honour according to the Apostle's rule, 1 *Tim.* 5, 1. He requires all to be present at Catechizing: first, for the authority of the work; Secondly, that Parents and Masters, as they hear the answers prove, may when they come home either commend or reprove, either reward or punish. Thirdly, that those of the elder sort, who are not well grounded, may then by an honourable way take occasion to be better instructed. Fourthly, that those who are well grown in the knowledg of Religion may examine their grounds, renew their vowes, and by occasion of both inlarge their meditations. When once all have learned the words of the Catechisme, he thinks it the most usefull way that a Pastor can take to go over the same, but in other words. For many say the Catechisme by rote, as parrats, without ever piercing into the sense of it. In this course the order of the Catechisme would be kept, but the rest varyed. As thus in the Creed: How came this world to be as it is? Was it made, or came it by chance? Who made it? Did you see God make it? Then are there some things to be beleeved that are not seen? Is this the nature of beliefe? Is not Christianity full of such

things as are not to be seen, but beleeved? You said, God made the world; Who is God? And so forward, requiring answers to all these, and helping and cherishing the Answerer by making the Question very plaine with comparisons, and making much even of a word of truth from him. This order being used to one would be a little varyed to another. And this is an admirable way of teaching, wherein the Catechized will at length finde delight, and by which the Catechizer, if he once get the skill of it, will draw out of ignorant and silly[1] souls even the dark and deep points of Religion. *Socrates* did thus in Philosophy, who held that the seeds of all truths lay in every body, and accordingly by questions well ordered he found Philosophy in silly Tradesmen. That position will not hold in Christianity, because it contains things above nature; but after that the Catechisme is once learn'd, that which nature is towards Philosophy the Catechisme is towards Divinity. To this purpose some dialogues in *Plato* were worth the reading, where the singular dexterity of *Socrates* in this kind may be observed and imitated. Yet the skill consists but in these three points: First, an aim and mark of the whole discourse whither to drive the Answerer, which the Questionist must have in his mind before any question be propounded, upon which and to which the questions are to be chained. Secondly, a most plain and easie framing the question, even con-

taining in vertue[1] the answer also, especially to the more ignorant. Thirdly, when the answerer sticks, an illustrating the thing by something else which he knows, making what hee knows to serve him in that which he knows not: As, when the Parson once demanded after other questions about man's misery, Since man is so miserable, what is to be done? And the answerer could not tell; He asked him again, what he would do if he were in a ditch? This familiar illustration made the answer so plaine that he was even ashamed of his ignorance; for he could not but say he would hast out of it as fast he could. Then he proceeded to ask whether he could get out of the ditch alone, or whether he needed a helper, and who was that helper. This is the skill, and doubtlesse the Holy Scripture intends thus much when it condescends to the naming of a plough, a hatchet, a bushell, leaven, boyes piping and dancing; shewing that things of ordinary use are not only to serve in the way of drudgery, but to be washed and cleansed and serve for lights even of Heavenly Truths. This is the Practice which the Parson so much commends to all his fellow-labourers; the secret of whose good consists in this, that at Sermons and Prayers men may sleep or wander; but when one is asked a question, he must discover what he is. This practice exceeds even Sermons in teaching. But there being two things in Sermons, the one Informing, the other Inflaming; as Sermons come short of

questions in the one, so they farre exceed them in the other. For questions cannot inflame or ravish; that must be done by a set, and laboured, and continued speech.

Chapter XXII

The Parson in Sacraments

THE Countrey Parson being to administer the Sacraments, is at a stand with himself how or what behaviour to assume for so holy things. Especially at Communion times he is in a great confusion, as being not only to receive God, but to break and administer him. Neither findes he any issue in this but to throw himself down at the throne of grace, saying, Lord, thou knowest what thou didst when thou appointedst it to be done thus; therefore doe thou fulfill what thou didst appoint; for thou art not only the feast, but the way to it. At Baptisme, being himselfe in white, he requires the presence of all, and Baptizeth not willingly[1] but on Sundayes or great dayes. Hee admits no vaine or idle names, but such as are usuall and accustomed.[2] Hee says that prayer with great devotion where God is thanked for calling us to the knowledg of his grace, Baptisme being a blessing that the world hath not the like. He willingly and cheerfully crosseth the child, and thinketh the Ceremony not onely innocent but reverend. He instructeth the God-fathers and God-mothers that it is no complementall or light

thing to sustain that place, but a great honour and no less burden, as being done both in the presence of God and his Saints, and by way of undertaking for a Christian soul. He adviseth all to call to minde their Baptism often; for if wise men have thought it the best way of preserving a state to reduce it to its principles by which it grew great, certainly it is the safest course for Christians also to meditate on their Baptisme often (being the first step into their great and glorious calling) and upon what termes and with what vowes they were Baptized. At the times of the Holy Communion he first takes order with the Church-Wardens that the elements be of the best, not cheape or course,[1] much lesse ill-tasted or unwholesome. Secondly, hee considers and looks into the ignorance or carelessness of his flock, and accordingly applies himselfe with Catechizings and lively exhortations, not on the Sunday of the Communion only (for then it is too late,) but the Sunday, or Sundayes before the Communion, or on the Eves of all those dayes. If there be any who, having not received yet, is to enter into this great work, he takes the more pains with them, that hee may lay the foundation of future Blessings. The time of every one's first receiving is not so much by yeers as by understanding, particularly the rule may be this: When any one can distinguish the Sacramentall from common bread, knowing the Institution and the difference, hee ought to receive,

of what age soever. Children and youths are usually deferred too long, under pretence of devotion to the Sacrament, but it is for want of Instruction; their understandings being ripe enough for ill things, and why not then for better? But Parents and Masters should make hast in this, as to a great purchase for their children and servants; which while they deferr, both sides suffer: the one, in wanting many excitings of grace; the other, in being worse served and obeyed. The saying of the Catechism is necessary, but not enough; because to answer in form may still admit ignorance. But the Questions must be propounded loosely and wildely,[1] and then the Answerer will discover what hee is. Thirdly, For the manner of receiving, as the Parson useth all reverence himself, so he administers to none but to the reverent. The Feast indeed requires sitting, because it is a Feast; but man's unpreparednesse asks kneeling. Hee that comes to the Sacrament hath the confidence of a Guest, and hee that kneels confesseth himself an unworthy one and therefore differs from other Feasters; but hee that sits, or lies, puts up to[2] an Apostle. Contentiousnesse in a feast of Charity is more scandall then any posture. Fourthly, touching the frequency of the Communion, the Parson celebrates it, if not duly once a month, yet at least five or six times in the year: as, at Easter, Christmasse, Whitsuntide, afore and after Harvest, and the beginning of Lent. And this hee doth

not onely for the benefit of the work, but also for the discharge of the Church-wardens; who being to present all that receive not thrice a year, if there be but three Communions, neither can all the people sō order their affairs as to receive just at those times, nor the Church-Wardens so well take notice who receive thrice and who not.

Chapter XXIII

The Parson's Completenesse

THE Countrey Parson desires to be all to his Parish, and not onely a Pastour, but a Lawyer also, and a Physician. Therefore hee endures not that any of his Flock should go to Law, but in any Controversie that they should resort to him as their Judge. To this end he hath gotten to himself some insight in things ordinarily incident and controverted, by experience and by reading some initiatory treatises in the Law, with *Dalton's* Justice of Peace[1] and the Abridgements of the Statutes, as also by discourse with men of that profession, whom he hath ever some cases to ask when he meets with them; holding that rule that to put men to discourse of that wherein they are most eminent is the most gainfull way of Conversation. Yet when ever any controversie is brought to him he never decides it alone, but sends for three or four of the ablest of the Parish to hear the cause with him, whom he makes to deliver their opinion first; out of which he gathers, in case he be ignorant himself, what to hold; and so the thing passeth with more authority and lesse envy. In Judging, he followes that which is

altogether right; so that if the poorest man of the Parish detain but a pin unjustly from the richest, he absolutely restores it as a Judge; but when he hath so done, then he assumes the Parson and exhorts to Charity. Neverthelesse, there may happen sometimes some cases wherein he chooseth to permit his Parishioners rather to make use of the Law then himself; As in cases of an obscure and dark nature, not easily determinable by Lawyers themselves; or in cases of high consequence, as establishing of inheritances; or Lastly, when the persons in difference are of a contentious disposition and cannot be gained, but that they still fall from all compromises that have been made. But then he shews them how to go to Law, even as Brethren and not as enemies, neither avoyding therefore one another's company, much less defaming one another. Now as the Parson is in Law, so is he in sicknesse also: if there be any of his flock sick, hee is their Physician, or at least his Wife, of whom in stead of the qualities of the world he asks no other but to have the skill of healing a wound or helping the sick. But if neither himselfe nor his wife have the skil, and his means serve, hee keepes some young practitioner in his house for the benefit of his Parish, whom yet he ever exhorts not to exceed his bounds, but in tickle[1] cases to call in help. If all fail, then he keeps good correspondence with some neighbour Phisician, and entertaines him for the Cure of his Parish.

Yet is it easie for any Scholer to attaine to such a measure of Phisick as may be of much use to him both for himself and others. This is done by seeing one Anatomy,[1] reading one Book of Phisick, having one Herball by him. And let *Fernelius*[2] be the Phisick Authour, for he writes briefly, neatly, and judiciously; especially let his Method of Phisick be diligently perused, as being the practicall part and of most use. Now both the reading of him and the knowing of herbs may be done at such times as they may be an help and a recreation to more divine studies, Nature serving Grace both in comfort of diversion and the benefit of application when need requires; as also by way of illustration, even as our Saviour made plants and seeds to teach the people. For he was the true householder, who bringeth out of his treasure things new and old; the old things of Philosophy, and the new of Grace; and maketh the one serve the other. And I conceive our Saviour did this for three reasons: first, that by familiar things he might make his Doctrine slip the more easily into the hearts even of the meanest. Secondly, that labouring people (whom he chiefly considered) might have every where monuments of his Doctrine, remembring in gardens his mustard-seed and lillyes; in the field, his seed-corn and tares; and so not be drowned altogether in the works of their vocation, but sometimes lift up their minds to better things, even in the midst of their pains. Thirdly, that he might

set a Copy for Parsons. In the knowledge of simples, wherein the manifold wisedome of God is wonderfully to be seen, one thing would be carefully observed: which is, to know what herbs may be used in stead of drugs of the same nature, and to make the garden the shop. For home-bred medicines are both more easie for the Parson's purse, and more familiar for all men's bodyes. So, where the Apothecary useth either for loosing, Rubarb, or for binding, Bolearmena,[1] the Parson useth damask or white Roses for the one, and plantaine, shepherd's purse, knot-grasse for the other, and that with better successe. As for spices, he doth not onely prefer home-bred things before them, but condemns them for vanities and so shuts them out of his family, esteeming that there is no spice comparable, for herbs, to rosemary, time, savoury, mints; and for seeds, to Fennell and Carroway seeds. Accordingly, for salves his wife seeks not the city, but preferrs her garden and fields before all outlandish gums. And surely hyssope, valerian, mercury, adder's tongue, yerrow, melilot, and Saint *John's* wort made into a salve; And Elder, camomill, mallowes, comphrey and smallage made into a Poultis, have done great and rare cures. In curing of any, the Parson and his Family use to premise prayers, for this is to cure like a Parson, and this raiseth the action from the Shop to the Church. But though the Parson sets forward all Charitable deeds, yet he looks not in

this point of Curing beyond his own Parish, except the person bee so poor that he is not able to reward the Phisician; for as hee is Charitable, so he is just also. Now it is a justice and debt to the Commonwealth he lives in not to incroach on other's Professions, but to live on his own. And justice is the ground of Charity.

Chapter XXIV

The Parson Arguing

THE Countrey Parson, if there be any of his parish that hold strange Doctrins, useth all possible diligence to reduce[1] them to the common Faith. The first means he useth is Prayer, beseeching the Father of lights to open their eyes, and to give him power so to fit his discourse to them that it may effectually pierce their hearts and convert them. The second means is a very loving and sweet usage of them, both in going to and sending for them often, and in finding out Courtesies to place on them; as in their tithes or otherwise. The third means is the observation what is the main foundation and pillar of their cause, wherein they rely; as if he be a Papist, the Church is the hinge he turnes on; if a Scismatick, scandall. Wherefore the Parson hath diligently examined these two with himselfe, as what the Church is, how it began, how it proceeded, whether it be a rule to it selfe, whether it hath a rule, whether having a rule, it ought not to be guided by it; whether any rule in the world be obscure, and how then should the best be so, at least in fundamentall things, the obscurity in some points being the exercise of the Church, the light

in the foundations being the guide; The Church needing both an evidence, and an exercise. So for Scandall: what scandall is, when given or taken; whether, there being two precepts, one of obeying Authority, the other of not giving scandall, that ought not to be preferred, especially since in disobeying there is scandall also; whether things once indifferent being made by the precept of Authority more then indifferent, it be in our power to omit or refuse them. These and the like points hee hath accurately digested, having ever besides two great helps and powerfull perswaders on his side: the one, a strict religious life; the other an humble, and ingenuous search of truth; being unmoved in arguing and voyd of all contentiousnesse: which are two great lights able to dazle the eyes of the mis-led, while they consider that God cannot be wanting to them in Doctrine to whom he is so gracious in Life.

Chapter XXV

The Parson Punishing

WHENSOEVER the Countrey Parson proceeds so farre as to call in Authority, and to do such things of legall opposition either in the presenting or punishing of any as the vulgar ever consters[1] for signes of ill will, he forbears not in any wise to use the delinquent as before in his behaviour and carriage towards him, not avoyding his company or doing any thing of aversenesse, save in the very act of punishment. Neither doth he esteem him for an enemy, but as a brother still, except some small and temporary estranging may corroborate the punishment to a better subduing and humbling of the delinquent; which if it happily take effect, he then comes on the faster, and makes so much the more of him as before he alienated himselfe; doubling his regards, and shewing by all means that the delinquent's returne is to his advantage.

Chapter XXVI

The Parson's Eye

THE Countrey Parson at spare times from action, standing on a hill and considering his Flock, discovers two sorts of vices and two sorts of vicious persons. There are some vices whose natures are alwayes cleer and evident, as Adultery, Murder, Hatred, Lying, &c. There are other vices whose natures, at least in the beginning, are dark and obscure: as Covetousnesse and Gluttony. So likewise there are some persons who abstain not even from known sins; there are others who when they know a sin evidently, they commit it not. It is true indeed they are long a knowing it, being partiall to themselves and witty to others who shall reprove them from it. A man may be both Covetous and Intemperate, and yet hear Sermons against both and himselfe condemn both in good earnest. And the reason hereof is because the natures of these vices being not evidently discussed, or known commonly, the beginnings of them are not easily observable. And the beginnings of them are not observed because of the suddain passing from that which was just now lawfull to that which is presently unlawfull, even

in one continued action. So a man dining, eats at first lawfully; but proceeding on, comes to do unlawfully, even before he is aware; not knowing the bounds of the action, nor when his eating begins to be unlawfull. So a man storing up mony for his necessary provisions, both in present for his family and in future for his children, hardly perceives when his storing becomes unlawfull. Yet is there a period for his storing, and a point or center when his storing, which was even now good, passeth from good to bad. Wherefore the Parson being true to his businesse, hath exactly sifted the definitions of all vertues and vices; especially canvasing those whose natures are most stealing and beginnings uncertaine. Particularly concerning these two vices, not because they are all that are of this dark and creeping disposition, but for example sake and because they are most common, he thus thinks: first, for covetousnes, he lays this ground, Whosoever when a just occasion cals, either spends not at all, or not in some proportion to God's blessing upon him, is covetous. The reason of the ground is manifest, because wealth is given to that end to supply our occasions. Now if I do not give every thing its end, I abuse the Creature, I am false to my reason which should guide me, I offend the supreme Judg in perverting that order which he hath set both to things and to reason. The application of the ground would be infinite; but in brief, a poor man is an occasion,

my countrey is an occasion, my friend is an occasion, my Table is an occasion, my apparell is an occasion; if in all these, and those more which concerne me, I either do nothing, or pinch, and scrape, and squeeze blood undecently to the station wherein God hath placed me, I am Covetous. More particularly, and to give one instance for all, if God have given me servants, and I either provide too little for them or that which is unwholesome, being sometimes baned[1] meat, sometimes too salt, and so not competent nourishment, I am Covetous. I bring this example because men usually think that servants for their mony are as other things that they buy, even as a piece of wood, which they may cut, or hack, or throw into the fire, and so they pay them their wages all is well. Nay, to descend yet more particularly, if a man hath wherewithall to buy a spade, and yet hee chuseth rather to use his neighbour's and wear out that, he is covetous. Nevertheless, few bring covetousness thus low, or consider it so narrowly, which yet ought to be done, since there is a Justice in the least things, and for the least there shall be a judgment. Countrey-people are full of these petty injustices, being cunning to make use of another and spare themselves. And Scholers ought to be diligent in the observation of these, and driving of their generall Schoole rules ever to the smallest actions of Life; which while they dwell in their bookes, they will never finde, but being seated in

the Countrey and doing their duty faithfully, they will soon discover; especially if they carry their eyes ever open and fix them on their charge, and not on their preferment. Secondly, for Gluttony, The Parson lays this ground, He that either for quantity eats more than his health or imployments will bear, or for quality is licorous after dainties, is a glutton; as he that eats more than his estate will bear, is a Prodigall; and he that eats offensively to the Company, either in his order or length of eating, is scandalous and uncharitable. These three rules generally comprehend the faults of eating, and the truth of them needs no proofe; so that men must eat neither to the disturbance of their health, nor of their affairs, (which, being overburdened or studying dainties too much, they cannot wel dispatch) nor of their estate, nor of their brethren. One act in these things is bad, but it is the custome and habit that names a glutton. Many think they are at more liberty then they are, as if they were masters of their health, and so they will stand to the pain all is well. But to eat to one's hurt comprehends, besides the hurt, an act against reason, because it is unnaturall to hurt one's self; and this they are not masters of. Yet of hurtfull things, I am more bound to abstain from those which by mine own experience I have found hurtfull then from those which by a Common tradition and vulgar knowledge are reputed to be so. That which is said of hurtfull meats extends to

hurtfull drinks also. As for the quantity, touching our imployments, none must eat so as to disable themselves from a fit discharging either of Divine duties or duties of their calling. So that if after Dinner they are not fit (or un-weeldy) either to pray or work, they are gluttons. Not that all must presently work after dinner, (For they rather must not work, especially Students, and those that are weakly,) but that they must rise so as that it is not meate or drinke that hinders them from working. To guide them in this there are three rules: first, the custome and knowledg of their own body, and what it can well disgest; The second, the feeling of themselves in time of eating, which because it is deceitfull; (for one thinks in eating, that he can eat more, then afterwards he finds true); The third is the observation with what appetite they sit down. This last rule joyned with the first never fails. For knowing what one usually can well disgest and feeling when I go to meat in what disposition I am, either hungry or not, according as I feele my self either I take my wonted proportion or diminish of it. Yet Phisicians bid those that would live in health not keep an uniform diet, but to feed variously, now more, now lesse. And *Gerson*,[1] a spirituall man, wisheth all to incline rather to too much than to too little; his reason is, because diseases of exinanition are more dangerous then diseases of repletion. But the Parson distinguisheth according to his double aime, either

of Abstinence a moral vertue or Mortification a divine. When he deals with any that is heavy and carnall, he gives him those freer rules; but when he meets with a refined and heavenly disposition, he carryes them higher, even sometimes to a forgetting of themselves, knowing that there is one who when they forget remembers for them; As when the people hungred and thirsted after our Saviour's Doctrine, and tarryed so long at it that they would have fainted had they returned empty, He suffered it not; but rather made food miraculously then suffered so good desires to miscarry.

Chapter XXVII

The Parson in Mirth

THE Countrey Parson is generally sad, because hee knows nothing but the Crosse of Christ, his minde being defixed[1] on and with those nailes wherewith his Master was. Or if he have any leisure to look off from thence, he meets continually with two most sad spectacles, Sin, and Misery, God dishonoured every day and man afflicted. Neverthelesse, he somtimes refresheth himself, as knowing that nature will not bear everlasting droopings, and that pleasantnesse of disposition is a great key to do good; not onely because all men shun the company of perpetuall severity, but also for that when they are in company instructions seasoned with pleasantness both enter sooner and roote deeper. Wherefore he condescends to humane frailties both in himselfe and others, and intermingles some mirth in his discourses occasionally according to the pulse of the hearer.

Chapter XXVIII

The Parson in Contempt

THE Countrey Parson knows well that both for the generall ignominy which is cast upon the profession, and much more for those rules which out of his choysest judgment hee hath resolved to observe, and which are described in this Book, he must be despised; because this hath been the portion of God his Master and of God's Saints his Brethren, and this is foretold that it shall be so still until things be no more. Nevertheless, according to the Apostle's rule he endeavours that none shall despise him; especially in his own Parish he suffers it not to his utmost power; for that where contempt is, there is no room for instruction. This he procures, first, by his holy and unblameable life, which carries a reverence with it even above contempt. Secondly, by a courteous carriage and winning behaviour: he that wil be respected, must respect; doing kindnesses but receiving none, at least of those who are apt to despise; for this argues a height and eminency of mind which is not easily despised, except it degenerate to pride. Thirdly, by a bold and impartial reproof[1] even of the best in the

Parish, when occasion requires; for this may produce hatred in those that are reproved, but never contempt either in them, or others. Lastly, if the contempt shall proceed so far as to do any thing punishable by law, as contempt is apt to do, if it be not thwarted, *the Parson having a due respect both to the person and to the cause, referreth the whole matter to the examination and punishment of those which are in Authority;* that so the sentence lighting upon one, the example may reach to all. But if the Contempt be not punishable by Law, or being so the Parson think it in his descretion either unfit or bootelesse to contend, then when any despises him, he takes it either in an humble way, saying nothing at all; or else in a slighting way, shewing that reproaches touch him no more then a stone thrown against heaven, where he is and lives; or in a sad way, grieved at his own and others' sins, which continually breake God's Laws and dishonour him with those mouths which he continually fils and feeds; or else in a doctrinall way, saying to the contemner, Alas, why do you thus? you hurt your selfe, not me; he that throws a stone at another hits himselfe; and so between gentle reasoning and pitying he overcomes the evill; or lastly, in a Triumphant way, being glad and joyfull that hee is made conformable to his Master; and being in the world as he was, hath this undoubted pledge of his salvation. These are the five shields wherewith the Godly

receive the darts of the wicked; leaving anger and retorting and revenge to the children of the world, whom another's ill mastereth and leadeth captive without any resistance, even in resistance to the same destruction. For while they resist the person that reviles, they resist not the evill which takes hold of them and is farr the worse enemy.

Chapter XXIX

The Parson with his Church-Wardens

THE Countrey Parson doth often, both publickly and privately instruct his Church-Wardens what a great Charge lyes upon them, and that indeed the whole order and discipline of the Parish is put into their hands. If himselfe reforme anything, it is out of the overflowing of his Conscience, whereas they are to do it by Command and by Oath. Neither hath the place its dignity from the Ecclesiasticall Laws only, since even by the Common Statute-Law they are taken for a kinde of Corporation, as being persons enabled by that Name to take moveable goods or chattels, and to sue and to be sued at the Law concerning such goods for the use and profit of their Parish; and by the same Law they are to levy penalties for negligence in resorting to church, or for disorderly carriage in time of divine service. Wherefore the Parson suffers not the place to be vilified or debased by being cast on the lower ranke of people, but invites and urges the best unto it, shewing that they do not loose or go lesse but gaine by it; it being the greatest honor of this world to do God and his chosen service, or as

David says, to be even a door-keeper in the house of God. Now the Canons being the Church-Warden's rule, the Parson adviseth them to read or hear them read often, as also the visitation Articles which are grounded upon the Canons, that so they may know their duty and keep their oath the better. In which regard, considering the great Consequence of their place and more of their oath, he wisheth them by no means to spare any, though never so great; but if after gentle and neighbourly admonitions they still persist in ill, to present them; yea though they be tenants, or otherwise ingaged to the delinquent. For their obligation to God and their own soul is above any temporall tye. Do well and right, and let the world sinke.

Chapter XXX

The Parson's Consideration of Providence

THE Countrey Parson considering the great aptnesse Countrey people have to think that all things come by a kind of naturall course, and that if they sow and soyle their grounds, they must have corn; if they keep and fodder well their cattel, they must have milk and Calves; labours to reduce them to see God's hand in all things, and to beleeve that things are not set in such an inevitable order but that God often changeth it according as he sees fit, either for reward or punishment. To this end he represents to his flock that God hath and exerciseth a threefold power in every thing which concernes man. The first is a sustaining power, the second a governing power, the third a spirituall power. By his sustaining power he preserves and actuates every thing in his being, so that corne doth not grow by any other vertue then by that which he continually supplyes, as the corn needs it; without which supply the corne would instantly dry up, as a river would if the fountain were stopped. And it is observable that if anything could presume of an inevitable course and constancy in their operations, cer-

tainly it should be either the sun in heaven or the fire on earth, by reason of their fierce, strong, and violent natures; yet when God pleased, the sun stood stil, the fire burned not. By God's governing power he preserves and orders the references of things one to the other, so that though the corn do grow and be preserved in that act by his sustaining power, yet if he suite not other things to the growth, as seasons and weather and other accidents by his governing power, the fairest harvests come to nothing. And it is observable, that God delights to have men feel and acknowledg and reverence his power, and therefore he often overturnes things when they are thought past danger; that is his time of interposing: As when a Merchant hath a ship come home after many a storme which it hath escaped, he destroyes it sometimes in the very Haven; or if the goods be housed, a fire hath broken forth and suddenly consumed them. Now this he doth that men should perpetuate and not break off their acts of dependance, how faire soever the opportunities present themselves. So that if a farmer should depend upon God all the yeer, and being ready to put hand to sickle shall then secure himself and think all cock-sure; then God sends such weather as lays the corn and destroys it; or if he depend on God further, even till he imbarn his corn, and then think all sure; God sends a fire, and consumes all that he hath; For that he ought not to

break off, but to continue his dependance on God, not onely before the corne is inned, but after also; and indeed to depend and fear continually. The third power is spirituall, by which God turnes all outward blessings to inward advantages. So that if a Farmer hath both a faire harvest, and that also well inned and imbarned and continuing safe there, yet if God give him not the Grace to use and utter this well, all his advantages are to his losse. Better were his corne burnt then not spiritually improved. And it is observable in this, how God's goodnesse strives with man's refractorinesse. Man would sit down at this world; God bids him sell it and purchase a better. Just as a Father, who hath in his hand an apple and a piece of Gold under it; the Child comes, and with pulling gets the apple out of his Father's hand; his Father bids him throw it away and he will give him the gold for it, which the Child utterly refusing, eats it and is troubled with wormes.[1] So is the carnall and wilfull man with the worm of the grave in this world, and the worm of Conscience in the next.

Chapter XXXI

The Parson in Liberty

THE Countrey Parson observing the manifold wiles of Satan (who playes his part sometimes in drawing God's Servants from him, sometimes in perplexing them in the service of God) stands fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. This Liberty he compasseth by one distinction, and that is, of what is Necessary and what is Additionary. As for example: It is necessary, that all Christians should pray twice a day, every day of the week, and four times on Sunday, if they be well. This is so necessary and essentiall to a Christian that he cannot without this maintain himself in a Christian state. Besides this, the Godly have ever added some houres of prayer, as at nine, or at three, or at midnight, or as they think fit and see cause, or rather as God's spirit leads them. But these prayers are not necessary, but additionary. Now it so happens that the godly petitioner upon some emergent interruption in the day, or by oversleeping himself at night, omits his additionary prayer. Upon this his mind begins to be perplexed and troubled, and Satan, who knows the exigent,[1] blows the fire, endeavouring to dis-

order the Christian and put him out of his station, and to inlarge the perplexity, untill it spread and taint his other duties of piety, which none can perform so wel in trouble as in calmness. Here the Parson interposeth with his distinction, and shews the perplexed Christian that this prayer being additionary, not necessary, taken in, not commanded, the omission thereof upon just occasion ought by no means trouble him. God knows the occasion as wel as he, and He is as a gracious Father, who more accepts a common course of devotion then dislikes an occasionall interruption. And of this he is so to assure himself as to admit no scruple, but to go on as cheerfully as if he had not been interrupted. By this it is evident that the distinction is of singular use and comfort, especially to pious minds, which are ever tender and delicate. But here there are two Cautions to be added. First, that this interruption proceed not out of slacknes or coldness, which will appear if the Pious soul foresee and prevent such interruptions, what he may before they come, and when for all that they do come he be a little affected therewith, but not afflicted or troubled; if he resent it to a mislike, but not a griefe. Secondly, that this interruption proceede not out of shame. As for example: A godly man, not out of superstition, but of reverence to God's house, resolves whenever he enters into a Church to kneel down and pray, either blessing God that he will be pleased to

dwell among men; or beseeching him, that whenever he repaires to his house, he may behave himself so as befits so great a presence; and this briefly. But it happens that neer the place where he is to pray he spyes some scoffing ruffian, who is likely to deride him for his paines. If he now shall either for fear or shame break his custome, he shall do passing ill. So much the rather ought he to proceed as that by this he may take into his Prayer humiliation also. On the other side, if I am to visit the sick in haste and my neerest way ly through the Church, I will not doubt to go without staying to pray there (but onely, as I passe, in my heart) because this kinde of Prayer is additionary, not necessary, and the other duty overweighs it. So that if any scruple arise, I will throw it away, and be most confident that God is not displeased. This distinction may runne through all Christian duties, and it is a great stay and setling to religious souls.

Chapter XXXII

The Parson's Surveys

THE Countrey Parson hath not onely taken a particular Servey of the faults of his own Parish, but a generall also of the diseases of the time, that so when his occasions carry him abroad or bring strangers to him he may be the better armed to encounter them. The great and nationall sin of this Land he esteems to be Idlenesse;[1] great in it selfe, and great in Consequence. For when men have nothing to do, then they fall to drink, to steal, to whore, to scoffe, to revile, to all sorts of gamings. Come, say they, we have nothing to do, lets go to the Tavern, or to the stews or what not. Wherefore the Parson strongly opposeth this sin, whersoever he goes. And because Idleness is twofold, the one in having no calling, the other in walking carelesly in our calling, he first represents to every body the necessity of a vocation. The reason of this assertion is taken from the nature of man, wherein God hath placed two great Instruments, Reason in the soul and a hand in the Body, as ingagements of working; So that even in Paradise man had a calling, and how much more out of Paradise, when the evills which he is now subject

unto may be prevented, or diverted by reasonable imployment. Besides, every gift or ability is a talent to be accounted for and to be improved to our Master's Advantage. Yet is it also a debt to our Countrey to have a Calling, and it concernes the Common-wealth that none should be idle, but all busied. Lastly, riches are the blessing of God and the great instrument of doing admirable good; therfore all are to procure them honestly and seasonably, when they are not better imployed. Now this reason crosseth not our Saviour's precept of selling what we have, because when we have sold all and given it to the poor, we must not be idle, but labour to get more that we may give more, according to St. *Paul's* rule, *Ephes.* 4. 28, 1 *Thes.* 4. 11, 12. So that our Saviour's selling is so far from crossing Saint *Paul's* working that it rather establisheth it, since they that have nothing are fittest to work. Now because the onely opposer to this Doctrine is the Gallant who is witty enough to abuse both others and himself, and who is ready to ask if he shall mend shoos, or what he shall do? Therfore the Parson unmoved sheweth that *ingenuous and fit* imployment is never wanting to those that seek it. But if it should be, the Assertion stands thus: All are either to have a Calling or prepare for it. He that hath or can have yet no imployment, if he truly and seriously prepare for it, he is safe and within bounds. Wherefore all are either presently to enter into a Calling, if they be fit for it,

and it for them; or else to examine with care and advice what they are fittest for, and to prepare for that with all diligence. But it will not be amisse in this exceeding usefull point to descend to particulars, for exactnesse lyes in particulars. Men are either single, or marryed. The marryed and house-keeper hath his hands full, if he do what he ought to do. For there are two branches of his affaires: first, the improvement of his family by bringing them up in the fear and nurture of the Lord; and secondly, the improvement of his grounds, by drowning[1] or draining, stocking or fencing, and ordering his land to the best advantage both of himself and his neighbours. The *Italian* says, None fouls his hands in his own businesse; and it is an honest and just care, so it exceeds not bounds, for every one to imploy himselfe to the advancement of his affairs, that hee may have wherewithall to do good. But his family is his best care, to labour Christian soules and raise them to their height, even to heaven; to dresse and prune them, and take as much joy in a straight-growing childe or servant as a Gardiner doth in a choice tree. Could men finde out this delight, they would seldome be from home; whereas now, of any place, they are least there. But if after all this care well dispatched, the house-keeper's Family be so small and his dexterity so great that he have leisure to look out, the Village or Parish which either he lives in or is neer unto it is his imploy-

ment. Hee considers every one there, and either helps them in particular or hath generall Propositions to the whole Towne or Hamlet of advancing the publick Stock, and managing Commons or Woods, according as the place suggests. But if hee may bee of the Commission of Peace, there is nothing to that.[1] No Common-wealth in the world hath a braver Institution then that of Justices of the Peace. For it is both a security to the King, who hath so many dispersed Officers at his beck throughout the Kingdome accountable for the publick good, and also an honourable Imployment of a Gentle or Noble-man in the Country he lives in, inabling him with power to do good, and to restrain all those who else might both trouble him and the whole State. Wherefore it behoves all who are come to the gravitie and ripenesse of judgement for so excellent a Place not to refuse, but rather to procure it. And whereas there are usually three Objections made against the Place: the one, the abuse of it by taking petty-Countrey-bribes; the other, the casting of it on mean persons, especially in some Shires; and lastly, the trouble of it; These are so far from deterring any good man from the place that they kindle them rather to redeem the Dignity either from true faults or unjust aspersions. Now for single men, they are either Heirs or younger Brothers. The Heirs are to prepare in all the forementioned points against the time of their practice.

Therefore they are to mark their Father's discretion in ordering his House and Affairs, and also elsewhere when they see any remarkable point of Education or good husbandry, and to transplant it in time to his own home with the same care as others when they meet with good fruit get a graffe of the tree, inriching their Orchard and neglecting their House. Besides, they are to read Books of Law and Justice, especially the Statutes at large. As for better Books of Divinity, they are not in this Consideration, because we are about a Calling and a preparation thereunto. But chiefly and above all things, they are to frequent Sessions and Sizes; for it is both an honor which they owe to the Reverend Judges and Magistrates to attend them, at least in their Shire, and it is a great advantage to know the practice of the Land; for our Law is Practice. Sometimes he may go to Court, as the eminent place both of good and ill. At other times he is to travell over the King's Dominions, cutting out the Kingdome into Portions, which every yeer he surveys peece-meal. When there is a Parliament, he is to endeavour by all means to be a Knight or Burgess there; for there is no School to a Parliament. And when he is there, he must not only be a morning man,[1] but at Committees also; for there the particulars are exactly discussed which are brought from thence to the House but in generall. When none of these occasions call him abroad, every morning that hee is at home he must

either ride the Great Horse[1] or exercise some of his Military gestures. For all Gentlemen that are not weakned[2] and disarmed with sedentary lives are to know the use of their Arms; and as the Husbandman labours for them, so must they fight for and defend them when occasion calls. This is the duty of each to other, which they ought to fulfill. And the Parson is a lover and exciter to justice in all things, even as *John the Baptist* squared out to every one (even to Souldiers) what to do. As for younger Brothers, those whom the Parson finds loose and not ingaged into some Profession by their Parents, whose neglect in this point is intolerable and a shamefull wrong both to the Commonwealth and their own House; To them, after he hath shewed the unlawfulness of spending the day in dressing, Complementing, visiting and sporting, he first commends the study of the Civill Law, as a brave and wise knowledg, the Professours whereof were much imployed by Queen *Elizabeth*, because it is the key of Commerce and discovers the Rules of forraine Nations. Secondly, he commends the Mathematicks as the only wonder working knowledg, and therefore requiring the best spirits. After the severall knowledg of these, he adviseth to insist and dwell chiefly on the two noble branches therof, of Fortification and Navigation; The one being usefull to all Countreys, and the other especially to Ilands. But if the young Gallant think these Courses dull and

phlegmatick, where can he busie himself better then in those new Plantations[1] and discoveryes which are not only a noble but also, as they may be handled, a religious imployment? Or let him travel into *Germany* and *France*, and observing the Artifices and Manufactures there, transplant them hither, as divers have done lately to our Countrey's advantage.

Chapter XXXIII

The Parson's Library

THE Countrey Parson's Library is a holy Life; for besides the blessing that that brings upon it, there being a promise that if the Kingdome of God be first sought all other things shall be added, even it selfe is a Sermon. For the temptations with which a good man is beset, and the ways which he used to overcome them, being told to another, whether in private conference or in the Church, are a Sermon. Hee that hath considered how to carry himself at table about his appetite, if he tell this to another, preacheth; and much more feelingly and judiciously then he writes his rules of temperance out of bookes. So that the Parson having studied and mastered all his lusts and affections within, and the whole Army of Temptations without, hath ever so many sermons ready penn'd as he hath victories. And it fares in this as it doth in Physick: He that hath been sick of a Consumption and knows what recovered him, is a Physitian so far as he meetes with the same disease and temper; and can much better and particularly do it then he that is generally learned, and was never sick. And if the same

person had been sick of all diseases and were recovered of all by things that he knew, there were no such Physician as he, both for skill and tendernesse. Just so it is in Divinity, and that not without manifest reason: for though the temptations may be diverse in divers Christians, yet the victory is alike in all, being by the self-same Spirit. Neither is this true onely in the military state of a Christian life, but even in the peaceable also; when the servant of God, freed for a while from temptation, in a quiet sweetnesse seeks how to please his God. Thus the Parson, considering that repentance is the great vertue of the Gospel and one of the first steps of pleasing God, having for his owne use examined the nature of it is able to explaine it after to others. And particularly having doubted sometimes whether his repentance were true, or at least in that degree it ought to be, since he found himselfe sometimes to weepe more for the losse of some temporall things then for offending God, he came at length to this resolution, that repentance is an act of the mind not of the Body, even as the Originall signifies; and that the chiefe thing which God in Scriptures requires is the heart and the spirit, and to worship him in truth and spirit. Wherefore in case a Christian endeavour to weep and cannot, since we are not Masters of our bodies, this sufficeth. And consequently he found that the essence of repentance, that it may be alike in all God's children (which

as concerning weeping it cannot be, some being of a more melting temper then others) consisteth in a true detestation of the soul, abhorring and renouncing sin, and turning unto God in truth of heart and newnesse of life; Which acts of repentance are and must be found in all God's servants. Not that weeping is not usefull where it can be, that so the body may joyn in the grief as it did in the sin; but that, so the other acts be, that is not necessary; so that he as truly repents who performes the other acts of repentance, when he cannot more, as he that weeps a floud of tears. This Instruction and comfort the Parson getting for himself, when he tels it to others becomes a Sermon. The like he doth in other Christian vertues, as of faith and Love, and the Cases of Conscience belonging thereto, wherein (as Saint *Paul* implyes that he ought, *Romans* 2.) hee first preacheth to himselfe, and then to others.

Chapter XXXIV

The Parson's Dexterity in applying of Remedies

THE Countrey Parson knows that there is a double state of a Christian even in this Life, the one military, the other peaceable. The military is when we are assaulted with temptations either from within or from without. The Peaceable is when the Divell for a time leaves us, as he did our Saviour, and the Angels minister to us their owne food, even joy and peace and comfort in the holy Ghost. These two states were in our Saviour, not only in the beginning of his preaching, but afterwards also, as *Mat.* 22. 35, He was tempted; And *Luke* 10. 21, He rejoyced in Spirit; And they must be likewise in all that are his. Now the Parson having a Spirituall Judgement, according as he discovers any of his Flock to be in one or the other state, so he applies himselfe to them. Those that he findes in the peaceable state, he adviseth to be very vigilant and not to let go the raines as soon as the horse goes easie. Particularly he counselleth them to two things: First, to take heed lest their quiet betray them (as it is apt to do) to a coldnesse and carelesnesse in their devotions, but to labour still to be as fervent in

Christian Duties as they remember themselves were when affliction did blow the Coals. Secondly, not to take the full compasse and liberty of their Peace: not to eate of all those dishes at table which even their present health otherwise admits; nor to store their house with all those furnitures which even their present plenty of wealth otherwise admits; nor when they are among them that are merry, to extend themselves to all that mirth which the present occasion of wit and company otherwise admits, but to put bounds and hoopes[1] to their joyes; so will they last the longer, and when they depart, returne the sooner. If we would judg ourselves, we should not be judged; and if we would bound our selves, we should not be bounded. But if they shall fear that at such or such a time their peace and mirth have carryed them further then this moderation, then to take *Job's* admirable Course, who sacrificed lest his Children should have transgressed in their mirth. So let them go and find some poor afflicted soul, and there be bountifull and liberall; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Those that the Parson finds in the military state, he fortifyes and strengthens with his utmost skill. Now in those that are tempted, whatsoever is unruly falls upon two heads: either they think that there is none that can or will look after things, but all goes by chance or wit; Or else, though there be a Great Governour of all things, yet to them he is lost; as

if they said, God doth forsake and persecute them, and there is none to deliver them. If the Parson suspect the first and find sparkes of such thoughts now and then to break forth, then without opposing directly (for disputation is no cure for Atheisme) he scatters in his discourse three sorts of arguments: the first taken from Nature, the second from the Law, the third from Grace. For Nature, he sees not how a house could be either built without a builder, or kept in repaire without a house-keeper. He conceives not possibly how the windes should blow so much as they can, and the sea rage as much as it can, and all things do what they can, and all not only without dissolution of the whole, but also of any part, by taking away so much as the usuall seasons of summer and winter, earing and harvest. Let the weather be what it will, still we have bread, though sometimes more, somtimes lesse; wherewith also a carefull *Joseph*[1] might meet. He conceives not possibly how he that would beleeve a Divinity, if he had been at the Creation of all things, should less beleeve it seeing the Preservation of all things. For preservation is a Creation; and more, it is a continued Creation, and a creation every moment. Secondly for the Law, there may be so evident though unused a proof of Divinity taken from thence, that the Atheist or Epicurian can have nothing to contradict. The Jewes yet live and are known; they have their Law and Language

bearing witnesse to them, and they to it; they are Circumcised to this day, and expect the promises of the Scripture; their Countrey also is known, the places and rivers travelled unto and frequented by others, but to them an unpenetrable rock, an unaccessible desert. Wherefore if the Jewes live, all the great wonders of old live in them, and then who can deny the stretched out arme of a mighty God? especially since it may be a just doubt whether, considering the stubbornnesse of the Nation, their living then in their Countrey under so many miracles were a stranger thing then their present exile and disability to live in their Countrey. And it is observable that this very thing was intended by God, that the Jewes should be his proof and witnesses, as he calls them, *Isaiah* 43. 12. And their very dispersion in all Lands was intended not only for a punishment to them, but for an exciting of others by their sight to the acknowledging of God and his power, *Psalm* 59. 11. And therefore this kind of Punishment was chosen rather then any other. Thirdly, for Grace: Besides the continuall succession (since the Gospell) of holy men, who have born witness to the truth, (there being no reason why any should distrust Saint *Luke*, or *Tertullian*, or *Chrysostome*, more then *Tully*, *Virgill*, or *Livy*,) There are two Prophesies in the Gospel which evidently argue Christ's Divinity by their success:[1] the one concerning the woman that spent the oyntment on

our Saviour, for which he told that it should never be forgotten, but with the Gospel it selfe be preached to all ages, *Matth.* 26. 13. The other concerning the destruction of *Jerusalem*, of which our Saviour said that that generation should not passe till all were fulfilled, *Luke* 21. 32. Which *Josephus* his story confirmeth, and the continuance of which verdict is yet evident. To these might be added the Preaching of the Gospel in all Nations, *Matthew* 24. 14, which we see even miraculously effected in these new discoveryes, God turning men's Covetousnesse and Ambitions to the effecting of his word. Now a prophesie is a wonder sent to Posterity, least they complaine of want of wonders. It is a letter sealed and sent, which to the bearer is but paper, but to the receiver and opener is full of power. Hee that saw Christ open a blind man's eyes, saw not more Divinity then he that reads the woman's oyntment in the Gospell or sees *Jerusalem* destroyed. With some of these heads enlarged and woven into his discourse at severall times and occasions, the parson setleth wavering minds. But if he sees them neerer desperation then Atheisme, not so much doubting a God as that he is theirs, then he dives unto the boundlesse Ocean of God's Love and the unspeakable riches of his loving kindnesse. He hath one argument unanswerable. If God hate them, either he doth it as they are Creatures, dust and ashes, or as they are sinfull. As Crea-

tures he must needs love them, for no perfect Artist ever yet hated his owne worke. As sinfull, he must much more love them; because notwithstanding his infinite hate of sinne, his Love overcame that hate, and with an exceeding great victory which in the Creation needed not, gave them love for love, even the son of his love out of his bosome of love. So that man, which way soever he turnes, hath two pledges of God's Love, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established: the one in his being, the other in his sinfull being; and this as the more faulty in him, so the more glorious in God. And all may certainly conclude that God loves them till either they despise that Love or despaire of his Mercy. Not any sin else but is within his Love; but the despising of Love must needs be without it. The thrusting away of his arme makes us onely[1] not embraced.

Chapter XXXV

The Parson's Condescending

THE Countrey Parson is a Lover of old Customes, if they be good and harmlesse; and the rather, because Countrey people are much addicted to them, so that to favour them therein is to win their hearts, and to oppose them therein is to deject them. If there be any ill in the custome that may be severed from the good, he pares the apple and gives them the clean to feed on. Particularly he loves Procession[1] and maintains it, because there are contained therein 4 manifest advantages: First, a blessing of God for the fruits of the field; Secondly, justice in the Preservation of bounds; Thirdly, Charity in loving walking and neighbourly accompanying one another, with reconciling of differences at that time, if there be any; Fourthly, Mercy in releeving the poor by a liberall distribution and largesse, which at that time is or ought to be used. Wherefore he exacts of all to bee present at the perambulation, and those that withdraw and sever themselves from it he mislikes,[2] and reproves as uncharitable and unneighbourly; and if they will not reforme, presents them. Nay, he is so farre from condemning such

assemblies, that he rather procures them to be often, as knowing that absence breedes strangeness, but presence love. Now Love is his business and aime; wherefore he likes well that his Parish at good times invite one another to their houses, and he urgeth them to it. And somtimes, where he knowes there hath been or is a little difference, hee takes one of the parties and goes with him to the other, and all dine or sup together. There is much preaching in this friendliness. Another old Custome there is of saying, when light is brought in, God send us the light of heaven. And the Parson likes this very well; neither is he affraid of praising or praying to God at all times, but is rather glad of catching opportunities to do them. Light is a great Blessing and as great as food, for which we give thanks; and those that thinke this superstitious, neither know superstition nor themselves. As for those that are ashamed to use this forme, as being old and obsolete and not the fashion, he reformes and teaches them, that at Baptisme they professed not to be ashamed of Christ's Cross, or for any shame to leave that which is good. He that is ashamed in small things, will extend his pusillanimity to greater. Rather should a Christian Souldier take such occasions to harden himselfe and to further his exercises of Mortification.

Chapter XXXVI

The Parson Blessing

THE Countrey Parson wonders that Blessing the people is in so little use with his brethren, whereas he thinks it not onely a grave and reverend thing, but a beneficial also. Those who use it not do so either out of niceness,[1] because they like the salutations and complements and formes of worldly language better; which conformity and fashionableness is so exceeding unbefitting a Minister that it deserves reproof not refutation; Or else because they think it empty and superfluous. But that which the Apostles used so diligently in their writings, nay, which our Saviour himselfe used, *Marke* 10. 16, cannot be vain and superfluous. But this was not proper to Christ or the Apostles only, no more then to be a spirituall Father was appropriated to them. And if temporall Fathers blesse their children, how much more may and ought Spirituall Fathers? Besides, the Priests of the old Testament were commanded to Blesse the people, and the forme thereof is prescribed, *Numb.* 6. Now as the Apostle argues in another case: if the Ministration of condemnation did bless, how shall not the ministration of the

spirit exceed in blessing? The fruit of this blessing good *Hannah* found, and received with great joy, 1 *Sam.* 1. 18, though it came from a man disallowed by God; for it was not the person, but Priesthood, that blessed; so that even ill Priests may blesse.[1] Neither have the Ministers power of Blessing only, but also of cursing. So in the old Testament *Elisha* cursed the children, 2 *Kin.* 2. 24; which though our Saviour reproved as unfitting for his particular who was to show all humility before his Passion, yet he allows in his Apostles. And therfore St. Peter used that fearful imprecation to *Simon Magus*, *Act.* 8: *Thy money perish with thee*, and the event confirmed it. So did *St. Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 14. and 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. Speaking of *Alexander* the Coppersmith, who had withstood his preaching, *The Lord* (saith he) *reward him according to his works.* And again, of *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* he saith, he had *delivered them to Satan, that they might learn not to Blaspheme.* The formes both of Blessing and cursing are expounded in the Common-Prayer-book: the one in, The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. and, The Peace of God, &c. The other in generall, in the Commination.[2] Now blessing differs from prayer in assurance, because it is not performed by way of request, but of confidence and power, effectually applying God's favour to the blessed by the interesting of that dignity wherewith God hath invested the Priest, and ingaging of God's own power and insti-

tution for a blessing. The neglect of this duty in Ministers themselves hath made the people also neglect it: so that they are so far from craving this benefit from their ghostly Father that they oftentimes goe out of church before he hath blessed them. In the time of Popery the Priest's *Benedicite* and his holy water were over highly valued, and now we are fallen to the clean contrary, even from superstition to coldnes and Atheism. But the Parson first values the gift in himself, and then teacheth his parish to value it. And it is observable that if a Minister talke with a great man in the ordinary course of complementing language, he shall be esteemed as ordinary complementers; but if he often interpose a Blessing when the other gives him just opportunity, by speaking any good, this unusuall form begets a reverence and makes him esteemed according to his Profession. The same is to be observed in writing Letters[1] also. To conclude, if all men are to blesse upon occasion, as appears *Rom.* 12. 14, how much more those who are spiritual Fathers?

Chapter XXXVII

Concerning Detraction

THE Countrey Parson perceiving that most when they are at leasure make others' faults their entertainment and discourse, and that even some good men think so they speak truth they may disclose another's fault, finds it somewhat difficult how to proceed in this point. For if he absolutely shut up men's mouths and forbid all disclosing of faults, many an evill may not only be, but also spread in his Parish without any remedy (which cannot be applyed without notice) to the dishonor of God and the infection of his flock, and the discomfort, discredit, and hinderance of the Pastor. On the other side, if it be unlawful to open faults, no benefit or advantage can make it lawfull; for we must not do evill that good may come of it. Now the Parson taking this point to task, which is so exceeding useful and hath taken so deep roote that it seems the very life and substance of Conversation, hath proceeded thus far in the discussing of it. Faults are either notorious or private. Again notorious faults are either such as are made known by common fame (and of these, those that know them may talk, so

they do it not with sport but commiseration); or else such as have passed judgment and been corrected either by whipping, or imprisoning, or the like. Of these also men may talk, and more, they may discover them to those that know them not; because infamy is a part of the sentence against malefactours which the Law intends, as is evident by those which are branded for rogues, that they may be known; or put into the stocks, that they may be looked upon. But some may say, though the Law allow this the Gospel doth not, which hath so much advanced Charity and ranked backbiters among the generation of the wicked, *Rom.* 1. 30. But this is easily answered: As the executioner is not uncharitable that takes away the life of the condemned, except besides his office he add a tincture of private malice in the joy and hast of acting his part; so neither is he that defames him whom the Law would have defamed, except he also do it out of rancour. For in infamy all are executioners, and the Law gives a malefactour to all to be defamed. And as malefactors may lose and forfeit their goods or life, so may they their good name and the possession thereof, which before their offence and Judgment they had in all men's brests; for all are honest till the contrary be proved. Besides, it concerns the Common-Wealth that Rogues should be known and Charity to the publick hath the precedence of private charity. So that it is so far from being a

fault to discover such offenders that it is a duty rather, which may do much good and save much harme. Neverthelesse, if the punished delinquent shall be much troubled for his sins and turne quite another man, doubtlesse then also men's affections and words must turne, and forbear to speak of that which even God himself hath forgotten.

THE AUTHOR'S PRAYER BEFORE SERMON[1]

O ALMIGHTY and ever-living Lord God! Majesty, and Power, and Brightnesse and Glory! How shall we dare to appear before thy face, who are contrary to thee, in all we call thee? for we are darknesse, and weaknesse, and filthinesse, and shame. Misery and sin fill our days; yet art thou our Creatour, and we thy work. Thy hands both made us, and also made us Lords of all thy creatures; giving us one world in ourselves, and another to serve us; then didst thou place us in Paradise, and wert proceeding still on in thy Favours untill we interrupted thy Counsels, disappointed thy Purposes, and sold our God, our glorious, our gracious God, for an apple. O write it! O brand it in our foreheads for ever: for an apple once we lost our God, and still lose him for no more; for money, for meat, for diet: But thou, Lord, art patience, and pity, and sweetnesse, and love; therefore we sons of men are not consumed. Thou hast exalted thy mercy above all things, and hast made our salvation, not our punishment, thy glory; so that then where sin abounded, not death, but grace superabounded. Accordingly when

we had sinned beyond any help in heaven or earth, then thou saidst, Lo, I come! Then did the Lord of life, unable of himselfe to die, contrive to do it. He took flesh, he wept, he died; for his enemies he died; even for those that derided him then and still despise him. Blessed Saviour! many waters could not quench thy love, nor no pit overwhelme it! But though the streams of thy blood were currant through darknesse, grave, and hell, yet by these thy conflicts, and *seemingly* hazards, didst thou arise triumphant, and therein madst us victorious.

Neither doth thy love yet stay here! for this word of thy rich peace and reconciliation thou hast committed, not to Thunder or Angels, but to silly and sinful men; even to me, pardoning my sins, and bidding me go feed the people of thy love.

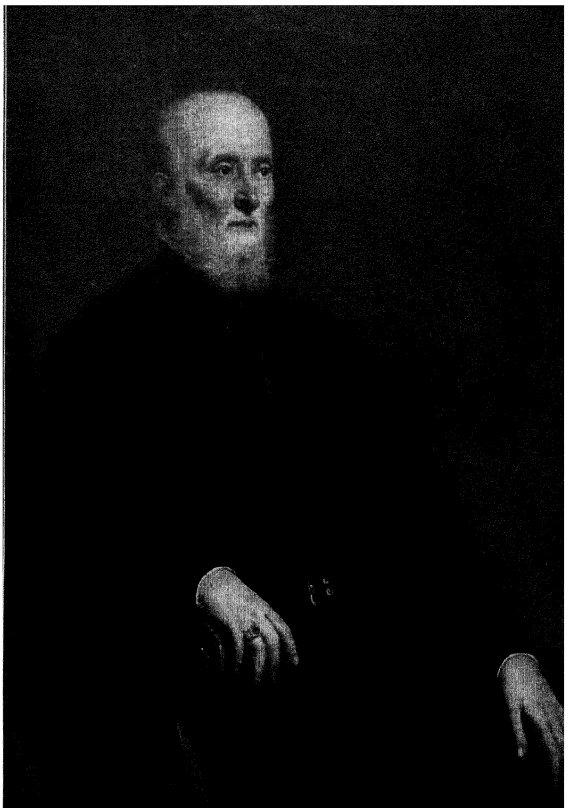
Blessed be the God of Heaven and Earth! who onely doth wondrous things. Awake, therefore, my Lute and my Viol! awake all my powers to glorifie thee! We praise thee, we blesse thee, we magnifie thee for ever! And now, O Lord, in the power of thy Victories, and in the wayes of thy Ordinances, and in the truth of thy Love, Lo, we stand here, beseeching thee to blesse thy word, wherever spoken this day throughout the universall Church. O make it a word of power and peace, to convert those who are not yet thine and to confirme those that are; particularly blesse it in this

thy own Kingdom, which thou hast made a Land of light, a storehouse of thy treasures and mercies. O let not our foolish and unworthy hearts rob us of the continuance of this thy sweet love, but pardon our sins and perfect what thou hast begun. Ride on, Lord, because of the word of truth and meeknesse and righteousnesse, and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things. Especially, blesse this portion here assembled together, with thy unworthy Servant speaking unto them. Lord Jesu! teach thou me that I may teach them. Sanctifie and inable all my powers, that in their full strength they may deliver thy message reverently, readily, faithfully, and fruitfully! O make thy word a swift word, passing from the ear to the heart, from the heart to the life and conversation; that as the rain returns not empty, so neither may thy word, but accomplish that for which it is given. O Lord, hear! O Lord, forgive! O Lord, hearken, and do so for thy blessed Son's sake, in whose sweet and pleasing words, we say, Our Father, &c.

PRAYER AFTER SERMON

BLESSED be God, and the Father of all mercy, who continueth to pour his benefits upon us! Thou hast elected us, thou hast called us, thou hast justified us, sanctified, and glorified us. Thou wast born for us, and thou livedst and diedst for us. Thou hast given us the blessings of this life, and of a better. O Lord, thy blessings hang in clusters, they come trooping upon us! they break forth like mighty waters on every side. And now, Lord, thou hast fed us with the bread of life; so man did eat Angels' food. O Lord, blesse it! O Lord, make it health and strength unto us, still striving and prospering so long within us, untill our obedience reach thy measure of thy love, who hast done for us as much as may be. Grant this, dear Father, for thy Son's sake, our only Saviour; To whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, three Persons, but one most glorious, incomprehensible God, be ascribed all Honour, and Glory, and Praise, ever. Amen.

Portrait of Louis Cornaro, painted by Tintoretto, now in the Pitti Gallery, Florence.



Brown, Clement & Co., Photo.

A TREATISE OF TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETY

WRITTEN BY LUD. CORNARUS

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY MR. GEORGE HERBERT

PREFACE

HERBERT'S translation of Cornaro first appeared in 1634, in a volume entitled HYGIASTICON, OR THE RIGHT COURSE OF PRESERVING LIFE AND HEALTH UNTO EXTREME OLD AGE; TOGETHER WITH SOUNDNESSE AND INTEGRITIE OF THE SENSES, JUDGEMENT AND MEMORIE. Written in Latine by Leonard Lessius, and now Done into English. To this volume Crashaw prefixed some exquisite lines on "Temperance, The Cheap Physician." The book was made up of three pieces, only the first being written by Lessius, a Jesuit Professor of Divinity at Louvain, whose two other books — De Justitia and De Potestate Summi Pontificis — were condemned by the Church. The second piece is the present treatise by Cornaro; and the third an anonymous "Discourse Translated out of the Italian that a Spare Diet is Better than a Splendid and Sumptuous: a Paradox." The first and third pieces are translated by a certain "T. S.," who dates his Preface December 7, 1633. Probably this T. S. is none other than Nicholas Ferrar. Oley in his Life of Herbert says that Ferrar "helped to put out Lessius;" and John Ferrar in his Life of his brother Nicholas

writes: "As Nicholas Ferrar communicated his heart to Mr. Herbert, so he made him the peruser, and desired the approbation, of what he did in those translations of Valdesso and Lessius. To the first Mr. Herbert made an epistle, to the second he sent to add that of Cornarius' temperance." The copy in the British Museum, dated 1634, is called the Second Edition. The book has been printed many times since, under the title THE TEMPERATE MAN. The title-page of this is here reproduced, and from it my text is taken. Addison discusses Cornaro's treatise in The Spectator of October 13, 1711.

At what time Herbert prepared his translation is uncertain; but that it was in the last years of his life may perhaps be inferred from the words of T. S., who writes: "Master George Herbert of blessed memorie, having at the request of a Noble Personage translated it into English, sent a copy thereof not many months before his death unto some friends of his, who a good while before had given an attempt of regulating themselves in matter of Diet." Who this "noble personage" was, or who the friends, is unknown.

The author of the treatise, Luigi Cornaro (1467–1566), was a Venetian nobleman, a member of the family which gave several Doges to Venice and a Queen to Cyprus. His portrait by Tintoretto is in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, and his palace still stands in Padua. After thirty-five years

of gay and careless living he found his health so shattered that death seemed at hand. He cured himself by a great reduction in the amount of his food, and by a spare diet was enabled to reach an extreme age of great bodily and intellectual vigor. His system of dieting he explained and advocated in four Discourses, the first written at the age of eighty-three, the second at eighty-six, the third at ninety-one, the fourth at ninety-five. It is the first of these Discourses, published at Padua in 1558, under the title Trattato de la Vita Sobria, which Herbert translates.

His aim is practical, not literary. He wishes to render Cornaro's ideas available for English use, and freely adapts them to this end. T. S. says: "Master Herbert professeth, and so it is indeed apparent, that he was enforced to leave out something out of Cornarus; but it was not anything appertaining to the main subject of the book, but chiefly certain extravagant excursions of the Authour against the Reformation of Religion which in his time was newly begun." This statement is unjust to both Cornaro and Herbert. There is not a word in Cornaro's treatise adverse or favorable to the reformation of religion, though Herbert's translation contains only about half the amount of the original. He omits sentences, paragraphs, pages. He recasts what he keeps. But the result is altogether faithful to Cornaro's thought, a much more readable and effective plea

for the dietary than any literal translation could have been. The lucid and uninvolved style employed suggests that Herbert's work was done about the time of that on THE COUNTRY PARSON.

Whether the translation was written during Herbert's closing years at Bemerton or earlier, it represents a lifelong interest. At the University, in 1617, he writes his stepfather about experiments on himself in the matter of diet. THE CHURCH-PORCH bids *Look to thy mouth, diseases enter there,* and *Slight those who say amidst their sickly healths, Thou liv'st by rule.* Lent is prized for

> *The cleannesse of sweet abstinence,*
> *Quick thoughts and motions at a small expense,*
> *A face not fearing light;*
> *Whereas in fulnesse there are sluttish fumes,*
> *Sowre exhalations, and dishonest rheumes,*
> *Revenging the delight.*

The Country Parson by fasting *keeps his body tame, serviceable and healthfull, and his soul fervent, active, young and lusty as an eagle.* That book declares that *one thing is evident that an English body and a student's body are two great obstructed vessels;* and half of its twenty-sixth chapter is devoted to rules for determining the quantity of food to be eaten. Walton reports that during the Crisis time when Herbert "was seiz'd with a sharp *Quotidian Ague* he became his own

Physitian and cur'd himself of his Ague by forbearing Drink, and not eating any Meat, no not Mutton nor a Hen or Pidgeon, unless they were salted. And by such a constant Dyet he removd his Ague, but with inconveniencies that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to Rheumes and other weaknesses and a supposed Consumption." Herbert's free translation of Cornaro's treatise, then, and his desire to bring its precepts into general use, were no accidents. The "request of a noble personage" merely proved the happy occasion for setting forth under another's name doctrines about food to which he had been devoted throughout his life.

Title-Page of THE TEMPERATE MAN.

THE TEMPERATE MAN,

OR THE

Right Way of Preſerving

LIFE and HEALTH,

TOGETHER,

With Soundneſs of the Senſes, Judgment, and Memory unto extream OLD AGE.

In Three Treatiſes.

The Firſt written by the Learned *Leonardus Leſſius.*

The Second by *Lodowick Cornaro*, a Noble Gentleman of *Venice.*

The Third by a Famous *Italian.*

Faithfully Engliſhed.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. R.* for *John Starkey*, at the *Miter* in *Fleetſtreet*, near *Temple Bar*. 1678.

A TREATISE OF TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETY

HAVING observed in my time many of my friends of excellent wit and noble disposition overthrown and undone by Intemperance who, if they had lived, would have been an ornament to the world and a comfort to their friends, I thought fit to discover in a short Treatise that Intemperance was not such an evil but it might easily be remedied; which I undertake the more willingly, because divers worthy young men have obliged me unto it. For when they saw their parents and kindred snatcht away in the midst of their days, and me contrariwise, at the age of Eighty and one, strong and lusty, they had a great desire to know the way of my life, and how I came to be so. Wherefore, that I may satisfy their honest desire, and withal help many others who will take this into consideration, I will declare the causes which moved me to forsake Intemperance and live a sober life, expressing also the means which I have used therein. I say therefore that the infirmities, which did not only begin, but had already gone far in me, first caused me to leave Intemperance, to which I was much addicted. For by it

and my ill constitution (having a most cold and moist stomach), I fell into divers diseases, to wit, into the pain of the stomach, and often of the side, and the beginning of the Gout, with almost a continual fever and thirst.

From this ill temper there remained little else to be expected of me than that after many troubles and griefs I should quickly come to an end; whereas my life seemed as far from it by Nature, as it was near it by Intemperance. When therefore I was thus afflicted from the Thirty-fifth year of my age to the Fortieth, having tried all remedies fruitlessly, the Physicians told me that yet there was one help for me if I could constantly pursue it, to wit, *A sober and orderly life;* for this had every way great force for the recovering and preserving of Health, as a disorderly life to the overthrowing of it, as I too well by experience found. For Temperance preserves even old men and sickly men sound, but Intemperance destroys most healthy and flourishing constitutions. For contrary causes have contrary effects, and the faults of Nature are often amended by Art, as barren grounds are made fruitful by good husbandry. They added withal that unless I speedily used that remedy, within a few months I should be driven to that exigent that there would be no help for me but Death, shortly to be expected.

Upon this, weighing their reasons with myself, and abhorring from so sudden an end, and finding

myself continually oppressed with pain and sickness, I grew fully perswaded that all my griefs arose out of Intemperance; and therefore out of a hope of avoiding death and pain I resolved to live a temperate life.

Whereupon, being directed by them in the way I ought to hold, I understood that the food I was to use was such as belonged to sickly constitutions, and that in a small quantity. This they had told me before. But I, then not liking that kind of Diet, followed my Appetite and did eat meats pleasing to my taste; and when I felt inward heats, drank delightful wines, and that in great quantity, telling my Physicians nothing thereof, as is the custom of sick people. But after I had resolved to follow Temperance and Reason, and saw that it was no hard thing to do so, but the proper duty of man, I so addicted myself to this course of life that I never went a foot out of the way. Upon this, I found within a few days that I was exceedingly helped, and by continuance thereof within less than one year (although it may seem to some incredible), I was perfectly cured of all my infirmities.

Being now sound and well, I began to consider the force of Temperance, and to think thus with myself: If Temperance had so much power as to bring me health, how much more to preserve it! Wherefore I began to search out most diligently what meats were agreeable unto me, and what

disagreeable. And I purposed to try whether those that pleased my taste brought me commodity or discommodity, and whether that Proverb, wherewith Gluttons use to defend themselves, to wit, *That which savours is good and nourisheth*, be consonant to truth. This upon trial I found most false: for strong and very cool wines pleased my taste best, as also melons, and other fruit; in like manner, raw lettice, fish, pork, sausages, pulse, and cake and py-crust and the like; and yet all these I found hurtful.

Therefore trusting on experience, I forsook all these kind of meats and drinks, and chose that wine that fitted my stomach, and in such measure as easily might be digested; above all, taking care never to rise with a full stomach, but so as I might well both eat and drink more. By this means, within less than a year I was not only freed from all those evils which had so long beset me, and were almost become incurable, but also afterwards I fell not into that yearly disease, whereinto I was wont, when I pleased my Sense and Appetite. Which benefits also still continue, because from the time that I was made whole I never since departed from my setled course of Sobriety, whose admirable power causeth that the meat and drink that is taken in fit measure gives true strength to the body, all superfluities passing away without difficulty, and no ill humours being engendred in the body.

Yet with this diet I avoided other hurtful things

also, as too much heat and cold, weariness, watching, ill air, overmuch use of the benefit of marriage. For although the power of health consists most in the proportion of meat and drink, yet these forenamed things have also their force. I preserved me also, as much as I could, from hatred and melancholy and other perturbations of the mind, which have a great power over our constitutions. Yet could I not so avoid all these but that now and then I fell into them, which gained me this experience, that I perceived that they had no great power to hurt those bodies which were kept in good order by a moderate Diet. So that I can truly say, That they who in these two things that enter in at the mouth keep a fit proportion, shall receive little hurt from other excesses.

This *Galen* confirms, when he says that immoderate heats and colds and winds and labours did little hurt him, because in his meats and drinks he kept a due moderation and therefore never was sick by any of these inconveniences, except it were for one only day. But mine own experience confirmeth this more, as all that know me can testify. For having endured many heats and colds, and other like discommodities of the body and troubles of the mind, all these did hurt me little, whereas they hurt them very much who live intemperately. For when my brother and others of my kindred saw some great powerful men pick quarrels against me, fearing lest I should be overthrown, they were pos-

sessed with a deep Melancholy (a thing usual to disorderly lives), which increased so much in them that it brought them to a sudden end. But I, whom that matter ought to have affected most, received no inconvenience thereby, because that humour abounded not in me.

Nay, I began to perswade myself that this suit and contention was raised by the Divine Providence, that I might know what great power a sober and temperate life hath over our bodies and minds, and that at length I should be a conqueror, as also a little after it came to pass. For in the end I got the victory, to my great honour and no less profit, whereupon also I joyed exceedingly; which excess of joy neither could do me any hurt. By which it is manifest, That neither melancholy nor any other passion can hurt a temperate life.

Moreover, I say, that even bruises and squats and falls, which often kill others, can bring little grief or hurt to those that are temperate. This I found by experience when I was Seventy years old; for riding in a Coach in great haste, it happened that the Coach was overturned and then was dragged for a good space by the fury of the horses, whereby my head and whole body was sore hurt and also one of my arms and legs put out of joynt. Being carried home, when the Physicians saw in what case I was, they concluded that I would die within Three days; nevertheless, at a venture, Two Remedies might be used, letting of blood and

purging, that the store of humours and inflammation and fever (which was certainly expected) might be hindred.

But I, considering what an orderly life I had led for many years together, which must needs so temper the humours of the body that they could not be much troubled or make a great concourse, refused both remedies, and only commanded that my arm and leg should be set and my whole body anointed with oyl; and so without other remedy or inconvenience I recovered, which seemed as a miracle to the Physicians. Whence I conclude that they that live a temperate life can receive little hurt from other inconveniences.

But my experience taught me another thing also, to wit, that an orderly and regular life can hardly be altered without exceeding great danger.

About Four years since, I was led, by the advice of Physicians and the daily importunity of my friends, to add something to my usual stint and measure. Divers reasons they brought, as, that old age could not be sustained with so little meat and drink, which yet needs not only to be sustained but also to gather strength, which could not be but by meat and drink. On the other side, I argued that Nature was contented with a little, and that I had for many years continued in good health with that little measure; that Custom was turned into Nature, and therefore it was agreeable to reason that my years increasing and strength decreasing,

my stint of meat and drink should be diminished rather than increased, that the patient might be proportionable to the agent, and especially since the power of my stomach every day decreased. To this agreed two Italian Proverbs, the one whereof was, * *He that will eat much, let him eat little;* because by eating little he prolongs his life. The other Proverb was, † *The meat which remaineth profits more than that which is eaten;* by which is intimated that the hurt of too much meat is greater than the commodity of meat taken in a moderate proportion.

But all these things could not defend me against their importunities. Therefore to avoid obstinacy and gratify my friends, at length I yielded and permitted the quantity of meat to be increased, yet but Two ounces only. For whereas before, the measure of my whole day's meat, viz. of my bread, and eggs, and flesh, and broth, was 12 ounces exactly weighed, I increased it to the quantity of 2 ounces more; and the measure of my drink, which before was 14 ounces, I made now 16.

This addition, after ten days, wrought so much upon me that of a chearful and merry man I became melancholy and cholerick; so that all things

* *Mangierà più chi manco mangia. Ed e' contrario, Chi più mangia, manco mangia. Il senso è Poco vive chi troppo sparecchia.*

† *Fa più pro quel' che si lascia sul' tondo, che quel' che si mette nel ventre.*

were troublesome to me, neither did I know well what I did or said. On the Twelfth day, a pain of the side took me, which held me Two and twenty hours. Upon the neck of it came a terrible fever, which continued Thirty-five days and nights, although after the Fifteenth day it grew less and less. Besides all this I could not sleep, no, not a quarter of an hour, whereupon all gave me up for dead.

Nevertheless I, by the grace of God, cured myself only with returning to my former course of Diet, although I was now Seventy-eight years old, and my body spent with extream leanness, and the season of the year was winter, and most cold air. And I am confident that, under God, nothing holp me but that exact rule which I had so long continued. In all which time I felt no grief, save now and then a little indisposition for a day or Two.

For the Temperance of so many years spent all ill humours, and suffered not any new of that kind to arise, neither the good humours to be corrupted or contract any ill quality, as usually happens in old men's bodies which live without rule. For there is no malignity of old age in the humours of my body, which commonly kills men; and that new one which I contracted by breaking my diet, although it was a sore evil, yet had no power to kill me.

By this it may clearly be perceived how great is the power of order and disorder; whereof the one kept me well for many years, the other, though it

was but a little excess, in a few days had so soon overthrown me. If the world consist of order, if our corporal life depend on the harmony of humours and elements, it is no wonder that order should preserve and disorder destroy. Order makes arts easie and armies victorious, and retains and confirms kingdoms, cities, and families in peace. Whence I conclude that an orderly life is the most sure way and ground of health and long days, and the true and only medicine of many diseases.

Neither can any man deny this who will narrowly consider it. Hence it comes that a Physician, when he cometh to visit his Patient, prescribes this Physick first, that he use a moderate diet; and when he hath cured him commends this also to him, if he will live in health. Neither is it to be doubted, but that he shall ever after live free from diseases, if he will keep such a course of life; because this will cut off all causes of diseases, so that he shall need neither Physick nor Physician. Yea, if he will give his mind to those things which he should, he will prove himself a Physician, and that a very compleat one; for indeed no man can be a perfect Physician to another, but to himself only. The reason whereof is this: Every one by long experience may know the qualities of his own nature, and what hidden properties it hath, what meat and drink agrees best with it; which things in others cannot be known without such observation as is not easily to be made upon others, especially since

there is a greater diversity of tempers than of faces. Who would believe that old wine should hurt my stomach, and new should help it, or that cinnamon should heat me more than pepper? What Physician could have discovered these hidden qualities to me, if I had not found them out by long experience? Wherefore one to another cannot be a perfect Physician. Whereupon I conclude, since none can have a better Physician than himself, nor better Physick than a Temperate Life, Temperance by all means is to be embraced.

Nevertheless, I deny not but that Physicians are necessary, and greatly to be esteemed for the knowing and curing of diseases, into which they often fall who live disorderly. For if a friend who visits thee in thy sickness, and only comforts and condoles, doth perform an acceptable thing to thee, how much more dearly should a Physician be esteemed, who not only as a friend doth visit thee, but help thee!

But that a man may preserve himself in health, I advise that instead of a Physician a regular life is to be embraced, which, as is manifest by experience, is a natural Physick most agreeable to us, and also doth preserve even ill tempers in good health, and procure that they prolong their life even to a hundred years and more, and that at length they shut up their days like a Lamp, only by a pure consumption of the radical moisture, without grief or perturbation of humours. Many

have thought that this could be done by *Aurum potabile*, or the *Philosopher's-stone*, sought of many, and found of few; but surely there is no such matter, if Temperance be wanting.

But sensual men (as most are), desiring to satisfie their Appetite and pamper their belly, although they see themselves ill handled by their intemperance, yet shun a sober life; because, they say, It is better to please the Appetite (though they live Ten years less than otherwise they should do) than always to live under bit and bridle. But they consider not of how great moment ten years are in mature age, wherein wisdom and all kind of virtues is most vigorous, which but in that age can hardly be perfected. And that I may say nothing of other things, are not almost all the learned books that we have, written by their Authors in that age and those Ten years which they set at nought in regard of their belly?

Besides, these Belly-gods say that an orderly life is so hard a thing that it cannot be kept. To this I answer that *Galen* kept it and held it for the best Physick; so did *Plato* also, and *Isocrates*, and *Tully*, and many others of the Ancients; and in our age, *Paul the Third*, and Cardinal *Bembo*, who therefore lived so long; and among our Dukes, *Laudus* and *Donatus*, and many others of inferior condition, not only in the city, but also in villages and hamlets.

Wherefore, since many have observed a regular

life both of old times and later years, it is no such thing which may not be performed; especially since in observing it there needs not many and curious things, but only that a man should begin, and by little and little accustom himself unto it.

Neither doth it hinder that *Plato* says, That they who are employed in the common-wealth cannot live regularly, because they must often endure heats, and colds, and winds, and showers, and divers labours, which suit not with an orderly life. For I answer, That those inconveniences are of no great moment (as I showed before) if a man be temperate in meat and drink; which is both easy for common-weal's-men and very convenient, both that they may preserve themselves from diseases which hinder publick imployment, as also that their mind in all things wherein they deal may be more lively and vigorous.

But some may say, He which lives a regular life, eating always light meats and in a little quantity, what diet shall he use in diseases, which being in health he hath anticipated? I answer first, Nature, which endeavours to preserve a man as much as she can, teacheth us how to govern ourselves in sickness. For suddenly it takes away our appetite, so that we can eat but a very little, wherewith she is very well contented; so that a sick man, whether he hath lived heretofore orderly or disorderly, when he is sick ought not to eat but such meats as are agreeable to his disease, and that in much

smaller quantity than when he was well. For if he should keep his former proportion, Nature, which is already burdened with a disease, would be wholly oppressed. Secondly, I answer better, that he which lives a temperate life cannot fall into diseases, and but very seldom into indispositions, because Temperance takes away the causes of diseases; and the cause being taken away, there is no place for the effect.

Wherefore since an orderly life is so profitable, so vertuous, so decent, and so holy, it is worthy by all means to be embraced, especially since it is easy and most agreeable to the Nature of Man. No man that follows it is bound to eat and drink so little as I. No man is forbidden to eat fruit or fish, which I eat not. For I eat little because a little sufficeth my weak stomach; and I abstain from fruit and fish and the like, because they hurt me. But they who find benefit in these meats may, yea ought to use them. Yet all must needs take heed lest they take a greater quantity of any meat or drink (though most agreeable to them) then their stomach can easily digest; So that he which is offended with no kind of meat and drink, hath the *quantity* and not the *quality* for his rule, which is very easy to be observed.

Let no man here object unto me, That there are many, who though they live disorderly, yet continue in health to their lives' end; Because since this is at the best but uncertain, dangerous, and

very rare, the presuming upon it ought not to lead us to a disorderly life.

It is not the part of a wise man to expose himself to so many dangers of diseases and death only upon a hope of a happy issue, which yet befalls very few. An old man of an ill constitution, but living orderly, is more sure of life than the most strong young man who lives disorderly.

But some, too much given to Appetite, object, That a long life is no such desirable thing, because that after one is once Sixty-five years old, all the time we live after is rather death than life. But these err greatly, as I will show by myself, recounting the delights and pleasures in this age of 83 which now I take, and which are such as that men generally account me happy.

I am continually in health, and I am so nimble that I can easily get on horseback without the advantage of the ground, and sometimes I go up high stairs and hills on foot. Then I am ever cheerful, merry, and well-contented, free from all troubles and troublesome thoughts; in whose place joy and peace have taken up their standing in my heart. I am not weary of life, which I pass with great delight. I confer often with worthy men, excelling in wit, learning, behaviour, and other vertues. When I cannot have their company, I give myself to the reading of some learned book, and afterwards to writing; making it my aim in all things how I may help others to the furthest of my power.

All these things I do at my ease, and at fit seasons, and in mine own houses; which, besides that they are in the fairest place of this learned City of *Padua*, are very beautiful and convenient above most in this age, being so built by me according to the rules of Architecture, that they are cool in summer and warm in winter.

I enjoy also my gardens, and those divers, parted with rills of running water, which truly is very delightful. Some times of the year I enjoy the pleasure of the *Euganean* hills, where also I have fountains and gardens and a very convenient house. At other times, I repair to a village of mine seated in the valley; which is therefore very pleasant, because many ways thither are so ordered that they all meet and end in a fair plot of ground; in the midst whereof is a Church suitable to the condition of the place. This place is washed with the river of *Brenta*, on both sides whereof are great and fruitful fields, well manured and adorned with many habitations. In former time it was not so, because the place was moorish and unhealthy, fitter for beasts than men. But I drained the ground, and made the air good. Whereupon men flocked thither and built houses, with happy success. By this means the place is come to that perfection we now see it is. So that I can truly say, That I have both given God a Temple and men to worship him in it. The memory whereof is exceeding delightful to me.

Sometimes I ride to some of the neighbour cities, that I may enjoy the sight and communication of my friends, as also of excellent Artificers in *Architecture, painting, stone-cutting, musick,* and *husbandry,* whereof in this age there is great plenty. I view their pieces, I compare them with those of Antiquity, and ever I learn somewhat which is worthy of my knowledge. I survey *palaces, gardens, antiquities, publick fabrics, temples,* and *fortifications;* neither omit I any thing that may either teach or delight me. I am much pleased also in my travels with the beauty of situation. Neither is this my pleasure made less by the decaying dulness of my senses, which are all in their perfect vigour, but especially my Taste; so that any simple fare is more savoury to me now than heretofore, when I was given to disorder and all the delights that could be.

To change my bed, troubles me not. I sleep well and quietly any where, and my dreams are fair and pleasant. But this chiefly delights me, that my advice hath taken effect in the reducing of many rude and untoiled places in my country to cultivation and good husbandry. I was one of those that was deputed for the managing of that work, and abode in those fenny places two whole months in the heat of summer, (which in *Italy* is very great,) receiving not any hurt or inconvenience thereby: So great is the power and efficacy of that *Temperance* which ever accompanied me.

These are the delights and solaces of my old age, which is altogether to be preferred before others' youth: Because that by *Temperance* and the *Grace of God* I feel not those perturbations of body and mind wherewith infinite both young and old are afflicted.

Moreover by this also in what estate I am may be discovered, because at these years (viz. 83) I have made a most pleasant Comedy, full of honest wit and merriment; which kind of Poems useth to be the child of Youth, which it most suits withal for variety and pleasantness, as a Tragedy with old Age, by reason of the sad events which it contains. And if a *Greek Poet* of old was praised that at the age of 73 years he writ a Tragedy, why should I be accounted less happy, or less myself, who being Ten years older have made a Comedy?

Now lest there should be any delight wanting to my old age, I daily behold a kind of immortality in the succession of my posterity. For when I come home, I find eleven grand-children of mine, all the sons of one father and mother, all in perfect health; all as far as I can conjecture, very apt and well given both for learning and behaviour. I am delighted with their music and fashion, and I myself also sing often; because I have now a clearer voice than ever I had in my life.

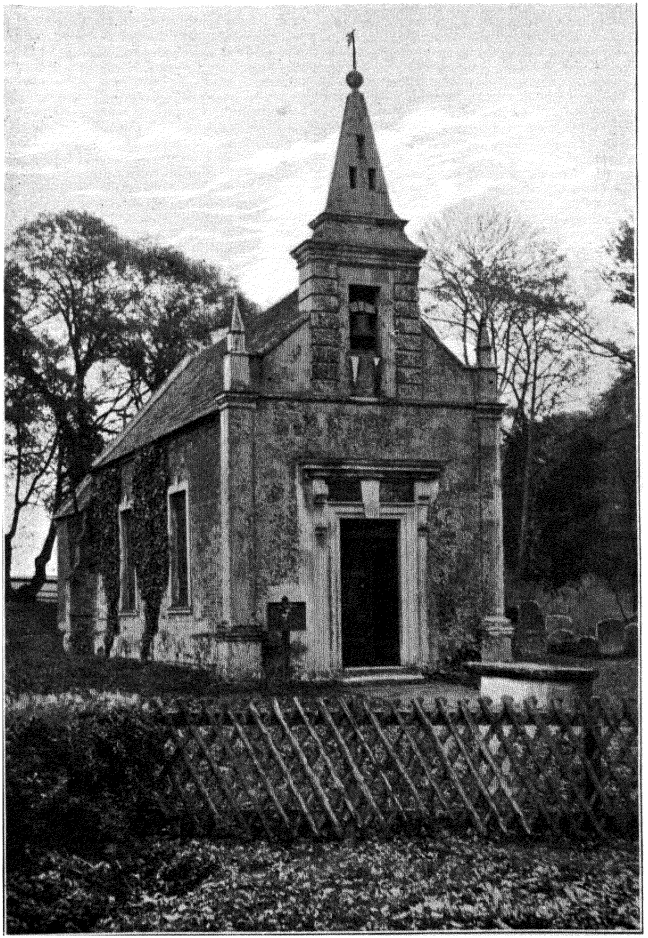
By which it is evident that the life which I live at this age is not a dead, dumpish, and sower life, but chearful, lively, and pleasant. Neither if I

had my wish, would I change age and constitution with them who follow their youthful appetites, although they be of a most strong temper; because such are daily exposed to a thousand dangers and deaths, as daily experience showeth, and I also, when I was a young man, too well found. I know how inconsiderate that age is and, though subject to death, yet continually afraid of it. For death to all young men is a terrible thing, as also to those that live in sin, and follow their appetites; whereas I by the experience of so many years have learned to give way to Reason; whence it seems to me not only a shameful thing to fear that which cannot be avoided, but also I hope, when I shall come to that point, I shall find no little comfort in the favour of Jesus Christ. Yet I am sure that my end is far from me: for I know that (setting casualties aside) I shall not die but by a pure resolution, because that by the regularity of my life I have shut out death all other ways. And that is a fair and desirable death which Nature brings by way of resolution.

Since, therefore, a Temperate life is so happy and pleasant a thing, what remains but that I should wish all who have the care of themselves to embrace it with open arms?

Many things more might be said in commendation hereof; but lest in any thing I forsake that *Temperance* which I have found so good, I here make an End.

Nicholas Ferrar's Church at Little Gidding, of brick and stone, his grave in the foreground. See Vol. I, p. 171–175.



PREFATORY LETTER AND NOTES

BY GEORGE HERBERT

To the Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signior John Valdesso, Treating of those things which are most Profitable, most Necessary and most Perfect in our Christian Profession

PREFACE

THE author of the One Hundred and Ten Considerations was the Spanish reformer, Juan de Valdes (1500–1541), a contemporary of Luther and a predecessor of Molinos. As a young man, in a book entitled Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron, he attacked the corruption of the Romish Church. In consequence of hostilities thus excited, he left Spain in 1530, and, after a year or two in Rome, settled in Naples, where in 1533 he wrote a philological treatise, Dialogo de la Lengua. But his interest was in religion. He gathered about him a notable group of men and women, — his brother Alphonso, Peter Martyr, Ochino, Carnesecchi, Vittoria Colonna, Giulia Gonzaga, — all eager for the reform of the Church and for the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, though disapproving Luther's schism. Valdes' most important religious writings are Latte Spirituale, Trataditos, Ciento i Diez Concideraciones, and El Evangelio de San Mateo. Recently these have been translated into English by B. B. Wiffen and J. T. Betts.

Alphonso, the twin brother of Juan de Valdes, was for a time in the service of the Emperor Charles V. Walton, failing to distinguish the

brothers, relates anecdotes of Juan which are now known to be without foundation.

Herbert's notes on Valdesso, as he was called in Italy, form his single contribution to theology. A passage in THE COUNTRY PARSON is the only other evidence that he was not altogether lacking in theological interest: *The Countrey Parson hath read the Fathers also, and the Schoolmen, and the later Writers, or a good proportion of all, out of all which he hath compiled a book and body of Divinity, which is the storehouse of his Sermons and which he preacheth all his Life, but diversly clothed, illustrated, and inlarged. For though the world is full of such composures, yet every man's own is fittest, readyest, and most savory to him. This Body he made by way of expounding the Church Catechisme, to which all divinity may easily be reduced* (Ch. V). Herbert's other utterances make him appear either indifferent to theological ideas, or, as in his poem of DIVINITIE and in lesser degree elsewhere, positively scornful. He usually approaches religion, as my second Introductory Essay explains, on its practical side. In these notes, however, though the doctrines discussed have important practical issues, Herbert is primarily concerned with the relation to one another of certain contrasted beliefs. Some of them he regards with favor, others he condemns.

Valdesso's book is judged valuable for its acceptance of Christ's redemption, for the love of Christ

shown by its author, and for its insistence on personal rather than on corporate religion. But Herbert's disagreement is deep and fundamental. He believes Valdesso to be a mystic, as indeed he was, disinclined to any other standard of truth and right than his own subjective feelings. (1) He sets up *private enthusiasmes and revelations;* (2) *he opposeth the teaching of the Spirit to the teaching of Scripture;* (3) *he saith we shall not be punished for evill doing, nor rewarded for wel doing or living, for all the point lies in believing or not believing.*

With these three related beliefs Herbert takes issue. As regards the first, he observes that *in indifferent things there is roome for motions, and expecting of them; but in things good, as to relieve my neighbour, God hath already revealed His will about it. Restraining motions are much more frequent to the godly then inviting motions.* But to yield to such inner promptings, and so to remove the godly from all jurisdiction,—*this cannot stand, and it is ill doctrine in a common-wealth.* Against it and the second error he urges that *those that have inspirations must still use Peter, God's Word.*

Valdesso, in Herbert's judgment, *discovers too slight a regard of the Scriptures, as if it were but children's meat.* He seems to imagine that through spiritual growth we get beyond the Bible, gradually find it unnecessary, and become sufficient for ourselves. In reality the Scriptures *have not only an elementary use, but a use of perfection; neither*

can they ever be exhausted. It is they which must steady the believer and keep him sane.

For there is a fixed right which even the Saints must not contravene. To pretend that they are *exempt from laws with God is dangerous and too farre.* Even Abraham, had he *killed his sonne Isaac, might have been justly put to death for it by the magistrate, unlesse he could have made it appeare that it was done by God's immediate precept.*

Brief and fragmentary as are the arguments here used, perhaps also restrained through deference to his friend, Herbert's point of view is clear and distinct. From it he attacks mysticism in its central position, viz. its assertion that the ground of authority lies in the individual's own feelings, and that no standards erected by past experience or by the present needs of society can discredit that inner prompting.

Fortunately we know precisely when these notes were written. In the first edition the accompanying letter to Ferrar is dated September 29. But in the second edition the year is added, 1632. Just five months, then, before his death Herbert prepared these thoughtful notes on a weighty book. They show how stringently he pressed his literary work during the failing years at Bemerton. *I forbare not in the midst of my griefes,* he proudly says. But the Considerations which these notes sought to qualify, the only volume which ever came from Ferrar's pen, remained unprinted for six years. Perhaps

Herbert's criticisms made his friend hesitate. At any rate, the book did not appear till 1638, when Ferrar had been dead two years, and then the qualifying notes accompanied it. These notes appear also in later editions, though with some changes and additions. Among the latter is a series of explanations by an unknown writer, apparently designed to break the force of Herbert's objections. Commonplace though these are, I follow Dr. Grosart in printing them as addenda, inclosing them in brackets.

Title-Page of The Divine Considerations.

THE HUNDRED AND TEN CONSIDERATIONS OF *SIGNIOR* IOHN VALDESSO:

TREATING OF THOSE things which are moſt profitable, moſt neceſſary, and moſt perfect in our Chriſtian Profeſſion.

WRITTEN IN SPANISH, Brought out of Italy by *Vergerius*, and firſt ſet forth in Italian at *Baſil* by *Celius Secundus Curio*, ANNO 1550.

Afterward tranſlated into French, and Printed at *Exon* 1563. and again at Paris 1565. And now tranſlated out of the Italian Copy into Engliſh, with notes.

Whereunto is added an Epiſtle of the Authors, or a Preface to his Divine Commentary *upon the Romans*.

1. COR. 2.

Howbeit we ſpeak wiſdome among ſt them that are perfect, yet not the wiſdome of this world.

OXFORD,
Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD, Printer to the Vniverſity. *Ann. Dom.* 1638.

NOTES ON THE DIVINE CONSIDERATIONS OF VALDESSO

A Copy of a Letter written by Mr. George Herbert to his Friend the Translator of this Book

MY deare and deserving Brother, your Valdesso I now returne with many thanks and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care, which I forbare not in the midst of my griefes: First, for your sake, because I would doe nothing negligently that you commit unto mee; Secondly, for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God, and to such and all that is theirs I owe diligence; Thirdly, for the Church's sake, to whom by printing it I would have you consecrate it. You owe the Church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as He sent the fish with mony to S. Peter) to discharge it; happily also with this (as His thoughts are fruitful), intending the honour of His servant the author, who being obscured in his own country, He would have to flourish in this land of light and region of the Gospell among His chosen. It is true there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will expresse when you read them. Neverthelesse I wish you by all meanes to

publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: First, that God in the midst of Popery should open the eyes of one to understand and expresse so clearely and excellently the intent of the Gospell in the acceptation of Christ's righteousnesse (as he sheweth through all his Considerations), a thing strangely buried and darkned by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence, which he everywhere beares towards our deare Master and Lord, concluding every Consideration almost with His holy Name, and setting His merit forth so piously; for which I doe so love him that were there nothing else I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about mortification, and observation of God's Kingdome within us, and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects, as I conceive, towards the publishing thereof.

From his Parsonage of Bemmorton
Near Salisbury, September 29, 1632.

BRIEFE NOTES RELATING TO THE DUBIOUS AND OFFENSIVE PLACES IN THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS

To the 3 Consid. upon these words:

Not for thy speech!
Other Law and other Doctrine have we.

These words about the H. Scripture suite with

what he writes elsewhere, especially Consid. 32. But I like none of it, for it slights the Scripture too much. Holy Scriptures have not only an elementary use, but a use of perfection and are able to make the man of God perfect (1 Tim. iv.). And David (though David) studied all the day long in it, and Joshua was to meditate therein day and night. (Josh. the 1.)

To the 3 Consid. upon these words:
As they also make use of the Scriptures to conserve the health of their minds.

All the Saints of God may be said in some sence to have put confidence in Scripture, but not as a naked Word severed from God, but as the Word of God; and in so doing they doe not sever their trust from God. But by trusting in the Word of God they trust in God. Hee that trusts in the king's word for anything, trusts in the king.

To the 5 Consid. upon these words:
God regards not how pious or impious we be.

This place, together with many other, as namely Consid. 71, upon *Our Father;* and Consid. 94, upon these words: *God doth not hold them for good or for evill for that they observe or not observe,* &c., though it were the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. See the note upon Consid. 36.

To the 6 Consid.

The doctrine of the last passage must be warily understood. First, that it is not to be understood of actuall sinnes, but habituall; for I can no more free my selfe from actuall sinnes after Baptisme then I could of originall before and without Baptisme. The exemption from both is by the grace of God. Secondly, among habits, some oppose theological vertues, as uncharitablenesse opposes charity, infidelity faith, distrust hope; of these none can free themselves of themselves, but only by the grace of God. Other habits oppose morall vertues, as prodigality opposes moderation, and pusillanimity magnanimity. Of these the heathen freed themselves only by the generall providence of God, as Socrates and Aristides, &c. Where he sayes the *inflammation of the naturall*, he sayes aptly, so it be understood with the former distinction; for *fomes* is not taken away, but *accensio fomitis;* the naturall concupiscence is not extinguished, but the heate of it asswaged.

To the 11 Consid.

He often useth this manner of speech, *beleeving by Revelation, not by relation*, whereby I understand he meaneth only the effectuall operation or illumination of the Holy Spirit, testifying and applying the revealed truth of the Gospell, and not any private enthusiasmes or revelations; as if he

should say, 'A generall apprehension, or assent to the promises of the Gospell by heare-say, or relation from others, is not that which filleth the heart with joy and peace in believing; but the Spirit's bearing witnesse with our spirit, revealing and applying the generall promises to every one in particular, with such syncerity and efficacy that it makes him godly, righteous, and sober all his life long, — this I call beleeving by Revelation and not by relation.'

[Valdesso, in the passage to which this note is attached, considers the state of that man who, though hard of belief and difficult to be persuaded, has at length been awakened to the truths of the Gospel, as infinitely preferable to the hasty faith which the man who is easily persuaded to adopt any opinion is too often induced to yield to the promises of the Gospel. The former, as having resigned his prejudices to the force of truth, is said to believe by Revelation; whereas the latter, as having yielded to the Gospel the same weak assent which any other doctrines equally might have drawn from him, is said to believe by relation, by human persuasion and the opinion of mankind.]

To the 32 Consid.

I much mislike the comparison of images and H. Scripture, as if they were both but alphabets and after a time to be left. The H. Scriptures, as I

wrote before, have not only an elementary use, but a use of perfection; neither can they ever be exhausted (as pictures may be by a plenarie circumspection), but still, even to the most learned and perfect in them, there is somewhat to be learned more. Therefore David desireth God, in the 119 Psalme, to open his eyes that he might see the wondrous things of his Lawes and that he would make them his study; although by other words of the same Psalme it is evident that he was not meanly conversant in them. Indeed, he that shall so attend to the bark of the letter as to neglect the consideration of God's worke in his heart through the Word doth amisse. Both are to be done: the Scriptures still used, and God's worke within us still observed, Who workes by His Word and ever in the reading of it. As for that text, *They shall be all taught of God*, it being Scripture, cannot be spoken to the disparagement of Scripture; but the meaning is this, That God in the dayes of the Gospell will not give an outward law of ceremonies as of old, but such a one as shall still have the assistance of the Holy Spirit applying it to our hearts, and ever outrunning the teacher, as it did when Peter taught Cornelius. There the case is plaine: Cornelius had revelation, yet Peter was to be sent for; and those that have inspirations must still use Peter, God's Word. If we make another sence of that text, wee shall overthrow all means save Catechizing and set up enthusiasmes.

In the Scripture are
Doctrines — these ever teach more and more.
Promises — these ever comfort more and more.
Ro. xv. 4.

[In this note Herbert justly objects to a very quaint and far-fetched comparison which the author draws between the books of Holy Scripture and the images of the Roman Catholic Church. As the unlearned are fond of placing pictorial images in different situations, in order that the objects of their belief might never be absent from their minds, so the learned delight to heap up copies of the Holy Scriptures with notes, comments, and explanations of wise men, that they may be furnished with every information which they may desire on the subject of the Christian faith. But in both cases alike, those who are not indued with the true inspiration of the Spirit confine themselves to the study of these their first rudiments; whereas the truly pious, who are guided by the Spirit of God, look upon Scripture in one case, and images in the other, as but the alphabet as it were of Christianity, and to be cast aside after they have once obtained the revelation and grace of God. This comparison, as being incomplete, and in fact leading to dangerous doctrines, Herbert very properly impugns.]

To the 33 Consid.

The doctrine of this Consideration cleareth that of the precedent. For as the servant leaves not the letter when he hath read it, but keepes it by him, and reads it againe and againe, and the more the promise is delayed the more he reads it and fortifies himselfe with it, so are wee to doe with the Scriptures, and this is the use of the promises of the Scriptures. But the use of the doctrinall part is more, in regard it presents us not with the same thing only when it is read, as the promises doe, but enlightens us with new considerations the more we read it. Much more might be said, but this sufficeth. He himselfe allowes it for a holy conversation and refreshment.

[In the 32nd Consideration; and amongst all divine and spiritual exercises and duties, he nameth the reading and meditation of Holy Scripture for the first and principal, as Consid. 47, and others; so that it is plain the author had a very reverend esteem of the Holy Scripture, especially considering the time and place where he lived. That Valdesso did not undervalue the Scriptures, notwithstanding the remarks alluded to in Herbert's last note, is evident from the passage to which this present note refers. In it the Scriptures are said to be to us as a letter would be to a servant from his lord, which is treasured up by him as containing promises of high and unusual favours, certain in the end to be fulfilled, although slow in coming.]

To the 36 Consid. on these words:
Neither fearing chastisement for transgression, nor hoping for reward, for observation, &c.

All the discourse from this line till the end of this chapter may seeme strange, but it is sutable to what the author holds elsewhere; for he maintaines that it is faith and infidelity that shall judge us now since the Gospell, and that no other sin or vertue hath any thing to doe with us; if we believe, no sinne shall hurt us; if we believe not, no vertue shall helpe us. Therefore he saith here, we shall not be punished (which word I like here better than chastizement, because even the godly are chastized but not punished) for evill doing, nor rewarded for wel doing or living, for all the point lies in believing or not believing. And with this exposition the chapter is cleare enough; but the truth of the doctrine would be examined, however it may passe for his opinion. In the Church of God there is one fundamentall, but else variety.

[The author's good meaning in this will better appear by his 98th Consideration of faith and good werks. The arguments of the author in this place on the *Christian liberty* may be correctly explained as Herbert has in this note explained them. It may, however, be questioned whether his language is not a little too obscure; so much so, indeed, that a hasty perusal of the chapter might lead those who were predisposed to such an inference to imagine

that Valdesso had fallen into the grievous heresy which once led so many men astray in our own country, that even sins might be committed with impunity, and were not in fact sinful, when a man was once a member of the invisible Church of Christ and justified by faith.]

To the 37 Consid. on these words:
That God is so delicate and sensitive, &c.

The Apostle saith that the wages of sinne is death, and therefore there is no sinne so small that merits not death, and that doth not provoke God, Who is a jealous God. [In the margin here, "This note is the French translator's."]

To the 46 Consid. on these words:
Exercise not thyself in anything pretending justification.

He meaneth (I suppose) that a man presume not to merit, that is, to oblige God, or justify himselfe before God, by any acts or exercises of religion; but that he ought to pray God affectionately and fervently to send him the light of His Spirit, which may be unto him as the sunne to a travellour in his journey; hee in the meane while applying himselfe to the duties of true piety and syncere religion, such as are prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, &c. after the example of devout Cornelius.

[Or thus: there are two sorts of acts in religion, acts of humiliation and acts of confidence and joy;

the person here described to be in the dark ought to use the first, and to forbear the second. Of the first sort are repentance, prayers, fasting, alms, mortifications, &c.; of the second, receiving of the Communion, praises, psalms, &c. These in divers cases ought, and were of old forborne for a time. This note almost explains itself. In the text to which it refers the Spirit of God is described as gradually shedding its light upon the mind in the same manner as the sun breaks by degrees upon the eyes of a traveller in the dark.]

To the 49 Consid. on these words:
Remaining quiet when they perceive no motion, &c.

In indifferent things there is roome for motions, and expecting of them; but in things good, as to relieve my neighbour, God hath already revealed His will about it. Therefore we ought to proceed, except there be a restraining motion, as S. Paul had when hee would have preached in Asia. And I conceive the restraining motions are much more frequent to the godly then inviting motions, because the Scripture invites enough; for it invites us to all good according to that singular place, Phil. iv. 8. A man is to embrace all good; but because he cannot doe all, God often chuseth which he shall doe, and that by restraining him from what He would not have him doe.

[The author in this place is speaking of motions communicated by the Spirit, either to do or to

refrain from doing certain actions. Herbert's note explains his sentiments on that subject.]

To the same Consid. upon these words:
A man's free will doth consist, &c.

He meanes a man's fre will is only in outward, not in spirituall things.

To the same Consid. on these words:
Neither Pharaoh nor Judas, &c. could cease to be such.

This doctrine, however true in substance, yet needeth discreet and wary explaining.

[The doctrine that bad men, such as Pharaoh, Judas, and other vessels of wrath, only fulfilled parts appointed to them by God, and could not be otherwise than what they were.]

To the 58 Consid. upon the seventh difference.

By occasions I suppose hee meaneth the ordinary or necessary duties and occasions of our calling and condition of life, and not those which are in themselves occasions of sinne, such as are all vain conversations. For as for these, pious persons ought alwaies to avoid them. But in those other occasions God's Spirit will mortify and try them as gold in the fire.

[The author speaks of human learning as insufficient to guide a man to the knowledge of the truth. Herbert's note explains itself.]

To the 59 Consid. upon these words:
And with doubtfulnesse I see He prayed in the garden.

To say our Saviour prayed with doubtfulnesse is more then I can or dare say. But with condition or conditionally He prayed as man, though as God He knew the Event. Feare is given to Christ, but not doubt, and upon good ground.

To the 62 Consid.

This Chapter is considerable. The intent of it, that the world pierceth not godly men's actions no more than God's, is in some sort true, because they are spiritually discerned (1 Cor. ii. 14). So likewise are the godly in some sort exempt from Lawes, for *Lex justo non est posita.* But when he enlargeth them he goes too farre. For first, concerning Abraham and Sara, I ever tooke that for a weaknesse in the great patriark. And that the best of God's servants should have weaknesses, is no way repugnant to the way of God's Spirit in them, or to the Scriptures, or to themselves, being still men, though godly men. Nay, they are purposely recorded in Holy Writ. Wherefore as David's adultery cannot be excused, so need not Abraham's equivocation, nor Paul's neither when he professed himselfe a Pharisee, which strictly he was not, though in the point of resurrection he agreed with them and they with him. The reviling also of Ananias seemes, by

his owne recalling, an oversight; yet I remember the Fathers forbid us to judge of the doubtfull actions of saints in Scripture, which is a modest admonition. But it is one thing not to judge, another to defend them. Secondly, when he useth the word jurisdiction, allowing no jurisdiction over the godly, this cannot stand, and it is ill doctrine in a common-wealth. The godly are punishable as others when they doe amisse, and they are to be judged according to the outward fact, unlesse it be evident to others as well as to themselves that God moved them; for otherwise any malefactor may pretend motions, which is insufferable in a common-wealth. Neither doe I doubt but if Abraham had lived in our kingdome under government, and had killed his sonne Isaac, but he might have been justly put to death for it by the magistrate, unlesse he could have made it appeare that it was done by God's immediate precept. He had done justly and yet had been punished justly, that is, *In humano foro et secundum praesumptionem legalem* [according to the common and legal proceedings among men]. So may a warre be just on both sides, and was just in the Canaanites and Israelites both. How the godly are exempt from laws is a known point among divines; but when he sayes they are equally exempt with God, that is dangerous and too farre. The best salve for the whole chapter is to distinguish judgment. There is a judgment of authority (upon a fact), and there is a judgment

of the learned. For as a magistrate judgeth in his tribunall, so a scholar judgeth in his study and censureth this or that; whence come so many books of severall men's opinions. Perhaps he meant all of this later, not of the former. Worldly learned men cannot judg spirituall men's actions, but the magistrate may.

[And surely this the author meant by the word jurisdiction, for so he useth the same word in Consideration 68 *ad finem*. The 62d Consideration treats of the dangerous and useless question how far saints are exempt from human law, laying down at the same time a position equally untenable in its full extent, that men have neither right nor ability to judge of those things which the holy men recorded in Scripture have done contrary to human law. The note before us was penned by Herbert to qualify and restrict this doctrine.]

To the 63 Consid.

The authour doth still discover too slight a regard of the Scripture, as if it were but children's meat; whereas there is not onely milke there, but *strong meat also* (Heb. v. 14); *things hard to bee understood* (2 Pet. iii. 16); *things needing great consideration* (Mat. xxiv. 15). Besides, he opposeth the teaching of the Spirit to the teaching of Scripture, which the Holy Spirit wrote. Although the Holy Spirit apply the Scripture, yet what the Scripture teacheth the Spirit teacheth; the Holy Spirit,

indeed, some time doubly teaching, both in penning and in applying. I wonder how this opinion could befall so good a man as it seems Valdesso was, since the saints of God in all ages have ever held in so pretious esteem the Word of God as their joy and crowne and their treasure on earth. Yet his owne practice seemes to confute his opinion; for the most of his Considerations, being grounded upon some text of Scripture, shewes that he was continually conversant in it and not used it for a time onely and then cast it away, as he sayes strangely. There is no more to be said of this chapter but that his opinion of the Scripture is unsufferable. As for the text of S. Pet. 2 Ep. i. 19, which he makes the ground of his Consideration, building it all upon the word, *Untill the day-starre arise*, it is nothing. How many places doe the Fathers bring about *until* against the heretiques who disputed against the virginity of the blessed Virgin, out of that text (Mat. i. 25), where it is said, *Joseph knew her not until shee had brought forth her firstborn Sonne*, as if afterwards he had knowne her. And indeed in common sence, if I bid a man stay in a place untill I come, I doe not then bid him goe away, but rather stay longer, that I may speak with him or doe something else when I doe come. So S. Peter bidding the dispersed Hebrews attend to the word till the day dawn, doth not bid them then cast away the word, or leave it off; but, however, he would have them attend to it till that

time, and then afterward they will attend it of themselves without his exhortation. Nay, it is observeable that in that very place he preferres the word before the sight of the Transfiguration of Christ. So that the word hath the precedence even of revelation and visions. And so his whole discourse and sevenfold observation falls to the ground.

[In the 63d Consideration Valdesso attempts to show, *by seven conformities, that the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and that the Holy Spirit is like the sunne;* in this showing that slight regard for Scripture with which Herbert charges him in the note before us.]

To the 65 Consid. on these words:
Acknowledging the benefit received by Jesus Christ our Lord; like as it betides unto a thirsty travellour, to whom, &c.

This comparison is infinitely too base. There is none of the references which we have had with our Lord Jesus Christ, dissolved but infinitely perfected, and He shall ever continue our glorious Head. And all the influences of our happinesse shall ever descend from Him, and our chief glory shall, as I conceive, consist in that which He saith among the last words that He spake in the XVII John, 24, *Father, I will that they also whom Thou hast given Me bee with Me where I am, that they also may behold the glory which Thou hast given Me be-*

fore the foundation of the world. [To which agreeth that which S. Paul writes (2 Thes. 1, chap. 9)].

To the 69 Consid. upon these words:
So much faith as thereby to remove mountaines.

Divines hold that justifying faith and the faith of miracles are divers gifts and of a different nature, the one being *gratia gratis data*, the other *gratia gratum faciens*, — this being given only to the godly, and the other sometimes to the wicked. Yet doubtlesse the best faith in us is defective and arrives not to the point it should; which if it did, it would doe more than it does. And miracle-working, as it may be severed from justifying faith, so it may be a fruit of it and an exaltation. (1 John v. 14.)

[This note is appended to the 69th Consideration, that all men, bearing in mind the faith to work miracles with which some have been endued, should always judge their own faith incomplete. And secondly, that their faith is always to be measured by their knowledge of God and Christ.]

Page 247.

Though this were the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. The 98th Consideration, about being justified by faith or by good works, or condemned for unbelief or evil works, make plain the Author's meaning.

[The author in this place alludes briefly to the

imputed merits of Christ, apparently as if they entirely superseded human virtue and rendered it unnecessary. Herbert refers to the 98th Consideration to explain this apparent inconsistency.]

Page 270.

By the saints of the world he everywhere understands the cunning hypocrite, who by the world is counted a very saint for his outward show of holiness. And we meet with two sorts of these saints of the world: one whose holiness consists in a few ceremonies and superstitious observations; the other's in a zeal against these, and in a strict performance of a few cheap and easy duties of religion with no less superstition; both of them having forms or vizors of godliness, but denying the power thereof.

[This note merely explains a term, *saints of the world*, which Valdesso employs in the Consideration to which the note is attached.]

Page 354.

Though this be the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. The 98th Consideration, about being justified by faith or by good works, or condemned for unbelief or evil works, make plain the author's meaning.

[Herbert here repeats a note which he had attached to a previous passage. He again alludes to the same doctrine, qualifying it by a reference to a future Consideration.]

To the 94 Consid.

By Hebrew piety he meaneth not the very ceremonies of the Jewes, which no Christian observes now, but an analogat observation of ecclesiasticall and canonicall lawes superinduced to the Scriptures, like to that of the Jewes, which they added to their divine law. This being well weighed, will make the Consideration easy and very observable. For at least some of the Papists are come now to what the Pharisees were come to in our Saviour's time.

[This note is written to explain the term, *Hebrew piety*, and in no other way refers to the text of Valdesso.]

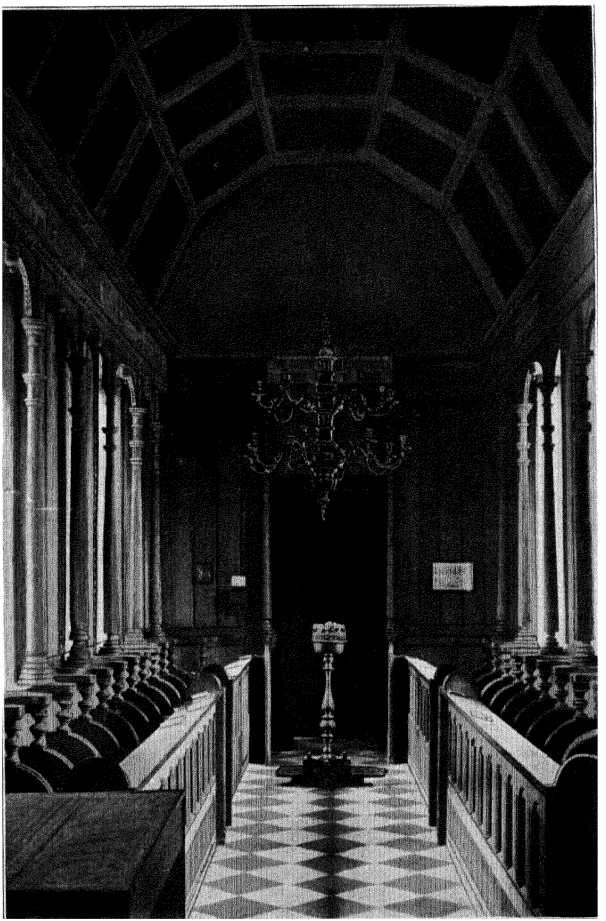
Page 355.

This is true only of the Popish cases of conscience, which depend almost wholly on their canon law and decretals, knots of their own tying and untying; but there are other cases of conscience, grounded on piety and morality, and the difficulty of applying their general rules to particular actions, which are a most noble study.

[Herbert here qualifies another statement of Valdesso, which would seem to confound the cases of conscience which the Romanists were so fond of framing, with others which often arise in the bosoms of good men and are founded on a regard to piety and morality.]



Interior of Ferrar's Church, 32 × 15 feet, with chancel 24 × 10.
See Vol. I, p. 171–175.



LETTERS OF GEORGE HERBERT

PREFACE

SIXTEEN English letters of Herbert's have been preserved in whole or in part. Six of them were written to his stepfather, Sir John Danvers, four to his brother Henry, two to Nicholas Ferrar (besides the one already printed as a preface to the notes on Valdesso), and one each to his mother, his sister, and the Countess of Pembroke. They are arranged here chronologically. Though not all dated, on internal evidence it is possible to fix approximately the time when each was written.

Herbert's letter to his mother first appeared in Walton's Life. In an appendix to that book Walton also printed Herbert's letter to his sister, the six letters to Danvers, and the one to Ferrar sending notes on Valdesso. In the appendix to the collected Lives he added the letter to the Countess of Pembroke. The other two letters to Ferrar are derived from John Ferrar's Life of his brother. Those to Henry Herbert were first printed in 1818, in a volume of letters of the Herbert family edited by Rebecca Warner and entitled Epistolary Curiosities.

At first sight these are not precisely the letters of Herbert which one would desire. All, with the

exception of those to Ferrar, are addressed to relatives. But even so, the collection is strangely meagre. There is no letter to Edward Herbert, only one to Herbert's mother, that one being the most artificial of all; while the correspondence with Ferrar which, according to Walton and Oley, was so frequent as to be their chief bond of intimacy, is here represented by fragments. Those were disturbed times, when letters were easily lost or destroyed; but one would suppose that less than forty years after Herbert's death it would have been easy to gather more letters of a man then decidedly famous and during his life widely connected.

Yet if the letters are few and brief, they throw valuable light on Herbert's character and on several important incidents of his life. It is true they say nothing about his verse, his Crisis time, his marriage, his taking orders, his clerical work at Bemerton. But during the Cambridge years they tell of his slender health, his disposition to extravagance, his fondness for buying books, his purpose of the priesthood, his light postponement of it, his eagerness for the Oratorship. In his later years, too, we catch glimpses of his rebuilding Leighton Church, his care of his nieces, and his pleasant relations with the Pembrokes. On the whole, that must be regarded as a fortunate selection of letters which in so short a compass reports so much about their reticent writer.

Furthermore, these letters are individual and truthful. They are written by one who has something of importance in mind which he wishes to put into the mind of another. The correspondence of the seventeenth century does not usually convey this impression. Verbiage, compliment, conventional modes of utterance, distortion of sincerity through literary desire, make many of the letters of this period tiresome reading. That is the case with Donne's voluminous letters, with Herbert's letters in Latin, — yes, even with Milton's. So obscuring are the literary flourishes in these labored compositions that it is difficult to discover what has happened or what is felt. Something of this stiffness will be noticed in the hortations of Herbert's letter to his mother, which seems rather intended for the public than for a suffering dear one. But in general the simple and meaningful tone of these letters probably gives us our best indication of how Herbert talked in the intimacies of ordinary life.

LETTERS OF GEORGE HERBERT

To Sir J. D.[1]

Sir,

THOUGH I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tyre me to find out variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so; but I possess it not. And therefore let it be sufficient for me that the same heart which you have won long since is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses but a constancy of obedience; only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests; for since your favours come a horseback, there is reason that my desires should go a-foot; neither do I make any question but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me, and I will strive to imitate the compleatness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner, your most obedient Servant,

George Herbert.

To Sir John Danvers

Sir,

I dare no longer be silent, lest while I think I am modest, I wrong both myself, and also the confidence my friends have in me. Wherefore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least: and it is this, I want books extremely. You know, Sir, how I am now setting foot into Divinity, to lay the platform of my future life; and shall I then be fain always to borrow books, and build on another's foundation? What tradesman is there who will set up without his tools? Pardon my boldness, Sir; it is a most serious case, nor can I write coldly in that wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and of atchieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to say if I had taken ill courses, Follow your book, and you shall want nothing. You know, Sir, it is their ordinary speech, and now let them make it good; for since I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let not them deceive mine. But perhaps they will say, You are sickly, you must not study too hard. It is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not so but that every day I may step one step towards my journie's end; and I love my friends so well as that if all things proved not well, I had rather the

fault should lie on me than on them. But they will object again, What becomes of your Annuity? Sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last vacation, neither am I yet recovered, so that I am fain ever and anon to buy somewhat tending towards my health; for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to dyet in my chamber at mine own cost; for in our publick halls, you know, is nothing but fish and white-meats; out of Lent also twice a week, on Fridayes and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for fresh air; all which tend to avoiding of costlier matters, if I should fall absolutely sick. I protest and vow, I even study thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance shake hands with the other. And yet if a book of four or five shillings come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea, sometimes of ten shillings. But, alas Sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of Divinity, which yet every day swell and grow bigger? Noble Sir, pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things: first, the bulk of Divinity. Secondly, the time when I desire this (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life). Thirdly, what I desire and to what end, not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If then, Sir, there be any course, either

by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I desire you, Sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, Sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart, and have reason by the Patents of your perpetual favour to do so still, for I am sure you love your faithfullest Servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., March 18, 1617.

TO MR. H. HERBERT[1]

BROTHER,

The disease which I am troubled with now is the shortness of time; for it hath been my fortune of late to have such sudden warning, that I have not leisure to impart unto you some of those observations which I have framed to myself in conversation, and whereof I would not have you ignorant. As I shall find occasion, you shall receive them by pieces; and if there be any such which you have found useful to yourself, communicate them to me. You live in a brave nation, where, except you wink,[2] you cannot but see many brave examples. Be covetous, then, of all good which you see in Frenchmen, whether it be in knowledge or in fashion or in words; for I would have you, even in speeches to observe so much as, when you meet with a witty French speech, try to speak the like in English. So shall you play a good merchant, by transporting French commodities to your own country. Let

there be no kind of excellency which it is possible for you to attain to, which you seek not. And have a good conceit of your wit, mark what I say, have a good conceit of your wit; that is, be proud not with a foolish vaunting of yourself when there is no cause, but by setting a just price of your qualities. And it is the part of a poor spirit to undervalue himself and blush. But I am out of my time. When I have more time, you shall hear more; and write you freely to me in your letters, for I am your ever loving brother,

G. HERBERT.

P. S. My brother is somewhat of the same temper, and perhaps a little more mild, but you will hardly perceive it.

To my dear Brother,
Mr. Henry Herbert, at Paris.

TO THE TRULY NOBLE SIR J. D.[1]

SIR,

I understand by a letter from my brother Henry that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pound upon her, which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of herself, but upon the want of those books which were not to be got in

England. For that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather flie to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my annuity now upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I enter'd into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surplusage of these books and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient[1] that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excused.

I pray, Sir, pardon my boldness of enclosing my brother's letter in yours, for it was because I know your lodging, but not his.

TO SIR JOHN DANVERS

SIR,

This week hath loaded me with your favours. I wish I could have come in person to thank you, but it is not possible. Presently after Michaelmas I am to make an oration to the whole University, of

an hour long in Latin, and my Lincoln journey hath set me much behind hand: neither can I so much as go to Bugden and deliver your letter, yet I have sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day. I beseech you all, you and my dear Mother and sister, to pardon me; for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tye me here than yours to London. If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to Sir Fr. Nethersole for me. He and I are ancient acquaintance, and I have a strong opinion of him that if he can do me a courtesy, he will of himself; yet your appearing in it affects me strangely. I have sent you here enclosed a letter from our Master on my behalf, which if you can send to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the Universitie's inclination to me. Yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The Orator's place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the University, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be about 30*l.* per an. But the commodiousness is beyond the revenue; for the Orator writes all the University letters, makes all the orations, be it to King, Prince, or whatever comes to the University; to requite these pains, he takes place next the doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the proctors, is regent, or non-regent at

his pleasure, and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.[1]

I long to hear from Sir Francis. I pray Sir, send the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the Heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble Sir, I thank you for your infinite favours; I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance; yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so but that I have both time and work to be your extreme servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

To Sir John Danvers

I have received the things you sent me, safe; and now the only thing I long for is to hear of my dear sick sister: first, how her health fares, next, whether my peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. Can I be so happy, as to hear of both these that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good Sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eyesight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her; when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my

pen is ready. Concerning the Orator's place, all goes well yet; the next Friday it is tryed, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands; your courtesie will pardon the haste of your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., Jan. 19, 1619.

TO SIR JOHN DANVERS

SIR,

I understand by Sir Francis Nethersol's letter, that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from Divinity, at which, not without cause, he thinks I aim. But I have wrote him back that this dignity hath no such earthiness in it but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for aught I yet knew; and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in his next letter. I pray, Sir, therefore, cause this enclosed to be carried to his brother's house of his own name (as I think) at the sign of the Pedler and the Pack on London-bridge, for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my Lord, or Sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I shall shortly, though for the reckoning of your favours I shall never find time and paper enough, yet am I your readiest servant.

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll. Octob. 6, 1619.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother, who cannot think me lazy, since I rode 200 miles[1] to see a sister, in a way I knew not, and in the midst of much business, and all in a fortnight, not long since.

FOR MY DEAR SICK SISTER[2]

MOST DEAR SISTER,

Think not my silence forgetfulness, or that my love is as dumb as my papers; though businesse may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you; and, which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains with that earnestness that becomes your griefs and my love. God, Who knows and sees this writing, knows also that my solliciting Him has been much and my tears many for you. Judge me then by those waters and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value your most truly, most heartily, affectionate brother and servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll. Decem. 6, 1620.

A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS MOTHER IN HER SICKNESS

MADAM,

At my last parting from you I was the better content because I was in hope I should my self carry all sickness out of your family; but since I

know I did not and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and would quickly make good my wish but that my employment does fix me here being now but a month to our Commencement wherein my absence, by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In the mean time I beseech you to be chearful and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, Who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin. What hath affliction grievous in it more then for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter? Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compar'd to heavenly joyes; therefore if either age or sickness lead you to those joyes, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts. Your last letter gave me an earthly preferment, and, I hope, kept heavenly for your self. But wou'd you divide and choose too? Our colledg customs allow not that; and I shou'd account my self most happy if I might change with you; for I have alwaies observ'd the thred of life to be like other threds or skenes of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances. Happy is he whose bottome[1] is wound up and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem. For my

self, dear mother, I alwaies fear'd sickness more then death; because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world and must yet be kept in it. But you are freed from that fear who have already abundantly discharg'd that part, having both ordered your family and so brought up your children that they have attain'd to the years of discretion and competent maintenance. So that now if they do not well, the fault cannot be charg'd on you—whose example and care of them will justifie you both to the world and your own conscience; in somuch that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past or on the joyes that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet.[1] And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate or body or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we have riches we are commanded to give them away! so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion. But, oh God! how easily is that answered when we consider that the blessings in the Holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor! I never find *Blessed be the rich*, or *Blessed be the noble;* but *Blessed be the meek*, and *Blessed be the poor*, and *Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted.* And yet, oh God! most

carry themselves so as if they not only not desir'd but even fear'd to be blessed. And for afflictions of the body, dear madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands and have endur'd such other tortures as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their firy trials have had an end, and yours (which, praised be God, are less) are not like to continue long.[1] I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow, and know that if any of yours should prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet you may say with David, *That God who delivered me out of the paws of the lyon and bear will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.* Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul, consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for Himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be His competitor. And above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist, *Cast thy care on the Lord, and He shall nourish thee* (Psal. lv.). To which joyn that of St. Peter, *Casting all your care on the Lord, for He careth for you* (1 Pet. v. 7). What an admirable thing is this, that God puts His shoulder to our burthen and entertains our care for us, that we may the more quietly intend His service! To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you (Philip. iv. 4): St. Paul saith there, *Rejoyce*

in the Lord alwaies; and again I say rejoyce. He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, *What, shall we rejoyce in afflictions?* Yes, I say again, rejoyce; so that it is not left to us to rejoyce or not rejoyce, but whatsoever befalls us we must alwaies, at all times, rejoyce in the Lord, Who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verse: *Let your moderation appear to all men; the Lord is at hand; be careful for nothing.* What can be said more comfortably? Trouble not yourselves; God is at hand to deliver us from all or in all. Dear madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Your most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., May 29, 1622.

TO SIR HENRY HERBERT

DEAR BROTHER,

That you did not only entertain my proposals but advance them, was lovingly done and like a good brother. Yet truly it was none of my meaning, when I wrote, to put one of our nieces into your hands, but barely what I wrote I meant, and no more; and am glad that although you offer more, yet you will do, as you write, that also. I was desirous to put a good mind into the way of charity, and that was all I intended. For concerning your offer of receiving one, I will tell you what I wrote to our eldest brother when he urged one

upon me, and but one, and that at my choice. I wrote to him that I would have both or neither; and that upon this ground, because they were to come into an unknown country, tender in knowledge, sense, and age, and knew none but one who could be no company to them. Therefore I considered that if one only came, the comfort intended would prove a discomfort. Since that I have seen the fruit of my observation, for they have lived so lovingly, lying, eating, walking, praying, working, still together, that I take a comfort therein; and would not have to part them yet, till I take some opportunity to let them know your love, for which both they shall and I do thank you. It is true there is a third sister,[1] whom to receive were the greatest charity of all, for she is youngest and least looked unto; having none to do it but her schoolmistress, and you know what those mercenary creatures are. Neither hath she any to repair unto at good times, as Christmas, &c. which you know is the encouragement of learning all the year after, except my Cousin Bett take pity of her, which yet at that distance is some difficulty. If you could think of taking her, as once you did, surely it were a great good deed, and I would have her conveyed to you. But I judge you not. Do that which God shall put into your heart, and the Lord bless all your purposes to his glory. Yet truly if you take her not, I am thinking to do it, even beyond my strength; especially at this time, being more beg-

garly now than I have been these many years, as having spent two hundred pounds in building;[1] which to me that have nothing yet, is very much. But though I both consider this and your observation also of the unthankfulness of kindred bred up, (which generally is very true,) yet I care not; I forget all things so I may do them good who want it. So I do my part to them, let them think of me what they will or can. I have another Judge, to Whom I stand or fall. If I should regard such things, it were in another's power to defeat my charity, and evil should be stronger than good: But difficulties are so far from cooling Christians, that they whet them. Truly it grieves me to think of the child, how destitute she is, and that in this necessary time of education. For the time of breeding is the time of doing children good: and not as many who think they have done fairly if they leave them a good portion after their decease. But take this rule, and it is an outlandish[2] one, which I commend to you as being now a father, *The best-bred child hath the best portion.* Well, the good God bless you more and more, and all yours, and make your family a houseful of God's servants. So prays your ever-loving brother,

G. HERBERT.

My wife's and nieces' service.

To my very dear Brother,
Sir Henry Herbert, at Court.

To Sir Henry Herbert

Dear Bro.

I was glad of your Cambridge news; but you joyed me exceedingly with your relation of my Lady Duchess's [1] forwardness in our church building. I am glad I used you in it; and you have no cause to be sorry, since it is God's business. If there fall out yet any rub, you shall hear of me; and your offering of yourself to move my Lords of Manchester and Bolingbroke is very welcome to me. To show a forwardness in religious works is a good testimony of a good spirit. The Lord bless you, and make you abound in every good work, to the joy of your ever loving brother,

G. Herbert.

March 21, Bemerton.

To my dear Brother,
Sir Henry Herbert, at Court.

To Sir Henry Herbert

Dear Brother,

It is so long since I heard from you, that I long to hear both how you and yours do, and also what becomes of you this summer. It is the whole amount of this letter, and therefore entertain it accordingly from your very affectionate brother,

G. Herbert.

7 June, Bemerton.

My wife's and nieces' service to you.

To Nicholas Ferrar[1]

My exceeding dear Brother,

Although you have a much better Paymaster than myself, even Him Whom we both serve, yet I shall ever put your care of Leighton upon my account, and give you myself for it, to be yours forever. God knows I have desired a long time to do the place good, and have endeavoured many ways to find out a man for it. And now my gracious Lord God is pleased to give me you for the man I desired; for which I humbly thank Him, and am so far from giving you cause to apology about your counselling me herein, that I take it exceeding kindly of you. I refuse not advice from the meanest that creeps upon God's earth—no, not though the advice step so far as to be reproof; much less can I disesteem it from you, whom I esteem to be God's faithful and diligent servant, not considering you any other ways as neither I myself desire to be considered. Particularly I like all your addresses, and, for ought I see, they are ever to be liked. [So he goes on in the discourse of the building the church in such and such a form as N. F. advised, and letting N. F. know all he had and would do to get moneys to proceed in it, and concludes thus:] You write very lovingly, that all your things are mine. If so, let this of Leighton Church the care be amongst the chiefest also; so also have I requested Mr. W[ood-note] for his

part. Now God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ bless you more and more, and so turn you all in your several ways one to the other, that ye may be a heavenly comfort, to His praise and the great joy of

Your brother and servant in Christ Jesus,
GEORGE HERBERT.

Postscript. As I had written thus much, I received a letter from my brother, Sir Henry H[erbert], of the blessed success that God had given us, by moving the duchess's heart to an exceeding cheerfulness in signing 100 *l.* with her own hands, and promising to get her son to do as much, with some little apology that she had done nothing in it (as my brother writes) hitherto. She referred it also to my brother to name at first what the sum should be; but he told her grace that he would by no means do so, urging that charity must be free. She liked our book well, and has given order to the tenants at Leighton to make payment of it. God Almighty prosper the work. Amen.

TO NICHOLAS FERRAR

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I thank you heartily for Leighton, your care, your counsel, your cost. And as I am glad for the thing, so no less glad for the heart that God has given you and yours to pious works. Blessed be my God and dear Master, the Spring and Foun-

tain of all goodness. As for my assistance, doubt not, through God's blessing, but it shall be to the full; and for my power, I have sent my letters to your brother, investing him in all that I have. [And so he goes on in his advice for the ordering of things to that business.]

To the Right Hon. the Lady Anne, Countess of Pembroke[1] and Montgomery, at Court.

Madam,

What a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services! now they creep in a vessel of metheglin,[2] and still they will be presenting or wishing to see if at length they may find out something not unworthy of those hands at which they aim. In the mean time a priest's blessing, though it be none of the court style, yet doubtless, madam, can do you no hurt. Wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother[3] upon you and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers, and tears, to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your soul, to His glory, your own good, and the great joy of, madam, your most faithful servant in Christ Jesu,

George Herbert.

Dec. 10, 1631. Bemerton.

Madam, Your poor colony of servants present their humble duties.

Title-Page of Jacula Prudentum.

OVTLANDISH PROVERBS, SELECTED

By Mr. G.H.



LONDON,

Printed by T. P. for Humphrey Blunden; at the Caſtle in Corn-hill. 1640.

EXTRACTED FROM THE PRINCIPAL REGISTRY OF HER MAJESTY'S COURT OF PROBATE

(IN THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY, AO. DNI. 1632)

[First printed by Dr. Grosart in his Edition of Herbert's Works in The Fuller Worthies' Library]

I GEORGE HERBERT commending my soule and body to Almightie God that made them doe thus dispose of my goodes. I giue all my goodes both within doores and without doores both monneys and bookes and howshould stuffe whether in my possession or out of my possession that properly belonge to me vnto my deare wife excepting onely these legacies hereafter insuing. First there is seaven hvndred poundes in Mr. Thomas Lawleys handes a Merchant of London which fell to me by the death of my deare neece Mrs. Dorothy Vaughan whereof two hvndred poundes belonges to my two Neeces that survive and the rest unto my selfe: this whole sum of five hvndred pounds I bequeath vnto my Neeces equally to be devided betweene them excepting some legacies of my deceased Neece which are to be payd out of it vnto some whose names shall be annexed vnto this bill.

Then I bequeath twenty pounds vnto the poore of this parish to be devided according to my deare wiues discretion. Then I bequeath to Mr Hays the Comment of Lucas Brugensis vpon the Scripture and his halfe yeares wages aforehand. then I bequeath to Mr. Bostocke St. Augustines Workes and his halfe yeares wages aforehand, then I leave to my servant Elizabeth her dubble wages giuen her, three pound more besides that which is due to her; to Ann I leave thirty shillinges: to Margaret twenty shillinges: to William Twenty Nobles, to John twentie shillinges, all these are over and aboue their wages: To Sara thirteene shillinges foure pence, Alsoe my Will and pleasure is that Mr. Woodnoth should be mine Executor to whome I bequeath twenty pound, whereof fifteene pound shall be bestowed vppon Leighton Church, the other five pound I giue to himselfe. Lastlie I besech Sir John Danvers that he would be pleased to be Overseer of this Will —

GEORGE HERBERT.

(Testes) Nathaniell Bostocke — Elizabeth Burden.

On the other side are the names of those to whome my deceased Neece left legacyes.

All those that are crost are discharged already, the rest are to be payd.

To Mrcs Magdalen Vaughan one hvndred pound
To Mrs Catharine Vaughan one hvndred pound
To Mr George Herbert one hvndred pound[x] To

Mrs Beatrice Herbert forty pound× To Mrs Jane Herbert tenn pound× To Mrs Danvers five pound× To Amy Danvers thirty shillinges To Mrs Anne Danvers twenty shillinges To Mrs Mary Danvers twenty shillinges To Mrs Michel twenty shillinges To Mrs Elizabeth Danvers Mr Henry Danvers wife twenty shillinges, to the poore of the parish twenty pound× To my Lord of Cherbury tenn pound To Mr Bostocke forty shillinges× To Elizabeth Burthen thirty shillinges× To Mary Gifford tenn shillinges× To Anne Hibbert tenn shillinges× To Willuam Scuce twenty shillinges× To Mrs Judith Spencer five pound To Mary Owens forty shillinges. To Mrs Mary Lawly fifty shillinges× To Mr Gardiner tenn pound MS. that the fiue pound due to Mrs Judeth Spencer is to be payd to Mrs Mary Lawly at Chelsey MS. that there are diuers moneys of mine in Mr Stephens handes Stationer of London, having lately receaved an hvndred and two poundes besides some Remainders of monyes whereof he is to giue as I know he will a Just account: if there be any body els that owe me any thing else of old debt I forgiue them.

PROBATUM fuit Testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram venerabili viro magistro Willimo Mericke legum Doctore Surrogato venerabilis viri Domini Henrici Marten militis legum etiam doctoris Curiae Prerogative Cantuariensis Magisteri Custodis sive Commissarij legitime constituti

duodecimo die mensis Martij Anno Domini juxta cursum et computaconem Ecclesie Anglicane Millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo secundo juramento Arthuri Woodnoth Executoris in hujusmodi Testamento nominati cui commissa fuit administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene et fideliter administrando eadem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia in debita juris forma jurat.

NOTES

THE COUNTRY PARSON

1, p. 209. *Revoking*=calling back.

2, p. 209. Colossians i, 2, 4.

3, p. 209. *The Dignity.* To a court friend who dissuaded Herbert from entering into sacred orders, as too mean an employment and too much below his birth, he replied: *It hath been formerly judged that the Domestick Servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest Families on Earth; and though the Iniquity of the late Times have made Clergy-men meanly valued and the sacred name of Priest contemptible, yet I will labour to make it honourable by consecrating all my learning and all my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them:* Walton's Life.

1, p. 212. *Keep up with*=stand up to.

1, p. 213. *Travell*=travail, labor.

1, p. 215. *The Parson's Knowledg. Be covetous of all good which you see in Frenchmen, whether it be in knowledge or in fashion or in words. Let there be no kind of excellency which it is possible for you to attain to, which you seek not:* Herbert to his brother Henry.

1, p. 216. Psalm cxix, 18.

1, p. 220. *The Parson Praying*, i. e. reading the service.

2, p. 220. *Treatable*=deliberate.

1, p. 221. *Slubbering*=slovenly.

1, p. 222. "*Presented*, i. e. to the Bishop or Archdeacon for offences against the Canons. Such presentations could be made by the minister, churchwardens, or sidesmen, but were usually made by the churchwardens. The offences for which presentations were made under the Canons of 1603 were such as the following: adultery, drunkenness, swearing, usury, non-attendance at Holy Communion, having children baptized out of the parish, disturbing divine service, etc.:" H. C. Beeching.

1, p. 224. "*Hermogenes*, a Rhetorician of Tarsus in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He describes and gives 'precepts' for seven 'characters of good oratory, such as perspicuity, elegance,' etc.:" H. C. Beeching.

1, p. 229. *Induce*=introduce, bring it in.

1, p. 232. *Lusty*=joyous, strong.

1, p. 233. *Experiment*=experience.

1, p. 234. *By his eare.* This would suggest that it was their parents' choice, rather than their own headlong emotion, which brought Herbert and Jane Danvers together after a three days' acquaintance.

2, p. 234. *Account.* "And he was most happy in his Wife's unforc'd compliance with his acts of Charity, whom he made his *Almoner* and paid

constantly into her hand *a tenth penny* of what money he receiv'd for Tythe and gave her a power to dispose a tenth part of the Corn that came yearly into his Barn, which trust she did most faithfully perform and would often offer to him *an account of her stewardship:* " Walton's Life.

1, p. 235. *Meets with*=contends against.

2, p. 235. *His children.* Herbert had none.

1, p. 236. *Happily*=haply, perhaps.

2, p. 236. " *Chamber of London.* The allusion is obviously to the ancient custom of this city called 'Orphanage.' By that custom the estates of all freemen dying intestate vested in the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, who were by the custom guardians of the children. They fed, boarded, clothed, and educated them, and provided dowers for the daughters at marriage; set the sons up in business, and divided the estate when they attained their majority. The estate being realized, the proceeds were paid into the 'Chamber of London' to the custody of the 'Chamberlain,' who is a 'corporation sole' for these purposes. He made use of the money for city purposes, allowing £4 per cent interest to the estate. As there were neither government securities nor banks in George Herbert's days, and the Bank of England had not been founded, the term 'Chamber of London'

would have the force of any expression of the present day implying undoubted security:" A. B. Grosart.

1, p. 237. "*Takes account of Sermons.* It was the custom in many households even of the last generation to require an epitome of the sermon:" H. C. Beeching.

1, p. 238. *Boards a child*=approaches, ranks as; cf. THE CHURCH-PORCH, II, 57, l. 368.

2, p. 238. *Back-side*=back-yard. Dr. Grosart quotes from Vaughan's Looking Back, "How brave a prospect is a bright back-side."

1, p. 239. With these prescriptions for fasting compare Herbert's poem LENT, II, 171.

1, p. 240. "*Roots:* as potatoes, which first came to England in Herbert's youth:" A. B. Grosart.

1, p. 244. *Presently*=immediately, without postponement.

1, p. 247. *Incense.* Isaiah lxvi, 3.

1, p. 248. *The midde way*, more precisely described in THE BRITISH CHURCH, III, 101.

1, p. 249. *Afternoons:* his mornings being given to study.

1, p. 252. *Nothing is little*, the subject of THE ELIXER, II, 99.

1, p. 255. *The Countrey Parson is.* The emphasis falls on *is*.

1, p. 256. In 1640 a collection of proverbs was published under the title OUTLANDISH PROVERBS selected by Mr. G. H. In the second edition (1652) this title was changed to JACULA

PRUDENTUM: OR OUTLANDISH PROVERBS, SENTENCES, ETC.

1, p. 258. *Censure*=judgment.

1, p. 260. *Set at*=assessed for, put down as capable of furnishing for the public service.

2, p. 260. *Respectively*=with suitable respect, as in THE CHURCH-PORCH, II, 45, l. 253.

1, p. 261. *Brieje*=an official order that a collection be made.

1, p. 263. *Dischargeth.* He himself performs for his people the promises God has made them.

1, p. 267. *Silly*=uneducated.

1, p. 268. *In vertue*=virtually, in substance.

1, p. 270. *Willingly*=at times fixed by himself.

2, p. 270. H. C. Beeching quotes; "Let priests also take care that they do not permit wanton names to be given to children, especially female children, in baptism:" Wilk. Conc. ii, 33. And R. A. Willmott quotes from Crabbe's Parish Register, Pt. I:

"Pride lives with all; strange names our rustics give
To helpless infants, that their own may live;
Pleased to be known, they'll some attention claim
And find some by-way to the house of fame.
'Why Lonicera willt thou name thy child?'
I asked the gardener's wife in accents mild.
'We have a right,' replied the sturdy dame,
And Lonicera was the infant's name."

1, p. 271. *Course*=coarse.

1, p. 272. "*Loosely and wildely*=not in set form and sequence:" A. B. Grosart.

2, p. 272. *Puts up to*=assumes himself to be.

1, p. 274. Michael Dalton's The Country Justice was published in 1618, a fourth edition in 1630.

1, p. 275. *Tickle.* Ed. 1671 reads *ticklish*, i. e. difficult.

1, p. 276. *Anatomy*=either a dissection, or a diagram of the human body.

2, p. 276. John Francis Fernelius (1506–1558), physician to Henry II of France.

1, p. 277. *Bolearmena*=an astringent Armenian earth.

1, p. 279. *Reduce*=lead back. So p. 209, l. 2.

1, p. 281. *Consters*=construes.

1, p. 284. *Baned*=diseased. In his Will Herbert remembered his servants.

1, p. 286. John Gerson (1363–1429), chancellor of the University of Paris.

1, p. 288. *Defixed*=firmly fixed.

1, p. 289. *Bold and impartial reproof.* "There was not a man in his way (be he of what Ranke he would) that spoke awry (in order to God) but he wip'd his mouth with a modest, grave and Christian reproof:" Oley, Life of Herbert, prefixed to THE COUNTRY PARSON.

1, p. 296. "Herbert's apologue raises more difficulties than it lays. Healthy children do not get worms from apples, if the apples are good; and what would the piece of gold mean to the child but more apples?" H. C. Beeching.

1, p. 297. *Exigent*=exigency; used again in second paragraph of the translation of Cornaro.

1, p. 300. *Idlenesse*, cf. THE CHURCH-PORCH, II, 23, l. 79–96.

1, p. 302. *Drowning*=flooding.

1, p. 303. *Nothing to that*=nothing comparable.

1, p. 304. *Morning man*=one who merely attends the regular morning sessions.

1, p. 305. *The Great Horse*=a war horse, ridden in full armor.

2, p. 305. *Not weakned.* Later editions read *now.*

1, p. 306. *Those new Plantations*, i. e. America.

1, p. 311. *Hoopes*=restraints.

1, p. 312. *Joseph*, Genesis xli, 35.

1, p. 313. *Success*=fulfilment.

1, p. 315. *Onely*=and that alone.

1, p. 316. *Procession*="beating the bounds" or walking in religious procession to mark out the parish boundaries.

2, p. 316. *Mislikes*=takes it in ill part.

1, p. 318. *Niceness*=disposition to refine overmuch.

1, p. 319. *Ill Priests may blesse.* The 26th of the 39 Articles is entitled, "Of the unworthiness of the ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacrament."

2, p. 319. *Commination.* The English Prayer Book (not the American) has a special service of "Commination or denouncing of God's anger and judgments against sinners."

1, p. 320. *In writing Letters.* H. C. Beeching remarks that only two complete letters of Herbert written from Bemerton are preserved, one to Ferrar and one to the Countess of Pembroke, and each concludes with a blessing.

1, p. 325. *Prayers Before and After Sermon*

Dr. Grosart prints the following note: "With reference to these prayers, they first appeared in Herbert's REMAINS (1652). Mr. Yeowell doubted their genuineness on this ground: 'When it is remembered how punctiliously George Herbert walked according to canonical rule in small as in great matters, it seems highly improbable that he would use these two unauthorized prayers in divine service.' (N. & Q. 2d S. iii, p. 88.) Professor Mayor answered (ib. p. 120): 'Perhaps the Prayers before and after Sermon were intended for private use. Or, if not, I see nothing in THE COUNTRY PARSON or elsewhere to prove that Herbert would scruple to use prayers of his own composition before and after sermon; and these prayers seem to be altogether in his tone.' Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Fuller, and many others had similar prayers."

LETTERS

1, p. 393. For an account of Herbert's stepfather, Sir John Danvers, see Introd. Essay, I, 24, and CONSTANCIE, III, 119. Herbert makes him the executor of his Will. This letter sending thanks for the gift of a horse, which is mentioned in the next letter as already in use, was probably written a little earlier than that.

1, p. 396. Written probably in 1617–8 (cf. with p. 397). Henry Herbert was two years younger than George.

2, p. 396. *Wink*=to half close the eyes, as in MISERIE, II, 257, l. 62.

1, p. 397. Probably written before he obtained the Oratorship, at which time his income was increased. The letter seems to connect itself with that of March 18, 1617–8, to his stepfather, in which this increase of the annuity is first proposed.

1, p. 398. *Ancient.* Sir John Danvers had married Herbert's mother but eight years before.

1, p. 400. The passage on the Oratorship shows this letter to have been written in 1619.

1, p. 402. 200 *miles.* Is this the journey mentioned in the fourth letter to Sir John Danvers?

2, p. 402. Herbert's eldest sister, Elizabeth, born in 1583 and married to Sir Henry Jones, was an invalid during many years.

1, p. 403. *Bottome*=a spool, as in THE DISCHARGE, III, 191, l. 45.

1, p. 404. *Disquiet.* Donne, in his funeral sermon on Lady Danvers, says that in her last years she was disposed to melancholy. To this disposition Herbert appears to address his letter.

1, p. 405. *Like to continue long.* She did not die until 1627.

1, p. 407. This *third sister* was afterwards received at Bemerton.

1, p. 408. *Building*, i. e. the rebuilding of the Rectory.

2, p. 408. *Outlandish*=foreign, and strange, as in FAITH, II, 233, l. 9, and THE BRITISH CHURCH, III, 101, l. 10.

1, p. 409. *Duchess*, i. e. the Duchess of Lenox, whose home was at Leighton. So, too, p. 411.

1, p. 410. These letters to Ferrar must belong in the years 1628–32, the first one apparently to some early year within this period.

1, p. 412. The Countess of Pembroke was Lady Anne Clifford, daughter of the third Earl of Cumberland. Her first husband was the Earl of Dorset. After his death she married, in 1630, Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke. His brutalities obliged her to separate from him.

2, p. 412. *Metheglin*, or mead=a liquor made of fermented honey.

3, p. 412. *Mother*. Her mother was Lady Margaret Russell, daughter of the Duke of Bedford.

INDEXES

TITLES ARRANGED IN THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

The Dedication, II, ix.
The Church-Porch, II, 15.
Superlimmare, II, 119.
The Altar, II, 121.
The Sacrifice, II, 123.
The Thanksgiving, II, 287.
The Reprisall, II, 293.
The Agonie, III, 153.
The Sinner, II, 295.
Good Friday, II, 149.
Redemption, II, 237.
Sepulchre, III, 155.
Easter, II, 153.
Easter Wings, II, 335.
H. Baptisme, II, 191.
Nature, II, 303.
Sinne, II, 229.
Affliction, II, 247.
Repentance, II, 305.
Faith, II, 233.
Prayer, II, 181.
H. Communion, II, 195.
Antiphon, II, 107.
Love, II, 83.
The Temper, II, 313.
The Temper, II, 315.
Jordan, II, 87.
Employment, II, 103.
H. Scriptures, II, 187.
Whitsunday, II, 157.
Grace, II, 311.
Praise, II, 95.
Affliction, II, 339.
Mattens, II, 285.
Sinne, II, 231.
Even-Song, III, 59.
Church-Monuments, II, 201.
Church-Musick, II, 199.
Church-Lock and Key, II, 301.
The Church Floore, III, 167.
The Windows, III, 15.
Trinitie-Sunday, II, 161.
Content, II, 353.
The Quidditie, II, 97.
Humilitie, II, 239.
Frailtie, II, 359.
Constancie, III, 119.
Affliction, III, 269.
The Starre, II, 365.
Sunday, II, 175.
Avarice, III, 113.
Anagram, III, 165.
To All Angels and Saints, II, 163.
Employment, II, 347
Deniall, II, 297.
Christmas, II, 167.
Ungratefulnesse, II, 243.
Sighs and Grones, III, 277.
The World, II, 225.
Our Life is Hid, &c., II, 283.
Vanitie, II, 357.
Lent, II, 171.
Vertue, III, 335.
The Pearl, II, 381.
Affliction, III, 271.
Man, II, 215.
Antiphon, III, 63.
Unkindnesse, II, 309.
Life, III, 321.
Submission, III, 205.
Justice, III, 253.
Charms and Knots, II, 211.
Affliction, III, 273.
Mortification, II, 259.
Decay, III, 115.

Miserie, II, 251.
Jordan, II, 91.
Prayer, II, 183.
Obedience, II, 385.
Conscience, III, 229.
Sion, III, 265.
Home, III, 325.
The British Church, III, 101.
The Quip, III, 33.
Vanitie, III, 133.
The Dawning, III, 333.
Jesu, III, 303.
Businesse, III, 139.
Dialogue, II, 369.
Dulnesse, III, 207.
Love-Joy, III, 163.
Providence, III, 79.
Hope, III, 203.
Sinnes Round, III, 143.
Time, III, 339.
Gratefulnesse, III, 41.
Peace, II, 377.
Confession, III, 259.
Giddinesse, III, 129.
The Bunch of Grapes, III, 215.
Love Unknown, III, 179.
Man's Medley, III, 125.
The Storm, III, 263.
Paradise, III, 39.
The Method, III, 197.
Divinitie, III, 97.
Grieve Not the Holy Spirit, &c., III, 255.
The Familie, III, 185.
The Size, III, 193.
Artillerie, II, 361.
Church-Rents and Schismes, III, 105.
Justice, III, 117.
The Pilgrimage, III, 237
The Holdfast, III, 17.
Complaining, III, 267.
The Discharge, III, 187.
Praise, II, 397.
An Offering, II, 393.
Longing, III, 281.
The Bag, III, 157.
The Jews, III, 109.
The Collar, III, 211.
The Glimpse, III, 289.
Assurance, III, 225.
The Call, III, 9.
Clasping of Hands, III, 37.
Praise, III, 45.
Joseph's Coat, III, 301.
The Pulley, III, 149.
The Priesthood, II, 373.
The Search, III, 219.
Grief, III, 323.
The Crosse, III, 231.
The Flower, III, 305.
Dotage, III, 137.
The Sonne, III, 161.
A True Hymne, III, 27.
The Answer, II, 351.
A Dialogue-Antheme, III, 343.
The Water-Course, III, 147.
Self-Condemnation, III, 111.
Bitter-Sweet, III, 251.
The Glance, III, 331.
The 23 Psalme, III, 19.
Marie Magdalene, III, 151.
Aaron, III, 11.
The Odour, III, 23.
The Foil, III, 123.
The Forerunners, III, 317.
The Rose, II, 389.
Discipline, III, 297.
The Invitation, III, 49.
The Banquet, III, 53.
The Posie, III, 29.
A Parodie, III, 293.
The Elixer, II, 99.
A Wreath, II, 319.
Death, II, 263.
Dooms-Day, II, 267.
Judgement, II, 271.
Heaven, II, 273.
Love, II, 401.
The Church Militant, III, 359.
L'Envoy, III, 381.

TITLES ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THIS EDITION

Dedication, II, ix.

GROUP I: THE CHURCH-PORCH.

The Church-Porch, II, 15.

GROUP II: THE RESOLVE.

Two Sonnets to his Mother, II, 79.
Love, II, 83.
Jordan, II, 87.
Jordan, II, 91.
Praise, II, 95.
The Quidditie, II, 97.
The Elixer, II, 99.
Employment, II, 103.
Antiphon, II, 107.

GROUP III: THE CHURCH.

Superliminare, II, 119.
The Altar, II, 121.
The Sacrifice, II, 123.
Good Friday, II, 149.
Easter, II, 153.
Whitsunday, II, 157.
Trinitie-Sunday, II, 161.
To All Angels and Saints, II, 163.
Christmas, II, 167.
Lent, II, 171.
Sunday, II, 175.
Prayer, II, 181.
Prayer, II, 183.
The H. Scriptures, II, 187.
H. Baptisme, II, 191.
H. Baptisme, II, 193.
H. Communion, II, 195.
Church-Musick, II, 199.
Church-Monuments, II, 201.

GROUP IV: MEDITATION.

Charms and Knots, II, 211.
Man, II, 215.
The World, II, 225.
Sinne, II, 229.
Sinne, II, 231.
Faith, II, 233.
Redemption, II, 237.
Humilitie, II, 239.
Ungratefulnesse, II, 243.
Affliction, II, 247.
Miserie, II, 251.
Mortification, II, 259.
Death, II, 263.
Dooms-Day, II, 267.
Judgement, II, 271.
Heaven, II, 273.

GROUP V: THE INNER LIFE.

Our Life is Hid, &c., II, 283.
Mattens, II, 285.
The Thanksgiving, II, 287.
The Reprisall, II, 293.
The Sinner, II, 295.
Deniall, II, 297.
Church-Lock and Key, II, 301.
Nature, II, 303.
Repentance, II, 305.
Unkindnesse, II, 309.
Grace, II, 311.
The Temper, II, 313.

The Temper, II, 315.
A Wreath, II, 319.

GROUP VI: THE CRISIS.
Easter Wings, II, 335.
Affliction, II, 339.
Employment, II, 347.
The Answer, II, 351.
Content, II, 353.
Vanitie, II, 357.
Frailtie, II, 359.
Artillerie, II, 361.
The Starre, II, 365.
Dialogue, II, 369.
The Priesthood, II, 373.
Peace, II, 377.
The Pearl, II, 381.
Obedience, II, 385.
The Rose, II, 389.
An Offering, II, 393.
Praise, II, 397.
Love, II, 401.

GROUP VII: THE HAPPY PRIEST.
The Call, III, 9.
Aaron, III, 11.
The Windows, III, 15.
The Holdfast, III, 17.
The 23 Psalme, III, 19.
The Odour, III, 23.
A True Hymne, III, 27.
The Posie, III, 29.
The Quip, III, 33.
Clasping of Hands, III, 37.
Paradise, III, 39.
Gratefulnesse, III, 41.
Praise, III, 45.
The Invitation, III, 49.
The Banquet, III, 53.
Even-Song, III, 59.
Antiphon, III, 63.

GROUP VIII: BEMERTON STUDY.
To My Successor, III, 75.
Providence, III, 79.
Divinitie, III, 97.
The British Church, III, 101.
Church-Rents and Schismes, III, 105.
The Jews, III, 109.
Self-Condemnation, III, 111.
Avarice, III, 113.
Decay, III, 115.
Justice, III, 117.
Constancie, III, 119.
The Foil, III, 123.
Man's Medley, III, 125.
Giddinesse, III, 129.
Vanitie, III, 133.
Dotage, III, 137.
Businesse, III, 139.
Sinnes Round, III, 143.
The Water-Course, III, 147.
The Pulley, III, 149
Marie Magdalene, III, 151.
The Agonie, III, 153.
Sepulchre, III, 155.
The Bag, III, 157.
The Sonne, III, 161.
Love-Joy, III, 163.
Anagram, III, 165.
The Church-Floore, III, 167.

GROUP IX: RESTLESSNESS.
Love Unknown, III, 179.
The Familie, III, 185.
The Discharge, III, 187.
The Size, III, 193.
The Method, III, 197.
Hope, III, 203.
Submission, III, 205.
Dulnesse, III, 207.
The Collar, III, 211.
The Bunch of Grapes, III, 215.
The Search, III, 219.
Assurance, III, 225.
Conscience, III, 229.
The Crosse, III, 231.
The Pilgrimage, III, 237.

GROUP X: SUFFERING.
Bitter-Sweet, III, 251.
Justice, III, 253.
Grieve Not the Holy Spirit, &c., III, 255.
Confession, III, 259.
The Storm, III, 263.
Sion, III, 265.
Complaining, III, 267.
Affliction, III, 269.
Affliction, III, 271.
Affliction, III, 273.
Sighs and Grones, III, 277.
Longing, III, 281.
The Glimpse, III, 289.
A Parodie, III, 293.
Discipline, III, 297.
Joseph's Coat, III, 301.
Jesu, III, 303.
The Flower, III, 305.

GROUP XI: DEATH.
The Forerunners, III, 317.
Life, III, 321.
Grief, III, 323.
Home, III, 325.
The Glance, III, 331.
The Dawning, III, 333.
Vertue, III, 335.
Time, III, 339.
A Dialogue-Antheme, III, 343.

GROUP XII: ADDITIONAL AND DOUBTFUL POEMS.
The Church-Militant, III, 359.
L'Envoy, III, 381.
H. Communion, III, 383.
Love, III, 387.
Trinitie-Sunday, III, 389.
Even-Song, III, 391.
The Knell, III, 393.
Perseverance, III, 395.
The Convert, III, 397.
On an Anchor-Seal, III, 399.
To John Donne, D. D., III, 401.
A Paradox III, 403.
Psalm II, III, 407.
Psalm III, III, 410.
Psalm IV, III, 411.
Psalm VI, III, 413.
Psalm VII, III, 415.
Gloria to Psalm XXIII, III, 419.
On Sir John Danvers, III, 421.
On Lord Danvers, III, 423.
To the Queene of Bohemia, III, 425.
L'Envoy, III, 431.

BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS

Genesis:
i, 9, 10, II, 220.
27, II, 58.
ii,7,II,128,160,180, III, 282.
8, II, 246.
21, II, 146.
iii, 3–6, II, 142.
3–7, II, 226.
7, III, 226, 278.
15, II, 232.
17, III, 280.
18, II, 138.
19, II, 200.
vi, 18, III, 360.
viii, 4, III, 360.
9, II, 130, III, 218.
ix, 20, III, 216, 358.
xi, 4, II, 358, III, 144.
9, III, 372.
31, III, 360.
xii, 5, III, 360.
10, III, 360.
xvii, 19, III, 360.
xviii, 33, III, 114.
xix, 3, III, 114.
xxiv, 11, III, 114.
xxxii, 10, III, 30.
24, III, 114.
28, II, 290.
xxxvii, 3, III, 300.
xli, 35, I, 425.
Exodus:
iii, 2, III, 114.
viii, 3, III, 360.
x, 22, III, 278.
xii, 22, II, 118.
xiii, 21, III, 186.
xiv, 25, III, 44.
xvi, 1–16, II, 124.
xix, 16, II, 66.
xix, 20, III, 114.
xx, 7, II, 20.
25, II, 120.
xxiv, 12, II, 294.
xxviii, 30, III, 12.
33–35, III, 12, 114.
36, III, 12.
xxxii, 10, III, 114.
14, III, 114.
xxxiv, 33, II, 136.
xxxvii, 1, III, 360.
Leviticus:
xxiii, 14, II, 170.
Numbers:
viii, 7, II, 4.
xi, 5, III, 366.
xiii, 23, III, 214.
xx, 8, II, 134.
11, III, 180.
xxxiii, 10, III, 214.
Deuteronomy:
v, 15, II, 124.
xxxi, 26, III, 360.
Joshua:
vii, 21, II, 194.
Judges:
vi, 11, III, 114.
xvi, 3, II, 178.
1 Samuel:
vi, 10, II, 46.
xvii, 50, II, 54, 94.
xviii, 1, II, 46.
2 Samuel:
vi, 6, II, 374.
xiv, 14, III, 54.
1 Kings:
vii, 23, 51, III, 264.
xix, 9, III, 114.
Ezra:
iii, 12, III, 374.

Nehemiah:
viii, 12, II, 178.
Job:
xiv, 2, III, 304.
7–9, II, 310.
9, III, 108, 306.
xxiii, 3, III, 218.
4, III, 270.
xxviii, 18, II, 380.
xxxviii, 11, III, 82.
Psalms:
i, 3, III, 430.
ii, 2, II, 124.
viii, 4, II, 284, 386.
xv, III, 120.
xviii, 2, II, 180.
xxi, 3, II, 286.
xxii, 6, II, 44, III, 254.
xxiv, 8, II, 396.
xxv, 11, II, 304.
xxviii, 1, III, 394.
xxxi, 2, III, 282.
3, III, 226.
12, III, 272.
14, III, 318.
xxxiii, 6, II, 142.
xxxviii, 15, III, 34.
xlii, 1, II, 84.
3, III, 218.
xlvi, 4, II, 168.
xlvii, 7, III, 406.
li, 8, II, 306.
lv, 6, II, 156, 336, III, 328.
lvi, 3, II, 344.
8, III, 46.
lxv, 7, III, 82.
lxxi, 7, III, 272.
lxxvi, 2, II, 378.
lxxvii, 7–9, III, 220.
lxxviii, 24, 25, II, 146.
lxxx, 8, III, 358.
lxxxvi, 11, III, 128, 272.
xc, 15, III, 304.
xciv, 9, II, 400, III, 282.
xcv, 4, II, 134.
ci, III, 118.
ci, 2, II, 296.
cii, III, 280.
10, III, 232.
ciii, 15, III, 304.
civ, III, 77.
19, II, 184.
27, III, 82.
cvi, 2, III, 94.
cvii, 8, III, 360.
cix, 18, II, 306.
cxvi, II, 396.
16, II, 126.
cxviii, 24, II, 178.
cxix, 18, I, 419.
103, II, 168, 186.
105, II, 176.
165, II, 378.
cxxx, 3, III, 58.
cxxxix, 3, II, 250, 318.
8, III, 218.
10, III, 204.
12, II, 210.
14, II, 214.
17, III, 360.
cxliv, 1, II, 130.
cxlv, 10, III, 78.
Proverbs:
iii, 9, 10, II, 212.
vi, 1–4, II, 48.
viii, 17, II, 210.
x, 18, II, 212.
xi, 24, II, 210.
xii, 4, II, 16.
xiii, 7, II, 34.
xvi, 28, III, 264.
xvii, 24, II, 62.
xix, 17, II, 58, 288.
xx, 27, III, 110.
xxiii, 26, II, 244.
xxx, 4, II, 134.
Song of Solomon:
ii, 1, III, 104.
16, III, 36.
Isaiah:
i, 3, II, 176.
v, 1, 2, II, 230.

v, 1–7, II, 138.
4, II, 104.
vi, 5, II, 130.
5–8, II, 364.
ix, 6, II, 134, 396.
xiv, 29, III, 144.
xl, 6, III, 304.
24, II, 310.
xlv, 9, II, 370.
xlviii, 10, III, 282.
liii, 9, II, 144.
lvii, 20, II, 22.
lviii, 7, II, 172.
lix, 5, III, 144.
lx, 2, III, 374.
19, III, 120.
lxiii, 3, III, 152, 216.
5, III, 324.
lxiv, 12, II, 140.
lxvi, 3, I, 422.
Jeremiah:
v, 22, III, 82.
ix, 1, III, 322.
15, II, 306.
x, 24, III, 296.
xxxi, 33, II, 302, 384, III, 134.
xxxviii, 11, II, 258.
Lamentations:
i, 12, II, 124.
ii, 15, II, 124.
18, III, 322.
Ezekiel:
xi, 19, II, 196.
xviii, 25, 29, III, 252.
xxxvi, 26, II, 302.
Daniel:
xii, 3, II, 364.
Zechariah:
iv, 12, II, 158.
vii, 12, II, 120.
Malachi:
iii, 8–10, II, 58.
Ecclesiasticus:
xxii, 19, II, 358.
Book of Wisdom:
vii, 17–23, II, 380.
viii, 1, III, 78.
xvi, 13, III, 306.
Matthew:
ii, 1, 2, II, 126.
9, II, 148.
iii, 16, II, 156.
iv. 2, II, 172.
v, 8, II, 14.
48, II, 172, III, 16.
vi, 16, II, 170.
25–34, III, 186.
vii, 13, II, 22.
14, II, 192.
viii, 24, III, 156.
31, II, 140.
xiii, 45, II, 381.
xvi, 18, III, 370.
19, II, 372.
24, II, 142.
xviii, 9, II, 260.
xxi, 8, II, 154.
xxii, 12, II, 400.
xxv, 40, II, 58.
xxvi, 15, II, 124.
28, II, 146, III, 180.
40–43, II, 124.
46–57, II, 124.
53, II, 136.
59, II, 128.
68, II, 136.
xxvii, 25, II, 132.
26, II, 134.
27, II, 136.
28, II, 138.
29, II, 138.
31, II, 140.
32, II, 142.
34, II, 146.
35, II, 146.
37, II, 144.
38, II, 144.
39, II, 124.
40, 42, II, 144.

xxvii, 46, II, 142, 286.
xxviii, 2, II, 178, III, 360.
Mark:
xi, 15–17, III, 184.
xiii, 31, III, 226.
xiv, 24, III, 216.
50, II, 126.
65, II, 134.
Luke:
ii, 7, III, 158.
20, II, 168.
iv, 23, II, 144.
v, 35, II, 170.
vi, 24–26, III, 194.
vii, 38, III, 150.
x, 24, II, 140.
xiv, 13, III, 50.
xvi, 2, II, 66.
xvii, 2, II, 34.
21, III, 114.
xix, 40, II, 120.
41, II, 398.
xxii, 20, II, 270.
42, II, 124.
44, II, 124, 136, III, 268.
48, II, 126.
64, II, 136.
xxiii, 11, 12, II, 128.
18, II, 132.
19, II, 132.
21, II, 140.
28, II, 136.
43, II, 236.
John:
i, 9, III, 110.
ii, 15, II, 62.
19, II, 128.
21, III, 264.
vi, 55, II, 232.
viii, 12, II, 132.
44, III, 110.
58, II, 132.
ix, 6, II, 134.
x, 33, II, 128.
xii, 3, III, 150.
5, II, 124.
xii, 6, II, 124.
xiii, 1, III, 226.
7, III, 178.
13, III, 22.
23, II, 46.
xiv, 6, II, 370, III, 8.
xv, 1, II, 148, III, 162, 216.
xvi, 6, II, 126.
xviii, 24, II, 126.
xix, 15, II, 134.
34, II, 146, 190, III, 158, 180.
Acts:
ii, 3, II, 156.
vii, 47, 48, III, 264.
viii, 32, II, 128.
x, 4, II, 58.
xvii, 30, II, 256, III, 212.
xxii, 22, II, 132.
Romans:
v, 12–21, II, 232.
vi, 11, III, 286.
viii, 26, II, 152.
35, III, 8, 60, 222.
ix, 21, II, 372.
x, 6–8, III, 134.
1 Corinthians:
i, 21, II, 64.
iii, 16, III, 264.
17, II, 62.
v, 7, II, 196.
ix, 27, III, 394.
x, 4, II, 138.
11, III, 216.
xi, 13, III, 110.
xv, 22, III, 16.
31, II, 258, III, 268, 270.
32, II, 250.
55, III, 342.
2 Corinthians:
ii, 15, III, 23.
16, II, 62.
iii, 3, III, 154.
13, II, 136.
14, III, 116.

iv, 7, II, 64.
8–10, III, 250.
v, 8, III, 328.
21, II, 400.
vi, 10, III, 250.
16, III, 264.
x, 4, II, 302.
Galatians:
iii, 13, II, 142.
iv, 24, II, 236.
Ephesians:
ii, 14, III, 360.
iii, 8, III, 30.
iv, 8, II, 144.
vi, 30, III, 255.
Philippians:
i, 23, III, 340.
ii, 6, II, 128.
6–8, II, 370.
13, III, 16.
iii, 19, II, 20.
iv, 3, II, 190.
7, II, 134.
Colossians:
i, 2, 4, I, 419.
24, III, 380.
ii, 12, II, 152.
iii, 3, II, 283.
9, III, 12.
14, III, 166.
2 Thessalonians:
i, 11, II, 384.
1 Timothy, vi, 10, III, 112, 194.
12, II, 126.
Hebrews:
ii, 15, III, 342.
17, III, 158.
vi, 19, III, 202, 398.
vii, 2, II, 378.
viii, 2, III, 164.
x, 13, II, 166.
16, II, 384.
22, II, 4.
xi, 1, II, 232.
14, III, 234.
xii, 14, II, 118.
James:
i, 6, II, 368.
8, II, 338.
15, II, 14.
ii, 19, III, 388.
iii, 17, II, 182.
iv, 14, II, 350.
1 Peter:
i, 12, II, 140.
2 Peter:
iii, 10, III, 336.
1 John:
ii, 13, II, 192.
Revelation:
iv, 4, 10, II, 162
vii, 14, II, 178.
viii, 6, III, 108.
x, 6, III, 340.
9, III, 250.
xiiii, 8, II, 190.
xvi, 1, III, 278.
xvii, 5, III, 370.
xx, 12, II, 270.
xxi, 8, III, 140.
9, II, 176.
22, III, 264.
27, II, 118.
xxii, 2, II, 272.
12, II, 270.

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE . MASSACHUSETTS
U . S . A

IV

THE STYLE AND TECHNIQUE