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All Possible Art: George Herbert's *The Country Parson* and Courtesy

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Richard Baxter begins his *Reformed Pastor* (1656) likening the local minister and his congregation to a nursing mother and her child:

> We are the nurses of Christ's little ones. If we forbear taking food ourselves, we shall famish them; it will soon be visible in their leanness . . . . If we feed on unwholesome food, either errors or fruitless controversies, our hearers are likely to fare the worse for it . . . .

Baxter's remedy, characteristically Puritan, is for the pastor to look to his own spiritual health. He continues:

> 0, brethren, watch therefore over your own hearts; keep out lusts and passions and worldly inclinations; keep up the life of faith and love and zeal; be much at home, and be much with God. If it be not your daily business to study your own hearts, and to subdue corruption, and to walk with God . . . all will go wrong, and you will starve your hearers; or, if you have an affected fervency, you cannot expect a blessing to attend it from on high. Above all, be much in secret prayer and meditation . . . . For your people's sakes, therefore, look to your hearts.[1]

"Watch over your heart," "be much with God," "study your heart," "be much in secret prayer and meditation," "look to your heart"—such was the earnest advice of those Puritans seeking reform of the seventeenth-century Anglican clergy. Like Baxter, most were preoccupied with the sin of hypocrisy and would have said "Amen" to Baxter's warning here: "if you have an affected fervency, you cannot expect a blessing to attend it from on high." The core of the Puritan movement, in fact, can be viewed as a desire to recover the integrity of the inner self, and to shed the showiness and the "affected fervency" of current professional religion. Puritans saw problems in the church as originating

with insincere clergymen who were content with the trappings of the faith instead of true spirituality. To the Anglican clergy the Puritan segment therefore urged: "For your people's sake . . . look to your hearts." [2]

George Herbert's *The Priest to the Temple*, or as he entitled it, *The Country Parson* (1652) has a conspicuously different emphasis: rather than the "heart," it addresses the "art" of the minister. Instead of stressing such private concerns as the pastor's conversion, beliefs, his conscience, prayer life, studies, or attention to the Spirit, Herbert's work concerns itself squarely with the public side of the pastor's life: his observable behavior, even his manners, clothes, house, and furniture. Herbert's manual in fact instructs the pastor in how to fashion a correct public image.[3] The great bulk of Herbert's advice is not immediately linked to spiritual realities, but to the minister's appearances.

Herbert writes, for example, that the parson must master patience and mortification, not because this edifies the inner man, but because of the effect such practices have on his image: these are "the two highest points of Life, wherein a Christian is *most seen.*"[4] Herbert warns against "Luxury" because it is a "very visible sin" (227:22). And he shows his concern with the public self in recommendations like this one: "[the parson] labours most in those things which are most apt to scandalize his Parish" (227:11).

In Chapter 6, "The Parson praying," Herbert explains how the appearance of devotion can be used to appropriately effect one's parishioners: "[The parson] may affect . . . 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" (231:13-16). Since this is so, Herbert carefully instructs his readers on how best to sound devout:

> Accordingly [the parson's] voyce is humble, his words treatable, and slow; yet not so slow neither, as to let the fervency of the supplicant hang and dye between speaking, but with a grave livelinesse, between fear and zeal, pausing yet pressing, he *performes* his duty. (231)

Herbert's choice of "perform" in this context is appropriate. Like an actor, the pastor pays meticulous attention to the sound of his voice; his congregation is his audience.[5] Here his interest is the performance of prayer, not its content, not the pastor's own heartfelt devotion. Other manualists focus on the substance and sincerity of prayer, Herbert on the aesthetics.[6]

While Chapter 7 addresses the nature of sermons, the real subject of "The Parson Preaching" is the parson. Here Herbert describes how the parson is to keep the attention of his audience:

> When he preacheth, he procures attention *by all possible art*, both by earnestnesse of speech, it being naturall to men to thinke, that where

> there is much earnestness, there is somewhat worth the 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. (233:30-234:2)

Herbert indeed has authentic spiritual ends in view; but, undeniably, there is something of the actor's language here. He recommends "all possible art," bravado, appearances to make his audience aware that here is something worth hearing. Rather than simply allowing the scripture to have its own effect, Herbert recommends "truly affecting, and cordially expressing all that we say" (233:30-31). He even provides lines for the would-be actor/pastor who reads his work:

> [the parson] 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. (233:32-37)

"Some such irradiations scatteringly in the Sermon," Herbert assures his readers, "carry great holiness in them" (233:37-234:1).

Herbert further suggests that the preacher should express "wishes of the peoples good" in his sermon, for "There is no greater *sign of holinesse*, then procuring, and rejoycing in anothers good" (234:6-10). Herbert will finally use such appearances in spiritually edifying ways; nevertheless, Herbert's concern here is the perception of holiness, not holiness itself.

Besides these means, Herbert recommends weaving emotions, even tears, into the sermon at appropriate moments. To defend this practice he cites Jesus's example: "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" (234:20-23). Herbert makes the purpose of displaying such emotion in the sermons quite clear; it will "make them *appear* exceeding reverend, and holy" (234:24). Finally, Herbert suggests that the parson invoke the presence and majesty of God as he preaches. Again, he suggests lines for his readers to recite after which he concludes, "Such discourses *shew* very Holy" (234:35-36).[7]

On a first reading, *The Country Parson* seems to advocate much of what the Puritan movement was working against, cultivating "an affected fervency," the appearance of true religion but perhaps not the reality.[8] To its contemporary readers *The Country Parson* may have seemed more like a secular courtesy book than a "guide to godliness." This description, indeed, would not have been far from the mark.

While other handbook authors write in sermon form, the model *The Country Parson* seems to follow is the popular Renaissance courtesy book, a manual specifically designed for teaching proper manners and behavior to the novice at court.[9] Because of the courtesy book's emphasis on appearances, it was peculiarly suited to provide a vehicle for Herbert's concerns regarding the British ministry. *The Country Parson* manifests striking resemblances to the courtesy manual in, among other things, its informal arrangement, choice of topics, its aristocratic tone or temper, courtly diction, and classical inspiration.[10]

On the title page of William Perkins's *Of The Calling of the Ministerie* one reads: "Delivered Publickly in the Universitie of Cambridge by Master Perkins. Taken then from his mouth, and now diligently perused and published."[11] The advertisement to John Jackson's *The Worthy Churchman* acknowledges a similar origin: "first glossed and scholyed on in a Synod-Sermon; and after enlarged by way of discourse." *The Reformed Pastor*, too, although never actually preached because of Baxter's ill health, was composed specifically as an oral address.[12] Indeed, nearly every ministerial handbook published in the seventeenth century gives evidence of having been conceived as a sermon, and those manuals which do not explicitly acknowledge such beginnings display unmistakable homiletic characteristics. All start with a Scripture text; most take their structure from explicating a text part-by-part.[13] The author often addresses the readers as if they were physically present;[14] and most manuals have the oratorical markings of an easily discernible order and central point, repetition, and emphatic oral cadences.[15]

The Country Parson, however, shares none of these homiletic earmarks. In its preface, "The Authour to the Reader," Herbert expresses that he means to "set down the Form and Character of a true Pastour," and he specifically calls his work a "Book" (224). He gives no scripture text and employs no recognizable sermon structures or techniques. This work would, in fact, make a very poor sermon. Rather than a focused argument in the explication/application style, *The Country Parson* is a series of twenty-seven short, casually linked, self-contained discourses reflecting on the pastor's duties and manners in a familiar, and even intimate, tone. There is little urgency here, no public voice, and no obviously apparent order or thesis. Unlike most other pastoral handbooks, *The Country Parson* is neither derived from nor is it fashioned in the shape of a sermon.

The Country Parson, not modeled after the sermon, instead shows signs of taking its form and matter from the popular, secular courtesy book. In place of the more common themes of prayer, study, and self-examination, *The Country Parson*'s topics show a striking affinity to courtesy topics. Although Herbert's treatment of these subjects is more unmistakably Christian than is that by the typical courtesy author, it is significant that Herbert discusses such issues at all. In the tradition of *The Courtier*, *The Galateo*, and *Civil*

Conversation, *The Country Parson* gives advice on eating (e.g., 241:15-19; 266:5-267:26), complimenting and speech (252:4-12; 286:19-25; 285-88), apparel (228:8-13; 265:15), the use of wealth (265:5-266:5, 274:28-275:5), riding and arms (252:24-29; 277:14-18), idleness (274:4 ff), travel (278:3-10), and the training of noblemen's sons (276-78). Other authors of clerical manuals avoid such subjects altogether, preferring instead to focus on more clearly spiritual matters.

Much like a courtesy book in subject matter, for example, is the long Chapter 32, "The Parson's Surveys" (274-78). When the parson "surveys" England he finds "the great and nationall sin of the land to be Idlenesse" (274:8-9). Herbert agrees with the Italian courtesy author, Stephano Guazzo, that: "there is nothing more dangerous than an idle young man."[16] Idleness is the same sin which Richard Brathwaite loudly condemned in his courtesy book, *English Gentleman and English Gentlewoman*,[17] published two years before Herbert wrote *The Country Parson*. Like Brathwaite, Herbert urges "to every body the necessity of a vocation" (274:17-18). More like the English courtesy authors than the Continental on this point, Herbert condemns the lounging life of the gallant and gives instructions to either "have a Calling, or prepare for it" (275:11).[18] Herbert's manual is similar to a courtesy book in its specific instructions to the upper class against idleness. To the idle nobleman he suggests improvement of his grounds—"by drowning, or draining, or stocking, or fencing" (275:24-25)—or civil service (275:36-276:16). To those preparing for a calling, heirs and younger brothers, he also gives specific advice. With heirs he discusses "Sessions and Sizes," the court, travel, the Parliament, horsemanship, and military service. With younger brothers Herbert advises on dressing, complimenting, visiting, and sporting, the Law, Mathematics, and travel (277:1-278:10).

Such subjects are rarely if ever discussed by other writers of clerical handbooks; however, they are the standard fare of contemporary works of courtesy, and Herbert's topics read like their tables of contents. Richard Cleland's *Institution of a Young Noble Man*, for example, includes similar discussions on "Mathematickes," "the Lawes," "Of a Noblemans duty towards the King," "Of his behauiour at Court," "How a Noble man should speake," "Of his diet in eating and drinking," "Of his Apparel," "Of Riding, Shooting . . . and handling of Armes," and "Of Trauelling."[19] Richard Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* also provides chapters on these typical courtesy themes: "Of Geometry," "Of reputation and carriage," "Of Trauile," and "Of Warre."[20] Like any courtesy author Herbert suggests advice to young noblemen to help suit them for their future places among the country's elite.

An acute awareness of social distinctions further sets *The Country Parson* apart from the other pastoral manuals. The modern reader who knows the often self-effacing poet of *The Temple* is struck by the definite aristocratic tone of

The Country Parson. Herbert suggests, for example, that the parson should occasionally invite the poor to his table. It is hard to mistake Herbert's class consciousness when he explains that the parson condescends to such hospitality "for his own humility" (243:9-12). In visitation Herbert suggests that the parson "neither disdaineth . . . to enter into the poorest Cottage, though he even creep into it, and though it smell never so lothsomly." Such a task is obviously offensive to Herbert's sensibilities. Part of the virtue in making the visit is the opportunity for humility which it affords: "in regard of himselfe," Herbert writes, "it is . . . humiliation" (249:4-5).

Underscoring his emphatic awareness of social hierarchy, Herbert entitles a chapter on the parson's participation in local ceremonies as "The Parson's Condescendinng"(283-84). Despite the genuine concern Herbert often expresses toward his people, there is no mistaking his social prejudices. His generalization about his working-class parishioners are less than kind; for example, about their daily behavior he writes: "Country people are full of . . . petty injustices, being cunning to make use of another, and spare themselves" (265:33-35). He attributes a carnal disposition to their close ties to nature: "considering the great aptnesse Countrey people have to think that all things come by a kind of naturall course . . . that if they sow and soyle their grounds, they must have corn" (270:24-26).

Herbert recommends differing treatment for the "plaine countryman" and the man of "higher quality" (248:17-18). He is convinced of the typical working man's mental and even spiritual inferiority. He suggests, for instance, that the parson make use of material gifts when these parishioners are good and that he withhold such things when they are not because these material incentives for sanctification are the only sort that the laborer understands: "Thus both in rewarding vertue, and in punishing vice, the Parson endeavoureth to be in Gods stead, knowing that Countrey people are drawne, or led by sense, more then faith, by present rewards, or punishments, more then by future" (254:29-33).[21] His description of rural parishioners in church is noteworthy:

> Sometimes [the preacher] tells them stories, and sayings of others according as his text invites him; for them also men heed, and remember better then 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. (233:11-18)

This unflattering picture of the common man—"thick, heavy, and hard to raise to a poynt of zeal"—is persistent in *The Country Parson*.[22]

The Country Parson exudes a uniquely aristocratic temper. Compared with *The Country Parson* the period's other guides to godliness and clerical manuals sound decidedly egalitarian and middle-class. Although a country parson, Herbert retains a strongly upper-class, urbane awareness of social lines, and he has difficulty hiding this attitude for all that he might believe that God is "no respecter of persons."

One explanation for the unusual tone of Herbert's manual, of course, is social: nearly all of Herbert's fellow handbook authors were middle-class Puritans while Herbert was a blue-blooded Anglican. Herbert's family was among the most aristocratic in England at the time. As a young man, Herbert entertained high hopes in the court of King James where the courtesy book was very popular among aspiring young courtiers. *The Country Parson* certainly reflects the class-conscious tone of works belonging to that genre. Herbert's sometimes pitying, sometimes condescending, always aristocratic attitude closely resembles attitudes taken by courtesy writers.

Courtesy books were a product of class consciousness and cultivated it as well. In *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century,* Ruth Kelso explains how very far the courtesy book was from the more "democratic" spirit of the Puritan clerical manuals: "courtesy as a gentlemanly virtue was fundamentally a preserver of society, helping to keep the lines between classes that the aristocratic ideal created."[23] As an aristocrat himself, it is not so surprising that Herbert would write like one. By writing like a courtesy author and emphasizing class distinctions, Herbert tacitly supports the social hierarchy which more extreme Protestants like the Quakers and Levellers abhorred. Furthermore, Herbert can assume a superiority over his parishioners because he (as a parson) himself is a man under authority. He explains, for example, that the country parson must use the church catechism "for obedience to Authority" (255:17), and he instructs the parson to honor his superiors: "[the parson] carryes himself very respectively, as to all the Fathers of the Church, so especially to his Diocesan, honouring him in both word, and behaviour, and resorting unto him in any difficulty, either in his studies or in his Parish" (253:5-9). Herbert's high Anglican respect for social and religious hierarchy represents a voice radically counter to the Puritan one prominent among ministerial handbooks.

If *The Country Parson* resembles a courtesy book in its persistent awareness of social distinctions, its metaphors also are highly suggestive of courtly titles and relationships. Of all of the metaphorical descriptions of the spiritual life, Herbert overwhelmingly prefers those which make a comparison between the earthly, civil powers and the heavenly. Here, for instance, he describes the fawning behavior of some chaplains who show a preference for the temporal court over the eternal: "They who do . . . thus, while they remember their earthly Lord, do much forget their heavenly" (226:31-33). In describing the

parson's obligation to teach his children spiritual truths, he compares one commonweal with the other: "His children he first makes Christians, and then commonwealths-men; the one he owes to his heavenly Countrey, the other to his earthly" (239:19-23). Herbert is certainly not unique in his analogies of the Divinit y to "King," "Majesty," and "Judge" (e.g., 234:31; 235:23; 236:5; 233:21). Nevertheless, his consistent preference for such appositives for God as "the Great Governour of all things" (281:10) enhances the courtly ambiance of his manual.

Most suggestive of courtesy language is the vocabulary Herbert uses to describe the parson himself. If God is the King of the spiritual court, the country parson is a civil servant. Herbert defines the parson in this way in his opening chapter, "Of a Pastor." Here he explains, "A Pastor is the Deputy of Christ" and God's "Vicegerent" (225:1,17). As a noble or gentleman is the king's representative to the shire, "The Countrey Parson is in Gods stead to his Parish" (254:8). Herbert describes the parson sometimes in martial terms, as if he were God's knight protecting the countryside. Chapter 18 he calls "The Parson in Sentinel" and explains that "The Countrey Parson, where ever he is, keeps Gods watch; that there is nothing spoken, or done in the Company where he is, but comes under his Test and censure" (252:1-3). Although here Herbert describes the congregation in the conventional term as sheep, again the parson is described as more like an active knight than a contemplative cleric: "The Countrey Parson at spare times from action, stand[s] on a hill, and considers his Flock" (264:3-4). Herbert conceives of the spiritual life as a battle in which the parson-knight must pick up his arms and fight for his king: "This is to be on Gods side, and be true to his party" (252:14-15).

In addition to this chivalric language, Herbert also describes the parson in terms which associate him with the aristocracy and the privileges and obligations of that class. In his depictions of the parson's charity, for example, he suggests not the New Testament pattern for giving found in the story of the widow's mite, but the noblesse oblige of the Renaissance aristocracy. He discusses his charity in a chapter he significantly entitles "The Parson's Courtesie" (Chapter 11). Herbert explains, "The Country 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" (243:6-9). The parson owes this "debt of Charity," not simply because his Master has bid him to "go and sell all he has and give to the poor," but because (as all courtesy books make clear) one must not "pinch, and scrape, and squeeze blood undecently to the station wherin God hath placed [one]" (265:17-18). Herbert extends his metaphor of noblesse oblige even to the parson's words, explaining, "these exhortations he cals his privy purse, even as Princes have theirs" (236:16-18). Far more than the homely metaphors of shepherd, interpreter, messenger, or plough-man appearing in most ministerial

handbooks, Herbert prefers for the parson the courtly metaphor of God's civil servant.

Herbert's description of the parson's life reflects another significant motif in *The Country Parson*. Herbert writes: "The Country Parson is exceeding exact in his Life, being holy, just, prudent, temperate, bold, grave in all his wayes" (227:1-3). This language is significant and unusual for a pastoral guide. Here Herbert describes, not the typical minister of the clerical manual, but the courtly gentleman of the courtesy book. Like all courtesy authors, Herbert builds his definition of the perfect gentleman on the Aristotelian moral virtues of justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude. While no two lists of virtues is identical, all courtesy authors build upon this frame.[24] Castiglione in *The Courtier*, for instance, lists "continence, fortitude, justice, and temperance" as the primary virtues of courtier and prince.[25] The man of honor must possess wisdom, justice, fortitude, and temperance according to Guazzo.[26] Thomas Elyot devotes an entire third of *The Book Named the Governor* to analyzing and recommending justice, fortitude, temperance, and prudence.[27] Peacham describes fortitude, justice, magnificence (liberality), and eloquence with classical examples as incentives to young noblemen to read and follow his book.[28] And Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, a courtesy book on the grandest and most epic scale, is organized around holiness, temperance, chastity, friendship, justice, and courtesy. Despite the variations in detail, by common consent the virtues of justice, prudence, courtesy, liberality, temperance, and fortitude were considered the most important for the gentleman.[29] While the Aristotelian moral virtues had long been Christianized by Scholasticism, it is nevertheless telling that, instead of describing his parson in terms of the more conventional theological virtues, Herbert follows the pattern of these courtesy authors, describing his "gentleman" as "holy, just, prudent, temperate, bold, and grave."

It is of further interest to note Herbert's particular exaltation of justice. Among the courtly virtues, justice was clearly held to be the chief.[30] Sir Thomas Elyot writes of justice that "without it none other virtue may be commendable, nor . . . any manner of doctrine profitable."[31] When Herbert declares, "And justice is the ground of Charity" (262:17-18), he suggests that the cardinal classical virtue, justice, is somehow prior to the preeminent theological virtue, charity.

While the courtesy book followed a long tradition which was fundamentally classical, the typical clerical manual derived its ethic and inspiration almost exclusively from the Bible. Most authors writing advice to clergy overwhelmingly wrote in the Puritan style—prodigiously quoting the Bible and rarely making classical references. This was the rule in all non-conformist literature. Although Puritan divines insisted that seminarians and pastors study

the classics along with many other disciplines, they saw little value in citing classical references to the public.[32] This view contributed inadvertently to a growing popular opinion that any spiritual Christian could preach the Bible.

Extreme pamphlets appeared insisting that humane learning was in fact a handicap to the soul. Samual How, a cobbler, wrote *The Sufficiencie of the Spirits Teaching without human learning: or a Treatise tending to prove humane Learning to be no help to the spirituall understanding of the Word of God.* And John Spencer, a coachman, wrote *A Short Treatise concerning the lawfullnesse of every mans exercising his gift as God shall call him thereunto.* Such broadsides argued that a spirit-filled man, like the young, unlearned Christ in the Temple among the scribes, knows better than all the doctors of the universities.[33]

Given this anti-humanistic climate, Herbert's classical debts are striking. His surprisingly "classical" parson sets his work apart from the others of its genre. At one point he even argues that St. Luke, Tertullian, and Chrysostom are at least as trustworthy as Tully, Virgil, and Livy (282:21-23). This high regard for the classical-courtly virtues may provide a partial explanation for another significant way in which *The Country Parson* resembles a courtesy book: a shared concern with appearances.

We have already seen some of the unusual emphasis given to appearances in general in *The Country Parson.* Although Herbert does not specifically name them in his list of the parson's virtues, the appearances of liberality and courtesy play especially significant roles in the life of Herbert's parson. In methodology and technique, though not in ultimate purpose, Herbert uses the outward manifestations of liberality and courtesy after the manner of courtesy authors.

The classical virtue of liberality is radically different from the Christian ideal of generosity. The Christian ideal is based upon obedience, compassion, and anonymity; that is, obedience to God, compassion toward the needy, and anonymity regarding one's own giving ("let not your left hand know what your right hand is doing"). Liberality, on the other hand, was originally defined by Aristotle simply as the mean between avarice and extravagance and came to be valued among the courtesy authors more for its temporal benefits than its spiritual ones. Jeronimo Osorius in *Civile Nobilitie* (1542) writes of liberality:

> Neyther truly is there any vertue which doth more become a noble minde, or setteth forthe more a worthy wight, either that winneth more praise & commendation, and getteth more goodwill, love, and reverence; without which no man may maytayn his owne estate, or attayne to live in any worshipful calling.[34]

Liberality, Osorius explains, fosters goodwill, love, and reverence. Rather than obedience to God, the chief impetus to liberality is utilitarian. One gives, not so much from compassion for the suffering as from a desire for praise and commendation. Anonymity, of course, would defeat the purposes of liberality—engendering respect and serviceableness. Castiglione suggests that the noble give according to merit so that he may be better loved by his constituents.[35] Machiavelli recommends liberality to the prince who wants to keep his minister obedient: "the prince should . . . think of his welfare, honor him, enrich him, load him with honors and offices. Thus the minister will not be able to stand without the prince."[36] Stephano Guazzo concisely explains, "riches well bestowed, are a great ornament, and setting forth to a gentleman."[37]

Herbert's descriptions of the parson's giving have something of this utilitarian flavor. The parson gives to relieve the poor, but also to inspire in them a love and respect for himself. Herbert writes: "[The Parson] gives [the poor] 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*" (248:10-13). The spirit of liberality is different from the world-abandoning spirit of selling all one has to follow Christ. Liberality rather is a calculated giving meant to encourage the receiver on to appropriate grateful behavior. Promiscuous giving was no part of true liberality for two reasons: such giving might do harm to the recipient and no good to the giver, and it was incompatible with the virtue of prudence which the gentleman was preeminently expected to show.[38]

Herbert believes in the necessity of such selective generosity. "The Parson's Charity" makes plain both the harm of "promiscuous" giving and the benefits of rewards carefully bestowed:

> But [the parson] gives no set pension to any; for this in time will lose the name and effect of Charity with the poor people . . . . 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 . . . . yet in all his Charity, he distinguisheth, giving them most, who liv e best, and take most paines, and are most charged: So is his charity in effect a Sermon. (244:25-245:17)

Herbert's goal is to win his people "to praise God more." And in "making a hook of his Charity," Herbert retains the aristocratic purpose of liberality which is causing "them to still depend on him." His "double aime" is similar to that of all liberal gentlemen, that is, to give, both for the good of the people and the good of one's own position. His method is identical to that recommended

by courtesy manuals; his gifts are meant as incentives to further effort on the part of the recipient. The parson "distinguisheth, giving them most, who live best, and take most paines, and are most charged."

By practicing liberality, the gentleman ideally is advancing the welfare of the state as well as engendering a love and respect for himself. Herbert recommends giving both to make the parson "ever the more welcome" to his people (248:10-13) and for the improvement of his parish, and he continually emphasizes the utilitarian aspects of giving. Here he describes how one might use giving to improve his parish:

> The Countrey Parson is in Gods stead to his Parish, and dischargeth 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 anothers 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.* (254:8-20)

Herbert believes in such rewards because of his aristocratic view of the common man. He expresses little confidence in the depth of his parishioners' spirituality: "Thus both in rewarding vertue, and in punishing vice, the Parson endeavoureth to be in Gods stead, knowing that Countrey people are drawne, or led by sense, more then by faith, by present rewards or punishments, more than by future" (254:29-33). Like most courtesy authors, it would seem that Herbert here agrees with Machiavelli: liberality works because, "Men are much more attracted by immediate than by remote events; when they find things going well in the here and now, they are pleased, and think of nothing else."[39] Herbert admits that such tactics are perhaps not the best, but he employs them because they work: "So the Countrey Parson . . . 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" (244:1-5).

The gentleman's liberality toward himself constitutes an aspect of liberality which is also part of Herbert's sensibility. The gentleman was expected first to be liberal in his own personal expenditures. This would reflect a great, rather than a small or mean, spirit.[40] Castiglione recommends that the nobleman surround himself with splendid things and events to show himself generous and above petty cares.[41] Sir Thomas Elyot explains that the gentleman should

avoid all appearances of stinginess by dressing in a way appropriate to his rank: "For apparel simple or scanty reproveth him of avarice."[42] Similarly, Herbert's definition of covetousness reflects this philosophy of liberality toward oneself prominent in courtesy material:

> Whosever when a just occasion cals, either spends not at all, or not in some proportion to Gods blessing upon him, is covetous. The reason of the ground is manifest, because *wealth is given to that end to supply our* occasions . . . . in brief, a poor man 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. (265:5-19)

Herbert here elevates self-denial or stinginess toward oneself to a sin. Liberality dictates that the gentleman be appropriately generous toward himself. Herbert so far agrees with this principle to call its breach "covetousness."

In his opening poem to *The Temple*, "The Church-Porch," Herbert endorses this courtly ideal. He writes, "Be Thriftie, but not covetous: therefore give / Thy need, thine honour, and thy friend his due. / Never was scraper brave man" (12:151-53). Giving to one's own need, honor, and friends is quite distinct from the New Testament concept of charity, but is entirely consonant with the classical concept of liberality extolled by the courtesy tradition. When Herbert defines covetousness as "pinching, and scraping, and squeezing blood undecently to the station wherein God hath placed me," and when he writes that one must be generous especially in those areas which concern oneself ("and those more which concerne me"), the affinity between Herbert's liberality and that of contemporary courtesy authors is evident.[43]

A further connection between Herbert and the courtesy tradition is suggested by the use of "courtesy" in *The Country Parson*. As with liberality, Herbert employs courtesy after the manner of courtesy book authors. Although courtesy was sometimes Christianized, like liberality, justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, courtesy is fundamentally a pagan virtue. It draws its inspiration not from the Christian injunction to "do unto others as you would have them do unto you," but from a basic belief in the inequality of men. The golden rule of courtesy might be "give each man his due," his due being determined by his place in the social hierarchy. Thus the courtesy author instructs the young gentleman on "how to behave . . . towards others, according to the difference of their estates."[44] We have already noted how Herbert recommends different treatment for the "plaine countryman" and the man of "higher quality" (248:17-18). In most courtesy manuals, the authors' references to other classes betrays the essentially utilitarian function of

courtesy: to gain the favor of one's betters and (as with liberality) elicit reverence and gratitude from one's inferiors. Lyly defines courtesy's meaning and purpose: "It is sober and descret behaviour, civil and gentle demeanor, that in court winneth both credit and commoditie."[45] Della Casa in *The Galateo* without apology explains that courtesy is a more useful virtue than justice, fortitude, and liberality because courtesy is more likely to advance its posessor.[46] Guazzo explains that courteous manners endear one to his superiors: "these worldly ceremonies purchase us the good will of our friendes and superiors." At the same time, courtesy ingratiates one to his inferiors: "[Gentlemen] ought to beholde their inferiours with a more gracious eye, and to use curtesie towards them . . . by meanes whereof, they get the good will of their worsers." Thus, Guazzo explains, the "worsers" are induced "to love [the gentleman], to honor him, and to doe him service."[47]

Herbert's use of courtesy is finally not self-serving. Nonetheless, he likewise recommends courtesy for its utility. As the courtesy book authors prescribe a certain kind of behavior to encourage respect and love from one's social inferiors, so Herbert instructs his parson to promote in his parishioners good will toward himself. Guazzo notes that "as there is nothing more hurtfull [for the gentleman] then to bee hated, so is there nothing more helpfull then to bee loved. Which no doubt is gotten with gentlenesse and curtesie."[48] Castiglione writes that he would have his courtier "loved and revered by everyone,"[49] and Machiavelli insists that the prince must keep "himself in popular favor."[50] Herbert similarly writes of the parson: "he endeavours that none shall despise him; especially in his own Parish" (268:17-18). To that end Herbert recommends courteous behavior. In "The Parson's Courtesie" Herbert explains that parishioners must occasionally be invited to the parson's home 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" (243:20-23). As with liberality, Herbert uses courtesy to gain the respect of his people. He recommends "a courteous carriage, & winning behaviour. . .doing kindnesses, but receiving none," because this "argues a height and eminency of mind, which is not easily despised" (268:22-26). Herbert's suggestion for using courtesy to win the love and to avoid the displeasure of one's inferiors is a common courtesy theme.

The ultimate ends of the parson's courtesy are different from those of the courtier; still, Herbert's utilitarian treatment of courtesy is remarkably similar to that of the courtesy authors. Herbert explains, for example, how a parson is to use courtesy for spurring his parish on to good works and perseverance: "Yet doth [the parson] oftenest 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" (243 : 24-27). Herbert never recommends courtesy for courtesy's sake. Here he suggests putting on a pleasant demeanor,

not because one should simply be pleasant to another, but because of the opportunity for instruction which such behavior affords:

> The Countrey Parson is generally sad . . . . Nevertheless, he sometimes refresheth himselfe, as knowing that nature will not bear everlasting droopings, and that *plesantnesse of disposition is a great key to do good*; not only because all men shun the company of perpetuall severity, but also for that when they are in company, *instructions seasoned with pleasantnesse, both enter sooner, and roote deeper.* (267:27-268:5)

Herbert is convinced of the usefulness of courteous behavior. He writes: "There is much preaching in . . . friendliness" (284:21-22). And he assures his reader that in the ministry, "a pleasantness of disposition is of great use" (252:19).

While the ultimate aim of courtesy for the courtier is his own advancement, the aim of courtesy for Herbert is the "advancement" of his parish. That is, Herbert employs courtesy finally toward edifying his congregation. He recommends, for example, that in trying to win over sinners or heretics the parson find ways to show courtesies to the erring ones. The parson should exercise: "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" (262:24-27). Alternatively, the withdrawal of courtesy is a useful tool for discouraging sinful behavior: "The Parsons punishing of sin and vice is . . . by withdrawing his bounty and courtesie from the parties offending" (254:22-23). Of course, a courteous parson would not be the source of any particular notice in Herbert's day or in ours. What is of particular interest is Herbert's creating a courteous parson after the manner of a courtesy book, rather than describing his parson in the more expected language of the New Testament.

Teaching his congregation is the most common use Herbert makes of courtesy. He is especially careful to keep his discourses pleasing and courteous in order not to alienate his hearers. This effort to please one's hearers is a common theme of courtesy books. Castiglione explains that the courtier is to teach his prince, avoiding tediousness and offense:

> . . . the Courtier will be able to lead his prince by the austere path of virtue, adorning it with shady fronds and strewing it with pretty flowers to lessen the tedium of the toilsome journey for one whose strength is slight; and now with music, now with arms and horses, now with verses, now with discourse of love . . . to keep his mind continually occupied in worthy pleasures, yet always impressing upon

> him also some virtuous habit along with these enticements, as I have said, beguiling him with salutary deception. [51]

Like the courtier, Herbert's parson is to impress upon his people virtuous habits, beguiling them "with salutary deception." We have already noted the ways in which Herbert uses "all possible art" (232:31) to procure his congregation's attention while he preaches. Herbert suggests theatrical manners and gestures, a "busy cast of his eye" (233:1), stories, sayings, and even tears to "lesson the tedium of the toilsome journey."[52] Outside of church the parson is to continue this entertaining method. Herbert agrees with Guazzo's dictum that "wittie and readie pleasantnesse delighteth wonderfully the hearers."[53] In "The Parson in Journey" Herbert advises his reader to mingle edification with pleasure when one begins conversing with a fellow traveler:

> Therefore those [the parson] meets on the way he blesseth audibly, and with those he overtakes or that overtake him, hee begins some good discourses, such as may edify, interposing sometimes some short, and honest refreshments, which may make his other discourses more welcome, and lesse tedious. (251:2-6)

"Short, and honest refreshments" are not recommended merely to delight the hearer, but to make the parson's theological discourses "more welcome and lesse tedious," or as Herbert puts it more graphically elsewhere, the parson, with his more didactic statements, "mingles other discourses for conversation sake, and to make his higher purposes slip the more easily" (249:11-12).[52]

Thus while Herbert clearly has "higher purposes" than does the courtesy author, his method is surprisingly similar to theirs. He recommends using liberality and courtesy almost exclusively for their utilitarian functions, and these functions—to raise respect and esteem, to encourage dependence, and to make the parson's discourses more welcome to his hearers—raise unmistakable echoes from the pages of courtesy manuals. That Herbert emphasizes these two classical virtues in describing the parson as well as justice, prudence, temperance, and courage rather than faith, hope, and charity or the fruits of the Spirit is striking. By choosing this particular set of virtues for his model parson Herbert directs his readers away from seeing *The Country Parson* as a common ministerial manual and toward viewing it in light of the courtesy tradition, thus underscoring the role of appearances in the ministry.

What are we to make of these striking affinities to the courtesy genre and Herbert's unabashed concentration on externals? In Herbert's remarkably detailed chapter, "The Parson's Church" (246-247), we find the physical church lovingly described and Herbert's unusual attention to appearances elucidated. Herbert discusses the "speciall care" the pastor should have for the

aesthetic appeal of his building. His obvious and great concern for the textures, scents, and visual effects of his church argues for the importance he places upon all outward forms.

> The Countrey Parson hath a speciall care of his Church. . . . 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 . . . . 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. 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 Stufffe, 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-mans Box conveniently seated, to receive the charity of well minded people, and to lay up treasure for the sick and needy.

This passage is unparalleled in works of advice to clergy. Following this careful description, Herbert apologizes for his attention to the church's appearances:

> 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 between superstition, and slovenlinesse, and as following the Apostles 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*, I 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. (246:22 ff)

First, Herbert makes clear that his concern for appearances is not superstitious ("not . . . as putting a holiness in the things"). Herbert wants to avoid a Roman Catholic veneration of holy things, yet he will not agree with the "slovenly" ways of the Puritans who seem to care nothing for the appearances of the church and ministry. Thus he counsels a "middle way,"

which calls for what Herbert believes to be a proper and biblical attention to outer forms.

Herbert offers his scriptural apologetic for this "middle way." Quoting I Corinthians 14:40, Herbert explains that a proper attention to appearances fulfills St. Paul's injunction to do things "decently and in order," and it like wise glorifies God ("for the honour of God"). Herbert also quotes I Corinthians 14:26—"Let all things be done to edification" and suggests that his description in "The Parson's Church" fulfills this injunction. Here we see an affirmation of the role of the senses in spiritual experience, and we see the importance Herbert places upon appearances for the edification or "benefit of our neighbor." Herbert is actually arguing that "walls plaistered, windows glazed, floore paved, seats whole, firm, and uniform," a church "strawed, and stuck with boughs, and perfumed with incense," and a "Communion Cloth of fine linnen, with an handsome, and seemly Carpet of good and costly stuffe," are somehow necessary for the faith of believers and not simply external adornment. While Herbert follows tradition in quoting these verses from Corinthians with regard to church practices, he is unique in using them to defend attention to the outer appearances of the church. Herbert argues that right appearances serve to edify.

Herbert gives further justification for beautifying his church. He explains that while obeying Paul's two rules ("Let all thing be done decently and in order" and "Let all things be done to edification") by attending to church appearances, the pastor gives witness to the perfection of Scripture:

> 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. (246:28-247:2)

Herbert does not explain why or how the skeptic is to be put to shame by the parson's attention to "externall and indifferent things." It is clear, however, that Herbert sees a connection between appearances and apologetics. Somehow the beautiful appearances of a church (and, Herbert would add, the parson himself) argue for the authority of Scripture. In this instance, creating certain lovely appearances about the church building both edifies the believer and convinces the skeptic.

Herbert offers yet a third rationale for his attention to outer appearances or "seeming." His short chapter, "The Parson in mirth," shows how Herbert's parson must sometimes manipulate appearances for the improvement of others. Here Herbert explains that although the pastor's true temperament is

"generally sad," he must occasionally seem pleasant and cheerful in order to more effectively teach and do good to his hearers:

> The Countrey Parson is generally sad, because hee knows nothing but the Crosse of Christ, his minde being defixed on it with those nailes wherewith his Master was . . . . Neverthelesse, he sometimes refresheth himselfe, 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 pleasantnesse, both enter sooner and roote deeper.* Wherefore he condescends to humane frailties . . . and intermingles some mirth in his discourses occasionally, according to the pulse of the hearer.
>
> (267:27-268:8)

In addition to altering the parson's own appearances for the good of others, Herbert also urges his parishioners to "seem in order to be." The parson sees to it—even though his congregation may not in reality be reverent—that they at least appear so. He suggests that the people's thinking will eventually follow their behavior, or their inner selves will conform to their outer. He writes:

> Besides [the parson's] 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 answers also are to be done not in a hudling, or slubbering fashion, gaping, or scratching the head, or spitting evin in the midst of their answer, but gently and pausable, *thinking what they say* , so that while they answer . . . they *meditate as they speak.*
>
> (231:20-34)

Here Herbert suggests that by practicing a certain outward behavior, the inner may be changed, as his reluctant parishioners go from the appearance of interest in the service ("*as attending* to what is done in the church") to true mental engagement ("thinking what they say" and "meditat[ing] as they speak"). No other clerical manualist goes into such detail regarding either the parson's or the congregation's behavior. Nor does any other suggest, as

Herbert does, that the "seeming" of the outer man is so important to the "being" of the inner.

Thus while Herbert, like the secular courtesy author, emphasizes appearances rather than realities, he stands out in his final aims as well as in his confidence that appearances can have a profound mimetic effect upon one's spiritual realities.

Why would Herbert write a courtesy book for clergymen? Perhaps the Puritan manuals, focusing as they do on the pastor's conversion and heart and all but ignoring appearances, were not entirely satisfactory to Herbert.[55] His poem, "The British Church," bears out Herbert's dislike for religion unconcerned with externals. Here he disdainfully depicts the Reformed communion as a woman "shie / Of dressing," with her hair lieing "about her eares." And while she avoids "her neighbor's pride" (i.e., the trappings of the Roman Catholic Church) she "wholly goes on th' other side, and nothing wears." The ideal British Church Herbert praises as appropriately concerned with appearances: "Neither too mean, nor yet too gay shows who is best." "The mean," he explains, "her praise and glorie is, / And long may be" (109-10). Believing as he did in the efficacy of appearances, Herbert may have been seeking to balance the scales in a genre tipped decidedly to the Puritan side.[56] Creating his manual along the lines of a courtesy book instead of the more common sermon format artfully underscored his concern for appearances in the ministry.

Notes

[1] Richard Baxter, *The Reformed Pastor* (1656; New York: The American Tract Society, 1829), pp. 100-01.

[2] Observing Puritan oratory, Debora Shugar writes: "The demand for expressivity, for a language that moves by articulating the speaker's own passion appears . . . in vernacular texts, by such men as Perkins, Baxter, Wilkins, Burnet, and Glanville, in which it is sometimes the only remaining traditional piece of rhetoric." *(Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaisance* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988], p. 228).

[3] For broader cultural analyses of self-fashioning in the Renaissance, see the works of Frank Whigham, Stephen Grecnblatt, and Richard Helgerson.

[4] George Herbert, *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. B. Hutchinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 227:4, my emphasis throughout. Henceforth all quotations of Herbert's work will be indicated by page and line number from this edition.

[5] Cristina Malcomson in her essay, "George Herbert's *Country Parson* and the Character of Social Identity" concurs. She writes, "[*The Country Parson*] teaches parsons how to write out their holiness before the audience of their parishiners" *(Studies in Philology* 85 [1988], 248).

[6] Gilbert Burnet in *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care* assures that a "holy earnestness of the soul" will give all the "composure to the looks" that a preacher needs,

and he condemns the "theatrical way" in which "it is a great study, and a long practice, to learn in every one of their offices how they ought to compose their looks, gesture and voice" (1692; London: Rivingtons and Cochran, 1821), pp. 186-87. Richard Baxter likewise writes that fervency is solely a matter of the heart and therefore recommends "that we take special pains with our own hearts . . . . An affected, hypocritical fervency will not hold out long in duties of this kind. A pulpit . . . is the hypocritical minister's stage," p. 353. This is not to accuse Herbert of hypocrisy. The essay will suggest other sources and purposes for Herbert's interest in appearances.

[7]Joseph Summers in *George Herbert: His Religion and Art* maintains that if the modern reader finds such passages offensive, it is a fault of the reader: "Herbert recommended devices for gaining the appearance of holiness on the assumption that appearances should correspond with reality" (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 101. Even Herbert's contemporaries, however, would have had difficulties with Herbert's thus cultivating "the appearance of holiness." Many divines specifically discouraged using such techniques as Herbert uses to improve the pastor's image. (For example see the above note.)

[8]This is not to say that Puritan writers did not respect Herbert and his work. While *The Country Parson* was not published until 1655, English divines of all persuasions admired *The Temple*.

[9] "Herbert's 'country' version of . . . self-fashioning was an attempt to live the plain style, rather than the 'court-stile,' but it nevertheless required an art of self-presentation as elaborate as that detailed by courtesy books of the time " (Malcomson, p. 265).

[10] Several recent studies have rightly linked Herbert's poetry to the courtesy tradition. See Joseph Summers, "Sir Calidore and The Country Parson" in *Like Season'd Timber: New Essays on George Herbert,* eds. Miller and DiYanni; Marion Singleton, *God's Courtier: Configuring A Different Grace in George Herbert's Temple,* Michael Schoenfeldt, "Submission and Assertion: The Double Motion of Herbert's 'Dedication,'" *John Donne Journal* 2 (1983); and "Standing on Ceremony: The Comedy of Manners in Herbert's 'Love (III),'" in *Bright Shootes of Everlastingnesse.*

[11] William Perkins, *Of the Calling of the Ministrie* (London, 1605).

[12] Baxter, p. 72.

[13] E.g., Perkins's *Of the Calling* and Jackson's *The Worthy Churchman* provide excellent examples of this method.

[14] E.g., "Reverend and Dear Brethren, our business here this day is to humble our souls before the Lord," Baxter, p. 199.

[15] See, for example, the final paragraph of Richard Bernard's *The Faithfull Shepheard* (London, 1607) or Perkins's *Of the Calling.*

[16] Steven Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation,* 2 vols., trans. George Pettie and Barth. Young (1581 and 1586; London: Constable, 1925), II, 52.

[17] Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* (1630; London: John Dawson, 1941).

[18] English courtesy authors especially inveighed against idleness. See Albert N. S. Thompson, *Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), p. 153; and Lewis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 127.

[19] James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Nobleman* (1607; New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1948).

[20] Henry Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman* (1634; Oxford: Clarendon, 1906).

[21] While many divines describe all depraved men as "led more by sense than faith," Herbert particularly characterizes the country laborer this way.

[22] Regarding Herbert and the Georgic Revolution, Anthony Low cautions against reading into Herbert an "anachronistic class antagonism." Low nevertheless admits certain of Herbert's prejudices toward his parishioners:

> At Bemerton [Herbert] observed the countrymen about their work, and he based a number of his images on their activities. Yet not even Herbert could perceive, in the labor that he witnessed, much more than the negative spectacle of sinners busying their hands to avoid idleness or, far too often, "wallowing" in worldliness. (*The Georgic Revolution* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985], p. 98)

[23] Ruth Kelso, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in Sixteenth Century England* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 88.

[24] Kelso, p. 76.

[25] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* trans. Charles S. Singleton (New York: Doubleday, 1959), p. 293.

[26] Guazzo, I, 155.

[27] To the conventional four, Elyot adds two more which he calls "majesty" and "humanity" (Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor* [1531; London: Dent, 1962]).

[28] Peacham, pp. 4 ff.

[29] Kelso, p. 76.

[30] Kelso, p. 76.

[31] Elyot, p. 159.

[32] Perkins writes: "the Minister may, yea and must privately use at his libertie the arts, Philosophy, and a variety of reading whilest he is in framing his sermon; but he ought in publicke to conceale all these from the people, and not make the least ostentation." Quoted in W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), p. 100.

[33] See William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 267-68.

[34] Quoted in Kelso, pp. 88-89.

[35] Castiglione, pp. 316-17.

[36] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. and ed. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1977), pp. 28, 65-66. Although in his chapter "On Liberality and Stinginess" Machiavelli explains that it is best for the Prince to be known as a miser among the common people (showing liberality to everyone has an enormous cost), he instructs the Prince to court his courtiers and army with liberality.

[37] Guazzo, I, 18.

[38] Kelso, p. 89.

[39] Machiavelli, p. 68.

[40] See Kelso, pp. 89-90.

[41] Castiglione, p. 320.

[42] Elyot, p. 102.

[43] While Herbert's use of covetousness here is in perfect keeping with courtesy sensibilities, it is strikingly different from that of other authors of religious manuals. Thomas Watson's exposition on the tenth commandment (in *A Body of Practical Divinity*, 1692) provides an example of the more common understanding of covetousness. He explains that covetousness "signifies an insatiable desire of getting the world," or "an inordinate love of the world" (p. 174). Herbert had defined covetousness as living below "the station wherein God hath placed me," and neglecting to give "Thy need, thine honour, and thy friend his due." While Watson defines covetousness primarily as an inappropriate love for this world's goods, Herbert defines it here as depriving oneself inappropriately of the same goods. Herbert calls neglecting one's table, apparel, and honor covetousness. Watson writes that covetousness "has many pleas and excuses for itself, more than any other sin; as providing for one's family" (p. 176). Watson describes covetousness primarily as a sin of the heart and mind (pp. 174-77), Herbert describes it here as a sin against one's body and appearances.

[44] Guazzo, I, 168.

[45] Quoted in Kelso, p. 81.

[46] Giovanni Della Casa, *Galateo: Of Manners and Behaviors*, ed., Lewis Einstein (Boston: Merymount, 1914), pp. 14-15.

[47] Guazzo, pp. 1, 166, 194, 192.

[48] Guazzo, I, 208.

[49] Castiglione, p. 319.

[50] Machiavelli, p. 52.

[51] Castiglione, p. 294.

[52] Debora Shugar designates Herbert's preaching style as the "passionate plain style," and points out that in *The Country Parson* "the principal end of preaching is an ardent and vehement psychagogia" (*Sacred Rhetoric* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988], p. 94).

[53] Guazzo, I, 158.

[54] The Puritans also studied the rhetorical arts in order to better communicate their message. But while the Puritan "esteemed that preaching best wherein was most of God, least of man," Herbert was not reluctant to intermingle with the Holy Text "Profane utterances of men [stories, proverbs, and sayings]"(W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory* [New York: Russell & Russell, 1962], p. 100). Nor was he hesitant to use the "pagan" methods of liberality and courtesy to "make his higher purposes slip the more easily."

[55] The clergy of Herbert's day were suffering from a decline in status. Nearly all of the contemporary clerical manuals bemoan a "disdain of the clergy" within society at large. "In general, the clergy as a profession was at a low in social prestige, and the nobility and gentry steered their sons away from it" (Malcomson, p. 247). Many clerical authors acknowledged that it was the less than exemplary behavior, of the clergy which called forth this disdain. The Puritan response was soul searching. Herbert's was an attention to the clergy's public life.

[56] Distinguished scholars have made cases for the biblical and particularly Protestant sources of Herbert's poetry (e.g., see the works of Barbara Lewalski, Richard Strier, and Chana Bloch). It is hoped that this essay demonstrates a courtly and secular influence upon *The Country Parson*.